



Dark tourism, abjection and blood: A festival context



Jeffrey S. Podoshen^{a,*}, Grace Yan^b, Susan A. Andrzejewski^c, Jason Wallin^d,
Vivek Venkatesh^e

^a Department of Business, Organizations and Society, Franklin and Marshall College, 415 Harrisburg Avenue, Lancaster, PA 17603, USA

^b Department of Sport and Entertainment Management, College of Hospitality, Retail and Sport Management, University of South Carolina, Columbia, SC 29208, USA

^c California State University – Channel Islands, 1 University Drive, Camarillo, CA 93012, USA

^d Department of Secondary Education, University of Alberta, 116 St. and 85 Ave., Edmonton, AB, T6G 2R3, Canada

^e Concordia University, 1455 de Maisonneuve Blvd W., LB-579, Montreal, Quebec, H3G 1M8, Canada

H I G H L I G H T S

- We find more novel insights and implications that take the study of dark tourism further beyond the historic and educational realms and into a more present-centered orientation.
- The spaces we have studied are a lived consumption experience with specific subcultural narratives and a quest for extremity relating to the death and darkness.
- Transitory space acts as important moment in dark tourism experience.

A R T I C L E I N F O

Article history:

Received 19 March 2017

Received in revised form

29 August 2017

Accepted 3 September 2017

Keywords:

Holocaust tourism

Atrocity tourism

Dark tourism

Group attribution error

Attribution theory

A B S T R A C T

Dark tourism and its implications have been gaining significant prominence in both the literature and in practice in the recent past. Understanding the process and outcomes of dark tourism related to tourists and local hosts can play a key role in relations between the two groups of people. This paper, utilizing long-form interview data and content analysis, examines the psychological processes of some global Jewish citizens in relation to tourism activity and local hosts surrounding historic Holocaust sites located in Eastern and Central Europe. These attribution-oriented processes, which include the group attribution error, the perseverance effect and the role of atypical information generate novel insights into social-psychological activity nested in dark tourism. Our research yields significant implications on collective memory and narrative, representation, authenticity and ownership within the context of dark tourism.

© 2017 Elsevier Ltd. All rights reserved.

1. Introduction

Phenomenology emphasizes the attempt to get to the heart of subjective matters by describing phenomena as they appear and manifest to the consciousness of the experiencer (Moran, 2000). It is often depicted as the study of essences (Heidegger, 1971; Merleau-Ponty, 1945), as well as the exploration of human

experience (Polkinghorne, 1989) as Sartre (1970) believes, life is not to be reduced to a set of static objectives but must be understood in a manner that is meaningfully lived. From this perspective, phenomenology carries inherent relevance to tourism inquiry and, in particular, to festivals and events, considering that lived experience and perceptions of said experiences are an essential and integral component of this category of tourism (Pernecky & Jamal, 2010; Ziakas & Boukas, 2014). According to Geertz (1973), every event consists of interrelated dimensions of the personal, existential and socio-cultural. In tourism activity people can locate symbolic expression through festival representations in a search for meanings and identities. Meanwhile, despite the fact that festival tourism has already become a quintessential category of the

* Corresponding author.

E-mail addresses: jpodoshe@fandm.edu (J.S. Podoshen), chengyan@mailbox.sc.edu (G. Yan), susan.andrzejewski@csuci.edu (S.A. Andrzejewski), jwallin@ualberta.ca (J. Wallin), vivek@education.concordia.ca (V. Venkatesh).

growing and increasingly relevant experience economy (Pernecky & Jamal, 2010), there is surprisingly little discussion on phenomenological experience in the event and tourism literature (Ziakas & Boukas, 2014) and there have been repeated calls for deeper examination (Patterson & Getz, 2013; Robinson, Picard, & Long, 2004).

Given the importance of festivals, their growth in global economies and a growing fascination with dark tourism (Podoshen, 2018) and dystopian dark tourism (Podoshen, Venkatesh, Wallin, Andrzejewski, & Jin, 2015), this study employs a phenomenological framework to examine visitors' experiences in Black Metal (an extreme subgenre of heavy metal) festivals and concert tours, specifically those that involve abjection, blood, violence and material traces of death. Abjection is a visceral reaction to the vile, disgusting and repulsive that also encompasses the realization that the vile, disgusting and repulsive is a part of our existence as humans (Kristeva, 1982). Festivals featuring abjection fall in line with Bakhtin's (1984) interpretation of carnivals, where people subvert and liberate routines and structures imposed by society through a combination of humor, chaos, the grotesque, the sacred, as well as the profane. In this sense, Black Metal festivals and concert tours constitute an *extraordinary* space which provides visitors with experiences of difference, darkness and danger, sustained by shocking forms of musical performance, lyrics, and ambience within the liminality of the festival space (Yan, Kloeppel, & Li, 2016). Black Metal festivals also create a framework for the hyperreal condition of death and blasphemy (Podoshen, Venkatesh, & Jin, 2014; Venkatesh, Podoshen, Urbaniak, & Wallin, 2015) – amongst other dystopic themes – alongside a critical reflection on political, social and cultural factors that impact the production of dystopic artforms. With this in mind, our work is driven by the following objectives using the interpretative phenomenological frame: a) to closely examine, as Stone (2011) calls for, dark tourism that centers on interrelationships between the tourism activity and conditions of society; b) to shed light on the specifics of the tourists' experiences while actually attending dark tourism festivals that feature abjection; and c) to provide novel theory building into dark tourism motivations that go beyond the hedonic, the quest for remembrance, heritage and other related variables that have been well-discussed in the literature. Dark tourism related music festival experiences are relatively new phenomena (occurring after the turn of the 21st century) and, as such, require theoretical explanation that stems beyond current knowledge.

2. Literature review

2.1. Dark tourism

Stone and Sharpley (2008) inform us that dark tourism allows death to be more strongly integrated into society and the public discourse. It makes absent death present and more explicitly woven into the context of our lives. Secondly, by engaging in dark tourism, humans can reduce a sense of dread for their impending or inevitable demise. This, the authors mention, can assist in creating a feeling of security. There is also the suggestion that some dark tourism activities help the tourist mitigate fears of death in a manner that is generally viewed as culturally acceptable (Biran & Buda, 2017). Additionally, the act of touring locations associated with death can give humans a contemplative space related to dying and death. Sharpley and Stone (2009) tell us that dark tourists are generally motivated by the desire to gain knowledge and understand an aspect of the world that was/is not fully elucidated. The interpretative aspect is vital to the experience (Sharpley & Stone, 2009), meaning that consuming things that are “very dark” are not just about experiencing death in empty space, voyeurism or

mere *schadenfreude* (Stone, 2006). Further, dark tourism can provide an emotional and cognitive space that becomes enmeshed with the physical (Yan, Zhang, Zhang, Lu, & Guo, 2016). *Deathscapes* as Maddrell and Sidaway (2012) term them, allow for an interactive process between tourists and a particular space involving the use of the semiotic.

Recent literature in the field of dark tourism has embraced the nuances of more novel conceptualizations about death consumption that move beyond the traditionally-viewed motivations and variables of simulation (Lennon & Foley, 1999; Podoshen, 2013; Podoshen et al., 2015), community building and tensions therein (Kang, Scott, Lee, & Ballantyne, 2012; Venkatesh et al., 2015), questioning morality (Bolin, 2012) and the challenge of order and rationality (Lennon & Foley, 2000). More nuanced theoretical insight in recent years has centered on the search for novelty (the unusual and unfamiliar) in tourism experiences and darker tourism experiences (Buda & Shim, 2015) as well as visits to places where there is legitimate and immediate threat of harm; termed *danger-zone* tourism (Buda, d'Hautessere & Johnston, 2014).

Related to this danger aspect, Sparks and Sparks posit that violence enables some individuals to have sensory delight and that this delight in and of itself is enjoyable. Baumeister and Campbell (1999), Kottler (2011) and Sparks and Sparks all present work that suggests that humans may obtain “sadistic” pleasure by consuming violent media, thus satisfying an inherent desire for engagement with violent and death-oriented material. Pleasure in consumption is associated with meaning (Alba & Williams, 2013). This runs in tandem with Venkatesh et al.'s (2015) assertion that death and violent consumption facilitate a type of *hyperreality* that allow consumers to better come to terms with death or that facing violent consumption can act as a form of preparation for an inevitable violent future (Podoshen et al., 2015). This conception of hyperreality – derived from Baudrillard (1981) – is a type of “reality by proxy” or system condition that views reality as part of the constructed symbolic world (Firat & Dholakia, 2006). Venkatesh et al. (2015) posit some forms of consumption of death and the abject are actually a rejection and/or deferment of death. This dovetails with Podoshen's (2016) take that increased concern about death in the public eye comes as little surprise as massive concentrated wealth has set the stage for a serious exploration by some to avoid or circumvent death. The desire to evade death assumes myriad forms beyond the belief of a metaphysical life-after-death. The speculative idea of colonizing planets beyond Earth and hence abjecting the ramifications of global climate change, overpopulation, resource scarcity and prospect of extinction have already been operationalized. In a general sense, the economic background of Western late capitalism supports this scene of abjection, casting away the image of death via the ideals of compulsory happiness, excess positivity, and the interminable agitation of the body into affective production (Baudrillard, 1990). Even where Western capitalism feeds on death, it is almost always the death of the “other” semiotized as abject.

2.2. Phenomenology and black metal festivals

Phenomenology largely originated with Husserl (1970), who put forth that a philosophical account of knowledge has to remain faithful to the deepest experiential evidence. Specifically, phenomenology begins with the philosophical view that the meanings of things are always related to the concrete, existential possibilities of the world that individuals exist in (Heidegger, 1971). In other words, all objects are encountered in a specific perspective where all consciousness occurs in a temporal flow through human perceptions. It emphasizes that experiences need to be interpreted through grouped content and the mode of being, in regards to full

performance and intentionality (Husserl, 1970) and it is from this perspective that phenomenology is seen as reviving our living contact with reality by allowing a delineation of affective, emotional, and imaginative life, in a manner that is meaningfully lived (Sartre, 1970). In this respect, it is focused on analyzing human behavior with fewer restrictions than more objective methods in an effort to delve deep into the unique ways and means individuals live in society.

The connections between tourism festivals and phenomenology have been well articulated by scholars (Geertz, 1973; Getz, 2012; Ziakas & Boukas, 2014). Festivals take place in a specific place and in a transitory time period outside the routine and restrictions of normal life, delineating a liminal zone (Turner, 1987). Thus, such boundaries of time and space are often associated with a sense of change and transformation, as well as suspension of normal social rules for the individuals engaging in tourism experiences (Getz, 2012). Hollinshead, Kuon, and Alajmi (2015) mention that events (such as festivals) need to be contextualized within the wider spheres of social, political and cultural meaning and can offer insight on the dynamic nature of the modern world. Furthermore, precisely because festivals often seek to portray a different version of reality compared to everyday life, they often involve rich expressive and dramatic culture expressions, performing specific inquiries of identities (Bahktin, 1984). Consequently, this helps researchers understand how symbolic festival expressions are perceived and interpreted by visitors as a result of their lived experiences through interactions in the festival environment and the cultural offerings that may lie at the center of the festival or along the periphery.

2.3. *The black metal scene*

Podoshen's (2013) work bridges live music scene consumption and production with dark tourism when the scene is related to death and violence and this work centered on the musical art-form of black metal. A music *scene* is a configuration that can be utilized to theorize production, performance and consumption of music (Hietanen & Rokka, 2015). Herein, we use Straw's (1991) conception of scenes as a unit of analysis as it allows for a fluidity between geographical (or place-based), temporal as well as virtual (i.e. on-line) contexts (Venkatesh et al., 2015). Black metal is an extreme music scene that has been characterized – in its first and second wave - by primitive (or lo-fidelity) recording practices, shrieked vocal techniques, and unconventional song structures and arrangements (Venkatesh, Podoshen, Perri, & Urbaniak, 2014). The genre differs rather significantly from the more well known and radio-friendly 1980's "shock rock" oriented heavy metal artists such as Twisted Sister, Alice Cooper or Motley Crue, who were known to push the envelope for the mere sake of shock and the hope that their over the top stage shows (yet not at all dangerous) and attire would lead to significant commercial success. These bands were signed to major labels and received a great deal of radio airplay, thus their "true" extremity never really went beyond fake props and parlor tricks. Differing from these more noted and written about mainstream genres of heavy metal, black metal artists are not necessarily interested in garnering mainstream attention, wealth or anything that would compromise the dark qualities of their art or freedom of expression. Black metal artists and fans are known to embrace abjection relating to the reality of death and violence. In other words, instead of using stage props that simulate death, the abject or violence, the artists use authentic materials. Abjection involves the use of blood, animal innards and actual animal body parts; that is to say real animal blood instead of simulated blood, real bones and skeletons instead of manufactured ones. Festival and concertgoers are faced with real risks of coming

face to face with a slaughtered pig head, being doused in pig blood and listening to music and lyrics where the artists embrace Satanism and anti-Christianity and are quite serious about the message.

The visual and lyrical content in Black Metal generally centers on the desolate landscapes of Scandinavian nature, Nietzschean (nihilist and anti-Christian) philosophy, Nordic ancestry, death, depression and hostility towards Abrahamic religions. In fact, some key members of the second wave of the Norwegian Black Metal scene were responsible for over fifty church burnings throughout Scandinavia (mostly in Norway) in the 1990s (Monk, 2011) as an affront towards modern Norwegian society, which is believed to be under Judeo-Christian imperialism and an embrace of globalization – which they believe waters down traditional Nordic culture. The scene has featured more serious violence as well including multiple homicides and suicides. Some artists, such as Niklas Kvaforth from the Swedish band Shining, have been known to engage in cutting and other acts of self-harm while performing.

Anti-Christianity is not the only theme present in this environment, many artists in black metal feature anti-Islamic themes and images. Canadian band Weapon features a song entitled "Remnants of a Burnt Mosque," and Greek act Wargoat recorded "Fuck the Muslim God." Even Middle Eastern extreme metal bands feature anti-Islamic themes, such as Janaza and Seeds of Iblis. King Ov Hell, of the Norwegian band God Seed posted anti-Islam propaganda videos on his Facebook page in 2014. When confronted about it, the band reiterated their disdain of the Muslim religion (Venkatesh et al., 2016). Further, Watain performed the song "Go Fuck Your Jewish God" on their most recent tour of the US and Canada. As we found in our observations, there are some in the extreme ends of the scene who thrive in misery and racism. At one festival in Europe, we found active recruiting for neo-Nazi organizations. It is important to note, however, that the vast majority of the black metal scene is not hostile to people of diverse backgrounds. The scene, however, is predicated on a general disgust for religious institutions.

Even with all of this controversy, black metal is Norway's number one musical export and home to a variety of festivals and tours that draw black metal tourists from multiple continents. Other festivals in the scene have grown and can be found in Canada, the UK, South America, the United States and Northern European nations. Festivals and multi-day concerts are often the norm as promoters seek to take advantage of the significant economies of scale involved by booking multiple bands for the same venue in a short amount of time. The scene has garnered significant economic interest in more recent years given the influx of tourism dollars and Black Metal festivals and concerts are even featured in Norway's official travel guide.

3. Methodology

3.1. *Phenomenology and finding central essences*

Phenomenology examines meanings as they are experienced and perceived as "inherent essences" (Li, 2000). It promotes co-researching and qualitative methods where researchers explore phenomena in social situations and interpersonal interactions usually involving participant observation and interviewing. It is a reflective method, sensitive to lived sensibilities (van Manen, 1997). This method has been gaining significant ground in Tourism research in contexts that have a wide array of dynamics and unique lived experiences (Caton & Santos, 2007; Ingram, 2002; Masberg & Silverman, 1996; Santos & Yan, 2010). Specifically, the journey of phenomenological research starts with the researcher's attempt to reflect on their relationship with the phenomena that will be

studied (Groenewald, 2004) and phenomenologists believe that the researcher cannot be detached from his/her own presuppositions (van Manen, 1997). The purpose of such reflection is to become aware of one's biases and assumptions to avoid the researcher's own presuppositions from entering the unique world of the participant (Creswell, 1994). With that in mind, this study features a research team of scholars both familiar and unfamiliar with Black Metal and both familiar and unfamiliar with the production of music festivals. This allows for greater diversity in interpretation and the ability to more strongly marshal biases and assumptions. One member of the research team has been an active heavy metal music fan for over three decades and currently engages in the promotion of music festivals in North America that include both heavy metal and non-metal acts. An additional member is also involved in art and production of extreme metal. The lead researcher has been a fan of heavy music and hard rock since the early 1980's but is not involved in music production. Of Mena ancestry, he is far removed from Christianity and Satanism (Satan doesn't exist in his religious background) and was only immersed in Nordic culture as result of the research. The remaining two authors on this paper are not fans at all of heavy metal and were unfamiliar with nearly all of the bands studied, the lyrical content, and the imagery of this music before the study commenced. In all, two authors identify as Caucasian, two are from Asia and one is Mena. Two females, three males.

The presence of individuals both inside and outside the realm of the scene is important. On the one hand, having researchers involved in the music scene gives us key access that many will not gain and gives us a leg up on communicative competence (Briggs, 1986). It also allowed for easier and safer access in the venues as experienced black metal festival goers, these researchers had a better sense of what to expect and where to avoid any potential safety issues. On the other hand, it means that these individuals will have a particular way of asking, seeing and listening during the interview process and the observations that can lead to some bias in interpretation (Yan et al., 2016). With this in mind, we found it imperative to have additional members of the research team on board to serve as a source of balance and to help create distance.

3.2. Data collection and interviews

In line with much recent work in tourism research (Broocks & Hannam, 2016; Healy et al., 2016; Lugosi, 2014), we utilized participant observation as a means of data gathering. In addition to the observation, we conducted unstructured and semi-structured interviews with 30 people who attend black metal concerts and festivals regularly. Interviews are a key facet of phenomenological research, especially ones that lack structure and allow for interviewees to articulate key meanings. Interviews occurred in North America and Europe between 2014 and 2017. Interviewees with attendees were obtained via solicitation at black metal festivals and concerts as well as via online forums. All interviews were confidential and were conducted in English. Note that interview data and some observation data were used for an additional, previous study (Podoshen, Andrzejewski, Wallin, & Venkatesh, 2017).

In all we observed sixteen black metal concerts, tours and festivals in multiple countries (Canada, United States, Norway). These included the No Safe Space Tour in the United States, Inferno Festival in both Switzerland and Norway, Blekkmetal in Norway, Maryland Death Fest in the United States, the Decibel Magazine Tour in multiple cities, the Black Metal Warfare I and II tours in multiple cities and smaller, more local events. Many festivals we attended more than once for greater engagement control and

increased level of acclimation (Cole, 2007). Purposefully, we chose festivals and concerts that featured heavy use of blood, violence and the abject in their live shows. This included acts such as Shining, Gaahls Wyrld, Young and in the Way, Mayhem, Taake and Watain. Many bands we studied are closely affiliated with Satanism or anti-Christianity, misanthropy, and the use of blood and/or body and animal parts. For example, Young and in the Way is known for actually closing down a performance venue after spraying massive amounts of animal blood on concertgoers, tables, chairs, the floor and the stage – resulting in the blood to pool and contaminate the entire establishment. As we mentioned earlier, the lead singer of Shining, Niklas Kvaforth, is known for engaging in cutting himself, bleeding out from his arms and then wrapping his arms around audience members and openly advocating suicide.

It's important to note that the research protocols were submitted and approved by the lead researcher's Human Subjects Institutional Review Board (IRB). This is review process closely follows protocols and guidelines put forth by the United States Department of Education. As part of this accepted protocol, all interviewee data are held confidentially. Pseudonyms are used in this manuscript and in all field notes. Interviewees were given a copy or told of the approved anonymous protocol with contact information of the lead researcher and the Human Subjects Research Officer at the university of the lead researcher in case any concerns arose. In most instances, interviewees were given a small gift for their participation. This was either a t-shirt of one of the bands performing at the concert, a t-shirt of a similar band, a CD or a record. The gift process was also approved by the IRB.

The interviews took place at the bar areas with visitors and in the "pit" area close to the stage shortly after the musical performance. Interviewees were solicited via posts on social media sites and at shows and festivals in entry lines, smoking locations and bathroom lines. Some interviews took place via an electronic medium to better guarantee confidentiality. All interviewees had to be self-identified as black metal fans and had to have attended at least one show that contained the key themes related to abjection.

Unstructured or semi-structured interviews occurred where questions were "directed to the participant's experiences, feelings, beliefs and convictions" (Welman & Kruger, 1999, p. 196) and guided by a general topical structure about their experience related to Black Metal festivals, the black metal genre and the experienced abjection. Questions were generally focused on what went on within the participants to lead them to describe the lived experience in a language as free from the confines of the intellectual jargon as possible (Groenewald, 2004). Meanwhile, the duration of interviews and the number of questions varied from one participant to another based on personal dispositions of interviewees. For instance, while some focused on their specific emotional involvement, others dwelled on the place and ambience offered by the festival. Others placed a lot of emphasis on the abjection-oriented elements.

Participant observation followed the Spradley (1980) dimensions in ethnographic fieldwork. This involved examining specific descriptors of activities individuals were engaged in and focus on cultural themes, impressionist notes and key happenings as they occur. It is used often in cultural domains that assist in categorization (Penaloza, 1998) and subcategorization and takes note of the affective state and social dynamics of the participants involved (Mackellar, 2013).

Researchers took field and jot notes to document their experiences in terms of what they heard, saw, and thought about at the festivals. The purpose was to maintain a balance between descriptive notes and reflective notes in order to correlate the notes with the interview data afterwards to provide a contextualized and

holistic documentation (Polkinghorne, 1989). As such, the final data included the researchers' personal reflections and depictions as well as information gathered from the research participants (Polkinghorne, 1989).

3.3. Analysis

The analytical approach of the study was in line with Hycner (1999). In a close interpretation of Husserl (1970), Hycner (1999) cautions that the term *analysis* can have dangerous connotations for phenomenology, as it often implies a *breaking into parts* and therefore means a loss of the whole phenomenon. Instead, the term *explicitation* is proposed to investigate the constituents of a phenomenon while keeping the context (Groenewald, 2004). Specifically, for the material used for this paper, the first step involved bracketing out the researchers' own preconceptions (Fouche, 1993). It is important to note that some of the researchers have been involved in the particular music scene as scholars, observers and fans for a number of years. Other members have no interest or experience in the scene. The second step involved the delineating of units of meaning embedded in the data (Hycner, 1999). Specifically we looked for central meanings and concerns. For this paper, specifically, we zoned in on meaning related to the festival and concert going activity itself to stay within the boundaries of tourism analysis in the music scene. Thirdly, by examining the list of units of meaning, the researchers tried to elicit the essence within the holistic context. In so doing, central themes are determined by interrogating the meaning of the various clusters of parts, which expresses the essence of the phenomenon investigated (Hycner, 1999). The fourth and fifth steps involved summarization and determining general and unique themes for all the data. Attention was also given to the unique voices that were not contained in any major theme but still served to illuminate the existential meaning of Black Metal festival experience.

4. Motivations and liminality

4.1. Desire for experiencing abjection in ritual-like context

In our extensive observations of black metal shows, we found that many of the concerts were referred to, not as “concerts” but rather “rituals,” “shows” or “events.” Stages, such as those at Watain (a well-known Swedish black metal band) were set up often, specifically as altars to perform rituals. Watain's stage is one that contains elements of death – actual animal remains, blood (fermented) and filth – along with fire and other objects used in ceremonial engagements. Band members are known to tour with “travelling death,” allowing the animal parts picked up along the tour to ferment and decompose with them. Watain's Philadelphia show in Fall of 2015 featured a number of decomposing sheep heads on stage as well as two impaled pig's heads on inverted crosses on either side of the stage. The ritual itself is not one merely performed by band members, but rather is participative with audience members often getting doused with fermented blood, breathing in the unique aromas and, as some respondents mentioned, even participating in a type of worship ritual in the pit during the performance.

“The environment is one of finding those deepest darkest places in the recesses of your mind, accepting them and recognizing them as good and channeling them out through the energy you give back to the band in a safe place with others that think alike.” – Michelle, Los Angeles

Ritual, or the specific performance of a sequence of events of

symbolic acts, features social interaction in a staged meta-theatre that features performativity and dramatic effect (Turner, 1987). According to Rook (1985), a ritual includes four key elements: a clear sequence of ritual actions to be performed; performance role(s), which may vary from being extensive to nonexistent; a ritual audience; and ritual artifacts that hold symbolic meaning.

“Watain takes their performance very seriously, and they consider their stage show to be a ritual. A friend of mine who talked to them when they were here said that they said if anyone touched their things on the stage they wouldn't perform.” – Ralph

Participation in such rituals creates a culture among participants (Wallendorf & Arnould, 1991) and clearly defines who is included within the group (Schouten and H. McAlexander, 1995). As Bonsu and Belk (2003) show us, social exchange occurs during rituals related to death and these interactions contain symbols that allow interaction between the living and the dead, and for the living to vicariously consume elements of death, often creating modes of self-expression and representation, otherwise termed as signification (Venkatesh et al., 2015). Thus, consumption provides an appropriate stage to study ritual related to identity projection and the negotiation and construction of meanings. Actors and consumers in consumption rituals influence each other and the actor's role often is to infuse the consumer's emotions with that of their own. This infusion spurs a feeling of deep authenticity and a blurred distinction between the two parties (Minowa, 2012). Effects of the ritual, while facilitating the understanding of meaning, does not necessarily indicate that the consumer's belief system is permanently changed (Minowa, 2012). In essence, extreme metal fans can experience a show or ritual that features Satanism or extreme music and imagery and not necessarily experience a permanent change in belief system or disposition; it could be an interaction that relates to self-expression or a type of vicarious consumption. This is illustrated by Henry and Caldwell (2007) who discuss how audiences at heavy metal shows can experience catharsis through ritual and a heightened feeling of emotion and even fear. They are, however, generally shielded from any life-threatening event. In this respect, most violence at heavy metal shows is temporary.

Watain and other extreme metal shows (different from the subgenres of heavy metal of past studies) do not feature simulated violence but rather an up and close and personal experience with actual death and/or violence itself. Consumers experience a real yet temporary ritualistic experience. In this respect, they are not shielded from threats and they may have to engage with the abject. Notably, for some, the Watain experience in the summer of 2014 in New York was all too real and the band made international headlines when unsuspecting or curious concertgoers reported vomiting and shock at the experience of being doused with pig blood (Cockroft, 2014).

“I definitely come for the theatrics of the performance the promise of getting blood thrown on me.” – Winnie, female, Los Angeles

This is a key difference between “shock metal” performances featuring Alice Cooper or Marilyn Manson and extreme metal like Watain or Gaahls Wyrld. These acts are going to ensure that concertgoers are not really shielded from blood, death or abjection. Alice Cooper and Marilyn Manson simply feature props that might represent death, but they do not present actual death.

“I was nervous going the first time I saw them because I had heard about the animal blood, and I'd make jokes about how I was going to wear my galoshes and take an umbrella.” – Ralph, United States

As Sinclair and Dolan (2015) argue, heavy metal fans experience emotional excitement that allows them to exit, at least temporarily, the routines of industrialized society.

"{Watain} is an escape from not belonging ... Sometimes I think I was born in the wrong time, and that I would be better suited on a medieval battlefield, or in hell." – Winnie

Exposure to what many consider negative emotions may even increase the excitement and overall experience. Ralph tells us he seeks out the "primitive" (cf. Canniford & Karababa, 2012) in extreme metal shows – bringing a dangerous fantasy to reality,

"When Erik (Watain vocalist) prays on stage or uses some kind of ritual gear, it's really like watching a religious ceremony. Also, there is the blood, and the fact that they don't wash their tour gear ... they smell absolutely horrible ... for me it's very much like seeing a religious ceremony – something that is very private – made public."

In this instance, Ralph is exposed to what many would consider negative – a putrid stench, exposure to animal blood, a stage area adorned with animal carcasses in various forms – yet it is actually a positive experience, ultimately, in the mind of Ralph. Ralph's experience and description meshes with Hagen's (2011) take on black metal whereby he refers to the concert setting as something quasi-religious and affirming. Integrated with the grotesque, one might feel a closeness with not only rebelliousness but austerity (Bakhtin, 1965).

As we witnessed at one Taake show in Oslo, ritual did not have to be related directly to Satanic ritual, but one of violence. Taake, who specifically chose to play a smaller, rougher venue at a major Norwegian festival, features aggressive, controversial music and lyrics. We witnessed a variety of violent acts at the show – both on stage and in the crowd with glassware and bottles being thrown and broken, fights breaking out on stage and in the pit and a general sense of danger. This danger and threat of real violence is one of the hallmarks of a Taake show. In fact, as we observed at "tamer" Taake shows, fans were often disappointed when there was less than expected intensity. Fans we spoke with generally look at Taake shows and their experiences as cathartic and a way to escape problems of the day or frustration with society, family or even global culture. This is similar to Goulding, Shankar, Elliot and Canniford. (2009) work that many in these types of environments are looking, specifically to lose control – at least temporarily. A key difference, however, is that dissimilar to more mainstream metal shows where one might go into the "mosh pit" and mosh with others in a coordinated ritual or dance for a bit – feeling a particular high - is that many extreme metal fans, especially those in the black metal scene are not looking to mosh or share in any non-antagonistic communal or community building endeavor that often is a key characteristic of moshing and mosh pits (Hutcherson & Haenfler, 2010). Those who attempt to mosh in a coordinated manner at a show like Taake or Enslaved may find themselves derided by other attendees. In fact, the violence we witnessed at Taake and Helheim shows in Oslo featured very uncoordinated violence, such as fistfights, violent pushing, glassware being thrown and equipment being thrown.

Further along the lines of ritual, we found that ritualistic performances such as tearing of bibles or related activities were a central draw to the scene for some. Two Los Angeles concertgoers excitedly recounted one of their favorite shows where bible desecration was a key part, "they tore up a bible and you got to keep part

of it!" They expected the live tearing to take place and they were not at all disappointed when it indeed occurred. Tearing pages or even engaging in a blasphemous parody of receiving communion (as was done on Behemoth's 2016 *The Satanist* tour) can offer scene members an outlet for their pent up rejection of mainstream religion.

One young woman in her early 20s informed us of how she engages in a "ritual" with her friends as they listen to the music, "it's a ritual thing ... sitting in a room together, listening to the music, and taking part in group ritualistic cutting." Cutting, and self-harm is a theme prevalent in tandem with Swedish band, Shining. While many view cutting as an especially negative behavior, the ritual of cutting in tandem with the music brings the group closer together as a unit and closer to the bands they listen to. This excitement and search for these feelings was enough to cause many we spoke to at the Los Angeles Watain show to travel hundreds (even thousands) of miles to make it to one of the band's rare West Coast dates – many of whom did not actually have tickets to the sold out show – but hoped to somehow obtain them outside the venue. Certainly cutting behavior is not a universal ritual in black metal circles, however, as Hagen (2011) describes, violent activity among certain black metal producers and consumers is prevalent in the scene. Additionally, varieties of humanistic and theistic practices are a cornerstone of some performances both by artists and fans including those by Swedish bands Dissection and Watain, as well as Gorgoroth of Norway (Patterson, 2013). While it is rare to find black metal artists advocate violent acts (though it does certainly occur, see for example Shining (Patterson, 2013)) some fans use the space of the scene as a venue to engage in this type of activity.

When we asked about the blood and cutting involved in black metal shows we received one particularly insightful response that meshed with our own observations.

"I remember Frost (drummer of 1349) in the documentary "Until the Light Takes Us" mentioned on self mutilation that he doesn't do it just for the sake of doing it, it has to serve some sort of purpose. And that's how I feel about the animal blood. I'm no vegan nor an animal rights activist in the slightest, but I feel like if that kind of behavior will enhance the ritual's experience then by all means go for it. Whether it makes some people puke, cry, or grin, it's all to enhance the experience. And the nice thing about Watain is they don't fuck around so you know you're not getting ketchup on you haha." – Wyeth

Many rituals at black metal shows often involved some form of rejection of organized Judeo-Christian religion and this is incorporated throughout performances with altars, incense, animal parts and blood. As we found in our observations, there are a few members in the scene who thrive in misery and racism but those numbers have dwindled in more recent years. Thus, while many search for arousal in the scene, the after-effects may or may not be short-lived.

4.2. Transitory space as a moment of dark tourism experience

We find that a variety of psychosocial variables enable a transitory space that occurs at the festival/concert, which then allows relational work for consumers. As discussed in Holyfield, Cobb, Murray, and McKinzie (2013), music festivals offer "moments of experience" where meaning is discovered and established. They offer a space for heightened emotions and liminality. As Holyfield et al. (2013) mention, this liminality provides a reprieve from the routine of daily life. These concert experiences can also become a way for a person to define his/herself (Packer & Ballantyne, 2011) and become integrated, educated and initiated into a specific scene

(Clifford-Napoleone, 2015). Cohen (1997) mentions that these musical scenes shape and signify participants, and concert-like experiences can offer experiencers a way to imagine an alternative future (Kun, 2005). In the case of black metal – often a future that is one indicative of dystopia meshed with violence.

Specifically our observational and interview data indicate that factors of social identity, ritual, and abject-related search for arousal motivate many to seek a transitory space. As a result of individuals experiencing the transitory space, they further solidify and define their role in specific consumption communities and find a relative level safety and trust in the community of like-minded individuals. This community, we found, consists of very specific dispositions of misanthropy present in the history of the scene, the performance and the lyrics. This feeling is one that may lie “under the surface” when outside of the transitory space, but activated in the space. While conceived of a deep dislike of humans and the trappings of post-modern consumer culture, black metal misanthropy tends to rail against the established notions of community, which is generally seen as an essential feature of less extreme metal music scenes (Snell & Hodgetts, 2007). Instead, the particular scene of black metal often promotes a self-destructive and bleak narrative that is steeped in an introverted individuality – bordering on solipsism – and pointing to the nihilistic products of accelerationist, post-capitalist philosophy (Wallin & Venkatesh, 2016). That is to say, black metal misanthropy foregoes the trappings of social psychological frameworks that favor the positive emotional contagion that is prevalent in experiencing music in physical and virtual scenes, instead revealing a nuanced and reflexive construction of an inevitably terrifying and lonely future (Venkatesh et al., 2015) where the collective orientation often found in Scandinavian societies has been expunged in favor of more tribal existences resembling pre-Christian Northern Europe. This is in line with Holyfield et al. (2013) who explain how musical performances bring forth and exchange unexpressed sentiment, summoning vivid memories and documenting thoughts, feelings and affect related to a particular place. While transitory space is not unique in itself and is certainly present in a variety of consumption experiences, we found that black metal fans seem to be particularly enamored with the more pervasive elements of abjection and danger in their specific transitory experiences. Watain fan Wyeth discusses his thoughts about entering the space:

“There’s this nameless evil that’s present and in those moments it feels like you’re transported somewhere else. There’s this supernatural evil entity being channeled through these five ghastly individuals (Watain) in the most powerful human way possible, and its incredibly dangerous ... it’s one of the most terrifying and attractive things you could ever encounter.” – Wyeth, United States

5. Theorizing transitory space in the shadow of the abject

Search for ritualistic experience in an authentic environment, the quest for abjection, as well as the influence of social identity tensions bubble to the surface in the actual environment of the black metal concert experience. Sharing this experience with others may then reaffirm or strengthen membership in the black metal scene or, for some, result in a “shake out” whereby the space is deemed too extreme or sickening (as occurred at the 2014 New York Watain show). For those further affirmed by the experience, we found a clear positive in the form of stronger community membership, in line with Aronson and Mills’s (1959) work on severity of initiation where those who undergo unpleasant

“initiation” to become members of a group have a tendency to increase the perceived attractiveness of the group. We also noted a feeling of safety, catharsis or even a mechanism to deal with negative life events. A number of individuals mentioned that they experienced terrible things in their lives and found strength in confronting the death present in these festivals with others. These individuals don’t have to pretend to be happy at these shows, smile or even be particularly sociable. Additionally, as noted in Andrade and Cohen (2007) we witnessed that some tourists felt a high level of arousal, relief and pleasantness after “surviving” the experience. For example, many fans proudly posted selfies after Watain shows displaying how bloody they were or how their cars were filled with blood stains after driving home, in a show of pride, shared with the world.

Zillmann (1980) posits that people focus on the aroused aftermath of events that may obtain aversive stimuli. This arousal from “negative” affect may be pleasant (Zuckerman, 1996) and people who can anticipate relief from this affect may even prefer this form of negative arousal (Andrade & Cohen, 2007). In fact, it is plausible that individuals at black metal concerts can be feeling coactivation (Andrade & Cohen, 2007) (similar to individuals at death-oriented places) or mixed/opposite feelings (positive and negative feelings at the same time). Thus, fans at a Watain show can be repulsed by being doused by pig’s blood yet, at the same time, be ecstatic at the experience, falling in line with Miller’s (2007) theory about humans being distressed by the abject and, at the time, rather fascinated by the dangerousness of it. Andrade and Cohen (2007) mention the moderating variable of the protective frame (Apter, 1992) as the mechanism that allows this coactivation to occur. This frame allows individuals to reframe anxiety and feel excited, positive arousal by means of confidence (feeling danger but knowing what to do), safety (being close enough to observe the dangerous happenings but far enough to be safe) and/or detachment (observing something dangerous but not interacting with it). In our data, it is suggested that the transitory space and community (or tribal) aspects present in the black metal shows facilitate a protective frame.

“... with Watain it’s dragged right from the lungs of Hell and causes a whirlwind of emotion. There’s the surface level connection of the powerful riffs and enjoyment of grade A heavy metal on a superficial level. But I felt fear. I felt a ghastly terror when Erik (Watain vocalist) glared right at me in some sort of trance state as he uttered an inaudible phrase that caused every bone in my body to shiver and tingle. I felt a strong evil presence as well. I felt comforted, and overwhelmed with miserable emotion since I felt closer to my fallen brothers and how important the living people around me were. There’s definitely a close personal connection to Watain, and I feel like that intensity would manifest in their live shows whether you were connected to the band or not.” – Wyeth, United States.

Based on our observations and participation we posit that individuals at these events find a protective frame within the transitory space at the shows themselves. We found fans at many of these shows lining up hours in advance to be right up front – in the center of the action – yet almost all displayed and/or spoke of the confidence of being able to know and handle exactly what was coming at them. These concertgoers were right up against the rail, sweaty, dirty, and in some cases doused and/or exposed with/to animal blood, animal parts, physical violence, beverages, glass bottles, human blood and vomit (as one researcher experienced firsthand), sometimes in the presence of individuals who were

looking for violent activity. Clearly, however, even in the midst of fluids and glass flying, it was clear that concertgoers were generally experiencing positive arousal.

“... being soaked in blood is something that I look forward too, I just like the look of blood. Its the look of violence, anger, and evil. Sometimes I see these qualities within myself, even though I do not act them out. But they are still there.” – Winnie

We also found many in the “safety zone” or “detachment frame.” Curious concertgoers on the outskirts of the club or festival grounds could still experience the event, witness the ritual (at times) and interact with other concertgoers and artists, yet were relatively safe from direct involvement with the violence at the stage. We posit that this feeling of safety is amplified by the presence of the black metal community at the specific shows whereby social proof and group norms can be readily observed. Newcomers to the shows can take cues from others as to how to act or not to act and previous research shows that pockets of the heavy metal community can display a positive communal environment (Varas-Diaz, Rivera-Segarra, Rivera Medina, Mendoza, & Gonzalez-Sepilveda, 2015). The community, mixed with the gratification from the coactive experience can work to enhance the enjoyment of the experience while fulfilling the level of curiosity that many have in mind as they advance into and through the black metal community and future events.

6. Discussion

Our research explores the essences of a dark tourism experience whereby there exists a feeling of being closer to death. Participants see this feeling as something that runs counter to what Stone (2012) describes as a “neutralization of death” or a confrontation of mortality. Stone cites that decades ago, Mellor and Shilling (1993) argued that public engagement with death was becoming increasingly absent in society but that now, conceptualizations and experiences have changed. Similarly, Durkin (2003) posits that for years society has bracketed and insulated the individual from death and that this insulation spurs humans to seek out more information and knowledge about death. Durkin (2003) also suggests that entertainment and related consumption is a potential avenue for bringing death into our lives. This dovetails with Tercier (2005) who suggests that individuals are exposed to a great deal of death in media and greater society, but that we merely “see it” and do not “touch it,” meaning that we are actually rather isolated in the face of death and death related events, which then results in a more specific search for meaning in death and existence. Stone (2012) characterizes Tercier’s (2005) and Durkin’s (2003) work into a consumption practice that manifests in dark tourism, allowing the consumer to contemplate and construct meanings of mortality. In our context, consumers attending a Watain show or a Gaahl’s Wyrð show are not going to sequester themselves from death – rather after years of performances, many will know what to expect – and that they are going to come face to face with death-related realities through ritual, through blood and through exposure to death.

6.1. Bringing death to our lives

Yan et al. (2016) weave together a discussion of dark tourism motivations in a variety of contexts. As they mention, most motivations related to historic events fall into a desire to understand events of the past, as exemplified by Biran, Poria, and Oren (2011) in their work on the Holocaust, or they often reside in dimensions relating to education, social reasons and curiosity as discussed by

Kang et al. (2012). This builds on the earlier work of Stone and Sharpley (2008) and Seaton and Lennon (2004) who liken dark tourism motivation to fascination with death, violence and schadenfreude. Building on these earlier incarnations of dark tourism motivations we’ve come to find more novel insights and implications that take the study of dark tourism further beyond the historic and educational realms and into a more present-centered orientation.

Specifically, our work builds on Sharpley and Stone’s (2009) theorizing of dark tourism whereby humans engage in effective interpretation of a space that brings death to “life.” The spaces we have studied are a lived consumption experience with specific subcultural narratives and a quest for extremity relating to the death and darkness. The tourist activity here is about getting closer to death in both the ritualistic sense as well as an exposure to the abject. This is similar to Tercier’s (2005) conceptualization where he posits that humans will always need some ritualizing practice to cope with death and its related fear.

More people today are seeking increasingly extreme and experiential consumption experiences in general (Lanier & Rader, 2015) and engaging in more dark tourism even as some claimed that some festival experiences have become rather commoditized (Quinn, 2009). Dark tourism and consumption of extreme images and music facilitates community and subculture formation and confirmation that is motivated more by a search for the extreme as opposed to seeking less extreme or “less dark” experiences of cultural and/or heritage understanding and relational work. This contrasts with Stone and Sharpley’s (2008) work on dark tourism that centers on the “safe space” to contemplate mortality. Our work suggests that the some seek out a “safer space” where there is not a significant likelihood of dying but there is a significant brush with abjection, violence and individuals who may have engaged in activities such as murder and arson. The type of experience we have studied goes beyond the search of the mere hedonic (Hirschman & Holbrook, 1982) and the reproduced experience. Our work then dovetails with extant research on symbolic interaction (Turner, 2007) that posits that emotions driving extreme music and images are sustained by networks of persons who experience arousal from ritual that excite group cohesiveness. In this respect, there is a transitory space whereby humans seeking abjection and understanding of death feel “safer” doing so in communities or tribes, but that the horrors, blood and guts of death are still experienced directly. Our reasoning here falls in line with Berridge’s (2001) work whereby she explains that witnessing death on television actually takes us away from death by presenting an insulated reality. Similarly, Sturken (2007) criticizes the insulation dark tourists may feel from visiting simulated or memorialized realities. By being insulated, they insinuate that we can pretend that death does not really exist or that we are somehow protected from its horrific realities. In our case, by utilizing the apparatus of the extremity in the shows and the direct confrontation with animal parts, blood and the putrid, the individual is not removed from death and is not merely watching it, but rather is an active participant in the ritual who may even come out blood soaked or stained. The insulation from death and its reifications in the form of animal corpses, blood and offal is blurred when the Black Metal actors encourage their audience to breach the “fourth wall” and partake of the deathlike atmosphere that has been painstakingly created, thereby stretching the liminal boundaries that separate the producers and consumers of such dark art (Podoshen et al., 2015).

7. Further implications

Another key insight our work demonstrates is the pivot in dark

tourism and death consumption towards a new direction from frames of remembrance and into transitory, experiential space, where the death experience happens in “real time.” Strange and Kempa’s (2003) earlier work on dark tourism focuses on the prevailing mode of dark tourism production that was centered on interpretation from a historic frame as does Lennon and Foley’s (2000) examination into prison tourism and Kang et al.’s (2012) study of Jeju Island. As Strange and Kempa (2003) note, dark tourism managers and designers generally arrive on the scene after the suffering or when the site has become a memorial. Death is then recounted, and operator/managers of the experience then have work to provide something that is close to authentic, but not necessarily immersive in the actual death or violence.

As Yan et al. (2016) mention the complexities and depth in producing and consuming dark tourism experiences has been under researched. We see similar critique of the literature in Stone (2011) who suggests that dark tourism research needs to have more exploration related to inter-relationships of constructs surrounding the phenomena. Thus, there are few implications in the literature and the field remains undertheorized. Our work extends the existing theory surrounding dark tourism motivations in a landscape of increasing extremity. Future research should focus on similar experiences where tourists are confronted with more extreme danger and more direct exposure to the abject as violence and death becomes ever more present and accessible in global society.

References

- Alba, J. W., & Williams, E. F. (2013). Pleasure principles: A review of research on hedonic consumption. *Journal of Consumer Psychology*, 23(1), 2–18.
- Andrade, E., & Cohen, J. (2007). On the consumption of negative feelings. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 34(October), 283–300.
- Apter, M. (1992). *Dangerous edge: The psychology of excitement*. New York, NY: Free Press.
- Aronson, E., & Mills, J. (1959). The effect of severity of initiation on liking for a group. *The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 59(2), 177–182.
- Bakhtin, M. (1984). *Rabelais and his world (trans H. Iswolsky)*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Baudrillard, J. (1981). *Simulacres et simulations*. Paris, France: Éditions Galilée.
- Baudrillard, J. (1990). *The transparency of evil: Essays on extreme phenomena*. New York: Verso.
- Baumeister, R., & Campbell, K. (1999). The intrinsic appeal of evil: Sadism, sensational thrills, and threatened egotism. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 3(3), 210–221.
- Berridge, K. (2001). *Vigor mortis*. London: Profile.
- Biran, A., & Buda, D. M. (2017). Unraveling fear of death motives in dark tourism. In *Handbook of dark tourism*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan (in press).
- Biran, A., Poria, Y., & Oren, G. (2011). Sought experiences at (dark) heritage sites. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 38(3), 820–841.
- Bolin, A. (2012). On the side of Light: Performing morality at Rwanda’s genocide memorials. *Journal of Conflict Archaeology*, 7(3), 199–207.
- Bonsu, S. K., & Belk, R. W. (2003). Do not go cheaply into that good night: Death-ritual consumption in Asante, Ghana. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 30(1), 41–55.
- Briggs, C. (1986). *Learning how to ask: A sociolinguistic appraisal of the role of the interview in social science*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Broocks, A. K., & Hannam, K. (2016). The artisan backpacker: A development in Latin American backpacker tourism. *International Journal of Tourism Anthropology*, 5(1–2), 152–164.
- Buda, D. M., d’Hautessere, A.-M., & Johnston, L. (2014). Feeling and tourism studies. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 46, 102–114.
- Buda, D. M., & Shim, D. (2015). Desiring the dark: ‘A taste for the unusual’ in North Korean tourism? *Current Issues in Tourism*, 18(1), 1–6.
- Canniford, R., & Karababa, E. (2012). Partly primitive: Discursive constructions of the domestic surfer. *Consumption, Markets and Culture*, 16(2), 119–144.
- Caton, K., & Santos, C. (2007). Heritage tourism on route 66: Deconstructing nostalgia. *Journal of Travel Research*, 45(4), 371–386.
- Clifford-Napoleone, A. (2015). *Queerness in heavy metal music: Metal bent*. New York: Routledge.
- Cockroft, S. (2014). Blood curling! Shocking moment Swedish metal band throw’s pig blood at crowd... who start to vomit. Daily Mail, 19 June 2014. Accessed at <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2660598/Blood-curling-Shocking-moment-Swedish-metal-band-throws-pigs-blood-crowd-start-vomit.html>.
- Cohen, S. (1997). Men making a scene: Rock music and the production of gender. In S. Whiteley (Ed.), *Sexing the groove: Popular music and gender*. London: Routledge.
- Cole, S. (2007). Beyond authenticity and commodification. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 34(4), 943–960.
- Creswell, J. (1994). *Research design: Qualitative and quantitative approaches*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Durkin, K. (2003). Death, dying and the dead in popular culture. In C. Bryant (Ed.), *The handbook of death and dying* (pp. 43–49). New York: Sage.
- Firat, F., & Dholakia, N. (2006). Theoretical and philosophical implications of post-modern debates: Some challenges to modern marketing. *Marketing Theory*, 6(2), 123–162.
- Fouche, F. (1993). Phenomenological theory of human science. In J. Snyman (Ed.), *Conceptions of social inquiry* (pp. 87–112). Pretoria, SA: Human Science Research Council.
- Geertz, C. (1973). *The interpretation of cultures*. New York: Basic Books.
- Getz, D. (2012). Event studies: Discourses and future directions. *Event Management*, 16(2), 171–187.
- Goulding, C., Shankar, A., Elliott, R., & Canniford, R. (2009). The marketplace management of illicit pleasure. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 35(5), 759–771.
- Greenewald, T. (2004). A phenomenological research design illustrated. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 3(1), 42–55.
- Hagen, R. (2011). Musical style, ideology, and mythology in Norwegian black metal. In J. Wallach, H. M. Berger, & P. D. Greene (Eds.), *Metal rules the globe* (pp. 180–199). Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Healy, N., van Riper, C. J., & Boyd, S. W. (2016). Low versus high intensity approaches to interpretive tourism planning: The case of the Cliffs of Moher, Ireland. *Tourism Management*, 52(February), 574–583.
- Heidegger, M. (1971). *Building, dwelling, thinking*. New York: Springer.
- Henry, P., & Caldwell, M. (2007). Headbanging as resistance or refuge: A cathartic account. *Consumption, Markets and Culture*, 10(2), 159–174.
- Hietanen, J., & Rokka, J. (2015). Market practices in countercultural market emergence. *European Journal of Marketing*, 49(9/1), 1563–1588.
- Hirschman, E., & Holbrook, M. (1982). Hedonic consumption: Emerging concepts, methods, and propositions. *Journal of Marketing*, 46(1), 92–101.
- Hollinshead, K., Kuon, V., & Alajmi, M. (2015). Events in the liquid modern world. In O. Moufakkir, & T. Pernecky (Eds.), *Ideological, social and cultural aspects of events* (pp. 12–27). Boston: CABL.
- Holyfield, L., Cobb, M., Murray, K., & McKinzie, A. (2013). Musical ties that bind: Nostalgia, affect, and heritage in festival narratives. *Symbolic Interaction*, 36(4), 457–477.
- Husserl, E. (1970). *The idea of phenomenology*. The Hague: Nijhoff.
- Hutcherson, B., & Haenfler, R. (2010). Musical genre as a gendered process: Authenticity in extreme metal. In N. Denzin (Ed.), *Studies in symbolic interaction* (Vol. 35, pp. 101–121). Bingley: Emerald.
- Hycner, R. H. (1999). Some guidelines for the phenomenological analysis of interview data. In A. Bryman, & R. G. Burgess (Eds.), *Qualitative research* (Vol. 3, pp. 143–164). London: Sage.
- Ingram, G. (2002). Motivations of farm tourism hosts and guests in the South west tapestry region, western Australia: A phenomenological study. *Indo-Pacific Journal of Phenomenology*, 2(1), 1–12.
- Kang, E., Scott, N., Lee, T. J., & Ballantyne, R. (2012). Benefits of visiting a ‘dark tourism’ Site: The case of the Jeju april 3rd peace park, Korea. *Tourism Management*, 33(2), 257–265.
- Kottler, J. (2011). *The lust for blood: Why we are fascinated by death, murder, horror, and violence*. New York: Prometheus Books.
- Kristeva, J. (1982). *The powers of horror: An essay on abjection*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Kun, J. (2005). *Audiotopia: Music, race and America*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Lanier, C. D., & Rader, C. S. (2015). Consumption experience: An expanded view. *Marketing Theory*, 15(4), 487–508.
- Lennon, J., & Foley, M. (1999). Interpretation of the unimaginable: The U.S. Holocaust memorial museum, Washington, D.C., and ‘dark tourism.’ *Journal of Travel Research*, 38(1), 46–50.
- Lennon, J., & Foley, M. (2000). Dark tourism: The attraction of death and disaster. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 29(4), 1188–1189.
- Li, Y. (2000). Geographical consciousness and tourism experience. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 27(4), 868–883.
- Lugosi, P. (2014). Mobilising identity and culture in experience co-creation and venue operation. *Tourism Management*, 40(1), 165–179.
- Mackellar, J. (2013). Participant observation at events: Theory, practice and potential. *International Journal of Event and Festival Management*, 4(1), 56–65.
- Maddrell, A., & Sidaway, J. D. (2012). *Deathscapes: Spaces for death, dying, mourning and remembrance*. Ashgate Publishing, Ltd.
- van Manen, M. (1997). *Researching lived experience: Human science for an action sensitive pedagogy*. London, ON: The Athlone Press.
- Masberg, B., & Silverman, L. (1996). Visitor experience at heritage sites: A phenomenological approach. *Journal of Travel Research*, 34(4), 20–25.
- Mellor, P., & Shilling, C. (1993). Modernity, self-identity and sequestration of death. *Sociology*, 27, 411–431.
- Merleau-Ponty, M. (1945). *The phenomenology of perception*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Miller, W. I. (2007). *The anatomy of disgust*. Cambridge: Harvard.
- Minowa, Y. (2012). Practicing Qi and consuming Ki: Folk epistemology and consumption rituals in Japan. *Marketing Theory*, 12(1), 27–44.
- Monk, G. (2011). Why didn’t the churches begin to burn a thousand years earlier? In

- T. Bossios, A. Hager, & K. Kahn-Harris K (Eds.), *Religion and popular music in Europe: New expressions of sacred and secular identity* (pp. 124–144). New York: IB Tauris.
- Moran, D. (2000). Heidegger's critique of Husserl's and Brentano's accounts of intentionality. *Inquiry*, 43(1), 39–65.
- Packer, J., & Ballantyne, J. (2011). The impact of music festival attendance on young people's psychological and social well-being. *Psychology of Music*, 39(2), 164–181.
- Patterson, D. (2013). *Black metal: Evolution of the cult*. Port Townsend: Feral House.
- Patterson, L., & Getz, D. (2013). At the nexus of leisure and event studies. *Event Management*, 17(3), 227–240.
- Peñaloza, L. (1998). Just doing it: A visual ethnographic study of spectacular consumption behavior at Nike town. *Consumption, Markets and Culture*, 2(4), 337–400.
- Pernecky, T., & Jamal, T. (2010). (Hermeneutic) phenomenology in tourism studies. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 37(4), 1055–1075.
- Podoshen, J. S. (2013). Dark tourism motivations: Simulation, emotional contagion and topographic comparison. *Tourism Management*, 35(1), 263–271.
- Podoshen, J. S. (2016). Examining death and learning about life. In S. Dobscha (Ed.), *Death in a consumer culture* (pp. 316–318). Oxford: Routledge.
- Podoshen, J. S. (2018). Dark tourism in an increasingly violent world. In P. Stone (Ed.), *Handbook of dark tourism*. Hampshire, UK: Palgrave (in press).
- Podoshen, J. S., Andrzejewski, S. A., Wallin, J., & Venkatesh, V. (2017). Consuming abjection: An examination of death and disgust in the black metal scene. *Consumption, Markets and Culture*. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10253866.2017.1345240> (in press).
- Podoshen, J. S., Venkatesh, V., & Jin, Z. (2014). Theoretical reflections on dystopian consumer culture: Black metal. *Marketing Theory*, 14(2), 207–227.
- Podoshen, J. S., Venkatesh, V., Wallin, J., Andrzejewski, S., & Jin, Z. (2015). Dystopian dark tourism: An exploratory examination. *Tourism Management*, 51(December), 331–334.
- Polkinghorne, D. E. (1989). Phenomenological research methods. In R. S. Valle, & S. Halling (Eds.), *Existential – phenomenological perspectives in psychology* (pp. 41–60). New York: Plenum Press.
- Quinn, B. (2009). Festivals, events and tourism. In T. Jamal, & M. Robinson (Eds.), *The sage handbook of tourism studies* (pp. 483–504). London: Sage.
- Robinson, M., Picard, D., & Long, P. (2004). Festival tourism: Producing, translating, and consuming expressions of culture(s). *Event Management*, 8(4), 187–242.
- Rook, D. W. (1985). The ritual dimension of consumer behavior. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 12(1), 251–264.
- Santos, C., & Yan, G. (2010). Genealogical tourism: A phenomenological examination. *Journal of Travel Research*, 49(1), 56–67.
- Sartre, J. P. (1970). Intentionality: A fundamental idea of Husserl's phenomenology. *Journal of the British Society for Phenomenology*, 1(2), 4–5.
- Schouten, J. W., & H. McAlexander, J. H. (1995). Subcultures of consumption: An ethnography of the new bikers. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 22(1), 43–61.
- Seaton, A., & Lennon, J. J. (2004). Thanatourism in the early 21st century: Moral panics, ulterior motives and ulterior desires. In T. Singh (Ed.), *New horizons in Tourism: Strange experiences and stranger practices* (pp. 63–82). Wallingford: CABI.
- Sharpley, R., & Stone, P. R. (2009). (Re)presenting the macabre: Interpretation, kitschification and authenticity. In R. Sharpley, & P. R. Stone (Eds.), *The darker side of travel: The theory and practice of dark tourism* (pp. 109–128). Tonawanda: Channel View.
- Sinclair, G., & Dolan, P. (2015). Heavy metal figurations: Music consumption, sub-cultural control and civilizing processes. *Marketing Theory*, 15(3), 423–441.
- Snell, D., & Hodgetts, D. (2007). Heavy metal, identity and the social negotiation of a community of practice. *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology*, 17, 430–445.
- Spradley, J. P. (1980). *Participant observation*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.
- Stone, P. R. (2006). A dark tourism spectrum: Towards a typology of death and macabre related tourist sites, attractions and exhibitions. *Tourism*, 54(2), 145–160.
- Stone, P. R. (2011). Dark tourism: Towards a new post-disciplinary research agenda. *International Journal of Tourism Anthropology*, 1(3/4), 318–332.
- Stone, P. R. (2012). Dark tourism and significant other death: Towards a model of mortality mediation. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 39(3), 1565–1587.
- Stone, P. R., & Sharpley, R. (2008). Consuming dark tourism: A thanatological perspective. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 35(2), 574–595.
- Strange, C., & Kempa, M. (2003). Shades of dark tourism: Alcatraz and Robben Island. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 30(2), 386–405.
- Straw, W. (1991). Systems of articulation, logics of change: Communities and scenes in popular music. *Cultural Studies*, 5(3), 368–388.
- Sturken, M. (2007). *Tourists of history: Memory, kitsch, and consumerism from Oklahoma city to ground zero*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Tercier, J. A. (2005). *The contemporary deathbed*. UK: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Turner, V. (1987). *The anthropology of performance*. New York: PAJ.
- Turner, J. (2007). Self, emotions, and extreme violence: Extending symbolic interactionist theorizing. *Symbolic Interaction*, 30(4), 501–530.
- Varas-Díaz, N., Rivera-Segarra, E., Rivera Medina, C. L., Mendoza, S., & Gonzalez-Sepilveda, O. (2015). Predictors of communal formation in a small heavy metal scene. *Metal Music Studies*, 1(1), 87–103.
- Venkatesh, V., Nelson, B. J., Thomas, T., Wallin, J. J., Podoshen, J. S., Thompson, C., ... St. Laurent, M. (2016). Exploring the language and spectacle of online hate speech in the black metal scene: Developing theoretical and methodological intersections between the social sciences and the humanities. In N. Varas-Díaz, N. Scott, & M. D. Lanham (Eds.), *Heavy metal and the communal experience*. Lexington Press (in press).
- Venkatesh, V., Podoshen, J. S., Perri, D., & Urbaniak, K. (2014). From pride to prejudice to shame: Multiple facets of the black metal scene within and without online environments. In V. Venkatesh, J. Wallin, J. C. Castro, & J. E. Lewis (Eds.), *Educational, behavioral and psychological considerations in niche online communities* (pp. 364–388). Hershey, PA: IGI Worldwide.
- Venkatesh, V., Podoshen, J. S., Urbaniak, K., & Wallin, J. J. (2015). Eschewing community: Black metal. *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology*, 26(1), 66–81.
- Wallendorf, M., & Arnould, E. J. (1991). We gather together: Consumption rituals of Thanksgiving day. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 18(1), 13–31.
- Wallin, J. J., & Venkatesh, V. (2016). No satisfaction, no fun, no future: Black metal and the occult. In E. Keller, T. Matts, & B. Noys (Eds.), *Dark accelerationism and the occult*. Brooklyn, NY: Punctum Books (in press).
- Welman, J. C., & Kruger, S. J. (1999). *Research methodology for the business and administrative sciences*. Johannesburg, SA: International Thompson.
- Yan, B. J., Zhang, J., Zhang, H. L., Lu, S. J., & Guo, Y. R. (2016). Investigating the motivation-experience relationship in a dark tourism space: A case study of the beichuan earthquake relics, China. *Tourism Management*, 51(1), 108–121.
- Ziakas, V., & Boukas, N. (2014). Contextualizing phenomenology in event management research: Deciphering the meaning of event experiences. *International Journal of Event and Festival Management*, 5(1), 56–73.
- Zillmann, D. (1980). The anatomy of suspense. In P. H. Tannenbaum (Ed.), *The entertainment functions of television* (pp. 133–163). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Zuckerman, M. (1996). Sensation seeking and the taste of vicarious horror. In J. B. Weaver, III, & R. Tamborini (Eds.), *Horror films: Current research on audience preferences and reactions* (pp. 147–159). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.



Jeff Podoshen is Associate Professor in the department of Business, Organizations and Society at Franklin and Marshall College in Lancaster, PA, USA. Jeff's area of research relates to dark consumption and dark tourism practice, and he often blends and bridges theory from a variety of disciplines (such as marketing, social psychology and sociology) in order to explain phenomena and build theory. Jeff utilizes a myriad of mixed method and cutting edge qualitative techniques to distill complex data into more easily defined categories that allows for greater introspection on specific subcultures.



Grace Yan is an Assistant Professor at the University of South Carolina. She is interested in event, media, and cultural theories.



Susan Andrzejewski is Associate Professor of Marketing and Chair in the Martin V. Smith School of Business and Economics at California State University Channel Islands. Susan's research lies at the intersection of consumer behavior and social psychology. The foundation of much of this work stems from the idea that psychological principles strongly influence what happens in the consumer marketplace. This work has been published in numerous marketing and psychology journals.



Jason is Associate Professor in the Faculty of Education at the University of Alberta, Canada, where he teaches courses in visual art, popular culture, and cultural curriculum theory. Jason is author of "A Deleuzian Approach to Curriculum: Essays on a Pedagogical Life" (Palgrave Macmillan), co-author of "Arts-Based Research: A Critique and Proposal" (with Jan Jagodzinski, Sense Publishers), and co-editor of "Deleuze, Guattari, Politics and Education" (with Matt Carlin, Bloomsbury).



Vivek Venkatesh is Associate Dean, Recruitment and Awards at the School of Graduate Studies, Associate Director of the Center for the Study of Learning and Performance, and Associate Professor in the Educational Technology graduate program at Concordia University in Montréal, Canada. Vivek is the creator and curator of the internationally renowned Grimposium festival and conference series, and the co-creator and director of the SOMEONE (Social Media Education Every Day) initiative.