



Universitetet
i Stavanger

FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES,
NORWEGIAN SCHOOL OF HOTEL MANAGEMENT

MASTER'S THESIS

STUDY PROGRAM: International Hotel and Tourism
Leadership

THESIS IS WRITTEN IN THE FOLLOWING
SPECIALIZATION/SUBJECT: Yes

IS THE ASSIGNMENT CONFIDENTIAL? No

TITLE: The Demand Side of Dark Tourism – Characteristics of Dark Tourists

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ACKNOWLEDGE RECEIPT OF 2 BOUND COPIES OF THESIS

Stavanger,/..... 2016

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Abstract

Dark tourism, or *thanatourism*, is a type of tourism concerning using ‘death space’ for tourism purposes. The general goal of dark tourism research is to identify, describe and analyze tourism journeys to death space. There are several researches and typologies done concerning dark tourism, but not much for the issue of dark tourists so far. This paper presents a qualitative study conducted on tourists visiting places connected with war or death. The research is based on semi-structured interviews. The theoretical bases for research are Tourism Motivation Theory and Decision Making Theory, the common point of those two being Destination Image. The model underlying the research is actually based on Destination Image, and four concepts relevant for a study were adapted from it: Motivation, Perception, Experience, and Personal Characteristics. The study was exploratory and aimed to provide some insights about dark tourists. The results were analyzed using thematic coding *a priori* and case studies. During the analysis two more concepts were discovered as relevant for the study: Decision making and Future Plans. The inductive method of reasoning was chosen for the study, which means that no assumptions about results were made in advance. Results of the qualitative analyses show the remarkable meaning of curiosity, search for novelty, and historical interests in dark tourists’ motivation. Findings show that not all destinations which are “dark” according to tourism theory are actually dark in tourists’ perception. Moreover, the majority of tourists refuse to consider themselves as dark tourists, even if according to the existing theory they are “death tourists”. Contributions of the study are then discussed, together with suggestions on future research.

Chapter 1

1.1. Dark Tourism

1.1.1. Introduction

The aim of the first subsection in chapter one is to put some light on the concept of dark tourism, which is the base of this survey. The start point is a general definition of tourism, and some determinants of the phenomenon, and its complexity. Then, attention will be paid to the concept of thanatourism – death tourism. We will go through different kinds of dark tourism, which were distinguished previously in science. Some interesting typologies, introduced inter alia by Seaton (1996) or Stone (2006) will be presented accordingly. Some attention will be given also to the phenomenon of death and its meaning in culture.

1.1.2. Tourism phenomenon

It is hard to clearly define tourism because it is a very multifaceted phenomenon, but it is an area of interest for many sciences (like sociology, psychology, economy etc.). Tourism can be seen in a narrow manner, only in its spatial context (migrations of tourists to destination areas), although some scientists like Przeclawski (1996) tried to explain the phenomenon through human needs and the drive to fulfil them. In that case tourism is first of all a social phenomenon, where traveling is always *voluntary and temporary*. The aspect of voluntariness is especially important for this work. The origins of tourism lie much more in the religious or trade aspects, but nowadays tourism is focused on cognitive aspects, amusement, rest and personal interests (Tanaś, 2013).

As it has been already mentioned, tourism is a multifaceted phenomenon, and it can be seen in a few aspects, which can also be applied to dark tourism:

- **As a psychological phenomenon**, connected with human needs (motives, goals, needs, ideas etc.).
- **As a cultural phenomenon**, because of cultural interactions during traveling.
- **As a social phenomenon**, covering interpersonal relations and social contacts.
- **As a spatial phenomenon**, covering tourist development and determining changes in geographical space.
- **As an economic phenomenon**, determined by contact between demand and supply sides on tourist market (Kurek, 2008).

A tourist, while looking for unlike experiences, becomes a customer of a specially prepared tourist product. Death in an ontological and phenomenological aspect can also arouse interest of tourists. In that stage it seems to be important to mention the issue of a tourism area. There are three main dimensions influencing the character of a tourism area:

- Tourist attractions (natural and anthropological).
- Accessibility.
- Tourist infrastructure.

The particular significance have tourist attractions; as a combination of natural and anthropological elements, they determine the extent of interest and attention paid by tourists to a particular area. Culture also plays a significant role in perception of a tourism area. Culture here is seen from a broad perspective, as a set of norms, symbols, myths, setting a direction of feelings, interests and actions. The same tourism area can be perceived differently by different tourists (Tanaś, 2008). An interesting question then arises: Can death space be treated as a tourist attraction?

To some degree, traveling to such places may be a result of tourists' personal traits and interests, where death would be considered an object of interest. But this is a matter of push factors in tourism, which will be discussed in the next subsection of this chapter.

1.1.3. Tourism and death

To talk about dark tourism or thanatourism we need to start from the concept of thanatopsis. Thanatopsis is a contemplation of death. It comes from Greek words *Thanatos* (the god of death) and *opsis* (the sense of sight). This concept was popularized in the Middle Age Europe by Catholic Church, which used it as a principle, a specific form of *memento mori*, in order to prepare for a death (Seaton, 1996).

Thanatourism plays vital role in understanding and perception of death, mainly through educational processes. The concept of dark tourism was first launched in science in 1996, in International Journal of Heritage Studies. Seaton (1996) in his article defined dark tourism as traveling motivated, partly or wholly, by a need or desire to “contact” with death, especially with brutal, sudden death. According to Seaton, this desire can be caused by some special features of people who are interested in death. In other words, dark tourism is seen as a phenomenon that covers traveling to places of natural disasters, catastrophes, murders, mass death or genocides. To sum up, dark tourism is about visiting „death space” which is understood in science as a separated space determined by death (Tanaś, 2013). Thanatourism studies deal with “the geographical aspects of using ‘death space’ for tourism purposes, as a part of a wider socio-geographical space. Publications on the use of ‘death space’ for tourism purposes established the general goal of research, which is to identify, describe and analyze tourism journeys to ‘death space’. (Tanaś, 2013b, p. 23). However, Seaton (1996) claims that thanatourism should be seen from human behavior perspective. He suggests that scholars should pay attention to the underlying motives of those travels, not to the characteristic of a destination. Thanatourism as a type of cognitive tourism is based on two assumptions:

- **A motive:** there is always a particular motive which influences the need to visit a death space.
- **A subject of interest:** interest is concentrated on the dead person or just widely understood death.

The most often we talk about traveling to a death space which is not motivated by personal reasons (like memory of dead relatives), but focused on the place which commemorated a death, its scale and form (Tanaś, 2013).

Seaton (1996) distinguished 5 categories of dark tourism:

1. **Traveling to places of public death:** usually it had a form of a big show, like contests of gladiators, executions, etc. Nowadays, for instance, we can observe a tourist activity in places of terrorist attacks, wars or natural disasters. This is connected with a need to experience the macabre.
2. **Traveling to places of mass (or in some cases also individual) death:** in the first situation it can be a death camp, a battlefield, a place of genocide; in the other for example a place of murder, tragic accident or torture.
3. **Traveling to memorials of the dead:** cemeteries, catacombs, mausoleums, war memorials etc.
4. **Traveling to places which are not directly connected to death, but presenting some artefacts of it:** in this category mainly museums, galleries and exhibitions are taken into consideration.
5. **Traveling to places of staging of death:** like staging of famous battles or religious ones connected first of all with martyrdom.

A tourist is encouraged to contemplate death not only in a religious dimension, but first of all in a social dimension. The tourism sector is able here to generate all needed outcome, depends on tourists' needs. Thanatourism can be seen as a specific type of culture tourism, it results in the broadening of mind and rising of social awareness, exploration of national heritage, crossing cultural borders with revaluation and reinterpretation of that culture. The contact with a space of death can be very stimulating for tourists through discovering unfamiliar reality, often incomprehensible and generating fears (Tanaś, 2013).

However, we need to keep in mind that this is still a form of cultural or heritage tourism, and also the growth in its popularity is a consequence of a global development of both communications and tourists' needs (Tanaś, 2013b). Some scholars (Seaton 1996, Dann & Seaton 2001) treat thanatourism as a type of dark tourism (where death is the central interest), but according to author it is basically the same even if definitions can be multiplied.

Summing up, there are three main groups of causes of dark tourism (Tanaś, 2013b):

1. Tourists' needs and motivations (education, adventure etc.).
2. The personal achievements/qualities of the dead (relatives, historical figures).
3. The history and character of a side connected with death.

The origins of dark tourism can be noticed in the XIX century, during Romanticism times, when a man started an exploration of historical and religious objects, and got interested also in the death space. It was due to changes in attitudes towards death itself. Death was interpreted in a more symbolic and patriotic way (for example heroic death for a motherland). Since the very end of XVIII century the death spaces became the destination for initially small groups of poets, writers, and travelers.

Thanks to them, those destinations became subjects of literature and art, poetry and scientific description, places worth visiting and sightseeing. All of this was to a large degree because of Romanticism, which brings an interest in the mysticism and drama of death. It became popular to visit battlefields (like Waterloo), places of mass death (Pompeii), places of executions (Tower of London), murders, and graveyards (Tanaś, 2008). In the XX century, after two World Wars, the underlying reasons for popularity of dark tourism started to change. Motives of tourists were first of all emotional and patriotic, but also sentimental – people tried to learn about the history of their predecessors (due to mass migrations after war) (Tanaś, 2008).

Dark tourism combines features of *sacred* and *profane*. According to Webster Dictionary, sacred means “Relating to religion, or to the services of religion; not secular; religious; as, sacred history.” and profane is “Not sacred or holy; not possessing peculiar sanctity; unconsecrated; hence, relating to matters other than sacred; secular.” (Webster, 2016). Death has its religious and secular aspect, people visiting places of death feel fear but also respect for death. In all cultures death is a mysterious and extraordinary phenomenon. In this point it is important to mention a few theoretical attitudes that people can have to death:

- **Death is seen as a bond between worldly and eternal life**, death is part of life but not its end, it is an element of a faith and religion.
- **Death is understood as the end of singular existence**, but life remains in family and culture, death here is a part of identity.
- **Death as the end of life**, only memory and personal achievements remain after people, death as element of memory is also expression of patriotism, in antiquity this motive was known as *exegi monumentum*.
- **Death is the end of everything**, a life is the highest value, we need to consume it and enjoy it, death is marginalized, rejected, ironic (Tanaś, 2013).

According to Tanaś (2013b, p. 23) “The essence of the tourism experience of ‘death space’ is its ‘narration’, and this is a consequence of motivation. Depending on whether motivation is educational, religious or entertainment-related, the tourist will interpret ‘death space’ differently, but will start thinking about death in every case, though to a different degree and in different ways”. This dark tourism consumption is illustrated at Figure 1.

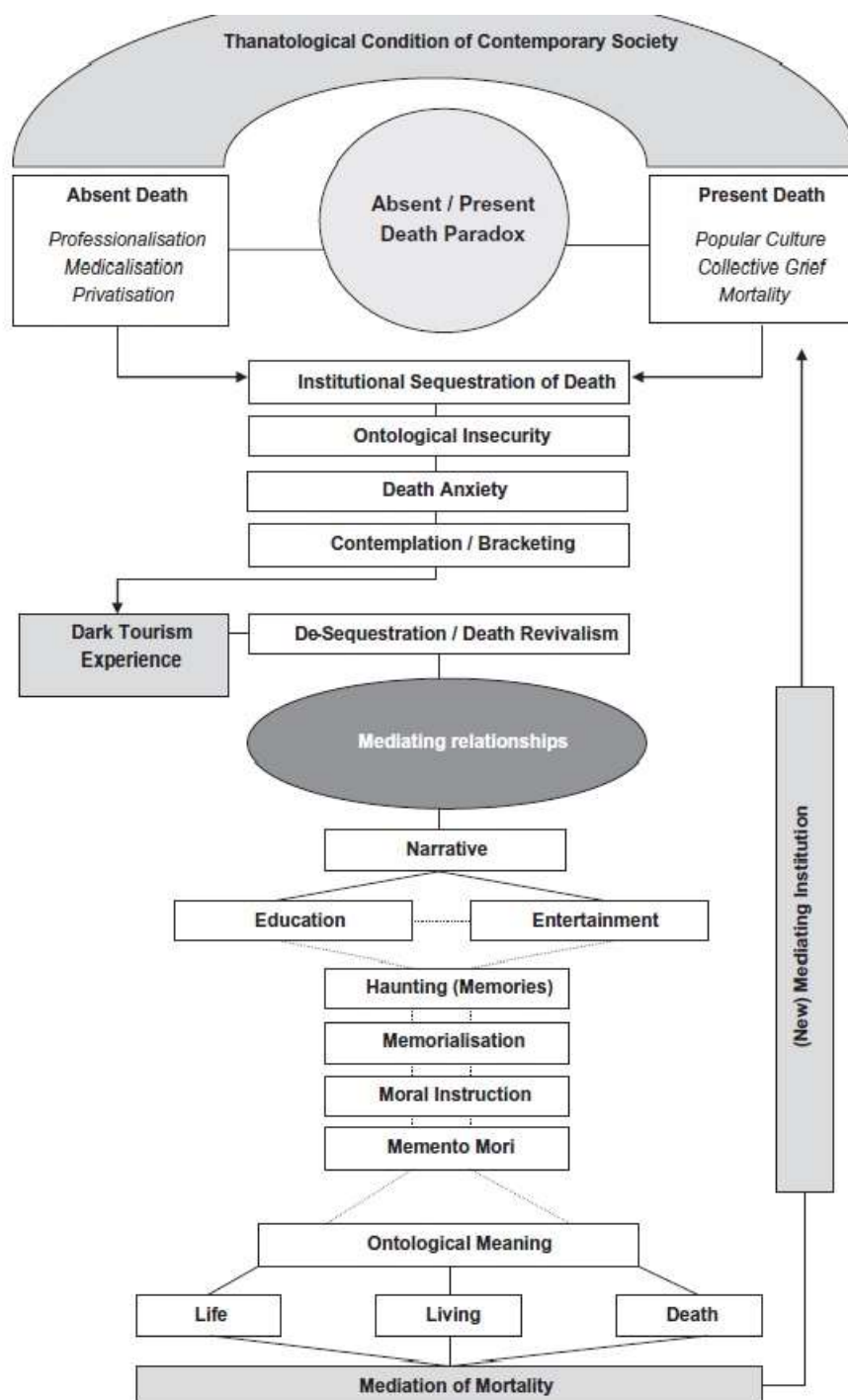


Figure 1.1. Dark tourism consumption based on thanatological framework (Stone, 2012)

Dark tourism is becoming more and more popular also among scholars. Besides those mentioned before: Stone (2006, 2010), Seaton (1996), Lennon & Foley (2000), there are also some scientists who conducted research in a Polish context: Tanaś (2006, 2008, 2013, 2013b), Berbeka (2012), and Muszel (2007) among others.

Unfortunately, in the literature there is not one coherent typology of dark tourism. However, it is possible to point out some main categories of it:

- War tourism (Seaton, 1999).
- Phoenix tourism – traveling to resurgent places (Causevic & Lynch, 2011).
- Holocaust tourism (Ashworth, 2002; Lennon & Foley 1999).
- Genocide tourism (Beech, 2009).
- Slavery tourism (Dann, & Seaton, 2001).
- Morbid tourism (Blom, 2000).
- Black spots tourism (Rojek, 1993).
- Grief tourism (Lewis, 2008).
- Cemetery tourism (Tanaś, 2008).
- Terrorism tourism (Adams, 2003).
- Ghost tourism (Smoleńska, 2012).
- Prison tourism (Strange & Kempa, 2003)

How can we explain the phenomenon of dark tourism (which can be, in some forms, morally ambiguous)?

According to Urry (2011), the most important part of tourist activity is looking for something which is different from our daily routine. Death space is without any doubts one on them. Tourists are interested mainly in extraordinary objects, engaging their senses stronger or in different way. Table 1 presents potential sites of interest in dark tourism. Smith (1998) even suggests that destinations connected with wars are the biggest category of tourist attractions.

The integral part of thanatourism is violence. Violence which causes pain and death is exposed in dark tourism. A tourist can face four types of violence here (Tanaś, 2013):

- **Historical violence** - exposed in museums, has an educational character.
- **Present violence** - shown by media, can affect tourists directly (direct experience).

- **Mass violence** - documented and shown in memorial places, in order to commemorate and warn.
- **Individual violence** - has usually nostalgic and emotional character.

Table 1.1. Sites of interests in dark tourism (Tanaś, 2013b)

Sites of interests (tourism attraction)	Example, description
Shrine	Epitaph, headstone, tombstone, crypt, symbolism (painting, sculpture) other artefacts, religious beliefs
Cemetery	Way of commemorating the deceased person, symbolism of death, sepulchral art, landscape
Grave chapel	Coffin, sarcophagus, sepulchral art, death symbolism
Ossuary	Skeletal remains, sepulchral art, death symbolism
Grave	deceased person (saint, blessed), sepulchral art, death symbolism
Rituals, beliefs	Burial, liturgy, holidays, cult, religious beliefs, events, spiritualism
Pilgrims	Encounter with a supernatural power, pilgrimage to a grave, relict, homage, remembrance, religious belief
Remembrance site, monument	Homage, remembrance, history, education
Mass death site	Martyrology, crime, tragic event, sudden death, remembrance, homage, education
War	Extermination, genocide, battlefield, war crime, act of terror, education
Disaster	Natural disaster, anthropogenic, remembrance
Collective grave	Nature of death, remembrance, history
Sites of individual death	Crime, tragedy, sudden death, symbolism of death, remembrance, homage
Museum, exhibition	Symbolism of death, sepulchral art, heritage, mummies, human remains, education, show, pop culture
Landscape	Symbolism of death, culture scape, cemetery

Very relevant typology for that paper was done by Stone (2006), he defined 7 types of dark tourism basing on supply side:

1. **Dark Fun Factories** – character of those is highly entertaining, authenticity is not a matter here. A special type of amusement parks, Dark Fun Factories stand on the lightest side of the “dark tourism spectrum”.
2. **Dark Exhibitions** – offer products which circle around death and the macabre but also learning possibilities. While Dark Fun factories are commercial, Dark Exhibitions are educational, thus they are perceived as more serious and darker.

3. **Dark Dungeons** – present a history of penology and justice, and some aspects of tortures and others physical punishments. Those products also have relatively high level of commercialism. Dark Dungeons occupy a center place in “dark tourism spectrum”.
4. **Dark Resting Places** – cemeteries and graves. Have mainly historical and architecture value (Romantic and Gothic architecture). Cemeteries are essential part of cultural heritage. Dark Resting Places are also a center part of “dark tourism spectrum” with elements of dark and light.
5. **Dark Shrines** – usually built close to places of death, and not long after this occurred. Originally a great majority of them hasn’t had a touristic character, they were built in memory of dead. Because of this non-commercial character they occupy the darker site of “dark tourism spectrum”.
6. **Dark Conflict Sides** – historic places connected with a war and battlefields. Places of terrorist attacks can also be classified in that group. Because of their historic meaning, they have mainly played an educational and commemorative role. Nevertheless, this category is also becoming more and more commercialized.
7. **Dark Camps of Genocide** – sites of mass death, genocide, crimes and catastrophes. This stand on the darkest place of “dark tourism spectrum”. These places are extremely macabre, like those in Kosovo, Rwanda or Poland. Authenticity is very high here, Dark Camps of Genocide are placed on the actual sites of massacres. They produce extremely emotional experience for tourists.

The model of “dark tourism spectrum” is presented in Figure 1.2.

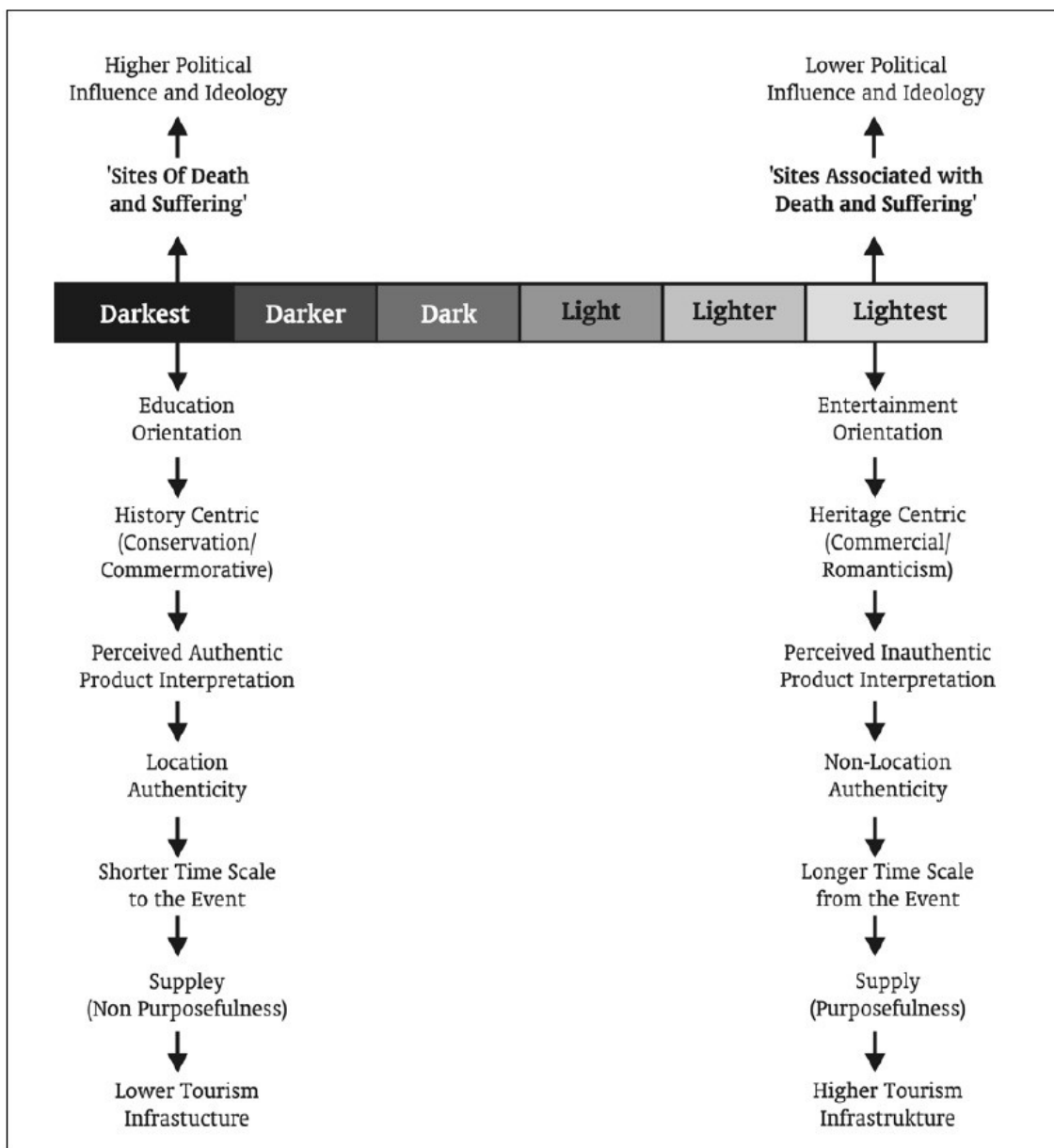


Figure 1.2. Dark Tourism spectrum (Stone, 2006, p. 151)

1.2. Psychological aspects in Tourism

1.2.1. Introduction

In the second part of the first chapter some light will be shed on the psychological issues in tourism. Starting with general description of motivational studies, some reflections from earlier studies will be presented. Secondly, an attention will be paid to Abraham Maslow's work about the theory of human motivation, especially to his famous "pyramid of needs". This is a 5-class

hierarchy, containing lower and higher human needs, which influence motivation. The discourse will move from the theory of needs to Travel Career Pattern (TCP) model suggested by Pearce. TCP is based on another of Pearce's theory called Travel Career Ladder (TCL). The most important aspects of both models will be briefly discussed. Next, some general approaches to motivation will be presented, for instance the vital concept of push/pull factors in tourism. Also, motivation aspects in particularly dark tourism will be presented and discussed. Finally, different models of tourism destination choice are described and briefly explained.

1.2.2. Psychology in Tourism

Many tourism scholars need to deal with mainstream psychology. Mostly, they pay attention to the experience and behavior of individuals. Scientists try to describe and, if possible, explain any observed patterns. For example, Lee and Uzzell (1980) in their work about educational effectiveness examined visitors of farm open day. They aimed to study people's beliefs about modern farming before and after their visit. Also, research done by Langer (2000) about mindfulness- mindlessness behavior of tourists is a good example of the connection between tourism and cognitive psychology. Psychology enables tourism scholars to create motivational and psychographic profiles of tourists (Pearce & Packer, 2013). Motivation studies are fundamental in tourism and vital for tourism development. It is easier to observe tourists behavior, but it is more complicated to answer the question "why", which is the key factor underlying tourist behavior.

However, there are some difficulties in studying motivation. First of all reasons for traveling are covert and hard to measure (except of self-explanatory studies where scholars measure purpose of travel e.g. "for pleasure", "for business"), they reflect personal needs and wants. Pearce claims: "Nevertheless, despite of difficulties, the value of pursuing travel motivation studies can be described as extensive" (2005, p.51). It is extremely vital for this paper to notice that it has been broadly discussed that tourist destination-choice process is strongly influenced by tourists' motives and backgrounds (Pearce, 2005). Deci and Ryan (2002) suggest that motivational studies are important for researchers who want to understand the meaning and experience of travel. The starting point here are needs, the best known model here being Maslow Hierarchy of Needs.

In his vital work “The theory of human motivation” published in 1943 Maslow presented his famous needs theory. He distinguished two categories of needs: basic and higher needs. He classified needs into 5 groups:

- **The physiological needs:** Maslow put those on the very bottom of needs hierarchy, in other words, those are needs of our body. This is impossible and pointless to make a list of fundamental biological needs. In that category we have homeostatic needs like water, food and oxygen, but also sleep and sexual desire.
- **The safety needs:** if basic biological needs are rather well satisfied, then new set of needs emerge – safety needs describe our organism as safety seeking mechanism. Those are also basic needs, so organism can be also wholly dominated by them. Maslow claims that adults have little awareness of their safety needs, in a case of infants and children those needs are easily observable. People avoid anxiety, unfamiliar and strange situations, and try to arrange the world so anything dangerous can't possibly occur.
- **The love needs:** if both physiological and safety needs are met, then love and belongingness needs will arise. These are the first of the higher needs. A person will discover a need of having friends, a sweetheart, a spouse or children, and want to belong to some social group, find own place in a society. Maslow highlights that love here is not synonymous with sex.
- **The esteem needs:** after satisfying three first categories of needs, esteem needs become dominant. This is a combination of self-esteem needs, and respect from others. The first are desire for achievement, strength, adequacy, and for freedom and independence. The second ones are desire for reputation, recognition, prestige, attention and appreciation. Fulfilling those needs leads to self-confidence, feelings of strength and capability.
- **The needs of self-actualization:** these are the highest level needs. These needs are significantly various from person to person. Self-actualization needs deal with a desire of self-fulfillment, to become more and more what one is, to become all what one is capable to become.

Maslow made one more distinction between deficiency needs and growth needs (self-actualization plus cognitive needs). All levels of needs can be seen as co-acting in defining a complete motivational profile.

1.2.3. Travel career pattern

There are seven elements which have been classified as vital for tourism motivational theory, shown in Table 1.2.

Table 1.2. Elements of tourism motivational theory (Pearce, 2005)

Element	Explanation
The role of theory	Must be able to integrate existing tourist needs, recognize the needs and provide a new orientation for future research
The ownership and appeal of the theory	Must appeal to specialist researchers, be useful in tourism industry settings and credible to marketers and customers
Ease of communication	Must be relatively easy to explain to potential users and be universal (not country specific) in its application.
Ability to measure travel motivation	Must be amenable to empirical study. The ideas can be translated into questions and responses for assessment purposes.
A multi motive versus single trait approach	Must consider the view that travelers may seek to satisfy several needs at once. Must be able to model the pattern to traveler needs, not just consider one need.
A dynamic versus snapshot approach	Must recognize that both individuals and societies change over time. Must be able to consider or model the changes that are taking place continuously in tourism
The roles of extrinsic and intrinsic motivation	Must be able to consider that travelers are variously motivated by intrinsic, self-satisfying goals and at other times motivated by extrinsic, socially controlled rewards (e.g. others opinions)

Travel career pattern theory is based on an older Pearce theory called travel career ladder (1988). TCL was based on Maslow's needs theory, it describes tourist motivation on 5 different levels:

1. Relaxation needs
2. Safety needs
3. Relationship needs
4. Self-esteem needs
5. Self-actualization needs

Similarities to Maslow are visible even in hierarchical approach (ladder). Travelers can have more than one motivation, but it is suggested that one set of needs will be dominant for each person (Pearce, 1988).

The second approach which was applied to Travel Career Ladder was career concept in leisure, which says that people's motivation evolves within their travel experience.

The second theory introduced by Pearce, which basically evolved from TCL was Travel Career Pattern (TCP). In travel career pattern, the word "career" has some concrete implications. It was suggested that people generally have predictable travel motivational patterns, which usually move towards more self-actualization needs. Travel career pattern approach deemphasizes the hierarchical element. "In this reformulation the dynamic multi-level motivational structure, which is seen as critical in understanding travel motivation, can be seen as forming patterns that reflect and link to travel careers. The concept of a travel career remains important even though the ladder concept is no longer employed. The view persists that travelers will exhibit changing motivational patterns over their life stages and / or with travel experience" (Pearce, 2005, p. 54). Pearce proposed a table with definitions of key concepts in TCP, which is presented below.

Table 3. Key concepts of Tourist Career Pattern (Pearce, 2005, p.)

Key terms	Conceptual definitions
Travel needs/motives	The forces that drive travel behavior. These forces are both biological and socio-cultural.
Self / others- oriented motives	Travel motives can be internally oriented or externally influenced
Motivation pattern	Travel motivation occurs in a pattern of multiple motives rather than in single dominant force
Travel career	A dynamic concept arguing that tourists have identifiable stages in their holiday taking. The state of one's travel career, like a career at work, is influenced by previous travel experiences and life-stage or contingency factors. A pattern of travel motives should be linked to or characterize the state of one's travel career. (Empirical studies are useful to explore these links.) Travel careers can be operationalized by a conjoint consideration of travel experience, age and life cycle.
Travel career ladder (TCL)	An older theoretical model describing travel motivation through five hierarchical levels of needs / motives in relation to travel career levels.
Travel career pattern (TCP)	Conceptually modified TLC with more emphasis on change of motivation patterns reflecting career levels than on the hierarchical levels.

Nevertheless, research has shown that it can be very hard to investigate motives of traveling due to tourists' lack of awareness:

- People may not wish to talk about their real motives to travel
- Tourists can be unable to express their real motives

TCP is closely related to the individual experience issue. As it was mentioned before, dynamic changes in tourists' motivation occur across their travel experiences. It was suggested in studies that people have a psychological need for novelty and change (Winiarski, & Zdebski, 2008).

1.2.4. Motivation issues

According to Franken (2005) there are six main theoretical approaches to motivation:

1. **Theories of instinct:** are based on assumption that there always is a biologically determined natural approach for human behavior. One of those who were studying that field was Zygmunt Freund who introduced to science the concept of drivers and libido as a source of motivational energy.
2. **Theories of needs:** needs are driving human behavior, the most popular theory is the one introduced by Maslow, which was presented before.
3. **Theories of learning:** it is claimed that human behavior is influenced by the environment in which someone lives. Human behavior can be changed and adapt by using a system of reinforcements.
4. **Theories of self-development:** through processing new information and gaining new skills and knowledge, a person can develop himself and rule the environment more easily.
5. **Humanistic theories:** assume that humans are driven by the need of self-esteem and have a natural desire for development and maturation.
6. **Cognitive theories:** in a theory of expectations it is said that people not only expect effects from their actions but also prefer those actions which can be more profitable for them.

However, more important for the theory of tourist motivation is the concept of “push” and “pull” factors. Pull factors are external, environmental, tightly connected with destination place, particular attraction, etc. Push factors are motives which makes a tourist willing to visit a particular place, in other words they are needs which a person has and wants to fulfil. Gnoth (1997) points out that “push factors in tourism are internally generated drivers causing the tourist to search for signs in objects, situations and events (henceforth objects) that certain promise of reducing prevalent drivers. In turn pull factors are generated by the knowledge about goal attributes the tourist holds” (p. 291).

Expectancy theory is connected with the concept of “push” / “pull” factors. Expectations are tightly connected with motivation. Motivation can be seen as a combination of valence and expectancy. Expectations are beliefs. A tourist has in mind a perceived level of attractiveness of a destination and of expected consequences. It is suggested that an individual’s motivation can be influenced by manipulation in one’s expectations concerning consequences of his/her actions (Hsu et al., 2010).

Expectancy theory is anticipatory and forward-looking. This theory is a cognitive one where, as it was already mentioned, actions are motivated by beliefs or knowledge about possible outcomes. Here stressed is *expectancy* × *value* relation. Expectancy theory is often combined with the drive theory, which emphasize relation: *stimulus* – *reaction*. Porter and Lawler (1968) argued that the main difference here is that in the drive theory, drivers increase levels of activity non-selectively, while expectancies are directing behavior selectively.

The process of expectation and motivation formulation is showed in Figure 3. In the model suggested by Gnoth (1997) needs are drivers, “internally generated needs establish themselves as an urge. (...) The action tendency includes a person’s perception to scan the environment for objects that satisfy what has now become a motive.” (p. 297-298). In that model, expectations are semantically close to attitudes. Expectations are built on attitudes, but contain a significant amount of affect. A tourist has a desire to experience certain outcomes. Thus, destinations are targeted due to their ability to satisfy values underlying the expectations. Needs turn into motivation. To sum up, attitudes and expectations towards the destinations are determined by tourists’ value system and needs.

Studies conducted by Hsu et al. show that the expectancy-value theory by Gnoth can be related to decision-making process. They explained the mediating effect between motivation, expectations and attitudes. Mediator variables explain “how external stimuli take on internal psychological significance, which applies to the present study’s finding that the strength of the relation between tourists’ expectation and attitude was mediated by their motivation (...)” (Hsu et al., 2010, p.292).

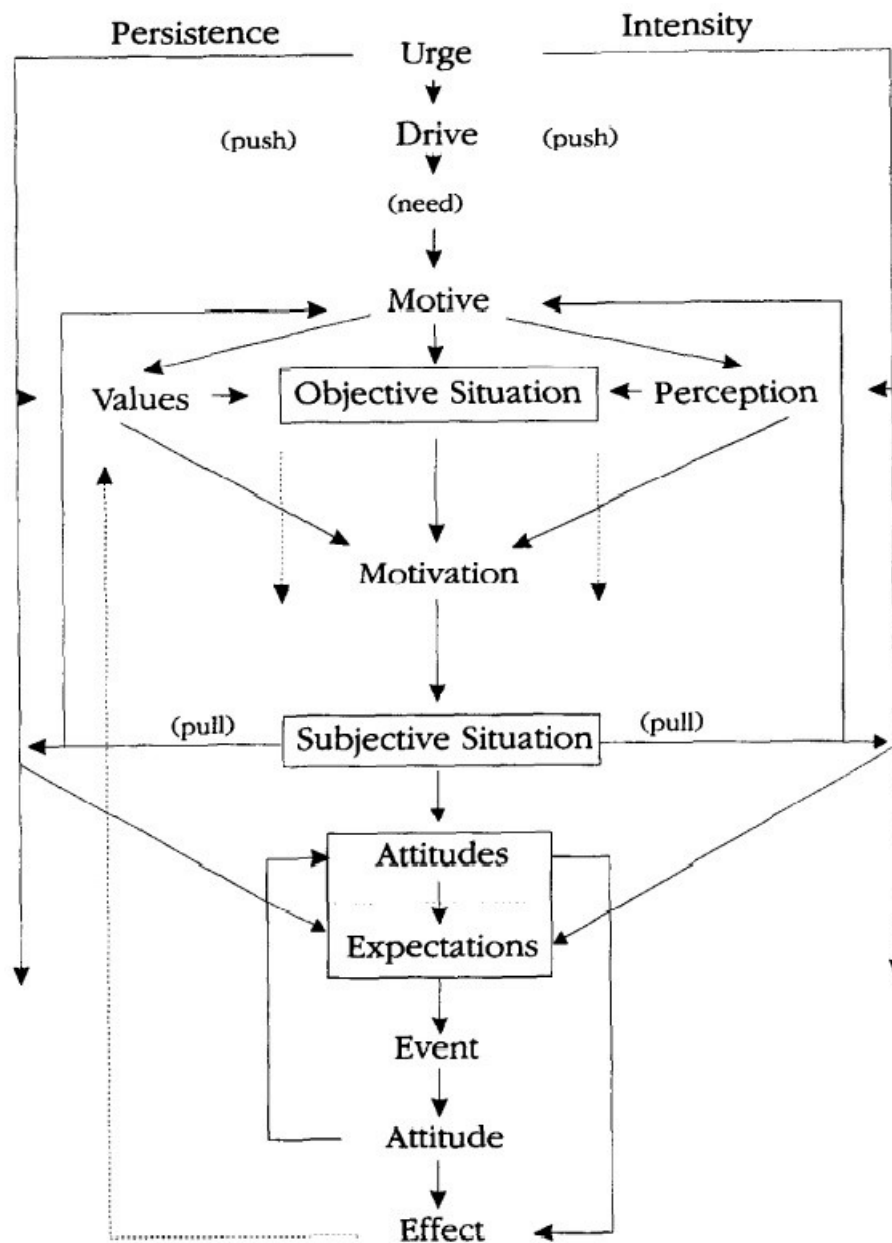


Figure 1.3. Process of motivation and expectation formulation (Gnoth, 1997, p. 297)

1.2.5. Motives in Dark Tourism

Dark tourism should be seen as travelling motivated by interests in the culture of death, in its spiritual and material dimensions, resulting from social and cultural needs, such as: religious, patriotic or cognitive needs.

According to Self-Determination Theory the behavior of a tourist is influenced by two types of motives (Ryan, & Deci, 2000):

- **Intrinsic motivation:** based on internal, personal motives, natural wellspring of achievement and learning needs. It is connected with push factors.
- **Extrinsic motivation:** different types of motivations can be in fact classified as extrinsic, this is motivation based on external stimulus, but usually it is treated as impoverished form of motivation; in tourism it is connected with pull factors.

For this study, the concept of intrinsic motivation is the more important one. It is essential to notice that an intrinsically motivated person can act not in order to get any future instrumental reward, but in the sense of positive/desired experiences. Actions influenced by intrinsic motives are volitional and undertaken by the experience of autonomy (Ryan, & Deci, 2000).

Tanaś (2013) divided motives in thanatourism into two categories:

1. Sacrum motives

- **Religion:** resulting from religious needs, connected with a cult of death, it can result in pilgrimage to the space of death.
- **Identity:** the effect of searching for one's ancestry, history, or cultural or national awareness: it is strictly connected with roots tourism.
- **Empathy:** resulting from a need of sharing the pain after someone's loss, it covers travelling to war victims' graves and places of genocide.
- **Memory:** the effect of cultivating memory of a dead or some event from the past.

2. Profane motives

- **Cognitive:** shapes the need of learning history, culture or a person.
- **Curiosity:** reflects a desire to see and explore an interesting place or unusual event.
- **Entertainment:** the taboo of death causes a need to experience it.
- **Emotional motive:** a need to feel fear, horror or disgust due to contact with death.

We cannot underestimate the importance of novelty seeking and curiosity motives. Uzzell (1989) suggested that curiosity about atrocity is remarkable among humans. That can be motivated by various psychological stimuli such as empathy or excitement. This can seem to be morally hazardous but it cannot be denied. According to Lennon and Foley (2000) tourists

driven by their curiosity often look for a spectacle, which can be easily provided to them even in dark tourism, for example by displaying some troubling artifacts (like it is done in Auschwitz-Birkenau).

Novelty seeking also plays a vital role in tourist motivation. Already in 1962 Smock and Holt found out that new, unusual objects arouse curiosity, and daily routine provokes to seeking for novelty. Novelty is a function between present perception and past experiences. An interesting motivational study was conducted by Mehrabian and Russell (1974) where they related preferred level of arousal and seeking for novelty. Some tourists with high individual arousal level look for something unfamiliar, extraordinary and different from previous experiences.

It is impossible to not mention also educational motives in dark tourism. Younger, post-war generations are exposed to that kind of tourism by their mentors, to ensure that it will never happen again. The experience of previous tragedies is perceived as a lesson how to avoid future tragedies. Education is also important for one more reason: it helps to understand, and through understanding it provides some kind of relief. However, school pupils who were forced to visit dark tourism sites can't be treated as strict dark tourists, because there is no essential element of free will in that case.

1.2.6. Destination choice

Tourist destination choice is the most essential part of the travel decision making process. There are several models in tourism theory which approach that issue. In this paper only a few will be reviewed.

The process of destination choice in tourism can be perceived from various perspectives (Um and Crompton, 1990):

- As a cognitive process which involves one's needs, evaluation of alternatives and evaluation of whether expectations have been met
- As a reasoned action, determined by one's attitudes and the influence of social groups
- As an economic activity, where a destination which is chosen maximizes utility
- As leisure participation, which results in searching for optimal destination's attributes.

It is hard to find in literature one coherent model of destination choice in tourism. It was suggested by Lancaster (1966) that customers (including tourists) don't choose things by themselves, but rather have a perception of attributes possessed by goods, and based on that they try to assess utility. Indeed the majority of conducted studies in this field try to explore the relationship between attitudes toward a destination and tourists' choices. Scientists pointed out that it is important to distinguish factors in a hypothetical destination choice process and factors in an actual destination choice process, because there are significant differences between them. "In the context of tourism, Crompton (1977) suggested that destination choice should be conceptualized as being a function of the interaction between pragmatic constraints such as time, money, and skills and destination images." (Um and Crompton, 1990, p 433). The one of models of travel destination choice is presented below. In Figure 1.4. *External inputs* are perceived as a sum of marketing communication and social interactions.

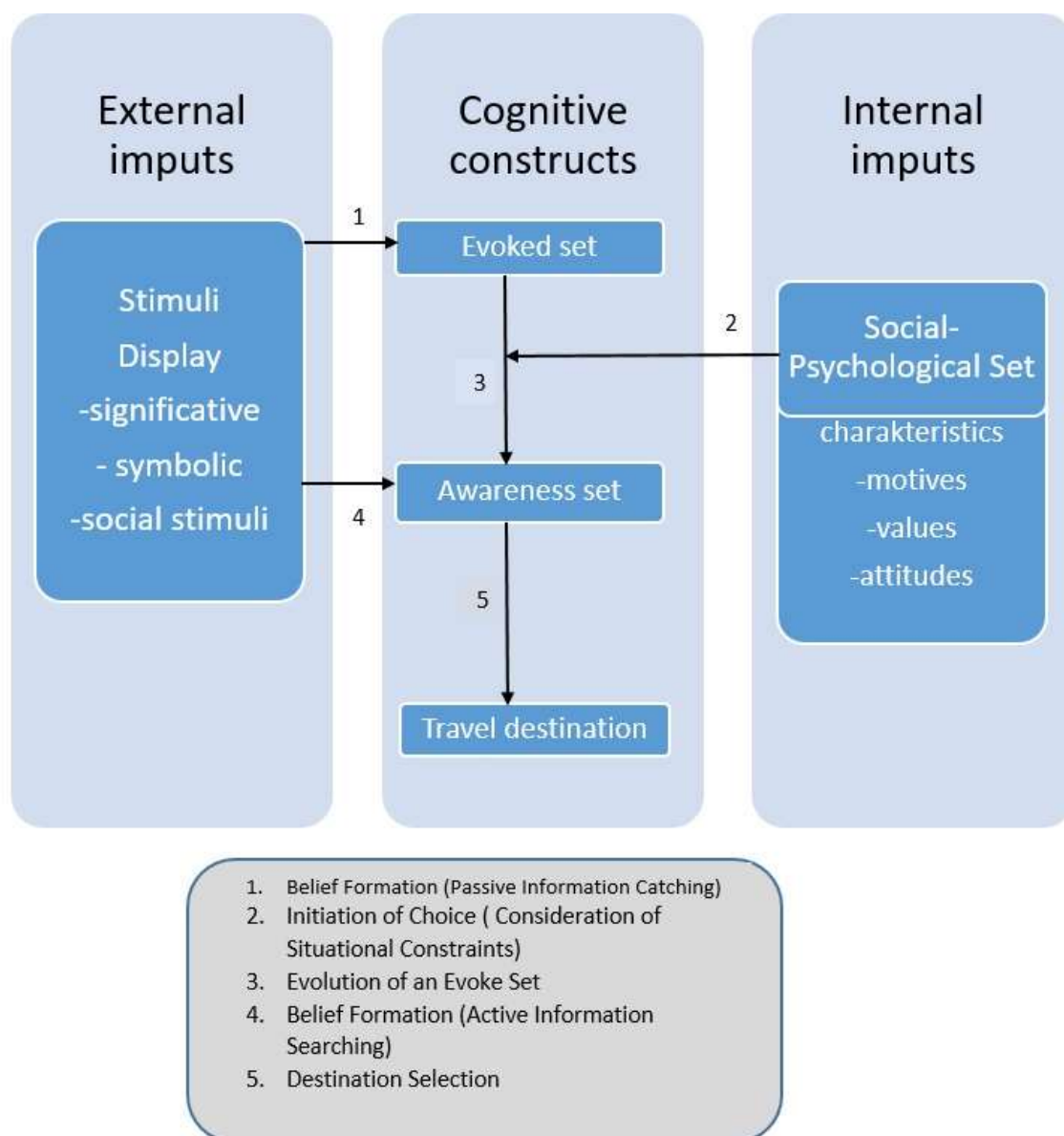


Figure 1.4. Model of Pleasure Travel Destination Process (Um and Crompton, 1990, p 435)

There are three categories of external inputs: social stimuli (come from other people interactions), symbolic stimuli (promotional materials) and significant stimuli (come from being physically exposed to certain destination). *Internal Inputs* are individual characteristics of a traveler, one's motives, attitudes, values. *Cognitive constructs* "represent an integration of the internal and external inputs, into the awareness set of destinations and the evoked set of destinations. The awareness set includes all travel locations which people might consider as potential destinations before any decision process about their trip has been initiated.(...) The evoked set includes all the travel destinations which potential travelers might consider to be reasonable alternatives in selecting a specific destination" (Um and Crompton, 1990, p 436).

This is not the only applicable model of the process of destination choice. We have to take under consideration a model for transnational travels also. Five groups of features were suggested here by Huang and Cai (2010):

1. Barriers for transnational travel.
2. Internal input.
3. External inputs.
4. Motivations for international travel.
5. Destination selection.

The suggested model is presented in Figure 1.5.

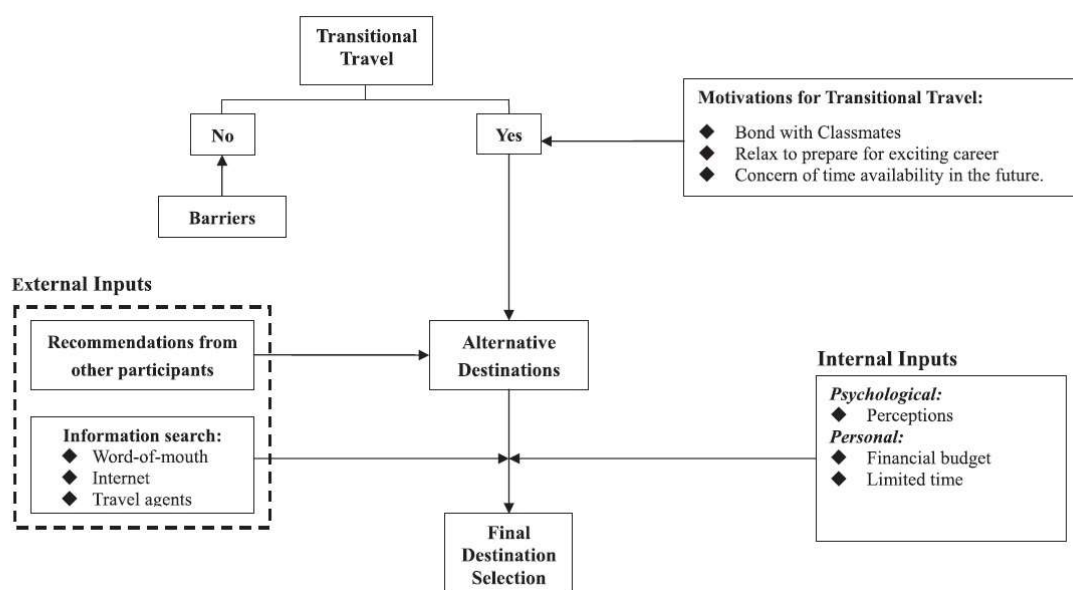


Figure 1.5. Destination choice model for transnational travel (Huang and Cai, 2010, p. 698)

Nevertheless, the model suggested by Huang and Cai is somewhat limited; a more popular model is probably the one suggested by Harrison-Hill (2000). He distinguished just two categories of factors in destination choice process: individual traits and environmental factors. Individual features refer to one's personality, motivation, previous experiences, individual characteristic etc., while environmental factors are about culture, lifestyle, family, destination features, sources of information etc. (generally external factors which don't depend on the individual). Between environmental and individual factors there exists a feedback system. For example, destination features can affect one's motivation.

Harrison-Hill (2000) also distinguished four sets of tourism destinations:

- **Awareness set:** all locations which tourists can consider as potential travel destinations, before actual decision making process.
- **Inert set:** destinations of which a tourist has too little knowledge to consider them.
- **Inept set:** destinations which are considered as not worth visiting.
- **Evoked set:** all locations which a tourist can consider as reasonable alternatives of destination choice, final choice is made between destinations from that group.

Mazurkiewicz (2007) distinguished three stages of destination choice in dark tourism. During the first stage a tourist separates three groups of dark tourism destinations according to one's needs, motives and expectations:

1. Destinations which a tourist can't accept for various reasons
2. Destinations which are neutral for a tourist, because of not enough information about them.
3. Destinations which a tourist wants to visit, due to some determined motives.

During the second stage a tourist is choosing only between destinations classified to the third category. A person distinguishes possible choices into two additional groups: places which he/she doesn't want to visit now (because of existing barriers), and destinations about which he/she decided to collect some more information.

At the third stage of selection a tourist can make a final destination choice based on gathered information. Not only available knowledge and previous experiences, but also individual and psychological features influence tourist motivation. A tourist will classify possible destinations in a context of one's needs and expectations. This process is shown in the model of special tourist behavior, presented by Mazurkiewicz (2007), presented in Figure 1.6.

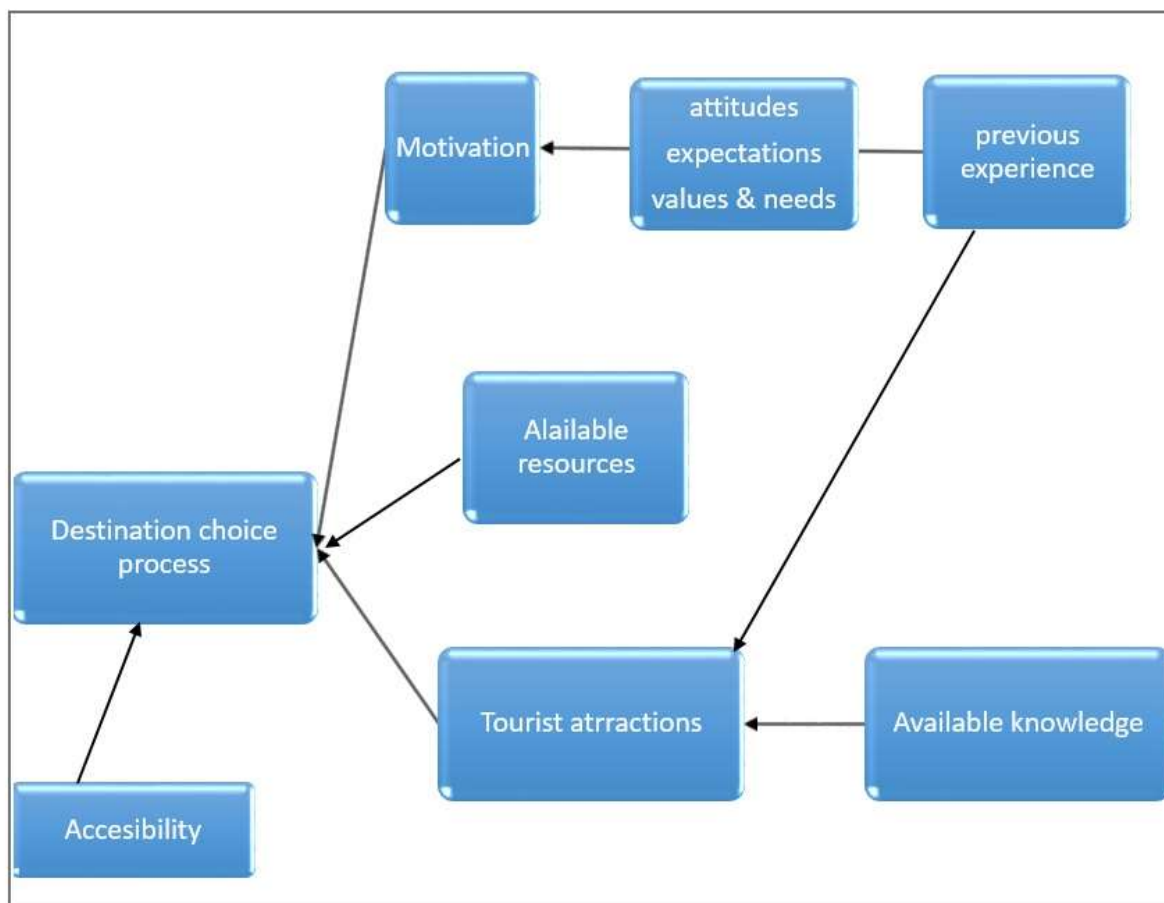


Figure 1.6. Tourist special behavior (based on Mazurkiewicz, 2007)

Interesting insights to customer behavior were given in the Fishbein Extended Model. This is in fact a model which attempts to explain how attitudes influence customers' behavior. Ryan and Bonfield (1975) point out that instrumentality models show behavior as function of:

- Potential consequences of particular behavior
- Expectations that the behavior will lead to these consequences
- Evaluation of the consequences / outcomes.

However, Fishbein model is actually similar in structure to those, they are relating attitudes with objects not behavior.

Fishbein model can be used in order to predict customer behavior. In that model, an intention to perform particular behavior is a function of 4 elements (Ryan & Bonfield, 1975, p. 119):

- **Beliefs** about the consequences of performing a particular behavior (in a given situation) - the probability or improbability that the performance of behavior x will lead to some consequence y .
- **The evaluative aspect** - the somebody's evaluation of consequence y .
- **A normative belief** - the somebody's belief about what he should do in this situation (NB).
- **The motivation to comply with the norm** - a desire, or lack of desire, to do what he thinks he should do (MC).

Fishbein points out: "I think this distinction between attitude toward an object and attitude toward a behavior is a very important one, and one that has often been ignored. Even though I may think some product has all kinds of good characteristics, qualities and attributes, I may not believe buying or using that product will lead to valued outcomes. That is, even though I may have a positive attitude toward "Brand X" I might not have a positive attitude toward "buying Brand X," and according to behavioral decision theory, it is this latter attitude that should be related to buying behavior." (Fishbein, 1971, p. 301). Fishbein himself puts his model as a tool to predict an intention of performing a particular behavior, which is a function of:

- An attitude toward a behavior
- Perception of norms ruling that behavior
- Motivation to fulfil these norms

1.2.7. Destination Image

According to Crompton destination image is the "sum of beliefs, ideas, and impressions that a person has toward a destination" (1979, p. 18). That image can be either individual or shared by a group of people. We can also define the destination image as the manifestation of the possessed knowledge, prejudice, impressions and emotional inputs that an individual/group has about said specific destination. Those images are important to study because they have influence on decision making process of tourists. According to Mayo (1975) destination image is the critical factor in decision making process in tourism. It puts them in the area of interest of marketers and national tourist organizations trying to sell their products effectively.

However, this is only one side of the issue. There are two sets of factors impacting the formation of a destination image (Jenkins, 1999):

1. Demand Factors:

- Motivations.
- Perceptions.
- Psychological characteristics.
- Experiences.

2. Supply Factors:

- Education.
- Media.
- Tourist marketing.

There are two additional factors which belong to both sets at the same time:

- Socio-economic characteristics.
- Hearsay.

The demand factors, which are in the field of interest of this paper, strongly correspond with Gunn's stage theory of destination image, which is shown in Figure 1.7.

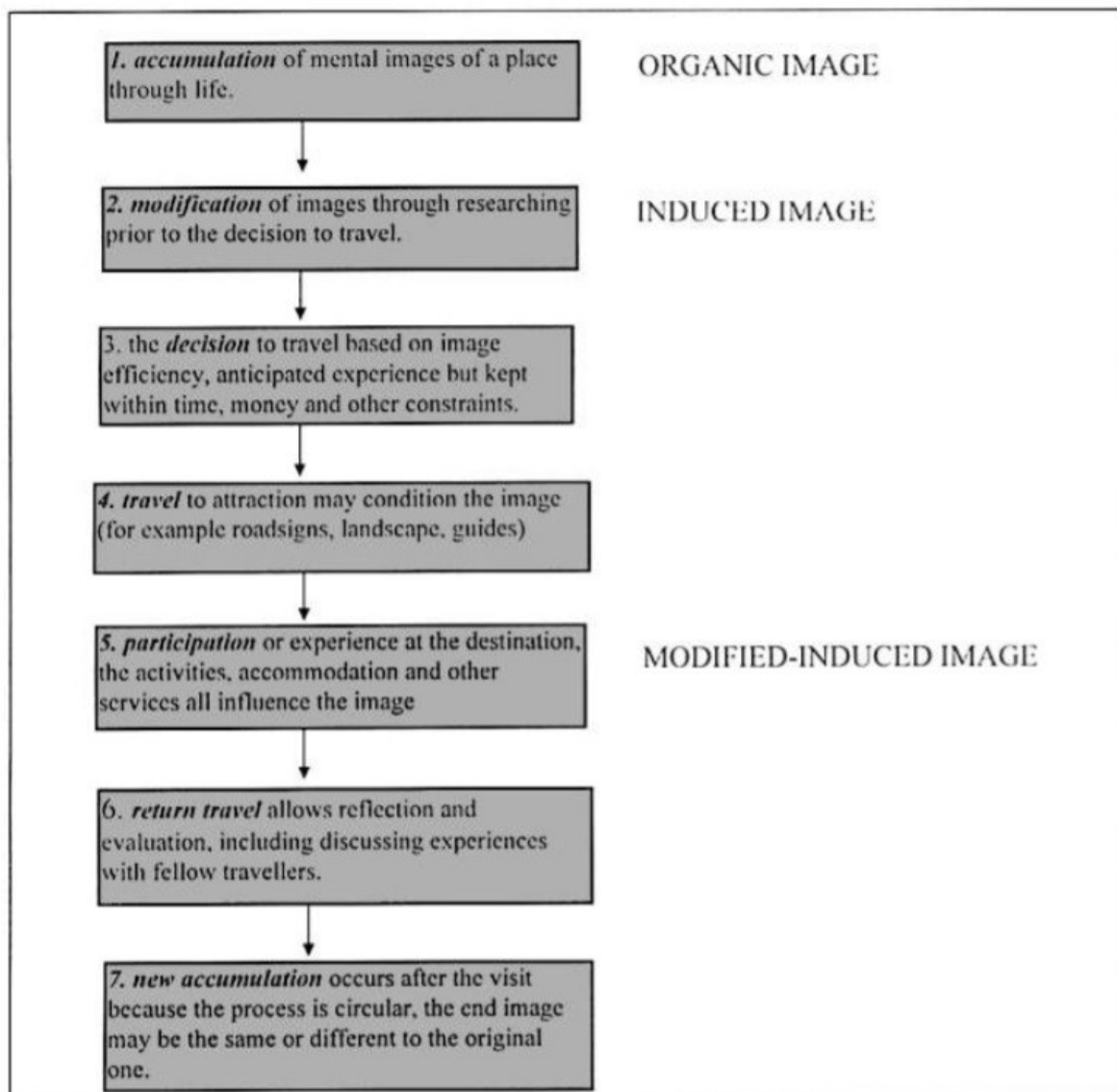


Figure 1.7. Stage theory of destination image (Gunn, 1972, p. 120)

The theory suggests that destination images held by non-visitors, potential visitors and returned visitors will differ. Of course, repeat tourists images will be more realistic and complex. There is also one interesting model regarding destination image, proposed by Echtner and Richie (1991). There are three dimensions of attributes in that model:

1. **Functional** – psychological characteristics
2. **Common** – unique features
3. **Attribute** – holistic imaginary

According to those dimensions we can draw 4 types of destination attributes:

- Common functional attributes – characteristics by which we can make a comparison between the majority of destinations (like climate, price, localization etc.).
- Unique functional attributes – special events, features, icons of the destination image (like Corrida or Golden Gate Bridge).
- Common psychological attributes – called also abstract attributes, in that category are features like beauty of landscape, atmosphere, friendliness of locals, or notoriety.
- Unique psychological attributes – consists of feelings associated with destinations which are in some way special for visitors, like places of historic events or religious pilgrims.

The last dimension: attribute – holistic imaginary refers to the fact that a destination image is a holistic view in tourists' minds, but consists of particular attributes which can be measured by researches. Some parts of destination image can't be broken down into attributes anyway, and can be only seen as a holistic impression (Jenkins, 1999).

1.3. Dark Destinations

1.3.1. Introduction

Present research will be done in the context of the particular part of dark tourism, which is war tourism, and as a part of war tourism - a holocaust tourism. This short subsection's aim is to introduce two main destinations. Since at the same stage the research went beyond the Polish context, also tourist traveling to another dark destinations were studied. Except of two main destinations presented below there are four more destinations included in the study, each of them were visited only by one respondent: Dachau Concentration Camp, Museum of Great Patriotic War Moscow (second world war), Canadian War Museum and Toul Sleng Genocide Museum.

Crimes of Holocaust were committed in different parts of Europe which were under the regime of the Nazis, for example in France, Poland, former Czechoslovakia or Yugoslavia. Usually sites used as Death Camps were located outside of Germany, on the east part of Europe, so also among others in Poland. This creates some potential for confusions, so it is extremely essential to keep in mind that during the World War II all these territories were part of Reich III and, with the particular respect to Poland, boundaries of Germany were modified just after the war. So indisputably there is no such thing as “Polish Death Camps”. The scale of the Nazis’ crimes results in a large number of museums all around the world, even in countries where Holocaust actually didn’t take place (for example United States Holocaust Museum in Washington DC). Holocaust tourism is the most vast and popular form of war tourism because, first of all, of the large number museum and another sites that can be visited. Secondly these sites are mostly easily accessible for tourists, well known and situated in Western World (Beech, 2009).

1.3.2. Auschwitz Birkenau

The camp was established by Germans in 1940 near the Polish city Oświęcim (in German Auschwitz) which was previously annexed to the Third Reich. Auschwitz has become a symbol of genocide, terror and Holocaust. It seems that the direct motive for the establishment of KL (Konzentrationslager) Auschwitz – Birkenau were mass arrests of Poles which caused that all existing prisons were overcrowded, though initially it was just another concentration camp, similar to those which had been organized since 1930’s. However, in 1942 it had been converted into the biggest death camp of all. The camp was so big that it was divided into subparts. The oldest part known as Auschwitz I (the “main camp”) was built on the area of pre-war Polish barrack, which was adapted by Germans. Its capacity was of around 15 000- 20 000 prisoners.

The second part of the camp, known as Auschwitz II or Birkenau, was the largest one. According to data in 1944 more than 90 000 people were imprisoned in Birkenau. Its construction began in 1941, and it was located 3 kilometers from Auschwitz, next to village Brzezinka (Birkenau) wherefrom civilians were evicted. There was one main reason for that: Birkenau was the place where the majority of victims were murdered. There, the Nazis had the greatest part of their special apparatus for mass extermination (Auschwitz, 2016).

Table 1.3. Number of deportees by ethnicity (Auschwitz, 2016)

Ethnicity	Number of deportees
Jews	1 100 000
Poles	150 000
Gypsies	23 000
Soviets	15 000
Others	25 000
Total	Approximately 1 300 000

Prisoners (those who were not killed at the very beginning) were used as slave workers in the founding of 40 sub-camps within easy reach to Auschwitz. They were working mainly on German farms and plants. The largest sub-camp of that type was called Buna (Monowitz) where 10 000 prisoners were kept. It was established in 1942, six kilometers from Auschwitz in Buna-Werke synthetic rubber factory, in 1943 it became the main part of Auschwitz III – Monowitz (Auschwitz,2016).

We need to keep in mind that Auschwitz concentration camp was created for Poles, and the first were political prisoners. From 1940 to 1941 prisoners were mostly Polish, but in 1942, when the camp had become a part of mass extermination plan, the situation changed rapidly. In 1942 about 197 000 Jews were deported to Auschwitz, followed by about 270 000 the next year, and in 1944 more than 600 000. This amounts to nearly 1.1 million amongst them only! About 200 000 were selected as capable for research and registered as prisoners with given numbers. It means that almost one millions of Jews were killed almost immediately after being transported to Auschwitz. Almost one million turned into ashes. Of course, not only Jews died there; more than 10 000 prisoners from Poland, Ukraine or Belarus also disappeared without having been given numbers. More than 160 000 of them were imprisoned (table 4) (Auschwitz, 2016).

On the official site of Auschwitz museum, it can be read: “From January 17 to 21, 1945, the Auschwitz administration evacuated about 58 thousand prisoners into the depths of the Reich. At the same time, the SS were burning the camp records. On January 20, they blew up crematoria and gas chambers II and III in Birkenau. Just after the end of the evacuation, on January 23, they set fire to Kanada II, the warehouse full of property plundered from the Jews. Three days later, they blew up gas chamber and crematorium V.

When Red Army troops entered the grounds of the camp on the 27th, they found about 7 thousand prisoners there, most of them sick and at the limits of physical exhaustion.” (Auschwitz, 2016). After war Polish authorities decided to protect the Auschwitz site. Evidence material of crime was collected, as well as part of personal belongings and all objects of historical value. Even during the process of creating a museum, Auschwitz was regularly visited site. In 1946 about 100 000 people visited Auschwitz, and the next year 170 000. The Museum was opened in June 1947” (Auschwitz, 2016).

1.3.3. Museum of Warsaw uprising

The Warsaw uprising started on August 1st 1944, and lasted only 63 days, ending tragically on October 3rd. It was a heroic struggle to liberate Warsaw from Nazi occupation, undertaken by the Polish resistance movement – Home Army (Armia Krajowa), in the times when Polish regular army in fact did not exist. The Rebels had no chances to liberate the city alone; they hoped the Red Army, which stood near the Vistula River just next to the city, would aid them in their struggle. Warsaw could have been liberated, but unfortunately, due to political issues, the Red Army didn't help the rebels and the city was destroyed. Adolf Hitler ordered to “*burn it to the ground*”. More than 16 000 Polish soldiers and about 200 000 civilians were killed during the short uprising. Warsaw Rising Museum was opened in 2004, on the 60th anniversary of the outbreak of fights in Warsaw. Since then, almost 5 million people have visited the museum (Warsaw Uprising Museum, 2016). The museum in Warsaw differs from Auschwitz museum: it is a memorial of death, but heroic death, not a genocide. However, it was also a crime. The scale of cruelty and destruction is well shown in this Museum, just as Auschwitz's own part of war history is well shown there. It is hard to judge which part is darker.

Chapter 2

2.1. Introduction

In this second chapter, the start point is the research problem of the study. After shortly discussing that, the method of research will be presented and discussed. The presentation of a method involves the approach to research (qualitative vs quantitative) as well as the method of reasoning. The method chosen here is inductive reasoning. The circular model of study will be presented as well. After that, the research model will be presented. Sampling method will be discussed as well. Finally, the method of analysis will be presented together with a research tool.

2.2. Research problem

The area of research in the present study is tourism psychology. More precisely the empirical problem of this study is to investigate the psychographic and motivational profile of dark tourists. By now dark tourism has been defined according to the darkness of a destination. Typologies presented in chapter one differ but all of them focus only on dark sites, which are connected with death and war one way or another. The problem of dark tourists is not well discussed in science by now. Therefore, the first and main question asked in this study is: Who is a dark tourist?

The attempt to define it is based on investigating the demand factors of destination image (motivation, experiences, psychological characteristics, and perception). Answering two other questions will, by the way, help to define dark tourists better, namely: What kind of motives are dominant for dark tourists? Are they driven mainly by intrinsic or extrinsic motives (higher/lower needs)? And last but not least, how do they perceive dark destinations? The latter question is tightly connected with decision making process. In any case, the two last questions are there to help to find out the truth about the main research problem, which is the attempt to define a dark tourist. All definitions concerning dark tourism are focused only on the supply side of it, which means dark sites. According to the author, this kind of definition is one-sided and does not show the complexity of the phenomenon.

Little is known about dark tourists and their motives. Therefore, a present study can have a palpable contribution for social science.

2.3. Method

This study is tightly related to destination image, more concretely to demand factors influencing the image. To measure features of destination image both structure and unstructured methods can be applied. As Jenkins (1999, p. 6) points out: “There has been a strong preference for structured methods that concentrate on the attribute component of destination image. (...) Because these type of procedure involves a priori list of attributes to which an individual is supposed to respond, it might be relatively unreliable. Unless care is taken compiling the list of attributes, some or all of these attributes might be totally unimportant to the individual, or important attributes maybe be missing.”. In her work, Jenkins (1999) presented advantages and disadvantages of structured and unstructured methods (after Echtner and Richie, 1991).

Table 2.1. Structured and unstructured methods in science (Jenkins, 1999)

	Structured	Unstructured
Description	Various common image attributes are specified and incorporated into a standardized instrument and the respondent rates each destination on each of attributes resulting in the “image profile”	The respondent is allowed to freely describe his or her impressions of the destination. Data are gathered from a number of respondents. Sorting and categorization techniques are then use to determine the “image dimensions”
Techniques	Usually a set of systematic differential or Likert type scales	Focus groups, open-ended survey questions, content analysis, repertory grid
Advantages	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Easy to administer • Simple to code • Results easy to analyze 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conductive to measure the holistic components of destination image • Reduce interviewer bias

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Facilitates comparisons between destinations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reducing likelihood of missing important image dimensions or components
Disadvantages	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Does not incorporate holistic aspects of image • Attribute focused – forces the respondent to think about the product image in terms of the attributes specified • The completeness of structured methods can be variable – it is possible to miss dimensions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Level of detail provided by respondents is highly variable • Statistical analyses are limited • Comparative analyses are not facilitated

The quantitative design was chosen as more appropriate because it minimizes the possibility of making respondents react in standardized way which can result in an imprecise representation of their images.

The inductive method of reasoning is chosen as more appropriate approach to this survey. Inductive reasoning is characterized by *bottom-up* tactic. A researcher moves up from specific observations to more general patterns and theories.

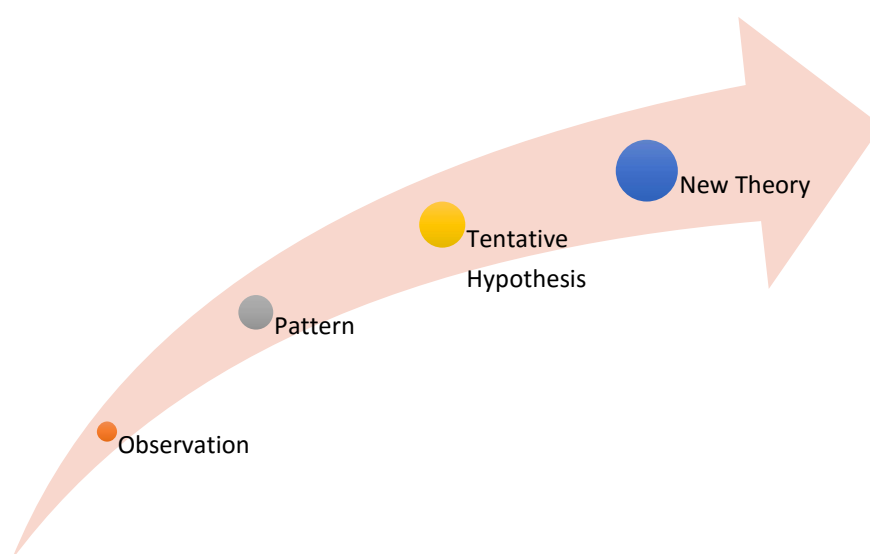


Figure 2.1. Inductive method of reasoning (based on Social Research Methods, n.d.)

Inductive method is the opposite of the more popular deductive reasoning, where theory is the starting point and through observations one comes to the confirmation of it (*top-down* approach). Inductive method means searching for the pattern FROM observations and then trying to find an explanation for it. Therefore no hypotheses are given in advance, no assumptions are made about the results, and the researcher is more free in making conclusions after the actual research process has occurred. However, the researcher can't be sure about the nature of the findings till the study is completed. The theory can evolve as a result of the research. To sum up, a researcher makes observations in order to describe the phenomenon which is studied. No hypothesis are tested in the research process (Research Methodology, n.d.).

The study was based on the circular model of research process, presented below.

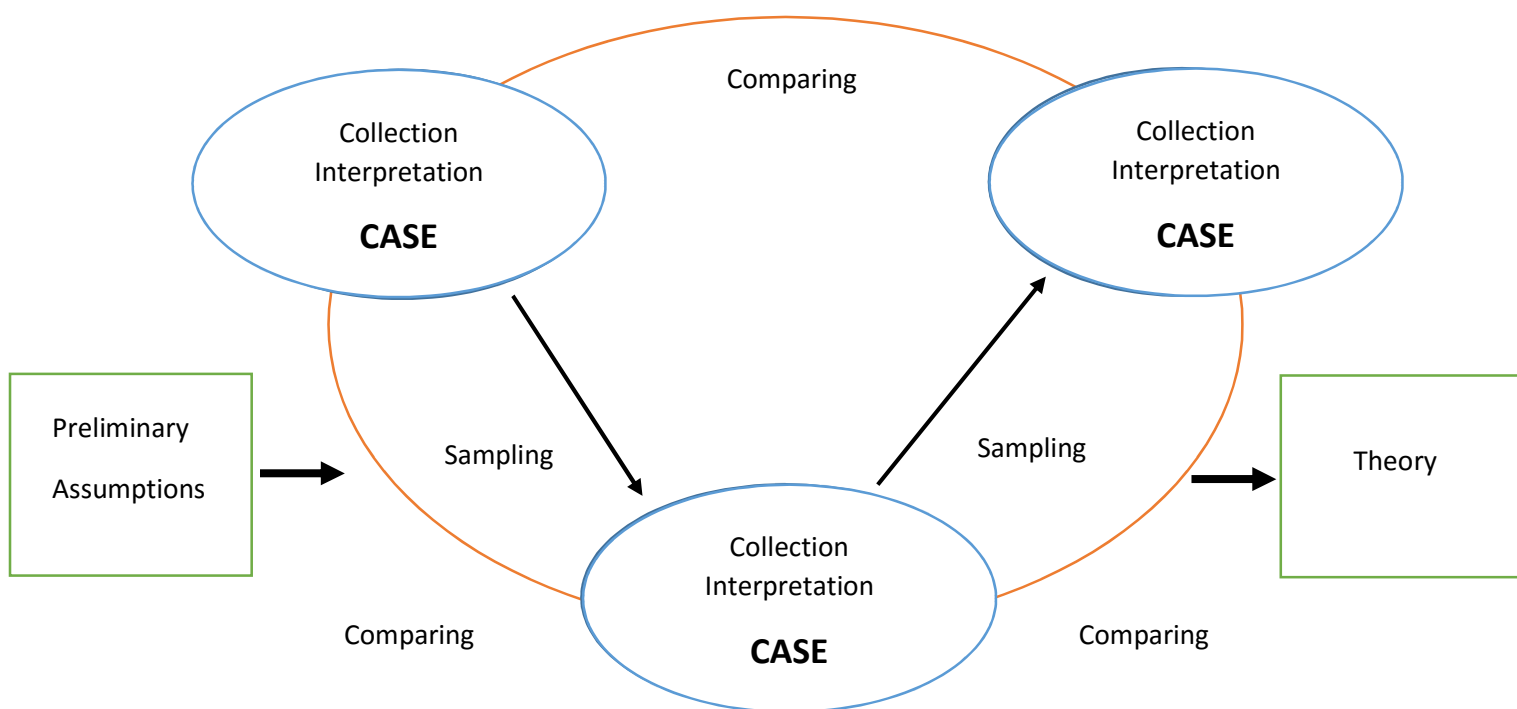


Figure 2.2. Circular Model in Research Process (Flick, 2002, p . 44)

The traditional linear model of research fits qualitative studies only in a very limited way. The circular model offers greater sensitivity to understanding of data. The model is connected with inductive reasoning, because it rejects establishing hypotheses before the actual research. “These should not be applied to the subject being studies but are ‘discovered’ and formulated in dealing with the field and empirical data to be found in it. It is their relevance to the research topic rather than their representativeness which determines the way in which the people to be studied are selected.” (Fick, 2002, p. 41) This determines the use of theoretical sampling in the research.

However, according to Flick “The delay in structuring implies the abandonment of *ex ante* formulation of hypothesis. In fact, the research question is outlined in the theoretical aspects, but the elaboration does not culminate in the set of hypothesis.” (2002, p. 41).

2.4. Research Model

There are two separate theories behind the model of the current research. First of all, some elements are taken from tourism motivation theory. The first element here is Travel Career Pattern model introduced by Pearce (2005), which suggests that tourists’ motivation evolves with experience. This is visible by shifts in motivation from relaxation needs more to self-esteem needs. Pearce suggested that generally tourists have predictable motivational patterns, and what is important here, even if they have more than one motivation, is that one set of motives will always be dominant.

Pearce in his studies about TCP presented and tested a few sets of motives. He conducted statistical analyses and ranked travel motivation factors, which can be a really valuable field of comparison in the discussion part of the research. To deal with a very specific context of the study, the next element taken from motivation theory is typology of dark tourism motives introduced by Tanaś (2013) where he divides motives connected with dark tourism into sacrum and profane sets. This typology, which was tested before, helps to systematize dark tourists’ motivations without testing over 70 general motives from TCP. Testing Tanaś typology also allow us to make an assumption on which set of motives will be dominant among tourists. Next element taken from motivational issues is extrinsic/intrinsic motivation dichotomy. Usually intrinsic motivation means fulfilling higher needs, which also can have interesting insights in drawing psychographic profiles of dark tourists. As Pearce (2005, p 54) concluded: “Travel motives can be internally oriented or externally influenced”, asking dark tourists about their decision making can tell us more about it. The last element taken from motivation side is expectancy theory which is tightly connected with destination image. As was said before in chapter one, tourists’ expectations are connected with their motivation. Expectations are beliefs which tourists have in mind. In the other words a tourist has in mind a destination image; a perceived level of attractiveness combined with expected consequences. This means that actions are motivated by beliefs or knowledge about possible outcomes. This is the very point when motivation theory is connected with decision making theory. It is destination image. From the side of decision making theory we also take Fishbein Extended Model to support the study.

Recall that Fishbein assumed that behavior (and therefore decision making) is influenced by beliefs about the consequences, somebody's evaluation of consequences, normative beliefs about what should be done and a desire (or lack thereof) to fulfil those beliefs. This shows the importance of studying dark tourists' expectations as well.

Taking all that theory as a starting point for the research framework, we can move one step further to the key point behind that research. That key is the destination image, which combines tourist's motivation with decision making. Definition introduced by Lawson and Baud Bovy (1977) says that tourist destination image are imaginations, impressions, prejudice, emotional insights, and all objective knowledge that an individual or a group can have about a destination. According to Mayo (1975) it is a critical factor in decision making process in tourism. As presented in chapter one, in Stabler model (1988) there are two sets of factors influencing destination image. Supply factors, which are already better studied in the dark tourism context, and demand factors, which are the focus point of the present study. The study will focus purely on demand factors, excluding supply-demand factors: socio-economic characteristic and hearsay. Therefore factors which are taken into consideration are:

- Motivation.
- Perception.
- Psychological characteristic.
- Experiences.

The theory presented before enables us to talk about motivation, experiences and perception quite easily. It is somewhat more demanding to talk about psychological characteristics of tourists. That can be done partly by investigating what source of needs they try to fulfill during their travel to dark places (intrinsic motivation = higher needs), and also how far their attitude toward the destination was biased. It is also worth to take a look on their level of experience and independence. In research concerning destination image it is advised to use more open and creative research methods, such as visual images to generate richer data. Jenkins (1999) suggested that as far as research method is concerned unstructured techniques are helpful to draw destination image attributes, while structured methods can be applied later to investigate images. This is shown in Figure 2.3.

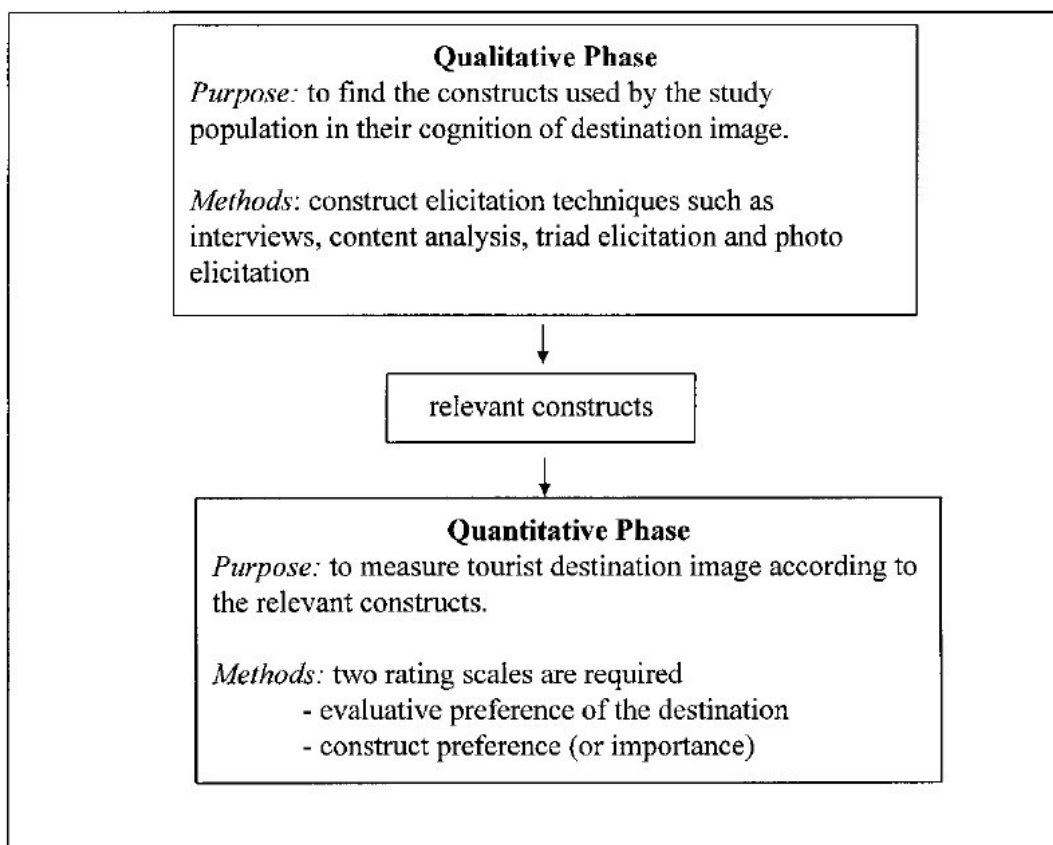


Figure 2.3. Destination image research (Jenkins, 1999, p.7)

The general importance of destination image has been acknowledged in science, since it influences tourists' perception and in consequence their behavior and destination choice. This is perception, rather than the reality of what motivates people to travel; the reason why in tourism research destination image has a significant importance (Mohan, 2009). Unfortunately the conceptual base leading destination image studies is not clearly defined. Therefore the used model is only one of a few introduced in science, but the one which combines motivational issues with decision making in the most clear way. Analysis of these fundamental problems in dark tourism context can provide some vital information for tourist-related institutions about tourists' real needs, expectations and goals.

The present study also aims to offer a better understanding of it. The nature of the study is complex, based on complex theory, about which social scientists have rather limited knowledge. Most of the studies managed to show *how* special tourists behavior looks, but not answer the question *why*. Limited understanding about how motivational aspects influence decision making, and not well studied context of the present research creates a need for more

open qualitative study, which is a good start point for future research. This issue also justifies using inductive method of reasoning.

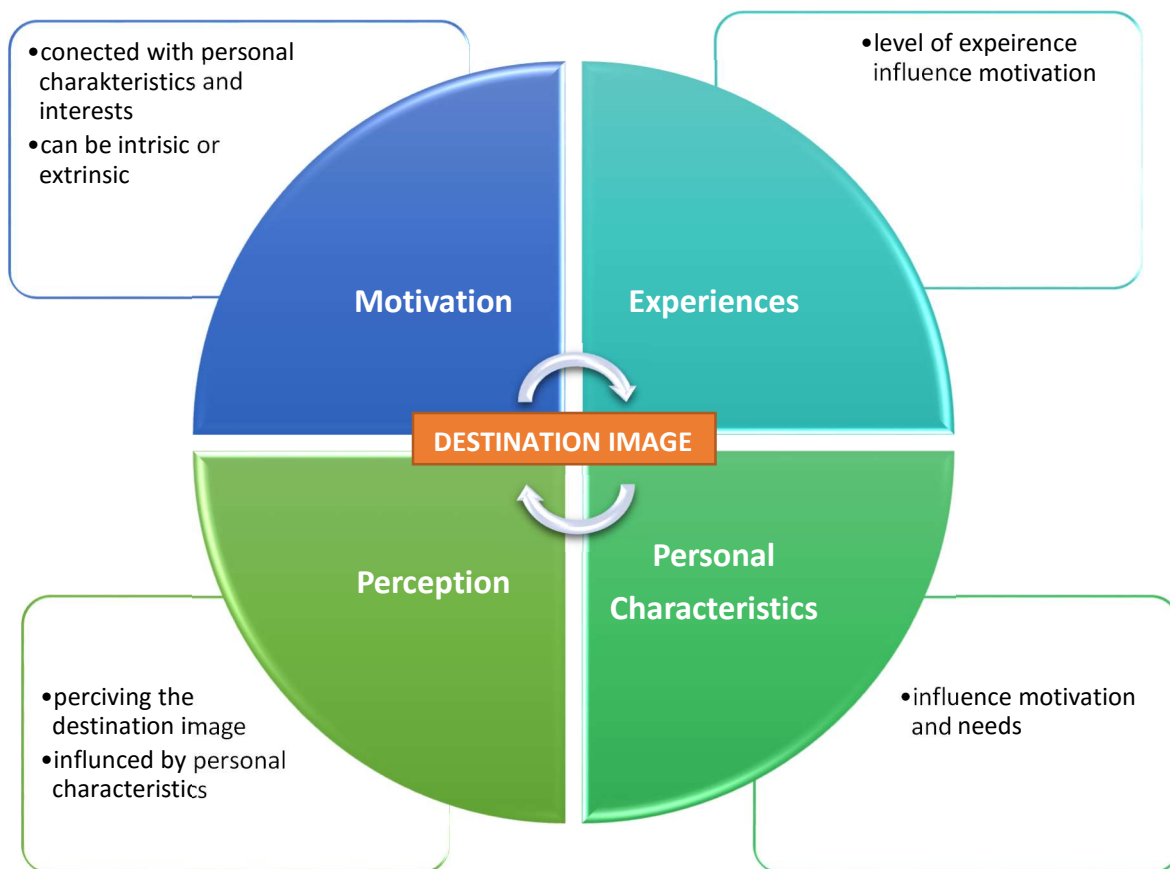


Figure 2.4. The research model

2.5. Sampling

Sampling in qualitative research is connected with the choice of which persons should be picked to the sample. Literature gives different suggestions about the issue of sampling process here. The basic rule is to choose cases for research due to concrete content criteria, but not using abstract methodological approach, like in random sampling. This type of sampling is called purposive sampling. In his work, Patton (1990) makes some differentiation between different types of purposive sampling and classifies them.

According to his suggestion there are seven main approaches to that issue:

- Selecting extreme or deviant cases.
- Selecting typical cases.
- Maximization of variation.
- Selecting cases according to intensity.
- Selecting critical cases.
- Selecting sensitive cases.
- Criterion of convenience (selecting cases easiest to reach).

The approach chosen for the present research aims at maximal variation of cases in the sample. Only a few cases were selected but those are as various as possible. On the other hand, due to very limited time and manpower (only one interviewer) the criterion of convenience was also applied, as the only way to conduct a research with such limited resources.

Therefore all interviewees were chosen according to purposive sampling methods, in order to maximize the variance among the sample. The criterion of convenience was applied in a way, since most of interviewees were students chosen among those who declared the willingness of taking part in the survey. However, to maximize the age variation some non-students were chosen for survey as well. Together sixteen interviews were chosen for further analysis.

The theoretical sampling started in Polish context, among students resident in Poland who have visited Auschwitz- Birkenau Museum. There were both international and Polish students in the initial sample. When six cases were collected, in order to maximize the variation of profiles another museum was taken into consideration – Warsaw Uprising Museum, which is according to typologies presented in chapter one (e.g. Stone, 2006) also a dark destination, however not as dark as Auschwitz is.

Further three cases were collected among international and Polish students. In order to increase the age variation, and broaden the study a bit wider than only a student context, next three cases were selected from different age and professional groups. Finally the survey was moved from Polish context to more international one. Due to this, the author selected next four cases where interviewees have visited various dark destinations all over the world, in Russia, Germany, Cambodia and Canada. All in order to maximize variance.

2.6. Research Tool

The research is based on semi-structured interviews. There are several types of semi-structured interviews, but the present survey was based on the problem-centered interview approach suggested by Witzel (1985). Some elements were also adapted from focused interview suggested by Merton and Kendall (1946). As Witzel proposed, the actual interview was in each case preceded by a short demographic questionnaire. According to him this is fruitful, because it enables one to collect data (in this case demographic data) that is less important for the topic faster, without the necessity to ask about them during the interview. This helps to better use the time of the interview for more essential topics. The demographic questionnaire used in the survey is presented in the Appendix 1.

The next step of implementing the research was the actual qualitative interview. The interview guide used in the research consists of 4 groups of questions based on demand factors of travelling presented by Jenkins (1999). The first set of questions was about Motivation, the second about Experience, the third about Expectations and the last one about Perception. All together 20 questions were asked to each interviewee. The elements of focused interview were applied during construction of the interview guide, since the visit in the dark destination played a role of stimulus.

There are four criteria of focused interviews (Flick, 2002):

1. **Non-direction:** can be achieved by using unstructured questions first (e.g. What factors are important for You when deciding on the purpose of Your travel?) and then moving to more structured questions (How important for You is the element of novelty in your travels?).
2. **Specificity:** in order to increase it, retrospective questions should be encouraged (When you think back, what impressed you about that place?); some supporting materials (like pictures) can also be implemented here.
3. **Range:** all relevant aspects for the research should be mentioned during the interview.
4. **Depth and personal context:** maximization of emotional responses to see how the stimulus was experienced.

The questions in the interview guide were written and ordered in concern of these criteria.

First of all the range was secured by establishing four categories of questions which correspond to four demand factors of destination image.

Retrospective questions about both decision making and perception were asked as the specificity rule suggests. Moreover, the respondents were given three pictures showing different types of dark destinations for evaluation. At least one of those pictures was representing the destination which they have visited. The pictures shown to respondents are attached in Appendix 2.

The non-direction criteria was applied by using unstructured and structured questions in a proper order. This can be seen in group I: Motives, when unstructured questions are asked first:

1. What factors are important for You when deciding on the purpose of Your travels?
2. What motivates You to travel?

Only after this, more detailed, structured questions are asked:

3. How important for You is element of novelty in your travels?
4. I'll show You a set of motives connected with dark tourism, please put them in order from least to most important for you. (Sacrum: religion, identity, empathy, memory: profane: cognitive, curiosity, entertainment, emotional motive)

Personal context is achieved by asking questions about beliefs, for instance: What is your approach to the phenomenon of death in tourism context? The full interview guide is shown in Appendix 2.

The second group of questions aimed to evaluate the respondent's hitherto experience. Questions are asked both about general tourism experience and about dark tourism in particular. Also supporting questions about travel planning and character of travels are asked to estimate the level of tourism self-reliance of respondents. The third set of questions – expectations aimed to say a some more about a respondent against the background of dark tourism, and in particular his/her attitude toward dark tourism. And finally the last group of questions is targeted to evaluate about the perception of the dark destination.

Each interview was recorded and then transcribed just after it took place. Based on the transcript a, short description of each case was written. When all interviews were transcribed, short case-descriptions were developed and used for conducting case analysis. The research tool is presented in Appendix 2.

2.7. Method of Analysis

The method selected for analyses is thematic coding. The method was developed on the background of Strauss (1987), and generally assumed that groups examined in a study are defined *a priori*, and taken from the research question. Therefore, sampling is focused on those respondents whose insights can be most informative for the study. Concrete cases were selected for the study. Thematic coding is a multi-step technique. The procedure started with analyses of cases involved in the research, as a sequence of case studies. Firstly, a short description of each case was written. Those short descriptions were gradually modified and expanded case by case, during the advanced interpretation of the case.

The final product of the analyses in step one is a series of case studies. In order to do that, a deeding analysis is conducted for all cases. It serves a few goals at once. First of all “the meaningful relations in a way the respective person deals with the topic of study are to be perceived...” (Flick, 2002, p. 186). During the second step of analysis first a system of categories and thematic domains are established for each single case. In the present research, five thematic domains were established *a priori*, based on the research model: Motivation, Decision Making, Experience, Perception, Personal Characteristics.

During the analysis two more domains were established: Personal Insights and Future Plans. In the next step the established domains and categories linked to each case are cross-checked. The structure of codes emerge from the analyses of first cases and then it is unceasingly applied for further cases. Of course, if some new relevant aspects emerge they are added to the structure. Contradictory aspects between cases are also pointed out and analyzed. This thematic structure which is a result of the analyses helps with comparison of cases. The generalization is based on comparison of cases. Each case study includes a short description of a respondent and motto of the case.

Chapter 3

3.1. Introduction

Chapter three presents the practical part of the research. It begins with sample characteristic and cross-check analyses between cases (cases are presented in Appendix 3). During the analyses, each thematic domain which was established during thematic coding will be tested and summarized. It goes in the following order: motivation, dark motivation, decision making, dark decision making, perception, perception of different types of dark destinations based on visual stimulus, experience, dark experience, future plans, personal characteristics. Then the results of analyses will be discussed. The chapter ends with conclusion paragraph, and suggestions for future research.

3.2. Sample characteristics

As as the study was based mostly on Polish context, the greatest part of respondents are of Polish nationality; seven of them to be exact. This gives around 41% of respondents. The average age of respondents is 26. The majority of respondents are not older than 25 years, exactly ten of them, which gives 62,5% of all sample. Only one of them are older than 40 years. Almost all of them have higher education, or are in the process of gaining a diploma, the only exception being an 18 year-old Polish male who is still in high school. The vast majority declared single as marital status (93,8%). Eleven of them are students or school pupils, and five declared employment as professional status (31,3%). As far as gender is concerned ten of respondents is male (62,5%) and six are female. Not a lot can be told about their monthly income since it differs a lot, dependably if there are students financing themselves from grands or loans or full-time workers, income differs a lot also because they come from different countries with different average monthly wages.

3.3. Cross-check Analyses

Motivation

The first thematic domain which was analyzed and cross-checked between cases was Motivation. Through the comparison of cases the set of repeated categories was discovered.

The three most frequently repeated motives were:

1. Looking for novelty (something never done before): in 13 cases
2. Breaking out from the routine (chance to escape/ change environment): in 9 cases
3. Knowing how the world looks (culture/people/food/languages/landscape): in 9 cases

Next there are two categories mentioned 8 times each: “discover/explore new places” and “new/different experiences.”. Categories like novelty, new experiences etc. seem to be very closely related. Nevertheless usually respondents make a differentiation between those. However, in 7 cases looking for novelty is mentioned together with “see something new”, the reason why there is no separated category for that; respondents understand it as part of novelty. In one case novelty is mentioned together with “new experiences” and in one case in the context of “discovering new places”. However, those two are mentioned frequently independently so they are treated as separated categories. Another two categories which have their importance are “curiosity”, mentioned in 6 cases, and “rest” also in 6 cases. The last category which can be considered as meaningful is “gaining new knowledge” mentioned in 5 cases.

To sum up, in the *Motivation* thematic domain the biggest role is played by following categories (From most to least important):

- Looking for novelty
- Breaking out from the routine
- Knowing how the world looks
- Discovering/exploring new places
- New/different experiences
- Curiosity
- Rest
- Gaining new knowledge

Differentiating features were also pointed out. For instance in cases 10 and 15 the strong motivation of adventure is emphasized. Case 13 also differs from others in that no common motives were found there during cross-check analysis. On the contrary, the respondent mentions the youth energy and the lone opportunity to travel as main motives.

Dark motives

The next thematic domain discovered during thematic coding is Dark Motives. Dark motives differ a lot from normal travel motives. The cross-check between cases shows some interesting results. First of all “historical factors” (understood as learning or confirming the history) was mentioned by ALL respondents. Secondly motive “to see how it looked” was mentioned in 14 cases. And finally, “Curiosity” in 11 cases. However, curiosity was often mention as the most important motive. The three next categories were mentioned in half of cases: “Feel/touch the place”, “Learn something”, “Remember the past/commemorate victims”. Those six seem to play the biggest role among dark motives. The category “See with my own eyes” which was mentioned 6 times can be also added to that set, but with relatively lower importance. What is interesting is that those motives are not close to the dark motives suggested by Tanaś (2013): the only ones matching are cognition (here “learn something new”), memory (“Remember the past/commemorate victims”), and curiosity. Identity also suggested by Tanaś (2013) was mentioned in 4 cases. Moreover, a few interviewees had problems to put Tanas’s motives into order, one even refuses to do so (case 10), and one said directly that this is not a good choice of motives (case 6). Case 10 is particularly interesting, it shows a German perspective to the former Nazi concentration camps issue. The respondent’s motives differ at some point from non-German respondents. For instance he points out that it is “connected with his personal life as German” and he also wants to “get in mind why everybody still care about Auschwitz”. It suggests that in some cases Germans can have different motivation to visit dark destinations. Nevertheless almost all respondents pay attention to a specific confirmation “how it looked” and express the wish to *feel it* or *touch it* or *see on their own eyes*. Some admitted to be scared to go to such a place (cases 1 and 2) and another claims to have had a hard time to believe in it (case 5).

To sum up, the most frequently repeated categories in the context of *dark motivation* were:

1. Historical factors: in 16 cases
2. To see how it looked: in 14 cases
3. Curiosity: in 11 cases
4. To feel the place: in 8 cases
5. To learn something: in 8 cases
6. To remember the past/commemorate victims: in 8 cases
7. To see with my own eyes: in 6 cases

Decision Making

The next thematic domain is decision making. This one was defined *a priori*, from the theory (as with Motivation). Factors which are the most important for respondents while choosing a travel destination were cross-checked, and the results show that the most often mentioned factor was price (mentioned in 13 cases), location/distance (in 11 cases), interests (in 10 cases) and attractiveness, which contains (according to tourism theory) tourist attractions, infrastructure and landscape (in 10 cases). Factors which also seem to be important but are mentioned less frequently are accessibility (in 7 cases) and climate (in 6 cases).

Therefore the list of dominant factors is as follows:

1. Price.
2. Location/distance.
3. Interests.
4. Attractiveness.
5. Accessibility.
6. Climate.

The interviewees were also asked about their decision making process. The analysis shows that the most often they look for information on the internet, 12 respondents admitted that directly. Cross-checking also emphasized the role of recommendations, in 9 cases respondents claimed that they actively ask people for opinions or listen to recommendations of their friends, when they are facing a decision about their travel destination. Interestingly half of interviewees admit that they use also travel books/guides as a source of information.

However, most of them admit it as a rather secondary source. In 4 cases they declared to use special travel engines or couch-surfing services. In 3 cases they just look for cheap flights, and the cheapest one wins. In 4 cases respondents claim to decide on the destination spontaneously in the “let’s do it” way. Four of them clearly specified their preference to mountain places, three to cities, two for well-rated places and two for historic places.

Dark Decision Making

During the initial analyses next thematic domain was discovered. Decision making factors actually differ from those most crucial during normal traveling. However, it is not easy to establish any pattern between those factors. Cross-check analysis has shown that, first of all in nine cases the decision to visit a dark destination was influenced by third parties. In seven cases respondents declared it was their own decision; not even half of the cases. In three cases the interviewees admits that they went to the dark destination with company. And in six cases they admit that it was “by the way” or a “part of a longer trip” (in Poland the most often is by the way of a visit to Krakow). One of the respondents (case 9) pays attention to that phenomenon: “But maybe this is a very superficial way...like when You are in Italy you need to drink wine and eat pizza. The same like you are going to Krakow then you need to visit Auschwitz.” Apparently it can be true. Moreover in 5 cases interviewees admit that they decided to visit the particular destination because it was marked as a top attraction. In 4 cases they state that they had no specific knowledge about the destination. However, one of them who planned to revisit Auschwitz claimed that after the visit he was reading a lot about it, and now he will go “straight there” (case 13). Only in 3 cases respondents claims that they decided to go to learn something, and also in 3 cases they admit they were looking for some information about it on the internet.

Perception

Next thematic domain driven from theory was perception. When analyzing perception of tourists in dark destinations several categories were established. Most often tourists pay attention to its reality/authenticity (in 13 cases). They also see such places from a historical perspective, talk about evolution of weapon, or describe the place as piece of history, or where “real history was going on”. The category of historical perspective was discovered in 11 cases. There is also one category connected with it, which is “place where everything happened” mentioned in 7 cases. Of course here this is only possible with a reference to death camps (both in Poland and abroad). In 10 cases the respondents describes a dark destination as “interesting”.

In most of cases interviewees see it also as “educational” (9 cases). Next two important categories as far as perception is concerned are “strong/powerful feeling” (in 8 cases) and perceiving the destination as “disconcerting/shocking/surprising” (also in 8 cases). The respondents pay attention especially to “artefacts” (7 cases), “crematories/gas rooms” (in 6 cases) and “shoes/hair/clothes” (in 6 cases).

Interviewees describe dark destinations in various of ways, partly because they were visiting different destinations. However many of them relate to feelings which they had, or the emotions which arises in a destination. In some cases they emphasize the scale and size of a museum (6 cases), some highlight that it is an “important” place (5 cases). To describe dark destinations they use adjectives as “depressing” (5 cases), “emotional” (4 cases), different (3 cases). Also repeatedly as: dark, serious, scary, terrible, terrifying, difficult, meaningful, a cemetery. However, in some cases they use words like: nice (in 4 cases) , cool (2 cases) or well organized (in 3 cases), also in reference to death camps. One respondent (case 9) sees such places as a construct, which has its own narration. She claims that such places are constructed to touch and realize some crimes. However, she possesses a theoretical knowledge about museums as an anthropology student.

To sum up, in perception of dark destinations the most vitals categories are as follows:

1. Reality/authenticity (13 cases)
2. Historical perspective (11 cases)
3. Interesting (10 cases)
4. Educational (9 cases)
5. Strong/powerful feeling (8 cases)
6. Disconcerting/shocking/surprising (8 cases)

Perception of different types of dark destinations based on visual stimulus

Type one: Dark Dungeons

In 9 cases respondents perceive that type of dark destination as interesting. However, in 4 cases they directly present an opinion that this is not interesting at all. None claims it is the most interesting type. In 2 cases interviewees declared willingness to visit such place, in 3 cases respondents definitely rejected the possibility to visit it. Most oftenly respondents emphasize the element of suffering/torture, and also use terms as “scary” and “out of humanity”.

It is also perceived as “an authentic representation of history”. Although some perceive it as: cool, fascinating or nice. Only one respondent (case 9) pointed that without a history attached it can be flat.

Type two: Dark Exhibitions

In 6 cases the respondents perceive this type of dark destination as interesting, plus for 2 this is more interesting than type one and for an additional 3 this is the most interesting one. It gives 11 cases out of 16. In 3 cases respondents claimed that it can be boring, because of too much reading and not enough interesting authentic artefacts; and in one case a respondent described it as “the least interesting”. In five cases interviewees declared the willingness to visit, in 2 they declared that they would not visit such place. In 5 cases respondents paid a lot of attention to soldiers’/peoples’ faces. 4 of them admits that they like this type of display, and 3 pay attention to historical aspects of the exhibition. Respondents describe it using terms like: softer, modern, not affective, touchy and sad.

Type three: Dark Camps of Genocide

This type of dark destination was found as the most interesting in 10 cases! Plus one cases where respondent describes it as interesting. In six cases the interviewees describe it as “the most real” and also in six cases as “an actual place of death” . In 3 cases the respondents declare a willingness to visit (or already planned it), but in 4 cases they admit they have seen it and are not determined or interested to see it again. To describe that type of destination they used terms like: worst, strong, intensive, sad, worth to see, affecting.

Experience

This thematic domain is also taken from theory and defined *a priori* based on the model. However, its importance is more about the relationship between it and motivation of each respondent. Generally speaking 6 of respondents defined themselves as experienced tourists, next 5 as semi-experienced, and last 5 as not-experienced. The distribution is equal. First of all it should be noticed that only 3 respondents admits that they used travel agencies. However, one of them (case 10, experienced traveler) noted that he doesn’t do it anymore, and the other one (case 8, experienced) traveler claims that she use agencies “very, very rarely”. Surprisingly, all of them are experienced or semi-experienced travelers.

Analyzing the group of experienced travelers first, it can be noticed that 4 out of 6 admits that they are into visiting cities, one of them (case 1) prefers spending free time actively, and one is trying to visit top tourist attractions. Two of them (cases 10 and 15) have been on long multi-country travels, both for 6 weeks. 3 give ‘exploring new culture’ as a motive and also 3 of them curiosity. There is no motive which is common for all. Concerning dark motives 5 of them mentioned curiosity. Curiosity was mentioned all together 11 times in dark tourism context. It seems to be interesting that almost half of those times it concerns experienced tourists. Four of them also mentioned “learning” as a motive, half of all such instances. Two of them (cases 4 and 10) have been in dark destinations before, in fact respondent number 15 has been visiting war memorials and war museums as well, but he didn’t concern it as a dark destinations.

The group of semi-experienced travelers seems not to be very uniform. Two of respondents prefer active holiday and mountain places, two are into history, and one into culture. Three of them point breaking out from the routine as a motive to travel. In two cases they want to learn something new, which is interesting because that motive was mentioned 5 times all together (also twice by experienced tourists). Concerning dark motives also nothing very peculiar can be found. In 3 cases they mentioned curiosity, also 3 of them remembering the past/commemorating victims (mentioned also 3 times by experienced tourists). Semi-experienced tourists mentioned gaining new knowledge as a dark motive only in 2 cases, which is twice less as experienced tourists.

The group of not experienced tourists is also diverse. In 3 cases they mentioned curiosity as a motive to travel (curiosity was mentioned 6 times all together). Also 3 of them mention discovering new things as a motive, which is a lot. Only one gives gaining new knowledge as a general motive. Concerning dark motives gaining new knowledge was mentioned also in 2 cases (the same in semi-experienced tourists). Most often they mention experiencing the reality of the past.

Dark Experience

Concerning the thematic domain of dark experience a few main categories were discovered. First of all 10 of respondents claimed that the visited destination was the only dark destination in their hitherto experience. However, in at least 2 cases it is not true, because respondents later admitted that they have visited for example war museums or memorials, but hadn’t concerned them as dark destinations.

In five cases interviewees have visited war memorials, in five war museums (different than the one which was a topic of the interview). Also, in five cases various dark exhibitions and in two cases other death camps; these categories are not separable! In three cases the respondents have a plenty of dark tourism experience (cases: 4,9,10). One interviewee has seen even actual war in Syria (case 7). However, in six cases the respondents reveal that the dark destination was not the only aim of the travel.

Future Plans

The thematic domain of Future Plans includes the category of a willingness to visit dark destinations again. The cross-check analysis between cases showed that just five respondents claim that they want to visit dark destinations again, while next five admit that they would probably visit if they had a chance. Among them in three cases it would not be the main aim of travel, and in two cases they don't plan anything in particular. One respondent also (case 13) plans to revisit a destination which he has visited before (Auschwitz). In three cases the interviewees admit that they want to visit just one particular museum (in two cases Warsaw Uprising Museum and in one case Nazi camp). In four cases respondents declare that they are not looking for it and in one case (case 1) the interviewee said that she avoids such places. In six cases interviewees said that dark destinations are worth visiting, interesting or important. In two cases respondents explicitly said they are not interested in such destinations.

Personal characteristics

This thematic domain was also driven *a priori* from the theory. However, it is hard to find a lot of psychological categories common for the majority of respondents, as they seem to be diverse. Although there is one very interesting finding shown by cross-check analysis, in most cases interviewees express their interest in history (in ten cases) or in army/war artifacts (in three cases). This is the most significant category in this domain. Also a lot of them expressed their patriotic feelings or a feeling of identity with their own nation (in six cases). As it was said before in the Motivation paragraph most of them are novelty seekers, looking for new experiences and don't like routine. However, as it was discussed before there is no need to repeat it as a category here. In five cases they claim to be open-minded, and in five to not be religious. What is surprising also in five cases is that they stand for being emotional or sensitive.

This can explain findings about their future plans, where also some of them declared to not be interested in visiting such places. Nevertheless they were not exactly the same cases. The following categories also come repeatedly:

- Spontaneous (in 4 cases)
- Entertainment oriented (in 4 cases)
- Spends time actively (in 4 cases)
- Individualist (in 4 cases)
- Like having detailed information (in 4 cases)

3.4. Discussion

During the discussion each thematic domains which were established during analysis will be looked through and deliberated. Conclusions from cross-check analyses of categories will be presented. An attention will be also paid to the personal insights of respondents, referring to their opinion about dark tourism in general, the destination they have visited and their perception of dark tourists. It will be also shown if they actually can perceive themselves as death tourists.

When looking at the model of the research it can be noticed that all demand factors of destination image are interrelated. Four thematic domains were established *a priori* basing on the factors: motivation, experience, perception and personal characteristics. Ergo, those domains should be also interrelated. One more domain was established *a priori* - decision making, the domain was driven straight from the theory underlying the model of study. Next three domains were established during case study analyses, they were: dark motivation, dark decision making and future plans. All seven domains were presented in the analysis section.

Concerning both motivation thematic domains, closer attention to the established categories should be paid. First what is noticeable is the fact that categories in those two domains are generally different, which drives one to the obvious conclusion that dark tourism is driven by different motives than traveling in general. This doesn't seem to be surprising since traveling to places connected with death is a very peculiar type of tourism. However, there are some common points like curiosity or gaining new knowledge. Since dominant motives in general traveling are strongly connected with novelty, looking for new experiences and breaking from routine, and from everyday life to look for new inputs, the dark motive which is mentioned in every single case is about historical factors.

It was named in various ways by interviewees such as seeing a piece of real history, touching history, and feeling the history of the place. However the representation, the historical aspect was always clearly visible. It is impossible to make any kind of generalization based on a qualitative exploratory research involving only 16 cases, but this is still an interesting finding since historical aspects were so clearly visible in each case.

A very important category in dark motivation is also to see how the place looks, which is close to another category in general motivation: to see the world. The explanations given for that motive by respondents were similar, they described it as a willingness to see it with their own eyes or/and to confirm the history. This is connected with curiosity, which was mentioned frequently in both motivation domains. It seems natural that curiosity drives us to travel around the world to meet new cultures and discovering new places. On the other hand, human race has also morbid curiosity. We paradoxically look for pretty repulsive things because we are curious of how they look, especially when we don't see them in our everyday life. We are truly fascinated when this is *real*. This applies mostly to the darkest type of thanatourism, like death camps. Many respondents admitted that they went there to feel the place, "the climate of death". People will be interested in the macabre, will take a look on car accident or go to the place where over one million of people were killed for the same reason... for curiosity. However, sometimes people are ashamed of being morbidly curious. Only a one respondent in that study explicitly admitted that he has a "morbid curiosity" (case 15). Nevertheless others were really cautious to not say anything which can be seen as deviant. For instance, in case 10 a respondent is talking about torturing people, and how people always were able to come up with new ways to hurt another human being, then he says "It is fascinating... no... fascinating is not a right word... it is more like little unbelievable". Another example can be a case 8, talking about dark tourists the respondent says: "Dark tourist can be a person who enjoys visiting places connected with war or death.... maybe enjoy is not the best word..." Those are not the only examples from interviews, nevertheless they show that some people will try to deny the existence of morbid curiosity.

According to Travel Career Pattern theory a motivation is connected with the level of experience of tourists. It implies that people with higher experience level should be driven by different kinds of motives that people with lower experience level. The more experienced a tourist is the more intrinsic motivation he has.

Respondents in the present study have different levels of experience: from very young travelers experienced mainly in domestic trips to people with vast international experience who have made a long trips through Middle-East, Asia or Eastern Europe (cases 10 and 15). Also the level of dark tourism experience differs between cases. In three cases respondents have a vast dark tourism experience (cases: 4, 9, 10), but for some of respondents it was the first and only visit in the destination connected with death. What should be interesting here is that 10 respondents declared that the discussed travel was their only dark tourism experience, but during the interview the researcher found out that in two cases it was not actually the truth, as they have visited some war memorials and museums. When ask about that they admitted that they forgot or didn't think about it as dark tourism. The interviewee from case 15 explained: "I have gone to war museums but mostly because there are guns and the weapons interesting, not because like 'ooo they killed so many people' it is like: 'ooo HOW did they kill them?'".

The cross-check analysis between level of experience and dark motives showed that the most experienced travelers were the most often motivated by curiosity (on 5 out of 6 cases). Also in four cases they mentioned a motive of learning (mentioned 8 times all together), referring to it as to "getting new input" or "broadening a mind". This actually fits with TCP theory in that more experienced tourists will be driven by higher needs. The least experienced group of tourists were mentioning the most often "experiencing the past" as a dark motive. They were also mentioning learning half as much as experienced tourists. However, there were no very strong patterns. Here it is also impossible to say anything for sure based only on sixteen interviews. Testing TCP in dark tourism context requires quantitative studies conducted on the proper sample.

Discussing the perception domain the most important aspect repeated frequently was the authenticity. Authenticity/reality was mentioned in 13 cases, which means not only by respondents who have visited death camps, but of course by them too. Respondents who have visited death camps emphasize that aspect even more definitely. They pay attention to the reality of the place, that "actual people were dying here" and that "this is not made up". A lot of times all respondents pay attention to "real artefacts" or "personal belongings of prisoners". The aspect of authenticity seems to play a big role in dark tourism. People are morbidly curious about real events or objects. During the comparison of photos many of them expressed the opinion that the darker the destination is, the more interesting it is for them. Only some were not very interested in seeing a death camp... but the most common reason they gave was that they have seen it before. Also when asked about their perception, respondents were highlighting

a historical perspective of destinations. Historical aspects which were the most important among dark motives also played a big role here (mentioned by 11 respondents), this cannot be a coincidence. Historical interests are a vital variable among dark tourists. It will be discussed wider in the conclusion paragraph.

It is worth to pay attention to how the respondents reacted on the different types of dark destinations presented to them on photos. For the majority the most interesting was a photo which pictured a death camp, which is the darkest possible type in death tourism. Interestingly they were either calling it the most interesting (in ten cases) or don't consider it as interesting at all. Only in one case a respondent calls the death camp as interesting, but not the most interesting. This can be seen as an exception.

But why it is like that? The most obvious suggestion can be that a tourist needs to have a peculiar interests to like destinations as dark as death camps, and either he/she has it or doesn't have it at all. As far as the darkest type of death tourism is concerned it's hard to be "party interested" in such places. Since visiting such place is a very strong experience, it probably requires a strong attitude toward it. This can be an interesting topic for further investigation.

It seems to be extremely vital to discuss the issue of dark decision making process. First of all it needs to be noticed that among all interviewees more than half admitted that the decision to visit a dark destination was influenced by a third party. In some cases it was just a suggestion of a history teacher (cases 1 and 4), but three of respondents declared that they went there only as a company for somebody who already wanted to go there. Also in six cases interviewees said that their visit in a dark destination was part of a longer trip and not just a travel to that one destination. Those categories are not separable. In some cases it was not the only aim of travel but still the respondent's own decision. However, it can't be missed that often tourists traveling to dark places treat them as "by the way" destinations. It was also visible when interviewees were asked about their willingness to visit places connected with death again, most of them said "if I have a chance", by which they emphasize that they are not particularly looking to visit one, but when they happen to be nearby or hear about something interesting they would visit. This is mirrored also in the present study, since in five cases respondents admitted that they visited a dark destination because it was ranked as top attraction. Decision making was included in a study as a part of theory underlying the model, though it does put more light to respondents' profiles. Knowing factors important for tourists when deciding on purpose of the travel, we are able to compare those with dark tourism decision making. In ten cases respondents mentioned their interests as an influential aspect, and also in ten cases the attractiveness of the destination.

Looking for a pattern in the connection between mentioning attractiveness and choosing a dark destination because of its fame was checked. But those factors were connected only in two cases (8 and 13). It is hard to see any clear correlation between general decision making factors and dark decision making. It looks like they are driven by different factors. Especially when in most cases respondents admit that they are not generally traveling somewhere only for that one experience. One of them said: “I imagine some going to Poland just to go to Auschwitz, and that’s it? And that is all they know about Poland? That is kind of bullshit!” (case 15). However, in this study only six of them have visited a dark destination as a part of a longer trip... and those are not exactly the same who declared doing that in general. An interesting example to illustrate this is case 13. The respondent has visited Auschwitz by the way of sightseeing Krakow, and only because it was listed as a top attraction in the area. However he got so interested that he already planned to revisit Auschwitz and adds that “now I will go straight there”. On the other hand the respondent from case 15 who is so against traveling to a place only for a dark experience has visited Dachau camp purposively, not as a part of sightseeing Munich. It shows that those decision making relations can be indeed very complicated. It is suggested to observe tourists behavior in a longer period to say something more certain about it.

Taking a closer look to the thematic domain of future plans of respondents we see that only some of them actually plan to travel to dark destinations again. Five of interviewees declared not looking for that kind of experience anymore, one of them even used the phrase “avoid such places”. Why is that?

Well, let’s take a look at the remaining eleven cases. In four out of those eleven interviews respondents talking about their future plans point only one particular dark destination that they want to visit or revisit. For example in case 2 the female respondent expressed her willingness to visit Warsaw Uprising Museum “because there is also a really good piece of history to see. And that museum is well organized, well made.” That suggests that the respondent is not primarily interested in places connected with death in general, but more in places connected with history of her country or just in visiting top museums. Another interesting example here is case 10 where respondent says that as a German he wants to visit a former Nazi concentration camp to “get in mind why people are still talking about it”. So it can be assumed that those respondents who want to visit just a particular dark destination have more personal reasons than being interested in death space.

What seems to be the most peculiar about the personal characteristics of respondents is their interest in history or war/army artifacts. Even if cross-analysis didn't show anything else which at this stage of investigation can be seen as very important, that finding seems to be interesting and matches the holistic view. First of all it is connected with dark motivation where historical factors were mentioned in all cases. The motivation can of course mirror one's interests. If this is the case in dark tourists (and it seems like it is), it means that the dominant here is intrinsic motivation. Of course at this stage of study the generalization is not possible, and we need to take that in mind. However, this is an interesting point to make, because the correlation can be also seen between these characteristics and a perception domain where seeing a dark destination's historical perspective was noted in eleven cases.

Can it be a biased perception? Well, perception can be influenced by many factors, in the case of dark tourism even by nationality. That topic requires deeper investigation as well.

The last point of the discussion part are personal insights of respondents. Those were not previously analyzed, but were partly noted out in the case study part of research. Personal insights were presented in three separated categories addressing dark tourism, dark tourists and visited destination. Let's start with insights about dark tourism itself. Respondents were asked about their opinion of using death in a tourism context. First of all in ten cases interviewees said that using death space in tourism context is "important". However, different respondents were justifying its importance in different ways. Some claimed that it helps to see what war is, and how people suffer from it. Others claim that it helps to go deeper into history and "feel it". Many of them emphasize that this is something which books cannot give you, which is more affective. In a few cases respondents even describe dark tourism as a right thing to do, an example of this is seen in case 6 : "I think it is totally right to make places connected with war and death part of tourism." A few respondents pay attention to educational aspects of it, mainly to not repeat history.

However, in two cases we can find very peculiar thoughts about death tourism. Firstly the respondent in case number 11 finds dark tourism and Holocaust attractive: "Nowadays is very attractive for people to know places connected with death. For example, everything connected with the Holocaust is very attractive, because of the history of course, but also what were reasons to do that. I think this is important part of tourism. Death is a way to attract people." None of the others respondents has presented such a perspective. Calling the Holocaust attractive seems to be very extraordinary. However, it has to be attractive in some way for people to go and look at it. So perhaps this is a real dark tourist's perspective here?

Is it worth considering if a real dark tourist needs to find death space attractive? Another, completely different perspective is presented in case 12. The respondent said: “It is hard to even talk about tourism in that case. That kind of “tourism” doesn’t have an entertaining, amusing holiday character. And what is more it requires from visitors, tourists, very specific approach I guess. Responsible, serious attitude.” According to existing theories there is no differentiation between those two, they both would be called dark tourists. But are they the same? The respondent in case 11 finds death attractive, while the respondent in case 12 finds it problematic to call traveling to death space a tourism. This is a sensitive issue, but should not be missed by psychological scientists working in the tourism field.

The next important issue is concerning the question of who is a dark tourist. This was maybe the most important question in the interview. It consists of two parts, giving a definition of a dark tourist and a self-defining part where a respondent should say if he/she can call herself a dark tourist. The results can be surprising. First of all only three of respondents declared that they can consider themselves as a dark tourists! (cases: 10, 11, 13) One respondent didn’t define himself clearly (case 4). Respondents number 10 and 4 have a plenty of dark tourism experience, as well as respondent number 9 who didn’t define herself as a dark tourist. This is a very interesting finding, especially that some of them emphasize that they are not comfortable with calling themselves dark tourists.

Very interesting are also respondents’ insights concerning who a dark tourist is. There are many different perspectives presented by interviewees. Some of them claim that this is mostly about experiencing history, or willingness to experience past. Although the majority say just “interests”, a dark tourist needs to find places connected with death interesting. According to respondents that person is interested in war, death and the death space. Some of them explain those interests as something as a dark tourist likes or enjoys, but, for example, respondent number 9 claims that that interest can originate in being “touched by death” as a part of his direct history, who has some emotional connection (for example family member), because in her opinion “cultivating that kind of tourism just for science or fun is just creepy.” Respondent from case 4 claims that a dark tourist is somebody who looks for creepy things to see. The respondent from case 2 suggests that a dark tourist probably gains a satisfaction from visiting dark destinations. Nevertheless in three cases we can find particularly interesting suggestions. In case 5 the respondent points out the individual character of a real dark tourist: “This is something individual, You can’t expect a groups of people will go to that places.

Some exceptional people will choose it. And those people will choose dark tourism because curiosity and willingness to experience the past.” Another interesting opinion because of its difference in perspective is presented in case 7: “if I just say what I’m thinking I probably think like some rich people going to have dark on people in some poor countries. Or someone going to the countries when they are showing executions or something like that.” This type of dark tourism seems to be extreme, not even established in theory, but the respondent claims that he has experienced this in Syria. He continues: “Like seeing war in Syria this is a death tourism probably, yeeah. When You go to watch. People used to do that. Really, tourists, following armies around, just standing and watch people killing each other like that.” This seems to be very odd, but there is no data to falsify nor to support it. However, looking to actual war and actual death *in flagranti* can possibly be the darkest type of death tourism. But to say anything about it, it needs to be studied.

There is one more peculiar opinion about dark tourists, it is presented in case 14, the respondent seems to present a very negative opinion about dark tourism and dark tourists, although it is worth to present that perspective once again: “Dark tourist... I don’t know... someone not entirely mentally healthy. I guess such places this is not something that you visit because you like it. I think that nobody normal can be happy about that trip, because there is nothing to be happy about as long as this is about war. Probably there are normal people going to such places, when this is not their main aim or something... but go there because you like looking at it, this is not normal. People who are excited about it are not normal.” It seems like dark/death tourism can have negative connotations in some people’s minds. Perhaps this is a reason why the majority of respondents didn’t find it “comfortable” to call themselves dark tourists.

3.5. Conclusions

Psychology and tourism are two interesting disciplines in science which can be successfully combined. This paper focused on a very specific type of tourism, dark tourism. The issue of dark or death tourism is not very well established in science so far, especially not from a psychological perspective. There is a need for psychological research in tourism, and dark tourism is especially interesting since it gives a wide spectrum of possibilities. The present research was merely exploratory. It aimed to begin the topic and suggest some patterns, not conclude and generalize about issues in dark tourism psychology. Let us focus now on what the research actually can tell us.

The inductive method of reasoning assumed that no preliminary assumptions were made. However, now based on observations which were made, it is possible to suggest some patterns. First of all there is a strong role played by historical factors which can be noticed in the study. Historical issues played a vital role in three out of four demand factors influencing destination image. Historical factors were mentioned in ALL sixteen cases as a motive to travel to a dark destination. In the perception domain, seeing a place from its historical perspective was mentioned in eleven cases. Also looking at personal characteristics domain, in ten cases respondents have interest in history, and in three in war and army stuff. So in fact historical elements are dominant in those categories where they could be. The only remaining demand factor is experience, which were not tested from the viewpoint of historical factors. Also, as was presented previously in the research model, those demand factors of destination image are supposed to be interrelated. So we can assume that personal characteristics of respondents influence their perception as well as motivation, since motivation is a very subjective issue. A tentative hypothesis can be derived from that observed pattern. Therefore the results suggest that historical factors are dominant in demand site of dark tourism.

The first tentative hypothesis is: Tourists with interests in history or/and war are more likely to visit death space. The second tentative hypothesis which should be tested in future research is: There is a correlation between perception of a dark destination and interests. And the third suggested hypothesis is: The perception and motivation in dark tourism can be biased by nationality.

All of those hypotheses need to be tested in future descriptive and exploratory research with statistical methods on bigger samples. The need for further investigation is pronounced. The results of the study cannot be generalized and decisive. However, it is still important as a contribution to science as one of first steps done to better understand and characterize the dark tourists. To sum up:

H1: Tourists with interests in history or/and war are more likely to visit death space.

H2: There is a correlation between perception of a dark destination and interests.

H3: The perception and motivation in dark tourism can be biased by nationality.

Let's try to answer to the research question now. Firstly, it seems that intrinsic motivation is dominant among dark tourists. This seems to be accurate, because intrinsic motivation is said to be dominant in tourism in general.

Next, there is a question about a perception of sites of death. Analysis showed first of all that dark tourists pay attention to the authenticity and reality of a destination. The second important aspect here is a historical perspective. Those two main factors seem to be related. The history is real past. Of course some historical sites are not authentic, but reconstructed. It is important to emphasize that the most attractive destination for dark tourists should probably combine those to features: authenticity and historical perspective. The most important part of the research question deals with a dark tourist's general profile. That profile is made based on the results coming from case studies and crossed-check analyses.

A dark tourist is interested in history. He/she pays attention to historical aspects of a dark destination, and enjoys the authenticity of the place. A dark tourist is driven by his historical interests and morbid curiosity, and finds death space interesting. Usually the darker the destination is, the more interesting it is for a dark tourist. However, nothing essential was discovered about the influence of experience or about dark decision making process. What is more, in the majority of cases (exactly in nine) the choice to visit a dark destination was influenced by third parties (usually as a suggestion from friends or recommendation from teachers). There is a lot more that can be discovered in the dark tourism topic. The most vital characteristics derived from the study are shortly presented in figure 3.1.



Figure 3.1. The most essential characteristics of a dark tourist.

3.6. Limitations of the study

It cannot be missed that the present study has some strong limitations. First of all this is an exploratory study based on case studies. Case studies deal with a presented issue only to some limited extend, especially with such a complicated problem as travel motivation, which has a high level of subjectivity. The bonds between motivation and travel behavior are not easy to determine, and based on just sixteen cases we are not able to decide or make generalizations about those. The present study can explore the area of research in more depth than quantitative studies can. Case study analyses can suggest existence of patterns, but cannot support the theory. Secondly, the research was conducted in a very limited time, using very limited resources. The single researcher is not able to conduct a very wide qualitative research within a strict time limit. The procedure of interview transcriptions, then coding and analyzing transcriptions is very time consuming and usually should be done by a team of researchers. It of course also influences sample size, which is relatively small in the present study. With greater resources it would be possible to reach a larger sample size, and there would be not a necessity for using the criterion of convenience during purposive sampling. This means that the sample would be more deliberately constructed. The present sample is limited in size and content, but it is the best sample which could be reached under the circumstances.

Another issue is language. The research was originally designed in English. The interview guide and demographic questionnaire were also written in English. However, it turned out to be hard to conduct all interviews in English, which is why some of them were conducted in Polish and then transcribed into English by the researcher. It caused some problems with language accuracy, as for example some phrases from Polish language are not easy to translate without some loss in meaning. Interviews in cases 1, 2, 3, 9, 12, 14 were conducted in Polish. Another limitation which should be pointed is the fact that respondents with Polish nationality seem to be a bit biased among places as Auschwitz. They have very specific perspective looking at such places, as they are tightly connected with a history of their country and tend to treat such places more personally and more serious than foreigners, and because in Poland the existence of such places is somewhat of obvious for everyone, and children learn a lot about that during the history classes at school from the early age.

3.7. Suggestions for future research

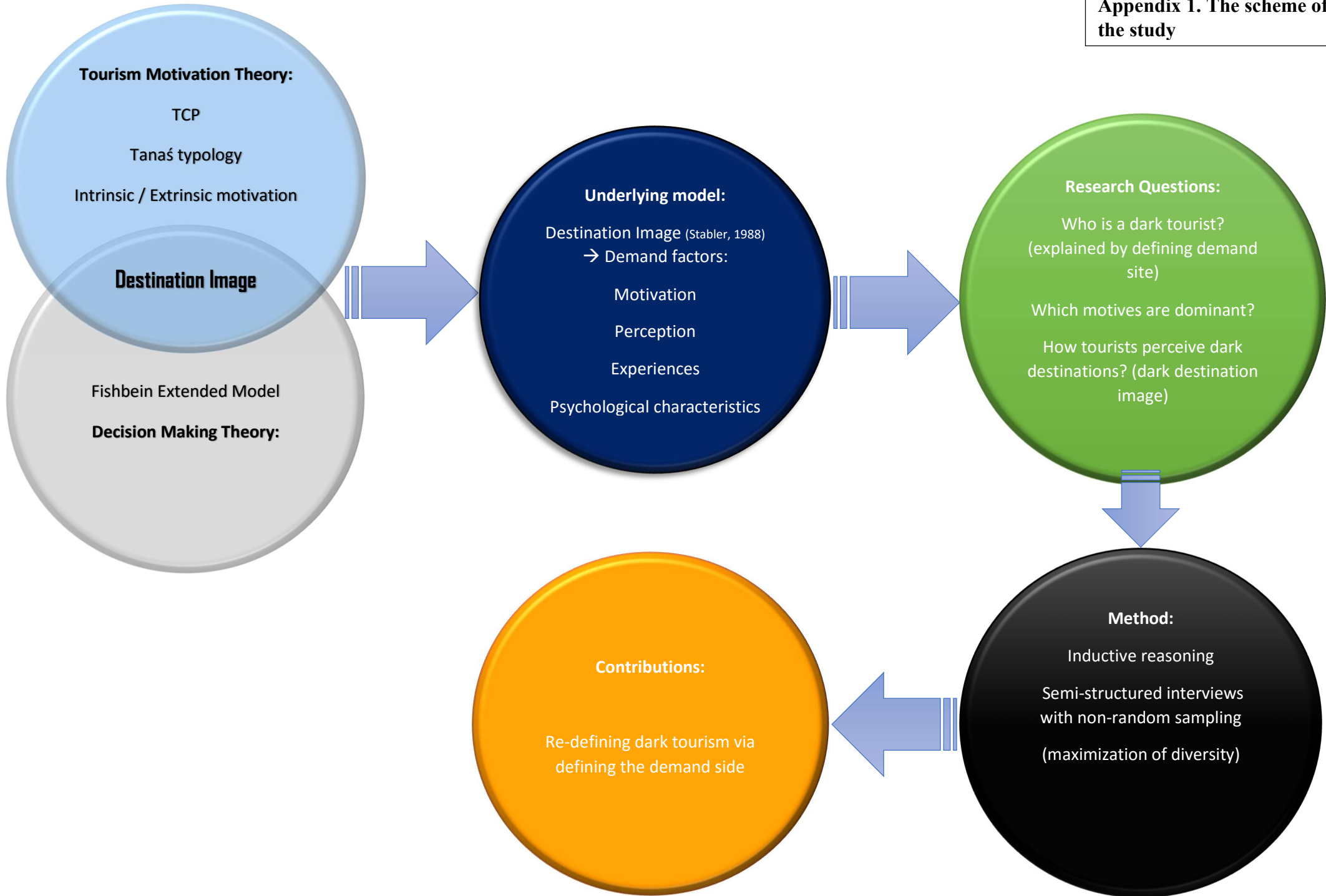
Let us recall the words of Pearce: “The value of pursuing travel motivation studies can be described as extensive” (2005, p.51). Concerning dark tourism in particular there is a lot to do in the topic. No so many researches were conducted in this field at all. All typologies existing in dark tourism field are concentrated on differentiating types of death space. What about typology concerning different categories of dark tourists? As the present research showed they are not a heterogeneous group, although they do have some things in common. The exploratory study is only an initial part of research. So a lot more can be done concerning the topic. From the analysis and discussion parts come a few suggestions as well. First of all it seems to be vital to establish a proper set of motives dominant in dark tourism. The typology used in this study and suggested by Tanaś (2013) didn’t match the real motives. It shows a need for a deeper research in the field. Also if we want to really test Travel Career Pattern (or in fact any other relevant motivation theory) in dark tourism context we need a quantitative research to do that. This is a really interesting study which allows to compare motivation patterns between dark and normal tourism. A lot is to explore also in the dark decision making field. Let’s remind ourselves that in the Fishbein extended model, behavior is a function of:

- An attitude toward a behavior
- Perception of norms ruling that behavior
- Motivation to fulfil these norms

Some of the tourists examined in the research have a clearly negative attitude toward dark tourism, however for some reasons they decided to visit a death site regardless. It was also noticeable in the study that many of respondents didn’t make the decision of visiting a dark destination independently. Further research in that matter can bring interesting insights about dark tourists’ “buying” behavior, because tourism is a special type of consumption, but still a consumption.

Appendix

Appendix 1. The scheme of the study



Appendix 2. The interview guide

Information for Interviewee :

You are taking part in research concerning Dark Tourism issues. Dark Tourism is a phenomenon where tourists are visiting sites connected with war or death, like Auschwitz or Warsaw Uprising Museum. The aim of the study is therefore to take a deeper view into profiles of dark tourists. During the Interview You will be recorded by the Interviewer only for scientific purpose. The material will be not used for any other purpose. The interviews will remain anonymous, any sensitive personal data will not be required to give .

Four set of questions will be asked to You in the following order: questions about needs, experiences, expectations, and present destination place. Please try to answer each of them.

Group I: Needs

5. What factors are important for You when deciding on the purpose of Your travel ?
6. What motivates You to travel?
7. How important for You is element of novelty in your travels?
8. I'll show You a set of motives connected with dark tourism, please put them in order from least to most important for you. (Sacrum: religion, identity, empathy, memory. Profane: cognitive, curiosity, entertainment, emotional motive)

Group II: Experiences

1. How many times per year do you travel for pleasure (approximately)?
2. Can You evaluate about the character of your travels (traveling alone, with company, short, long, type of accommodation)?
3. How does the process of planning a travel look in your case?
4. Have you ever travelled to places connected with death before?

Group III: Expectations

1. What did you expect from your visit here?
2. To what degree were those expectations met?
3. What attracts you in such places?
4. Do you want to visit places connected with death again?
5. What is your approach to the phenomenon of death in tourism context?
6. Compare and evaluate about pictures of dark destinations which are shown to You.

Group IV: Destination place analysis

1. How have you found out about this place?
2. Why did you choose to go here (mot)?
3. Was your decision influenced by somebody?
4. What did you want to see/experience here particularly?
5. What do you like the most in this place?
6. Who is a dark tourist for you? can You concern Yourself as one?

Appendix 3. Case studies

Case 1.

Case Description

The interviewee is female, 23 years old, Polish nationality. Bachelor student in Russian philology, however, doesn't hold a degree yet. Currently taking one year break in studies, and living in England. Previously living and studying in Poland. Assumed that has no theoretical scientific knowledge about tourism. Full – time worker in England. Living with boyfriend, never married. Monthly income around 1100 pounds. Visited Auschwitz- Birkenau Museum in Poland.

Motto of the case *I rather avoid such places ...depressing places, mainly because of my sensitivity*

Personal characteristics

The interviewee express her *“love to mountains”*, in the very first sentence of the interview. Nature is interesting for her, she likes spending free time actively. She mentioned: hiking, cycling, climbing. She also likes cultural tourism: interesting museums, theaters, castles (*“I also love it”*). She claims to treat traveling as purely entertaining. She likes trying new things (*“Why not to try?”*), which suggests her open-minded attitude. Something that is new for her is automatically more interesting (new types of museums). She explicitly admits that religion is not important for her. She feels national identity. She defines herself as an emotional person, which is highlighted a few times in the interview. She claims that traveling is important for her. Evidence for that can be find in the interview, she has liked travel websites on Facebook, and actively asks people about interesting places to go. Concerning dark tourism she admits that she had vast knowledge about WWII, and was interested in it. On the other hand she said: *“I usually avoid such places, because I'm very sensitive person (...)”*. Aspects of sensitivity are repeated a few times more.

Motives

When answering the question of what motivates her to travel, she first of all mentions meeting new people and seeing new places. Then visiting interesting tourist sites, like museums, castles. Her next motive is amusement. Concerning dark tourism, the most important for her is identity because of the national aspects of it. Then, emotional motive and empathy for victims. She also points that dark tourism is vital because of its historical aspects. Curiosity, religion and entertainment are not important for her as far as dark tourism is concerned. In the following part of the interview she gives more dark tourism motives: *“to see how life was going in the camp, how people were able to live there, see all that buildings, torture places (...)”*. Afterwards she is calling it *“historical authenticity”*; the possibility to confirm the history, and to experience it. When explaining her motivation to go to Auschwitz, she answers: *“to pay tribute to victims”*.

Decision making

During the interview, the participant gives a few factors which she takes into consideration during decision making process: landscape, nature, price, and also her interests. She emphasize that price is before all. About travel planning process she evaluates that her trips are often spontaneous, mainly

with friends or partner, always organized, and everything planned on her own. She always checks what attractions are offered in the location and what she can do there. The interviewee takes ideas for travels from travel websites, travel guides, reviews on the internet. She admits to following people advices and asking them for such. *“Where to find cheap accommodation, where to eat cheap”*. She pays attention to details deciding on final destination.

When we look at decision making process concerning particularly her visit to Auschwitz, we discover that it was influenced by her history teacher. The teacher encouraged the respondent to visit Auschwitz and convinced her by saying that it's *“our duty”* to go. The interviewee was primarily scared and afraid to go, *“because it is really emotional thing”*.

Perception

When the interviewee starts talking about the dark destination, she first says: *“It was very strong experience. It made huge impression on me. Those little shoes, everything what was there, how the people were living there...it is hard to imagine really. In the book you can't feel it, you can't see the scale. There you can imagine it, complete your understanding.”*. The respondent tells the story about school trip from German high school, when teenagers there were laughing all the time, and showed *“disrespectful attitude”*. She was *“pissed off”*, and pointed out that people should know where they are, this is important for educational aim. The interviewee continue to describe a place as frightening, terrible and very depressing. *“This is not an amusement park, where you can go every week to look at all that bones and corps. This is commentary.”*. This shows that the respondent is perceiving the destination more in a sacrum context. When asked about the biggest impression she said: *“The biggest impression was probably when I entered to that first building on the camp and I saw all these little shoes of children, really small and a bit bigger ones ...hair...clothes ...all those really authentic things.”*

Perception of different types of dark destination:

1. Been to such place before
2. Most interesting
I wouldn't be bored
I would go with pleasure, because I have never been in such place before
More possibilities
3. Have been before
I know how it looks, and how it's shown.

Experience

The interviewee claims to travel a lot: *“Practically every second weekend I'm going somewhere. Since I'm living in England I have more possibilities to do it ...so I travel a lot”*. She emphasizes that travelling is important for her and to self-define herself as a quite experienced tourist. However she points out that she is lacking in extreme traveling experience like jungles or very high mountains. On the other hand, she has international experience, previously living and travelling around Poland and Russia. She points out that maybe her trips are not long, but big in number. About any other dark tourism experience the respondent claims that she can't recall anything. She explains: *“I think I choose that kind of destination really rarely... Maybe when I was in secondary school... maybe in high school I have been in some kind of war museums but I can't recall it clearly.”*

Future plans

Answering the question about the willingness to visit any dark destination again the respondent answers that probably she will not go to dark places in the future; because of her sensitivity she is avoiding such places. However, she adds: *"Maybe if there will be an opportunity ...but I'm rather not planning it."*

Personal Insights

- **About dark tourism:**

"... Generally speaking I guess that showing death to tourists is not bad at all...it should be shown as far as we can. I guess especially at schools we should talk about it, to educate our children..."

- **About the dark destination:**

"... I had no expectations..."

"... I had a lot of information about it..."

"... I had an period in my life when I was reading a lot about it, I was really interested in it, I was watching a lot of documentary movies, and in fact that knowledge which I have gained through that it is in fact enough for me..."

"... I know about it from history lesson. It is kind of obvious in Poland..."

"... I do believe that every single man should see it. Not only polish people. Should see that people did it to another people..."

- **About dark tourists:**

"... Who is interested in history. Who is visiting war museums, death camps...who is just interested in the past, stories of people who survived, trying to deepen his knowledge..."

"... That person has to be in some way distanced to it, resistant to emotions..."

"... I'm not a dark tourist because I rather avoid such places ...depressing places, mainly because of my sensitivity..."

Case 2.

Case Description

The interviewee is female, 46 years old, Polish nationality. Holding Master degree in pedagogics. Living in Poland and working full-time as a teacher in primary and secondary school. Married, two grown-up children. Assumed that has no theoretical scientific knowledge about tourism. Monthly income around 3000 PLN. Visited Auschwitz – Birkenau Museum in Poland.

Motto of the case *This is not something you can read in books, not something you can learn from books*

Personal characteristics

The interviewee likes far away travels. She expresses her personal attachment to mountains, as a place of rest and a place when she always comes back: *"I wanna climb every mountain"*. She spends holidays and free time actively. The respondent shows interest in history. She is explorer type: *"I guess for people it is the same, they want to explore, to see how it looked. Just like me. To see it on my own eyes."* It suggests that she seeks empirical experiences. A sensitive person, many times during interview emphasize that even photos of a death camp are very scary for her: *"I was scared; I needed to brake a scare."* The respondent identifies herself with the nation in the Auschwitz context: *"Identity and memory are the most important for me because such places are the part of our culture, it is connectivity with our roots."*

Motives

It was mentioned above that the interviewee is an explorer type. The first motives for traveling she gives confirm that: discover something, see something, explore new places, to know something new. She explicitly claims: *"This is my motivation in fact, to get out of here, the routine life, and go somewhere, to see something. Get rest, learn something, travels broad a mind."*

Talking about dark tourism, the most important motives for her are from the sacrum set of motives: identity and memory. The respondent points cognition as the third in importance because of learning aspects, and entertainment as the least important. Talking about dark motives, the empirical approach is explicit: *"will discover how it really looked there. How the gas rooms looked, the prison cells, that places of executions. Everything. (...) Because if you don't see it in your own eyes, you will not understand how many people...even if you have data how many...if you don't see it in reality you will not experience it fully."* The respondent admits that she had knowledge about what she would see there, and she wanted to see it.

Order:

1. identity
2. memory
3. cognition
4. emotional motive
5. curiosity

6. empathy

7. religion

8. entertainment

Decision making

The most important factor for the interviewee during travel decision making are her interests. Price factors are also important for her: *"I will not go somewhere, where I can't afford to go, even if I really want to"*. She also mentions distance as an important factor, somehow connected with price. Novelty is essential for her, as breaking from what she sees every day. The responded claims that she is trying to travel to places where she has not been before. She sums up: *"If something is close and it is interesting for me, then it is worth to see"*. Tourist attractions are also important for her when choosing a location for travel. First, the entire place needs to be interesting for her.

When talking about her ideas for future travels, she claims that usually she knows about interesting places from before. Like heard from other people, from travel books or various folders. During decision making the interviewee is looking for some more information in the internet and then travel guides. She admits that most of her ideas come from recommendations. At the end she says: *"To decide about destination I take it attractiveness into consideration, location... how far it is. And costs as well."*

When talking about her decision to visit Auschwitz she said: *"I grew up to that decision. So I decided that it is worth to go there and see it...but first I needed to brake a scare, grow up to it ...to be there. This is important decision. Unless someone goes like that, because he just want to see a kind of place. But I guess I shouldn't be like that in Auschwitz case."* The responded also admits that her decision was influenced by her curiosity, how it all looks. However, she claims it was her own decision, not influenced by third parties *"fully aware and on my free will"*.

Perception

The interviewee describes Auschwitz as a memorial place, the function of which is to teach us something. She called it *"the very place where everything happened"* and *"place of suffering"*. So she emphasizes the authenticity of the place. She pays attention to *"hills of hair and little shoes"*. When asked what she liked the most there, she answered: *"That execution place...which is that wall under which those people were shot down. Because it really catches the eye when you are there. And that crematory room where they were burning them. And gas rooms... when you enter it, it is very scary also."* She claims that everything is *interesting* there, and makes really strong impressions.

Perception of different types of dark destination:

1. Have seen before
Doesn't impress me at all
Authentic representation
Typical
All tools are interesting
2. Have seen before
A lot of multimedia used
I like it

3. Alive
 - This is history
 - The most realistic

Experience

The respondent claims that she travels at least three/four times per year. According to her personal evaluation it is a lot, and she considers herself a semi-experienced tourist. However, it needs to be pointed out that those are mainly domestic travels, or to neighboring countries. The interviewee doesn't use travel agencies and package holidays. She organizes everything by herself and tries to find something not expensive, but in good standard. She travels with friends and family, never alone, and usually by car.

When asked if she traveled to dark destinations before, she answered: *"No...I guess I have visited just Auschwitz. It was the only dark place I have seen. I can't recall any war museums. It is just not so interesting for me."* However, later during photos evaluation task she pointed that she has been in such places before. Later during the interview she also mentioned her visit to Ksiaz castle in Poland: *"When I was in Ksiaz castle in that bunkers, and they showed us the bombers raid, who it looked, who people were hiding there, what kind of sounds they have heard. Then you understand the scare that they must feel."* It suggests that clearly she doesn't connect those destinations with dark tourism.

Future plans

When answering the question about the willingness to visit any dark destination again, the respondent said: *"Yes, I really want to go to the Warsaw uprising Museum. Because there is also a really good piece of history to see. And that museum is well organized, well made"*. She also mentions the historical aspect of it, because thanks to technology *"you can feel like in the middle of the events."*

Personal Insights

- **About dark tourism:**

"I guess it should teach us something, just to not repeat the history. So first of all it should teach. Is that interesting? Maybe it is...because when you look at it, how people was living there then you get know it. This is not something you can read in books, not something you can learn from books. It is not the same to see than just to read about it. This has its historical aspect... This is a great part of history. I have nothing against showing it to tourists. I guess it should be as it is...this is important for educational reasons."

- **About the dark destination:**

"Such places are the part of our culture, it is connected with our roots."

"You don't see it in your own eyes, you will not understand how many people...even if you have data how many...if you don't see it in reality you will not experience it fully."

"I guess a lot depends on the guide who shows you the place. One can really sell it to you, that you are really satisfied, and the other gives you just pure facts."

"Any book, any travel guide will not show you such a place."

"I know about it from history lesson at school long time ago, but I didn't want to go there for a long time."

- **About dark tourists**

"It is hard for me to consider myself as one."

"Dark tourist is someone who likes visiting such places. It is about specific interests, someone willing to know history of that, war of death. Willing to know that historic places of crimes."

"I would go to Katyn for example. So maybe I am a dark tourist....but I would not go to see such places all the time. I believe that some places you should visit once in lifetime."

"If we assume that a dark tourist gain satisfaction from visiting such places, then I can't consider myself as one. I visit such places only for historical reasons. Because I want to know history and know how it was."

"Don't find it amusing."

"A person who really likes it is a dark touristthis is someone fascinated by death. Death is not fascinating for me."

Case 3.

Case Description

The interviewee is male, 18 years old, Polish nationality. High school pupil, doesn't have higher education degree yet. Planning to study Information Technology, assumed that has no theoretical scientific knowledge about tourism. Living in Poland, taking summer jobs. Never married, single. No information about income. He visited Auschwitz – Birkenau Museum in Poland.

Motto of the case *This all is not a fiction, not made up.*

Personal characteristics

The respondent is not an enthusiast of “*too far*” travels. On the other hand he admits that he doesn't like routine. Novelty is important for him: *“It is interesting experience when you can discover something new. So this is important for me.”*

The interviewee likes mountains. He is sportsman type, like spending free time actively. Looking for enjoyment. He likes history, has a certain curiosity about the past.

Motives

When asked about his motivation to travel he points out curiosity first: *“Curiosity. Curiosity of the world. How the world look in its different parts. What is the culture there, what kind of people, what kind of landscapes you can see.”*. Later in the interview he emphasizes that what matters for him are also things that he likes to do, like climbing or skiing.

Concerning dark tourism the most important for the respondent is memory of the victims and identity. Emotional motive is also between the top three of his motives, so there is a predominance of sacrum motives in that case. The least important for respondent are entertainment and religion: *“The least important for me in dark tourism is entertainment, because even if we treat it as tourism attraction it is not very entertainment one. Religion is also not important because for me such places shouldn't be a place worship.”* He admits that he wanted to see how the concentration camp looked, gain some knowledge about how people were living there, and learn history about the place.

Decision making

Discussing important factors during decision making process he said: *“I want my travel destination to be close”*. Apart from location he points out a few more important factors: good accessibility, nice infrastructure around, a lot of tourist attractions. Price factors also plays a role *“Price shouldn't be too high, more like adequate to the quality”*. The destination should also fits his interests (for example climbing, cycling). He would choose a place *“where I can enjoy myself”*. During planning and making a decision the respondent looks for relevant information first on the internet and then eventually in guide books.

Perception

For the interviewee such places show truth about what is war. He highlights that people were dying here. He admits that the place is interesting (repeatedly) and adds: *"I have seen places of torture, that ovens where they were burning people, squares where people were shot down. And I gained new knowledge, learnt history."* However, it is visible that for the respondent dark destinations are first of all places of memory. When asked what attracts him in such places, he answered: *"A fact that we can cultivate the memory about people who were killed in such places. That we remember about their pain. And their memory will not die."* In his opinion, the destination he visited is *"important"*, he claims he experienced *"climate of death"*: *"this hair in one chamber...or those shoes in the other."* This is also what he likes the most, those rooms with personal belongings: *"it reminds that really people were there...that this all is not a fiction, not made up. That they were suffering and dying there."*

Perception of different types of dark destination:

1. Interesting
 - Interesting way to show a way to torture
 - Middle ages
 - I would visit
2. Interesting photographs
 - Show people faces, suffering
 - Cause a lot of empathy
 - I would visit
3. The best way to show space of death
 - Can fully see how it looked
 - Most interesting

Experience

The respondent is experienced in domestic travels and mountain trips. Nevertheless, his experience in international travel is not very vast (mainly neighboring countries and Italy). Most often travels with family members. He sometimes helps with planning. He never uses package holidays: *"We always organize our holidays by ourselves"*. Not very long travels, only around a week long.

Concerning his dark travel experience he claims that before and after Auschwitz he was not visiting such places, as far as he can recall.

Future plans

When answering the question about the willingness to visit any dark destination again the respondent answers: *"Yes I want to, because such places are interesting and important for someone who likes history and for someone who is curious."*

Personal Insights

- **About dark tourism:**

According to me it is very important to show such places to people, because this shows a true what is the war.

- **About the dark destination:**

"About Auschwitz I have heard during history class at school. I mean I have knew about its existence before, but the most information I have gained in school."

"So my curiosity was satisfied."

- **About dark tourists:**

"This is a person who is interested in such places, like death camps, like torture rooms. I guess it is the matter of interests."

"I will not call myself a strictly death tourist, I'm a tourist with various interests."

Case 4.

Case Description

The interviewee is male, 29 years old. Spanish nationality. Holding PhD Degree in Oil Engineering, and two Master Degrees. Currently living and studying in Norway. Previously living in Spain and in Russia. Used to be a soldier. Assumed that has no theoretical scientific knowledge about tourism industry. Currently not working. Never married, no children. No information about monthly income. Visited Museum of Second World War in Moscow.

Motto of the case *It is like...feel it, going inside ... It's another feeling. So a lot of people go there just for that feeling.*

Personal characteristics

The respondent is a novelty seeker: *"I always try to move to places where I haven't been. So that is like a primary factor."* He is an adventurer type, when talking about his travels he said: *"I would say this is like looking for the adventure."* He also explicitly express his hatred for package holidays: *"I hate package holidays. I did it once when I went to Egypt and I felt like a cow. You have it here, you look at this, people moving, people moving."* He is an individualist, he suggests that instead of packages he would rather see a place as much as he wants and then maybe not stop in the other. During interview the respondent is laughing a lot, and make jokes about for example Chernobyl. He claims to prefer longer trips, because of the possibility to see more things around the destinations. He also shows empirical attitude: *"I prefer to experience than to read. For me it is easier."* He likes exploring; he talks about it in the context of visiting cities: *"I like to explore a little bit, so I always rent a car to go outside the city."* The interviewee is clearly interested in weapons and war. He seems fascinated by weapons, he talks about weapons many times during interview. However, he feels no identity with war victims: *"my family and I never were a part of any of the wars or any of the conflicts. (...) so that is why I cannot find my identity there."*

Motives

The interviewee says that his interest is to visit new places. When asked about his motivation to travel he says: *"To see the world. Like till the end of my life to be able to scratch the most important parts of the world. So yes, I guess that is the motivation: to see the world."* Apart from that primary factor he also points curiosity as important an important motive, justifying it with: *"I want to see how other people live and other cultures."*

Talking about dark tourism, the most important motives for him are from the profane set. Here the most vital is curiosity: *"curiosity is the most important here for me because normally in those type of museums they have a lot of history galleries there about wars, and there you can see like tanks and planes and all of this stuff."*

The least important is identity, which he doesn't feel.

Order:

1. Curiosity
2. Cognition
3. Empathy
4. Memory
5. Emotional motive
6. Entertainment
7. Religion
8. Identity

Decision making

The most important factor for him is price (*"first that comes to my mind"*). Next, distance and novelty: *"Then of course it has to be close to the place I'm living and I guess it also has to be some place I haven't been before."* He admits that those three factors are the most important for him: price, distance and novelty.

During decision making process he checks the flights to different destinations he already wanted to visit, the cheapest one being the winner. He also follows advices and recommendations from friends: *"I have like a list of places in my mind, from people that tell me to go here, go there. Like my brother a couple months ago went to South Africa I saw the pictures and I think that I must go there. I'm following advices."*

Concerning his decision to visit the dark destination, he said: *"I think it was influenced by that history teacher. She told me to go there and I went so... Yeah it was just following the suggestion."*

Perception

The interviewee talks a lot about war machinery that he saw in the museum: planes, tanks guns. He seems to be really enthusiastic about that *"It is cool to see them in real life and be able to touch them and even go inside of them. And people there explain you how they worked."* He emphasizes that this is very interesting to see. The respondent repeats how vast the museum was and how many artifacts they have. He is also repeating stories which he heard there. He admits: *"I was interested to hear some stories. I learned stuff that I didn't know about WWII, like they were showing us videos...like how Russians were paying back for the equipment"* Later he adds: *"that kind of stuff you will never learn on the internet, You have to go to the museum and talk to this guides and they have all the cool stories that You will never learn on your own."*

Perception of different types of dark destination:

1. Looks cool
Not a fan of torture, so not interested in getting details
Don't care
2. A lot of suffering
War some
Soldiers
People crying
A lot of history about it
Would be happy to read about it
3. Most impressive
Cold
This is war some
I would choose that one

Experience

He considers himself an experienced traveler, having lived and traveled around different countries like: Spain, Italy, Russia, and Norway. He claims to take at least three longer travels per year, though usually more than three plus some additional weekend trips. He doesn't go much to resorts, but always books and organizes everything on his own, trying to get the cheapest accommodation. He uses travel engines like booking.com and Airbnb.com. Travel both with company and on his own.

Concerning dark tourism experience the respondent first claimed that he hasn't been in such places except in Moscow. But during the interview he managed to recall a few other places. First was the Anne Frank Museum in Amsterdam, and then the Museum Cons Camera in Saint Petersburg (videos and photos of people with genetic defects).

Future plans

Answering the question about the willingness to visit any dark destination again the respondent said yes. As he even mention before during the interview (without asking) he wants to go to Auschwitz, particularly there. He said: *"I have seen so many documentaries about it. And I really, really want to see it with my own eyes and feel the energy of the place."*

Personal Insights

- **About dark tourism:**

"I think it's very important, especially in the cases of WWII, because there atrocities done there, and we have to remember that, to not repeat history."

"Of course this is also interesting to see it."

"For tourists it is like...feel it, going inside ... It's another feeling. So a lot of people go there just for that feeling."

- **About the dark destination:**

"I visited already those types of museums, I enjoyed them. I think there is a lot of history behind them that we should never forget. And it is actually useful that those places are there, and people continue visiting them, it can be seen like a waste of money but believe me we will waste more if we repeat a history."

- **About dark tourists**

"Searching for places where you see creepy things."

"So by my definition I can't consider myself as dark tourist, by the book definition as used to visit places of war and so on like gulags and death camps then yes."

"Well... I would not visit a country just for that... I wouldn't go to Poland just to see Auschwitz."

"If I'm there I will take my time and visit. But it would be my primary aim because of which I choose my destination."

Case 5.

Case Description

The interviewee is male, 22 years old, Turkish nationality. Bachelor student of Physical Education. Doesn't hold higher education degree yet. Swimmer. Last year studying and living in Poland as exchange student. Normally studying and leaving in Turkey. Not working, all income comes from scholarship, around 400 EUR. Single, never married, no children. Visited Auchwitz-Birkenau Museum in Poland.

Motto of the case *It is about curiosity, and also about willingness to experience the past.*

Personal characteristics

The interviewee seems to be very emotional and even exalted, considering the way he speaks as well as how often he refers to his feelings and emotions (feel the pain, feel too strong). He seems to be interested in history, reading about it a lot on his own and also watching documentary movies. He likes to have information about the destination to which he is going, but on the other hand he claims to be somewhat spontaneous. He admits explicitly that he feels attracted by dark destinations. The darker the destination, the more interesting for him. It is hard to say if the respondent is just sensitive or exalted, but when talking about the destination he pointed: *"When I got there I felt it too strong, too intensive."*

Motives

The most important for the interviewee is novelty: *"That is why I travel. To see something which is different from my normal life. This is the most important for me."* Talking about his motives he mentions also meeting different people, and getting to know different cultures. He sums up: *"To know the world, broaden my mind; that is what motivates me to travel."*

Concerning dark tourism the most important motive for him is curiosity: *"Curiosity is the most important because dark places I usually see only in movies or I read about them, but go and see it on the exact place is caused by that curiosity."* The least important is entertainment. During the interview he gives a few more motives: to feel it and to remember the past.

Order:

1. Curiosity
2. Religion
3. Memory
4. Cognition
5. Emotional motive
6. Empathy
7. Identity
8. Entertainment

Decision making

When asked about factors vital for him when deciding on his travels the interviewee first of all answered history of the place. Apart from that he mentions accessibility, price factors and location: *"The thing is the price and accessibility should be available for my budget."* The respondent claims that generally he makes his decision spontaneously. He describes his decision making process as follows: *"When I decide to go to the destination the first what I do is searching Google for images, the history and what to do there. If there are any museums, any activities, events to join. This are the first what I do when planning a trip."*

Talking about his decision to visit Auschwitz he said: *"I have seen that movies and read those books which I mentioned before, and I was really curious about it. I was thinking if those things I saw in movies or read about are real. I had hard time to believe in it. So I said 'I will go there and see myself'."* He declares it was his personal decision and nobody influenced him. He also found out about the place on his own: *"I was searching for Hitler on the internet, then I have found a connected links and then I found out about Auschwitz, as a death camp. I started searching more about it."*

Perception

The interviewee is first of all mentioning things he actually saw in the death camp and compares it to his previous knowledge: *"this nails prints on the walls, gas rooms- crematoriums. This ovens. I could see it all. And it was nearly the same I saw in movies and read in books."* He admits, his expectations were met and that the place is interesting. He pays attention to authenticity of the place: *"The pain and suffering which people used to have there is interesting for me. To know that there were people who had it in real life, to feel it, to know that really that kind of things happened right here. This is what attracts me."*

Perception of different types of dark destination:

1. Interesting
 - Scary
 - Out of humanity
2. Interesting
 - Soldiers defending their land
 - Blood and fighting
 - To remember the past
3. Have hard time describing it
 - Most real experience
 - Felt it too strong, too intensive
 - The most interesting

Experience

The respondent was traveling a lot around Europe during last year. He admits that the amount of traveling strictly depends on his budget, but it's approximately three times per year. He visits cities, famous capitals and top tourist attractions. He also travelled around Poland. He is a semi-experienced traveler, but always takes a chance to travel. He generally travels with friends, but not very long travels; just around 10 days. He organizes everything on his own, including accommodation and transportation. He doesn't use packages.

Concerning his dark tourism experience the respondent admits that he has been in some museums connected with war in Poland, but he doesn't remember in which ones. He basically treats Auschwitz like the only destination *"involving aspect of death so strongly."*

Future plans

Answering the question about his willingness to visit any dark destination again, the respondent answers: *"Why not. I consider such places as worth visiting."*, and later: *"Whenever I will take a chance to visit dark place again I will take it."* However, he doesn't say anything about more specific plans.

Personal Insights

- **About dark tourism:**

"It is really important that that thing takes part in tourism."

"When you visit places connected with death you can see how bad war is, you can see how your ancestors suffered from war, and how bad it was."

"You can experience it, and feel those days."

- **About the dark destination:**

"Thing I wanted to experience was that pain in the air. The atmosphere and also that sadness. And I experienced that intensively."

- **About dark tourists:**

"It is about curiosity, and also about willingness to experience the past."

"This is something individual, you can't expect a groups of people will go to that places. Some exceptional people will choose it."

"I can consider myself as dark tourist."

Case 6.

Case Description

The interviewee is male, 23 years old. Master student in Law. Living in Poland, working part-time as paralegal. In high-school successfully took part in national historical knowledge contest. Monthly income (earnings + scholarship) around 1500 PLN. Assumed that he doesn't possess any theoretical scientific knowledge about tourism and interrelated disciplines. Never married, no children. Visited Warsaw Uprising Museum in Poland.

Motto of the case *I chose to go there basically because I like history.*

Personal characteristics

The responded often during the interview is expressing his deep interest in history and army: *"Well, I'm interested in history very much"*. He possess vast knowledge about history and Polish army as well. He knows a lot about weapons used in army. Reads a lot. The interviewee feels national identity (*"our country"*), he is not afraid to express his opinions in a direct way (*"I think this is not a good choice of motives"*). He is self-oriented and an individualist (*"for me", "starts with my idea"*).

Motives

Talking about his motives he emphasizes the importance of novelty: *"It is very important to change environment during travelling. And to see something new, something You have not seen before."* However, he claims that the most important motive for him is curiosity about the world. To see and meet something new, to experience something extraordinary. Nevertheless, he connects that curiosity with seeking for novelty.

Concerning dark tourism are cognition and curiosity. Also identity *"because this is an important part of history of our country"*. Apart of that his motivation is based on his historical interest. When asked about that he said: *"first of all that army authentic historic stuff like weapon and uniforms. Equipment they had to fight. Just the reality of those days. And that things are very interesting because I am interested in army stuff. This artefacts represent history the most for me."*

Order:

1. Cognition
2. Curiosity
3. Identity
4. Entertainment
5. Empathy
6. Memory
7. Religion
8. Emotional motive

Decision making

When asked about factors vital for him when deciding on his travels the interviewee answered that for him the most important is location of the destination. And then of course destination itself, he specifies:

"... what I can see there, if this is interesting for me. What kinds of attractions it offers. So if it fits my interests." Talking about a decision making process he claims: *"Everything starts with my idea, like what I wanna see, what can be interesting to visit."* Then, the respondent looks for information on the internet and also ask friends for recommendations. He describes internet and travel guides as his source of ideas.

Talking about his decision to visit Warsaw Uprising Museum he emphasizes that it was for him a fulfilment of curiosity, and he was following his interests: *"Like I said before. I chose to go there basically because I like history. I do like history. And this is important part of it."* He says that this was his own decision, and nobody influenced him at all.

Perception

Talking about the museum the respondent repeats many times how interesting it was for him. He admits he was satisfied after his visit. Emphasize that he found there a lot of *"authentic stuff"* from war time: different kinds of weapons used those days, and interesting artefacts. He describes the museum as interesting.

Perception of different types of dark destination:

1. Not interesting
2. Interesting
I like the way it shows history
3. Sad
Worth to see
The most interesting

Experience

The interviewee doesn't travel much, from one to up to three times per year. Not much international experience, and just some domestic. He is not an experienced traveler. He usually travels with his company (company building trips), and rarely with his partner. When traveling with his company he is not responsible for organizing and planning, so just joining a trip. When traveling on his own he doesn't use packages, just booking everything by himself.

Concerning his dark tourism experience he was in Auschwitz as a kid, but admits that a kid can't understand what he is looking at. Then for him it was just a history lesson. He was also in Warsaw Uprising Museum Before in high school, as a part to school trip to Warsaw.

Future plans

Answering the question about the willingness to visit any dark destination again the respondent answers: *"Yes, of course, because it is interesting for me. So if I have only a chance I will go and visit such place."*

Personal Insights

- **About dark tourism:**

"I think it is totally right to make places connected with war and death part of tourism. And I think this is also interesting, mixed with importance."

- **About the dark destination:**

"I have found out about it myself. When fulfilling my curiosity. Just following my interests. So I have been reading about it, and history behind it."

- **About dark tourists**

"For me Death tourist is somebody who looks for death in sightseeing."

"I am not one of them in my opinion. I am no considering myself as one at least."

Case 7.

Case Description

The interviewee is male, 25 years old, Norwegian nationality. Bachelor student in History, doesn't hold a higher education degree yet. Living and studying in Norway, currently not working. Monthly income around 11 000 NOK, coming from scholarship. Assumed to have no theoretical scientific knowledge about tourism. Single, never married, no children. Visited Auschwitz-Birkenau Museum in Poland.

Motto of the case *That is powerful. Disconcerting experience. This is interesting...the mountains of shoes.*

Personal characteristics

The respondent is interested in history, many times he highlights that he is a history student. He admits to like faraway places. Likes new experiences. He is an amateur of visiting cities. Self-oriented. He finds observing actual war in Syria *"particularly interesting"*. Also smiles when talking about *"mountains of shoes"* in Auschwitz. He admits that he is not religious.

Motives

Talking about his motivation to travel, he said: *"Basically I want to gain new experiences."* He also points that novelty is fundamental for him, he wants to experience more each time. The respondent also mentions the importance of his interests: *"as a history student I like to see a lot of historical sites"*.

Concerning dark tourism the most important for the respondent is acquiring new knowledge. His interests also play a role here, his interests in the past and war: *"I suppose as a history student I am kind of interested in past. And the last of other people in history. So this is a possibility to see part of history on my own eyes."* He is highlighting the motive of experiencing the history later in the interview: *"See somewhere where something, like a big event took place, event from the past. The authentic event."*

Order:

1. Curiosity
2. Cognition
3. Entertainment
4. Memory
5. Empathy
6. Emotional motive
7. Identity
8. Religion

Decision making

Talking about factors important for him in the decision making process he points price firstly, as a very vital factor. After that, he is referring to his interests: *“when I’m choosing about where to go for my vacations I guess it is about something which is interesting for me. Some interesting place to go, some interesting activities.”* So also the destination itself, its characteristics and attractions. And the end he adds that on the other hand factors like distance and accessibility don’t play a role for him. He looks for cheap flights, and talk to friends to find destination ideas. Then looks for information: *“Honestly I just wanna know what is there”*

Talking about his visit in Auschwitz the interviewee was asked why he chose to go there, to which he said: *“It seems like an interesting place to go. Like probably a place a one should visit at some point.”* On the other hand he admits that it was part of a longer trip, and he was also visiting Krakow then.

Perception

The interviewee finds the destination interesting and authentic. He treats it as a part of history. He describes it as darker and more serious, compared to his previous experiences, and he points out: *“Auschwitz Birkenau is... I don’t know... Visiting war memorial is not that dark and scary.”* When asked what he liked the most there he answered: *“Probably he museum part with the shoes and stuff, the hair and so on. That is powerful. Disconcerting experience. This is interesting...the mountains of shoes (smiling).”* The respondent had also a chance to observe warfare in Syria: *“could see how the actual war is going on. It was particularly interesting. It is a very powerful feeling, it is pretty strong.”*

Perception of different types of dark destination:

1. Interesting
Seen before
2. Might be interesting
I’d choose torture room
More text, I can read books in my living room
3. Least interesting
Maybe choose it just to go and see
If spend 3 hours then number 2

Experience

The interviewee is not traveling very often. According to him, 1-2 times per year outside Norway, and more often around the country. Nevertheless he has some international experience, traveled also outside of Europe, and can be classified as semi-experienced traveler. Usually he travels with friends, doesn’t use travel agencies, looks on the internet for interesting offers, and never use guide books. He usually travels to cities in Europe, as weekend trips.

Concerning his dark experience he was visiting some war memorials, and also some concentration camps in Germany. However he is not sure which ones, probably Dachau.

Future plans

Answering the question about the willingness to visit any dark destination again the respondent answers: *"Oh yeah of course. I'm not planning anything in particular. I assume that I will go somewhere... If I have a chance to go somewhere dark I will probably do that. Because it is just interesting for me, entertaining on some level."*

Personal Insights

- **About dark tourism:**

"It is worth to show it to people to encourage them to see it. Because a death is an important part of human experience. It is important part of history. Well, most historical sites are connected with death one way or another."

- **About the dark destination:**

"I suppose it will be a miserable places dark and full of sad people."

"I learn about it... Where I have learnt about it first? Yeah... Probably history class in school."

- **About dark tourists:**

"I think You don't have to be a death tourist to find something like Auschwitz interesting."

"If I just say what I'm thinking I probably think like some rich people going to have dark on people in some poor countries. Or someone going to the countries when they are showing executions or something like that. Yeahh... When you are saying "death tourism" that what I think... You go like to Saudi Arabia."

"Really, tourists, following armies around, just standing and watch people killing each other like that."

"But I can't consider myself as a death tourist. No... I would not consider myself as one."

Case 8.

Case Description

The interviewee is female, 27 years old, Slovakian nationality. Master student, holding one master degree already. Currently working and living in Norway with her boyfriend. Before living in Slovakia and Canada. Studying Hospitality Management, therefore it is assumed that she possesses theoretical scientific knowledge about tourism and intercalated disciplines. Earning 11 000 NOK per month. Never married. Visited Canadian War Museum in Ottawa.

Motto of the case *It was just the number one of must see in Ottawa on TripAdvisor.*

Personal characteristics

The interviewee is very entertainment oriented and likes visiting top tourists attractions (*"I went in with no high expectations, just to experience the top touristic place in the area."*, *"I usually choose location for entertainment"*). The respondent emphasizes the aspect of organization, she likes having her trips planned and organized. Good reviews, recommendations and top ranking places have influence on her. For example, when asked if something influenced her decision to visit the dark museum she said: *"So two factors I guess... positive opinions on trip advisor from people who have been there and also the company."* And in another occasion *"It was number one must see"*. She has not particular interests in places connected with war or death, evaluating about photos showing different types of dark destinations she repeats that it is *"not the most interesting"*. The respondent even admits that she avoids looking at cruelty: *"the cruelty of them, do not make me want to visit such a place."* However, she has more interests in culture and history.

Motives

When talking about her motivation to travel, she first of all mentions escaping from everyday life, breaking out from routine, and gaining new experiences. She adds: *"And also of course to explore the other culture, experience different food, meet new people, in some cases even to learn a new language. Which is always fun. It is fun to experience something new."* Entertainment also plays a role for her. The respondent declares that she travels to do sightseeing but also to rest.

Concerning dark tourism her motivation differs. She points out: *"Entertainment is the last important because I don't connect it with dark tourism... for me it is more connected with memory and the culture, and then the historical factors."* The respondent also admits that she has not a very emotional approach to it. However, when asked later about her motivation she answers: *"First thing that comes to my mind is curiosity. How it looks, what happened. Seeing it on my own eyes."* It can be assumed that this is really the most important for her. In the context of dark tourism she also mentions gaining new knowledge: *"I was curious how it looked. Gaining new knowledge is important, this is like normal curiosity about the world."*

Order:

1. Memory
2. Empathy
3. Cognition
4. Religion
5. Curiosity
6. Identity
7. Emotional
8. Entertainment

Decision making

Talking about factors important for her during making a decision about her travels she points out that it depends on the purpose of the travel: *“if I’m going for a vacations then I’m looking on factors in which I’m interested when I’m going on the vacation. Like the location of the place and then price and the accessibility. It should be connected with my interests, basically.”* She emphasizes the role of her interests also later in the interview, when for example talking about her ideas for travels: *“I would say that ideas come from my interests, but it also depends what You want to do... so The idea to travel comes from as a mix of my interests, the purpose of the travel I want to pursue and recommendations of others.”* Here we also see the importance of the recommendations. When she already has an idea where to go, then she is searching everything: *“where I go, the people, the locations and what to do. The search begins online through internet and everything is found there by using various travel search engines. Location is chosen by convenience and accessibility. But it is really up to my interests”*. The respondent also pays attention that when she is already in the chosen destination she uses recommendations and guidebooks to know what to see there *“to better organize my trip”*.

Talking about her decision to visit the museum she admits that she has chosen it only because it was a top attraction: *“I went in with no high expectations, just to experience the top touristic place in the area. It was rated as top attraction, I guess I was not looking for anything particular, not me.”* And when later asked why she chose to go there: *“It was just the number one of must see in Ottawa on Tripadvisor.”* Later in the interview when talking about what she wanted to see there, the respondent also says something really similar: *“I have not very specific knowledge what I can expect to see there. But I was truly interested why is it so highly ranked. So I wanted to see why it is a must see. Why it is a top attraction”*.

Perception

The interviewee finds the destination well organized and very interesting. Many times during the interview she emphasize how huge it was. Talking about this she says: *“I was satisfied and also surprised by the effects, thematic settings and large inventory of tanks and planes in the museum. It was really, really huge... I was really surprised, because I didn’t expect it, it was just a top attraction. But it was a lot of war artefacts and it was well organized, very thematic and really really big. It was not like a museum of three rooms, it was huge.”* She even adds: ***“I would recommend anybody to go***

there.” When asked what she liked the most in the museum she answered: *“I liked how it was organized. It was really well thematically organized, special effects, interesting settings and a very huge collection on various types of tanks and planes in still a very good shape.”*

Perception of different types of dark destination:

1. Not the most interesting
Cruelty of them do not make me want to visit
2. Might be interesting
The most interesting among those photos
I would visit on a cultural vacation if highly rated
3. Not the most interesting
Would not be interested to take a trip there
Second most interesting here

Experience

The interviewee defines herself as an experienced tourist. She claims she was traveling a lot before, but now when living in Norway she travels a bit less. About three/four times per year. Nevertheless she was living for a longer time outside Europe, in Canada, and traveled also around there. She travels usually with her boyfriend and friends. She usually organizes everything about her travel by herself, although admits that sometimes she uses package holidays too: *“Well, I use it from time to time, but I would say VERY rarely.”*

Concerning the respondent’s dark tourism experience she says: *“I cannot recall anything. I haven’t been to death camp... it was just that time. I have visited Canadian War Museum in Ottawa, Ontario, Canada. It was a two-day trip to the city, so we were visiting the most popular tourist points and it was one of them.”*

Future plans

Answering the question about the willingness to visit any dark destination again, the respondent answers: *“I am not especially looking for places like that when I travel, but I have a positive experience visiting such a place. So maybe I’m not looking for it but for a one time trip I would visit. Just to see it.”*

Personal Insights

- **About dark tourism:**

"In my opinion, it is important for the purpose of memory, cognition and history."

"I can see it like for more educational purpose."

"It is interesting to see it. Then you can imagine better, you can feel like you have been there, so people can understand it better, what happened, when they are there. So the cognition and emotions are stronger than when you read about it."

- **About the dark destination:**

"It was all very interesting. And it was huge... really nice and interesting museum."

"I can't say that I'm particularly interested in such places."

- **About dark tourists**

"I would not consider myself as a death tourist, since I have not been in many places related to war or death."

"A dark tourist can be a person who enjoys visiting places related with war or death. Maybe enjoy it is not the best word... but somebody who is really looking for it, whose the purpose of the travel is to see it."

"A person who has interest in war or in death... it is hard to say interest in death... it is not so good. Interest in war related places."

"Maybe somebody who is historian."

"I don't feel like a dark tourist...I have no such interest. I usually choose location for entertainment not those factors."

Case 9.

Case Description

The interviewee is female, 24 years old, Polish nationality. Master student in cultural studies, holding bachelor degree in the same majority. Additionally working as a junior manager in hospitality industry, assumed that has at least practical knowledge about tourism. However, she has no education in this matter. Single, never married. Living and working in Poland. Monthly income 2000 PLN. Visited Warsaw Uprising Museum in Poland.

Motto of the case *Just cultivating that kind of tourism just for science or fun is kind of creepy.*

Personal characteristics

The interviewee can't imagine life without traveling: *"this is that part of life which I really wanna have, this is something which I wanna do. This is just obvious for me that I need to go somewhere. I can't imagine that I will not travel and sightseeing. I have always a travel in my plans."* She is open minded, never creates an interpretation of a place before going there: *"Because I have that attitude that I never have expectations before when I'm going somewhere, I just try to absorb the place when I'm actually there. And then see what that place means to me."* During interview the respondent refers to her interests (and knowledge) in culture and also partly a history, for history and a history of Warsaw. On the other hand she is not very spontaneous, she has her general long-term traveling plan: *"So I have a general plan. First of all I want to see as much as I can in Europe, and only after that in Asia, then North America, South America, and Australia and Africa and the end. Of course if I found a great offer for a trip outside the Europe I would probably go. But I guess first of all I want to discover a cultural circle I come from."* The respondent is trying to look at the world as an anthropologist: *"me as an anthropologist try to find unusual stuff in usual daily things, and try not to look at reality as at something obvious."* It can be also observed that the respondent is against commercialization, especially in dark tourism context: *"for example in Auschwitz, I haven't been there but I know that just next to the camp there is a restaurant there, and hundreds of tourists everyday who walk there trampling everything... watching it... I don't know... this is just weird."*

Motives

Talking about her motivation to travel the respondent first of all says that this is natural for her to travel. She also mentions novelty: *"I'm traveling to places which I wanna see or have never seen before. This is also important to try to visit new places."* She admits she always want to see something new and unusual *"something you can talk about"*. The interviewee also mention the motives of curiosity meeting new culture as an important ones: *"I'm always driven by a curiosity of discovering new place meeting new culture."*

As far as dark tourism is concerned her motives remain partly the same: *"Curiosity is the most important because I always want to discover something new"*. During the interview she also mentions a motive of gaining some knowledge and learning something new. And also her interest in history, especially in the history of Warsaw. When asked about her motivation to visit the museum she said: *"I think the same things as always, that I just like see new places, I like to go somewhere, nothing really"*

connected with an experience of death or something like that. Curiosity to see a museum, yes of course”.

Decision making

Taking about factors important for her during decision making process she first of all mentioned her interests. The respondent also admits that price factors are important. *“But nothing like distance or accessibility because I want to go everywhere. My first choice would be places where is warmer, however, I also travel to cold, wild places... still I prefer when it is warm and nice. Especially when I need to stay longer.”* When talking about her ideas for travels she gives a wide explanation: *“My ideas come from hmm... for example... if I read about some nice place then I wanna go there or also listening to my friends, their stories, what they have seen what they have been doing... I also used to go for some meetings with travelers, who published a book or wrote some blog from their travels. Also from blogs written by people I know... sometimes I also rely on my friends, if they have a nice idea we go there.”* When choosing between two comparable destinations she claims to choose that one to which she need to travel less and have more time there. And also depends on what she can see on her way.

Concerning her decision to visit the Warsaw Uprising Museum she mentions it was very popular museum in Poland, everyone was going there. She said: *“And it is also like that I like going everywhere, so I just went. But it was also not the only place to see in Warsaw during my stay.”* Nevertheless she claims that it was her personal decision, not influenced by anyone.

Perception

The interviewee is more aware of how the dark destinations function than an ordinary visitor: *“That places are even constructed in that way... to touch people and realize some crimes from past etc.”* She admits that she sees such places as a construct, they have their own narration and shows a story only from one side. According to respondent the same is with Warsaw Uprising Museum. She claims that she was not shocked after her visit, but her knowledge was more structured. She reflects: *“For sure each time when I’m after a visit in such place I don’t want to eat and I don’t want to laugh and generally it is weird... like you know... after seeing something terrible. And I guess I feel kind of grieve and desperation, because You had that contact with death which was often very sudden, unfair and in young age. So this is very unpleasant and I always think how it would be if it was me.”* She emphasizes *“This is time for reflection”*. When asked what she liked the most in the museum she answered: *“I liked very much that all tour guides there were very passionate about it, know really a lot about it and I like the most their involvement in it.”* She also mentions the board with old photos of victims of uprising, which *“touched me a lot”*.

Perception of different types of dark destination:

1. Just to see
Very flat
2. Very direct
Ordered somehow to particular interpretation
Can be boring for ordinary visitor who is not very interested in history
First two types should be connected
3. Actual place of death
THAT place where everything happened

Separated space
 More frightening
 I have seen place like that, not determined to see again

Experience

The interviewee can be called semi-experienced traveler. She has some experience in International travels around Europe, and much more experience in domestic travels. She always travels with her friends. She stays in hostels or friends' places or sleeps in a bus. She tries to never pay more than 200 NOK per night. Her travels are not very long, but about a week- or weekend-long. Most often she travels to mountains and European cities, she refers: *"Last year for example I decided with my friend that we want to visit all European capitals in next 7 years."* She usually plans everything on her own together with friends. *"However, once last year I came for an organized travel with a tour operator. And that particular one was nice and encourage me to use it more often in the future. So I will use it."*

The respondent's dark tourism experience is quite wide. Firstly, she was in Warsaw Uprising Museum before, when she was in high-school. Which means the visit discussed in the case study is a return visit. Moreover she visited Majdanek death camp in Poland, talks about it in the interview: *"(This was) part of the 3 days trip in different places, but then it was just by the way because I wanted to see more a city of Lublin, for example. But I wanted to visit it, just to see how it looks."* The respondent has also visited couple of places connected with war in Warsaw, for example Mausoleum of Struggle and Martyrdom (old Gestapo jail). She also admits that she has visited many exhibitions about Second World War. However, she has not been in dark destinations outside Poland.

Future plans

When answering the question about her willingness to visit any dark destination again the respondent says: *"If I had a chance to be in a place famous of being dark as a tourist, I would visit it. This is obvious. But maybe this is a very superficial way... like when you are in Italy you need to drink wine and eat pizza. The same like you are going to Krakow then you need to visit Auschwitz. For me, dark destinations are not like I want to see it and I go there just to see that one thing... it is more like by the way, when I'm near or if someone who is traveling with me wanna see it, I will go."*

Personal Insights

- **About dark tourism:**

"If we are talking about a history of a place, a city or some monument then this is impossible to talk about it without mentioning the dark part, history of war victims and so on, because it is a part of its history, but if this is the most important part? I guess no."

"If You wanna know history you must see it."

- **About dark destinations:**

"Speaking about museums this is ridiculous, that they are open from 8 to 16, when people are working. So who should come there? A school trip? So I don't know... just all that system how tourism is organized here is weird."

“Frankly speaking I don’t know what attracts people in such places... because this is just scary if someone visits such places just for fun. For sure there is also that educational part of visiting that places.”

- **About dark tourists:**

“For me this is... someone rancorous, connected with that dark history somehow. Who visit that places because this is an element of his direct history, he is connected to that and want to learn about it, know it, he is living that history, someone who is marked by it, by death.”

“Just cultivating that kind of tourism just for science or fun is kind of creepy.”

“I can’t consider myself as death tourist, I just like when something is going on, this is just one of elements in my travels, not the most important I guess , and I just don’t think I am a death tourist.”

Case 10.

Case Description

The interviewee is male, 24 years old, German nationality. Holding Bachelor degree in tourism management. Currently living and working in Germany. Assumed that has theoretical scientific knowledge about tourism. Never married, no children. Monthly income 1200 EUR. Visited death camp in Cambodia.

Motto of the case *It was like real coming to whatever.*

Personal characteristics

The interviewee is an adventurer type; he doesn't plan much about his travels, he says: *"When I was four months in the South-East Asia and there it was like...I don't know...I heard of something or I read about something or I saw a picture of something and I was like 'Yeaah lets just go there!'"*. He is spontaneous and open for new possibilities and inputs, such as when he decided to go visit the Cambodian death camp: *"I met some guy at the hostel who just told me there are that killing fields, if you wanna go there, he asked me to join. And at that point I just hear about that... I knew that something happened in Cambodia, but I had no detail information... absolutely no idea actually what happened that time and what I'm supposed to find in that killing fields."* He is an individualist and musician, during the interview he admits that he likes traveling alone. He is also a budget traveler, more interested into local culture and cuisine: *"I'm really into food, so I'm willing to spend a little more money on a restaurant to try local cuisine, but I'm not into souvenir stuff or fancy tourist attractions."* His uninterest in top tourist attractions is emphasized later during the interview as well. The respondent many times also refers to *"feeling a place"* and to his senses perception. He admits he is interested in *"historical things"*.

Motives

The interviewee talks about his motivation to travel and first refers to breaking out from routine. He says: *"Sometimes is getting out of my everyday life... like you have your day routine so getting out of that routine. And I get my mind off, not just by laying around, but by just getting new input."* The element of *"new input"* is also highlighted during the interview: *"to see something new, to learn about something new, meet people from other places, see about architecture or... like more about getting a feeling of another place"*. The respondent also mentions his willingness to *"search a place"*. He also admits that he is a type for visiting cities.

Concerning the respondent dark tourism motivation first of all he mentions curiosity: *"curiosity is the most important because I try to understand why something bad happened."* However, the interviewee finds it almost impossible to put any other motive proposed by Tanaś in the hierarchy of importance: *"The rest is really difficult to say. Actually I can't put any of the other ones in order... well memory maybe? If it is connected to anything of mine daily life. Entertainment is really not important for me... that is really not a thing. And also emotional motive, I don't have any connections to anything whatever has happened in the world. It was just... no personal connections. Religion is not important for me, not at all. Empathy, cognition and identity are in the middle maybe... so curiosity and memory maybe are the top ones and the rest is in fact not important."* He also admits that in dark destinations he wants

to learn something new and confirm history. To *“be at the place where something happened”* and experience it.

Decision making

When talking about factors important for him during travel decision making process he refers to price factors a lot: *“The times when I was involved in the planning I always looked for cheapest possibilities to do that (...) I look for cheap flights, for cheap accommodation and then walk around... cheap... all cheap (laugh).”* His ideas come mostly from recommendations from friends: *“Actually it is mostly about someone... let’s say a friend...told me about places where they have been to. So when I have time to do some travels I just... thought about it.”* And later in the interview: *“...a city which I heard should be really beautiful and I could find a way to get there on the low budget and I just tried it.”* This is quite spontaneous type of decision making. Later he admits once again that he is not interested in typical tourist attractions: *“I’m absolutely not interested in tourist attractions, it’s more about someone telling me that the city is nice or landscape is nice.”*

Concerning his dark tourism decision making the respondent seems to be just as spontaneous. He tells the story about his visit to Ground Zero Memorial: *“I was in New York to Ground Zero, and I didn’t think that there is any form of attraction or something... it was just we walked through Manhattan, through that area and we were like ‘o yeah it was here’, and then we noticed that you can buy tickets and you queue up and you got there and there is that place...”*. Very similar story he told about Cambodian killing fields. When asked why he chose to go there he answered: *“Curiosity is pretty much it. Yeah... I had a good time with him so far and he was like okay let’s go there. So okay why not. Sound weird, but if he said okay lets go to market place and eat some local food I would probably also said ‘okay let’s do that’. It was like real coming to whatever.”*

Perception

The interviewee is talking a lot about his perception of dark destinations through the prism of his feelings and emotions. He emphasizes many times that it was an emotional experience: *“Like you see the vast of people who died there and you like wow that’s touchy, and when you see those skulls later you are like: ‘those are all actual people involved in the story around there’. It helps you to get a full picture and I was really terrified, but that’s where that thing got you emotionally I think.”* He admits he was shocked and sad. He puts a lot of accent to the authenticity of the place, or more exactly feeling the authenticity: *“That there was a camp where people were living until they were executed and there was a lot of life in them... yes... it is just there... just where you are standing. Not somewhere, it was just here. Well, authenticity is the word for it, but it is more like... the feeling just to be there.”* When asked what he liked the most there he answered that it was really personal experience because everyone got headsets and virtual guide and can experience the camp on their own.

He also tells about his visit in the Ground Zero, where he also pays attention to the authenticity of the place and huge amount of victims: *“you have these big holes, where towers have been... and there are all the names of all the people who died in the attack around those waterfalls. And that is connected to death... it that case you couldn’t see faces or stories, it was just names but it was like the endless stream of names around... I’m not sure how many thousands died there, but it was just... there was so many names... so there was so many people. It is not just a number of people... all those people died there.”*

Perception of different types of dark destination:

1. Would be in some way interesting
To see how cruel people can be
Fascinating
2. Would go in there
I think it would not really affect me
3. It is kind of affecting my life
As a German you will always get conform with it
The most interesting for me

Experience

The interviewee seems to be an experienced traveler. He used to travel a lot around the Europe with his parents when he was younger, but he also has some nice experience with travelling outside Europe. He spent 6 weeks in South – East Asia, and also around 4 weeks traveling through North America. He admits that now he has less time to travel, he travels around 3 times per year. His experience is indeed wide: *“When I was younger I traveled with my family through organized trips, and I was mostly like kind of all-inclusive hotels style. Later I went to trip to China with the orchestra... like a concert tour, which also was organized by them. And then came times when I organized it myself, sometimes with a friend. Most... maybe not most... but really often I’m travelling alone”* He admits that now he is not using packages anymore, but organize his trip on his own or with friend.

His dark tourism experience is also not the most modest one. Apart from previously mentioning Ground Zero memorial and Cambodian death camp he was also visiting the Catacombs in Paris. However, he refers: *“I completely forgot about it, it was in 7th grade maybe, on the school exchange to Paris, we did just one of those tours and I completely forgot about it. And I didn’t connect it with death tourism.”*

Future plans

Answering the question about the willingness to visit any dark destination again the respondent admits that he wants to visit former concentration camp in Germany or Poland, connected with Nazi regime, to check why it is still an issue all over the world, although it happened 70 years ago. He refers: *“it is like I want to be there once just to feel that, because I know I will never forget this feeling. There is also not much to see but I think there is still a lot of to feel, although it sounds a little bit esoteric, but you can still feel something in that place. And I think that something I should feel, just to remember, and maybe do my part that nothing identical never happen again, but that’s another story.”*

Personal Insights

- **About dark tourism:**

"I think people are offering tourists a places connected to death and tourists take this offer because they wouldn't take the offer if there were no dark tourism I guess."

"IF you have to show it to people... well I would don't say that you have to show it, that you must... but I think there are some people like relatives who are interested that the story is told, that people will know what happened in such certain places, and there always be people who are actually interested in visiting such places and learn about stuff."

"But I think it is good that you can learn something about what happened in history. If you are interested, that is a place to go."

- **About dark destinations:**

"I think it is like usually in all museums... you can get knowledge which is good thing, but I think there are many exhibitions about killing fields, like in Cambodia, and you can go through something like that and it will not affect your personal life."

- **About dark tourists:**

"If you say that tourist is someone who goes to another place for certain purpose, and dark tourist is the same, just connected to dark tourism then dark tourist is someone who visits place connected to death."

"And in that case it makes me probably a dark tourist... plus as I said I'm planning to go to, probably, Auschwitz or another concentration camp. So I have that plans."

"There are always many different answers to such a question, I mean there are places you go because of interests, there are some people who go to such places because they want to feel the atmosphere there, some are really into death, some only want to experience it and feel the atmosphere, some like me, who just happened to go there without really knowing what there is going to be, and some who go to a place for different context, not because you are thinking about people who died there."

"Some people just want to see one of those (destinations) and they are not aware that they even might be connected with dark tourism."

Case 11

Case Description

The interviewee is male, 35 years old, Mexican nationality. Currently living and working in Poland. Previously living and working in Mexico. Spent some months in Russia as well. Holding higher education degree, working as a Spanish language teacher. Monthly income 2500 PLN. Never married, no children. Assumed that has no theoretical scientific knowledge about tourism. Visited Warsaw Uprising Museum in Poland.

Motto of the case *I don't know why, I got chill...*

Personal characteristics

The respondent is very interested in history, during the interview he often refers to his interest in it (e.g.: *"I am interested in mankind history"*). He is open to learn about different cultures and wants to know more about the countries where he is living. He is an observer and an explorer, to some extent. He says: *"I pay attention to the element of novelty when I get there (to a new place)."*, and later: *"I also like to going around, look around to near places."* Without any doubts he can be characterized as attracted by death and interested in dark destinations (*"Holocaust is very attractive"* and talking about Auschwitz *"I'm kind of interested in it"*). What is even more interesting, during interview he admits: *"I met a guy in Krakow who one day before went to Auschwitz, and he showed me a video, and even a video I mean... I don't know why, I got chill..."*

NOTE: The interviewer noticed a few death-related tattoos on the respondent arms.

Motives

Talking about his motivation to travel, he first of all says: *"To learn something more, I mean about culture most of it. Curiosity about the world."* So cognition and curiosity plays the main role for the respondent. He also admits that he likes *"experiencing totally different things"* (in this case different from his own culture). Novelty is not as important for the respondent because: *"Each place that doesn't belong to your culture is going to be different. There is always going to be some details completely different than in your culture."* He also travels *"just for fun"*.

Concerning dark tourism the most important motives for the interviewee are identity and curiosity: *"Identity and curiosity are the most important to get to the place, to even travel at all."* This sentence suggests that the respondent does not really differentiate his travel motives from his *"dark travel"* motives. Later in the interview he also mentioned the motive of looking for the element of reality of the past.

Order:

1. Identity
2. Curiosity
3. Memory / emotional motive
4. Religion
5. Cognition
6. Entertainment
7. Empathy

Decision making

Talking about factors important for him while decision making process he points that he likes historical places, to know a bit more about history. He also mention weather factor, and price: *“Also I compare prices between destinations, like I had a chance to be in France or Italy but there prices are quite different than in Poland for example.”*

Talking about his decision making process he said: *“I start to look what place is interesting and then what kind of places I can visit around. It depends on the objective of the trip.”* He claims that he chooses the destination according to his interests: *“How do I choose the destination? Well, I really like historic places, so I think I start from there, if the place is interesting in that way.”* Most often he searches for ideas in the internet, but also uses travel guides.

Concerning his decision to visit Warsaw Uprising Museum he admits that he was following a suggestion of a Polish friend, who told him about the museum and recommended a visit: *“My friend told me about it, when I met her she was talking about it, and I told her I want to know more about everything that happened and she asked me if I have visited before this museum.”*

Perception

The interviewee finds the destination interesting and shocking: *“As I told You, I have never heard about the situation about Warsaw uprising. So I didn’t know what to expect. But the experience was shocking, very shocking.”* He claims it was *“hard to see”*. When asked what he liked the most in the museum he answered: *“Maybe all this uniforms and clothing. I mean that all people who were there used to have or use... was kind of strange. You can feel kind of wipe from these things.”*, so he emphasizes the authenticity of it. Then he adds: *“There were some clothes from children... when you think about it, at least I was thinking always about adult people who were there. And I somehow forgot about the kids, and when I saw that I was kind of... it was even tougher.”*

Perception of different types of dark destination:

1. Interesting for me
 - Creativity to make people suffer
 - Have been before
2. Even darker
 - Expressions of people suffering
 - Kind of sad, depressing
 - More interesting than previous one
3. The worst of all
 - The place where all this people was killed
 - The strongest experience
 - Actual place

Experience

The interviewee is not very experienced traveler. When he was living in Mexico he traveled a bit around the country. In Europe he was only in Russia and Poland. He travels about 2-3 times per year.

He admits that most of his trips are short *"just couple of days"*. He also admits that he mainly travels alone: *"Most of the time I travel alone, a couple of times I travel with family"*.

He has some dark tourism experience from before and when asked it he answered: *"Oh Yes, for example some museum about Inquisition in Mexico. Some exhibitions, even there are some cities connected with this kind of things."*

Future plans

Answering the question about the willingness to visit any dark destination again the respondent answers: *"Actually I do, I want to go to Auschwitz for example. I'm kind of interested in it. But it also depends on the place, if place is interesting I will go."*

Personal Insights

- **About dark tourism:**

"It can be definitely used in tourism context."

"Nowadays is very attractive for people to know places connected with death."

"I think this is important part of tourism. Death is a way to attract people."

- **About the dark destination:**

"I think it is a way to learn about the beginning of the culture.

Everything is connected with death."

"I was satisfied of course. I know more than I expected to know. I was like completely different experience to visit it. And to know more that I imagined."

- **About dark tourists**

"Well, after places where I have been maybe I'm kind of death tourist."

"It is a person interested in death."

"Not only like to know how they die but the whole thing around that...so basically interests make you a death tourist."

Case 12

Case Description

The interviewee is female, 26 years old, Polish nationality. Living and working in Poland as a teacher, holding a Master Degree in Pedagogy. Assumed that has not theoretical scientific knowledge about tourism. Never married, no children. Monthly income around 2000 PLN. Visited Auschwitz-Birkenau Museum in Poland.

Motto of the case *that was some kind of illustration for my historical theoretical knowledge*

Personal characteristics

The respondent is a type for active holiday, she chooses skiing for winter holiday and hiking for summer. She admits that she likes mountains. The interviewee likes resting out of the cities, this is even more important as far as she lives in the industrial area. She also expresses her interests in "humanistic science" and history. She is not interested in something that she has seen before: "I'm not so interested because I have seen it."

Motives

Talking about her motivation to travel the respondent says that first of all there is a willingness to discover new places in the world. Then she also mentions curiosity, rest and changing environment: "I guess curiosity, curiosity about the world. But also the need to just rest, you know. Recover after work and life. And also I feel a need to change environment." The interviewee also highlights the importance of novelty: "Novelty is very important for me. Looking for something different than I know and see every day. It is crucial."

Concerning her motivation in the dark tourism context the most important motive here seems to be identity, and next to it memory: "Identity is the most important because this is part of our history, history of my country. And memory about the victims is crucial too. We need to remember." She also refers to the cognition motive as "generally important" for her. Later in the interview the respondent admits that she was also counting for "a deeper experience" connected with reflection about a crime of genocide and meditation. Also an important motive for her was a willingness to experience a camp itself: "How it looked, how it was organized. Where the prisoners were, where they slept, the conditions... the places there they were killed."

Order:

1. Identity
2. Memory
3. Cognition
4. Emotional motive
5. Empathy
6. Religion
7. Curiosity
8. Entertainment

Decision making

Talking about factors important for her during a decision making process she points the main factor for her is a location. Which is connected with accessibility and weather. She also highlights the importance of her interests here: *“Location needs to be nice, and interesting. Because the second thing which is important for me are my interests. I like traveling to places which are interesting for me, when I will not be bored.”*

The interviewee is looking for her travel destinations in the internet: *“I usually look for nice mountains places”*. She also admits that she pays attention on the rating of destinations: *“So I look for nice offers, nice well rated places and resorts”*. For the summer she prefers the sea.

Concerning her decision to visit Auschwitz – Birkenau Museum she admits it was just a part of a longer trip and not the only aim of her travel. However she claims: *“nobody influenced my decision here. I wanted to go by myself. This is famous and interesting.”*

Perception

Talking about the dark destination the interviewee points out that it is a very well-known place in Poland, she sees it as *“some kind of illustration for my historical theoretical knowledge”*. Talking about Auschwitz the respondent expresses how strong an experience it was, and also refers to her feelings: *“It is a place that can really influence you, make you thinking. But also shows something. You can really feel it. Imagine. This is strong feeling.”* She also points that for her such places are like portraits of society, they tell stories about people and manners. When asked what she liked the most there, she answered: *“Probably the personal belongings of prisoners. Their things... which were took from them. Different things. And the amount of it. They are telling the story itself. They are authentic.”*

Perception of different types of dark destination:

1. Can be interesting
2. The most interesting
 - A lot of history
 - I like that kind of display
3. Have been there
 - Not interested anymore

Experience

The interviewee is a semi-experienced traveler. She travels quite a lot, about 5 times per year. She claims it also depends on the year. Talking about her travels she says: *“The most often I travel with my friends. The length of our travels can differ a lot. We use to go for weekend trips, but also for longer holidays like one week travels or two week travels. It depends on where I’m going, how far and what is the purpose of the travel.”* Nevertheless the respondent declares that she organizes her travels on her own and doesn’t use package holidays.

Concerning her dark tourism experience she claims that apart of Auschwitz she has not visited dark destinations as far as she can recall.

Future plans

Answering the question about the willingness to visit any dark destination again the respondent answers: *"This is really hard to say. Maybe not necessarily. Not like Auschwitz. Maybe another type of museum. Something different. Well maybe..."*

Personal Insights

- **About dark tourism:**

"In my opinion it is really important to expose the death in tourism context."

"It is hard to even talk about tourism in that case."

"That kind of "tourism" doesn't have an entertaining, amusing, holiday character. And what's more it requires from visitors, tourists, very specific approach I guess. Responsible, serious attitude."

- **About the dark destination:**

"We learn a lot about War because this is important part of the history of our country and Auschwitz is popular place in Poland."

"That places are for me very difficult, harsh, depressing."

- **About dark tourists**

"For me it is probably someone who likes such places. Places connected with death."

"I don't like them. Then I think I am not a death tourist."

Case 13

Case Description

The interviewee is male, 23 years old, Turkish nationality. Last year living and studying in Poland. Normally studying in Turkey. Master student in Physical Education, holding Bachelor degree. All income comes from student scholarship, it is about 400 EUR per month. Never married, no children. Assumed that has no theoretical knowledge about tourism. Visited Auschwitz-Birkenau Museum in Poland.

Motto of the case *You feel the place, you really, really live that place, you go into history.*

Personal characteristics

The respondent is very much into traveling and organizing, he defines himself as a *“plan maker”*. He seems to be self-oriented (*“first thing is I want”*). He is looking for arousal; the scarier, the more interesting for him. He admits that he is not a religious person: *“religion is something that doesn’t matter for me.”* The respondent also is determined to reach his traveling goals: *“If I want to go somewhere I always find the way and reason to go there.”*

Motives

When asked what motivates him to travel, he says: *“First of all my youth energy. And my opportunity to travel, especially now, when you are a student you have more time to travel.”* He also travels for excitement.

Concerning dark tourism he points out that the most important for him is empathy: *“Empathy is most important for me because You only understand people when you are acting like them.”* Which means also trying to understand people around the world. During the interview he points out a few more *dark motives* such as *“hoping for being shocked”* or feeling the place. The respondent also mentions the importance of historical factors and willingness to *“learn about dead people”*.

Order:

- Empathy
- Memory
- Emotional motive
- Cognition
- Identity
- Entertainment
- Curiosity
- Religion

Decision making

Talking about factors important for him during decision making process he says that the first thing is the destination itself, its location, and then comparing prices. Also weather factors and accessibility *“how to go there, if it is possible and easy”*. He also points a distance as important factor (*“if you are close to some destinations, you can go”*). The interviewee emphasizes a lot the role of excitement *“destination must make me feel like... excited. Then I decide to go. Now I’m in Warsaw I know around*

Warsaw some European cities, and I have opportunity to go, but if it is not excited to me I don't want to go."

When talking about how he chooses the destination, he says: *"I'm checking the map, and from my childhood, where I wanted to go, and then I check where I am currently, and if it close or not. And then I decide if to go or not."*

Concerning his decision to visit Auschwitz he admits that it was influenced by his friends, and it was in fact by the way when they were visiting Krakow: *"Then we spent like 3 days there, and then my friends checked on the internet a couple first things to do in Krakow, to go to Auschwitz was on the list, we chose it. So I didn't know much about it."* But he adds: *"Now when I'm going there I will go directly to Auschwitz"*. He also admits that he *"was hoping for being shocked"*.

Perception

The interviewee finds the visited place very authentic. As was written earlier, he admitted that he didn't know much about Auschwitz before; he claims he thought it would be just a regular museum, but he was shocked: *"I wasn't thinking about the place where they burn people but they still have the same place, what they had like over 60 years ago. I was hoping to see that oven, where they were putting people and burn them up. And gas rooms... I didn't expected being shocked but I was."* The respondent also admits that he got depressed and surprised, *"It hit me how they lied to people"*. When asked what attracts him to such places he emphasized the importance of authenticity again: *"It is not a fake, this is real. It's not rebuilt. Also the whole history behind it. And the amount of people who died there."* As he talks about what impressed him the most in the camp, he points: *"The place where they killed the president of the camp. Because that bad guy who was arranging everything bad in the camp, but finally Russian army killed him at the same place where others were killed."* This can be seen as an element of Catharsis.

Perception of different types of dark destination:

1. Not stuff I can even think about
 - Scary
 - Interesting
 - I can visit it
2. Softer
 - Previous one attracts me more (harder version)
 - Also attractive
 - More technology
3. Fences, stones, big area, fog – you feel bad
 - Most scary
 - Most attractive

Experience

The interviewee is an experienced traveler. He declares he travels a lot, about 10-11 times per year, mostly around Europe and Turkey. He is always a plan maker, he says: *"I just make a plan, then I let people around me know about it, if they want to join me. Usually they do. 99% want to come with me."* The respondent claims that he doesn't use help while planning travels, he does everything by himself. When asked about his dark tourism experience he answered: *"Not before Auschwitz. It was my first time"*, which shows lack of experience.

Future plans

When answering the question about the willingness to visit any dark destination again the respondent answers that he already has planned his next visit to Auschwitz (even with a set up a date), he explains: *"I want to compare... first time I went there I didn't know what is there. And after being back I have read a lot of articles and movies concerning it. Now, when I'll go back it will be more impressive I think. But I hope I will not get depress again. If I have any possibility to visit similar places like Auschwitz I will of course do it."*

Personal Insights

- **About dark tourism:**

"For me this is important, because people can only read on the books, but when you feel the place, you really, really live that place, you go into history."

"It is more effective than reading."

"This experiencing history is important."

"This is maybe like 3D, maybe like trailer of a movie, but the one like we it is real. This is something else, you can smell it, touch it."

- **About the dark destination:**

"It is huuuuge open museum."

"I've already heard about it from my childhood when I was in Turkey, but I wasn't thinking that the place was going to be real in my life."

- **About dark tourists**

"I think I am a dark tourist, being sad and scared. I just feel like that. You got softer."

Case 14

Case Description

The interviewee is female, 23 years old, Polish nationality. Full-time master student, holding engineer degree in biotechnology. Currently started master studies also in biotechnology, assumed that has no theoretical scientific knowledge about tourism. Living in Poland, not working. All income, 1000 PLN, comes from scholarship. Single, never married. Visited Auschwitz-Birkenau Museum in Poland.

Motto of the case *it was very emotional thing*

Personal characteristics

The interviewee seems to be a sensitive and emotional type (*"life is scary"; "this is scary and hard"*). She refers to her feelings a lot. The respondent admits that she is not very religious. On the other hand, she is pro equality and doesn't care about the nationality of victims. She has a tendency for reflectiveness. The interviewee also feels a national identity: *"I have that feeling of belonging to the polish nation"*.

Motives

When asked about her motives to travel, she points at novelty as a reason to travel; to see something new, unusual, and extraordinary: *"Because every day You live your routine on and on, and go for travel to see something different. To break away. This is even the main reason, which drives my travel behavior."* And a bit later in the interview: *"Just break away from people I know here, take a rest."* Talking about her motivation she refers a lot to stimulating senses: *"To see something new, meet new people, hear new languages, taste new food, discover new fragrances"*.

Concerning dark tourism she points the memory aspects first: *"I think that this is important to commemorate and remember about that things, that people really gave their life there. This is just important to remember."* She connects it with cognition, understood as knowing history: *"And for me this is just very connected... to memorize and to get know what was before us... to learn on mistakes, etc... to don't let it happen again"*. She also admits her willingness to experience "it" on her own. She points: *"that emotions, those can't be fake, You can't experience it any other way, just standing there, between those walls."* The respondent also points how much the historical authenticity matters for her: *"I guess books can't show it. I appreciate this historical authenticity, how it really was."* She wants to touch the history, gain new knowledge and her own opinion about it. The respondent also admits to have a curiosity motive in death tourism: *"I guess I was just curious. How that place looked like... I wanted to see how it was. (...) A willingness to see it on my own eyes."*

Order:

1. Memory
2. Cognition
3. Emotional motive
4. Empathy
5. Curiosity
- 6 identity

7. Religion

8. Entertainment

Decision making

Taking about factors important for her during travel decision making process she puts her interests first: *“For sure how much I want to see it and what is it about, with what is it connected. If this is connected with my interests.”* She also lists location/distance as important factors *“because not every time I can afford longer trip, and sometimes I just want to go somewhere for a weekend”*. Costs also play a role for her, and accessibility, she says: *“what are possibilities to access the place, means of transport, contact etc. Probably also if booking is easy, if I can handle it myself without any problems”*. The respondent also checks how independent she can be about her trip, whether she needs some kind of organized tour. Climate is important for longer trips.

When the interviewee decides on the purpose of her trips she uses recommendations: *“when I hear from somebody about a nice place, if somebody claims it is worth to go and it was great there.”* She claims that she generally she comes up with travel ideas spontaneously, like *“let’s do it”*. However, she admits: *“Or the second option is that it can be a place about I was reading for a long time, that I always want to see, so I will try to go there, with or without success.”* The respondent describes her travel planning process as following: *“Firstly I read some blogs, watch some videos from places I wanna see. After that... when the decision process is more advanced some kind of travel guides.”*

Concerning her decision to visit Auschwitz she declares that she wanted to go by herself, because she was curious of how it looks. However, she admits: *“I guess my parents influenced me a bit. Not by pushing me to go but by talking about the place.”*

Perception

The interviewee feels *“personally very touched”* by the visited museum, she claims it was a very emotional experience. *“I got out from there really depressed, but on the other hand like raised on my spirit that it is not so bad now, it could be worse, and I should be happy from what I have.”* The respondent admits she liked her visit there, because she experienced what she wanted and saw everything *“on my own eyes”*. She also pays attention to the scale of it *“how huge it was... like a fabric. This is not a room, it was huge.”* The respondent emphasizes the element of authenticity: *“everything there was like drowning in that reality of the past.”*, and when asked what she likes there the most she told a story about her friend who started crying terrified what was happening in Auschwitz. She concludes: *“That realized me that life is scary and hard, and we need to use it as long as we can.”*

Perception of different types of dark destination:

1. Projection
 - Nice
 - It shows how it was looking
 - Helps to imagine
2. Modern approach
 - More appealing for the majority of people
 - More interactive
 - I would like that more
 - Show the story better
3. Literally part of history
 - Reminds how it was
 - Unchanged
 - Most real
 - Most thought-provoking
 - Most meaningful
 - The biggest impression

Experience

The interviewee perceived herself as a not very experienced traveler. She travels more within a country than abroad. However, she spent half a year studying in Norway. She says she travels “*too little*”, which means around four times per year. When she travels with friends, those are usually longer trips to more faraway places. She also travels with her family but then the trips are shorter. In both cases they always organize it on their own. The respondent says: “*I guess I have never used the tour operators and organized holidays. I do it myself, or I’m joining a trip organized by someone.*”

When asked about her dark tourism experience she said that she was in Auschwitz before, and this was her second visit: “*I returned because I liked... maybe like is not the best word... but I liked the emotions involved in that. For me it was a strong experience and I guess I discovered what people can do to another people... and in what scale... and I guess you learn some humility and to appreciate what you have... But to any other places? Hmmm... I guess no.*”

Future plans

When answering the question about her willingness to visit any dark destination again the respondent answers: “*I want to go to Warsaw uprising museum because this is a part of our history. This is important for Polish people, and I have that feeling of belonging to the Polish nation.*” She presents the opinion that visit in that museum would be a nice experience for everyone, because this is a nice museum which “*helps to understand the history*”.

Personal Insights

- **About dark tourism:**

"On one hand this (death) is normal and shouldn't be problematic but on the other hand this is something that maybe should be exposed."

"This is scary anyways."

"So exposing it too much is also in my opinion not right."

"This is not right to commercialize it."

"Just must not be treated as a curio or something funny... because this is nothing pleasant. It require respect and seriousness."

- **About the dark destination:**

"I got out from there really depressed , but on the other hand like raised on my spirit that it is not so bad now, it could be worse, and I should be happy from what I have."

"My uncle lives near the Auschwitz, so it was always kind of known in our family."

"There was a history going on, and this is just cool, because you can touch a history in some way, and that feelings I suppose... feelings which arise there."

- **About dark tourists**

"... Someone not entirely mentally healthy. I guess such places this is not something that you visit because you like it. I think that nobody normal can be happy about that trip, because there is nothing to be happy about as long as this is about war."

"Probably there are normal people going to such places, when this is not their main aim or something... but go there because you like looking at it, this is not normal. People who are excited about it are not normal."

"According to my definition I can't consider myself as a dark tourist... I don't do it for pleasure or because I like it, I do it because I want to learn something."

Case 15

Case Description

The interviewee is male, 24 years old, USA nationality. Currently working and living in United States. Previously living and working in Germany. Bachelor of Science. Assumed that has not theoretical scientific knowledge about tourism. Never married, no children. Monthly income around 1000 EUR. Visited Dachau Concentration Camp Memorial in Germany.

Motto of the case: *I has that morbid curiosity*

Personal characteristics

The interviewee doesn't like planning, he is spontaneous and he admits being *"a little bit adventurer"*. He is enjoyment-oriented: *"I just don't wanna deal with the world, I wanna enjoy what the world has to offer."* The respondent talks quite a lot about himself, he also has a habit of using a clear gradation. He admits explicitly that he is not a religious person. Talking about himself the respondent says: *"Maybe I'm close to being a backpacker. I'm carrying really big bag (laugh). (...) I just bring some clothes and sleep on friends' couches."* He admits that he is not really interested in history but he has *"a morbid curiosity"* he describes it as *"uuuu how bad the human race can be"*.

Motives

Talking about his motivation to travel the interviewee mentions a few ones: *"But first would be a sense of adventure. The second one is a chance to escape."* He also emphasize the role of novelty: *"You know, novelty is very important for me so if I've done it before I have done it before. Why would I got there again?"* And in another instance: *"long as there is something I haven't done before, I'm curious and I will do that."* Here, the importance of curiosity is also visible.

When talking about his motives in dark tourism the respondent admits that he *"felt a need to experience it"*. However, he puts curiosity as the most important motive for him: *"well I wanna know what drawn regular normal human beings to do such horrific things to each other and how did they implement it."*

Empathy is also important because he expresses a wish to understand how it was to go through that. The respondent admits to look for being *"disturb and sad"*, when searching for a dark place. He also says: *"I just wanted to learn the history there. Like I just... cause I have learned so much about World War II, I have learned so much about the holocaust, and all the nightmares that happened."* The interviewee admits that first of all he was driven by his morbid curiosity.

Order:

1. Curiosity
2. Empathy
3. Emotional motive
4. Memory
5. Cognition
6. Identity
7. Entertainment
8. Religion

Decision making

When talking about factors important for him during travel decision making process he presents a clear gradation of the most important factors: *“For me the first thing is price, cause can I even afford to stay there, because if it cost more money it means that I can’t be there as long and I can’t really enjoy it. (...) So the second thing is do I know people there? So I can crash on their couches or just stay with them. So price, people I know and then a question about culture. What can I do there? What can I visit?”*

When the interviewee decides on the purpose of his trips he mostly does Google searching, then *“if I’m interested in the country, and I know that I have friend there, I just go on Facebook and write message and say: ‘Hey Marta! I think I’m going to Krakow, who should I talk to?’ And then you are like: ‘O yeah I have a friend, she will show you around’. It is pretty spontaneous I would say. There is definitely a planning, I wanna make sure that I have enough money to get home. But I am pretty spontaneous... like if I feel I’m gonna change my plans then I just do it.”* The respondent claims that he doesn’t use travel guides, just internet and, when he is already at the place, he asks people for recommendations. *“Deciding about destination really depends on my goals, back two years ago my entire goal was just to go party and get drunk and meet nice girls, so that would be what I would choose. But nowadays you know, I have a girlfriend so I would find a place that would make her happy.”*

Concerning his decision to visit Dachau he admits that it was suggested by his German friends, he also admits he wouldn’t go without them because *“I would be too sad”*. While explaining why he has chosen to go there the respondent said: *“well I was in Inglostadt, I was only 20-40 km away from Dachau. So I kind of had to, I felt I had to... It was kind of an opportunity. I didn’t travel for hundreds or thousands of kilometers just to go there. I just had a chance to be there, so I was like: ‘I should do this.’”*

Perception

The interviewee seems not to really find a destination ‘dark’: *“I expected things to be a lot darker and more evil, but it was just a bunch of empty buildings and empty wooden places. I saw the crematorium, and they didn’t burn people there, but it was very disturbing to see that in person.”* However, he admits that he was expecting to be disturb and he got what he was looking for (*“It definitely met my expectations”*), but as he points, *didn’t exceed it.*

He recalls the atmosphere: “This is really depressing. It also didn’t help that it was like dark, cloudy day... so that didn’t really help. It was cold and bitter, that didn’t help. I really did feel the atmosphere.” Later in the interview he repeats that *“it was depressing as hell”*. When asked what he liked the most in the museum he points on guided tours: *“I really like the guided tours to be honest. I didn’t just walk around and be confused, there is a very clear guided tour. And I have learned a lot.”* He claims that gas rooms impressed him the most of all.

Perception of different types of dark destination:

1. Definitely would not choose
 - More historical
 - Not interesting for me
2. Interesting because of pictures
 - Could read stories
 - Would understand what happened
 - I would go
3. Would be interesting
 - Would absolutely take a tour guide
 - I want to know what happened
 - It's more interesting to hear the story

Experience

The interviewee can be seen as an experienced traveler. Coming from USA, he was living in different part of the country. He spent a year in Germany, travelling around Europe. He admits that then he was traveling a lot; he took 6 weeks to travel though Eastern Europe. He says: *"The biggest thing about my travel around the Europe was while I was studying and working in Germany it is a chance to visit German towns, but I have to leave I had to go back to US... so before I did I spend a month and a half to travel around the Eastern Europe, so I went to like 4-5 different countries. So I wish I can do that again, but I need a money and I need a time."* The respondent admits that now he needs to focus on work and travel just one/two times per year. He usually travels with company, doesn't care about accommodation as long as he can sleep on something (*"I'm okay with couches"*). He says: *"I can eat like crappie food, the key thing is I'm just there, I can walk around and enjoy."* The respondent doesn't use travel agencies, just books everything by himself.

When asked about his dark tourism experience he claims that Dachau camp was the only one. He admits he visited some war memorials and war museums, but according to him it was not dark tourism: *"Some, like some war memorials, but only because I just walk by it and then it looked interested and I went there. But Dachau was the only one that I purposely went to for death tourism. I have gone to war museums but mostly because there are guns and the weapons are interesting, not because like 'ooo they killed so many people' it is like: 'ooo HOW did they kill them?' what was the thinking behind it. So yeaah Dachau was really the only time that I did to death tourism."*

He admits that he also had a chance to visit Auschwitz, but he didn't take it: *"Well... when I was in Krakow I could have gone to Auschwitz but that would be too depressing. Like I was going traveling because I wanted to have fun, and meet girls, and do stupid stuff. I was not looking to be depressed. So that is why I didn't go to Auschwitz."*

Future plans

Answering the question about the willingness to visit any dark destination again the respondent answers: *"I wouldn't seek it out, but if it happened to be there then I would. But I wouldn't travel to a country just to see it. But if I'm in the country and I have a chance to see it, I would go."*

Personal Insights

- **About dark tourism:**

"I don't like it to be honest. Like... I imagine some going to Poland just to go to Auschwitz, and that's it? And that is all they know about Poland? That is kind of bullshit!"

"In my opinion, I don't like have people capitalized on the death camps, I think this is a point we learn from history, but I also think it is important to learn how we have changed since then"

"I'm not a big fan of death tourism, but I'm happy it is there, but only when people go to understand MORE than just that."

- **About the dark destination:**

"It is very interesting to see other Germans, they were going there for a first time and they were nut. It was an awkward experience for them, but something that they felt they need to do. So that was really interesting"

- **About dark tourists:**

"Death tourist in my mind is someone who just goes to a country just to learn about the bad part which that country has."

"I do not consider myself as a death tourist."

"I really don't like, I don't like how people do it... I don't know I just have really strange feelings about it, so it is not really for me. But I got to experience it though I'm not a death tourist, at least I would not be comfortable calling myself one."

Case 16

Case Description

The interviewee is male, 23 years old, Venezuelan nationality. Living in Norway since 2007. Currently studying and working there. Holding a Bachelor degree in Biochemistry, now doing his Master degree also in biochemistry. Assumed that he has no theoretical scientific knowledge about tourism. Never married, no children. Monthly income around 10 000 NOK. Visited Auschwitz-Birkenau Museum in Poland.

Motto of the case *to be a dark tourist, you really need to make it a 'hobby'*

Personal characteristics

The interviewee is a novelty seeker. New experiences are important and exciting for him. He is somewhat of an adventurer, discovering new things is exciting for him. He is also relax-oriented while traveling. He admits he is mostly visiting popular tourist sites during his travels. The respondent refers a lot to his family (*"I did with my family"; "my dad come up with a suggestion"* etc.) which allows to assume that family is an important part of his life. He admits that he is a bit interested in history *"but mostly ancient and Second World War"*. The interviewee is not very spontaneous type, he admits he is using travels schedules, and plan everything in details: *"After estimating how long it would take to do each activity and travel time, we set up a schedule for what to do in each day."* Nevertheless he finds *"terrible things"* interesting.

Motives

Talking about his motivation to travel the interviewee first of all mentions looking for something new, for new experiences: *"It just feels very stimulating, traveling to an unknown place and discovering new things."* Moreover he also mentions relaxation and breaking out from routine as crucial motives, he says: *"For me, travelling should be about relaxing or getting away from everyday life back at home, together with people close to me."* The respondent also refers to the sense of freedom and discovery as something which stimulates him to travel: *"I guess it's a sense of freedom and discovery. It's a new experience, and that's exciting."*

The respondent's motivation in dark tourism differs a bit. He points that he wants to gain a new knowledge, about history and the place: *"I want to learn from it. Curiosity makes one want to learn, of course."* When asked what attracts him to such places he says: *"Only the fact that it would be a different experience attracted me, because the fact that I would go to the very place that is so infamous and that marked the world in such a way was just kind of amazing, and completely new to me."* By that he emphasize the importance of novelty seeking. However, the interviewee claims the curiosity is the most important for him: *"I'm curious about the place, and its role in history. I'm curious about what it must have been like to be there, both as prisoner and as an officer."* He also points out the importance of identity motive: *"When one visits such a place, I guess it makes you think about yourself, and it makes you more conscious about what it is to be yourself and to be free."*

Order:

1. Curiosity
2. Cognitive
3. Identity
4. Empathy
5. Emotional motive
6. Memory
7. Entertainment
8. Religion

Decision making

When talking about factors important for him during travel decision making process he mentions that first of all it depends on his company, because he will have differing goals when traveling with family and when traveling with a partner or friends. He mentions also a price as a vital factor *"price should be affordable, anything too expensive"*. On the other hand he claims that location is not that important as long as it is in Europe. However, he prefers visiting cities *"I would like to be able to go shopping and go to top tourist attractions"* He is very interested in nice tourist sites like museums, art galleries, old castles, etc. Particularly he is interested in culture and science and technology: *"I love visiting science museums, it is interesting for me."* The interviewee admits that that he usually decides to visit famous places in Europe, since Europe was relatively new for him. He is looking for good prices/offers and deciding with city (most often capital) is more interesting for him.

Concerning his decision to visit Auschwitz he admits: *"The main reason I visited Auschwitz was because I was visiting nearby places in Poland. And the only reason I visited Poland without considering other places was because of my girlfriend!"* The respondent also admits that he was just visiting main tourist attractions in Poland.

Perception

The interviewee seems to find out about the destination from video games: *"I did grow up playing video games and several of them were about the 2nd World War. So I was sort of learning the story there, including the Holocaust, the killing of millions of Jews, and concentration camps. I probably heard about concentration camps and knew what they were before I heard the name Auschwitz, and I probably learned about Auschwitz specifically for the first time in some documentary about the war"*. However, he admits he didn't know even where it is until maybe few years ago. He perceives gas rooms as *"related to chemistry"*, he recalls *"learning about how they handled the gas and made it into an almost industrial process."* Nevertheless he describes a place as shocking *"more shocking than one can prepare for..."* The respondent also pays attention to the authenticity of the place: *"You can be in the exact place that one of millions of prisoners was and feel the impossibility of escape, and you can only begin to imagine the despair in him/her."*

Apart from mentioning physical objects which could actually see, he also admits it was stimulating for his imagination: *“I could see the gas chambers and how they were used and how the gas was handled. I could walk through one end of the camp to the other and try (but probably fail) to imagine what one prisoner could have gone through.”*

Perception of different types of dark destination:

4. Interesting
 - Looks like place where terrible things happened
 - Brings you back to that place and that time
5. The least interesting
 - Doesn't feel like it would take me back in time to the actual place
 - Could spend a long time walking through
 - It seems very daunting
 - I would still probably go
 - Would not be my main goal when travelling
6. The most interesting
 - One I would prefer to visit
 - Had a bigger impact on the recent history
 - Hard to believe
 - Very big and has a lot of history to it in itself

Experience

The interviewee is not an experienced traveler. When living in Venezuela he visited just Orlando (USA), and since moving to Norway he has visited a few European cities (mainly capitals). He organizes trips together with family or friends, not really alone. However, they don't use travel agencies. He admits that he doesn't travel much: *“I travel outside my home country about once a year. But there have been some odd times when I travelled twice, such as that usual one we planned as a family to Berlin. That year I also happened to have a school trip to Scotland.”* His trips are not very long, about one week long, and he usually sleeps in hotels.

When asked about his dark tourism experience he admits that he only has been in Auschwitz-Birkenau Museum and he is lacking in another dark tourism experience.

Future plans

Answering the question about the willingness to visit any dark destination again the respondent answers that he is not actively planning to go to one, he adds *“It's not exactly a hobby of me. I considered going there because it would be a different experience in itself, and other factors supported the idea of going like I said before. I guess I would go to similar places if for example my family was planning to go to another one.”*

Personal Insights

- **About dark tourism:**

"I guess death is a natural thing... But it's very difficult to deal with, for sure. But it's also very interesting in different ways."

"People write poems and books about it. People build memorials, tombs, statues. Sometimes it makes up a large part of cultures in some way or another. A lot of the time, people have a very respectful view or attitude towards the dead and death in general, mostly because of religion."

"Death is very intriguing because it's not understood. Humans have so many questions about what comes after death, or if anything at all."

- **About the dark destination:**

"I went to the place and I saw the place where people were mistreated and killed. I think it is just always a more shocking experience than what one imagines."

"I definitely learned more about what people had to go through, how they were treated, and what kinds of things humans are capable of doing to other humans. I learned that every human needs to keep an open eye, to make sure that no one is going down such a dark path again."

- **About dark tourists:**

"I think that to be a dark tourist, you really need to make it a 'hobby', or a self-project of some sorts."

"You need to be a person who is actively looking for a dark destination specifically for the purpose of visiting a place where terrible things happened, and not for the sake of just visiting it because it's a popular place to visit."

"I don't consider myself a dark tourist. I'm just a regular tourist who occasionally stumbles upon a dark place, if it's popular or if it's very interesting. But mainly if it's in my way or within easy reach"

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