Commemoration or commodification?
A stakeholder's discourse around the establishment
of the martyrdom museum

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A B S T R A C T
Objective: The purpose of the article was to explore a mode of stakeholders' discussion arrangement with the support of social media platforms, about the project of a new dark- heritage oriented museum.
Research Design & Methods: The study was realized within the qualitative approach and case study method. The project of the new museum in Krakow was selected purposively for analysis.
Findings: The results revealed differences in stakeholders' demands, barriers in participative projects as well as how conflicting values are managed. Moreover, the usage of social media may sway the stakeholder's attributes, as well as enhance participation of the other.
Contribution & Value Added: The study contributes by analyzing a multi-stakeholder dialogue focused on the wider museum environment. The practice of participation is hard for effective realization, even if stakeholder expectations are similar.
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INTRODUCTION

As tourism is relevant for many museums and heritage sites, one stream in the debates refers to the commodification (e.g. Halewood & Hannam, 2001). They have special forms when concerned the sites related to dark heritage and tourism. It is associated with the decisions on how to oscillate between the commemoration and daily life (Krisjanous, 2016). Moreover, the digitalization changes the way how heritage sites are presented

and promoted (e.g. Surugiu & Surugiu, 2015) and how they communicate with the environment.

Research on museum management primarily are focused on the visitors' perspectives. Although residents are sometimes overlooked, local communities can be indicated as one of the stakeholder groups (e.g. Serravalle *et al.*, 2019). Within the dark heritage sites, the discussion refers to the contradictory perspectives of the residents and tourists and how to present the history and heritage (e.g. Tucker *et al.*, 2017), whereas the process of creating a formal dark tourism destination is less explored. To a large extent, a process of negotiating between different stakeholders is poorly investigated (e.g. Meijer van Mensch, 2011).

The aim of the study was to analyze and explore a stakeholders' discussion which took place with the usage of social media sites and concerned the project of a new museum. The study was focused on the creation of KL Plaszow Memorial Site in Krakow in the Małopolska. The results present positions and roles of the entities involved, as well as how the communication between multiple stakeholders looks like. The article is introduced by the presentation of the material and methods. Then, the theoretical background is presented- the recognition of the general idea of stakeholders and also in the museums and tourism context with the support of digital tools. The commodification and management in the dark heritage sites are also discussed, and how it can be related to social media. Then, the narration goes to the findings and discussion. The article is concluded by the indication of involved as well as passive stakeholders. Moreover, the associations between entities are presented as well as the barriers in dialogue processes. The article is finished by the study limitations and future research directions.

MATERIAL AND METHODS

The purpose of the study was to explore stakeholders' discussion around the project of the new dark heritage-oriented museum. This objective is situated in the social media context- how the usage of digital tools can influence the multi-stakeholder dialogue. Moreover, the purpose was specified by two research questions:

RQ1: Which entities can be perceived as stakeholders in the case of the museum's creation?

RQ2: What are their roles and held attributes?

A qualitative approach with the case study method was applied. The object of the study was a discussion concerning the project of a Museum- Memorial Site KL Plaszow in Krakow. Discussion sometimes highlighted the problems in the Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum, thus this was also a reference point. The Museum-Memorial Site KL Plaszow is situated close to the to one of the most recognizable dark tourism destinations. Moreover, comparing with other martyrdom museums, the idea of KL Plaszow formal commemoration is quite new.

The research was conducted by the content analysis method to identify, how stakeholders are related to each other and which arguments and attributes they used. The data was gathered from different sources and after that, analyzed by the codes creation, according to the grounded theory assumptions. Codes were formed within the approach "incident-to-incident" (Hensel & Glinka, 2018). Then, data were compared to verify, if some points are indicated by more than one side and which attributes they hold.

The preliminary data were collected in November 2019. Then, the study was realized in January and February 2020. It included data from the Museum of Krakow and City of Krakow websites and social media profiles, as well as articles from regional or professional websites (e.g.https://www.architekturaibiznes.pl/krakow-miejsce-pamieci-kontra-miejsce-do-zycia, 2576.htm, access: 26.03.2020). The reports from the social consultations were also important sources, as also legal acts and official notes about the way of KL Plaszow commemoration. They represent rather an official voice of the heritage management, thus to grasp a multiplicity of stakeholders' engagement, also selected Facebook profiles were analyzed. Group of residents created a page "Stop ogradzaniu Krzemionek" to present their point of view concerning the investment plans. This page was created on the 18th of March 2019 and all posts between this date and the end of February 2020 were taken into account. The time range of the collected data dates back to 2016 when the first information about the museum was uploaded. The sources were chosen purposively, to look more deeply into each entity engaged and what is their role in the analyzed project as well as which are their attributes, according to the theoretical model. The literature review was made with the usage of scientific databases, like Scopus and Web of Science. To search and select the literature, a keywords were applied: museum, dark tourism, community as also stakeholders.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Stakeholders and their attributes

The best known stakeholders definition is this made by Freeman, who defined them as "any group or individual who can affect or is affected by the achievement of the organization's objectives" (Freeman, 1984). Stakeholder management can be understood as an approach to organizing relations between businesses and societies (e.g. Roloff, 2008). Their existence is connected with the diversity of the posed expectations, which should be fulfilled, due to the possible influence on the organization's being (e.g. Shymko & Roulet, 2017). This influence can be positive or negative, concerning e.g. the flow of resources (Frooman, 1999). Besides the general modes of classification (generic or specific, primary or secondary), also other points are proposed. One of them is the concept of shapeholders- entities such as social activists, regulators or media with no stake in the company, but with the ability to shape the future (Kennedy, 2017). They perceive their success in the petitions, media information or public votes (Osiyevskyy & Biloshapka, 2017).

Apart from the categorizations, a key task in stakeholder management is to analyze them to decide, which expectations should be prioritized (e.g. Bettinazzi & Zollo, 2017). The stakeholder salience model is one of the modes of prioritizing. It is basing on the three attributes – power, legitimacy and urgency (Mitchell *et al.*, 1997). Based on their combinations is possible to identify a particular level of the stakeholder salience- the degree, in which managers should prioritize competing stakeholders' claims (Mitchell *et al.*, 1997). Legitimacy is a general perception, that entity's activities are proper, appropriate or desirable (Suchman, 1995). The urgency reflects the necessity for immediate action and can be followed by the time sensitivity and criticality (Mitchell *et al.*, 1997). Third attribute- power concerns the situation, where one entity can influence the other to do something, which will not be otherwise done (Mitchell *et al.*, 1997). Concerning the research fields, stakeholders' attributes were analyzed e.g. within the frame of the

tourist industry (e.g. Saito & Ruhanen, 2017), where museums and historical sites belong.

Museums and dark tourism

Museums can be placed in the frame of heritage tourism or museum' tourism. Heritage overall has different forms. One includes places like cathedrals, artworks or cityscapes, whereas other sites are places of military conflicts or deaths (Clarke *et al.*, 2017). This form of tourism is defined as *dark tourism* and concerns traveling to places related to death and suffering. The history of this activity is rather long, yet the scholarly definition was created by Foley and Lennon in mid-nineties (e.g. Mangwane *et al.*, 2019). Besides these terms, also "thanatotourism", "morbid tourism" or "grief tourism" are recognized in the literature (e.g. Mangwane *et al.*, 2019). Museums can be dark tourism destinations and one- the Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum is especially well known around the world (e.g. Stone, 2006; Walter, 2009).

Stakeholders in the heritage context

In heritage tourism stakeholder theory is not deeply explored, yet crucial groups are recognized (e.g. Legget, 2009; Serravalle *et al.*, 2019), as well as some suggestions about attributes as power or legitimacy have been made (e.g. Meijer-van-Mensch, 2011). Governments, museums authorities, staff, volunteers, community and board members can be recognized as museums' stakeholders (McLean, 1997). Stakeholders can be divided into three groups: visitors, governing bodies and the community (Elsorady 2018; Gilmore & Rentschler, 2002).The change towards being visitor-oriented is associated with the social and economic conditions, while due to the uncertain financial conditions, each additional source of income is helpful. However, visitors are not always noted as stakeholders (Legget, 2009). Through supportive income sources, museums can improve their offer and create it more attractive for visitors. It is indicated, that the local community may simultaneously be the visitors (Garrod *et al.*, 2012). Yet, visitors' perspective and experience are intensively taken into account (e.g. Najda-Janoszka & Sawczuk, 2018), whereas residents' voice seems to be quite undervalued (e.g. Alexander &Hamilton, 2016). While analysis is focused on the martyrdom museums, additional stakeholders group should be regarded: survivors (Magee &Gilmore, 2015).

Museums are part of the wider cultural systems (Stylianou- Lambert *et al.*, 2014), thus varied entities can be interested in their' activities. Communication with the audience and including them in value creation processes are becoming more challenging for the museums due to the growing popularity of digital tools. Museums' position as exclusive institutions are moving towards being more accessible and dialogic (Kim, 2018). Besides the possibility to arrange a multi-voices communication, media support the popularization of dark tourism destinations (Suligoj, 2019). Social media are also appropriate for crowdsourcing initiatives, as well as to spread letters and petitions. Thus, the virtual and physical areas are overlapping. Moreover, in the literature is noted an issue called "slacktivism", when people tend to engage rather symbolically, without a meaningful contribution to the project (e.g. Kristofferson *et al.*, 2014). It covers actions, like joining on the Facebook page or liking, whereas meaningful contribution means e.g. volunteering engagement (Kristofferson *et al.*, 2014). These approaches and initiatives support communication at different levels- between museum and audience, museum and other institutions or between social media users.

Relations between visitors and residents seem to be interesting because of their different expectations. Individually they are not able to sign any agreement, yet it does not mean, that they do not make any pressure to shape the environment. Concerning the divergent expectations and the growth of the tourism industry, the literature indicates the necessity to balance between heritage and tourist approaches (e.g. Alexander &Hamilton, 2016). It is also indicated that tourist function should not prevail over the commemorative, religious and education ones (Clarke *et al.*, 2017). All functions are associated with the negotiation of memory, which is about history' preservation and shaping present and future (Bowman & Pezzullo, 2009).

Commodification

The commodification occurs when ideas and resources which are not for sale, becoming the transactions objects (e.g. Halewood & Hannam, 2001). It occurs in museums or heritage centers and is connected to the negotiation of authenticity (Halewood & Hannam, 2001). It is observed also in the dark heritage sites and in one of the most prominent ones, Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum (Bowman &Pezzullo, 2009). A too intense growth of tourism services can expose contradictory expectations of residents and tourists. The high level of recognition reveals an inappropriate tourist' behaviors in the Auschwitz-Birkenau Museum (e.g. Bowman & Pezullo, 2009), which confirms, that visitors do not always have the "thanatotourism motives" (Biran *et al.*, 2011; Busby & Devereux, 2015). Residents may not be so positively orientated toward the intense tourism growth (Krisjanous, 2016; Tucker *et al.*, 2017) as sometimes dark tourism is perceived as an intrusive sensation (Heidelberg, 2015). The background of the sites should be especially taken into account in management approaches (Heidelberg, 2015).

Theoretical paths reflect the visitors' perspective and experience, which shows the importance of the audience for the museum's existence (Najda-Janoszka& Sawczuk, 2018). It concerns the traditional museum space, nevertheless, the social media potential for the relations with the audience is also noticed. Yet, less is explored how the dialogue between multiple stakeholders can be arranged, which can be important in the case of dark heritage sites, due to their difficult and ethical background.

Even if the potential of social media is recognized, little is explored about the multistakeholder communication, especially in social media sites. In the museums' area, due to their widely performed functions, shaping relations with the diverse environment is becoming more challenging. Because of social media increasing importance, it should be relevant to analyze the roles and attributes of stakeholders, as well as how the relations between stakeholders are initiated and shaped in this context.

RESULTS

The discussed area has roots in the Second World War when Germans in 1942 established a concentration camp. A liquidation process had been initiated in August 1944, while the last prisoners left the camp and gone toward the Auschwitz in January 1945. In the wartimes, the camp covered around 80 ha. Nowadays, the 37 ha is listed on the monuments' list as a war cemetery, whereas around 4 hectares is subject to the public discussions about the museum's formation project. In comparison with other martyrdom museums, this place relatively late has been a subject of wider interests (Fig.1).
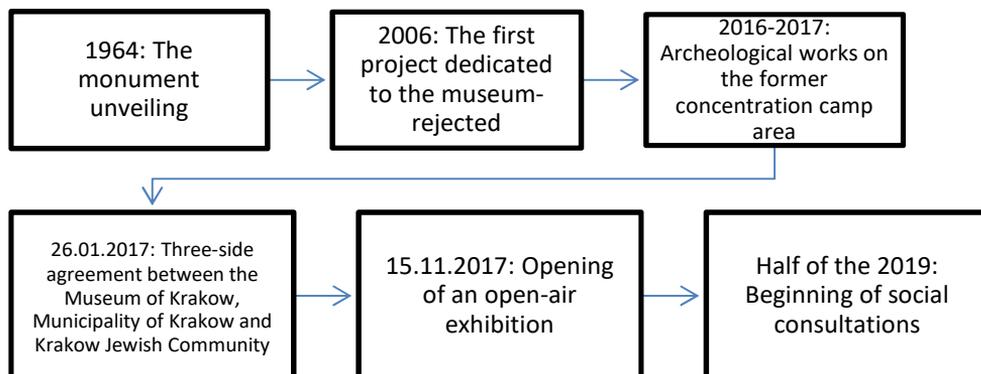
Figure 1. Timeline of the KL Plaszow territory as a dark tourism destination
Source: own work, based on: muzeumkrakowa.pl

Since the II World War till 1964, three other museums were established: Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum in 1947, State Museum at Majdanek in 1944, Stutthof Museum in 1962. Such a long break was used as one of the "against" arguments during the consultations. The project from 2006 was rejected because of too deeply interference into the area. The idea of formal commemoration was reinvented since 2016, but the intense discussions were arranged in 2019.

The first message posted on the Museum of Krakow website announced that: "The Historical Museum of the City of Krakow conducts work on developing a program to commemorate this place and take care of the camp area" (Museum of Krakow website, 11.03.2016). On 26th January 2017, the Museum of Krakow, Municipality of Krakow and Jewish Community signed an agreement concerning the museum' foundation, where they stated that:

> "declare their will to build a common, not only local, memory by creating a Museum
> - Memorial Site of the former KL Plaszow" (Museum of Krakow website, 26.01.2017).

Therefore, they have formal as well as moral eligibilities concerning the decisions about a new museum. The open-space exhibition is now managed by the Museum of Krakow, but the designed museum will be co-owned by the Municipality of Krakow and Ministry of the Culture and National Heritage. The City of Krakow is the managing body of the Museum, therefore museum is not able to decide in cases concerning e.g. spatial development. The main role of the museum is to uphold the memory of this place and present its importance. Those entities were the most active in all of the discussions. Nevertheless, they represent rather an institutional narration. Therefore, the activity of residents was also taken into account. In March 2019 they created a Facebook group to communicate and unite against the invasive plans of the building investment, but not against the commemoration. They posted:

> "In our opinion, the best way of commemoration and indication will be creating
> an open, municipal Płaszów Park of Remembrance, with a cameral branch of the
> Krakow Museum within its boundaries (Grey House), on the model of Podgórze
> Museum- which is greatly managed, attracts interested people, enthusiasts of the

districts and history- owns the functions of a contemporary museum and matched to the district tissue"- 4th September, 2019.

This group named "Stop Ogradzaniu Krzemionek" was created on the 18thMarch, 2019. On the 18th February 2020, it reached 754 likes and 793 followers. Since the June 2019 social consultations were announced, the activity of the group had begun to be more intense by the discussions, official presentations of their opinions as well as addressing expectations directly to the departments or local politicians, as:

"we addressed the questions to ZIM(Municipal Investment Office)- answer in attachment" - 22nd July, 2019;

"city lost a petition- sign the electronic one!" - 5thNovember, 2019.

Therefore, those entities: Museum of Krakow, the Municipality of Krakow as well as residents were included in the analysis. Although Jewish Community has moral claims towards the project, it was rather passive in the discussion, which was notified:

"With Jewish Community, we tried to contact, unfortunately- without results" (Stop Ogradzaniu Krzemionek Facebook page, 20thDecember, 2019).

It suggests, that their lack of involvement is perceived as a lack of the important entity.

Discussion about how former concentration camp should be commemorated has been intensified in 2019 when City of the Krakow announced open consultations dedicated to this issue (https://dialogspoleczny.krakow.pl/konsultacje-spoleczne/muzeum-miejsca-pamieci-kl-plaszow-w-krakowie-konsultacje-spoleczne-wokol-zagadnien-zwiazanych-z-powstajacym-muzeum, 26.03.2020). They took place from June 2019 till January 2020 (after the extension). In the frame of this initiative, five open meetings were arranged (June, September, October, November, and December). The employees were available during the five interdisciplinary expert duties as also residents could send their opinions via electronic tools. From each consultation, reports were created, available on the dedicated website. Besides them, also legal acts and additional materials were uploaded.

A comparative analysis of Facebook posts, reports from social consultations and information provided by the Museum of Krakow and City of the Krakow, revealed the four thematic areas: passing time, way of commemoration, environmental factors as well as behaviors and attitudes. These issues were raised by all entities, but with different intensity and perception of the importance of the problem.

The first topic covered by all entities engaged (city, museum, and residents), concerned the passing time and pace of changes. The idea of the foundation of the KL Plaszow Museum-Memorial Site has been initiated late, especially in comparison with other martyrdom museums. However, this fact was presented in different contexts. City and museum representatives indicated that it is high time to build the museum, as there are no formal barriers for this investment. They do not deny that throughout the years any initiatives were not conducted:

"since the II World War, a memory about the history of KL Plaszow was not realized properly" (an acceptance letter, Museum of Krakow website, 11th September 2019);

"he explained that it was only when the area was entered in the register of monuments in 2002, and then recognized as a war cemetery in 2006, the real possibilities to create a place of commemoration were emerged" (KL Plaszow branch website, 19th November 2019).

On the contrary, for the residents the fact of such late initiatives is a point against the investment. They revealed that throughout the years, the remembrance of this site was cherished only by the local people:

"for decades, the city allowed for the development of the area did not care about the area, and suddenly returns to the project from many years ago" (Facebook page, 22nd October, 2019);

"It is worth to note, that during 75 years the lack of the fence did not disturb anyone, this form of the site was acceptable for everybody. Also for us." (Facebook page, 30th January, 2020).

The next group concerned how commemoration should be arranged. It is related to the time perspective, nevertheless, these arguments are more specified. It was the focal point of each discussion which revealed the divergence of expectations. The discussed project covered an idea of the Grey House renovation, build of a new construction named "Memorial" and placement of a "historical stops". The especially controversial point concerned the construction of a fence around the former camp area, as well as deforestation. Krakow municipality but especially the Museum of Krakow, argument that this project is their moral duty, to ensure that the site will be commemorated suitably:

"The city of the Krakow claims that our duty, the contemporary residents of Krakow, is the dignified commemoration of this site" (Museum of Krakow website, 18th December, 2019);

"an employee of the Krakow Museum emphasized the role of the museum as the "guardian of the heritage" "(social consultation report, 18th November 2019).

The way of commemoration proposed in the project revealed a variety of conflicting perspectives. The high interference scale into the territory triggered objections, especially addressed by the residents from the group 'Stop Ogradzaniu Krzemionek'. They are not simply opponents, but create and propose their vision of the memorial site and protest against the undue, in their meanings, opinions about their activity:

"How long will journalists and the city insult the inhabitants? The facts are that residents commemorated this place by erecting a cross before a monument was erected here" (Facebook page, 5th February, 2020);

"There is no opposition for the commemoration- it is opposition for the current commercialized, devastating trees and environment, form" (Facebook page, 24th September, 2019);

"We propose a Remembrance Park and cameral museum' branch on this territory as well as the extension of the open space exhibition. We propose a settlement of small architecture, trash cans, toilets"(Facebook page, 20th October, 2019);

"We see the museum branch in the Grey House, maybe in the Podgórze Museum?" (Facebook page, 20th September, 2019).

The discussion concerned also environmental factors. Residents were more willing to include this perspective. The issues were focused on the ecological situation and the probable intensification of the tourism industry. Representatives of the Museum and the City do not effectively addressed the uncertainties posed by the residents. Reports from the social consultations only five times reflected the ecological problems, but rather in form of the residents' opinions:

"The resident turned attention into the increasing climate crisis and lack of the willingness to change from the institution' side" (social consultation report, 21st October, 2019);

"The resident indicated the importance of deforestation as the main problem referring to the building of a memorial and parking" (social consultation report, 16th of December, 2019).

The Museum of Krakow only once indicated the ecological problems, but also the touristic plans were not addressed especially intensively:

"Most of those present at the consultation protested the tree felling project for the construction of the Memorial." (Museum of Krakow website, 23rd October, 2019);

"On the commercialization allegations director said, that there is no risk, because entrance will not be ticketed, however, there are no answers for the other form of earnings, like guide fee, the price for the memorial sightseeing or usage of the education center" (Facebook page, 17th September, 2019).

Residents from the Facebook group addressed those consternations very deeply, as they also engaged in other supportive actions. Their Facebook messages have a link to the electronic petition with some comments:

"this forest they willing to cut out" (17th January, 2020);

"YES for commemorating, NO for concreting" (16th November, 2019);

"300 hundred trees under the ax" (25th September, 2019).

Their consternations also are focused on the possible tourism impact on this territory. The situation in the Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum seems to be evidence, that tourism intensification can get out of control:

"no one wants second Auschwitz in this place" (social consultation report, 16th December, 2019);

"if the museum will be open on the area of former KL Plaszow, it will distract tourists from the Auschwitz and intensify activities in Krzemionki surroundings" (social consultation report, 16th December, 2019);

"The problems of the Auschwitz Birkenau Museum-Memorial are very carefully observed by us. It is possible to expect (maybe on a smaller scale), that these problems later or sooner will touch us" (Facebook page, 1st February, 2020).

The last group covered the behaviors and attitudes- how each entity perceived the other and which behaviors should not be accepted. Although the social consultations gave a possibility to communicate between the institutions and community, this project is hard to realize. The discussed project is presented as an appropriate, contrary to the current situation and suggestions addressed by the residents. Even if the activities and arguments of the second parties are not negatively evaluated, lack of effective dialogue and ability to comprehend the other side as even tiredness are presented. It concerned the city and the museum, but also media, which disseminate information:

> *"once again, organizers of the social consultations had to remind the story of the KL Plaszow and related area"* (Museum of Krakow website, 18th November, 2019);

> *"the presentation was intermittent by the screaming for the acceleration of presentation time"* (social consultation report, 18th November, 2019);

> *"Despite this stipulation, a lack of possibility to receive an immediate response was frustrating for the residents. They showed a disappointing of the consultation process, as well as of the minor sense of influence concerning the project of the KL Plaszow Memorial Site"* (social consultation report, 18th November, 2019).

The residents' messages give a deeper understanding of why they conduct specific actions and how they address opposite arguments. On the one side, they indicate that currently the discussed area is the place for everybody, where people walk, run and ride on the bikes. At the same time, they do not deny the importance of commemoration, but in a way that combines past and present. They also asked for the rectification of the messages, which presented their actions in a negative way or subjective context:

> *"no information about planned 500 thousand tourists per year, no information about any from our postulates, lack of raising an environmental topic and protection of the green areas, it is sad"* (Facebook page, comment to the article from the dziennikpolski24.pl, 21st June, 2019);

> *"as we taught by the past experiences, unfair behaviors of the organizers, tendentious questions made for the concrete conclusion- we rejected this form for the classic presentation, discussion and questions"* (Facebook page, 18th November, 2019);

> *"operational details consultation with the lack of influence for the basic issues is frustrating for the participants"* (social consultation report, 21st October, 2019);

> *"In the last part, questions were addressed, but there was a lack of volunteers to respond. Probably competent people, able to respond, were absent"* (Facebook page, 18th November, 2019).

The social consultations should be finished in December 2019, but time was extended till January 2020. Residents from the group 'Stop Ogradzaniu Krzemionek' postulated extension till March 2020, but without success. The group is still active- address the petitions to the city officials as well as organize meeting sessions (with the president of the Krakow- 29th January, 2020). Despite the distrust and the feeling of being unheeded, they noted positive signs: *"it was an excellent lesson of democracy and self-management, but first of*

all- society participation in ongoing issues of the district"(24th January, 2020). This information concerned the acceptance of the legal act about the opinion of creating and functioning of the Museum-Memorial Site KL Plaszow, which will be included in the social consultation process. Since February the final version of architectural and conceptual solutions is under discussion, but the Facebook page is still updated, concerning the new situations and commemoration of the site. Due to the pandemic, the summary report was created later, which results are not quite satisfying and trigger further activity.

DISCUSSION

The results revealed that the participation and dialogue between multi-stakeholder groups is difficult, even if the core aim is similar. Concerning the lack of activity of Jewish Community representatives, is possible to indicate, that they do not use the held attributes and position (Mitchell *et al.*, 1997). Even if the real ability to influence will be relatively small, their absence was remarked negatively. City of Krakow and Museum of Krakow heave a leading role in the project. City of Krakow coordinates project from the investment side and by including the smaller units, whereas the Museum conducts its traditional role-protection, preservation and guarding of the heritage (Stylianou- Lambert *et al.*, 2014). Therefore, their attribute of power rather tends to be legitimate than coercive or utilitarian. In some way, their attribute is also a competent power, which is held by specialists from some field (Hankinson, 2009). Both the City of Krakow and Museum has a leading role in the discussion, but they represent an official, institutional perspective.

While a lot is debated about how the community is impacted by the heritage sector (Crooke, 2010), little is recognized, how the community can be involved in the process of the museum's creation. The study revealed the huge gap between available institutions and debates on how it should be created. Despite the dominance of the museum's professionals and city officials, a group of active residents was engaged in this project and consultations. Moreover, the activity in social media breached the competence power of the Museum of Krakow, as residents indicated mistakes made by the municipal entities (e.g. Facebook page, 10th June, 2019- a mistake concerning the scientific data about the history of the concentration camp). Therefore, it supports the notion, that in the social media museums should change from the position of the authoritarian custodian to the facilitator, which listens and engage in the dialogue (Holdgaard & Klastrup, 2014). Yet, the practice showed, that the authoritarian position (Kim, 2018) is still observed, also in social media. Due to the specific profile of the museum, the dialogue can be hindered by the afraid of the violation of ethics. These uncertainties are especially recognized in the social media (Kidd &Cardiff, 2017). The fact, that residents propose how the commemoration of KL Plaszow should be arranged, support society's willingness to create a heritage site (Crooke, 2010). Many of their initiatives revealed the willingness to be fully engaged in the project development, nevertheless the inequalities in the relations are observed. The course of the consultations and way, in which residents were treated, triggered a dissatisfaction. Some of the observations converged with the previous research, that local communities are at the final place when discussing the decisions about tourist attractions (Garrod *et al.*, 2012). Arguments presented by residents relate much more to the museum environmental factors. Their contentions more intensively reflect the museum's connection with the culture and sustainable development (Stylianou- Lambert *et al.*, 2014), than the official messages.

Another controversial point in the discussion concerned the possible growth of the tourism industry. The close location to the Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum and the Schindler's Factory Museum makes these concerns very intense. Whereas Auschwitz-Birkenau Museum is one of the most recognized dark tourism destinations, at the same time is a place, where tourists tend to behave disrespectfully (Bowman & Pezzullo, 2009), which is at a very distance from the highlighted necessity of commemoration. Simultaneously, the appropriate management are relevant to not allow to transform the visiting into "spectacle" caused by the overloaded commercialization (Simone-Charteris *et al.*, 2018). The results do not converge with the previous observations, that at some time this dark tourism narration will be generally supported (e.g. Tucker et al, 2017) by the residents. Their arguments especially converging with the assumptions, that for the residents such an unwelcome attraction is not desirable, also by the hidden dissonance and necessity of balancing between past and present.

Although the group 'Stop Ogradzaniu Krzemionek' started their activity on Facebook, all their projects suggest, that they goes beyond the "slacktivism". They are aware of their limited resources and still try to inform and convinced for their proposition. Probably many of those, who sharing or liking posts will not be present at real meetings (Christensen, 2011), but their objectives are going beyond the passive attitude. Besides the three main entities variously engaged in this project, also different media were interested in this debate. They do not have the ability to influence any decision but can create and shape opinions (Rasche &Esser, 2006). Some of their website's news was perceived by the residents as subjective and unfair. Therefore, the spread of information on social media affects the museum and officials but also social movements. It may mean that each entity involved in some intensively deliberated project should take aware of the social media sphere, monitor news, and contact the audience.

CONCLUSIONS

The debate around the project of Museum-Memorial Site KL Plaszow was interesting for varied entities, yet those deeply involved were not that many. The Museum of Krakow and City of Krakow hold attributes of power and legitimacy, but in different areas. Despite the differences in conducted roles, both perceive their role in a similar way- to realize and finish the commemorative project. The third entity with the ability to influence the project was the residents group 'Stop Ogradzaniu Krzemionek'. As it is possible to conclude, they expect to be more engaged in the decision process and posed the claim concerning the natural environment. Other entities are situated rather in the context of the situation. Due to the growing social media importance, an on-going control and verification of messages seem to be important especially for the residents. Results showed the difficulties in arranging the social consultation process and some messages revealed the limited willingness to dialogue with other groups. This problem was observed not only by the residents on Facebook. Therefore, social media can support dialogue and communication, but in fact, there is still a gap between theory and practice in engaging, especially when project concerns not the museum itself, but also their surroundings. Even if open consultations were arranged, still the officials are situated more on their authoritarian positions without enough ability to dialogue.

This study contributes by analyzing a multi-stakeholder dialogue focused around the museum situated in a wider environment, rather than exhibition or knowledge itself (Schmeltz & Kjeldsen, 2019). Together with the growing importance of the museum's collaboration with other entities (e.g. Elsorady, 2018) and new museum investments, the necessity of dialogue will be gradually more important. The results showed also how is hard to truly engage the voices of many entities and that the social media at the same extent are important during the investment consultations. Besides this, the study has also limitations. The analysis was conducted based on secondary sources, whereas data from the primary sources probably will give the deeper understanding of the problem. Therefore, future research can be focused on the museum's position in the environment after the opening exhibition. Moreover, the results obtained the growing importance of social activists' groups, which are people connected with particular sites and responsible for them. The question, if it is a commemoration or commodification seems to be still open and depends on many factors. Nevertheless, the residents probably will be attempting to control this site, to not allow for the inappropriate behaviors.

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