

Investigating the motivation of visiting a dark tourism site

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Submitted to Dr. Ivo Ponocny

Ling Fung Hung

1621504

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Affidavit

I hereby affirm that this Bachelor's Thesis represents my own written work and that I have used no sources and aids other than those indicated. All passages quoted from publications or paraphrased from these sources are properly cited and attributed.

The thesis was not submitted in the same or in a substantially similar version, not even partially, to another examination board and was not published elsewhere.

17th August 2020

Date

Abstract

This thesis tends to identify the main motivations attracting tourists to visit dark tourism sites, and take a depth look into dark tourists' experiences by their visit. A main part of the study will be investigating the relationship between dark tourists' background and their motivation to visit dark tourism sites, in other words, is there is difference in motivation visiting dark tourism sites between visitors with different age, religion, origin and gender. The research method of this study will be literature review, followed by a self-designed questionnaire, in order to have both firsthand and second hand data.

One of the problems in this research is that the sample size of the survey is not large and not very equally distributed. The sample size is 105, the gender and religion are quite equally distributed. Meanwhile the education level (mostly undergraduate) and the age (mostly young people, around 18-30) are not distributed equally due to the way of sampling.

The first finding in the research is dark tourism motivations can be briefly concluded as five categories, including empathy, curiosity, educational, emotional and causal. The second finding is the religion of visitors does not make a great difference between their motivation to visit dark tourism sites. There is a minor difference in motivation between different genders' motivation, and between Asians and Europeans, Overall and in conclusion, the background of visitors is not an important factor to determine their motivation to visit dark tourism sites.

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1. Introduction

Tragedies always happen throughout the history of mankind. Wars, genocides and natural disasters wrote an indispensable page in our history. In recent years, the places where these tragedies happened are not only being written down in the history book but also attracting thousands of tourists to visit for different reasons. This phenomenon has been known as 'Dark Tourism'. According to Stone (2006), dark tourism is a tourism activity involving visiting a site related to disaster, death or with a dreadful past. For example, Kostnice Sedlec (Czech Republic), Mauthausen concentration camp (Austria) and Auschwitz (Poland) are famous and iconic dark tourism sites to visit in Europe, as the related tragedies happened there in the past. Dark tourism has been a rapidly rising trend in recent years which has gained a significant number of visitors, one of the most famous sites related to the Holocaust in the world, Auschwitz concentration camp in Krakow gained 1.5 million visitors in 2014 (Auschwitz-Birkenau camp, 2015). Anne Frank House, a museum related to the famous Holocaust victim gained over 1.2 million visitors in 2017 (Anne Frank House, 2017). Stone (2006, cited in Sharpley & Stone, 2009) suggests that the constantly increasing acceptance of death as a topic of discussion in contemporary society decreases people's fear of the inevitable death, the process can be supported and aided by the exploration of death through tourism activities. In recent years, dark tourism is more than a touristic phenomenon but an independent field of research in tourism studies. In the research, both quantitative and qualitative research methods will be conducted, literature review will be conducted in order to have a deep understanding of the topic, surveys will be used as a quantitative research method to collect first-hand data on the research topic. Despite not collecting quantitative data about the motivation of dark tourism site visitors, quantitative and qualitative questions about their experience from the visit and opinions will also be asked. The visitors' experience of dark tourism can be a reference of how dark tourism sites can improve themselves to provide a better experience, and what can people learn after their visit.

1.2 Aim of the research

The main objective of the research is to analyze the motivation of visitors of dark tourism sites, and investigate if the personal background of the visitors, for example origin and religion, is a significant factor to determine the motivation of visiting dark tourism sites. The phenomenon of dark tourism has been researched by a considerable number of scholars in the field of tourism studies. Most of the researchers focus on the meaning and experience to the tourist visiting a dark tourism site, including Kang et al. (2012), Mowatt & Chancelleor (2011) and Dunkley, Morgan & Westwood (2011). Some researchers focused on the motivation of the tourists having a dark tourism experience (Yan et al., 2016), (Dunkey et al., 2011), (Podoshen, 2013), (Issac & Cakmak, 2014). Relatively few researchers focused on the relation between the visitor's background and the motivation, this is a gap of the dark tourism studies which can be addressed. This thesis will analyse if the visitor's background is an important factor to determine the visitor's motivation to consume dark tourism experience. To accomplish the aim of the research, the thesis will have research questions listed below:

What is the main motivation(s) to direct visitors to visit a dark tourism site?

Is the visitor's background a significant factor to determine the motivation?

The two questions are strongly related, in order to research the second question, the first question must be answered first. The main purpose of the first question is to understand the most popular reason(s) to create tourist's willingness to visit dark tourism sites. Considering the spectrum of dark tourism (Stone, 2006), there is a possibility that a difference in motivation between visitors visiting a 'darker' tourism site and a 'lighter' tourism site will occur, which can also be investigated. The aim of the second question is to define if the visitor's background, including age, gender, education background and cultural background an important element to determine the motivation of the visitors to visit a dark tourism site, hypotheses will be set to compare the motivation of visiting dark tourism sites between different groups of respondents.

2. Literature review

In this chapter, past literature about dark tourism will be discussed. The literature review of dark tourism will be divided into five parts. In the first part, the definition of dark tourism and the history of dark tourism as a topic of research will be reviewed (The earliest traceable terming of dark tourism can be traced back to 1996 by Foley and Lennon, but earlier discussion of similar activities can be traced back to 1993 by Rojek). In the second part, old forms of dark tourism will be listed, involving dark tourism activities in ancient Rome, ancient China and medieval times. The framework of dark tourism will be discussed in the third part, including the categorization of dark tourism and theories of dark tourism. A review on past research on the motivation of visitors visiting dark tourism sites will be listed and discussed, with case studies by previous researchers on Asian, African and European dark tourism sites. In the last part, the experience of dark tourism will be discussed, involving the relationship between motivation and experience of dark tourism sites.

2.1 Dark tourism

Several definitions of dark tourism had been suggested, as mentioned in the introduction chapter, Stone (2006) suggested that dark tourism is an activity of tourism, which tourists visit a site involving death, violence, or having a dreadful past. One of the earliest research on such tourism activities can be found in Rojek's (1993) book *Way of Escape*, where he called this kind of tourism 'Black Spot' tourism. 'Blackspots' are sites related to deaths or where famous people lost their lives, tourists interested in such events will visit those spots for memorial purpose, one of the examples of black spots tourism is James Dean's fans visiting the legendary star's last route every year around the day of his death (Died in 1955 in a car crash in California, USA) (Rojek, 1993).

The term 'dark tourism' was first appeared in Foley and Lennon's (1996) article, to describe the phenomenon of the increasing appearance of the holocaust in media and World Wide Web attracting visitors and tourists visiting concentration camps and museums related to the holocaust at that time. The purpose of their paper is to discuss the educational purpose of the sites related to the death of the former president of the United States John F. Kennedy, who was assassinated at Dallas, Texas on the 22nd of

November, 1963) (Foley and Lennon, 1996). A similar approach to describe the phenomenon can be seen in Seaton's (1996) paper, the term 'thanatourism' had been created as a combination of '*thanatopsis*' and 'tourism', '*thanatopsis*' means 'contemplation of death' (Seaton, 1996; 235) in the Greek language, related to the god of death *Thanatos* in Ancient Greek mythology. 'Thanatourism' had been defined as 'travel to a location wholly, or partially, motivated by the desire for actual or symbolic encounters with death, particularly, but not exclusively, violent death, which may, to a varying degree be activated by the person-specific features of those whose deaths are its focal objects' (Seaton, 1996; 240).

2.2 Dark tourism in the past

The term 'dark tourism' may be relatively new (fewer than 30 years) in tourism studies, the behavior of tourism-related to death can be traced back to over 2,000 years ago, the Roman gladiatorial games can be considered as early forms of dark tourism (Sharpley & Stone, 2008), as people are watching gladiators fighting and killing each other or beasts for entertainment purposes. Watching public execution was a very common behavior throughout history both in the east and the west, numerous executions were executed in public from medieval times to the 19th century for public witnesses (Sharpley & Stone, 2006). Another example of the predecessors of modern dark tourism can be found in ancient China (Yan et al., 2016). Ancient Chinese intellectuals and literati (especially poets) tend to visit ancient battlefields to pay respect to the generals and heroes who fought the war, as writing poems was a very common hobby among ancient Chinese intellectuals, some of the visitors wrote poems to pay pity to the deaths and praise the heroes, even if death is a forbidden and considered 'bad' topic in ancient Chinese culture (Yan et al., 2016).

2.3 Framework of dark tourism

The modern form of dark tourism is more complexed and differ with the early form of dark tourism, Dann (1998, cited in Sharpley & Stone, 2009) suggest that dark tourism sites can be categorised into different groups based on their characteristics, which can be summarised into five groups:

1. Perilous places, places which are dangerous in the past or present, for example, Chernobyl, the ruins of Pompeii
2. Houses of horror, buildings related to death and or horror, for example, museums or haunted buildings
3. Fields of fatality, areas or lands related to remembrance of death, for example, concentration camps or World War II war fields
4. Tours of torment, 'tours/visits to attractions associated with death, murder and mayhem' (Dann, 1998, cited in Sharpley & Stone, 2009)
5. Themed Thanatos, collections themed around suffering and death, for example, museums of torture all around Europe

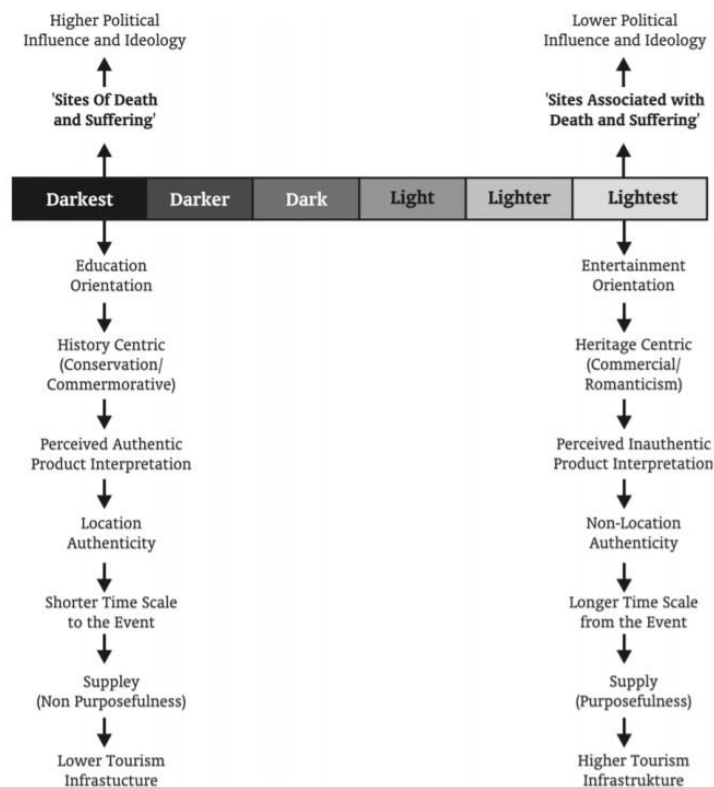
As the article is only two years (1998) later than the term 'dark tourism' itself had been invented by Foley and Lennon (1996), it is a very early approach to categorize dark tourism. Sharpley and Stone (2009) suggested that the categorization is more tend to descriptive than definitive. However, it is still possible for us to classify the famous dark tourism attractions by the categorization, for instance, the examples made above for each division, or the early forms of dark tourism. The gladiatorial games of Rome can be considered as a tour of torment, and the example of the ancient Chinese visitors can be considered as visiting a perilous place, as they are visiting ancient battlefields. Dann's approach to categorizing dark tourism is horizontal, by dividing dark tourism sites into different divisions by the topic and theme of the sites. A different approach has been conducted by Stone (2006) as a vertical approach, which he entitled as the theory of 'dark tourism spectrum' (Stone, 2006:146). The theory states that dark tourism involves 'level of darkness', and sites could be rated by their relevance to death and tragedies. The 'darker' sites are strongly and directly related to corresponding events, for instance, concentration camps like Dachau and Auschwitz are very 'dark' as the victims were killed at the actual place. In contrast, 'lighter' sites are related to death and tragedies in more obscure and indirect ways, for example 'Body worlds' and 'Dungeon Amsterdam'. The 'darker' and 'lighter' sites apart from their 'darkness', have different characteristics, including the orientation, objective, location authenticity, time scale, infrastructure and purpose (Stone, 2006).

Table 1: The division of the dark by Dann (2006)

<i>Divisions of the dark</i>	
<i>Perilous places</i> Dangerous destinations from the past and present	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • towns of horror • dangerous destinations
<i>Houses of horror</i> Buildings associated with death and horror, either actual or represented	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • dungeons of death • heinous hotels
<i>Fields of fatality</i> Areas/land commemorating death, fear, fame or infamy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • bloody battlegrounds • the hell of the Holocaust • cemeteries for celebrities
<i>Tours of torment</i> Tours/visits to attractions associated with death, murder and mayhem	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • mayhem and murder • the now notorious
<i>Themed thanatos</i> Collections/museums themed around death and suffering	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • morbid museums • monuments to morality

Source: Adapted from Sherpley and Stone (2009), by Dann (2006)

Table 2: The dark tourism spectrum



Source: Adapted from Stone (2006)

Whether by horizontal and vertical approach, understanding the categorisation of dark tourism, can strongly aid the research of the motivation of dark tourism, as the

motivation of visitors visiting dark tourism sites may differ by different kind of sites. Stone (2006) suggested in his theory, ‘darker’ sites are more tend to educational purpose and have higher political and ideological influences, meanwhile ‘lighter’ sites are more tend to entertainment purposes. Meanwhile, a difference between tourists visiting Auschwitz and Body Worlds in their motivation can be estimated. However, most of the case study sites in the works of literature reviewed are relatively dark, for instance, earthquake ruins (Yan et al., 2016), battlefields (Dunkley, Morgan & Westwood, 2011), slave castle (Mowatt & Chancellor, 2011) and transit camps (Issac & Cakmak, 2013), as these sites are the actual point the tragedies happened (according to Stone’s (2006) theory). Light (2017) made a categorised list of studied dark tourism sites in former research from 1996-2016, from the table, readers are able to understand which type of sites were most studied by researchers.

Table 3: The range of sites that are the focus of dark tourism and thanatourism research, 1996-2016

Type of site	Number of studies	Authors
Sites associated with war/conflict (including battlefields and war cemeteries)	48	Ridwin and Sharpley (2009); Bigley, Lee, Chon, and Yoon (2010); Bird (2013); Boyd (2013); Braithwaite and Leiper (2010); Carr (2010); Cheal and Griffin (2013); Chronis (2012); Clarke and McAuley (2016); Du, Littlejohn, and Lennon (2013); Dunkley, Morgan, and Westwood (2011); Eades and Cooper (2013); Fallon and Robinson (2017); Farnaki (2013); Frew (2013); Hall, Basarin, and Lockstone-Binney (2010); Iles (2012); Johnston (2011); Johnston (2016); Kamber, Karafotias, and Tsitoura (2016); Knox (2006); Kokkranikal, Yang, Powell, and Booth (2016); Le and Pearce (2011); Lemelin et al. (2013); MacCarthy and Wilson (2015); MacCarthy (2016); Miles (2014); Murphy (2015); Muzani et al. (2007); Naef (2014); Nagle (2012); Osaldiston and Petray (2011); Seaton (1999, 2000); Schäfer (2016); Simone-Charteris, Boyd, and Burns (2013); Skinner (2016); Slade (2003); Volcic, Erjavec, and Peak (2014); Willard, Lade, and Frost (2013); Winter (2009, 2011a, b); Wu, Funck, and Hayashi (2014); Yink, Seyitogu, and Cakar (2016); Yoshida, Bui, and Lee (2016); Zhang, Yang, Zheng, and Zhang (2016); Zheng, Zhang, Zhang, and Qin (2017)
Sites associated with the Holocaust (including concentration camps, transit camps and Holocaust memorials)	17	Altar (2013); Beech (2000); Biran, Poria, and Oren (2011); Busby and Devereux (2015); Cohen (2011); Isaac and Cakmak (2014); Kaelber (2007); Keil (2005); Kidron (2013); Lennon and Foley (1999); Magee and Gilmore (2015); Miles (2002); Nawijn, Isaac, Gridnevskiy, and van Liempt (2015); Nawijn, Isaac, van Liempt, and Gridnevskiy (2016); Oren and Shani (2012); Podoshen and Hunt (2011); Thurnell-Read (2009)
Prisons/incarceration sites (including detention centres and prisoner of war camps)	13	Barton and Brown (2012); Best (2007); Brook (2009); Casella and Fennelly (2016); Dehoome and Joffiffe (2013); Gould (2014); Kang and Lee (2013); Levey (2014); Preece and Price (2005); Strange and Kempa (2003); Walby and Piche (2011); Wilson (2004); Wilson (2008)
Genocide sites (in Bosnia, Rwanda and Cambodia)	11	Beech (2009); Friedrich and Johnston (2013); Hohenhaus (2013); Hughes (2008); Isaac and Cakmak (2016); Koleth (2014); Lennon (2009); Moffat (2012); Simic (2009); Son (2014a); Sharpley (2012)
Places associated with slavery and the Atlantic Slave Trade (in West Africa, the USA and Europe)	11	Austin (2002); Beech (2001); Dann and Potter (2001); Dann and Seaton (2001); Forsdick (2014); Jamal and Lelo (2011); Lelo and Jamal (2013); Mowatt and Chancellor (2011); Rice (2009); Seaton (2001); Yankhimes and Mckencher (2015a); Buda (2015a, b); Buda and McIntosh (2013); Buda and Shim (2015); Buda, d’Hautserre, and Johnston (2014); Connell (2017); Hepburn (2012); Isaac (2014); Isaac and Ashworth (2011); Mansfeld and Korman (2015); Warner (1999)
Contemporary conflict zones/dangerous places	11	Biran, Liu, Li, and Eichhorn (2014); Pezzullo (2009); Rittichainuwat (2008); Robbie (2008); Ryan and Kohli (2006); Smith and Croy (2005); Wright and Sharpley (2016); Yan, Zhang, Zhang, Lu, and Guo (2016)
Sites of natural disasters	8	Brown (2016); Lewis (2013); Leevit (2012); Raine (2013); Seaton (2002); Seaton et al. (2015); Toussaint and Decrop (2013); Frew (2012); Gibson (2006); González-Tennant (2013); Kim and Butler (2015); Morales (2013); Rofe (2013)
Cemeteries/burial sites (excluding war cemeteries)	7	Frank (2016); Light (2000a, b); McKenzie (2013)
Sites of individual/mass murder (in a non-war context)	6	Potts (2012); Sather-Wagstaff (2011); Stone (2012a); Gauthier and Brunsden (2011); Stone (2013b); Yankovska and Hannam (2014); Best (2013); Foley and Lennon (1996)
Communism in East-Central Europe and its legacy	4	Rest (2013); Foley and Lennon (1996)
Ground Zero, New York	3	García (2012); Heidelberg (2014)
Chernobyl	3	Goulding, Saren, and Lindridge (2013); Stone (2011b)
Sites of the death of famous people	2	Powell and Lankova (2016); Stone (2009c)
Ghost tours/walks	2	Bitner (2011); Dalton (2014); Heusermann and Chhabra (2014); Krisjanous (2016); Knudsen (2011); Lennon (2010); Lennon and Foley (2000); Podoshen, Venkatesh, Wallin, Andzejewski, and Jin (2015); Tinson, Saren, and Roth (2015); White (2013); Weight and Lennon (2007)
‘Body Worlds’ exhibitions	2	Cooke (2012); Coughlin (2014); Freeman (2014); Kang, Scott, Lee, and Ballantyne (2012); Korstanje (2011); Lee, Bendle, Yoon, and Kim (2012); Miller and Gonzalez (2013); Podoshen (2013); Powell and Kennell (2016); Sharma (2014)
Entertainment-based dark tourism sites	2	
Multiple types of site	11	
Other types of site (each the focus of a single study)	10	

Note: Includes only studies that have engaged (even if critically) with dark tourism/thanatourism as explanatory frameworks. Includes some papers published online in 2015/2016.

Source: Adapted from Light (2017)

According to the table, sites associated with war or conflict is the most studied type of dark tourism sites, which has a relatively large number of studies (~28% of all listed studies). Most of the topic of sites studied are directly related to tragedies and death, except ‘Body worlds’, ‘Ghost tours/walks’ and entertainment-based dark tourism sites.

Therefore, we can indicate that ‘darker’ sites (Stone, 2006) are more popular to study between 1996-2016.

In conclusion, dark tourism can be presented in different forms with huge differences, the division factor can be the topic of the site (Light, 2017), the ‘darkness’ of the site (Stone, 2006) and the nature of the site (Dann, 2006; cited in Sharpley & Stone, 2009). The motivation of visiting different type of sites may be different, and this article will mainly focus on the ‘darker’ sites (Stone, 2006) (i.e. genocide, war, natural disasters) as most of the literature reviewed and survey responses (will be discussed later in 3.2: result of the survey) are related to these topics.

2.4 Motivation of dark tourism

2.4.1 Motivative factors

After understanding the framework of dark tourism, which is the supply side, this chapter will focus on the demand side of dark tourism. The motivative factor should be defined first in order to investigate which factors are the most important to motivate tourists to visit sites. The inventor of the term ‘dark tourism’, Foley & Lennon (1997: 155, cited in Dunkley, 2011; Light, 2017) suggested that the main motivation of thanatourists (Synonym of dark tourist) visiting sites are education, remembrance and entertainment. Dunkley (2007, cited in Dunkley et al., 2011:861) identified the motivation of thanatourism into different categories: compassion, empathy, self-discovery, interest, validation, authenticity, curiosity and pilgrimage. Yan et al. (2016) had created a conceptual model for their research of motivations of visitors visiting the earthquake ruins in south-western China, which motivations consists of leisure, curiosity and emotional. Kang et al. (2012) state three main reasons for tourists visiting the April 3rd memorial park in Korea, which are Learning and obligation, Social reasons, curiosity and Educational program. In Isaac & Cakmak’s (2013) research on the motivation of visiting the Westerbork transit camp in the Netherlands, they stated the factors below: understanding, curiosity, conscience, a ‘must-see’ place, and exclusiveness.

A detailed explanation of dark tourism motives can be found in Ashworth's (2004) research, which pointed out four main motives for tourists to visit a place of atrocity, which are curiosity, empathy, identity and horror, curiosity is satisfied by the uniqueness and unusual of the dark tourism sites, 'disaster tourism' is suggested by Ashworth to explain the phenomenon of accidents, disasters and calamities attracting attention of media and spectators, in a greater extent, some sports and circus activities may attract audiences as there is a possibility of disaster happen. The identity motivation can be understood as finding 'roots' at dark tourism sites, which visitors tend to seek self-understanding and self-identity (personal or family-link), meanwhile paying respect to those victims the visitors think they are linked to (Ashworth, 2004). Horror motivation can be seen as seeking extraordinary feelings by visiting a site of horror, suffering and death, even it sounds outrageous and repulsive to get entertained by other person's suffering, Ashworth (2004) suggest it is not a new phenomenon, Roman gladiator and chamber of horrors by Madame Tussaud have been used as examples (Similar examples can be found in chapter 2.2 'dark tourism in the past' in this article), lighter and social acceptable examples of mixture of fear and fascination can be found in literature, arts, movies and other creative works. Empathy as a motivation to visit dark tourism sites can be found in many researches, Ashworth (2004) suggests the empathy of visitors relies on how much they feel themselves related to the atrocity and it will be easier for visitors to obtain empathy if the victims of the tragedy were named and personified.

According to the literature review above, curiosity, empathy, education, and leisure can be considered as common factors discovered as many of the works of literature had mentioned them. A motivative factor can be constituted by more than one motivation, in Isaac & Cakmak's (2013:173) research, 'commemorate the victims', 'understand own country's history' and 'want to tell the story to next-generation' have been inducted to a single 'self-understanding' factor. In another extent, the composition and definition of motivative factors are not always the same. For instance, Yan et al. (2016) put 'obligation to understand the influence of an earthquake' as a part of the 'emotion' factor of visiting the earthquake ruins in China, meanwhile Kang et al. (2016) considered obligation as an independent factor. Understanding the common motivative factors may aid the design of the questionnaire, as investigating the motivations of visiting dark tourism sites is an important part of the survey.

2.4.2 Valuation of motivation factors

After understanding the motivative factors, the next paragraph will focus on the motivation of dark tourism, in other words, which motivative factors are most significant and important to guide visitors to visit dark tourism sites. This part of the literature review tends to assist the research of the first research question. Isaac and Cakmak (2013) did a questionnaire on the motivation on tourists visiting the Westerbork transit camp, in the 1-7 scale, they found that visitors usually put a very high score in the statement ‘I visited Westerbork because such a horrific occurrence may never happen again’ (Isaac & Cakmak, 2013: 171). The mean of this statement is 6.43, which indicates that empathy is an important factor to motivate visitors visiting the site. There are several statements that reach over 5.5 mean score, ‘understand what happened there’ and ‘curious what happened there’ got 5.76 and 5.63 mean score respectively, which represents ‘curiosity’, ‘this is the place where it really happened’ (Isaac & Cakmak, 2013: 171) got a mean score of 5.55, which means the site is a ‘must see’ place for visitors. Additionally, having friends or family died in the holocaust is the least popular motivation, which only got a mean score of 1.83 (Isaac & Cakmak, 2013).

In Kang et al.’s (2016) research for the motivation of visitors visiting the April 3rd park in South Korea, which commemorates the massacre by South Korean government, they used a similar method to compare the motivations. Survey participants were asked if they agree with certain statements regarding to their reasons of visiting the site, by highest level of 5. According to their results, the statements ‘To learn something about the Jeju April 3rd incident’(Kang et al., 2016: 263), ‘Interested in Korean contemporary history’ (Kang et al., 2016: 263) and ‘Felt obligation to understand the Jeju April 3rd incident as a Jeju resident/Korean’ (Kang et al., 2016: 263) have the highest mean score, which were 4.29, 3.69 and 3.66 respectively. And ‘Personal or family involvement in the Jeju April 3rd incident’ (Kang et al., 2016: 263) were the least popular reason, which had a mean score of 1.63 (Kang et al., 2016). Comparing the two researches, the common ground is founded as having family or friends as victim is not a popular reason for visitors to visit those sites, which the statements related to this motivation have a far lower level of agreement than others. However, it can be speculated as the tragedies related to the

two sites were happened very long time ago. The holocaust happened in 1941, 72 years before Isaac & Cakmak's (2013) research, and the April 3rd incident happened in 1948, 68 years before Kang et al.'s (2016) research. The chance of visitors knowing any victims in the tragedy may decrease as the related events were too far away from now, around 2-3 generations before.

Bigley et al.'s (2010) research on visitor's motivation of visiting the Korean DMZ (Demilitarized Zone, the border between North and South Korea) is another interesting topic for reference, five motive factors were demonstrated in the research: Opposing Political Regime, Knowledge/Appreciation of History, Culture and Security, Curiosity/Adventure, War/Consequences and Nature-based Tourism (Bigley et al., 2010: 386). Curiosity/adventure and war/consequences motivation are quite similar with other literature reviewed, which visitors are curious in the Korean war and North-South relations, or are adventurous and seek excitement by visiting the DMZ, nature-based tourism motivation does not have a strong relation with the topic (dark tourism), as the visitors wanted to see the natural environment and animals near the DMZ (Bigley et al., 2010). Knowledge/Appreciation of History motivation can be classified into the educational motivation as visitors wanted to learn the history and story behind the DMZ and the Korean war, Opposing Political Regime motivation can be presented as visitors wanted to see North Korea, which is a mysterious and highly blockaded communist country (Bigley et al., 2010), which is a quite special motivation (unlike other case studies reviewed, the DMZ represents a tragedy still happening, which is the divide of the Korean peninsula).

As most of the literature reviewed focused on sites related to a specific event, Mowatt & Chancellor's (2011) case study focused on the slave castles in Ghana, which were being used as a transit point of slave traders and enslaved African people during the Atlantic slave trade in the 17th century. Their study finds that slave castles were visited by Africans and African Americans as a place to remember their ancestor's history, regardless of their nationality or place of residency (Mowatt & Chancellor, 2011). From the studies above, we can understand that not only nationalism can be a motivation of visiting dark tourism sites, also ethical identities such as 'Black People', people with national and ethical identities see each other as a group and visit dark tourism sites to learn more about their own group of people and strengthen their identity.

Apart from the motivations mentioned above, entertainment may also be a factor to drive tourists visiting dark tourism sites. Visiting a dark tourism site for entertainment purposes can be divided into two types, the first type is the dark tourism site was created or oriented for entertainment, or having a 'light' spectrum according to Stone's (2006) spectrum of dark tourism, a 'lighter' site associated with death indirectly and most of them are more entertainment-oriented than 'darker' sites. For example, tourism sites like 'Amsterdam dungeon' are related to history for torture and bleak but claimed themselves as 'scarily fun' and used an interactive and relaxed way to tell the dark history of the Netherlands (Amsterdam dungeon, 2020), London's dungeon attractions (similar with Amsterdam Dungeon) have been described as 'fun, fear and lighter side of dark tourism' (Stone, 2009; p. 167). The second type of visiting dark tourism sites for entertainment purpose is slightly different with the first type, Sharpley (2009) indicates that *Schadenfreude* (pleasure or satisfaction when bad things happened to someone else (Cambridge Dictionary, 2020) may be a driver for tourists to visit a dark tourism site, as dark tourism sites give an opportunity to gaze and passing by other person's tragedy. To a greater extent, the Roman nobles watching gladiatorial games and medieval civilians watching public executions (Sharpley & Stone, 2008) (Ashworth, 2004) can be seen as having a similar motivation.

Otherwise, Dann (1998, cited in Stone, 2008) identified influences of motives of why tourists got attracted to dark tourism sites: 'the fear of phantoms, search for novelty, nostalgia, celebration of crime or deviance, basic bloodlust and dicing with death.' (Stone, 2008:576) The fear of phantoms means the visitor wants to overcome their own fear by visiting dark tourism sites, which childhood fear had been put as an example. Dann's (1998, cited in Stone, 2008) suggestion of motivations are clearly distinctive from others, the curiosity motive in other literature (Yan et al., 2016) (Kang et al., 2012) (Dunkley et al., 2011) are mainly based on the curiosity in the event or the tragedy itself, meanwhile, some of the motives in Dann's article is based on the curiosity of death and violence, also finding excitement in these sites (search for novelty and nostalgia), a similar approach can be found in Ashworth's (2004) research, which had a close explanation of curiosity and horror motivation comparing to Dann's (Details can be found in last sub-chapter, 2.4.1).

2.4.3 Linking to the survey

As a survey will be conducted to further investigate the motivation of dark tourism, it is essential to link the literature review with the questionnaire. The factors to visit dark tourism sites should be defined first, then the importance of the factors will be investigated by the questionnaire. Below is a list of factors and motives mentioned in the literature review above:

Table 4: Factors mentioned in former literature reviewed

Dunkley (2007)	compassion, empathy, self-discovery, interest, validation, authenticity, curiosity, pilgrimage
Foley & Lennon (1997)	education, remembrance, entertainment
Yan et al. (2016)	leisure, curiosity, emotional
Kang et al. (2012)	learning and obligation, social reasons, curiosity, educational program
Isaac & Cakmak (2013)	understanding, curiosity, conscience, a 'must-see' place, exclusiveness
Ashworth (2004)	curiosity, empathy, identity, horror
Mowat & Chancellor's (2011)	empathy, identity, finding family history
Dann (1998)	the fear of phantoms, search for novelty, nostalgia, celebration of crime or deviance, basic bloodlust, dicing with death
Sherpley (2009)	<i>Schadenfreude</i>
Bigley et al. (2010)	opposing political regime, knowledge/appreciation of history, culture and security, curiosity/adventure, war/consequences, nature-based tourism

After evaluating the factors and motives above, five most important factors have been considered, which are empathy, curiosity, educational, causal, and emotional. Some of the motives mentioned above will be combined into these five factors, for example, 'identity' can be combined into 'emotional' motivation by showing emotion on people from the same country or own country's history, 'leisure' or motivations like 'must-see place' can be combined into 'causal' motivation as those motivations are not that serious. More factors may get investigated and discovered as there will be qualitative questions in the survey to ask for additional motives or reasons to visit a dark tourism site. Details of the factors and what is included in each factor will be further demonstrated in the next part of the article (3.2: design of the survey).

2.5 Experience of dark tourism

The experience of the visitor's visit of the site is strongly related to the motivation (Yan et al., 2016), (Kang et al., 2012), (Khalil & Cakmak, 2013). Sharpley & Stone (2009) argues that dark tourism experience may give the tourist meaning of social existence. Yan et al. (2016) suggest there is a model between motivation and experience. They made hypotheses which indicate positive relations between motivations (educational, leisure, curiosity, emotional) to visit a dark tourism site in China (the Beichuan earthquake relics) and corresponding experiences (moral, educational, knowledge, personal). After a survey which about 300 people involved, about half of their hypotheses were not rejected. Kang et al. (2012) did research on the motivation and experience of visitors visiting the Jeju April 3rd park, they identified four levels (Reasons to visit the park, the park's setting, visitor's experience and benefit gained after the visit) of a benefit-based approach, and held interviews on the visitors of the park, after the research they argued that the results 'indicate that visitor affective experiences were significantly associated with the benefits gained' (Kang et al., 2012; 261).

The experience of visitors visiting dark tourism sites can be parallel with certain motivations to visit, as Sherpley (2009) indicates that *schadenfreude* is a motivation to visit dark tourism sites, Seaton & Lennon (2004, cited in Yan et al., 2016) suggested that *schadenfreude* is engaged as an emotional experience when visiting such sites, in this context, the word has a slightly different meaning, which means the visitor feels lucky that they do not need to face those tragedies and misfortune.

Similar motivation can be found in Yan et al.'s (2016) research in an earthquake site in China, which they define such experiences as 'personal experience': the visitor feels fortunate as him/herself or friends and relatives have no personal involvement in the earthquake or appreciative of today's quality of life.

Although the experiences of visiting dark tourism sites are related to the motivation (as mentioned above), there are cases that the experience or benefits gained from the site did not within expectation (did not meet the motivation. For example, Kang et al.'s (2012) research on the motivation and experience of visitors visiting the Jeju April 3rd Peace Park indicates that compulsory field trips did not greatly arouse the participant's learning and emotional experiences (which are the main purpose of these kinds of trips). Yan et al. (2016) suggest that field trips held by schools and establishments did not significantly generate educational experiences, even if educational purpose is the most important reason to visit the site (educational purposes are composed by those 'field trip' and people who wants to experience a 'meaningful day' with their family and friends). Similarly, Foley & Lennon (1999, cited in Yan et al., 2016) suggest that educational purpose to visit dark tourism sites did not work great as it is hard to create a violent and inconceivable perception. In other words, studies have indicated that compulsory educational purpose (motivation) to visit dark tourism sites did not have a great result and normally unable to reach the objective of the program.

In the survey, there will be a part to ask the experience of the respondents after their visit to their most impressed dark tourism site. Their level of emotions like *anger*, *sadness* and *shocked* will be asked to see if the emotions are common in visitors to certain sites. A question regarding the relationship between their motivation and experience to visit and after visiting the site will be asked (i.e. if the site satisfied the motivation of their visit), the purpose of the question is to investigate if the relationship between motivation and experience is significant or not. Qualitative question regarding what they leant from the visit and what the site should improve will also be asked.

3. Methodology

To further investigate the factor(s) to influence the motivation of dark tourism, primary data will be collected by a survey. The aim of a survey is ‘identifying a specific group or category of people and collecting information from some of them in order to gain insight into what the entire group does or thinks’ (Leeuw, Hox & Dillman, 2008, p.1). The survey will be conducted by two different sampling methods, which is unrestricted self-selected web surveys and randomly addressed person. Unrestricted self-selected web surveys, which use open invitations on websites and social media groups, this method obtains respondents which do not represent any population and it is due to self-selection (Manfreda & Vehovar, 2008). Paper surveys had been distributed by randomly addressed person method majorly in university and student dormitories.

3.1 The survey

3.1.1 Design of the survey

In the first part, background questions of the respondents will be asked. Consist of their age, gender, education level, place of origin and religion. Respondents will also be asked if they have any experience of visiting dark tourism sites. The purpose of the survey’s first part is to collect the background information of the respondents, the data will be used for answering the second research question. In the second part, the questions will be designed on a Likert scale, which means respondents will be asked if they agree or disagree with some statements regarding their motivation to visit the dark tourism site. For example:

‘I visited the site because I want to know more about what happened there’

(1 (Strongly disagree), 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 (Strongly agree))

By answering agree-disagree questions, the respondent needs to figure out if their feelings are close to the statement (agree), or far from the statement (disagree) (Fowler, 2014). The purpose of the second part of the survey is to investigate the relative importance of different motives when visitors decided to visit dark tourism

sites, the data will be used to answer the first and second research question. For the first question, the mean, median and standard deviation of each motive will be calculated, in order to compare the importance of each motive. For the second question, statistics of different background groups will be compared for the purpose of investigating if the background of the respondent is a determining factor of the motivation of visitors visiting dark tourism sites.

In the third part of the questionnaire, respondents' experience of visiting the dark tourism sites will be asked. The format of the questions will be similar to the second parts', with a Likert scale rating the respondent's agreement of statements. Experiences include their feelings when visiting the site, their sanctification of the site and what they get after their visit. The experience after visiting dark tourism sites are not greatly linked to the research questions, it will still be listed out and analyzed as 'experiencing' can be an important and significant part of dark tourism visiting.

3.1.2 Motivation questions

Referring to the literature review part, the motivations of dark tourism sites from former literature had been concluded into five major categories including empathy, curiosity, educational, causal, and emotional. The motivation questions in the second part of the questionnaire will be based on these five categories, 11 questions had been designed to include all these motivations. Empathy means the visitor felt sad and compassion on the victims in the tragedy, curiosity means the visitor was curious about the event and history behind the site, educational means the visitor was involved in an educational program or wanted to educate others in their visit, causal means the visitor was visiting the site with causal reason (just like a normal tourist), emotional means the visitor visit the site due to related person, people from the same country or their nation as victims of the tragedy.

The motivation categories were based on the common motivations found in the literature review (listed in Table. 4), the design of questions referenced former researchers' surveys (Kang et al., 2012) (Yan et al., 2016) (Isaac & Cakmak, 2013), especially emotional and curiosity questions.

3.1.3 Data collection

As mentioned above, the survey will be distributed by unrestricted web-survey and randomly addressed person sampling. The survey had been put online and people who interested can respond to the questionnaire, snowball sampling is also involved as the respondents are encouraged to distribute the survey to other people they know and expand the sample size. Randomly addressed person sampling had been conducted majorly in universities (MODUL University Vienna, WU Wien) and student dormitory (Haus Panorama), the choice of distributing questionnaires in such places is due to most of the students have a good command in English and the sample size may be more diverse in origin. Distributing the questionnaire in other places were attempted, and most of the people who answered are young people, makes the age of the respondents excessively young.

The survey had been distributed online by social media such as WhatsApp and Facebook with snowball sampling, when someone agrees to complete the questionnaire and become respondent of the survey, he/she will be encouraged to further share the questionnaire to people they know. The survey had also been put on Swapsurvey, a website allowing its users to complete surveys for each other. The website does not have many active users, the assumption is based on the amount of outdated surveys on the website (around 50% of the surveys were outdated on the site as do not receive any new responses) and the frequency of getting new responses for the survey (around 1-2 days to get a new response), therefore, not many responses were received from this website. However, comparing to the copies distributed in real life or social media, the copies collected from Swapsurvey are more completed, as most of the qualitative questions were answered more detailly and most of the non-required questions were completed.

Regarding to the copies distributed in real life, the copies were mainly distributed in MODUL university Vienna (MU) and Vienna University of Economics and Business (WU Wien), students were randomly accessed by simply asking if they are interested to be participated in a survey, more responses were received from MU than WU, as in MU the surveyor (the author of this article) distributed the survey in the university building and students are more likely to participate when they were seated down and have nothing to do. Meanwhile, the respondents from WU were mostly accessed in the open are of the university, as students were walking by and many of them may not

agree to spend around 5 to 10 minutes for a survey. The copies were also distributed in student dormitory mostly at the lobby area, the sampling method was similar with the copies distributed in universities, with randomly accessed person.

The result of the survey shows that most of the respondents have an European and Asian identity, it is understandable as American (North and South), African and Oceanian students are not very common in Vienna comparing to students from other European countries, meanwhile in MU the Asian students population is large. By observation, most of the respondents from MU and student dormitory are Eastern Europeans and Asians, and respondents from WU are mostly Western Europeans (mainly Austrians).

3.1.4 Limitation

The limitations may be obstacle to reach more accurate results and sample size. Snowball sampling may make the sample similar as the respondents are somehow related to each other (Creswell, 2014), for example, the origin of the respondents may be similar when the respondent passed the survey to his/her friend, which have a considerable chance coming from the same region. Another limitation of the data collection is the lack of elder or high age people. One of the main disadvantage of conducting web surveys is the respondents will be limited to only internet users (Folwer, 2014), as many elder people do not use the internet, it will be difficult to reach the age group by internet surveys.

Regarding the copies distributed in universities and dormitories, the limitation of distributing copies in such places will be the pool of respondents will be limited to majorly students (and employees). The reason of choosing these places to distribute questionnaires had been mentioned above, the best way to achieve a pool of respondents equally distributed by origin and age is to distribute it in different cities and places, or even translate the questionnaire to different language to include non-English speakers to the survey, unfortunately due to lack of funds and time it is not possible to do so.

3.2 Result of the survey

During the survey conduction, 105 surveys were sent back. 82.9% of the respondents are young adults who are over 18 and below 25 years old, the result is due to the sampling method and location to pick respondents. The origin of respondents are not very equally distributed, as 40% of the respondents have an 'Asian' identity, and 55.3% of the respondents have 'European' identity (26.7% of the respondents are from 'Western Europe' and 28.6% are from 'Eastern Europe', the definition of 'Eastern Europe' is considerate as the former communist regimes before the end of the cold war.). 1% of the respondents have a 'South American' identity, 'North American' and 'African' both have 1.9% identity. The comparison between motivations of respondents will be mainly focused on comparing the respond of 'Asian', 'East European' and 'West European' respondents. For the 'religion' session, 51.5% of the respondents indicate that they do not have a religious confession. 35.2% of the respondents are Christians (all denominations included), 5.7% are Muslims, 2.9% are Buddhists, 1.9 % are Hindu, 1.9% prefer not to say and 1% are Agnostic. A comparison of motivations between religious and non-religious respondents will be held.

In the first part of the survey, respondents were asked to fill in the dark tourism sites they have visited, the most popular theme of dark tourism is the holocaust, which 39.2% (40 out of 102) of the responses are related to. Tyranny related sites (Sites regarding authoritarian governments oppressing dissidents, for example, House of Terror in Budapest) (excluding holocaust) are relatively popular to other themes, which 14.7% (15 out of 102) of the response are related to.

4. Data Analysis

The purpose of this chapter is to analyze the data obtained from the survey, in order to answer the research questions stated in the first chapter (1.1 Aim of the research). For the first research question, the variables from the questionnaire responses will be compared to see which motivation(s) are the most important to direct the visitors to visit a dark tourism site. Additionally, a Friedman test will be running on the variables to see if any for the motivation(s) are significantly important comparing with the other ones. For the second research question, statistical tests (mostly t-tests and Mann-Whitney U tests) will be running on certain combinations of independent and dependent variables (etc. if there are significant difference between respondent's gender in their 'must-see' motivation to visit a dark tourism site.), in order to investigate if visitor's background is an important factor to determine the motivation to visit a dark tourism site.

4.1 General motivations of visitors visiting dark tourism sites

This chapter response the first research question: 'What is the main motivation(s) to direct visitors to visit a dark tourism site?'. To answer this question, the mean, median and standard deviation scores of the questions in the questionnaire will be analyzed. The mean, median and standard deviation of each motivation will be listed below:

Emotional:

After reviewing former literature, emotion as an important factor to drive visitors visiting a dark tourism site has been found (Kang et al., 2012) (Yan et al., 2016) (Mowatt & Chancellor, 2011). These emotions can be based on the family members, friends or other people they know as victims in the tragedy, the visitor's fellow countryman as victims or based on the emotion on own country's history.

Table 4: Emotional motivations according to the survey

Emotional	Mean	Median	SD
Emotion on compatriots	3.69	4	1.68
Emotion on people they know	2.87	3	1.62
Emotion on history	4.16	4	1.48

Empathy:

Empathic motivations are based on the visitor's compassion, the compassion can be based on the victims of the tragedy, hoping the history will not repeat itself or want to pay respect for the victims.

Table 5: Empathic motivations according to the survey

Empathy	Mean	Median	SD
Pay respect for the victims	4.33	4	1.43
Compassion on victims	4.07	4	1.38
Hope the history will not repeat	4.73	5	1.38

Curiosity:

This category includes the motivations based on curiosity, including curious about the event behind the site and curiosity triggered by movies, books or other works.

Table 6: Curiosity motivations according to the survey

Curiosity	Mean	Median	SD
Curiosity in the event	4.89	5	1.13
Works triggered curiosity	4.19	4	1.49

Causal:

This category includes the motivations to visit the site based on causal reasons, including the visit of the site is ‘must-see’, or it is very famous.

Table 7: Causal motivations according to the survey

Causal	Mean	Median	SD
Part of itinerary	3.67	4	1.57
Followed by popularity	3.77	4	1.54

Educational:

Education-related motivation means the visitors visited the site because their parents or school brought them there, or they brought their children there to tell them the story behind the site.

Table 8: Educational motivations according to the survey

Educational	Mean	Median	SD
Educational related (Parent, school)	3.75	4	1.72

Referencing the data above, a high score of ‘curiosity’ and ‘empathy’ can be seen, which are the only two groups having a mean score higher than 4 (curiosity: 4.54, empathy: 4.38), ‘emotional’ has the lowest mean score among all groups (mean score: 3.57). As most of the variables (except ‘Emotion on people they know’) have a mean and median score higher than 3.5, the importance of these motivations to visit a dark tourism site can be understood.

‘Curiosity in the event’ has a distinctive mean and median score (4.89 and 5, which are very high in a 1-6 score scale), which indicates that most of the visitors’ visit to dark tourism sites were motivated by their curiosity in the event behind the site, in other words, wanted to know more about the story. ‘Hope the history will not repeat’ also has a high mean and median score (4.73 and 5), which means most of the visitors’

visit to a dark tourism site motivates by they do not want the tragedy to happen again. A mistake that hoping the history will not repeat itself is closer to an experience of visiting dark tourism sites than a motivation need to be admitted, even though the original question is 'I visited the site (or will visit a site) because I hope a tragedy like this will not happen again'. 'Pay respect for the victims' is the third motivation with high mean and median (4.33 and 4).

'Emotion on people the visitors know' has a relatively very low score (2.87) comparing to other motivations, even with other motivations in the same 'emotional' group, similar motivation can be found in Isaac & Cakmak's (2013) and Kang et al.'s (2016) research, which the motivations in their research are 'having friends or family died in the holocaust' and 'Personal or family involvement in the Jeju April 3rd incident'. Comparing to the motivation researched above, 'Emotion on people the visitors know' already have a comparatively higher score, as 'friends or family died in holocaust' only reached a mean of 1.83 in a 1-7 scale, and 'personal or family involvement in the Korean incident' only have a mean of 1.63 in a 1-5 scale. In the literature review chapter, the low scores in the motivation above are due to corresponding tragedies happened in a very long time ago was discussed (Details in chapter 2.4.2 Valuation of motivation factors). In the list below, the dark tourism sites respondents mentioned with a high score (>4) in the question 'I visited the site (or will visit a site) because people I know were the victim of the tragedy' will be extracted and listed, together with the year the tragedy happened.

Table 9: Dark tourism sites with a high score in ‘Emotion on people the visitors know’

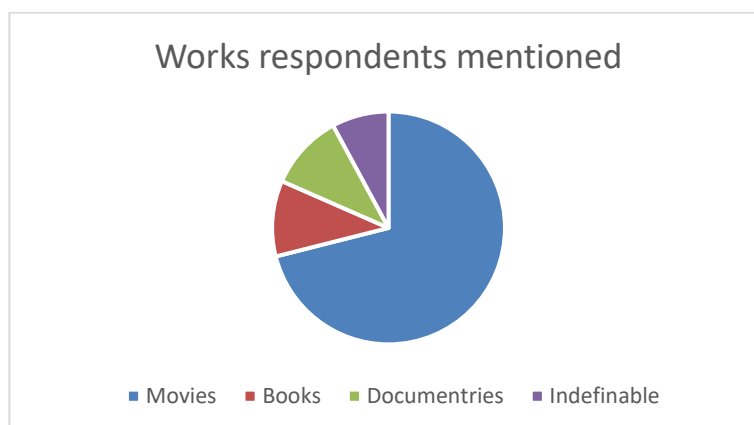
Dark tourism site	Score	Year	Less than 60 years before?
Places in Beijing and Nanjing	4	N/A	N/A
Nanking massacre	6	1937	No
Museum of the great patriotic war	4	1941-1945	No
Sites related to the Yugoslavian war	6	1991-2001	Yes
Spanish civil war museum	4	1936-1939	No
The Shoes on the Danube Bank in Budapest	4	1940-1989	Yes
Tiananmen Square	5	1989	Yes
Tsitsernakaberd (Armenia)	6	1914-1923	No
Verdun (France)	5	1916	No
Anne Frank House	4	1941-1945 (Holocaust)	No
Armenian genocide museum	6	1914-1923	No
Auschwitz concentration camp	6	1941-1945	No
Concentration camp Krakau (Plaszow)	4	1941-1945	No
House of Terror museum	5	1940-1989	Yes
Mauthausen	5	1938-1945	No

According to the list above, certain tragedies of most of the dark tourism sites with a high score of ‘Emotion on people the visitors know’ does not happen in a short time ago, meanwhile all the tragedies happened in the 20th century. It may prove the

speculate in the literature review chapter is not fully true, as most of the tragedies happened more than 60 years ago (2-3 generations from now), but less than 100 years ago.

‘Works triggered curiosity’ has a mean and median of 4.19 and 4, a total of 38 works were mentioned by the respondents. 27 movies, 4 books and 4 documentaries were mentioned and 3 responds are unsearchable or cannot be defined. As a result, it can be proven that movies, documentaries and books can trigger visitors’ curiosity to visit dark tourism sites, especially movies as it occupies near three-quarters of the total works mentioned, most of the movies are World War II and holocaust related movies, for example, Grave of the Fireflies, The Boy in the Striped Pajamas and Schindler’s List.

Table 10: Dark tourism sites with a high score in ‘Emotion on people the visitors know



In order to further investigate the difference of the motivation variables and if the variables with highest mean and median are differently large, a statistical test will be conducted to see whether motivations are significantly larger than others. As the data is non-parametric and related, the Friedman test will be the best to conduct. Below is the result of a Friedman test comparing the response from the 11 motivation variables (etc. curiosity in the event, part of itinerary) from the questionnaire:

Table 11: Friedman test of the motivation variables

Ranks		
	Mean Rank	
A	7.74	A= Curiosity in the event ^{4,1}
B	5.44	B= Emotion on compatriots ^{4,1}
C	3.92	C= Emotion on people they know ^{4,1}
D	6.34	D= Emotion on history ^{4,1}
E	6.60	E= Pay respect for the victims ^{4,1}
F	6.34	F= Works triggered curiosity ^{4,1}
G	5.84	G= Compassion on victims ^{4,1}
H	7.53	H= Hope the history will not repeat ^{4,1}
I	5.21	I= Part of itinerary ^{4,1}
J	5.53	J= Followed by popularity ^{4,1}
K	5.50	K= Educational related ^{4,1}

The sort of the mean rank of the variables is similar with the mean score of the variables, with A (Curiosity in the event) as the highest, H (Hope the history will not repeat as second and E (Pay respect for the victims) as the third. For further understand the differences between variables, the p-value will be referenced.

The result shows that the p-value is >0.001 , which can be understood as there is a significant difference between different groups. In conclusion, there is a high possibility that the motivation variables with the highest mean (etc. A, H & E) are differently stronger than others.

4.2 Relations between motivations

After understanding the general motivations of visitors visiting dark tourism sites, the relation between different motivations will be investigated in this chapter. The combinations of the motivations which may be interesting will be chosen (etc. Emotion on history-Emotion on compatriots), the correlation value will be calculated to see if there is a relationship.

Emotion on compatriots-Pay respect for the victims

This combination was chosen as it may be interesting to see if there is a relationship for paying respect to the victims with people from the same country as victims of the tragedy. A positive correlation is expected as the stronger the feeling that compatriots suffered from the tragedy, more respect the respondents wanted to pay.

The value shows a weak positive correlation ($r = 0.22$, $p = 0.025$), which means that there is a significant weak linear relationship between two variables.

Part of itinerary-Followed by popularity

The two causal motivations were chosen to investigate the relationship between the perceived 'popularity' of dark tourism sites and if it is a 'must-see' site for them. A positive correlation was expected as more the respondents think the site is 'popular', more they think it is 'must-see'.

The value shows a medium positive correlation ($r = 0.5$, $p = <0.001$), which means that there is a significant medium linear relationship between two variables.

Curiosity in the event-Compassion on victims

The relationship between compassion and curiosity may be investigated, in other words, will the respondents feel sad for the victims when we are curious in the event behind the dark tourism site.

The value shows a weak positive correlation ($r = 0.18$, $p = 0.062$), which means that there is a non-significant weak linear relationship between two variables.

Compassion on victims-Works related curiosity

The combination of compassion on victims with works related curiosity has been chosen, to investigate if the works like movie or books can build up respondents' compassion on victims.

The value shows a weak positive correlation ($r = 0.28$, $p = 0.003$), which means that there is a significant weak linear relationship between two variables.

Emotion on history-Emotion on compatriots

The relationship between the respondents' emotion on compatriots as victims and their emotion on their own country's history may be interesting to investigate. A positive correlation is expected, in other words, if a respondent has people from the same country suffer from the tragedy, the more he/she may think the tragedy is an important part of his/her country's history.

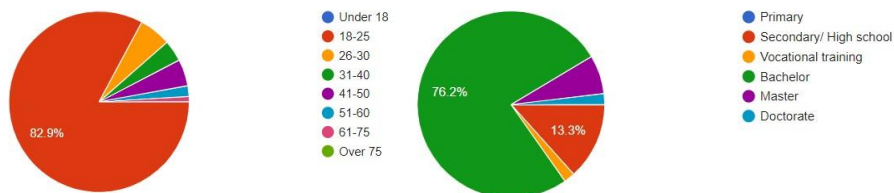
The value shows a medium positive correlation ($r = 0.59$, $p = <0.001$), which means that there is a significant medium linear relationship between two variables.

4.3 Visitors' background and motivation

The second research question will be answered in this chapter. In the first part of the chapter, the respondents' background information had been collected, including where are they from (origin), age, gender, education level and religion.

To answer the second research question, statistical tests (mainly t-tests or Mann-Whitney U test) will be conducted to investigate the significance between the motivation variables between different background groups of respondents. For example, if there is a significant difference in 'Curiosity in event' between male and female respondents. The comparison will mainly be focused on gender, origin and religion groups, as many response were collected from universities and student dormitories, respondents' age and education level were not averagely distributed.

Table 12: Distribution of respondents' age and educational level



Regarding the charts above, 18-25 age and people having a bachelor's degree or doing a bachelor's degree both occupies more than 75% of the total respondents.

The choose of dependent variables (motivation variables) will be referenced by the standard deviation mentioned in table 1.4-1.8. As standard deviation shows the data's spread out level, motivation variables with a higher standard deviation may have a higher chance of having a significant difference between groups.

Additionally, apart from quantitative data, qualitative data about the respondents' motivation to visit dark tourism sites had been collected, the reason of collecting qualitative data is to see if there are any motivations other than the 11 questions asked. Around half (51%) of the respondents had given a qualitative answer. Most of the motivations the respondents mentioned can be grouped into the five main categories

of motivation, some of the answers are difficult to be classified, for example ‘recommended by friend’ or ‘finding excitement’, which are between ‘curiosity’ and ‘causal’.

4.3.1 Gender

Firstly, the data on different gender groups will be analyzed. In below, the mean of the motivation variables of male and female will be calculated, motives expected to have significant differences will be tested in order to investigate if there is a significant difference between variables of different gender groups, the data will be listed below:

Table 13: Test of differences regarding respondents’ gender.

Motivation variables	Female mean (N=62)	Male Mean (N=43)	P-value	Significant differences?
Emotion on compatriots	3.85	3.44	0.218	No
Works triggered curiosity	4.50	3.74	0.013	Yes
Educational related	4.03	3.34	0.050	Yes

According to the table above, the female’s mean of motivation variables is higher than the male’s in most of the comparisons, regarding the Type I error inflation, Bonferroni correction will be considered, the comparisons will only be considered having significant difference when the p-value is lower than 0.016. In the test, the p-value is >0.016 in most of the tests except ‘Works triggered curiosity’, which means there is a significant difference between female and male respondents. Meanwhile, in comparison, the mean of female respondents are far higher than the male’s mean score, indicating that female respondents are more likely to motivated by works to visit a dark tourism site.

Accepted hypotheses:

There is a significant difference in works triggered curiosity between male and female respondents.

4.3.2 Religion

Next, the same test will be held on religious groups, as the religions of respondents are not equally distributed, the comparison will be focused on comparing respondents' having a religion and without religion. The 'prefer not to say' respondents will be excluded and the Agnostic respondent will be seen as non-religious. The Bonferroni correction will still be applied. The results will be listed below:

Table 14: Test of differences regarding respondents' religious confession'

Motivation variables	Non-religious mean (N=55)	Religious mean (N=48)	P-value	Significant differences?
Emotion on compatriots	3.51	3.92	0.224	No
Emotion on history	4.09	4.29	0.497	No
Part of itinery	3.80	3.50	0.341	No

According to the list above, no combination of motivation variables and religious/non-religious respondents have a p-value under 0.016, which means there are no differences between religious and non-religious respondents in all the motivation variables.

Accepted hypothesis:

There are no significant differences in all the motivation between religious and non-religious respondents.

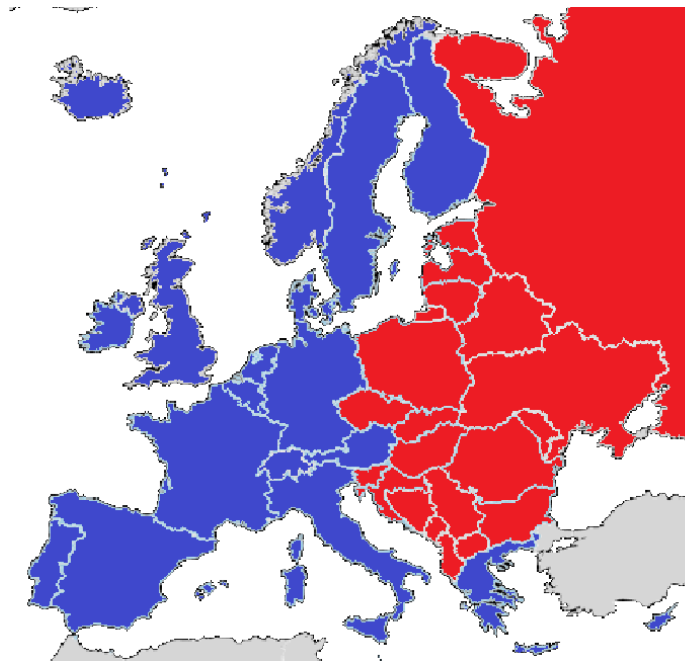
4.3.3 Origin (1)

Lastly, the comparison will be held on respondents' origin. As most of the respondents come from Asia and Europe, meanwhile respondents from the rest of the world occupy less than 5% combined, the tests will be focused on Asians and Europeans.

East-West Europe

The tests will be firstly focused on comparing respondents from Eastern and Western Europe, Eastern Europe had been defined as former communist countries, a map showing which countries are defined 'Western' or 'Eastern' will be showed below, which Western Europe will be painted in blue and Eastern Europe will be painted in red.

Image 1: Map of Europe showing Eastern and Western



Note: This map was self-colored, the original map was extracted from Wikimedia Commons and labeled for reuse.

The test results are listed below:

Table 15: Test of differences regarding respondents' origin-East/West Europe

Motivation variables	E Europe (N=30)	W Europe (N=28)	P-value	Significant differences?
Emotion on compatriots	4.30	3.36	0.075	No
Compassion on victims	3.83	4.29	0.170	No
Part of itinerary	3.17	3.86	0.106	No
Followed by popularity	2.93	3.85	0.023	No
Educational related	3.43	4.39	0.035	No

According to the list above, no combination of motivation variables and Eastern/Western European respondents have a p-value under 0.01, which means there are no differences between Eastern and Western European respondents in all the motivation variables.

Accepted hypotheses:

There are no significant differences in all the motivation between Eastern and Western European respondents

4.3.4 Origin (2)

After investigating the significant difference between Eastern and Western European respondents on their motivation, the comparison will be focused on Asians and Europeans.

The test results will be listed below:

Table 16: Test of differences regarding respondents' origin-Asian/European

Motivation variables	Asian (N=42)	European (N=58)	P-value	Significant differences?
Emotion on history	3.74	4.45	0.019	No
Followed by popularity	4.29	3.38	0.004	Yes

According to the list above, the p-value is under 0.025 in the motivation ‘Followed by popularity’ and ‘Emotion on history’, indicates a significant difference in these three motivations between Asian and European respondents.

Accepted hypotheses:

There is a significant difference in followed by popularity between Asian and European respondents.

There is a significant difference in emotion on history between Asian and European respondents.

4.4 Experience of visiting dark tourism sites

The experience of dark tourism had been researched by many researchers (Yan et al., 2016), (Kang et al., 2012), (Khalil & Cakmak, 2013), (Sherpley & Stone, 2009) (Details in 2.5 Experience of dark tourism). In this chapter, the response data from the third part of the questionnaire will be analyzed, in order to investigate the common experience of the visitors after their visit to dark tourism sites and what can the sites improve or add for providing better experiences.

The emotions of the visitors after visiting the sites had been asked, emotions are important in a visit of dark tourism sites as the benefits the visitors gained will be based on the emotion after their visit (Kang et al., 2012). *Anger, sadness* and *shocked* had been listed, the template of the questions is ‘did you feel _____ when visiting the site?’, the answers are listed below:

Table 17: Respondents' emotion according to the survey

Emotion	Mean	Median	SD
<i>Anger</i>	3.38	3	1.59
<i>Sadness</i>	4.84	5	1.25
<i>Shocked</i>	4.75	5	1.20

According to the data above, the mean and median of '*Sadness*' and '*Shocked*' are very high with both median of 5 and means near 5, the mean and median of '*Anger*' are comparatively low with a mean around 3.4 and a median of 3. The standard deviation of '*Anger*' is much higher than '*Sadness*' and '*Shocked*', which means the data are more spread out than the other two.

The relation between the *anger* of the visitors and if they have known people or fellow countryman as victims of the tragedy is an interesting topic to investigate. The respondents will be divided into two groups below, with the first group having a strong agreement of 'emotion on compatriots' and 'emotion on people they know' and the second group having a weak agreement, which 'strong' is defined as having a score of 4-6 and 'weak' is defined as 1-3. The mean and median of both groups will be listed below:

Table 18: Mean and median of the emotion of *anger* by groups with strong and weak agreement on 'emotion on compatriots'

	Mean	Median
Strong	4.05	4
Weak	3.34	4

According to the data above, a difference between mean and median of strong and weak groups of 'emotion on compatriots' can be seen, as there is a difference of 0.71 in the mean between two groups, which is quite high in a 6-score scale. For further

investigation in the difference, an independent sample t-test will be conducted on the data, the results are shown below:

Table 19: Independent samples t-test on groups with strong and weak agreement on ‘emotion on compatriots’

	P-Value
Equal variances assumed	0.042
Equal variances not assumed	0.046

According to the result above, the p-value of the data is 0.046 (An equal variance is not assumed), as the p-value is under 0.05, we can assume that there is a significant difference of the feeling of *anger* when visiting a dark tourism site between strong and weak respondent groups of ‘emotion on compatriots’. Afterwards, the same process will be done on the motivation ‘Emotion on people they know’, the mean and median are listed below:

Table 20: Mean and median of the emotion of *anger* by groups with strong and weak agreement on ‘emotion on people they know’

	Mean	Median
Strong	2.92	3
Weak	2.77	3

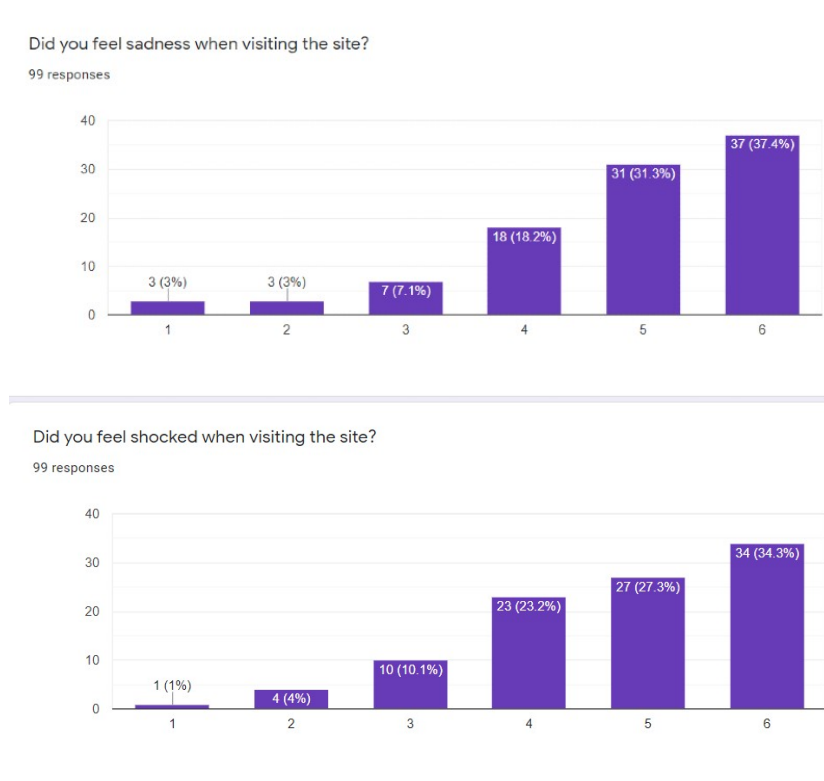
A great difference in mean and median does not exist with only a 0.15 difference in the mean, below the result of t-test will be shown:

Table 21: Independent samples t-test on groups with strong and weak agreement on ‘emotion on people they know’

	P-Value
Equal variances assumed	0.656
Equal variances not assumed	0.668

The p-value is 0.656 (an equal variance is assumed this time as the mean and median is similar between two groups), therefore no significant differences between the strong and weak group of ‘emotion on people they know’ in their *anger* when visiting the site can be assumed. As ‘*sadness*’ and ‘*shocked*’ are unequally distributed, similar tests will not be conducted on these two emotions.

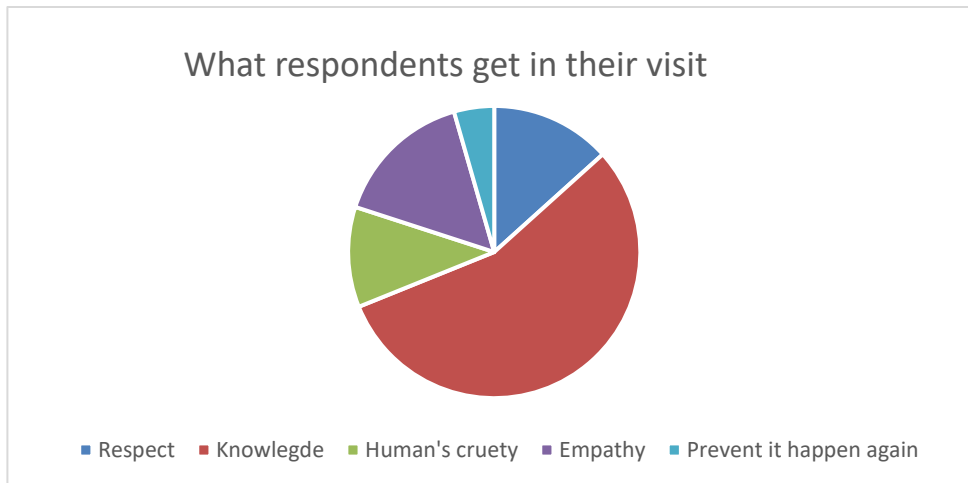
Table 22: Distribution of the ‘*sadness*’ and ‘*shocked*’ emotion of visitors when they visit the site.



For the purpose of better understand the respondents’ experience after visiting the site, two qualitative questions were asked. The first question is ‘what did you get from visiting the site?’, 41% of the respondents answered the question, many of the respondents answered more than one gain. The responses can be concluded in five major gains, ‘Knowledge’ means the respondent learnt history and gain knowledge about the event behind the site or knew more about his/her family and country, ‘Respect’ means the respondent learnt to respect the victims or understood that people should respect each other. ‘Human’s cruelty’ means the respondent understood, felt or disgusted by the cruelty of human being after visiting the site, ‘Empathy’ means the respondents learnt to pay empathy to the victims, and ‘Prevent it happen again means the respondent learnt that people should try their best to avoid the tragedy happen again. ‘Knowledge’ is the most common gain of the respondents which occupies

more than half of the total responses, 'Prevent it happen again' is the least common gain, meanwhile, the rest gains have similar proportion.

Table 23: Responses from 'what did you get from visiting the site?'



Another qualitative question was 'What do you think the site should add or improve?', the responses from this question may help dark tourism sites give better experiences and see if there is anything to improve. However, the question only got less than 10 replies (actually around 20, but some of the responses are not valid, etc. nothing, it's all good), which means most of the respondents are satisfied with their visit, which can explain the high score of other experience questions (shown below at Table 24). The suggestions include, age restrictions for children protection, add more languages, add more shuttle service, put more information like interview videos of the survived victims and less commercialize.

Some other questions regarding their visit to the dark tourism site were asked, including are they worried about present events in their country, if the dark tourism site satisfied their visit and will they recommend the site to others, the mean, median and standard deviation will be listed below:

Table 24: Mean, median and standard deviation of other experience questions

Statements	Mean	Median	SD
I worried about present events in my own country	3.67	4	1.55
My visit to the dark tourism site satisfies my motivation to visit the site	4.52	5	1.17
I would recommend the site to people I know after my visit	4.62	5	1.26

Differences in recommending the site and if the site satisfies motivations between different background groups will not be assumed. However, the difference in worrying about the present event in respondents' own country between different origin groups may be interesting, the t-test results will be shown below (parametric):

Table 25: Mean of 'worrying about the present events' for different groups of origin

	Mean
Asian	4.12
Eastern European	3.32
Western European	3.37

Table 26: T-test on the difference in worrying about the present events between different background groups.

Compare groups	p-value	Significant difference
East vs West European	0.912	No
Asian vs European	0.018	Yes

According to the results, the mean of Asian respondents' agreement of the statement is much higher than European respondents, there are no significant differences

between Eastern and Western Europeans, but a significant difference between Asians and Europeans (p-value <0.025 regarding Bonferroni correction).

4.5 Respondents’ personal opinion questions

In the fourth part of the questionnaire, personal opinion questions have been asked, the questions are not directly related to the motivation and experience of visiting dark tourism sites, but maybe interesting to ask. Three questions were asked in the part, which are ‘Do you think tourists should be in a very serious mood when visiting a dark tourism site?’, ‘Do you think human-caused tragedies (war, genocide) can be avoided?’ and ‘Do you think people should be loyal to their own nation or ethnicity?’. The first two questions are 1-6 scale questions, and the third one is a multiple-choice question, which respondents can choose between yes, no or particularly. The mean, median and standard deviation will be listed below:

Table 27: Mean of personal opinion questions

Question	Mean	Median	SD
1	4.5	5	1.19
2	4.58	5	1.43

Question 1= Do you think tourists should be in a very serious mood when visiting a dark tourism site?

Question 2= Do you think people should be loyal to their own nation or ethnicity?

According to the table above, the mean and median are relatively high, meanwhile, the standard deviation is not high, it can indicate that the data is left-skewed. Statistical test will not be conducted as significant differences between different background groups are not expected. Unlike the first two questions, the third question is a qualitative question, where respondents can choose between ‘No. not really’, ‘Particularly’ and ‘Yes, people should show some patriotism’. Most of the respondents chose ‘Particularly’ (51%), followed by ‘No. not really’ (26%), least people chose ‘Yes’ (23%). As the question is not a scale but a multiple-choice question, conducting a statistical test is not possible, the difference of choice in this

question between origin may be interesting, therefore the percentage of each group on each answer will be listed below:

Table 28: Percentage of origin groups choosing different choices

	Yes	Particularly	No
Asian	18%	62%	20%
Eastern Europe	44%	48%	8%
Western Europe	19%	48%	33%

According to the list, ‘particularly’ is the most chosen answer regardless of origin, Asian respondents do not have a strong tendency to be loyal to own country and ethnicity or not, Eastern Europeans more tend to be loyal to it and Western Europeans more tend to not be loyal to.

5. Discussion

The results of the data analysis chapter will be discussed in this chapter. In the literature review chapter, the motivations of dark tourism had been concluded into five categories (empathy, curiosity, educational, emotional, causal). The purpose of the first part of the questionnaire is to evaluate the five categories, to see which motivation(s) has higher importance than others. From the calculation of mean and median, the importance of curiosity and empathy as dark tourism motivations can be understood, which have a much higher mean and median result than other motivation groups. On a more specific level, 'curiosity in the event' and 'hope the history will not repeat' have a far higher mean and median than other motivations. The high score of curiosity is expected, as many dark tourism sites are informative, especially sites related to war and genocide. Works triggered curiosity and curiosity in the event can be related, as audiences of the works may understand the basics of the event from the work, then visit the site in person to gain more knowledge from the site. As mentioned in the data analysis chapter (Table 10), movies occupy more than 70% of the total works mentioned by respondents, it can be indicated that movies related to tragedies (etc. war, genocide) are more impressive and popular than books and documentaries. In a further extent, gaining information can be understood as a very important part when visiting dark tourism sites, as 'knowledge' occupies more than a half of the answers in the 'what do respondents get in their visit' question.

Three ways of 'Empathy' have been asked in the questionnaire, which are paying respect, compassion and hoping the history will not repeat again. The behaviour of paying empathy as a motivation to visit dark tourism sites can be widely seen in sites with memorial tendency, for example, visitors paying respect and presenting bouquets on each year's 11th of September at the World Trade Center site, USA. As empathy motivations having a high score in mean and median, a limitation may appear: the respondents may not express their true feeling on these statements, in other words, they may think it is not moral to say they do not have any empathy on the victims. For example, even if a respondent does not feel any sadness or compassion on the victims, he/she may not admit it.

Comparing to other groups of motivations, emotional motivations have a low score on mean and median. Emotional motivations had been divided into three parts in this research, which are on their own country's history, on compatriots and on people

respondents know. Similar to expectation, emotion on history has the highest mean, followed by on compatriots, than on people respondents know. It can be expected as it is not easy to have family or friends as victims in the tragedy. In the data analysis chapter, the sites with high respondents' agreement on having people they know as victims have been listed out (details in 4.1: General motivations of visitors visiting dark tourism sites), the related tragedy of most of the sites with high agreement on the statement did happen more than 60 years ago (26.7% happened in less than 60 years ago). As most of the respondents are young people (mostly 18-25), it seems there is a low chance that a friend of a young person suffered a tragedy happened more than 60 years ago, therefore, it may be speculated that the people respondents know as victims are mostly family members or ancestors.

Causal and educational motivations are medium popular, as having a 3.5 to 4.0 mean. Causal motivations as be understood as 'like a normal tourist', which treats the dark tourism site like other tourism sites. For example, the visitor may think the site is a must-see site in a city or country (etc. Auschwitz in Krakow), which can attract them to put it in their travel schedule. Or visitors may found the site very popular (etc. on the internet or by friends), they wanted to see it in person.

Educational motivation can be defined as any visits to dark tourism sites related to educational purposes, such as brought by parents or schools, or brought children to dark tourism sites to educate them. As most of the respondents are aged 18-25, having no children or the children are too small to be able to understand history like this will be assumed, therefore, it will be speculated that most of the 'educational motivations' from the respondents are brought by parents or schools. As many of the surveys (around 60%) were distributed in Vienna, the mean of education motivation may be higher than distributing in other places as schools in Vienna will organize school trips for their students visiting Mauthausen concentration camp in Upper Austria.

Regarding the impressed sites respondents mentioned in the questionnaire (details in 3.2: result of the survey), sites related to holocaust have very high popularity. Meanwhile, most of the sites mentioned by respondents are very 'dark' speaking to the spectrum of dark tourism (Stone, 2006), as most of the sites mentioned are strongly and directly related to death and the tragedies (the 'lightest' site will be war museums). The results may indicate that 'darker' sites will create more impression to the visitors than 'lighter' sites.

In chapter 4.2 (Relations between motivations), the correlation between different sets of motivations had been investigated. The results show that some combinations of motivations do show a medium correlation, at the same time, no combinations showed any strong correlation between each other. The first combination showed a medium correlation is part of itinerary and followed by popularity, the reason of choosing these two motivations is it may be interesting to investigate the relationship between the two 'Causal' motivations, which will be if the respondents consider the site popular and famous, will there be a higher chance for them to see it as a 'must-see' site. The results show that there is a relationship (neither strong nor weak) between the cognitive popularity of a dark tourism site and the respondents' willingness to see it as a 'must-see' site or put it in their itinerary. It can be indicated that visiting dark tourism sites can be a 'follow suit' activity, as visitors may put dark tourism sites into a 'bucket list' just because others or many people visited it before.

The second combination with medium positive correlation is emotion on history-emotion on compatriots. The two variables were chosen to see if there are people from the respondents' same country suffered as victims in the tragedy, the more will they think the event is an important event of his/her country's history. A strong positive correlation was expected originally, 0.59 is a medium to strong correlation meaning there is a considerable chance that the respondents will think the event is an important part of own country's history if people from the same country were victims in the tragedy.

Regarding the relationship between respondents' background and their motivation of visiting dark tourism sites, the research mainly focused on the comparison between gender, religion and origin groups, as other grouping variables such as age and educational level are unequally distributed, make it impossible to compare the motivation between these grouping variables. The results indicated that majorly there are no big differences of dark tourism motivations between these groups, especially there are no significant differences between respondents have a religion and non-religious.

For gender groups comparing motivations between male and female respondents, the only significant difference found between is work triggered curiosity, as female respondents have a far higher mean than male respondents in the question. It can be

indicated that female respondents are easier to get motivated by movies, books and documentaries to visit dark tourism sites than male respondents.

In the origin part, the comparison will be divided into two parts, which are East vs West Europeans, and Europeans vs Asians. The results indicated that there are no significant differences between Eastern and Western European. Meanwhile, regarding the comparison between Europeans and Asians, A significant difference between followed by popularity and emotion in history can be found. The significant difference between these two variables may due which dark tourism sites the respondents visited to. Most of the impressed sites respondents mentioned are located in Europe (Around 85%), even from respondents from other parts of the world, there are a few speculations for this situation:

1. The non-European respondents think other dark tourism sites are not as impressing as European ones
2. Non-European respondents are more likely to visit European dark tourism sites than sites from their own origin
3. Many of the copies were distributed in Vienna, and there will be a higher chance of respondents impressed by or visited European dark tourism sites even if they are not European.

Regardless of the reason, the situation may have a relationship to the significant differences of emotion in history between Asian and European respondents. In emotion in history, European respondents have a higher mean than Asian respondents, means their emotion in history is significantly higher than Asians. It is understandable as if most of the site respondents mentioned are in Europe, there will be a much higher chance that European respondents' may think the tragedy is an important event in their country than Asian respondents. For the significant difference between followed by popularity, Asian respondents have a higher mean than European respondents, indicates that Asian respondents are more likely to follow popularity than European respondents. The reason may be speculated as the Asian respondents' lack of knowledge in European tourism sites comparing to European respondents, they would rather follow the 'bucket lists' and 'must-see' sites recommended by others to avoid wasting their trip or making their trip more meaningful.

For the experience of respondents after their visit, *anger* has a much lower mean and median than *sadness* and *shocked*. The reason behind may be based on the sites respondents visited, some respondents visited sites related to non-human caused tragedies or accidents, for example, Pompeii (natural disaster) and Chernobyl (accident). Such sites without perpetrator and culprits may be hard to trigger visitors' anger, as there is nobody or target to be angry within this kind of tragedies. Meanwhile, sadness can be based on empathy and shocked can be based on unexpected experiences, which are possible to occur when visiting all kind of dark tourism sites.

The significant difference in *anger* felt between respondents with strong and weak feeling on 'emotion on compatriots' and 'emotion on people they know' had been investigated. The results showed that there is a significant difference between respondents with strong or weak feeling on 'emotion on compatriots' but no significant difference between respondents with strong or weak feeling on 'emotion on people they know'. It can be indicated that patriotism may trigger respondents' anger even easier than people they know.

At the end of the experience chapter of the questionnaire, the question 'I worried about present events in my own country' has been asked, the question does not have a great relation to the research topic, but it may be interesting to see if the respondents worried about events happening in their own country after their visit to dark tourism sites. The mean and median is mediocre (at 3.67 and 4), after the significant difference in this question between respondents with different origin was calculated, there is a very high (0.912) p-value between East and West Europeans but a very low (0.018) p-value between Asians and Europeans, as Asians have a much higher mean score than Europeans (both East and West). The reason may be difficult to investigate, a non-required question regarding where exactly the respondents came from had been asked, the three most mentioned origin are Austria (8.5%), Hong Kong (9.5%) and Hungary (10.5%), which are respectively in Western, Eastern Europe and Asia, as these three origins occupy nearly 30% of the total respondents, investigating what happened in this three places in 2019 (most of the copies distributed in) will be useful for finding the reason of the difference. In Austria, one of the most important social events in 2019 was Ibiza Affair, which led to the step down of chancellor Sebastian Kurz. In Hungary, there were no major events happen in 2019, but the incessant dispute of the illiberal democracy and violation of human rights under the prime

minister Viktor Orban. In Hong Kong, the major event in 2019 will be the civil unrest starting from mid-2019 until now (mid-2020), which involve large scale protests, violent conflicts and disputes of violating freedom of the press, freedom of speech and human rights by the government of Hong Kong, speaking objectively, the results may show that respondents from Hong Kong are much worried about the events happening in their own place more than Austrian and Hungarian respondents do.

For the personal opinion questions, the difference in the agreement of the question 'people should be loyal to their own nation or ethnicity between respondents with different origins will be interesting to discuss at. The results show that Asians respondents do not have a significant tendency on this statement, Eastern Europeans more tend to agree with the statement and Western Europeans more tend to disagree. Loyal to own nation or ethnicity is a collectivism approach, which is related to patriotism and nationalism, meanwhile not loyal to will be an individualism and liberalism approach. The results may be linked to the difference of ideology between Eastern and Western European respondents, also, the results may correspond to the rise of right-wing nationalist parties in Eastern Europe, most of them encourage nationalism, for example, PiS party of Poland, Fidesz party of Hungary and SNS party of Serbia, all the parties mentioned above are ruling parties and dominant in parliaments. Although nationalist parties also occur in Western Europe, for example, FPÖ of Austria, AfD of Germany, and RN of France, nationalist parties did not win the major in Western European parliaments or get very high popularity unlike in Eastern Europe.

In next chapter, a conclusion will be made based on the previous chapters and this discussion chapter.

6. Conclusion

For conclusion, the research questions will be answered, and the findings from this research will be discussed. In the introduction chapter (1.2: Aim of the research), two research questions had been listed:

1. What is the main motivation(s) to direct visitors to visit a dark tourism site?
2. Is the visitor's background a significant factor to determine the motivation?

For the first research question, the main motivations to visit dark tourism sites have been concluded from the literature review, which are:

1. Curiosity, the visitor is curious of the event behind the site and want to know what happened in the site, which they want to gain more knowledge after their visit. In a further extent, curiosity can be extended to the visitor is curious in death and tragedies, visiting dark tourism sites can let them be close to a place of death, or put them in an atmosphere of horror and mortality.

2. Empathy, the visitor feels sad or compassion on the victims in a tragedy. They want to 'go through what they went through' and 'feel what they felt' or wanted to pay respect for the victims in their visit, especially on special days, for example, the 11th of September or the 8th and 9th of May (Victory Day).

3. Educational, the visitor's motivation to visit is based on educational purpose. Which includes educational programs in schools, brought by others or bring others to dark tourism sites in the purpose of education.

4. Emotional, the visitor visited dark tourism sites because there was somebody(ies) related to him/her suffered or died from the tragedy. This person can be family, friends, or people from the same country. Emotional and empathy motivations can be similar, the difference between these two motivations is emotional motivations are based on the visitor's feeling on own country, families or related people, meanwhile, empathy motivations are based on the feeling or sympathy on all the victims in the event. In a further extent, visitors' visit can be based on emotion on their past away idols or people they respect, for example, great persons, athletes and celebrities.

5. Causal, the visitor's visit to the site as it is famous, or it is on his/her 'bucket list'. Similar to visiting other tourism sites.

Other motivations to visit dark tourism sites which can not be inducted into the five motivations above still appears. For example, *Schadenfreude* (Sherpley, 2009), which the visitor feels pleasure when he/she witnesses the pain of others or feels lucky that him/herself do not need to experience such things. However, this kind of motivations are not common and most of the motivations to visit dark tourism sites can be inducted to the five categories mentioned above based on the literature review. As the five main categories of motivation visiting dark tourism sites have been listed out, the survey tends to compare the five common motivations. The result finds that generally, Empathy and Curiosity are the most common motivations to visit dark tourism sites, Educational, Causal and Emotional motivations are mediocre and there are no big differences between them. Based on the research above, the answer of the first research question will be: The main motivations to direct visitors to visit dark tourism sites are empathy, causal, emotional, curiosity and educational, especially empathy and curiosity.

For the second research question, the respondents participated in the survey had been divided by their personal background, origin, religion, and gender have been chosen as grouping variables as respondents are more equally distributed with these variables. The significant difference between the motivation variables between different background groups has been investigated. The results will be listed below:

Table 29: Results of the significant differences

Comparison	Number of motivation(s) with significant difference (Total 11)
Male vs Female	1 (Works triggered curiosity)
Religious bs Non-religious	0
Western vs Eastern European	0
European vs Asian	2 (Followed by popularity, Emotion on history)

According to the table above, there is barely a little bit of difference between groups. Therefore, the second research question will be answered as: The visitors' background is not a significant factor to determine their motivation to visit dark tourism sites. However, some minor differences between groups have been discovered, as female's curiosity in dark tourism sites are more likely to be triggered by related works like movies, books, or documentaries than male. Meanwhile, Asians are more likely to visit dark tourism sites by popularity than Europeans, oppositely, European's visit to dark tourism sites are more likely to be triggered by their emotion on own country's history.

Despite from the research questions, there were other findings in the research. On the emotion after visiting dark tourism sites, the research indicates that anger is not a significant emotion among respondents after their visit to dark tourism sites, comparing to *sadness* and *shocked*. Secondly, when the visitors felt strongly that somebody from the same country suffered and died in the tragedy, their angriness will be higher than visitors without or only with a weak feel.

The benefits of understanding the motivations of visiting dark tourism sites will be helping the operators of dark tourism sites to know what the visitors want and provide more facilities to offer better experiences. For example, dark tourism site operators may provide more information of the event or show more first-hand information like interview videos of the survivors, as curiosity is a significant motivation to drive visitors to visit dark tourism sites. Or provide materials suitable for children to better understand the event behind to site or message adults (schools, parents) want them to know as education is also a major motivation to visit dark tourism sites. However, the operators of dark tourism sites should not deviate the original objective of establishing the site, as they represent a heavy page of human history and should not be tampered.

For future studies, dark tourism motivation on 'light' sites from the spectrum of dark tourism (Stone, 2006) may be an interesting topic to research. By literature review, most of the previous literature (both cited or not cited) on motivations of dark tourism are based on very 'dark' sites such as concentration camps and bloody war fields, even in the questionnaire response, most of the sites mentioned by respondents were 'darker' sites. It is obvious that in the study of dark tourism, 'light' sites do not have

equal attention as 'dark' sites. However, 'light' sites are important as such sites offer a more casual and relaxed way to receive knowledge and information.

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