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VARIA

STRATEGIC MANAGEMENT OF MARTYRDOM MUSEUM AND SITE OF MEMORY: EXAMPLE OF THE AUSCHWITZ-BIRKENAU MEMORIAL AND MUSEUM IN OŚWIĘCIM

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'Management of a site of memory' is a new term that does not enjoy favorable reception in all academic circles. Doubts related to justifiability of the use of the term 'management of memory and a site of memory' may evoke associations with trauma management, which, due to obvious reasons, is unacceptable. In the discussion on management of a sites of memory¹, their timeless nature is primarily emphasized: as the Holocaust symbols, they simultaneously constitute a warning against future acts of genocide, growing extremism and indifference to the tragedy of countries engulfed by war. The site of memory issues are predominantly tackled from the point of view of their educational significance: the so-called pedagogy of a site of memory. Nevertheless, one cannot forget that sites of memory, forming an indispensable element of shaping the national identity, are embedded in a specific reality and are often related to concrete material remnants. Alicja Kędziora (2012: 106-108) emphasizes that management of memory boils down to the management of a sites of memory, not only immaterial cultural heritage, but also its material dimension located in a specific 'musealized space of culture' fulfilling the functions of remembering about the past:

¹ The term 'sites of memory' (*lieux de mémoire*) was introduced in 1984 by French researcher Pierre Nora. It was also used by Hagen Schulze, Etienne Francis, Jan and Alaida Assmann and Andrzej Szpociński.

'Sites of memory do not exist in a vacuum, [but] in specific socio-economic conditions, they co-create a cultural space and only as such they may be fully accepted and understood'. Therefore, it is very important to analyze a sites of memory also with respect to their management in a manner that ensures complete fulfilment of functions imposed on them. Management of sites of memory is related to the management of museums or institutions of culture in general. Given the specific nature of a sites of memory after former concentration and extermination camps, administering them is additionally extended to activities that solidify the dimension of authenticity of the post-camp areas. According to Kędziora, 'The time of settlements with the past resulted in escalation of the meaning of the discussed concept, and its unique career makes one wonder about the benefits resulting from its use also in such new discipline as culture management' (ibid.: 110). Andrzej Szpociński (2008: 11) ventures a thesis that the source of such great success of the term 'sites of memory' in the modern times is sensitization of the culture of our times, also in its historical aspect, with respect to the spatial and visual dimensions.

The Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial and Museum (ABMM) is a unique site of memory. Its exceptional nature is testified by the fact that in 1979 the area of the former Nazi-German concentration and extermination camp was entered on the UNESCO World Heritage List. This place sends a message via the authenticity and preservation of remnants after the former camp: thanks to this, people may confront their own history, identity and the present times. The ABMM report for 2016 features information about yet another record number of persons who visited the Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial and Museum: 2,053,000 persons (Sawicki 2007: 2).

In relation to the high number of visitors, the Museum introduced mandatory on-line booking for organized groups and individual persons². This type of system does not allow tourist offices to organize visits at the Museum at most popular times. Visits are distributed over all the available times, also in the afternoons. The booking system is analyzed and improved on an ongoing basis. At the present moment, the dates of visits may be booked even a year in advance. As of March 2017, the area of the former camp

² visit.auschwitz.org (accessed: 28.02.17).

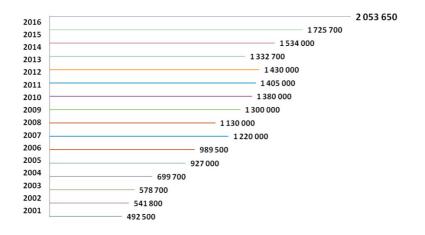


Chart 1. Number of visitors of the Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial and Museum between 2001 and 2016

Source: Annual reports of the Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial and Museum

has been open to visitors as early as 7.30 a.m. (Sawicki 2007: 3). Furthermore, there are 286 teachers/guides at the Museum who speak nineteen languages in total. It must be emphasized that no other museum in the world hires guides who speak so many languages³. What is the 'secret' of the ABMM? Is recognition of a site as the international symbol of the Holocaust sufficient to guarantee its success in terms of numbers of visitors? How has it been possible to logistically manage one of the largest facilities in the world protected by the UNESCO Convention?

Following the resource and competence concept that derives from economy (introduced to literature by Edith Penrose [1959]), all strategies built by organizations and institutions should rely on internal advantages of such institutions. According to this concept, reliance on features characteristic of a given institution guarantees its operation in an extended period of time (Śliwa 2011: 17). In the case of the ABMM, such 'guarantor for the institution's existence' does not have to be searched for far and

³ http://auschwitz.org/muzeum/aktualnosci/nowy-system-rezerwacji-onlinew-muzeum-auschwitz,1673.html (accessed: 28.02.2019).

wide. Its primary advantage is the authenticity of the site of memory: the presence of post-camp infrastructure. It may be perversely concluded that in line with such claims, all sites of memory are 'privileged' on account of their historical location. It is a fact that out of all sites of memory after the former concentration and extermination camps, most facilities from the time of operation of the camp have remained in the area of the former KL Auschwitz-Birkenau: this is the location least affected by the passage of time and human interference. Another difficulty in managing memory - related to the camp infrastructure and the specific nature of sites of memory which are, simultaneously, cemeteries – is the aesthetics of the space, the question about justifiability of presenting content and artefacts with the use of media that exceed the borders of authenticity (multi-media technologies). It is not easy to convince international stakeholders about the significance of personal confrontation of man with a site where the modern times have not exerted their impact. Piotr M.A. Cywiński (2012: 90:97), Director of the ABMM, offers several examples:

Some see Auschwitz as a place where the multi-media, interaction and attractions should mark their presence. Others want more reconstruction; somebody proposed life-size dummies, e.g. SS-men with dogs or guards standing in watch towers and blinding the passers-by with light. There are numerous proposals of this type. The question is, what is Auschwitz today (...). Memory is a timeless factor, yet it has to be experienced in an authentic Site. Understanding and awareness may attain much more here than in front of a television screen or pages of a book. Therefore, authenticity is something that should be protected and presented. Such protection and presentation are the major task of persons who take care of Auschwitz today. Authenticity is the paradigm of a Site of Memory. Every one.

Such down-to-earth and consistent standpoint of Director Cywiński makes it possible for incorporating the issue of preserving authenticity of a site of memory into a broader plan of strategies, the aim of which is also working out the identity of a cultural institution:

A cultural institution should, first of all, have an identity specified and developed with its stakeholders, i.e. it should know what it is striving for, how it is operating, and it should build a network of relations with the public and

the local environment around this identity. (...) It would be ideal if a cultural institution offered both the impression of rooting, as well as the possibility of rebuilding identity in a manner that corresponds to the changes in the surrounding world. Obviously, this is a huge challenge for a cultural institution (Krajewski 2011: 34-35).

Summing up, it is necessary to combine the aforementioned 'rooting' with the concept of preserving authenticity of a site of memory, whereas as far as 'rebuilding identity' to measure up to the modernity and changes in the surrounding world is concerned, it is possible, without doubt, to show the concept of a new main exhibition in the ABMM⁴, developed in the course of two and a half years in a very thorough manner, with the assistance of experts and with the use of knowledge about the profile of visitors. The new exhibition will be opened for visitors in three parts between 2021 and 2025. Such extended time of implementation results from gradual deployment of subsequent points of the schedule, in order not to restrict the possibility of visiting the institution. In line with the adopted assumptions, the exhibition cannot be only educational and historical in nature; that is why an interdisciplinary task team for the New Main Exhibition was set up (this is worth emphasizing, due to the fact that not every museum embraces the necessity of collaboration of this type), which is composed of a teacher, a historian, a documentalist and architects⁵. The ability for collaboration of people specializing in various areas at one project is particularly important for efficient management of a cultural institution and it is clearly perceptible in the Auschwitz--Birkenau Memorial and Museum. Katarzyna Barańska (2013: 212), discussing the issue of management from the humanistic perspective, draws attention to the fact that teams of employees of a cultural institution usually struggle with internal difficulties: 'Exchange of theoretical thought and experiences from the realm of the so-called good practice usually takes place »in own groups«: conferences for conservators, didacticians or curators are organized

⁴ Its first general conceptual premises were prepared by Professor Wacław Długoborski and senior curators Teresa Świebocka and Teresa Zbrzeska. In July 2007, the project was adopted by the International Auschwitz Council.

⁵ Information procured due to the kindness of Alicja Białecka, proxy for the New Main Exhibition in the ABMM.

separately. Everybody is afraid to step outside their area of expertise or admit somebody from outside »the industry« to it'.

According to the recommended organizational outline of museum facilities:

(...) irrespective of the type of supervision held, the structure of functioning of a modern museum should rely on the so-called task cube, which consists of cooperation of three divisions of a museum: care for collections (curatorship, conservation, documentation); performance of programs-projects (organization of exhibitions, designing, education, publications, public relations, marketing); administration (HR, financial and accounting division, legal servicing, development division, investment and renovation division, protection, division for servicing visitors and users of collections, maintenance of order). Each of the three divisions of a museum should be managed by an expert in a given area: a museologist, at least a 2nd degree expert; a museologist with additional training in education, PR or marketing; a specialist in management with economic, legal or technical education (Folga-Januszewska 2008: 37).

Collaboration among such divisions is indispensable; they cannot operate as separate units. The administration division, responsible for investments and renovations, should not function as a separate entity due to the fact that its activities also directly refer to the division responsible for taking care of the collections.

Mieczysław Porębski noted that 'an ideal museum is primarily a wellorganized museum'. He explained that maintaining proper proportions in the implementation of tasks between substantive employees and administrative and technical employees is of utmost importance. Barańska (2013: 167, 211-212) pursues this thought and stresses the fact that in the strategy of management of every project, it is necessary to draw attention not only to proper distribution of tasks and settlement of effects of work, but in an equal degree, it is also vital to build the employee team, which relies on multiple areas of expertise (content-related, conservation, education). A good example for implementing such postulates are teams appointed in the Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum for the preparation of the New Main Exhibition, as well as the Master Plan for Preservation of the Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial. A thirty-person 'team' was set up for project implementation, including: monument conservators, construction engineers of various specializations, craftsmen, chemists, lawyers, financial experts and accountants⁶. This testifies to maturity in planning the strategy of key projects based on an interdisciplinary team.

One of the main pillars of the strategic plan of the ABMM is also protection of collections and conservation of architectural post-camp remnants. Many facilities prepare a strategic plan pertaining to collections. Such strategic plan covers only the main issues, such as the characteristics of collections, stock-taking and documentation, studies, preservation of collections and their management, as well as setting up new collections. In the first place, attention is focused on such aspects as:

- scope of the museum's collections;
- core of collections;
- response to the question about the function of the collections with respect to the public;
- response to the question about the manner in which the collections differ from collections of other museums (Czaj et al. 2007: 39-40).

The conservation strategy of immobile items in the ABMM is so complex that it deserves a separate analysis. Continuing with the issues specifically related to project management, it is definitely necessary to mention the unprecedented enterprise, i.e. the Master Plan for Preservation of the Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial⁷, established in 2009, and the Perpetual Fund of the Auschwitz-Birkenau Foundation, extended in the subsequent years onto eighteen Memory Pillars. The Auschwitz-Birkenau Foundation⁸ collaborates with thirty-six countries, two cities and⁹ individual benefactors. In 2016, the fund-raising activities of the Foundation were supported by

 $^{^6\,}$ Information received due to the kindness of Anna Łopuska from the Conservation Division of the ABMM, the coordinator of the Master Plan for Preservation.

⁷ Its implementation started in June 2012.

⁸ The Auschwitz-Birkenau Foundation was set up in 2009 in order to manage the Perpetual Fund. The annual interest from the Fund amounts to EUR 4-5 million, which allows for performance of conservation projects.

⁹ www.fundacja.auschwitz.org/index.php/darczyncy/panstwa (accessed: 28.02.2019).

Ronald S. Lauder who¹⁰ established the Auschwitz-Birkenau Foundation Committee. Every annual report of the ABMM features specific amounts assigned to tasks scheduled for a given year, which testifies to the transparency in the flow of finances. This is the first institution of this type in the world which has worked out such an excellent project of protecting the heritage, also engaging other countries and individuals from all over the world in it. In order to understand the scale of the enterprise, it must be remembered that the protection area covers approx. twenty hectares of the former Auschwitz I camp and 171 hectares of Birkenau. There are 155 buildings on this area, 300 ruins (including gas chambers and crematoria, relics of barracks), water supply networks and drainage ditches, roads, thirteen kilometers of fences with over three thousands of concrete poles and thousands of post-camp movables and archival artefacts presented at exhibitions and stored in warehouses¹¹. Low vegetation and tree stands are also subject to ongoing conservation, including twenty hectares of forest.

Nobody has to be convinced about under-financing of Polish museums. Museums located in the area of former concentration and extermination camps experience it particularly painfully as their surface areas are much more extensive than typical historical museums. In the above-quoted publication, *Nowoczesne zarządzanie muzeum* [Modern Management of a Museum], Herman Aarts and Kees Plaisier present definition of a museum as an enterprise:

Museum is a non-profit institution, yet managed like an enterprise, which offers such products as exhibitions or projects for schools. The enterprise's products are sold to generate profit, whereas the basis for the financing of a museum is a subsidy from the state budget. Receipts from customers, i.e. persons visiting the facility, cover only a small portion of the costs of operation. The state subsidizes museums as part of cultural policy, aimed to emphasize their participation in culture and their role in preserving the cultural heritage (Czaj et al. 2007: 16).

¹⁰ Ronald S. Lauder is an American businessman and philanthropist, chairman of the World Jewish Congress and founder of the Lauder Foundation, as well as member of the International Auschwitz Council since 2012.

¹¹ www.fundacja.auschwitz.org/index.php/aktualnosci/32-globalny-plankonserwacji-rozpoczety (access: 28.02.2019).

This definition does not fully match the ABMM, which is a martyrdom museum and cannot collect fees from visitors for admission to the post--camp area, so in this case, we cannot speak about typical 'receipts from customers'. The table below presents the sources of financing of the ABMM in individual years, starting from 2006 when the Museum presented its report on operation for the first time to the public. In 2006, the subsidy of the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage (for ongoing and property expenses) in the amount of PLN 10.3 million slightly exceeded the total of the Museum's own revenues (PLN 10.2 million). It is interesting to note that in the course of time, the Museum's own revenues (59.2%) exceeded the subsidies from the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage (25.6%) almost twice.

An important element in the management strategy are also strategic partnerships, skillful collaboration and contacts with international, domestic and local institutions, as well as public administration (broad range of collaboration is shown in the table of financing sources above). The ABMM, in the course of many years of its operation, has significantly expanded this type of communication channel, exchange of experiences and interorganizational support. Special attention should be paid to the International Auschwitz Council operating by the Prime Minister of the Republic of Poland, established in 1990 by means of the ruling of the Minister of Culture and Art. The Council is an international opinion-making and advisory body consisting of a number of experts and authorities; it offers an excellent realm for the exchange of thoughts, experiences and proposals. During the meetings of the Council, there has always been a place for representatives of other sites of memory: Płaszów, Sobibór, Majdanek, Treblinka and Stutthof. Apart from the IAC, the Museum Council, the Council of the Auschwitz--Birkenau Foundation and the Council of the International Centre for Education about Auschwitz and the Holocaust also operate by the Museum. In the opinion of the author of this paper, the success of the ABMM consists in building durable and productive relations with institutions, authorities and experts, thanks to which the power of the message is even stronger and the range of impact is still growing around the world. This is also a proof for the efficiency of the management strategy based on collaboration in the team.

	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Museum's own revenues	10.2	11.5	13	16.2	20.2	22.3	24.8	26.7	28.6	33.4	39.5
Subsidy of the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage	10.3	11	12.7	11.6	11.2	11	15.7	15.3	14.7	16.7	17.1
Earmarked funds of the Minister of Culture and National Heritage	_	_	_	_	9.6	4.2	0.7	3	4.1	3.9	2.5
Funds procured from abroad	0.266	0.754	1.5	0.6	0.4	-	_	_	-	2.4	-
Subsidy as part of the European Infrastructure and Environment Operational Programme	_	_	_	2.5	3.1	1.2	6.5	1.9	2.2	_	_
EU programs	-	-	-	-	-	6.9	4.1	4.2	-	-	1.3
The Auschwitz- -Birkenau Victims Memorial Foundation	-	-	-	0.1	0.6	0.3	1.8	2.1	2.2	0.079	0.032
Volkswagen and the International Auschwitz Committee	_	_	_	_	_	_	_	_	1.2	0.3	-

Table. 1. Sources of financing of the Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial and Museum (in millions PLN)

	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Auschwitz- -Birkenau Foundation	-	-	-	_	-	-	-	-	-	5.2	5.9
National Institute for Museums and Public Collections (NIMOZ)	_	_	_	_	_	_	_	_	_	0.015	_

Source: Author's own study based on statistical data available in annual reports of the ABMM (period 2006-2016)

Building efficient external communication in cultural institutions is possible thanks to the application of the following principles:

- simplicity of message;
- specificity (facts, events, which the visitors can directly relate to their own lives);
- reliability;
- emotions (nostalgia, memories, identification);
- stories (Stocki 2001: 170-172).

The document that combines all these points is the afore-mentioned annual report, presenting the most important events, plans, studies, current tasks and the statistics of visitors starting from 2006. The report is also supplemented with transparent reports pertaining to the financing of the Museum and the operation of the Auschwitz-Birkenau Foundation. It is also a nod to the Museum's employees: it emphasizes their work for the sake of heritage protection: 'This report is a tale of people who chose their own answer to that question. They have given of their time, their strength, emotions and their hopes to grapple responsibly from day to day with this dreadful Place of Truth' (*Report of the Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial and Museum for 2014*: 4)¹².

¹² All annual reports from the Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial and Museum activity since 2006 are available on the website: http://auschwitz.org/en/museum/museum-reports/ (accessed: 13.02.2019).

Katarzyna Barańska (2013: 209) notices that in the recent years, many museums decided to present a strategy of operation or mission on their websites. Unfortunately, specialist nature of such information and specific language result in the fact that the recipient is not given interesting information pertaining to the operation of a given facility. However, the presentation of the ABMM report has excited great interest, both in Poland and abroad. In relation to this, the Museum decided to present the so-called international voices of support in every edition, testifying to the necessity of existence of a document available for everybody and simultaneously convincing the representatives and employees of the Museum that following the direction they have chosen, they receive increasing international support. 'I am convinced that offering information in such form also to the societies outside of Poland about the activities of a museum institution will contribute to solidifying memory about the tragedy and the victims of WWII on an international scale', said Tomas Bertelman, the Ambassador of Sweden (Report of the Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial and Museum for 2007: 5). Pascal Couchepin, the then president of the Swiss Confederation, spoke in a similar tone: 'It was with satisfaction that I noticed a stable increase in the number of visitors, as well as development of educational projects and progress in scientific research. Apart from it, the fact that you are currently preparing the new main exhibition shows that the Museum is continually ready for accepting new challenges' (Report of the Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial and Museum for 2008: 7). What was the original purpose for cyclical publication of the report? The Museum's Director, Piotr M.A. Cywiński wrote:

For the first time in its history, the institution that safeguards one of the most important places on earth is presenting an annual report on its activities, in this form, to you. Our main task is, obviously, to protect and conserve the original camp relics, to conduct scholarly research, and to develop educational programs. The needs are vast. World events show how little our civilization has learned, in sum, from its past. This is why I want to introduce you to the people who make up this Museum: the preservationists, historians, educators, and specialists in museum practice. The image of this place in the nearest future depends on their commitment, expertise and dedication (*Report of the Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial and Museum for 2006*: 4). Another important element in the strategy of museum management, which is worth mentioning when referring to the case of the Auschwitz--Birkenau Memorial and Museum, is building relations with the visitors or, more broadly, with the audience:

[For the ABMM it is of vital importance – note by A.P.] to build an agreement among all persons who influence the functioning of the museum, i.e. not only the visitors, but also other institutions which may support [us]. The strategic plan has to specify the groups of the public on the museum intends to focus its activities, and the manner in which it plans to achieve it, what classes and events are planned for them. In the case of larger museums, the strategic plan should include a separate outline pertaining to the communication with recipients of the museum offer. The strategic plan has to specify which additional activities may be used to procure a greater and more diverse audience, which classes and events would induce people to visit the museum and what kind of work to attract visitors forms a part of the museum mission (ibid.: 44).

An example of activities of this type is inclusion of the history of KL Auschwitz-Birkenau in the form of two virtual exhibitions in the Google Cultural Institute project (since October 2012). As part of the platform, seventeen institutions from the whole world collaborate together; they undertook the task of presenting the history of the 20th century with the use of digitalized archival materials. This also allows for more reliable preparation of presentations for school classes by students and teachers. In the recent years, social networking sites became an additional communication channel. According to the annual report for 2014, Facebook profile www.facebook. com/auschwitzmemorial was the first profile of this type where the number of followers exceeded 100,000. In 2016, the number grew to 230,000. The profile, prepared in several languages, reaches the recipients all over the world. Over thirty thousand people observe the museum's account on Twitter and on Instagram, the number of followers is at 22,000. In 2016, the website www.auschwitz.org had over forty three million visits (Sawicki 2017: 3). It is difficult not to mention here the e-learning platform addressed to people who cannot visit the site of memory in person or simply wish to expand their knowledge about the history of the camp at home.

When discussing the issue of relations with the society and the potential recipients of the museum offer, it is also necessary to mention the socalled stakeholders. This term may also include institutions on which the Museum exerts impact and which influence the Museum. In other words, there is a close relation between them (for example as in the case of permanent partnerships and inter-organizational collaboration). It is possible to distinguish four categories of stakeholders:

- social environment, public administration bodies and institutions with which the museum maintains contacts in the broadest meaning of the word¹³;
- the public, consisting of representatives of target groups and persons visiting the museum individually, students and employees of other institutions;
- sponsors: institutions and private persons offering material support (Perpetual Capital, 18 Pillars of Memory and other benefactors);
- employees of the museum (existence of the museum is in their interest, they are also indispensable for proper operation of the facility) (Czaj et al. 2007: 30-31).

Analysis of types of stakeholders may be used to show the position which a museum occupies on the market, and the level of performance of mutual expectations in the museum – recipient relation. Studies of this type are not, however, a common element in the management of heritage and Polish cultural institutions. Only few museums can show the annual level of visitors in their seats:

Nowadays participation in culture in Poland is not, and should be, an important category. The problem of the majority of cultural institutions is primarily the fact that they have very limited knowledge on who their customers are and who uses their services. (...) First of all, few institutions collect any sort of studies in Poland. The ones that perform analyses of this

¹³ As an example, the following aforementioned institutions may be listed: International Auschwitz Council, Centre for Dialogue and Prayer, International Youth Meeting Centre in Auschwitz, International Centre for Education about Auschwitz and the Holocaust, the Yad Vashem. The World Holocaust Remembrance Centre and the Terezin Memorial, Centre of the Council of Europe, the Jagiellonian University, the Pedagogical University in Kraków and a number of others.

type on their own will are few and far between. (...) There is no in-depth characteristics of the audience, no information about its needs, expectations and how it evaluates the activities of the institution (...) (Krajewski 2001: 37).

Every year, the ABMM carries out detailed statistical studies pertaining to visitors – the annual report features breakdowns of visitors divided into age categories or country of origin. Use of knowledge about the target group translates to a change in the mode of guiding in the area of the former camp (since 2012) or the concept of the completely new main exhibition, adjusted to the modern recipient. The ABMM has also made practical use of the knowledge about visitors by making a free bus available that runs between Auschwitz I and Birkenau, determining the above-mentioned new regulations for booking the visit and issuing a publication that allows for preparation for the visit at the site of memory and directing the teachers' attention to the fact how necessary it is to have a recapitulating conversation that puts the strong emotional experiences after the end of the visit at the Museum in order (Białecka et al. 2013).

In 2016, the International Centre for Education about Auschwitz and the Holocaust for the first time prepared an English-language seminar History - Memory - Responsibility for a professional group of journalists. This was related not only to the response to the social need of popularizing knowledge about the Holocaust, but also an important element of managing the site of memory, i.e. preventing and counter-acting manipulation, instrumentalization and other problems related to the collaboration with the media. The above-mentioned seminar was attended by journalists from Australia, France, Israel, Germany, United States, Sweden and Great Britain. Participants included correspondents of largest international press agencies working in Poland. It is well known that the media are a source of many opportunities for cultural institutions, and they perform marketing and promotion functions. However, they also tend to be a source of negation and falsification of history by the use of the term 'Polish concentration camps'. A well-managed facility not only monitors the situation in a number of dimensions of the modern world, but also participates in the discourse, and does not shun away from responses and reactions. The employees of the ABMM have designed and made a 'Remember' application available in sixteen languages¹⁴, which supports both journalists and other persons interested in issues related to the Holocaust, so that they do not make the above-listed and other mistakes. The project was created in collaboration between the Museum and FCB Warsaw and with the support of PKO Bank Polski, Mint Media and Macoscope.

A definition formulated by Barbara Czarniawska-Joerges says that organizations are networks of collective activities undertaken as an attempt of shaping the world and people. Barańska (2013: 168), following this trail of thought, sums up that 'management is the establishment of ties'. The Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial and Museum has developed, in the course of years, a stable tie with the world of the media, at the same time proving that a site of memory is not a dead space, frozen in time, but a living history, to which people still return, a history that exerts impact on the formation of modernity. Journalists from all over the world can use the prasa.auschwitz. org website which, apart from information related to KL Auschwitz-Birkenau, also features current news and regulations pertaining to photographing and filming at the site of memory. In 2016, over one hundred and fifty film crews from all over the world worked in the area of the Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial and Museum on documentary productions (*Report of the Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial and Museum for 2014*: 44).

A number of publications, theories and studies were published about the management strategy, yet using them is not a condition sufficient for effective management and long-term planning in such multi-dimensional place as the ABMM. Cywiński emphasizes that it is impossible to 'grow accustomed' to managing sites of memory, even if one performs such obligations for a number of years with equal commitment:

Auschwitz surpasses you. In every sense. A young man wishes to grow up to what he should do, to what awaits him, to challenges of his life. You cannot grow up to Auschwitz. Grow mature for it. (...) Every manager comprehends the space of his management. He chooses adequate tools for the tasks and a relevant tactic. It is impossible to comprehend Auschwitz. It is hard to manage something that you are never going to comprehend (Cywiński 2012: 41).

¹⁴ correctmistakes.auschwitz.org (accessed: 11.02.2019).

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Summary

The Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial and Museum, located in the territory of the former Nazi concentration camp, is an example of what a French historian, Pierre Nora, called 'a site of memory' (*lieu de mémoire*) – a place which serves to commemorate and symbolize the greatest genocide and the tragedy of the twentieth century, that is the Holocaust. Hence, management of an institution like this has to include both market-based, as well as ethical factors. Moreover, since the Museum uses many elements of the original concentration camp's infrastructure, the question arises whether it should aim to preserve the authenticity of this site, or rather follow the main trends in museology (digitization, wide multimedia environment etc.). The author analyses the management strategy of the Museum by taking the statistical data, its educational offer, as well as the currently realized projects and programs into account.

Keywords: Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial and Museum, site of memory, martyrdom museum, cultural management