

**Servicescape Management at Heritage Tourism Sites:
From Dark Tourism Sites to Socially-Symbolic Servicescapes**

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Abstract

This study sought to evaluate the nature, scope and management of dark heritage sites. The empirical study was carried out at six memorial sites and museums associated with the Holocaust and other Nazi Germany atrocities, situated in both victim and perpetrator countries. These included sites *of* and *associated with* death.

Two core literatures provided the theoretical underpinning of the study: dark tourism and servicescape management. The literature on dark tourism reveals the complexity and multi-faceted nature and scope of dark tourism phenomena; the expanded servicescape framework was evaluated and applied to the context of dark tourism site management. A conceptual model was constructed from the fusion of the two strands of academic literature to guide the empirical research. A qualitative multi-case methodology was employed.

Multi-methods were used to collect data at six sites, which enabled the detailed examination of both the complexity and particular nature of each case, as well as allowing for cross-case analysis and evaluation.

The six (dark) heritage tourism sites were revealed to be complex and dynamic servicescapes. Site managers indicated that there were many challenges regarding the maintenance of sites and in making them relevant for today's visitors. Unlike previous decades, the majority of visitors today have no direct personal links to the sites (this history). The study illustrates the inadequacy of the academic terminology of 'dark tourism' in the context of sites *of* and *associated with* death and genocide. Instead, these sites were perceived to be dynamic, participative and elevated servicescapes focusing on respecting the dignity of the victims, honouring their sacrifice, preserving and displaying the sites, and delivering a clear educational offering that cultivates social conscience at both individual and collective levels. The managed dark heritage servicescape has the capacity to deliver a cultural experience that bridges the past and present, presenting potential value beyond the on-site encounter for both the visitor (individual level) and society (collective level) and allowing a gaze to the future.

Access to contents

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Chapter 1 : Introduction

1.1 Introduction

This thesis investigates and evaluates the nature and scope of dark heritage tourism from the perspective of site managers and visitors at six European dark heritage sites. It takes a contemporary perspective on the sites of distant tragic events. The research study is framed by an integrated theoretical foundation that brings together two academic research fields (dark tourism and services marketing management, more specifically servicescape management). The empirical investigation is based on the application of the expanded servicescape framework to (six European) sites of and associated with death, genocide and human suffering associated with the events of the Holocaust and Nazi Germany atrocities.

This chapter will present the rationale and justification for the research study, the research aim and objectives and summarise the outline plan for the thesis.

1.2 Rationale and justification of research study

The fact that heritage embodies more than only positive cultural and social processes and “*often comes down to us from periods of deep social and political conflict*” (Dolff-Bonekamper, 2008, p.135) is widely accepted. Humanity’s interest in travelling to sites associated with death, disaster, suffering and tragedy has been recorded since medieval times (Stone, 2005). Most societies bear the scars of history and often of “*involvement in war and civil unrest or adherence to belief systems based on intolerance, racial discrimination or ethnic hostilities*” (Logan and Reeves 2009, p.1). Thus, studies on Holocaust sites (Beech, 2009), places of atrocity (Ashworth and Hartmann, 2005), prisons and crime sites (Wilson, 2008; Dalton, 2013) and slavery-heritage attractions (Dann and Seaton, 2001; Rice, 2009) capture only a small selection of sites reflective of humanity’s darker past. The consumption of both recent and distant traumatic events has become a pervasive part of the visitor experience, reflecting tourists’ “*fascination [with] sites of death, disaster, and atrocities*” (Biran et al, 2011, p. 820 citing Cohen, 2011; Logan and Reeves, 2009; Stone and Sharpley, 2008).

Sites (re)presenting death, genocide, and the events of the Holocaust are regarded as heritage sites (Biran et al, 2011; Tarlow, 2005). More precisely termed as memorial sites and museums, include those within former Nazi concentration camps that to this day preserve the evidence that testifies to their original function as places of death and suffering of millions of peoples. Equally, there are other locations related to the original events of WWII and the atrocities committed by the Nazis, which house monuments and museums created to represent, communicate and commemorate the same painful past. Together, such places that speak of the death, genocide and human suffering inflicted by Nazi Germany upon large groups of people and today attract vast visitor numbers, can be viewed as places endowed with *“meaning and significance”* (Maddrell and Sidaway, 2010, p.3) thus part of the wider context of heritage tourism (Dimitrovski et al, 2017; Ashworth and Hartmann, 2005). Often related to the most painful periods in history, linked to death, genocide and human suffering, such *“deathscapes are intensely private and personal places, while often simultaneously being shared, collective, sites of experience and remembrance”* (Maddrell and Sidaway, 2010, p.4). As consumption settings for a *“heritage that hurts”* (Uzzell and Ballantyne, 1998), inherently multi-vocal and dissonant (Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996) such sites today are *“... powerfully intertwined with interpretation and meaning”* (Stone, 2013, p.308), thus are also places of learning and education for individuals and society. The representations of the painful past evidenced at atrocity and war sites can *“play a vital role in improving understanding and raising awareness of human cruelty and suffering and perhaps help to avoid its repetition”* (Dunkley 2017, p.110 citing Uzzell, 1989, p.33-47).

More than ever, and as *“tragic events continue to occur globally”* (Dunkley, 2017, p.110), reflecting on the message of Auschwitz, the Holocaust and the other atrocities inflicted by the Nazis upon millions of people in the middle of 20th century Europe, provides contemporary generations with a timely, vivid and unequivocal reminder of humanity’s vulnerability and society’s ability to lose its moral compass, especially when faced with times of significant pressure, whether socio-political and/or economic. Beyond all other purposes, *“memorial sites are vested with the responsibility to enlighten society on the atrocities of the Nazi regime, strengthening society’s commitment to humanistic values and deterring potential genocidal developments”* (Lapid, 2013, p.2).

Recognising heritage management as an interdisciplinary and relatively new area of academic study (Smith, 2006), and the link between tourism and death (Light, 2017; Stone, 2006, 2013) by which dark tourism has become firmly established within the visitor economy (Stone, 2013), this study aims to investigate and evaluate dark heritage tourism, from a business management perspective that draws on services marketing theory. While the research to date has tended to generate a proliferation of studies examining the service encounter for purposes linked to increasing profit, sales and customer satisfaction (Lin, 2004), little attention has been accorded to the servicescape as a potentially useful conceptualisation in the not-for-profit sector and more specifically, its ability to illuminate the production and consumption processes incurred in the cultural and social settings such as those delineated by dark heritage tourism sites.

Acknowledging the servicescape as the conceptual entity that incorporates the individual, the environment and the ongoing interaction between the two (Lin, 2004), this study aims to respond to Mari and Pogessi's (2013, p.185) view that "*we still know too little about the holistic view of the servicescape*" and the authors' call for "*cross-fertilization*" in the empirical testing of the servicescape (Mari and Pogessi, 2013). Both the original servicescape framework (Bitner, 1992) and its expanded conceptualisation proposed by Rosenbaum and Massiah (2011) acknowledge that service settings include "*objective, managerially controllable stimuli that influence consumers in a collective way*" (Rosenbaum and Massiah, 2011, p.472) as well as stimuli that are subjective and display an entirely opposite character to those just mentioned, that is "*difficult to measure objectively, and managerially uncontrollable*" (Rosenbaum and Massiah, 2011, p.472). Yet both categories have potential and ability to influence consumers' and employees' actions and decisions in different ways (Rosenbaum and Massiah, 2011; Edvardsson et al, 2010; Zomerdick and Voss, 2010).

Placing itself at the intersection of dark heritage tourism and services marketing management, this study aims to contribute to the cross-disciplinary research agenda and specific call for "*cross-disciplinary research regarding the impact of environmental stimuli on customer approach/avoidance behaviours in commercial and not-for-profit consumption settings*" (Rosenbaum and Massiah, 2011, p.482). It is within the servicescape, as an "*interactive configuration*" that producers' and consumers' intentions and actions intersect (Fagence, 2014, p.131), that endows it

with significant appeal as a potentially effective (services) marketing management framework for the investigation and evaluation of the not-for-profit dark heritage tourism context, from the integrated supply-demand perspective advocated by numerous authors (Isaac and Cakmac, 2013; Biran et al, 2011; Sharpley, 2009; Poria et al, 2009; Ryan and Kohli, 2006). Thus, this study applies the servicescape marketing management framework to a field of study that holds universal value to humanity and its history.

1.3 Research Aims and Objectives

This study aims to investigate and evaluate the nature and scope of marketing management from the perspective of site managers and visitors at (six European) dark heritage tourism sites by applying the expanded servicescape framework and adopting a contemporary perspective of the sites.

1.3.1 Research Objective 1

RO 1: To investigate the nature and scope of dark heritage tourism sites *of and associated with* the death, genocide and human suffering perpetrated by Nazi Germany (known as the Holocaust and other National Socialist crimes) using the expanded servicescape framework at six European sites.

The ever growing chronological distance from the original events, the gradual passing of the last survivors, the new generation of visitors who are detached from this history plus the troubling manifestations of revisionism and recidivism evidenced by the complex geo-political contemporary society, are macro-environmental conditions which dark heritage tourism sites such as the six proposed for investigation, currently function in and seek to deliver value.

In essence dark heritage tourism sites, such as those representing the death, genocide and human suffering perpetrated by Nazi Germany (known as the Holocaust and other National Socialist crimes) are multi-functional sites, charged with fulfilling a number of complex roles:

(1) To remember and commemorate the dead and the suffering through commemorative acts and ceremonies that embody memory at both individual and collective levels;

(2) To preserve, protect, collect and (re)present the traces of the painful past as well as to engage in ongoing scientific research aimed at illuminating and making legible the historical evidence, as well as presenting it with rigour and integrity;

(3) To facilitate learning and education for individuals and society by inviting the public's encounter with the historical remains and explanatory exhibitions in order to decipher the events, actions and consequences of all the historical actors, reflect upon them and critically engage with their meaning from a contemporary perspective, thus gaining informed attitudes of relevance to the present and future.

Given such complex, multi-layered and poli-vocal nature and scope of memorial sites and museums representing the death, genocide and human suffering perpetrated by Nazi Germany, the expanded servicescape framework with its four key dimensions (physical, natural, social and socially-symbolic) presents significant potential for the holistic investigation and evaluation of each site; particularly in terms of the multitude of discrete yet interlinked functions of: remembrance and commemoration; learning and education; collection, preservation and scientific research. The expanded servicescape framework presents significant potential for the in-depth investigation and evaluation of such dark heritage tourism sites, gleaning valuable insights into the key characteristics of the dark heritage tourism offering from both site managers' and visitors' perspective.

1.3.2 Research Objective 2

RO 2: To evaluate contemporary site managers' perspectives on the scope and potential of the expanded servicescape dimensions for providing a holistic dark heritage site visitor encounter

This research objective is clearly targeting the management perspective. Thus, the research effort aims to reveal site managers' views, actions and evaluations related to the dark nature of the heritage tourism offering that is evaluated with the use of the expanded servicescape framework. The cognitive, social and cultural processes that are recognised to frame experiences are of significant importance to the interaction and communication that takes place between the visitor and the dark heritage tourism sites and therefore form the key part of management's concern. More specifically, in the context of each site, the research will employ the four key dimensions (physical, natural, social and socially-symbolic) of the expanded servicescape framework in

order to investigate the processes that underpin the planning and delivery of the onsite visitor encounter and the nature and scope of the intended holistic value it renders.

The principal aim of placing the physical servicescape dimension under close scrutiny and interrogation is to reveal the entire range and nature of the interactions among the site's tangible components (that tend to be easily seen, observable and measurable), as well as the interactions between the site, its visitors and employees. The six dark heritage tourism sites identified for investigation are also sites of visitation by large numbers of visitors annually, who spend significant periods of time on site, interacting with and experiencing the site servicescape.

The natural dimension of the expanded servicescape framework relates to the natural stimuli that frame visitors' onsite experiences. Management's understanding and evaluation of the site servicescape and its potential to provide visitors with holistic value while on-site will be aided by the interrogation of all natural elements/stimuli (natural environment and topography as well as the weather conditions attached to the visitation episode) and how the perception and distillation by visitors elicit their cognitive, emotional and physiological investments, as the pre-requisite of holistic visitor value.

The social dimensions of the expanded servicescape formwork can be investigated by focusing on the unique sets of social connections between visitors and the site itself. Apart from the victims, survivors and their families, who are the most obvious groups embodying this painful past, the research acknowledges other stakeholder groups of significant importance to this history and the contemporary perspective adopted in its presentation. These different stakeholders are currently included in the representation, communication and interpretation of dark past events. The factually accurate and ethical communication of historical facts require clear legibility of those involved in the Holocaust, and other Nazi Germany crimes. Additionally, the connections between visitors and front line site employees (most often the site guides) require investigation and evaluation.

The socially-symbolic dimension of the expanded servicescape focuses on and illuminates the connections between the site's own history conveyed by its tangible and intangible attributes and the meanings and significance these convey for visitors and society at large. The study aims to reveal and evaluate current site managers'

efforts to facilitate visitors' personal connection with the site, with the aim of establishing real and symbolic value creation processes that match visitors' heterogeneous profiles and society's pursuit for universal values.

1.3.3 Research Objective 3

RO 3: To evaluate visitors' experiences in the context of the key expanded servicescape dimensions at dark heritage tourism sites

This research objective will investigate and evaluate the nature and scope of visitors' heritage consumption processes and experiences specific to dark heritage sites representing death, genocide and human suffering.

The geo-demographic profile of visitors to dark heritage tourism sites such as those representing the events of the Holocaust and other Nazi Germany atrocities has changed substantially since the previous decades that were chronologically closer to the original events. Most countries in Europe and elsewhere include this part of humanity's history (WWII) as part of their holistic educational offering. The new/young generation of visitors (representing the overwhelming majority of visitors at European memorial sites), born many decades after the tragedies of WWII, have different needs and respond to a different approach when encountering this type of dark heritage, compared to the previous generations. On the other hand, those who were contemporaries of the original events and whose own lives (and that of their family members) were directly affected by the atrocities perpetrated, have totally different needs and engage in a completely different type of encounter when visiting such sites. The very nature and complexity of such painful past defies easy packaging into neat tourism offerings set to deliver pre-set moral lessons. Thus, this research objective aims to focus on the interaction between the visitor and the historical evidence, while taking cognisance of both visitors' heterogeneity (changing geo-demographic profile) and evolving role of such sites, framed by the needs of contemporary society. The research aims to investigate and analyse the visitors' onsite encounter as shaped by their engagement with the site servicescape while on-site, and perceived value of the on-site encounter. The research will seek to investigate how visitors engage with each site servicescape in terms of the physical, natural and social servicescape elements and how these are associated with visitors' cognitive and emotional experiences. Last, but not least, this research objective presents the

opportunity for determining whether the visitor value attached to the visitation experience at sites related to the events of the Holocaust and other Nazi Germany atrocities carries any dark elements.

The visitor perspective can be conceptualised in terms of a continuum of experience (Magee and Gilmore, 2015; Biran et al, 2011) expected and sought visitors, according to his/her own individual profile. The continuum framework involves a cognition-emotion nexus that the dark heritage tourism onsite encounter renders.

1.4 Overview of Empirical Study

The aim of this research was to investigate and evaluate the nature and scope of marketing management required for dark heritage tourism (sites of and associated with death, genocide and human suffering perpetrated by Nazi Germany). To this end, pertinent academic literature from dark tourism and servicescape management was used to develop a conceptual model which encapsulated both the management and visitor perspectives, bringing together the four dimensions of the expanded servicescape (physical, natural, social and socially-symbolic) that require management's attention and efforts *and* the continuum of visitors' motivations for visiting dark heritage tourism sites. The conceptualisation of dark tourism sites as expanded servicescapes permitted the holistic interrogation of both managers and visitors' perspectives in relation to both the dark heritage tourism sitescape(s) and the planned, delivered and consumed onsite encounters. The empirical study used the conceptual model to frame the research in the context of six European dark heritage tourism sites.

Given the research aim to gain insight and understanding of the nature, scope and management of the expanded servicescape framework in the dark heritage tourism context from both managers' and visitors' perspectives, the multiple case study approach was chosen as the most effective data collection tool and strategy of design (Carson et al, 2001; Yin, 2003) underpinning the empirical study. The multi-method approach to the data collection involved observation studies, in-depth interviews with both managers and visitors and analysis of documentary materials. This enabled simultaneous streams of data to emerge during the study, thus generating richness and plurality of data. The multi-method approach to data collection generated an

abundance and depth of data, which enabled the detailed examination of both the complexity and particular nature of each case, as well as allowing for cross-case analysis, and comparing and contrasting across cases (Zomerdick and Voss, 2010; Baxter and Jack, 2008; Yin, 2003). The conclusions drawn from the analysis allowed for generalisations across all six cases, thus rendering robustness and reliability to the study (Blumberg et al, 2008; Baxter and Jack, 2008). On this basis, the holistic empirical understanding allowed for new theory building (Carson et al, 2005; Yin, 1994) focused on the nature, scope and management of the expanded servicescape framework applied to the dark heritage tourism context.

1.4.1 Selection of Cases

The six cases included in this study were chosen to capture the dark heritage tourism context holistically. Thus, the six sites selected allowed for the investigation of both the nature and scope of their specific servicescapes in representing the history related to the distant events of the Holocaust and other crimes and human suffering perpetrated by Nazi Germany, as well as tourism sites able to deliver diverse heritage consumption processes expressed in a range of visitor-servicescape interactions, cognitive and emotional processes. A range of criteria was used that resulted in determining the boundaries (Yin, 2003; Stake, 1995) that aided the selection of cases:

The *criteria of definition and context* (Miles and Huberman, 1994) led to consideration being given to the categorisation of dark tourism sites into sites *of death* and sites *associated with death* (Miles, 2002). The four sites *of death* selected for this study are former Nazi concentration camps where death, genocide and human suffering were perpetrated. They are: Auschwitz-Birkeanu Memorial and Museum (Poland); Dachau Concentration Camp Memorial (Germany); Memorial and Museum Sachsenhausen (Germany); Mauthausen Memorial (Austria). The two sites *associated with death* are represented by a modern memorial and a museum related to the events of the Holocaust and other death and human suffering. They are: The Memorial to the Murdered Jew of Europe (Germany) and Oskar Schindler Enamel Factory Museum (Poland). Although different in terms of original purpose, both categories of sites represent the history and events of WWII and the Holocaust.

In terms of context (Miles and Huberman, 1994), all chosen cases relate to the events of WWII in Europe, thus being placed within a clearly defined period in the European

history. Additionally, both categories of sites are geographically located in Europe, in perpetrator as well as victim countries (Germany and Austria *and* Poland, respectively), thus capturing both these relevant perspectives applicable to the nature and scope of the dark historical (distant) events represented. The multi-layered and complex history of each site is reflected in the physical layout, location, material camp remnants (buildings, structures etc.), artefacts, memorials and exhibitions, as well as their accompanying narratives coloured by the various historical events and evolutionary stages each site traversed after liberation. The profile of each of these sites presents managerial challenges and opportunities in relation to the way memorial sites are (re)designed, presented, interpreted and managed in terms of their fundamental role(s) and intended actual and symbolic value they wish to deliver.

The application of the *time and activity criteria* (Stake, 1995) resulted in two important criteria when selecting the six cases for analysis: (1) all six sites are linked to the same historical time in Europe (that is between 1933 and 1945), but also, as required by the overarching research aim, all six cases required the same approach to the temporal criteria of analysis, that being the contemporary perspective applied to the dark events each represented; (2) all six cases are well established sites of tourism visitation representing some of the darkest events in European history.

1.5 Structure of Thesis

Chapter 2 provides an evaluation and discussion of the relevant academic literature from both dark tourism and servicescape management and culminates with the conceptual model that was adopted to guide the empirical research. The literature on dark tourism includes a discussion of the definitions, scope and parameters of dark tourism, comprising of: (a) a focus on the key analytical frameworks (supply, demand and integrated supply-demand) used for the analysis of dark tourism and (b) visitor motivations and sought benefits at dark (heritage) tourism sites. The literature on servicescape management discusses the original servicescape as well as the expanded servicescape frameworks, with each of its four key dimensions (physical, natural, social and socially-symbolic). Finally, a conceptual model was developed through the fusion of the two strands of literature (dark tourism theory and the expanded

servicescape management theory), which takes account of the inherent characteristics of the dark heritage tourism related to these dark heritage sites.

Chapter 3 presents the research methodology developed for this study in relation to the research position chosen and justifies the research approach adopted. The qualitative, multi-case and multi-method research design is described, along with the methods and processes of data analysis. Finally, the chapter outlines the research ethics applied to the execution of the research and the limitations of the research methodology implemented.

Chapters 4 and 5 describe the key findings from the study. Chapter 4 discusses the findings from two main cases, Auschwitz–Birkenau Memorial and Museum (site *of* death) and the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe (site *associated with* death). Chapter 5 discusses the findings from the other four cases by adopting a cross-case approach, making use of the best or most illustrative examples from each site (sites *of* and *associated with* death). The structure adopted for the presentation of findings in both chapters 4 and 5 mirrors the structure embedded in and reflected by the conceptual model (chapter 2, section 2.4). Within each of these two chapters (4 and 5), the findings are synthesized around the three key themes applicable to the dark heritage tourism servicescape investigated (physical and natural; social; socially-symbolic) and their respective sub-themes.

Chapter 6 provides an analysis and discussion of the findings outlined in chapters 4 and 5. This chapter starts with a short summary of the key issues drawn from the empirical findings related to the key servicescape dimensions contextualised to dark heritage tourism sites (*of* and *associated with* death). The main focus of the chapter is the detailed discussion centred on the complex nature and scope of authenticity at dark heritage tourism sites, as revealed by the empirical study and supported by an additional examination of the relevant academic literature centred on the plurality of authenticity.

Chapter 7 discusses the overall conclusions regarding the research objectives and the contribution to theory and practice. Additionally, the chapter details the limitations of the current study and proposes areas for future research.

1.6 Conclusion

This chapter set out the foundation for the conceptual underpinnings and empirical research undertaken, articulating the foundation and rationale of the research study. The research aim and objectives, and the justification for the study were presented. The chapter also outlined the research methodology and justification of the empirical study, highlighting the six European dark heritage tourism sites (*of* and *associated with* death, genocide and human suffering perpetrated by Nazi Germany) investigated. The chapter also presented an overview of each of the subsequent chapters included herewith.

The next chapter presents the pertinent academic literature that underpins the theoretical foundation of the study and presents the emergent conceptual model that guided the empirical research.

Chapter 2: Review of Literature

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a review of the academic literature pertinent to the research aim and objectives. The structure of the chapter is built around the two core literatures: dark tourism and servicescape management. The literature on dark tourism starts with a discussion of the main definitions, scope and parameters of dark tourism, aiming to compare and contrast the various definitions and terms provided by the literature, which reflect the complexity and multi-faceted nature and scope of dark tourism phenomena. This part of the discussion seeks to highlight the closely related scope of both dark tourism and thanatourism to heritage tourism.

The review of the dark tourism literature also provides a focused discussion on the main analytical frameworks developed within the academic tradition: (1) the supply perspective mainly focused on site attributes, thus allowing for the scope of dark tourism from the provider's perspective to emerge; (2) the demand perspective focused on tourist's motivation for visiting and (3) the integrated supply-demand perspective which offers a wider, more holistic approach to the analysis of dark tourism, by taking into consideration both the supply characteristics and visitors' perceptions of, motives for and experiences at dark tourism sites along with the individual subjective nature of each of these. The discussion points to a significant body of work centred around the investigation of tourists visiting sites that display dark attributes but who engage in non-dark experiences and possess non-dark motives, for example, visiting for educational purposes or as part of a wider leisure experience. Staying within the integrated supply-demand perspective, the discussion features an experiential framework featuring three main categories of visitors and their respective motives for visitation, derived perceptions associated with the site and benefits sought from the on-site encounter. Thus, distinguishing between three types of visitors (visitors with personal connections to the site, for whom the site carries personal meaning; visitors who do not have any personal attachment or connection to the site and are primarily seeking education and knowledge and visitors who display some similar characteristics as the second category, but also wish to encounter the respective heritage on a personal basis), the advanced discussion puts forward the first part of the proposed conceptual model designed to underpin the research herewith. This first part

of the conceptual model proposes a continuum of visitor experience that captures the holistic potential of the on-site encounter and is able to respond to visitors needs for an on-site cognition-emotion provision.

The review of the servicescape management literature places the focus on the consumption setting (or servicescape), by drawing attention to the interdependencies and correlations that exist between the physical elements and participants as well as *why* and *how* can the environment can be planned to achieve particular management objectives. The expanded servicescape framework is discussed and considered as an expression of a multi-disciplinary approach that considers the consumption setting holistically and illustrates the confluence of several environmental stimuli and their components that influence customer behaviour and social interactions. On this basis, the chapter features the conceptualisation of dark heritage sites as expanded servicescapes where visitors encounter the difficult history connected to the Holocaust and other Nazi Germany atrocities, and which permit the investigation and analysis of dark heritage tourism from both the management and visitor perspectives. The expanded servicescape conceptualisation posits that a servicescape represents a consumption setting defined by the physical plus three other key dimensions: (1) the social (i.e. human), (2) socially-symbolic, and (3) natural dimensions that each affects both the producers and consumers in the service setting. The chapter continues with a discussion focused on the conceptualisation of each of the four perceived servicescape dimensions as applied to dark heritage contexts, on the basis of which the second part of the conceptual model is constructed. This second part of the conceptual model illustrating the management of the perceived expanded servicescape takes account of the inherent characteristics of dark heritage tourism sites related to the history of the Holocaust and other Nazi Germany atrocities.

Finally, by bringing together the continuum of tourist motivations for visiting dark heritage tourism sites and the four dimensions of the expanded servicescape that are being conserved delivered and interpreted by site managers, the discussion fuses the visitor and management perspectives, presenting the potential offered by the application of the expanded servicescape management framework for revealing the scope, nature and management challenges inherent in the presentation, delivery and consumption of dark heritage. This conceptual territory is captured by the central part of the conceptual model (section 2.4). The chapter ends with concluding remarks

related to the entire theoretical framework upon which the research study is based and from which the conceptual model that will guide the empirical research has emerged.

2.2 Dark Tourism

This section begins with a review of the definition, scope and parameters of dark tourism. This is followed by a discussion of the analytical frameworks used in the dark tourism literature as well as the literature focused on visitors' motivations and sought benefits associated with the visitation of dark heritage tourism sites.

2.2.1 Definition, Scope and Parameters of Dark Tourism

Despite the long history and increasing contemporary evidence of humanity's interest in sites associated with death, disaster, suffering and tragedy (Stone, 2005), it is only within the last 20 years that dark tourism has emerged as a field of academic study (Stone, 2013; Foley and Lennon, 1996a, 1996b; Stone, 2006; Ryan and Kohli, 2006; Sharpley and Stone, 2009; Jamal and Lelo, 2011) and media attention (Lennon, 2010; Seaton and Lennon, 2004). A basic internet search for 'dark tourism' produced four million hits in December 2016 (Light, 2017, p.276), with results including a wide range of sources, from themed holidays offering dark attractions and experiences, to guides, blogs and commentaries about dark tourism, as well as encyclopaedia entries.

There is general agreement that, for all the increasing academic interest in this subject for the past two decades, including the establishing of *The Institute for Dark Tourism Research* at University of Central Lancashire (UCLAN) in 2012, dark tourism remains theoretically fragile, poorly conceptualised (Stone and Sharpley, 2008; Jamal and Lelo, 2011; Biran and Hyde, 2013) and still in its infancy (Stone, 2013). In 2009, Seaton stated that: "*there are still many more questions than answers, and there are certainly many more still to be asked*" (Seaton, 2009, p.538; see also Sharpley and Stone, 2009a). Today, dark tourism is still awaiting maturing as an area of academic investigation and continues to present both academics and practitioners with both challenges and opportunities that require understanding and management.

A review of the academic literature attributes the introduction of the term *dark tourism* to the academic discourse to Foley and Lennon (1996). In the themed edition of the *International Journal of Heritage Studies* the two authors published their study which

focused on the examination of the presentation and interpretation of places associated with death, specifically sites linked to the death of President Kennedy. Since then, this prolific academic partnership continued to make significant contributions to the propagation of dark tourism for academic scrutiny, not least through their widely cited book *Dark Tourism: The Attraction of Death and Disaster* (Lennon and Foley, 2000).

There is a lack of agreement on a universal definition of dark tourism, with various authors promoting their own definition and interpretation of dark tourism. Foley and Lennon (1996a, p.198) first used the term “*tragic*” tourism and explained it as “*the presentation and consumption (by visitors) of real and commodified death and disaster sites*” and have since continued their identification of dark tourism as visitation to sites associated with death, disaster and atrocity that have taken place within living memory (Lennon and Foley, 2000). Explaining it from a postmodern perspective “*due to its emphasis on spectacle and reproduction*” (Light, 2017, p.278), Lennon and Foley (1999; 2000) understood dark tourism as a form of mass tourism among mostly Western tourists (Light, 2017, p.279). Coinciding chronologically with Foley and Lennon’s (1996a; 1996b) achievement of bringing dark tourism into the scholastic limelight, Seaton (1996, p.240) brings *thanatourism* to centre stage, defining it as “*travel to a location 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 death are its focal objects*”. This exclusive focus on death renders thanatourism a narrower scope than dark tourism (Light, 2017, p.278) and clearly links thanatourism to tourism motivation (thanatouristic motivation). Portrayed as “*a widespread and old established motivation, though one which has previously eluded the literature of motivation*” (Seaton, 1999, p.131), thanatourism is claimed to evoke “*feelings for the particular people who have died (personal, nationalistic, or humanitarian)*” (Seaton, 1996, p.243).

However, from the early definitions put forward by Lennon and Foley (1996; 2000) and Seaton (1996; 1999), the academic literature has been populated with many other definitions for dark tourism and thanatourism which have emerged over time, and which demonstrate the fluidity of both concepts (depending on the investigatory focus), as well as the identified closely related scope of both dark tourism and

thanatourism to heritage tourism. Table 2.1 presents a selection of the definitions of dark tourism and thanatourism found in the academic literature (Light, 2017).

Table 2.1 Definitions of Dark Tourism and Thanatourism (Light, 2017, p.282)

Definition	Author(s)
Dark tourism: <i>“the visitation to any sites associated with death, disaster and tragedy in the twentieth century for remembrance, education or entertainment”</i>	Foley and Lennon (1997, p. 155)
Dark tourism: <i>“visitations to places where tragedies or historically noteworthy death has occurred and that continue to impact our lives”</i>	Tarlow (2005, p.48)
Dark tourism: <i>“travel to sites associated with death, disaster, acts of violence, tragedy, scenes of death and crimes against humanity”</i>	Preece and Price (2005, p.192)
Dark tourism: <i>“the act of travel to sites associated with death, suffering and the seemingly macabre”</i>	Stone (2006, p.146)
Dark tourism: <i>“the presentation and consumption (by visitors) of real and commodified death and disaster sites”</i>	Foley and Lennon (1996a, p.198)
Thanatourism: <i>“tourism to globally recognised places of commemoration”</i>	Knudsen (2011, p.57)
<i>“Dark tourism...is where the tourist's experience is essentially composed of ‘dark’ emotions such as pain, death, horror or sadness...”</i>	Ashworth (2008, p.234)
Thanatourism: <i>“heritage staged around attractions and sites associated with death, acts of violence, scenes of disaster and crimes against humanity”</i>	Dann and Seaton (2001, p.24)

From the definitions presented in Table 2.1 it is Tarlow’s (2005, p.48) that is particularly useful, in that he defines dark tourism as *“visitations to places where tragedies or historically noteworthy death has occurred and that continue to impact our lives”* takes cognisance of people’s motives for travelling to dark sites, as well as of the potential impacts of such dark encounters, for both individual and society. For Tarlow (2005) Europe, as a continent filled with evidence of bloody wars, mass graves and sacred spaces celebrating the dead, is a model of dark tourism. Tarlow accepts the

interchangeable, alternative term of thanatourism, pointing also to the nature of the events it refers to, “*which are more than just tragedies in history, but rather touch our lives not merely from the emotional perspective but also impact our politics and social policies*” (Tarlow, 2005, p.49).

Table 2.1 highlights the increasingly unclear boundaries between dark tourism and thanatourism, (since their initially formulations), thus justifying many authors’ employing of the two concepts and terms interchangeably. Additionally, the table shows the various definitions attached to dark tourism and thanatourism as having areas of commonality with heritage tourism (Dann and Seaton, 2001; Knusden, 2011; Preece and Price, 2005). Indeed, the review of the academic literature reveals many scholars closely aligning dark tourism and thanatourism alongside heritage tourism in an attempt to fully capture their complex nature and impact upon visitors and society. For example, the link between sites of death, genocide and suffering and heritage sites is well encapsulated by the notion of “*atrocious heritage*” (Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996, p.26) or “*heritage that hurts*” (Uzzell and Ballantyne, 1998, p.152), “*heritage of atrocity*” (Ashworth, 1996, p.13), or “*difficult heritage*” (Logan and Reeves, 2009; Knusden, 2011) or simply put, “*places of pain and shame*” (Logan and Reeves, 2009, p3). Sites associated with the Nazi period and Fascism material was referred to as “*undesirable heritage, that is, a heritage that the majority of the population would prefer not to have...*” (Macdonald, 2006, p.9). They are what represents “*sites of conscience*” which seek to prevent the erasure of the past “*in order to ensure a more just and humane future*” (International Coalition of Sites of Conscience, 2013).

While it is important to highlight the various definitions of dark tourism (and thanatourism) that have been advanced over the last two decades or so, and the continuing effort towards reaching full agreement for a universally accepted definition, this study accepts Biran and Hyde’s (2013) guidance for adopting Stone’s (2006; 2013) definition of dark tourism, due to its recognised more flexible and encompassing potential and principal focus on linking the ideas of death and tourism. Thus, this study adopts the definition of dark tourism as “*the act of travel to sites of death, disaster or the seemingly macabre*” (Stone, 2006, p.146; 2013, p.307). This wider, more flexible definition allows for the multi-faceted nature and complexity of dark tourism, while simultaneously rendering potential for its exploration through a variety of new, innovative frameworks that criss-cross traditional disciplinary borders

(Stone, 2011a) and allows for an integrated tourism and business management perspective (Biran and Hyde, 2013). The inter - disciplinary approach presents the potential to investigate the complex and diverse relationships between the supply and demand of dark heritage tourism encounters, the multitude of ways of presenting and consuming death and the painful past, as well as the subjective and diverse nature of visitor experiences, within which education, memorialisation and commemoration continue to feature significantly (Stone and Sharpley, 2008; Stone, 2012). This study does adopt the inter-disciplinary lens, placing it at the confluence of dark tourism and (services) marketing management. Through the application of a services management framework, the expanded servicescape model, the field of dark heritage tourism, in particular the sites *of* and *associated with* the Holocaust and other Nazi Germany atrocities were investigated and evaluated.

2.2.2 Analytical Frameworks Used in Dark Tourism: Supply, Demand and Integrated Supply-Demand Perspectives

A review of the dark tourism literature reveals three different and often contradictory approaches that have been used for the analysis of dark tourism: (1) the supply perspective; (2) the demand perspective and (3) the more holistic supply-demand perspective, which allows for the examination of both the supply and demand sides (Biran and Hyde, 2013; Biran et al, 2011).

The supply perspective, often regarded as the starting point for the understanding of dark tourism, is the most prolific one (Seaton and Lennon, 2004; Stone and Sharpley, 2008). Its focus is on site attributes, with the tendency to define and classify “*dark tourism manifestations*” (Biran and Hyde, 2013, p.192), thus producing detailed descriptive accounts of diverse and varied dark sites of death and tragedy (Sharpley, 2005; 2009a). Placed within the supply perspective, Miles’s (2002, p.1175) study makes the distinction between “*sites associated with death, disaster and depravity and sites of death, disaster and depravity*”, while also drawing attention to the temporal and spatial distance from the original events, and constructing a “*dark-to-darker*” tourism paradigm whereby sites *associated with* death belong to the dark end of the spectrum, while sites *of* death belong to the darker end. Lennon and Foley (2000), in a similar vein, distinguish between “*raw*” and “*cooked*” events linked to dark sites, thus confirming the importance placed upon the chronological distance from the original (raw) events. Stone’s (2006) dark tourism spectrum framework is widely cited

within this academic tradition, being frequently used to classify sites along a continuum of shades of dark, from the lightest (sites *associated with* death and suffering) to the darkest (sites *of* death and suffering). Stone's (2006) six shades of dark tourism depend on a number of distinguishing characteristics which dictate the intensity of darkness (whether darkest, darker, dark, light, lighter or lightest). These characteristics allow for the extremes of the spectrum to emerge based on binary evaluations, and include: (1) the orientation of the site (from education to entertainment); (2) site's key central purpose (from historic to heritage); (3) site's perceived authenticity (from being perceived as authentic through the product interpretation, to being perceived inauthentic through product interpretation); (4) site's degree of location or non-location authenticity; (5) site's chronological distance from the event (from shorter to longer time scale from the event); (6) site's type of supply evidenced (from non-purposeful to purposeful); (7) site's type of underpinning tourism infrastructure (from lower tourism infrastructure to higher tourism infrastructure). Stone's (2006) dark tourism spectrum distinguishes between *the darkest sites*, which are sites *of* death and suffering, characterised by higher political influence and ideology, and *the lightest sites*, which are sites *associated with* death and suffering, and are characterised by lower political influence and ideology (Stone, 2006, p. 151).

Although popular with academics and practitioners alike, the analysis of dark tourism sites through the lens of supply only, exposes the field to the danger of "*dilution and fuzziness...as it arbitrarily combines markedly diverse visitor experiences*" (Biran and Hyde, 2013, p.192 citing Sharpley, 2009b). Moreover, it pays little attention to people's variety of: motives for visiting dark sites (Seaton, 1996); perceptions of the site (Biran et al, 2011); sought benefits (Biran et al, 2011; Kang et al, 2012) and very personal, unique- to- the- individual nature of visitor experiences (Sharpley and Stone, 2011).

The demand perspective focuses on tourist's motivation for visiting dark sites (Stone and Sharpley, 2008; Hyde and Harman, 2011). Seaton's (1996) thanatopic framework features strongly in this body of work, promoting the view that thanatourism or dark tourism is not an absolute form, rather a "*continuum of intensity*", defined by tourists' motives that can be "*wholly or partially motivated by the desire for actual or symbolic encounters with death*" (Seaton, 1996, p.240). Seaton (1999, p.131) identifies five

broad categories of thanatouristic behaviour, three of which are directly relevant to the scope of this study: (1) travel to sites of mass or individual deaths, after they have occurred (this being the most common form of thanatouristic behaviour, within which travel to atrocity sites, such as Auschwitz, is often cited); (2) travel to internment sites of, and memorials to the dead (including travel to graveyards and war memorials), (3) travel to view the material evidence, or symbolic representations of particular deaths, in locations unconnected with their occurrence (for example travel to the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe in Berlin, one of the sites included in this study). Given the scope of this study, inclusive of concentration and death camps, the first and second category can be merged into one and referred to as travel to sites of mass or individual deaths (even genocide) inclusive of graveyards and war memorials. The third category is of relevance too, as already indicated. So far, the adoption of Seaton's (1996; 1999) demand perspective seems to harbour the hidden assumption that the presence of tourists at death-related sites is linked to at least some degree of thanatouristic motives (Slade, 2003), albeit in the form of *"feelings for the particular people who have died (personal, nationalistic, or humanitarian)"* (Seaton, 1996, p.243).

However, Raine (2013) proposed a demand led typology of dark tourism consumers/tourists, similar to the supply-led dark tourism spectrum conceived by Stone (2006). Rainer's (2013) *"Dark Tourist Spectrum"* proposes nine shades (from *"darkest"* to *"lightest"*) by which to classify tourists visiting burial grounds according to their motivations for the visit. Among the visitors' reasons for visitation, Raine (2013, p.252) identifies *"sightseeing"* as a motive for visitation, and classifies *"sightseers"* as *"light"* dark tourists, drawn to dark sites as a result of the promotional tourist information which often highlights such sites as a *"must see"*. This type of motivation coincides with the argument that *"dark tourism often occurs as a form of derived demand (i.e. people can visit a site as a set of possibilities in which a visit to the dark tourism site was not pre-planned)"*; *"a day out or a random stop"* (Isaac and Cakmak, 2013, p.11).

Re-enforcing the same argument, Butler and Suntikul (2013, p.4) state: *"the misconception that tourist visitation to war sites is an aspect of thanatourism, or dark tourism, which implies a ghoulish fascination with death and evil, is often, perhaps mainly, far from accurate"*. The absence of a preoccupation with death per se in

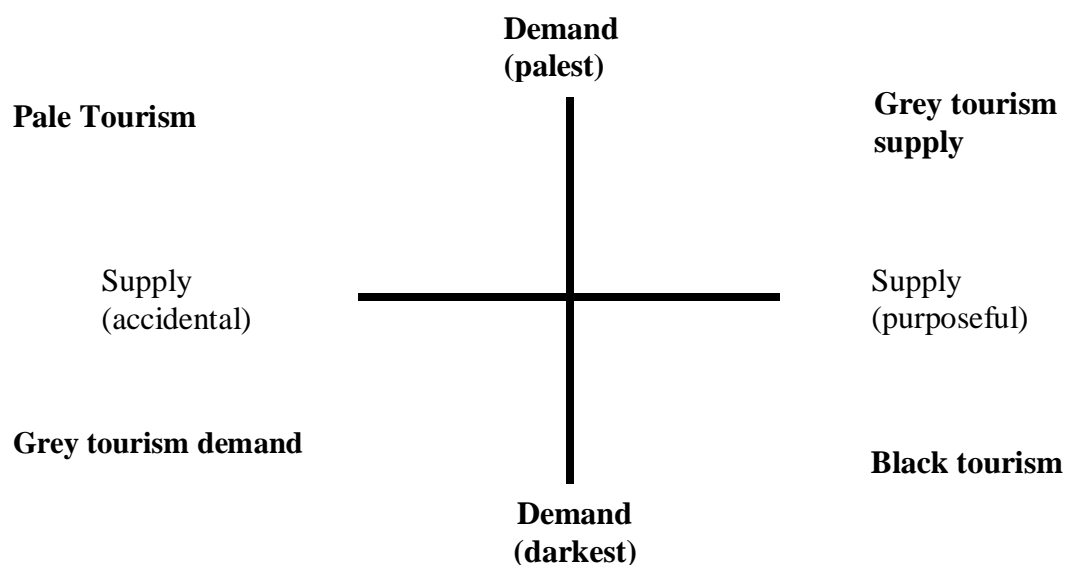
relation to visitor motivation is also highlighted by Tarlow (2005), who cites curiosity, nostalgia and pilgrimage as the main motives for visitation, thus highlighting the niche appeal of dark tourism sites. More interestingly, the literature presents a considerable variety of other motives for visits to dark sites including: seeking a “*collective sense of identity or survival in the face of violent disruptions of collective life routines*” (Rojek, 1997, p.61); a pursuit for “*a reflexive or restorative nostalgia*” (Tarlow, 2005, p.49); a sense of personal duty and “*internal obligation*” (Kang et al, 2012); “*actively seeking to be part of a larger history*” (Knusden, 2011, p.56) and wanting to “*relate to the difficult past and not least to its victims*” (Knusden, 2011, p.69).

Cheal and Griffin’s (2013) research revealed a wider context within the demand perspective, going beyond the notion of tourist motivation (Biran and Hyde, 2013), analysing visitors’ entire tourist experience, pre, during and post visit and reporting on visitors’ deeply “*memorable and transformative*” experiences, charged with simultaneous “*deep personal and communal meaning*”, patriotism and national pride, while gaining a “*holistic understanding of one’s nation’s less known history and dissonant heritage*” (Cheal and Griffin, 2013, p.238). From the range of dark tourism contexts considered and the nature of both visitor’s personal motives and personal experience and their encounters with death, the literature so far points to the limitations of both supply and demand perspectives, in terms of dark experiences not being pre-motivated nor purposely supplied. Thus, “*simply exploring a site’s attributes or a tourist’s motives might provide only a limited understanding of the dark tourism phenomena*” (Biran and Hyde, 2013, p.194). Both the supply and demand focused perspectives are somewhat myopic and unable to reconcile the heterogeneity of both dark tourism supply and demand.

The integrated supply-demand perspective is of a more recent vintage, and aims to address the conjunction between supply and demand. A singular focus on either site’s attributes or tourist’ motivation for visitation of dark sites appears to be a myopic approach, allowing room for criticism, particularly as “*any dark tourism site may be consumed in different ways by different tourists*” (Sharpley, 2009b, p.19). A wider, more holistic approach that takes into consideration both the supply characteristics and visitors’ perceptions of, motives for and experiences at dark tourism sites along with the individual subjective nature of each of these appears to be required. The dual focus delivered by the integration of supply and demand proposes the analysis of dark

tourism as a multi-layered holistic phenomenon that tends to reveal itself through complex sitescapes of diverse characteristics (supply perspective) and visitor segments, each with their own set of motives, perceptions and experiences at both individual and group levels (demand perspective), which together form a wide and deep spectrum of production-consumption processes. Sharpley's (2005) conceptualisation of an integrated framework that captures both such supply and demand characteristics, proposes a "*continuum of purpose*" of supply of dark tourism attractions or experiences which can range from "*accidental*" supply (represented by places that have become tourist attractions 'by accident') to supply that is directly intended to deliver to people's thanatouristic motives (in other words "*purposeful*" supply, thus allowing for a matrix of demand and supply to emerge (Sharpley, 2009b, p.19). Figure 2.1 below offers an illustration of Sharpley' (2009b, p.19) matrix of dark tourism demand and supply.

Figure 2.1 Matrix of Dark Tourism Demand and Supply (Sharpley, 2009b, p.19)



The matrix proposed by Sharpley (2009b) allows the measurement of dark tourism encounters depending on the extent of both visitors' degree of fascination with death (as a dominant consumption factor) and the degree to which the supply is purposefully directed at satisfying this fascination (Sharpley, 2009b, p.19-20). Consequently, Sharpley's (2009b, p.19) conceptual framework allows for four 'shades of dark

tourism to emerge: (1) pale tourism (tourists with no/limited interest in death visiting dark sites unintended to be dark tourist attractions); (2) grey tourism demand (tourists with an interest in or fascination with death visiting sites unintended to be dark tourist attractions); (3) grey tourism supply (sites intentionally established to exploit death but attracting visitors with no/some degree of interest in or fascination with death); (4) black tourism (also called “pure” dark tourism, where visitors’ interest in and fascination with death is satisfied by the purposeful supply of dark experiences).

Other studies have complemented Sharpley’s (2009b) integrated demand-supply framework, pointing to the fact that tourists’ experiences at dark sites (the demand perspective) are complex and multifaceted, influenced by various factors including culture, time, the nature of the setting of the physical site, and whether the dark site is a result of a natural or a man-made disaster. Ryan and Kohli’s (2006) study showed how visitors at a site (re)presenting death and disaster are simultaneously presented with excavations that present the past in the natural destruction as well as the rural and natural setting (Ryan and Kholi, 2006, p.225), making it possible, for visitors to encounter a peaceful, serene experience, in spite of the site belonging to the purposeful dark supply. Thus, Ryan and Kholi (2006) argue that shades of light and dark can co-exist even within the same site.

An important dimension within the integrated supply-demand perspective is represented by a body of work where the range of motives for visitation of dark tourism sites are more akin to those found in mainstream heritage tourism studies (Biran and Hyde, 2013), as illustrated in Table 2.2 below:

Table 2.2 Summary of Visitors’ Motives for Visiting Dark Tourism Sites Similar to Those for Heritage Tourism Visitation

Examples of visitors’ motives for visiting dark tourism sites	Evidenced in:
a sense of pilgrimage; obligation	Winter (2011)
profound heritage experiences	Biran et al (2011)
because it is a ‘must see’ site	Hughes (2008)
not interested in death itself	Slade (2003)
a desire for an educational or emotional experience and to connect to one’s own heritage	Biran et al (2011)

educational interest, curiosity and empathy with the victims	Simone- Charteris et al (2013)
desire to maintain own identity by connecting to own heritage and “seeing themselves”	Golden (1996)
identity formation and construction	Buzinde and Santos (2008)
pilgrimage, remembrance and special interest	Dunkley et al (2011)
seeking an authentic experience	Apostolakis (2003)
desire for emotional involvement	Poria et al (2006)
wanting to connect with own culture	Mowatt and Chancellor (2011)
self-understanding; curiosity; conscience; to experience a ‘must see place’; exclusiveness	Isaac and Cakmac (2013)

The integrated supply-demand conceptualisation provides a useful framework for the investigation of tourists’ encounters with sites that display dark attributes, but who may possess non-dark motives and consequently may engage in non-dark experiences (Biran et al, 2011; Smith and Croy, 2005). Memorial sites linked to the events of the Holocaust and Nazi Germany atrocities are in essence dark tourism sites. They belong to a common dark human heritage, as they represent death, genocide, and human suffering inflicted upon millions of people by other fellow human beings. At the same time these heritage sites are also immensely popular, being visited by millions of people every year. The first key characteristic of these heritage sites is their heterogeneity expressed in terms of: (a) each site’s own attributes and unique history (although related to the same period in European history); (b) diversity of visitors attracted to the site (in terms of geo-demographic, cultural and political profile as well as range of motives for visitation). The second important characteristic is the diversity of dark heritage encounters (on-site experience) generated at each site, reflecting the heritage production and consumption processes, in turn imbued by the interactions between the visitor(s) and the site’s own attributes and resources (Biran et al, 2011; Poria et al, 2009; Apostolakis, 2003).

2.2.3 Visitor Motivations and Sought Benefits at Dark Heritage Sites

Focusing on the heterogeneity of non-dark personal motivations for visiting dark heritage sites, and considering the variety of personal and symbolic meanings that

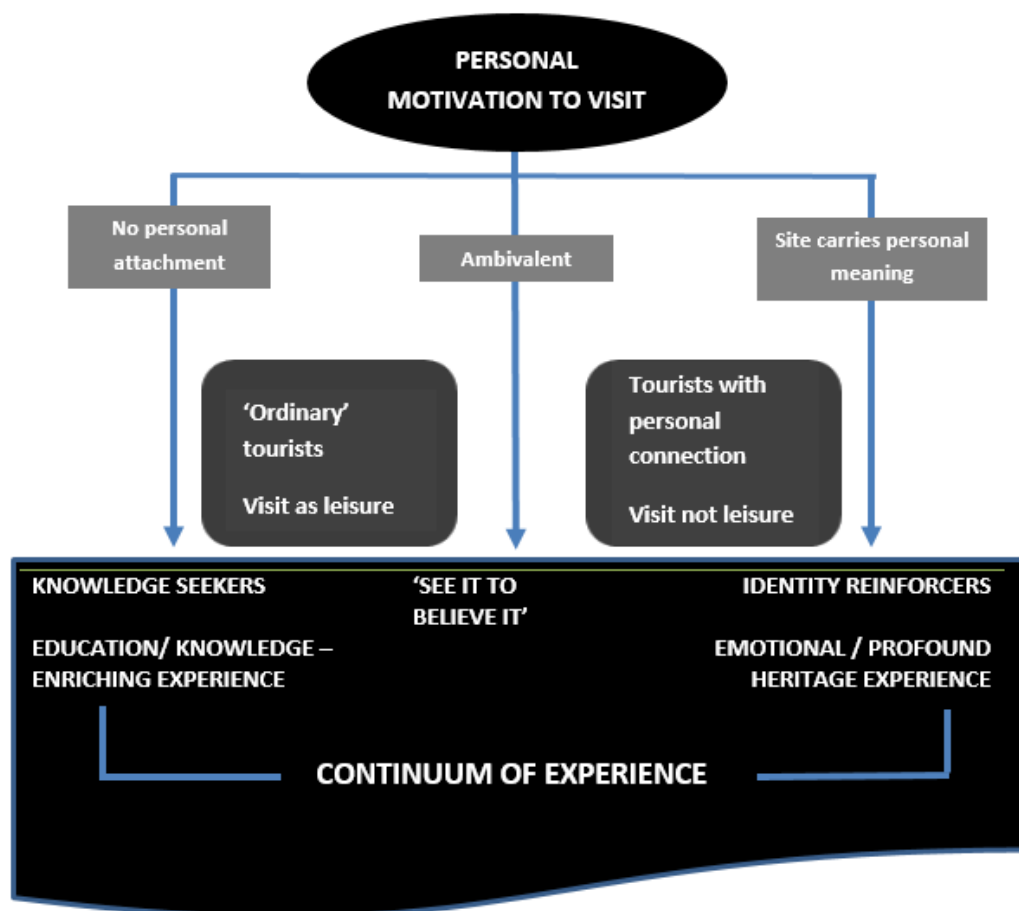
tourists attach to such sites (derived from their multi-functional character), Biran et al (2011) proposes an experiential framework emerging from visitors' non-dark motivations, their perceptions associated with the site and the benefits sought. Biran's et al (2011) study found that visitors to sensitive heritage sites belong to three main categories, each with differing motivations, perceptions and sought benefits. *The first category* are visitors with personal connections to the site, for whom the site carries personal meaning, and who perceive the site as personal heritage. These visitors tend to display great interest in a deep emotional experience and in feeling connected to their own heritage (Biran et al, 2011, p.837); for them the visit is not seen as leisure (Biran et al, 2011, p.837). Such visitors seek to engage in a "*profound heritage experience*" (Biran et al, 2011, p.837; also Slade, 2003) and to connect to and experience their own heritage. These visitors match the category of "*identity reinforcers*" found at mainstream heritage attractions (Biran et al, 2011, p.837; Prentice and Anderson, 2007), and are interested in "*maintaining their pre-existing identity, feeling connected and experiencing their own heritage*" (Biran et al, 2011, p.837). *The second category* is represented by tourists, or "ordinary" tourists (Muzaini et al, 2007, p.29), those who do not have any personal attachment or connection to the site and are primarily seeking education and knowledge. These visitors tend to regard the visit as leisure (Biran et al, 2011). This category matches the "*knowledge seekers*" (Biran et al, 2011, p. 837) found at mainstream heritage sites, predominantly interested in education (Timothy and Boyd, 2003) and in a knowledge – enriching experience, rather than an emotional one (Biran et al, 2011, p.837; Prentice and Anderson, 2007). *The third category* includes the "*ambivalent*" tourists (Biran et al 2011, p.837), displaying some similar characteristics as the second category, but tend to visit the site to "*see it to believe it*" and because it is "*a must see*" site (Hughes, 2008). In agreement with Biran et al (2011), Isaac and Cakmak's (2013) empirically tested study revealed a similar categorisation, reflecting visitors' motives for visitation as whether the site is: (1) part of his/her own heritage (the experience is of a heritage nature); (2) a knowledge and enriching place (the experience is of an educational nature); (3) a must-see place (the experience is of a tourist nature).

The particular framework proposed by Biran et al (2011) and subsequently tested empirically and confirmed by Issac and Cakmac (2013) represents the starting point of the conceptual framework for this study, emphasising both the key characteristics

of dark heritage encounters: their heterogeneity (linked to different audiences, their differing motivations, perceptions and sought benefits) and their interactive nature (born from the interactive process between visitor and site's own attributes and resources that reflect and communicate the history on display). For dark heritage sites to be able to render their full mandate and to facilitate various audiences with value laden encounters, managers need to understand the full spectrum of visitor motivations, perceptions and sought benefits. While on the surface it may appear that Biran et al (2011) point to a rigid delimitation of various categories of visitors (along with their primary motivations, perceptions and sought benefits), when examined carefully, their study points to the importance of facilitating a holistic experience that delivers and integrates both cognition and emotion. Similarly empirical studies focused on other heritage sites indicate the importance of "*offering more than a heritage experience alone*", where management are guided to offering different "*tracks*" matching visitors' own interests (Poria et al, 2004, p.17).

Placing the focus of investigation on dark heritage tourism sites related to the events of the Holocaust and Nazi Germany atrocities, Fig.2.2 illustrates the first part of the conceptual model developed for this study. Having already accepted the heterogeneous nature of dark heritage tourism encounters, as directly reflective of and dependent on the visitors' motivations and interactive processes between visitors *and* the site's own attributes and resources (Biran et al, 2011; Poria et al, 2004), this part of the conceptual model proposes a potential continuum of experience at dark heritage sites and one which recognises the need for an ethically managed cognition – emotion nexus (Magee and Gilmore, 2015, p.902; Biran et al, 2011).

Figure 2.2 Continuum of Experience at Dark Heritage Tourism Sites (Magee and Gilmore, 2015, p.902)



2.2.4 Summary of Dark Tourism

This section provided an overview of the complex study domain occupied by dark tourism. By comparing and contrasting the multiple definitions attributed to both dark tourism and thanatourism by various scholars, the discussion highlighted the increasingly unclear boundaries between dark tourism and thanatourism and consequent adoption and use of the two terms interchangeably. The discussion stated the adopted definition of dark tourism as being “*the act of travel to sites of death, disaster or the seemingly macabre*” (Stone, 2006, p.146; 2013, p.307). Such wider, more flexible definition of dark tourism was chosen for its capacity to accommodate the multi-faceted nature and complexity of the dark tourism phenomena along with its exploration through a variety of new and innovative inter-disciplinary frameworks (Stone, 2011a) such as that adopted herein, which does integrate the tourism and business management perspectives as suggested by Biran and Hyde (2013).

Additionally, the discussion highlighted the various definitions attached to dark tourism and thanatourism as having areas of commonality with heritage tourism (Knusden, 2011; Preece and Price, 2005; Dann and Seaton, 2001). The review of the dark tourism literature did reveal many scholars' close alignment of dark tourism and thanatourism alongside heritage tourism, in terms of both the complex nature and impact upon visitors and society that dark tourism (and thanatourism) demonstrate(s).

The section also presented the three analytical (supply; demand and integrated supply-demand) frameworks used in the detailed examination of dark tourism. The discussion determined that it is the integrated supply-demand perspective that provides for the holistic understanding of the complex and multi-faceted phenomena that take place at dark heritage tourism sites, from both the management and visitors' perspective.

The section concludes by putting forward the first part of the proposed conceptual model for the entire research herein. This specific conceptual part advances the heterogeneous nature of dark heritage tourism encounters (dependent on visitors' diverse profiles *and* the site's own unique attributes and resources) and proposes a potential continuum of experience at dark heritage sites, thus a holistic dark heritage tourism encounter underpinned by an ethically managed cognition–emotion nexus (Magee and Gilmore, 2015, p.902; Biran et al, 2011).

2.3 Servicescape Management

Visitors at dark heritage sites spend extended periods of time in the physical surroundings of the memorial and/or museum setting and the associated exhibition(s). During this time, visitors become immersed in the physical (and natural) surroundings and the other tangible evidence which is by nature visual, its examination being based on sensory perception. Ultimately, visitors seek to make sense of the history encountered in terms of the material substance presented, the events and people associated with it and the meaning each carry. The material substance, whether authentic or not, can only speak if it is made comprehensible to a public that does not have the expertise or direct historical experience to otherwise decipher it (Knigge, 2010). The view that a site's historical remnants do not speak for themselves but first must be made legible through explanatory labelling and most often through historical exhibitions, is widely accepted by academics and industry practitioners in this field (Perz, 2013). The communication and interpretation of the historical remnants, events

and people in the roles that they had, require a diverse and increasingly sophisticated repertoire of methods and techniques. It is this unique setting, where sensitive historical events are (re)presented, where visitors encounter and interact with the physical, natural and/or man-made surroundings and their objects (historical evidence and visitor facilities), site employees and other visitors, that defines the experience and thus the experiential nature of sensitive heritage sites.

2.3.1 Servicescape

Bitner (1992) introduced the term “*servicescape*” to delineate “*a physical setting in which a marketplace exchange is performed, delivered and consumed within a service organisation*” (Rosenbaum and Massiah, 2011, p.471; Zeithaml et al, 2009). The servicescape conceptualisation seeks to aid the exploration of the impact of the physical environment in service settings. It was proposed as a “*rich framework*” (Bitner, 1992, p.59) fit to examine the multiple strategic roles that physical surroundings exert in a service consumption setting (Bitner, 1992, p.57).

Human behaviour is influenced by the physical setting in which it occurs (Bitner, 1992, p.59). Other studies have also recognised the importance of the built environment (Wakefield and Blodgett, 1994) upon participants’ behaviour in service settings (Booms and Bitner, 1982; Shostack, 1977; Zeithaml et al, 1985). Furthermore, within a consumption setting or servicescape as termed by Bitner (1992), the physical elements can trigger internal cognitive, emotional, and physiological responses in both customers and employees (Bitner, 1999). Those internal responses in turn, influence the individual behaviour of customers and employees in the servicescape as well as affecting the social interactions between and among customers and employees; the resultant individual behaviour of customers and employees can be one of approach or avoidance (Bitner, 1982; Mari and Poggesi, 2013). Thus, the servicescape framework allows for the explanation of “*what* behaviours are influenced, or *why*, or *how*” an environment can be planned and designed in order to achieve particular objectives (Bitner, 1992, p. 59).

Critically, Bitner’s (1992, p.65) main assertion in relation to the influence exerted by the environmental features upon people’s internal responses and behaviours is based on her acceptance of the environmental psychology perspective which predicates that “*people respond to their environments holistically*”. In other words, although

individuals perceive discrete components and stimuli comprising the environment, it is their “*total configuration*” and “*holistic pattern of interdependent stimuli*” that shape their responses to the environment, thus determining the perceived servicescape construct (Bitner, 1992, p.65; Bell et al, 1978). Conceptualising dark heritage sites as servicescapes where visitors encounter the difficult history connected to the Holocaust and other Nazi Germany atrocities allows for the investigation and analysis of dark heritage tourism from both the management and visitor perspectives. The identification and evaluation of the dark heritage servicescape components as well as of the key cognitive, emotional and physiological processes that delineate the production and consumption of dark heritage tourism, present significant management potential for a clear illumination of both the anatomy of the holistic visitor encounter at dark heritage sites and its attached challenges.

The physical environmental elements that constitute the servicescape, as identified by Bitner (1992) to be impacting upon both customers and employees’ behaviour are: ambient conditions, spatial layout/functionality and signs, symbols and artefacts. Ambient conditions, for instance temperature, air quality, noise, music, visual qualities like colour, shape and cleanliness are generally most obvious and the easiest to identify environmental factors and include refer to observable stimuli (Bitner, 1992). Importantly, according to Bitner (1992) the effects of ambient conditions upon the overall, holistic perception of the servicescape, are especially noticeable when they are extreme and when the participants spend extended periods of time in the servicescape. Such examples can include extremes of temperature, or the ‘audible’ silence that certain open-air environments and topography present (large expanses of terrain, usually in rural settings where former concentration camps are situated), as well as the impact of voice technologies used in certain consumption settings (for example museum exhibitions).

Space and functionality refers to how the layout and functionality of the physical surroundings contribute to the consumption setting. It has been demonstrated that equipment and furnishings do influence the consumption experience (Harris and Ezeh, 2008), however it is Bitner (1992) who clearly points to the ability of the objects found in the environment along with their size, shape and spatial arrangement and relationships among them to facilitate performance and the accomplishment of goals. Of particular interest to this research is Bitner’s (1992) acknowledgement that spatial

layout and functionality are particularly “*salient*” in environments where consumers are expected to perform tasks on their own without any direct input from the service personnel, as well as when the participants are under time pressure (for example when the area to be toured is very large and visitors decide to only concentrate on certain elements of the visited site and/or museum servicescape).

The dimension of signs, symbols and artefacts includes a combination of what can be described as “*explicit communicators*” (Bitner, 1992, p.66). Although explicitly of a basic yet necessary nature generally associated with giving directions and/or labelling the physical evidence, signs can carry important implicit value as in the case of communicating rules of behaviour in specifically sensitive settings (for example memorial graves or site remnants associated with the murdering and suffering of large numbers of people). Signs are therefore particularly important in facilitating consumers’ orientation around the servicescape and as cognitive cues (Bitner, 1992; Rosenbaum and Massiah, 2011; Lin, 2004; Kotler, 1973). Bitner (1992, p.66) also draws attention to other environmental objects such as the quality of materials used in constructions, artwork, floor coverings and personal objects displayed in the environment, as able to communicate symbolic value related to the nature, qualities and origin of the specific objects themselves as well as of the “*meaning of the place and norms and expectations for behaviour in the place*”. Finally, signs and symbols can be related to both the intended meaning from the marketer’s or site manager’s perspective, as well as the personal meaning constructed subjectively, by consumers (Rosenbaum 2005; Rosenbaum and Massiah, 2011; Masberg and Silverman, 1996). Moreover, the physical servicescape components form the “*substantive staging*” that Arnould et al (1998, p.90) described as a “*physical creation*” which can be managed by marketing managers, through the use of “*objects that are congruent with the narrative context*” (Chronis, 2005, p.219). Thus, Bitner’s (1992) servicescape model illustrates the multiple roles that the physical surroundings can exert in service organisations and recognises that the physical environment impacts significantly upon the visitors’ experience within the specific servicescape which houses the service delivery. Critically, such physical stimuli are objective, measurable and organisationally controllable (Rosenbaum and Massiah, 2011; Bitner, 1992).

Although Bitner’s (1992) main focus rests on the physical stimuli in the service consumption setting, she does acknowledge that both customers and employees are

affected by natural and social stimuli, both also housed within servicescapes. However, their exploration was left to future researchers.

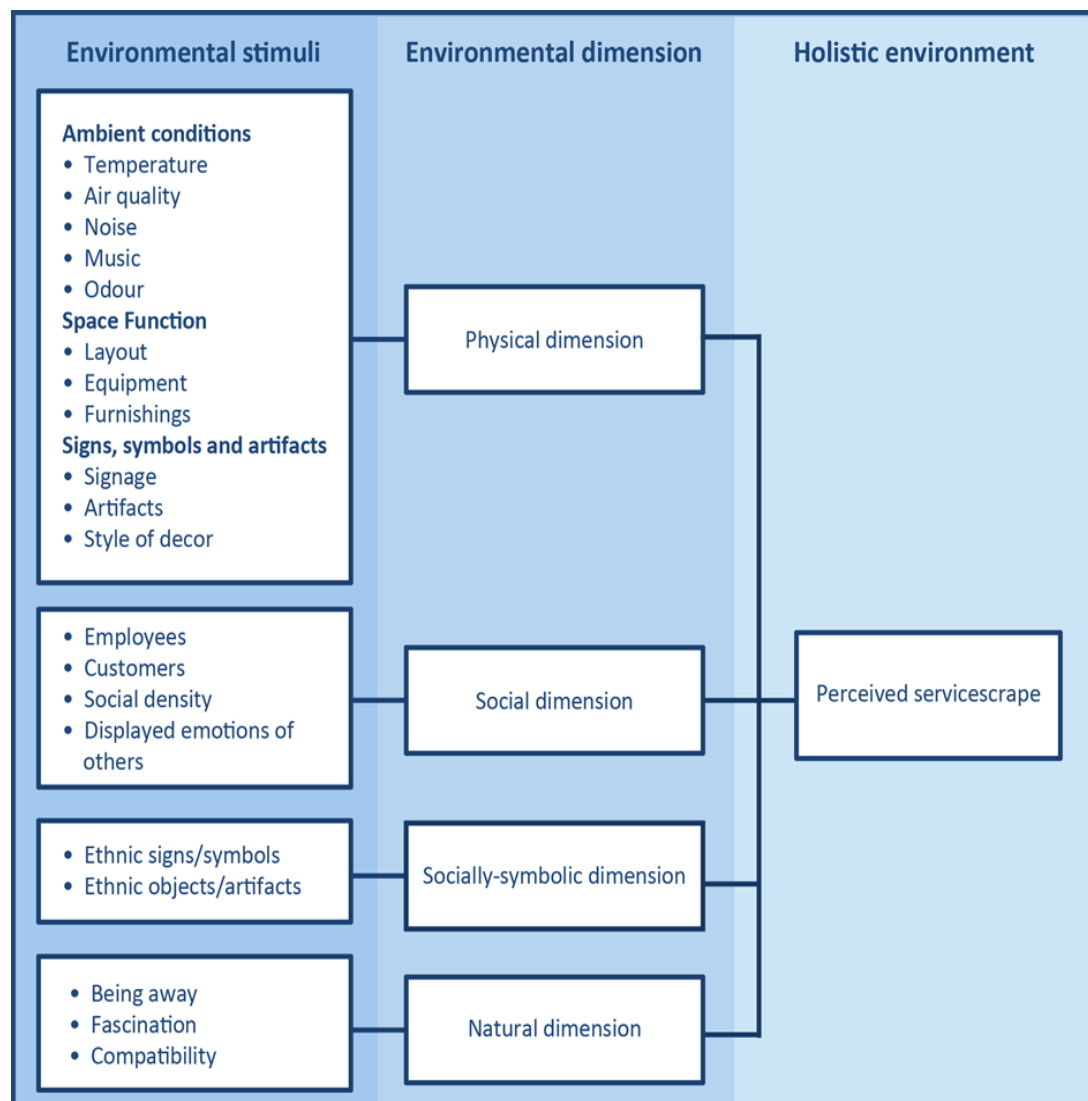
2.3.2 Expanded Servicescape

Continuing the scholarly endeavour to move the understanding of the consumption setting beyond its physical dimension and to considering the less tangible dimensions that take place during service performances (Gilmore and Carson, 1993), Rosenbaum and Massiah (2011) conceptualized an expanded servicescape framework that adopts a multi-disciplinary approach, considers the consumption setting holistically and illustrates the confluence of several environmental stimuli and their components that influence customer behaviour and social interactions (O'Dell and Billing, 2010). According to Rosenbaum and Massiah (2011, p.471) servicescapes are comprised not only by *“objective, measurable and managerially controllable stimuli but also [by] subjective, immeasurable, and often managerially uncontrollable social, symbolic, and natural stimuli”* which together exert significant influences upon customers' behaviour, decisions and actions; equally, customer responses to the social, symbolic and natural servicescape components are the *“drivers of profound person-place attachments”* (Rosenbaum and Massiah, 2011, p.471). The expanded servicescape framework augments Bitner's (1992) assumptions regarding servicescapes, seeking to facilitate researchers and managers in their efforts to understand the complexity of environmental stimuli (beyond the physical ones) and their impacts upon service participants' responses and behaviours, as well as potential *“moderators”* that may apply to the respective service setting (Rosenbaum and Massiah, 2011, p.473). Critically, the expanded servicescape brings into focus the holistic *“perceived servicescape”* (Rosenbaum and Massiah, 2011, p.473; Zeithaml et al, 2009, p.331), as being comprised of *“several different perceived servicescapes that are influenced by a customer's intention of place usage”* (Rosenbaum and Massiah, 2011, p.473).

Figure 2.3 illustrates the expanded servicescape framework advanced by Rosenbaum and Massiah (2011). It comprises four environmental dimensions: physical, social, socially symbolic and natural. While continuing to recognise the importance of the consumption setting's physical (built, manufactured) dimension, thus retaining Bitner's (1992) core thinking, the expanded servicescape conceptualisation posits that a servicescape represents a consumption setting defined by three other key dimensions: (1) the social (i.e. human), (2) socially symbolic, and (3) natural

dimensions that each affects both the producers and consumers present in the service setting. The social stimuli are regarded as significant, to the point of rendering a “*social servicescape*” (Rosenbaum and Massiah, 2011, p.475; Rosenbaum and Montoya, 2007) defined by humanistic elements and represented by other customers and employees, along with their density in the setting and expressed emotions (Rosenbaum and Massiah, 2011, p.481). In conceptualising the socially symbolic dimension, Rosenbaum and Massiah (2011), builds on Bitner’s (1992) original thinking on the “*general*” (Rosenbaum and Massiah, 2011, p.478) quality of signs, symbols and artefacts to communicate and convey meaning commonly applicable to customers within a service setting. Rosenbaum and Massiah (2011, p.478) go further and posit that service providers may “*strategically*” employ objects (signs, symbols and artefacts). The strategic value of the tangible objects used within the physical servicescape lies in their being “*laden with socio-collective meanings*” so that they can act as “*tangible intermediaries*” between the service organisation and customers’ consciousness, thus aiding the latter in drawing value from a shared social servicescape defined by the same culture and historical experiences (Rosenbaum and Massiah, 2011, p.478). The expanded servicescape concept is accepting of the view that many service encounters represent “*natural encounters*” that impact consumers, “*unequally and at a personal, psychological level*” (Rosenbaum and Massiah, 2011, p.479, citing Clarke and Schmidt, 1995). Additionally, complex servicescapes, inclusive of a significant concentration of natural stimuli may elicit narrative themes, evoking cultural scripts and meanings that transcend the bounds of the respective service encounter (Arnould et al, 1998, p.113).

Figure 2.3 A Framework for Understanding the Four Environmental Dimensions of the Servicescape (Rosenbaum and Massiah, 2011, p.473)



2.4. Servicescape Management at Dark Heritage Tourism Sites - A Conceptual Model

This part of the chapter discusses the two themes discussed in sections 2.2 and 2.3 in order to formulate a conceptual framework for this study.

“A concept map, like the theory it represents, is a picture of the territory you want to study, not of the study itself. It is a visual display of your current working theory – a picture of what you think is going on with the phenomenon you are studying” (Maxwell, 1996, p.25).

Given the heterogeneous nature of dark heritage tourism consumption as directly reflective of and dependent on the visitors' profiles, motivations and range of sought benefits (as discussed in section 2.2), as well as of the complexity of dark heritage tourism expanded servicescapes (as discussed in section 2.3), a framework to guide research was created. A conceptual model that encapsulates and builds upon the literature was used to guide the empirical research carried out in order to address the research objectives of this study.

The first (top) part of the conceptual model (originally shown in Fig 2.2.) starts with Biran et al's (2011) experiential framework centred on visitors' non-dark (akin to heritage) motivations, perceptions of and sought benefits from the visit. Biran et al (2011) posited that there are three different categories of dark heritage visitors: (1) those with a direct link to the site, who tend to perceive the visit as non-leisure, profound heritage experience; (2) those who have no direct connection to the site, and tend to perceive the visit as leisure, thus seeking education and knowledge; and (3) those visitors who are ambivalent, displaying common characteristics as the second group, and their motivation for visiting tends to be for 'see it to believe it'. Biran et al's (2011) work is aligned to the conceptualisation of dark tourism as the integration of supply and demand. Such integrated supply-demand perspective brings to the fore the range of non-dark cognitive and emotional processes that visitors do expect and seek while on-site, depending on their own 'personal agenda' (individual interests, attitudes, motivations for visiting and sought benefits) *and* each site's own attributes and resources. Thus, the first part of the conceptual model encapsulates the visitor perspective in terms of the general continuum of experience expected and sought by each visitor, according to his/her own individual profile (as illustrated in Figure 2.2).

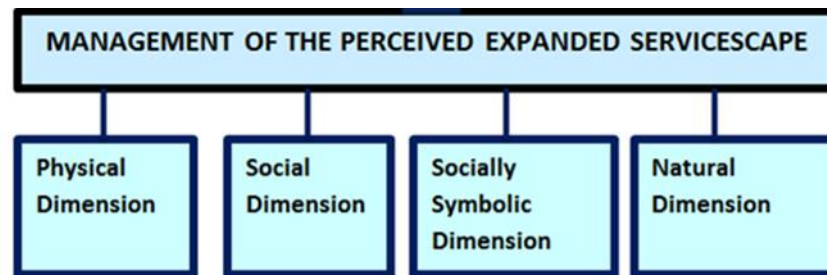
Increasingly, dark heritage sites, especially if placed at a significant chronological distance from the original events, "*will soon have to do without eye witnesses and as events recede even further into the past it will be increasingly difficult to confront young people with this subject and to communicate with them*" (Gluck, 2010, p.5). In Germany and Poland, studying history as a compulsory subject in secondary education includes learning about the period of National Socialism and WWII under the Nazi Germany regime. As part of this curriculum, at least one visit to a former concentration camp is mandatory. Most countries in Europe and elsewhere include this part of humanity's history in their school curriculum in secondary education. With the ever-

growing chronological distance from the original events, survivors' and other eye witnesses' passing and the presence of revisionism in some quarters, the challenges for dark heritage site managers has evolved. Managers now need to resolve how the new/young generation of visitors (representing the overwhelming majority of visitors at European memorial sites), born many decades after the tragedies of WWII, can engage with this unique part of humanity's history. Site managers recognise that they need to understand what type of cognitive and emotional processes they undergo when presented with sites of and associated with the death, genocide and human suffering perpetrated by Nazi Germany. On the other hand, site managers need to address how to deliver value to those who were contemporaries of the original events and whose own lives (and of their family members) were directly affected by the atrocities perpetrated.

The very nature and complexity of such a painful past defies easy packaging into neat tourism offerings set to deliver pre-set moral lessons. Allowing for the interaction between the visitor and the historical evidence, dark heritage sites (former concentration camps and museums) are complex servicescapes, which demand the objective, sensitive presentation and responsible "*hot interpretation*" (Uzzell, 1989) of the human suffering, death and genocide perpetrated: "*Without the discursive and negotiating act of interpreting meaning into history, the importance of events cannot be established*" (Lapid, 2013, p.4).

The second part of the conceptual model is adapted from Rosenbaum and Massiah's (2011) expanded servicescape and is illustrated below (Figure 2.4.). It represents the conceptualisation of dark heritage sites as managed expanded perceived servicescapes, in line with Rosenbaum and Massiah's (2011) theory.

Figure 2.4 Management of the Perceived Expanded Dark Heritage Tourism Servicescape (Rosenbaum and Massiah, 2011)



The conceptualisation of each of the four perceived servicescape dimensions as applied to dark heritage contexts is described below.

2.4.1 The Physical Expanded Servicescape Dimension

The physical dimension principally includes the tangible, easily seen, observable and measurable stimuli at dark heritage sites (memorial sites and museums) that are managed and controlled in order to enhance or constrain customer/visitor and employee actions (Zeithaml et al, 2009). The principal aim of investigating the physical servicescape dimension is to reveal the entire range and nature of the interactions among the site's tangible components, its visitors and employees and how site managers can appropriately manage these. The space and functionality are key components of the physical dimension of each dark heritage site, distinguishing between the authentic, original structures and objects (i.e. remnants of buildings, grounds, collections, archives, exhibitions, fences, access routes/ roads/ railways, equipment, etc.), those that have been scientifically and sympathetically reconstructed to obey and accurately reflect the original and those that are entirely new, without any direct connection with the original purpose of the site. In the context of dark heritage tourism visitors draw understanding and meaning from their personal engagement with the locale's space and functionality. Moreover, as explained by Roberts (2004), people gain information about their physical environment through their senses, and the senses can be a direct route to customer's emotions. The five senses are considered crucial (sight, sound, smell, taste and touch) in the design of tangible elements in experience – centric services settings, and the more effective their engagement is, “the more memorable the experience will be” (Zomerdijk and Voss, 2010, p.69; Pine and Gilmore, 1998).

Additionally, these physical surroundings viewed by O'Dell and Billing (2010) as landscaped spaces and titled "experiencescapes" can take the form of physical as well as imagined landscapes of experience and tend to be subjectively imbued with personal meanings based on consumers'(visitors)' "lifeworlds" (Seamon, 1979, p.15). Thus, the cognitive, social and cultural processes that are recognised to frame experiencescapes, are of significant importance to the interaction and communication that takes place between the visitor and the dark heritage servicescape. It is the deciphering and contextualisation of the physical historical evidence, (re)presented as space, functionality, signs, symbols and artefacts and their inter-relationships, while considering visitors' various cognitive, social and cultural differences that offer dark heritage providers opportunities for tailored communication, education and learning. Although charged with a unique blend of meaning(s) and significance linked to the distant largest genocide and incomprehensible suffering in the history of humanity (Auschwitz- Birkeau Memorial Museum, 2013), such dark heritage servicescapes are also sites of visitation by very large numbers of visitors, who spend significant periods of time on site.

2.4.2 The Social Expanded Servicescape Dimension

The expanded servicescape framework also recognises the complexity of humanistic factors applicable to dark heritage sites linked to death, genocide and human suffering. As stated by Proshansky (1978, p.150) "there is no physical setting that is not also a social, cultural, and psychological setting". Basing their social dimension on previous research (Rosenbaum and Montoya, 2007), Rosenbaum and Massiah (2011, p.475) conceptualized the social dimension as being comprised of: consumers, employees, along with their density in the setting and their expressed emotions. For dark heritage sites linked to death, genocide and human suffering, the social dimension gains multiple other facets, as it includes the humanistic dimension defined by additional stakeholders, apart from visitors and employees. There are several groups and unique sets of social connections to the site that require consideration.

Centrally, the victims and the historical evidence (comprehensive biographical research, gathering statistical data, compiling the names of men, women and children) that supports their human stories enable a differentiated portrayal of the multinational victimised collective often referred to as "prisoner society" (Perz, 2013). Some of the victims are also survivors, another significant 'stakeholder' category, whose

testimonies and power of influence has been and continues to be significant on many levels, and who represent a legacy for future generations to come (Distel, 2006). Victims' and survivors' families are another category, often actively involved in the present life of the site, especially through education/ communication and commemorative activities (Distel, 2006). Survivors' organisations, forums and boards are often credited as being heavily involved with the founding and shaping of the very existence of these sites as places of remembrance and commemoration (Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial and State Museum Report, 2012; Mauthausen Memorial, 2013) and are of significant importance. International organisations and foundations are also key stakeholders playing a critical role especially in terms of perpetual funding necessary for the long-term conservation work to protect original site(s)/camp buildings, ruins, grounds, archives and original objects that belonged to the victims (Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial and State Museum Report, 2012). Finally, volunteers from various backgrounds, different age groups and countries of the world take up various type of work at such sites, on a regular basis (Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial and State Museum Report, 2012; Mauthausen Memorial, 2013).

A new and challenging dimension within the overall social spectrum is the emergence of the "perpetrator society" (Durr et al, 2013) which in 21st century memorial education requires to be revealed, deciphered and communicated, adding a new, unique, challenging, yet essential perspective to the already multi-layered, multi-faceted narratives at sites of death, genocide and human suffering. This is an equally sensitive and challenging part of the continuously evolving narrative present at sensitive heritage sites (Gluck, 2013), and a specific example of atrocity heritage (Ashworth and Tunbridge, 1996, p.21). Memorial and museum sites on former concentration camps are seeking to ensure the accurate and ethical communication of historical facts about those involved in the Holocaust, and other Nazi Germany crimes without sensationalism or distortion by allowing for facts (and not emotion) to communicate the truth, to prompt reflection and to trigger personal introspection (Gluck, 2013).

Another important component in the social dimension applicable to the investigation of servicescapes (including dark heritage servicescapes), is that defined by the interaction between visitors and front line employees (Bitner, 1992; Rosenbaum and Massiah, 2011). Site guides are front line employees; their connections with visitors

can often be on a personal, emotional level, while delivering the interpretation/communication services. Zomerdijsk and Voss's (2010 p.75) assertion that this relationship "was believed to be one of the most important factors – if not the most important factor – influencing the customer experience" as the creation of rapport (Gremler and Gwinner, 2000, p.89) facilitates "authentic understanding", which is particularly important in extended, affective and intimate service encounters (Price et al, 1995) such as those taking place at dark heritage tourism sites. Authentic understanding according to Price et al (1995, p. 92) takes place when providers (site guides) and receivers (visitors/tourists) engage in the exchange of emotional energy that connects them as individuals. Indeed, it is within the social dimension manifested in the context of "heritage that hurts" (Uzzell and Ballantyne, 1998, p152) that the notion of "hot interpretation" (Uzzell, 1989, p33), and Tilden's (2007) long standing key principles of interpretation come into play. The social density component is also relevant at sensitive heritage sites, as the influx of visitors is influenced by seasonality, confirming the tourist nature of these sites. Tombs and McColl-Kennedy's (2003) social density paradigm, highlights the effect that a servicescape's crowding level has on customer's private consumption. In the context of dark heritage sites representing death, genocide and human suffering visitors need to be on their own, to 'take in' the site and its meaning, to gaze solemnly, respectfully, solitarily, in a state of reflection and commemoration. Group consumption also takes place; visitors move around the site together, as a group, engaging in group learning, education and in acts of commemoration (Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial and Museum, 2013; Dachau Concentration Site and Memorial, 2013; Mauthausen Memorial and Museum, 2013; Sachsenhausen Memorial and Museum, 2013).

2.4.3 The Socially-Symbolic Expanded Servicescape Dimension

Understanding and evaluating servicescapes (dark heritage tourism servicescapes) holistically requires focus on the connections between the servicescape (the site's own history and attributes) and the meanings it conveys to and is gained by the different social and ethnic groups who visit it, both at personal and collective levels (Rosenbaum and Massiah, 2011). Examples of social and ethnic groups that feature in the context of sites of death, genocide and human suffering are Jews of various nationalities, Sinti and Roma and opponents of the Nazi ideology (Dachau Concentration Camp and Memorial, 2013; Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial and

Museum, 2013). The key issue for all heritage regarding the potential for dissonance (Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996) raises questions about which aspects of the past is (re)presented and submitted for visitors' and society's scrutiny; and how such past is remembered in terms of its conserved artefacts and main actors, symbols and associations and their capacity for meaning reciprocity reflective of visitors' heterogeneous profiles and society's universal values. Furthermore, numerous studies agree that the design and interpretation of Holocaust memorials tend to reflect the political and cultural contexts within which they are placed (Sharpley, 2009c; Jansen, 2005; Krakover, 2005) thus evidencing the phenomena of dissonance inherent to all heritage (Ashworth and Tunbridge, 1996; Sharpley, 2009c; Lennon and Weber, 2017). Sharpley's (2009c) model for dark heritage governance recognises the diversity of stakeholders in dark heritage tourism, thus its potential for dissonance, and advocates for an approach to dark heritage interpretation that seeks to recognise "*all the relevant histories (good and bad)*" as a potential foundation for "*encouraging harmony, reconciliation, understanding or learning ...through a more inclusive memorialisation and interpretation of dark or tragic pasts.*" (Sharpley, 2009c, p.163).

Moreover, visitors' "*personal context*" (Falk and Dierking, 2013, p.27) is unique, and incorporates a variety of factors not only in terms of one's own geo-demographic profile (age and nationality) and cultural background (race-ethnicity, socio-economic and country of origin), but also in terms of developmental level (including education) and preferred modes of learning (Falk and Dierking, 2013). The fact that visitors at dark heritage sites are not "*passive recipients of information but come to sites with social, psychological and cognitive baggage...mental images and hence their own specific expectations of memorial sites...*" (Lapid et al, 2011, p. 4 citing Pampel, 2007) is well accepted by heritage industry experts.

This "*cultural baggage will circumscribe their encounter*" (Simone-Charteris et al, 2013, p.70) with the history on display and will generate a wide heterogeneity of visitor motivations, anticipated and actual cognitive and emotional engagement with the servicescape and sought benefits. Today, memorial sites and museums reflecting the history of the Holocaust and other Nazi Germany atrocities have a strong educational mandate, along with that of remembrance, commemoration and research (Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial and Museum, 2013; Dachau Concentration Site and Memorial, 2013; Mauthausen, Memorial and Museum, 2013; Sachsenhausen

Memorial and Museum, 2013). The educational effort seeks to reach visitors beyond the mere communication of knowledge: “...*through enhancing one’s ability to reflect, make one’s own decisions, not automatically go along with the crowd*” (Abram, 2001, p.8). In short, the aim of such dark heritage sites is to deliver a profound personal educational experience: “*the only education that has any sense at all is an education toward critical self-reflection*” (Adorno, 1971, p.195).

Visitors cannot change what they find, but they are not powerless either. Through both substantive (referring to the physical evidence) and communicative (referring to the presentation, interpretation and communication methods) content (Arnould et al, 1998) these servicescapes aim to provide a safe space where the visitor can wrestle with his/her own moral quandaries and profoundly unsettling questions about society and the human condition: “*Through the mourning of the painful events and the understanding of their evolution, memorial sites seem to offer society a place in which it, society, may reinstate its commitment to its shattered moral codes*” (Lapid, 2013, p.2).

2.4.4 The Natural Servicescape Dimension

The ability of the natural stimuli to elicit narrative themes, which in turn may evoke cultural scripts and meanings that transcend the bounds of the respective service encounter (Arnould et al, 1998, p.113) has been recognised. The very rationale for the inception of the site and the subsequent life of each camp during its existence were often dictated by the geographical position and the proximity to natural resources or other points of economic interest (Geyer et al, 2010). Thus, the natural environment and topography of each former concentration site are key elements of the site’s authenticity (Charlesworth and Addis, 2002). The natural vegetation was and continues to be of significant importance to sites of death and genocide, as often trees and woodland areas provided the camouflage under which heinous crimes took place (Auschwitz-Birkenau, 2013). Most importantly, mass graves and areas containing human ash are located in various places, within this natural environment.

2.4.5 Holistic Visitor Encounter at Dark Heritage Tourism Sites

The third and central part of the conceptual model is focused on the evaluation of the holistic visitor encounter at dark heritage sites connected to the history of the Holocaust and Nazi Germany atrocities. This is the conceptual territory that brings the

visitor and management perspectives together and allows for the application of the expanded servicescape management framework to reveal the scope, nature and management challenges inherent in the presentation, delivery and consumption of dark heritage. Encountering the physical evidence provided by the dark site servicescapes, often framed by and presented in their authentic natural environment, visitors consume the painful past, by engaging in a process of enquiry into such atrocities, seeking to make sense of the tragic events, all of the ‘actors’ involved and their actions. This process of enquiry and meaning making is most often challenging and unsettling:

“It is in the cognitive dissonance between how we perceive the world to be and how it is revealed to us when we explore the complexity of the past that we open a space for real learning: not simply taking in new information but having to reorder our categories and our understanding” (Salmons, 2010, p.60).

The challenge for dark heritage site managers’ is to decipher the painful events of the past, the role and actions of all its actors and present them for visitors’ and society’s attention in a contemporary and relevant context of here and now. The use of the proposed conceptual framework (as illustrated in Figure 2.5) to guide the research and help evaluate the varied and complex interactions between the visitor, the site attributes and its history; the intention is to provide a rich portrait of the multi-dimensional nature of the dark heritage visitor encounter.

Figure 2.5 Conceptual Model for This Research

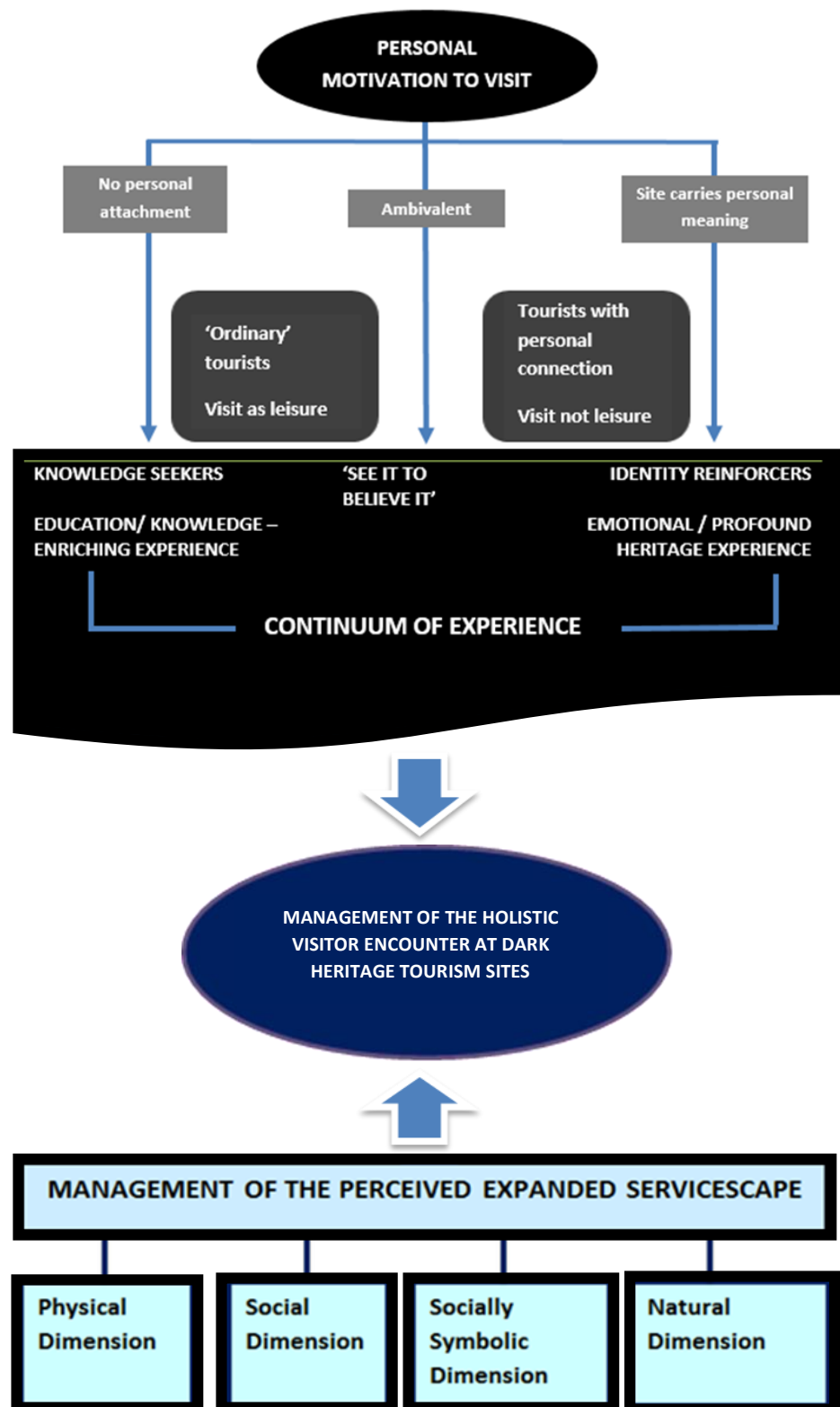


Figure 2.5 illustrates the conceptual framework for the empirical study. It brings together the four dimensions of the expanded servicescape that are conserved and delivered by site managers and the continuum of visitors' motivations for visiting dark

heritage tourism sites. These sites are servicescapes which encapsulate the visitor experience where they seek to understand, interpret and draw meaning from the dark history (re)presented. This presents a challenge for site managers' whose job it is to deliver a continuum of experience for a new generation of visitors.

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter provided the theoretical framework on which the research study was based and presented the determined conceptual model that would guide the empirical research. The discussion included the main definitions, scope and parameters of dark tourism, including the three (supply; demand; integrated supply-demand) main analytical frameworks used for its in-depth examination. Visitors' motivations and sought benefits (illustrating the demand perspective) at dark heritage tourism sites were also discussed, based on existing literature. The discussion identified the continuum of visitor experience at dark heritage tourism sites, which constituted the first part of the conceptual model. The second part of the chapter discussed the academic literature applicable to servicescape management, offering a specific focus on the expanded servicescape framework with its distinct characteristics, gained from its application to the dark heritage tourism context (illustrating the supply perspective). The chapter concluded with the conceptual model that was constructed from the fusion of the two main strands of literature.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss and justify the key decisions underpinning the chosen methodology for this research. This research adopted an in-depth and open-ended research design that allowed time for the development of the researcher's understanding and critical evaluation of dark heritage tourism servicescapes at sites *of* and associated *with* death. The chapter begins by presenting the research objectives, followed by a discussion of the philosophical foundation adopted for this study, along with the research strategy centred on the multi-case design. A discussion of the research design, data collection methods and processes of data analysis specific to this study is also provided. The key considerations regarding the ethics applicable to this research study are discussed. The limitations of the current methodology are outlined, followed by the concluding summary of the chapter, which brings together the key issues pertinent to the entire methodology that underpins this study.

The research aimed to take a holistic approach to the investigation and explanation of dark heritage tourism servicescapes at both sites *of* and *associated with* death by exploring the nature of the servicescape and visitors' contemporary perspectives at these sites. In order to achieve the research aim, four sites *of* death and two sites *associated with* death were selected for empirical enquiry. The conceptualisation of dark tourism sites as expanded servicescapes permitted the holistic interrogation of both managers' and visitors' perspectives in relation to both the composition of dark heritage sitescape(s) and the planned, delivered and consumed onsite encounters. The selection of these sites matches the categorisation (Miles, 2002) of dark tourism sites presented by the literature and is representative of the more holistic, integrated demand-supply perspective (Biran et al, 2011; Sharpley, 2009b) which integrates visitors' heterogeneity (in terms of basic segmentation by age, nationality, individual vs group visitation, motives for visitation *and* the various "*dark tourism manifestations*" (Biran and Hyde, 2013, p.192; Stone, 2006, 2003; Sharpley, 2005, 2009b; Miles, 2002). The multi case study methodology adopted allows for both an 'exploratory' (induction) and 'confirmatory' (deduction) approach to the servicescape

theoretical framework (Carson et al, 2005, p.99; Miles and Huberman, 1994), in terms of being both “*locally focused and site-sensitive*” (Carson et al, 2005, p.99) and “*of value in refining theory and suggesting complexities for further investigation, as well as helping to establish the limits of generalizability*” (Stake, 2013, p.104).

3.2 Research Aim and Objectives

The overall research aim is to investigate and evaluate the nature and scope of marketing management at (six European) dark heritage tourism sites by applying the expanded servicescape framework and adopting a contemporary perspective of the sites. The following research objectives emerged from the integration of two academic literature strands (dark tourism and services marketing).

3.2.1 Research Objective One

To investigate the nature and scope of dark heritage tourism sites *of and associated with* the death, genocide and human suffering perpetrated by Nazi Germany (known as the Holocaust and other National Socialist crimes) using the expanded servicescape framework at six European sites.

3.2.2 Research Objective Two

To evaluate contemporary site managers’ perspectives on the scope and potential of the expanded servicescape dimensions for providing a holistic dark heritage tourism encounter.

3.2.3 Research Objective Three

To evaluate the visitors’ experiences in the context of the key expanded servicescape dimensions at dark heritage tourism sites.

3.3 Research Position

In conducting any research, it is important to clearly identify and decide upon the research paradigm that underpins and guides the entire research design strategy, so that the set research objectives can be achieved (Jennings, 2010; Hammond and Wellington, 2013; Easterby-Smith et al, 2002). In business management research it is important to be aware of the philosophical commitments the chosen research strategy adheres to, as these have a profound impact not only on “...*what we do but that we understand what it is we are investigating*” (Saunders et al, 2009, p.108; Johnson and Clark, 2006). In other words, the adopted research position impacts upon ‘what’, ‘how’ and ‘why’ the research study is carried out (Carson et al, 2005). As explained by Jennings (2010, p.34), research paradigms are characterised by the way their proponents respond to three basic questions, identified as the ontological, the epistemological and the methodological questions. These three questions are enunciated in Table 3.1 below:

Table 3.1. The Fundamental Questions Informing the Chosen Research Paradigm

Type of fundamental question	Scope of each of the fundamental questions
Ontological	<p>“<i>What is the nature of the ‘knowable’/‘reality’?</i>” (Jennings, 2010, p.34, citing Guba 1990, p.18)</p> <p>It is concerned with the researcher’s view of the nature of reality or being (Guba and Lincoln, 1994; Perry et al, 1999; Saunders et al, 2009).</p>
Epistemological	<p>“<i>What is the nature of the relationship between the knower (the researcher) and the known (or ‘knowable’)?</i>” (Jennings, 2010, p.34, citing Guba 1990, p.18)</p> <p>It is concerned with the researcher’s view regarding what constitutes acceptable knowledge and expresses the relationships between reality and the researcher (Carson et al, 2005) or how this reality is being captured or known.</p>
Methodological	<p>“<i>How should the researcher go about finding out the knowledge?</i>” (Jennings, 2010, p.34, citing Guba 1990, p.18)</p> <p>It focuses on the specific approaches used to attain knowledge of the reality under investigation, in other words the tools and techniques utilised by the researcher to discover and investigate reality (Perry, 2013; Carson et al, 2005).</p>

For both ontological and epistemological assumptions the researcher has two principal options available, defined by two specific research philosophies/ideologies: the positivist and the interpretivist research philosophy. Both philosophies have their own characteristics and approaches to carrying out research, resulting in a specific paradigm.

3.3.1. Positivism and Interpretivism

As explained by Jennings (2010, p.36), positivism has its roots in the Cartesian paradigm (the work of Rene Descartes, 1596-1650) and the Newtonian physics paradigm (the work of Isaac Newton, 1642-1727) of scientific enquiry; however, the adoption of positivism for the enquiry and understanding of the social world has been credited to Auguste Comte (1798-1857). The positivist paradigm proports the view that the world operates according to general scientific rules that “*explain the behaviour of phenomena through causal relationships*” (Jennings, 2010, p.36). The positivist paradigm holds that there is a single, external, objective reality to any research phenomenon or situation regardless of the researcher’s perspective or belief (Hudson and Ozanne, 1988). This one reality is composed of discrete elements whose nature can be known and categorised (Guba and Lincoln, 1994; Perry et al, 1999) using highly structured and quantitative research methods (Carson et al, 2005). The positivist school of thought usually employs quantitative processing of data, making use of statistics and mathematical techniques, which are highly formalised in order to discover, measure and analyse independent facts about a single reality assumed to be determined and driven by natural laws and mechanisms (Carson et al, 2005, p.5). In positivist research the social world exists externally and “*its properties should be measured through objectives methods, rather than being inferred subjectively through sensations, reflection or intuition.*” (Easterby-Smith, 2002, p.28). Thus, epistemologically, positivism proports that the researcher is removed from the object of research; the researcher and the researched are regarded as separate, independent entities. The researcher is assumed to investigate the issue objectively, without influencing it or being influenced by it (Guba and Lincoln, 1994). As a consequence, different researchers observing the same phenomena would arrive at similar conclusions, making the outcome of positivist studies replicable (Bloomberg et al, 2005). As Wilson and Hollinshead (2015, p.34) explain, “*If you assume a positivist*

approach to your study, then it is your belief that you are independent of your research and your research can be purely objective. Independent means that you maintain minimal interaction with your research participants when carrying out your research.” Such an approach, although often used in physical sciences, is difficult to justify in social science, where the relationships and strategies being researched are not wholly tangible and rely heavily on the human phenomena (Perry, 2013). Researchers critical of positivism argue that the social world of business and management is far too complex and cannot be reduced to discreet and independent factors defined by “*laws*” (Saunders et al, 2009, p.115)

Interpretivism embraces a contrasting set of beliefs to positivism. Its intellectual heritage can be traced back to the work of the German philosopher Max Weber and his term ‘*verstehen*’ or “*empathetic understanding*” (Jennings, 2010, p.40). Thus, “*empathetic or appreciative accuracy is attained when, through sympathetic participation, we can adequately grasp the emotional context in which the action took place*” (Jennings, 2010, p.40 citing Weber, 1978, p.5). As a paradigm, interpretivism, also known as the interpretive social sciences paradigm or the constructivist paradigm (Jennings, 2010, p.40), holds the view that the subject matter of the social sciences (in other words people and their institutions) is fundamentally different to that of the natural sciences, thus requiring a different logic of research; such logic “*reflects the distinctiveness of humans as against the natural order*” (Bryman and Bell, 2015, p.28). In complete contrast to positivism, interpretivism is based on the view that a strategy is required that “*respects the differences between people and the objects of natural sciences*” (Bryman and Bell, 2015, p.29) and requires the researcher to grasp the subjective meaning of the social world and its manifestations. Thus, interpretivism adopts a relativist ontology (in other words there are multiple realities) and a subjectivist epistemology, holding the view that the researcher is “*obliged to enter the social setting and become one of its social actors acting in that social setting*” (Jennings, 2010, p. 40 citing Blumer, 1962). Subsequently, the researcher and the subjects “*cocreate understandings*” (Jennings, 2010, p.40). Thus, in the interpretive social sciences paradigm, the intersubjective (rather than objective) nature of the relationships between the researcher and subject is embraced, with the researcher using the same terminology as those researched, for example “*social actors*” or “*tourists*” or “*providers*” (Jennings, 2010, p.41). In terms of methodology, the

researcher choosing the interpretive position will seek to understand phenomena from an insider's perspective (rather than an outsider's perspective as is the case with the positivist position), allowing for the multiple realities to be identified and interpreted in their natural world (a naturalistic approach) as perceived by the different "actors" (Carson et al, 2005) and by using a set of appropriate methodological procedures (Jennings, 2010; Denzin and Lincoln, 2005; p.24). With its focus on understanding what is happening in a given social context (Carson et al, 2005), the interpretive paradigm has been deemed appropriate to the marketing domain as it allows for the understanding and interpretation of specific complex occurrences generally applicable to this field. As Carson et al (2005) explain, "*much of the focus of research in marketing is on understanding why things are happening.... therefore the task of the researcher in marketing is not only to gather facts and measure how often certain patterns occur, but to appreciate the different constructions and meanings that people place upon their experience*" (p.7). The interpretive paradigm therefore advocates for researcher involvement, taking account of the contexts of the phenomena under study, in an effort to understand 'how' and 'why' events happen in their given context (Carson, 2001; Carson et al, 2005) thus seeking to achieve rich insights into a phenomenon (Saunders et al, 2009).

The role of the researcher in the context of this study was to examine the social world and its multiple, socially constructed realities, from the perspectives of both dark heritage tourism producers (the supply side, represented by dark heritage tourism site managers and other staff) and consumers (demand side, represented by visitors to dark heritage tourism sites). The aim of this study is not to make subjective generalisations (Perry, 2013), but to achieve rich insights into the contemporary perspectives of both (dark) heritage managers, responsible for the (re)presentation of the distant painful past and heritage visitors who consume the difficult past and history attached to it.

The researcher recognised that dark heritage tourism site managers' experience and knowledge impact upon and are reflected in the design, planning and delivery of each servicescape dimension and intended visitor encounter. Equally, memorial sites and museums are social environments where visitors interact with the physical and natural components of the sitescape, as well as with site employees (for example site guides) and other visitors, while gaining insights into the historical actors and their actions,

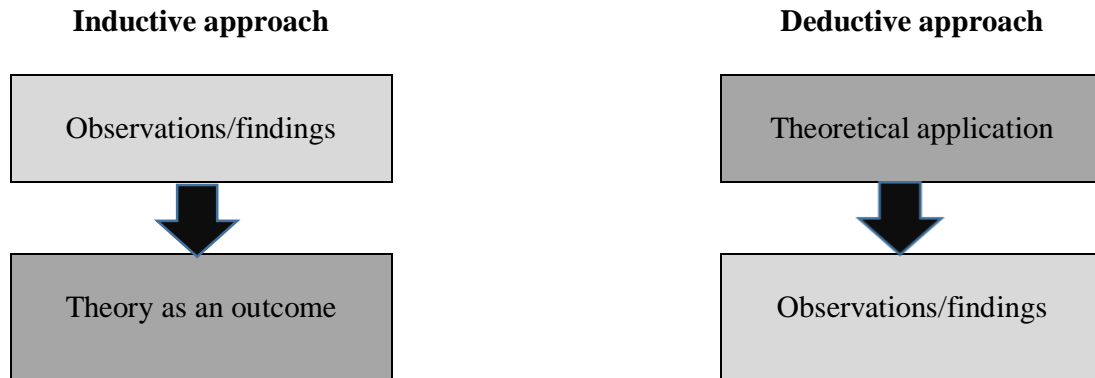
therefore consuming the painful past and seeking to make sense of the tragic events. While entering these complex, multi-layered and sensitive consumption settings (Magee and Gilmore, 2015), the researcher has adopted an empathetic stance (Saunders et al, 2009) while seeking to understand them from the two sets of participants' points of view (Bryman and Bell, 2015; Carson et al, 2005; Saunders et al, 2009; Guba and Lincoln, 1989); that is both site management's and visitors' perspectives. The enquiry was focused on '*what is going on*' (Saunders et al, 2009) and '*why*' (Carson et al, 2005). Thus, the researcher's aim was not to gather (subjective) facts, but to acknowledge and interpret the different meanings both managers and visitors place on their perceptions of dark heritage servicescapes and by doing so to gain a deeper understanding of servicescape management in the dark heritage tourism context. Such research task requires the researcher to "*become an insider and subsequently experience the phenomena ...*" (Jennings, 2010, p.42). It is only through immersion in the field for some time that the researcher will gain the "*insider's view*", which in turn will provide the 'best lens' for understanding the phenomena under investigation, as perceived by the respective social actors involved (Jennings, 2010, p.42). Thus, in pursuit of the research aim and by taking cognisance of the nature and scope of dark heritage tourism sites as "*sensitive servicescapes*" (Magee and Gilmore, 2015) and the researcher's significant negotiated access to the 'field', the interpretive phenomenological paradigm was deemed most appropriate for this study.

3.3.2 Relationship between Theory and Practice

In conjunction with understanding the best suited research paradigm, it is also important to determine the relationship between theory and research (Bryman and Bell, 2015). Clarity on the theory related to the research study, at the beginning of the research process assisted with determining whether the research should adopt an inductive or deductive approach to data collection (Saunders et al, 2009). Deductive research involves determining a rational conclusion from a set of logical steps, where theory informs the findings (Bryman and Bell, 2015; Saunders et al, 2009). In contrast, inductive research commonly associated with findings informing theory, thus resulting in theory building (Perry, 2013). Inductive research starts with getting a feel for what is going on, with the view to better understand the nature of the problem and helps the researcher make sense of the data, with the aim to formulate theory (Saunders et al,

2009). Figure 3.1 below illustrates how theory fits into the inductive and deductive approaches.

Figure 3.1. The Inductive and Deductive Approaches in Relation to Theory



The major differences between the deductive and inductive approaches are summarised in Table 3.2 below.

Table 3.2. Major differences between deductive and inductive approaches to research (Saunders et al, 2009, p.127)

Induction emphasises	Deduction emphasises
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • gaining an understanding of the meanings humans attach to events • a close understanding of the research context • the collection of qualitative data • the collection of qualitative data • a more flexible structure to permit changes of research emphasis as the research progresses • a realisation that the researcher is part of the research process • less concern with the need to generalise 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • scientific principles • moving from theory to data • the need to explain causal relationships between variables • the collection of quantitative data • the application of controls to ensure validity of data • the operationalization of concepts to ensure clarity of definition • a highly structured approach • researcher independence of what is being researched • the necessity to select samples of sufficient size in order to generalise conclusions

Although the two approaches have been presented as totally opposite, it is possible and in fact often advantageous to adopt a combined research approach, employing both inductive and deductive research, as advocated by Saunders et al (2009).

This research adopted both an inductive and deductive approach, under the guidance of the theory, as shown in the conceptual (theoretical) framework (see Figure 2.5). Theory informed the theoretical model and data collection (deductive), allowing for theory to be tested against the findings. The initial conceptual (theoretical) model was then adapted based on findings (Chapter 7), therefore theory building took place (inductive). Thus, this research has relied on an integrated deductive- inductive approach.

3.4 Methodological Choice

Methodology refers to the rationale for the application of particular research methods. Within the hierarchy of considerations when carrying out research, methodology occupies the middle level, with the appropriate adopted ontological and epistemological assumptions related to the current social research at the top level and the research methods, as the tools for collecting the data at the bottom level (Hammond and Wellington, 2013).

This research study adopted the interpretivist phenomenological paradigm and a combined deductive- inductive approach (Saunders et al, 2009). The main research aim of this study pivots around servicescape management at dark heritage tourism sites, thus seeking to understand the dark heritage tourism context delineated by European memorial sites and museums associated with the Holocaust and Nazi Germany atrocities, from a contemporary perspective. Gathering open-ended data, specific to the temporal and spatial domain (Carson et al, 2005) met the needs of this study. The foci of this study are individuals (managers and visitors) and their understanding and interpretations within the specific context of each dark heritage servicescape. Such phenomena “*cannot be adequately studied within neatly arranged compartments in isolated and artificial settings*” (Carson et al, 2005, p.64; Fetterman, 1989; Mitzberg, 1979). Indeed, qualitative research is defined as “*an array of interpretive techniques that seek to describe, decode, translate and otherwise come to terms with the meaning, not the frequency, of certain more or less naturally occurring phenomena in the social world.*” (Van Maanen, 1979, p.520). The research effort sought to uncover the areas of relevance to both site managers and visitors regarding the holistic dark heritage tourism encounter. Thus, the qualitative methodology focused on understanding and interpreting the research phenomenon, in an effort to

provide “*substantive meaning and understanding of how and why questions in relation to the phenomenon under investigation*” (Carson et al, 2001, p.64) was deemed most appropriate.

3.5 Research Design

Given the research aim and objectives of this study, *and* its already justified chosen interpretive phenomenological research paradigm, this research employed a multi-case study design (Carson et al, 2005). The multi-method approach to the data collection, involving observation studies, in-depth interviews with both managers and visitors and analysis of documentary materials, enabled simultaneous streams of data to emerge thus generating richness and plurality of data. This enabled the detailed examination of both the complexity and particular nature of each case, as well as allowing for cross-case analysis to be used, thus ensuring replication and potential for theory building (Carson et al, 2005 citing Yin 1994).

Saunders et al (2009, p.588) define case study as a “*research strategy that involves the empirical investigation of a particular contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, using multiple sources of evidence*”. Moreover, Yin (2003, p.13) defines case study as an empirical inquiry that investigates “*a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly met.*” Thus, the case study method can be a data collection tool or a strategy of design (Yin, 2003; Carson et al, 2001), and is very popular and widely used in business and management research (Bryman and Bell, 2015; Eisenhardt and Graebner, 2007). Research based on case study design is regarded as one of the most well-used and powerful methods available to researchers (Voss et al, 2002).

Prior research within the field of servicescape design has advocated the interpretive approach for understanding the holistic servicescape environment (Rosenbaum and Massiah, 2011). As the research aim was to gain insight and understanding of the nature, scope and management of the expanded servicescape in the dark heritage tourism context, from both managers’ and visitors’ perspectives (thus focusing on particular phenomena), six cases were chosen as units of analysis, in line with the multiple or collective case study approach advocated by Yin (2003). The multiple

(collective) case study allowed the researcher to analyse within each setting and across settings (Baxter and Jack, 2008). Analysing several cases facilitated the understanding of similarities and differences between the cases, while providing a robust basis for replication logic and subsequent holistic understanding of the phenomena and context under investigation. The academic literature does not provide a universal agreement on the exact prescribed number or range of cases recommended for the multiple case study approach, however several authors tend to agree that four is the minimum number of cases (Perry, 1998; Miles and Huberman, 1994; Eisenhardt, 1989; Hedges, 1985). This study includes six cases for analysis, thus heeding the advice given by Eisenhardt (1989, p.545): *“While there is no ideal number of cases, a number between four to ten cases often works well. With fewer than four cases, it is often difficult to generate theory with much complexity, and its empirical grounding is likely to be unconvincing.”* The six cases included in this study capture the dark heritage tourism context holistically, firstly through the integrated supply-demand perspective advocated by the literature (Biran et al, 2011; Sharpley, 2009) and secondly through the conceptualisation of dark heritage tourism consumption settings (visitor encounters at dark heritage tourism sites) as expanded servicescapes, defined by four main dimensions: physical, natural, social and social-symbolic (Rosenbaum and Massiah, 2011). The multiple case approach allows for the key characteristics and processes defining the management of visitor encounters at each dark heritage tourism servicescape to be drawn out as subjects for analysis. Data analysis based on multiple cases is considered more powerful than that generated from a single case (Wang and Ap, 2013), as it allows for cross-case analysis to be used for richer theory building. The evidence generated from the six cases allows for the comparison and contrasting of findings across cases based on theory (Zomerdijsk and Voss, 2010; Baxter and Jack, 2008; Yin, 2003). The conclusions drawn from the analysis can be generalised across all six cases, thus rendering robustness and reliability to the study (Blumberg et al, 2008; Baxter and Jack, 2008). On this basis, the holistic empirical understanding allows for new theory building focused on the nature, scope and management of the expanded servicescape framework applied to the dark heritage tourism context.

3.5.1 Selection of Cases

Six cases were chosen for this study, and they include four sites *of* death (former concentration camps) and two sites *associated with* death (recent memorial and museum). Following the basic definition of the case as “*a phenomenon of some sort occurring in a bounded context*” (Miles and Huberman (1994, p.25), a range of criteria were used that resulted in determining the boundaries (Yin, 2003; Stake, 1995) that aided the selection of cases.

The criteria of definition and context (Miles and Huberman, 1994) led to consideration being given to the categorisation of dark tourism sites into sites *of* death and sites *associated with* death (Miles, 2002). The four sites of death selected are former Nazi concentration camps where death, genocide and human suffering were perpetrated. The two sites *associated with* death are represented by a modern memorial and a museum related to the events of the Holocaust and other death and human suffering. In terms of context (Miles and Huberman, 1994), all chosen cases relate to the events of WWII in Europe, thus being placed within a clearly defined period in European history. Additionally, the context criteria have been enhanced further, as both categories of sites are geographically located in Europe, in perpetrator as well as victim countries (Germany and Austria *and* Poland, respectively), thus acknowledging both these perspectives.

Since inception, all four *sites of* death, genocide and human suffering (former concentration camps), have witnessed and been directly involved in various stages of national and international history, which in turn dictated the various purposes attributed to them. The main past common purpose of each of the four sites of death was the incarceration, arbitrary and inhumane treatment, torture and mass killing of specific groups considered ‘criminal’, ‘antisocial’, ‘political opponents’ or ‘enemies of the state’. This multi-layered and complex history is reflected at each site in the physical layout, location, material camp remnants (buildings, structures etc.), artefacts, memorials and exhibitions, as well as their accompanying narratives coloured by the various historical events and evolutionary stages each site traversed after liberation. The liberation by American and Soviet troops, the subsequent communist era from the post WWII to the late 1980s and 1990s, punctuated by significant political events in Europe, as well as the intensive national and international

debates on the necessity of reform at memorial sites since 1990s, have presented a cocktail of challenges to such memorial sites on the grounds of former concentration camps. These challenges refer to the way memorial sites are (re)designed, presented, interpreted and managed vis-a-vis their fundamental role(s) and intended actual and symbolic value they wish to deliver. For the two sites associated with death, it is worth highlighting their common characteristics, as informed by Stone's (2006) dark tourism framework: both sites are located at a similar chronological distance from the original events, incorporating a longer time scale from the history they present (a distant past). The central purpose of each site is remembrance, commemoration and communication of history while having a strong educational function. Each site is related to authentic events and (re)presents them through individual and collective stories of death, suffering, tragedy and human sacrifice. Finally, the supply evidence, in terms of purposeful infrastructure is well developed, being located in major, easily accessible cities. Each of these two sites is supported by modern, purpose built structures, recognised as key landmarks on visitors' trails in their respective city, while being equipped to provide state of the art visitor services and facilities, including a strong emphasis on technology.

The application of the time and activity (Stake, 1995) criteria resulted in two important considerations when selecting the six cases for analysis: (1) all six sites are linked to the same historical time in Europe (that is between 1933 and 1945), but also, as required by the overarching research aim, all six cases required the same approach to the temporal criteria of analysis, that being the contemporary perspective applied to the dark events each represents; (2) all six cases are well established sites of tourism visitation representing some of the darkest events in European *history* "*which are more than just tragedies in history, but rather touch our lives not merely from the emotional perspective but also impact our politics and social policies*" (Tarlow, 2005, p.49). All cases meet the binding criteria of time and place (Creswell, 2003). From the management perspective, all site managers recognised the challenges of managing these sites for a new generation of visitors. From the visitor perspective, the six cases are representative of the continuum of experience reflective of the three main visitor groups identified in the conceptual model (Biran et al, 2011).

3.5.2 The Sites Chosen as Cases

The six cases selected are comprised by four sites *of* death (former concentration camps) and two sites *associated with* death (memorials and museums). The four sites *of* death are: Auschwitz-Birkeanu Memorial and Museum (Poland); Dachau Concentration Camp Memorial (Germany); Memorial and Museum Sachsenhausen (Germany); Mauthausen Memorial (Austria). The two sites *associated with* death are: The Memorial to the Murdered Jew of Europe (Germany) and Oskar Schindler's Enamel Factory Museum (Poland).

Until recently the majority of visitors were people with strong personal ties to the dark events represented and to the site(s). However, the emerging challenge for site managers is to facilitate a range of relevant interactions and value creation for a new generation of visitors who do not have any personal ties to the site(s).

3.5.2.1 Auschwitz-Birkeanu Memorial and Museum

This site is located in Poland, in the suburbs of the town of Oswiecim at approximately 70 kms (42 miles) from Krakow. Known as the principal and most notorious of the European concentration camps, it was established in 1940, first to hold political prisoners (Poles), but it soon became an extermination camp designed to implement the Final Solution, thus becoming the largest of the death camps. It was liberated in 1945 by the Soviet Army. The site of Auschwitz-Birkeanu Memorial and Museum houses the remains of the two camps, Auschwitz I and Auschwitz II-Birkenau, situated at 3.5 kms (2 miles) from each other, in total covering an area of 191 hectares (472 acres). Today, across the two sites, the memorial-museum site includes in the main: the original camp blocks, fencings, guard towers, walls and places where prisoners were executed, as well as wooden barracks, railway ramp, remnants of crematoria (four crematoria in Birkenau) and gas chambers (one in Auschwitz I and two in Birkenau), as well as expansive open areas housing mass graves and ponds containing human ash. The time required to visit the memorial site (both Auschwitz I and Auschwitz II-Birkenau) is 4 hours. More than 1.2 million people (men, women and children) lost their lives at KL Auschwitz, including 1 million Jews (90% of all victims), 70-75 thousand Poles, 21 thousand Gypsies, 15 thousand Soviet POW (Prisoners Of War) and others (Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial and Museum, 2017). Auschwitz-Birkenau was the largest of the German Nazi concentration camps and extermination centres. Every year Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial Museum receives in excess of 1 million

visitors; for example, in 2013, the visitor numbers was 1,332,700; in 2015, 1,358,000 and in 2016, 2,053,000 people from all over the world visited the memorial site (Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial Museum, 2017).

3.5.2.2 Dachau Concentration Camp Memorial Site

This site is located in southern Germany (the state of Bavaria), in the town of Dachau, at a short distance (approximately 16 kms/13 miles) from the well-known city of Munich (Germany's third largest city). Dachau concentration camp (KZ Dachau) was set up in March 1933 only a few weeks after Hitler was appointed Reich Chancellor. It occupied the grounds of an abandoned munitions factory located in the mediaeval and picturesque town of Dachau, and was the first of the Nazi concentration camps opened in Germany, thus intended to serve as a model for all later concentration camps and as a "*school of violence*" for the SS men charged with its running (Dachau Concentration Camp Memorial, 2013). Its original purpose was to hold political prisoners but it was soon expanded to include the imprisonment of other groups deemed "*asocials*" and/or "*alien to the community*", including Jews, Sinti and Roma, Jehovah's Witnesses, homosexuals and those labelled as "*professional criminals*" (Dachau Concentration Camp Memorial Site, 2013). During the 12 years that Dachau concentration camp existed, an estimated 200,000 persons were imprisoned here and its subsidiary camps; the number of those who died and were killed at Dachau is estimated to be 41,500 (Dachau Concentration Camp Memorial, 2013). The camp was liberated by the American troops on 29 April 1945. At the time of liberation, it contained 30,000 prisoners who were found living in the most overcrowded conditions and poorest of health. After liberation and from 1945 to 1948 the American troops used the whole area of the former concentration camp as an internment camp for war criminals (Nazi Party functionaries and the SS), holding approximately 30,000 prisoners (Dachau Concentration Camp Memorial Site, 2013). From 1948 for more than 15 years, the grounds were used by the Bavarian State to accommodate German refugees who had been expelled from the territories formerly occupied by Nazi Germany. During this period the grounds were subjected to major changes. Today the memorial site includes some original and reconstructed buildings (housing exhibitions), crematoria, as well as a new memorial/sculpture and religious monuments and memorials which were erected in the 1960s. The site received well in excess of 860,000 visitors in 2013 and this number is in keeping with its stated recent

pattern of visitation volume, that is between 800,000 and 1,000,000 visitors annually since 2011 (Dachau Concentration Camp Memorial, 2013).

3.5.2.3 Sachsenhausen Memorial and Museum

This site is located in Germany, at a short distance from Berlin (35 kms/22 miles) and was established in 1936 and used primarily for political prisoners until its liberation by in May 1945. The current memorial site presents a multi-layered history, covering four distinct periods that impacted upon its grounds: (1) the first concentration camp established by the National Socialist regime (1933-1934) in the town of Oranienburg; (2) the concentration camp designed and planned by the Nazis (1936-1945) at Sachsenhausen and used primarily for political opponents and those subsequently deemed to be racially or biologically inferior from Germany as well as the other occupied European countries; (3) the Special Soviet Camp (1945-1950) set up by the Soviet occupying forces after the war in order to detain political prisoners; (4) the Sachsenhausen National Memorial (1961-1992) when following a decade of the grounds being used by East Germany's police force and army as training grounds, in 1961 the site become a national memorial under the GDR regime and continued to function as such until 1992. During the Nazi period (1936-1945) the camp served as the model Nazi concentration camp, housing the administrative centre of all concentration camps and the training centre for the SS (Schutzstaffel) officers. Designed to set the standard for other concentration camps in terms of both the design and the treatment of prisoners, its layout is shaped as an equilateral triangle with a semi-circular roll call area and barrack huts radiating from the gun post situated in the entrance gate (representing the centre point, dominating the triangular shape). Originally, Sachsenhausen was not intended as an extermination camp; instead, prisoners were used to work in nearby brickworks to meet the Reich's vision of rebuilding Berlin. Executions however did take place by shooting (especially of Soviet Prisoners Of War) from the early stages; later the construction of a gas chamber and ovens did facilitate the killing of large numbers of prisoners. It is estimated that more than 30,000 inmates died at Sachsenhausen Concentration camp. Due to its complex history and various regimes that used the grounds, the current memorial site presents surviving and reconstructed buildings and structures (for example the administrative buildings, the guard towers, the camp entrance, the crematory ovens and the camp barracks), monuments and memorials created during the GDR period, as well as a

purpose-built museum that documents the camp's Soviet-era history. Sachsenhausen Memorial and Museum received around 500,000 visitors in 2013 and 660,000 visitors in 2015 (Sachsenhausen Memorial and Museum, Press Office, 2017).

3.5.2.4 Mauthausen Memorial

This site is located in Austria, at 20 kilometres (12 miles) east of the city of Linz. The concentration camp Mauthausen operated from 1938, the year when Austria was annexed to the German Third Reich, until May 1945 when it was liberated by the US Army. Although it started with a single camp, Mauthausen quickly expanded into a system of concentration camps (with main camps and sub-camps) and became the largest labour camp complex situated in the German occupied part of Europe. Mauthausen (and its sister camp located at Gusen) were allocated "Grade III" classification, which meant that they were intended to be the toughest camps with the most severe working conditions, and were intended to be used for extermination through forced (slave) labour. Mauthausen was the main camp of the complex and this is where the current memorial site is currently located. The location of the concentration camp in the village of Mauthausen was chosen because of the nearby granite quarry, and its proximity to Linz which allowed for the inmates to be subjected to forced labour in the local quarries, munitions factories, mines, arms factories and other assembling plants aimed at serving the Reich's economic interests and war effort. It is estimated that out of a total of around 190,000 people (from over 40 different nations) imprisoned in the Mauthausen concentration camp and its subcamps, over the seven-year duration, more than 90,000 died (Mauthausen Memorial, 2017). The main categories of victims persecuted by the National Socialist ideology include: political opponents, "professional criminals", "antisocials", emigrants, Jehovah's Witnesses, homosexuals, Jews (were considered to have the lowest chance of survival), Roma and Sinti, civilian workers. The current memorial site at Mauthausen includes only a part of the former concentration camp setting. After the liberation, the US Army used the camp's grounds to care for the liberated concentration camp victims and as a prison for members of the SS. The former concentration camp was also used by the Soviet Army (following the region's designation as part of the Soviet occupation zone) until 1947, when it was handed over to the Republic of Austria. The memorial site opened in 1949 but the grounds underwent significant changes and loss of the original concentration camp buildings and structures, as a result of the various

groups who used the grounds and took decisions in relation to its authentic fabric. Today the memorial site evidences only a part of the former concentration camp complex and includes a mixture of original and reconstructed buildings and structures (former infirmary room, laundry barracks), cemeteries, a central memorial and a memorial park. The memorial park includes memorials erected by many countries to remember and commemorate their victims who perished at the hands of the Nazis at Mauthausen concentration camp. As reported by Mauthausen Memorial (2017), the number of people visiting the Memorial annually exceeds 170,000 visitors (2013 – over 174,000 visitors; 2015 – over 187,000 visitors; 2016 - over 173,000 visitors).

3.5.2.5 Oskar Schindler Enamel Factory Museum

This is located in Poland, in the city of Krakow, in the post-industrial district of Zablocie, within a short walking distance from the city centre. The Museum is housed by the administrative building of the former Deutsche Emailwaren Fabrik (DEF) owned by the legendary Oskar Schindler who was featured in the Hollywood movie (1993), *Schindler's List*. The Museum is part of the city's Memory Trail (covering the period 1939-1945- 1956) which along with Pomorska Street and the Eagle Pharmacy, are three points on the map of Krakow and together tell three complementary stories about the city during WWII, the time that came after the war and its people who lived in those difficult times. The administrative block part of the original factory that houses the Museum presents the permanent exhibition "*Krakow Under Nazi Occupation 1939-1945*" which tells the story of the city's inhabitants, both Polish and Jewish, during World War Two. It is also a story about the Krakow's Nazi German occupiers who arrived on 6 September 1939 and until 1945 brutally disrupted the city's centuries-long history of Polish-Jewish relations, with tragic consequences. The historical exhibition presents the tragedy of WWII both from both the individual and collective perspectives, as well as portraying everyday life in Nazi-occupied Kraków, using a multi-disciplinary approach (combining a highly varied artistic layout that mixes elements of theatrical and cinematic design). The character of Oskar Schindler and his deeds focused on saving many of the city's Jews are only one part of the exhibition and are presented as part of the city's complex wartime history. Among the very few original features of the building Oskar Schindler's former office is one of them. The exhibition entails a total of 45 exhibition rooms that have been used to present Kraków's history through a multi-sensorial methodology enabling visitors to

undertake an emotional and personal journey through the city's past: "*Extensive multimedia solutions (including 30 interactive multimedia kiosks with touchscreens, 70 soundtracks, and 15 video projectors) create an attractive, contemporary, and visitor-oriented museum environment*" (Oskar Schindler's Enamel Factory Museum, 2017). Since its opening in 2010, the Museum has become one of the most visited sites in Poland. In 2016 the Museum received more than 400,000 visitors which matches the maximum capacity of the Museum's protected building.

3.5.2.6 The Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe

This is located in Germany's capital city Berlin, and is situated half way between Potsdamer Platz and the Brandenburg Gate area. During the war, the area acted as the administrative centre of Nazi ideology and Hitler's killing machine, thus having historical resonance. The Memorial is the German Holocaust memorial honouring and remembering the up to six million Jewish victims; it is a memorial for the victims erected by the citizens of Germany in recognition of the country's Nazi past. Originating from grass roots, as a local citizens' initiative, the Memorial was inaugurated on 12 May 2005 and it functions under the auspices of the Foundation Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe, the federal foundation established in 1999 on the basis of a resolution of the German Bundestag. The Foundation is responsible for three other city memorials that remember and commemorate the victims of National Socialism. The Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe was designed by the architect Peter Eisenman and occupies a site measuring around 19,000 square metres and is constituted by two complementary parts: the Field of Stelae sculpture with its 2,711 concrete blocks (above ground) and The Ort/ The Information Centre (below ground). The Field of Stelae is known for its grey rectangular blocks arranged in a grid pattern, where no two blocks are the same. The concrete blocks are 2.38 m (7 ft 10 in) long, 0.95 m (3 ft 1 in) wide and vary in height from 0.2 to 4.7 m (7.9 in to 15 ft 5.0 in). Their arrangement is in rows, 54 of them going north-south, and 87 heading east-west at right angles but set at various angles (Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe, 2017). The abstract architectural design is conceived as a break with the traditional concept of a memorial and invites a plurality of interpretations. Allowing room for only one person to walk in between any of the stelae at any one time, the design is aimed at producing an uneasy, confusing atmosphere, and the "*whole sculpture aims to represent a supposedly ordered system that has lost touch*

with human reason” (Eisenman, 2019, p.11). The subterranean Information Centre/The Ort includes an exhibition that displays some of the most important moments and memories of the Holocaust, from both the personal and collective perspectives, and includes carefully chosen examples arranged in a concise, provocative and multi-sensorial display. The exhibition unfolds through four rooms dedicated to both the personal aspects of the tragedy as well as the collective dimension of the Holocaust and other Nazi atrocities, by featuring relevant information on the actual sites of death and human suffering perpetrated by the Nazis. The architectural design choices in each of the rooms represent visual reminders of the stelae above, featuring rectangular shapes for the, horizontal floor markers and vertical illuminated exhibition panels. Very large numbers of visitors to the memorial are recorded on an annual basis: in 2013, 468,000 visitors; in 2015, 475,000 visitors; in 2016, 464,500 visitors (Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe, 2017).

3.5.3 Data Collection Methods

Data collection was guided by the conceptual framework built from the literature, which integrated two key theoretical frameworks that captured the integrated supply-demand dark tourism perspective (taking account of a continuum of visitor motivations) proposed by Biran et al (2011) and the expanded servicescape conceptualisation advanced by Rosenbaum and Massiah (2011). At each site, the four expanded servicescape dimensions (physical, natural, social and socially-symbolic) were investigated from both managers’ and visitors’ perspectives. From the management’s perspective, the investigation focused on each of the four servicescape dimensions in terms of its own specific nature and scope, along with the key visitor interaction points and processes that it seeks to facilitate. From the visitor perspective, the investigation was guided by the conceptual framework proposed by Biran et al (2011) which focused on the visitors’ continuum of experience while onsite, in relation to their attachment to the site (and this heritage), reasons for and sought benefits from visitation. These two platforms of enquiry allowed the researcher to evaluate the potential and management of the expanded servicescape for providing a holistic onsite visitor encounter at dark heritage tourism sites.

The data collected from all of the six sites allowed for the comparison and contrasting within the same category and between categories (sites *of* and *associated with* death), as well as for generalisations applicable to the holistic management of dark heritage

tourism servicescapes to emerge, especially in terms of the challenges and opportunities. The main data collection methods employed were: (1) observation studies carried out at each site – which involved observing all of the servicescape components, in order to: understand the scope and complexity of the servicescape, identify the key interaction points between visitors and the servicescape, and examine the nature of such interactions and their associated processes; (2) in-depth interviews with key informants representing each site management and other site employees, *and* with visitors, in order to capture both the supply and demand perspectives; (3) analysis of documentary material, including annual reports, catalogues, guides, brochures and websites, in order to gain a wider, contextual understanding of the ‘field’, additional insights into the key areas of investigation, and confirmation for the data gathered through observation and in-depth interviews. The data collection stage of the empirical research effort was significantly aided by the Santander Scholarship awarded to this researcher in May 2013. One of the conditions attached to the Scholarship stipulated that the funds (£1000) had to be spent by the end of year 2013; hence, the first stage of data collection from all sites took place between July and October 2013. The second stage of data collection from all sites took place between January and March 2015. Table 3.3 below provides an illustration of the research methods employed (per site).

Table 3.3 Data Collection – Methods

Site of Death	Research Method
Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial and Museum	<p>Observation studies – site visits and data collection onsite (July to October 2013; January to March 2015)</p> <hr/> <p>14 in-depth interviews with managers - face to face (9) and by email (5) (July 2013 to March 2015)</p> <p>18 semi-structured interviews with visitors – face to face (January to March 2015)</p> <hr/> <p>Analysis of documentation (July 2013 to March 2015)</p>
Dachau Concentration Camp Memorial Site	<p>Observation studies – site visits and data collection onsite (July to October 2013; January to March 2015)</p> <hr/> <p>10 in-depth interviews with managers - face to face (3) and by email (7) (July 2013 to March 2015)</p> <hr/> <p>10 semi-structured interviews with visitors – face to face (January to March 2015)</p> <hr/> <p>Analysis of documentation (July 2013 to March 2015)</p>
Mauthausen Memorial	<p>Observation studies – site visits and data collection onsite (July to October 2013; January to March 2015)</p> <hr/> <p>12 in-depth interviews with managers – face to face (5) and by email (7) (July 2013 to March 2015)</p> <hr/> <p>9 semi-structured interviews with visitors - face to face (January to March 2015)</p> <hr/> <p>Analysis of documentation (July 2013 to March 2015)</p>
Memorial and Museum Sachsenhausen	<p>Observation studies – site visits and data collection onsite (July to October 2013; January to March 2015)</p> <hr/> <p>9 in-depth interviews with managers – face to face (6) and by email (3) (July 2013 to March 2015)</p> <hr/> <p>9 semi-structured interviews with visitors - face to face (January to March 2015)</p> <hr/> <p>Analysis of documentation (July 2013 to March 2015)</p>

Table 3.3 Data Collection – Methods (Continued)

Site Associated with Death	Research Method
Oskar Schindler’s Enamel Factory Museum	Observation studies – site visits and data collection on-site (July to October 2013; January to March 2015)
	10 in-depth interviews with managers – face to face (4) and by email (6) (July 2013 to March 2015)
	13 semi-structured interviews with visitors – face to face (January to March 2015)
	Analysis of documentation (July 2013 to March 2015)
Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe	Observation studies – site visits and data collection on-site (July to October 2013; January to March 2015)
	11 in-depth interviews with managers – face to face (4) and by email (7) (July 2013 to March 2015)
	12 semi-structured interviews with visitors - face to face (January to March 2015)
	Analysis of documentation (July 2013 to March 2015)

3.5.3.1 Observation Studies

Observation is based on “*watching what people do, looking at their behavioural patterns and actions and at objects, occurrences, events and interactions*” (Carson et al, 2005, p.132). Observation research is recognised as a powerful and valuable research tool, which enables the recording of what actually happens in the field, as it happens (Carson et al, 2005). As a data collection method that requires researchers to use all of their senses in order to examine people in natural settings or naturally occurring situations (Cohen and Crabtree, 2006), this method fitted the research context of dark heritage tourism sites where the servicescape dimensions, visitors and their actions and interactions with the visited servicescape(s) were observed, as they occurred, in-situ, by moving around each site (venue), watching, listening and noting relevant phenomena. The observation of each of the four servicescape dimensions and

the constituting elements at each of the six sites, along with the range of complex social processes and actions that underpin the delivery of the dark heritage tourism product and its consumption specific to each site, provided an explicit demonstration of the phenomenological lens adopted for this research. Additionally, given the high degree of frequency with which these actions and processes did unfold (given the high volume of visitors at each of the six sites), such methods allowed for the identification of key patterns and habitual encounters (Carson et al, 2005; McDaniel and Gates, 1999) characteristic to dark heritage sites to emerge.

Each site visit and episode of observation was conducted with the full permission of the site management, most often issued by the press or education department at each site. At Oskar Schindler's Factory Museum access was gained from the Museum Director. At the Memorial for the Murdered Jews of Europe permission was obtained from the Foundation for the Memorial for the Murdered Jews of Europe.

The two periods of observation at each site resulted in a significant cumulative period of researcher immersion in the field. The first period of observation took place during the summer of 2013 (July to October) and the second during the first part of 2015 (January to March). The average duration spent at each site, during each of the two visits was 2 and a half days at approximately 6 hours each day, totalling 5 days (30 hours) spent at each site.

The first period of observation allowed the researcher to become familiar with the layout and key content of each site servicescape, especially in terms of each of the servicescape dimensions and their management, as well as the main visitor management processes. Examples of key servicescape components observed and recorded include: the physical and natural dimension: the degree of authenticity of each place (in terms of location, natural and built topography – site remnants as well as reconstructed and newly built immovable objects; main exhibitions and range of artefacts presented) and impact of weather conditions; social dimension (narrative; guiding, other interpretation and education provision; visitors and their density). The entire scope of the socially-symbolic dimension was less legible through observation although it had been possible to observe and note the visible part of visitors' on-site behaviour. With reference to this aspect, the first period of observation focused on the

site in terms of its design, recognising that visitors evaluate a designscape holistically, in order to make sense of the meaning and identity of the place. The observation of the tangible evidence sought to distinguish and comprehend between the intended meaning(s), as planned, crafted and conveyed by the management, through its strategic, careful and sensitively crafted ensembles of signs, symbols, artefacts, and the abstract or subjective meaning. The first period of observation coincided with the peak summer tourist season when visitor density evidenced very large numbers at each site and the hot summer weather did impact directly upon the on-site experience for both visitors and staff. Thus, the first period of observation focused on gaining familiarity with and understanding each site servicescape along with its key service processes and performances, in terms of visitors' interactions with the tangible and intangible history displayed, the extent and nature of staff- visitor interactions onsite and the resultant impact these were having upon visitors while onsite.

The second period of observation provided an enhanced opportunity to deepen the understanding of the key service processes, performances and interactions between visitors and the site staff. This period took place after the in-depth interviews were completed, when the researcher returned to the sites in order to collect empirical data from the visitor perspective. As this period covered the months of Jan to March 2015 (outside the peak summer season), the greatest majority of visitors were youth groups, who coincide with the largest proportion of all visitors at the examined sites, as identified by managers. The observation studies undertaken during this period reflected the researcher's familiarity with and appropriate level of knowledge of the 'field' and focused more on the impact of the servicescape upon visitor behaviour and how visitors interacted with the servicescape. Attention was paid to the subtler aspects of site servicescape management and the interactions taking place between visitors and the respective servicescape (for example during the guided site tour, the guides' input, the range of interactions between visitors and guides and how visitors interacted with the servicescape when left or choosing to investigate independently). Fully cognisant of the crucial role of the five senses in the design of tangible elements in experience-centric settings, the researcher also focused on the observation of the range of physical stimuli along with their relevant technologies upon visitors, employed by each site. This included visual (lighting, colour, brightness/darkness, shapes), olfactory (smells/odours/fragrances, air quality) ambient (i.e. temperature, ventilation)

and auditory elements (sounds, music, silence). The second period of observation also presented the opportunity to focus on the subtler elements of the social servicescape, in order to gain a deeper understanding of each site's victim spectrum and own narrative evolution. On the whole, the second period of observation was beneficial in providing enhanced understanding, confirming and solidifying the researcher's knowledge on both the servicescape and visitor encounter management.

3.5.3.2 In-Depth Interviews (Representatives of Site Management, Other Staff and Visitors)

In-depth interviewing is considered a "*powerful*" research technique for interpretative research; its overall strength and value lie in its ability to gather "*significant rich and meaningful data*", which enables "*significant depth of understanding*" that would otherwise be difficult to achieve through the use of any other method alone (Carson et al, 2005, p.90). In-depth interviews provide "*a richer and more nuanced account of stakeholder opinions, attitudes and experiences*" (Wilson et al, 2009, p.274) to be gathered. Indeed, the purpose of the interview (irrespective of its form) is to get inside someone's head and enter into their perspective (Patton, 1990). For this study, the in-depth interviews were preceded by observation studies, which allowed the researcher to develop a "*keen understanding*" (Cohen and Crabtree, 2006) of the servicescape dimensions and their manifestations in the context of both sites *of* and *associated with* death, and of the nature and scope of interactions between visitors and the respective servicescape. Building on this foundation, the in-depth interviews conducted with site management representatives and other employees (for example site guides) as well as with visitors sought to examine both site management (on the supply side) and visitor (on the demand side) perspectives with regards to the dark heritage tourism servicescape (in terms of its discreet components as well as holistically) and its planned, designed, delivered and consumed visitor interactions, encounters and resultant value. Such process of deep interrogation of the 'field' focused not only on finding out answers to the 'what', but also to the 'why' and the 'how' questions, as they emerged from the contextual application of the conceptual model.

Interviews represented the core element within the methodological nexus of this qualitative, multi-case research study. A total of 135 interviews were carried out overall (corresponding to the period: July 2013 to March 2015). This figure includes 66 in-depth interviews with site management representatives (31 face to face and 35

by email) and 69 semi-structured interviews with visitors. Table 3.4 provides details of the key informants representing the management at each site.

Table 3.4 Data Collection – Key Informants Representing Site Management

Site	Key Informant Representing Site Management
Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial and Museum	Principal Press Officer Plenipotentiary to the New Exhibition Deputy Head of Preservation Department Head of Guiding Methodology Department Head of Education Projects Exhibitions Department Representative Head of Visitor Services Site Guides x 2
Dachau Concentration Camp Memorial Site	Education Department Representatives x 2 Site Guide x 1
Mauthausen Memorial	Principal Press Officer Press Officer Education Department Member Head of Truth Booth Project Site Guides x2
Sachsenhausen Memorial and Museum	Principal Press Officer Press Officer Education Department Member Head of Truth Booth Project Site Guides x2
Oskar Schindler's Enamel Factory Museum	Museum Director Chief Curator Head of Education Head of Visitor Services
Berlin Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe	Head(s) of Education x 2 Head of Visitor Services Deputy Director Foundation Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe

Securing access to key informants at each site was the outcome of the following planning steps, commenced in May 2013 and applied for each site:

(a) An initial email to the education department or staff member mentioned as the main contact on the institution's website; the email explained the purpose of the visit, provided an indication of potential dates for the research visit and a letter of support

from the researcher's academic supervisor was attached (as shown in APPENDIX A). In some instances, a responding email was only obtained 3-4 weeks after the researcher's initial contact.

(b) Once a reply was obtained, every effort was made to create rapport with the respective site representative, in an attempt to secure further communication and actual access to key respondents through a face to face interview.

(c) Once the site visit and face to face interview (meeting) were secured, a list of possible questions to be used as a research protocol (shown in APPENDIX B) was emailed to all respondents. This was a very important step to take, as all respondents representing site management were speakers of English as a foreign language, thus some site management representatives (for example the Administrative Director at Mauthausen and the Museum Director at Oskar Schindler Enamel Factory Museum) benefitted from sufficient preparation time and in some instances brought notes into the face to face interview which were used to guide the offered explanations in English (the Administrative Director at Mauthausen did follow this approach).

(d) The last step in the planning process was the confirmation of the site visit and face to face meeting with the key informants allocated by each dark heritage tourism site organisation.

At Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial and Museum and Sachsenhausen Memorial-Museum the key person representing the institution's director's views and main initial contact point was the Press Officer; these two cases were the only ones where such an approach was adopted. At both sites, it was only after the completion of the in-depth interview with the Press Officer that access to other key informants and subsequent site visits were gained. At all six sites and throughout the whole period of engagement with the researcher, the key informants spoke of severe shortages of resources to cope with the daily volume of work and to accommodate requests for face to face interviews from large numbers of researchers at various levels.

The in-depth interviews lasted from two to four hours and followed a semi-structured format, allowing interviewees to use the prepared explanations if so wished. At the end of each of the face to face interviews the researcher sought agreement with the interviewee for following up on any issue or aspect that may require further

explanation or clarification. The onsite enquiry was augmented by follow up online interviews with representatives of site management, using email communication. All managers were willing to elaborate and offered further insights in these follow up email interviews.

In order to establish rapport and put the respondent at ease, the interview began with some short informal conversation allowing the researcher to introduce herself and provide a brief explanation of the research. As all of the dark heritage tourism sites investigated were first and foremost historic sites and most managers and site representatives were accustomed to facilitating in-depth interviews to mainly researchers in the fields of history and politics, it was important for this researcher to re-emphasise that she was not a historian and that this study was approached from a business management perspective. Before commencing the interview, the researcher asked whether the interviewee would agree to have the interview recorded for the purposes of ensuring a full account of the discussion, while offering a transcript of the interview to each interviewee. Some interviewees voluntarily expressed willingness to email their pre-prepared notes to the researcher, after the interview; this was a supportive gesture on behalf of the interviewee, aimed at aiding the researcher's efforts to secure a most comprehensive record of the interview and had the effect of enhancing rapport and creating an effective line of communication for any follow up research needs.

Each interview began with a broad question relating to the research interest, such as *"Can you tell me about the main aim of this site/memorial/museum?"* or *"Can you tell me about this site/memorial/museum?"*. The use of such questions had the desired effect of settling the interviewee into a natural flow of conversation, while allowing for the key themes to emerge during the course of the conversation. These were noted by the researcher and used to probe the interviewee later in the interview. At all times the interviewees were allowed to continue answering the questions or making points until they were naturally finished. The researcher did not interrupt the flow of the interview and while remaining receptive (nodding and maintaining eye contact), the researcher practised detachment and stayed silent as much as possible. In order to ensure clear understanding, the researcher used encouraging phrases such as *"Can you tell me more about..."* or *"Tell me what you mean by ..."*. Such phrases facilitated probing as the interview unfolded and allowed for more specific lines of enquiry to be

pursued (Carson et al, 2001). The probing was often used to ensure consolidation of the knowledge and understanding gained through the observation studies, thus using the face to face interview to gain deeper insights and acquire a critical view of the phenomena previously observed. The researcher's capability to probe developed as the research unfolded, with the researcher's skills becoming more advanced along with knowledge and understanding of the key issues. The probing most often referred to: the purpose and scope of the four servicescape dimensions; how each is managed in order to facilitate the intended visitor interactions and deliver the anticipated value; why certain onsite processes took place, as noted by the observation studies; what were the current and future anticipated key challenges applicable to each site servicescape.

The follow up interviews resulted in enriched data and provided the researcher with opportunities to gain further clarification, understanding and a critical view on key issues that had emerged from the first interview, including: each site's heritage servicescape, its key dimensions, the processes and actions associated with visitor engagement, communication, interpretation and education at each site, the wider context referring to the historical events, the site's evolution and development to the present time, as well as the nature and scope of the main stakeholders' involvement. The follow-up interviews entailed more specific probing on specific issues and required the researcher's ability to clearly identify and outline any 'gaps' that arose out of the first interview and needed plugging. The questions of 'why' and 'how' were further utilised, while the researcher's already gained familiarity and knowledge of each site enabled her to draw upon similarities and areas that required further probing. These processes also led to the emergence of the main sub-themes applicable to the field of enquiry.

During the period from July 2013 to March 2015, at some sites (Dachau Concentration Camp Memorial Site; Sachsenhausen Memorial Museum; Mauthausen Memorial and Museum; Memorial for the Murdered Jews of Europe), some of the key informants left their posts and were replaced by new staff with whom the researcher had to secure new contact, build rapport and secure data gathering. Thus, when engaging with any of the new key informants, the researcher had to ensure a clear, condensed and concentrated synoptic account of the empirical data and understanding of the topic/issue to that point, so that a foundation upon which to continue and build the

empirical work could be established effectively. The total number of interviews reported herewith match the number of *all* the key informants with whom in-depth interviews were conducted at all sites, including the face to face and follow-up interviews via email.

During the period of January to March 2015, with permission from each site, interviews were carried out with a total of 73 visitors (from all sites), face to face and targeting the following areas: reasons for visiting, gained benefits from visiting, prior expectations, the servicescape dimensions and onsite experience. This stage of the empirical investigation made use of a questionnaire with open ended questions (APPENDIX C) in order to allow visitors to comment on their perceptions and on-site experiences. Some visitors responded through engaging in the face to face interviews, while others chose to complete the questionnaire by themselves. The face to face interviews with visitors were conducted at each site, and were recorded manually by the researcher, using a notebook and labelling each interview numerically and by using a condensed description of the interviewee profile (for example: Auschwitz-Birkenau – Interview 2 – Young woman, Italian). Visitors were approached at the end of their site visit, around the exit point (where generally there are seating facilities). The interviews lasted around 15- 20 minutes. The researcher managed to secure interviews with visitors of various age groups and nationalities (as long as they were able to speak English), whether visiting independently or as part of a group. For each interview, the researcher began by introducing herself and the purpose of the research; then, she proceeded to ask the open-ended questions shown in APPENDIX C. The majority of interviewees although willing to participate, displayed a quiet and sombre mood. This was the case at all sites, whether *of* or *associated with* death.

3.5.3.3 Analysis of museum documentary evidence

Document analysis is a recognised qualitative research method entailing a systematic procedure for reviewing and evaluating documents, whether in printed and/or electronic formats (Bowen, 2009). The value of document analysis lies in its potential to “...*help the researcher uncover meaning, develop understanding, and discover insights relevant to the research problem*” (Merriam, 1988, p.118). Although some studies do present document analysis as a stand-alone method (Wild et al, 2009, Gagel, 1997, Merriam, 1988), the majority of the academic literature regards it as a complement to or part of “*combination of methodologies in the study of the same*

phenomena” (Denzin, 1970, p.291), for example interviews, observation and physical artefacts (Bowen, 2009, p.28 citing Yin, 1994). Importantly, within the varied arsenal of research methods available to researchers, document analysis is especially suited to qualitative case studies, and forms an important source of empirical data for case studies (Bowen, 2009; Mills, Bonner and Francis, 2006). Thus, in the context of this study, a wide range of documents related to each case were consulted and analysed. The purpose of such approach was to gain background and context information on each dark heritage site, whether a former concentration camp, museum or recently constructed memorial.

A qualitative content analysis was used to examine key strategic and communication documents relating to each site and took place throughout the entire period of the empirical investigations (July 2013 to March 2015). Such sources included online and printed materials such as annual reports, main catalogues and manuals outlining the history, content and approach to the development of each site servicescape to the present day, website pages outlining each site’s provision and guidance for visitation, key remembrance dates, details of commemorative events and educational initiatives, as well as keynote speeches and other noteworthy communication made by the site’s director(s), other senior staff and/or key political leaders. Accessing such information aided with the formulation of supplementary questions that were used during the in-depth interviews, provided additional data that enhanced the efforts for tracking the changes and development of each site (for example data related to volume and pattern of visitation; main stages in the reconceptualisation process undertaken by some of the memorial sites investigated; dates and other factual information of a historical nature) and helped with the verification of data obtained from the observation studies and the in-depth interviews completed at each site. Table 3.5 lists the documents used for analysis for each site.

Table 3.5 Documents Analysed (Per Site)

<p>Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial and Museum</p> <p>Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial Annual Reports (2012- 2017) Auschwitz-Birkenau “To Preserve Authenticity” Project Summary (2012) Auschwitz-Birkenau “The Past and The Present” Brochure (2011) Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum Guide (2012) Auschwitz-Birkenau “The Place Where You Are Standing” Album (2013) International Center for Education About Auschwitz and the Holocaust (2013; 2014) “To Preserve Authenticity – The Conservation of Two Blocks at The Former KL Auschwitz I” (2013) “To Preserve Authenticity- The Conservation of Five Wooden Barracks at the Former Auschwitz II-Birkenau Concentration Camp” (2012) “Auschwitz From A to Z – An Illustrated History of the Camp” (2013) Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial and Museum website: http://auschwitz.org/en/</p>
<p>Dachau Concentration Camp Memorial Site</p> <p>“The Dachau Concentration Camp 1933-1945, text and photo documents from the exhibition, with CD” (2005) Dachau Concentration Camp- Script for Walks and Tours on the Grounds of Dachau Concentration Camp (2010) Memorial Site Dachau, Bavarian Memorial Foundation Guidebook (2013) “The International Monument by Nandor Glid. Ideas, Competitions, Realization- Catalog of the special exhibition - Commissioned by the Dachau Concentration Camp Memorial Site” (2015) Dachau Concentration Camp Memorial e-Newsletters and website: https://www.kz-gedenkstaette-dachau.de/index-e.html</p>
<p>Mauthausen Memorial</p> <p>The Concentration Camp Mauthausen 1938–1945 Catalogue (2013) The Concentration Camp 1938–1945 “The Crime Scenes of Mauthausen - Searching for Traces, Room of Names” Bulletin (2013) Mauthausen Memorial Neu Gestalten - Conference Transcript of the 2ns Dialogforum Mauthausen, 8th-9th June 2010 (2010) Mauthausen Memorial Redesign – “Framework concept for the redesign of the Mauthausen memorial”, Vienna (2012) Mauthausen Memorial website: https://www.mauthausen-memorial.org/en</p>
<p>Sachsenhausen Memorial and Museum</p> <p>Sachsenhausen Concentrating Camp 1936–1945 Events and Developments (2011) “The Truth Booth at Sachsenhausen – A user feedback station card” (2013) Sachsenhausen Memorial and Museum Guide – English Version (2012) Sachsenhausen Memorial and Museum website: http://www.stiftung-bg.de/gums/en/</p>
<p>Oskar Schindler Enamel Factory Museum</p> <p>Krakow under Nazi Occupation 1939-1945 (2011) Permanent Exhibition – Krakow under Nazi Occupation 1939-1945 - Oskar Schindler’s Enamel Factory at 4 Lipowa St in Krakow (2011) Oskar Schindler’s Enamel Factory Guidebook, Historical Museum of Krakow (2014)</p>

Oskar Schindler's Enamel Factory Museum website: http://www.mhk.pl/branches/oskar-schindlers-factory
Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe
Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe – Guide to the Information Centre (2010)
Information Booklet - Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe and Information Centre (2012)
Holocaust Memorial Berlin - English Version (2008)
Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe Report 2012-2014 (2014)
Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe website: https://www.stiftung-denkmal.de/en/memorials/the-memorial-to-the-murdered-jews-of-europe.html

3.6 Data analysis

The corpus of data deriving from qualitative methods is typically large and unstructured, therefore not straightforward to analyse (Bryman and Bell, 2003). The main sources of data employed by this study are listed herein, in the order of that they were utilised: (1) observation studies carried out at each site; (2) in-depth interviews with managers and site representatives (face to face); (3) content analysis of documentary evidence carried out for each site; (4) follow-up interviews with managers and site representatives (by email); (5) interviews with visitors (face to face).

Making use of the data collected from field notes and transcripts of the in-depth interview with managers, the researcher started by reading through all of the data over and over again in order to gain familiarity and gain an overall feel for the data collected. This time consuming, yet essential stage, had the effect of immersing the researcher in the data. The reading brought the researcher into the nuances of the data, which is of significant importance, before the researcher can begin to describe and analyse the data. The content of the in-depth interviews with managers was assimilated from both interview transcripts and audio-recordings. The audio recordings were useful not only in terms of ensuring a comprehensive record of the subjects discussed, but they also triggered the researcher's memory and visualisation of the realities observed in the field. Qualitative interpretation involves the organisation of like categories as well as the identification and development of their relationship and processes connections, using themes, concept or similar features (Jennings, 2010; Neuman, 2006).

The conceptual model derived from the academic literature guided the entire research strategy including data collection and analysis. The four key servicescape dimensions identified in the conceptual model (physical, natural, social and socially-symbolic dimensions) were used as the main guiding themes that helped the researcher make sense of the data gathered. On this basis, an open coding system was used for each transcript. As Miles and Huberman (1994) explain, “*Codes are tags or labels for assigning units of meaning to the descriptive or inferential information compiled during a study. Codes usually are attached to ‘chunks’ of varying sizes- words, phrases, or whole paragraphs, connected or unconnected to a specific setting. They can take the form of a straightforward category label or a more complex one...*” (p.56). In the context of this research, codes were placed on the words, sentences or key paragraphs in the data that matched the main four servicescape dimensions (Rosenbaum and Massiah, 2011). The coding system was beneficial in driving further empirical material collection, including documentary material for each case.

Documentary materials represented an important stream of data for each case, as illustrated in Table 3.5 (shown in the previous section). These sources augmented the primary data gained from the observation studies and the in-depth interviews with the managers, thus providing additional depth to the researcher’s contextual understanding of each servicescape dimension at each site. With the gradual ‘thickening’ of the data emerging from such varied sources, further analysis was required. The researcher began to group concepts together around the key themes that matched the four key servicescape dimensions: physical, natural, social and socially-symbolic.

Employing domain analysis as advocated by Jennings (2010), allowed the analysis of data to be advanced. Domains are categories of meaning (Jennings, 2010 citing Spradley, 1980) that include three components: a ‘cover term’ (*name*), ‘included terms’ (*subcategories of the domain*) and a ‘semantic relationships’ (*is a kind of*) (Jennings, 2010, p.214, citing Spradley, 1980). The benefit of the deductive approach lies in the conceptual model driving the research strategy and a stable core structure being rendered by the main key domains/themes around which the process of data analysis can unfold. Thus, the cover terms (main domains) identified coincided with the key four servicescape dimensions, that is the physical, natural, social and socially-symbolic dimensions (Rosenbaum and Massiah, 2011). For example, one of the cover

terms (main name or domain category) is ‘Physical Servicescape Dimension’; a subcategory of this domain is ‘Exhibitions and Artefacts’. Jennings (2010, p.214) cites Spradley (1980, p.93) in presenting a range of domain relationships established on the basis of their semantic relationship between the ideas, concepts or elements that require categorisation, as illustrated in Table 3.6 below.

Table 3.6 Various domain relationships (Jennings, 2010, p. 241 citing Spradley, 1980, p.93)

Relationships	Semantic relationships	Example
Strict inclusion	A is a kind of B	A cruise is a kind of holiday
Spatial	A is a place of B A is a part of B	The duty-free shop is a place in the international airport The check-in counter is a part of the international airport
Cause-effect	A is a result of B	Catching an international flight is a result of purchasing a ticket
Rational	A is the reason for doing B	Theft is the reason for wearing a money belt
Location for action	A is a place for doing B	The restaurant is a place for dining out
Function	A is used for B	A bus is used for transporting holiday-makers
Means-end	A is the way to B	Saving hard is the way to afford a holiday
Sequence	A is a step (stage) in B	The ‘travel to’ phase is a stage of the travel experience
Attribution	A is a characteristic of B	Wearing Hawaiian shirts is a characteristic of resort holiday-makers

Following the initial application of the logic of domain analysis, within which the main domains matched the key servicescape dimensions from the conceptual model (Rosenbaum and Massiah, 2011), the following classification emerged, identifying a wide range of sub-domains/sub-themes as defined by their initially reasoned relationships and grouping of concepts. Table 3.7 provides an illustration of the initial classification obtained and the main relationships identified when examining the empirical data.

Table 3.7 Initial application of domain analysis logic as guided by the conceptual model

Main domain category/ key theme ('cover' term)	Sub-domain or sub-theme ('included' term)	Nature of semantic relationship(s) outlined	Category of relationship(s)
Physical servicescape dimension (PH-S-D)	<p>Location – authentic vs inauthentic</p> <p>Physical structures – buildings and other site remnants whether original, reconstructed or newly built – authentic character</p> <p>Range of artefacts and collections (personal effects) – authentic character</p> <p>Preservation of tangible site – authentic character</p> <p>Tourism infrastructure & Accessibility</p> <p>Signage</p> <p>Multi-sensory onsite conditions</p>	<p>Location is a characteristic of PH-S-D</p> <p>All physical structures are part of: the place and function of PH-S-D, they accommodate visitation and render the authentic character of the PH-S-D</p> <p>Artefacts and collections are part of the place and render the authentic character of the PH-S-D</p> <p>The preservation of the tangible site renders it an authentic heritage tourism site</p> <p>Tourism infrastructure enables visitors' encounter with the PH-S-D</p> <p>Signage enables visitor orientation and deciphering of the PH-S-D</p> <p>Sensorial cues enable visitors' encounter with and processing of the PH-S-D</p>	<p>Attribution</p> <p>Strict inclusion, function, location for action, attribution</p> <p>Strict inclusion & attribution</p> <p>Cause-effect & attribution</p> <p>Function, location for action</p> <p>Function</p> <p>Function</p>
Natural servicescape dimension (N-S-D)	Location and natural topography, incl. vegetation – authentic character	All-natural features are part of: the place and function of N-S-D, they accommodate visitation and render the authentic character of the N-S-D	Strict inclusion, function, location for action and attribution

	Direct exposure to weather/temperature	All weather conditions are part of the N-S-D	Strict inclusion
Social servicescape dimension (SSERV – D)	<p>Contemporary stakeholders</p> <p>Visitors – main groups, numbers, pattern of visitation; social density</p> <p>Survivors</p> <p>Site guides, other site employees, management</p> <p>Local and national government agencies</p> <p>Historical social actors - prisoner society; perpetrators; bystanders; collaborators – authentic character</p> <p>Narrative, guiding, interpretation</p>	<p>All contemporary stakeholders are part of the SSERV-D and main rationale as sites of visitation and education (from sites of crime)</p> <p>All historical social actors are part of the SSERV-D as representing the original events (authentic character) and rationale as dark heritage sites</p> <p>Narrative, guiding and interpretation convey and explain the history with all its actors to today’s visitors</p>	<p>Strict inclusion and rationale</p> <p>Strict inclusion, rationale, attribution</p> <p>Function</p>
Socially-symbolic servicescape dimension (S-S-D)	<p>Current mission – complex, multi-layered</p> <p>Not ‘dark tourism’ – instead remembrance, commemoration, humanistic education</p>	<p>The complex, multi-layered current mission (remit) of each site aims to deliver socially-symbolic value</p> <p>The main purpose and rationale is to deliver relevant symbolic value to individuals and society; term ‘dark tourism’ vehemently rejected</p>	<p>Means-end</p> <p>Rationale</p>

Domain analysis was also useful in identifying other important distinctions in the data. According to Jennings (2010, p.214) who cites Spradley (1980), there are three types of domains. These domains' titles closely reflect the original context (cultural tourism) that provided their conceptualisation (Spradley, 1980) and they are: folk domain, mixed domain and analytic domains (Jennings, 2010, p.214). Each domain can be defined as follows:

Table 3.8. Types of domains (Jennings, 2010, p.214 citing Spradley, 1980)

Folk domains	Employ the language/terminology used in the specific setting being studied
Mixed domains	Employ the language/terminology used by both the examined setting and the researcher
Analytic domains	Employ the language/terminology of the researcher rather than that of the examined setting

Making use of these domain categories, the researcher was able to gain further insight into the data, through the emergence of new domains and associated meanings which not only aided the researcher's holistic understanding of the 'field', but were adopted for the purpose of further data acquisition and processing and follow up interviews with site managers. Table 3.9 offers an illustration of such newly identified domains. As explained by Jennings (2010) domain analysis is an ongoing process; as the researcher collects and/or engages with new empirical data, he/she must make sure that the interpretation fits all contexts of the setting being studied.

Table 3.9. Newly Emerging Domains Obtained from Ongoing Domain Analysis

Domain type	Brief description
Folk domain	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Prisoner society – site managers' terminology when referring to the diversity of victims and their relationships • Second generation survivors – site managers terminology when referring to survivors' families • Memorial education - site managers terminology when referring to the specific type of education provided by memorial and museum sites linked to the history of the Holocaust and other National Socialist crimes • Camp's integration in the civil society- site managers terminology when referring to the former concentration camp's physical location within the local community and its relationships with the local community and its inhabitants/citizens at the time • Invisible site - site managers terminology when referring to the part of the historic site completely destroyed and now in private ownership (at Mauthausen Memorial and Museum)

Analytic domain	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dark tourism – the researcher’s terminology as identified by the academic literature, yet on the whole vehemently rejected by site managers as pejorative and unsubstantiated by their experiences • Servicescape; servicescape dimensions - the researcher’s terminology as identified from the academic literature, but not used by any of the managers
Mixed domain	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Narrative – shared terminology and accepted meaning by both the researcher and the site managers

As the main types of semantic relationships among the data units provided enhanced clarity, iterative domain analysis resulted in the researcher’s deeper understanding of the structure of each main domain/key theme and its related sub-domain/sub-theme, thus aiding the further distillation of data. For example, from the early stage it became apparent that at sites *of* death the tangible, visible site that visitors encounter and perceive is shaped by both physical and natural servicescape components and that the natural environment houses a significant part of the authentic character of the site. The natural topography is an essential dimension of the authenticity of the place and of its dark past. As stated in the documentary material and by site managers in in-depth interviews, location and natural setting were some of the key criteria used by the Nazis when choosing the location of the concentration camps (Mauthausen for example located close to the granite quarries, in order to provide granite for Hitler’s grandiose building programme; at Auschwitz II Birkenau, many of the hideous crimes were perpetrated and kept hidden under the cover of the wooded areas and today visitors can see the pond areas holding the human ash of the very large numbers of innocent victims of the Nazis). Additionally, exposure of the historical site remnants to the natural/weather elements carries significant implications for the preservation and conservation of the material substance of each site thus, the physical and natural servicescapes in the context of sites of death called for grouping together and integration as an important dimension of the authentic character of the site. Although at sites *associated with* death the natural servicescape dimension is of lesser importance, it still exerts impact upon the visiting experience, especially in terms of sensorial perception of the servicescape. This provides an example of two distinct main domains/key themes collapsing into one. The other two main domains/key themes continued to warrant independent standing, throughout all stages of data analysis, at all six sites. Thus, the application of the logic of domain analysis enabled

the comprehensive distillation of the empirical data gathered (at both sites *of and associated with* death) and resulted in its structuring that is reflective of the main domain / themes (key servicescape dimensions), sub-domains (sub-themes) and their semantic relationships. Table 3.10 below provides an illustration of the main domains/themes and sub-domains/themes used in the distillation of the empirical data/findings for all six sites.

Table 3.10 Main Domains (Themes) and Sub-Domains (Sub –Themes) Used in the Distillation of Empirical Data (Findings)

Servicescape key domain/theme (cover term)
1. Physical and natural dimensions
<i>First level sub-domain category/sub-theme</i>
1.1 Authenticity of place
<i>Second level sub-domain category/sub-theme:</i>
1.1.1 Natural topography and immovable structures
1.1.2 Exhibitions and artefacts
Servicescape key domain/theme (cover term)
2. Social dimension
<i>First level sub-domain category/sub-theme</i>
2.1 Narrative
2.2 Interpretation and education provision
2.3 Visitors and visitor density
Servicescape key domain/theme (cover term)
3. Socially-symbolic dimension
<i>First level sub-domain category/sub-theme</i>
3.1 Symbolic value for individual and society

To gain further comprehension of the data, content analysis was employed alongside the domain analysis. Content analysis entailed the deeper examination and interpretation of the data in relation to the conceptual model, in terms of the process connections between the key domains/themes and sub-domains/themes. Data gathered and analysed from documentary materials and observation studies in both textual and photographic format provided background details and built a wider foundation from which the researcher iteratively analysed the content of the management interview transcripts. At this stage the understanding of *how* the main

servicescape dimensions were managed in order to deliver the intended onsite visitor encounter started to emerge.

The coding and analysis of data through both domain and content analysis led to the identification of any potential gaps in the data, the researcher's needs to clarify certain aspects related to the main domains/key themes and/or sub-domains/sub-themes and/or newly emerging issues and new insights. Each of these scenarios were addressed through follow-up interviews with site managers; site managers' feedback helped validate findings that emerged from the other data streams and contributed to the researcher's thorough understanding of each relevant entity and connections between each servicescape dimension and its key components. Patterns started to emerge in terms of the physical and natural, social and socially-symbolic servicescape key themes and their manifestations at sites *of* and *associated with* death.

Re-immersion in the field for further observation studies and structured interviews with visitors generated additional streams of data, thus contributing to the formation of a thick and comprehensive profile of each case. This data provided a clear reflection of the visitor perspective, in terms of the action and process interactions between visitors and the physical and natural *and* social servicescapes, and on this basis the holistic symbolic value derived from the onsite encounter. Data related to visitors' reasons for visitation and perceptions of the servicescape was also obtained, allowing for the relevant part of the conceptual model, thus capturing the visitor perspective (Biran et al, 2011).

Once data capturing ensured that both managers' and visitors' perceptions were obtained, reflecting all of the relevant streams of data were employed, a more elevated level of content analysis was executed, pulling together all textual and photographic data in order to categorise the content into a final system of common themes and instances. The overarching aim of content analysis is to employ a systematic approach to analysing all of the data (text from in-depth interviews with managers and visitors, field notes and photographic material; documentary material) in order to reduce researcher bias (Brymann and Bell, 2015; Saunders, 2009).

3.7 Timeframe

Conceptualising the timeframe of a study reflects its temporal dimension and helps to identify whether the study is cross-sectional or longitudinal. Cross-sectional studies

tend to be short term and at a single point in time, whereas longitudinal studies unfold over a period of time. The main strength of longitudinal research lies in its capacity to study change and development (Saunders et al, 2009) through its *“gathering over time of extensive empirical materials that are rich in nature and allow a fuller picture to be achieved”* (Jennings, 2010, p.184). Thus, longitudinal studies allow for the accumulation of knowledge and insight over time; the researcher becomes an expert in the area, thus providing experiential knowledge (Carson et al, 2005; Perry, 2013). Additionally, longitudinal studies can provide for *“longitudinal reciprocation”* (Carson et al, 2005, p.219) of a research methodology using a variety of matched sources that can lead to the production of a comprehensive data repository. Subsequently, such wealth of data can be used for deep and systematic analysis, thus allowing for aspects of generalizability (and therefore validity and reliability) to be achieved (Carson et al, 2005). Moreover, in longitudinal multi-case research, the new insights gained by the researcher at each stage allow for meaningful conceptualisations of the phenomena to be created, adapted and refined, thus moving the research endeavour towards theory building (Carson et al., 2005).

When conceptualising time horizons for longitudinal studies, it is commonly agreed within the literature that there is no precise length of time or interval for longitudinal enquiry (Gray, 2014; Saldana, 2003; Berthoud, 2000; Cordon and Miller, 2007). For this particular multi-case study research, the researcher adopted an approach that ensured significant periods of immersion in the field dedicated to both data collection using multiple mixes of qualitative research methods and development of experiential knowledge. The empirical research covered the period from July 2013 to March 2015.

3.8 Ethics

In the context of research, ethics refers to the moral and professional guidelines that the researcher is required to use during the course of the research project (Jennings, 2010). More specifically, ethics relates to the appropriateness of the researcher’s behaviour in relation to the rights of those who he/she interacts with during the research process, thus becoming the subject of his/her work or being affected by it (Saunders et al, 2009). As Sieber (1992) states: *“The ethical researcher creates a mutually respectful, win-win relationship with the research population; this is a*

relationship in which subjects are pleased to participate candidly, and the community at large regards the conclusions as constructive” (p.2). The researcher must therefore be aware of the consequences of his/her empirical effort (in terms of both collection and findings) for society, governments and the scientific community (Jennings, 2010). It is therefore of paramount importance that the research design is both “*methodologically sound and morally defensible to all those who are involved*” (Saunders et al, 2009, p.184). Throughout the entire research process underpinning this study the issue of ethics and ensuring an ethical approach to data collection and analysis remained a central focus, given the sensitive nature of both the field of application (that is sites *of* and *associated with* death, genocide and human suffering linked to the events of the Holocaust and other Nazi Germany atrocities) and the topics discussed.

Protocols were followed when dealing with human participants throughout the entire research process and most importantly during the data collection process. From the first point of contact with each site and right through the entire data collection and analysis process, the researcher acted in full cognisance of the complex nature and scope of each site, including that of cemetery (for the sites of death) and place of remembrance for the loss of life and human suffering associated with the historical events represented. The letter of support from the Academic Supervisor (shown in APPENDIX A) was issued to each site and produced every time any of the participants requested such clarification. Additionally, the research adhered to Ulster University Business School ethical approval protocols.

Prior to the beginning of each interview with site management representatives and/or other site staff, the participant was made aware that the interview was recorded although confidentiality would be maintained. At the start of each interview with visitors, the researcher re-emphasised the provision of confidentiality. Each participant was identified only by their job title or using the generic term of “*Visitor*”. Additionally, at each site, the researcher observed the code of conduct recommended by each memorial site to visitors and respected the typical sombre and reflective mood of the visitors and dignity of the memorial site. The response from participants was encouraging, as the research progressed respondents became more forthcoming with information.

During the observation studies, the researcher adopted the role of “participant as observer”. For this stage a detailed observation schedule was created, and field notes formed the method of data collection. Participants were made aware of the research and the role of researcher. This allowed the researcher to take a “semi-covert” (Bryman and Bell, 2015) role during the (guided) site tours both as a participant and as an observer, noting and interpreting the manifestations encountered. It is beneficial to inform the participants rather than take a complete covert role, as this can lead to ethical concerns around informed consent (Gray, 2014; Carson et al., 2001). During the observation studies, pictorial evidence of the dark heritage tourism servicescape at each site was also collected. Throughout the duration of the (field) site visits, the researcher used a smartphone/Iphone and an Ipad to take pictures; the pictures involved non-reactive sources, thus not involving humans. Consequently, there was no need for informed consent to be obtained for this stage of the research (Gray, 2014).

3.9 Limitations of Research Methodology

The research strategy employed was based on a multiple case approach using qualitative techniques to gather data. An explanation of and justification for these chosen techniques is provided in previous sections. Nevertheless, there are some limitations to the research.

It is acknowledged that qualitative case research can produce large quantities of data (Yin, 1994; Carson et al., 2001). Secondly qualitative data is often criticised for being too subjective. The challenge for the researcher is to interpret and create meaningful data from the raw data gathered. Data analysis for this research study was driven by coding and analysis of data through both domain and content analysis and linked closely to the literature, in order to ensure rigour, to make sense of the data and to limit researcher bias (Saunders et al, 2012). Interpretivism, as the epistemological choice underpinning the study may be considered a limitation, as such research tradition is critiqued for lack of external validity. Additionally, case research tends to be critiqued for its small number of cases. However, Carson et al (2005) reminds us of the ability of multi-case research to enable both “*sufficient data*” and “*appropriate depth*” through the construction of a “*descriptive model of actual happenings in context*” (p.109). This researcher sought to overcome the traditional limitations of case research and interpretivism by implementing follow-up interviews with site management

representatives and other site staff in order to gain full clarity and depth of understanding of the manifestations investigated. Data triangulation using documentary material analysis to confirm results across the sources used was also implemented.

Additionally, in-depth interviews with visitors were conducted, thus adding robustness to the collection, analysis and interpretation of data, and led to a holistic understanding of “the field”. The in-depth interviews with visitors were conducted at the point of exit from the site/venue.

Finally, in terms of the epistemological approach it is known that no epistemology is superior over the other (Saunders et al., 2012). Thus, the interpretivist approach was deemed best suited to this study given the specific research objectives. As there is no set philosophical, epistemological and methodological approaches that can achieve complete detachment, it is reasonable to caution that all research will carry a clause of some bias (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005).

3.10 Conclusion

This chapter has described the research aim and objectives, and justified the research position and methodological choices made in carrying out this research. The chapter also provided a detailed discussion of the research design, the selection of cases for study, the data collection methods and how the data was analysed. Finally, the chapter outlined the research ethics applied to the execution of the research and the limitations of the research methodology.

Chapter 4: Findings from two cases

4.1 Introduction

The findings from this research are presented in chapters 4 and 5. This chapter presents the empirical findings from two of the cases included in this research: Case 1 - Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial Museum (Poland), as a site of death and Case 2 - The Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe (Germany), as a site associated with death. Chapter 5 presents and analyses the key themes of this study evolving from the servicescape dimensions by using the best or most illustrative examples from each of the other four remaining sites. The conceptual model illustrated in Fig 2.5 provided the guidance for the empirical effort in terms of both the collection of data and the logic underpinning the presentation of the key findings for each case. As explained in section 2.4, the conceptual model was built from the integration of servicescape management (Rosenbaum and Massiah, 2011) and dark tourism (Biran et al, 2011) literatures. It brought together the four dimensions (physical, natural, social and socially-symbolic) of the expanded servicescape rendered by each dark heritage tourism site and the continuum of experience attached to the on-site encounter, which reflects visitors' varying motives for and sought benefits from the visitation. Consequently, the empirical investigation and derived findings have captured both the management's and visitor's perspectives. Each case was evaluated using the conceptual model. The framework was employed in pursuit of the research objectives (as stated in sections 3.2.1, 3.2.2 and 3.2.3). Thus, at each site the empirical data were collected and is being presented using the structure of the expanded servicescape component of the holistic conceptual model which includes the physical, natural, social and socially-symbolic dimensions.

The management perspective captures the site managers' (including directors, heads of education, education staff, press officers, site guides) views, experiences and actions related to the nature and scope of each of the four expanded servicescape dimensions applicable to the respective site (reflective of the overarching aim for delivering holistic visitor value that matches visitors' heterogeneous profiles).

The visitor perspective captures visitors' views related to their on-site encounter at each site (in terms of their cognitive processes and actions during the site visit), as shaped and facilitated by each of the four expanded servicescape dimensions.

The empirical data gained and analysed allowed the researcher to evaluate the scope and potential of the expanded servicescape framework for the effective (marketing) management of both sites of and associated with death, from a contemporary perspective. This is part of the overarching aim of this study. The structure of the chapter follows the utilisation of the logic of domain analysis, which was explained in Section 3.6 (and illustrated in Table 3.9).

4.2 Case 1 - Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial and Museum (Poland)

Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial and Museum is located in the suburbs of the town of Oswiecim (in Southern Poland which during WWII was annexed by the Third Reich), at approximately 70 kms from Krakow.

4.2.1 Physical and Natural Dimensions

4.2.1.1 Authenticity of Place

Known as the principal and most notorious of the concentration camps established by the occupying Nazis first for political prisoners, but soon transformed into an extermination camp designed to implement the Final Solution, Auschwitz-Birkenau stands in public awareness as *“the most recognizable symbol and place of Holocaust and genocide in the world”* (Principal Press Officer). Site guides described it as *“the most authentic”*, best preserved and largest Nazi concentration camp, built to combine both extermination and forced labour.

The site of Auschwitz-Birkeanu Memorial and Museum houses the remains of the two camps, Auschwitz I and Auschwitz II-Birkenau, together with its Protective Zone. In 1979 the entire complex gained World Heritage Site status and inscription on the World Heritage List (under criterion 6), having had its universal value explicitly confirmed. The authenticity of the Auschwitz camp complex is one of the key attributes (along with its integrity) which was unequivocally confirmed as *“truthful”* and *“credible”* and forms part of its Outstanding Universal Value statement issued by UNESCO World Heritage Centre (1992-2015):

“The site and its landscape have high levels of authenticity and integrity since the original evidence has been carefully conserved without any unnecessary restoration...The Auschwitz camp complex has survived largely unchanged

since its liberation in January 1945. The remaining camp buildings, structures and infrastructure are a silent witness to history, bearing testimony of the crime of genocide committed by the German Nazis.” (UNESCO World Heritage Centre website, 1992-2015).

The memorial site available for visitation today contains “*the core area*” (*Principal Press Officer*) of what used to be a much larger SS controlled area when the camp was in operation. Thus, the tangible physical and natural elements of this historic(al) and memory servicescape vividly testify, through its natural topography and site remnants to the mass murder of well over one million people (90% of whom were Jewish) and to the suffering of hundreds of thousands more who were incarcerated here. APPENDIX D provides a photograph of the original camp buildings at Auschwitz 1.

Authenticity is therefore the prime attribute that endows this place as unique and of huge interest, making it the most visited memorial site of a former Nazi concentration camp in both Poland and Europe. In the managers’ view, authenticity sits at the heart of this entire memorial and museum servicescape, the planned and delivered visitor experience and its total management efforts.

Although charged with a multi-mandate that includes research, collection, preservation and educational aims, preservation is clearly the most important, as “*without the site there would be no visitors...*” (*Principal Press Officer*). Explaining the preservation of the authentic site as directly linked to the effort and will of the survivors for whom the authentic relics stood as proof of the committed crimes, managers stated that “*servicing the site*” (*Head of Education Projects*) was the overarching, paramount philosophy that underpinned all other management efforts and ensured the relevancy of this place and this history for subsequent generations. Conservation and preservation of the site are therefore key ongoing, permanent priorities and challenges facing the management. Strict conservation principles and operating procedures are in place which impose strict restrictions on any additional elements being introduced or any alterations being executed, hence there are limited or no disabled facilities evident on site. The conservation of the natural environment (for example the vegetation) is also part of the preservation remit, as is the work devoted to the conservation of movable objects within the Museum collections

(inclusive of a large number of victims' personal possessions) and of the archival materials.

Explaining that maintaining this authentic historic(al) and memory servicescape “*demands significant costs*” (Principal Press Officer), current managers acknowledged the critically positive and strategic role played by the Auschwitz-Birkenau Foundation in ensuring the long term financial sustainability required by the preservation work, through its Perpetual Fund.

Discussions with both managers and visitors revealed that most first-time visitors tend to assume that the camp had been situated in a remote area and do show surprise when seeing it sitting in a populated area, surrounded by normal civic life. More of managers' views in relation to the importance and scope of authenticity are shown in Table 4.1.a., while Table 4.1.b. shows additional visitors' comments regarding authenticity. Visitors did refer to the powerful impact exerted by the encounter with the memorial-museum servicescape, which in turn was framed by the authentic (historical) site and its natural environment.

Table 4.1.a Authenticity of Place - Management Perspective (Auschwitz-Birkenau)

Management Perspective Evidence
<p><i>“...the authentic, best preserved and largest of all Nazi Germany concentration camps” (Site Guide/Educator)</i></p> <p><i>“Authenticity refers to everything that visitors see here today...it’s a museum inside a museum...a visit to Auschwitz is not only a lesson in history, but also an experience of authenticity” (Principal Press Officer)</i></p> <p><i>“...without the site there would be no visitors...” (Principal Press Officer)</i></p> <p><i>“...tangibly preserved.... a never-ending struggle... to recognise the authentic substance of the site, to preserve the whole thing, including the natural environment ... to keep the site as close as possible to how it was when it was in operation ... we have to preserve the evidence of this crime...” (Deputy Head of Preservation Department)</i></p>

Table 4.1.b Authenticity of Place – Visitor Perspective (Auschwitz-Birkenau)

Visitor Perspective Evidence
<p><i>“It is very important to see this place with your own eyes, visiting was more powerful than anything we’ve seen in books or in movies” (Visitor comment, A-B)</i></p> <p><i>“I felt it is ironic how such tragedy could have happened in such a beautiful, peaceful place...even in this heat you can see the natural beauty...butterflies, birds singing...around the pond at Birkeanu holding the burned people’s ashes...” (Visitor comment, A-B)</i></p>

4.2.1.2 Natural Topography and Immovable Structures

The Memorial Site includes the two preserved parts of the former camp: Auschwitz I and Auschwitz II-Birkenau, occupying in total an area of 191 hectares (472 acres). Between the two parts, it is Auschwitz II-Birkenau which occupies the largest surface measuring 171 hectares (Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial and Museum website).

The main camp, Auschwitz I (set up in June 1940) occupies its original site, is surrounded by what used to be an electrified fence and houses the 22 pre-war Polish barracks (red brick) which were subsequently adapted by the SS for the Nazi-ran camp. It was here that the Nazis opened the first Auschwitz camp where the first crimes were committed, as well as the location of the commandant’s office and other administrative offices of the SS. The permanent exhibition is located here, and is housed within the original camp blocks.

Auschwitz II is located at 3.5 kms distance from Auschwitz I. The original site presents an expansive open-air perimeter that served the dual purpose of both a centre for the extermination of the Jews and a concentration camp complex. It is at Auschwitz II that visitors can see the ruins of the gas chambers and crematoria that were built and used for the murdering of the 900,000 Jews and many other innocent victims. The other main tangible evidence of the physical and natural components are: the entrance gate, the watch towers, the railway tracks and ramp, the large number of wooden and brick barracks, the burning pits, the International Monument, the sauna and disinfection building, as well as the areas formerly occupied by the so-called Gypsy Camp, Family Camp and the Kanada Camp (warehouses used for the plundered

goods). APPENDIX E provides a photographic representation of the ruins of the original Crematorium III located at Auschwitz II–Birkenau, in the vicinity of the wooded area.

The natural environment is of significant importance, as it was under the camouflage of trees and woodland areas at Birkenau, that many of the heinous crimes took place, and it is here, in these expansive open areas that many of the mass graves and areas containing human ash are situated. This is one of the reasons why Auschwitz is often referred to as the largest cemetery without graves.

Altogether, the Memorial and Museum area contains an extensive range of immovable structures (buildings), ruins and vestiges of the camp including the four gas chambers and crematoria in Birkenau, lengthy fencing and concrete posts. The expansive area of the grounds includes paved roads, drainage ditches and railways tracks. Apart from the large forest area there are also low-growing vegetation and historical and post war trees. Additionally, the natural environment exposes the visitor directly to weather and climatic conditions, thus impacting directly upon the visiting experience. For example, during the intense summer heat it is common for the guided tours at Birkenau to be cut down to maximum one hour or even 30 minutes; site guides did mention episodes where visitors collapsed with sun stroke and dehydration. Managers frequently highlighted the importance of the original site, the buildings and other site remnants for their intrinsic historic and symbolic value as “*eyewitnesses in themselves*” (*Plenipotentiary for the New Exhibition*) but also critical to both the authentic quality and educational value of the visiting experience.

Table 4.2.a captures comments from managers regarding the natural topography and immovable structures, while Table 4.2.b. captures the visitor perspective. As illustrated, visitor comments confirmed the importance of the authentic substance of the site (in terms of natural and built elements), along with its range of tangible evidence that facilitates understanding of the site and its original purpose. The holistic site topography provides visitors with visual cues that enact their mental connections required to draw meaning from the history on display.

Table 4.2.a Natural Topography and Immovable Structures – Management Perspective (Auschwitz-Birkenau)

Management Perspective - Evidence
<p><i>“The parts that tend to make most impact on visitors are not only the sheer size of Birkenau, but also the wooden barracks....it would have been as cold inside as outside, the toilet conditions...I tell them about the area at the side of the ramp where prisoners were forced to play football to make the place look normal for the new arrivals” (Site Guide/Educator)</i></p> <p><i>“... [site remnants] are eyewitnesses in themselves”(Plenipotentiary for the New Exhibition)</i></p> <p><i>“If the temperature is above 30C the tour at Birkenau is only allowed to last 30 minutes...we had visitors who collapsed with sunstroke and dehydration...” (Site Guide/Educator)</i></p>

Table 4.2.b Natural Topography and Immovable structures – Visitor Perspective (Auschwitz-Birkenau)

Visitor Perspective - Evidence
<p><i>“I was surprised by the vastness of this place” (Visitor comment, A-B)</i></p> <p><i>“...very poignant seeing the ramp where women and children arrived and how easy it was to separate them, on one side to death, on the other to live...” (Visitor comment, A-B)</i></p> <p><i>“The wooden barracks were shocking, they were made for storing things or for animals, not for humans...it was as cold inside as outside...” (Visitor comment, A-B)</i></p>

4.2.1.3 Exhibitions and Artefacts

The main permanent exhibition is located within Auschwitz I and is housed within five of the original blocks, which together with the reconstructed execution wall, gas chambers and crematorium form part of the standard guided tour. It is considered as an important part of the authentic site and the planned visitor experience. Its origins were linked to the efforts of camp survivors whose primary motivation was to create “a document” (*Representative for the Main New Exhibition*), able to record and narrate the site and the atrocities committed. Its contents and narrative reflect the history of the site, under three main themes: the policy of extermination; camp life; death and execution. Although the exhibition displays an extensive range of artefacts

connected to the former prisoners and victims, it does not place specific emphasis on individual prisoner stories; this perspective is supposed to be supplied by the guides during the guided tour.

A special permanent exhibition is located in Birkenau and is housed by the original main camp baths building, the so-called Sauna Building. Although accessible to everyone, this exhibition is included only in the extended guided tours, hence its complementary presence online (on the Museum's website). The original building stands as an authentic proof of the "*architecture of crime*" (*Principal Press Officer*), while the extensive collection of more than 2,400 original photos is extremely symbolic through its featuring of several Polish Jewish families and their visually captured happy, fulfilled, normal lives before their arrival and murder at Auschwitz. Its educational value was explained in terms of its ability to emphasise Jews as people, before they became victims, thus helping visitors to gain a wider historical, political and social perspective of the past, and one that extends beyond the victimhood of the Holocaust.

The national exhibitions present at Auschwitz I complement the permanent exhibition, adding an extra dimension to the overall site narrative. These provide a direct and clear representation of the other main groups of victims, thus demonstrating the international character of the site, the pan European dimension of the Holocaust as well as providing insights into specific national narratives. The managers highlighted the positive role of the national exhibitions defined by their ability to augment and balance both the cognitive and emotional components of the visitor experience. Cognitively, through the information on specific victim groups and countries affected by Nazi Germany's ideology and emotionally, through their aptly adopted methods of presentation and interpretation which focus on individual prisoners' stories. This latter quality was considered of most value in the provision of enhanced, specialist education, by managers.

Artefacts were highlighted as critical to the visiting experience due to their authentic nature, special meaning and symbolic value. The Memorial and Museum owns and displays tens of thousands of objects/artefacts. This huge number of artefacts, depicting "*the enormity of the Holocaust*" (*Site Guide/Educator*), make up a unique collection of universal value, connecting visitors to the human tragedy and the failure

of civilisation that Auschwitz represents and conveys. APPENDIX F provides a photographic illustration of the prosthetic limbs belonging to the victims and which are part of the large-scale collection of artefacts (containing numerous items of prisoners' personal effects) displayed at Auschwitz I.

The majority of artefacts are objects of a special nature, mainly personal possessions brought by deportees and found at the site after liberation: two tons of human hair, thousands of shoes, suitcases bearing the names of their owners, spectacles, prostheses and orthopaedic braces, camp garments, children's clothes, as well as pots and pans and works of visual art made by prisoners. Additionally, a special collection gathered more recently, features various objects and mementos donated by survivors, their families and other people connected with the former prisoners. This collection is still expanding as a result of the Museum's appeal and response from the general public whose generous donations contribute to the Museum's educational and commemorative work.

The managers' comments regarding the exhibitions and artefacts are illustrated in Table 4.3.a, while Table 4.3.b provides illustrations of visitors' perspectives. Visitors pointed to the cognitive and emotional value of the exhibitions and artefacts, confirming the ability of artefacts to enable a direct and empathetic relationship with the nature and extent of the human tragedy evident at Auschwitz.

Table 4.3.a Exhibitions and Artefacts - Management Perspective (Auschwitz-Birkenau)

Management Perspective -Evidence
<p><i>"... [the permanent exhibition] ...like a manual... that requires interpretation"</i> (Exhibitions Department Executive)</p>
<p><i>"Every item of personal possession connects the visitor with that victim, but it also connects us today to what Auschwitz stands for and all its meanings..."</i> (Head of Education Projects)</p>
<p><i>"The sauna exhibition is a symbolic representation that connects very well with the building...part of architecture of death.... emphasises that they were people before they became victims...the tendency is for visitors to focus on victims and victimhood"</i> (Principal Press Officer)</p>

Table 4.3.b Exhibitions and Artefacts - Visitor Perspective (Auschwitz-Birkenau)

Visitor Perspective -Evidence
<p><i>“This is my third time here. I still find it overwhelming and extremely moving, seeing the piles of hair I tried to imagine how anyone, even if they survived, could ever live a normal life afterwards...” (Visitor comment, A-B)</i></p> <p><i>“... my wife cried at block 6 where they show the little children’s clothes...very moving” (Visitor comment, A-B)</i></p> <p><i>“Seeing the photos of those Jewish families and how happy and prosperous they were before it all started...I have a specific photograph in my mind of a mother and daughter in the garden, near a lake, the little girl wearing a swimsuit and they were kissing each other...” (Visitor comment, A-B)</i></p>

4.2.2 Social dimension

4.2.2.1 Narrative

Visitors get to know the authentic site and understand its history through the encounter with the tangible evidence and its accompanying narrative. The evidence points to the entire visiting experience pivoting around the site’s authenticity, which in turn informs the narrative used to transmit knowledge and to educate. Indeed, the unique physical and natural servicescape of the authentic former camp acts as the tangible foundation upon which all other activities and social processes take place, thus defining and supporting the overall, holistic visiting experience. The same authentic substance enables visitors to understand the narrative that explains the past’s social spectrum with all its “actors” and their actions. Additionally, survivors’ testimonies are part of the narrative and augment the physical component of authenticity. They provide important and valuable representations of memory and have the effect of enabling visitors’ empathetic connection with the victims (this history), thus being regarded as invaluable resources for the educational efforts.

The managers explained that the key emphasis on the part of the Memorial and Museum was on delivering a cognitive, factually based narrative, with no specific pre-planned focus on generating emotions. Emotions were regarded as potential barriers to learning and education. However, management’s cognisance of the intrinsically emotional nature of the visiting experience provided by Auschwitz was clearly stated. One manager explained that although *“visitors may arrive with different expectations;*

their expectations are never nice ones...once they find themselves here they find it hard to deal with their own reactions” (Plenipotentiary for New Exhibition). Managers also pointed to certain parts of the authentic site (including the exhibitions) as well as the individual victim stories being imbued with more potent emotional triggers than others, thus presenting potential for visitors’ emotional distress. In this context the complexity of the guide’s role was to convey first and foremost the factual narrative and knowledge based information while also caring for visitors’ emotional state during the visit.

The site narrative enables the deciphering of the complex history and topographical evidence by employing a fluid and intertwining chronological and thematic content, as dictated by the authentic site. Unlike “*a purpose-built museum built by chronology*”, the site has “*no entry and no exit*”, therefore “*the narrative must serve the site*” (*Principal Press Officer*). Managers explained that although the core of the main narrative has been stable and unchanged, and always based on sound and historical evidence, new information derived from the continuous and dynamic research and scientific effort as well as reappraisals of the effectiveness of the Museum’s educational mandate have led to certain enhancements being made to the narrative. A relevant example is the change in the narrative offered at Birkenau. Since 2012, visitors followed the exact same path as that of the prisoners (rather than the sequential layout of the site followed in the past). Starting at the gate, moving to the railway ramp (the place of selection) visitors are facilitated to understand the purpose of Birkenau and to empathetically connect with the victims’ fate through the mediation of the actual physical place, “*the place that you are standing on now*” (*Head of Guiding Methodology*).

The perpetrator and bystander perspectives as part of the site narrative were also discussed. Managers explained that although the victims’ perspective remained the main constant within the narrative, “*understanding Auschwitz comes with understanding many of its dilemmas*” (*Principal Press Officer*), including those aspects related to the people who undertook perpetrating and bystander roles. In this context, managers explained that the new exhibition currently under development would place a significant focus on perpetrators in an attempt to start with the most obvious questions associated with Auschwitz: “How did this happen?” and “Why?”.

Issues related to the site narrative dissonance and distortion were also mentioned, especially in relation to the misinformation and at times widely spread ignorance of media who employed the erroneous term “Polish concentration camp”, as well as the changes made to the message/narrative after the fall of the iron curtain in order to ensure historical accuracy in relation to particular groups of camp victims, some of which were obscured under the previous communist regime. The managers’ comments are illustrated in Table 4.4.a.

The visitors’ perspective confirms management’s cognisance of the impact of the onsite visit for facilitating both emotional and cognitive processes. The value of visiting the actual authentic site and seeing with one’s own eyes were cited by visitors as key aspect of the narrative consumption. Visitors’ comments are shown in Table 4.4.b.

Table 4.4.a Narrative – Management Perspective (Auschwitz-Birkenau)

Management Perspective – Evidence
<i>“We regard the narrative as the bridge between the past and present” (Head of Education Projects)</i>
<i>“Survivors’ testimonies are a representation of the memory of Auschwitz, we should never diminish them, but it is important to be aware that it is not a historical fact...” (Plenipotentiary for the New Exhibition)</i>
<i>“We must fit the narration around the site” (Principal Press Officer)</i>
<i>“Our key visitor aim is to tell the story, teach the core of the historic facts...” (Head of Education Projects)</i>
<i>“...the place where you are standing now and what happened on this very place...” (Head of Guiding Methodology)</i>
<i>“It is up to the guide to find the best balance between chronology and main themes, according to the needs of the group” (Head of Guiding Methodology)</i>
<i>“...it is very important to show the people how they were before they became victims...there is a tendency for visitors to focus on victims, to see only the victim side of the person...” (Principal Press Officer)</i>

Table 4.4.b Narrative – Visitor Perspective (Auschwitz-Birkenau)

Visitor Perspective – Evidence
<p><i>“Studying from a book is not the same, you learn here in one day more than a week in school” (Visitor comment, A-B)</i></p> <p><i>“It is really important to see this place, it happened not so long ago, it makes you think deeply” (Visitor comment, A-B)</i></p> <p><i>“...very poignant to see the ramp where women and children arrived and to think that it was so easy to separate them, on one side to death, on the other to live” (Visitor comment, A-B)</i></p> <p><i>“You understand better here because you can see everything” (Visitor comment, A-B)</i></p> <p><i>“The sheer size of Birkenau...the scale of the killing...it makes sense now what you see in movies” (Visitor comment, A-B)</i></p> <p><i>“I still find it difficult to understand how these German Nazis got up in the morning, shaved, had breakfast, all the ordinary stuff, knowing what they were going to do during the day...killed people during the day and then went home to wife and children...” (Visitor comment, A-B)</i></p> <p><i>“I feel a numbness, I’m not sure if I fully understand, of course I know more than before but I am numb also... (Visitor comment, A-B)</i></p>

4.2.2.2 Interpretation and Education Provision

The majority of visitors choose to access the standard general tour (3 ½ hours duration, covering both camps of Auschwitz I and Auschwitz II) which serves as the main, routine methodology for delivering the site narrative. Apart from the standard general tour (includes guiding for both groups and individual visitors), the Memorial offers a range of extended tours (one and two-day duration) and an enhanced provision through its *International Centre for Education about Auschwitz and the Holocaust (ICEAH)*. ICEAH is charged with the provision of learning and education “*at a higher level, beyond the standard tour*” (*Head of Education Projects*).

The guides’ role was considered of paramount importance, being described as “*the most important interface between the site and the visitor*” and “*the most important part of the education function*” (*Head of Guiding Methodology*). Firstly, the provision of guiding services in 19 languages was regarded as most valuable, as for visitors “*to touch this place*” (*Head of Guiding Methodology*) they needed interpretation in their

own language. More importantly, the face to face guiding method was explained as essential and the only appropriate method able to convey the full meaning and symbolic value of the place, as well as to care for and meet visitors' emotional needs.

Significantly, managers highlighted that at Auschwitz, the guides were considered to fulfil the role of "educators" (*Head of Guiding Methodology*), signalling their allocated role as not only disseminators of specialist knowledge but also being equipped with wider skills in adapting and delivering the narrative according to each group's needs and interests, as well as dealing with visitors' emotional journey on site. For these very reasons there was no provision for audio guides as at other memorial sites; the managers' view was that "we could not expect a machine to explain this complex history, the human tragedy and to be able to deal with visitors' emotions" (*Principal Press Officer*).

Referring to the emotional impact of the visit, managers explained the adapted guided tour for certain visitor categories, including visitors below the age of 13 (considered optimum minimum age) and visitors with special educational needs. Such tours are reflective of the specific group's profile and abilities to deal with strong emotions (e.g. exclude the parts of the permanent exhibition displaying human hair and the extensive collections of victims' personal effects).

In spite of the complex nature of the guides' role, the discussions with managers revealed that the training provided to guides was heavily focused on the assimilation of historical knowledge, with only limited emphasis on interactive methods or skills and almost entirely devoid of any specialist psychological training or support. However, the managers referred to measures in place to care for guides'/educators' welfare (i.e. work pattern) as well as to provide access to enhanced training for topics matching guide'/educators' own interests. The collaborative work and training offered to guides/educators in conjunction with Yad Vashem in Israel was also mentioned, with the view that Yad Vashem's moral authority in all matters related to Holocaust remembrance and education was recognised worldwide, thus beneficial for guides' development. This type of collaborative work was highlighted as extremely beneficial to the enhancement of the guiding methodology overall, especially in the absence of nationally agreed guidelines for guiding and interpretation practice at memorial sites in Poland.

Due to the profound symbolic meaning of the entire site the presentation methods used within were described by managers as in keeping with the authentic character and dignity of the site and in compliance with the will of the survivors. Thus, there were no “*fireworks*” (*Principal Press Officer*) or technology applications that would clash with the nature of the site or divert attention from its authentic substance. The introduction of the headsets was mentioned as a positive measure that delivered value to the visitor experience, the guides’/educators’ effort while enhancing the dignity of the site; ensuring low levels of noise and making room for silence, visitor reflection is cultivated.

Additionally, the Museum offers a repository of e-learning resources but is keen to highlight that their key purpose is to augment the authentic experience rather than replace it. Therefore, the main target groups are visitors who cannot visit the site, those who have visited the site and may wish to reflect on certain aspects and deepen the knowledge gained in situ, or those with a special interest in the subject. This range of resources is in the form of lessons and online courses. It is considered useful for visitors’ pre-site visit preparation, especially from the emotional perspective. The Museum offers a range of closed courses using a specially designed e-learning platform which is open to registered users only and provides direct engagement with Museum’s online tutors/educators.

A complex system of signs and information plaques is evidenced throughout the Memorial and Museum; its purpose is to describe and commemorate the most important locales, buildings, structures and objects along with the key events associated with their original function. The signs and information plaques are issued in three languages: English, Hebrew and Polish. Commemorative stones are located next to the places of mass extermination and where the ashes of the murdered were buried. The information provided by the system of plaques includes: plans of the former camp(s); information explaining the most important buildings and particular events; boards displaying documentary/aerial photographs; stones with the numbers of barracks in locations where the original buildings have not survived and only traces are available. Additionally, QR codes are provided at several information boards, providing visitors with access to survivors’ testimonies describing the events that took place at the respective location. The management regarded the system of signs, information and commemorative plaques as very important in providing visitors with

a visual, cognitive and emotional orientation, and one that is able to complement the information provided by the site guides. Managers did however repeatedly stress the irreplaceable role of the site guide/educator in providing visitors with a holistic and fulfilling learning and educational experience that would be difficult to be conveyed to the same extent by the signage system only. Illustrations of managers' comments with regards to the system of signs guiding, other interpretation and education provision are illustrated in Table 4.5.a.

Visitors' views indicated the beneficial role of the face to face guiding methodology and often referred to the high quality of expert knowledge conveyed by the guides. Visitors' commented on the deeply emotional nature of the visiting experience and the beneficial role of the guides who were able to convey the complex historical (factual) information using an empathetic approach suited to the nature of the content explained. Some of the visitors described the presentation methods within the main permanent exhibition as somewhat "old and tired" while another visitor referred to the high quality and sensitive mix of presentation methods adopted by some of the national exhibitions. With regards to the system of signs used on-site, visitors' expressed confusion and dissatisfaction in relation to the signage system. These views belong to visitors who toured the site individually, not part of a guided tour, so in this respect the management's view of the value of the guided tour could be confirmed. One of the visitors whose comments are shown below had a direct family connection with the site; the views expressed point to a lack of clearly signposted areas for personal remembrance, where visitors in this category choose to visit the site without a guide. Table 4.5.b provides illustrations of visitors' comments on the aspects related to guiding, other interpretative and learning/education provision.

**Table 4.5.a Interpretation and Education Provision – Management Perspective
(Auschwitz-Birkenau)**

Management Perspective – Evidence
<p><i>“Having a guide as an educator is the best way to understand Auschwitz” (Principal Press Officer)</i></p>
<p><i>“...by using the word educator we try to signal the shift from guides to educators ...this is the term we use to communicate our approach...we expect guides to be educators, to have a high level of knowledge, to prepare and adapt their content to the needs of the group, to help the group to make sense of this authentic place, of what happened here, to prompt their questions and reflection...” (Principal Press Officer)</i></p>
<p><i>“Emotions are not our goal. Of course emotions are very important, but for educational purposes emotion can become a barrier...the danger is that visitors end up traumatised rather than learning anything or enable their rational reflection” (Principal Press Officer)</i></p>
<p><i>“.... our main guided tour and bulk of education are geared towards young people but also towards teachers” (Principal Press Officer)</i></p>
<p><i>“Anyone can be a guide, in any other place if a guide makes a mistake it tends to be acceptable, but here the subject matter makes it very difficult for errors to be acceptable, it is too sensitive” (Head of Guiding Methodology)</i></p>
<p><i>“...it is difficult to offer everything knowledge, support, therapy...the focus in training is on solid, clear historical knowledge...although the place takes its toll on all of us...” (Head of Guiding Methodology)</i></p>
<p><i>“...this is very tragic place with a very difficult history, we don’t think that a machine, a piece of equipment can deal with visitors’ emotions, questions, doubts that this place provokes...we cannot let a machine handle emotion...” (Principal Press Officer)</i></p>

**Table 4.5.b Interpretation and Education Provision - Visitor Perspective
(Auschwitz-Birkenau)**

Visitor Perspective - Evidence
<p><i>“Our guide helped me to understand a different perspective, it was good to see things from someone else’s perspective, so in this way I feel that I obtained a wider perspective” (Visitor 17, A-B)</i></p>
<p><i>“It was very good and useful to have the guide to explain everything...she was saying things like look at their eyes, you can see the fear or look at the dates to see how long people survived in the camp...” (Visitor 18, A-B)</i></p>

“The guide was absolutely fantastic, she gave us so much explanation and showed us everything...she explained the living conditions in the barracks, told us about the terror suffered by prisoners even when going to the toilet...” (Visitor 19, A-B)

“The main exhibition looks old and tired from the presentation point of view, we feel it needs investment.... we understand it must be low key because of what happened here, but it still deserves a better effort... Schindler’s Factory has a modern, informative presentation...one imagines it must be down to lack of funds...” (Visitor 20, A-B)

“I got the chance to visit some of the national exhibitions and I thought that they were absolutely amazing in terms of the whole mix of careful and sensitive presentation using technology, music, paying homage to the victims, in a crisp, modern yet understated fashion...” (Visitor 21, A-B)

“The signs were very poor... it was difficult to find our way round...I wanted to light a candle for my grandfather who was a prisoner here and didn’t know where, nobody could tell us where you could light a candle...I was very disappointed...I was shocked at the sheer lack of information and directions, we ended up listening into what one of the guides was telling her group but even that was difficult as we didn’t have the headsets and she spoke in very low voice” (Visitor 22, A-B)

“ ...very little signs on exhibits and for directions, even presentation of photos, considering how well the Nazis documented things; it actually made me cross; it seemed like a ploy to make you go with a guide; is this a revenue generation issue?...Anyway, without a guide it was a very diluted experience which was very irritating because it was one of the most significant events in the 20th century and we felt it was a terrible shame that things weren’t better presented” (Visitor 23, A-B)

4.2.2.3 Visitors and Visitor Density

When discussing the issues surrounding visitor numbers and profile(s), managers remarked on the large annual number of visitors (significantly well over 1million annually), of which the greatest majority belonged to young age groups (below 35 years old). The management acknowledged the wide nationality spectrum that visitors belong to, as well as key changes in the profile of current visitors, both demographically, as well as in the nature of the direct connection with this history and the site itself. Specifically, the managers stated that the majority of visitors arriving at the site do not have an emotional connection with this history, and possess a limited knowledge of it, thus needing the facilitation for learning and education. Although fully aware that currently Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial and Museum is the most visited Holocaust and Nazi Germany related memorial site in both Europe and Poland, the managers indicated that the main focus had been and would continue to be the

preservation of the site into posterity, as the main overarching and precluding reason d'être to its entire functioning. During interviews, some visitors referred to crowding issues around the key exhibits while on site, as well as to the long (security) queues for entering the museum.

4.2.3 Socially-Symbolic Dimension

4.2.3.1 Symbolic Value for Individual and Society

Described as *“the most recognizable symbol and place of Holocaust and genocide in the world”* (Principal Press Officer), managers explained that taking care of the authentic site is a moral obligation towards not only the past generations, victims and survivors, but also towards the generations to come. The essence of this place, its full reach and significance to the present and future generations are being realised through Memorial's ethos of *“education through memory”* (Head of Education Projects). Managers stated that there was no pre-planned focus on generating emotions as this could be a potential barrier to rational learning and education, especially when coupled with visitors' potential pre-visit preconceptions and mental images often shaped by the media. The images of Auschwitz often portrayed by films, books and media in general were qualified as *“unhelpful”* in the main and culpable of *“trivialising this place and its unique history”* (Head of Education Projects), potentially placing visitors in a vulnerable position when confronted with the full potency of the authentic site. Expressing a more holistic view, another manager explained that through both its tangible and intangible dimensions, Auschwitz is the epitome of the Final Solution and *“a paradigm memorial site”* (Plenipotentiary for the New Exhibition). Its real and symbolic value was explained as reliant on both its tangible and intangible dimensions. Its tangible evidence in the form of the authentic substance and exhibition(s) represents and conveys the functions and meaning of other memorial sites; its intangible dimension expressed by its meaning exerts a unique influence, making Auschwitz *“a rite of passage”* and *“the icon of universal memory”* (Plenipotentiary for the New Exhibition).

For many Jews, Poles, Roma, Germans and other European peoples who lost their loved ones in the former camp, Auschwitz is more than historical memory and awareness. It is part of their personal memory, personal history and concerns them directly, as a part of family heritage. It is a space of individual and family memory

holding in clear detail the place, the original events and the associated pain and suffering. For the perpetrators and people who for different reasons failed to act when it was still possible to act, Auschwitz carries personal meaning too, but perceived from a different moral stance reflective of their different perceptions of the phenomenon of Auschwitz.

To the world, Auschwitz is the symbol of Holocaust, 20th century genocide and other Nazi Germany atrocities. Its liberation day, January 27th was declared the International Day of Remembrance of the Victims of the Holocaust by the United Nations in 2005. Thus, Auschwitz is also a place of collective memory carried into the present by survivors themselves and society's commemorative events. Annual commemorative events on the liberation anniversary day (27 January), the March of the Living (annually in April), visits of many representatives of state authorities, ambassadors and diplomats, representatives of the clergy for example are only a small sample of events that mark the collective acts of remembrance and commemoration. With survivors' numbers dwindling away with every year that passes, it is the Memorial and Museum's responsibility to securely record their testimonies and preserve them for posterity. Online databases and other online and hard copy archival documentation that has been compiled and extended by the Auschwitz Memorial and Museum over the years, in collaboration other archival institutions around the world and former prisoners and their relatives, are regarded by the management as "*a memorial to all the victims*" (Principal Press Officer).

In the managers' view, the visiting experience of the authentic site provides the visitor with more than a lesson in history. As a physical place, Auschwitz is "*relatively easy to know, see and even touch but not so easy to understand and internalise*" (Plenipotentiary for the New Exhibition), thus a visit to Auschwitz cannot be regarded as "*a tourist visit*" (Head of Education Projects). Nor could the place be called a dark tourism site. As the management strongly emphasised, either of these terms would be pejorative to the dignity and significance of the place as well as to the victims, survivors and humanity's history. Equally, such terms would defeat the core values and aspirations of the educational effort, symbolically captured by the motto: "*Remembrance – Awareness – Responsibility*". Thus, while the immediate, primary aim was to provide a learning experience dedicated to the tragedy of the victims and the history of the authentic site, the wider educational goal was to reach beyond the

transmission of knowledge, seeking to foster reflection and awareness of one's own personal choices and attached responsibility. Managers explained that although such aspiration may seem too ambitious, it was in fact conceivable when considered at the individual's own level who lives in a world where human rights were frequently threatened, discrimination and erosion of democratic rights were still evidenced, and death and genocide still took place, fuelled by extremist ideologies and disregard for the rule of law.

By implementing an educational approach based on raising questions rather than supplying finished interpretations and explanations, the effort was to create a space for discussion around the difficult questions of "why", "what" and "how" and around the complex issue of "passivity". Equally, the perpetrator and by-stander perspectives were considered important dimensions of memorial education. Their examination enables visitors to make sense of the past and its manifestations (full social spectrum, the actions and consequences of all historical actors), thus informing their attitudes and world view of the present. Elaborating on the educational approach advocated by the Memorial, the managers specifically referred to the pre-requisites of the holistic (visiting) value for the young generation(s). Describing the young generation(s) of visitors as "*detached from this history*" (*Principal Press Officer*), the managers explained the importance and benefits of prior cognitive and emotional preparation, complemented by a sound follow up to the visit, facilitated by the diverse educational resources the memorial makes available.

The Memorial's societal mandate is aligned to survivors' moral appellation and challenge for "*Never Again*". Its active intent is to advance universal moral values and constructive attitudes applicable to people's life today, to the problems and manifestations caused by social, political and religious conflict often still resulting in war and genocide. In this respect the Memorial's International Centre for Education about Auschwitz and the Holocaust (ICEAH) plays a significant role as a provider of elevated education, targeted at teachers and various specifically identified groups including penitentiary inmates, police forces and other professional groups, as well as intercultural, international and special interest groups. Examples of managers' comments related to the intended socially-symbolic value attached to the on-site encounter are provided in Table 4.6.a.

Visitors' comments shown in Table 4.6.b illustrate aspects related to the symbolic value as explained by visitors. Most visitors referred to the visiting experience as a key, "must see" experience of value for themselves, as individuals, but equally, for all people, for society as a whole. Many visitors also expressed the need for time to reflect on what they saw and learned during the visit. None of the interviewed visitors mentioned or eluded to any dark motives. Instead, visitors commented on the derived, symbolic value in terms of moral duty, remembrance and educational opportunity for self, own family and wider society. The comments expressed pointed to connections between history and politics and the wider values conveyed by the events of Auschwitz: tolerance towards others, cultural diversity and human rights.

Table 4.6.a Symbolic Value for Individual and Society – Management Perspective (Auschwitz-Birkenau)

Management Perspective – Evidence
<p><i>"Our mission is in many ways changing in time, after the war was very much to collect evidence of the crimes committed, to research, to fill the knowledge gap, preservation was not so important; education was different 20, 30 years ago because the visitors had other needs...now preservation and education are our main priorities..." (Principal Press Officer)</i></p>
<p><i>"...a paradigm memorial site" (Plenipotentiary for the New Exhibition)</i></p>
<p><i>"...tourist site or dark tourism site would be deeply pejorative, this is the largest cemetery in the world and the symbol of genocide..." (Head of Education Projects)</i></p>
<p><i>"This Museum is living testimony to the horrors of the Holocaust and is not considered by us to be a "dark tourism product'" (Head of Visitor Services)</i></p>
<p><i>"...a universal truth about the nature of humanity and its behaviour in extreme situations" (Plenipotentiary for the New Exhibition)</i></p>
<p><i>"... we try to trigger reflectionso not only to teach about Auschwitz and this history, we try to find universal aspects, values, issues that are valid to people's life today..." (Principal Press officer)</i></p>
<p><i>"The older generation don't come here to be educated, they come to see the place, to reassure themselves that these things took place...our educational effort is in its majority for the younger generation and we also have specialist, higher level education..." (Exhibitions Department Executive)</i></p>
<p><i>"We have a moral duty in everything that we do here...we have to create and maintain standards, the world is looking up to us, we cannot afford any wrong doing or immoral actions" (Principal Press Officer)</i></p>

Table 4.6.b Symbolic Value for Individual and Society – Visitor Perspective (Auschwitz-Birkenau)

Visitor Perspective – Evidence
<p><i>“Everybody needs to come here so as to understand what we are capable of and how politics can get totally out of control and cause these terrible consequences...humbled and honoured to see this tragic site where so many were died...visiting was more powerful than anything that we have seen in films or read in books...nothing can prepare you for what you see here...” (Visitor comment, A-B)</i></p>
<p><i>“We would like our children to come here and see this place...they are too young now, but when they are older ...they must see what people are capable of” (Visitor 25, A-B)</i></p>
<p><i>“I need time to reflect on what I saw and what happened here, I can’t tell you now what was the most beneficial part of the visit....overwhelming and exceptional at the same time...was very good to hear the stories of survival...” (Visitor comment, A-B)</i></p>
<p><i>“I had to turn back half way through the visit and look for a toilet...it made me think about the physical conditions that people had to suffer...the sheer exhaustion...they weren’t even allowed their time on the toilet...” (Visitor comment, A-B)</i></p>
<p><i>“You can’t help but seeing yourself as one of those who were brought here and then killed...It made me think of how I need to be more tolerant and try to always respect people, irrespective of their background, religion or race...I would need time to reflect on what I saw and what would be the most important part of the visit” (Visitor comment, A-B)</i></p>

4.2.4 Case summary - Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial and Museum

In the case of Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial and Museum the empirical findings indicate that the physical and natural dimensions are closely intertwined and of critical importance to the authenticity of the site. The large proportion of original objects (movable and immovable) and the natural topography are well preserved and convey with clarity the original purpose of the site as a combined concentration and extermination camp. The narrative, although structured both chronologically and thematically, is dictated by the authentic site (its physical and natural dimensions), thus demonstrating the integration of the physical, natural and social dimensions of the memorial- museum servicescape. The strong connection between the narrative and the authentic site is reflected in the specific interpretation and education provision

which aim to enable today's visitors to draw meaning from the complex historical evidence. The multi-layered socially - symbolic dimension originates in the site being a key place of memory for the Holocaust and for the darkest chapter in the history of humanity. Through its potent authentic character, it renders real and symbolic value for individuals and society as a place of remembrance, commemoration, education and research.

4.3 Case 2 - Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe (Germany)

The Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe (MMJE), also known as the Holocaust Memorial for Germany, is located in the very centre of Berlin, between the Brandenburg Gate and Potsdamer Platz and opposite to the city's largest park, the Tiergarten Park. As a site associated with death, the Memorial was designed by architect Peter Eisenman and inaugurated in 2005, some 60 years after the end of WWII.

4.3.1 Physical and Natural Dimensions

4.3.1.1 Authenticity of Place

Managers referred to the site on which the Memorial is situated as "*steeped in history*" (*Head of Visitor Services*), their explanations pointing to the Memorial's location on a site laden with historical and political value, in close proximity to the current political heart of the unified Germany (between the Federal Chancellery and the Reichstag). It is on a site filled with historical resonance, at a short distance from the former German Reich Chancellery and the "*Furerbunker*" (*Hitler's Bunker*), more precisely the area occupied by a part of the former "*Ministergarten*" (*Ministry Gardens*) until 1945 (Researcher's Observation, September 2013). This special location directly linked to the historical location of the administration apparatus of the Third Reich and the events of WWII renders this site a significant level of authentic value. APPENDIX G provides a photographic representation of the Memorial's sculptural component (Field of Stelae); the photograph illustrates the Memorial's fluid merger with the adjacent city landscape.

The managers' comments illustrated in Table 4.7.a relate to the authenticity of place, including specific reference made to the Memorial's current location and accessibility,

along with its derived symbolic significance. Table 4.7.b provides illustrations of the visitors' comments related to the authenticity of place, including its location and visibility. The visitors noted the historical resonance of the location and felt that the Nazi past with which the site is so closely associated endows additional visiting value to the Memorial. The historical landmarks surrounding the memorial site were identified by visitors as evidence of a troubled European history, marked by wars and conflicts while simultaneously recognising Berlin as a key city in the modern world and contemporary international community. Visitors remarked on the very central location and easy access facilitated by the memorial site which allows an unexpected level of free access to visiting and experiencing the monument even at night. However, this very accessible location, surrounded by ordinary city amenities caused some visitors dismay and confusion. These visitors eluded to the fact that such memorials would be better located in more carefully chosen locations, perhaps away from ordinary city life.

Table 4.7.a Authenticity of Place – Management Perspective (Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe)

Management Perspective - Evidence
<p><i>“The location of the memorial site which makes it integrated in the new parliamentary and government district points to Germany’s acknowledgement of our political responsibility” (Head of Education)</i></p> <p><i>“The location is important as the Monument is supposed to be integrated in the normal life of the city, among government buildings, but also ordinary streets, with shops and apartments” (Head of Visitor Services)</i></p>

Table 4.7.b Authenticity of Place – Visitor Perspective (Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe)

Visitor Perspective - Evidence
<p><i>“...on the same site as Goebbels’ villa and office...” (Visitor comment, MMJE)</i></p> <p><i>“With it being so closely located to the site where the Nazis administration worked and only a few meters away from the site of Hitler’s bunker I think adds to the emotional value” (Visitor comments, MMJE)</i></p> <p><i>“.... the location provides a reminder of what Berlin is today, an international capital in a Europe marked by many wars, so many landmarks that point to this are surrounding this place...” (Visitor comment, MMJE)</i></p>

“We came it across totally by chance, it sprung up from nowhere, in the middle of the city...” (Visitor comment, MMJE)

“The location is excellent in the middle of Berlin, seamlessly integrated in the heart of the city” (Visitor comment, MMJE)

“I first came here last night, to see the top part...I arrived after dark and walked through the stones on my own, it was a stunning experience...” (Visitor comment, MMJE)

“The idea is great, but I think its meaning gets lost among the cafes across the street and there is very little signage to explain its significance” (Visitor comment, MMJE)

4.3.1.2 Natural Topography and Immovable Structures

The Memorial is formed by two distinct parts: the monument titled *“The Field of Stelae”*, located above the ground and highly visible and the *“Ort der Information” (Information Centre)*, located below the ground and complementary to the exterior monument (Researcher’s Observation, Sep. 2013). Together, the Field of Stelae and The Ort form part of the Memorial for the Murdered Jews of Europe and occupy a trapezium shaped field measuring approximately 19,000 square meters. At first glance, when observing the exterior, above the ground, the Memorial appears as an endless sea of concrete blocks, randomly placed on a huge field of sloping ground; the 2711 high-density concrete blocks, named *stelae* (hence the Field of Stelae), each has a different height (ranging from ground level to 4.5 meters at the heart of the Field), weighs 8 tonnes and sits at a different angle (between 0.5 to 2 degrees) on the undulating ground; no two stelae are the same (Foundation for the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe, 2009). This artistic, modern, and clearly atypical memorial sculpture of a geometric appearance was designed by the Jewish-American architect, Peter Eisenman; its actual construction started on 01 April 2003 and it was formally opened to the public on 12 May 2005.

The Field of Stelae was described as *“an abstract sculpture” (Site Guide)*, *“a space of remembrance and reflection” (Head of Visitor Services)* and *“a place of mourning and contemplation” (Deputy Director)*, which *“allows for a plurality of meanings and interpretations” (Head of Education)*. However, the Field of Stelae is not a cemetery, as there are no human remains here. Instead, its function is that of a cenotaph, a

symbolic cemetery of large proportion, with each of its 2,711 stelae symbolizing the loss of human life. The monument is also unusual in terms of its architecture and artistic form: created as a “*mixtum compositum*” (*Foundation for the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe, 2009*) that blends various elements of building and art forms, and includes “*elements of tombstone culture arranged in an abstract, matrix-type pattern*” (*Site Guide*). Additionally, its totally open access, facilitated by the network of roads surrounding it and the direct pedestrian access, day and night, renders this monument as “*art in public spaces*” (*Site Guide*).

Visually, the monument provides a perfectly ordered, geometrical pattern, “*an illusion of order and security*” (*Case Material 1*), yet once the visitor enters the Field, he/she discovers the individuality of each stela, which allows space for only one person at a time to walk through, and just enough room for a wheelchair to proceed. The spaces between the stelae vary constantly, each visitor able to observe and experience their condensing, narrowing and deepening, thus gaining a multi-layered personal experience from any point in the stela. APPENDIX H provides a photographic illustration of the Field of Stelae from within, depicting the narrow spaces between the stelae and the undulating ground supporting the entire sculpture.

This unexpected, unique, abstract and physical character of the sculpture is the essence of the external, outdoors part of the Memorial, which, according to the architect’s intention, has the ability to engage the visitor on a very personal level both physically and emotionally. By walking on this undulating ground, through the maze of narrow corridors defined by the vast number of stelae constantly varying in height, angle and shade of grey (and the temperature gradually drops towards the middle of the Field), the visitor is triggered into thinking, reflection, contemplation, remembrance and ultimately meaning making at a personal level.

The underground part of the Memorial, The Ort, located in the south-eastern corner of the Field of Stelae, is the intended complementary and tangible expression of the history evoked by the external monument (the fate of European Jewry in the context of Nazi policy of persecution and extermination). It provides the visitor with an extended architectural reflection of the monument situated above, as well as a complementary cognitive and emotional content, in the form of a permanent exhibition and explicit information aimed at both deciphering the meaning and message of the

Memorial and providing a personalised portrait of the Holocaust. But this Memorial was also conceived as part of the contemporary life of the city; the management referred to the architect's intention for creating a space where children can play and laugh, where youth can meet and linger, and where visitors can stop and rest, sitting on the concrete blocks.

The natural elements of the servicescape create distinct visual effects. The managers explained the various atmospheric tones that the outdoor sculpture gains as dictated by the weather: on overcast days, the concrete blocks appear rough and dull, while snow gives them soft edges and a sculptural effect; rain turns the concrete almost black, while the direct sun light casts varying sharp-edged shadows, making the grey concrete gain spectacular hued tones that range from green to orange. A few planted trees among the stelae helps the monument to blend in with the nearby Tiergarten Park and the tree-lined avenues in the vicinity.

Table 4.8.a provides illustrations of the managers' comments related to the natural topography and immovable structures, while Table 4.8.b provides the visitors' comments related to the same components of the authenticity of place as well as to the physical and natural servicescape components. A significant majority of visitors' comments referred to the Field of Stelae, in terms of its immensity, visual impact due to its abstractness, vast proportions and well ordered, geometric physical character. Visitors also acknowledged the intense emotional impact of the Field, experienced directly, and at an individual basis, as they entered the Field and started to walk around the concrete blocks. Some comments also pointed to a degree of potential difficulty that some visitors experienced when trying to interpret the monument and its full message, unless the visiting experience included the underground museum, too. Indeed, some visitors commented explicitly on the benefit of having visited The Ort to the overall visiting value.

Table 4.8.a Natural Topography and Immovable Structures - Management Perspective (Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe)

Management Perspective – Evidence
<i>“...a place for individual exploration, experience and contemplation, with no exact prescribed meaning as stated by the architect. It's here for the visitor to experience it in his/her own very personal way, and while walking through the field, among the stelae, to start thinking, asking questions....and by doing this the</i>

visitor actually remembers, thinks about and questions not only the past but possibly also the present...” (Head of Education)

“...the monument presents a liberal, unusual approach to the culture of memory in Germany, and it was created with the aspiration to have an enduring message for the coming generations...” (Head of Visitor Services)

Table 4.8.b Natural Topography and Immovable Structures – Visitor Perspective (Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe)

Visitor Perspective - Evidence
<i>“We were astounded by the magnitude of the site...” (Visitor comment, MMJE)</i>
<i>“We went wow, what an iconic sight, doesn’t look like anything we’ve seen before, you certainly remember it...when you walk through, it gives this eerie feeling, makes it extremely haunting...” (Visitor comment, MMJE)</i>
<i>“It really is visually impressive, looks like a matrix filled with these vast number of rectangular blocks, which for me produced an intense emotional effect...but going down below into the exhibition really sealed it for me, it crystallised the whole experience ...I definitely think the two parts work really well together...” (Visitor comment, MMJE)</i>
<i>“I wasn’t sure what to make of this site other than its visual impact” (Visitor comment, MMJE)</i>
<i>“...nice to see that this space can be used as a playground too, but the atmosphere is still dark and loaded...” (Visitor comment, MMJE)</i>
<i>“I walked on my own...as you walk through the site you start to understand the scale of what happened...I found it peaceful, balanced and harmonic” (Visitor comment, MMJE)</i>
<i>“I found it very thought provoking... walking around and in between the grey concrete columns of various heights makes you understand the sheer scale of the Holocaust...I think it’s ideal to be visited alone, to appreciate its glory and to give yourself the chance to think about what happened” (Visitor comment, MMJE)</i>

4.3.1.3 Exhibitions and Artefacts

As indicated earlier, the outdoors Field of Stelae is complemented by the subterranean (internal) element of the Memorial, The Ort (Information Centre). The Ort includes a permanent exhibition dedicated to the persecution and extermination of the European

Jews, as well as providing information on the authentic historical sites associated with the atrocities and crimes of National Socialism during Nazi Germany. This underground part of the Memorial was designed by Dagmar von Wilcken and was opened for visitation on the same date as the Field of Stelae (12 May 2005); its concept and design are reflective of and closely integrated into the overall artistic concept of the outdoors Memorial sitting above.

The management explained that although the architect's overarching intention was never to prescribe a specific meaning or method of experiencing the Field of Stelae, thus allowing a totally unobstructed plurality of meanings and interpretations to be born from each visitor's experience of the Field, the federal government (as the funding body), did however decide in 1999 (Budenstag resolution of 25 June 1999) to create an exhibition able to complement the memorial and explain its dedication. Subsequently, the chosen location for the Information Centre (The Ort) as a subterranean one was underpinned by the following two key considerations: (1) The Ort would be subordinate to the outdoor memorial and therefore integrated into its overall artistic concept; (2) The Ort should not disturb the hugely accessible outdoor sculpture, nor draw visitors away from it.

Indeed, The Ort's creation is the expression of the close and fruitful collaboration between its architect, Peter Eisenman (who also created the Field of Stelae) and the exhibition's designer, Dagmar von Wilcken. The most visible evidence of this collaboration and fusion of ideas is in terms of The Ort's structural elements. Specifically, the frequent and diverse extension of the stelae from above into The Ort, permit the inverted stelae shapes to present themselves in various guises and manifestations throughout the entire interior physical space and exhibition concept of The Ort.

In terms of its layout and internal architecture, the main exhibition unfolds through the following spaces: a first long and narrow introductory room, four square rooms each specifically themed, and a final long lobby - type space which leads to the exit. In each of these spaces, the internal architecture and the exhibition concept and design reflect elements of the outdoor memorial, frequently utilising the mirrored geometry of the staleae in both its physical (tangible) and symbolic (intangible) content. For example in Room 1 (The Room of Dimensions) the illuminated glass floor panels displaying

testimonial texts are reflections of the stelae above, while the three benches in the middle of the room resemble the shape of the concrete blocks in the Field. In Room 2 (The Room of Families), the language of the field of stelae resonates through the presence of hanging rectangles with illuminated photographs and texts which descend vertically from the ceiling, as if the stelae of the Memorial penetrate from above, transforming themselves into suspended informational displays, without touching the ground. The exposed floor areas beneath the stelae are marked by light, which again delineates the same rectangular stelae shapes. In Room 3 (The Room of Names) where the names and brief biographies of murdered and missing Jews from all over Europe are read through loudspeakers, the six benches in the middle of the floor mirror the stelae above. In the fourth room (The Room of Sites), where the thematic focus is on the authentic places of persecution and destruction, the stelae penetrate through the walls and confront the visitors spatially. In some of the rooms, the ceiling shows indentations that follow the contours of the stelae above. APPENDIX I provides a photographic representation of the ceiling in the exhibition which mirrors the stelae in the Field above.

Thus, the two component parts of the Memorial, the Field of Stelae and the The Ort are physically and conceptually intertwined, co-existing in a symbiotic relationship, aimed at complementing and supporting each other in terms of both aesthetic and symbolic content, seeking to deliver “*a holistic visitor experience, in two parts*” (Head of Education), with the moral message of “*Never Again*” emerging primarily from up above and the more cognitive, informative “*That’s Why...*” explanatory provision emerging from down below. Indeed, this emotion-cognition nexus, as the overarching aspiration and logic of the Memorial, is referred to by the Head of Visitors Services: ‘*The Memorial speaks to the whole person*’.

The main function of the exhibition is to personalise and individualise the Holocaust, its horrors, suffering and death, as well as to inform of the authentic sites associated with the crimes of National Socialism in Germany and other European countries, during the period 1933-1945. In terms of concept and content, the exhibition, just like the Field of Stelae breaks with tradition and adopts a “*non-museal approach*” (Head of Education), in the sense that there are no artefacts displayed here; instead, the authentic events and its actors, principally the victims, are presented through a blend of multimedia methodologies that creatively and sensitively make use of victims’

faces (enlarged and smaller size photographs), explanatory texts, statements from eye-witnesses, extracts from original personal diaries, letters, postcards and biographical data, that combined together aim to create both a contemplative (the Room of Dimensions and the Room of Names) and an informative approach (the Rooms of Families and the Room of Sites).

Managers explained that through both the abstractness of the Field of Stelae and the informative, yet non-traditional exhibition, entirely devoid of artefacts, visitors were reminded and informed of the “*enormity of the banal*” as the Memorial’s architect, Peter Eisenman famously had characterised the tragedy of the Holocaust, referring to the incomprehensible nature of the crimes often committed within the full sight and with the knowledge of many people and governments both in Germany and other European countries.

Additionally, both the lack of artefacts and abstract nature of the memorial draw attention to the extent of the perpetrators’ destructive intent to eradicate all traces that would make memory possible. Yet the general consensus that propelled the creation of this monument was to confront and challenge this very painful historical truth and create a central place of remembrance in the capital city of the perpetrators’ nation, where the victims are remembered and honoured not only collectively, but also individually. This individualisation of the Jewish victims was frequently referred to by all sources associated with the Memorial, drawing attention to the social and socially-symbolic components of this memorialscape: “*...here the Holocaust has faces and names...*” (*Head of Education*).

Table 4.9.a provides illustrations of the comments made by the managers and the explanations provided by other case materials in relation to the approach adopted in the exhibition housed by The Ort. Table 4.9.b provides illustrations of the visitors’ comments related to this exhibition. The visitors commented on the sombre, yet informative character of the exhibition, marked by the potency of the visual displays and many victims’ testimonial evidence that engaged visitors directly and on a personal basis. The visitors’ comments pointed to the planned cognition-emotion continuum provided by the recognition of the importance of revealing the personal human tragedy behind each Holocaust atrocity. Visitors commented on their empathy with the victims and how the content of the exhibition triggered their sympathy for the

struggles encountered by many Jews and their families, while also prompting their wider thinking about other victimised groups both under the Nazis and in today's society.

Table 4.9.a Exhibition and Artefacts – Management Perspective (Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe)

Management Perspective - Evidence
<p><i>“The exhibition rooms lie beneath the memorial like crypts in medieval churches, eluding to the sacrifice and martyrdom of the victims” (Materials to the Murdered Jews of Europe, 2009, p.45)</i></p> <p><i>“We are not displaying any original letter or document; instead, the information is historically and scientifically researched and tested and we present it using modern technologies. To us, it is the historical events and the consequences upon the fate of Jews from all over Europe that we wanted to present...not the relics...” (Head of Education)</i></p>

Table 4.9.b Exhibition and Artefacts – Visitor Perspective (Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe)

Visitor Perspective – Evidence
<p><i>“The exhibition is very sombre and very touching; I think it is very well done with wonderful testimonial evidence that brings the victims to the fore as real people, with real lives, just like you and I...I never saw anything done like this” (Visitor comment, MMJE)</i></p> <p><i>“It’s an emotional exhibition, you read the diary entries and letters, you see the photos and video footage of what happened, these were people just like us...so many hated and killed because they were Jews... you can call it depressing but at the same time informative...” (Visitor comment, MMJE)</i></p> <p><i>“...very moving to read about the personal stories...information about individuals and their families...made me think of my own family...It made me think a lot about the struggles and hardship faced by the Jews but also by all persecuted people under the Nazis...and today many groups are still persecuted...” (Visitor comment, MMJE)</i></p> <p><i>‘I thought it was packed full of timelines and displays, really quite appalling information, but very necessary to be made known, especially when you see what the world is all about today...I was close to tears on a few occasions...’ (Visitor comment, MMJE)</i></p>

4.3.2 Social Dimension

4.3.2.1 Narrative, Interpretation and Education Provision

The Memorial's dedication to the six million murdered European Jews is evidenced through the explicit focus on individuals and their families from all over Europe. For visitors to fully understand the scale, intensity and impact of the persecution, the exhibition starts with a timeline of events that covers the period 1933 to 1945. It provides a combination of textual and pictorial information (laid out in twenty stages) that describes and shows the consequences of such heinous crimes upon individuals and their lives. This part of the exhibition was highlighted as a very important element, as it provides visitors with a chronological context within which the rest of the Holocaust human tragedy can be placed and encountered, at both collective and individual level.

Honouring the victims by ensuring that the murdered Jews are not left nameless is one of the key tasks and core aims of the Memorial. The six large illuminated portraits (APPENDIX J) represent the murdered European Jews. In addition, fifteen specific families whose life stories and brief biographies are featured, convey the richness of the diverse social, cultural, religious and national heritages of the victims. Thus, the combination of personal memories and real life stories of those persecuted and murdered, framed by the factual historical information, provide the visitor with an omni-dimensional emotion-cognition nexus. The rich and diverse cognitive content presented and interpreted throughout the exhibition, using multiple methodologies, cannot be considered in isolation from its emotional impact upon both the visitor and the Memorial's staff. Indeed, as the Head of Education pointed, "*it is impossible to ignore the inherent emotional content of the subject, even for us, when we read some of the evidence, it can be very difficult sometimes*". Managers also explained that in terms of managing the visitor experience and given the nature and deeply emotional character of the Holocaust atrocities, any attempt to consciously further emphasise its emotional dimension would be totally counterproductive. Additionally, managers referred to one of the key principles of political and memorial education in Germany (known as the Beutelsbach Consensus 1976), which prohibits any attempt to overwhelm the visitor, instead, advocating respect towards visitor's autonomy in dealing with the material on display.

Finally, it is important to highlight the planned and managed match between the architectural narrative (comprised of the two symbiotically designed and created component parts of the Memorial) and the interpretative content, which is provided at each of these two key points within the visitor journey. The standard guided tour lasts for 1 and a half to 2 hours, the first 30 to 45 minutes are spent outdoors, in the Field of Stelae, where the guides provide some general historical and background information to the monument and introduces the topic of the Holocaust, and visitors get the chance to physically walk around and explore the Field for themselves. This is followed by the greater majority of the time being spent in the underground exhibition, where visitors undertake the tour on their own using the audio guides.

The exhibition provides two types of audio tours. The guiding input is provided by freelance guides (of various ages and backgrounds including teachers, students, public servants) whose training covers the authentic history of National Socialism, Nazi Germany, Europe during WWII, the Holocaust, the creation of the Holocaust Memorial and the skills required for guiding, interpretation and visitor management. In terms of guiding methodology, the management explained that the training placed specific emphasis on making the visit an interactive experience and providing factual historical information for that meets visitors' needs in terms of level of (pre-existing) knowledge, personal background and perceptions. The guiding input contains information on five key areas: (1) the dedication of the memorial to the murdered Jews of Europe (alongside the German government's decision to build other memorials in the vicinity, which are dedicated to the other social groups targeted by National Socialism and Nazi Germany); (2) the significance of the Memorial in relation to the German people's political, social, cultural and historical self-identity; (3) the topography of the site; (4) the physical architecture of the Memorial and (5) its artistic design conducive to a plurality of interpretations. It is during this first part of the visiting experience that site guides encourage participants to freely express and exchange their expectations, perceptions and impressions, therefore creating an interactive framework for questions, personal views and levels of understanding to be openly discussed and debated: "*often the first part of the visit takes the form of an open debate...*" (*Head of Education*). Additionally, some of the educational products (extended 2 ½ hours tours for groups; 3-hour workshops on certain subjects featured in the exhibition; 5 hour project days) contain a more developed interpretative content

provided by specialist guides, curatorial and educational staff whose role is also to moderate and augment the concluding discussions and debates that groups (especially school and student groups) engage in at the end of the entire visit. Table 4.10.a provides illustrations of the managers' comments in relation to the narrative, guiding and other interpretation and learning/education provision.

Table 4.10.b provides illustrations of the visitors' comments in relation to the narrative, guiding and other interpretation and learning/education provision. The visitors commented directly on the value of the exhibition both in terms of facilitating historical knowledge acquisition, as well as a deep, emotional connection with the victims. The visitors' comments include references to the impact and effectiveness of the various methods of presentation throughout the exhibition, placing particular emphasis on victims' photographs and personal thoughts represented in various formats. Some visitors also commented on the role and value of the site guide in terms of encouraging and facilitating them to express their own views and perceptions.

Table 4.10.a Narrative, Interpretation and Education Provision – Management perspective (Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe)

Management Perspective - Evidence
<p><i>“Initially we assumed that visitors will spend very little time in this first part ...even assumed that textual information with only some photos may be perceived as boring... we very quickly noticed though that people do in fact spend significant time reading about those developments...nobody moves straight to the Room of Dimension...understanding the historical context is very important for the visitor... this part is especially important to the young generation whom we have to teach about the Holocaust and Nazi Germany...” (Head of Education)</i></p>
<p><i>“This makes the Information Portal a unique project in Europe, as it not only pinpoints the sites, but also describes the historical context and diverse forms of commemoration.” (Foundation for the Memorial of the Murdered Jews of Europe website, 2013)</i></p>
<p><i>“We respect the visitor’s autonomy... we aim to trigger visitors’ thinking and reflection upon these events and their consequences not only at that time in history but also for today, for now” (Head of Visitor Services)</i></p>
<p><i>“Apart from the six large portraits, the rest of the images, the photographs that we use throughout the exhibition are quite small scale...we don’t need to use enlarged images in order to convey our message; in fact, when smaller in size, they can be more effective...” (Head of Education)</i></p>

Table 4.10.b Narrative, Interpretation and Education Provision – Visitor Perspective (Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe)

Visitor Perspective - Evidence
<p><i>“This is a place where history flows... It brings the victims into focus through the large numbers of pictures of the victims and passages and testimonies written by the victims, it is very powerful that way...” (Visitor comments, MMJE)</i></p>
<p><i>“I think the exhibition is highly informative, it provides a lot of text, so you have to be prepared to do some reading, but it helps you to understand the background and how these horrendous crimes were allowed to happen...” (Visitor comments, MMJE)</i></p>
<p><i>“I shall always remember the post-script of the 12 year old girl who wrote it at the end of her mother’s letter to her father, where she briefly describes in only two or three lines how afraid she was of the death ahead of her, as she had seen small children being thrown in the pit alive....I cried when I read it and I still feel a knot in my throat...how was this possible, what kind of people or animals were these...” (Visitor comments, MMJE)</i></p>
<p><i>“I hadn’t realised how many more concentration camps and killing sites the Nazis had, apart from the well-known ones...” (Visitor comments, MMJE)</i></p>
<p><i>“I found it very informative and powerful with many different interesting rooms...the emotional stories and real faces of people made it a great way to learn a little bit more about these atrocities that took place not so long ago...” (Visitor comments, MMJE)</i></p>
<p><i>“Our tour guide helped us to express our own interpretations of this amazing memorial, I thought that was very cool, we all put forward our views, that made it much more interesting than any other educational visit...” (Visitor comments, MMJE)</i></p>

4.3.2.2 Visitors and Visitor Density

Very large numbers of visitors to the Memorial are recorded on an annual basis. For example in 2013, 468,000 visitors were recorded; the visitors’ number rose to 475,000 in 2015. The Head of Visitor Services explained that although the German people had been the primary target market intended by the Memorial’s creators, the visiting figures demonstrate that greatest proportion of visitors (63-65%) being from outside Germany. Other key demographics highlighted by the management included: 85% of all visitors were represented by school groups, reflective of the importance attributed to learning about the Holocaust, National Socialism and Nazi Germany by most countries’ educational system, including that of Germany. In terms of age distribution, the Holocaust

Memorial's visitors display the same age distribution similar to that of other memorials and museums in Europe: the majority of visitors are younger than 35 and older than 45; and just like in other European countries, the minimum recommended age for visiting the Memorial is 14.

4.3.3 Socially-Symbolic Dimension

4.3.3.1 Symbolic Value for Individual and Society

The creation of the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe is the result of a 17-year period of long and complex public debates, mixed reactions and extensive planning processes that started in 1988 and lasted until 2005, when the Memorial was inaugurated. In 1988, residents of West Berlin grouped under the citizens' initiative titled "*Perspective Berlin*", called on the (West) German Parliament to consider the idea of creating a monument that would remember the Nazi crimes, honour the memory of the six million Jews murdered and give back their names (Foundation for the Memorial of the Murdered Jews of Europe, 2013). The timing of this idea coincided with the fall of the Berlin Wall, the events of 1989 and the subsequent period marked by Germany's efforts for reunification, rebuilding, and mediation of two different cultures of memory, linked to two different totalitarian regimes (National Socialism and Communism). Thus, the German society embarked upon a complex process of historical self-awareness and self-understanding. A period of intense discussions ensued, which were carried out in civil society, through open and public debates, mobilizing various segments of German society, including the German parliament. This process led to the creation of the Memorial and was a significant symbol of mature societal debate and historical identity:

"It is important to acknowledge the background process that led to the creation of this Memorial, as it was a truly public and passionate effort from all sectors of our society to discuss, debate and campaign on issues such as the purpose, form, location and value of such a monument, which in essence acted as a catalyst for societal consensus" (Head of Education).

The final outcome was achieved on 25 June 1999 when the German Parliament (Bundestag) approved the creation of the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe funded by the German State and ran by a federal foundation.

The three core aims of the Memorial, are: (1) to honour the murdered victims; (2) to keep alive the memory of the inconceivable events associated with the Holocaust as part of German history; (3) to admonish all future generations about the importance of guarding the core individual and societal values imbued by human rights and democracy, equality before law for all people and resistance against all forms of dictatorship and regimes based on violence. Site managers made frequent references to the Memorial as “*a place of remembrance, information and encounter, but one which cannot replace the historic sites*” (Deputy Director). Although not a site of death, the Memorial’s prime purpose is intrinsically linked to the authentic events, institutions and actions of National Socialists under the Nazi Germany regime. The Memorial honours and remembers the Jewish victims of the Holocaust, while also providing explicit information on the memorials erected at European sites of death (including killing sites, extermination and labour camps, execution areas). It therefore functions as an explicit landmark for historical orientation, resonant of the actions and responsibilities of Germans with reference to the Holocaust and WWII.

The educational mandate of the Memorial is chiefly fulfilled by The Ort, which acts as its fundamental pillar for the educational offering, providing information, interpretation and diverse educational programmes, events and archives which augment the main permanent exhibition. A direct reflection of the Memorial’s key remit for educating the young generation about the Holocaust and Nazi Germany, is the Foundation Memorial’s youth website, titled “*Youth Website of the Foundation Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe*”, created as a joint project through the collaboration between the Foundation Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe and STEP 21 (a youth initiative promoting tolerance and responsibility among young people, through a variety of projects). This youth dedicated online section of the Foundation’s main website, features among others, an online exhibition titled “*You’re different*”/“*Du bist anders?*” (only available in German and with a link to Facebook). Applying the same principle of personalising and individualising the Holocaust, the online exhibition presents the biographies and stories of persecution of five young victims (originating from five different European countries: France, Germany, Poland, Austria and Czechoslovakia), through historical pictures and documents. Using the prompt of “*You’re different, you don’t belong here*”, visitors to the website’s page “*What do I think?*” are given the opportunity to apply their gained knowledge (related

to the historical events and situations that young people were subjected to under the Nazi rule), by reflecting upon and questioning social attitudes, as well as sharing their views on the issue of *“being different”*. Overall, the Youth Section of the website allows young people (either as individual students or part of various subject specialist or non-specialist groups) wide access to historical material, where they can research biographies of children from their own hometowns who fell victims to the discrimination and extermination perpetrated by the National Socialists. Additionally, participants are expected to augment this type of biographical research with research on the history of their own hometowns during the period 1933-1945. Finally, the participants can share the outcomes of their research in any chosen format (as a video documentary, a report, an interview with a first-hand witness or an essay).

The Foundation’s video archive providing survivors’ testimonies was identified by the management as *“a powerful tool”* (*Head of Education*) used in many of the Memorial’s education workshops and activities for school and student groups. The video archive is considered an inter-generational virtual meeting place enabling the young generation of visitors to ‘meet’ individual survivors and listen to their stories, which in turn equip them with the knowledge that can enable them to critically evaluate the historical events and their consequences upon Jewish lives. The educational effort is intended to maximise visitor’s (especially young people) autonomous learning and meaning making.

Finally, any person holding relevant information that could identify further victims of the Holocaust can contribute to the expansion of the European Jewish victims’ databases, by forwarding the information and engaging directly in creating a tangible record for the victim(s) which in essence represents an effort of active remembrance and memory co-creation. Complementing the reading out of victims’ names (in the Room of Names), the databases’ online open access allows ordinary members of the public (visitors), not just historians, researchers, academics or other specialist group, *“to translate the collective into individuals”* and to turn *“the abstract number of six million victims into something tangible, into something that can be touched – even by those who are far away in time and geography”* (*Foundation for the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe, 2009, p.137*). Every victim’s identity recorded and freely accessed by visitors carries an intrinsic experiential dimension, allowing for an educational journey into the history surrounding each victim’s life and struggle to

survive. The importance of both these two databases as communication channels for the dissemination and activation of victims' identities and real-life experiences are regarded by the management as key to changing the pattern of not only education, but also of remembrance and commemoration. Through this approach, the Memorial consciously seeks to abandon any abstract definition of the Holocaust and its crimes and seeks to draw closer to the human aspect, providing visitors with the opportunity to identify with the victims, touch their lives and implicitly better comprehend how such tragic events came to take place.

Table 4.11.a provides illustrations of the managers' comments on the current mission and the intended symbolic value of the Memorial. Table 4.11.b provides illustrations of the visitors' comments on the current mission and symbolic value gained from the visiting experience. The visitors' comments acknowledged the remembrance and commemorative functions of the Memorial. In this respect, visitors tended to refer mostly to the personal experiences of encountering the Field of Stelae and its ability to engage visitors on a personal basis, triggering their thinking, questioning and remembering. The Memorial's direct link to the personal tragedies caused by the horrors of the Holocaust was also acknowledged, as was the importance of learning from history as a society.

Table 4.11.a Symbolic Value for Individual and Society – Management Perspective (Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe)

Management Perspective – Evidence
<p><i>“The Youth Website and its Facebook page are a direct example of how we seek to engage young people in the active commemoration and how our educational work is founded on the principle of allowing people of all ages free access to the historical evidence...to convince themselves ... once they are convinced, they can think for themselves...this is what active learning and commemoration is all about...” (Head of Education)</i></p>
<p><i>“As the last part of the educational visit, we often send the young people back into the exhibition to re-assess some of the information that they came across at the start of their tour...in other words they come in as novices and by the end of the visit they become experts” (Head of Education)</i></p>
<p><i>“...we aim to be a living institution...to bring the responsible confrontation with history into everyday life... to shape the younger generation's identity” (Head of Visitor Services)</i></p>

“...shared responsibility...to have the ‘culprit nation’...recall its national shame as a visible confession of its deeds” (Materials on the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe, 2009, p. 31)

Table 4.11.b Symbolic Value for Individual and Society – Visitor Perspective (Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe)

Visitor Perspective - Evidence
<i>“I think it is an amazing memorial place...I feel overwhelmed by the realisation of what Nazis did to the 6 million Jews...” (Visitor comment, MMJE)</i>
<i>“Unfortunately, mankind become beasts when the minds are subjugated by a corrupt ideology...this is what I am taking away from it” (Visitor comment, MMJE)</i>
<i>“It is an odd feeling walking among the large concrete blocks and thinking about the reason the memorial exists...” (Visitor comment, MMJE)</i>
<i>“For me this is a strong reminder and symbol of one of the most barbaric periods in European history. We should never forget what happened and fight against groups and countries who try to do similar things again” (Visitor comment, MMJE)</i>
<i>“For me, the concrete blocks represent the growing feeling of oppression that the Jews felt as the Nazis gained power and that the people you knew and loved all of a sudden vanished, as we seem to do among the taller blocks now...” (Visitor comment, MMJE)</i>
<i>“For me there are many meanings: the concrete blocks resemble coffins and graves, but the location provides a reminder of what Berlin is today, an international capital in a Europe marked by many wars, so many landmarks that point to this are surrounding this place, but it also stands as a tribute to those Germans whose compassion and sensitivity made them recognise the grievous errors of their country’s past and to attempt meaningful restitution and recognition” (Visitor comment, MMJE)</i>

4.3.4 Case Summary - Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe

This site’s servicescape is that of a man made modern memorial. As a site *associated with death*, the Memorial is placed on a site with strong historical resonance, connecting the original events with the country’s current socio-political and historical identity. There is evidence of connectivity between the physical and natural dimensions, with the natural environment most directly affecting the sensorial

perception of the outdoors sculpture, the Field of Stelea. The physical dimension presents rich cognitive content and multiple opportunities for knowledge acquisition (especially in The Ort) as well as empathy for the individual Jewish victims. The exhibition in The Ort is however devoid of any original artefacts. Instead, the methods of representation and interpretation are geared towards symbiotically blending the personal and collective dimensions of the Holocaust, using modern technologies and museum design techniques. The narrative demonstrates a clear and explicit connection between the events of the past and the present (current perspective adopted by the German society). The socially-symbolic dimension captures the personal and societal symbolic value of the Memorial as a place of remembrance and commemoration with a strong educational mandate and moral admonishment from the perspective of the country who perpetrated the atrocities.

4.4 Conclusion

This chapter has presented and evaluated two cases (one site *of* death and one site *associated with* death) using the conceptual model as a framework to illustrate the complex and inter-linked nature of the dark heritage tourism servicescapes studied. The key servicescape themes (physical, natural, social and socially-symbolic) were investigated and discussed. Chapter 5 will build on chapter 4 by presenting and analysing the key themes of the study evolving from each case, by using the most illustrative and noteworthy examples of each servicescape dimension and applying a cross-case approach for the other four sites remaining.

Chapter 5: Findings From the Cross-Case Approach

5.1 Introduction

Chapter 4 presented the findings from two of the cases in relation to the servicescape dimensions. The focus of this chapter is to present and analyse the key themes of the study evolving from the servicescape dimensions by using the best or most illustrative examples from each site. The cases featured in this chapter are four sites *of* death (Dachau Concentration Camp Memorial; Sachsenhausen Memorial and Museum; Mauthausen Memorial) and one site associated with death (Oskar Schindler's Enamel Factory Museum). In particular this chapter will highlight the key aspects of: authenticity of place; natural typography and immovable structures; exhibitions and artefacts; narrative; interpretation and education provision; and socially symbolic value to individuals and communities. Today all of these cases, both the sites *of* death and *associated with* death are mass tourism sites. The visitor profile has changed in recent years and this has a large impact on how the sites are now managed.

The layout of this chapter is as follows: firstly, it will consider the changing visitor profile; then, the key insights from the study will be presented by describing and analysing some of the most illustrative examples of how servicescape dimensions are delivered by site managers and perceived by visitors. The chapter will end with brief concluding remarks on the key servicescape themes as shaped by the empirical findings discussed.

5.2 Visitor Profile

As the distance in time grows since the original events (when the atrocities were committed), there is a noticeable difference in visitor profiles at these sites. Many visitors are younger than those in the past and have no personal attachment to the sites; this is in contrast to times past (especially the post-war decades) when many of those who visited had emotional ties to specific sites and knew this history, having been contemporaneous to it. In addition, visitors today represent a wider range of nationalities and backgrounds than previously; for example, people from Asian countries (such as South Korea, Japan) not directly affected by the Nazi regime now visit the sites in large numbers. This lack of visitor familiarity with the specific history of sites has led to the need for more basic explanation regarding the inception and

evolution of National Socialism and subsequent Nazi system of terror, as well as how concentration camps could have existed in the midst of civil society, often surrounded by highly populated areas and relatively unhidden from local people. Site managers at both sites *of* and *associated with* death have recognised that changes in many national narratives, the socio-political shifts since the end of WWII and the ongoing scientific research focused on the Holocaust and the Nazi period, together have prompted changes in many site narratives since the 1950s.

5.3 The Physical and Natural Dimensions

The physical and natural dimensions are closely intertwined at dark heritage sites *of* death. Each site encompasses expansive areas of land which provide the physical and natural servicescape for the entire visitor experience. Observations at these sites and interviews with both managers and visitors regarding the role of the physical and natural environment revealed that authenticity of place(s) was vitally important to both visitors and managers.

The geographical location and natural setting of sites were important criteria used by the Nazis when choosing the (original) location of the concentration camps (sites *of* death). Location is also important for sites *associated with* death. The two museums investigated in this study are located in city centres in countries where the Nazi regime ruled during WWII.

Site managers indicated that attention to the physical and natural servicescape was often their prime focus and it was sometimes a struggle to maintain the authenticity of sites because of the large size of the sites and the number and range of remnants that needed to be maintained. Exposure of the historical site remnants to the natural /weather elements carries significant implications for the preservation and conservation of the material substance of each site. The fundamental function of each site today is to preserve the physical structures and remnants that represent the past and to use these to underpin education and research initiatives.

The natural environment includes areas which are mass graves containing human ash. While on-site, visitors are exposed to the natural topography and the elements, therefore the vegetation and weather conditions contribute to the overall ambience. Equally, at the sites *associated with* death, even though the natural servicescape is of much lesser importance (due to the pre-determined nature of such sites), the physical

and natural servicescape components of the site have a large impact upon the visiting experience.

5.3.1 Authenticity of Place

Authenticity was identified to be multidimensional and of significant importance to both the management of the holistic site servicescape and the visiting experience it encapsulates. Authenticity of place emerged as a complex and multi-faceted attribute at both sites *of* and *associated with* death. Although all sites are locations (places) that housed real events, actors and actions during the Nazi era, the use and (re)presentation of the original site (authentic fabric) has been impacted by a variety of factors, reflecting the holistic historical journey that each site has experienced over the years. Authenticity of place is examined here using the examples of Dachau Concentration Camp Memorial and Oskar Schindler's Enamel Factory Museum.

5.3.1.1 Dachau: A Complex Place

At Dachau, the managers frequently referred to the memorial-museum as "*a complex place*" and identified its key qualities of being both a "*historical site*" and an "*authentic location where things really happened and original events did take place*" (*Education Department Member 1*). The authentic value of the memorial-museum servicescape as place was explained as being derived from its complex historical, social and symbolic status as "*first and foremost an address and a counterpart for the victims, survivors and their relatives*" (*Education Department Member 1*). Consequently, Dachau acts as a key reference point for the victims' families and the survivors in their attempts to decipher the fragments connected to the lived experiences and in many cases the death of their loved ones who perished here. However, the history of the site itself includes other periods too: (1) the grounds that housed the concentration camp were formerly occupied by a munitions factory; (2) following the liberation of the concentration camp in April 1945, the site was used by the American troops as an internment camp for war criminals and by the Bavarian state as a residential camp accommodating the ethnic German refugees expelled from other European countries; (3) in the 1960s religious monuments and memorials were erected on the site. In 1965 Dachau Concentration Camp Memorial Site was founded and has continued to evolve since, incurring further changes and developments. Thus, the evidence that makes this site a complex authentic place is two dimensional. Firstly, as an authentic location it is: (1) the authentic site that holds the human ashes of former

concentration camp prisoners (a cemetery) and (2) the location of real events during WWII, involving various groups of people (social actors) and human interactions, thus a “*a place for survivors*” (*Site Guide*). Secondly, it is a historical place, where the site (its grounds) was used by various groups for various reasons, across different historical periods. As a result, the (authentic) fabric of the former concentration camp site was significantly impacted, resulting in irreversible changes. The authenticity of place is therefore complex and multi-faceted.

As the managers explained, visitors often arrived with pre-existing mental images and expectations of an “*authentic site*”, without necessarily understanding the implications and impacts of the various layers of history upon the site’s original substance. Visitors’ often prime preoccupation with questions such as “*Is this real, or is this original?*” (*Education Department Member 1*) was explained by the managers as symptomatic of the post-modern society where almost anything could be replicated (especially through the facilitation of media) and the original was often elusive. Such narrow pursuit of authenticity was regarded by the managers as both limited and limiting. In response, the Memorial’s efforts are focused on assisting visitors with gaining a “*wider understanding of authenticity*” (*Education Department Member 1*). Visitors are thus provided with opportunities to gain insights into the complex history surrounding the buildings, objects, specific areas and other tangible evidence available on site. The focus is placed on informing visitors (interpretation) of the various uses, at various times (during the site’s existence) and the current form of representation of the tangible evidence available (including original traces and relics, reconstructions or purposefully built ones after the camp’s liberation).

Visitors are made aware and invited to analyse Dachau’s authenticity as both a historical place and authentic location not only in terms of the physical and natural servicescape components housed within the perimeter of the Memorial Site, but also those framing the “*Path of Remembrance*”, located outside the enclosure of the Memorial Site, in the surrounding Dachau town area. The 3 km long route penetrating the town of Dachau, provides visitors with the opportunity to follow the same route that prisoners were forced to take as a foot march, from the point of arrival in Dachau (the railway station), to the entrance gate of the concentration camp. Table 5.1.a below illustrates the management’s comments regarding authenticity, its multiple facets and challenges in the context of Dachau Concentration Camp Memorial Site.

Table 5.1.b illustrates the visitors' comments, which were varied and did capture the multidimensional character of authenticity, confirming managers' cognisance of visitors' expectations and perceptions of authenticity. Indeed, some visitors expressed surprise at the reconstructed elements of the physical servicesape (barracks), but did draw value from such provision as a form of representation of the past (understanding the prisoners' living conditions). Other visitors expressed dismay and even disappointment at the contrast between the aesthetic appearance of the memorial site today and the human tragedy harboured by its troubled past.

Table 5.1.a Authenticity of Place – Management Perspective (Dachau)

Management Perspective – Evidence
<p><i>“There is nothing original here, because you must always maintain the grounds and buildings, certain elements had to be changed or even reconstructed, for example the grounds, the trees... But this demand for authenticity is in my view a result of the post-modern society and the impact of media...because so many images are copied...” (Education Department Member 1)</i></p>
<p><i>“The question of authenticity is one of the main tasks when dealing with visitors here. On one hand, this is the reason why people are coming here, they want to see what exactly happened here. Parts of the memorial are a cemetery, because we know that there are ashes from former prisoners. On the other hand, the premises changed a lot since 1945. Objects, buildings disappeared, but the area was also styled by people living here, former prisoners, the memorial site and even visitors to the site. One of our main goals is to show the different time-layers on the grounds, but also to show how Dachau is a historic place, but not the authentic site that a lot of visitors expect when they arrive.” (Education Department Member 2)</i></p>
<p><i>“Often memorial sites define themselves as authentic sites, but I think they should define themselves as historic sites, because authentic sites makes it sound as if they are still concentration camps, which of course is not the case.” (Education Department Member 1)</i></p>

Table 5.1.b Authenticity of Place – Visitor Perspective (Dachau)

Visitor Perspective – Evidence
<p><i>“I was surprised that there isn't a lot of the original buildings and materials...I found useful though the reconstructed stuff at it helped me to understand how things looked like and what it was like in the barracks...”(Visitor comment, D)</i></p> <p><i>“We came by train and walked along the "Path of Remembrance" which was very pretty in some sections and in contrast with its meaning. I found the crematorium section especially harrowing and was upset by the juxtaposition of the beautiful lush memorial garden around that area”(Visitor comment, D)</i></p> <p><i>“We were a bit disappointed in it to be honest....the site is now a memorial, it is beautiful with trees and gardens, but that beautiful landscape takes away from the disgusting horrors that took place at the site. My personal opinion is that the site should have remained as ugly as it could possibly be with the memorials being elsewhere...”(Visitor comment, D)</i></p>

5.3.1.2 Oskar Schindler’s Enamel Factory Museum: A Place of Negotiated Authenticity

At Oskar Schindler’s Enamel Factory Museum, the combination of the original location and former factory, along with the historical facts and Oskar Schindler’s legendary character make this a site of negotiated authenticity. The authentic location and building (including its original industrial function as an enamel factory, plus the few authentic period features still maintained and clearly visible inside), combined with the real, historical events connected to both the factory itself and the city’s occupation by the Nazis. Together, these form the key elements informing the authentic character of this site *associated with death*. The Museum itself is located in the administrative block of the former *Fabryka Emalia Oskar Schindlera*, rather than in the manufacturing part of the former factory building, as depicted in the Hollywood movie, Schindler’s List. The movie however “*mythologized*” (*Museum Director*) the place, creating a scenario described as “*both authentic and legendary, or mythical*” (*Museum Director*). For the Museum this has been “*both a good thing and a hindrance*” (*Museum Director*). Creating awareness of the Holocaust and the city’s WWII history were considered to be the positive effects of the Hollywood production. It led to increased visitor numbers not only at this Museum but at its two sister museums included in the Memory Trail (the city’s main WWII heritage offering) too,

thus aiding the city's efforts to create and communicate an integrated historical context. The movie also shaped visitors' pre-conceived ideas and mental images of the Museum and its contents, and "*even trivialised this very painful history to a certain extent*" (Museum Director). In an effort to address the initial negative feedback regarding the disconnect between visitors' expectations as shaped by the *Schindler's List* movie and the on-site offering, the Museum has worked hard at intensifying its collaboration with many of the city's tourism providers, developing its own online and social media presence, informing visitors on the key historical facts and current museum offering. This effort is still ongoing. Table 5.2.a provides illustrations of the managers' comments related to the key aspects of authenticity of place, along with its associated challenges.

The visitors commented on authenticity by referring to the "*atmospheric*" character of the place, the historic building and its authentic character as well as to the Museum's very close location to the town's Ghetto and The Eagle Pharmacy (part of the Memory Trail). Both are important markers that commemorate the Holocaust of Krakow Jews and were processed by visitors as important components of authenticity. There were also some visitors who commented less favourably on the area, describing it as run down and in need of investment, as well as displaying poor signposting. Additionally, visitors' comments confirmed some of the issues highlighted by managers, especially in relation to expecting a working factory, similar to that featured in the Hollywood movie. There was also an element of confusion evidenced in visitors' comments when referring to the historic building and its "*original appearance*", as the current appearance of the building is far from the original one. Table 5.2.b provides illustrations of the visitors' comments which refer to the specifics of authenticity.

Table 5.2.a Authenticity of Place - Management Perspective (Oskar Schindler's Enamel Factory Museum)

Management Perspective – Evidence
<p><i>"...perhaps it would be appropriate to refer to this integration of authentic and legendary as negotiated authenticity"</i> (Museum Director)</p> <p><i>"...only few authentic details built during the war, when the place functioned as a factory, have survived to this day..."</i> (Chief Curator)</p>

“Many visitors expect that this would be a working factory... although less now, as the tour companies and travel agents tell visitors in advance about what we offer here, as well as our presence online and social media, as well as word of mouth...we now have a member of staff managing our social media, so we engage with people and respond to their questions and enquiries” (Chief Curator)

“I think we are good at what we do, of course people would expect more of the Schindler story...sometimes they expect something which is unrealistic, they can't accept that the factory closed 60 years ago...some of the tour companies bring people here and don't even prepare them to tell them the basics in advance, so in this respect there is definitely a need for closer collaboration with these companies...”(Museum Director)

Table 5.2.b Authenticity of Place – Visitor Perspective (Oskar Schindler’s Enamel Factory Museum)

Visitor Perspective – Evidence
<i>“I wanted to soak up the atmosphere outside, looking at the entrance way, the gate and remembering the movie...”(Visitor comment, OSFM)</i>
<i>“...it is a specific historical building, because it is in its original appearance like in 1939, when it started to work...”(Visitor comment, OSFM)</i>
<i>“I was a little disappointed as I thought I would see what the factory used to look like and see more of the original features” (Visitor comment, OSFM)</i>

5.3.2 Natural Topography and Immovable Structures

Topography and immovable structures played an important role at all the sites investigated. With their ability to capture the authentic character of the site, both the topography and the immovable structures were of critical importance in aiding visitors’ cognitive processing of the site’s historical context. Natural topography and immovable structures are examined here using the examples of Mauthausen Memorial and Dachau Concentration Camp Memorial.

5.3.2.1 Mauthausen Memorial: The Visible and Invisible Camp

At Mauthausen, the evidence of the former concentration camp, whether still visible or invisible, is encapsulated in the natural topography and immovable structures. The complex archaeological investigations carried out during the recent reconceptualization process of the memorial-museum site revealed the full extent of

the “invisible camp” (*Senior Officer –Archives*) located mostly outside the perimeter of the site of visitation, and housed by the peaceful, enchanting fields of the surrounding countryside. The “invisible camp” includes areas of land and buildings that were part of the concentration camp but which over time have either returned to their former owners or destroyed (examples include the hospital camp, camp III, tent camp; the Ash Dump and execution area; as well as former SS buildings and installations). Managers frequently highlighted the extreme importance of revealing and deciphering these areas, as it was through them that visitors could visualise and understand the social and political context of the site holistically, and its integration in the Austrian (local) society at the time.

The evidence of the extant concentration camp (former prisoner camp area) is represented by the surrounding walls of the camp and the barbed wire fences which have remained almost completely intact, as have several of the prisoners’ huts around the assembly ground, two crematorium furnaces, the gas chamber, the execution ground and the Wiener Graben quarry with its “*Stairs of Death*” (Concentration Camp Mauthausen, 2013). One of the immovable structures present on-site is the building of the former infirmary which now houses the two new main permanent exhibitions. Today the memorial site also evidences a memorial park which includes memorials erected post liberation, by many countries to remember and commemorate their victims who perished at the hands of the Nazis. The memorial park sits on the area formerly occupied by the SS complex, between the quarry and the camp entrance. Table 5.3.a provides illustrations of the managers’ comments regarding the natural site topography and its immovable structures. Specific focus is placed on providing visitors’ clear orientation around the physical and natural sitescape dimensions, so that visitors can imagine the entirety of the (authentic) historical site, including the parts of the site that are no longer visible.

Table 5.3.b provides illustrations of the visitors’ comments related to the natural site topography and its immovable structures. Visitors’ comments capture the surprise incurred when discovering the full extent of the historical site, thus realising the concentration camp’s close vicinity to the local village, as well as the nature and extent of the derived social links between the two.

Table 5.3.a Natural Topography and Immovable Structures - Management Perspective (Mauthausen)

Management Perspective – Evidence
<p><i>“We start our tours around the walls areas which are now part of the memorial, but this is not covering all of the historical area of the camp. However, the former soccer field and sick camp area, the stone quarry the northern part with the ash dump and the area of the former camp 3 in the east are nowadays part of the memorial, yet some are only bare land, without any surviving structures. With the exception of memorial stones and the cemetery-like formatted ash dump, most of the areas around are meadows which are frequently mown. ...the former tent camp area - north of the former protective custody camp, is farmland and in private possession...” (Co-Head of Pedagogical Department 1)</i></p> <p><i>“ We make the tour tangible, visitors are shown around the site, and see both what is still standing and for the parts that have been destroyed the guides would show photographs and other materials that help visitors visualise those areas...”(Director)</i></p> <p><i>“The narrative exposes the visible and invisible parts of the camp and makes it clear that the camp was not kept secret or hidden...”(Co-Head of Pedagogical Department 2)</i></p>

Table 5.3.b Natural Topography and Immovable structures - Visitor Perspective (Mauthausen)

Visitor Perspective - Evidence
<p><i>“The whole setting is very pretty, the surroundings and landscape, you wouldn't know that something like this happened not so long ago in a place like this...”(Visitor comment, M)</i></p> <p><i>“The walls with the barbed wire made the whole place very depressing” (Visitor comment, M)</i></p> <p><i>“...football matches, going swimming or to the movies was all available in close proximity, all this normal life was going on next door to this dreadful place...”(Visitor comment, M)</i></p> <p><i>“I didn't know that the SS soldiers played football just near the sick camp” (Visitor comment, M)</i></p>

5.3.2.2 Dachau Concentration Camp Memorial: The “Path of the Prisoners”

At Dachau, the natural topography and immovable structures are key elements of the real and symbolic value gained by visitors from the encounter with the memorial site

servicescape. The layout of the memorial site and how visitors came to encounter, explore and understand it were considered of strategic importance for enhancing the visitors' on-site experience. The managers explained that the planned intended visitor experience was one that "*can produce a relationship between the visitor and this place and this time*" (*Education Department Member 2*). It was therefore important that the site was able to speak to visitors directly, through its visible, physical and natural evidence, as well as indirectly through the interpretative content provided. Since 2005, the re-designed site tour, the "*Path of the Prisoners*", gives each visitor the opportunity to come into contact with the natural topography and immovable structures by following the same path that prisoners were forced to take from the point of admission to the camp. Through the encounter with the 'scene', visitors have the opportunity to process the historical site, its function and importance for the prisoners. Following the footprints of the individual prisoner, creates the optimum conditions for each visitor's own, unique level of engagement with the historical servicescape and heritage offering. Each visitor has his/her opportunity to connect with the victim(s) on an individual and personal level, and by doing so to develop empathy (and sympathy) for the victim(s).

In terms of the main physical evidence, the architectural remains that are visible and accessible to visitors today include a collection of preserved original buildings and structures as well as reconstructed and purpose built ones (built after the place ceased to function as a Nazi concentration camp). Among the preserved original buildings and structures are those that defined prisoners' daily routine and final fate. These include: the infamous "*Arbeit Macht Frei*" camp gate mounted on the Jourhouse building, the guard towers, the maintenance buildings, the bunker, as well as the roll call area, bunker courtyard and crematorium area. In those spots where the former prisoner barracks do not exist any longer, their original positions are marked by stone foundations laid out retrospectively. Visitors can also view and access two prisoner barracks that have been reconstructed, and today house a small exhibition featuring a reconstruction of how the interior was arranged during the period of the concentration camp. Available for visitation are also the religious memorials (the Mortal Agony of Christ Chapel, the Carmelite Convent, the Protestant Church of Reconciliation, the Jewish Memorial and the Russian Orthodox Church) located on the northern part of the memorial site that were erected much later after the camp's liberation (1960s).

The former maintenance building is one of the main surviving buildings from the era of the concentration camp with many of its original features. It was built in 1938 through prisoner's work, part of the large redevelopment and enlargement of the concentration camp that took place during 1937-1938, signifying the Nazis' plan to establish concentration camps as a permanent institution within the Nazi state. The building itself has a "U" shape and its longest part surrounds the southern part of the roll call area. While on-site, visitors find out about how the roll call area was used as part of the terror regime of the camp (the prisoners were forced to assemble here and endure long hours of head counts, under tyrannical discipline rules, twice a day, in all weather). Since 1965, when the Memorial Site was formally opened, the maintenance building has housed the permanent exhibition. Here, visitors obtain information on both the remnants of the original building as "*room information*" (*Site Guide*) as well as on its historical function (its purpose and impact upon prisoners' daily life). The building includes two specific areas of significant importance for visitors' understanding of the degrading and callous procedures endured by prisoners; these are the "*schubraum*" (shunt room) and the "*prisoner baths*" (Dachau Concentration Camp Memorial Site, 2013).

Although not part of the original substance of the site, being erected in 1968, the International Monument is considered an important physical structure within this memorial- museum servicescape, with all visitors being encouraged to take time to absorb its visual (direct) and symbolic message (featured in all the modes of interpretation). Created by the Yugoslavian artist and concentration camp survivor, Nandor Glid, the main body of the sculpture (made in bronze) is framed by cement posts that represent the security installation of the former concentration camp. Located on the roll call area, the sculpture depicts, in an abstract realistic style, human figures entangled in barbed wire. The entire installation aims to capture not only the artistic interpretation of the prisoners' suffering, but also the historical reality of the security facilities around the camp and that of the many suicides committed by the prisoners who in an act of desperation chose to jump into the barbed wired fence. The highly symbolic meaning of the International Monument makes it a focal point for annual remembrance ceremonies and other important political events. Over the years, individuals and groups have used the International Monument also to voice political protest.

Table 5.4.a provides illustrations of the managers' comments related to the natural topography and immovable structures of this site. Table 5.4.b presents visitors' comments, which confirm the managers' views regarding the importance of the natural topography and immovable structures in relation to the cognitive and emotional impact (holistic value) generated during the on-site encounter.

Table 5.4.a Natural Topography and Immovable Structures – Management Perspective (Dachau)

Management Perspective – Evidence
<p><i>“...visitors follow the way of a single prisoner...can identify with the prisoners and develop empathy...it is not just about learning facts here...” (Education Department Member 1)</i></p> <p><i>“In the maintenance building and the original prisoner baths room, the guide pointed to the visible traces of the baths, which are still discernable, revealing the historical value, in terms of the spatial structure of the room” (Researcher’s Notes, Jul 2013)</i></p> <p><i>“The guide pointed to the former plantation or herb garden that prisoners were forced to construct and work in, adjacent to the eastern side of the camp” (Researcher’s Notes, Jul 2013)</i></p>

Table 5.4.b Natural Topography and Immovable Structures – Visitor Perspective (Dachau)

Visitor Perspective – Evidence
<p><i>“The sheer magnitude of this site was incredible...I’m glad I came and took my time to take it all in...” (Visitor comment, Dachau)</i></p> <p><i>“The grounds and the exhibits are very extensive, I needed to take time to absorb the surroundings and think about the things that took place...” (Visitor comment, Dachau)</i></p> <p><i>“It doesn’t surprise me that a lot of the original camp and grounds have been knocked down...I can imagine how the people of Dachau didn’t want this as a reminder after the end of the war...” (Visitor comment, Dachau)</i></p>

5.3.3 Exhibitions and Artefacts

The exhibitions and artefacts provide representations of the historical place and context, maximising the capacity of the tangible evidence to illustrate the spatial, chronological and thematic connections between the site of visitation, the historical events and the

human interactions that shaped its existence. Exhibitions and artefacts are examined here using the examples of Sachsenhausen Memorial and Museum and Oskar Schindler's Enamel Factory Museum.

5.3.3.1 Sachsenhausen Memorial and Museum: A Decentralised Exhibition Concept

At Sachsenhausen the exhibitions and artefacts are presented using a specifically conceived decentralised exhibition concept reliant on a number of thirteen small size exhibitions. The small exhibitions enable visitors' efforts for processing the historical place by connecting the physical site with the historical events that took place at the various locations throughout the site, thus gaining both a location - event specific *and* holistic understanding of the site. The reconceptualization and remodelling of the memorial site (adopted in 1993) allowed for many of the original traces, structures and artefacts to be revealed and expertly restored. "*Massive building projects*" (Press Officer) were undertaken, resulting in many areas around the site regaining their original historical character, thus aiding the rehabilitation of the original site and its authentic value. The strategic framework was set out whereby the history of the site was to be communicated to visitors in the very places where it happened, using a decentralised exhibition concept. This concept underpins the entire approach to the spatial distribution and content structuring employed in the design of the "*bite size exhibitions*" (Press Officer) featured on-site.

The relatively small exhibition units are housed in the restored (original) barracks situated in their original locations throughout the site. This approach reflects management's cognisance of visitors' on-site behaviour in terms of limited receptiveness towards large, complex exhibitions that require long periods spent in one place and a prolonged cognitive effort. The thirteen small scale exhibitions are situated at different locations throughout the site (coinciding with the site's main remnants), and each examine the particular history connected to that respective location. Simultaneously, each location specific history is contextualised within the wider history of the site, as narrated by the key themes reflecting the main developmental stages of the concentration camp and their chronology (the concentration camp's establishment in 1936; the mass internments in 1938; changes brought by the outbreak of the war in 1939; the largest mass murder in 1941 and many more).

Managers explained that the reconceptualization and remodelling of the entire memorial-museum servicescape offered the opportunity to design and present unique exhibitions that reveal the crimes, some never suspected nor spoken about before. The exhibition “*Murder and Mass Murder in Sachsenhausen Concentration Camp 1936-1945*” was described as a “*masterly restoration*” (Principal Press Officer) of “*Station Z*” (the name given by the SS to a building that contained a crematorium and killing facilities). The entire exhibition is open air, mounted on glass-fibre reinforced concrete slabs aligned along one of the perimeter lines defining the location of “*Station Z*”. The area plays a dual important role of exhibition and central place of remembrance, in the honour of the murdered individuals and groups.

The exhibition found in the former Prisoners’ Kitchen dwelling (“*Sachsenhausen Concentration Camp 1936-1945 – Events and Developments*”) is one of the “*major exhibits*” (Principal Press Officer) and acts as a central point of reference for the individual, specific topics presented by each location specific exhibition. Its compact yet holistically conceived content, presents the key events and periods in the history of the camp. With its wider floor space, it is able to accommodate both groups and individual visitors, thus acting as a central point for visitors’ cognitive and visual orientation around the site. In the basement, visitors are presented with the vibrant colours of the well preserved original drawings made by prisoners. A small cinema and learning centre complement the exhibition. The film makes use of historical photographs, moving images and interviews with witnesses and is available in four languages, while the learning centre located within displays the Book of the Dead (in both print and digital form) listing the known names of the victims of Sachsenhausen Concentration Camp. Table 5.5.a provides illustrations of managers’ views in relation to the exhibitions and artefacts that are present on-site.

Table 5.5.b provides illustrations of the visitors’ comments with regards to the exhibitions and artefacts found on-site. The visitors referred to the value they drew from the exhibitions and artefacts as visual cues to the history and events that took place, thus helping with the meaning making and clear understanding of the historical facts.

Table 5.5.a Exhibitions and Artefacts - Management Perspective (Sachsenhausen)

Management Perspective – Evidence
<p><i>“We have used a decentralised concept, whereby due to the huge place and having had research based knowledge confirming visitors’ limited receptiveness to big, mammoth exhibitions, we opted for smaller units located within original buildings and structures...” (Principal Press Officer)</i></p> <p><i>“The design of the new exhibition....makes use of the uninterrupted nature of the existing space... displays cases in a clear and attractive manner... selected photographs of particular significance ...greatly enlarged and printed on gauze banners that stretch along the two longest walls of the room...” (Sachsenhausen Concentration Camp Events and Developments, 2011, p.9)</i></p> <p><i>“The perpetrators’ perspective is clearly conveyed in two specific exhibitions: the exhibition in the T-building and the exhibition housed by the Commandant’s House, which is planned for 2014-15” (Principal Press Officer)</i></p>

Table 5.5.b Exhibitions and Artefacts – Visitor Perspective (Sachsenhausen)

Visitor Perspective – Evidence
<p><i>“I thought that the exhibition in the tower, focusing on the local community was very interesting...the evidence is there...so many businesses profited from the prisoners’ work, people saw them being marched up and down the streets...the locals knew...”(Visitor comment, S)</i></p> <p><i>“Our group has 50 x 15 year olds...of course it was moving, but the students enjoyed the fact that you can spend time looking at artefacts in exhibitions located on-site, in actual original buildings that helped them to imagine the horrors that took place, instead of being expected to spend time reading lots of museum facts” ...”(Visitor comment, S)</i></p>

5.3.3.2. Oskar Schindler’s Enamel Factory Museum: A Multidisciplinary and Interactive Concept

At Oskar Schindler’s Enamel Factory Museum, the approach to the exhibition and its artefacts is reliant on an interdisciplinary effort (first of its kind in Poland) that integrates the historical evidence, various modern artistic methods and multimedia tools, generating a highly immersive, emotional and interactive context for visitors. The Museum presents an exhibition saturated with a wide range of artefacts (original,

replicas and purpose made) aimed at conveying the historical narrative and connecting the visitors with the city and its residents, both in the past and at present.

The exhibition (*'Krakow under Nazi occupation 1939-1945'*) is structured chronologically and thematically, and delivers a comprehensive (re)presentation of the history of the city and its residents (Poles, Jews and Germans). The story of Oskar Schindler is one component of the exhibition. It is presented in its historical context and embedded within the social and political reality of the city of Krakow during the Nazi occupation, thus enabling the fusion between the myth of Oskar Schindler (as presented by the Hollywood movie) and the actual historical events. Visitors are confronted with the realities of Krakow's occupation by the Nazis and its impact upon the lives of the city's natives (Poles and Jews). It is against this wider and complex historical background that visitors are invited to process the controversial figure of Oskar Schindler and his deeds, thus gaining a deeper understanding of its meaning and significance.

Described by the managers as *"a scientifically, thematically and artistically coherent project"* and *"an example of best practice"* (*Museum Director*), the exhibition is the outcome of a joint, collaborative and innovative approach undertaken by several teams and specialists from a variety of fields (architects, graphic designers, graphic artists, sculptors, carpenters, model makers, multimedia and computer specialists, lighting and sound engineers). Its aim is to provide visitors with basic knowledge on the city's specific WWII history, while evoking certain emotions and provoking reflection on the criminal and oppressive nature of the Nazi system, its impact upon the life of the city's residents, as well as the tragedy of all people afflicted by war.

The important role of the wide range of artefacts (authentic objects, photographs, wartime documents and reproductions) was highlighted by the management who identified them as *"basic tools for a museum"* (*Head of Education*) able to connect the visitor with the complex social, political, religious and economic tapestry of the city's history and its Poles and Jewish residents. The managers highlighted the emphasis the museum placed on visitors directly touching and interacting with the artefacts, as a means of facilitating *"visitor's active participation, discovery and learning, and [enables] his/her experiencing of the past that we present..."* (*Head of Education*). Photographs and paper documents were referred to as *"memory plates"*

(*Chief Curator*) and important sources and evidence of authenticity. The photographic methodology conveyed a most visual and vivid tapestry of human faces in their original surroundings and daily lives, filled with the anxiety of war and terror, but also with the occasional small elements of joy and happiness. The planned effect was to deliver “*a visual, dramatic and thought provoking journey back in time*” (*Chief Curator*) that triggered visitors’ emotional engagement. The authentic exhibits such as industrial objects, weapons, personal belongings, pieces of furniture, dishes, which although quantitatively low (as only a few survived), were viewed by the management as “*windows into this history*” (*Chief Curator*). They are testimony to the past, thus conveying the original purpose of the factory and enabling visitors’ discovery of the individual and collective stories behind them.

The central part of Oskar Schindler’s office room contains a contemporary artistic installation. It consists of a glass cube filled with semi-finished metal pots, pans, bowls, lids and other metal ware objects made by the former enamel factory. The installation was explained as “*very symbolic installation, where the multitude of enamelware objects is symbolic of the vast number of people condemned to the Holocaust and the moral dilemmas and choices that Oskar Schindler himself was faced with at the time*” (*Chief Curator*).

An important aspect highlighted by the management was in relation to the Museum’s continuously growing collection as a result of private donations, often taking place after the person visited the Museum. This was considered an important aspect of the Museum’s principal task of collecting and preserving objects and artefacts that convey the history of the city. The steady donations that are still taking place do not only contribute to the expansion of the Museum’s collection, but they also point to a tangible representation of the connection between the past and present and the joint role played by today’s visitors alongside the Museum, as joint custodians of the past.

Table 5.6.a provides illustrations of the managers’ comments related to the innovative, interdisciplinary and tailored approach adopted in the design of the exhibition, as well as the importance attributed to artefacts for conveying the historical narrative and facilitating visitors’ interactive encounter with the history (re)presented. The managers’ comments also point to the visitors’ active contribution and co-creation efforts that complement those of the Museum.

Table 5.6.b provides illustrations of visitors' comments on the exhibition and its artefacts. Some visitors commented on the wide range (large variety) and quality of the artefacts, as well as the Museum's approach in encouraging visitors' direct interaction through their use of senses and traditional technology. Other visitors expressed disappointment with the museum servicescape in terms of the limited number of original artefacts, the renovated and modern building which appeared devoid of its original character and history, as well as with the content of the exhibition, which appeared to have failed in its representation of Oskar Schindler's story.

Table 5.6.a Exhibitions and Artefacts – Management Perspective (Oskar Schindler Enamel Factory Museum)

Management Perspective – Evidence
<p><i>“The character of this exhibition is to a large extent determined by its interdisciplinary and the use of dramaturgical concepts in the exhibition space, things such as elements of stage design, sound and light effects, etc....” (Museum Director)</i></p> <p><i>“The main aim is to “activate” visitors, to trigger their interaction with the history and meaning behind the artefact...” (Head of Education)</i></p> <p><i>“We want people to experience the life of the city, how it was, in as much a tangible as possible way, using sound, walking down the cobbled streets, travelling by tram, and all the other windows into the past seen throughout in the various sections ...the intention is to bring the city and its people closer to the audience...” (Chief Curator)</i></p> <p><i>“People are still donating objects to us... especially after they visited... the visit makes a deep impact and often people contact us after their visit and they say that they have private objects related to this history and they wish to donate them. Only last week we had a lady who donated an enamel dish made at the Enamel Fabrika...this is very important in complementing our main collection...” (Museum Director)</i></p>

Table 5.6.b Exhibitions and Artefacts – Visitor Perspective (Oskar Schindler Enamel Factory Museum)

Visitor Perspective – Evidence
<i>‘I really liked how everything is there to be touched and interacted with and even the older style technology...’ (Visitor comment, OSEFM)</i>
<i>”The exhibition is brilliant, with loads to read and see, lots of photographs and other exhibits, it makes you want to take everything in, it is so well done” (Visitor comment, OSEFM)</i>
<i>“This is the first exhibition of this kind that I saw, I found it both very moving and excellent and one which I will never forget” (Visitor comment, OSEFM)</i>
<i>“I went back in time and felt the pain of the people...great effort and illustrations”(Visitor comment, OSEFM)</i>
<i>“I was disappointed...very few original artefacts...it’s a museum of Polish history and Nazism which I assume most people know...very little about Oskar Schindler... The museum looks like it was built yesterday. You did not get the feel of an original piece of history...”(Visitor comment, OSEFM)</i>
<i>“The exhibition is more about a history of the occupation of Krakow than the events that occurred in the factory as depicted in the film...nevertheless, a very good exhibition, but the title is deceiving...”(Visitor comment, OSEFM)</i>

5.4 The Social and Socially-Symbolic Dimensions

In recent years site management have been re-thinking their approach to interpretation, communication and visitor interactions on-site. The challenge for site managers is in ascertaining how best to draw and convey meaning from the past for visitors with different backgrounds and perspectives. Today there is an increased focus on education and interpretation, and to provide a servicescape that will encourage visitors to co-create their own unique experience at these sites. The aim is to build on the site’s authentic characteristics by providing a relevant and engaging experience. Given that many visitors today have no personal attachment to the site(s) and may be seeking a ‘see it to believe it’ or knowledge acquisition experience, site managers recognise the importance of interpreting the meaning and history of the sites, as well as explaining some larger contextual issues. In particular, the historical, social, political and economic context of National Socialism, its system of concentration camps and each

site's unique existence. This has led to a wider management agenda in rethinking the interface with visitors and the social and socially symbolic dimensions of sites.

The previously held view that local people and civil society in general knew nothing about what was going on at concentration camps is no longer valid. Today the site narratives (at both sites *of an associated with death*) recognise that both perpetrators and victims were recruited from society and without society's knowledge and active support the camps could not have existed. Equally, although the Holocaust originated in Nazi Germany, it could have not been perpetrated without the knowledge and support of other European countries and governments. Moreover, since the fall of the Iron Curtain, narrative shifts have taken place in terms of recognising and representing *all* of the victim groups, accurately. Consequently, the current interpretation and learning provision at each site must be cognisant of both (a) the changing needs of visitors, in terms of their heterogeneity and degree of familiarity with this history and (b) each site's own specific context (specific narrative reflective of its key events and main historical actors).

5.4.1 Social Dimension

The social dimension is presented and analysed in relation to two themes: narrative and interpretation and education provision.

5.4.1.1 Narrative

Each site narrative is carefully curated and presented so that it unveils and makes the site's unique history and its surviving traces legible, aiding visitors in their efforts for meaning making of what tends to be painful, deeply disturbing and complicated events, key developments, as well as the main actors and their roles played during the concentration camp's period of operation. At each site the narrative tends to reflect a fluid and intertwining blend of chronological, thematic and topographical (this only applies to the sites *of death*) content that both encapsulates and conveys the historical facts against the servicescape available for visitation. Visitors engage with the respective history by navigating around the site servicescape according to the road map provided by the site tour which in turn reveals the narrative. The narrative and its associated interpretation connect the site and the visitor, establishing a bridge between the past and present. This is illustrated in the examples of Sachsenhausen Memorial and Museum and Dachau Concentration Camp Memorial.

5.4.1.1.1 Sachsenhausen Memorial and Museum: A Multi-layered History and Challenging Narrative

Sachsenhausen Memorial and Museum is a complex memorial site that presents the visitor with a challenging narrative reflective of the four distinct periods in both Germany's and this site's own history. Each period carries its own key events and dominant narrative(s) that resulted in specific and significant impacts exerted upon both the physical and social dimensions of the servicescape encountered by visitors today. Although not conceived as a death camp per se, but as a model for all concentration camps aimed at incarcerating political opponents, "asocials" and "undesirables" (Site Guide), Sachsenhausen Memorial and Museum's entire narrative reflects its deeply painful history. As recorded by numerous sources and re-emphasised by managers' explanations, the site's history is saturated by the unimaginable suffering and death of large numbers of people who were subjected to forced labour, inhumane treatment and lawless murder perpetrated by the state apparatuses and ideologies attached to each period in the history of this site.

The master narrative, underpinned by a sustained historiographical effort on each of the four distinct layers of the history that impregnates this site's servicescape, presents and denounces the inflicted brutal treatment upon *all* victims of the time periods represented. It is a narrative that consciously avoids the danger of conveying or cultivating perceptions of "a hierarchy of victims" (*Principal Press Officer*). However, as the managers explained, the majority of visitors were interested in the history of the site as the Nazi concentration camp, with very few directly seeking to learn about the Soviet Special Camp that existed after the end of WWII. In this context, managers stated that often, many visitors, and in particular the youth groups expressed surprise at the diversity of the prisoner society, having had assumed that the only people incarcerated and murdered here were Jews.

The perpetrator perspective is an important, integral component of the social spectrum attached to this site's history and narrative. Managers were of the view that:

"If you want to understand what a concentration camp really was and how it worked and how the terror and mass murder was organized and how people were able to do all this, you have to take a closer look at the perpetrators."
(*Press Officer*).

Consequently, attention was placed on the full spectrum of perpetrators, from those who pulled the trigger and were involved directly in carrying out the killings (who were sentenced and received long terms of imprisonment by Allied or German courts) to those low grade functionaries, who “*worked behind the desks and went unpunished or else got off with relatively light prison sentences*” (*Site Guide*). The management confirmed that the presentation and interpretation of the perpetrator perspective was an area continuing to receive attention and developmental work at numerous sites in Germany and other European perpetrator countries, and represented an important component in the educational and pedagogical work carried out by memorial sites linked to the crimes of National Socialism.

In the exhibition “*Murder and Mass Murder in Sachsenhausen Concentration Camp 1936-1945*” the (sub)narrative is explicitly focused on the crimes perpetrated, presenting visitors with opportunities to learn about the systematic killing apparatus as well as with actual cases of murder and mass murder. The different causes of persecution and the plurality of the victimised groups are explained. This (sub)narrative, just as the master one, captures both the individual and collective perspectives by focusing on the life stories of those who were murdered.

Apart from the two clearly distinct groups (victims and perpetrators) the narrative also brings into focus the actions and attitudes of onlookers, people who acted indifferently, collaborators, and people who profited from prisoners’ free labour. Parts of the narrative draws specific attention to the clear, unequivocal historical evidence that reveals the level of knowledge and interest that numerous people had in relation to the camp’s conditions and treatment of inmates, as well as the visible smoke from crematorium chimneys, which at times hung over parts of the town. Notably, the issue of transparency in terms of the entire history (re)presented, and the potential for conflicting sub-narratives derived from the complex history of the site, were highlighted by the management as important aspects that require careful and ethical management.

Table 5.7.a provides illustrations of the managers’ comments related to the nature, scope and challenges posed by the narrative and its management. Table 5.7.b provides illustrations of visitors’ comments in relation to the narrative, demonstrating visitors’ gained knowledge and understanding of the entire social spectrum associated with the

historical servicescape. Some visitors commented on the powerful impact of the narrative content in terms of generating clear empathy and personal identification with the victims of National Socialism.

Table 5.7.a Narrative – Management Perspective (Sachsenhausen)

Management Perspective - Evidence
<p><i>“Visitors are clearly reminded that this is an international cemetery...so both the Nazi and Soviet victims are remembered and commemorated... there is no hierarchy of victims...we have designated sites of commemoration for both and these are clearly sign posted...” (Education Department Member)</i></p>
<p><i>“...remarkable exhibitions that reveal crimes that were committed but were previously not even suspected....”(Sachsenhausen Concentration Camp Events and Developments, 2011, p.7)</i></p>
<p><i>“It is the sheer size of the site and the limited receptiveness of visitors towards large, complex exhibitions that led us to decide in favour of a decentralised concept, which makes use of the location most resonant of the authentic events...” (Press Officer)</i></p>
<p><i>“People don’t tend to do all the exhibitions at once...it is impossible to fit everything in two, two and a half hours which is the average duration that people spend on site...” (Principal Press Officer)</i></p>
<p><i>‘We think that distinctive knowledge about the perpetrators is very important under an educational perspective’ (Education Department Member)</i></p>

Table 5.7.b Narrative – Visitor Perspective (Sachsenhausen)

Visitor Perspective – Evidence
<p><i>“...the systematic torture and slaughter of thousands upon thousands upon thousands of people because they were Jewish, or they were Roma or Sinti, or they were communists, or political opponents, or they were gay, or disabled...they were simply different...they could have been us or we could have been them...” (Visitor comment, S)</i></p>
<p><i>“I didn’t know anything about the communist period of the camp; I didn’t expect anything like that here...”(Visitor comment, S)</i></p>
<p><i>“I could have been one of these victimised and tortured here...I am black and gay” (Visitor comment, S)</i></p>
<p><i>“...interesting to learn about the atrocities committed by the SS and Nazi commanders for many years before and during the war, but also a very interesting fact was that even after the war was over, the Soviets continued to cause suffering and torture to prisoners...as if the history repeated itself...”(Visitor comment, S)</i></p>

5.4.1.1.2 Dachau Concentration Camp Memorial: The Narrative – Bridging the Past and Present

At Dachau, the new (since 2006) master narrative, titled “*The Path of the Prisoners*”, enables both visitors’ orientation around the site and their learning of the history of the site. The key themes underpinning the structure and content of the new master narrative are: (1) “*The Road to Dictatorship*”; (2) “*History of Dachau Concentration Camp*”; (3) “*The Path to the Memorial Site and the Memorial Site Today*” (Education Department Member 1). While the key goal is to provide visitors with a basic knowledge and understanding of the history of the former concentration camp and current memorial-museum servicescape, the master narrative also serves the educational function of facilitating visitors’ examination of the question “*What has it got to do with me today?*”. Such an overarching aim, described also as a “*very intimate kind of learning*” (Education Department Member 1) was being pursued through a consistent effort to include prisoner biographies and eye witness records throughout the site tour. The narrative thus serves as both a cognitive tool and emotional trigger, enabling visitors to establish logical and emotional connections between the physical and natural dimensions of the site servicescape on one hand, and the events and actors (i.e. the social servicescape dimension) on the other.

Through its thematic structuring, the narrative provides visitors with opportunities to gain a contextualised understanding on how the political and military events at the time reflected directly upon the concentration camp system in general and on Dachau in particular. In particular how each big change in the Nazi macro-system impacted directly upon prisoners’ daily routine and camp conditions. Of significant importance is the adopted approach for the narration of the history of Nazi concentration camp according to the three-phase model produced by Stanislav Zamecnick, a camp survivor and trained historian. Zamecnick’s unique capacity to combine well-grounded historical knowledge, collated, validated and presented using scientific tools, with rich insights into the sorrow and misery that Dachau concentration camp inflicted upon its prisoners, from a camp survivor’s perspective, provides visitors with a concrete illustration of the integrated nature of both the historical and memorial-museum servicescape(s) that Dachau embodies.

Managers also discussed the impact of the concentration camp and its historical narrative upon the local community and the town of Dachau. Managers’ comments

referred to the long and at times difficult relationship between the local community and the Memorial. During the period following the camp's liberation up to 1970s the local community had been very reluctant to accept the existence of the Memorial and the history with which it was connected. However, since the 1970s German society has evolved significantly in terms of accepting its own historical identity leading to the emergence of a memorial culture that enabled more interest and support for the Memorial from the local community. Becoming a very popular international tourist site also contributed to a more positive relationship between the local community and the Memorial. However, for some local people, the managers explained, the image and reputation of Dachau as the symbol directly associated with the notorious and longest operating Nazi concentration camp is still uncomfortable.

Table 5.8.a illustrates the managers' comments on the key aspects related to the narrative and its key challenges, including the exigencies associated with its dissonant effect from the various stakeholders' perspectives. Table 5.8.b illustrates visitors' comments referring to the role of the narrative in aiding visitors' cognitive and emotional orientation around the site, thus attaching value to the narrative consumption experience. Visitors found the exhibition extremely useful in deciphering the narrative and aiding their meaning making efforts. Visitors also explicitly commented upon the emotional impact inherent to the encounter with the memorial-museum servicescape.

Table 5.8.a Narrative – Management Perspective (Dachau)

Management Perspective – Evidence
<p><i>“So, usually you follow the way of the prisoners, which you can start, by the way at the railway station, and also the chronology of the camp and its incidents. A lot of the key message is told by the architecture and the arrangement of the place and the permanent exhibition” (Education Department Member 1)</i></p> <p><i>“There has been a lot of research about the perpetrators perspective since 1990s...we know a lot about their personality...naturally, we don't want visitors to identify with perpetrators, but these people were not animals, they were ordinary people who committed the most cruel atrocities against other fellow human beings. This can be very important for visitors' understanding and for our education...only few memorial sites in Germany deal with the perpetrators, as traditionally the emphasis has been on victims... ” (Education Department Member 1)</i></p>

“Our aim is to produce a relationship between the visitor and this place and this time” (Education Department Member 1)

“You have to respect the autonomy of the visitor, his or her sovereignty...you can easily manipulate people here with this kind of horror... By providing more of the horrific details it doesn't mean that you are providing more learning nor education ” (Education Department Member 1)

“For some people to have a car with a registration of Dachau still presents problems when going on holidays abroad, they still get a bad reaction...I heard of people who chose to have their babies born outside Dachau so that Dachau is not shown on the children's birth certificate...it's a bit like referring to Auschwitz, many people don't know that it is also a place where normal people live, a town... “ (Education Department Member 1)

Table 5.8.b Narrative – Visitor Perspective (Dachau)

Visitor Perspective – Evidence
<i>“I imagined myself standing there, in the bath room, all naked and with my head shaved, frightened and not knowing what would happen to me next.. “ (Visitor comment, Dachau)</i>
<i>“It is just heart-breaking to think that where you are walking all these horrible things happened and all these people died so brutally” (Visitor comment, Dachau)</i>
<i>“ ...it is a complex history; I grew up in Eastern Europe in a country initially allied to Nazi Germany...the teaching of Nazi Germany history was scant...the main themes throughout the exhibition helped me to navigate the information and understand it” (Visitor comment, Dachau)</i>
<i>“You can still feel the cruel environment where this people lived...very emotional place...this place is full of history” (Visitor comment, Dachau)</i>
<i>“It is just heart breaking to see this place and hear the stories of terrible abuse that the prisoners experienced. Here we go, a warm sunny day and yet I felt like a chill and an echo of the past. My heart breaks for all of the people lost in here and all of the subcamps” (Visitor comment, Dachau)</i>
<i>“The site is moving and painful, it is very difficult to understand man's inhumanity to man” (Visitor comment, Dachau)</i>

5.4.1.2 Interpretation and Education Provision

The interpretation and education provision at sites *of and associated with* death seeks to respond to the needs of today's visitors whose geo-demographic profile and on-site

heritage consumption behaviour are different from those of visitors in the past. Consequently, the current interpretation and education provision at each site must be able to respond effectively to: (a) visitors' heterogeneous personal profiles, degree of familiarity with and autonomous consumption of the history displayed and (b) each site's own specific context in terms of its surviving evidence, presentation methods and educational offering. At both sites *of* and *associated with* death the current interpretation and education efforts illustrate a significant focus on facilitating an interactive, reflexive and discursive engagement with the historical evidence and its representation(s). This is evaluated below in the examples from Mauthausen Memorial and Oskar Schindler's Enamel Factory Museum.

5.4.1.2.1 Mauthausen Memorial: A New Pedagogical Approach

There are no generally accepted norms regarding what and how visitors should be informed and assisted to absorb the educational message, nor any professional standards for the training and development of site guides. Against this background, Mauthausen Memorial has emerged as a model of good practice for on-site interpretation and education. Managers explained that the nature of interpretation and education at former concentration camps had evolved significantly within the last 30 years. There was evidence of a clear shift from the initial focus on the authentication of the murder and atrocities committed (in keeping with the needs of the survivors and past generations) to a planned intent for facilitating the current generation of visitors to engage with the historical evidence in a reflexive and discursive manner. These types of encounters entail a deeper and much more personal, dynamic and interactive on-site approach that places the visitor at its very centre.

Thus, the interpretation and education provision at Mauthausen is based on a highly interactive, dynamic and visitor centred approach, propelled by a (new) pedagogical concept initiated in 2007. Firmly embedded within the standard guided tour (as the Memorial's main educational offering, chosen by most visitors) the pedagogical concept was described as the "*bedrock of our educational offers*" (Education Department Member). Its key structural elements include: (1) minimum narration supplied by the guide; (2) source materials providing factually based historical evidence supplied by the Memorial; (3) visitor's own focused observation of the memorial grounds and (4) open discussion based on guides' and visitors' questions. Emphasis was placed on guides' efforts to gain a clear understanding of the visitor

profile(s) in terms of their varying levels of knowledge *and* pre-visit perceptions and expectations, as shaped by their personal background and societal context within which they lived. Managers explained that it was the guides' responsibility to *take visitors and their interests and fears seriously*" (Co-Head Education Department 2).

In practice, the new approach involves giving visitors the opportunity to walk and look around the site freely, allowing them to explore the physical and natural servicescape and relate it to the materials containing the historical factual information handed out. The objective is to create fertile conditions for visitors' examination of the combined evidence and the subsequent construction of their own meaning. Although conveying basic historical facts (through the guide's narration) still remains a priority, it is the interactive discussion between the visitor(s) and the guide, and among visitors themselves that is the focus of the new concept. By bringing the visitor(s) back into the group situation (following his/her independent site exploration and examination of the materials provided) and employing diverse questioning techniques, visitors are presented with opportunities to put forward various alternatives and negotiate the most logical explanation(s). The main aim is to allow visitors' own discovery of the unfolding narrative encapsulated by the key question "*How was it possible to murder 100,000 people in the middle of a civilian society?*" (Co-Head Education Department 1). The guide's main role is to facilitate the interaction and discussion by triggering visitor's independent and deeper thinking, instead of giving fixed answers. Visitors are therefore encouraged to (re)consider their own ideas and preconceptions and to contrast simple explanations with the complex reality (as proved by the historical evidence supplied). The guide's effective questioning techniques are geared to prompt visitors' own further questions for the guide, thus creating a two way, equally balanced dialogical encounter. Examples of questions used by the guides when facilitating school groups included: "*How could a person become a perpetrator?*" and "*What would you ask a former SS member today?*" (Co-Head Education Department 1). The practical limitations dictated by the time constraints (only 2 ½ hours for the average site visit), as well as the weather and physical effort entailed by the outdoors part of the visit were acknowledged as significant factors that impacted the on-site experience and required the guide's management on a case by case basis.

The approach to the training of guides evidenced at Mauthausen emerged as the most coherent and strategic in its focus on professionalising the role of guides. It is aimed

at enabling the progression from guides' traditional role as the main site-visitor interface and communicators of history, to their new roles as facilitators or moderators of the visiting experience. The developmental work underpinning the new approach was undertaken by the Memorial during 2013 – 2014, under the auspices the EU project “*Developing Education at Memorial Sites*” (part of the “*Europe for Citizens*” program and supported by the Austrian Federal Ministry of the Interior and [_erinnern.at](http://erinnern.at)). The project brought together guides and educational staff from Mauthausen (the leading team) and external experts from Germany, the Netherlands and Great Britain and resulted in the creation of a coherent integrated framework (infrastructural, social and psychological) for the continuing professional development of guides. Following the 10 months initial mandatory training focused on the history of the place *and* the pedagogical concept and methods, guides have access to regular, ongoing training and support structured on four levels: (1) peer observation and assessment *and* regular work meetings addressing organisational and content-related issues; (2) regular mentoring under the guidance of an external professional mediator; (3) structured training focused on specific thematic content (including for example workshops on violence theories); and (4) participation in conceptual work that targets the development of tailored educational programmes for specific target groups. The structured training targets both knowledge acquisition and skills development using various topics, for example: the social psychology of violence, how to effectively communicate complexity in Holocaust education, and the use of dramaturgy and learning strategies in education at memorial sites. Enhanced training focused on specific thematic content is also provided; for example the “*Mühlviertel hare hunt*” theme training day on the moral dilemmas associated with the escape of around 500 of the camp's prisoners in February 1945 and their subsequent hunting down by the SS and members of civil society. Expanding on the role of guides as facilitators, the managers highlighted the complexity of the guide's role who is faced with the “*challenge of answering questions concerning the past, but also questions about the present; guides are also confronted with many ideas and prejudices related to the history of National Socialism and the concentration camps*” (Co-Head Education Department 2). It was therefore of critical importance to ensure guides' continuing professional development through access to current research controversies, latest historical research and newest educational methods.

The management also referred to the new system of signs and descriptions that was designed in cognisance of visitors' habits of perception and usual patterns of movement. One manager explained that "...exhibitions are not like a book or a dissertation...visitors are not historians or academics...you have to tell the story in only few sentences..." (Director). The signs and descriptions highlighted and explained each section, but also provided spatial guidance and direction to visitors' flow.

Table 5.9.a provides illustrations of managers' comments regarding the on-site approach to interpretation and education. Table 5.9.b provides visitors' comments related to the on-site interpretation and education provision, including specific comments related to the (new) pedagogical concept. The data points to visitors' active participation and engagement with the historical servicescape as furnished by the direct contact with the physical and natural servicescape and the learning materials utilised by the guide. The visitors' comments provide insights into the potential of the (newly) adopted pedagogical concept for triggering visitors' critical evaluation (deep thinking) and reflection.

Table 5.9.a Interpretation and Education Provision – Management Perspective (Mauthausen)

Management Perspective - Evidence
<p><i>"...the interactive and participatory approach...the aim is to enable dialogue and exchange of views, it empowers visitors to express their view and negotiate meanings..." (Co-Head Education Department 2)</i></p>
<p><i>"There are various levels of continuous training...There are also regular work meetings where organizational and content-related issues are discussed, as well as fixed dates for advanced training in regards to thematic topics... Guides are also involved in conceptual work, working in different teams and dealing with such things as developing various educational programs for different target groups that visit the Mauthausen Memorial." (Member of Education Department)</i></p>
<p><i>"...it is actually quite hard to formulate good questions and create an engaging setting, visitors and especially young people should not feel tested ...not much use asking closed questions that can only produce simplistic answers or lessons...you have to show them that you are genuinely interested in their views and be willing to explore their own questions and dilemmas..."(Site Guide)</i></p>

“while a unified education of guides is impossible, the goal is to establish a long-term exchange about common quality standards in memorial education at National Socialism sites across Europe...” (Co-Head Education Department 2)

Table 5.9.b Interpretation and Education Provision – Visitor Perspective (Mauthausen)

Visitor Perspective- Evidence
<p><i>“...examining the site, the whole place and its clear embedding in the local surroundings says more than what can be achieved in the classroom, when we teach the topic in school...” (Visitor comment, M)</i></p> <p><i>“Before the visit, to prepare the students, we worked with materials from the Memorial’s website so when we arrived here the students had their own questions prepared..”(Visitor comment, M)</i></p> <p><i>“Sometimes the guide asked very difficult questions and we didn’t have clear answers, it was hard to find clear answers...in part it was a matter of opinion...in the end we agreed there were a number of possible answers”(Visitor comment, M)</i></p> <p><i>“...I was actually thinking if it had been me, maybe I wouldn’t have said anything either...I enjoyed being able to decide if we wanted to go along everywhere or not and not feeling forced to say something if we didn’t want to”(Visitor comment, M)</i></p> <p><i>“The civilians around the camp, for example at the Death Stairway they saw it all and most of the time said and did nothing, that disturbs me very much” (Visitor comment, M)</i></p>

5.4.1.2.2 Oskar Schindler’s Enamel Factory Museum: An Immersive Experience

Interpretation and education at Oskar Schindler’s Enamel Factory Museum are achieved through a creative and interdisciplinary approach that includes dramaturgical structures (stage design, sound/audio techniques and light) and visitor focused interactivity. The resultant museum servicescape is a rich and immersive environment which is conducive to visitors’ direct, participative exploration and learning undertaken within a strong emotionally binding setting. In each room, the interpretation is structured on three distinct levels: (1) at first level, the information is provided on two main display boards and on the walls; (2) at second level, the artefacts are encased and the explanatory captions assist visitors in learning about and

understanding the original purpose and function of each artefact; (3) at third level, the additional, supporting information is provided through audio – visual touch stations. Juxtaposition techniques are used frequently throughout the exhibition to effectively convey the contrasting perspectives of the victims and perpetrators, and consequently enable visitors' cognition and emotional engagement. When combined with lighting, as in the example of the *Room of Choices*, the interpretation is focused on the message of moral choice, an important educational aim in itself. For example in this room the three rotating cylinders, placed within the walls and inscribed with words that describe the attitudes of non-action and lack of empathy, are set in contrast with the testimonies of people who “*were able to confront the evil and help others, often in conditions of extreme danger and faced with deadly consequences*” (*Krakow Under Nazi Occupation 1939-1945 Exhibition Catalogue, 2011, p.49*). Similarly, in the last part of this installation visitors are presented with two books: the white book and the black book. The two books present examples of the two contrasting types of people (rescuers and collaborators), attitudes and actions related to the terror, suffering, death and tragedy inflicted by the Nazis upon the Poles and Jews of Krakow.

The emotional dimension is a key feature that penetrates the narrative and its interpretation. The managers described the emotional dimension as a specifically designed component of the intended visiting experience:

“We think that both knowledge and feelings are important, therefore emotions are a definite element here...in Poland we have a different approach in museums compared to memorial sites; we are not a memorial site, this is an exhibition, we have a narrative story that tells the history of Krakow... using various methodologies...[this is] new in museology, which in itself is a very dynamic field...there are constantly new ways of engaging with audiences...” (Museum Director).

The Museum's Director explained the differences between the approach to emotion adopted by museums in Poland (a victim country) and museums in Germany and/or Austria (perpetrator countries):

“In Germany or Austria, the approach is very different when narrating the history of WWII and Nazi Germany...it's about keeping the distance, being factual...they don't agree with creating an emotional experience for the

visitor...they would not like this kind of exhibition. But here in Poland, we are different... Polish people are very emotional people ...Poland suffered a lot at the hands of Nazi Germany...”(Museum Director).

Table 5.10.a provides illustrations of the managers’ comments on the key aspects related to the strategic decisions on the interpretation and education provision. Table 5.10.b provides illustrations of visitors’ comments which point to the various aspects of value that visitors draw from the interpretation and education provision. Specific comments refer to both the cognitive and emotional value elements, as well as the wide variety and richness of the methods of presentation and interpretation, able to deliver a highly immersive experience of a highly sensorial nature. Visitors remarked on the high quality exhibition and its ability to present the history of the city under Nazi occupation, poignantly, evocatively and vividly. Some visitors commented on the well-executed and presented exhibition that delivered much more than Oskar Schindler’s story. Explicit comments referred to Oskar Schindler’s story becoming of secondary importance once immersed in the historical narrative of Krakow under the Nazi occupation. Other visitors commented on the clear expectation for a strong focus on Oskar Schindler as the key theme of the exhibition; consequently, these visitors expressed disappointment with the narrative and exhibition overall, referring to the insufficiency of the Oskar Schindler directly related content.

Table 5.10.a Interpretation and Education Provision – Management Perspective (Oskar Schindler’s Enamel Factory Museum)

Management Perspective – Evidence
<p><i>“The German world is presented through the eyes of Poles and Jewish native residents”(Education Manager)</i></p> <p><i>“You will notice the perpetrators’ perspective featured through black-and-white photographs, uniformed Germans and Nazi symbols...” (Museum Director)</i></p> <p><i>“...the dilemma of balancing the need to be informative and convey history with rigour, while the subject itself speaks of human tragedy, war and suffering...I think without emotions the account remains dry, lifeless...emotions help people to gain the holistic understanding, for us emotions are a good thing” (Chief Curator)</i></p> <p><i>“As an educator, I would always say that it is important to cognate, but the whole place is also designed ‘to feel’ ...so we aim for both cognition and emotion” (Head of Education)</i></p>

“The guides are very important. Sometimes they are the only explanatory tool for international visitors as our sound techniques and audio narration are only in Polish. It is important that they provide correct information and explanation of the exhibition” (Head of Education)

Table 5.10.b Interpretation and Education Provision – Visitor Perspective (Oskar Schindler’s Enamel Factory Museum)

Visitor Perspective – Evidence
<p><i>“I thought it did a really good job at describing the life of Jewish people during that terrible period, plus that it pays tribute to all survivors and those who saved others” (Visitor comment, OSEFM)</i></p>
<p><i>“I think it’s such an interesting museum...very new and very modern, definitely not a traditional museum...works really well in letting visitors understand what it was like to live in Poland during the occupation...” (Visitor comment, OSEFM)</i></p>
<p><i>“For me it was in many ways as an assault on the senses...more of a re-creation of Krakow sights and sounds ...I enjoyed the many exhibits and the musical background, it captivates you as soon as you walk in” (Visitor comments, OSEFM)</i></p>
<p><i>“The value for me was the portraying of history through people’s first-hand experience rather than cold disembodied exhibits. It gives a real flavour of what it was like to be considered subhuman during that time and in so many ways more moving and poignant than Auschwitz...” (Visitor comments, OSEFM)</i></p>
<p><i>“By the time I reached Oskar Schindler’s Office, I had forgotten about him as I became totally engrossed in the history of the city...Oskar Schindler’s story and that part of the exhibition became an added bonus...” (Visitor comment, OSEFM)</i></p>

5.4.2 Socially-Symbolic Dimension

This dimension is presented and analysed by focusing on symbolic value for individuals and society.

5.4.2.1 Symbolic Value for Individual and Society

The socially symbolic value derived from site visits was central to both visitors’ experience and management’s efforts to maximise the value of the past and its represented history for the present, at both individual and societal levels. This is

illustrated below in the examples from Dachau Concentration Camp Memorial, Sachsenhausen Memorial and Museum and Mauthausen Memorial.

5.4.2.1.1 Dachau Concentration Camp Memorial: The “*Path of Remembrance*”

At Dachau, the empirical research revealed a complex, multi-dimensional servicescape with a plurality of meanings and a rich symbolic value. The managers did not consider it appropriate to associate the functioning and mission of Dachau Concentration Camp Memorial Site with dark tourism, repeatedly stressing the key functions of the memorial-museum servicescape as an international place for survivors, a place of remembrance, and a place of learning and education. Managers were keen to stress that the planned visitor symbolic value was being derived from the special type of engagement between the visitor and the site; one that triggers and provokes the visitor into asking “*What happened back then and what has it got to do with me today?*” (*Education Department Member 1*). The planned intent was to “*create a permanent state of irritation*” rather than “*a sense of certainty*” (*Education Department Member 1*). The management’s efforts were geared towards prompting visitor’s reflection and enquiry of self, as well as of society. Moreover, to create a heightened state of awareness, manifested as an alertness to the vulnerability of society, especially when faced with extreme conditions.

In this context the managers discussed the “*Path of Remembrance*”, in terms of its real and symbolic value for visitors. As part of the extended tour that underpins the narrative (the “*Path of the Prisoners*”), it takes place outside the enclosure of the Memorial Site, in the surrounding Dachau town area. The 3 km long route penetrating the town of Dachau, allows visitors to walk the same route that prisoners were forced to take as a foot march (from the railway station to the entrance gate of the concentration camp). Visitors are therefore presented with the opportunity to process and reflect upon the complex history, specifically on the implications of the camp’s integration in the local community.

Table 5.11.a provides illustrations of the managers’ comments in relation to the intended and planned socially-symbolic value rendered by the memorial-museum servicescape. These comments point to the expanding role of the memorial - museum servicescape beyond its well-established reputation as an international place for survivors and a place of remembrance, into a place of learning, education and

contemporary intergenerational dialogue, able to address issues of relevance to today's individuals and society.

Table 5.11.b provides illustrations of the visitors' comments, referring to the positive value gained from the visitation experience, both cognitively and emotionally. Visitors frequently remarked on the educational value of the visit, as well as on the deep emotional impact of the visit. Some comments referred to the lasting impact of the visit, the universal value of the visit, the opportunity for learning from the past and about the deeply troubling aspects of humanity. Visitors referred to the personal and societal value embodied by the memorial-museum servicescape.

Table 5.11.a Symbolic Value for Individual and Society - Management Perspective (Dachau)

Management Perspective – Evidence
<p><i>“We must always come back to the first and most important function of this site as being a place and address for survivors, a counterpart for survivors’ families and a cemetery, a place of remembrance...but also as a symbol of political resistance...a place that is also relevant to the present...it would be totally inappropriate to call this place dark tourism...” (Education Department Member 1)</i></p>
<p><i>“...survivors are involved in every important decision of the place. At the liberation day and during the year we always invite the survivors to visit us and to talk to visitors and school classes. There are periods that the contact can be very intensive.” (Education Department Member 2)</i></p>
<p><i>“...Today information panels tell of the close neighbourly ties between SS members and the civilian population...” (Dachau Concentration Camp Memorial Site, 2015)</i></p>

Table 5.11.b Symbolic Value for Individual and Society - Visitor Perspective (Dachau)

Visitor Perspective – Evidence
<p><i>“It is unreal how this could happen, in the middle of a populated town. I am speechless....” (Visitor comment, Dachau)</i></p>
<p><i>“To think a race did this to another race, and the local residents claim they knew nothing about it is figuratively and literally unbelievable” (Visitor comment, Dachau)</i></p>

*“There should be no place like this on earth...everyone needs to come to a place like this, to reflect on humanity and never allow for this to happen again”
(Visitor comment, Dachau)*

“This visit was personally more educational than every history book I have read and classes I have taken” (Visitor comment, Dachau)

“It makes you re-evaluate life” (Visitor comment, Dachau)

“A truly moving memorial to those who suffered and died here and in the subcamps, as well as to the survivors, I would like our children to come and visit this place” (Visitor comment, Dachau)

5.4.2.1.2 Sachsenhausen Memorial and Museum: The “*Truth Booth*” Project

The case of Sachsenhausen illustrates the emotional component of the socially-symbolic value derived from the on-site encounter and management’s specific efforts to meet visitors’ emotional needs while on-site. The managers discussed the on-site visitors’ experiences and noted that often, visitors became visibly overwhelmed by what they saw and learned, and sought either “*time out*” from the intensity of the experience or wished to terminate the visit prematurely (Site Guide). Against this backdrop, Sachsenhausen Memorial and Museum trialled a new, innovative project aimed at providing visitors with a clear, tangible physical space, in the form of a booth where they could retreat to during the visit if needing time out, or to reflect and/or express their thoughts and emotions.

The “*Truth Booth*” was designed with a dual purpose: (a) for visitors’ use as a means of on-site support and feedback tool able to capture their views, opinions and feelings, as well as to provide a safe, private space for taking time out if needed and (b) for management’s use as a repository (an archive) of visitor impressions collected over time and one that aims to aid the understanding of visitors’ connection with the history presented. It presents visitors with three options: (1) to share their message with the public (choosing the ‘public’/share option); (2) to share their message with only academic researchers (by choosing the ‘research’ option); (3) to decline any sharing and maintain the message as totally private (although this option still makes the message available to the project and museum teams).

The physical installation of the “*Truth Booth*” takes the form of a fixed structure in barrack 39 (the location of the exhibition titled “*Everyday Life of Prisoners in*

Sachsenhausen 1936-1945”). It is made of prefab material, sound-proofed and equipped with a chair, a curtain and a touchscreen monitor that enables navigation through a digital interface which is capable of recording visitor messages in either audio or video format. Visually, it appears unsophisticated, similar to a photo booth of adequate dimensions to allow wheelchair access. An explanation board placed on a supporting wall (that extends to the side of the booth), presents visitors with a brief overview on the scope and purpose of the project. As with all memorial sites in Germany, visitors are also made aware that any messages containing hate-speech, anti-semitic or provocative content and/ or any violent gestures are subject to law enforcement and punishable according to the German law. There are also small cards available in the Visitor Information Centre Reception and barrack 39 itself, titled: “The Truth Booth at Sachsenhausen – A user feedback station”. On the back of the card the following information is available (see Figure 5.1 below):

“The Truth Box at Sachsenhausen Memorial and Museum is an attempt to collect, archive, and share visitor impressions. Visits to memorial sites bring forth a wide range of thoughts and feelings, and the feedback booth gives you a chance to reflect on your visit and express your reactions. By leaving a message, you consider not only what happened here, but also what happens to you when you are here.”

Figure 5.1 The “Truth Booth” Visitor Card (Memorial Museum Sachsenhausen, 2013)

The Truth Booth was introduced in the summer of 2013, and during its first 10 months of operation it received 3000 messages; in its first three month pilot phase it recorded more than 500 messages (Site Guide).

Table 5.12.a provides illustrations of the managers’ comments on the symbolic value associated with the Truth Booth. Table 5.12.b provides illustrations of the visitor comments on the value associated with the on-site visiting experience. The comments capture both the cognitive and emotional aspects of the on-site encounter. The comments refer to the value derived from learning about the history of National Socialism and Sachsenhausen concentration camp, expressing positive benefits in terms of becoming more knowledgeable, aware of the fragility of peace, harmony and human life. Some visitors spoke of the implied message propagated by the visit towards society, calling upon its learning from the past and being more humane

towards each other. Included are comments made by some visitors who did reveal that they used the *Truth Booth* while in barrack 39, and are annotated as such. These comments appear to carry a stronger emotional perspective than the comments originating from the rest of the visitors (who did not declare using the *Truth Booth*). This may indicate that the visitors who did take up the opportunity to use the Truth Booth may have done so for the very reasons that it was created for: to allow time out from the intensely emotional experience, and to access a physical space for personal reflection.

Table 5.12.a Symbolic Value for Individual and Society – Management Perspective (Sachsenhausen)

Management Perspective – Evidence
<p><i>“...we know that the emotional content is always there by virtue of the type of history we present...For us there is no intent to produce emotions...people get emotional anyway, we don’t need to trigger it... for us it is important to present the historical facts and allow visitors autonomy in how they deal with these facts ...we always give visitors a way out, if they become overwhelmed... in this context the Truth Booth can be an effective tool...” (Press Officer)</i></p> <p><i>“...some visitors get very upset or need to take time out...in this respect the Truth Booth can be very useful...” (Site Guide)</i></p>

Table 5.12.b Symbolic Value for Individual and Society – Visitor Perspective (Sachsenhausen)

Visitor Perspective – Evidence
<p><i>“I often come back here so that I can be reminded that nothing is forever...tomorrow it can be me that the hatred could be aimed at... the peace and harmony can be very easily destroyed....” (Visitor comment, S)</i></p> <p><i>“...when I think of the Holocaust and what I saw here today, I think of the broken families, the lost family members and the pain that comes with that...but I also think of the distrust, the anger and hatred against someone who doesn’t look like you, who doesn’t have the same skin colour, or the same eye colour as you...this pains me a lot...this is what started the Holocaust...and this hatred still exists, is still here today, among us...it is only when this distrust and hatred will disappear that we will be successful as a society...” (Visitor comment, S)</i></p> <p><i>“...we have to remember what happened here and talk to the younger generation about the possibility of this happening again, because it can happen</i></p>

again...we are all human beings and must respect each other's diversity, we must never forget that we are human beings with equal human rights..."
(Visitor comment, S)

"...I started to get quite nauseous hearing how people were treated here and learning about their suffering...I thought the Truth Booth was such a good idea ...yet I was amazed how people still had the strength to continue, to fight for their freedom..." (Visitor – User of Truth Booth comment, S)

"I just found my uncle and my grandfather's names...to read their names there was both so wonderful and so sad...I was crying out there..." (Visitor - User of Truth Booth comment, S)

"It makes me sad but pleased that I came here ... I just wish that world leaders would have their G20 meetings here or in places like this, because we all need to be reminded of what we are capable of doing to each other..." (Visitor – User of Truth Booth comment, S)

5.4.2.1.3 Mauthausen Memorial: The “Dialogue Forum”

As Austria's largest concentration camp and the last major memorial site in Europe to be redesigned, Mauthausen Memorial- Museum provides a reorganised and reconceptualised memorial- museum servicescape that is reflective of both the latest research and steady path followed by the Republic of Austria in its journey of coming to terms with its National Socialist past as well as of the complex nature of the engagement between the painful past and present.

One example of the engagement that the Memorial cultivates with both the survivors, who are considered its *“life blood and moral compass”* (Co-Head Education Department 2) and the expert community (practitioners and academics in the field) is the *Dialogue Forum*. This is a yearly conference - type event that brings together different scientific institutions and researchers from diverse fields and contexts, as well as survivors, who exchange views and share insights from practitioner, academic and survivor (experiential) perspectives. It provides a platform for national and international experts to engage with the multiple and complex aspects related to the field of memory (culture of memory) and its place within contemporary society. Survivors always take part in this forum and their input is integrated in the thematic discussions, along with the scientific content. Survivors' efforts have been of strategic importance in the evolution of Mauthausen Memorial throughout the decades, in both real and symbolic terms. Thus, survivors continue to be involved

with the current life and developments of the memorial- museum through various channels and activities, including that provided by the *Dialogue Forum*.

The importance of the *Dialogue Forum* was further discussed by managers in the context of the Memorial's complex mission which is connected to the darkest page in the country's history. In this context the management acknowledged the many associated tensions that the memorial is continuing to face and address. For example manifestations of narrative dissonance still exist, with some elements of Austrian society still having difficulty in accepting the country's Nazi past. It is therefore of critical importance that the Memorial fulfils its mandate as a place of dignified remembrance and a place of learning, as well as "a place of critical engagement" with Austria's own history and "a place of humanistic education" (Director). The management stressed the current role of the Memorial as a place that presents its history with rigour and integrity, functioning also as a research institution.

Each year, the forum adopts a different key theme related to the history, significance, impacts and legacies of Mauthausen as a former place of National Socialist crimes. The *Dialogue Forum* is regarded as an important source of academic exchange and cooperation able to make a significant contribution to the academic competence and rigor (drastically neglected for many prior decades) underpinning all of the current work and activities undertaken by the memorial- museum.

Table 5.13.a provides illustrations of the managers' comments regarding the symbolic value that the memorial-museum servicescape seeks to deliver to both individual visitors and collectively to society. Table 5.13.b provides illustrations of the visitors' comments and refer to the significant value that the new generation draw from the encounter with the authentic place and from the visiting experience holistically. The comments indicate that the direct encounter with the historical servicescape enabled some visitors to dispel some of the myths surrounding the dark past. Although the visitors noted the deep emotional impact the on-site encounter did generate, they placed value on the learning and seeing with their own eyes, and expressed the desire to expand their learning of this history in the future. Other visitors referred to the link between the learning gained, specifically related to the history of this site and the connections it had with current aspects of their own lives, especially in terms of social harmony.

Table 5.13.a Symbolic Value for Individual and Society - Management Perspective (Mauthausen)

Management Perspective – Evidence
<p><i>“Memorials like Mauthausen are learning places: they serve reminding, reflection, admonishing and the discussion with the past... we inform on what people are able to do in dictatorial regimes, we ‘sensitise’ to the fact that every form of intolerance and racism is to be rejected and we stand up, we fight (with words and actions) for the value of a humanistic society” (Director)</i></p> <p><i>“...a place of political demonstration...also of emotional education...” (Director)</i></p> <p><i>“...a memorial to humanity and human dignity and against exclusion and intolerance...” (Co-Head Education Department 1)</i></p> <p><i>“...learning about Nazi atrocities and what happened in Mauthausen touches upon issues largely unresolved...” (Senior Officer - Archives)</i></p>

Table 5.13.b Symbolic Value for Individual and Society – Visitor Perspective Evidence (Mauthausen)

Visitor Perspective - Evidence
<p><i>“It is important to understand and hear this terrible history. I live near Braunau where Adolf Hitler was born. I heard a lot of stories about this war from school, from home, from the internet but when I came here I saw it from another view and it is certainly very depressing. Before coming here I was afraid of brutal things and the history of wars because I didn’t understand how it came about. But now I have a desire to visit places where the people suffered and died, so that I am able to say ‘I was there and saw the place where people were murdered’, I want to see and learn this history from another point of view, from the point where it happened. Only when you understand what happened you can stop it from happening again ” (Visitor comment, M)</i></p> <p><i>“I learned a lot about the thinking of the people at the time and how they viewed the prisoners, it made me think about how we treat other people...” (Visitor comment, M)</i></p>

5.5. Conclusion

This chapter has presented and analysed the key themes that evolved from the investigation of the servicescape dimensions by using the best or most illustrative

examples from each site. The chapter commenced with a discussion of the empirical findings that highlights that both the sites *of* and *associated with* death are mass tourism sites which attract a changing visitor profile compared to times past. Against this background, the key servicescape themes (physical and natural; social and socially-symbolic) were illustrated, by presenting and analysing empirical data regarding the key themes of: authenticity of place; natural typography and immovable structures; exhibitions and artefacts; narrative; interpretation and education provision; and socially symbolic value to individuals and communities.

Chapter 6 will discuss the core aspects of authenticity, by critically evaluating the current research findings through the lens of the relevant academic literature.

Chapter 6: Discussion

6.1 Introduction

The main focus of this chapter is to discuss and evaluate the complex nature and scope of authenticity at dark heritage sites. The discussion builds upon Wang (1999) and Wang et al's (2015) conception of authenticity that differentiates between objective, constructive and existential authenticity. The last section ends the chapter by providing a summary of the key issues identified in relation to the plurality of authenticity.

6.2 Dark Tourism

An important discovery of the empirical study is that related to the label of “*dark tourism*”. The findings from all six sites revealed that the heritage site managers’ strongly disagreed with the term “*dark tourism*” advanced by scholarly discourse. For example, the managers at Auschwitz-Birkenau were keen to demonstrate the increased societal mandate of the memorial-museum, constantly striving to align its efforts to survivors’ moral appellation and challenge for “*Never Again*”, by providing a concrete means of reaching individuals, influencing attitudes and addressing society’s concerns: “*This Museum is living testimony to the horrors of the Holocaust and is not considered by us to be a “dark tourism product”* (Head of Visitor Services, Auschwitz-Birkenau). The International Centre for Education about Auschwitz and the Holocaust (ICEAH), as the advanced education services hub of the Memorial is the concrete evidence of the evolution of the memorial-museum servicescape from the earlier emphasis on recording, preserving and conveying the facts, to a mission focused on “*Remembrance – Awareness – Action*”. This emphasises the focus on a dynamic, critical, reflexive and much more targeted approach to the history of Auschwitz and that of the Holocaust.

“Education about Auschwitz and the Holocaust can also have an influence on changes in personality, and in greater sensitivity to the suffering and abasement of others. It can be an aid in reflecting upon oneself and understanding one’s hierarchy of values” (Head of Education Projects, ICEAH).

The Director’s statements have consistently pointed to the unique position of Auschwitz-Birkenau, to deliver meaning and act as a moral compass not only for

regular visitors, but also to the many heads of state and other dignitaries from all fields of society:

“To this day, Auschwitz remains the most eloquent place for forming the conscience of people who take responsibility for the future of our societies, nations and states” (Director, Annual Report, 2008).

The managers at Mauthausen too, vehemently opposed the “dark tourism” label:

“Mauthausen is clearly not a place of ‘dark tourism’...this memorial site is about providing a cognitive understanding of the world and an emotional education“ (Senior Officer, Mauthausen Memorial Archives, Federal Ministry of Interior).

Equally, at Sachsenhausen, the managers rejected the term “dark tourism” being associated with the memorial-museum servicescape. Instead, they were keen to emphasise the current mission of the memorial-museum servicescape, tasked with a special humanitarian and educational function: *“Sachsenhausen is a modern memorial and historic museum, with a special humanitarian and educational task”* (Principal Press Officer, Sachsenhausen).

6.3 Authenticity

Based on the findings of this study, authenticity has emerged as a key dimension of the dark heritage servicescape, both at sites *of* death and human suffering and sites *associated with* death and human suffering. They are memorial and museum sites, they commemorate the dead and the suffering, they are sites of mourning that represent humanity’s most painful and cruel events, as well as sites of admonishment and moral appellation for *‘Never Again’*. Site managers focus on the authentic physical and natural dimensions of the sites to ensure that they have meaning for visitors, explicitly in terms of the tangible (immovable and movable/artefacts) aspects and the intangible dimension (the individual and collective human tragedy) conveyed by the historical narratives that underpin such sites. Conservation of authenticity is one of the most important challenges site managers need to address as authenticity is perceived to be the underlying motive behind personal and community groups visits to dark heritage sites.

The empirical findings illustrated that both managers and visitors frequently referred to authenticity as a key attribute of: (1) the site of visitation, that is the place, as well as both the tangible (objects) and intangible historic evidence related to it and encountered during the visit; (2) and the specific on-site dark heritage visiting experience.

There are 3 types of authenticity that resonate with the findings from this study. These are objective, constructive and existential authenticity (Wang et al; 2015; Wang, 1999; 2000). Wang et al (2015, p.1470), citing Cohen and Cohen (2012) state that “*contemporary tourists seek multiple versions of authenticity...on their trips*”. Situated within the context of heritage tourism marketing management, the empirical evidence supports Jamal and Hill’s (2004, p.354) call for the “*understanding of tourists’ perceptions and experiences of objects, events and their properties...[as]... essential to [the] responsible development and management of tourism*” and one that is “*intricately entwined*” with the study of authenticity. The three types of authenticity (objective, constructive and existential) are discussed in this chapter.

6.3.1 Objective Authenticity – Authenticity of Place, Events, Object(s)

Objective authenticity focuses on “*the recognition of the toured objects as authentic*” (Wang et al, 2015, p.1470), referring in essence to “*the authenticity of originals*” (Wang, 1999, p.352). This essentialist, museum-based approach has led to authenticity being determined as an objective quality attributed to the toured object (place or event) as a result of applying an absolute and objective criteria (Wang, 1999; Wang et al, 2015). Such criteria is of a “*dichotomous type*” and results in objects (places and events) being declared as either “*real*” or “*fake*”; “*true*” or “*false*” (Rickleby-Boyd, 2013).

6.3.1.1 Sites of Death

The empirical findings confirmed that objective authenticity is of critical importance to sites of death that formerly functioned as concentration camps. All four sites are authentic locations where real, tragic events and crimes took place, perpetrated by the Nazis. For example, at Dachau, managers referred to the place as “*the authentic location where things really happened and real events took place*” as well as “*the place where the model camp for the Nazi concentration camp system was built*” (Education Department Member 1). During the interviews carried out at

Sachsenhausen, site representatives identified the historical site during the period 1936-1945 as having been planned and built by the Nazis as a *“show case, a model of the ideal type of both concentration and training camp for the SS”* (Press Officer 2) and the town of Oranienburg as the *“SS town”* (Site Guide).

At Auschwitz- Birkenau the site is labelled as a *“Truth Site”* (Principal Press Officer, citing Ellie Wiesel, Holocaust survivor, writer, professor and Nobel Laureate), *“best known genocide place in humanity’s history”* (Site Guide) and *“paradigm memorial site”* (Plenipotentiary for the New Exhibition). The uniqueness of Auschwitz- Birkenau as *“the most authentic”* (Site Guide) memorial-museum servicescape is heavily reliant on the high concentration of objective authenticity and its consequent effect on the site narrative, which together exert a powerful impact upon visitors’ on-site experience, described by the managers as *“an experience in authenticity”*.

“The authentic site is not like a purpose built museum, structured and toured by chronology...there is no entry and no exit...the narrative must serve the site...”
(Principal Press Officer).

As authentic locations and places of death and suffering, above all things, these physical sites are large cemeteries where the physical and natural substance of the original site holds the mortal remains of those murdered and perished. At Dachau, the empirical findings refer to the main and most important role of the memorial site as closely linked to the victims, survivors and their relatives. The site managers explained that the grounds are *“first and foremost a resting place for those who were murdered here...an address, often the only address for the victims and survivors, a counterpart for their relatives who come here to find out about their loved ones...”* (Education Department Member 1). Thus, the managers at Dachau confirmed that the current memorial-museum servicescape is an objective place of memory. The empirical findings from Auschwitz-Birkenau express a similar view, confirming the natural servicescape as part of the objective authenticity of the site, and one which fulfils a strong memorialisation function, at both individual and collective levels:

“... the largest cemetery in the world, albeit one without graves...at Birkenau, close to the wooded area, near the gas chambers, there are huge pits with human ash; this is a place for personal commemoration but at Birkenau we also have the International Monument, for remembering and commemorating the

collective death and internationality of the victims...” (Head of Guiding Methodology, Auschwitz-Birkenau).

From the management perspective, the natural environment is very much recognised as part of the authentic fabric of the site, hence its preservation requires the same attention as any other authentic object belonging to the historical servicescape and deserves the same interpretative effort. During interviews, management staff of the Preservation Department at Auschwitz-Birkenau referred to the importance accorded to the preservation of all original parts of the historical site, inclusive of the natural setting. The natural environment is an unequivocal part of the historicity of the place and requires accurate interpretation, as it is the current unassuming topography that witnessed many of the past crimes; it was under the camouflage of trees in the woods and small groves and in the open-air pyres located at Birkenau that the Nazis perpetrated systematic murder. The importance of the natural environment as a key element of objective authenticity and its subsequent role in supporting the memorialisation function at Auschwitz-Birkenau was also recognised by Ashworth and Tunbridge (2017, p.77):

“In Auschwitz the management of the natural environment, especially the fifty – eight remaining Lombardy poplar trees, provide a green backdrop to ‘Arbeit macht frei’, which may appear to belie its dreadfulness. However, as some were planted by the authorities as concealment and some by prisoners, they have become part of the memorialisation (the so-called ‘silent witnesses’)...”

The findings point to the dark heritage servicescapes formerly sites of death and human suffering being rendered as authentic, special and sacred memoryscapes. Even in the absence of graves and headstones and irrespective of whether embedded in either the still visible and recognisable parts of the camp (as is the case at Auschwitz-Birkenau, Dachau and Sachsenhausen) or the *“invisible camp”* (as is the case at Mauthausen), these are unequivocally authentic places of personal memory and personal heritage, of significant importance to individual and family memory. For society too, these sites are humanity’s authentic memoryscapes, able to provide society with a physical place to remember and honour the victims (both the dead and the survivors), to reflect on the painful past and to seek to learn from it. Equally, yet for different reasons, for perpetrators and those who failed to act when it was still possible to act, these are also

unequivocal, authentic repositories of personal memory and meaning. Consequently, the physical, natural and social components of the historic servicescape render these sites as individual and collective memoryscapes fully deserving of both individuals' and society's remembrance and commemoration efforts (evidencing their socially-symbolic value). In turn, such efforts have the potential to shape and re-enforce individuals' and nations' heritage and identity, as well as to bring this page in humanity's history under perpetually renewed contemporary scrutiny. Each of these outcomes contributes to the further augmentation of the socially-symbolic servicescape dimension of such dark heritage sites.

“Europe and the world never needed a clear testimony resulting from the darkest hours of its own history as much as it does now” (Director, Auschwitz-Birkenau Annual Report, 2016).

6.3.1.2 Sites Associated with Death

The key element of objective authenticity at the two sites *associated with death* is their place, occupying the same location where historical events took place. Today, both sites *associated with death* are embedded in their respective contemporary cityscape (Krakow and Berlin), as well as in the wider memoryscape of each city. In both cases, visitors are encouraged to visit each site and engage with each respective narrative, part of the wider WWII and Nazi crimes memory trail available for visitation in each city. The documented connections with the specific original events render the objectively authentic value of each site's own servicescape, in turn shaping its narrative, interpretation, symbolic value (as shaped by the direct and specific servicescape management decisions) as well as visitors' pre-visit expectations and on-site experiences and evaluations.

6.3.1.3 Objective Authenticity - Tangible and Intangible Dimensions

The most legible manifestation of the authentic character and quality of each of the four sites *of death* lies in the extensive range of tangible and intangible authentic evidence available at each site. The empirical study provides ample evidence of both dimensions of the heritage and significance of each memorial-museum servicescape. The tangible evidence refers to the authentic, material substance of the site expressed in terms of both movable and immovable objects and the natural site topography. The intangible evidence refers to the intangible heritage in the form of human stories,

events, attitudes, behaviours, actions and consequences conveyed by the material evidence related to the main ‘actors’ who were part of the history.

6.3.1.3.1 Tangible Remnants (Objects)

The extant site remnants of an immovable type (buildings, structures, vestiges of the former camp including crematoria and gas chambers, fencing, railways, mass graves and pits containing human remains) are of significant importance for visitors, making legible the original purpose of the site and revealing the “*architecture of crime*” (Principal Press Officer, A-B). Exposing the material evidence of the technology used by the Nazis for the planned and systematic murdering and subjugation of millions of people, does indeed form one of the important direct value components attached to the visitation of authentic memorial-museum servicescapes of this type and serves as unequivocal evidence against any revisionist tendencies which (unfortunately) still exist. Additionally, the structural remains and artefacts found on the grounds of former concentration camps are in themselves historic sources of immeasurable and critical value. Once subjected to scientific scrutiny and analysis, they have the potential to, and indeed have produced knowledge on the basis of which the original concentration camp(s)’ entire servicescapes can be represented and explained to all subsequent generations. Visually, the site remnants and other authentic structures found on-site, facilitate visitors’ own clear and unmediated understanding of the perpetrators’ systematic and carefully planned structure and regime of terror and subjugation of the prisoner society. At Sachsenhausen, the empirical observation revealed the clearly visible “*geometry of terror*” in the shape of the iconic and uniquely conceived perfect isosceles triangle - shaped prisoner camp.

Proving close alignment with Wang’s (1999, p.351) definition of objective authenticity as “*the originals that are [also] the toured objects to be perceived by tourists*”, the managers at Sachsenhausen made clear their working definition of authenticity: “*We prefer the word ‘original’ which means that buildings, documents, artefacts etc. are original relics from 1936 to 1945*”. Moreover, Howard’s (2003, p.226) interpretation of objective authenticity as “*authenticity of place*” which refers to the “*original place, the site/in situ where a building for example was originally situated*”, is clearly illustrated in the case of Sachsenhausen memorial-museum servicescape, which is structured using a ‘bite size’ decentralised exhibition concept. Underpinned by a site management strategy cognisant of the “*visitors’ limited*

receptiveness to big mammoth exhibitions” (Principal Press Officer), the decentralised concept allows for the structuring, packaging and delivery of the heritage associated with the historical servicescape through thirteen small scale exhibitions. Situated at different locations throughout the site, *“within original buildings and structures”* (Principal Press Officer), the small scale exhibition units communicate and interpret the site’s unique history and specific events *“in the very places where it happened”* (Site Guide), thus simultaneously feeding into and re-enforcing the site’s holistic master narrative.

6.3.1.3.2 Impact on Visitors

The empirical findings obtained from visitors confirm the potency of the authentic site remnants to inform and explain the original events, including the direct evidence of the crimes committed, but more importantly, to trigger wider and deeper cognitive and reflective processes. The visitors’ comments referred to being able to learn better while seeing the tangible evidence still standing within the memorial-museum grounds (at Auschwitz-Birkenau) or being able to learn *“about murder by poison gas and the death in the quarry”* by seeing the quarry and the gas chambers at Mauthausen, which produced deep cognitive and emotional responses on the visitor’s part: *“...I was deeply saddened, it made me think about being more tolerant...”* (Visitor, Mauthausen).

The movable objects forming extensive collections of artefacts displayed at each site of death, in onsite permanent exhibitions, have huge historic and symbolic importance that renders value to the visiting experience. The large number of artefacts depicting *“the reality and the enormity of the Holocaust”* (Site Guide, Auschwitz), make up a unique collection of universal value, connecting visitors to the human tragedy, enabling visitor empathy and connection with the victims on a personal level. It is the human stories that such artefacts convey, revealing the life stories, attitudes, behaviours, actions and consequences related to the main ‘actors’ of this history, that individually and together render this heritage intangible yet legible to visitors. As stated by Hede et al (2014, p.1398), the materials/objects displayed in museum exhibitions are not only a *“central feature of the museum offering”*, but their presence facilitates both the *“narration of the story and visitors’ interpretation of the story”*.

The visitors' comments confirmed the importance of the artefacts (of a movable nature) in conveying the tragedy depicting the victims' fate, triggering engagement and empathy on a personal and individual basis as well as prompting reflection and critical evaluation of the historical context (re)presented.

"...seeing the piles of hair I tried to imagine how anyone, even if they survived, could ever live a normal life afterwards..." (Visitor, Auschwitz-Birkenau)

"....seeing those photographs of people being stripped of their identity and made a number..." (Visitor, Dachau)

Oskar Schindler Enamel Factory Museum, one of the two sites *associated with* death, provides an additional example of a museum servicescape saturated with an extensive range of artefacts, both originals and replicas. Underpinned by a multi-disciplinary approach, this museum servicescape makes effective use of dramaturgical structures, a substantial range of tangible elements predominantly of a visual (e.g. photographic) and personal nature, industrial objects and multimedia methodologies. Such elements are skilfully and sensitively combined in order to achieve a dramatic and through-provoking setting, able to deliver an explicitly emotional context that presents the authentic events, narrates the history of the city and of its citizens, while simultaneously stimulating visitors' direct participation, discovery and learning.

So far, the empirical findings appear to suggest the prime importance attributed to the tangible dimension of objective authenticity, especially by highlighting the direct value component provided by exhibition artefacts and site remnants to the visitors' holistic (cognitive and emotional) on-site encounter. The case of the Memorial for the Murdered Jews of Europe however, illustrates an atypical memorial and museum servicescape characterised by an unusual and 'non-museal' approach that breaks with tradition. In an exhibition entirely devoid of any original artefacts, visitors draw value from the highly immersive servicescape achieved through a creative and sensitive blend of modern technologies and intense sensorial stimulation focused on the personalisation and individualisation of the Holocaust and of its six million European Jewish victims. The managers explained that the approach was primarily focused on the narration and interpretation of the historical event(s), the Holocaust and its contributing factors, as well as on its victims, rather than on originals/objects/artefacts:

“To us, it is the historical events and the consequences upon the fate of Jews from all over Europe that we wanted to present, not the relics...” (Head of Education).

While cultivating empathy for the victims, the overarching aim of each investigated servicescape (at both sites *of* and *associated with* death) is to facilitate a meaningful and personal engagement between the visitor and the servicescape, whereby the visitor seeks to understand the full spectrum of perspectives, including those of perpetrators, bystanders and collaborators, and engages in critical self-reflection, centred around *“What has this got to do with me, here and now?”* (Education Department Member 1, Dachau). The overarching, strategic intent is for creating a stimulus for new historical, moral and ethical questions relevant to the present, to visitors’ own lives and roles in society.

6.3.1.3.3 Evolution of Sites’ Purpose

As explained by the managers, the sites *of* death investigated have undergone a significant evolution, from sites focused solely on the death and suffering of those directly affected, to multi-functional servicescapes, currently fulfilling complex mandates, including that of contemporary museums, places of learning and of historical and political education.

“... today, the focus of exhibitions at memorial sites is less on the authentication of the crimes, as was the case during the immediate post-war years, and more from a reflexive and educational one” (Educational Department Member, Mauthausen).

Equally, the sites *associated with* death fulfil complex mandates targeting remembrance, reflection, learning and education. As the only Holocaust memorial on German soil, created and sponsored by German citizens, the Memorial for the Murdered Jews of Europe is a modern monument, created as a *non-monumental*, tangible expression of a *“society of politically emancipated individuals to bear responsibility for their state”* (Foundation for the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe, 2009, p.32). It therefore stands to represent Germany’s acknowledgement of its political responsibility and seeks to facilitate a connection for the citizens of the perpetrator country to *all* of the actors of this painful past: the perpetrators, the victims and their descendants. In short, this memorial and museum servicescape stands to

represent symbolic value also at collective, societal level and to encapsulate the full historical social spectrum connected to Germany's Nazi past.

The empirical findings therefore re-enforce the sensitive nature of the history that is being displayed and which, with the passing of time and widening chorological distance from the original events, calls for such memorial-museum servicescapes to deliver a higher level type of visitor engagement with the objective authenticity. That is, a type of engagement that enables visitors to not only come into contact with the unequivocal, scientifically tested and expertly validated authentic evidence of the crimes committed, but also an engagement that provokes reflection and dialogue and delivers educational value for both the individual visitor and society.

6.3.2 Summary – Objective Authenticity

The empirical study generated substantial confirmation of Wang et al's (2015) view on objective authenticity. However, while acknowledging the importance of the "*materiality of heritage*" as highlighted by Zanchetti and Hidaka (2011), Wang et al (2015, p.1772) expand the understanding of objective authenticity, highlighting the capacity of its non-material (intangible) dimension, to "*transcend the limits of materiality of heritage...[and to]... provide a better understanding of the overall capacity of the heritage to express and support the significance of the place*". Thus, the empirical findings discussed above build upon the conceptual model (figure 2.5) based on the expanded servicescape conceptualisation and the continuum of visitor experience as a valid and potent dark heritage management framework, able to unveil objective authenticity based on the original material evidence, as well as through *non*-original objects or *no* objects at all, so long as their direct connection to the original events, place and historical stakeholders is clearly legible to visitors (via the physical, natural, social and socially symbolic dimensions of the servicescape). This latter dimension points to the complex nature of authenticity which goes beyond the most visible of its layers, that of objective authenticity. The findings from the sites *associated with* death in particular, illustrate the link between the objectivist and constructivist approaches to authenticity which, in the context of dark heritage sites is a common phenomenon.

The findings illustrate the complex and multi-layered character of objective authenticity at the sites *of* death investigated. While on-site, visitors encounter and

engage with each of the four servicescape components and experience them in a holistic manner. Each of the four components are strongly imbued with the site specific elements of objective authenticity. Therefore a coherently integrated and sensitively managed memorial-museum servicescape is important.

6.3.3 Constructive Authenticity

Constructive authenticity is defined as “*the result of social construction, not an objectively measurable quality of what is being visited*” (Wang, 1999, p.351) but one which is “*negotiable*” (Wang et al, 2015, p.1470; Cohen, 1988). Thus, constructive authenticity proposes a change in focus from “*things*”, that is objects and their inherent authenticity, to social processes, “*points of view, beliefs, perspectives or powers*” (Wang, 1999, p.351).

During the empirical investigation, discussions surrounding the complexities associated with managing authenticity as an important key servicescape feature and attribute, pointed to authenticity being attached to both the heritage (tourism) ‘product’ and the methodologies employed for its consumption (presentation, interpretation and learning provision) by visitors, in terms of both their pre-visit expectations and on-site experiences. The evaluation of findings revealed three key aspects related to constructive authenticity at dark heritage tourism sites; these are: heritage time, narrative and space effect.

6.3.3.1 Heritage Time

The empirical findings (from both the management’s and visitors’ perspectives) offer supporting evidence that illustrates the value of presenting and interpreting authenticity within a time-space matrix that enables visitors to draw meaning from the site visit, both cognitively and emotionally. The management’s comments from sites *of death* include those from Dachau, where the managers made frequent references to visitors’ pursuit of authenticity, which takes place primarily through the prism of a “*very narrow approach*” focused on the ‘real’ or the ‘original’ and deemed by managers both limited and limiting (Education Department Member 1):

“*Visitors often ask us is this real, or is this the original, instead of seeking to find out how the objects found here were used at different times throughout the existence of this place....*” (Dachau, Education Department Member 1)

The empirical investigation at Dachau revealed management's active efforts to decipher and make legible the subtleties of authenticity in relation to the physical, social and temporal context connected to this history. The key intent is to assist contemporary visitors in understanding the memorial-museum servicescape as not only the authentic location of the former concentration camp imbued with objective authenticity, but also as a historical place, marked by a complex journey across various decades that followed the liberation of the camp, and one that was marked by post WWII events and stakeholder groups who lived on, used and/or made key decisions regarding the physical and natural (authentic) substance of the current site/place of visitation.

“One of our main goals is to show the different time layers on the grounds, but also to show how Dachau is a historic place, but not the authentic site that a lot of visitors expect when they arrive” (Education Department Member 2).

“It doesn't surprise me that a lot of the original camp and grounds have been knocked down...I can imagine how the people of Dachau didn't want this as a reminder after the end of the war, nor the prisoners who spent time here when it was used as a hospital in the months following the end of the war...” (Visitor, Dachau).

Such views related to authenticity coincide with academics' constructivist view of authenticity, according to which *“things appear authentic not because they are inherently authentic...but because they are...constructed through negotiated meaning making, interpretation and agreement* (Zhu, 2012, p.1497; Bruner, 1994; Hughes, 1995). This constructivist approach has been supported also by Jamal and Hill (2004, p.356) who advocate a move away from a narrow focus only on the toured objects and propose a wider lens for examining authenticity through both time and space, as vitally important variables in *“situating the peoples and places of cultural and heritage destinations”*. The time component is further explained by Jamal and Hill (2004) who, citing Kirshenblatt - Gimblett (1998), identify three types of time involved in heritage tourism: historic time, heritage time and visitor time. While the historic time is very much linked to the objective point or period of time in which the object or event has been created or took place in the real world (therefore linked to objective authenticity), and the visitor time is approached from a transcendent perspective that accommodates

both the visitor's awareness that an event took place in another time and, that moment's importance in relation to the visitor's own current state and life, it is the heritage time that allows for constructive authenticity to clearly emerge and manifest itself. Heritage time is the object of social construction which involves an intersubjective, discursive and negotiating process (Jamal and Hill, 2014, p.357; Cohen, 1988, 1989).

The empirical data obtained from Sachsenhausen exemplifies the essence of heritage time in the context of sites of death. During the in-depth interviews, the managers repeatedly explained that the navigation around and sense making of the memorial-museum servicescape can be challenging for visitors, due to the vast array of tangible and intangible content encountered. The principle of "archaeological exposure" is employed at this site, aimed at facilitating visitors' understanding of the multi-layered and often opaque nature of authenticity. This interpretation strategy furnishes extensive explanatory information and clear signage, thus unveiling the multi-dimensional character of authenticity for visitors' benefit.

"Between 1958 and 1960 this barrack was reconstructed, using original parts which had been kept until then. From 1938, when the barrack was first erected, to the present, it has been through various uses: firstly, as a prisoner barrack in the concentration camp; after the war for those who were interned in the Soviet special camp; and later, as a museum. During each of these phases, one or more coats of paint were applied.

Our "archaeological exposure" allows for a view of four layers. The lightest coat at the bottom has been proven beyond doubt to be the oldest one. This light shade is typical for the lime-casein paint commonly used in the 1930s. The interior walls of the barracks in the concentration camp were obviously painted with this mixture soon after their assembly in 1938. The top coat was most likely applied during the era of the "National Monument and Memorial" created by the GDR. When exactly the two middle layers in this "window to the past" were applied, cannot be said with certainty. ... The most recent traces were left by water damage following the fire of 1992." (Sachsenhausen, Barrack 38, Researcher's Observation Notes, Sep.2013).

In this example, visitors are provided with extensive and detailed explanation of the complex socio-political and temporal parameters that frame the (constructive) authenticity of this major exhibit, thus rendering their understanding of its heritage time. This allows visitors to visualise *"the conditions that once prevailed...[it] requires imagination from the visitor and a reliance on limited surviving structures and artefacts, partial reconstructions, subsequent on-site memorials and museum*

exhibits” (Ashworth and Tunbridge, 2017, p.77). The empirical findings sit in a mutually supportive relationship with Ashworth and Tunbridge’s (2017) view on authenticity as emergent from the intended negotiating processes. In this way, heritage providers ‘negotiate’ authenticity by using the surviving tangible evidence to enable visitors to visualise and imagine the historical facts.

6.3.3.2 Narrative

The empirical investigation revealed that narrative is a key element of the site servicescape and a fundamental pillar of the design, creation and delivery of value attached to the visiting experience that managers at sites *of* and *associated with* death aim to deliver. As a servicescape component, the narrative is invested with both significant management effort and visitor attention, and is deserving of its status as the main “*bridge between the past and present*” (*Auschwitz-Birkenau, Head of Education Projects*), the link between ‘now’ and ‘then’, between the history on display and today’s visitors and society. It is the narrative that tells the difficult history of each of the four former concentration camps and acts as a key facilitator for today’s visitors and society to learn and make sense of, as well as to reflect upon the death and human suffering at sites *associated with* death. The narrative facilitates visitors’ engagement with the site servicescape and its surviving evidence. It is the narrative that informs management’s decisions on the appropriate interpretative methodologies for implementation and the associated ethics required when interpreting such difficult history. And, it is the narrative that illustrates the dynamic nature and the developmental journey that memorial sites related to the events of the Holocaust and Nazi Germany atrocities have incurred since their inception (immediately after liberation) to the present day. The narrative therefore, is a complex and multi-dimensional element of the site’s expanded servicescape (social servicescape component), as the discussion below seeks to demonstrate.

6.3.3.2.1 Narrative Linking with Objective and Constructive Authenticity

At all sites of death the empirical investigation revealed the strategic role played by the first and second generation of survivors in relation to both the holistic development of the respective memorial-museum servicescape(s) and society’s culture of remembrance and commemoration. At these sites management spoke of the highly esteemed position attributed to survivors who were considered the “*lifeblood*” (The Concentration Camp Mauthausen 1938-1945 Catalogue, 2013, p.5) and main

propelling force throughout the many decades that inscribe the development of the former concentration camps into today's memorial-museum sites. In the context of the increasing distance from the original events and in the face of the revisionist tendencies that still permeate today's society, the survivors' strategic role was revealed as both immensely valuable and necessary. Their role and contribution was exemplified in terms of the production of oral history, able to capture eye witness accounts and testimonies used in the educational and interpretative efforts as well as in the commemorative events. The subjective and changing nature of memory over time, along with changes in how people tend to perceive events with the passing of time, were aspects cited by the management at sites *of* death, who were of the view that survivors' direct contributions to the educational work must always be complemented with scientifically validated data, in such a way that the information disseminated is bias free and factually fit to withstand any scientific scrutiny.

The empirical findings confirm Tinjod's (2005, p.86) view on oral history, who confirms the need for a corroborated and scientifically scrutinised approach to survivors' oral history accounts:

“Oral history is spoken history, subject to all the vagaries inherent in human memory... Subjective by nature, but rich in specific information, the oral testimony constitutes a representation, a version of reality or real life and in any case not reality or real life itself. This reconstruction, which is nevertheless not fictional, needs to be subjected to the same tests of evidence as other sources, examined along with other contemporary sources for corroboration and authentication, and criticised...”.

Thus, both the empirical findings and academic view point to the need for complementarity between constructive and objective authenticity in the context of dark heritage tourism.

Moreover, the analysis of the empirical evidence has unveiled the multidimensional character of narrative as a socially constructed entity, not only in terms of its diverse stakeholders, but also in terms of its dynamic and perpetually evolving nature resulting from its foundation based on scientific research, investigation and socio-political consensus. Investigations at sites of former concentration camps are ongoing, framed by most advanced academic research while benefiting from the latest advances in

technology. Thus new types of evidence emerges which urges for consideration and absorption within the site narrative, which may not affect its core (focused on the victims' murder and death) but nevertheless reflects the latest findings and socio-political progress. The new narrative at Mauthausen is one such example, proof of the changes that have taken place in Austrian society itself:

*“...from the suppression of history to a hesitant nod in its direction to active engagement with the most painful and uncomfortable truths of our history”
(President of the Board of Trustees of the Future Fund of the Republic of Austria, The Concentration Camp Mauthausen 1938-1945, 2013, p.7).*

An important aspect highlighted by managers at both sites *of* and *associated with* death was the importance attributed to the interpretative effort(s), inclusive of the guides' input, for placing the Holocaust and other crimes within the human context in order to facilitate visitors' critical and self-reflexive cognitive and emotional processing of the evidence, and for the intended educational value attached to the visiting experience. Thus, at sites *of* death, the interpretative methodologies seek to uncover two very important perspectives: (1) the first perspective refers to the fact that the victims, perpetrators and all the others who collaborated or refused to take action when they could have done so, were normal people, who lived relatively normal lives before becoming the social actors of this tragic history; (2) the second perspective refers and targets the individual and personal perspective behind the enormity and genocidal crime known as the Holocaust. In order to achieve these two perspectives, storytelling is employed as a very important and effective interpretative methodology employed by all of the six sites investigated. Storytelling facilitates visitors' personal connection with the historical servicescape, including a deeper understanding of the events and the historical actors; above all, storytelling cultivates visitors' empathetic connection with the victims.

In summary, the narrative as a socially constructed and managed concept plays a critical role in aiding visitors' efforts and pursuit of authenticity. Although fundamentally a product of heritage managers' construction, reflective of the latest scientific research and political consensus at various levels, the narrative seeks to reveal the entire social spectrum attached to the (dark) history displayed, as well as society's (dark) heritage journey at national and international levels. New approaches

to constructive authenticity in the context of memorial-museum servicescapes involves on-site methodologies aimed at facilitating visitors' direct and autonomous participation in the discovery of all of the 'actors' involved in the history represented and sense-making of their roles, actions and subsequent consequences of such actions.

6.3.3.3 Space Effect

The empirical evidence from the Memorial for the Murdered Jews of Europe (site *associated with death*) provides a potent example of the ability of a modern memorial museum servicescape to deliver the narrative and facilitate constructive authenticity through a non-traditional approach to the design and management of its physical servicescape. The premise of the monument (Field of Stelae), conceived as an open work of art, physically characterised by abstractness and a perfectly ordered, geometrical pattern (able to trigger the illusion of order and security) is, as the managers explained, to allow for "*a plurality of meanings and interpretations*" (Head of Education). Some visitors' stated difficulty in interpreting the Field of Stelae, confirming this very premise and the architect's stated aim of not precluding any misinterpretation. The exhibition (The Ort) with its physical design, resonant of the stelae above uses a carefully chosen blend of technologies to feature and decipher the authentic events. The "*non-museal exhibition*" (Head of Visitor Services) and the four thematically focused rooms which, in themselves appear almost empty and nearly too small in relation to the human tragedy they speak of, deliver an immersive servicescape, where suddenly "*the Holocaust has faces and names*" (Head of Education). When examined closer, this memorial museum (aimed at the German society but dedicated to all of the six million European Jewish victims) reveals itself as a two part, yet finely tuned, symbiotically entwined sculpture and exhibition servicescape that presents visitors with a holistic type of engagement: to remember the Holocaust and reflect on its gigantic collective dimension *and* to individualise and personalise its victims, as well as to gain information and learn about the authentic sites of National Socialist crimes (in The Ort exhibition).

The empirical findings in this case (a *site associated with death*) confirm Williams' (2007, p.77) assertion according to which memorial museums are often able to convey a distinct type of historical representation, derived from their clearly "*visible sense of spatial orchestration*" which can aptly facilitate visitors' meaning making "*... as much from the size and character of spaces as from the relation between them and the*

activities they support, as the objects and texts they contain” (Williams, 2007, p.77). The empirical evidence therefore illustrates the ability of dark heritage servicescapes to transcend the conventional boundaries of material culture common to and expected of museums (often connected with objects, collections and texts) and to deliver a narrative through a nonverbal message by making most use of space effect, irrespective of whether this space is part of the (original) surviving structures, or reconstructed, or newly created: “*physical design elements [are] used to shape the construction of visitors’ mental images of the topic to which they are dedicated*” (Williams, 2007, p.77).

Moreover, the “*virtual’ objects and representations*” (Jamal and Hill, 2004) rather than the artefacts, form the parameters of examination and frame the heritage time (Jamal and Hill, 2004) which in turn inscribes the events of the Holocaust and enable the individualisation of the death of the six million murdered European Jews. Thus, the empirical findings support Williams’ (2007, p.77) attribution of memorial museum servicescapes with the quality of cultural project(s), in which “*spaces, histories and social activities are being materially and symbolically remade*” as stated by Urry (1990, p.127). Consequently, the discussion herewith highlights the joint endeavour of heritage providers and visitors who, through the production and consumption of heritage time and spatial orchestration can construct authenticity at both sites *of and associated with death*.

6.3.4 Summary - Constructive Authenticity

To summarise, constructive authenticity is evident as the result of the joint efforts of both dark heritage tourism providers and visitors at sites *of and associated with death*. This contributes to the co-creation of an understanding between the history displayed and its meaning today.

When transposed against the expanded servicescape conceptual framework proposed by Rosenbaum and Massiah (2011), the empirical study reveals the close relationships and interdependencies between the physical (and natural) *and* social servicescape components which in turn determine the value visitors gain from the encounter with the site servicescape (and resides in the socially-symbolic component). Thus the expanded servicescape framework in the context of dark heritage sites, emerges as an integrated holistic entity within which the individual components (physical and

natural; social and socially-symbolic) are co-existing in a coherent and dialectic unity. This insight provides an enhancement to the original expanded servicescape model initially proposed by Rosenbaum and Massiah (2011) as a linear conceptualisation reliant on the independent provision and functioning of the four key components.

6.3.5 Existential Authenticity

The third type of authenticity, existential authenticity, is central to this study and very closely related to the socially-symbolic value gained by visitors as a result of their encounter with the dark heritage tourism servicescape(s). The empirical investigation enabled the illumination of the zone of intersection between the visitor and the memorial-museum servicescape, as the space where a delivered mix of action and process orientated visitor activities unfold and represent the “*liminal space*” referred to by Wang (1999); Rickly-Boyd (2012) and Wang et al (2015). It is within the liminal space of dark heritage servicescapes that the opportunities for the creation of visitor value takes place and where existential authenticity as a dynamic and multi-faceted phenomena can be manifested.

Existential authenticity shifts the focus from objective and constructive authenticity, both understood and managed from the object-related perspective (connected to the past), to the tourist perspective (connected to the present) which is manifested in “...*a potential existential state of Being that is to be activated by tourist activities*” (Wang, 1999, p.352). Existential authenticity therefore, allows for a shift in focus to the present and from the tourist perspective, in terms of the activities, responses and experiences that tourists engage with and generate while involved in the process of tourism (Wang et al, 2015; Wang, 1999).

Heritage is explained by Smith (2012, p.125) as a “*cultural process that individuals and societies engage in to negotiate not only the meaning of the past, but the ways in which the past is used to legitimise or to remake cultural and political values and narratives*”. Moreover, during visits to heritage sites, “*people look to the past to identify and understand themselves [seeking to find] what Heidegger conceptualises as one’s existential identity and meaning*” (Park, 2014, p.63, citing Steiner and Reisinger, 2006). The context of (dark) heritage tourism therefore, facilitates existential authenticity. This is explained further by discussing the visitor focused heritage servicescapes and the evolving mission of dark heritage servicescapes.

6.3.5.1 Visitor Focused Dark Heritage Tourism Servicescapes

The empirical findings revealed that the six dark heritage servicescapes are contemporary memorial and museum servicescapes with a multi-layered mandate, seeking to deliver more than a linear, one way production-consumption encounter with history. They function as dynamic and progressive places of visitation and learning and are strategically preoccupied with creating a dialogical and interactive context. Visitors are presented with and become active participants and even (co)creators of a range of activities and processes aimed at their direct engagement with and processing of the past, as well as making the heritage consumption experiences relevant to individuals' and society's present and even future. The findings indicated that visitors found the dark heritage tourism experience to be engaging and empowering both cognitively and emotionally. The dark heritage servicescapes were presented to be both mandated and capable of facilitating value creation, enabling a relevant dialogue and nuanced relationship between visitors and society *and* the past. The empirical findings point to complex and multi-functional servicescapes that seek to radiate both personal and societal relevance and meaning that go significantly beyond a simple (re)presentation and communication of the dark past.

“ We want visitors to be active participants asking questions, like researchers; you can give them instructions for observation and analysis of the site remnants or artefacts and ask for their answers, impressions, views” (Site Guide, Dachau)

“The aim is to give visitors the opportunity to ‘grow’ by reflecting on and questioning people’s choices and actions as presented throughout the exhibition” (Museum Director, Oskar Schindler Enamel Factory Museum)

This resonates with Park (2014, p.64) who points to the *“transitional and transformative qualities”* inherent in the process of authentication that heritage encounters are capable of engendering.

“You can’t help but seeing yourself as one of those who were brought here and then killed...It made me think of how I need to be more tolerant and try to always respect people, irrespective of their background, religion or race...I would need time to reflect on what I saw and what would be the most important part of the visit” (Visitor comment, A-B)

“For me this is a strong reminder and symbol of one of the most barbaric periods in European history. We should never forget what happened and fight against groups and countries who try to do similar things again” (Visitor comment, MMJE)

The findings point to the strategic intent of memorial and museum servicescapes to create the appropriate conditions for visitors to engage with this manifestation of authenticity which is being experienced directly and on a personal basis during the visit.

6.3.5.1.1 Evolving Mission of Dark Heritage Tourism Servicescapes

Managers at all four sites of death discussed the planned and managed specific efforts for the design and delivery of a visiting experience centred around an interactive and tailored approach that seeks to respond to the heterogeneity of visitors in terms of geo-demographic and socio-political characteristics; and to visitors’ own personal interests, experiences and even preferences in relation to the nature and extent of engagement with the memorial-museum servicescape.

“Today’s 14-15 year olds are the last generation able to touch this history directly, through the survivors...The older generation don’t come here to be educated, they have sufficient knowledge of this history, they come to see the place, to reassure themselves that this place still exists and can show the next generations what happened so that they can learn from it....” (Exhibitions Department Representatives, Auschwitz-Birkenau).

While the memorialization and commemoration functions remain fundamental to the ethos of such sites of Holocaust and other Nazi Germany atrocities, since the Fall of the Iron Curtain especially, both conceptually and in practice, these servicescapes have become places of *“active engagement and humanistic education”* (Director, Mauthausen), charged with *“special humanitarian and educational tasks”* (Education Department Member, Sachsenhausen).

“...we inform on what people are able to do in dictatorial regimes, we ‘sensitise’ to the fact that every form of intolerance and racism is to be rejected and we stand up, we fight with words and actions for the value of a humanistic society” (Director, Mauthausen)

All site managers discussed the strategic intent to create and deliver a visiting experience that provides visitors with opportunities to connect with the historical evidence on a personal and deeper level which involves a unique blend of learning, understanding, reflection and self-introspection. The managers at Dachau offered the richest insights into such strategic aspiration. They discussed the subtle yet critical difference between learning as studying (*“lernen”* in German) as in the traditional sense of *“learning that goes on in schools and tends to be focused on the accumulation of knowledge”* and learning in the *“deeper sense of education”* (*“bildung”* in German), explained as an experience and *“...something to do with yourself, your biography, the relationship between you and your social environment, also to do with the society as it is today”* (Education Department Representative 1, Dachau). The overarching aspiration for the visiting experience in general and the educational goal in particular is, to create *“a very intimate kind of learning”* (Education Department Member 1, Dachau), a *“personal education”* (Head of Educational Projects, Auschwitz-Birkenau) and an *“emotional education”* (Director, Mauthausen), able to *“... trigger visitors into asking the question “What has this got to do with me, here and now?”* (Education Department Member 1, Dachau).

Moreover, the Plenipotentiary to the New Exhibition at Auschwitz-Birkenau frequently referred to the multi-layered educational aim of the Memorial-Museum as not only facilitating learning and remembrance, but also *“conscience”* through encouraging the visitors to critically reflect upon the moral questions raised by the Holocaust, their own human condition and role in society and immediate sphere of action. Similarly, the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance/IHRA (the inter-governmental body that supports Holocaust education, remembrance and research at both national and international levels), cites the specific educational aim of memorial-museums on the grounds of former concentration camps as: *“To encourage visitors to reflect upon the moral and spiritual questions raised by the events of the Holocaust as well as their own personal responsibilities”* (IHRA, 2017).

At the sites *associated with death*, the strategic aims are also focused on facilitating current and future generations with a meaningful heritage encounter that narrates the tragedy of the Holocaust and other Nazi crimes, while enabling a visceral examination of *“people’s choices, actions and consequences of these”* (Museum Director, Oskar Schindler’s Enamel Factory Museum). In Berlin, the Memorial to the Murdered Jews

of Europe stands as a lucid testimony of Germany's dark Nazi past: "...to have the 'culprit nation' ...recall its national shame as a visible confession of its deeds..." (Materials on the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe, 2009, p.32). During the in-depth interviews the Memorial's Head of Education clearly emphasised the three core aims of: (1) honouring the murdered victims; (2) keeping alive the memory of the inconceivable events associated with the Holocaust, as part of Germany's history and crucially, (3) admonishing all future generations about the dangers associated with the erosion of the core universal values defined by human rights, democracy, equity before the law for all people, as well as resistance against all forms of dictatorship and regimes based on violence.

Thus, the empirical evidence from the management perspective at both sites *of and associated with* death supports Williams' (2007, p.6) view which draws attention to the uniqueness of the visiting experience delivered by memorial museum servicescapes. Such uniqueness lies in the capacity of the memorial museum servicescape to elicit a unique and profound sense of personal engagement between the visitor and the visited servicescape, which is often manifested in the form of an "*internal dialogue*" within which visitor's own personal conscience becomes a key point of reference.

The managers interviewed referred to such memorial sites as "*...learning places...[that] serve reminding, reflection, admonishing and a discussion with the past ...*" (Director, Mauthausen) and as complex servicescapes that seek to produce unique effects upon visitors, described as "*anxiety and a state of irritation*" (Educational Department Representative 1, Dachau); "*permanent irritation*" (Head of Educational Projects, Auschwitz-Birkenau); and "*rejection of passivity*" (Principal Press Officer, Auschwitz-Birkenau).

In seeking to discuss the meaning of "*anxiety*" or "*irritation*", the managers referred to the strategic intent and educational philosophy of the memorial-museum: "*Remembrance – Awareness- Responsibility*". The three terms reflect the three core pillars of the symbolic value of Auschwitz for the whole of humanity. While remembrance and awareness can be considered as relatively easier for visitors to comprehend and engage, it is the core principle of responsibility that can be more difficult for visitors to reason and embody. Thus, the intended symbolic meaning

attached to the core value of personal responsibility (as represented by the history of Auschwitz and the Holocaust) was explained as “*the issue of passivity which is valid at each of our own individual level*” (Principal Press Officer, Auschwitz-Birkenau). The tragedy of Auschwitz and the Holocaust does indirectly reflect the consequences of individual (and collective) passivity.

At Dachau the managers used the term “*irritation*” and explained it as a sense of uncertainty and even “... *anxiety about what happened and what they [visitors] saw here...*” (Education Department Representative 1, Dachau). Here, the intended symbolic value at personal (visitor) level is to trigger the visitor into a sense of moral alertness and reflection upon “...*society and its vulnerability, to recognise the potential for danger especially in times of crisis...*” (Education Department Representative 1, Dachau).

In the context of sites *associated with death*, at Oskar Schindler’s Enamel Factory Museum the intended symbolic value at personal (visitor) level includes the visitor’s self-directed reflection and questioning of people’s choices and actions when faced with extreme situations. By creating a high impact sensorial encounter in the concluding part of the exhibition, and after having had consumed the full historical details presented, visitors are presented with the *Room of Choices* where visitors can discern among contrasting attitudes and actions available to all of us: from non-action and lack of empathy, to actions aimed at helping others and confronting the perpetrators in spite of “*extreme danger and faced with deadly consequences*” (Krakow under Nazi Occupation 1939-1945 Full Project, 2011, p.85).

On their part, visitors at both sites *of and associated with death* did make statements that point to both their conscious consumption of the intended symbolic meaning and their subsequent embodying of the intended state of social alertness and civic responsibility at one’s own personal and family level.

“*I often come back here so that I can be reminded that nothing is forever...tomorrow it can be me that the hatred could be aimed at...the peace and harmony can be very easily destroyed...*” (Visitor, Sachsenhausen)

“*We would like our children to come here and see this place...they must see what people are capable of...*” (Visitor, Auschwitz-Birkenau).

“...many were saved here; it’s an important statement about our responsibility to help others when we can, this is the most important aspect for me, I will reflect on that...” (Visitor, Oskar Schindler’s Enamel Factory Museum)

This study confirms Turner and Manning’s (1998, p.17) assertion that *“authenticity is only possible once the taken-for-granted world and the security it offers are called into question. This is dependent on a specific mood – anxiety – which, in subjecting everydayness to questioning reveals the groundlessness of human existence”*. From the empirical data (sites of and associated with death) the existential aspect of authenticity is clearly revealed and confirmed as being derived from visitors’ encounter with and processing of the historical servicescape, as well as from the effects such encounter seeks to and indeed does produce upon the visitor. However, the nature and value of the encounter are heavily reliant on the ability of the memorial and museum servicescapes to aid visitors’ efforts for deciphering the complex history (in both its tangible and intangible forms) and extracting the intended meaning. Once these processes have been facilitated, the management’s aspiration is for the visitor to positively internalise (and apply) the meaning gained, using his/her own personal filters as shaped by his/her socio-demographic and political world.

Such interdependencies point strongly to the significant role of constructive authenticity as a pre-requisite of and sound support for existential authenticity. Additionally, it is the nature of dark heritage tourism with its original historical evidence, whether in tangible or intangible form (objective authenticity), that calls for the need to be mediated and interpreted for visitors’ consumption (constructive authenticity) *and* to be cognitively and emotionally processed by visitors themselves (existential authenticity). The co-existence of the three types of authenticity provides a well-defined reflection of the closely integrated and multi-layered character of dark heritage servicescapes.

6.3.6 Summary - Existential Authenticity

All of the six memorial and museum servicescapes have cited the enabling of visitor empathy with the victims as one of the key aims. The empirical findings have illustrated how memorial and museum servicescapes do deliver in this respect, thus confirming the capacity of dark heritage servicescape to deliver both cognitive and emotional value.

Secondly, the empirical findings exemplify the main types of “*registers of engagement*” that are:

“..important for understanding both the emotional, imaginative and intellectual investments that visitors may make in their visit, the ways emotions and critical insight interact, and the meanings that are subsequently rehearsed or rejected and reconstructed during visits” (Smith, 2014, p.127).

Thirdly, and directly connected to visitors’ registers of engagement, the empirical findings confirmed Rafaeli and Vilnai-Yavetz’s (2004, p.671) views on the role of artefacts as “*seeds*” that provide people with “*points of reference*” and evoke open-ended and ongoing interpretations (also Weick, 1995). Visitors’ statements confirming the cognitive and emotional value gained from the encounter with the tangible evidence confirm Dudley’s (2012, p.7) view on the importance of an object’s actual, material qualities “*...to both what it is and how it is experienced*” and its ability to “*...inform the sensorially derived data processed in the perceiving subject’s mind*”.

Fourthly, by explicitly confirming visitors’ registers of engagement and the critical role played by the tangible evidence within these, the empirical study was able to confirm the scope of existential authenticity in the context of dark heritage tourism servicescapes. Thus, the research provides an extension to the field of application of existential authenticity, conceived by Wang (1999; 2000) which previously did not include dark heritage tourism. Moreover, the findings illustrates that the range of on-site (during visitation) activities and processes that visitors engage in and the value they render depend significantly on the nature and scope of both objective and constructive authenticity, thus pointing to the inter-dependencies between objective, constructive and existential authenticity. In addition, the study illustrated that in the context of dark heritage tourism servicescapes (across sites *of* and *associated with* death), the three types of authenticity can co-exist. The case of Berlin Memorial for The Murdered Jews of Europe illustrated that even in the case of a non-object based, yet intangibly authentic exhibition servicescape, existential (and indeed constructive) authenticity can exist.

Lastly, the empirical evidence points to both dark heritage managers’ and visitors’ consensus that the memorial and museum servicescapes investigated have the capacity for and indeed deliver individual and societal value derived from the critical

examination of the tragic past through today's socio-political lens, thus cultivating positive attitudes regarding respect for the universal values of human rights, democracy and the rule of law.

6.4 Conclusion

Chapter 6 provided a discussion of the key themes emerging from the analysis of the empirical findings supplied in chapters 4 and 5. The overarching theme binding all of the empirical findings and the subsequent analysis is centred on authenticity and its manifestations. The three types of authenticity evidenced and manifested across all six dark heritage tourism sites investigated were: objective, constructive and existential. The discussion evaluated each type of authenticity from both the management and visitor perspectives. It concluded that there are interdependencies between objective, constructive and existential authenticity, and that the three types of authenticity co-exist at the six sites.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

7.1 Introduction

This empirical study provided an in-depth investigation, analysis and insight into the nature and scope of European dark heritage tourism sites taking account of both managers' and visitors' perspectives. The chapter starts with a synthesis of the key issues applicable to each research objective, followed by an explanation of the contribution the research made to both theory and practice. The chapter also acknowledges the limitations of the research and makes suggestions for future research. The last section in the chapter provides the final concluding remarks on the research presented.

7.2 Addressing the Research Objectives

This section will outline how the empirical research and subsequent discussion of findings have addressed the objectives of the research. Each research objective will be considered individually, with key insights in relation to the research issues highlighted.

7.2.1 Research Objective 1

To investigate the nature and scope of dark heritage tourism sites *of* and *associated with* the death, genocide and human suffering perpetrated by Nazi Germany (known as the Holocaust and other National Socialist crimes) using the expanded servicescape framework at 6 European sites

The four sites *of* death (Auschwitz-Birkenau, Dachau, Sachsenhausen and Mauthausen) are places of past genocide, death and human suffering which had functioned as Nazi concentration camps. The two sites *associated with* death, one in the form of a modern memorial (sculpture and exhibition) and the other a history museum, are both located in places with strong resonance to the original distant events and their assimilation in the history of both the respective victim and perpetrator countries. The first immediate conclusion of the research at sites *of* death points to their integrative nature on two levels: *firstly*, the close relationships and interdependencies between and among the three fundamental servicescape dimensions (physical, natural and social) evidenced at all four sites *of* death; and *secondly*, the

individual and combined capacity of the physical, natural and social servicescape dimensions to house, communicate and deliver real and symbolic value to contemporary visitors and society (this is their socially-symbolic dimension).

The research found authenticity in its plurality to be the overarching key common quality and characteristic across all six dark heritage tourism sites investigated, directly reflected in the physical, natural, and social servicescape dimensions of each site as well as in the real and symbolic value that each site delivers in the present, to both contemporary visitors and society in general. Authenticity of place and events (objective authenticity) was revealed as the fundamental characteristic shared by all of the six sites. It was clearly embedded in all six sites because they were either directly or indirectly connected to the real events of WWII and National Socialist (Nazi) crimes as well as to key locations where such events occurred in both victim and perpetrator countries.

7.2.1.1 Physical and Natural

The application of the conceptual model (Fig. 2.5) to the six sites revealed the capability of the physical and natural servicescape dimensions to capture and express authenticity of place and events, thus receiving significant effort from the management, while contributing to the visitor experience.

Regarding the physical and natural environment, the four sites *of death* are first and foremost huge cemeteries, holding the mortal remains of countless victims of the largest genocide in the history of humankind, perpetrated in the 20th century, in the middle of Europe. For those whose lives were directly connected to this history, especially the victims, survivors, their relatives and friends, these are places of personal memory, mourning and identity (existential authenticity with a strong emotional component). For the other visitors who, according to this research, represent the greatest majority and have no personal connection to the original events and site(s) specific history, as well as for society at large, these are perpetual places of remembrance and commemoration, learning and personal education, reflection and admonishing, thus potent contexts for objective, constructive and existential authenticity.

At the four sites *of death* the research highlighted the unstinted permanent management focus on preserving and conserving the authentic fabric of the (historical)

site, inclusive of its material substance with all its tangible site remnants, vestiges and artefacts related to the former concentration camp, but also with its vegetation and other elements of the natural site topography. Such management priorities are adopted with concern not only for these sites' primary roles as places of remembrance and commemoration honouring the victims and acting as custodians of the painful past, but also in support of their evolutionary character and current societal role as places of learning/education, moral appellation, intercultural dialogue and political engagement.

The case of Mauthausen clearly illustrated the importance of the natural servicescape dimension in assisting visitors with their cognitive efforts to imagine and visualise the full extent of the historical site, when supported by appropriate interpretative methodologies. In this context, visitors' processing of the natural servicescape resulted in the clear revelation of the full historical servicescape in terms of the concentration camp's physical and social integration in the local civil society, which in turn prompted visitors' further and deeper cognition in the form of critical thinking and reflection. Moreover, while onsite, visitors at sites *of death* are exposed to the natural servicescape components not only in terms of natural site topography and its capacity to influence cognitive and emotional encounters, but also to weather conditions. At such sites, weather proved to directly influence visitors' physiological responses and sensory perceptions, thus impacting upon their overall onsite experience (existential authenticity) and fully warranting the attributed management attention.

At the Memorial for the Murdered Jews of Europe (site *associated with death*) the findings unveiled the effect of weather conditions upon visitors' optical perception of the Field of Stelae thus contributing to the overall ambience and symbolic meaning associated with the visiting encounter. At Oskar Schindler's Enamel Factory Museum, too, the weather was linked to the physical conditions impacting the space of visitation in terms of poor ventilation, uncomfortable heat and large crowding, each coinciding with the extremes of outdoor temperature (both very hot and cold weather attract visitors indoors, thus placing added pressure on the limited physical space/museum and consequently on the visiting experience).

The research illustrates that the natural servicescape components, just like the physical ones, exert a potent influence upon visitors' onsite experiences (especially when

considered in combination with the social constructs of the narrative, guided site tour and other interpretative methodologies) and possess the ability to affect visitors' cognitive, emotional, sensorial and physiological processes (constructive and existential authenticity). In turn, such processes are key factors of the holistic value visitors draw from the encounter with the site (residing in the socially-symbolic dimension/value, thus existential authenticity).

Within the physical servicescape dimension, the built topography (reflecting the immovable site remnants) along with the movable objects found onsite are able to (re)present and communicate both the tangible and intangible heritage in terms of the carefully planned and executed physical and social architecture of crime, and scale and consequences upon human life (made legible through the narrative and interpretative methodologies). The extensive collections of artefacts, convey the personal stories and individual manifestations of genocide and human suffering. They carry huge historic and symbolic value which enable visitors' personal heritage consumption. The large number of original personal artefacts activate visitors' vicarious encounter with the reality and the enormity of the Holocaust. This triggers their empathy for the victims and search for understanding of the full spectrum of perspectives, including that of the perpetrators, bystanders and collaborators, therefore facilitating symbolic value during the visiting experience. In their totality, such personal artefacts convey the commonality of human life and humanity's vulnerability when faced with times of significant social, political and economic pressure.

Since the immediate post war years, the exhibitions at former sites *of* death (concentration camps) have undergone an evolutionary development, having replaced their initial emphasis on the authentication of the crimes committed (mainly for criminological and admonishing purposes) with a new focus to engender a reflexive and discursive approach able to make the historical details legible in their complexity, naming all of the actors and representing a range of perspectives, while avoiding general moralisations. Moreover, onsite exhibitions at both sites *of an associated with* death provide information not only on the site specific history, but also on the socio-economic and geo-political circumstances that favoured the emergence, growth and firm rooting of National Socialism and led to the perpetration of genocide and other atrocities in the middle of Europe's civil society, in the 20th century.

The research illustrates the sites *of* death as highly integrated dark heritage tourism servicescapes where the physical, social and social-symbolic dimensions are closely and dialectically related and carry significant cognitive focus. Visitors' encounter with and efforts for deciphering the physical onsite evidence and its connection with the original events in their entirety, are facilitated through presentation and interpretation which prohibits any methodology that could potentially overwhelm the visitor and/or cultivate any form of indoctrination. The sites *of* death focus on the delivery of cognitive value (element of the socially-symbolic dimension) first and foremost, while recognising the emotional component as intrinsic to *the subject*, therefore not necessitating any pre-planned added emphasis. This approach was found to be in direct contrast to that adopted by the sites *associated with* death where the site servicescapes were designed and pre-planned to deliver an explicit emotional journey (alongside the cognitive one) for visitors into the painful past. Thus, the research illustrates the ability of sites *of* and *associated with* death to deliver holistic value which captures a sensitive blend of cognition and emotion, as dictated by the character and history of the site.

7.2.1.2 Social and Socially-Symbolic

The interrogation of the social servicescape dimension at both sites *of* and *associated with* death has unveiled the repertoire of social processes and constructs that facilitate the (re)presentation of the historical evidence. The research demonstrated the critical role of narrative and interpretation (including guiding), and the use of targeted educational offerings that met contemporary visitors' needs and enabled their personal connections with the historical servicescape. The research revealed each site's own specific social servicescape offering, depending on the site specific history and state of preservation.

At sites *of* death, the site narrative, (guided) site tour and interpretation methodologies were geared to facilitate visitors' experiential encounter with the site of visitation by following in the victims' footsteps. This enabled visitors to gain insights into the conditions of the concentration camp from the victims' perspective.

The site narrative explained the nature and origin of the objects found onsite (original site remnants, reconstructions and purpose built structures) and sought to enable visitors' understanding of the original concentration camp as well as the holistic history of the site, from the immediate post war (liberation) period to the present time.

The decentralised exhibition concept evidenced at Sachsenhausen and Mauthausen enabled the interpretation of the site remnants according to their original location and function within the historical site. This created the cognitive context for visitors' discovery of the complexities embedded in the historical servicescape, including the concentration camp's integration in the local civil society and the implications resulting from it. This holistic management approach to the dark heritage tourism offering aids visitors' understanding of the plurality of authenticity in the sense of being facilitated to decipher the vulnerability of *the original* (object focused authenticity) and become receptive to and even have co-creative input towards constructive and existential authenticity.

At the two sites *associated with death* the social servicescape also played a significant role. Although distinctly different in purpose and narrative, both sites *associated with death* highlighted the capacity of partial or non-original object exhibition and interpretation concepts to still achieve and deliver an effective dark heritage tourism consumption setting that offers opportunities for visitor (co)-created holistic value. The intensely technology focused, creative and multi-disciplinary exhibition and interpretation concepts evidenced at both sites *associated with death* were able to effectively accommodate visitors' cognitive and emotional efforts in relation to the dark events of the past.

At all sites, the interactive and dialogical approach to guiding and interpretation is aimed at maximising visitor autonomy and empowerment in order to engage directly with the site of visitation (and the history it represents) through the discovery, examination and critical evaluation of the historical evidence at a personal level. Site guides act as educators and facilitators, expected to tailor and craft interactive scenarios aimed at involving visitors directly and actively in the heritage consumption processes. The overarching aim of the onsite communication, interpretation and education efforts were to enable the personalisation of the heritage consumption experience and trigger visitors into asking themselves *'What has this got to do with me? How would I have reacted if faced with the same situation?'* The adoption of such approaches are perceived by management as mutually beneficial to both visitors and site representatives. Firstly and most importantly, visitors are empowered to actively co-create and personalise their own on-site experience and its derived value. At the same time site representatives can also gain value from the interactions with visitors

in terms of valuable market research information with the potential to capture fresh perspectives and new trends in the consumption of dark heritage (tourism). This in turn can inform the management and prompt new developments or adaptations to the current provision.

Moreover, at sites *of death*, the exhibitions and other post-war purpose built structures (for example commemorative and religious monuments, plaques and/or reconstructions) facilitate visitors' understanding of the culture of memory (nationally and internationally) that emerged in the post-war years and that is still evolving. Visitors are therefore enabled to make cognitive connections and critically reflect upon the relevance of the past and its connection with the present and even the future, and to comprehend the continuum of culture that underpins the holistic value gained from the on-site encounter.

The research revealed the sites *of death* as dynamic heritage servicescapes, propelled by ongoing scientific research and developmental work which in turn triggers changes and adaptations in the site narrative and the methodologies underpinning the entire onsite encounter (site tour, exhibitions, guiding and interpretation methodologies, educational offering). This has led to the recognition of the changing needs of contemporary visitors in terms of their degree of prior knowledge (pre on-site encounter) of the history and context of each site. The research revealed the progressive nature and ability of heritage tourism sites to assimilate and reflect relevant socio-political changes incurred throughout the entire period since the original events (WWII period) to the present day, at both national and international levels, while continuing to accurately represent the specific past. The changes in the national narrative in perpetrator countries (Germany and Austria) are clearly reflected at each site investigated, where exhibitions and other interpretation methodologies include an explicit focus on the perpetrators and the concentration camps' integration in the local civil society. By bringing to the fore not only the perpetrators' perspective but also that of bystanders and collaborators, the site narrative(s) bring(s) under scrutiny the challenging issue of society's consent to the genocide and atrocities committed, thus enabling visitors a wider perspective and examining lens over the past.

Importantly, the application of the expanded servicescape framework to both sites *of* and *associated with* death has revealed two servicescapes: (1) the historical servicescape that captures the entire historical context, related to the place(s), events, main actors along with their actions and resultant consequences and in turn are encapsulated in the physical, natural and social dimensions of the painful past and (2) the heritage tourism servicescape attached to the site of visitation as it is today. This is an important conclusion of the research: it provides further insights into the critical role and versatility of the *social* servicescape in connecting the two servicescapes, accommodating the vulnerabilities of objective authenticity and creating tailored solutions for constructive authenticity. Furthermore, the internal workings and flexible potential of the servicescape framework (and implicitly of these heritage tourism sites) for delivering socially-symbolic value are being illustrated.

7.2.1.1 Conclusion on Findings and Discussion of RO1

In addressing RO1, the findings indicate both the validity and value of the expanded servicescape conceptualisation applied to both sites *of* and *associated with* death. The six dark heritage tourism sites have emerged as complex, multi-layered and poli-vocal consumption settings, fulfilling a multitude of interlinked and dialectically related functions that when considered in their totality, include: remembrance and commemoration; learning and education; collection, preservation and scientific research. The in-depth investigation of each site has revealed the individual specific nature and scope of each key servicescape dimension (the physical, natural, social and socially-symbolic) as well as how they are inter-related and integrated, thus producing valuable insights into the key characteristics of the heritage tourism offering from both site managers' and visitors' perspectives.

7.2.2 Research Objective 2

To evaluate site managers' perspectives on the scope and potential of the expanded servicescape framework for providing a holistic dark heritage site visitor encounter

The managed dark heritage tourism servicescape, irrespective of the nature of the site (whether *of* or *associated with* death) enables visitors' encounter and make sense of the difficult history and its surviving evidence, here and now, therefore defining their dark heritage consumption setting. Regarding RO2, the site managers were cognisant

that while onsite, visitors function within the managed dark heritage tourism servicescape (present context) which houses and illuminates the historical servicescape (past context). It is the managed dark heritage tourism servicescape that provides visitors with the necessary 'lens' and conditions that facilitate their engagement with both the refractive and reflective processes related to the history on display. Just like the phenomenon of a light beam hitting a surface that separates two media (the past and present contexts), the research unveiled the capacity of the expanded servicescape attached to the dark heritage tourism site to provide onsite encounters that facilitate: (a) visitors' efforts to discover, learn and understand the complex layers of the dark history (tragic past) from a contemporary perspective (the 'refraction' phenomenon); and (b) visitors' ability to draw lasting personal cognitive and emotional value from the onsite encounter and reflective lens provided by the contemporary perspective (the 'reflection' phenomenon).

7.2.2.1 Holistic On-site Encounter

The research revealed managers' efforts for providing a holistic onsite encounter that is focused on the dark heritage tourism servicescape in terms of managing its physical, natural and social dimensions. At both sites *of* and *associated with* death, the managers spoke of the heritage onsite encounter having the planned intent of empowering and spurring the visitor into an attitude of moral alertness (irritation) and social responsibility, having gained the necessary knowledge and awareness of humanity's vulnerability in times of significant political and social pressure. Such intent is underpinned by onsite interpretation methodologies and learning scenarios designed to deliver the difficult history and reach visitors on a personal level, equipping them both cognitively and emotionally to recognise, respond and act in an informed manner to any real or potential recidivism of past abuses and mass atrocities, including that of genocide. Consequently, at all six sites, the planned socially-symbolic value (focused on here and now) is aimed at illuminating both the obvious as well as the universal and by doing so, to provide a gaze to the future. Management's planned intent is to integrate the past and visitor perspectives by effectively employing the physical, natural and social heritage tourism servicescape dimensions and on this basis create opportunities for symbolic value, relevant to both individual visitors and society, to emerge. Management's efforts are geared towards a planned, evolved and visitor focused servicescape that can make a legible and meaningful connection between past,

present and even future, and one where remembrance, commemoration, research and education create a platform for social and cultural exchange, thus rendering societal value (the socially-symbolic expanded servicescape dimension). On this basis, visitors can emerge as socially-enriched individuals with potential for disseminating further value in their own local community and sphere of action, therefore fulfilling an extended societal role as agents of social change. Thus, an important conclusion of this research is that the socially-symbolic value attached to the onsite encounter has an immediate, individual visitor dimension as well as a farther reaching goal (aspiration), at collective (societal) level, which can be incorporated into the concept of social conscience.

7.2.2.2 Dark Tourism

The research at the four sites *of* death evidenced managers' acute concern for and management of these servicescapes as humanity's memoryscapes, where personal and collective (society's) acts of remembrance, commemoration and learning have the potential to strengthen individuals' and nations' heritage and identity, as well as to bring this history under perpetually renewed contemporary scrutiny through research, learning and humanistic education. For these reasons all managers at the four sites *of* death unequivocally rejected the terminology of 'dark tourism' advanced by the academic discourse, considering it pejorative to their historicity and current mandate. The strongest justification for their rejection of the term 'dark tourism' was linked to the offense inflicted by the term upon the huge loss of life and human suffering which occurred at these sites. Additionally, these sites function as evolved, dynamic memorial-museum servicescapes, that display the characteristics common to modern museums, being charged with: preserving the challenging evidence of the past (thus standing against any revisionist tendency), presenting and interpreting it sensitively yet with integrity and making use of the latest scientific research, while also fulfilling a strong educational remit, enabling political and social education with a transformative potential. The combined findings from the two sites *associated with* death prove their equally strong remit for memorialisation and education, preservation and collection, as well as contributions to ongoing scientific research. From the site managers' perspectives, this research illustrates that the six sites are planned and managed as purposeful and enlightening heritage tourism servicescapes. They are ethically managed and they respect the dignity of the victims and promote visitor's

autonomy during the on-site encounter. These key components form the foundation of the planned positive, ‘non-dark’, real and symbolic value at both individual and collective levels, targeted by management for delivery.

7.2.2.3 Authenticity

The research unveiled the pivotal role played by authenticity in relation to the nature, scope and potential of dark heritage tourism servicescapes to provide a value laden holistic visitor encounter. Authenticity emerged as a key theme in relation to: (1) visitors’ engagement with both the heritage tourism servicescape as well as with the historical servicescape captured and represented by the former and (2) the resultant value creation processes surrounding such engagement. Managers’ consistent efforts for managing authenticity, especially in terms of preservation and interpretation of the historical servicescape were proved to carry significant importance in facilitating visitors’ smooth navigation between the current setting and the historical context. Thus, the research enabled the evaluation of site managers’ perspectives in relation to managing authenticity from two angles: (1) authenticity related to the place of visitation, inclusive of both the tangible and intangible heritage evidenced, (re) presented and encountered by visitors; and (2) authenticity related to the specific cognitive and emotional processes that frame visitors’ on-site dark heritage tourism encounter.

The research revealed management’s planned intent to move visitors along the continuum of authenticity: from the known and expected traditional visitor pursuit for objective authenticity, to facilitating visitors’ understanding of the vulnerability and static (fixed) status of ‘the original’ object and their adoption of a more encompassing (holistic), dynamic and self-reflexive perspective in the evaluation of the historical evidence. The findings from all sites did evidence a range of managed onsite scenarios and methods that facilitate visitors’ engagement with objective and constructive authenticity, leading to their co-creation of a personal engagement with the dark history from which to draw lasting cognitive and emotional value thus, significant existential authenticity.

The multi-layered nature of objective authenticity together with its powerful ability to connect the two servicescapes (the historical site *and* the site of visitation) illustrated a strong permeating effect upon the on-site visiting experience, irrespective of the

format and condition of the tangible (physical and natural) dimensions of the heritage tourism servicescape. At the four sites *of death*, the authentic immovable and movable objects found on site had an impact on visitors, receiving their significant cognitive and emotional investments (physical, mental and emotional actions and processes). Through their ability to depict and convey the experience of *the other*, the tangible artefacts aided visitors' understanding of the planned and systematic murder (genocide) and human suffering inflicted by the perpetrators. The on-site exhibitions present numerous personal artefacts belonging to the victims, triggering visitors' empathy. Equally the on-site exhibitions display artefacts and other evidence connected with the perpetrators, collaborators and by-standers which provide insights into their perspectives. These are all aspects of real and symbolic value (existential authenticity). The research therefore presents the significant potential of objective and constructive authenticity (captured by the heavily authentic object based physical, natural and social dimensions) to generate socially-symbolic value and implicitly existential authenticity. Socially-symbolic value emerges as being dependent on the coherent integration between the physical, natural and social dimensions of the dark heritage tourism servicescape.

7.2.2.4 Interdependency of Servicescape Dimensions and Relationship with Authenticity

The dark heritage tourism servicescape evidenced by Mauthausen, with its partially invisible historical servicescape (the traces of the former concentration camp only partially visible today), emerged as the most dynamic and advanced dark heritage tourism servicescape, managed with the planned intent of empowering visitors and facilitating their role as active and autonomous co-creators of their own onsite encounter and derived value. This case highlighted the integrated physical and natural environment (site topography, capturing the invisible site) as being of fundamental value to the (new) site narrative and resultant visitor experience. The findings illustrated the importance and capacity of both objective and constructive authenticity for generating a range of managed on-site scenarios that directly engage visitors in the unveiling and processing of the (new) site narrative for themselves, as well as wrestling with the subsequent moral dilemmas attached to it. Such processes facilitate visitors' personal critical evaluation of the historical servicescape and enable their autonomous understanding, learning and personal education (both historical and

political), just as much as the other three sites of death which display better preserved and more visible authentic sites. Thus, the on-site encounter presents fertile opportunities for visitors' own discovery of the full historical servicescape in its entire complexity and more importantly triggers their engagement with the meaning attached to the evidence encountered, deep moral questioning and reflection upon self and society (existential authenticity with a significant cognitive focus). This case clearly illustrates (1) the co-existence of the 3 types of authenticity, (2) the dynamic and co-creative potential of the managed heritage servicescape, (3) the dialectic integration among the physical, natural and social servicescape dimensions on one hand and its potential to generate socially-symbolic value on the other, as well as (4) the inseparability of socially-symbolic value from the visitor who is its co-creator.

Furthermore, the two sites *associated with* death illustrated the malleability and versatility of the physical servicescape dimension in accommodating innovative and non-traditional formats for conveying objective authenticity and subsequently enhanced facilitation of constructive and existential authenticity. The creatively designed museum servicescape at Oskar Schindler's Enamel Factory Museum, saturated with an extensive range of artefacts (although not all originals), along with elements of dramaturgical structures and multi-media technologies helped to create a highly sensorial, immersive and informative visiting experience. The planned museum encounter carried a clear cognitive dimension (existential authenticity) and an emotional component (part of existential authenticity), unlike the sites *of* death where the planned triggering of emotion was considered entirely counterproductive and potentially unethical. The Memorial for the Murdered Jews of Europe emerged as an example of a purposeful, modern dark heritage tourism servicescape where remembrance, reflection, learning and education are achieved through an approach that breaks with tradition. The abstract and non-monumental style of the Field of Stelae presents the visitor with a visually thought provoking physical servicescape that calls for his/her active and intense personal reflective journey. The non-object (non-museal) approach to objective authenticity adopted in The Ort is captured by a physical servicescape fully reliant on the skilful and sensitive blend of technologies, intense multi-sensorial stimulation and space effect (devoid of original objects), which when integrated and supported by a narrative (constructive authenticity) focused on the individual dimension of the historical servicescape. This provides the context for

visitors' existential authenticity in terms of a highly emotional as well as cognitive value.

These two sites *associated with death* while sharing the commonality of authenticity of place and events (objective authenticity) with the four sites *of death*, are able to illustrate the capability of the managed dark heritage tourism servicescape, irrespective of whether its physical dimension is presented in a traditional or non-traditional format, to accommodate the co-existence of the three types of authenticity. The on-site encounter is purposefully focused on both cognition *and* emotion, and has the same capacity to move the visitor along the continuum of authenticity as the sites *of death*. These two sites *associated with death* illustrate an on-site encounter of a highly experiential type (just like the sites *of death*) that is achieved through the smooth integration of the non-traditional physical dimension (little/no original objects, abstract, modern and heavily multi-media populated) with the carefully designed social dimension (narrative focused on authentic events from a contemporary perspective and modern interpretative methodologies). Such a creative approach has the effect of producing a highly sensorial dark heritage servicescape, filled with multiple opportunities for visitor immersion and co-creation of socially-symbolic value. The conceptual model framework is therefore equally relevant to both sites *of* and *associated with death*.

7.2.2.5 Conclusion on Findings and Discussion of RO2

Firstly, site managers do not consider the former concentration camps, museums and memorials as dark heritage. Such terminology was deemed offensive to the historicity and sacred nature of the sites as huge cemeteries that hold the mortal remains of the large number of victims. The six sites emerged as planned and managed, purposeful and enlightening (non-dark) heritage tourism servicescapes, characterised by evolution, dynamism and visitor centrality, similar to modern museums. *Secondly*, from the management perspective, the dark heritage sites (*of or associated with death*) conceptualised and managed as expanded servicescapes, do have the potential to provide holistic onsite visitor encounters manifested by three types of authenticity experienced by visitors while onsite (objective, constructive and existential authenticity). Authenticity of place and events (as one dimension of objective authenticity), and the employment of site specific interpretation methodologies (as facilitators of constructive authenticity) can have the combined effect of encouraging

the co-creation of socially-symbolic value, irrespective of the physical and natural (where applicable) dimensions (whether traditional, non-traditional or even depleted/invisible). *Thirdly*, from the site managers' perspectives the dynamic and co-creative potential at servicescapes can be used to empower visitors and facilitate their co-creating abilities in order to achieve lasting value beyond the on-site encounter (socially-symbolic value). The resultant socially-symbolic value encapsulates the notion of social conscience as management's ultimate value co-creation goal, at both individual and collective levels.

7.2.3 Research Objective 3

To evaluate the visitors' experiences in the context of the key expanded servicescape components at dark heritage tourism sites

The research unveiled the six (dark) heritage tourism sites as complex and dynamic servicescapes, characterised by visitors' heterogeneity and changing profile. With the growing chronological distance from the original dark events, the greatest majority of visitors at all six sites belong to the younger age groups (mostly school and university youths), born post WWII, with no personal connection to sites, nor substantial knowledge of this history. Their primary motive for visitation is educational (related to their European education curriculum inclusive of the history of WWII, National Socialism and the requirement to visit a specified number of former concentration camps sites). Additionally, at the sites *of death*, many of the visitors now originate from countries outside Europe (for example Japan and South Korea); their national histories have no connection with the historical events represented at such sites. The findings also confirmed that the older generation who visit these sites now, do not do so in order to be educated, as they were contemporaneous to this history and know it well; their needs are more about remembrance, commemoration and gaining reassurance that these places are being preserved, respectfully maintained and made accessible to the younger (and coming) generations for educational purposes and to serve as a tangible reminder of the atrocities committed and a moral appellative for 'Never Again'. The second generation survivors are recognised by management as special stakeholders of significant importance and receiving special and tailored management attention.

In terms of annual volume of visitors, the findings indicate that both sites *of* and *associated with death* present themselves as mass tourism sites, where large visitor numbers tend to invest an average of 2 and a half to 3 hours to the onsite encounter (with the exception of Auschwitz-Birkenau where the minimum time for visiting both sites is close to 4 hours). These visitors do not approach the on-site encounter as empty vessels; instead they have social, psychological and cognitive baggage, as well as personal profiles in terms of age, nationality and level of education. Such factors shape their pre-visit expectations, range of sought benefits during the onsite encounter and post-visit behaviour.

7.2.3.1 Interdependency of Servicescape Dimensions and Relationship with Authenticity

The research has produced extensive evidence indicating the potential and ability of dark heritage tourism servicescapes (at both sites *of* and *associated with death*) to deliver to visitors' heterogeneity in terms of their geo-demographic profiles, motives for and sought benefits from visitation. The research confirmed the capacity of these servicescapes to facilitate diverse onsite experiences that involve visitors in a plurality of roles: direct participants, recipients and even producers of own knowledge and meaning. In carrying out these roles, visitors invest physically, cognitively and emotionally in their engagement with the dark heritage servicescape components (physical, natural and social), the outcome of such investments being evident in their co-creation of socially-symbolic value. The socially-symbolic servicescape dimension captures the holistic value attached to the visitors' on-site experience. These heritage servicescapes are managed settings that accommodates visitors' and society's current perspective (the present), presents the historical servicescape (the past) and facilitates the planned onsite dark heritage consumption (exchange) processes.

At sites *of death*, the action and process orientated activities that visitors are typically involved in include the exploration and examination of the site's physical and natural servicescape components, the interactions with site guides and other site employees, the assimilation and processing of the information and artefacts displayed in the onsite exhibitions. Both the narrative and site tour enable visitors' to encounter and understand the historical servicescape by gaining insights into the camp conditions primarily from the victims' perspective, in turn producing personal value in the form of learning through authenticity (in all its forms: objective, constructive and

existential). The onsite exhibitions and their interpretation provision (elements of the social dimension of the servicescape) play a significant role in connecting visitors with the individual victims, thus triggering potent emotional responses (existential authenticity). Developing empathy for the victims as well as critically engaging with the other represented perspectives related to the painful past, are the most direct elements of emotional and cognitive value co-creation (existential authenticity) for visitors. Existential authenticity therefore is visitor controlled, but reliant on both objective and constructive authenticity. The research revealed that the visitor experiences reflected the multifaceted character of authenticity in all its forms (objective, constructive and existential) and gravitated around visitors' engagement with the physical, natural and social servicescape dimensions.

7.2.3.2 Dynamic Education

The concept of dynamic education best exemplified at Mauthausen illustrates the pivotal role played by visitors who can be empowered and facilitated to engage even when encountering a partly invisible physical and natural historical servicescape. With the support and facilitation offered by the site guides and the didactic materials used, visitors undertake an actively participating role, examining and processing the historical evidence for themselves and unveiling the 'invisible' layers of the physical, natural and social historical servicescape, thus unravelling the (new) site narrative by themselves. The onsite encounter is managed to create a comfortable platform for visitors to openly question and discuss the history on display and its relevant extension to the present, to both self and society, as well as to the future. This case is important in illustrating the reliance of existential authenticity on objective and constructive authenticity, and therefore the dependent co-existence of the three forms of authenticity. More importantly, it illustrates the versatility and subtleties of the expanded servicescape framework when applied to (dark) heritage tourism sites. The managed servicescape, through its purposeful and interactive social dimension has the capacity to facilitate a range of onsite visitor focused scenarios that lead to significant visitor (co-created) socially-symbolic value.

The research at the two sites *associated with death* provided similar evidence of visitors' direct, personal and active engagement with the servicescape, resulting in existential authenticity. Thus, the research illustrates that at both sites *of and associated with death* visitors' onsite experiences lead to and culminate in the socially-

symbolic value being born from the connections, interactions and integration of the physical, natural and social dimensions of the visited servicescape as facilitated by both objective and constructive authenticity.

7.2.3.3 Conclusion on Findings and Discussion of RO3

At all sites visitors' existential authenticity is reliant on both objective and constructive authenticity as well as on their integration. Furthermore, from the visitor perspective, each form of authenticity builds upon the four servicescape dimensions belonging to the current heritage tourism site and the historical site.

The findings from all sites illustrated visitors' consistent focus on the value of human life, survival and courage conveyed by the history represented, as well as the impact of the onsite experience for triggering self-introspection, informed social alertness and transformative potential. There was no evidence of visitors at sites of and/or associated with death demonstrating any fascination with the 'dark' or macabre aspects of the sites and the history they represent. Instead, visitors consistently referred to the importance of learning from past atrocities in relation to both self and society. The onsite visit was identified as an opportunity for understanding the profound concepts of human sacrifice, loss and tragedy as well as the meaning, scope but also fragility of human rights, democratic values, need for tolerance and respect for all fellow human beings.

7.3 Contribution to Theory

7.3.1. Contribution to Dark Tourism Theory

The conceptualisation of dark heritage tourism sites as expanded servicescapes and the use of the multi-case qualitative approach have resulted in an in-depth interrogation of each of the four servicescape dimensions (physical, natural, social and socially-symbolic), revealing the inter-related nature of these dimensions. The research illustrated the adopted integrated supply-demand perspective (inclusive of both site managers' and visitors' perspective) as advocated by previous studies (Isaac and Cakmak, 2013; Biran et al, 2011; Poria et al, 2004) and heeding Farmaki's (2013, p.288) call for "*supply and demand ...to be explored together*". The application of the conceptual model has proved effective in gaining both site managers' and visitors' perspectives. This has advanced the discussion on dark tourism beyond the well-established classifications, responding to Biran and Hyde's (2013, p195) call for more

research into the “*inner mechanisms*” of dark tourism consumption, and pushing the boundaries of knowledge creation beyond the descriptive approach, towards an experiential and critical investigation of dark tourism.

The research has advanced the scope of application of the expanded servicescape to a new context, beyond commercial settings (Bitner, 1992), third place contexts (Oldenburg, 1999; Rosenbaum and Montoya, 2007), public health arena (Rosenbaum et al, 2009) or outdoor leisure activities (Arnould et al, 1998) and proved its effectiveness in identifying and evaluating the challenges and opportunities presented by the dark heritage tourism context.

From the dark tourism supply perspective, the research unveiled the “*darkest sites*” (otherwise sites of death according to Stone, 2006) and currently functioning as evolved, dynamic memorial -museum servicescapes. They display the characteristics common to modern (open air) museums: preserving the evidence of the painful events, presenting and interpreting the past ethically and with scientific integrity, and delivering a complex educational mandate at both individual and collective levels, thus aiming to fulfil a societal role. The research revealed that the sites *of* death have undergone a substantial evolutionary development, marked by a significant shift in emphasis and focus: from the initial authentication of the crimes committed to a reflexive, discursive and poli-vocal approach, free from general moralisations. The “*lightest sites*” (sites *associated with* death according to Stone, 2016) have been revealed as charged with a remit that places a strong focus on memorialisation and education, while maintaining the traditional functions of preservation, collection and research. The findings from the management perspective have revealed the continuum of Stone’s (2006) dark tourism supply (from the lightest to the darkest shades) as focused on respecting the dignity of the victims, cultivating visitors’ autonomy during the onsite encounter and delivering a clear educational offering, thus a non-dark offering. From the demand perspective, the findings revealed visitors’ consistent focus on the positive value attached to the visiting experience, expressed in terms of personal learning, opportunities for reflection, self-introspection, informed social alertness and transformative potential. By applying the expanded servicescape framework, cognisant of the contemporary perspective for the consumption of the distant tragic history (that of the Holocaust and Nazi Germany atrocities), the research contributes to the deeper understanding of dark tourism as an integrated supply-demand tourism

offering and a complex social cultural phenomenon that is purposefully and ethically managed and consumed, and targets social conscience at both the individual and collective levels.

7.3.2 Contribution to Servicescape Theory

In terms of contribution to the services theory, the research has moved the servicescape paradigm forward, building on Rosenbaum and Massiah's (2011) positing of the four dimensions (physical, natural, social and socially-symbolic) as discrete entities. In the context of this study, the advanced expanded servicescape represents a more integrated and elevated experiential setting where the physical, natural and social dimensions act as the foundation upon which the socially-symbolic value is co-created by visitors and dark heritage tourism providers. This socially-symbolic value includes two levels: an immediate, individual visitor/consumer level and a collective (societal) level; both levels in the context of dark heritage tourism are incorporated by the concept of social conscience. The research therefore responds to Rosenbaum and Massiah's (2011) call for "*cross-disciplinary research regarding the impact of environmental stimuli on customer approach/avoidance behaviours in commercial and not-for-profit consumption settings*" (p.482).

This advanced conceptualisation provides insights into the previously unexplored and unsuspected fluid, dynamic and flexible character of the expanded servicescape, allowing for its emergence as a visitor focused service management framework where the managers' efforts towards the physical, natural and social dimensions are underpinned by ongoing scientific research coupled with an ethical, evolved, dynamic/active and participatory approach to the presentation of history (the past), which seeks to respond to the needs of both contemporary individual visitors and society at large (here and now) and by doing so to provide a gaze into the future. Moreover, the socially-symbolic dimension has been shown to be directly reliant on the managed physical, natural and social dimensions of the sitescape as well as on both their own independent and combined capacity to house, communicate and deliver visitor value.

The physical dimension was re-affirmed as comprising of the "*managerially controllable, objective and material stimuli*" Rosenbaum and Massiah (2011, p.481) specific to the context under investigation. The research draws attention to the close

integration between the physical and natural dimensions and its consequent effect for visitors' consumption cognitively, emotionally and physiologically. Specifically, the research has illustrated the capacity of the natural servicescape dimension to facilitate visitors' sensorial, cognitive, emotional and physiological dark heritage consumption. Moreover, its integration with the physical servicescape dimension and resultant joint potential can be maximised and made legible to visitors by appropriately tuned on-site interpretative methodologies.

It is the managed social servicescape dimension that has emerged as carrying most potential for the creation and delivery of the socially-symbolic value intended by each site: it facilitates visitors' personal engagement with the past (the heritage consumption) and by doing so creates the conditions for socially-symbolic value to emerge at both individual and collective/society's levels. The social servicescape dimension in particular captures and delivers the capacity of dark heritage tourism consumption settings to reveal both the *refraction* and *reflection* phenomena associated with the examination of the past. The site narrative along with its supporting specific guiding and interpretative methodologies (focused on visitor engagement and direct participation) enable visitors' efforts to make sense of the past from a contemporary perspective (the 'refraction' phenomenon) and to draw lasting value from the onsite encounter (the 'reflection' phenomenon). Moreover, it is the social servicescape, in particular the narrative, that acts as the conduit between the past and present, and facilitates the full revelation of the two servicescapes that come into play in the context of dark heritage tourism: (1) the historical servicescape that captures the entire historical context, related to the place(s), events, main actors along with their actions and resultant consequences (comprised of the physical, natural and social dimensions of the painful past) and (2) the heritage tourism servicescape framing the current consumption setting and housing visitors' contemporary heritage consumption processes. The dynamic nature of the narrative illustrated by the research is intrinsic of a temporal perspective that allows both managers and consumers (visitors) to explore, negotiate and manage value creation processes along a cultural continuum.

The important effective connection between the past and the visitor is reflected in the (socially-symbolic) meaning that the visitor draws from the on-site encounter. Such meaning emerges from a progressive and tailored approach poised to empower visitors and facilitate their co-creating abilities and efforts for lasting value beyond the onsite

encounter. In this respect the research builds on the existing theory that acknowledges that “*value can often be created by the user for the user*” (Zwick et al, 2008; Gronroos, 2011) and contributes to the understanding of socially-symbolic meaning as being co-created between the site and visitor. The socially-symbolic servicescape dimension therefore captures the holistic value of visitors’ dark heritage onsite encounter as an expression of their co-created consumption of the dark past, in the present.

7.3.3 Contribution to Theory of Authenticity

The expanded servicescape framework has also emerged as an effective and versatile framework for understanding the plurality of authenticity (Wang et al, 2015; Wang, 1999, 2000) in the context of dark heritage tourism sites (*of and associated with death*). Building on previous studies focused on objective, constructive and existential authenticity, this research enabled a focused evaluation of their co-existence within the same context, that of dark heritage tourism. The relationships between objective, constructive and existential authenticity were revealed as being shaped by both management efforts towards both servicescapes (the historical servicescape and the dark heritage tourism servicescape), as well as by visitors’ perceptions of and nature of interaction with the dark heritage tourism site.

From the management perspective, the research illustrated and re-confirmed the static nature and even vulnerability of objective authenticity when presented and evaluated through the prism of the original-object-based criteria (Wang, 1999; MacCannell, 1976). Consequently, management’s planned intent is to facilitate visitors’ encounter with and consumption of authenticity in its multiple guises. In this sense the research offers empirical substantiation to Park’s (2014, p.61) assertion of authenticity as “*a variant specific to each time and place*” that matches visitors’ changing roles and expectations when conceptualising and contextualising authenticity.

Authenticity was found to be directly related to visitor’s personal attachment to the heritage offering. For visitors with a personal attachment to the site, existential and objective authenticity are very closely intertwined and heavily reliant on the tangible dimension of the site servicescape (physical and natural elements) as sources of profound emotional value (socially-symbolic value), related to personal heritage and identity, which constitutes “*hot authenticity*” as identified by Cohen and Cohen (2012) and is a dimension of existential authenticity. For visitors with no personal

attachment to the site, the sought benefits gravitate more around the holistic mix of cognition, as well as emotion (as intrinsic and unavoidable to the subject), therefore demonstrating the dual “*cold- hot*” (Cohen and Cohen, 2012) nature of existential authenticity and its reliance on the onsite opportunities for both objective and constructive authenticity. The research therefore substantiates Park’s (2014, p.2014) view that “*Individuals tend to select varying authentic manifestations from different realms of the past and heritage, often influenced by their personal choices and experiences*”.

In addition, from the visitor perspective, the research builds on the earlier studies which propert the view that authenticity is “*pluralistic, relative to each tourist type who may have their own way of definition, experience, and interpretation of authenticity*” (Wang, 1999, p.355; Pearce and Moscardo, 1986; 1985).

The application of the expanded servicescape framework has also illustrated that the natural environment, just like the original object- populated physical dimension of sites can be a source of authenticity in all its forms: objective, constructive and existential authenticity. For example, the case of Mauthausen where the original natural and physical servicescapes have been obliterated by the passage of time and various socio-political decisions, in conjunction with the two cases of sites *associated with death* where the physical servicescapes are comprised of non-traditional and heavily modern technology-reliant tangible representations, have illustrated the concept of constructive authenticity and its co-creative character being reliant on the joint efforts of both visitors and dark heritage tourism providers. The research offered ample substantiation to Park’s (2014, p.61) view that modern visitors (tourists) are “*no longer passive in their experience of authenticity*”, even when experiencing a very difficult and challenging heritage.

The evidence from this research illustrates that although something can be initially perceived as “*inauthentic*” or “*artificial*” (Wang, 1999, p.355), it has the potential to emerge as authentic, as a result of visitors’ cognitive, emotional and psychological processing at (dark) heritage tourism sites. The research therefore exemplifies the phenomena of “*emergent authenticity*” (Wang, 1999, p.355; Cohen, 1988, p.379) in the dark heritage tourism context, thus expanding its conceptual scope and field of application. The study illustrated visitors as consumers of authenticity and also as co-

creators and shapers of it, thus demonstrating the visitor-focused and co-creative nature of both constructive and existential authenticity.

As illustrated by the empirical findings (from the management perspective), the overriding aspiration of each dark heritage site (whether of or associated with death) is to provide an onsite visiting experience that is conducive to *personal authenticity* (Park, 2014, p.63). This is intended to be perceived, interrogated and absorbed by each visitor's personal frame of reference in relation to the heritage encountered and his/her autonomous cognitive, emotional and physiological onsite investments, co-created experiences and resultant value. Such endeavour for *personal authenticity* has a holistic character, capturing objective, constructive and experiential (existential) authenticity as encapsulated by the physical, natural, social and socially-symbolic expanded servicescape dimensions of each site. The three dimensions of authenticity (objective, constructive and existential), just like the four dimensions of the expanded servicescape framework (physical, natural, social and socially-symbolic) are dialectically related to each other, as well as underpinned by the temporal and cultural continuum specific to each site. Management's ultimate value co-creation goal is aimed at visitors' *personal authenticity* (Park, 2014, p.63) and its extended potential that embraces both the onsite encounter as well as the visitors' own world and sphere of action, following the onsite encounter. This reaches beyond the on-site dark heritage consumption setting and resonates with Lowenthal's (2011) view according to which: "*The past remains vital to our utmost being....Heritage underpins and enriches continuities with those who came before and those who will come after us.*" (p.159).

Visitors talked about gaining a direct and more vivid understanding of the profound concepts and higher order life core values such as human sacrifice, loss and tragedy as well as the meaning, scope but also fragility of human rights, democratic values and respect for all fellow human beings. This resonates with Kim (2010, p.781 citing Turner and Ash, 1975) who states that "*the temporary distance of tourists from their regular environment allows them to suspend the power of norms and values of their daily lives and think about their own lives and societies from a different perspective.*"

The research therefore offers ample empirical substantiation to Wang's (1999) "*intra-personal authenticity*", which emerges as a key dimension of existential authenticity, defined by visitors' sensorial, physiological, emotional and higher order cognitive

value components. Such gains implicitly respond to Rosenbaum's (2005) call for further studies into both the socially-symbolic servicescape and how consumers formulate approach/avoidance decisions while in the servicescape.

The socially-symbolic emerges as the most elevated of the four dimensions that define the expanded servicescape in the dark heritage tourism context, and the one encapsulating existential authenticity. Thus, the research builds on Wang's (2000) view of existential authenticity as the highest order dimension of authenticity:

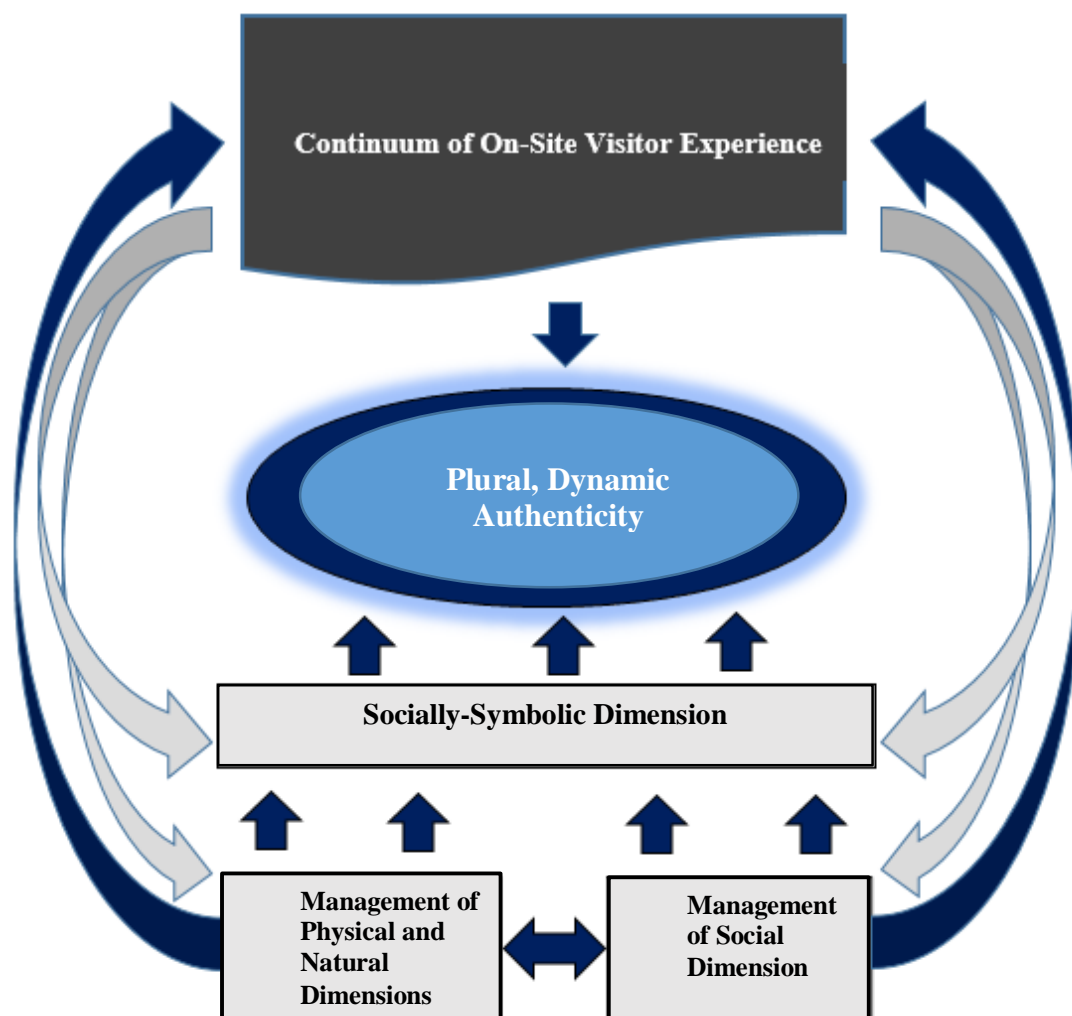
"... existential authenticity in its common-sense acceptance means that "one is true to oneself" ...[and] one can make sense of the quest for an authentic self only in terms of the ideal of authenticity to be found within modern societies" (p.58).

Visitors' existential authenticity while achieved on-site presents potential for extension beyond the boundaries of (dark heritage) tourism, into visitors' everyday lives and sphere of action, being captured by the intended goal of social conscience. On this basis, this research expands Wang's (2000, p.58) positing that states: *"The ideal of authenticity can be characterised by either nostalgia or romanticism"* and proposes an alternative characterisation of the ideal of authenticity in the form of *social conscience*, as the overarching socially-symbolic aim that transcends visitors' on-site experience, and lives through their embodying of an elevated and enriched form of personal existential authenticity in their everyday life, that can benefit their immediate communities and society at large.

7.3.4 Adapted Conceptual Model

Figure 7.1 presents the adapted conceptual model, followed by an explanation of the diagrammatic representation

Figure 7.1 Adapted Conceptual Model



The research aim was to investigate and evaluate the nature and scope of marketing management from the perspective of site managers and visitors at the dark heritage tourism sites investigated, by adopting the expanded servicescape framework and adopting a contemporary perspective of the sites. The empirical investigation revealed visitors' experiences as gravitating around the physical, natural and social servicescapes which in themselves are purposefully managed and exist in a dialectic relationship. The physical and natural aspects of the servicescape provide the setting for the on-site social interactions between the site employees and visitors. These interactions are aimed at facilitating the socially-symbolic value that visitors gain from

on-site encounter, and accommodate visitors' both cognitive and emotional experiences (thus, the continuum of on-site experiences).

Holistically, the diversity of on-site interactions and (joint) co-creative efforts towards the servicescape by both management and visitors have revealed the plurality of authenticity and its dynamic character in the context of dark heritage tourism. Thus, managing authenticity involves both the management of the dynamic expanded servicescape as well as facilitating visitors' experience continuum.

7.4 Contribution to Practice

The research revealed the misfit between the 'dark tourism' label advanced by the academic discourse *and* the practitioners' view and empirical evidence housed by the context *of sites of* and *associated with* death perpetrated by Nazi Germany. The management at all six sites unequivocally rejected the term 'dark tourism' considering it pejorative to the historicity and current multi-function and humanitarian mandate fulfilled by the dark heritage tourism sites investigated. At sites *of* death, the strongest justification came from the offense inflicted by the term upon the huge loss of life and human suffering that such sites have borne witness to and hold objective evidence of; currently all sites *of* death serve as huge cemeteries for the large number of victims. Additionally, these sites currently function as evolved, dynamic memorial-museum servicescapes, comparable to modern (open air) museums which preserve the challenging evidence of the dark past, present and interpret it and have a strong educational remit, focused on social conscience and societal value. Equally, the same functions of memorialisation and education, preservation and collection, as well as ongoing scientific research are embedded in the mandate of the sites *associated with* death, too. Reflective of the site managers' perspective, this research found that the dark heritage tourism sites were places of managed purposeful and enlightened servicescapes aimed to deliver '*non-dark*' real and symbolic value at both individual and collective levels.

While objective authenticity continues to play a significant role and delivers to visitors' most immediate understanding and pursuit of authenticity *and* tends to attract vivid manifestations of existential authenticity (Auschwitz-Birkenau being the most illustrative case in this respect, due to its best preserved and most authentic site *of* death), the study highlighted the significant potential and importance of constructive

authenticity in the case of all six sites investigated. Clear and explicit interpretation (for example signage and explanatory information) helps visitors to understand the entire journey of the movable and immovable objects present on site, from a socio-temporal perspective (Sachsenhausen provides a good example, in terms of using the principle of “archaeological exposure”). Constructive authenticity emerged as significantly potent also at sites where the original substance of the site has been eroded or where the presentation of the past history is achieved through a combination of authentic and non-authentic objects (reconstructions, replicas and/or purpose built), as well as in non-traditional formats (abstract or devoid of original objects entirely). Thus, for managers, the study offers empirical justification for investing in the prerequisites of constructive authenticity such as diverse and participatory interpretation and education methodologies; such provision is essential to the delivery of the sites’ key educational function.

When empowered and supported by adequate site related resources (onsite guiding, other interpretation and pedagogical methodologies) and presented with a creative and immersive blend of signs, symbols and other sensorial messages, visitors’ meaning making and emotional value (socially-symbolic value) emerge as less dependent on the format of the physical and natural (where applicable) dimensions (whether traditional, non-traditional or even depleted/invisible) and more reliant on the non-object based dimensions of objective authenticity, specifically the authenticity of place and events. From this perspective, the research leads to a number of implications in practice. *The first* implication refers to the importance of authenticity of place and events, thus drawing attention to the implicit value attached to scientific research and heritage management as key vehicles for the identification, ongoing investigation and presentation of the historical facts. *The second* implication is related to the importance of site management’s investment in enhancing the system of guiding and interpretation, as well as in developing an education provision that incorporates modern, dynamic and visitor- focus pedagogies, focused on value co-creation. The study illustrates the importance of guiding for maximising visitors’ co-creative potential. Guiding and interpretation that is centred on an interactive, dialogical approach aimed at empowering visitors and maximising their autonomous capacity for discovery, examination and critical evaluation of the historical evidence presents significant potential for lasting visitor value (Mauthausen has a best practice model,

defining its guides as facilitators). *The third* implication is related to the versatility of the physical servicescape that managers can control in the knowledge that it renders significant visitor appeal (as well as real and symbolic value).

There are management challenges at each site relating to accommodating very large visitors numbers. Sites were described by the managers themselves as “*mass tourism sites*”; the temptation is to opt for efficiency models that tend to rely on one way communication and the efficient moving of visitors around the site without much time allowed for discussion, open questioning and dialogue. However employing such an approach would undermine the very foundational elements underpinning the intended co-created visitor experience and its transformative potential at an individual and personal level.

7.4.1 Practical Implications - Training of Site Guides

The importance of an effectively managed social servicescape that is conducive to and enables both constructive and existential authenticity has clearly emerged from the research. While designing a united framework for pedagogical work at European memorial sites is impossible (given the unique history and character of each site), agreeing on common quality standards to underpin the theoretical and practical training and continuous professional development of site guides is highly desirable.

As site guides in their greatest majority tend to be freelance, maintaining and enhancing their job role competencies require ongoing education and training that capture the latest scientific research surrounding this history (historical evidence), the current research controversies applicable to this field of activity and the newest educational methods. Creating and implementing a coherent site specific framework inclusive of infrastructural, social and psychological support elements to enable site guides’ continuous professional development can only be beneficial to the each site’s mission and relevance to today’s visitors and wider society. The key areas targeted by such provision need to reflect the multi-layered, complex mandate that site guides are expected to fulfil: cognitive competency (solid historical knowledge and pedagogical skills), ethical conduct and psychological competency (for self and visitors).

While ensuring cognitive competency tends to be generally the main focus at most sites (through training and assessment focused on extensive specific historical knowledge), the pedagogical training is equally important and does warrant

management's investment. Training in participatory, interactive methodologies aimed at equipping site guides with the skills for creating the appropriate setting for open and constructive exchanges about the meaning of the events (especially in relation to here and now, in other words visitors' current context) is of critical importance. It is by employing these skills that site guides can facilitate and empower visitors to form their own opinions, negotiate meaning and express their own views.

The empirical data revealed examples of infrastructural elements that can support such training. Using internal and external (external experts from other disciplines) mechanisms, site guides can be facilitated to acquire and enhance their pedagogical skills (a component of job competency). Understanding the fundamentals of performance theory (as posited by Pine and Gilmore, 1999) would benefit the guides in adapting their voice and body language to the physical characteristics of the location, the weather, and most importantly the specific needs of the visitor group. At all sites, managers discussed the challenges posed by ensuring the optimal balance between the challenges (cognitive, emotional and physiological) presented by the 'subject' (the historical evidence depicting death, genocide and extensive human suffering) and the competencies possessed by visitors to deal with these challenges. At Mauthausen, site guides' awareness of the "flow" theory (Csikszentmihalyi, 1975) highlighted the potential for visitors to reach a "state of flow" (Csikszentmihalyi, 1975, p.9) in other words an optimum state that facilitates visitors' complete immersion in the on-site experience. Thus, site guides require the knowledge and (pedagogical) skills to create the appropriate conditions for visitors' direct participation in the discovery, investigation and evaluation of the evidence presented. The planned intended outcome is the co-creation of socially-symbolic experiences (and consequent value), in partnership with visitors.

In terms of the infrastructural but also social elements, training could also include: (a) peer observation and assessment, as well as regular internal networking (through work meetings) focused on issues related to the organisation and content of the tours delivered; (b) expert structured training focused on specific thematic content (for example the social psychology of violence or how to effectively communicate complexity in Holocaust education); (c) self-reflection and evaluation practiced by site guides, focused on the range of tour offerings delivered and own practice when delivering these. For example, site guides can reflect on and evaluate specific tours by

profiling the targeted visitor group by age/generation, origin, nationality, cultural context, associated ideas on the history represented and views on the encounter with the memorial site. Equally, they can reflect on the effectiveness of their own delivery in terms of tailored interactivity and required content.

The ethical conduct expected from site guides forms part of the overall ethics of memorial education adopted by all memorial sites. Given site managers' agreement on the fact that the guides are the main interface, the issue of transparency in relation to guides' practice is of importance. Guides are expected to be open about their background (personal and professional) but to remain neutral, unobtrusive and respectful of visitor's autonomy in relation to the processing of the historical evidence encountered. Site guides should not impose their own opinions on visitors (especially youth groups) nor should they engage in political discussions. The key goal expressed at all sites is for guides to be able to initiate a visitor focused, discursive engagement, where the discussions take place on an equal footing and allow visitors' various, complex and even contradictory ideas to be voiced and debated. In this respect, the guides require the appropriate skills of effective facilitators and mediators, able to encourage visitors to take ownership and responsibility for their views, opinions and attitudes based on the historical/scientific evidence encountered.

To conclude, management's efforts to ensure such comprehensive approach to the training of site guides is clearly resource intensive and poses challenges in terms of both financial and non-financial investment. However, an effectively managed social servicescape is conducive to and enables both constructive and existential authenticity which are intrinsic to dark heritage tourism sites' current evolved mandate.

7.4.2 Strategic implications

The research demonstrated that managing dark heritage tourism sites as expanded servicescapes involves managing the physical and natural dimensions of the site, while recognising that the interactive communication and education components are important in underpinning the social and socially symbolic dimensions. Visitors are not passive recipients of information but have social, psychological and cognitive baggage and different perspectives regarding the distant historical events.

Traditionally, site managers have focused on maintaining the physical environment and original artefacts, as this has been important in maintaining the evidence of dark

events, remembering the past and commemorating the dead. Although this continues to be remain a strategic constant (as the authenticity of the servicescape is a fundamental component for visitors' experiences at dark heritage tourism sites), the social and socially symbolic value derived from the encounter with the site is the emerging strategic priority. The empirical research found that such heritage tourism sites want to disassociate themselves from the notion and label of 'dark tourism' advanced by the academic discourse. Instead, the overarching effort is placed on conveying and making authenticity and its complexities legible to visitors, while simultaneously making the on-site encounter meaningful and relevant for today's visitors and contemporary society. These are the key ingredients of the holistic value intended by these sites.

In the context of the purposefully managed site servicescape, the social dimension relates to site interpretation and the role of guides in providing the historical background and enabling visitors' sense making of the evidence encountered (the socially-symbolic value gained). Thus the physical and natural as well as the social servicescape dimensions undertake supportive roles to the socially-symbolic dimension which is the one that captures the value derived from the encounter with the past, for the present, for both the individual visitor and society at large.

The social servicescape warrants strategic importance as the expanded servicescape dimension with the capability to facilitate, augment and deliver the experiential on-site encounter through two way communications with guides and meaningful interactions with artefacts, in addition to the purely physical (and natural) environment/servicescape. These aspects of site visitation have been developed and expanded in recent years and are recognised as key to the on-site experience, therefore requiring adequate resource allocation (both financial and non-financial). Whether visitors have personal attachment or not, extensive or little knowledge of this period in history, the strategic aim of dark heritage tourism sites is to offer an authentic site (physical and natural servicescape dimensions – objective authenticity) in tandem with the interpretative (social servicescape dimension - constructive authenticity) and socially symbolic meaning (socially-symbolic servicescape dimension) that are conducive to direct visitor engagement and thus deliver visitor co-created value (social conscience, thus existential authenticity).

Thus, dark tourism heritage sites can be strategically managed as symbolic sites capable to deliver authenticity, interpretation, social interactions and symbolic meaning so that visitors can engage and co-create their own unique experiences, and use these experiences to contribute to societal values in the wider context. It is therefore only by recognising the importance of strategically managing each expanded servicescape dimension (physical, natural, social and socially-symbolic) as well as their dialectic integration that in turn, can facilitate the management of the plural and dynamic character of authenticity.

7.5 Limitations of the Research

7.5.1 Theoretical Limitations

This study used the expanded servicescape conceptual model to frame and guide the research. After initial visits and observations at each dark heritage site, the importance of the physical, natural, social and socially symbolic characteristics was evident to the researcher. Moreover, during discussions, both site managers and visitors placed predominant focus on the tangibility of the site which was identified as fundamental to all the other on-site processes and actions, whether from the management or visitor perspective. The expanded servicescape framework was therefore considered an appropriate fit, capable to embrace and facilitate the holistic analysis and evaluation of both the tangible and intangible dimensions of the dark heritage sites investigated.

However, from the theoretical perspective other conceptualisations could have been used to frame the empirical study. These include the (a) Service Dominant Logic (SDL), (b) Actor-Network Theory (ANT) and (c) Object Orientated Ontology (OOO).

(a) The foundational proposition of *Service Dominant Logic or SDL* advanced by Vargo and Lusch (2004) explains value creation as taking place through exchange among configurations of actors. Humans (the actors) apply their competences (knowledge and skills) to benefit others and reciprocally benefit from others' applied competences through service-for-service exchange (Vargo and Lusch, 2004).

The research demonstrated that visitors derive value from the direct engagement and interactions with both the tangible (physical and natural dimensions of the site, in particular the movable and immovable objects in the form of site remnants and wide range of artefacts) and intangible dimensions of the site (expanded servicescape).

Indeed, the physical and natural dimensions of the site are fundamental to the authenticity of the site, a prime reason for visitation and a key strategic constant for the management. Moreover, objective authenticity linked to the authenticity of place, object(s) and events has been clearly illustrated by the research. Chapter 6 discussed the empirical findings, including the impact of the visible, tangible evidence of the painful past (impact of object based authenticity) upon visitors, in terms of both cognition and emotion. Equally, the concepts of space effect and spatial orchestration (elements of the physical and natural dimension) emerged as significant to dark heritage tourism sites, highlighting the versatility of the value creation opportunities for existential authenticity, thus visitor centred authenticity (visitor value). In these contexts, according to the SDL theory, visitors can be regarded as “operand resources” (Vargo and Lush, 2004, p.6).

This research has illustrated the overarching aspiration of dark heritage tourism sites to (co)create value in the form of social conscience that reaches beyond the on-site encounter at both individual and societal levels. The empirical evidence illustrated that some of the dark heritage sites already deliver specially tailored educational activities that target specific professional and social groups (police and other law enforcement agencies including the judiciary and penitentiary staff and inmates). The research did not explore the value (co)created with and for these groups in terms of improved mental, social or physical well-being (Rosenbaum et al, 2011) and the impact these benefits (value) can have upon the immediate sphere of action (communities) within which these groups function. SDL with its dynamic, service ecosystems lens and multiple stakeholder orientation (Vargo and Lush, 2017; Lusch & Webster, 2011), if applied, could have revealed the potential of dark heritage tourism sites to contribute or influence social sustainability and even social policy (Vargo and Lusch, 2017). However this was outside the remit of this thesis.

With its focus on the flow of service, resource-integration and value co-creating practices, the application of SDL may have allowed for the identification and evaluation of new compelling value propositions available to such sites especially as a result of collaboration with other agencies, as well as the safeguards that may be required. This potential research avenue if explored, would have supported Vargo and Lusch’s (2017, p. 48) view according to which “unpacking how this purposeful

cooperative activity leads to value cocreation will be a major underlying theme for the next 10 years”.

(b) *Actor – network theory or ANT*, despite its name, it is not a theory, as it is not prescriptive and “does not offer social laws” (Law and Singleton, 2014, p.379, citing Latour, 1999). It is better characterised as a “*toolkit* for thinking about and charting the heterogeneous practices of association that make up the social law” (Law and Singleton, 2014, p.379, citing Law, 2008). The nature and scope of dark heritage tourism sites reflect a complex range of interactions (manifested as actions and processes) that take place among the social and organisational ‘actors’ involved in this specific context. Thus, ANT could have been another foundational underpinning for this research.

ANT would allow the conceptualisation of such interactions as networks of relations that involve both human (site managers and visitors) and non-human ‘actors’ (objects/artefacts, signs and organisational structures) that characterise dark heritage tourism sites, to whom equal agency is being assigned and which require integration within the same conceptual framework. ANT therefore would have served the current research objectives which required both the description of each set of site-specific actors (tangible and intangible; human and non-human) and the explanation and evaluation of the social activity that takes place on-site, therefore of the interactions among these. Additionally, the constructivist lens provided by ANT facilitates an enhanced focus on the concrete mechanism(s) that hold(s) the network(s) together, therefore allows for scrutiny of the dynamic nature of such constantly shifting networks of relations and interactions among all of the internal, site specific factors. Described as a material – semiotic method which allows for the detailed mapping of the relations that are simultaneously material (between things) and semiotic (between concepts), ANT could have augmented the current focus on the dyadic relationships between the physical (and natural) and social site dimensions, as well as on their importance (individual and combined) for the (co)creation of socially-symbolic meanings (value), thus enriching the management perspective of the research herein.

(c) *Object-orientated ontology or OOO* has emerged in recent years as one of the most “provocative philosophical theories” (Harman, 2018, p.7) sweeping the world of arts, humanities and even business management, while advancing a new brand of

realism based on a departure from the 20th century phenomenology (with its human centred focus) and posits that “the external world exists independently of human awareness” (Hartman, 2018, p.10). OOO explores the “reality, agency, and “private lives” of nonhuman (and nonliving) entities – all of which it considers “objects”...” (Kerr, 2016) which exist in “object relations” (Harman, 1999) defined by the same distortion as that performed by human consciousness and “exist on an equal footing with one another” (Harman, 2001, p.1).

Considering the key defining characteristic of dark heritage tourism sites as authentic (authentic places), defined first and foremost by objective authenticity, evidenced in the complex range of surviving movable (rich collections of artefacts of unique value) and immovable objects (site remnants) thus, a heavily populated object based environment, OOO would have been relevant to this research. By situating the primary site of ontological investigation on objects and (their) relations, the tangible dimension of each dark heritage tourism site (servicescape) could have been examined in-depth, by focusing on both the “real objects” (objects that withdraw from all experience or interaction with other objects) and “sensual objects” (objects that only exist in experience or interaction with other objects), as identified by Harman (2011, p.49). Additionally, Harman’s (2011, p.49) proposed qualities differentiated as “sensual qualities” (found in the experience or interaction with the other objects) and “real qualities” (that can only be accessed through intellectual probing) could have led to the development of an innovative object – qualities framework focused on establishing a potential hierarchy of the on-site objects, their qualities and the emergent insights into their potential inter-dependencies. Such a framework, defined by four dimensions (sensual objects/sensual qualities; sensual object/real qualities; real object/sensual qualities; real object/real qualities) not only would have generated a new conceptual landscape for dark heritage tourism sites (expanded servicescapes), but would have also potentially illuminated new insights into the challenges of managing the plurality of authenticity at sites of and associated with death.

7.5.2 Methodological Limitations

The methodological limitations discussed below refer to: (a) the geographical perspective adopted by the research herein; plus, (b) the extended case study method; (c) ethnography and (d) netnography as three distinct additional methodological

choices that could have been considered. Each of these methodological limitations will be discussed below.

(a) *Geographically*, the research was limited to European dark heritage tourism sites of and associated with death, genocide and human suffering perpetrated by Nazi Germany. Geographically and temporally the scope of dark heritage tourism is much wider, including memorials and museums that offer representations of the same original historical events in other parts of the world, including Israel, North America and beyond. Thus, a truly world perspective on this field of investigation is still to be achieved but was beyond the remit of this study.

(b) *The extended case study method* (Burawoy, 1998) could have been employed in order to dig deeper into the empirical field and adopt a more critical lens to the investigation of both site managers' and visitors' worlds. The empirical study could have benefitted from the reflexive science of the extended case method in that such approach would have allowed for multiple dialogues (Burawoy, 1998) to take place and extend the research effort further, towards seeking a wider investigation of local servicescape management processes and practices at each site (in either victim or perpetrator country) in relation to, for example, extra local forces such as funding issues. Funding issues are entirely relevant to the maintenance and development of sites as sites of visitation and places of scientific research, therefore to management's efforts towards the expanded servicescape and implicitly the plurality of authenticity. This approach may have led to a richer discussion surrounding the practical implications of the research. Extending the observations over a longer period of time and focusing on specific places (space) around the site, as facilitated by the extended case method, may have resulted in richer insights with regards to the actions and processes that were actually delivered to visitors while on-site, rather than those intended (and referred to during the in-depth interview with site managers). This approach may have resulted in identifying more clearly potential vulnerabilities and disconnections between site management's planned intent with regards to the expanded servicescape (especially with regards to the social and socially-symbolic dimensions) and the actual visitor outcomes (value gained) as a result of the on-site encounter. In turn, such insights may have led to richer insights into the nature and scope of each of the expanded servicescape dimensions, their interdependencies and

consequent implications for authenticity, its plurality and dynamic potential, and by extension to theory building with respect to both servicescape and authenticity.

Another potential area of the investigation that the reflexivity inherent to the extended case method could have specifically contributed to is the investigation into how site guides' own family background and personal heritage may impact upon their communication and interpretation of the 'prescribed' narrative. This could have been of specific interest at sites located in perpetrator countries, in particular Austria, where only recently (late 1990s), the national narrative has changed (and is reflected in the Memorial's master narrative) from portraying Austria as the first victim country of Nazi Germany to its true historical role as a perpetrator country. Additionally, many of the site guides are born and have deep family roots in the area and community where the concentration camp existed and functioned as totally integrated in the local community. Such tensions between site guides' own personal heritage (and absorbed stories and myths from own family and social background) and the need for an unbiased, factual communication of the historical evidence would be worth investigating, especially in relation to how such issues are addressed in the context of the training and development framework for guides. Such insights could have extended the scope of the research in terms of practical implications.

Equally, the participant observation carried out (the researcher did follow groups around the site, 'consuming' the site tour, guiding and interpretation provided) could have been enhanced further by engaging with the reflexive model in order to dig deeper, below the surface, in relation to visitor value. The researcher could have "intervened" and "enter[ed] dialogue" (Buroway, 1998, p.13) by seeking to undertake a more critical observation of visitor behaviour while on-site. Equally, during interviews, the researcher could have challenged visitors in relation to the value gained from visitation in order to establish whether such value was indeed 'non-dark' only. The approach may have revealed potential contradictions in relation to the theoretical foundation of the study specifically with regards to the motives and sought benefits of visitors to dark tourism sites being similar to those visiting heritage sites, therefore non-dark. This would have benefitted theory building.

However, there are some cautionary notes worth mentioning in relation to the application of the extended case method at dark heritage tourism sites. Considering

that even taking photographs at such sites is frowned upon and sometimes prohibited by the site itself, any planned researcher intervention, if contemplated, does require not only site management's formal permission (to enter the field for direct observation and access to visitors) and careful planning, but also a clear ethical underpinning on the part of the researcher. This is of critical importance in order to prevent any potential offensive and unethical behaviour towards both the dignity of the site and visitors' efforts for remembrance and commemoration. After all the field of investigation is represented by sites of death which are cemeteries and places of reverent remembrance where visitors' on-site behaviour is often guided by formal codes of behaviour established by the Memorial site itself as well as by visitors' own moral codes.

(b) Ethnography

The ethnographic approach is known for embedding the researcher "in the field" (Bryman and Bell, 2003, p.315) for a long period, typically a few months at a time. If adopted, this approach would have allowed the researcher to engage with each site much more intensely and in the day-to-day running of it, over a longer period of time. Gaining a much more enhanced insider's perspective could have benefitted the depth of the data collected and therefore delivered richer insights into both site managers' and visitors' worlds.

Although during the total duration of five days spent at each site the researcher did undertake both the roles of participant-as-observer and observer-as-participant, a truly ethnographic approach involving a longer period of direct on-site engagement could have led to a much deeper understanding of both (a) the management processes and actions that take place within each site servicescape, and (b) the behaviour of visitors while on-site. While the primary focus of the research was the management perspective (given the wide range of visitor focused studies already evidenced in the existing literature), it is possible that the ethnographic approach could have secured wider access to visitors especially in terms of longer (more than 15-20 mins) interviews, thus creating opportunities for gaining richer visitor data. In turn, this could have led to deeper insights into the processes and actions associated with the socially-symbolic value co-created by visitors. The theoretical and practical implications of the research could therefore benefit from the ethnographic approach.

There is however a cautionary note worth mentioning: in the context of dark heritage sites, especially former concentration camps that are located at some distance from the main tourist destination/city, most visitors (whether part of a group or individuals) arrive at the site with a clear time budget of approximately two to two and a half hours dedicated to the site visit. As the experience of this researcher demonstrated, this time limitation incurred by most visitors did prevent them from engaging in long(er) interviews, in spite of their explicit best intentions to participate.

While carrying significant potential benefits, ethnography is one of the most resource intensive methods in practice. Indeed, the most common limiting factors associated with ethnographic research, as highlighted by Bryman and Bell (2003), did apply to this researcher, too. These were: (a) the limited period dedicated to the empirical study as dictated by the Santander Mobility Grant utilised; (b) the need to submit the doctoral thesis within the registration period afforded to part time study and (c) the researcher's own occupational career and family life commitments.

(c) *Netnography*

Netnography is described as “participant-observational research based in online fieldwork” (Kozinets, 2010, p.60). Although netnography has its own unique set of practices and procedures, many of the key principles guiding it are common to ethnography, reason why often the two methods are considered together, especially when seeking to understand and represent a specific cultural or communal phenomenon (Kozinets, 2010). The key feature of netnography is its use of computer-mediated communications as a source of data.

When this research was scrutinised at the Confirmation stage (June 2014), netnography was indeed considered as a potentially main data collection method to be employed. As the research evolved, it did however become clear that the researcher was in the position to secure significant access to ‘the field’ (each site) and to engage in direct observation and face-to-face interviews with both site managers and visitors; consequently, data collection using netnography in its pure sense was abandoned.

However, some discrete element(s) of netnography did feature in this study. Some of the site specific documentation did originate from online sources, which complemented the observation studies and in-depth interviews. In these cases netnography was used for triangulation purposes within the data collection strategy,

merging online and offline sources. These aspects therefore provide evidence of the research on 'community online' (Kozinets, 2010), where the community is represented by the dark heritage tourism sites who have a real life manifestation as well as an online presence. In these cases the research carried out face to face was augmented by the research into the various site specific websites that provided a range of information and online documentation, as well as the online (by email) communication exchanged with site managers.

A primarily netnographic approach focused on online visitor communities could have identified virtual communities that have either visited or were planning to visit dark heritage tourism sites; these communities' online social media and other communication tools (for example blogs) could have been researched. However, the data gathered through such approach would have been partial and incomplete as Kozinets (2010, p.66) explains when citing the criteria of "observation vs verbalization of relevant data". The repeated direct observation carried out at each site was essential to the researcher's understanding of the nature and scope of the servicescape from both managers' and visitors' perspectives. Tacit elements of behaviour from both site management's representatives and more often from visitors, revealed interesting aspects of the interactions between the visitor and the site servicescape. For example the silence around the crematoria, irrespective of the large numbers of visitors at any one time; or some visitors wandering around the site in a sombre mood and solitarily, away from the main group, seeking time out from the interaction with the guides and other visitors. Thus, the nature of the social world (phenomena) investigated did attribute high importance to the embodied observation rather than verbal representations (from online sources only); understanding the social behaviours (of site managers and visitors) during the on-site interactions did call for the greatest proportion of data to emerge from face-to-face interviews and direct observation rather than from online. For these reasons, in the context of the research, netnography is worth considering, but as a complementary approach rather than the main method of data collection.

7.6 Future research

The application of the expanded servicescape framework, especially in terms of identifying further capabilities of the framework for managing authenticity at different sites would provide further insights into the complexity of authenticity. Future studies

aimed at applying the expanded servicescape at authentic sites which are devoid of any tangible original traces could reveal unexpected further qualities of each of the four components of the expanded servicescape (physical, natural, social and socially-symbolic).

In addition, applying the expanded servicescape framework to the investigation and evaluation of other dark heritage tourism sites connected to acts of more recent genocide and mass atrocities (in countries such as Darfur, 2003; Bosnia, 1995; Rwanda, 1990; Cambodia, 1975) is considered to be a worthwhile project for future research.

There is further scope for deeper probing into the subjective and diverse nature of dark (heritage) tourism experiences. More research regarding visitors' introspective, sensory and potentially transformative processes that take place during the on-site encounter, as well as during the post-visit stage. Future studies, preferably over time, using ANT and/or OOO to further investigate the nature and scope of the tangible and intangible (human and nonhuman) interactions taking place on-site, as well as the longer term impact generated by visits to such sites are encouraged. Equally, future studies placed within the heritage tourism field could extend the scope of the critical debate surrounding the heritage and tourism phenomena in relation to the current complex political, economic, social and cultural landscape that exists; this can be achieved by focusing specifically on the socially-symbolic servicescape dimension.

7.7 Conclusion of thesis

The study investigated the nature and scope of dark heritage tourism sites of and associated with death, genocide and human suffering perpetrated by Nazi Germany, guided by three research objectives. A conceptual model was developed from the literature, which integrated the expanded servicescape framework with the continuum of visitor experience. This model has emerged as a useful conceptual framework for delineating and characterising the multi-layered consumption setting(s) such as those situated in the dark heritage tourism sector. The research demonstrated the dialectic, holistic character of the managed dark heritage tourism servicescape and its ability to house and deliver authenticity in its plurality. The managed physical, natural and social servicescape dimensions can deliver real and symbolic value to contemporary visitors and society. The research highlighted the versatility and flexibility of dark

heritage tourism sites when conceptualised as expanded servicescapes and their ability to delivery real and symbolic value even in cases where the original physical and natural servicescapes are depleted. A lack of tangible objective authenticity can be overcome through the mediation of coherently and sensitively designed social servicescapes, rooted in and resonant of the original place(s) and event(s). Moreover, each of the four key expanded servicescape dimensions play an important role in supporting the many guises of authenticity.

Managers' and visitors' perspectives on the dark heritage tourism site servicescapes were investigated. The study points to the inadequacy of the academic terminology of 'dark tourism' in the context of sites of and associated with death, genocide and human suffering. In practice, such sites are dynamic, participative and elevated servicescapes, focused on respecting the dignity of the victims and honouring their sacrifice, preserving and displaying the evidence of the painful past, promoting visitor empowerment during the onsite encounter and delivering a clear educational offering that cultivates social conscience at both the individual and collective levels. The offering of such sites reflects the complex social cultural phenomenon that dark heritage tourism is, in terms of both its purposeful and ethical management and its heterogeneous, visitor driven consumption.

The managed dark heritage servicescape has the capacity to deliver a cultural continuum that bridges the past and present, presenting potential value beyond the on-site encounter for both the visitor (individual level) and society (collective level) and allowing a gaze to the future.

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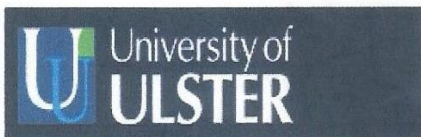
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APPENDIX A – LETTER OF SUPPORT FROM SUPERVISOR



Contact Details

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26 June 2013

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN,

In my role as Principal Academic Supervisor, I can confirm that Roxana Magee is an early career researcher, studying at doctoral level for a PhD with the University of Ulster.

Roxana's research interests are placed in the field of sensitive heritage management and she is currently due to commence the empirical research stage of her research project.

It would be of most value to Roxana's academic research effort your facilitation of both a site visit and a meeting with a representative of your management team, with the view to aid Roxana's understanding of the nature, range and management of your activities.

I am most keen to reassure you that Roxana's research efforts into this most sensitive type of heritage will be undertaken with due respect, care and ethical consideration and any data/information obtained will only be used for the sole purpose of her academic study.

If you require any more clarification on any of the above issues, or further guarantees that would aid Roxana's request for access to your data and management practices, please do not hesitate to contact me.

On behalf of the University of Ulster and of both Roxana and myself, I would like to thank you for your support and cooperation.

Professor Audrey Gilmore,

A handwritten signature in blue ink that reads 'A. Gilmore'.

Professor Audrey Gilmore
Professor of Services Marketing
[Business and Management Research Institute](#)

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APPENDIX B – QUESTIONS – RESEARCH PROTOCOL

GENERAL OVERVIEW – UNDERSTANDING THE ‘BIG PICTURE’

1. What is the main aim of this site – your main mission?
2. Please help me to understand the ownership of this site and how it is funded – your main stakeholders.
3. What are the main categories of visitors/tourists normally visiting this site?
4. How do you get your key message across (narrative, themes, stories)? What methods do you use to facilitate visitors to understand the history and meaning of this site?

FOCUSING ON THE VISITOR EXPERIENCE AND ITS MANAGEMENT

5. What kind of experience do you aim for visitors to have at this site?
6. How do you plan to meet the needs of the various categories of visitors?
7. How do you define the educational function of the site – what do you mean by “education”?
8. How do you fulfil this educational function?
9. Do you aim to give visitors an emotional experience – and if so, how do you plan for this?
10. How do you offer an emotional experience for visitors?
11. How do you facilitate visitors’ engagement with the site?
12. How do you deal with potential visitors’ disrespect of the site?

FOCUS ON THE MANAGEMENT OF THE SITE AND ITS VARIOUS FUNCTIONS- SPECIFIC AREAS RELATED TO THE MANAGEMENT OF SENSITIVE HERITAGE

13. What is your meaning of ‘authenticity’ and how is authenticity being managed at your site?
14. What training is being offered to the guides working at the site?
15. What is the level of involvement of survivors with the site?
16. Any specific involvement of survivors’ families with the site?
17. What other categories of staff work at the site?
18. What is the proportion between custodial staff and customer interface staff?
19. Are there any challenges in relation to the management of either/both of the above staff categories?
20. What are your main concerns in relation to fulfilling the full mission/remit of the site- in terms of historical accuracy, authenticity, providing for the various visitors’ needs? How do you balance these?
21. What is the role that technology (information technology as well as other technology related to building, infrastructure development etc) plays at this site?

22. What are the main difficulties in maintaining, developing and managing this visitor site?
23. Which areas of activity are most important in your view: custodial/curatorial or managing the visitor experience?
24. What is the impact of the media on your site – in terms of generating visitor awareness/ visitor expectations, involvement of stakeholders, funding opportunities etc?
25. Finally, what are (if any) the key tensions surrounding the management of this site, in your view?

YOUR VIEWS ON PRE- AND POST VISIT STAGES

26. In your opinion, is there any link between visitors' preparation prior to the site visit and the benefits gained from the visit?
27. Are you in any way preoccupied with the 'post - visit' stage? Are you collecting and/or managing visitors' feedback?

APPENDIX C – QUESTIONS FOR VISITORS

Dear Respondent,

Your willingness to participate in a short interview would be much appreciated. Alternatively, you may prefer to complete the following short questionnaire.

Please answer the following questions in as a direct and open manner as possible, using your everyday language and expressing your views as they naturally come to you. Please be reassured that your answers will be treated in total confidentiality (entirely anonymous) and only used for academic research purposes in the context of my PhD study. I have gained prior permission from the site management to carry out research with visitors on-site.

Many thanks for your cooperation.

1	How would you describe your overall visiting experience at the site?
2	What do you feel that you learned through this visit?
3	What are/were the most positive parts of your visiting experience at the site?
4	What are/were the most negative parts of your visiting experience at the site?
5	Why did you visit this site?
6	What did you originally expect to gain from visiting this site?
7	What would be the most important three things related to this visit, that have impacted upon you, personally?

APPENDIX D – PHOTOGRAPH OF ORIGINAL CAMP BUILDINGS AT AUSCHWITZ I



Researcher's photograph, July 2013

**APPENDIX E - PHOTOGRAPH OF RUINS OF CREMATORIUM
III LOCATED AT AUSCHWITZ II-BIRKENAU**



Researcher's photograph, July 2013

**APPENDIX F - PHOTOGRAPH OF THE PROSTHETIC LIMBS
BELONGING TO THE VICTIMS**



Researcher's photograph, July 2013

**APPENDIX G - PHOTOGRAPH OF THE FIELD OF STELAE
SCULPTURE (MEMORIAL TO THE MURDERED JEWS OF
EUROPE)**



Researcher's photograph, September 2013

**APPENDIX H - PHOTOGRAPH OF THE FIELD OF STELAE
FROM WITHIN**



Researcher's photograph, September 2013

**APPENDIX I - PHOTOGRAPH OF THE CEILING IN THE
EXHIBITION- MIRRORING THE STELAE IN THE FIELD
ABOVE**



Researcher's photograph, September 2013

**APPENDIX J - PHOTOGRAPH OF THE SIX ILLUMINATED
PHOTOGRAPHS – THE ORT – MEMORIAL TO THE
MURDERED JEWS OF EUROPE**



Researcher's photograph, September 2013

**APPENDIX K - SCHEDULE OF RESEARCH INTERVIEWS
(STAGE 2 – FOLLOW UP) – AUSCHWITZ-BIRKENAU**

Date	Time	Department Representative	Place	Remarks
23.03.2015 (Monday)	10.00	Wanda Hutny- Film and TV production, Visitor Service Section	Main Building A-50	Gaining access to visitors on site – willing visitors to take part in research interviews or complete short questionnaire
23.03.2015	12.00	Agnieszka Tanistra – Różanowska – Deputy Head of the Preservation Department	Building near by the Main Entrance (A-50)	Discussion on the key challenges presented by maintaining and preserving an authentic site
24.03.2015 (Tuesday)	10.00	Tomasz Michaldo – Head of Methodology of guiding Agnieszka Osiecka – Acting Head of the Visitor Service Section	Main Building A-50	Discussion on the training that site guides/educators obtain
24.03.2015	12.30	Agnieszka Juskowiak – Sawicka – Head of the E-learning Section	Block no. 12 (ground floor)	Discussion on e-learning developments
25.03.2015 (Wednesday)	10.00	Marta Berecka – Head of Educational Projects	Block no. 12 (first floor)	Discussion on the educational function of the Memorial and Museum - focus on ICEAH + what educational products/activities are offered + how does education/interpretation get communicated/delivered to visitors
25.03.2015	11.00	Mirosław Obstarczyk - Curator	Block no. 12 (first floor)	Discussion on the importance of exhibitions - meeting/interview with

				Head of Exhibitions Department
25.03.2015	13.00	Alicja Bialecka- Rep. for the New Main Exhibition	Block no. 12 (ground floor)	Disussion on the key developments for the Memorial and Museum the new concept of the New Main Exhibition
25.03.2015	14.00			Gaining access to visitors on site – willing visitros to take part in research interviews or complete short questionnaire

**APPENDIX L – SCHEDULE OF RESEARCH INTERVIEWS
(STAGE 2 – FOLLOW UP) – OSKAR SCHINDLER’S FACTORY
MUSEUM**

The Historical Museum of the City of Krakow- Oskar Schindler’s Enamel Factory			
Time	Department Representative	Place	Remarks
10.00	Monika Bednarek		Review of key issues discussed in July 2013. Discussion on key management challenges and opportunities.
14.00	Marta Śmietana	Schindler’s Factory – conference room	Discussion on promotion and education event– Pamietaj z nami (remember with us)
10.00	Tomasz Owoc	Schindler’s Factory – conference room	Discussion on the educational function of the Museum + what educational products/activities are offered + how does education/interpretation get communicated/delivered to visitors
	Monika Bednarek		Extended discussion on issues other follow up issues
13.00			Accessing visitors 2-3 willing to take part in research interviews or complete questionnaires on site
10.00			Accessing visitors 2-3 willing to take part in research interviews or complete questionnaires on site

APPENDIX M: THE CONTENT OF THE EXHIBITION PROVIDED WITHIN THE ORT

1. The exhibition provides scientifically researched, historical information on the National Socialism, Nazi Germany and the Holocaust, as well as rich insights into the lives of six specific victims and fifteen Jewish families used as examples to convey not only the atrocities committed and their subsequent tragic consequences upon human lives, but also to provide rich insights into the diverse social, national, cultural and religious life and heritages of the European Jewish society, which in itself matches a particular area of knowledge lacking in Germany, especially among the younger generation (Head of Education)
2. The Ort provides access to two major databases of victims' names: the database of names of Holocaust victims from Yad Vashem (in the form of a collection of Pages of Testimony created by survivors' testimonies on those murdered and lost, thus recording the names and brief biographical data of some three million Holocaust victims) *and* the database provided by the memorial Book of the German Federal Archives, in the form of an online memorial book containing the names of approximately 159 972 Jewish men, women and children from Germany who were murdered or went missing (Case Material 3). Both these databases are still being expanded on a continuous basis, this process unfolding on an ongoing basis.
3. The exhibition provides information on the geographical extent of the Holocaust in the whole European continent. Some 220 exemplary places of persecution and murder of European Jews and other victims are being featured through historical film and photo material. Specific emphasis is placed on crime sites located in Central and Eastern Europe. Additionally, in the spacious exit foyer of the Information Centre, the Information Portal to European Sites of Remembrance, provides visitors with information on over 400 memorial sites, museums and monuments located in 34 European countries, thus furnishing visitors with an in-depth profile of the European remembrance landscape. With the help of historical and especially present-day photos, the web-based Portal provides information not only on the actual sites of remembrance, but also on their respective countries, in terms of both their WWII history and their cultures of memory that emerged in the post-war period.

4. The Ort also provides a video archive, titled the “Voices of Survival”, which facilitates a totally open, fully accessible and unique approach to the encounter with the original events and those persecuted. Anyone interested or just keen to “*have a look*” (Head of Visitor Services) gains free, unlimited access to the archive of interviews recorded in many languages by Holocaust survivors who testify of the horrors and suffering endured and share their life experiences. A striking feature of the interviews is the manner in which the testimonies were recorded, in that the many survivors of all ages and various nationalities speak directly to the listener/visitor/member of the public, thus seeking not only to narrate their own experiences, but also to establish a personal connection with the listener/visitor/member of the public. For this reason, the management described this part of the Memorial as “*...a place of active confrontation with the past...a living place...not a silent archive*” (Head of Education), made possible through the technology enabled virtual interaction between visitors and survivors, whose voices and faces “*bring the history of the Holocaust in a vivid and clear focus*” (Case Material 3). In turn, the visitor has full autonomy in how to use the historical material and maximise its meaning making potential, being able to pause, remind or fast forward the interviews. Transcripts of the interviews are also available for simultaneous use with the video recordings, providing additional support for their full understanding.