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## Editorial

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The relationship between memory and tourism is complex and intricate. In the broad context of leisure travel, with its diverse motivations and behaviour patterns, memory permeates tourist experiences and activities at multiple levels, whether individual, social or collective. When talking about a 'place of memory' in tourism, heritage is the first scenario that comes to mind being embodied in monuments and vestiges of ancient civilisations, but it is not the only one. Marschall (2012a) argues that the intersections between memory and tourism are far more complex and multifaceted. The primary reason for this lies in the fact that memory, as we understand it today, is a multidimensional, polysemic and expansive notion.

In recent years, the fields of social sciences and humanities have blossomed with research analysing memory from cultural, social or material perspectives, raising a broad spectrum of theoretical and epistemological issues. This abundance of reflections can be equated with a 'memory boom' (Terdiman, 1993; Winter, 2001), a phenomenon that began in the cultural history field, with the seminal works of Nora (1989) and Assman (1995) during the late 20th century. With its emphasis on the significance of collective and social remembrance, this memory boom expresses a widespread urge to remember and commemorate, and has translated into a growing number of 'places of memory': memorials, heritage sites, museums, exhibitions, commemorative events. Commentators have interpreted this obsession for historical transmission as the flip side of the memory crisis (Brockmaier, 2015), a form of compensation for social forgetfulness in the fast-paced modernisation of late – or post-modern societies. "We speak so much of memory because there is so little of it left" Nora (1989, p.7). This statement is echoed in the words of historian Huyssen (2003, p.17) "What if the boom in memory were inevitably accompanied by a boom in forgetting?" In a revealing way, from a phenomenological point of view, remembering is a process closely linked to forgetting, sometimes in an active, intentional way.

The truth is that an extensive array of phenomena can be labelled as 'memory'. The term has been used across a number of disciplines, encompassing a wide range of topics, which include history, anthropology, psychology, philosophy, as well as neuroscience, computer science and areas of engineering and physics. From the individual cognitive capacity to retain information and revive past experiences, events and impressions, its meaning has broadened to embrace the realms of social phenomenon, defining co- and inter-subjective mechanisms for reconstructing and reinterpreting the past. Some authors (MacDonald, 2008; Berliner, 2005) have warned about the ambivalence and danger of overextending the concept, raising the suspicion of whether we can consider all these different aspects of memory as one and the same thing. Whether or not this turns out to be the case, it is interesting to note, in the words of anthropologist MacDonald (2008, p.5), the significant movement produced by "taking memory out of the head". Shifting away from the individual mental process, memory becomes a social, cultural, public, and collective practice, and at the same time opens onto a world of connections with materiality and embodiment. Connerton (1989) emphasises the importance of bodily practices in the way societies remember, through inscriptions (on objects, words and artefacts), and performance mechanisms (of ceremonies and rituals). All these practices constitute potential areas of intersections between tourism and memory.

In fact, memory and tourism are connected in both direct and indirect ways. For Marschall (2012a), there are some striking parallelisms between the 'memory boom' and the 'tourism boom' that is, the extraordinary international expansion of the tourism and travel industry across all strata of society (Harrop, 1973). This historical coincidence is just one element among others. Winter (2001, p.62) observed that leisure time and disposable income are two conditions of 'dwelling on memory'. The same can be said about international travel, whose phenomenal development since the post-war period has been attributed to shorter working hours, rising affluence and increasing levels of education, among other factors. The growth of the travel industry has increased the demand for cultural products and activities, while the nostalgia expressed in the memory boom has spread alongside the production of historical sites. The latter are fundamental to a tourist's understanding of a place, as well as embodiments of the process of commodification of memory. Indeed, tourism can also be regarded as a particular kind of

memory practice (MacDonald, 2008), both for hosts and guests. For local communities, making memory available to the tourist gaze implies complex mechanisms of interpretation, construction and validation of what ought to be remembered, a process in which hosts find themselves in the ambiguous position of actors, producers and recipients of narrations and discourses about their own past. This act brings together, what can be at times, opposing powers and discourses, which can be political, moral, cultural, or economic in nature. Much could be discussed about the diverse needs served by the creation of a narrative to share with 'outsiders', especially when the commemoration regards painful events, such as conflicts, crimes and/or tragic events. One could ask which diverse purposes memory fulfils in those cases, from the simple, public acknowledgement that something occurred, for educational purposes, or the need to soothe, share and process a trauma. From the tourists' point of view, sites of memory provide people with the opportunity to travel back in time, the past becoming present, something that cannot be achieved otherwise. At memory sites, this process is carried out in a social and collective way. However, memory also impacts the tourism experience on an individual level, as every voyage is a potential memory-making experience, with expectations of a time out-of-the-ordinary, a series of moments lived to be remembered. An important part of the material and sensory dimension of a tourist's personal journey is projected towards creating and bringing back memories. Thus, tourists take pictures, purchase souvenirs or collect mementoes in order to construct a personal narration to share with others after the trip.

It has been said that the concept of memory often arises in tourism studies. In recent years, various events have stimulated a debate on the subject, for example, the workshop organised by the Centre for Tourism and Cultural Change (Braasch, 2008), or the international conference *Memory and Tourism*, held at Chambon sur Lignon, France, in 2014. As summed up by Picard and Moreira in their contribution to this special issue, scholarship in the field of tourism anthropology has discussed this notion with regard to different forms or places of remembrance. These contributions have included the following: tourist settings commemorating national or ethnic belonging (Herzfeld, 1989; Selwyn, 1996; Confino, 1997; Adams, 1998); ancestry (Coles and Timothy, 2004; Leite, 2005; Maruyama and Stronza, 2011); war, trauma, and dislocation (Smith, 1998; Rivera, 2008; Winter, 2009); sites of personal memory (Miles, 2002; and Ray, 2003; Marschall, 2012b). An experience of the past remains integral to diverse tourism typologies: heritage tourism is mostly concerned with aspects of historicity attached to specific places and objects; memory tourism (Bartoletti, 2010) explores the emotions and embodied memories triggering universal, nostalgic experiences, regardless of place; roots tourism is concerned with the quest for a deeper connection with places associated with a traveller's ancestral, religious or ethnic past; while dark tourism is a travel niche developed around the historical value of sites of death and tragedy, such as concentration camps, prisons, killing fields, and so on. Some of these areas are still under-researched in tourism anthropology and further investigation on the specificities of each one could certainly open up new perspectives, enriching our current knowledge.

This special issue of the *International Journal of Tourism Research (IJTR)* aims to contribute to the ongoing reflections on the complex interplay between memory, tourism and place. By summoning the 'place of memory', the call for papers wanted to recall Halbwachs and Nora's legacy of thinking about the relationship between memory and place, but also open a door to a critical investigation of the less tangible and

multidimensional manifestations of memory in tourism. Broadly speaking, the 'place of memory' refers not only to a physical, localised site, but also to a set of social processes and uses of memory, involving imaginaries, representations, and emotions. The contributors to this issue responded to this invitation by revealing a complex semantic of memory, illustrating the variety of ways memory can be translated, not only into objects and places, but also into a plurality of practices and relationships. This research brings together ethnography and textual analysis and spans diverse geographies: Australia, Britain, Madagascar, Israel and Palestine, Greece, Russia, and Catalonia. The journeys undertaken by the authors focus on the diversity of the possible ways memory is produced, appropriated and negotiated in tourism experiences and places. Through the texts, memory is conceptualised as a type of commodified nostalgia; an incorporated ritual practice; a way of transmitting a specific cultural knowledge; a narrative bridge to (re)create ties of coevalness and affiliation within the tourist borderzone; or a social practice of hospitality.

In the opening essay, Anke Tonnaer focuses on an indigenous tourism setting in Northern Australia, analysing the practice of one aboriginal tour guide who shares their personal memory with tourists, challenging the dominant 'primitivist narrative' about aboriginal culture. By drawing on the ambivalent interplay of memory and forgetfulness on one hand, and the use of alternative memories as an active form of resistance on the other, the author shows us the great potential of the tourist encounter, which ranges from a window into a supposed primordial time of innocence to the possibility of recollection of a shared, embodied past. In 'Intersecting journeys of past and present in the 'bush': unsettling coevalness in the tourist space of indigenous Australia', the connection between place and memory is two-fold. The first connection stems from the relation with a physical setting and a specific object; the bush, backdrop for guided tours, becomes the context for an abstract discourse on indigeneity, erasing any colonial presence; a stone oven is the material catalyst for the tour guide's intimate story, and shows how objects contribute and inspire biographies and shared histories. The second connection sparks off from the implication of the visitors in the shaping of the past, embedded in a specific place. This place is co-created through memory, the result of the visitors' social engagement with the mediator's narrative.

In 'Colonial memory, hospitality and tourism in Southwestern Madagascar', Picard and Moreira explore the concept of colonial memory through a study of contemporary hospitality practices aimed at Western tourists. Their focus is on the notion of memory resulting from the interaction between two colonial legacies: the first is an oral account of past hospitality practices towards colonial agents, and the other is part of present day hospitality during spirit rituals. Taking Halbwachs's notion of 'collective memory' into the tourist borderzone, Picard and Moreira shed new light on social practices of tourism and hospitality as forms of memory. In their ethnographic account, the remembrance of past hospitality towards powerful foreigners functions as a means for local self-empowerment. At the same time, it is projected in today's hospitality ceremonials to induce affiliation and submission from outsiders such as foreign and local tourists, NGO workers, and anthropologists.

Mamoulaki's paper, 'In search of the exile past: pilgrims and visitors to the island of Ikaria and their bearing on the historical past' shows yet another intersection between tourism and memory, unveiling the dynamics of sacred and secular journeys in relation to the historical past of the Greek island of Ikaria. During the Greek Civil War of 1946–1949, this mountainous island in the Aegean Sea was converted into a refugee

camp for left-wing citizens opposing the government. As the author relates, this led to unexpected hospitality and a communal way of life, and created a narrative for two very different kinds of tourists who visit the island today: on one hand, the descendants of former exiles, travelling in search of their ancestors' past; on the other hand, a particular kind of new-age traveller, looking for a liberal lifestyle, wanting to evoke the communal way of life on the island at the time of the exile. Mamoulaki analyses the different perceptions tourists and locals have of this hospitality and its norms, illustrating how these different groups of people interpret, evaluate and vindicate the legacy of cohabitation in the past.

The paper 'The 'embodiments' of Stalin in the tourism landscape of Moscow' builds on the concept of dissonant heritage, and focuses on how Stalin's image is incorporated into the tourism landscape of Moscow. Researcher Magdalena Banaszkieicz reflects on the process of commodifying this controversial figure, analysing some of Stalin's embodiments as they are converted into tourist products such as Stalin lookalikes to souvenirs, and from the narratives of institutional museums to those of tour-guides. Each one of these embodiments mobilises different, and somehow dissonant, ways of dealing with a difficult past. Stalin, therefore, takes on the ambivalent roles of object of nostalgia and Russian Mickey Mouse; Great Leader and Bloody Dictator. The different ethnographic vignettes draw on conflicting interpretations and diverse ways of exposing a challenging memory, where nostalgia mingles with both ludic and ironic distancing. Banaszkieicz raises a number of issues regarding the fragility of dissonant heritage. What happens if the creation of popular cultural icons implies the marginalisation of historical facts? What remains of history when its commodified version burns the bridges that tied it to the past?

'A means to an end: Israeli-run heritage sites in the West Bank of Palestine' is an ethnographic study on the role of tourism in the production of memory sites, focusing on the issue of the ownership of memory and controversies related to the creation of contested heritage sites. In her study on two Israeli-run heritage sites, Herodium and Sebastiya, Sophie Craven examines the ways in which Israel constructs its claims on the West Bank. The analysis identifies two main functions of these sites, related by a dual process of inclusion and exclusion: the political use of memory underpinning their creation, converting them into settings for the production and legitimation of Israeli narratives of nation; and the consequent creation of the West Bank as a 'non-place' in the tourism imaginary. Thinking of history in biblical times, the Israeli narrative on heritage fosters a homogeneous image of a landscape lost in mysterious, mythical antiquity. The Palestinians are exiled from this historical and cultural landscape, and their identity and occupancy is both concealed and denied. Despite the striking power of the hegemonic narrative, however, in her final remarks, Craven underlines the potential tourism has to undermine this dominant discourse, and to create an empowering context to make the Palestinian cause visible.

The final paper, 'Shedding light on a dark past: representations of slavery at UK heritage tourism sites' analyses memories of enslavement and how they are represented at historical tourist destinations in three UK port cities – Liverpool, Bristol and London. These three sites are chosen for their key-role as points of origin in the transportation of African slaves to plantations in the USA and the Caribbean. Through textual analysis, the authors question how the past is narrated at tourism heritage sites, showing the ambiguity still surrounding memories of slavery and its connections to British wealth and

prosperity. In the three contexts of the analysis, the authors find diverse communicative strategies at play: a first approach places emphasis on the British contribution to the abolitionist cause; a second one exposes the footprints of slavery, revealing its concealed or forgotten history; finally, a third strategy reflects on the history and legacy of slavery and how it impacts the world today. The final remarks stress the importance of more inclusive narratives, as well as active engagement on the part of the visitor, in order to keep this difficult heritage alive and promote alternative narratives.

The special issue ends with a research note, complementing the discussion on memories of slavery and tourism with a perspective from the field. In 'The legacy of slavery in Barcelona. Public history as reparation', Oriol Lopez-Badell reviews a guided tour on the legacy of the slave trade and colonial fortunes in the Catalan capital, providing interesting insights into the subject of difficult memories and how they are made accessible to a tourist audience.

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