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Souvenirs in Dark Tourism: Emotions and Symbols

Jenny Cave and Dorina Buda

Introduction

This chapter explores the proposition that the act of ‘souveniring’ recent and/or ancient places of death, disaster, or atrocities is a more emotionally immersive experience—and thus less cognitively controlled—than in other tourism contexts. We introduce and explore the notion of ‘dark souvenirs’ (also see Chap. 27) which encompass unlikely forms, redolent of darkness, emotions, and affective experiences in the dark tourism context of places connected to death, disaster, or atrocities.

Dark tourism is often imagined as the alternate to hedonic, mass tourism. Dark tourism places are dystopic, where experiences of perceived, actual, and real risk are the norm (Isaac 2015). Yet, at heart, when narratives are co-created to define identity, they represent utopic ideals (Tinson et al. 2015). Moreover, this co-creation of tourist identity and subjectivities is performed through affects, emotions, and feelings that circulate between and amongst tourists, locals, and ‘dark’ places (Buda 2015a). Affective tourism, a term introduced by Buda (2015a, p. 3), refers to ‘the ways in which affects, emotions, and feelings are accessed, felt, experienced and performed in encounters between touring bodies and places’.

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Thematically, dark spaces are contradictory places of shadow versus light, postmodernity versus heritage, that are usually imbued with emotion. Attempts to construct and manage layered interpretive experiences, which include souvenirs offered for sale at sites of disaster, atrocity, death, and tragedy, might ultimately fail. Some 'dark tourists' are motivated not by entertainment or objectivity but by the affective engagements *with* and *in* those places redolent of 'darkness' (Buda 2015a), and by visceral drives to experience the site, the place, the memories, and its symbolism (Anderson and Smith 2001; Isaac 2015). The visceral drive, a Lacanian death drive of sorts, is akin to a constant force, a nuance of affect at the junction between life and death, which is not understood in a biological sense of physical demise of the body, nor in opposition to life (Buda 2015a, b). Such a psychoanalytical drive creates connections and divisions between local people, tourists, souvenirs, and dark places. This is partly because of the intensity of emotions and affects brought forth and felt in dark places, remembered, and (re)told afterwards.

Spaces and places connected to 'darkness' also parallel utopia and penalties of acts of faith, since there are similarities between constructs of mediaeval pilgrimage and dark tourism practices (Korstanje and George 2015; Collins-Kreiner 2015). Furthermore, some might argue that dark tourists 'feel' the dark space more emotionally than physically (Yan et al. 2016), encountering the essence of place without critique, and immersing themselves in echoes of danger, in the company of strangers who are there for the same 'instinctual' reasons (also see Chap. 10). Yet, divisions of the physical from the emotional can hardly be obtained, since 'instinctual reasons' are felt and performed *in* and *through* the physical body, driven by visceral intensities to push one's physical and emotional boundaries (Buda and Shim 2014; Buda 2015a).

Souvenirs belong to and represent material cultures expressive of place, subjectivity, and identity that are integral to dark tourism experiences. Most tourists collect souvenirs while visiting dark places to gather them as prized objects that mediate memories of places and experiences. Tourism generates a mobility of objects, since objects often travel in conjunction with movements of people and are rarely sets of objects fixed in place (Urry 2000). Cultures, knowledge, and attitudes also travel with and through souvenirs. Yet the majority of research regarding souvenirs engages with the mainstream context of the formal tourism industry.

The aim of this chapter, therefore, is to bring existing literature on souvenirs together with literature on dark tourism and, specifically, with theories of emotion in dark tourism. We do so to contend that souvenirs and souveniring in dark places of death, disaster, and atrocities are more imbued with emotional

poignancy than in other tourism contexts and, in so doing, become tools through which (hi)stories are told and (re)negotiated.

Souvenirs and Souveniring

‘Souvenirs’ can be a synonym for tourism art, ‘airport art’, and other objects created specifically for tourists, used as a token of memory and the experiences that occur at the moment of acquisition. This action of souveniring is connected to the meaning of the word rooted in the Latin verb *subvenire* (meaning ‘to remember’ or ‘to occur to the mind’) (van den Hoven 2005).

Objects are classed as souvenirs and invested with a place-based narrative at the point of consumption (Hume 2013). However, their meaning is assigned retrospectively, upon the re-telling of travel experiences. The value to the acquirer is attributed within a hierarchy of souvenir values that span from end-of-life (when consigned to rubbish) to reincarnation status within domestic social contexts, and from sites where return of the object is possible and purposeful value remains to geographically distant sites where only the material value remains when the object is possessed (Gregson et al. 2011).

Souvenirs may be obtained during informal encounters as gifts, purchased during formal transactions in the tourism and retail industries (Cave and Buda 2013; also see Chap. 26), or acquired as detritus (Saunders 2004). Awareness of ‘the Other’, reciprocal gaze, and exoticism are engaged by both suppliers and purchaser/receivers (of gifts) of souvenirs in their choices to make, provide, and offer these tangible mementos to others (Morgan and Pritchard 2005; Watson and Till 2010). Souvenirs often connect to an out-of-the ordinary and/or extraordinary moment in the tourism experience.

Souveniring, as the act of acquiring an object or image that represents an experience, is central to host-guest interactions for many cultures, generating souvenir production and purchase as gift or emblem (Chan 2006), as well as less moral appropriation, pocketing, purloining, or theft. Thus, souvenirs and souveniring are inseparable from the phenomenon of travel and tourism (Cave et al. 2013a)—the act of touring, attracting tourists, and providing for their entertainment and accommodation.

The tourism industry has reached socio-cultural prominence in the global economy because of its connection to industrialisation, waged employment, and changes to labour laws to embrace weekends and holiday breaks in urban settings; yet, paradoxically, it is also connected to the anti-industrial push of travel for health. Indeed, Thomas Cook’s original tours exemplify the reach of affordable recreational travel to mass markets of increasingly emancipated

women and group travel for workers to escape industrial conditions. In the Western, economically developed world, the history of travellers acquiring souvenirs of place and memories occurs from Imperial Rome and Egyptian explorer-travellers, mediaeval collectors of religious relics, to pilgrims who souvenir their faiths, and to contemporary tourists and their accompanying activities. Moreover, the Grand Tour permitted social elites to 'souvenir' cultural heritage and amass private collections that demonstrated the status of 'having been' to their peers and subordinates (Jolliffe and Smith 2001).

Souvenir production can be traced back to iconographic moulds made in the fourth century for pilgrims in the Middle East (Cline 2014). Collectors sought genuine representations of sites and artistic works through acquirement of antiquities and authentic artefacts of the pre-industrial era. However, mass production of souvenirs, identified as 'cheap and inauthentic', coincided with the Industrial Revolution in the latter eighteenth century and globalised by post-World War II middle-class travel (Paraskevaïdis and Andriotis 2015).

Purchased and/or collected by tourists, souvenired objects are exhibited in people's homes, private collections, and museums. Souvenirs as tangible objects epitomise memorable experiences at destinations (Hashimoto and Telfer 2007; Anderson and Littrell 1995) and are stages in the tourism experience (Lury 1997). Individuals reflexively use souvenirs as touchstones of memory that (re)create polysensual and multi-sensory tourism experiences both during and after the journey (Morgan and Pritchard 2005). The object-place relationship helps make sense of the visit during and after the experience, whereas the place-person relationship means that the souvenir symbolically embodies the qualities of a specific place and reminder of its significance, years afterwards (Swanson 2013).

Souvenirs are also trinketised miniatures of complex global forces and networks of world experience such as travel, information, and infrastructure, but which ironically are not read in the wider register (Hutnyk 2011). Souvenirs correspond with present-day mobility as some people move fluidly around the world as a result of migration, leisure and travel purposes, or displacement (Urry 2000). As such, traveller, tripper, and tourist objects give insight into role-playing, epistemological relativism, and verification of objective realities—a sense of 'one's being in the world' (Lasusa 2007) that evokes past experiences and transnational realities. Tourists are more likely to understand authenticity as implying a certain degree of participation in the life and heritage or the event. Souvenirs then are geographic artefacts, locked into the memory of the collector and the collector's experience of the site— so that the

date of production, the name of the producer, and monetary value are to some extent immaterial (Hume 2013).

Geographically displaced souveniring refers to souvenirs made in a place different than the visited destination, but available in gift shops and purchased by tourists. However, the souvenir may represent a country, region, city, specific attraction, or a combination of several geographical scales (Hashimoto and Telfer 2007). Temporally speaking, souvenirs represent continua of heritage, carried from the past via the object into the current day, and are iconic constructions from the recent past or markers of specific, significant contemporary events. Many of the objects now considered as tourist souvenirs in modern society were originally produced to fulfil utilitarian needs (e.g., baskets, pottery) or religious symbols. Arguably, less knowledgeable tourists seek the object rather than seeking out high-quality craftsmanship.

From the tourist perspective, souvenirs are imbued with affective and emotional values that represent the authenticity of a tourism place or activity (Trinh, Ryan and Cave 2014). Authenticity lies at the crossroads between reality and perception, both reality and its perception being felt and performed viscerally via emotions and feelings. Reality can be considered as mediated and simulated, while authenticity is a chimaera. Conventional definitions of authenticity invoke such terms as real, genuine, true, and actual. Such terminology can be contested on grounds of the non-existence of a general truth or an autonomous reality. The form of souvenirs shifts between 'authentic' to increasingly commodified, and between local production to production in places other than their emblematic cultures. This leads to 'constructed authenticity' developed by non-cultural producers which is adopted over time by the originators as a new version of their own culture and heritage (Swanson 2013).

'Authentic' souvenirs are in fact socio-culturally and spatially constructed and imbued with emotions (Swanson 2013). In practice, however, tourists are less familiar with such debates and more likely to conform to the dichotomies of authentic/inauthentic, true/false, genuine/fake (Waitt 2000). Nonetheless, tourists can feel disappointment upon realising that the purchased items are not made of local materials or by local producers, but are mass-produced elsewhere and imported from places where labour is cheap (Staiff and Bushell 2013).

'Objective' authenticity is supported by a maker's mark, locally made attributions, and native producer's rights to legitimate cultural provenance. However, authenticity can be understood as subjectively connected by cultural bias and an individual's personal connection with the object, perceived connection with the vendor/producer or place, an uncritical view which opens

a door to fakery. ‘Constructive’ authenticity refers to imagined souvenirs, often developed by non-native producers or corporations, that depicts archetypal and idealised views of people and place, used to market a destination or culture for tourism, but which conform to stereotypes and not contemporary realities. In some respects, the contemporary artisan constructs a translated view of culture to balance tradition with modernity. This occurs, too, in vendor transactions where historically authentic souvenirs, priced to reflect their cultural and aesthetic value, co-exist in locked display cases alongside open display racks of mass- and cheaply produced versions of the same objects at much lower prices (Swanson 2013). Souvenir vendors, therefore, have the capacity to influence the emotional tourist experience through their commercialisation practices.

Souvenirs as Commodity

Souvenirs as objects of cultures imbued with emotions and symbolic significance of heritage are embedded in the pasts they (re)present. They are global-local (g/local) representations (Ritzer 2003), valued as commodities that contribute to informal household and formal market economies. The concept of *glocalisation* is helpful in avoiding oversimplification of complex social, cultural, spatial, and economic processes involved in souveniring. The global-local relationship refers to a nexus that ties together economic factors and socio-cultural responses that mediate between globalisation and local adaptation. On the global-local continuum, souvenirs then refer to both the universality and contextuality of tourism transactions (Cave et al. 2013a).

The souveniring process plays a crucial role globally, in sustaining tourism economies, community relationships, and cultural structures. While supply can refer to production of souvenirs by locals and demand to their consumption, such a distinction is rarely clear-cut. Supply of souvenirs can happen at the place of production, in markets (Cave and Buda 2013), on the retailers’ inventories, and in strategies of marketing and selling souvenirs (also see Chap. 26).

The form of souvenirs is ‘agreed’ communally as representations of a destination or experience and appear in ‘conformity to traditional style’, authorised and sustained by the community and the tourists. These may be produced in traditional and modern materials, although non-traditional techniques may also be used to produce traditional designs, or the original may be miniaturised (Hume 2013). New production ‘protects the original’ for objects

consciously made to be shared with others, without disclosing manufacturing secrets that could result in loss of identity, traditional knowledge, or intellectual property (Cave 2009).

The role of shopping and retail activities in travel has received more attention in recent years, and souvenirs play an important role in destination economies (Ipkin and Wan 2013). Indeed, souvenirs are often offered for sale at roadside stalls, markets, producer storefronts, souvenir shops, art galleries and museums, heritage sites, events and festivals, tourist activities, retail precincts, or malls. As commodities of emotions and experiences in dark places, however, souvenirs are valued for their 'intrinsic use' value, which is recognised in the direct relation between a 'thing', emotion, and human need. The souvenir exchange value is a social process based on a logic of equivalence where an object has symbolism which commands other commodities in exchange (Watson and Kopachevsky 1994), but which varies by cultural interpretation. Commoditised objects acquire value and meaning when used within the contexts of global economic marketplaces, as well as displays in gallery and museum exhibitions, private collections, or in domestic interiors (Phillips and Steiner 1999).

Commodification of materials happens through a creative corporeal and object-oriented process of tourist encounters, wherein tourists are strolling through different spaces, sensing, bargaining, and connecting the social to the material (Regi 2014). These negotiated processes are as much socio-cultural as they are emotional, whereby the feeling of the corporeal connects the material not only to the social, but also to the emotional and affective implications of souveniring. Arguably, these implications are more intense in the context of dark tourism; for darkness, whether of places, activities, or situations, stirs deeper emotions than other tourism contexts. Souvenirs also have a 'sign value' based upon difference, usually connected to emotions, whose acquisition enhances exclusivity and a bond forged between the tourist and the 'dark' place, activity, or event as part of the dark tourism experience. Souvenirs also possess spiritual value as sacralised totems, relics, and icons (Paraskevaidis and Andriotis 2015).

The Study of Souvenirs and Souveniring

Research into the economic and socio-cultural production and consumption of souvenirs began in earnest in the 1970s as investigations into the production of handicrafts and ethnic art as transformative of traditional art (Cohen 1979, 1988) and cultural loss against a background of increased globalisation.

Particularly, Graburn's *Ethnic and Tourist Arts*, written through the lens of art history and anthropology, produced a typology of material cultures of the 'fourth world' (contemporary indigenous cultures subject to internal colonisation). Culturally plural contexts evolve as cultures encounter others, to coalesce in acculturated or hybrid forms in the modern world. Graburn's (1976) framework describes a matrix of aesthetic-formal sources/traditions that varies with intended audiences, contact with mainstream and material/technical opportunities. Hence, societal forms intended for minority fourth world consumption are categorised as minority society (functional/traditional), novel/synthetic (reintegrated), and dominant society (popular) categories, whereas forms intended for external civilisation use are respectively: minority society (commercial/fine), novel/synthetic (souvenir/novelty), and dominant society (assimilated/fine). The persistence of traditions depends upon continued internal demand, the availability of raw materials, time and work focus, skills and knowledge, peer-group reward/prestige, and a role in ritual or gift-exchange (Graburn 1976). Furthermore, over time the dominant culture appropriates the arts of the colonised to incorporate them into mainstream tourist art forms.

Stewart (1993) classified souvenirs as 'sampled' and 'representative'. Sampled souvenirs are obtained directly by the individual tourist with no intervention by the host culture and not available as consumer goods (e.g., shells or stones). Meanwhile, 'representative' souvenirs are purchasable representations of exterior sights such as miniature baskets or postcards. Gordon (1986) developed a souvenir typology that has been widely used, and, as a result, Gordon's investigation of the souvenir phenomenon offered tourism studies an initial and comprehensive typology of souvenirs. The typology offers five souvenir subcategories: pictorial images, piece of the rock souvenirs, symbolic shorthand souvenirs, marker souvenirs, and local products. Pictorial images refer to postcards and photographs, while pieces-of-the rock souvenirs represent the visited environment from which natural objects are saved. Symbolic shorthand souvenirs are manufactured rather than natural materials. Marker souvenirs act as memory-triggers and bring about images of and experiences in those places. Indigenous foods, like chillies from Mexico or olive oil from Greece, are part of the fifth subcategory of souvenirs, that of local products.

Philips and Steiner (1999) 'unpack' the complexity of how commoditised objects acquire value and meaning in the contexts of the world economic marketplace and display in gallery and museum exhibitions, private collections, and in domestic interiors. The forms of souvenirs produced are 'agreed' communally as representations of a destination and appear in 'conformity to

traditional style', authorised and sustained by the community and the tourists. Nevertheless, the focus is a transcultural context, especially in former colonies, and is written from a Euro-American point of view, located in peripheral places in Africa, Asia, Oceania, and North America.

Meanwhile, Hume (2013) follows the practices of collecting and developing collections of 'Other' cultures by Western society in modern times (pre-modern, colonial, early modern). His work proposes a system to describe all souvenirs that use the medium, the maker's mark, relational, invitational, and iconofetish features. Fetishism aligns with souvenirs since they both substitute for phenomena that are no longer available and, thus, help to sustain the holiday after the event and recover emotionally from the emptiness left from its ending.

As noted earlier, souvenirs have also been examined as *glocalised* commodities which play a key role in sustaining culture and identity, a sense of place, and the tourism economy in tourism peripheries (Cave et al. 2013b). Recent tourist theories turn away from the dematerialised tourist landscape and see spaces (sights, places, markets, etc.) as performed consequences of human-material interactions. Thus, souvenirs are subject to materiality theory as travellers interact with the material environment and unavoidably collect and carry things home to authenticate the travel experience (Regi 2014). The production of souvenirs can also be used by cultural agents to resist, respond, and interpret global influences at local levels, but by enacting the processes of *glocalisation*, they actively preserve and sustain craft traditions, cultural structures, community relationships, and economies (Cave et al. 2013b).

Three contemporary streams of research can be identified in literature. Firstly, souvenirs are holders of meanings that embody an *object-person-place* relationship and function as props, evidence, memory, and substitute. Secondly, souvenirs are *tradable commodities* that can be researched from the perspectives of producers and distributors or retailers and consumers. Finally, souvenirs more generally as the *commodification* of material culture express the importance and value of the souvenir economy to tourism as a whole. The study of souvenirs and souveniring spans multiple disciplines, together with research into shopping, retailing, handicrafts, authenticity, material culture, gift-giving practices, and consumption, and may be examined through the lens of aesthetics, economics, or philosophy (Swanson and Timothy 2012). There is a gap, however, in understanding the production, consumption, and significance of souvenirs in general and, in particular, 'dark souvenirs' in connection to emotions, which this chapter now seeks to address.

The Study of Emotions in (Dark) Tourism and Souveniring

Emotions in tourism are crucial in that they affect the ways we travel and how we interact with others, with places, with material culture, and with 'things'. Yet, in tourism studies, limited attention has been paid to the significance of emotions and affects. Recently, however, the concept of affective tourism has been put forth to refer to 'the ways in which affects, emotions, and feelings are accessed, felt, experienced and performed in encounters between touring bodies and places' (Buda 2015a, p. 3). This responds to calls from some tourism researchers who argue that '[t]he omission of studies and narratives which locate ... 'emotion' in tourism, whether that of the tourist or the host, is a problem which has been noted and addressed by very few scholars' (Jamal and Hollinshead 2001 p. 67). Some accounts of emotions of pride and shame (Johnston 2007; Tucker 2009; Waitt et al. 2007), fear (Buda 2015b; Mura 2010), and desire (Buda and Shim 2014) in tourism have been recently published.

Specifically, Johnston (2007, p. 29) examines the 'construction and performance of lesbian tourism geographies' and argues that pride and shame are productive and lived through gendered and sexualised bodies. Meanwhile, Waitt et al. (2007) analyse emotions of shame and pride in a tourism context offered by travelling, walking, climbing, touching, and being touched by Uluru in Australia. They discuss moral gateways that shame and pride open and close as they explore joint management strategies of national parks. Probyn (2004) also analyses her everyday shame as she travels to Uluru. Similarly, Tucker (2009) recognises and discusses her own shame and discomfort in a tourist encounter in the Turkish village of Göreme. She argues 'if we are to understand tourism encounters more fully, it is necessary to examine closely their emotional and bodily dimensions' (Tucker 2009, p. 444).

Other studies in tourism view emotions as variables in quantitative approaches. Bigne and Andreu (2004, p. 682) employed 'a bi-dimensional approach to emotions – pleasure and arousal dimensions' to research consumer satisfaction in interactive museums and theme parks in Spain. Their findings offer suggestions for marketing managers to use emotion as a segmentation variable to 'maximise satisfaction and loyalty' (Bigne and Andreu 2004, p. 692). 'Consumer-related emotions' in connection to satisfaction, arousal, and pleasure are also studied by Faullant et al. (2011, p. 1423). They investigate the adventurous activity of mountaineering by analysing self-administered questionnaires completed by 240 alpinists in the Austrian Alps.

Fear and joy are considered as basic emotions influenced by 'neuroticism and extraversion, respectively, and ... in conjunction with cognitive appraisals influence tourist satisfaction'. Their findings suggest that '[j]oy has direct effects on satisfaction that are not mediated by cognitions; fear's inverse effects on satisfaction are fully mediated by cognitions' (Faullant et al. 2011, p. 1423).

Research on satisfaction and loyalty concerning emotions has received some attention from tourism scholars with business and managerial approaches. For instance, Yuksel and Yuksel (2007, p. 703) examine within a specific Turkish town setting 'whether risk perceptions in shopping affect tourists emotions, their satisfaction judgment and expressed loyalty intentions'. Within tourism management, however, emotions are considered as biologically hardwired and subject to cognitive processes. Indeed, tourism management studies essentialise, universalise, and objectify emotions. Furthermore, emotions are examined as separate from affects, feelings, and senses in a body that is generally assumed white, able, and masculinist. Such studies treat emotions as items that can be measured using mathematical formulae and numerical analysis models.

Emotions, feelings, affects, and embodied senses are intensely political issues, and also highly gendered ones too. The gendered politics of knowledge production has been a key reason why embodied emotions, feelings, and senses have been marginalised in previous studies of tourism, including dark tourism (Buda 2015b). Dark tourism presents the ways anxiety, death, and atrocities are commodified as products and experiences at dark sites, focusing mainly on 'merchandising and revenue generation' (Lennon and Foley 2000 p. 12; also see Chap. 27). Encounters with emotions of fear, fascination with death, anger, and the like, felt and performed in a dark tourism place, are productive and can cause attachments and divisions between tourists, places, and the things/souvenirs collected from such a place.

Subsequently, studies by Dunkley et al. (2011) and Dunkley (2007, 2015) on battlefield tourism capture emotional aspects of the experiences of 25 tourists who participated in a tour of World War I battlefields of the Somme and Ypres. While the narrative is kept within the 'moral discourse of the 20th century frequently presented as heritage, education and history' (Seaton 1996 p. 224), Dunkley et al. recognise the importance of emotions and the potentially cathartic impacts such visits have. They even touch upon the psychoanalytic concept of voyeurism, but seem to be a bit reticent to fully engage with it: '[w]hilst there may well be elements of voyeurism in their encounters, battlefield tours emerge as complex, deeply meaningful and in some cases life-changing experiences for the individuals involved in this study' (Dunkley et al. 2011, p. 866).

Other researchers openly explore dark tourism in connection with the concept of voyeurism (Buda and McIntosh 2013), and other such psychoanalytical concepts such as desire (Buda and Shim 2014) and the death drive (Buda 2015b). In so doing, they contribute to broader emotional, affective, and sensuous engagements with places and material objects, amongst which are souvenirs too. However, connections between dark tourism, souvenirs, and emotions are not sufficiently teased out in current dark tourism studies, and in this chapter, we call for more attention to this aspect.

'Dark' and 'Emotional' Souvenirs

Souvenirs are part of multi-levelled visitor interpretation (McKinnon and Carrell 2015) and the creation of stories, symbols, and images about individuals and actions which affect those who live in the areas. They are emblematic of the events, whether current or past, and are personal or collective emotional representations of the experience, to be shared with others as well as retained as private and never shared. Irrespective of the temporal dimension of the dark event and, therefore, of the identity of a dark tourism place, emotions pervade most, if not all, experiences and transactions at such places. These dark places can be one of past or current atrocities, pain, and sorrow.

Contexts of dark tourism where dark souveniring occurs include places of on-going socio-political turmoil (Buda 2015c; Buda and Shim 2014); post-disaster sites (Korstanje and George 2015); recent and ancient heritage (Magee and Gilmore 2015; Horodnikova and Derco 2015); battlefields and submerged and land-based archaeological sites (McKinnon and Carrell 2015); post-war cemeteries (Horodnikova and Derco 2015); sites of infamous murders (Kim and Butler 2015); and sites of staged horror such as Dracula's castle and imagined movie versions.

An example of souvenir creation connected to dark tourism comes from Aotearoa in New Zealand, where souvenirs made of the iridescent paua shell set in silver in the shape of native birds were produced during World War II to supply expeditionary American forces stationed in the country with brooches to send home. The practice was continued after the war as protected employment for returned service men. Souvenirs were also made by soldiers in active theatres of war such as the sweetheart brooches fashioned from badges and shell casings (van de Wijdeven 2016). These might be considered 'dark souvenirs' since they are items souveniried by soldiers and others from theatres of war and transformed into objects of beauty and poignant remembrance, of not only the maker who may have survived but also the fallen.

Consequently, they are subliminal reminders to the wearer, maker, and observer to the ‘never again’ aspect of engaging in conflict and war.

The development of dark sites into places of tourism where souvenirs are sold might be explained by a ‘sacralisation’ model, where sites are invested with quasi-religious mystique and, thus, become a place of ritual pilgrimage for tourists who seek tangible symbols of the place, the memory, meanings, and the experience (Seaton 1999). Moreover, souvenir creation, production, and commercialisation can be concurrent with experiences of ongoing political troubles. For example, in Palestine/Israel (see also Chap. 9), current souvenirs showcase the decades-long regional conflict such as the Nativity scene surrounded by the separation wall/security fence (Isaac 2015). Dark tourism then is a complex socio-cultural and spatial phenomenon that involves atrocities, death, and disaster experienced both individually and collectively. The question remains however, should these experiences be commodified into consumptive items such as souvenirs?

In the example of Palestine/Israel, souvenirs in this area represent important tools through which (hi)stories of socio-political and economic turmoil are told and negotiated. Israeli and Palestinian manufacturers and retailers of souvenirs assert their identities, their claims in the region, and tell their stories. In the West Bank in Palestine, for example, the ongoing regional conflict has transformed the phenomenon of tourism in this region—within spatial, socio-cultural, and political contexts. ‘Icons’ of the ongoing Israeli-Palestinian conflict, such as the separation wall/security fence, turnstiles at checkpoints, and even refugee camps are represented in the souvenirs produced and sold to tourists. An array of emotions such as fear, fun, and excitement along with sensory engagements of the gaze at the existing separation wall/security fence, touch of the cold turnstiles at checkpoints, and the smell of olive trees, become part of souveniring experiences in these dark tourism places. Indeed, miniaturised souvenirs of olive trees, walls and the like purchased by tourists may act as emotional enhancements when the more intense in-place souveniring process ends, and tourists leave the area and (re)tell their experiences.

Similarly, in another example, the case of murder sites in the USA often means that post-touristic visits to the locations are accompanied by entertainment, eating out, photo opportunities, and the purchase of souvenirs (Gibson 2006) which bring dark tourism into the day-to-day experience of travel and tourism. Moreover, notions of kitsch or ‘teddy-bearification’ of the 9/11 terrorist action have been accused of trivialising and politicising the event and creating a spectacle and subjectivities that polarise opinion (Potts 2012). Shopping patterns in an area where an event of atrocity has just happened are negatively affected immediately following the event. It is not by chance that

the 9/11 atrocity was immediately followed by a presidential plea to keep shopping, to keep consuming, and to keep visiting New York City, because the post-industrial American economy depends on spendthrifts (Brown et al. 2012).

Specific victim groups may possess an animosity toward touristic activity and consumption at sites where ethnic or religious persecution has taken place, and this may be reflected in avoidance of visits by those groups, thereby suggesting a potential lack of interest to visit. Indeed, it might be the reverse, that the passion and emotions associated with interest in such dark places are just too difficult to bear, or not always easy to manage and channel (Podoshen and Hunt 2011). Thus, souvenirs of the material and immaterial kinds found and experienced at these sites, if following ethical guidelines, can offer routes for tourists to negotiate, channel, and reflect on the emotions felt at the site and upon return to their homes. Arguably, such is the case with tourists in Israel/Palestine, where the emotionality of tourist places in areas of ongoing socio-political conflict are embodied in the sites, the tours, and interactions with locals by global tourists, as well as souvenirs offered for sale (Buda et al. 2014)

Places of consumption, such as retail outlets associated with dark sites (e.g., museum gift shops), highlight a tension of economic opportunities to earn income with difficult choices about whether sales diminish the significance of the dark event by miniaturisation and symbolism. They are challenged too by issues of taste and decency, especially at places where deaths occurred (Brown 2013). Cultural standards and practices may also differ as well as familiarity with the subject matter (Biran and Hyde 2013). Museums in places of darkness, such as the Holocaust Remembrance Centre in Westerbork, the Netherlands, which commemorates victims of World War II (Isaac and Çakmak 2014), are continuously confronted not only with how history should be interpreted and presented (see also Chap. 28) but also the type of souvenirs to commercialise at such sensitive locations. Managers of museums may want to avoid the critique of commodification for profit only. In this respect, the Holocaust Remembrance Centre in Westerbork decided in 2015 to sell jewellery as souvenirs as well as works of art of a former member of the resistance during World War II (Hindriksen 2015).

Yet, commercialising such dark souvenirs makes a museum or souvenir shops more up-to-date and connected to contemporary visitors and local people. Shops can act as meaning-making vehicles by reconfirming the significance of the site or visitor attraction through its merchandise selection (Brown 2013). There are also opportunities to shape meanings to help the public make sense of dark events that can be embodied in the displays, and/

or the souvenirs available for purchase (Walby and Piché 2015). Museums in specific places of darkness, where a past atrocity occurred and is commemorated, can present their stories and souvenirs related to ideas of peace—a most cherished goal of humanity. Museums as visitor attractions may frame peace in their entire souveniring process, from views that accept war as inevitable to views strongly condemning any form of violence. Instead of creating a frame in which war or military response to violent attacks are justified, they argue for the view that any and all dark and violent attacks are crimes against humanity, requiring international co-operation and the strengthening of international law (Herborn 2014; Meijer 2016). This view corresponds with Urbain's (2013, p. 149) claim that 'when confronted with a place of trauma, there is a crucial difference between stating that "this will never happen to us again" and "this will never happen again to humanity"'. Therefore, emotions evoked by such views can generate a sense of global citizenship, which souveniring and 'collecting' commemorative places of dark events may contribute.

Conclusion

It is fair to assume that as long as people will travel, we will collect mementos and souvenirs of the place, the trip, and the activities involved. In addition, as long as disasters, death, and atrocities continue to occur, people will want to witness such events and to visit such places—whether it is during the actual occurrence or for later remembrance. Therefore, souvenirs as 'touchstones of memory' (Morgan and Pritchard 2005 p. 29) mediate tourism experiences in time and space and recreate emotional and multi-sensory engagements in and with places. These multi-sensual aspects coupled with emotional and affective experiences generated by souvenirs and souveniring processes are an important aspect of the dark tourism phenomenon.

Along with material roles of souvenirs, the symbolic significance and socio-cultural construction and production of souvenirs is also of future research interest. In a culture-bound and place-specific context, interactions between hosts, locals, tourists, and visitors can be viewed as encounters with difference. As such, they are affected by perceptions of Self versus Other as well as by perceptions of space and place. Interactions and encounters take place across a range of locales that, following 'Otherness' theory, are utopic or idealised, heterotopic or encountering difference, and dystopic - referring to places to be avoided. In a context in which most understandings of souvenirs are of Western Anglophone nature, there is an increasing need to explore souvenirs,

souveniring, and 'dark experiences' from the perspectives of other cultures, such as eastern European, Indian, and Asian (see also Chap. 6).

This chapter has canvassed several issues—the act of souveniring, the nature of souvenirs and their meaning, as well as a review of the literature on their study. We conclude that the act of souveniring recent and/or ancient places of death, disaster, or atrocities is indeed more emotionally immersive—and thus less cognitively controlled—than the experience of other tourism contexts. Hence, experiences associated with souveniring are more affective, multi-layered, and less controlled than hedonistic tourism. They are charged with contradictions that are simultaneously dystopic and utopic, that both repel and attract and are more redolent of the frisson of danger and envy. Yet, conversely, such experiences are also imbued with remembrance, hope, and peace.

The issue of whether dark tourism should be commodified into consumptive items, such as souvenirs, reveals reluctance on the part of site operators to encourage trade in objects that are authentic realities. Instead, souvenir items such as art and jewellery, and so forth, are chosen to essentialise, universalise, and offer objectivity and to symbolise the realities of events that took place. They also serve to distance the consumer from the deepest emotions. As a concluding thought, event tourism that commemorate and re-enact historical battles and war scenarios can also be seen as spectacle, supported by a lively trade in militaria, and historical role play is seen as complementary to remembrance (Ryan and Cave 2007). Perhaps these are safer options, yet should tourism be safe? Is not the sense of risk and vicariousness at its heart a source of appeal that continues to generate demand? Through the generations, we may seek to relive, remember, and recoil from dark places. Indeed, a visitor who walks on the shores of ANZAC Cove at Gallipoli in Turkey, site of an infamous World War I battle, may wonder if the white pebbles underfoot should be trodden upon or viewed from a distance and, consequently, does not pick them up, but lets them lie.

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