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HOLOCAUST TOURISM AS A PART OF THE DARK TOURISM

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Abstract

The paper discusses the origins and development of the holocaust tourism i.e. the tourism associated with visiting concentration camps that had emerged during the Second World War in Europe and more generally with visiting memorials and museums linked to the phenomenon of the legacy of the Holocaust. The text freely discusses motivational and ethical issues associated with this form of tourism (the question of free entry or the amount of currently levied entry of the sites, respectively). Based on the possible data and information available, the text also presents anecdotal evidence of the attendance of the goals of the holocaust tourism, the structure of their visitors and of the specific seasonality of this subtype of a dark tourism. In conclusion, we evaluated the competitiveness of the Czech Republic and opportunities for further development of the holocaust tourism from the perspective of the (dis)interest of Czech tourists.

Keywords: Holocaust, Holocaust tourism, dark tourism, domestic tourism, Czech Republic

JEL classification: L83

Introduction

In the past few years, in many areas and in a number of research works, one could come across the themes such as funeral monuments, tafolies, necrography, and urban movement (urban exploration, i.e. the exploration of abandoned buildings and inaccessible places), etc. In the same vein, the tourism gives increasingly more and more space - at a practical and theoretical level - to the issue of dark tourism, for which one of the most controversial or the most sensitive part, respectively, for Europeans is the holocaust tourism.

Some authors associate the beginning of the interest in the holocaust tourism with Steven Spielberg's Academy Award winning film *Schindler's List* (1983), but others more factually and in the broader context suggest that a „perverse“ general interest in the spots of tragedy, death, human suffering and misery has existed in various societies forever, and that it is perhaps a part of a human nature, which in the past was nonetheless regulated in various cultural taboos. At present a commercially conditional expression of interest in this controversy may be either the practices of the tabloid media (paparazzi), the practices of mass media and their news bringing - or almost literally – „live death“ (plane crashes, train crashes, terrorist attacks, live coverage of war, live executions, etc.) or the recent production of the movie industry offering noir movies, horror films, thrillers etc.

In the tourism, we can observe not only a growing popularity of the objectives of dark tourism, but in connection with this trend and the theme, an emergence of a number of websites, many expert studies and contributions (Foley, Lennon, 2010; Biran, Poria, Oren, 2011), final

qualification works (Hudáková, 2010; Kůtová, 2014; Sedláček, 2014; Altman, 2014), or even the emergence of specialized research institutions (e.g. *Institute for Dark Tourism Research* in the Central Lancashire in the UK or the *Jasenovac Research Institute* in Brooklyn, USA, respectively or the *Holocaust Memorial Centre* in Budapest, etc.).

Papers published so far on the topic of the holocaust and dark tourism in most cases deal with questions such as: „*Do dark places (scaffolds, gallows, morgues, cemeteries, etc.) attract members of today's society more than they did in the past?*“ „*What is so tempting- genius loci, mystery, authenticity, otherness? Or is it a fascination with death, disappearance and the end, is it the effort to know the unknown fates, meet taboo and get closer to the unseen?*“ „*Can the dark tourism be associated with a certain type of personality?*“ „*What is the (main) prevailing motivation to visit those places?*“ „*Is it about people's curiosity or cynicism, or even a kind of perversion?*“ „*Is that not just a desire for adrenaline?*“ „*Is it appropriate at all to combine some of the dark places with tourism?*“ „*Is it appropriate to promote those places together with, for example, attractions such as Disneylands, casinos, dinoparks and other entertaining parks?*“ „*It is ethically permissible to make profit from such sites, and charge e.g. an admission fee?*“ „*Are dark places a potential source of further development of tourism, or a source of development of the affected villages, towns and places, respectively?*“ „*How are or may be perceived the participants of the dark tourism by local residents?*“ Most papers often contain a list of the dark places and attractions in a particular area, sometimes even their comparison and evaluation (Altmanová, 2014) or proposals for marketing and promoting their use (Kůtová, 2014) or respondent research detecting the awareness about these places and their potential attractiveness (Hudáková, 2010), respectively.

So far, no general conclusions have been made about causes of the increase in popularity and attractiveness of dark places. However, one of the major factors which can be pointed out may be changing value orientations toward post materialism (i.e. a shift from the mass to individualism and creativity; a pursuit for intense experiences; more and more new experiences - see Hofstede, 2006). But also a kind of values emptiness of matters of significance and traditions or the society „emptying“ (Giddens, 2000), whose members can, in such dark places, meditate, realize once again basic human values, in other words to live through his or her personal catharsis there. Sociological connotations can be seen even in the existence and emergence of a new generation (generation Y which means people born between 1985 and 1995), with different thinking and behaviour, with increased impulsiveness, with higher spatial or other instability. As for the whole age range of the visitors, a certain role may play a saturation of the classical forms of cognitive tourism (standard tours of castles), and in connection therewith also an inclination to the adventure tourism (aqua or waterparks, thematic and amusement parks, zoos, outdoor and adrenaline activities, survival courses etc.), a search for alternative tourist destinations, for example technical and military monuments, etc. Nowadays, in accordance with cognitive tours, even the participants at classic residential trips look for, or at least appreciate, unusual and unique experiences that can "liberate" them from everyday stereotype.

At present, the dark tourism can be regarded as a product of the postmodern era, in which a growing number of tourists gradually move away from mass tourism and are seeking for new destinations and authentic experiences. The dark tourism is now largely seen as too controversial (e.g. the question of the relationship of piety and commercialization of a given spot). The commercialization takes place at different strengths, depending on the culture, value orientation, perception of time and distance from the past tragic events (e.g. one can assume that the more recent history of the tragic event occurred, the more controversially might be the development of the dark tourism in a given locality perceived).

The increase in popularity of the dark tourism significantly enhance mass media and the film industry (already mentioned Spielberg's movie *Schindler's List*, a television film *The Diary of Anne Frank* by director Robert Dornhelma, a film *World Trade Centre* by Oliver Stone describing the terrorist attack of September 11, 2001 or for the time being postponed filming of

the fate of missing Malaysian MH370 aircraft etc.), and perhaps even some easing of a long-term tabooization of death in liberalizing and pluralistic society.

As it is not possible, especially in terms of motivation and objects of interest of visitors, to cover all areas of the dark tourism, the paper further focuses, at a detail possible, on the aforementioned holocaust tourism. In evaluating its development and importance the authors took use of available sources of information (attendance statistics, evaluative reflections of the dark places by the visitors of the TripAdvisor web, undertaken sociological surveys, annual reports, etc.). Those interested in a more detailed insight into the issues and especially into the typology of the dark tourism can refer to the sites of the „Institute for Dark Tourism Research“ and „Grief Tourism“ mentioned in the final list of references and sources.

Dark Tourism

Dark tourism is a form of tourism, to which participants are motivated by the pursuit for getting to know the authentic spots of bleak human tragedies, spots associated with death, misery, suffering, torture, killings and imprisonment, places renowned as historic battlefields, but also spots of natural disasters or current conflicts. Dark tourism areas of interest may also be cemeteries, places of the pass away and the rest of celebrities, historical military objects, gulags, concentration camps, dungeons, prisons, gallows, torture museums, monuments, memorial sites and pilgrimages etc. Apart from the authentic sites, people visit as a part of the dark tourism, the so-called *entertainment centres of horror* that should provide tourists with fun but at the same time also present a death on the basis of real or imaginary events; such centres are located e.g. in London (Dungeon), in Hamburg or in Edinburgh. In the broadest sense one can regard under a sort of dark tourism also an ascetic vacation, i.e. several days long stays in authentic locations and conditions of prisons, or rather vulture visits of the poor slum areas of cities in developing countries (India, Brazil, Mexico), usually in the form of guided tours .

The term *dark tourism* was firstly used in the book called „Dark Tourism. The attraction of death and disaster“ (Lennon, Foley, 1996). In English written literature there often appear other synonyms and related terms such as *grief tourism*, *atrocitiy tourism*, *morbid tourism* (Blom, 2000), *horror tourism*, *tragedy tourism*, *disaster tourism*, „*dark heritage*“ and a number of others. The terms *thanatourism* and *black tourism* appears a bit later, only in 2002 (concretely in connection with an English town Soham that got famous through a murder of two little kids). Nevertheless, one must also mention that another related term *black spots (tourism)* was already used Rojek in 1993 in the association with the opportunity to take use of the dark spots for tourism (according to him to take use of the spots associated with violence and pass away of famous people or with a sudden death of a large number of people).

Among the world's most famous and popular dark sites belong Italian city of Pompeii (79), the battlefield at Waterloo in Belgium (1815), a memorial to the allied troops landing at Omaha Beach in Normandy (1944), the concentration camp Auschwitz-Birkenau (Auschwitz-Birkenau), the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki (1945), the Ukrainian village of Pripyat near the Chernobyl nuclear power plant (1986), Ground Zero in New York (2001), the areas of New Orleans devastated by Hurricane Katrina (2005), the wreck of the Costa Concordia (2012). In the Czech Republic one can name the Theresienstadt Jewish ghetto, the burned out villages of Lidice, Ležáky and Javoříčko, the monument in Lety, the battlefield at Austerlitz and Hradec Kralove, a charnel-house in Sedlec near Kutna Hora, Vysehrad Cemetery and Slavin, the catacombs in Klatovy and others.

Holocaust Tourism

The original meaning of the term holocaust can be identified with a massacre, a complete disaster or a complete destruction of something or someone. In the late 1970s the term started to be used also for marking the Nazi systematic persecution and mass murder of the Jewish

people and later non-Jewish nationalities (i.e. members of the ethnically, religiously, politically or other troublesome groups of people such as Gipsy, Poles, Soviet prisoners of war, physically and mentally disabled, homosexuals and Jehovah's Witnesses).

Holocaust tourism represents a tourism associated with visits to the places that are „famous for“crimes against humanity, which the Nazis committed during the Second World War. Within the usual destinations of the holocaust tourism also belong places connected with those crimes indirectly, i.e. not only concentration (labour and extermination) camps and Jewish ghettos, that served as internment (detention) camps or „transfer stations“ (*Westerbork* in the Netherlands, *Drancy* in France, *Warsaw* in Poland, *Theresienstadt* in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia), but also museums devoted to this topic (*United States Holocaust Memorial Museum* in Washington, DC), Jewish museums in a number of cities (Prague, Amsterdam, Berlin, Brussels, London, Miami, Paris, Warsaw, New York, Casablanca), as well as memorials of the victims of holocaust, burned or murdered, and the ground levelled villages (e.g. Wallachian villages Prlov, Ploština, Leskovec, Vařákovy Paseky, Slovak village of Kaliste and many others, or even more with the history and the holocaust related objects (e.g. one house in Amsterdam, where during the war a Jewish family of Anne Frank was hiding).

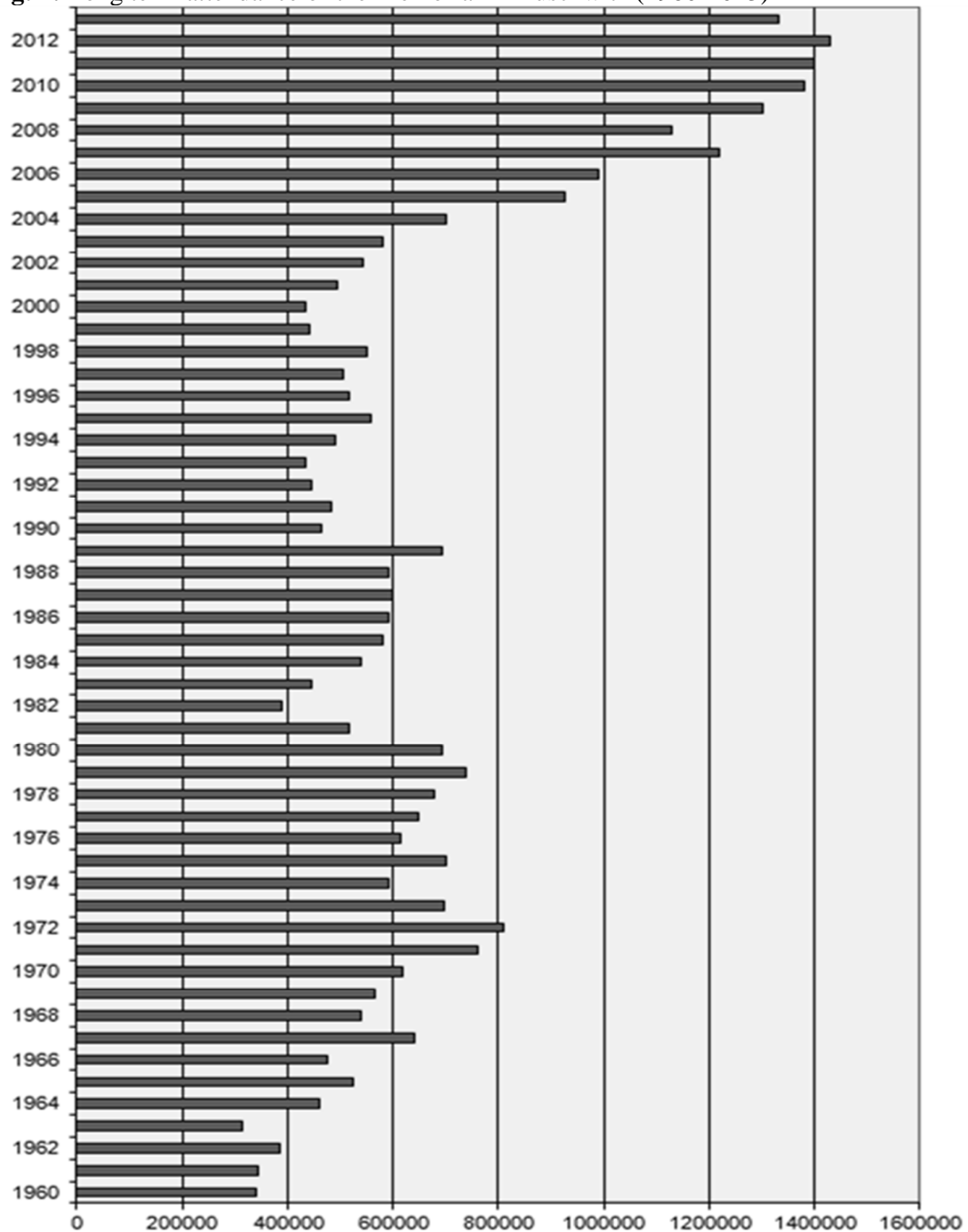
Among the motives for participation in holocaust tourism we can sort both curiosity, interest in history, self-education and training, but also the search for family roots, ancestors or relatives, the nostalgia of survivors, the opportunity to commemorate the dead, or even the need for a personal catharsis and a personal "reboot". Given that since the occurrence of those tragic events more than seventy years has passed, one can rule out vulturism (existing or at least discussed in conjunction with other forms of the dark tourism) as a motive.

Concentration camps as tourist destinations in Europe: the analysis

The term concentration camp was originally, in the 19th century, used only in the sense of an internment camp for civilians (e.g. in the USA for the Indians). Later the term was used for camps where the Nazi regime during the Second World War detained and in terms of labour exploited and physically liquidated its enemies and the members of certain nationalities. It means that people were placed here usually without any legal reason, proper trial or a sound judgment.

It is a matter of fact that the remains of the Nazi concentration camps can be found across Europe, from the French island of Alderney up to the camp Dupnitsa in Bulgaria. Most of the concentration camps (and in particular the "death camps") is located in Central Europe, mainly in Poland (Auschwitz-Birkenau, Belzec, Gross-Rosen, Chelmno, Lublin-Majdanek, Sobibor, Treblinka, Warsaw), Germany (Arbeitsdorf, Buchenwald, Bergen-Belsen, Dachau, Flossenburg, Ravensbruck, Sachsenhausen) and in Austria (Mauthausen-Gusen) and the Czech Republic (Lety, Skrochovice, Theresienstadt). Outside Central Europe, such camps can also be found in Italy (Bolzano, Fossola), the Netherlands (Amersfoort, Herzogenbusch, Westerbork), Belgium (Breendonk), France (Drancy, Le Vernet, Natzweiler-Struthof), Estonia (Klooga, Vaivari), Lithuania (Kauen), Latvia (Kaiserwald, Kirchholm), Ukraine (Bogdanovka, Janowska), Serbia (Banjica, Sajmiste), Croatia (Jasenovac), Norway (Bardufoss, Bredvet, Grini), but in other locations.

Today, the term concentration camp means a synonym of the crudest violations of human rights and is associated with the darkest period in the history of a mankind. Also at present, the former concentration camps serve not only as a place of reverence, but also as a place of particular messages or warnings. Worldwide the most visited spot in the long term is the concentration camp Auschwitz-Birkenau with an annual attendance of more than one million visitors (for comparison, the average annual attendance of the Theresienstadt Fortress in recent years is about 220,000 tourists; see also Table. 1). The importance and the "popularity of the phenomenon of Auschwitz" as well as the rise of interest in the holocaust tourism starting in 2006 (at least in this area) is illustrated in the Fig. 2.

Fig. 2: Long term attendance of the Memorial in Auschwitz (1960-2013)

Source: <http://auschwitz.org/en/visiting/attendance/> [available online, released 9.3.2015]

In the following text there are given, in the form of several tables, the results of the comparison of the situation in selected camps, both in terms of the attendance, offerings (attractions and services), relevance (morbidity of the spots by the number of deaths) and in terms of differently conceived price level of the admission fee. The selection of individual spots presented in the tables was always dependent on the availability of the data.

Table 1: Attendance of selected concentration camps and memorials between 2000 and 2014

Year	Flossenbürg Germany*	Dachau Germany*	Breendonk Belgium*	Oświęcim- Brzezinka Poland**	Lublin- Majdanek + Belżec Poland	Theresiensta- dt Czech Republic***	Mauthausen- Gusen Austria
2000	-	-	-	-	-	247 582	-
2001	-	-	-	492 500	-	245 644	-
2002	-	-	-	541 800	-	194 336	187 752
2003	-	-	-	578 700	-	194 588	186 435
2004	-	-	-	699 700	-	229 906	210 364
2005	-	-	-	927 000	-	248 136	233 594
2006	-	-	-	989 500	-	235 487	206 600
2007	-	618 000	99 580	1 220 000	-	235 906	192 478
2008	-	-	100 469	1 130 000	-	235 487	189 021
2009	79 000	-	96 350	1 300 000	-	208 025	187 146
2010	86 000	645 000	94 207	1 380 000	-	212 630	184 194
2011	80 000	690 000	97 193	1 405 000	121 404	224 762	166 082
2012	84 000	750 000	91 130	1 430 000	131 925	230 065	179 504
2013	85 000	775 000	-	1 332 700	133 539	215 478	-
2014	-	-	-	1 534 000	162 230	-	-

Note: * Altmanová, 2014; own adjustment; correlations; update;

** Since 1979 the UNESCO Memorial, the only of its kind worldwide;

*** at the site of Theresienstadt there was taken into account only the attendance of the Small Fortress (namely due to the authenticity), rather than other available spots i.e. the Ghetto Museum (or and Magdeburg Barracks), because there might be assumed the concurrency of the attendance

- Missing or inaccessible data.

Source:

<http://www.auschwitz.org.pl/> (annual reports 2006-2014);

<http://www.majdanek.eu/articles.php?acid=213> (annual reports 2011-2014);

<http://www.pamatnik-terezin.cz/cz/pamatnik/dokumenty-ke-stazeni> (annual reports 2001-2013);

http://www.mauthausen-memorial.at/db/admin/de/index_main.php?cbereich=4&cthema=50198 (year book 2007-2012).

Table 1 shows that with a slight majority of the examined entities (with the exception of the Belgian Breendonk concentration camp, Mauthausen in Austria and in the last year even in case of the Theresienstadt Small Fortress) there has been a positive growth trend in terms of their attendance since 2009. It should be noted that some concentration camps not included in the table, showed between 2007 and 2013 the average attendance as follows: German Buchenwald (500 thousand), Dutch Westerbork (400 thousand), Polish Belzec (139 thousand), French (Parisian) camp of Drancy (85 thousand) and the Czech Lety (10 thousand).

Provided that the concentration camp Auschwitz-Birkenau seems to be the most important and most visited spot in the Central Europe and given the fact that in its annual reports and annual reports from the Theresienstadt Memorial and the reports of the management of the concentration camps Lublin-Majdanek, Belzec and Sobibor one could possibly obtain detailed reliable information about the attendance, we provide the following Tables 2, 3, 4 and 5 presenting in the selected years the structure of visitors to those spots in terms of their country of origin.

Table 2: Structure of the visitors of the concentration camps Lublin-Majdanek, Belżec, Sobibor (as for the country of origin, in years 2011, 2013, 2014)

Year	2011		2013		2014	
	absolutely	%	absolutely	%	absolutely	%
Ratio of domestic (Polish) and foreign (non-Polish) visitors	1.222	x	1.584	x	1.489	x
Foreign visitors	54640	45.01	62336	38.70	76092	40.18
Visitors in total	121404	100	161058	100	189376	100
selected countries:						
Poland	66764	54.99	98722	61.30	113284	59.82
Israel	38644	31.83	42484	26.38	56250	29.70
USA	3370	2.78	4480	2.78	4079	2.15
Germany	1739	1.43	2201	1.37	1825	0.96
Great Britain	1435	1.18	1904	1.18	1203	0.64
France	1385	1.14	1482	0.92	1601	0.85
Canada	1358	1.12	1355	0.84	1327	0.70
Ukraine	810	0.67	2342	1.45	1779	0.94
Italy	583	0.48	354	0.22	562	0.30
Netherlands	568	0.47	843	0.52	877	0.46
Spain	333	0.27	317	0.20	921	0.49
Other countries	4415	3.64	4574	2.84	5668	2.99
including:						
Czech Republic	-	-	84	-	-	-
Slovakia	-	-	49	-	-	-

Source: <http://www.majdanek.eu/articles.php?acid=213> (annual reports 2011-2014); - data concerning other years not available; x means has the figure made no sense.

From the above tabular data one can observe that the largest group of visitors are domestic Poles, out of foreign visitors the Israelis, and the proportion of the formers and the latters in the total number of visitors is about 60% and 30%, respectively and is more or less stable over the time. With a considerable span behind follow the Americans, Germans, British, French and others who, however, contribute only slightly, about one to two percentages to the attendance. Somewhat surprising is the fact that, due to a geographical proximity, the participation as well as the interest of Czech and Slovak tourists is completely insignificant in terms of those numbers.

In terms of the trend of attendance of the Auschwitz-Birkenau it is clear that this place attracts more and more visitors every year (with only minor fluctuations in 2008 and 2013). Also, a steadily increasing interest of foreign tourist whose number in the past eight years almost doubled is very important. While for Polish visitors of the camp the peak year came in 2009 or 2011, respectively, for visitors from abroad it was the year 2014, in which they accounted for almost three quarters of all visitors to Auschwitz (Tab. 4). This table below also shows that there is an increase in the diversity of visitors in terms of the country of origin.

Relatively stable numbers and proportions of visitors heading to Auschwitz come from Israel, Germany and France, greater fluctuations can be seen in the number of visitors from overseas (from the USA), but also from Great Britain. A stably high interest can be found even in the countries such as Norway, Sweden, as well as South Korea and Australia. Regarding the visitors from the Czech Republic and Slovakia, we can say that this location as an alternative

tourism destination has already been discovered (unlike the Lublin-Majdanek, Belzec and Sobibor), because their numbers since 2006 doubled and tripled.

Table 3: Structure of the visitors of the Auschwitz-Birkenau concentration camp (as for the country of origin, in years 2006-2014), total numbers

Year	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
Visitors in total	989500	1220000	1130000	1303800	1380000	1405000	1430000	1332700	1534000
Out of whom „non-Polish“	648500	755000	719800	750800	849400	794500	983700	996000	1135200
Attendance as of selected countries:									
Poland	341000	465000	410200	553000	530600	610500	446300	336700	398800
Israel	37200	44000	44100	62400	59000	62000	68000	57200	62100
USA	96000	90900	74300	39800	38000	51800	96900	101500	92050
Germany	50200	60200	57900	57900	68000	58000	74500	69100	75400
Great Britain	57200	104000	109600	75000	84000	82200	149200	178800	199400
France	39100	42600	41400	48300	63000	56000	62000	47600	54250
Canada	6000	11700	9300	6600	6200	9000	25200	16000	27650
Ukraine	2500	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Italy	51000	56500	43000	63900	74000	78000	84500	71400	84350
Netherlands	12800	15500	11300	11700	12400	15600	19200	22600	31000
Spain	23300	26600	32000	26700	32000	46000	54300	52800	55800
Other countries	273200	303000	296900	358500	412800	335900	349900	379000	453200
including:									
Czech Republic	18600	24500	30100	43500	45000	43000	48100	41500	52700
Slovakia	17200	19300	32200	42900	43300	40000	42100	28500	32550

Source: Annual report of the concentration camp Auschwitz-Birkenau, 2006-2014, on line, own elaboration

A significant feature of difference (2014) in the two compared spots makes the proportion of visitors from Poland and Israel - in Lublin-Majdanek, Belzec and Sobibor they make 90% of the visitors while in Auschwitz they regard only 30%, but with a declining trend. A relative structure of the visitors to this site and the memorial is captured in Table 4.

From the perspective of a historically conditioned motivation of the visit the Auschwitz concentration camp one can compare the intensity of the visits by countries (a number of visitors from a given country relative to its population, in percentage). Here, according to the 2011 annual report (page 23) the ranking of countries is following: Poland 1.598%; Israel 0.815%; Slovakia 0.727%; Norway 0.720%; Czech Republic 0.421%; Sweden 0.271%; Hungary 0.184%; Great Britain 0.132%; Italy 0.129%; Belgium 0.110%; Spain 0.097% and the Netherlands 0.094%. From the sequence it can be deduced that relatively strongly motivated to a visit of the Auschwitz-Birkenau are both domestic Poles, then, for obvious reasons, Israelis and even members of other European nations, whether due to the historical memory or geographical proximity. Visitors from overseas (USA, Canada, South Korea and others) appear in the statistics mainly due to the abundance of their populations.

The 2012 report (p. 23) indicates the results of the survey of the motivation to a visit of the memorial, which can be summarized as follows: 33.2% of respondents put as the reason for his visit „the understanding of the history of the camp“; 19.6% of the respondents put it as „the

commemoration of the victims“; 13.7% of the respondents mentioned „the tribute to the victims of the camp“ and 12.6% mentioned „the curiosity“. Other motives were „the sympathy with the victims of the war“ 7.6%; „a pursuit for the confrontation of knowledge acquired in school“ prevailed for 5.1%; „a search for own identity and roots“ persuaded 1.2%; „religious motives“ 1.2% and the rest included others or not more closely specified motives to the visit of the concentration camp.

Table 4: Structure of the visitors of the Auschwitz-Birkenau concentration camp (as for the country of origin, in years 2006-2014), percentages

Year	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
Visitors in total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Out of whom „non-Polish“	65.54	61.88	63.70	57.59	61.55	56,55	68.79	74.74	74.00
Attendance as of selected countries:									
Poland	34.46	38.11	36.30	42.41	38.45	43.45	31.21	25.26	26.00
Israel	3.76	3.61	3.90	4.79	4.28	4.41	4.76	4.29	4.05
USA	9.70	7.45	6.58	3.05	2.75	3.69	6.78	7.62	6.00
Germany	5.07	4.93	5.12	4.44	4.93	4.13	5.21	5.18	4.92
Great Britain	5.78	8.52	5.12	5.75	6.09	5.85	10.43	13.42	13.00
France	3.95	3.49	3.66	3.70	4.57	3.99	4.34	3.57	3.54
Canada	0.61	0.96	0.82	0.51	0.45	0.64	1.76	1.20	1.80
Ukraine	0.25	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Italy	5.15	4.63	3.81	0.51	5.36	5.55	5.91	5.36	5.50
Netherlands	1.29	1.27	0.01	0.90	0.90	1.11	1.34	1.70	2.02
Spain	2.35	2.18	2.83	2.05	2.32	3.27	3.80	3.96	3.64
Other countries	27.61	24.84	26.27	27.50	29.91	23.91	24.47	28.44	29.54
including:									
Czech Republic	1.88	2.01	2.66	3.34	3.26	3.06	3.36	3.11	3.44
Slovakia	1.74	1.58	2.85	3.29	3.14	2.85	2.94	2.14	2.12

Source: Annual report of the concentration camp Auschwitz-Birkenau, 2006-2014, on line, own calculations

The third location put in comparison from the view of the structure of visitors by countries is - due to published annual reports - Theresienstadt Memorial, for which the data are available on the numbers of domestic and foreign visitors, the numbers of youth groups and the attendance during the course of the year (in a more detailed breakdown).

Table 5 and Table 6 provide quite a clear illustration of the overall downward trend in the attendance of the authentic surroundings of the Small Fortress in Theresienstadt, except for some recovery that occurred only in the year 2005. The share of foreign visitors to the overall attendance shows the oscillations around a relatively stable high value of 80% and in the last four years with we can see a slight increase. There is also a significant change in the ratio of foreign and Czech young tourists (the youth as a special age group mentioned in the respective annual reports but not more specified): especially strong change is obvious since 2008 (a ratio of roughly 2:1) to 2013 (a ratio of 5.5:1).

Table 5: Structure of the visitors of the Small Fortress (divided into domestics, foreigners, the youth, in years 2006-2014), total numbers

Year	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
Attendance total	247582	245644	194336	194588	229906	248136	235487
Foreigners	196704	201732	155323	159418	187075	195884	188600
Youth from abroad	114429	125918	106062	104052	116874	124995	119172
Czech Youth	28516	27371	23445	20687	25339	41155	43582
Year	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Attendance total	235906	222167	208047	212630	220394	220452	208547
Foreigners	179839	169003	152728	154695	171229	174735	169224
Youth from abroad	112443	106006	95408	95678	102868	111392	107220
Czech Youth	51173	52956	32024	31591	26870	25520	19722

Source: Theresienstadt Memorial annual report 2001-2013, [on-line], own elaboration

Therefore there might be a small astonishment over this trend. There is, within the marked decline in the attendance of the Theresienstadt Small Fortress, an increasing interest from foreigners and especially the representation of young, non-resident people. Based on a quick glance in the annual reports, similar trends might be observed in the other offered attractive sites in Theresienstadt, i.e. the Ghetto Museum and the former Magdeburg Barracks.

Table 6: Structure of the visitors of the Small Fortress (divided into domestics, foreigners, the youth, in years 2000-2013), development index (2000 = 100), percentages

Year	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
Attendance total (2000=100)	100.00	99.22	78.49	78.60	92.86	100.22	95.11
% of foreign visitors	79.45	82.12	79.92	81.93	81.37	78.94	80.09
Youth from abroad (%)	80.05	82.14	81.90	83.42	82.18	75.23	73.22
Czech Youth (%)	19.95	17.86	18.10	16.58	17.82	24.77	26.78
Year	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Attendance total (2000=100)	95.28	89.73	84.03	85.88	89.02	89.04	84.23
% of foreign visitors	76.23	76.07	73.41	72.75	77.67	79.26	81.14
Youth from abroad (%)	68.72	66.69	74.87	75.18	79.29	81.36	84.46
Czech Youth (%)	31.28	33.31	25.13	24.82	20.71	18.64	15.54

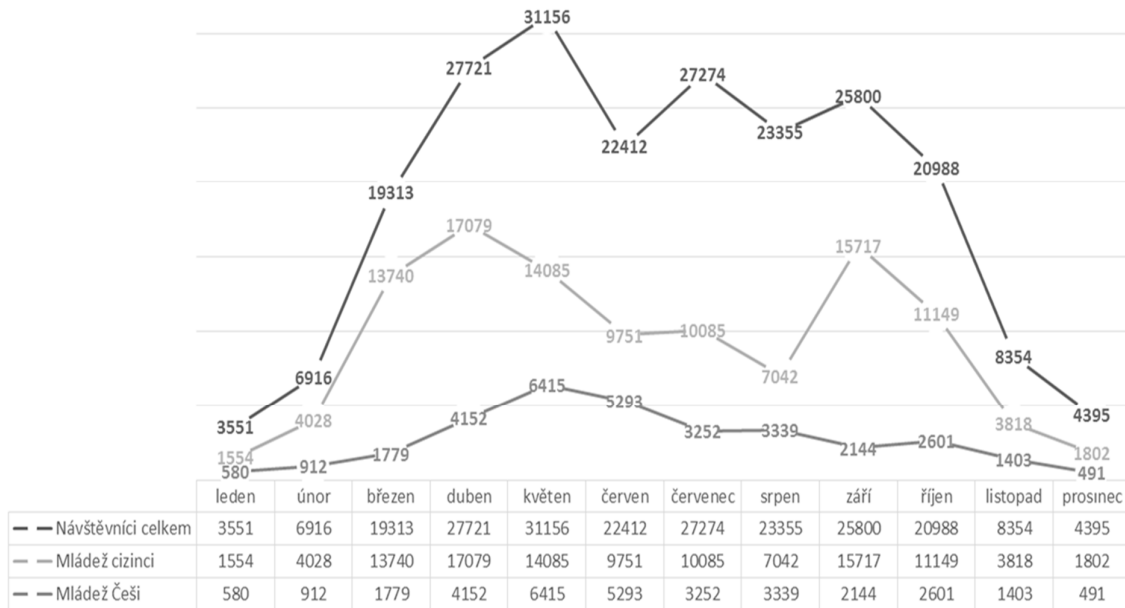
Source: Theresienstadt Memorial annual report 2001-2013, [on-line], own elaboration

According to an analysis of the visitors of the year-round opened Small Fortress in Theresienstadt it is obvious that the highs and lows differ from each other in case of the total attendance (with peaks in April, May and July), and there are similar differences in the attendance curves of young Czech visitors and young foreign visitors. The average number of the attendance in each month (for the period 2001-2013) is captured in Fig. 3. In terms of Czechs the relevant months are April, May and June. For foreigners these are April, May and September. It can be assumed that the maxima for the youth attendance are associated with the course of the school year and the school organized events, including sightseeing tours.

A similar course of the attendance as the one for the Small Fortress applies, according to Altmanová (2014) for a comparable property type which is the Belgian Breendonk internment camp. From Fig. 4 giving the averaged values of the overall attendance in each month in the period 2007-2012 it stems that the peak season of this Belgian fortress are regularly March and May. Over the summer the number of visitors decreases to a minimum as families rather visit,

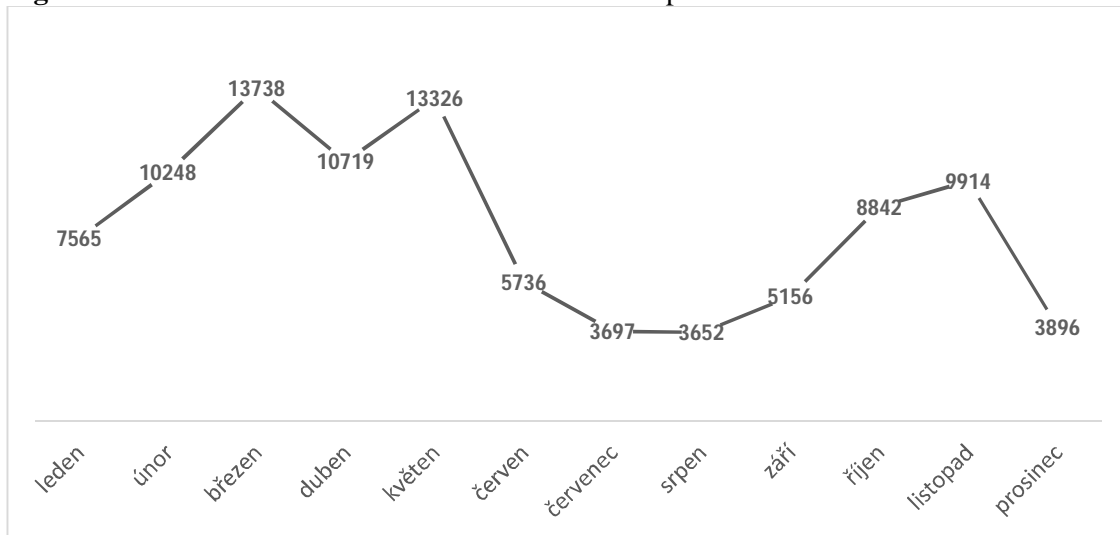
as part of their vacation, places other than memorials of the concentration camps. Since the beginning of the school year the attendance increases until November, then.

Fig. 3: Course of the attendance of the internment camp in Theresienstadt



Source: Theresienstadt Memorial annual report 2001-2013, [on-line], own calculations and graphics

Fig. 4: Course of the attendance of the internment camp in Breendonk



Source: Altmanová (2014), own calculations and graphics

Among other findings resulting from our comparison of the sample of the concentration camps also belong certain findings regarding the significance, the likely perception of their tragedy and the differences in terms of the entrance fees, complementary services offered or in terms of their current visual appearance and preservation. For more see Table 7.

One of the most significant differences between the German concentration camps and other camps is Western European represents the (non) existence of the fee for entry to their premises; in no German memorial is applied a fee (a paid service is only renting audio guides in German

or another foreign language, a kind of entrance fee is paid only for temporary exhibitions or any accompanying cultural events). By contrast, the entrance to the sites of the former concentration camps outside the Federal Republic of Germany is not free of charge (for example in the Austrian Mauthausen-Gusen the fee makes two euros, in Belgian Breendonk it is eight euros per adult). The exception to this rule is the memorial in Drancy in France, where the entry is for free. According to Altmanová (2014) German camps offer views of both the original buildings as well as a number of artefacts (photos, clothing, valuables) and yet the visitor does not have to pay an entry fee. In contrast, there are camps that offer a little to see, no matter whether free of charge or not and there is - paradoxically – a very high attendance. These are for example the German Dachau as a symbol of „the first Nazi concentration camp“ with free entrance (in 2013 the annual attendance was of about 775,000 visitors) or a frequently visited Dutch Westerbork with the average attendance of 400,000 people per year (Altmanová, 2014). A similarity between the two sites lies in their vastness and minimally preserved original buildings. As for the issue of paying a fee for entry, yet one can add that the absence of such a levy could further attract visitors (e.g. from poorer areas or a greater number of school groups, etc.).

A factor affecting the attendance and stemming from the importance, the size and type of concentration camp (internment, labour, extermination) is also its cultural and historical status or the preservation status (Oswiecim as the UNESCO memorial or Theresienstadt as a national cultural landmark, etc.). This means that the site has become in the general public perception, a synonymous with evil or a world famous „phenomenon“. However, the question remains, at least in case of some locations, whether the increasing number of visitors, the renovation of the original buildings, the presence of services (e.g. coffee shops, cafeterias, selling books, a coffee machine at the Auschwitz), etc. do somewhat devalue the authenticity of the site and the site loses its *genius loci*. Altmanová (2014, p. 22) aptly portrayed this problem in connection with the area of the concentration camp at Dachau, where she states: *„Although the former concentration camp is now namely a museum, on the one hand it evokes in people, due to its relatively large empty space, feelings of uneasiness, but on the other hand the current atmosphere around the campus today does not correspond to what took place here during the Second World War. Just like with all those repairs the place lost its original spirit. Though there are several monuments, statues and other artfully created mementos, the cruelty of those times that this place should commemorate, has long since disappeared in a vast and empty space where the tourists will not find much nowadays. A short walk away from the camp, behind a moat, there are a few crematorium furnaces located and a small gas chamber which was, however, never used. But this is the only place that a little bit revives the cruel spirit of those times, but even that one is somehow disappearing with the torrents of tourists.“*

Tables 7 and 8 summarize qualitative and quantitative characteristics of the selected sample of the concentration camps and clearly depict their common and different attributes.

Summary of the analysis

Shall we now try to summarize the above information in terms of the specifics, attractiveness and perspectives of the Holocaust tourism, the following facts and observations should be noted. From the above analysis it is clear that the individual concentration camps differ in their "attractiveness", which stems from their history, from the type of the camp (labour, internment, ghetto, transit, extermination) and probably from the extent of the tragedy (death toll) in those camps. As somewhat irrelevant in terms of "attractiveness" seems the rate of the preserved original buildings, which are in many cases replaced by monuments, museums and expositions. Paradoxically, the high attendance shows the areas in which not many objects survived (e.g. Dachau, Buchenwald), but which have a status of the first Nazi concentration camps (Dachau) built or that of UNESCO (Auschwitz-Birkenau), where the attendance probably correlates with the tragedy happened.

Table 7: Qualitative features of the selected European concentration camps

Camp	Country	Type of camp	In operation	History and presence
<i>Auschwitz-Birkenau</i>	Poland	labour and extermination	4/1940 – 1/1945	liberated by USSR, preserved, museum
<i>Belzec</i>	Poland	labour and extermination	1/1940 – 12/1940 11/1941 – 12/1942	liberated by USSR and the Poles, not preserved, memorial, museum
<i>Chelmno</i>	Poland	extermination	12/1943 – 3/1943 6/1944 – 1/1945	not preserved, memorial, museum
<i>Lublin- Majdanek</i>	Poland	extermination	7/1941 – 7/1944	liberated by USSR, preserved, museum
<i>Sobibor</i>	Poland	labour extermination	5/1942 – 10/1943	not preserved, memorial
<i>Treblinka</i>	Poland	extermination	6/1942 – 11/1943	not preserved, memorial
<i>Warszaw</i>	Poland	ghetto	11/1940 – 8/1944	liberated by USSR
<i>Bergen-Belsen</i>	Germany	internment	4/1943 – 4/1945	liberated by GB, cemetery
<i>Buchenwald</i>	Germany	labour	7/1937 – 4/1945	liberated by USA, partially preserved, museum, memorial
<i>Dachau</i>	Germany	labour	3/1933 – 4/1945	liberated by USA, preserved, museum
<i>Flossenbürg</i>	Germany	labour	5/1938 – 4/1945	liberated by USA, preserved, memorial
<i>Ravensbrück</i>	Germany	labour	5/1939 – 4/1945	liberated by USSR, museum, memorial
<i>Sachsenhausen</i>	Germany	labour	7/1936 – 4/1945	liberated by USSR, preserved, museum, memorial
<i>Mauthausen-Gusen</i>	Austria	labour	8/1938 – 5/1945	liberated by USA, partially preserved, museum, memorial, cemetery
<i>Theresienstadt (former fortress)</i>	Czech Republic	ghetto	11/1941 – 5/1945	liberated by USSR, preserved, museum, memorial, cemetery
<i>Lety</i>	Czech Republic	internment and labour	8/1942 – 8/1943	memorial and exposition
<i>Breendonk (former fortress)</i>	Belgium	internment and labour	9/1941 – 12/1944	liberated by the allies, preserved, memorial
<i>Drancy</i>	France	internment	8/1941 – 4/1945	liberated by USA, preserved, memorial
<i>Westerbork</i>	Netherlands	internment	4/1939 – 4/1945	liberated by the allies (Canadians), not preserved, memorial
<i>Bolzano</i>	Italy	transit	-	not preserved, memorial
<i>Fossoli</i>	Italy	transit	-	preserved, decaying, authentic state
<i>Jasenovac</i>	Croatia	extermination	1941 – 1945	not preserved, memorial, museum

Source: Sedláček (2014), Altmanová (2014), www.holocaust.cz (websites of the individual concentration camps); - data missing

Table 8: Quantitative features of the selected European concentration camps

Camp (year of opening, official release of the memorial)	Country	Estimated casualties (out of whom Czech and protectorate)	Estimated prisoners (out of whom Czech and protectorate)	Entry fee (adult)
<i>Auschwitz-Birkenau</i> (1947)	Poland	1.100000 – 1.500000 (-)	-	free
<i>Belżec</i> (2004)	Poland	600000 (-)	-	free, guided groups 50-75 Zlt
<i>Chełmno</i> (-)	Poland	320000 (-)	- (5000)	free
<i>Lublin-Majdanek</i> (-)	Poland	-	-	free, guided groups
<i>Sobibor</i> (1965)	Poland	250000 (-)	-	free
<i>Treblinka</i> (-)	Poland	800000 (-)	-	5Zlt
<i>Warszaw</i> (2013, <i>Polish Jews History Museum</i>)	Poland	200000 (-)	375000 (-)	free
<i>Bergen-Belsen</i> (-)	Germany	-	-	free
<i>Buchenwald</i> (1958)	Germany	56000 – 70000 (808)	240000 (7783)	free
<i>Dachau</i> (1965)	Germany	32000 (1400)	188000 (3600)	free
<i>Flossenbürg</i> (1999)	Germany	33000 (-)	100000 (-)	free
<i>Ravensbrück</i> (1959)	Germany	92000 (-)	153000 (-)	free
<i>Sachsenhausen</i> (1961)	Germany	35000 (-)	200000 (-)	free
<i>Mauthausen-Gusen</i> (1947)	Austria	123000 – 320000 (4472)	- (7320)	2 Euros
<i>Theresienstadt</i> (1947)	Czech	35000 (-)	141000 (70000)	170-210 CZK
<i>Lety</i> (1995)	Czech	326 (326)	1309 (1309)	free
<i>Breendonk</i> (1947)	Belgium	1733 (-)	3500 (-)	8 Euros
<i>Drancy</i> (1976)	France	3000 (-)	70000 (-)	free
<i>Westerbork</i> (2008)	Netherlands	102000 (-)	107000 (-)	6.5 Euros
<i>Bolzano</i> (-)	Italy	-	15000 (-)	free
<i>Fossoli</i> (-)	Italy	-	-	free
<i>Jasenovac</i> (1991)	Croatia	700000 (114)	-	free

Source: Altmanová (2014), data updated accordance with the websites of the individual concentration camps; - missing or not available data

For the same reason it can be stated that the attractiveness is systematically higher in all Polish extermination camps, while in case of the comparable Croatian extermination camp in Jasenovac, Europe seems to have forgotten about it. But one can also argue that „the phenomenon of Auschwitz“significantly competes with other Polish extermination camps, which are then necessarily seen as secondary ones.

Individual camps differ in the structure and in terms of the ratio of visitors according to their country of origin. But not always prevail "domestic" visitors (as in the case of Polish extermination camps of Majdanek, Belzec and Sobibor), the rule is rather the opposite (74% of

foreign visitors at Auschwitz-Birkenau, 80% of foreign visitors in the Theresienstadt Small Fortress). A particular problem that is to be mentioned here is that the majority of the concentration camps, where the entry is free (those make a majority) often only estimate the number of visitors. The entry to all German sites is for free, one only pays for special exhibitions, lending of headphones and the audio guides; the highest entry fee in Europe apply to the Belgian labour and internment camp Breendonk (8 euros) and a Dutch internment camp Westerbork (6.5 euro). In some Polish extermination camps, where entry is free, one can pay for a guided tour for ahead booked groups of visitors.

A significant feature of the Holocaust tourism is the fact that its base, roughly 50-60%, usually creates groups of high school and university students, and that its objectives of interest are generally open all year round. The course of the perennial attendance of the concentration camp is, compared to the general seasonality of the cultural cognitive tourism, somewhat inverse. Generally, the highest attendance and interest is connected with the spring months (March to May), and then with the beginning of the school year (September, October or November). In typical summer tourist months, however, the interest and popularity of the sites is declining.

Overall, in the last two or three years, the overall interest in the Holocaust tourism, however, has been increasing (see Table 1) and the attendance if one can determine, has not been decreasing. Some of the newly opened concentration camps can benefit from the curiosity of tourists (Dutch Westerbork, 2008, the annual average attendance of around 400,000 people), whereas others may be due to their localization in a tough contest with the worldwide famous sights of a different type in their neighbourhood (a French, albeit a unique complex of a collective prefabricated house, the Drancy camp located in Paris).

An ethical issue associated with the concentration camps is not only a visit to these areas (see Introduction) as such and the behaviour of the visitors there (e.g. in Auschwitz there are 26 rules for camp visitors; elsewhere there are codes for visitors), but also the suitability of the localization of certain ancillary services or the organization of supporting cultural events. Likewise, there is also discussed a possibility that the camps, which were razed to the ground and from which there was little left, may offer, except for the construction of the monuments, museums and expositions also the construction of the replicas of the original buildings in accordance with the documentation and photographs preserved.

Conclusions

In the end we can say that although the Holocaust tourism is a part of the both cultural cognitive tourism and dark tourism, in many areas it is totally different. It does not provide, in comparison with other cultural attractions or events, only one time emotional experience but also transcends our everyday existence. In addition, because most people perceive the basic human values in the same way then their experience of visiting concentration camps and places associated with the Holocaust is relatively the same as. The message of these sites as well as the memento is in fact identical.

Tourists are encouraged to visit these places both via a symbolic encounter with a death, the authenticity of the place and its *genius loci*, as well as via a piety and - as stated in many studies - the cultural-cognitive motive (e.g. Biran, Poria, Oren, 2011, a research in Auschwitz). People want to learn more about the dark places, and events that took place there, yet they can have a personal (relatives of prisoners and victims) and impersonal relationship to that place.

Shall we predict how the Holocaust tourism develops in future, we can assume that it will keep the existing or slightly increased attendance; but also a particular attendance may be somewhat volatile. The current relatively high attendance of these premises, in the magnitude of tens of thousands, hundreds of thousands, if not millions in case of Auschwitz, corresponds, in terms of the source, to the entire territory of Europe or the whole world, respectively. Such our forecast supports the fact that - at least in the Czech Republic - among travel agencies there is no one that would be exclusively specialized in the realization of trips to concentration camps. As

Sedláček (2014, p. 51) claims in his work on the basis of the research conducted, this is due to the relative lack of interest of the Czechs (people would rather prefer beautiful historic places; they do not want, on purpose, to visit places where there were deliberately murdered hundreds of thousands of people; they perceive a visit to the camp only as part of their trip or vacation, not as its main target) as well as due to the fact that such a travel agency in the Czech Republic even if it occurred, would not be competitive in the long term. Analogously from a global as well as pan-European perspective it is true that although the interest in places associated with the Holocaust is relatively large, it is not sufficient for the existence of such a specialized travel agency and for a profitable business in this field of tourism.

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