Sustainability in Tourism and Regional Development

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Edited by

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INTRODUCTION

MARJETKA RANGUS

Sustainability is nowadays understood as a three-pillar concept that incorporates environmental, economic and social aspects. In order to achieve successful development, all pillars should be equally important at all levels of policy-making procedure and implementation of policies. Tourism, as one of the most important world economic sectors, representing 9% of the world's GDP and creating one out of every 11 jobs on the planet (UNWTO, 2015b), holds special responsibility for sustainable development. The evidence of this responsibility is visible also in the international policies on sustainable tourism adopted by the United Nations' World Tourism Organization (UNWTO), national governments and other international organisations.

The first policy following the Rio World Summit in 1992 recognised 12 important goals for tourism and the travel industry, among them to meet all the economic, social and aesthetic requirements of the actors from the tourism sector, while maintaining cultural and environmental integrity, biological diversity and all systems that support life (Ene and Baraitaru, 2010). In September 2015, another document was adopted by the United Nations, the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, along with the 17 Sustainable Development Goals that aim at, inter alia, ending extreme poverty, fighting inequality and injustice, and tackling climate change (UNWTO, 2016). In this new policy, guidelines for a new post-2015 agenda have also been set in the field of sustainable tourism. According to UNWTO, special focus will be given to goals no. 8, 12 and 14, in which tourism has been featured (UNWTO, 2016). These goals are to promote sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment and decent work for all (no. 8); to ensure sustainable consumption and production patterns (no. 12); and also to conserve and use sustainably the oceans, seas and marine resources for sustainable development (no. 14) (UNWTO, 2015a).

This book addresses issues mainly in the scope of goals no. 8 and 12, the sustainable use of cultural heritage in tourism and the development of sustainable jobs and professionalism in the tourism sector. Other important

aspects of tourism development are the systemic management and planning of logistics of tourist destinations, and the contributions of local governments towards sustainable development and use of local resources.

In the first part of the book, Lea Kužnik (Chapter 1) deals with dark tourism as a special type of tourism which involves visits to tourist attractions and destinations that are associated with death, suffering, disasters and tragedies. Reasons and motives for such visits are varied, including curiosity, learning, memory, horror, survival guilt, nostalgia and empathy. She argues that dark tourism in Slovenia is very poorly developed compared to the rest of the world. Therefore, she proposes a typology of dark tourism heritage in Slovenia. Her research, based on an in-depth analysis of literature and fieldwork, gives a variety of new opportunities based on storytelling for the future development of sustainable dark tourism products in Slovenia, such as the heritage of witchcraft.

The study of Matetskaya and Dedova (Chapter 2) discusses the advantages and limitations of applying the new analytical framework of "creative atmosphere" to sustainable tourism and development. The main hypothesis is that a creative atmosphere, providing opportunities for creative projects from both the artistic and commercial points of view, facilitates the development of creative and cultural industries and defines their role in sustainable regional development. Empirical qualitative data were collected at two musical events: Pori Jazz Festival (Finland) and the "September in Tikhvin" festival (Russia). The research identifies both the economic and non-economic effects of the cultural events, including sustainable tourism development, that are influenced by a creative atmosphere.

In Chapter 3, Šuligoj addresses the issue of the Balkan Peninsula, of which some parts are highly dependent on tourism while many are not and, particularly, many of the latter today have significant developmental problems because of the conflict in the 1990s. Many parts of former Yugoslavia are marked by various types of war remains, including war memorials. The main objective of Šuligoj's research is to clarify the nature of warfare tourism in the Balkan context through quantitative research focusing on the perspective of the Croatian younger generation. Warfare sites and warfare tourism have a distinct conservational, educational and commemorative meaning, which is connected inherently with the political ideology and emphasised patriotism in the Balkans.

Another interesting contribution to the field of cultural and national heritage is presented by Mijatov, Pavić and Rančić in Chapter 4. The

territory of Kopaonik is the former seat of the mediaeval state of Old Ras and it has numerous features of culture-historical heritage dating from this period. These cultural and historical properties are now under State or UNESCO protection. For adequate heritage utilisation, the involvement of tourism management represents an important aspect of heritage protection. However, the tourism industry has not been involved in heritage protection sufficiently until now within the cultural-historical goods of the territory of Kopaonik. The authors present results that could constitute the base for planning sufficient inclusion of the tourism industry in heritage protection and aligning it with the principles of sustainable development.

Similar to the previous contribution, Chapter 5, written by Stanković, Batrićević and Joldžić, addresses the ecological value of Ramsar sites in Serbia and their touristic potential, which has led to conflict between two opposite interests: (1) economic interests related to the financial benefits of various touristic contents and (2) environmental interests, referring to their vital role as natural habitats for wildlife. The anthropogenic factor contributes significantly to the deterioration of these sites widely recognised as fragile. It is for this reason that human activities must be regulated legally and controlled strictly. However, numerous improvements are needed to achieve a level of protection fully compliant with the Ramsar Convention. The authors propose a set of constructive normative and practical suggestions for improvements in this field.

The two chapters presented by Vojinović and Sirk (Chapters 6 and 7) deal with moral and ethical issues in tourism. The chapters examine the importance of supportability for moral reasoning in the tourism industry. Supportability represents the extent to which companies support the ethical behaviour of employees. The authors suppose a positive correlation between supportability and all dimensions of moral reasoning in the tourism industry. According to their results, supportability affects all phases in the process of moral reasoning in the tourism industry: collective moral sensitivity (both dimensions: moral awareness and empathetic concerns); moral judgment with the focus on self and moral judgment with the focus on others; moral motivation; and moral character. In their second contribution they observe that the tourism industry reliance on human capital is significant; however, misbehaviour and deliberately acting in deviant ways are very common. Employees in the tourism industry all too often behave so as to maximise their own benefit and in doing so pay no attention to others. This study analyses whether management through ethical culture affects the reduction of collective moral judgement with the focus on self (egoistic collective moral judgement). Based on the results of empirical research, it can be concluded that six of the seven dimensions of

ethical culture have a statistically significant negative effect on egoistic moral judgement, namely clarity, congruency, feasibility, supportability, discussability and sanctionability.

Related to previously mentioned chapters on moral issues in tourism, the skills of employees in the tourism sector are addressed by Jagodič and Košir in Chapter 8. The authors argue that increasingly demanding consumers expect proper communication skills from employees and an adapted means of communication with them. In their research they have verified the importance of communication skills training for employees.

In Chapter 9, authors Završnik and Smolej deal with the criminal offence of fraud as it affected European Union financial interests (EU fraud) in the case of Rimske Terme and Dvorec Betnava. Financial resources from the European Union (European Regional Development Fund) were used for the reconstruction of Rimske Terme and Dvorec Betnava. These are two notable Slovenian examples of EU fraud. By overviewing judicial decisions and media reports, the authors ascertain that this EU fraud had a negative impact on the development of tourism in this region.

In their chapter (10), the authors Žibert and Lisec discuss some logistical problems and solutions for the Slovenian coastal area. The Slovenian coast is very crowded, so there are not enough parking spaces for tourists and hotel guests. The authors investigate the possibilities of new logistical solutions for parking on the Slovenian coast.

Another important issue related to local sustainable development in tourism is the question of local government and its attitude towards sustainability. On the basis of the Local Community Act and the Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia, local communities, i.e. municipalities, are charged with taking care of the economic, social and cultural development of the local population. Chapter 11 assesses the role of the local municipality in providing a framework for the cooperation of local suppliers with the tourism sector, using the case of the Brežice Municipality. The findings expose the role of events supported by the municipality in the interconnection of producers or service providers.

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CHAPTER ONE

THE BLOODY FIGHT AGAINST WITCHCRAFT:
THE CASE OF DARK HERITAGE
TOURISM IN SLOVENIA

LEA KUŽNIK

Introduction

Visiting dark tourism destinations around the world is a phenomenon of the twenty-first century, but it also has a very long heritage. The number of visitors to war areas, scenes of accidents, tragedies and disasters, cursed places, and places connected with ghosts, paranormal activities, witches and witchhunt trials is rising steeply.

Dark tourism in Slovenia is very poorly developed, and is mostly limited only to tourist sites connected with both the First and Second World Wars. Therefore, the trend is a novelty in Slovenia, as well as in Slovenian professional and scientific literature, and is almost unknown in comparison to other parts of the world. The main purpose of this chapter is to explore the current situation of dark tourism in Slovenia, and to propose a typology of dark tourism in Slovenia, which should serve as a basis for further efforts in the design of new dark tourism products based on the dark heritage of Slovenia, as shown below in the case of witchcraft.

The chapter proposes a typology of dark tourism heritage sites in Slovenia based on an in-depth analysis of literature, and fieldwork consisting of unstructured interviews with curators in the Slovene Ethnographic Museum, Museum of Ribnica and Celje Regional Museum, as well as observation during participation in a guided tour through the exhibition The Barbarism of Torture at Ljubljana Castle – an exhibition of torture devices from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century.

Dark tourism has been recognised as a distinctive tourism phenomenon of the twenty-first century, with increasingly significant numbers of visitors and tourists going to dark tourism attractions and sites, new dark

tourism products and attractions emerging, and modern global communication media generating interest in dark tourism attractions while, at the same time, affecting the image of destinations. The phenomenon of dark tourism has been examined in academia since the mid-1990s. Since then, the study of this phenomenon has increased and the scale of relevant studies has been enlarged.

The term "dark tourism" was coined by Foley and Lennon (1996: 198) to describe the attraction of visitors to tourism sites associated with death, disaster and depravity. Other notable definitions of dark tourism include the act of travel to sites associated with death, suffering and the seemingly macabre (Stone, 2006: 146), and visitations to places where tragedies or historically noteworthy deaths have occurred that continue to impact our lives (Tarlow, 2005: 48). Scholars have further developed and applied alternative terminology in dealing with such travel and visitation, including "thanatourism" (Seaton, 1996), "black spot tourism" (Rojek, 1993), "atrocity heritage tourism" (Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996), and "morbid tourism" (Blom, 2000). In a context similar to dark tourism, terms such as "macabre tourism", "tourism of mourning" and "dark heritage tourism" are also in use. Among these terms, dark tourism remains the most widely applied in academic research (Sharpley, 2009).

The concept of dark tourism is in contrast to broader marketing and promotional approaches that prefer to call this type of tourism "historic tourism". Major encyclopaedias of tourism identify dark tourism also as thanatourism, in which the core meaning of the term relates mostly to visits to the tombs, cemeteries and memorials of prominent people (Gosar, 2015a). In Croatia it is called "mračnjaški turizam", but in Slovene tourist literature the terminology is not yet defined clearly. The terms "črni", "temni", "temačni" and "mračni" tourism are all in use.

Although often regarded as a newer type of specialised tourism, in fact we can speak of dark tourism as one of the oldest types of tourism, because death has historically always attracted human inquisitiveness. Gladiator games in the Coliseum of ancient Rome were already a kind of organised "thanato tourism" (Gosar, 2015b). Popular festivals in the past have included the public hanging, beheading and burning of witches. Walking and paid visits to the battlefield at Waterloo in Belgium, the site of Napoleon's last battle with the English nobility, have been ongoing since the time of the battle in 1815. Therefore, this kind of dark tourism has a very long heritage.

Dark tourism is a form of tourist travel which interprets the heritage of a place through the tragedies and conflicts that have occurred there, and which raises awareness of dark historical realities (Stone, 2013). The

Central Research Centre for Dark Tourism is located at the University of Central Lancashire in England. The Institute for Dark Tourism Research (iDTR) is led by Dr Philip R. Stone. According to iDTR, the main contours of dark tourism destinations are to be found in three groups of geographically expressed areas: destination connected to the death, burial and/or the tragedies of celebrities; destinations connected to great battles and falling soldiers; and destinations connected to collective suffering and death.

Visiting such sites can play a significant part in a tourist's experiences and, in turn, there will most probably be anxiety about the development of these sites as tourist attractions (Ashworth and Hartmann, 2005; Ryan, 2007; Sharpley and Stone, 2009; Wilson, 2008). These concomitant aspects of dark tourism have indeed led to concerns about the morality of commodifying death, disaster and atrocity (Lennon and Foley, 2000; Seaton, 2009).

All the actions associated with tourist trips that expose/define the places associated with death, suffering and/or anything that is reminiscent of grim periods of human history are what make up dark tourism (Stone, 2006). According to the researchers of the iDTR, dark tourism is a subcategory of historic tourism, which includes the content of material and intangible heritage, as both strengthen our historical memory.

The Faculty of Tourism Studies – Turistica in Portorož, in October 2014, at the centenary of the beginning of the First World War, held the first International Workshop on Dark Tourism in Slovenia, titled "Dark Tourism: Post The First World War, Destinations of Human Tragedies and Relevant Tourism Development Opportunities'.

Elements of dark tourism

In recent years, it has been argued that changing socio-economic patterns have led to a move away from mass or conventional tourism, to forms of alternative or special interest tourism (Singh, 2004). From this perspective, the perceived benefits of a tourist holiday have shifted from relaxation and indulgence toward opportunities for study, learning and a greater experience of the world, with travellers interested more in enriching their lives with experiences than in being passive consumers of entertainment and spectacle. As such, more contemporary tourists are depicted as seeking interactive, high-involvement experiences, and the providers of such experiential services are required to be knowledgeable, imaginative and innovative entrepreneurs able to differentiate their tourism

products through new activities, trends and experiences (Andereck et al., 2006; Gilmore and Pine, 2002), thus gaining a competitive edge.

Among the different forms of special interest tourism, such as adventure, ecotourism and cultural heritage tourism, the search for experiences is dependent on an individual's needs and interests. Adventure tourism generally appeals to people keen to pursue challenging and extraordinary experiences, ecotourism to those who have a strong interest in the environment, and cultural heritage tourism to people with an interest in history and nostalgia.

Likewise, dark tourism is also recognised as a special interest form of tourism appealing to those keen to visit sites or attractions associated with the dark side of human nature, and often tied to death, atrocity or tragic events of the past (Ashworth and Hartmann, 2005; Lennon and Foley, 2000). Furthermore, in recent years dark tourism has been recognised as a distinctive and emergent tourism phenomenon, given the significant numbers of visitors to related attractions and sites, as well as the emergence of many new dark tourism attractions and products. In short, dark tourism attractions or sites have become increasingly frequent stops on international tourism itineraries (Strange and Kempa, 2003).

All the elements of dark stories educate, evoke memories, and inform visitors about people and their decisions, which can lead to disasters. But irrespective of whether such disasters are the result of nature or of historical socio-political decisions, they have in common pain, terror and death. The reasons for visiting such tourism sites are varied.

The reasons for visiting dark tourism sites

Dark tourism may be considered a form of special interest tourism. There are a number of reasons for travelling to dark tourism sites, including curiosity, education, survivor guilt, remembrance, nostalgia, empathy and horror (Ashworth and Hartmann, 2005; Baldwin and Sharpley, 2009; Garwood, 1996; Lennon and Foley, 2000; Miles, 2002; Smith, 1996).

However, theoretical and empirical research investigating visitor motivations for travelling to dark tourism sites remains limited. For Ashworth and Hartmann (2005), there are three core reasons for visiting destinations of tragedy and atrocity – curiosity, empathy and horror – whereas other studies suggest additional reasons, including education, nostalgia, remembrance and survivor guilt (Garwood, 1996; Lennon and Foley, 2000; Marcuse, 2005; Miles, 2002; Smith, 1996). Each of these can best be discussed separately as follows:

Curiosity

Many tourists are interested in the unusual and the unique, whether this be a natural phenomenon (e.g. Niagara Falls, Škocjan Caves), an artistic or historical structure (e.g. the pyramids in Egypt), or spectacular events (e.g. a royal wedding). Importantly, the reasons why tourists are attracted to dark tourism sites derive, at least in part, from the same curiosity which motivates a visit to the Škocjan Caves. Visiting dark tourism sites is an out-of-the-ordinary experience and, thus, attractive for its uniqueness and as a means of satisfying human curiosity. The curiosity tourists have for a dark tourism experience may differ from the motivation for travelling, for instance, to a theme park or zoo. The intention in visiting dark tourism sites is not normally to seek entertainment, amusement or enjoyment. The main reason is the experience of the unusual.

Empathy

One of the reasons for visiting dark tourism sites may be empathy, which is an acceptable way of expressing a fascination with horror. Ashworth and Hartmann (2005) note that empathy relies upon the capacity of heritage consumers to identify with individual victims of the atrocity. But while this identification is assumed to be more with the victims in question, it could equally conceivably be with perpetrators. In many respects, the interpretation of dark tourism sites can be difficult and sensitive, given that the message of the site as put forward by exhibition curators can at times conflict with the understandings of visitors. For instance, site curators may justify a graphic description as creating empathy with victims, or even helping prevent such events from recurring in the future. Some visitors, however, may indeed be empathising with the perpetrators, and be stimulated to replicate the events (Ashworth and Hartmann, 2005).

Horror

Horror is regarded as one of the key reasons for visiting dark tourism sites, and particularly sites of atrocity. Ashworth and Hartmann (2005) note that there is a considerable amount of literature, folk stories and, more recently, internet, film and television portrayals of scenes of horror, which evoke emotions of fear and fascination in consumers.

Visitors to dark tourism sites are looking for the challenge of primary feelings, such as fear, shock and surprise. Fear is a leading psychological

component of dark tourism products. While images of terror change over time, the interpretation of certain human fears is present all the time. Universal fears are the base for dark tourism products because they are internalised and timeless; among these, fear of death and fear of the unknown or the invisible are dominant. How strong emotions are provoked is also a measure of the quality of an individual dark tourism product.

Relating atrocity as heritage at a site is thus as entertaining as any media depiction of a story, and for precisely the same reasons and with the same moral overtones. Examples of such tourism products or cases include ghost walks around sites of execution or murder (Ghost Tour of Prague, Berlin Story Bunker), and the murder trails found in many cities, such as those based around Jack the Ripper in London or the Boston Strangler in Boston. In Slovenia such products could focus on the serial killers Silvo Plut and Metod Trobec, who killed and cremated at least five women at his home in Dolenja Vas near Polhov Gradec. Trobec was sentenced to death and committed suicide at the Dob Prison. The Slovenian-Croatian alternative rock band Trobčove Krušne Peči took his name, the famous writer Svetlana Makarovič wrote a song about him ("Balada o Trobcu"), as did the group Slon in Sadež ("Za Metoda Goriš").

Education

In much tourism literature it has been claimed that among the main motivational factors for travel are the gaining of knowledge and the quest for authentic experiences. One of the core missions of cultural and heritage tourism in particular is to provide educational opportunities to visitors through guided tours and interpretation. Similarly, individual visits to dark tourism sites to gain knowledge, understanding and educational opportunities continue to have intrinsic educational value (Ashworth and Hartmann, 2005). Moreover, a number of sites emphasise the visitors' educational expectations in terms of their capacity to learn from past mistakes – for example, the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, DC, sites related to the First World War such as The Kobarid Museum, and sites related to the Second World War such as the USS Arizona Memorial in Hawaii and the Bridge over the River Kwai in Thailand.

In turn, many dark tourism attractions or sites are considered important destinations for school educational field trips, achieving education through experiential learning (Marcuse, 2005).

Nostalgia

Nostalgia can be described broadly as yearning for the past (Dann and Potter, 2001; Smith, 1996), or as a wistful mood that an object, a scene, a smell or a strain of music evokes (Belk, 1990: 670). Importantly, this remains one of the primary reasons for travelling to heritage parks (Walter, 2009). In addition, however, it has been recognised as a reason for travelling to dark tourism sites, although not perhaps a key or central motivation. In this respect, Smith (1996) examined war tourism sites and concluded that old soldiers do go back to the battlefields to revisit and remember the days of their youth. One elderly veteran summed it up well: "those of us who have been in combat share something very special … I simply have to be here, to honour those men." (Smith, 1996: 260).

Remembrance

Remembrance is a vital human activity connecting us to our past, with an important role to play in shaping our future in turn. In short, the way we remember defines the way we are in the present (Young, 1993). Remembrance helps people formulate an identity, allowing them to learn from past mistakes, and to go forward with a clear vision of the future.

In the context of dark tourism, remembrance and memory are considered key elements in the importance of sites (Lennon and Foley, 2000; Walter, 2009; Young, 1993). Indeed, a number of dark tourism locations have been considered effective warehouses for memories, with some mandating remembrance in addition to education as a core aspect of their planning. In particular, for several sites associated with the Holocaust and the Second World War in European cities, commemoration and remembrance are key reasons for their existence. Several sites, such as Yad Vashem in Jerusalem, the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, DC, and the Holocaust Museum in Houston, were established with such rationale. In the literature, reverence is identified as a key feature of remembrance at many dark tourism sites. For example, the USS Arizona Memorial was built as a site of remembrance of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, based around one of the most powerful battleships of the time which was destroyed in the first minutes of the attack. Visitors must first view an interpretive film before being able to board skiffs to the Memorial. Once there, reverence is encouraged by staff present on the Memorial structure. Beach-style clothing is not permitted on the Memorial. The ship is clearly visible below the water and a viewing well

enables visitors to drop flowers onto the vessel's starboard side (Lennon and Foley, 2000: 105).

Survivor guilt

One of the distinctive characteristics of dark tourism is the types of visitors such sites attract, which include survivors and victims' families returning to the scene of death or disaster. Once again, these types of visitors are particularly prevalent at sites associated with the Second World War and the Holocaust. For many survivors of the horror of war, atrocity and disaster, it seems, returning to the scene is cathartic and remains a way of unburdening themselves of the guilt they may feel about their survival. A study by Braithwaite and Lee (2006) notes that some veterans of war have suffered acute stress or trauma for prolonged periods, a condition called post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). One of the symptoms of PTSD is guilt about having survived when others did not, or about the behaviour required for survival. It appears that not only war veterans, but prisoners of war of the Japanese, and Holocaust victims and their families, experience this in particular. Returning to the scene of death and atrocity can achieve a therapeutic effect by enabling survivors to resolve grief and build understanding of how terrible things came to have happened. This can be an unself-consciously emotional experience (Braithwaite and Lee, 2006).

Such reasons for visiting dark tourism sites or attractions can in turn influence visitors' on-site experiences. Dark tourism literature frequently refers to dark tourism experiences as both educational and emotional in nature. Since many dark tourism attractions are established to convey important messages to people, visitor experiences are often related to the gaining of knowledge of the past event (Ashworth and Hartmann, 2005; Henderson, 2000; Lennon and Foley, 2000). This type of visitor experience can of course also be found in other cultural heritage or ecotourism attractions, even if they do not include many of the distinctive characteristics of dark tourism.

Typology of dark tourism

When analysing a wide variety of dark tourism around the world, depending on the content, we can give the following two-level typology:

1. Dark places in nature:
- Disaster-area tourism (visiting places of natural disaster after e.g. Hurricane Katrina in New Orleans, the tsunami in Thailand or the earthquake in Nepal, or sites of volcanic destruction such as Pompeii in Italy or Montserrat in the Caribbean)
2. Dark places in connection with people:
- Grave tourism (visiting famous cemeteries, graves of famous individuals or grand mausoleums of cult personalities, e.g. Paris Pere Lachaise Cemetery, with Jim Morrison and Edith Piaf`s graves; the Taj Mahal in Agra; the House of Flowers in Belgrade; the Sedlec Ossuary in the Czech Republic; the Pierce Brothers Westwood Village Memorial Park in Los Angeles, with the graves of Marilyn Monroe, Roy Orbison, Jack Lemmon, Farrah Fawcett and other Hollywood stars)
- War or battlefield tourism (visiting former sites of war, e.g. Napoleon's Battle of Waterloo in Belgium, the USS Arizona Memorial in Hawaii, the Cu Chi tunnels in Vietnam, the Bridge over the River Kwai in Thailand)
- Holocaust tourism (visiting concentration camp memorial sites, memorial museums, former ghettos and sites where the Nazi perpetrators planned the Holocaust, e.g. the House of the Wannssee Conference and the Führerbunker in Berlin, the United States Holocaust Museum in Washington, DC, Yad Vashem in Jerusalem, Auschwitz in Poland)
- Genocide tourism (visiting places of genocide, e.g. the Rwandan genocide, the Toul Sleng Genocide Museum and the Killing Fields in Cambodia, the Srebrenica mass killing in Bosnia and Herzegovina)
- Prison tourism (visiting Alcatraz Island in the San Francisco Bay, Canon City in Colorado, Ottawa Jail Hostel, Devil's Island in French Guiana)
- Communism tourism (visiting e.g. North Korea, the tombs of the "big four": Lenin, Mao, Ho Chi Minh and Kim Il-sung)
- Cold War and Iron Curtain tourism (e.g. seeking out traces and remains of the Berlin Wall)
- Nuclear tourism (visiting sites of civil nuclear disaster, e.g. Chernobyl in Ukraine or Fukushima in Japan; sites of nuclear testing, e.g. Semipalatinsk in Kazahkstan and the Nevada Test Site in the USA; missile silos, e.g. Titan Missile Museum in Arizona; or the two places where atom bombs were used for real: Hiroshima and Nagasaki in Japan)

- Murderers and murderous places tourism (Jack the Ripper in London, Metod Trobec in Slovenia, Lee Harvey Oswald in Dallas – visitors can see the sixth floor of the building from which he fired at US President John F. Kennedy – or the Dakota apartment building in New York City where John Lennon was shot)
- Slum tourism (visiting impoverished areas, e.g. slums in India, Brazil, Kenya, Indonesia)
- Terrorist tourism (visiting e.g. Ground Zero in New York City, the site of the Boston Marathon, the Bardo Museum in Tunis and tourist resort at Sousse in Tunisia)
- Paranormal tourism (visiting e.g. crop circles, UFO sightings, the haunted house in Amityville, paranormal activities in Stanley Hotel in Colorado)
- Witch tourism (visiting e.g. the city of Salem in Massachusetts)
- Accident tourism (visiting e.g. the Pont de l'Alma tunnel in Paris where the British Princess Diana and Dodi Fayed died in a car accident)
- Medical tourism (visiting e.g. Josephinum, the medical museum with anatomical wax models in Vienna; the Mütter Museum in Philadelphia; Meguro Parasitological Museum in Tokyo; "bodies exhibitions" such as "Bodies Revealed")
- Dark amusement tourism (visiting amusement parks with particular dark themes, e.g. the Dungeons exhibitions in London and Berlin; Dracula Theme Park in Romania; ghost tours in London, Prague, Chicago and elsewhere)

Dark tourism in Slovenia

Dark heritage is also the basis for the development of dark tourism in Slovenia. Military cemeteries and ossuaries, monuments and museums, the sites of battles and executions, and solemn memorial events on important anniversaries are an integral part of the European cultural landscape and society. In the following analysis based on available sources and fieldwork, a typology of dark tourism in Slovenia is presented. In Slovenia, dark tourism destinations include:

- Cemeteries (Žale Cemetery in Ljubljana, Cemetery Pobrežje in Maribor, Roman Necropolis in Šempeter in Savinja Valley, Doberdob)
- Prisons and penitentiaries (the Penitentiary at the Ljubljana Castle, Celica Jail Hostel)

- Museums (the Hospital Franja, Park of Military History in Pivka, Kobarid Museum, Idrija War Museum, War Museum in Logatec)
- Concentration camps (Ljubelj, Mauthausen)
- Memorial sites and monuments (Cerje Monument, Monument for the Battle of Dražgoše, Monument to Pohorje Partisan Battalion in Osankarica, Teharje Memorial Park, the Memorial Church of the Holy Spirit in Javorca, Russian Chapel at Vršič)
- Fortification systems (Vallo Alpino, Rupnik's Line, Fortress Kluže)
- Guided tours of military facilities (Rupnik's Line, the Hospital Franja)
- Remembrance paths (the Walk of Peace from the Alps to the Adriatic, the Circular Path of Military History in the municipality of Pivka)
- Shows (The show about the First World War at Kluže Fortress performed by the Dreizehn Dreizehn Society, 1313. This is a different way of discovering the everyday lives of soldiers on the Isonzo front. Visitors can see tooth extraction, reading the long-awaited love letter, and get some idea of the fear experienced or what it was like to nurse the wounded. Every soldier at the front experienced all of this, irrespective of their nationality.)
- Re-enacting battles (Rupnik's Line battle in the municipality of Žiri, the "Liberation of Primorska 1945" battle in the Park of Military History in the municipality of Pivka, both performed by Triglav Cultural and Historical Society)
- Hiking along trails associated with war memories (memorial marches "Along the Trail of the Cankar Battalion" in Dražgoše, "Along the Barbed Wire of the Occupied City" in Ljubljana)
- Post-war killings (Kren Cave mass grave, Kočevski Rog mass grave, the Barbara Pit)

The analysis shows that dark tourism in Slovenia is associated mainly with topics related to the First World War and Second World War periods, comprising conventional museum presentations, visiting places *in situ*, performances and thematic trails in conjunction with the two wars.

Slovenia also offers a lot of other opportunities for the development of dark tourism on the basis of dark cultural heritage. One of the topics is witchcraft, which has a long heritage in Slovenia but has not yet been included in the tourism offer. For this reason, four stories of Slovene "witches" will be presented below. All of them could be incorporated effectively into a comprehensive tourism product.

Stories of Slovene "witches"

The period from the sixteenth century well into the last quarter of the eighteenth century was marked by terrible and cruel violence against the human body. In early modern criminal matters, the process of interrogation and sentencing took place behind closed doors and was strictly separate from the public announcement of the sentence and the punishment. While it became customary for acknowledgement of the crime to be the ultimate evidence, judicial authorities used extremely violent methods of torture to achieve an admittance of guilt. Physical violence against the body was supposed to encourage the acknowledgement of the crime. Women accused of witchcraft were usually burned at the stake, as in the four stories of Slovene "witches" described below.

The tragic love story of Veronika of Desenice and Frederick II, Count of Celje

The first process relating to an accusation of witchcraft in Slovenia took place in 1427 in Celje, against Veronika of Desenice. She was the second wife of Frederick II, Count of Celje. Little is known of her early life. It is believed that her name derives from that of the village of Desinić in Croatia, where Frederick also had extensive estates. Veronika was only minor nobility, and Frederick's father, Hermann II, was greatly opposed to the marriage. The chronicles of the Counts of Celje suggest he had his son arrested and, while holding him prisoner, initiated a trial against Veronika accusing her of witchcraft. She was acquitted by the court but, despite this, was incarcerated in Ojstrica Castle near Tabor and murdered (supposedly on the orders of Hermann II) by being drowned. She was buried in Braslovče and a few years later Frederick arranged for her remains to be reburied at the Carthusian Monastery at Jurklošter. An endowment to the Monastery at Bistra was also made in her memory. Her grave was discovered in 2005.

The story of Anica at Ljubljana Castle; The Barbarism of Torture – an exhibition of torture devices from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century

This exhibition offers a more detailed understanding of the course of criminal procedures of the time, from jail and interrogation to the execution of the sentence, with the aid of costumed characters – the Ljubljana executioner Hans and his victim Anica, who has been accused of

witchcraft in a story that is based on an actual witchcraft trial that unfolded in Ljubljana at the end of the seventeenth century.

Using the example of the Penitentiary at the Ljubljana Castle, which opened exactly 200 years ago, visitors will learn how, under the influence of Enlightenment ideas, physical punishment was replaced by detention and the focus shifted from public punishment aimed at serving as an example and a warning to the masses, to rehabilitation of the individual delinquent. Ljubljana at that time was no exception to the rule, with the preserved documents bearing witness to the interrogations that took place behind the walls of the Tranča building in Ljubljana, and to the execution of humiliating punishments in front of the Town Hall, where there once stood a pillary (or "pranger"), a fool's cage and a bench, and at Friškovec, where capital punishment was carried out by executioners dealing the fatal blows.

The exhibition of early modern torture devices, tools and requisites, which were used both to achieve a confession of guilt by means of torture and to administer punishment for minor and serious offences, is intended to shed light on the time of the proliferation of torture practices and cruel punishments, while also serving as a reminder that, even today, these practices are nowhere near being merely a residue of the distant past.

The tragic love story of Agatha and Friderich Herberstein, Count of Hrastovec Castle

In the sixteenth century, a young Count from Hrastovec, Friedrich Herberstein, fell in love with beautiful Agatha from the Štralek Manor. Friedrich's mother was opposed to their marriage; therefore, the young couple got married secretly in the Chapel of Stipler (today, the annex church of St Mary in Radoha). So, Friedrich's mother accused Agatha of witchcraft. While Friedrich was at war, his mother tortured Agatha and made her throw a newborn baby into the burning stove. Then, she reported the fact to the judge, who condemned Agatha to death. Her mother-in-law demanded that Agatha be beheaded. When Friedrich returned from the war, he could not find his beloved wife. In his grief, he planted a black cross, a symbol of unhappy love, in the ground where the tragedy happened. Today the black cross can be found in Lormanje in the Lenart Municipality. The story is described in the book *The Black Cross*, by Ožbalt Ilaunig.

The last one on the stake: Marina Šušarek in Ribnica

The Process of Ribnica was a typical witch process, with the usual accusations – from flying on the Sabbath and making a contract with the Devil, which was advocated eagerly by the judge, to accusations of causing damage by witchcraft, partly reported by the people from the village. It is also characteristic that it was a group process in which the accused were forced to inform against their colleagues, which resulted in new victims. The process was held for at least two years, from 1700 to 1701, but it might have started earlier and lasted longer than that. The Process of Ribnica resulted in at least seven victims besides Marina Šušarek (Košir, 2001).

Marina Šušarek was 42 years old, a mother of six children, married to the shoemaker. She was accused of witchcraft and put on the witchcraft chair to confess her guilt. After three hours of torture she admitted to being a witch. She had to admit that she was making hail, and that she attended the Sabbath and concluded a pact with the devil. She was sentenced to death. They cut off her head with a sword. Her body was thrown on the stake and completely burned to dust and ashes (Košir, 2001). Records of her trial are kept in the Archive of the Republic of Slovenia.

Conclusion

Dark tourism is a growing phenomenon internationally, that has gathered significant attention on the part of academic literature in the past decade. Including forms of cultural and historical commemoration, but also visits to sites of horror and violence, dark tourism is becoming an important source of income for some destinations. The number of visitors to places of disaster and tragedy, scenes of murder or witchcraft, and cursed places is rising sharply: although some such places had attracted visitors previously in history, the labelling of such visits as "dark tourism" only began with this rise in interest.

Irresistibly attractive places of accidents and tragedies were identified in the tourism industry as a promising niche market. Human inquisitiveness has become a source of income for the organisers of tourist trips, and for locals who are able to earn some money because of their area's connection to past disaster.

Dark tourism is a type of tourism that should have a highly educational role, provoking endless discussions on how the difficult past could and should be presented to visitors. The main motive for visiting dark memorials is to understand the causes and consequences of various events