ANNALS

of Tourism Research

A Social Sciences Journal

Pergamon

(This is a sample cover image for this issue. The actual cover is not yet available at this time.)

http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2012.04.007

DARK TOURISM AND SIGNIFICANT OTHER DEATH
Towards a Model of Mortality Mediation

Philip R. Stone
University of Central Lancashire, United Kingdom

Abstract: Dark tourism and the commodification of death has become a pervasive feature within the contemporary visitor economy. Drawing upon the thanatological condition of society and a structural analysis of modern-day mortality, this paper establishes theoretical foundations for exploring dark tourism experiences. The study argues that in Western secular society where ordinary death is sequestered behind medical and professional façades, yet extraordinary death is recreated for popular consumption, dark tourism mediates a potential social filter between life and death. Ultimately, the research suggests that dark tourism is a modern mediating institution, which not only provides a physical place to link the living with the dead, but also allows a cognitive space for the Self to construct contemporary ontological meanings of mortality. **Keywords:** dark tourism, death, mortality, thanatology, mediation. © 2012 Elsevier Ltd. All rights reserved.

''People do not die for us immediately, but remain bathed in a sort of aura of life which bears no relation to true immortality but through which they continue to occupy our thoughts in the same way as when they were alive. It is as though they were travelling abroad.''
Marcel Proust 1871-1922

INTRODUCTION

The touristic packaging of death has long been a theme of the morbid gaze. For instance, visits to morgues in nineteenth century Paris is without parallel in the Victorian imagination. It is in this early example of what is now referred to as dark tourism (Lennon & Foley, 2000) that tourists were provided with an ostensible invitation to identify unknown corpses, which gave way to a macabre *mise-en-scène*. Yet, arguably, nineteenth century 'dark tourism', consumed within the confines of Romanticism added to the propensity for secular death-related travel and, which continues today. In short, quixotic depictions of death

Philip R. Stone is Executive Director of the Institute for Dark Tourism Research (*i*DTR) based at the University of Central Lancashire (UCLan, Faculty of Management, Preston PR1 2HE, United Kingdom. Email <pstone@uclan.ac.uk>). His main research interests revolve around dark tourism and its fundamental interrelationship with contemporary society.

and dying in Romantic art and literature provided for a thanatoptic mediation of death and, subsequently, (re)created death and the dead for (re)evaluation and contemplation for the living (Seaton, 1999). In turn, tourism of the day reflected these contemplative aspects and involved visits to sites of fatality depicted by the Romantic Movement (Seaton, 2010).

Importantly, however, modern-day dark tourism does *not* present death *per se*, but rather represents *certain kinds* of death (Walter, 2009). Thus, within Western secular societies that are often labelled death denying—a term rooted in life-prolonging medicinal techniques and pharmacopoeia, as well as disposal of the dead management—ordinary death has largely been removed from the public realm and replaced with media inspired cultural representations of Significant Other Death (Stone, 2011a). Pagliari (2004) laments that while the collective Self has been *death-denying* due to attitudes towards medicine and mortality, society has subtly transgressed to a *death-defying* era, where emphasis on health education carry promises of corporeal extension. Pagliari also argues contemporary society is now entering a *death-deriding* age, where death is mocked, commercialised and sold for the sake of art and entertainment. Moreover, religious institutions, which once formed sacred canopies of mortality guidance, have largely been negated for the secular Self.

Dark tourism as a cultural representation of particular death has been referred to as a contemporary mediating institution between the living and the dead (Walter, 2009), whilst Stone (2011a, p. 25) suggests, ''dark tourism provides an opportunity to contemplate death of the Self through gazing upon the Significant Other Dead''. Stone (2011b, 2012) also argues that dark tourism experiences, at least for some people for some of the time at some sites, is not so much about consuming narratives of death, but, rather, of contemplating life and living in the face of inevitable mortality. Nevertheless, whilst dark tourism and the thanatoptic contemplation of death has been examined (Seaton, 1996, 1999, 2010; Stone & Sharpley, 2008; Stone, 2009a, 2011a, 2011b, 2012), a comprehensive conceptual framework to locate and interrogate dark tourism as a mediating institution of mortality remains elusive. Questions remain as to the type and extent of interrelationships dark tourism has with the broader cultural condition of society. Specifically, how is contemporary death and dying manifested in secularised society? What potential role does dark tourism play in the mediation of contemporary death and dying? In addition, what are the potential consequences of consuming dark tourism within contemporary society?

The purpose of this paper, therefore, is to address these questions. Focusing upon the thanatological condition of society—that is, society's reactions to and perceptions of death—this study examines dark tourism within a structural analysis of mortality. Drawing on previous work of dark tourism consumption within a thanatological framework (Stone, 2009a; Stone & Sharpley, 2008), and adopting a post-disciplinary approach to dark tourism research of increased reasonableness, flexibility and inclusivity (Stone, 2011c), this research seeks to augment

theoretical foundations for exploring dark tourism experiences. Particularly, this paper updates and expands earlier conceptual frameworks that correlate dark tourism consumption with modern-day mortality (Stone & Sharpley, 2008). In so doing, the study suggests that within a thesis of death sequestration, a range of contemporary mediating relationships are evident between touristic representations of the dead and broader secular experiences of mortality, albeit to varying degrees and at various dark tourism sites. This study also offers contextualisation of these relationships, rather than empirical testing, by citing four *shades* of dark tourism (Stone, 2006) namely, the London Dungeon visitor attraction, a Body Worlds Exhibition, Ground Zero, and Auschwitz-Birkenau. Ultimately, the paper provides a conceptual basis for subsequent theoretical and empirical research into dark tourism in particular, whilst contributing to thanatology and the social scientific study of death more generally. First, however, an overview of dark tourism provides a context for the study.

SHINING LIGHT ON DARK TOURISM: DEFINITIONS AND PERSPECTIVES

Pilgrimages to places associated with death have occurred as long as people have been able to travel. In other words, it has always been an identifiable form of tourism, though socio-cultural contexts in which death-related travel transpired have obviously changed throughout the ages. This latter point is beyond the scope of the paper, though Seaton (2010) argues dark tourism was traditional travel that evolved through profound shifts in the history of European culture and influenced by Christianity, Antiquarianism, and Romanticism. However, as general participation in tourism has grown, particularly since the mid-twentieth century, so too has the demand for and supply of dark tourism (Sharpley, 2009a). For example, sites associated with the war dead probably constitute the largest single category of tourist attractions in the world (Smith, 1998). Indeed, Thompson (2004, p. xii) provides a comprehensive guide to the '25 Best World War Two Sites' and notes ''a battlefield where thousands died isn't necessarily a *good* place, but it's often an important one'' (original emphasis). Slade (2003) recognises this importance and suggests Gallipoli, the battlefield where Australia and New Zealand suffered massive casualties during World War One, was where both countries, respectively, have their ''*de facto* psychological and cultural origins'' (p. 782). Chronis (2005) also recognises how war landscapes, such as those at Gettysburg, the site of one of the bloodiest battles during the American Civil War, can be symbolically transformed and used by service providers and tourists alike to negotiate, define, and strengthen social values of patriotism and national unity through the death of others.

Similarly, Carr (2010) notes how war-tourism sites can control or censor dissonant accounts of the past. In particular, she examines touristification tensions within the Channel Islands' war heritage and the Nazi occupation it serves to represent. Ultimately, Carr suggests that

wartime narratives in the Channel Islands, which are delivered through fragmented and contested memorialisation at various bunker sites, are directly analogous to other formerly-occupied western European countries, rather than being identified with a British Churchillian paradigm—namely, that the British were not a nation of victims, but of victors.

Yet war-tourism attractions, though themselves diverse, are a subset of the totality of tourist sites associated with death and suffering. Reference is frequently made, for example, to specific destinations, such as the Sixth Floor in Dallas, Texas, site of one of the most infamous assassinations of the twentieth century (Foley & Lennon, 1996). Alternatively, reference is also made to specific forms of tourism, such as visits to graveyards and cemeteries (Seaton, 2002), Holocaust sites (Beech, 2009), places of atrocity (Ashworth & Hartmann, 2005), prisons (Wilson, 2008), and slavery-heritage attractions (Dann & Seaton, 2001; Rice, 2009). However, such is the diversity of death-related attractions, from the 'Dracula Experience' in Whitby, UK or Vienna's Funeral Museum to the sites of celebrity deaths (James Dean, Buddy Holly, Elvis Presley—see Alderman, 2002) or major disasters, that a full categorisation is extremely complex (but, see Stone, 2006).

Nonetheless, despite the diverse range of sites and tourist experiences, Tarlow (2005, p. 48) identifies dark tourism as "visitations to places where tragedies or historically noteworthy death has occurred and that continue to impact our lives"—a characterisation that aligns dark tourism somewhat narrowly to certain sites and that, perhaps, hints at particular motives. However, it excludes many *shades* of dark sites and attractions related to, but not necessarily the site of, death and disaster (Miles, 2002; Stone, 2006). Consequently, Cohen (2011) addresses location aspects of dark tourism through a paradigm of geographical authenticity and sense of victimhood. Meanwhile, Biran, Poria, and Oren (2011) examine sought benefits of dark tourism within a framework of dialogic meaning making (also Kang, Scott, Lee, and Ballatyne, 2011). Jamal and Lelo (2011) also explore the conceptual and analytical framing of dark tourism, and suggest notions of darkness in dark tourism are socially constructed, rather than objective fact. Thus, for the purpose of this paper, dark tourism may be referred to more generally as the "act of travel to tourist sites associated with death, suffering or the seemingly macabre" (Stone, 2006, p. 146).

Augmenting various typologies of dark tourism, alternative terminology has also been applied to the phenomenon. For example, Seaton (1996) refers to death-related tourist activity as thanatourism, whilst other labels include morbid tourism (Blom, 2000), black spot tourism (Rojek, 1993), grief tourism (see www.grief-tourism.com) or as Dann (1994, p. 61) alliterates, "milking the macabre". More specifically, Bristow and Newman (2004) introduce the term fright tourism, a variation of dark tourism whereby individuals may seek a thrill or shock from the experience. Meanwhile, Dann (1998, p. 15) suggests that "dicing with death"—that is, seeking experiences that heighten tourists' own sense of mortality—may be considered a particular consequence of dark tourism. Dunkley, Morgan, and Westwood (2007)

add to the definitional debate and offer various categories, including horror tourism, hardship tourism, tragedy tourism, warfare tourism, genocide tourism and extreme thanatourism. The latter category, according to these authors at least, involve a marketable live-event aspect of death and dying, and they cite (Western) visits to private cremations in India or to public executions in the Middle East as particular examples.

There is no universal typology of dark tourism, or even a universally accepted definition. That said, however, there has been an increasing trend amongst scholars to use dark tourism as an academic lens in which to scrutinise broader socio-cultural considerations, managerial and political consequences, or ethical dilemmas. For example, Lee, Lawerence, Bendle, and Kim (2011) examine dark tourism within a peace paradigm between North and South Korea. They suggest Western hegemonic constructions of tourism generally and, dark tourism in particular, means that Euro-centric perspectives of dark tourism are not applicable to other indigenous (Oriental) perspectives. Specifically, they suggest that the recent killing of a South Korean tourist in the North Korean Mt Kumgang tourist resort—once seen as a peace tourism site when policies of rapprochement guided inter-Korean strategy—is now a heterotopian space, which combines dark tourism with idealised cultural narratives within a contradictory geopolitical place. Meanwhile, Seaton (2009) addresses how dark tourism sites may be managed, especially within the context of Other Death, and concludes that thanatourism sites are unique auratic spaces whose evolutionary diversity and polysemic nature demand managerial strategies that differ from other tourist sites.

Likewise, Sharpley (2009b) examines notions of dissonant and the influence of political ideology conveyed in dark tourism interpretation, and goes on to outline a stakeholder model of dark heritage governance. In particular, he suggests such a model provides a basis for encouraging harmony and reconciliation, as well as understanding or learning through a more inclusive memorialisation and interpretation of dark heritage. Similarly, Sharpley and Stone (2009) examine (re)presentations of tragedy and, in particular, locate dark tourism interpretation within a conceptual framework of kitsch and the commodification of (tragic) memories. In so doing, they suggest that death is inevitably vulnerable to kitschification, as it ''requires inoculation and thus rendering into *something else* that is comfortable and safe to deal with and to contemplate'' (original emphasis—Sharpley & Stone, 2009, p. 127). They go on to conclude that concerns within dark tourism interpretations remain and revolve around interrelationships between kitsch, nostalgia and melancholy and the meanings that are consequentially projected and consumed. Stone (2009b) also recognises these concerns and suggests ethical ambiguities inherent within dark tourism are systematic of broader secular moral dilemmas in conveying narratives of death. In particular, he proposes dark tourism sites act as contemporary communicative spaces of morality, and that ''dark tourism may not only act as a guardian of history in heritage terms, but also as moral guardian of a contemporary society which appears to be

in a midst of resurgent effervescent moral vitality'' (Stone, 2009b, p. 72).

A full critique of dark tourism is beyond the scope of this study. However, despite the diversity of sites and relative experiences, a common factor of the phenomenon appears to be an association, in one way or another, between a tourist experience and the touristic representation of death. As Biran et al., 2011, p. 832 point out ''it is not death or the dead that should be considered, but living peoples' perception of them''. Consequently, dark tourism focuses upon a relationship between tourism and mortality that, in turn, ameliorates the world in which we live and provides for potential understanding and interpretation of specific phenomena at the individual and societal level. Hence, it is to a structural analysis of death within contemporary society and, in particular, the relevance of mortality mediation to understanding the dark tourism phenomenon that this paper now turns.

DEATH AND CONTEMPORARY SOCIETY: A STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS

Death is a fundamental underpinning to life and to the order of life. As Metcalf and Huntington (1991, p. 2) note, ''life becomes transparent against the background of death''. In short, death can reveal the most elemental social and cultural processes and values and, consequently, becomes a catalyst that, ''when put into contact with any cultural order, precipitates out the central beliefs and concerns of a people'' (Kearl, 2009, p. 1). On an individual level, however, exposure to mass or significant death events—or what Stone (2011a, 2012) terms *mortality moments*—can crystallize and invigorate the Self's life pathway (Kearl, 2009). Therefore, for the purpose of this study, it is assumed that death anxiety and experience of dying are strongly structured by social environments and personal life-worlds (Tercier, 2005). Thus, the logic moves from the cultural order—that is, the broad realm of social reality that augments and shapes our collective cognitions, emotions, and behaviours—to that of institutional orders, such as religion, politics, mass media, or indeed dark tourism. It is these institutions that indirectly filters and moulds our mortality experiences and *moments*, and which directly influence the individual order.

Of course, whilst death is universal, dying is not. In other words, death is a biological certainty for us all, yet the dying process is dependent on a range of environmental circumstances and socio-cultural rituals. Within the broad context of Western societies, Aries (1981) offered a seminal, if not criticised, social history of death and dying. Despite criticism of Aires' linear and culturally restrictive approach to the social history of death, he concluded that modern mortality has been made 'invisible' by the decline of religious institutions and the social control they brought to bear over dying. Additionally, the 'invisibility' of death itself, according to Aires, was perpetuated by the rise and influence of the medical establishment, which took death

away from the public community gaze and located it under a private medical gaze.

Arguably, therefore, and despite obvious socio-cultural differences of experiencing death (of others) and managing dying (of the self), the filtering process of modern-day mortality in many contemporary Western societies has been removed from civic discourse and public space and relocated as a personal issue (Mellor & Shilling, 1993). Mellor (1993) suggests a sequestration of death in contemporary society and concludes that public legitimisations of death are becoming increasingly absent, thus ensuring the *dread* of death to an individuals' sense of reality, personal meaningfulness and, ultimately, 'ontological security' (Giddens, 1991). This ostensible absence of death from the public realm may help explain the ''intense confusion, anxiety, and even terror which are frequently experienced by individuals before signs of their own mortality'' (Giddens, 1991, p. 160). Thus, thanatology has drawn attention to the institutional sequestration of death in contemporary society. Thanatologists often concentrate on the privatisation and medicalisation of death whereby death, rather than being an open, communal event, is now a relatively private experience (Mellor, 1993; Mellor & Shilling, 1993; Shilling, 1993; Willmott, 2000; Winkel, 2001). Indeed, death is now marked by an increased uneasiness over the boundaries between the corporeal bodies of the living and dead (Howarth, 2000; Howarth, 2007; Turner, 1991). Hence, the modern denial of death and the sequestration of the deathbed have been blamed for death's removal from daily life (Tercier, 2005), whilst grief is denied its due place in the psychology of the individual and mourning in the social relations of culture (Seale, 1998; West, 2004).

A full analysis of death sequestration is beyond the scope of this research; yet, it is worth noting fundamental changes within contemporary society towards mortality. The absent death thesis, according to Mellor and Shilling (1993), is conspicuous by the demise of communal and social events which, when combined into a series of ritual actions, contained death by ensuring it was open or public, yet subject to religious and social control. Consequently, whilst death and dying in the pre-modern past was just as or even more unpleasant than it is now, the omnipresent religious order that encompassed human finiteness ensured mortality was meaningful, and death was even considered tame (Aries, 1981). However, modern death and the prospect of dying is now unprecedently alarming because contemporary secular society has deprived increasing numbers of people with an overarching, existentially meaningful, ritual structure (Giddens, 1991). In relation to mortality, contemporary society has ''not just emptied the sky of angels, but also has emptied tradition, ritual and, increasingly, virtually all-overarching normative meaning structures of much of their content'' (Mellor & Shilling, 1993, p. 428).

The reflexive deconstruction of religious orders that promised post-corporeal life after death, and the lack of stable replacement meaning systems, has tended to leave contemporary individuals isolated and vulnerable in the face of their inevitable end. Baudrillard (1993), in his influential work on semiology and mortality—*Symbolic Exchange and*

Death—argued, ''little by little the dead cease to exist. They are thrown out of…symbolic circulation'' (p. 126). Put another way, religious symbolism of the dead and the ontological power it conveys has been negated as contemporary societies concentrate on individualised health promotion, thus extending lives in practice, but also and perhaps more fundamentally, symbolically extending life itself. Meanwhile, Bauman (1992), in another influential work—*Mortality and Immortality*—playfully suggests that ''whereas people in traditional societies ate their dead, incorporating them into the life of the living, modern society vomits them out, designating them as *Other*'' (p. 131).

Crucially, however, it would be naive to suggest that death is wholly absent or invisible within contemporary society. This is simply not the case. Depictions of death and dying, including those represented by the media, in popular culture, and indeed within dark tourism, are near ubiquitous in contemporary societies—an extension, perhaps, of the Romantic Movement influences outlined earlier. Arguably, therefore, because of the revival of death in mediated popular culture, an 'absent-present' death paradox is evident. *Real death of the Self* has been institutionally sequestered, or made absent from the public gaze during the past sixty years or so. Yet, in its place is (*Re)created death of the Other*, where the other dead cohabit the living world, or made present, through a plethora of popular culture channels (Harrison, 2003). As Barthes (2000, p. 92) points out, ''death must be somewhere in society; if it is no longer in religion, it must be elsewhere; perhaps in images which produce Death while trying to preserve life''. On the one hand, therefore, *absent* death through privatisation of meaning and a reduction in the scope of the sacred, the medicalisation of dying, and the professionalization of the death process is evident. On the other hand, however, death is very much *present* within popular culture and of course *very present* since death is the single most common factor of life. It is, perhaps, because of the paradoxical position that death appears institutionally hidden rather than forbidden.

Arguably, therefore, dark tourism plays a role in this absent-death paradox by helping revive mortality, or at least a modern-day depiction, through a substitute of recreated situations and memorialisation (Stone & Sharpley, 2008). While consumption of death appears to be in inverse ratio to our declining direct experience of death itself, dark tourism, within a thanatological framework, may help explain contemporary approaches to mortality and its contemplation (Stone, 2009a; Figure 1). Ultimately, dark tourism allows a reconceptualisation of death and mortality into forms that stimulate something other than primordial terror and dread (Stone & Sharpley, 2008). The increasingly socially acceptable tourist gaze upon death and its reconceptualisation through dark tourism, by entertainment, education or memorialisation, offers the Self a practical contemplative mechanism to help neutralise the impact of mortality.

In turn, dark tourism may engender personal meaningfulness and ontological security. This may help minimise the intrinsic threat or dread that inevitability of death brings. The neutralizing effect is facilitated and sustained by dark touristic exposures to death, where the
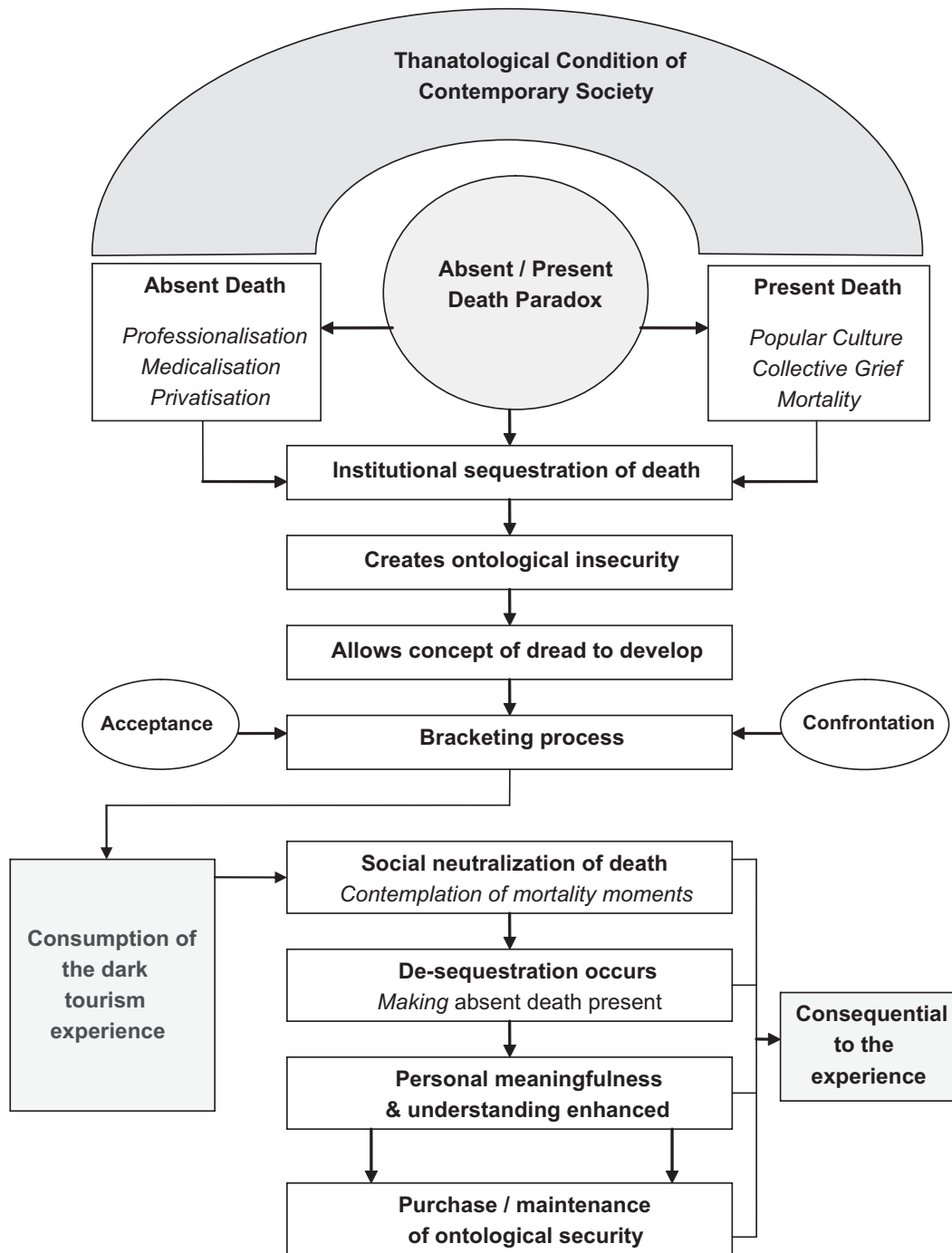
Figure 1. Dark tourism consumption within a thanatological framework (*Source*: **Stone and Sharpley, 2008**)

process of continued sensitisation—or *bracketing*—of dying ultimately results in a sanitisation of the subject matter. This may create a perceived immunity from death for the Self, in addition to accepting Death. Thus, contemplating death through a dark tourism lens allows tourists to view their own death as distant, unrelated to the dark tourism product that they consume, and with a hope that their own death will be a good Romantic death and their lives will be meaningful and ontologically secure (Stone, 2011a; Stone & Sharpley, 2008; Tercier,

2005). Arguably, therefore, dark tourism further individualises and fragments the meaning of death. In doing so, dark tourism adds to the multiplicity of reflexive cultural devices that the Self may draw upon to contemplate mortality. Furthermore, dark tourism experiences expose tourists to the causes of death and suffering of individual people, in individual circumstances, thus perhaps encouraging the view of death as avoidable and contingent. As Bauman (1992, p. 6) points out, these kind of deaths are ''therefore reassuring rather than threatening, since they orient people towards strategies of survival rather than making them aware of the futility of all [life] strategies in the face of mortality''. Importantly, these touristically packaged deaths take on *significance* for the Self, particularly in terms of mediating contemporary mortality and Other death.

Of course, the important point here is that *real* death—that is, inconspicuous normal death of the Ordinary Self—has been sequestered to private and professional realms, but notable abnormal death of Significant Others, whether unusual, untimely or violent, has very much been revived and *(re)created* within the public domain, including within tourism. Of course, to be a Significant Other in death does not necessarily mean that the Self requires significance in life. It is particular deaths that are perceived significant to the living that is important, and may include the deaths of famous people as well as ordinary citizens. In other words, deaths that are routine, normal and end-of-life are not packaged up and sold for consumption—apart from say, as number of fatalities within group mortality statistics. However, death that is either aberrant or simply perturbs the collective (media) consciousness and, thus, perceived as *significant* to an individual's lifeworld has potential for dark touristification (Stone, 2012). Therefore, in a contemporary age of institutional death sequestration, death revivalism must begin to include dark tourism in the private/public death dichotomy. Dark tourism along with other popular culture representations of death resurrects the Significant Other Dead for mediation with the living and provides for a range of fundamental relationships. These mediating relationships can be built and maintained through the provision of tourism information, entertainment, as well as education of death, dying, and ultimately, mortality. Thus, it is to the mediation of death in contemporary society and subsequent mediating relationships of dark tourism that the study now turns.

RESURRECTING THE DEAD: DARK TOURISM AS A NEW MEDIATING INSTITUTION

A dominant Freudian paradigm of contemporary Western bereavement studies has been for individuals to let go of their attachments to the dead and move on. However, Klass, Silverman, and Nickman (1996) suggest individuals better move on with, rather than without, the dead. The dead are not banished from the lives of individuals, nor are the dead, generally, seen as a threat or jeopardy to living—though violent death may perturb a collective consciousness. Hence,

the concept of mortality mediation—defined here, as a social filter that protects, maintains and influences life/death relationships—is an important one. The dead require a channel to *communicate* with the living, as do the living require a *filter* in order to communicate with the dead. However, the act of mediating with the Other dead—that is, transmitting information about dead people—has historical pedigree. The dead, especially the significant dead, have been long been mediated or *filtered* to the living through literature, folklore, architecture, the arts, archaeology, religion, and more recently through popular culture, the mass media and the internet.

However, whilst secularism and the institutional sequestration of death has largely denied meaningful relationships between the living and the dead (Walter, 2009), a family of institutions that link the dead and living have evolved throughout history. A full critique of these institutions is beyond the scope of this paper, but mediating institutions do include the family and the telling of ancestral tales, the inscription and recording of history, song writing and the musical expression of grief, the law and will making, as well as religion and pilgrimages (Walter, 2009). There are, of course, other and perhaps more obvious mediators between the living and dead, including gravestones, cemeteries and ancient burial grounds, as well as an increasing number of informal shrines at locations where people have been killed or murdered. Additionally, contemporary societies, exemplified by Diasporas, create sacrosanct dead heroes, such as Anne Frank, or even the disgraced dead, such as Jack the Ripper, with which to connect and identify. These dead heroes and villains go on to mediate both collectively and individually with the living and embrace meta-narratives through popular culture myth making. In either case, dead heroes and villains become sacred ancestors whereby the living bestows immortality on them by representing their image and deeds.

Much of this immortality arrives through another mediator that links the living with the dead. Particulary, the photograph is a vivid instrument of how the Self encounter the Other dead. As Barthes (2000) observes, photography is a contemporary *memento mori* (reminder that one will die), where images of the deceased or places where they died provide an aide memoire of inevitable mortality. Indeed, the ''photograph connects us both with the dead, and with our own death'' (Beloff, 2007, p. 183). A principle progression of photography has been the growth of the mass media and its ability to (re)present and repeat death events. While the ideological function of religion traditionally provided the key social filter by which death could be glimpsed and approached, Walter (2006) argues that this function has largely been taken on by the mass media. In other words, the mass media (first) provides the information when atypical deaths occur. Walter (2005) further notes in terms of tragic events and making sense of mortality and in linking society with the dead, secular individuals now turn to newspapers and television programme makers, rather than the priest, in helping make sense of what has occurred.

Evidently then, there are a range of both contemporary and traditional mediating institutions that connect the living with the dead.

However, whilst religion is still important for many individuals when dealing with issues of private grief, it is popular culture representations and the mass media that publically mediates Other Death. While Sharpley (2009a) suggests possibilities for dark tourism have been greatly increased by the advertising that mass media can provide, Walter (2009) argues there is a much closer link between the media and dark tourism—''they [both] mediate sudden or violent death to mass audiences'' (p. 44). Importantly, however, whereas media reporting of particular death and tragedy may be fleeting, dark tourism spaces link the living with the dead, sustain them, and as a result, new mediating places of mortality are developed and contemporary mediating relationships with the dead transpire. In turn, in an age of death sequestration and where the contemporary deathbed is still pervaded by Romantic ideals, dark tourism revives death in the public domain and mediates mortality, allowing the Self to construct ontological meaning (Stone, 2010). Indeed, Stone (2011b, 2012) argues that some dark tourism experiences provide for a contemporary thanatoptic contemplation. However, what remains elusive is the range of mediating relationships that dark tourism potentially has with the thanatological condition of society. Thus, by using contextualising examples, namely, the London Dungeon (a tourist attraction in the UK depicting death, disease and torture), Body Worlds (a global touring anatomy exhibition using real human corpses), Ground Zero, and Auschwitz-Birkenau—which all, arguably, represent various shades of dark tourism (Stone, 2006)—dark tourism is now revealed as a contemporary mediator of mortality (Figure 2).

Dark Tourism as Narrative

Narratives about both the long and recent dead are imparted at dark tourism sites through formal interpretation. The dead are communicated and socially filtered through tourism information and (re)presentations as well as marketing descriptions. Of course, broader issues of authenticity, dissonance, and political imperatives are bound up within dark tourism interpretation and these have been covered elsewhere (Sharpley & Stone, 2009). Nevertheless, the imparting of formalised and specific narratives at dark tourism sites is a first step in the overall mediation of mortality process, whereby death and suffering is presented and interpreted in order to be consumed as a tourist experience.

Dark Tourism as Education

By providing particular narratives, the dead can be encountered for educational purposes. For example, at a Body Worlds exhibition, tourists congregate with the real dead and learn about not only death and disease, but also about life and health (Stone, 2011b). In turn, tourists have an educative opportunity to learn about the human body through
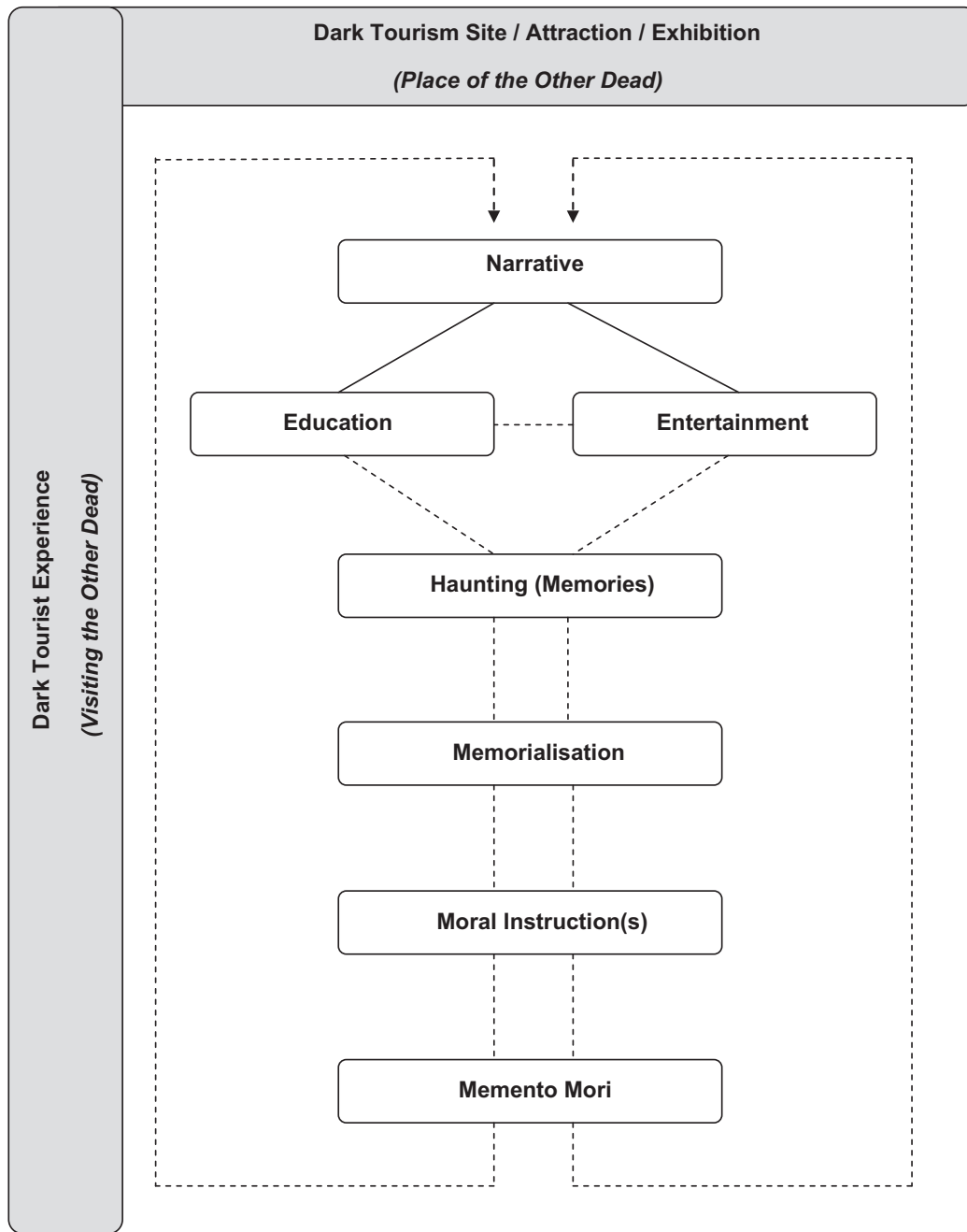
Figure 2. A model of mediating relationships of the dead with dark tourism

''a hands-on archaeology of the dead body'' (Hafferty, 1991, p. 10). Similarly, tourists to Ground Zero are presented with an opportunity to learn about the events leading up to, during, and after 9/11. It is here where the Other Dead mediate their significant dreadful demise with educative narratives of tolerance and forbearance. Likewise, at Auschwitz-Birkenau, the Holocaust Dead teach tragic tales of persecution and genocide and display the conditions in which human survival became almost impossible. Even at the London Dungeon, or what has been termed the lighter side of dark tourism (Stone, 2009c), educational narratives are integral to the overall 'death design' of the tourist

attraction. Particularly, the Dungeon attraction provides 'edutainment' to help comprehend past methods of torture and incarceration, as well as learning about deeds of the disgraced dead such as Jack the Ripper or Dick Turpin.

Dark Tourism as Entertainment

Death and tourism may appear an anomalous conjunction; yet, dark tourism provides a safe socially sanctioned space to consume an otherwise taboo topic. The dead at some dark tourism sites, like much else from the past, mediate their presence through the act of entertaining present-day visitors. The most obvious examples are, of course, those tourist attractions that are fun-centric (Stone, 2006). For instance, the London Dungeon explicitly depicts death, dying and the dead. Consequently, visitors are entertained in Baudrillardian fashion through simulated acts of killing, including hanging and the cutting of throats (Stone, 2009c). However, other types of dark tourism can also act as entertaining 'death mediators'. At Body Worlds, for example, the dead are artistically posed within an entertaining and educative exhibitory space. In turn, Body Worlds corpses are turned into 'stars of the show' and the morbid tourist gaze becomes a core activity.

Meanwhile, it would be discourteous to suggest tourism to either Ground Zero or Auschwitz-Birkenau is deemed entertaining. Yet, however, tourism at these sites is, for many, part of a broader leisure travel itinerary (Stone, 2010, 2012). Whether individuals are in New York to visit other iconic landmarks, or in Poland to visit medieval Krakow, both Ground Zero and Auschwitz-Birkenau are, generally, consumed as integral elements of a wider leisure trip (Stone, 2010). Of course, neither the 9/11 Dead nor the Holocaust Dead provide 'entertainment' in the accepted tourism sense. Nonetheless, both Ground Zero and Auschwitz-Birkenau are now part of a broader visitor economy and often 'packaged' and promoted with other mainstream tourist attractions (Stone, 2010). Ethical implications aside, as well as notions of secular pilgrimage, the respective dead at both Ground Zero and Auschwitz-Birkenau are consumed by some tourists some of the time as broader recreation and as a kind of 'dark leisure' (Stone & Sharpley, forthcoming).

Dark Tourism as Haunting (Memories)

The unquiet dead can haunt people; indeed, memories of murdered individuals or groups of the collective dead who die in tragedies can haunt society. For instance, the atrocities of 9/11 represented at Ground Zero or the Holocaust at Auschwitz-Birkenau need to be incorporated into a collective narrative with which individuals may identify. Likewise, past methods of execution or acts of infamous (unsolved) murder that still haunt, if not also thrill, contemporary individuals are (re)packaged and consumed at the London Dungeon attraction.

Similarly, terminal illnesses that continue to perplex clinical science such as cancer or Alzheimer's disease, which Body Worlds seeks to illuminate, may haunt individuals as they face up to personal notions of health and mortality. In turn, death anxieties levels may be elevated as a myriad of *mortality moments* disturb the collective consciousness (Stone, 2011b). Walter (2009) suggests such unquiet deaths and their memories are the very stuff of dark tourism. In other words, and chronological distance issues aside, traumatic difficult-to-comprehend deaths, murder and disasters, as well as causes of death provide a basis for dark tourism. It is this very nature of haunting, or at least the notion of lingering, disturbing and evocative memory, at places such as Ground Zero, Auschwitz-Birkenau, and Body Worlds and even at the London Dungeon, that mediate, albeit at varying levels of intensity, between the Self and the Significant Other Dead.

Dark Tourism as Memorialisation

While disturbing death may haunt contemporary imaginations, the act of remembrance and memorialisation allows (darker) dark tourism to occur (Stone, 2006). As dark tourism may be typified by conceptual 'shades', then so too can different kinds of memory. While memory and memorialisation studies is a vibrant transdisciplinary field of research, involving amongst others neurologists, psychoanalysts, anthropologists and philosophers, the debates are broad and too diverse to discuss here; yet, it is different kinds of memory as generations pass away that is important to dark tourism and the mediation of mortality. Consequently, first-generation memory refers to events, places or people that are personally experienced. Whereas such memories are fluid rather than static, Olick (1999, p. 341) suggests first-generation memories are ''cobbled together anew each time the memory comes to mind''. Hence, recent atrocities such as 9/11 are termed first-generation memories, and although most people were not present in New York at the time of the atrocity, television transmissions of the event meant that people were transported to the death site whilst remaining in their living rooms. Meanwhile, second-generation memories are those of our parents and their generation, and are passed down to influence our understanding of the world.

For instance, at Auschwitz-Birkenau, a Holocaust survivor will remember the Holocaust in a different way than say their son or daughter, or for unrelated individuals for whom it has become history. Thus, by third-generation memory (and later), the past enrols into our consciousness in different ways. One such way is history and through representing historical narratives. The important issue, however, is that remembrance is not memory (King, 1998), and that ''remembrance entails commemoration and memorialisation of those whose suffering and death one may not have personally witnessed'' (Walter, 2009, p. 47). Therefore, when memory is not first hand, it evolves into remembrance and as time transpires into memorialisation and eventually into history. Remembrance, memorialisation and historical representation

through dark tourism are all ways of relating to and mediating with the Significant Other dead, and/or contemplating their deaths. As Walter (2009, p. 48) notes, ''at the same dark tourist site, all may be present, for different visitors''.

At Ground Zero, for example, remembrance of the 9/11 dead is within the realms of first-generation memory. Meanwhile, at Auschwitz-Birkenau where the Holocaust dead are becoming chronologically distance, memory is third-generation or later for many visitors. Hence, memorialisation of the Holocaust occurs by maintaining Auschwitz-Birkenau as a tourist site/museum as well as formally constructing memorials at the location and elsewhere. In terms of 'lighter' dark tourism, however, memorialisation narratives are largely omitted. Although the London Dungeon attraction is a place to package-up and remember the 'disgraced dead', the prostitute victims of Jack the Ripper, for example, are identified and remembered but are not given a narrative in which to commemorate their lives. Similarly, at Body Worlds, the dead are not personally identifiable, therefore not remembered, but visitors do connect with illustrated causes of illness and death and go on to identify with the corpses through their own anatomy (Stone, 2011b). Ultimately, however, whatever the extent of remembrance and memorialisation of Other Death at dark tourism sites, it is this mediating 'recall' relationship that gives the dead the authority to afford guidance and moral instruction to the living.

Dark Tourism as Moral Instruction

Dark tourism either strategically deploy taboo subjects and commercially exploit macabre and tragic events, or offer memorialised narratives that connect the living with the dead. As a result, dark tourism sites exist within the broader visitor economy and are often marketed as mainstream tourist attractions. However, dark tourism sites are contemporaneous cultural spaces that act as receptacles of 'highly charged' ideas and representations that appeal to mass-market demographics. Therefore, dark tourism, to varying degrees, offer nihilistic narratives of fear, death, horror, violence and disease, which are either commemorated and celebrated and (re)created through mimesis, kitsch and pastiche representations, or portrayed through stark and uncompromising bleak depictions. Cultural interplay is encouraged and sanctioned within dark tourism by tourists who, depending on the eclecticism of their own life-worlds and perceived ordinariness/relevance of the exhibited victim(s)/cadavers, as well as the ethical conduct of other tourists, construct relative meanings of morality through the Significant Other Dead (Stone, 2009b). With embodied and emotionally engaged tourists, dark tourism potentially offers the Self an emancipatory place for reassessment and self-reflexivity that allows for a reconfiguration of outlooks and interpretative strategies.

For example, Body Worlds offer narratives of health, life, and moral instruction on how to extend living both biologically as well as ontologically. Similarly, at the Tribute WTC Visitor Centre at Ground Zero,

moral narratives are provided to ideas of hope, tolerance and peace. At Auschwitz-Birkenau, however, the poetic use of shock in order to generate a rupture in visitor (pre)conditioning and expectations, provides a deeper, more critically alert awareness of things-as-they-were, and an anticipation that such genocide can never occur again. Even at the London Dungeon, the use of kitschified representations of death and torture provide for morally illuminating moments from history, illustrating to some at least of how society has progressed (Stone, 2009c). It is this premise of how things were and how things are now that psychosocial moral connections can be made by dark tourism experiences, whereby death, disease and gruesome moments from history are illuminated for the present day and, in turn, cast light on otherwise unseen mortality moments.

Dark Tourism as Memento Mori

Whether through religion, art, folklore, ancestral tales, or literature, as well as other cultural mechanisms, reminders of death—*memento mori*—have a long history. However, Seaton (1996) highlights the decline of the medieval memento mori and its transformation through Romanticism, including the idealistic depiction of death within the arts, which propelled a cult of sentimentality that was significantly bound up with responses to death. Conversely, Seaton (2009) also highlights the Romantic period as an era that was covert and slightly sadomasochistic, expressed through vicarious pleasures of terror and horror, manifested by the sublime and gothic novels and architecture. As noted earlier, Seaton proposes modern-day dark tourism is an extension of Romantic reminders of mortality—that is, cultural representations that remind people of their mortality even as they go about everyday living.

However, it is not simply representations of death that act as *memento mori* but, rather, the consumption of Significant Other Death through dark tourism experiences that allows the Self to construct and mediate a meaning of mortality. However, Walter (2009, p. 48) notes, ''whether dark tourism sites actually remind tourists of their mortality varies ... [Thus] we may encounter the dead in a way that shields us from our own mortality, or the encounter may be liberally sprinkled with memento mori''. Conversely, dark tourism experiences *do* indeed remind some tourists of their mortality, though Walter is correct in his assumption of thanatopsis variability (Stone, 2011a, 2011b, 2012). Consequently, the extent of thanatopsis is more pronounced, for example, at Auschwitz-Birkenau and Ground Zero, where tragic Other Death is narrated through memorialisation, while at Body Worlds, mortality contemplation is accompanied with narratives of health and life. Even at the London Dungeon, there are elements of memento mori as tourists consume simulated death at a safe socially sanctioned distance (Stone, 2009c). Ultimately, however, it is the nature and extent of *memento mori* as a mediating relationship of mortality that is at the crux of dark tourism.

CONCLUSION

This study arises from a simple, yet fundamental interest in the social reality of death. In particular, the paper set out to examine how and why dark tourism as a cultural representation of death and dying mediates modern-day mortality. Arguably, dark tourism is part of wider death revivalism within popular culture, whereby dark tourism experiences help to de-sequester mortality and to mediate a range of contemporary relationships with the dead. Of course, to live is to die, yet within a secularised contemporary society we have, for many, become divorced from the social reality of death and dying. Instead, we have become enveloped with an almost ubiquitous (re)creation of death, where Other death is consumed at a distance and mediated through popular culture and the media. In lieu of traditional religious structures that offer guidance, control and, ultimately, a social filter to our sense of finitude, contemporary mediating institutions of mortality offer (re)presentations of tragedy and death that have perturbed our individual and collective consciousness. Dark tourism is such an institution and joins a family of institutions found in broader popular culture that mediate mortality.

As such, dark tourism experiences, albeit to varying levels of intensity and at various sites, can engender a degree of thanatopsis and meanings of ontology, where visitors may reflect on dark tourism and contemplate both life and death through a mortality lens. Of course, future research avenues remain as to whether dark tourism will invoke a greater or lesser extent of ontological (in)security, and whether packaged-up death provides reassurance or threatens an individuals' life-world. Nevertheless, against a conceptual framework of death sequestration, dark tourism can help link the living with its dead. However, motivation to consume dark tourism is not to experience *death per se,* but, rather, potential consequences of dark tourism experiences revolve around mortality narratives and education, entertainment, memorialisation, and moral instruction, as well as *memento mori.* Indeed, in a contemporary age of institutionally sequestered death, (re)presenting Significant Other Death within dark tourism has important relationships for meditating mortality and linking the living with its resurrected dead.

Therefore, dark tourism as an institution is added to a range of contemporary reflexive mechanisms that the Self may draw upon in order to help construct mortality meaning. As the summative model in Figure 3 illustrates, dark tourism is a new mediating institution of mortality within secularised death sequestered societies. Indeed, dark tourism may not only provide a physical place to link the living with the dead, but also allows a cognitive space for the Self to construct contemporary ontological meanings of mortality. It is dark tourism experiences that tourists may reflect and contemplate, however briefly, both life and death through consuming the Significant Other Dead.

Of course, the relationship of the living with its dead is complex and operates within a milieu of religious edicts and secular assertions. Even so, the living can mediate with its dead through a social filter of dark
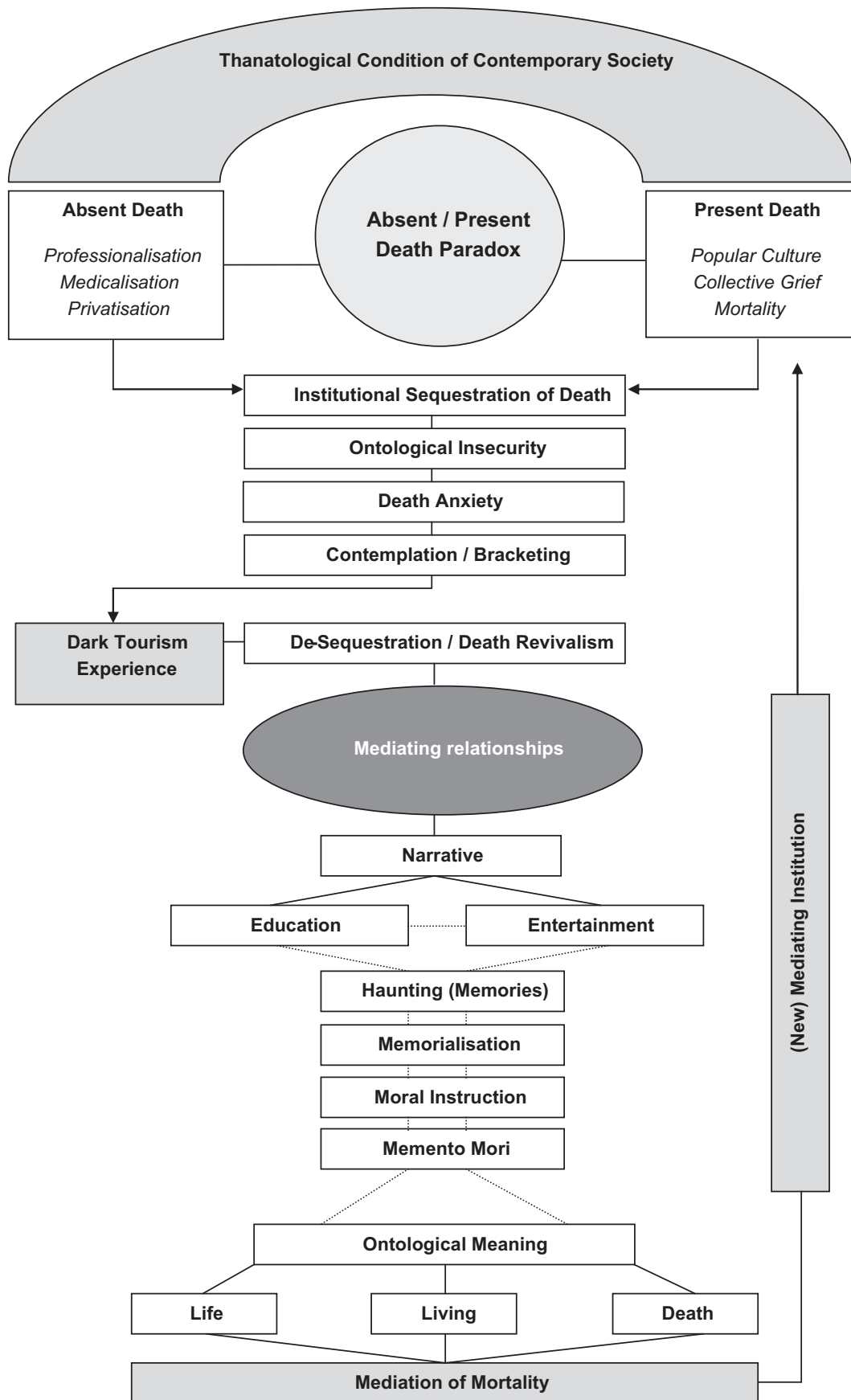
Figure 3. Dark tourism experiences within a theoretical mediating mortality framework

tourism, though importantly, cultural differences and chronological distance, as well as issues of age and health status of individual tourists' may limit this social filter. Consequently, the emergent theoretical framework outlined in this paper might be used as a basis to frame future phenomenological empirical research, within a variety of socio-cultural environments and at different dark tourism sites, thereby testing the level of support of dark tourism as a contemporary mediating institution of mortality. Specifically, future research might address dichotomic social scientific-religious tensions of how dark tourism not only provides for mediation of mortality for the Self, but also how dark tourism can cast a critical reflection of how secular societies deal with death. This is particularly so if the resurrected Significant Other Dead are conceived to represent various dichotomous socio-cultural or technological relations that may collide within secular society and, thus, contest narratives of both living and dying.

Ultimately, however, in a contemporary secular age where ordinary death is hidden behind medical and professional façades, yet extraordinary death is recreated for popular consumption, dark tourism plays a potential mediating role between life and death. As such, the dead have always been guardians of the living, either through religious rituals or by secular myth making. To that end, dark tourism in death sequestered secular societies and the range of mediating relationships of mortality that may transpire, plays a unique role in our existential saliency. ■

REFERENCES

Alderman, D. (2002). Writing on the Graceland wall: On the importance of authorship in pilgrimage landscapes. *Tourism Recreation Research, 27*(2), 27–35.

Aries, P. (1981). *The hour of our death* (Translated by H. Weaver). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ashworth, G., & Hartmann, R. (2005). *Horror and human tragedy revisited: The management of sites of atrocities for tourism.* New York: Cognizant Communications Corporation.

Barthes, R. (2000 [1980]). *Camera Lucida* (Translated by R. Howard). London: Vintage.

Baudrillard, J. (1993 [1973]). *Symbolic exchange and death* (Translated by I. Grant). London: Sage.

Bauman, Z. (1992). *Mortality and immortality.* Cambridge: Polity.

Beech, J. (2009). 'Genocide tourism'. In R. Sharpley & P. R. Stone (Eds.), *The darker side of travel: The theory and practice of dark tourism* (pp. 207–223). Bristol: Channel View Publications.

Beloff, H. (2007). Immortality work: Photographs as memento mori. In M. Mitchell (Ed.), *Remember me* (pp. 179–192). London: Routledge.

Biran, A., Poria, Y., & Oren, G. (2011). Sought experiences at (dark) heritage sites. *Annals of Tourism Research, 38*(3), 820–841.

Blom, T. (2000). Morbid tourism: A postmodern market niche with an example from Althorpe. *Norwegian Journal of Geography, 54*(1), 29–36.

Bristow, R. S., & Newman, M. (2004). Myth vs. fact: An exploration of fright tourism. In K. Bricker, (comp., Ed.), *Proceedings of the 2004 northeastern recreation research symposium* (pp. 215–221), Gen. Tech. Rep. NE-326. Newtown Square, PA: US Department of Agriculture, Forest Service, Northeastern Research Station.

Carr, G. (2010). Shining A Light On Dark Tourism: German bunkers in the British channel islands. *Public Archaeology, 9*(2), 64–84.

Chronis, A. (2005). Co-constructing heritage at the Gettysburg Storyscape. *Annals of Tourism Research, 32*(2), 386–406.

Cohen, E. H. (2011). Educational dark tourism at an *In Populo Site*: The Holocuast Museum in Jerusalem. *Annals of Tourism Research, 38*(1), 193–209.

Dann, G. M. S. (1998). The Dark Side of Tourism. *Etudes et Rapports* (Vol. 14, pp. 1–31), Centre International de Recherches et d'Etudes Touristiques, Aix-en-Provence, serie L.

Dann, G. M. S., & Seaton, A. V. (Eds.). (2001). *Slavery, contested heritage and thanatourism.* New York: Haworth Hospitality Press.

Dann, G. M. S. (1994). Tourism: The nostalgia industry of the future. In W. Theobald (Ed.), *Global tourism: The next decade* (pp. 55–67). Oxford: Butterworth Heinemann.

Dunkley, R. A., Morgan, N., & Westwood, S. (2007). A shot in the dark? Developing a new conceptual framework for thanatourism. *Asian Journal of Tourism and Hospitality, 1*(1), 54–63.

Foley, M., & Lennon, J. (1996). JFK and dark tourism: A fascination with assassination. *International Journal of Heritage Studies, 2*(4), 198–211.

Giddens, A. (1991). *ModerniTY AND SELF-IDENTITY.* Cambridge: Polity.

Hafferty, F. (1991). *Into the valley.* New Haven: Yale University Press.

Harrison, R. P. (2003). *The dominion of the dead.* Chicago: Chicago University Press.

Howarth, G. (2000). Dismantling the boundaries between life and death. *Mortality, 5*, 127–138.

Howarth, G. (2007). *Death and dying: A sociological introduction.* Cambridge: Polity.

Jamal, T., & Lelo, L. (2011). Exploring the conceptual and analytical framing of dark tourism: From darkness to intentionality. In R. Sharpley & P. R. Stone (Eds.), *Tourist experience: Contemporary perspectives* (pp. 29–42). Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.

Kang, E. J., Scott, N., Lee., T. J., & Ballantyne, R. (2011). Benefits of visiting a 'dark tourism' site: The case of the Jeju April 3rd Peace Park, Korea. Retrieved May 18, 2011, from *Tourism Management* website: http://doi:10.1016/j.tourman.2011.03.004.

Kearl, M. (2009). *Kearl's guide to sociological thanatology: Sociology of death and dying.* Retrieved May 8, 2009, from Trinity University, San Antonio, Texas, USA, website: http://www.trinity.edu/mkearl/death.html.

King, A. (1998). *Memorials of the great war in Britain: The symbolism and politics of remembrance.* Oxford: Berg.

Klass, D., Silverman, P., & Nickman, S. (Eds.). (1996). *Continuing bonds: New understandings of grief.* Bristol, PA and London: Taylor & Francis.

Lee, C. K., Lawerence, J., Bendle, Y. S. Y., & Kim, M. J. (2011). Thanatourism or peace tourism: Perceived value at a North Korean resort from an indigenous perspective. Retrieved May 18, 2011, from *International Journal of Tourism Research* website: http://doi:10.1002/jtr.836.

Lennon, J., & Foley, M. (2000). *Dark tourism: The attraction of death and disaster.* London: Continuum.

Mellor, P. (1993). Death in high modernity: The contemporary presence and absence of death. In D. Clarke (Ed.), *The sociology of death* (pp. 11–30). Oxford: Blackwell.

Mellor, P., & Shilling, C. (1993). Modernity, self-identity and the sequestration of death. *Sociology, 27*, 411–431.

Metcalf, P., & Huntington, R. (1991). *Celebrations of death: The anthropology of mortuary ritual* (2nd ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Miles, W. (2002). Auschwitz: Museum interpretation and darker tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research, 29*(4), 1175–1178.

Olick, J. (1999). Collective memory: The two cultures. *Sociological Theory, 17*(3), 333–348.

Pagliari, B. (2004). From a Death-Denying to a Death-Defying to a Death-Deriding Society. Retrieved June 6, 2009, from *Catholic New York Online*, Catholic Charities website: http://www.cny.org/archive/pg/pg040104.htm.

Rice, A. (2009). Museums, memorials and plantation houses in the Black Atlantic: Slavery and the development of dark tourism. In R. Sharpley & P. R. Stone (Eds.), *The darker side of travel: The theory and practice of dark tourism* (pp. 224–246). Aspect of Tourism Series, Bristol: Channel View Publications.

Rojek, C. (1993). *Ways of escape: Modern transformations in leisure and travel.* London: MacMillan.

Seale, C. (1998). *Constructing death: The sociology of dying and bereavement.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Seaton, A. (1996). Guided by the dark: From thanatopsis to thanatourism. *International Journal of Heritage Studies, 2*(4), 234–244.

Seaton, A. (1999). War and thanatourism: Waterloo 1815–1914. *Annals of Tourism Research, 26*(1), 130–158.

Seaton, A. (2002). Thanatourism's final frontiers? Visits to cemeteries, churchyards and funerary sites as sacred and secular pilgrimage. *Tourism Recreation Research, 27*(2), 73–82.

Seaton, A. (2010). Thanatourism and its discontents: An appraisal of a decade's work with some future issues and directions. In T. Jamal & M. Robinson (Eds.), *The sage handbook of tourism studies* (pp. 521–542). London: Sage Publications.

Seaton, A. (2009). Purposeful otherness: Approaches to the management of thanatourism. In R. Sharpley & P. R. Stone (Eds.), *The darker side of travel: The theory and practice of dark tourism* (pp. 75–108). Aspect of Tourism Series, Bristol: Channel View Publications.

Sharpley, R. (2009a). Shedding light on dark tourism: An introduction. In R. Sharpley & P. R. Stone (Eds.), *The darker side of travel: The theory and practice of dark tourism* (pp. 3–22). Aspect of Tourism Series, Bristol: Channel View Publications.

Sharpley, R. (2009b). Dark tourism and political ideology: Towards a governance model. In R. Sharpley & P. R. Stone (Eds.), *The darker side of travel: The theory and practice of dark tourism* (pp. 145–163). Aspect of Tourism Series, Bristol: Channel View Publications.

Sharpley, R., & Stone, P. R. (2009). Representing the Macabre: Interpretation, kitschification and authenticity. In R. Sharpley & P. R. Stone (Eds.), *The darker side of travel: The theory and practice of dark tourism* (pp. 109–128). Aspect of Tourism Series, Bristol: Channel View Publications.

Shilling, C. (1993). *The body and social theory.* London: Sage.

Slade, P. (2003). Gallipoli thanatourism: The meaning of ANZAC. *Annals of Tourism Research, 30*(4), 779–794.

Smith, V. (1998). War and tourism: An American ethnography. *Annals of Tourism Research, 25*(1), 202–227.

Stone, P. R. (2006). A dark tourism spectrum: Towards a typology of death and macabre related tourist sites, attractions and exhibitions. *Tourism: An Interdisciplinary International Journal, 54*(2), 145–160.

Stone, P. R., & Sharpley, R. (forthcoming). Consuming 'dark leisure': Sex, death and ontological meanings of the Taboo. In S. Elkington, & S. Gammon (Eds.), *Leisure in mind.* Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.

Stone, P. R., & Sharpley, R. (2008). Consuming dark tourism: A thanatological perspective. *Annals of Tourism Research, 35*(2), 574–595.

Stone, P. R. (2009a). Making absent death present: Consuming dark tourism in contemporary society. In R. Sharpley & P. R. Stone (Eds.), *The darker side of travel: The theory and practice of dark tourism* (pp. 23–38). Aspect of Tourism Series, Bristol: Channel View Publications.

Stone, P. R. (2009b). Dark tourism: Morality and new moral spaces. In R. Sharpley & P. R. Stone (Eds.), *The darker side of travel: The theory and practice of dark tourism* (pp. 56–72). Aspect of Tourism Series, Bristol: Channel View Publications.

Stone, P. R. (2009c). 'It's a bloody guide': Fun, fear and a lighter side of dark tourism at the Dungeon Visitor Attractions, UK. In R. Sharpley & P. R. Stone (Eds.), *The darker side of travel: The theory and practice of dark tourism* (pp. 167–185). Aspect of Tourism Series, Bristol: Channel View Publications.

Stone, P. R. (2010). *Death, dying and dark tourism in contemporary society: A theoretical and empirical analysis.* Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Central

Lancashire (UCLan), United Kingdom, Retrieved March 2, 2011, from UCLan's website: http://clok.uclan.ac.uk/1870/.

Stone, P. R. (2011a). Dark tourism experiences: Mediating between life and death. In R. Sharpley & P. R. Stone (Eds.), *Tourist experience: Contemporary perspectives* (pp. 21–27). Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.

Stone, P. R. (2011b). Dark tourism and the cadaveric carnival: Mediating life and death narratives at Gunter von Hagens' Body Worlds. Retrieved April 1, 2011, from *Current Issues in Tourism* website: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13683500.2011.563839.

Stone, P. R. (2011c). Dark tourism: Towards a new post-disciplinary research agenda. *International Journal of Tourism Anthropology, 1*(3/4), 318–332.

Stone, P. R. (2012). Dark tourism as 'mortality capital': The case of Ground Zero and the significant other dead. In R. Sharpley & P. R. Stone (Eds.), *The contemporary tourist experience: Concepts and consequences* (pp. 30–45). Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.

Tarlow, P. (2005). Dark tourism: The appealing 'dark' side of tourism and more. In M. Novelli (Ed.), *Niche tourism: Contemporary issues, trends and cases* (pp. 47–57). Oxford: Elsevier.

Tercier, J. (2005). *The contemporary deathbed: The ultimate rush.* Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillian.

Thompson, C. (2004). *The 25 Best World War II Sites: European Theatre.* San Francisco: Greenline Publications.

Turner, B. (1991). *Religion and social theory.* London: Sage.

Walter, T. (2005). Mediator deathwork. *Death Studies, 29*(5), 383–412.

Walter, T. (2006). Disaster, modernity, and the media. In K. Garces-Foley (Ed.), *Death and religion in a changing world* (pp. 265–282). Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe Publications.

Walter, T. (2009). Dark tourism: Mediating between the dead and the living. In R. Sharpley & P. R. Stone (Eds.), *The darker side of travel: The theory and practice of dark tourism* (pp. 39–55). Aspect of Tourism Series, Bristol: Channel View Publications.

West, P. (2004). *Conspicuous compassion: When sometimes it really is cruel to be kind.* London: CIVITAS.

Willmott, H. (2000). Death. So what? Sociology, sequestration and emancipation. *The Sociological Review, 4*, 649–665.

Wilson, J. Z. (2008). *Prison: Cultural memory and dark tourism.* New York: Peter Lang.

Winkel, H. (2001). A postmodern culture of grief? On individualization of mourning in Germany. *Mortality, 6*, 65–79.

Available online at www.sciencedirect.com

SciVerse ScienceDirect