Dark Tourism: An investigation into students’ motivations for visiting locations of death and disaster, using the case studies of Ground Zero and WWII concentration camp Auschwitz

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SIGNED DECLARATION

“I declare that this Dissertation has not already been accepted in substance for any degree and is not concurrently submitted in candidature for any degree. It is the result of my own independent research except where otherwise stated”.

Katy Olivia Harries
ABSTRACT

There has always been an enthrallement with death and disaster, and locations associated with death and disasters have increasingly continued to attract tourists, resulting in a genre of tourism known as ‘dark tourism’. Whilst dark tourism has been widely studied by various academics, such as Sharpley and Stone, it was noted that there was an absence of understanding concerning why people choose to engage in visitation to dark sites. As a result, this study was primarily concerned with exploring what motivates students to visit dark tourism locations, using the case studies of Ground Zero and Auschwitz. These locations were chosen as they are of high interest to the researcher and both sites attract a large volume of visitors every year.

The purpose of this study was to identify the key motivators to visit Ground Zero and Auschwitz, to explore the influence media had on visitation to these sites, and to determine whether students are more drawn to more recent or historical locations of death and disaster. To achieve these objectives, both qualitative and quantitative research methods were incorporated. 58 quantitative questionnaires were distributed to students and the researcher also constructed qualitative semi-structured interviews with three students who had recently visited Ground Zero and Auschwitz.

This dissertation encompasses six chapters devising of an introduction to the study, a literature review regarding dark tourism and visitor motivations, the methodology incorporated within the study, with chapter four then illustrating the results of the research. Chapter 5 then consisted of a discussion and an analysis of the key results obtained, with the final chapter concluding and summarising the study.

From reviewing the findings of this research, the study has been able to conclude that there does not appear to be one sole motivator for any student to visit locations of death and disaster and that there are multiple key motives and influences for students to visit these sites, in particular the media, education and remembrance.

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## CONTENTS

### Chapter 1: Introduction ........................................................................................................ 1
  1.1 Working Title ..................................................................................................................... 1
  1.2 Introduction ....................................................................................................................... 1
  1.3 Background Information on Ground Zero and Auschwitz ........................................... 2
    1.3.1 Ground Zero ............................................................................................................... 2
    1.3.2 Auschwitz ................................................................................................................... 5
  1.4 Basis of research .............................................................................................................. 6
  1.5 Aim .................................................................................................................................. 7
  1.6 Objectives ......................................................................................................................... 7

### Chapter 2: Literature Review .............................................................................................. 8
  2.1 Introduction ....................................................................................................................... 8
  2.2 Dark Tourism ................................................................................................................... 9
  2.3 History of Dark Tourism ................................................................................................. 11
  2.4 Thanatourism vs. Dark Tourism ..................................................................................... 12
  2.5 Visitor Motivation .......................................................................................................... 14
  2.6 Education ....................................................................................................................... 16
  2.7 Remembrance/Pilgrimage ............................................................................................. 17
  2.8 Media ............................................................................................................................. 17
  2.9 Conclusion of Literature Review ..................................................................................... 19

### Chapter 3: Methodology ...................................................................................................... 20
  3.1 Introduction .................................................................................................................... 20
  3.2 Primary Research ........................................................................................................... 20
  3.3 Choice of Method ............................................................................................................ 21
    3.3.1 Quantitative Research - Questionnaires ................................................................. 21
    3.3.2 Qualitative Research - Semi-Structured Interviews .............................................. 22
  3.4 Secondary Research – reviewing the literature.............................................................. 23
  3.5 Validity and Reliability Issues ....................................................................................... 24
  3.6 Research Constraints .................................................................................................... 25
  3.7 Future recommendations .............................................................................................. 25

### Chapter 4: Results ............................................................................................................... 27
  4.1 Introduction .................................................................................................................... 27
  4.2 Results for Ground Zero .............................................................................................. 27
Chapter 5: Discussion, Analysis & Interpretation of the Data .......... 62

5.1 Introduction.................................................................................. 62
5.1 Student’s overall interest in Dark Tourism................................................. 63
5.2 Objective 2 – To identify the key motivators for tourists to visit Ground Zero and
Auschwitz, and other dark tourism sites......................................................... 64
  5.2.1 Education .................................................................................. 64
  5.2.2 Remembrance .............................................................................. 66
  5.2.3 Additional influences ..................................................................... 67
5.3 Objective 3 – To investigate and evaluate if media has stimulated decisions to attend
these locations .......................................................................................... 68
  5.3.1 Media Influence ........................................................................... 68
5.4 Objective 4 – To determine whether students are more drawn to more recent dark
tourism sites or more historic dark tourism sites, and their reasons..................... 72

Chapter 6: Summary/Conclusion ...................................................... 74

6.1 Summary of Key Findings .................................................................. 74
6.2 Conclusion and recommendations for future research.............................. 75

APPENDICES

REFERENCES
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

WTC – World Trade Center
NYC – New York City
WWII – World War Two
CMU – Cardiff Metropolitan University
LIST OF TABLES

Table 2.1: Seaton’s Five Categories of Dark Tourism.......................................................... 10
Table 4.1: Reasons for interest in and no interest in Dark Tourism.................................... 29
Table 4.2: Reasons for visiting Ground Zero ...................................................................... 30
Table 4.3: Reasons for interest in and no interest in visiting Auschwitz.......................... 34
Table 4.4: Reasons for interest and no interest in Dark Tourism......................................... 40
Table 4.5: Reasons for visiting Auschwitz........................................................................... 40
Table 4.6: Reasons for interest in visiting Ground Zero ....................................................... 44
Table 4.7: Reasons for interest and no interest in dark tourism.......................................... 50
Table 4.8: Reasons for interest in visiting Ground Zero, New York.................................. 54
Table 4.9: Reasons for interest in visiting Auschwitz Concentration
Camp .................................................................................................................................... 56
Table 4.10: Reasons as to why students are more drawn to Recent or............................... 61

Historic dark tourism sites
LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 2.1: Seaton’s (1996) Thanatourism continuum ........................................................ 13
Figure 2.2: Reasons, interests and desires stimulating thanasite ........................................ 15
visitation framework (Dunkley, 2007) .................................................................................. 15
Figure 4.1: Whether students had been to Ground Zero .................................................. 27
Figure 4.2: Whether students were interested in Dark Tourism ....................................... 28
Figure 4.3: Whether students had visited any other Dark Tourism ................................... 31
site ........................................................................................................................................ 31
Figure 4.4: Other Dark Tourism sites visited by students ................................................ 32
Figure 4.5: Whether students had also been to Auschwitz .............................................. 33
Concentration Camp ............................................................................................................ 33
Figure 4.6: Whether students would be interested in visiting ........................................ 33
Auschwitz ............................................................................................................................. 33
Figure 4.7: Contributing factors that would influence students ........................................ 35
in visiting location of death and disaster ............................................................................. 35
Figure 4.8: Whether students had seen any films involving ........................................... 36
dark tourism sites ................................................................................................................. 36
Figure 4.9: Films students had seen with Dark Tourism sites ......................................... 36
Figure 4.10: Whether media would influence their decision to visit Ground Zero/Auschwitz ......................................................................................................................... 37
Figure 4.11: Whether students had been to Auschwitz .................................................... 38
Concentration Camp ............................................................................................................ 38
Figure 4.12: Whether students were interested in Dark Tourism ....................................... 39
Figure 4.13: Whether students had visited any other dark tourism site .......................................................... 39
Figure 4.14: Other dark tourism sites visited by students ................................................ 41
Figure 4.15: Whether students had also been to Ground Zero ........................................ 43
Ground Zero, New York ........................................................................................................ 43
Figure 4.16: Whether students would be interested in visiting ........................................ 43
Ground Zero, New York ........................................................................................................ 43
Figure 4.17: Contributing factors that would influence students in visiting location of death and disaster ......................................................................................................................... 45
Figure 4.18: Whether students had seen any films involving .......................................... 45
dark tourism sites .................................................................................................................. 46

**Figure 4.19:** Films students had seen with Dark Tourism sites ........................................ 47

**Figure 4.20:** Whether media would influence decision to visit ...........................................
Auschwitz/Ground Zero ........................................................................................................ 48

**Figure 4.21:** Whether students had been to Ground Zero or ..............................................
Auschwitz ................................................................................................................................ 49

**Figure 4.22:** Whether students were interested in Dark Tourism ........................................ 49

**Figure 4.23:** How many of the remaining students had visited ..............................................
a dark tourism site? ................................................................................................................ 51

**Figure 4.24:** Dark tourism sites students had visited ............................................................... 52

**Figure 4.25:** Whether students who had not been to Ground Zero were interested in visiting Ground Zero ............................................................. 53

**Figure 4.26:** Whether students who had not been to Auschwitz were interested in visiting Auschwitz Concentration Camp, Poland .......................................................... 55

**Figure 4.27:** Contributing factors that influence students in visiting locations of death and disaster ................................................................................................................. 57

**Figure 4.28:** Whether students had seen any films that involve Dark Tourism sites ................................................................. 58

**Figure 4.29:** Films students had seen with Dark Tourism sites ............................................. 58

**Figure 4.30:** Whether media would influence students’ decision to visit Ground Zero/Auschwitz? ................................................................................................................. 59

**Figure 4.31:** Whether students are drawn to more Recent or Historic dark tourism sites .... 60
Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Working Title: Dark Tourism - An investigation into students’ motivations for visiting locations of death and disaster, using the case studies of Ground Zero and WWII concentration camp Auschwitz

1.2 Introduction

Does the popularity of dark sites result from a basic fascination with death, or are there more powerful motivating factors?

(Stone and Sharpley, 2008).

Humanity has unfailingly been enthralled with death and disaster. The attraction of locations connected with death and disaster has entered the realm of tourism, resulting in a genre of tourism defined as ‘dark tourism’. Whilst this form of tourism has been widely studied by numerous academics, it has been identified that there is an absence of understanding regarding what actually motivates individuals and tourists to visit such sites. It has been further acknowledged that consumer experiences and motivations for visiting dark tourism sites is an under-researched field (Sharpley and Stone, 2009).

The term ‘Dark Tourism’ applies to the increasingly popular pursuit of visiting sites where people have suffered or died in tragic circumstances (Dark tourism, 2007). It appears to be a reasonably topical spectacle that produces popularity in studying motivations to these sites due to the ever-increasing number of dark tourism sites. There are a range of dark tourism sites throughout the world that currently attract millions of visitors worldwide, such as Holocaust sites, celebrity death sites, Pompeii, Battlefields, and Ground Zero, to name a few.

The rationale behind researching this chosen topic is due to the fact that

‘Few studies have examined visitors’ perspectives on dark tourism, such as how people experience dark tourism sites, and why they are drawn to these sites of death and disaster’

(Isaac and Cakmak, 2013).
Timothy and Boyd (2006:7) support the idea that the popularity of dark tourism is increasing and that there is a prodigious desire to ‘know more about individual motivation for visiting places of atrocity’. Support for Timothy and Boyd’s notion that there is an increasing popularity of dark tourism has been provided by Isaac and Çakmak (2013), who discovered an increase in the number of visitors to dark tourism sites in recent years. Therefore the researcher’s main purpose will be to investigate and establish the foremost reasons behind students’ motivation to visit dark tourism sites.

Motivations for visiting dark locations or shrines are themselves complex and disparate, resulting in a multitude of reasons for engagement with the macabre (Robinson et al., 2011:206). It is worth investigating what actually motivates people to visit sites such as these as there can be numerous contributing factors to elucidate why people choose to invest time in the visitation of these sites. Why do people do it? They may give many reasons, including: to pay respects to a loved one; to connect to an event that emotionally touched them through media coverage; to learn more about what happened; or simply out of curiosity (Dark tourism, 2007).

Specifically, this dissertation will attempt to provide more understanding of the different reasons as to why students would want to visit two high profile locations of death and disaster, Ground Zero and Auschwitz. These locations were selected as they are of high interest to the researcher and both sites attract vast amount of tourists every year. These sites provide examples of a more recent dark tourism location and a historic dark tourism location, and the author feels it will be interesting to determine whether the same or contrasting reasons and motivations for visiting each site will be acquired.

1.3 Background information on Ground Zero and Auschwitz

1.3.1 Ground Zero

Ground Zero marks the site of one of the traumatic events that occurred on September 11th 2001, which saw the destruction of the World Trade Center buildings and the loss of 2,996 lives.
On September 11\textsuperscript{th}, 2001, militants associated with Islamic extremist group, al-Qaeda, hijacked four American airliners. Two of these hijacked planes were flown into the Twin Towers of the WTC in Manhattan, New York City, a third was flown into the Pentagon, Washington D.C, and the fourth plane crashed into a field in Pennsylvania (History.com, 2016).

At 8.45am on Tuesday September 11\textsuperscript{th} 2001, an American Airlines plane crashed into the North tower of the WTC. Originally perceived to have been a freak accident, many news channels were immediately broadcasting live images and footage when, approximately 18 minutes after the first attack, a second plane hit the South tower of the WTC, instantly confirming a terrorist attack was in operation (History.com, 2016).

Absence is now an overriding sensation at Ground Zero, with the emptiness representing the physical destruction of the two 110-story constructions, once one of the world’s most recognisable structures. Both the National September 11 Memorial and Museum, with its two individual but accompanying features, currently mark this absence and both offer visitors a distinct idea of what has been lost as a result of the devastating events of September 11\textsuperscript{th}. Together despite and because of this absence of the Twin Towers that were once a key NYC tourist attraction, the WTC site remains a significant destination for tourist and local visitation, with both memorials generating a vast number of tourists each year (Sather-Wagstaff, 2008). Ground Zero now provides a location that serves as a site for tourists to commemorate the dead, grapple with the reality of unexpected, large-scale violence, and to participate in the process of producing a historically salient site (Sather-Wagstaff, 2008).

The names of every victim killed in the attacks are inscribed in bronze parapets surrounding the twin memorial pools, with the two black pools located in the footprints of where the iconic Twin Towers once stood. By 2014, the memorial was complimented by an adjacent museum, the National September 11 Museum. This museum serves as the country’s principal institution concerned with exploring the implications of the events of 9/11, documenting the impact of those events and exploring 9/11’s continuing
significance (National September 11 Memorial & Museum, 2016). Together they comprise what can be considered one of the world’s most premier dark tourism sites, Ground Zero.

As Blair (2002) discovered, in 2002, Ground Zero attracted three-and-a-half million visitors, almost doubling the number that annually visited the observation platform of the WTC prior 9/11 (cited in Sharpley and Stone, 2009:5). Additionally, in 2003 80% of domestic and foreign tourists to Lower Manhattan either visited the WTC site or planned to include it in their itinerary (ADNY, 2003:21). Whilst it has been fourteen years since the tragic events of 9/11, the growth of tourism to Ground Zero continues to increase every year. Statistics show that more than 22 million tourists have visited the memorial pools since its opening in 2011, and over 1.8 million visitors have been attracted to the 9/11 memorial museum since its opening in May 2014 (Annual Report | 9/11 Memorial, 2016). This supports the impression that due to the large attraction Ground Zero maintains annually, it exemplifies that dark tourism is ever increasing. Due to absence of research as to why this is, it provides incentive for the researcher to determine what has increasingly motivated tourists to visit Ground Zero.

“In recent years the significant appeal of the former site of the WTC in New York as a tourist destination (and dark attraction) has now been established. For many it will always be associated with the terrorist attack of 11 September 2001 and it will continue to enjoy visitation for a number of years to come”

(Botterill and Jones, 2010:217)
1.3.2 Auschwitz

‘Examples of horrific events which are well embedded in mass consciousness through popular culture and media and which now are offered as part of cultural tourism experiences include several concentration camps in Poland’

(Lennon and Foley, 2004:10).

One of the eminent locations whereby horrific events occurred is Auschwitz concentration camp, situated in Krakow, Poland. Auschwitz is a famously recognised dark location symbolising the atrocity that was the Holocaust and a place of inhumane genocide and terror. The death camp opened in 1940 in an area controlled by Nazi Germany and by 1942 was the largest of the Nazi concentration camps. Auschwitz initially served as a detention center for political prisoners and was formally known as being a military barracks before being converted into a concentration camp by the Nazis (Lennon and Foley, 2004). During WWII, Auschwitz soon transpired into a series of camps where Jewish people and other perceived enemies of the Nazi state were murdered, often in gas chambers, or used for slave labor (History.com, 2009).

Auschwitz was originally comprised of two main camps, Auschwitz I and Auschwitz II (Auschwitz-Birkenau). Auschwitz I was the original concentration camp constructed by Nazi Germany and consisted of 22 prewar brick barrack buildings (Auschwitz.org, 2016).

The concentration camp has since reformed from being a location that millions attempted to escape in order to forget, into a place that stands as a memorial where visitors now attend to remember the atrocities that once occurred. Biran et al. (2011) suggests that Auschwitz is an iconic site in the dark tourism literature, stating that it is a ‘site of paramount symbolic meaning and is now seen as a “must see” tourist attraction (cited in Isaac and Cakmak, 2013). In 2014, 1,534 000 people visited Auschwitz, the highest number during one year than ever before - the highest attendance in the history of European memorial sites (Mail Online, 2015), which again demonstrates the popularity of visitation to dark sites.
Entry to Auschwitz is free, and guided tours are available for tourists. To date, many of the individual huts at Auschwitz now serve as exhibitions associated with individual nation-states affected by the Nazis, with ‘mounds of spectacles, shoes, or artificial limbs encased behind glass, reminding the visitors of both the scale and scope of the inhumane genocide that once occurred’ (Lennon and Foley, 2004:24). Whilst there were ovens used to burn human remains at Auschwitz I, the greatest impact of the barbarity is achieved from visiting the site of Birkenau. The gatehouse and adjoining railhead where ‘selection’ of those for slave labor and those who would be gassed occurred are enduring images, most likely due to several fictional films, such as Steven Spielberg’s Schindler’s list, and documentaries (Lennon and Foley, 2004).

1.4 Basis of research

The author’s expectation and aim of this research is to examine what motivates students to visit locations of death and disaster, using the case studies of Ground Zero and Auschwitz. Firstly, the author undertook secondary research in the form of reviewing current literature, which allowed the author to achieve an overall heightened knowledge of dark tourism itself prior to conducting primary research, and to understand motivations greater depth.

The author took the decision to instigate and conduct semi-structured interviews with interviewees who have recently visited these two sites, and their motives for doing so. Interviews occurred between the months of January-March 2016 and the researcher selected students who had recently been to these sites in order for accurate date to be exposed and obtained by the author. Students were chosen, as it was convenient for the researcher to obtain research from a student sample. The author also decided to distribute questionnaire’s to students during lectures so that students would have time to read the questionnaire and answer the questions with enhanced detail.
1.5 Aim

To investigate what motivates tourists to visit a dark tourism location, using the case studies of Ground Zero, New York and Auschwitz Concentration Camp, Poland.

1.6 Objectives

1. To critically review the literature on Dark Tourism and thanatourism and tourist motivation.
2. To identify the key motivators for tourists to visit Ground Zero and Auschwitz, and other dark tourism locations.
3. To explore and evaluate if media has stimulated decisions to attend these locations.
4. To determine whether students are more drawn to more recent dark tourism sites or more historic dark tourism sites, and their motives.
5. To develop theory as to why individuals visit dark tourism sites, using the findings, and offer recommendations.
Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

In this literature review, the researcher’s aim is to critically review existing literature on dark tourism in order to understand further the concept of dark tourism and to distinguish what motivators contribute to tourists choosing to visit these sites.

As Holloway (2002) states, little is known about tourism motivation generally. This promptly suggests that there is clear availability to undertake further research into this field of tourism motivation and furthermore into the motivations of visitors visiting locations of death and disaster, in order to attain an enhanced understanding of dark tourism as a genre itself.

Over the years there have been numerous theories regarding dark tourism. The key literature that will be reviewed and discussed by the author arises from Lennon and Foley’s (2004) ‘Dark Tourism- the Attraction of Death and Disaster’ as these authors support the proposal that there is, at present, not a liable amount of research supporting the reasons as to why tourists visit locations of death and disaster. The author will also review an additional book, co-written by Sharpley and Stone (2009), ‘The Darker Side of Travel – The Theory and Practice of Dark Tourism’. Sharpley and Stone mutually highlight that there is a gap in the research as to why tourists decide to visit particular locations of death and disaster and that “limited attention has been paid to exploring why tourists may be drawn towards sites or experiences associated with death and suffering” (Sharpley and Stone, 2009:11). Sharpley insinuates further that despite a supportive interest generated from Lennon and Foley’s work, ‘academic literature in this area remains eclectic and theoretically fragile and, consequently, understanding of the phenomenon of dark tourism remains limited’ (2009, cited by Carrigan, 2014).

Both books primarily aim to explain in depth, the multiple theories and opinions of Dark Tourism and the desire to comprehend why tourists are attracted to morbid sites of death and disaster.
2.2 Dark Tourism

To understand the core desire to undertake this research, it is essential to firstly comprehend the concept of dark tourism and its relating terms. Dark tourism, as well as its theoretical underpinnings and existing typologies, is well covered in existing literature (Podoshen et al., 2015).

The term ‘dark tourism’ was first devised by Lennon and Foley to describe the relationship between tourism attractions and an interest in death and macabre (1996, cited by Robinson et al., 2011). As the name implies, ‘dark tourism’ refers to ‘tourist activity that is prompted by an interest in the more sombre aspects of the human experience’ (Smith et al., 2010:35). Tarlow (2005) also supports this definition, by identifying dark tourism as; ‘Visitations to places where tragedies or historically noteworthy death has occurred and that continue to impact our lives’ (Tarlow 2005:48). These definitions of dark tourism conclude that dark tourism is essentially a melancholic genre of tourism, yet a highly intriguing topic.

Dark tourism sites essentially exemplify the darker aspects of the human experience, such as war, death, murder, and disaster. They also share an additional social marvel: tourism. Dark tourists can be found at gravesites, crash locations, sites of assassination, and at museums of torture and death (Botterill and Jones, 2010).
In order to achieve an enhanced insight into dark tourism, Seaton (1996) developed five categories of behaviors related to dark tourism, as seen in Table 2.1. These five categories each illustrate different forms of dark tourism, some which are more associated with death than others. Category 1 demonstrates a strong association with death, with category 5 illustrating a minor association with death. The main sites focused within this study are Ground Zero and Auschwitz, with the sites being examples of categories 2 and 3.

Whist dark tourism refers to the visitation to dark sites, a current line of enquiry suggests that there are different ‘shades’ of darkness in attractions based upon sites’ characteristics, as well as the visitors’ expectations, desires and experiences (Timothy, 2011). In other words, as Seaton (1996) implies, it is essential to be aware that these locations can alternate in terms of ‘darkness’ and it is important to acknowledge that not all visitors attend dark
tourism sites for the same reasons. Some visitors may visit dark sites in order to gratify a fascination with death, however others’ actual interest in death itself may be very limited. Sharpley (2005) expresses this further by stating that not every visitor to a dark site is there for the same reason, and there is a ‘variety of form of consumption’.

Sharpley (2009) proposed a useful ‘model of dark tourism demand and supply to help conceptualise the ‘shades of grey’ relationships between the attractions and people’s interest in visiting them’ (cited in Timothy, 2011:445). This model views the degree to which a fascination with death or suffering is a factor of consumption. Sharpley (2009) states that when the two elements of supply and demand merge, four shades of grey appear. These four shades are identified as follows:

1. Pale tourism – people with limited interest in death and destruction visiting places unintended to be attractions.
2. Grey tourism demand – tourist is interested in death but visiting an unintended thanatourism site
3. Grey tourism supply – sites intentionally recognised to highlight death but attract visitors that have limited interest in death
4. Black tourism – visitors riveted with death who visit attended dark tourism sites intended to be dark attractions

(Sharpley 2009, cited in Timothy, 2011)

2.3 History of Dark Tourism

As Seaton (2009) expresses, death, suffering, visitation and tourism have been interrelated for many centuries (2009, cited in Botterill and Jones, 2010).

Whilst it can be argued that dark tourism refers to destinations associated with recent death and disaster (Smith et al., 2010), dark tourism also attains a lengthy history, primarily dating back to as early as the 11th century. As Robinson et al. (2011) state “with places such as Jerusalem in the Middle East and more specifically the location of Christ’s crucifixion proving popular venues for travellers visiting the Holy Land” (Robinson et al., 2011:206). This
supports the notion that dark tourism originates much further back in history, and whilst there has been considerable growth in dark tourism, it cannot be considered as a new niche. Stone and Sharpley (2008) further support this statement as they state that ‘travel to and experience of places associated with death is not a new phenomenon’. Seaton enhances this recognition further by arguing that ‘dark tourism has a long history’, emerging from ‘thanatoptic tradition, dating back to the Middle Ages which intensified during the Romantic period of the late 18th century (1999, cited in Sharpley and Stone, 2009) and that a number of attractions, such as prisons, graves, public battlefields and Pompeii were all popular travel destination’s during this period.

2.4 Thanatourism vs. Dark Tourism

Whilst dark tourism is considered to be its own genre, as there has been a continuous increase in popularity of this type of tourism, further study by (Seaton, 1996) refers to it as ‘Thanatourism’ and (Rojek, 1997) who developed the idea of ‘blackspots’.

Seaton (1996) refers to dark tourism as ‘Thanatourism’, and believes that dark tourism is not a modern phenomenon as Lennon and Foley suggest. Thanatourism is believed by Seaton to have been around for many years and has been described as “travel to a location wholly, or partially, motivated by the desire for actual or symbolic encounters with death…” (1996, cited in Slade, 2003). Thanatourism can be seen as being behavioral in that it relates to travellers motivations. Seaton promotes his definition of thanatourism further by exclaiming that thanatourism works on a continuum of intensity based upon two elements. Firstly, whether it is a singular motivation or a range of motivations, and furthermore, to what extent the interest is person-centered or if there is a more generalised interest in death. Figure 2.1 below illustrates Seaton’s (1996) thanatourism continuum.
Figure 2.1 - Seaton’s (1996) thanatourism continuum

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Weak Thanatourism Element</th>
<th>Strong Thanatourism Element</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- The interest in death is person-centred and exists with other motivations.</td>
<td>- Interest in death is generalised and exists as the sole motivator.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- The dead are known to, and valued by, the visitor.</td>
<td>- Fascination with death is irrespective of the person or people involved.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- For example, a visit to a war memorial commemorating a dead relative.</td>
<td>- For example, visits to graveyards or scenes of disaster.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Seaton, 1996)

One drawback of using the term Thanatourism, however, is that it can be seen as being a more complex idea of what dark tourism entails, instead of the more simple term ‘dark tourism’ used by Lennon and Foley, which more simply defines the genre of tourism. This therefore contributed to the author’s decision to refer to the term ‘dark tourism’ due to its simplicity rather than ‘Thanatourism’, a more complex term. In addition to this, the author recognised that within both academia and the news media, ‘dark tourism’ appears to have become the most widely accepted term (Dunkley, 2007).

Additionally, Lennon and Foley differentiate thanatourism from dark tourism as they determine that thanatourism is a more outdated term and that it is not a product of the circumstances of the late modern world or a significant influence on these circumstances (Lennon and Foley, 2009). They argue that ‘dark tourism’ is an imitation of post-modernity (Lennon and Foley, 2009) whereas thanatourism is not, as there is chronological distance that differentiates the two and that something that occurred over such a long period of time ago no longer provides an influence on present society.

Finally, the term ‘Blackspots’ was developed by Rojek (1997), and refers to a particular site that marks a death, whether it is a disaster site or a place of a famous death. An example of such sites would be the death site of Diana, Princess of Wales, the Pont de l’Alma Road tunnel in Paris. Rojek adopts a more sociological approach and perspective in his analysis, which emphasizes the interest in death. Both Rojek and Lennon and Foley focus
primarily on the site, almost disregarding any other factors, whereas visitor’s experiences may not necessarily be determined by the recentness or otherwise of death-related events associated with the site.

Whilst these academics each have their own perspective on the concept of dark tourism, each perspective is able to transfer the memory of suffering and disaster into a leisure experience for tourists.

2.5 Visitor Motivation

“Tourism motivation is the main impetus that forces the tourism movement and strengthens even further the relation between tourism and transportation in the sense that it facilitates the movement and satisfies a human need within the tourism context”

(Liasidou, S, 2013:511).

In working towards widening knowledge concerning dark tourist motivation, it is necessary to look beyond 'surface' reasons for visit, such as 'for a day out' or because it is 'the thing to do' and look at the underlying reasons that generate interest in dark episodes of human history and lead to a desire to engage in this form of tourism.

“Motivation is a state of need or a condition that causes the tourist to take action - in the case of tourism motivation, to take a holiday that is likely to bring satisfaction by addressing the aforementioned state of need or condition”

(Robinson et al., 2011:39).

Tourist motivation can be also be defined "as the global integrating network of biological and cultural forces which gives value and direction to travel choices, behaviour and experience" (Pearce et al., 1998). This statement supports the idea that there are numerous different motivating factors that contribute to the reasons why tourists decide to travel to specific locations, providing incentive for the author to identify these altering motivating factors within this research.

It can be challenging to determine different motivators as every individual will have a their own motivation(s) to travel. This is reinforced by Fodness (1994) who states that it is possible to describe the who, when, where, and how of
tourism, but not to answer the question "why," which is essentially the most interesting question of all tourist behaviour.

In order to understand visitors’ motivation in greater depth, Dunkley (2007) created a framework for understanding the different reasons and interests for visiting dark tourism sites, illustrated in Figure 2.

**Figure 2.2 - Reasons, interests and desires stimulating thanasite visitation framework (Dunkley, 2007).**

This framework consists of reasons, interests and desires stimulating thanasite visitation (Dunkley, 2007). Dunkley suggests that these considerably simplistic headings may not apply to every tourist visiting a dark site, and it would be naïve to assume that there is one singular motive for tourists to visit such sites. Instead there are a variety of reasons as illustrated on Dunkley’s model that contribute to visitor’s motivation.

As Robb (2009, cited in Robinson et al., 2009) states, an individual’s experience is subjective; therefore an experience of dark tourism will vary between individuals. Whilst Dunkley demonstrates these reasons for visiting
dark tourism sites, it cannot be presumed that these reasons apply to every individual.

Abraham Maslow’s hierarchy of needs can also be considered when viewing tourist motivation from a psychological perspective. Maslow (2005, cited in Mullins, 2005) explains that there are physiological needs and psychological needs. These include sleep, sensory pleasures, activity and maternal behaviour. The psychological needs include affection, social activities, desire to learn, and both the giving and receiving of love. The psychological needs that Maslow illustrates support the motivator’s that tourists visit certain dark tourism sites in order for self-discovery and an intrinsic desire to learn, and could explain why locations of death and disaster are frequently visited. It is extremely important to consider psychological factors when considering visitor’s motivations as it has potential to create a larger scale understanding of tourists and their motivations.

It is additionally useful and imperative to consider Dunkley’s (2007) framework, the more simplistic reasons and motives for visiting these sites. As Lennon and Foley (2000) state, tourists choose to participate as acts of ‘entertainment, remembrance and education’, all of which will be a focus throughout the research undertaken in this dissertation in order to provide verification to this statement.

2.6 Education

An additional motive for tourist attraction worth researching is the idea that education contributes towards motives for visiting dark tourism sites.

In today’s society, tourists continually travel for educational opportunities and dark tourism sites are consistently promoting their educational duty. Historical sites such as Auschwitz have become regular topics within education in modern society. Many people may choose to visit sites such as these in order to enrich their knowledge on infamous historical events such as the Holocaust and WWI and WWII. As Burkart and Medlik (1981) state, tourism as a form of educative enterprise is strongly associated with the key principles of
modernity and has age-old roots (1981, cited in Lennon & Foley, 2004), and dark tourism sites can themselves entice visitors to their destinations due to their ability to educate and propose remembrance. This is supported further by Sharpley and Stone (2009), who state that dark tourists are often motivated by the quest for a new experience or an adventure to gain knowledge and understand something that was not known to them before (2009, cited in Podoshen, 2013).

2.7 Remembrance

Pilgrimages and proposing remembrance to places associated with death have occurred as long as people have been able to travel. It has always been an identifiable form of tourism, through socio-cultural contexts in which death-related travel transpired have obviously changed throughout the ages (Stone, 2012).

Visitation to dark tourism sites can additionally be the result of proposing remembrance. Whether it is to trace family roots, or to remember family members that they may have lost, many tourists will venture to these sites for these reasons. Even if the tourists’ themselves do not have any relation to any of the deceased at a particular site, it still does not mean that it cannot be a motive for them to visit to pay respects, as Foley and Lennon (1997) found, education, remembrance and entertainment are the main visitor motivations to dark tourism sites.

2.8 Media

“Dark tourism has generated much more than purely academic interest. The term has entered the mainstream and is a popular subject of media attention”

(Botterill and Jones, 2010:216).

The intention of Lennon and Foley (2009) is to show that ‘dark tourism’ is both a consequence of the circumstances of the late modern world and a significant influence upon these circumstances. This can indicate that with the assumption that dark tourism is a product of the late modern world, tourists’ reasons for venturing to dark tourism sites in modern society may
alternate from the reasons that early tourists’ visited such sites. This can be a result of the media, for example, including the news and films, which in turn can impact a tourists desire to visit a dark tourism site. Many of the catastrophes that have occurred in recent years have reached us via television directly in our living rooms, often at the actual time (Blom, 2000). This insinuates that because media can now document the disaster at the actual time it is occurring, this subconsciously influences the viewer to visit that particular site. As Lennon and Foley (2004) imply, experiencing immediate news events, at, or near, home brings populations to the intersection between the global and local. They further question whether it can be surprising that when an opportunity arises to validate this global-local connection that so many decide to visit the sites of these disasters. Rojek (1997) also states that ‘there is an important sense in which the sensations and spectacle are not recognised as real unless it is documented or reported by television, radio and other branches of the media’ (Rojek, 1997:64). Dunkley (2007) assists this statement further by proposing that because individuals are witness to media, such as documentaries, portraying dark events, it in turn constructs a desire to confirm this representation. These streams of media provide opportunity to create a real perspective as to what was endured at a particular site of death and disaster that constitutes as dark tourism and perhaps allow people to understand more about the events that result in a dark tourism site.

One particular media stream that can influence tourists is that of film. If film has offered alternative, revised or more ‘realistic’ accounts of news events, then the events themselves have come closer to us in space and time (Lennon and Foley, 2004). There have been several films that have made catastrophes the substance of feature films, such as World Trade Center, which depicts the tragic events of 9/11, and Schnidler’s List, which portrays the conditions of concentrations camps in WWII, with these films having the potential to contribute to the attendance of dark tourism sites. Botterill and Jones (2010) state that in respect of sites associated with crime interest, tourism demand has undoubtedly grown as a result of media interest and
filmic reproduction. Lennon and Foley (2000) further support the notion of film being an influence with their view that the majority of viewers of television and cinema-goers will have had an experience of death via replication, thus implying that it is this experience of death that motivates the individual to visit the site that has been replicated amongst the media.

2.9 Conclusion of Literature Review

In conclusion, whilst there can be various explanations into the motivations of tourists, Lennon and Foley (2004) also express how there is not enough research into prime motivators of visiting dark tourism sites. This is further emphasised by Stone and Sharpley (2008), who affirm that visitors are seen as being driven by differing intensities of interest or fascination in death and that motivations are not assorted. Therefore, these statements provide the author with incentive to distinguish what these key motivators are to visit dark locations. Due to this apparent gap in research, the researcher hopes to investigate in greater depth the motivators for dark tourism, using the case studies of a more recent location of atrocity, Ground Zero and a historic location of atrocity, Auschwitz.
Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1 Introduction

The main focus of this chapter is to outline and explain the researcher’s chosen methodological approach.

The main aim of this research is to identify what motivates tourists, particularly students, to visit a dark tourism location. All findings from this research will be established from the results illustrated within Chapter 4 (Page 27) of this dissertation. As a result of these findings, the researcher aimed to identify and discuss a series of reasons for students to visit such places, whether it is one sole motivator or a number of reasons, interests and desires as proposed by Dunkley (2007). In order to efficaciously investigate and achieve the research aim, the subsequent methodological process was carried out.

The methodology used within this dissertation in order to determine what motivates students to visit locations of death and disaster was through the undertaking of primary research in the form of questionnaires (See Appendix 4) and semi-structured interviews (See Appendix 6). Primary data is defined as not actually existing until and unless it is generated through the research process (Crowther and Lancaster, 2009:7). As Kaden (2006) states, “choosing the right methodology for your research is crucial” (Kaden, 2006:77). Therefore it was important that the researcher vigilantly decided the primary research practices used in this study.

3.2 Primary Research

In order to initially instigate contact with the sample, emails were sent out to lecturers’ at Cardiff Metropolitan University so that permission would be granted to distribute questionnaires to students during their lecture. In particular, the author sent out emails to lecturers who provided lectures to tourism students, as the author felt by distributing questionnaires to a variety tourism students it would provide more beneficial results to the study since tourism is where these students’ interest lies. The author explained that they were a third year student conducting an investigation on the motivations of
students to visit dark tourism sites and the lecturers allowed for the research to take place.

The 3 participants the author intended to conduct semi-structured interviews with were contacted in order to initially establish to the students the focus of the research and inform them of the researcher’s aim, and to then organise a location, date and time for the interviews to take place. The participants that the researcher contacted were known to the researcher and were known to have recently visited Ground Zero or Auschwitz.

3.3 Choice of Method

3.3.1 Quantitative Research - Questionnaires

The researcher conducted an aspect of their primary research through quantitative research, the collection of data in numerical form. This segment of the research gratified the quantitative research portion and was carried out through the distribution of written questionnaires. The researcher decided to orchestrate questionnaires due to them being amongst ‘one of the most widely used and valuable means of data collection’ (Crowther and Lancaster, 2009:151). As ‘questionnaires can be used to collect a large amount of data of interest or topic’ (Salmon et al., 2009), the researcher deemed this as being the most appropriate qualitative method in order to achieve this to determine what motivates each individual. Also, this approach was deemed beneficial due to it being an objective way of collecting data, therefore the research will not involved great emotional involvement, and thus a decreased risk of there being external influences on responses. All data achieved from the questionnaires enabled the researcher to produce a set of statistics and results through the generation of charts that allowed for the comparison and identification of key motivators, which would affectively provide contribution to the study’s concluding findings.

“By treating respondents honestly, openly and respectfully when writing the questionnaire, the questionnaire write can help to distinguish genuine research” (Brace, 2008:185). Considering this statement by Brace (2008), the
researcher ensured that relevant, open and honest questions were presented to the participants in order to achieve this genuine research.

A total of 58 questionnaires were distributed to and completed by a convenience sample of CMU students attending tourism based lectures at CMU, in order to explore their opinions on dark tourism and what would be their main motivating factor to visit a dark tourism site. The questionnaires took participants approximately ten minutes to complete and no personal information was obtained from the questionnaire, with participants’ anonymity being maintained consistently. The convenience sample technique that the author initiated in order to obtain the research was implemented due to students being the most accessible participants for the researcher to include within the study. By using this method of sampling, it also allowed the researcher to achieve the sample size that was anticipated in a relatively quick and inexpensive way.

In order to gain effectual data, the researcher initiated a mix method approach. Mixed method research involves combining quantitative and qualitative approaches (Leech and Onwuegbuzie, 2007). This was orchestrated within the questionnaires, whereby combinations of quantitative and qualitative questions were offered to participants in the form of closed and open-ended questions. The use of closed questions allowed the researcher to achieve specific statistics that would assist in determining patterns amongst the students and their motivations. By also incorporating open-ended questions into the questionnaire, it enabled the students to have an opportunity to reveal in greater depth their motivations for visiting Ground Zero and Auschwitz, and to further express their interest in dark tourism and dark sites.

**3.3.2 Qualitative Research - Semi-structured Interviews**

Qualitative research was also carried out in order to attain primary research. As (Merriam, 2009) states; “Qualitative inquiry, which focuses on meaning in context, requires a data collection instrument that is sensitive to underlying meaning when gathering and interpreting data” (Merriam, 2009:2). Humans
are most suitable for this task, therefore the researcher decided to conduct semi-structured interviews as part of their research. DeMarrais (2004) defines an interview as a “process in which a researcher and participant engage in a conversation focused on questions related to a research study”. Semi-structured interviews was the method the researcher selected as it is a technique that inclines to often be an open and flexible research tool, which allowed the researcher to probe and ask additional questions if needed, allowing for more descriptive information to be shared from the students. This meant that the researcher could conduct more of a conversation with the students rather than entertaining a structured interview whereby necessary data could have been missed.

3 interviewees were chosen to interview, with these students being chosen due to being known to the researcher and individuals who have recently visited Ground Zero and Auschwitz. As these participants had recently visited these sites, they were able to provide the researcher with an honest and comprehensive account of their opinions, experiences and motivations for attending these sites.

The advantages of using qualitative data in order to attain primary research are that the researcher can expand their understanding through verbal communication, process information immediately, clarify and summarise material, and explore unusual or unanticipated responses (Merriam, 2009).

3.4 Secondary Research – reviewing the literature

The secondary research occurred through the review of key existing literature on the dark tourism spectacle. These key books included ‘Dark Tourism – The Attraction of Death and Disaster’ by Lennon and Foley (2004) and ‘The Darker Side of Travel – The Theory and Practice of Dark Tourism’ by Sharpley and Stone (2009). These academics were the most well known in response to learning about dark tourism as a whole, therefore the author deemed it most appropriate to begin the reading of literature with these two books. In addition to these two readings, the author used a combination of academic books, journals and the Internet in order to construct a detailed
literature review. From the interpretation of these sources, the author identified that there was little evidence to support theories from these academics on the motivation of students to visit dark tourism sites. There was also minimal research as to whether there are the same motives for tourists to visit a recent dark tourism site and a historical site, with this contributing to the author’s decision to create a study into the motivations of students to visit Ground Zero and Auschwitz.

3.5 Validity and Reliability Issues

Prior to instigating the research, it was essential for the researcher to firstly seek ethical approval in order to conduct the primary research and provide a valid study. Without ethic approval, no primary research could be carried out. In early December 2015, the ethics committee approved the author’s ethic’s form and the author was able to commence with the research.

Appendix 1 expresses the approved ethics form that was approved by the ethics committee to ensure that there was no unethical aspect of the research at any point during the undertaking of research. The ethics form details how the researcher would distribute consent forms and information sheets (See Appendix 3) to all participants participating within the study, and that the purpose of the study would be clearly stated on the questionnaire, and stated on the interviewees information sheet prior to the interview so that students would be informed of what the research consisted of. It also was essential for the researcher to inform all participants that participation was entirely voluntary, they could withdraw at any time, and that their identity would remain anonymous at all times. Additionally, the researcher made sure to inform participants that all data collected would be destroyed upon completion of this dissertation.

The researcher also had to ensure the reliability and validity of the study. It was felt that the quantitative primary research that was conceded was both reliable and valid due to the research being undertaken over a period of weeks, therefore providing the ability to obtain a large convenience sample of 58 questionnaires, which provided numerous reliable findings that the
researcher could analyse and discuss. Using a more limited sample would mean that results would differ and findings would be more challenging to determine.

The qualitative primary research that was conducted was also valid because the semi-structured interviews were orchestrated with participants who had recently been to either Ground Zero or Auschwitz. Consequently, this meant that the interviews were comprised of participants who had visited the sites that were of main focus of the study and would be able to answer in detail all questions proposed.

### 3.6 Research Constraints

One of the biggest constraints for the author was timing. The author had visited Ground Zero in August 2015, prior to ethics being approved, therefore was unable to undertake research at this location. Due to this unfortunate timing it meant that perhaps research could have been more rewarding and reliable if undertaken at Ground Zero itself, with questionnaires distributed to present visitors, and that only dark tourists would have been questioned making the research more reliable. In addition to this, the author hoped to conduct semi-structured interviews with 4 students, however, due to unforeseen circumstances last minute, one participant could not attend the arranged interview and was unable to rearrange. Again, timing was a constraint here, as the researcher had no time to find an additional participant that the researcher felt would provide the comprehensive and reliable data required. As a result, this meant that less data that could have been of great value to the study was obtained.

### 3.7 Future recommendations

Overall, in order to enhance this research further and provide more reliability and detail to this research, the author would have liked to have actually visited both sites of Ground Zero and Auschwitz, after the authorisation of ethics approval, in order to distribute questionnaires directly to dark tourists as oppose to just using a sample of students. The author would also in future like to arrange interviews with more students in order to ensure that all data the
researcher aimed to achieve could be collected if a constraint occurred again. The researcher would also ensure to allow more time to interview additional students in order to achieve more lengthy data, which in turn would have reinforced the validity of the research that was undertaken.
Chapter 4: Results

4.1 Introduction

This section will illustrate the results of the data collected by the researcher once all research had concluded. Section 4.2 illustrates the results for students who had visited Ground Zero, with section 4.3 presenting the results for students who had visited Auschwitz, and section 4.4 displaying results from students who had not been to either Ground Zero or Auschwitz.

4.2 Results for Ground Zero

This section illustrates the data collected from those students who identified themselves as having visited the dark tourism site, Ground Zero, New York. Ground Zero is the location of the 9/11 Memorial and museum whereby 2,996 lives were tragically lost as a result of terrorist attacks on the iconic Twin Towers.

4.2.1 Key Findings

Figure 4.1: Whether students had been to Ground Zero

![Pie chart showing whether students had been to Ground Zero.](chart)

Figure 4.1 illustrates that out of the 58 students that responded to the questionnaire, 22% (13 students) had been to Ground Zero. 78% of students addressed had not been to Ground Zero. From this result it is clear to see that of the students addressed, more students had not visited Ground Zero than those who had.
Figure 4.2: Whether students were interested in Dark Tourism

Figure 4.2 demonstrates whether the individual students who had visited Ground Zero had an overall interest in Dark Tourism. Out of the 13 respondents who had visited Ground Zero, 85% (11) stated that they did have an interest in Dark Tourism, with 15% (2) stating that they have no interest. These results suggest that out of those who have visited Ground Zero; over half do have an actual interest in this genre of tourism as well as an interest in Ground Zero itself. The remaining 15% who stated that they do not have an interest in dark tourism suggest that they are simply just interested in Ground Zero.
Table 4.1: Reasons for interest in and no interest in Dark Tourism

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reasons for interest in Dark Tourism</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Because of the educational aspect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Good to be able to learn about historic events and see for yourself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Interested in the history/background of the attraction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• It’s a sensitive topic but I am interested in visiting these places</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• A good way of learning about important historical events</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Enjoy learning about what happened and the history of a new place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Interested in finding out about tragedies, but also in seeing how a certain location has responded to that tragedy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Interested to see historical sites and the way it has impacted our lives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Interesting topic that everyone needs to be educated about</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reasons for no interest in Dark Tourism</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• No particular interest in this tourism area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Not especially, but if there is a tourist attraction like that if I go travelling I will probably go visit</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4.2: Reasons for visiting Ground Zero

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reasons for visiting Ground Zero, New York</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• My parents had been</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• To be respectful to the people who died and also to see how the city has responded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Always had an interest in 9/11 documentaries. It was a key location that I wanted to visit when in New York because of this and I wanted to pay my respects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• The Museum was recommended by friends as it gives a real feel of the tragedy that occurred</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Went on a school trip, visited as it was an iconic attraction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Heard good things, plus it’s a major tragedy that took place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• To see and learn about a place that was majorly affected during our lifetime</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Remember watching it on the news when I was younger and I always wanted to go and see what it looks like now</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Pay respect to all those who died in the terrorist attacks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• The media coverage surrounding the tragedy made my interest greater</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• To gain knowledge about what it was like for the people involved and to pay my respects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• It’s a memorial to the people that have died</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• To see the location of such a historic disaster</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• School history trip</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This result displays that 62% (8) of students who had visited Ground Zero had also visited a different dark tourism site. From this result it can be assumed that the majority of students who visited Ground Zero are interested in dark tourism, as they have visited more than one dark tourism location.
Figure 4.4 identifies that Auschwitz concentration camp and the D-day beaches in Normandy were the two dark tourism sites where most students had visited in addition to having visited Ground Zero. 16% (3) from the sample had been to Auschwitz, corresponding the 16% (3) who had also been to the D-day beaches.
Figure 4.5: Whether students had also been to Auschwitz concentration camp

Figure 4.5 shows that 23% (3) had also been to Auschwitz. This result suggests that the fact 3 students had also been to Auschwitz; it exemplifies the interest in dark tourism students within this sample have due to them visiting both dark tourism sites. 77% (10) had not been to Auschwitz, as this figure shows, however it cannot be affirmed that just because they haven’t yet visited Auschwitz, that they do not want to visit in the future.

Figure 4.6: Whether students would be interesting in visiting Auschwitz

Figure 4.6 shows that out of the 10 students that had not visited Auschwitz, 62% (8) of students stated that they would be interested in visiting Auschwitz.
From this result it can be clearly identified that there is an interest in students that had previously visited a more recent dark tourism site, Ground Zero, wanting to also visit a more historic dark tourism site. This is also supported by the fact that 23% (3) students had already been to both Auschwitz and Ground Zero.

**Table 4.3: Reasons for interest in and no interest in visiting Auschwitz**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reasons for interest in visiting Auschwitz Concentration Camp</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Never had the opportunity but would be highly interested in doing so</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Because I would like to understand the scale of the horror and pay my respects to those who died</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Big part of European history so it would be intriguing. Also studied at GCSE so would be interested to see the camp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Very historic place which is covered in films and on TV- makes me want to go to experience and see what it was like</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Always been interested in the war and what happened with Jews in Germany so would like to go and visit to see it for myself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• It is important to know what happened and the conditions endured by the Jews</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• To see the conditions and what the camp was really like</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Interested in history</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reasons for no interest in visiting Auschwitz Concentration Camp</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Too dark for me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• I think I would find it extremely upsetting</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 4.7 clearly shows that there were several contributing factors that influenced their decision to visit a location of death and disaster. The chart shows that ‘Documentaries’, ‘Remembrance’, ‘Curiosity’ and ‘Desire to learn’ all came out on top with each of these factors having 12% (10) of students stating that it was each of these factors that contributed mainly to visiting a dark tourism site. All together these factors account for 48% of the sample of students, with this suggesting that the media, remembrance and education mutually have great influence on student’s motives to visit a dark tourism site. 11% (9) of students noted ‘Film’ as being an influence, alongside ‘Educational visit’ and ‘Family/friends influence’ with each having 11% stating these factors as an influence. 8% (7) listed ‘Tourism purposes’ as their most influencing factor, with 7% (6) of students expressing ‘Television’ as their reason for visiting.
Figure 4.8: Whether students had seen any films involving dark tourism sites

As Figure 4.8 shows, 92% (12) of the students who had been to Ground Zero had also watched a film(s) that involve dark tourism site. This can also suggest that media may have perhaps influenced them in visiting Ground Zero, and in particular the 62% (8) of students from this sample that had been to other dark tourism sites. Only one student who had been to Ground Zero stated they had seen a film that involves dark tourism sites.

Figure 4.9: Films students had seen with Dark Tourism sites

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Films students had seen with Dark Tourism sites</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Schindler’s List</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>World Trade Centre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Titanic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United 93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Pianist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boy in the Striped Pyjama’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saving Private Ryan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

36
Figure 4.9 illustrates the films involving dark tourism sites the students had seen. The majority of the 12 students (30%) had stated they had seen ‘World Trade Centre’. From this result it is clear that WTC was the most popular film and highlights that media, specifically films, does have an impact on student’s motivations to visit a dark tourism site considering WTC was a film based up on the events of 9/11.

Figure 4.10: Whether media would influence their decision to visit Ground Zero/Auschwitz

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Would media influence decision to visit Ground Zero/Auschwitz?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 4.10 shows whether the students believed that media influenced their decision to visit to Ground Zero, and would influence them to visit Auschwitz. 11 out of 13 students stated that media would influence their decision. From this it is possible to state that media does have an influence on students’ motivations.
4.3 Results for Auschwitz

This section illustrates the data collected from those students who identified themselves as having visited Auschwitz Concentration Camp, Poland.

4.3.1 Key Findings

Figure 4.11: Whether students had been to Auschwitz Concentration Camp

![Chart showing whether students had been to Auschwitz]

Figure 4.11 illustrates that out of the 58 students that responded to the questionnaire, 10% (6) had been to Auschwitz Concentration Camp. 90% of students addressed had not been to Auschwitz. From this result it is clear to see that of the students addressed, more students had not visited Auschwitz than those who had.
Figure 4.12 expresses whether the individual students who had visited Auschwitz had an interest in Dark Tourism. Out of the 6 students who had visited Auschwitz, 83% (5) of students stated that they did have an interest in dark tourism, with only one of the students stating that they have no interest. By looking at the results it can be suggested that out of those who have visited Auschwitz, over half do have an interest in this genre of tourism as well as an interest in Auschwitz itself. The remaining student who stated that they do not have an interest in dark tourism suggests that they are simply just interested in Auschwitz.
### Table 4.4: Reasons for interest and no interest in Dark Tourism

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reasons for interest in Dark Tourism</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Interesting to see historical sites and the way it impacted our lives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• I find it very interesting and a good way of learning about historical events</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Interested in history</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Often dark tourism has a strong link with history and I find it important and interesting to know what happened in the past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• I find the topic interesting, interested in history and to learn how these disasters such as the Holocaust has impacted</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reasons for no interest in Dark Tourism</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• I do not like sad images. I prefer to visit places which makes me happy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 4.5: Reasons for visiting Auschwitz

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reasons for visiting Auschwitz</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• I am from Poland, it is part of me and my culture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Interest in WW2 and how it affected future generations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• I thought it was important to see where the horrible events of the Holocaust occurred so that it doesn't get repeated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• School trip, learned about it in school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Important place to remember and wanted to see Auschwitz in person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• I have a fascination for history, particularly WW2. It is important to remember what happened during those years and to remember the victims</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Due to the history of the site, seen and learnt about it from films and the news. Wanted to see it in person</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This result displays that all of the 6 students who had visited Auschwitz had also visited another dark tourism site. From this it can be assumed that all of the students who had visited Auschwitz are interested in dark tourism, as they have visited more than one dark tourism location. However, as one student stated previously that they are not interested in dark tourism as a genre, this may not be the case and they may be attracted to site itself and not because it is a dark tourism site.
Figure 4.14 identifies that Ground Zero was the dark tourism site that the majority of students (27%) had visited in addition to having visited Auschwitz. 27% (3) from the sample had been to Ground Zero, with 18% (2) of students having been to Anne Frank’s house. By looking at these results it is clear that these were the most popular sites that had also been visited.
Figure 4.15: Whether students had also been to Ground Zero

Have you ever visited Ground Zero, New York?

Figure 4.15 shows that 50% (3) of students had also been to Ground Zero. This result suggests that the fact 3 students had also been to Ground Zero again implies there is an interest in dark tourism. 50% (3) of students had not been to Ground Zero, however it cannot be affirmed that just because they haven’t visited Auschwitz, at present, that they do not want to visit in the future.

Figure 4.16: Whether students would be interested in visiting Ground Zero, New York

Would you be interested in visiting Ground Zero, New York?

Figure 4.16 shows that out of the 3 students that had not visited Ground Zero, all of the students stated that they would be interested in visiting Ground Zero. From this result it can be clearly identified that there is an interest in students
that had previously visited a more historic dark tourism site, Auschwitz, wanting to also visit a more recent dark tourism site. This is also supported by the fact that 50% (3) of students from this sample had already been to both Auschwitz and Ground Zero.

**Table 4.6: Reasons for interest in visiting Ground Zero**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reasons for interest in visiting Ground Zero</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Recent atrocity and would go to pay respect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Because it was an event that changed many peoples lives and the memorial deserves a lot of respect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• I would like to go back and pay my respects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• History of America, respect for the country</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 4.17 express that there were several contributing factors that influenced student's decision to visit a location of death and disaster. The chart shows that ‘Documentaries’ and ‘Remembrance’ were most popular influences with each of these factors having 14% (5) of students stating that it was each of these factors that would influence their decision and motivate them to visit a dark tourism site. From this it can be proposed that it is for media and remembrance reasons that students are motivated to visit such sites. 11% (4) of students noted ‘Film’, ‘Educational visit’, ‘Curiosity’, and ‘Desire to learn’ as also being an influence, further supporting that media plays a dominant role in motivating students to visit such sites, with education also being a key motivator due to 4 students each saying an Educational visit
and a desire to learn was a reason they would visit a dark tourism site. 9% (3) of students listed ‘Self-discovery’ and ‘Family/Friends influence’ as their most influencing factor.

**Figure 4.18: Whether students had seen any films involving dark tourism sites**

As Figure 4.18 shows, 100% (6) of the students who had been to Auschwitz had also watched a film(s) that involve dark tourism site. This can suggest further that media may have perhaps influenced them in visiting Auschwitz, particularly because all of these students had also visited other dark tourism sites.
Figure 4.19: Films students had seen with Dark Tourism sites

Figure 4.19 displays the films with dark tourism sites that the students who had visited Auschwitz had seen. Half of the whole sample, 3 students, had each seen the films ‘Titanic’, ‘Saving Private Ryan’ and ‘the Boy in the Striped Pyjamas’, with these films being most popular. Considering that Saving Private Ryan and, in particular, the Boy in the Striped Pyjamas were films central around WW2 and concentration camps, it can be stated that media did infact have an influence on the students motivation to visit Auschwitz.
Figure 4.20: Whether media would influence decision in wanting to visit Auschwitz/Ground Zero

From this chart it identifies whether the students believed that media influenced their decision to visit Auschwitz, and would influence them to visit Ground Zero. It can be seen that 5 out of 6 of the students who had been to Auschwitz stated that media would indeed influence their decision in wanting to visit Auschwitz or Ground Zero. From these results, it can be stated that media did and does have an influence on student’s motivation to visit these places.
4.4 Results for students who had not been to Ground Zero or Auschwitz

This section presents the findings from the remaining participant’s who responded to the questionnaire who had stated that they had not visited Ground Zero or Auschwitz, specifically.

4.4.1 Key Findings

**Figure 4.21: Whether students had been to Ground Zero or Auschwitz**

This figure shows that out of the 58 respondents, 70% had not visited Ground Zero or Auschwitz. It is clear from this result that more students from the sample had not visited either of these dark tourism sites.

**Figure 4.22: Whether students were interested in Dark Tourism**

This figure shows that out of the 58 respondents, 70% had not visited Ground Zero or Auschwitz. It is clear from this result that more students from the sample had not visited either of these dark tourism sites.
Figure 4.22 demonstrates whether the individual students who had not visited Ground Zero or Auschwitz had an overall interest in Dark Tourism itself. Out of the 42 students, 74% (31) of students stated that although they had not visited Ground Zero or Auschwitz, they did have an interest in Dark Tourism. 26% (11) of students state that they have no interest.

Table 4.7: Reasons for interest and no interest in dark tourism

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reasons for no interest</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Not really my scene. Too depressing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Because I studied too much in school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Don’t understand a lot about the subject and what it involves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• I don’t find dark tourism interesting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• I like to go to places that can keep me positive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Find it negative and boring</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 4.23 identifies how many of the students that hadn’t specifically visited Ground Zero or Auschwitz had visited a dark tourism site. 69% (29) stated that they had not visited a dark tourism site, with 31% (13) of students stating that they had. It can be identified that whilst over half of students stated that they had not visited a dark tourism site, over half also said that they were interested. From this it can be suggested that just because students had not visited a dark tourism site, it does not mean that they are not drawn or interested in such places.
Figure 4.24 presents all the dark tourism sites that the students who had visited dark tourism sites stated they had visited. The most popular dark tourism sites students have visited include:

- Guantanamo Bay, Cuba
- Cassels, Roben Island, South Africa
- Phuket, Thailand Tsunami Damage
- London Dungeons
- War Memorials
- Jack the Ripper Tour
- Sachsenhausen Concentration Camp
- Bagamoyo, Tanzania
- Killing Fields, Cambodia
- Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum
- Christchurch, New Zealand
- D-day Beaches, Normandy
- War Battlefields, France
- Nagasaki, Japan
- Omaha Beach, France
tourism sites that the student’s said they had visited were Phuket, Thailand, London Dungeons, War memorials, Sachsenhausen Concentration Camp, the killing fields in Cambodia and the War battlefields, France with 10% (2) of students each expressing they had visited these places.

**Figure 4.25: Whether students who had not been to Ground Zero were interested in visiting Ground Zero**

Figure 4.25 identifies that over half (83%) of students who had not been to Ground Zero or Auschwitz stating that they would be interested in visiting Ground Zero, New York. Only 17% (7) of students expressed that they would not want to visit Ground Zero.
Table 4.8: Reasons for interest in visiting Ground Zero, New York

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reasons for:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Would like to learn more about it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Impacted many lives, 2 large buildings that once stood now nothing I find it especially interesting because people still don’t really know what happened today. Photos/videos show different things</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• I would like to experience the feel of being there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Never been before</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• I think it would be interesting to visit, very humbling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Would like to pay respects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• To understand the emotional impacts as well as the physical environment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Love to go to new york, it happened on my birthday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• World renowned site, interesting to experience it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Interesting to learn about how the world has moved on and honour those who helped rebuild and save lives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• It is important to understand the event that occurred at Ground Zero and see how people have recovered and how those lost are remembered</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Intrigued as to what has been created as a memorial and interested in the event that happened</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Due to its worldwide publicity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• To pay tribute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• It will be part of me having to learn and understand it better</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Want to visit new york</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Pay respects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Not as an attraction but to pay respects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Relatively recent, know people who were affected</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 4.26 identifies that over half (81%) of students who had not been to Ground Zero or Auschwitz stating that they would be interested in visiting Auschwitz Concentration Camp. Only 19% (8) of students expressed that they would not want to visit Auschwitz.
Table 4.9: Reasons for interest in visiting Auschwitz Concentration Camp

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reasons for:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Know people that have been</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Would love to experience the history and the area to understand what it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>felt like to be there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Yes in terms of remembrance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Learn and pay respects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Been to other camps and it was very touching</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Interesting to learn and see what happened at Auschwitz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• I will soon be going in May 2016. It is important to know about what</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>happened and I am interested in going to places like this</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Part of history, pay tribute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Parents have been, recommended</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• The history of the place was already familiar of event from school but</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>can learn more about it and see what it was like</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Yes as I have visited other relating locations in Germany</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• I like exploring new places</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Much better going to actual place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• To gain understanding of what people went through at the camp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Because I have heard it’s a chilling experience and I’m interested in the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>events that were carried out there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• My brother has been and said it was interesting and worthwhile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Always had an interest in the site because so much happened there.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loads of people I know went and enjoyed their visit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Interesting and have heard good things</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Interested in the history and would like to remember</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Very interested in going. Just site of torture and all the Jews went</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>through hell, visiting where it all happened and seeing how big the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grounds are would put it all in perspective</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 4.27: Contributing factors that influence students in visiting locations of death and disaster

Figure 4.27 shows that there were several contributing factors that influenced student’s decision to visit a location of death and disaster. The chart shows that ‘Curiosity’ was identified as the most influencing factor, with 13% (33) of students stating they would visit such sites out of curiosity. ‘Documentaries’ and ‘Film’ each had 12% stating that these would be an influencing factor, followed closely by ‘Desire to learn’ with 11% (27) of students.
Figure 4.28: Whether students had seen any films that involve Dark Tourism sites

Figure 4.28 displays a chart that shows if students had seen any films that involved dark tourism. 74% (31) of students stated that they had seen films involving dark tourism sites, with 26% (11) of students stating that they had not. It will be interesting to identify whether these students who have watched films involving dark tourism sites also state that they feel media would influence them to visit dark tourism locations.

Figure 4.29: Films students had seen with Dark Tourism sites

Figure 4.29 displays a chart that shows which films students had seen that involve dark tourism sites. The films include:
- Schindler's List
- World Trade Centre
- Boy in Striped Pyjama's
- Auschwitz

58
Figure 4.29 displays the films with dark tourism sites that the remaining students had seen. Over half of the whole sample, 21 students, had seen the film ‘Schindler’s List’, and 12 of the students had seen World Trade Centre, with these films being the most popular.

Figure 4.30: Whether media would influence students’ decision to visit Ground Zero/Auschwitz?

Would media have influence on students decision in visiting Ground Zero/Auschwitz?

![Pie chart showing 79% Yes and 9% No]

Figure 4.30 displays whether the students believed that media would influence decision in wanting to visit Auschwitz or Ground Zero. It can be seen that over half (79%) of the remaining students stated that media would influence them on wanting to visit. Only 9 students stated that media would not influence them. From these results, it can be suggested that media does have an influence on student’s motivation to visit these places.
Figure 4.31: Whether students are drawn to more Recent or Historic dark tourism sites

Figure 4.31 expresses whether all the students who completed the questionnaire are more drawn to more recent or historic dark tourism locations. By looking at the results, it is clear that students are more drawn to more historic dark tourism locations, with 78% (45) of students stating that they would prefer to visit a more historic dark tourism site. Only 13 (22%) students stated that they would prefer to visit a more recent dark tourism location.
Table 4.10: Whether students are more drawn to Recent or Historic locations of death and disaster

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reasons for historic:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• I can learn more about what actually happened</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Learnt about it in school, have a lot more impact than recent locations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• I know less about them, as I wasn't alive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Interesting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Go to acknowledge the events that occurred</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Would gain better understanding on what happened years ago</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Can learn more</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Enjoy history and learning about our own heritage and other countries’ heritage. Can learn a lot about others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Learning about more recent history is more readily available and published whereas historic sites have less publicity and so I would prefer to go and learn about them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Will learn more visiting historic site</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• For recent dark tourism, it is all over the news, therefore I know a lot about it and why it’s happened. With historical I would like to learn more.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reasons for recent:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Personal event for me to remember</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Because it's good to know and learn about what happened</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Helps me to be knowledgeable and find out about all the things that have been happening in the last few years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• More interesting as it happened in my era</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• More relevant, feels like it could motivate me to do something about it</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 5: Discussion, Analysis & Interpretation of the Data

5.1 Introduction

Within this section of the study, the results and data from both the interviews and questionnaires obtained from students will be discussed, analysed and interpreted. The results will be analysed in great depth by the author in order to attempt to establish key inclinations between what motivates individuals, and to identify whether the results of this study support the work and research of the academics, such as Lennon and Foley (2009), as discussed within the literature review.

The author obtained all primary research by distributing 58 questionnaires to students and orchestrating three qualitative interviews with students who had been to Ground Zero or Auschwitz. This chapter will portray discussion, analysis and interpretation of the results collected from the students that exposed themselves as having being to Ground Zero and Auschwitz, and the remaining students who had not visited these sites specifically.

The author constructed five key objectives to the study, with objective one already being accomplished in Chapter 2 (Page 8) by reviewing the literature on dark tourism, thanatourism and visitor’s motivation. The additional objectives were:

**Objective 2:** To identify the key motivators for tourists to visit Ground Zero and Auschwitz, and other dark tourism locations

**Objective 3:** To explore and evaluate if media has stimulated decisions to attend these locations

**Objective 4:** To determine whether students are more drawn to more recent dark tourism sites or more historic dark tourism sites, and their motives.

**Objective 5:** To develop an explanatory theory as to why individuals visit dark tourism sites, using the findings, and offer recommendations

From reviewing the results from the study, the author identified several patterns, which assisted the researcher in completing the objectives of this study.
5.1 Student’s overall interest in Dark Tourism

From the data collected it was identified that, overall, students who had been to Ground Zero and the students who had been to Auschwitz had a prodigious interest in Dark Tourism. For those that had been to Ground Zero, over half (85%) stated they had an interest in dark tourism (See Figure 4.2). Only 2 students who stated they had been to Ground Zero specified that did not have any interest in dark tourism. This suggests that whilst they have visited Ground Zero, they are simply just interested in Ground Zero and not dark tourism as a genre.

Amongst Table 4.1 are the reasons as to why the students who visited Ground Zero were interested or not. The key reasons that were expressed by students for the interest in dark tourism were down to ‘the educational aspect’ and that it is an ‘interesting topic that everyone needs to be educated about’. This suggests that whilst these students that had visited Ground Zero did have an interest in dark tourism, they are more intrigued by the educational characteristic of dark sites and the historical aspect; ‘Interested to see historical sites and the way it has impacted our lives’. The reasons for no interest in dark tourism that were conveyed were that the students were not entirely interested in dark tourism itself, ‘but if there is a tourist attraction like that if I go travelling then I will probably go visit’. This further exemplifies that whilst they have visited a location recognised as a dark site, it does not mean that they have an interest in dark tourism, supporting Sharpley’s (2009) ‘shades of grey’ model of dark tourism demand and supply, reinforcing the ‘grey tourism supply’ fragment of sites intentionally recognised to highlight death however attract visitors with little interest in death.

For those students that had been to Auschwitz, 83% of students had stated that they were interested in dark tourism (See Figure 4.12), with only one student declaring a disinterest. The majority of visitors to Auschwitz that stated they had an interest in dark tourism referred to the historical aspect of dark tourism, as oppose to being interested in death itself. ‘Interesting to see historical sites’, ‘Often dark tourism has a strong link with history and I find it
important and interesting to know what has happened in the past’ (See Table 4.4).

From these results and responses, it can be suggested that whilst there is an initial interest in dark tourism itself, it cannot be stated that these sites were visited solely due to the interest in dark tourism as it was identified that some students are just simply interested in the sites as an attraction. This was further expressed by Interviewee 3, who, in response to whether they had an interest in dark tourism prior to visiting Auschwitz, stated;

“I would not say that I am particularly interested in dark tourism. I find these places incredibly interesting, however, I would only travel to these places because of what I had seen on documentaries. I would not say that I have a fascination with death itself” (See Appendix 9).

In order to attain a greater understanding as to why these students visited these specific sites, the author aimed to identify what additionally influenced the student’s interests in visiting these sites.

5.2 Objective 2 - To identify the key motivators for tourists to visit Ground Zero and Auschwitz, and other dark tourism locations

This section of chapter five aims to identify key motivations for the students to visit dark tourism sites, specifically Ground Zero and Auschwitz. From the collection of research it became evident that there were numerous contributing influences in motivating the students. Due to this identification of numerous factors and reasons influencing students, it became clear that there was no individual motivation influencing their visit.

5.2.1 Education

As Sharpley and Stone (2009) state, ‘dark tourists are often motivated by the quest for a new experience or an adventure to gain knowledge and understand something that was not known to them before (2009, cited in Podoshen, 2013). From the quantitative and qualitative research collected
from students, this statement was confirmed, as it was evident that education played a key role in motivating several students to visit Ground Zero and Auschwitz, and other dark tourism sites.

Students who had visited Ground Zero stated that they visited ‘to see and learn about a place that was majorly affected during our lifetime’, because of a ‘School history trip’ and ‘to gain knowledge about what it was like for the people involved’ (See Table 4.2). Additionally, in Table 4.5, one student who stated they would be interested to go to Auschwitz communicated that they were ‘interested in history’ and that it was ‘important to know what happened’. For the visitors to Auschwitz, students also stated that their reasons for visiting was due to an ‘interest in WW2’, and a ‘School trip, learned about Auschwitz in school’ (See Table 4.5), implying again that their visit was to educate and enhance their knowledge of the atrocity. This was further confirmed from Figures 4.7 and 4.17, whereby 10 out of 13 students noted that they would visit a site due to their desire to learn and 9 students expressed that an educational visit would be their motive to visit a dark location (See Figure 4.7). Figure 4.17 illustrates that 4 out of 6 student’s that had been to Auschwitz noted both educational visit and a desire to learn as being a contributing influence in visiting a dark tourism site.

Figure 4.4 also identifies that Auschwitz and the D-day beaches in Normandy were the two dark tourism sites that the students had visited in addition to having visited Ground Zero. This could suggest that education and the reward of learning could have influenced these students to visit Auschwitz and the D-day beaches, considering both were a major part of the same historic period therefore students may have perhaps visited to these sites in order to educate themselves.

In regards to the students that had not been to either site, 83% of students said that they would be interested in visiting Ground Zero (See Figure 4.25). Amongst their reasons for this interest were ‘I would like to learn more about it’, ‘interesting to learn about how the world has moved on’, and ‘intrigued as to what has been created as a memorial’ (See Table 4.8). Additionally, 81% of
students displayed interest in visiting Auschwitz (See Figure 4.26). Their reasons included ‘to understand what it felt like to be there’ and ‘to gain understanding of what people went through at the camp’ (See Table 4.9). As these responses show, the ability ‘to learn’ was a key reason for the student’s interest in visiting these particular sites.

From observing these responses from students, it has reinforced the identification that education does indeed play a role in student’s motive to visit Ground Zero and Auschwitz and other dark sites in order to heighten knowledge of that particular location. This supports Maslow (2005), whose theory is that it is psychological needs that can motivate individuals to travel to dark sites, due to an intrinsic desire to learn.

5.2.2 Remembrance

Occasionally dark tourism sites can attract people due to their ability to provide remembrance. Within Table 4.2 were responses from the student’s that identified remembrance as being a motivator for them to visit Ground Zero. Amongst these reasons were to ‘pay respect to all those who died in the terrorist attacks’. Interviewee 1 further identified this;

**Author:** “What was your main reason for visiting Ground Zero?”

“Out of remembrance, really. Mainly because it has so much hype around it, and even though we did go for tourism purposes as well, we went as well to pay our respects too” (See Appendix 7).

From the questionnaire that was completed by students who had been to Ground Zero, 10 students noted remembrance as being a contributing factor for them to visit dark locations (See Figure 4.7), with all but one who had been to Auschwitz also selecting remembrance (See Figure 4.17). As the results illustrate, it can be proposed that commemoration and paying respects was identified as a recurring influence on the majority of the student’s motivations to visit dark tourism sites. The reasons for attending such sites as a means of paying respects were further elaborated by Interviewee 2:
“It came to my attention several years ago that I actually had a distant relative that survived at Auschwitz. My sister and I thought it was important to visit a site that was responsible for unthinkable suffering that our relative would have gone through. We wanted to go to Auschwitz to remember what they had to endure and to pay our respects to those that weren't fortunate to survive like our relative” (See Appendix 8).

From this response, it was clear that they had visited Auschwitz in order to commemorate a family member and remember the many lives that were lost at this site. In regards to the students who had an interest in visiting Auschwitz, amongst the reasons specified for this interest were ‘in terms of remembrance’ and ‘to learn and pay respects’ (See Table 4.9). Similar responses were obtained from students who were interested in visiting Ground Zero, who stated that they would want to visit Ground Zero ‘not as an attraction but to pay respects’ and Ground Zero was ‘relatively recent and know people who were affected’ (See Table 4.8).

From the results of all students that cooperated with the research, it can clearly acknowledged that students visit such sites in order to pay respects and propose remembrance to those who lost their lives at the site.

5.2.3 Additional influences

As seen in Figure 4.27, students who had not visited either Ground Zero or Auschwitz identified ‘Curiosity’ as the most influencing factor to visit a dark tourism location, with 33 out of 42 students noting this influence. Additionally, 10 students out of the 13 that had been to Ground Zero also listed curiosity as a reason for their motivation to visit these types of sites.

Author: So did you think Education played a part in you wanting to visit this site?

Interviewee 1: umm, partly, because you do learn about parts of it in school, which made me want to visit but mostly it was my own curiosity that I wanted to visit the site (See Appendix 7).
This demonstrates that curiosity is also a source of motivation for tourists, with curiosity being a characteristic described by Dunkley (2007) that is inherent in all humans, which is why, perhaps, the majority of students noted this as an influence.

Another influence that was identified from both the qualitative and quantitative questions within the questionnaire was the influence of Family and Friends to visit dark tourism sites. 9 students out of 13 listed Family/Friends influence as a motivating factor (See Figure 4.7), with half of the students who had been to Auschwitz also noting Family/friends influence (See Figure 4.17). This influence is further alliterated by the responses within Table 4.9, which include students stating that ‘loads of people I know went and enjoyed their visit’, ‘my parents have been and recommended it’, and ‘my brother has been and said it was interesting and worthwhile’. These reasons exposed by the 81% of students who had not been to either sites who listed ‘Yes’ that they would be interested in visiting Auschwitz, suggest that it was clear that it would be a family/friends influence that would motivate them to visit these sites.

5.3 Objective 3 - To explore and evaluate if media has stimulated decisions to attend these locations

5.3.1 Media Influence

As Dunkley (2007) expresses, ‘Individuals are subjected to stimuli portraying dark events on almost daily basis through a number of media which may create an intrinsic need or desire to confirm representations viewed at a distance’ (2007:85).

The researcher’s objective was to explore this and determine whether media is responsible for stimulating student’s decisions to attend dark locations. From the research that was acquired, it emerged that visitation to dark sites such as Ground Zero and Auschwitz was heavily influenced as a result of the
media and what had been portrayed within documentaries and films, for example.

Amongst the 13 students that had been to Ground Zero, 11 students agreed that media would influence their decision to visit Ground Zero or Auschwitz *(See Figure 4.10)*. Furthermore, 5 out of the 6 students that had been to Auschwitz also decided that media would be key influence *(See Figure 4.20)*. Instantly it was clear to state that media was a fundamental influence on these students to visit these sites. This agreement that media was a motivator for students to visit these sites was supplemented further by the students’ explanations for visiting these sites. One student expressed that the reason for their visit to Ground Zero was due to an ‘interest in 9/11 documentaries’ and ‘the media coverage surrounding the tragedy made my interest greater’. Another student also addressed their reasoning as being a result of ‘watching it on the news when I was younger and I always wanted to go and see what it looks like now’ *(See Table 4.2)*. This response recognises Lennon and Foley’s (2004) theory that experiencing news events at home brings populations to the intersection between the global and the local, further insinuating that can it cannot be surprising that when an opportunity arises to see the site in ‘real life’ as a result of viewing the disaster on the news, people from around the world will want to go and see the site.

Additionally, over half of students (79%) who had not been to either sites decided that media would influence them to visit Ground Zero or Auschwitz *(See Figure 4.30)*, with this supporting their reasons for interest in visiting these sites, which included ‘due to its worldwide publicity’ *(See Table 4.8)*, in reference to Ground Zero. From these findings it can be implied that the majority of students attain the belief that media would be an influence on them to visit these sites.

During a semi-structured interview, Interviewee 1 further supported these findings and declared that media did have an influence on their decision to visit Ground Zero, and described what form of media and how it had influence them.
Author: “You said you feel media does have an influence, could you please expand, are there any movies you feel you have watched that contributed to you visiting Ground Zero?”

“Yes, I feel media did influence me to visit this site. I have watched the film ‘World Trade Centre’ which I watched out of curiosity just to see what happened and to gain a representation of it. From watching this film it made me want to go and see it for myself” (See Appendix 7).

Interviewee 3, a student who had visited Auschwitz, also explained how media had motivated them to visit the camp;

“Whenever there are documentaries regarding the World Wars, I have always found them deeply interesting. Upon the 70th anniversary last year of the liberation of Auschwitz, I was watching a documentary regarding Auschwitz which immediately heightened my interest, and I just felt an urge to go and see the place for myself to confirm the horrors. This, I feel, was the main influence on my decision to visit and I also felt it was important to me to go and pay my respects” (See Appendix 9). This response in particular supports Dunkley’s (2007) proposition that individuals are witness to media, such as documentaries, portraying dark events, which in turn constructs a desire to confirm this representation.

Documentaries evidently have an influence on students and this is reinforced by the results from the questionnaires completed by all students, those who had been to Ground Zero and Auschwitz, and those who had not. 10 out of 13 students state this as influencing factor (See Figure 4.7), with all but one who had been to Auschwitz noting documentaries as being a main influence (See Figure 4.17), and over half (31) of the remaining students also choosing documentaries (See Figure 4.27).

As mentioned by Interviewee 1, ‘film’ was identified by this student as being amongst the sources of media that played a part in motivating them to visit Ground Zero. There was a clear focus on film within the questionnaire distributed to students, with one question questioning whether the students
had viewed films that encompass dark tourism locations, and to then state what film they had seen.

Amongst the films that the students who had been to Ground Zero had seen that involve dark tourism sites, all but one student had expressed that they had seen World Trade Center, with this film being the most popular (See Figure 4.9). This proposes that films do have an impact on student’s motivations to visit a dark tourism location, particularly because this film involves the events of 9/11 and ultimately portrays Ground Zero. This suggests that by watching this film prior to their visit, it would have allowed the students to connect to the event through this form of media and as a result motivated them to visit the place themselves. Interestingly, as Figure 4.18 illustrates, all 6 of the students who had been to Auschwitz had stated that they had seen a film involving dark sites. The most popular film that students identified as having seen was ‘The Boy in the Striped Pyjama’s’, with 3 out of the 6 who had been to Auschwitz having seen this film (See Figure 4.19). Again, this film depicts scenes from the Holocaust and concentration camps, implying that it was from this representation of the camp that motivated the students to visit Auschwitz. The three students who expressed they had seen this film were also amongst the 4 students who expressed ‘film’ as being a contributing influence to visit a dark tourism site, confirming that film does indeed have a noteworthy influence on students’ motivation. This clear influence of film supports Botterill and Jones (2010) who state that in respect of those sites associated with crime interest, with both Ground Zero and Auschwitz essentially being sites of crime, which fundamentally led to its ‘dark’ label, tourism demand has undoubtedly grown as a result of media interest and filmic reproduction.

To conclude this section, it can be stated that numerous sources of media have played a role in stimulating decisions to attend these locations. It can be evaluated that the influence of mainly films and documentaries were the primary motivation for students to visit Ground Zero and Auschwitz.
5.4 Objective 4 - To determine whether students are more drawn to more recent dark tourism sites or more historic dark tourism sites, and their motives.

The author aimed to determine a further understanding of the motivations of students to visit locations of death and disaster by investigating whether the same, similar or contrasting motivations were identified for visiting a more recent dark tourism sites or historic dark tourism sites.

Statistically, from the results collected it can be established that all students, including those who had not specifically been to Ground Zero or Auschwitz, were more drawn to historical dark tourism sites (See Figure 4.31).

The main explanations that were identified for being more drawn to historic dark sites were that ‘I can learn much more about what actually happened’, ‘Enjoy history and learning about our own heritage and other countries’ heritage’, ‘Would gain better understanding on what happened years ago’ (See Table 4.10). From this it can be seen that it is mainly due to a desire to learn about history that students would be more drawn to a historic sites, and that they are more popular to visit for this reason.

When assessing the reasons for those students who expressed they would be more drawn to recent locations, students stated that they felt more recent sites, such as the sites of the November Paris attacks 2015, were ‘more relevant, feels like it could motivate me to do something about it’, ‘more interesting as it happened in my era’, ‘Helps me to be knowledgeable and find out the things that have been happening in the last few years’ (See Table 4.10).

These statements reinforce that it is education that plays a key role in motivating tourists to visit locations of disaster, whether it is a recent location or a more historical location. This can be identified due to many of the responses indicating that it is these types of sites that allow them to become knowledgeable about current and historical events and that they are drawn to these sites as result of this. The influence of media can also be taken from these results due to two students’ responses implying that historical sites do
not achieve as much media coverage as more recent sites. One student expressed that ‘for recent dark tourism, it is all over the news, therefore I know a lot about it and why it's happened. With historical I would like to learn more’; with another student stating that ‘Learning about more recent history is more readily available whereas historic sites have less publicity and so I would prefer to go and learn about them’. This suggests that media is more of a motivator to visit recent locations due to the view that recent sites, such as Ground Zero, perhaps have had more media attention than historic sites such as Auschwitz.
Chapter 6: Summary/Conclusion

This chapter will draw final conclusions on the key results and findings orchestrated from this study. The author will determine what was successful and unsuccessful, whilst delivering recommendations based upon the key findings of the study.

The researcher's main purpose of this study was to investigate what motivates tourists to visit dark tourism locations, using the case studies of Ground Zero and Auschwitz. The researcher chose to study the motivation behind dark tourism due to the exclamation that limited attention had been paid to exploring why tourists are drawn towards these sites (Lennon & Foley, 2004; Isaac & Cakmak, 2013). Therefore, the upmost aim of this dissertation was to identify students' motivations to visit such sites. To achieve this identification, the author distributed 58 questionnaires and orchestrated 4 semi-structured interviews.

6.1 Summary of Key Findings

From the collection of qualitative and quantitative research, it enabled the researcher to identify distinct motives for students to visit locations of death and disaster. The most apparent motivators extracted from the findings were education, media influence, remembrance and curiosity. The identification of these key motivations provided support for previous academics' theories and statements as to why tourists visit dark tourism locations.

Objective two aimed to identify the key motivators for students to visit Ground Zero and Auschwitz, and other dark tourism locations. From the collection of students who had visited Ground Zero or Auschwitz, and students who had not been to these sites, this objective was achieved due to the identification of education, media influence, and remembrance as being the key motivators for students to visit Ground Zero and Auschwitz. These results support Lennon and Foley (2000), who believe that people and tourists, choose to participate as acts of 'entertainment, remembrance and education'. It was also found that
these were contributing motives the majority of students, and there was not one sole motivator for each individual. This finding supported Dunkley’s (2007) reasons, interests and desires stimulating thanasite visitation framework that suggested a combination of these reasons would motivate a tourist to visit a dark tourism site as there is no singular motivation.

The third objective, to explore and evaluate if media has stimulated decisions to attend these locations, was also achieved. It was discovered that media had a great influence on the students’ decision to visit dark sites though the portrayal of these sites via media streams such as documentaries and film. The majority of students had seen films connected with dark tourism sites, such as WTC, and viewing this film prior to the visit to Ground Zero appeared to motivate students to visit, confirming media’s influence on decisions to attend dark locations.

The outcome of the fourth objective, to determine whether students are more drawn to recent dark tourism sites or historic dark tourism sites, and their motives, implied that students were more drawn to historical dark tourism sites compared to recent dark tourism sites. It was found that education influenced students to visit both types of sites, however media was cited as providing more motivation to visit recent dark tourism sites as opposed to historic dark tourism sites.

Additionally, it was also found that not all visitors to Ground Zero and Auschwitz had an interest in dark tourism and death itself, but visited for alternative reasons, which supported Sharpley (2005) who expresses that not every visitor to a dark tourism location is there for the same reason and there are a ‘variety of form of consumption’.

6.2 Conclusion and recommendations for future research

To conclude, the author feels that the aim and objectives of the study were greatly achieved and the author was largely content with the progress of this study. Whilst the author feels the study was a success, the author recognises weaknesses in the execution of the research and the research design, and...
thus feels that more research could be undertaken in order to have a more reliable and detailed study.

As mentioned in Chapter 3 (Page 20), one of the biggest constraints for the author was timing. Had the author have had actually visited Ground Zero after ethics was approved, perhaps research could have been more rewarding and reliable if questionnaires were distributed there and then, and that only dark tourists would have been questioned to enhance reliability of the findings. Timing also meant that the author did not have the ability to visit Auschwitz, which again, by interviewing and supplying questionnaires to visitor’s actually at the site, more rewarding data could have been achieved. Furthermore, to improve the study, the author feels that more students should have been interviewed in order to attain greater data.

Considering these limitations in regards to future research, the author would therefore ensure that enough time is provided in order to achieve enhanced reliability with results.

Objective five directed to develop theory as to why individuals visit dark tourism sites, using the findings, and offer recommendations. From the findings the author theorises that it is clear that there is not one sole motivator for any individual and that there are multiple reasons and motives for students to visit these sites. No student admitted to one sole motive to visiting these sites or other dark tourism sites, however each participant was greatly motivated by a number of key influences, in particular motivation as a result of media, education and remembrance by paying respects, all of which were noted by the majority of students as being their main motivations for visiting these sites. This coincides with Dunkley’s reasons, interests and desires stimulating thanasite visitation framework (Dunkley, 2007), which suggests that reasons for visiting a dark site alternate between individuals and that there is no singular motive to visit a dark site and that it is a blend of reasons been that students visit such sites.

The author recommends that for future research, in order to gain a heightened understanding of tourists’ motivations, differences in motivations in regards to
different populations of participants could be investigated, such as the older
generation, in order to determine whether students would have different
motivations compared to visitors of an older generation. Particularly as
students in particular, will have a desire to learn for many years to come, so it
would be interesting to see whether the older generation would have the
same or similar motives as students to visit such sites. The author also
recommends that the visitation to dark tourism sites by the researcher
themselves will aid in achieving more reliable and lengthy data, as data will be
obtained by dark tourists who will all be aware of what their motivations are
there and then.
References


Sharpley, R; Stone, P (2009) The Darker Side of Travel - The Theory and Practice of Dark Tourism Routledge, Oxon


