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Dystopian dark tourism: affective experiences in Dismaland

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ABSTRACT

In dark tourism affects are generated in a relational manner by the tourists and the locations visited by them. Exploring affective meanings of Banksy's *Dismaland* via socio-spatial theories of emotion and affect is a way to contribute to the understanding of dystopian tourism. The dystopian touristic experience of Dismaland evolves from the interaction of a dystopian atmosphere, a displacement strategy and productive negative intensities. Whilst the affects produced vary according to the artist's intentions, through innovative and politicised forms of dystopian dark tourism, Banksy creates atmospheres where productive negative intensities are able to be developed. In spite of the shades of dystopia and darkness in the artist's work, a hopeful form of tourism could be generated. The implications are that affect in the dark tourism context has different layers of meaning where the materialising dystopian experiences, as simulacra, range from pure attraction to social change. Dismaland's dark tourism experience reveals the role that political and ethical matters play in socio-affective encounters as exemplified by the commodification of the tourism industry, the Mediterranean refugee crisis and the glorified/sorrowful death of Diana, princess of Wales.

摘要

在黑暗旅游中, 游客和他们访问的地点是以一种关系的方式产生了感情。本文通过情绪和情感的社会空间理论探索班克斯的恐怖迪士尼的情感意义, 有助于理解反乌托邦式旅游。恐怖迪士尼的反乌托邦式旅游体验是从反乌托邦氛围、错位策略和产生的负面对比强度的相互作用演变而来的。尽管根据艺术家的不同意图, 班克西通过反乌托邦式的黑暗旅游的创新和政治化形式所产生的情感也有所不同, 但是班克西创造了一种氛围, 在这种氛围中, 生产性的负面对比强度能够被开发出来。尽管在艺术家的作品中有反乌托邦和黑暗的阴影, 但一种充满希望的旅游形式可能会产生。这意味着, 在黑暗旅游背景下的情感具有不同层次的意义, 其中物化的反乌托邦体验, 作为拟像, 从纯粹的吸引物到社会变革广泛存在。恐怖迪士尼的黑暗旅游体验揭示了政治和伦理问题在社会情感遭遇中的作用, 本文通过旅游业的商品化、地中海难民危机和威尔士王妃戴安娜的荣耀而悲伤的死亡等实例进行了说明。

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"In affect, we are never alone."

- Brian Massumi (2002, p. 6)

"Disneyland: a space of the regeneration of the imaginary as waste-treatment plants are elsewhere, and even here. Everywhere today one must recycle waste, and the dreams, the phantasms, the historical, fairylike, legendary imaginary of children and adults is a waste product, the first great toxic excrement of a hyperreal civilization."

- Jean Baudrillard (1981 [1994], p. 13)

Introduction

What does a traveller visiting Jim Morrison's tomb in Paris have in common with a pilgrim gazing upon 5000 human skulls on display in the Bone Chapel of Saint Francis's Church in Évora, Portugal? What does someone who takes a tour to the Dharavi slum in Mumbai share with those who crawl their way through the war tunnels of Cu Chi and Ben Duoc in the jungles of Vietnam? What impulses are triggered when one witnesses the killing of a bull at a Mexican bullfight or attends the Ground Zero site in New York? What kind of tourists visit Fukushima Daiichi area so profoundly devastated by earthquake, tsunami and nuclear disaster in 2011? At first glance, it seems like these types of tourism are markedly different, encompassing cemetery, religious, slum, war and disaster tourism as well as even blood sports tourism and memorialisation. And yet, it is instinctively clear that a common "darkness" pervades them all.

In this conceptual paper we aim to study what affective negotiations can be involved in dystopian dark tourism. As a case study, we will use Banksy's 2015 dystopian pop-up theme park (De Visser-Amundson et al., 2016) *Dismaland: Bemusement Park,* which constituted a political, artistic and touristic endeavour. Dismaland was built on an abandoned lido site in Weston-Super-Mare, North Somerset, England. The doors of this pop-up art installation were opened for 5 weeks in 2015, having 58 artists on show and attracting 150,000 visitors (Banksy, n.d.), with an estimated revenue of 20 million pounds for the town (BBC, 2015). Informed by different media, such as newspaper articles, videos, as well as websites, this conceptual paper critically debates affective meanings of Dismaland via socio-spatial theories of emotion and affect, thus hoping to contribute to the understanding of dystopian tourism.

We will argue that this work arose from conflating two traditional types of tourism: English seaside tourism and Disneyland. However, unlike more conventional views might suggest, Banksy used the project to both emphasise the repressed affects of these types of tourism and reignite specific affects relating to contemporary themes such as migration and spectacle. We argue that the affects generated both by the tourists and the location, a dismayed theme park, evolve from the interaction of a dystopian atmosphere, a displacement strategy and productive negative intensities. Our focus in this paper will be specifically on the refugee boat installation, *Mediterranean Boat Ride,* and Cinderella's coach crash.

Shades of "darkness"

Dark tourism practices are by no means new. It has been claimed that the Romans began "the age of tourism" (Perrottet, 2003, p. 5) and that all roads led *from* Rome. The most infamous form of entertainment used to satisfy the tourist gaze was the games: human and exotic animal slaughter, chariot races and, of course, gladiator fighting. Blood was a necessary ingredient for many a tourist. This type of motivation can also be seen in nineteenth century Britain which, using the structures put in place by the all-consuming empire, fed the orientalist (Said, 1978 [2003]) imagination of explorers, adventurers and tourists who flocked to the "darkest" corners of the empire with the view of filling their halls with stories of bravery and their curiosity cabinets with souvenirs. Undoubtedly even pre-modern tourism was vested with dehumanising traits, since souvenirs could have been as gruesome (and exciting) as a shrunken human head or a mummy repurposed as a meal (Larson, 2014; Noble, 2011; Sugg, 2015).

Malcolm Foley's and John Lennon's (1996) introduction of the dark tourism concept brought new perspectives to tourism studies.

Their major contribution refers to the actual conceptualisation of the term 'dark tourism' and to its contextualisation as a service and an activity referring to places of death, disaster, and atrocities. Since then, the typology and conceptualisations of dark tourism have greatly changed with dark tourism literature blossoming and now thriving (e.g. Biran & Buda, 2018; Hooper & Lennon, 2016; Magee & Gilmore, 2015).

As a byproduct of postmodern desires and fears, dark tourism departs from a specific relationship with death. Due to overwhelming mediatisation death, along with its counterparts of violence, grief and trauma, has been naturalised and neutralised. Our time is one of technological progress with mass consumption marking current information societies. Tourism occurs within this context and can be viewed as a sign-value, a prestigious product, a sign of distinction, status, power and social rank (Baudrillard, 1976). In the very aptly titled *Symbolic Exchange and Death* (1976), Baudrillard argues that the linearity of capitalist thinking transforms death into the opposite of life and therefore a type of waste and consumable good. Controversially, he proposes a break with capitalist values of production and economic relations; this he calls a "symbolic exchange", a form of resisting capitalist values of utility and hardcore profit in favour of cultural values (Baudrillard, 1976). This capitalist framework is designed, organised and operated along anthropocentric philosophies of reason. His formulation on simulacra and spectacle offer an alternative avenue which when discussed along theories of Affect which recognise the role of the unconscious in social relations and production of collective meaning gain further force.

Foley and Lennon emphasise the role of reproduction and spectacle for dark tourism, in line with Baudrillard's idea of the postmodern world (third order of simulacra), as a place where the "real" is preceded by its representation, making them indistinguishable; the simulation of the "real" prevails instead because of the success of spectacularism (Baudrillard, 1981 [1994]).

Both dark tourism (Foley & Lennon, 1996; Lennon & Foley, 2000) and thanatourism (Seaton, 1996) evolve from the accepted premise of the phenomenon as a dependant of the economic and cultural milieu of market capitalism and consumerism. Seaton's

(1996) point of departure being heritage tourism can lead to an interpretation that is narrower than dark tourism, as also highlighted by Light (2017).

The literature in Tourism Studies has provided different overviews of approaches to dark tourism (e.g. Light, 2007; Sharpley, 2009; Golańska, 2015; Light, 2017; Martini & Buda, 2020). Light (2017) provides a critical overview of the studies that have been developed on dark tourism and thanatourism, with their different emphases on motivations, types of place, practices, forms of experience or heritage-based. According to Light (2017), there are overlaps between the different concepts as many of the so-called dark forms of tourism fall under the umbrella of heritage tourism. Although there is most often a direct link between tangible or intangible heritage, a certain geographical location and the dark happening, it would be restrictive to amalgamate all forms of dark tourism within heritage tourism. Dark tourism has, however, developed beyond heritage tourism in a myriad of ways, for example, in events and festivals (e.g. Podoshen et al., 2018). In light of these developments, there is a need for a more profound reflection upon the central role played by the tourists' motivations and the affects surrounding dystopian dark touristic experiences at particular geographical locations.

Tourists' motivations are graded in topoi related to death which can range from atrocity, tragedy, brutality, violence and dismay. In this framework, the recent trend of affective dark tourism (Buda, 2015; Golańska, 2015; Holst, 2018; Martini & Buda, 2020) is particularly productive. The debate would benefit from expanding the discussion with other concepts of practical philosophy such as dystopia, hyper-realism, spectacle and simulation.

Affective dark tourism

The increasing scholarly attention given to dark tourism is matched, if not superseded, by the boom in Affect Studies which has taken the Humanities and the Social Sciences worlds by storm. This concept was theorised in the 1960s by a psychologist, Silvan Tomkins (1962), but it has outgrown this field, particularly with Brian Massumi who provided a reflective distinction between affect and emotion, thus highlighting the importance of intensity:

> An emotion is a subjective content, the socio-linguistic fixing of the quality of an experience which is from that point onward defined as personal. Emotion is qualified intensity, the conventional, consensual point of insertion of intensity into semantically and semiotically formed progressions, into narrativizable action-reaction circuits, into function and meaning. It is intensity owned and recognized. It is crucial to theorize the difference between affect and emotion. If some have the impression that it has waned, it is because affect is unqualified. As such, it is not ownable or recognizable, and is thus resistant to critique. (Massumi, 1995, p. 88)

Massumi argues that there is a gap – as well as a connection – between the content (quality) and the effect (intensity) of an image, experience or situation. Such experiences might be short-lived, but nevertheless have a long lasting intense affective impact. Building on this concept, Seigworth and Gregg (2010) point out the difficulty of studying affect precisely because it does not exist in an absolute, pure or original form. Affect "arises in the midst of *in-between-ness*", "in the capacities to act and be

acted upon", a transient (or not so transient) state of relations or its intensities (Seigworth & Gregg, 2010, p. 1. Italics in the text). Affect resides in the realm beyond the conscious; it is something that cannot be named nor qualified, but which nevertheless has a bodily expression as the body reacts to the intensities it experiences. Such stimuli occur before the process of cognition is initiated and, therefore, a conscious registration cannot be made at that stage. It is always already escaping us (Massumi, 2002, p. 35). Affect should not be reduced to emotions nor be controlled by conscious thought, although both are always present in the social connections one forms, thus transcending the individual and rooting itself in the networks of belonging to others. This being said, there are various approaches to affect, including critical discourses of emotions (Seigworth & Gregg, 2010). Sara Ahmed (2004, p. 9) points out a "model of sociality of emotion" where emotions are theorised as social and cultural practices and not mere psychological forms. As emotions circulate over time, they acquire affective value:

> the cultural politics of emotions is not only developed as a critique of the psychologising and privatisation of emotions, but also as a critique of the model of the social structure which neglects the emotional intensities, which allow such structures to be reified as forms of being" (Ahmed, 2004, p. 12).

Ahmed's affective model of emotion includes an important component of shame. Theorists of affect, and certainly Ahmed and Massumi, refocus on questions of corporeality and embodiment in combination with the political. Matter once again comes to the forefront of philosophical thought and experience, in tune with the New Materialist turn theorised by feminists of the embodied subject, such as Rosi Braidotti (1994; 2002) and even Sara Ahmed herself (2004).

In this context, Affect Studies seem particularly apt as a critical tool to approach dark tourism with. Given our gradual desensitisation in the face of brutal deaths shown on our numerous TV and computer screens, as well as its excessive representation and reproduction, affect as an unqualified intensity is waned. While the commodification of death has resulted in its affective mitigation, it has also produced new ways to consume it and thus to refresh and transform associated affects.

In some ways, dark tourism can be seen as death's phoenix-like transformation where it arises reinvigorated. The simultaneously consuming and creative aspect of affect (Massumi, 2002; 2015), as connecting with others and the world, is made possible through dark tourism. Buda (2015) has further developed the studies on dark tourism by relating experiences in conflict territories to affect. The idea of an encounter comes back in a recent study by Martini and Buda (2020, p. 4) where it is stated that dark tourism "experiences arise through explicitly sought after encounters, whereby tourists are receptive to the networks of affects arose by the connections with death and its representations", which are referred to as "affective socio-spatial encounters" (2018, p. 1).

Accordingly, Hazel Tucker speaks of empathy (2016) and points to the need to debate tourisms according to paradigms of moral encounters, social justice and peace (2016, p. 15). Like Ahmed, she elaborates on shame which, according to Tucker, is not only productive but also reflective, as empathy can itself be

commodified, for instance, in situations promoting the voyeuristic neo-colonialist gaze. Tourism can thus be material in developing a politically charged form of "ethical empathy" contributing to imagining a more hopeful future (Tucker, 2016, p. 40). Rekindling affects as well as emotions is politically and culturally required for societies to engage with their pasts, transgenerational traumas and to reinterpret spaces. Tourism is one way of doing this.

Tourism and utopian places

Since the 2000s particular attention has been given to relations of living, leisure and tourism practices as well as to a certain social responsibility towards humanity and the planet. McLaren and Jaramillo (2007) bring attention to the need for reshifting focus in terms of a critical praxis in the face of danger to humanity's own survival, the destructive effects of global neoliberal capitalism and the continued exploitation of "Third" World workers. Following Zygmunt Bauman (2005), McLaren and Jaramillo (2012) argue that we have turned from political citizens to market consumers. As such, we see our desires unquestioned and legitimised as we are deformed by a system which, conveniently, we feel we cannot change. An examination of the extent to which our thinking is complicit with the "discourses and communities that grant them value" is, therefore, needed, while bearing in mind that these do not shape the world independently from the "forces of capitalist production and class struggle" (McLaren & Jaramillo, 2012, p. xxvii). Change requires disrupting this system, informed agency or, in McLaren and Jaramillo (2012, p. xxvii) words, "critical pedagogy". When one refers to tourism then, critical "transformative pedagogy" (2012, p. xxxiii) is at stake which is founded on class consciousness, self-affirmation, as well as on solidarity with the subaltern and the proletariat (2012, p. xxxv).

In this context, creativity is deemed a necessity to overcome capitalism and a logic of self-centredness must be replaced by one of relationalisation (being in the relation with others). Ateljevic et al. (2012) present this shift as the critical turn in tourism studies where tourism would be hopeful, focused on social justice, equality and anti-oppression. Active hopeful tourism is about rejecting patriarchal models (dynamic feminine), "a global consciousness which recognises our interdependencies, vulnerabilities and responsibilities to each other" (transmodernity) and the multiple co-creative transgenerational relations (worldism) (Pritchard & Morgan, 2013, p. 5).

This perspective is not concomitant with utopianism although it seems understandable that many forms of tourism develop according to utopian logic. Numerous examples spring to mind in relation to theme parks or resorts: Hobbit Land, The Wizarding World of Harry Potter, Las Vegas and, of course, all the Disney parks from Orlando to Hong Kong. The key feature of these utopias is unaccountability in an escapist world where the tourist gives in to her/his desires without consequences. This has been referred to as "unconscious guilt" (Podoshen et al, 2015, p. 317).

However, many of these utopian places thrive *because* they magnify problems which plague contemporary Western societies: the infantilisation of adult populations, extreme forms of financial risk, patriarchal exploitation of female bodies as well as the all-consuming oppression of global brands. As d'Hauteserre (2015, p. 81) remarks, the

"affective capacities of any given atmosphere are signified unequally as bodies belong to socialized subjects (e.g. gendered, racialized, sexualized, etc.)". Utopia is, therefore, never far from dystopia where a critical turn is taken. Regarding Las Vegas, for instance, R. Belk writes: "resorts jointly participate in a theatrical farce meant to infant-ilize their adult patrons by creating a fantastic liminal time and place. Infantilized adults make better gamblers and consumers" (2000, p. 101). And Belk later completes: "Disneyland and Las Vegas celebrate stylized versions of long-standing myths of the Western world (the exotic savage, knightly chivalry, winning the West, fabulous riches, utopian futures, and far away times and places)" (2000, p. 104).

Dark tourism might be a means to integrate the suppressed aspects of tourism, par-ticularly in the form of dystopian dark tourism, as, on the one hand, it incorporates the notion of tourism in terms of consumption and consumerism – for instance Podoshen et al. (2014) whose dedication to the prolific field of Black Metal led them to develop a model of analysis – and on the other hand, it highlights the need to bring back the question of morality. In this respect, though dark tourism has been accused of merchandising and trivialising death, particularly when intertwined with recreational activities, it nevertheless has a "potential role […] within an emotion––morality framework" (Stone, 2009, pp. 59–60). In secular societies which have been alleviated of religious pressures, the individual feels "morally confused" and "isolated" (Stone, 2009, p. 60). Dark tourism thus plays a mediating role in this framework of secularism, individualism and moral confusion, where dualistic conceptualizations are no longer sufficient to account for the experiences of these affective spaces (Golańska, 2015).

Taking Dismaland as a case study, we will argue that dark tourism addresses head-on these issues and that it can, therefore, "project moral meaning" and be "a new moral force" to our existence (Stone, 2009, pp. 62–63). Since this is a conceptual paper, Dismaland has been the source which inspired reflection on the complex experiential, sociological, emotional and affective dystopian experiences in tourism. The information used in this paper was obtained through several forms of publicly available media, such as newspapers, websites and videos. More than a deductive ana-lysis of the data, these sources were used in an inductive manner mainly to illustrate and feed the theoretical reflection.

Dystopian and disconsolate Banksy: Dismaland

Banksy, whose identity is unknown, has been described as a "graffiti master, painter, activist, filmmaker and all-purpose *provocateur*" (Ellsworth-Jones, 2013). The artist's provocative art has led to a world-wide recognition. Since starting in Bristol in the 1990s, Banksy's actions have been subversive (when not disruptive), inquiring and con-fronting the public with pieces of (street) art questioning the establishment and the norm. With very clear links to geographical locations, this *provocateur*'s art should be interpreted as a confrontation with society paradoxes, including those of tourism.

Dismaland: Bemusement Park opened on the 21st of August 2015 and closed on the 27th of September the same year. It had popped-up on an abandoned lido site built originally in 1937 to serve the seaside population of Weston-Super-Mare in North

Somerset, England. After many repurposings of the site the Tropicana Pleasure Beach entertainment complex (1983) was eventually closed down, and on its remains Dismaland later emerged as part of an ongoing reconfiguration and rebranding of the site. Being a part of the touristic tradition originating prior to the Second World War this project had both coalesced with its local identity and rebranded it. However, it did not focus on typical British seaside tourism. Dismaland gave continuity to the already embedded sense of a disheartened tourism experience hidden in the rubble of the previously unsuccessful entertainment complex. Darkness was already there to be amplified.

Since Dismaland had closed its doors, the site riding on its coattails has undergone a "renaissance" and a rebranding as a pop-up amusement park, Funland: a venue for various cultural shows, street art, food and music festivals. For all of Dismaland's subversiveness it appears that in a carnivalesque manner (Bakhtin, 2009), institutionalised order was restored and, in the process, the site absorbed the political power of carnival itself. In 2019, the now renamed Tropicana Weston boasts being a "hub of arts and culture" and a "unique creative community project" (Tropicana, n.d.), which has been successful in attracting to the premises celebrities such as Laurel and Hardy but, as part of the Dismaland project, as well as artists like Damien Hirst, Damon Albarn, Pussy Riot and, of course, Banksy (photos can be now seen in http://www.dismaland. co.uk/).

The *Walled Off Hotel* – Banksy's other piece of dystopian dark tourism in war-struck Bethlehem – and Dismaland could be viewed as immediate subversive examples of Banksy's work which relate to tourism, forms of leisure and urban regeneration. The pertinent question, however, remains: was *Dismaland* really that subversive?

One can view it as a form of transformative pedagogy, political agency, and ultimately Banksy's attempt at engaging in hopeful tourism and leisure. The field is, therefore, broad for the negotiation of emotions and affects. Dystopia can be considered here to some extent in parallel to Tucker's (2016) "productive shame". A case could also be made for Dismaland as a productive dystopia.

Consideration of Dismaland must inevitably start with Disney as it is not a coincidence that both experiences start with Dis-: Dis-ney on the utopian side; Dis-maland on the dystopian side. This was not the first time that Banksy used Disneyland as an inspiration since in 2006 he had installed a piece titled *Banksy at Disneyland* in Disneyland, California, as a form of what some have considered to be "culture jamming" (Harzman, 2015). Dismaland was a step further in the subversion of the utopian world of Disney.

Standing at the entrance of Dismaland, Rhys Williams describes a "dilapidated gothic parody of a Disneyland sign", a "miserable" sight but, in contrast, the queuing public seemed to be enthusiastic about a show which they anticipated would give them food for thought (Williams, 2016). Dismaland's gloomy space extends well beyond the Tropicana site to form a caricatural theme park. Staff members have been coached to have a matching attitude and whether they are selling tickets or are on site to provide assistance, their demeanour is … dismaying.

Barry Cawston's touring exhibition *Dismaland and Others* (2019) aptly reproduces that affect through photos such as "The Perfect Fish & Chips", "Make My Day", as well
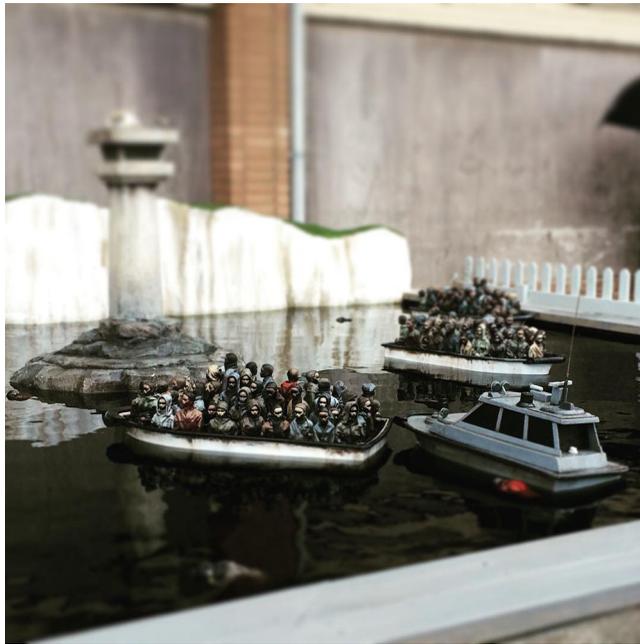
Figure 1. *Mediterranean Boat Ride.* Photo by Florent Darrault, 23 August 2015, under the Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 2.0 Generic license. No changes were made.

as with various photos of demoralised Mickey Mouse-eared employees. The latter provide the perspective of underpaid female and/or ethnic workers who are usually behind the façade of Disney's show of happiness. Perhaps the queuing public did not feel that there was that much food for thought after all, as the readings were too easily graspable. The theme of security (or lack of it in a world where the alarming signs of terrorism are prevalent) is already present at the entrance with fake metal detectors and check points; the full-blown Disney castle on a lake displays a warped Ariel (a technique also used by Cawston for the poster of his exhibition though applied to a staff member on her/his break wearing the infamous Mickey Mouse ears); human excrement floats in the water; a boat with plastic refugees is adrift; police hoses stands for a fountain; a Ferris wheel is also there; a killer-whale jumping through a hoop into a toilet starkly reminds us that Willy was never freed.

The impression of dismaying dystopia is overwhelming. Death itself rides a dodgem car with disco music in the background; a miniature city, eerily reminiscent of Peter Carey's short story "American Dreams", shows a community in turmoil with police cars blocking the roads but where, nonetheless, a busy Burger King can be spotted; a foetus is code branded; a nuclear bomb has mistakenly materialised as a cloud and a stairway to heaven is at one's reach too; a swarm of oncomice is in view (what is it about ears in Dismaland?); the Cookie Monster leads an African armed group; a woman is violently attacked by birds like in the famous Hitchcock film. In the short promo film, we witness the white parents who were previously awaken from their Suburbian coma to go to Dismaland, now leaving the place in tears. In contrast, the children, a boy and a girl (what else?), are ecstatic. The library on site is empty (another mouse-eared woman is
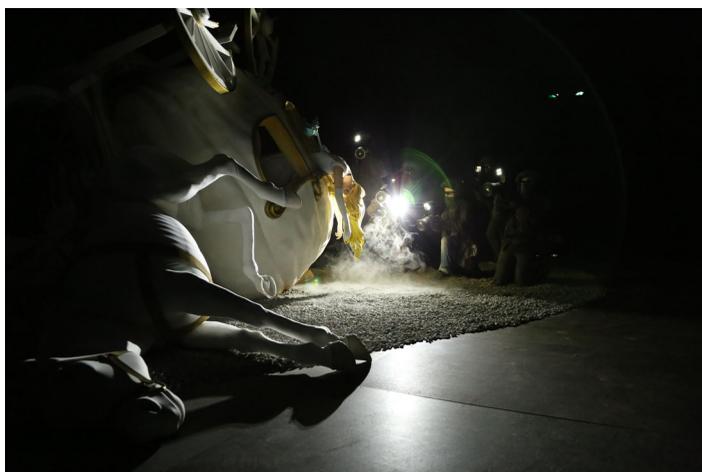
Figure 2. Cinderella's coach crash. Photo by Byrion Smith, 20 August 2015, under the Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 2.0 Generic license. No changes were made.

presented looking utterly bored); banking facilities are provided so that children could put their pocket money at risk from an early age. There are "clashings of consumerism and nature" as well as "[t]ensions between soft and hard, natural and human, cartoon whimsy and grim realism are prominent" (Williams, 2016).

All good disheartened fun aside, there are two elements which make this politically invested dystopia a critically relevant piece of dark tourism. The first is *Mediterranean Boat Ride* (see Figure 1) and the second is Cinderella's coach crash (see Figure 2), alluding respectively to the post-2013 refugee crisis in Europe and to Princess Diana's fatal car accident in Paris, 1997.

Boats of shame in the pond

Though the identity of the artist remains elusive, Banksy's concern for themes of migration, social integration and justice have long been manifested in the artist'swork. According to Attimonelli (2016), Banksy is an actor of artivism. Highly engaged works include Cosette from *Les Misérables* (a novel by the French 19th century writer Victor Hugo) being gassed as immigrants in Calais were (London, opposite the French embassy); a black girl in Paris painting pink flowery patterns over a swastika which was later vandalised and painted over (2018); also in the City of Lights, Napoleon rides his white horse but his head is covered with a red veil which is arguably an allusion to the French Government's legislation regarding Islamic veils (2018); Steve Jobs in the Jungle, Calais, highlights the creative potential of migrant forces as his father was a Syrian immigrant; also in Calais one finds Banksy's take on Théodore Géricault's *The Raft of the Medusa*, but here the boat carries refugees trying to get attention of a cruise ship and, therefore, drawing attention to the Mediterranean as an affective socio-spatial encounter, on the one hand, of abundance (cruise tourism) and, on the other, of impending death (for the asylum seekers).

The most significant piece in Dismaland regarding the refugee humanitarian crisis is the installation of asylum boats, eerily adrift on a pond. The plastic look affords this piece the dehumanising reaction which the asylum seekers frequently receive from

the Europeans. These boat people are rooted to the spot standing upright as they are aimlessly taken by the tides to and fro. In the water we see bodies floating without attracting anyone's attention. The background music causes greater dissociation between this scene of multiple deaths and what it suggests: exotic and exoticising (Said, 1978 [2003]) holidays in the sun, somewhere in the Pacific Islands.

In Dismaland's specific cultural productions of the migrant boat Banksy is creating a socio-affective encounter of productive shame. Ahmed (2004) has theorised that shame both acts as a mode of recognising emotional injury caused to others and as a form of nation-building. Shame is produced as a "double play of concealment and exposure" but paradoxically one feels shame as s/he tries to cover something that is already out: "[s]hame in exposing that which has been covered demands us to re-cover, such a re-covering would be a recovery from shame. […] Shame involves the intensification not only of the bodily surface, but also of the subject's relation to itself, or its sense of itself as self" (2004, p. 104). Shame thus evolves from the relation of the self to itself and to others. Whereas the correlating affect of guilt is about violating some rule, shame is about the quality of the self, a quality that becomes under inspection (2004, p. 105).

Ahmed's model of sociality of emotion is further developed as she recognises that shame intrinsically depends on who one feels exposed to. Only some others can be witnesses to the action that makes one ashamed (2004, p. 105) and that is precisely the productive aspect of displacement in Dismaland: as a British person surrounded by other Britons, you recognise in the other a valid witness to your shame for the death of asylum seekers (as much as for the beloved Princess Diana). Shame is present when an ideal fails to bind subjects together; and that is what happens as British Dismaland visitors, collectively, witness the fatal results of their idealisation of Britishness. But Ahmed (2004) tells us that by expressing its shame, a nation can transform that shame into an identity, i.e. "a narrative of reproduction":

> The nation is reproduced through expressions of shame in at least two ways. First shame may be 'brought onto' the nation by illegitimate others (who fail to reproduce its form, or even its offspring), such as queer others […], or asylum seekers […]. Such others are shaming by proxy: they do not approximate the form of the good citizen. As citizens they cannot reproduce the national ideal. Second, the nation may bring shame 'on itself' by its treatment of others; for example, it may be exposed as 'failing' a multicultural ideal in perpetuating forms of racism […]. These actions get transferred to the national subject; it becomes shamed by itself. In this instance, the nation may even express shame about its treatment of others who in the past were read as the origin of shame. (Ahmed, 2004, p. 108)

As a politically invested cultural product, the tourist experience in Dismaland is appealing to the affect of shame as a means for Britain to reconcile with itself. National shame provides the possibility of reconciliation by collectively bearing witness and, therefore, mutually identifiyng what is wrong as well as wanting to do better (Ahmed, 2004, pp. 107–110). One of the failed ideals which Dismaland tourists bear witness to and feel ashamed by is that of multiculturalism. The then Prime Minister David Cameron, a one-nation Tory, had, in fact, proclaimed war on multiculturalism in 2011 on the grounds that it had helped to promote home-grown Islamic extremism.

Though Dismaland does not attempt a reconciliation so successful that it turns into national pride (as Ahmed suggests), it nevertheless creates intensities of productive shame which urge the British to engage in a process of tackling head-on the failure of national ideals (and national politicians) and to come together to work towards building a nation which is actively proud of such ideals. It is in this sense that one can speak of productive dystopian dark tourism and where Ahmed and Baudrillard meet: the narrative of reproduction, the approximation to an ideal identity, is more effectively achieved through simulacra, the plastic figures. Copies are more exact than the referent, more "real" (Baudrillard, 1981 [1994] , p. 107); the "sovereign difference" between the original and the copy fades away (Baudrillard, 1981 [1994], p. 2) and only then can shame be productively generated.

Banksy also acts on this shame. Upon the closing of *Dismaland* he decided to send the material from the project to Calais where it was intended to be reused as shelters. In addition, one of Dismaland's migrant plastic boats was raffled to support refugee organisations. Quite significantly, the final concert in the dismal theme park was given by the well-known band and social activists, Pussy Riot, who launched a new song "Refugees In", emphasising the need not only for the British but for the Europeans in general to be involved in productive shame. Some verses include "Met in Europe by razor wires/Governments here fucking liars/Desperate people who need to flee/ Seeking refuge by land and sea/Push for borders, get no peace" as well as "Push, push borders away!/Push borders, do it today!/Human beings, not a swarm/Injustice – government norm" (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FDoVdLjCjoM).

The tragic story of cinderella's coach crash

The second piece with relevance to dystopian dark tourism studies is that of Cinderella's tragic death. It was staged in a darkened room to amplify the flashes of the paparazzi cameras.

Princess Diana had previously been the subject of Banksy's attention, namely with the creation of £10 notes issued by Banksy of England instead of by a bank, where her face replaced that of Queen Elizabeth II. The commodification of Princess Diana's image suggests an uncomfoŕ reading: her face, her body, are profitable. For some at least, a less uncomfortable reading is made: she could have replaced the Queen giving force to anti-monarchist feelings but, more likely, to the disappointment of many British citizens with the Royal family's behaviour in the aftermath of Princess Diana's car accident. Until 2017 there was speculation as to whether *Diana in the Tower* in Croydon (showing her mournfully locked away inside) was Banksy's work, however, in August that year this rumour was dispelled by the announcement that it was the work of Rich Simmons. In Dismaland, however, the theme of Princess Diana's fatal accident is fully developed. Cinderella/Princess Diana has had an accident and her pumpkin-coach has been brutally smashed open. One of her white horses is frozen in a moment of pain, whilst the other seems dead.

The princess's body is limp, hanging out – rather too gracefully – of the coach's window. Imitating real life, paparazzi click their cameras without approaching to help: the spectacle of death requires only one participant, one celebrity. In "Dark Detours: Celebrity Car Crash Deaths and Trajectories of Place", Gary Best argues that "the moral

paradigm of engagement" in situations of celebrity car crashes (2013, pp. 205–206) is directly connected to a relativised individual moral compass which is charted by the collective framework created by the dark tourist experience.

If the value of the individual experience becomes a "means of energizing moribund frameworks" (Best, 2013), then the death of Princess Diana surely fits the bill. The fascination of the tourist rests upon the death of the notion of Princess Diana as a fairy tale princess: from the innocent blushing bride to a scandalous divorce and her ultimate demise while driving away at great speed with her very publicly non-white partner, Dodi Fayed. In the aftermath, the paparazzi were often blamed for the fatality. However, many of the distraught fans have failed to realise that their insatiable appetite for the princess's image was as much of a contributing factor. As such, Best (2013, p. 212) says, that a Princess Diana dark tourist itinerary must include "those darker sites where she was most pestered, most harassed, most annoyed" and even a Mercedes Benz ride to the tunnel under the Place de l'Alma in Paris.

The dark tourist experience can help with dealing with grief (Best, 2013, p. 213), but the shades of darkness and lightness of experiences truly depend on questions of cannibalisation of post-mortem image. Matters of aesthetics aside, they are materialised from her memorialisation in Harrods to the Diana, Princess of Wales Memorial Fountain in Hyde Park, and to Althorp House, the residence of the Spencers, where Diana is remembered in a silhouetted bust. Thus, the perspective will define what role each site has in building place identity.

Did then, the recapturing of Diana as a princess at the very moment she meets her death contribute to the "resurgence of moral vitality" as Stone (2009, p. 60) suggested? Again, one goes back to the issue of tourists' motivations and affective experiences (Miles, 2014; Golańska, 2015; Zhang et al., 2016). The first Dismaland visitors were most likely surprised, perhaps even shocked, by the staging of Princess Diana's death in the guise of Cinderella.

As word spread, the surprise element was removed and Dismaland visitors became voyeurs, each one replicating with her/his intentional presence the princess's death and the consuming gaze immediately following the accident. Here the fascination is acknowledged, and the mimicry of death becomes an example of purposeful dark tourism supply. But what could be said of the fact that Weston-Upon-Mare is, without a doubt, not Paris and, therefore, not the actual site of the tragedy? In instances such as various dungeons from San Francisco to Shanghai via London or the Old Melbourne Gaol which once held the criminal-come-national hero Ned Kelly, the affective attunements depend on being in the place. However, these examples of dark tourism supply have neutralised the atrocities which had occurred on site, including executions. The intensities have been played down so that death can become commodified and adequate for family fun. It could be argued that *because* Banksy had displaced the princess's death and brought it home, the affective connections with the British were reanimated and a second opportunity invested with a moral vitality was created. This is done, of course, ambivalently: though there can be a release from guilt because the viewer is not actually witnessing the death, nevertheless Banksy dares her/him to engage with the affects of shame for still seeking the thrill of witnessing the death of a celebrity princess. The comment by Baudrillard about the film *Crash*

(Cronenberg, 1996) is here also applicable: "The automobile crash had made possible the final and longed-for union of the actress and the members of her audience" (1981 [1994], p. 188).

In addition, in the way that tourism motivated by pilgrimage may lead grievers to the same site and the affect is generated by the collective but non-simultaneous experience, seeing Cinderella/Princess Diana dying once again reinforces the sense of communal experience, of emotional contagion which, theoretically, can be an idea of "working through" trauma, as Sigmund Freud has put it, through remembering and repeating. In this case, Banksy's installation could help to mediate death and work through the national trauma as a form of edutainment but which, as Body Worlds, is open to accusations of disrespectful exploitation of death. In any case, making the absent death present is the very foundation of dark tourism and the symbolic materialisation of death does not necessarily need to take place at the site of the event in question, as it can be notably stronger where a network of affective intensities can be activated, as in this case, by the British. As Martini and Buda (2020, p. 6) have stated, the tourist is primarily affected by mediatised events due to mobilisation, digitalisation and social media which "make consumption of death and disaster events immediately accessible, and *unfiltered*" (italics added). This might not have been so acute in 1997, but the fatal accident was constantly on magazine covers and TV channels. Dark tourism might provide the means for creating an affective response shared by an imagined community (Anderson, 1983), a concept which describes an idea of a nation formed not so much by a sense of kinship or geography, but by cultural conventions resulting in a sense of shared identity and belonging which has been made possible because of advancements in communication technologies.

Sharpley and Stone (2009) also address the question of dark tourism as part of nation-building whilst Martini and Buda (2020, p. 7) argue as well that dark tourism "produces a *displacement* that transforms places and intentionalities" (italics in the text) in the sense that specific narratives of atrocities, disasters or death are favoured over other narratives with a view to meet the touristic demand for specific affects.

Staging McDisneyified dystopian experiences

Both with the refugee boat and the Diana/Cinderella installation, Banksy displaces the subjects/victims of the dark moment so to more intensely satisfy and resist that demand and activate affective empathy, shame, catharsis, shock or exhilaration. As Podoshen (2013, pp. 265–267) states "dark tourism favours the visual and the experiential over the historic" and its affects are, consequently, augmented through the phenomenon of emotional contagion ("an involuntary spread of feelings without conscious awareness") and empathy which in this case could only be invoked with intensity in the United Kingdom. Simulation of Diana's death would always fall short of creating affect and therefore a performance of the tragedy can arguably be more stimulating.

Tourists hope to "revisit the emotions aroused by images from the destination" but because of the emotional contagion phenomenon, the displacement of the princess's demise to her homeland engages in stronger affective attunements through dystopian

dark tourism or through memorialisation (d'Hauteserre, 2015, p. 83). This is in line with Podoshen and Zheng in "Dystopian Dark Tourism: An Exploratory Examination" (2015) who not only recognise a reformulation of our connection with death in the present time in view of the specific forms of its consumption (technological, massive, desensitised) but also a shift of focus from site to motivation.

This connects as well to debates over authenticity in tourism as a negotiated, co-creating process between visitor and site (Cohen & Cohen, 2012; Bryce et al., 2017). Authenticity is produced by tourists; they go so far as to say that "subjects are 'interpellated' in relation to objects in a plenitude of 'authencities', manifested in dispersed consumer culture" and that tourists are offered "quality assurance of *versions* of original objects, experiences and places" (Bryce et al., 2017, p. 50. Italics in the text). And to recover Baudrillard in this discussion, in the context of late capitalism consumer culture, replicas can therefore be more "authentic" than the original, particularly if affects are activated. The same goes for the location; the commodification of such places and the narratives created with a view to capitalising the event, embody a removal from historical facts.

Dark events are sometimes inaccurate or trivialised, distancing them from values of authenticity. However, dark events such as Diana's death and the humanitarian crisis in the Mediterranean presented as a dystopian dark experience provide a sense of authentication. Fully aware of the inauthenticity of postmodern living, the tourist engages in a quest to find that s/he desires: authenticity.

As the tourist is paramount in creating authenticity, a process which has been referred to as authentication (Xie & Wall, 2008), it can be generated in a variety of places and not necessarily where the original event occurred: "authenticity is not a given, measurable quality that can be applied to a particular place, event or experience" and it recognises "the need for an emotive, affective" element (Sharpley & Stone, 2009, p. 116). This perspective is in line with Rickly-Boyd (2013) when highlighting that place matters in existential authenticity (more than an objective state, it is about Being).

Dismaland introduces first and foremost an affective element meant to strip Disney theme parks of their immature construction of bliss. Dismaland, and in particular the Disney related features such as Mickey-Mouse eared employees and Cinderella, are more authentic than the originals insofar as they reveal the latter as simulacra and a "frozen, childlike world" (Baudrillard, 1981 [1994], p. 12).

Baudrillard's well-known discussion on Disneyland and its counterparts is based upon the premise that The United States are themselves not real and Disney theme parks are the "imaginary" so as to hide the unreality of the country. It belongs instead to "the hyperreal order and to the order of simulation". The argument is that it is not a matter of falsely representing reality but of concealing that the real has become unreal:

> The imaginary of Disneyland is neither true nor false, it is a deterrence machine set up in order to rejuvenate the fiction of the real in the opposite camp. Whence the debility of this imaginary, its infantile degeneration. This world wants to be childish in order to make us believe that the adults are elsewhere, in the "real" world, and to conceal the fact that true childishness is everywhere - that it is that of the adults themselves who come here to act the child in order to foster illusions as to their real childishness (Baudrillard, 1981 [1994], p. 13).

In addition to the concept of simulacrum, in the framework of our discussion on tourism another conceptualisation becomes key: George Ritzer's (1983, 1993)
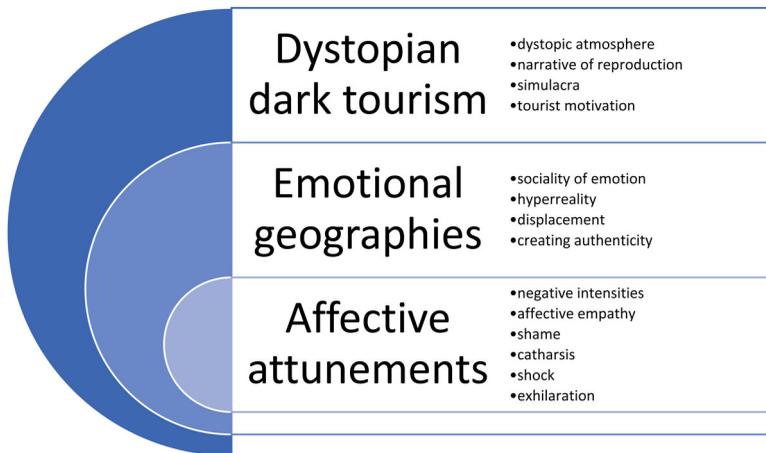
Figure 3. Productive dystopian dark tourism: the McDisneyified experience.

formulation on the McDonaldization of society. It derives from a profound rationalisation of the postmodern Western society and its model is McDonald's and the fast food restaurant. A rationalised society, and therefore a McDonaldised society, emphasises the following features: efficiency, predictability, calculability, substitution of non-human by human technology and control over certainty.

According to Ritzer and Liska (1997, p. 97), "following Weber, [McDonaldisation] has a more dystopian emphasis upon the increasing irrationality of rationality". As every other aspect of our age, tourism has also been McDonaldised. Because it has been Disney who has most successfully applied the principles of McDonaldisation to the industry, Ritzer and Liska speak of the McDisneyisation of tourism. This process is not only dehumanising, mostly unsustainable, but also a quest for sameness. Though many will actively seek difference and therefore represent a need in the tourist industry to de-McDonaldise, the comfort of the rationalised system in the other aspects of their lives offers comfort to many a tourist. McDonaldised tourism infers homogenisation instead of diversity. And in Baudrillard's suit, they argue that the tourist is now totally immersed in simulacra and therefore unable to identify authentic experiences also because inauthentic experiences are disguised as authentic.

These debates and paradoxes can be therefore understood as McDisneyified dystopian experiences, where different levels of the experience are constructed from outside-inwards, starting by the most visible, a form of dystopian dark tourism, the most expressive form related also to the place, emotional geographies; and finally, affective attunements (Figure 3).

Developing Ritzer's theories, Bryman (2004) expands on the four dimensions of the phenomenon which are reflected in other aspects of our lives: theming of places of consumption such as restaurants; hybrid consumption as forms of consumption appear in other than their traditional places; merchandising; and performative labour (Bryman, 2004, p. 2). However, Bryman (2004) argues that where McDonalds strives for homogeneity, through spectacle and drama, Disney strives for diversity as a means to increase profits. We would say however, that Disney promotes forms of cramped diversity as the range of variation is carefully surveilled and controlled. Rightly Bryman

argues that emotional labour is key to the tourist industry as a source of differentiation (2004, pp. 103–105) but what Banksy seems to be criticising, for instance, is the callous and manipulative demand for emotional labourers to produce deep acting, whereby they train to feel the emotions they perform. This results in more profitability for companies to which employees feel bonded but it does not necessarily result in a more profound commitment of companies towards workers. If in Disneyfied theme parks around the world, employees display and are required to feel happiness, enjoyment, and pleasure, in Dismaland they reveal the "real" emotions of precarious employees: dismay and disillusionment.

Dwelling in a universe of simulations, when one is a tourist one will crave for simulations as well. After all, surviving in the wild on food, s/he can find the experience "authentic" but it is often too uncomfortable for the average tourist; a meal at a fast-food restaurant is well more desirable (Ritzer & Liska, 1997, p. 107). It is also in this sense that, despite being limited to the reflection of one single dystopian experience, Dismaland is a milestone and brings together a series of acting concepts that contribute to see tourism experiences through new lenses.

In this conceptual paper, a critical exploration of affective attunements of Banksy's Dismaland via socio-spatial theories of emotion and affect was proposed, leading to an understanding of the complexity of a McDisneyified experience, within a productive dystopian dark tourism. In Dismaland, Banksy exposes the layers of in/authenticity which we as citizens and tourists have naturalised. The refugee plastic boat and Cinderella's crash are powerful instances of simulations which have the potential to develop intensities and an emotion-morality framework.

The death of thousands of refugees or the tragedy of a princess driven to her demise have been played down by the incessant repetition of the "real" events. As those copies/replicas' impact wanes as well, through an innovative and politicised form of dystopian dark tourism Banksy creates atmospheres where productive negative intensities can develop. The success of suchefforts is not guaranteed as affects can only emerge with the tourist's commitment. Therefore, depending on the motivations different affects are produced but because of the shades of dystopia and darkness of Banksy's work, a hopeful form of tourism might have been generated.

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