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ABSTRACT

The study conceptualizes the ideas of dark tourism and dark tourist sites in relation to the ethical dilemmas with the supplier's perspective. The study argues the definitional characteristics of dark tourism suggesting that at many instances, suppliers of sites associated with death disagree with the darkness or touristic approaches attached to the site. In order to understand this phenomenon, the current study focuses on explaining the literature of dark tourism and dark tourist sites and different concepts enclosed. Furthermore, the study develops an argument of ethics in dark tourism literature explaining the ethical issues the management or suppliers of dark sites encounter. To relate the literature with real world settings, the study focuses on the Case of July 22nd in Norway studying the July 22nd Centre located in Oslo. Three semi structured interviewees were conducted from the employees of the Centre focusing on themes of acceptability, authenticity, and management related issues. Findings suggest the existence of all the attributes of a dark tourist site mentioned by Stone (2006) in July 22nd Centre, yet the centre is not called as dark site or even a tourist site. The study concludes suggesting the existence of ethical dilemmas which affect the definition of sites associated to death. Hence, all sites associated with death cannot be referred to as "*dark*" and neither "*touristic*" arguing the introduction of new concepts (*Dim sites*) which can better explain different sites in the different scenarios.

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FOREWORD

Although there exists a plethora of literature on Dark Tourism, the term is still in the definitional phase and authors are contemplating the real characteristics of sites in this respect. This thesis responds to the same knowledge gap and tries to establish a discussion of looking at the sites differently since many sites, having same characteristics, can not be called as dark tourist sites. The thesis argues the existence of ethical dilemmas to be the reason of classifying different sites in different ways. For this reason, the case of July 22nd at Utøya in Norway has been used to elaborate the understanding of sites associated to death but presented in different ways having a variety of motives.

I greatly thank the supervision of Åsa Helen Grahn since this journey would not have been completed with her support and continuous guidance. I also thank the University of Stavanger for allowing me an opportunity to conduct research in such a nice working space. In specific, I thank all the professors that have put their efforts in guiding us throughout the Master's programme, and especially Torvald Ogaard for his excellent contribution in teaching which is creative and gave a clear pathway to all of us. Once again, I highly appreciate and thank the management of July 22nd centre for their motivating response and help in data collection. Last but not the least, I thank all my classmates, friends, and family for giving me moral support.

1 INTRODUCTION

The concept of dark tourism was first coined back in 1990's and there exists a plethora of literature on this phenomenon, yet it is still in its definitional stages. Due to the lack of unanimously agreed definition and what entails in dark tourism, researchers in the field of tourism have been relating the concept with different perspectives while studying tourists, tourist sites and the relationships in between. At the same time, the words dark tourism and thanatourism are interchangeably used in literature creating a knowledge gap in many ways. Foley & Lennon (1996) and Seaton (1996) were the pioneers of introducing these concepts in their publication in *International Journal of Heritage Studies* (Light, 2017). Foley & Lennon (1996) suggested the idea of presentation and consumption of sites which are related to death and misery which are deemed to be attractive from tourists (Foley & Lennon, 1996). Whereas, Seaton (1996) relates dark tourism as the interaction or illusion of interaction of tourists with death creating a motivation and desire to visit those sites (Seaton, 1996).

Although, the concept has been looked upon and researched in various ways, one of the recent trends which has been realized by the literature is the ethical aspect of the issue. Criticism on dark tourism, both in research world and media coverages, has questioned the researchers to search for ethical dilemmas that are involved in this context. Authors like Ashworth & Hartmann (2005) and Sharpley & Stone (2009) have promoted the ideas of ethical dilemmas in their research in past, yet a lot of research is still required and suggested to understand the real issues (Light, 2017). This highlights a knowledge gap in literature suggesting that while studying tourist motivations for dark tourism, it is also important to understand the ethical dilemmas government face in order to present or consume dark sites.

In order to answer this phenomenon, the current study proposes three research questions, *1) what is the existing literature on dark tourism and the variety of terms*

included in it? 2) what is the existing literature on ethical dilemmas regarding dark tourism? 3) how ethical issues are interpreted in the supply side of dark tourism?

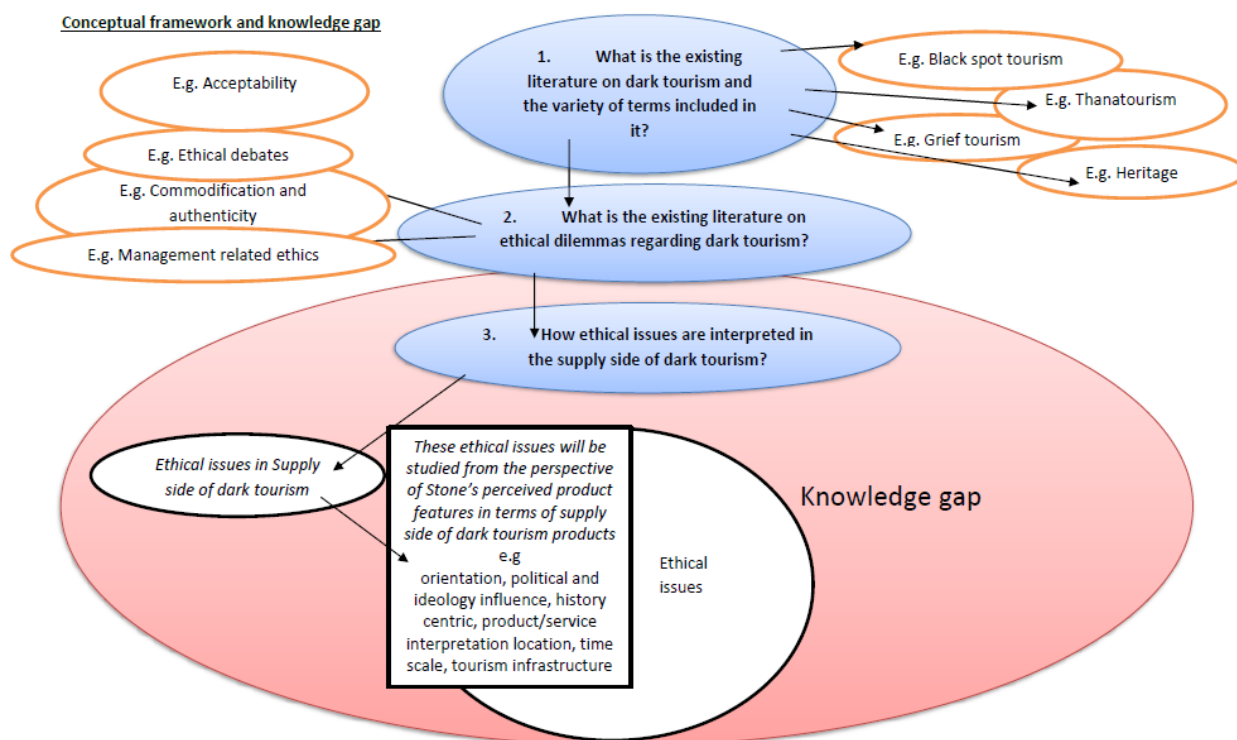
In order to understand this phenomenon, the research proposes to carry out a case study analysis using qualitative methodology while using semi structured interviews with the government or tourist officers. The case chosen for the study is the sad event, which changed the history in Norway, experienced on July 22nd at Utøya. It is proposed this study will be able to understand what ethical dilemmas were faced by government and tourist officers in Norway in order to make it a tourist site for remembrance and hope for future. Furthermore, the findings will suggest an overall idea of ethical dilemmas which are involved in dark tourism while clearing the blurriness of boundaries of what entails in this phenomenon.

1.1 Purpose of the study

As shown in the Figure 1, during the process of research, the questions become narrow and provide more focus from a big field of dark tourism to ethical issues to focusing only on the supply side of dark tourism. There are two theoretical and practical implication of this study;

1. Firstly, the study gives more insight to the limited dark tourism literature, especially in terms of supply side and ethical dilemmas of dark tourism. Precisely the research's focus is on ethical issues from *supply side of dark tourism*.
2. Secondly, as well as literature, the research also proposes to understand the ethical issues from supply side which has been done before, especially in the context of Norway.

Figure 1. Structure of the study



1.2 Research questions

1.2.1 *What is the existing literature on dark tourism and the variety of terms included in it?*

The first question focuses on understanding the existing literature on dark tourism. Since dark tourism is relatively a new term, different authors have used different terms in order to describe their research. And in order to understand the current study, it is important to define the boundaries of the research and define the scope of the definition from the literature.

Besides, there is a need of more literature view analysis in dark tourism research to construct an idea of what has been happening in last decade. Hence, the first question deals with this

issue, while understanding different terms which are related to current study, e.g heritage tourism, morbid tourism, grief tourism, black spot tourism.

1.2.2 What is the existing literature on ethical dilemmas regarding the supply side of dark tourism?

The second question puts more focus on ethical dilemmas in the context of dark tourism and what has been researched in this context. There is relatively very low research on ethical dilemmas in dark tourism, especially from the supplier's perspective, which already creates a knowledge gap. The only topics which had been researched in terms of ethical issues are related to ethical debates, management issues, commodification and authenticity of dark tourist sites.

1.2.3 How ethical issues are interpreted in the supply side of dark tourism?

The last question further dilutes the focus to understand the supply side of dark tourism in reference to ethical dilemmas. Stone (2006) has studied the supply side of dark tourism more in terms of product features or basing on the experiences of visitors/tourists. Stone further suggested that different dark tourist sites are located on different level of darkness and explains different product features in terms of the level they are in (as shown in Figure 1). It is proposed to understand the ethical issues with the ideas of product features researched by Stone. It will give the current study a standing on the current literature review and will help developing the format for semi structured interview.

1.3 Boundary of the research

In terms of literature, the research focuses on three main concepts, 1) dark tourism, 2) dark tourist sites, and 3) ethical issues involved in dark tourism. Furthermore, in order to create more focus, the current study deals with the supply side of dark tourism and the ethical dilemmas involved in them. Though the study also mentions some aspects of demand side of

dark tourism, yet that is primarily to develop an understanding of the whole concept. In order to relate the literature with the real-world settings, the country in focus is Norway. Due to the peaceful history of the country and existence of small amount of dark tourist sites existing in Norway, this study focuses on a special case of July 22nd which emotionally affected the whole country.

2.0 UNDERSTANDING CONCEPTS

The human-death interaction has been experienced in all cultures and regions of the world since the early civilizations. The fascination of visitation of death places or places attached with misery or suffering have been an important facet for humanity. However, recently this fascination and visitation of humans to places associated with death has risen the tourist phenomenon. Hence, scholars from tourism background have researched this phenomenon in a variety of ways in last two decade. Researchers since 1990's are relating the concept with different terms and scenarios in order to explain the phenomenon better. In past, the terms thanatourism and dark tourism are used interchangeably used in the literature since the former term explains the visitation of mass to places related to death and misery. Light (2017) suggests that although the phenomenon is relatively new in literature, its antecedents can be still identified. The author further argues that visitation of places related to death after wars have been widely discussed in literature, however recently much contribution has been made to relate this term to places of death and suffering (Light, 2017). For instance, Rojek (1997) suggests a popular phenomenon of visiting graves of celebrities and defined them as 'black spots' due to the blurring of boundaries of reality and illusion (Rojek, 1993).

The concept of dark tourism or thanatourism was first implicitly coined in 1996 in the *International Journal of Heritage Studies* in two different studies. Foley & Lennon (1996) used the concept of presentation and consumption of dark sites by tourists (Foley & Lennon, 1996). Whereas, Seaton (1996) presented the idea as a symbolic interaction of tourists with death (Seaton, 1996). Hence the terms motivation, desire to experience death, and consumption were initially related to dark tourism or thanatourism. These initial ideas in literature and increased media coverage of death widely increased the interest of researchers to dive deep into this concept. In last two decades, authors researched tourists' sites related to war, concentration camps, genocides, slavery, conflict zones, natural disasters, and

cemeteries (Light, 2017). However, one common feature in all the research was the discussion of demand and supply side of dark tourism or thanatourism. Which was questioned when Sharpley (2005) introduced new concepts of black (interest of tourists in death places which are developed for visitation), pale (limited interest of tourists in death places which are not made to visit), and grey (tourists with or without an interest for death sites intentionally or unintentionally created for tourism) tourism (Sharpley, 2005).

This phenomenon, although widely participated and well researched, faced the dilemma of ethical debates both in academic world and media concerning if it is acceptable to propagate the places which are related to death and misery (Light, 2017). Furthermore, authors such as Ashworth and Hartmann (2005) argued that visitation to places related to death will reduce the emotional connection of community making it less humane (Ashworth & Hartmann, 2005). Furthermore, the issues related to respect of dead and considering places of misery a place for entertainment became prominent (Light, 2017). Another ethical issue related to dark tourism concerned with the presentation of the site and how authentic it is in terms of history. It was argued that in the process of making a dark site a tourist site, the issues of distortion and historical accuracy is ignored (Foley & Lennon, 1996). In another context, Sharpley and Stone (2009) introduced the idea of kitsch and kitschification arguing the introduction of these ideas create a feeling of comfort and safety at places of misery which can be interpreted as positive or negative (Sharpley & Stone, 2009).

Advancing from the respect of tourist sites, some authors raised the ethical dilemma of commodification of these sites presenting them as something fascinating (Light, 2017). This chapter focuses on defining the “dark tourism” and the concepts entailed in it while later focusing on the ethical issues surrounding this phenomenon. Firstly, the chapter will focus on defining dark tourism and establishing a definitional base for this study while identifying different terms or concepts associated to it. Secondly, the issue of ethical dilemmas will be

discussed encompassing the research involved in it followed by the description of the case of Utøya (July 22nd, 2011) at Norway in the end.

2.1 Dark Tourism

The term “Dark Tourism” lies in the wide umbrella of concepts used in tourism which are related to the suffering, death or crime since 20th century (Light, 2017). The first term associated to dark tourism in literature was “thanatourism”, meaning traveling to places with a motivation or desire to encounter death. Although the terms thanatourism and dark tourism have been interchangeably used in literature, it is not possible to explain one without explaining the other, hence both terms will be interchangeable used in this study (Light, 2017).

2.1.1 Antecedents of Dark tourism

Malcom Foley and J. John Lennon, being the pioneers of coining the term two decades ago, introduced the concepts of presentation and consumption of death and disaster sites (Yuill, 2003). In order to establish the scope of research, Foley and Lennon (1996) excluded the visitation of places associated with death and misery by friends and family as dark tourism, rather they argued that it includes an urge to visit places to look for something good with the conscious or unconscious state of mind or a factor of curiosity of what happened at a certain place (Foley & Lennon, 1996). The authors advanced their argument suggesting that these factors are usually connected with motivation of undertaking a visit to see beyond the media images and to experience association with humanity (Yuill, 2003). Hence, the first time the term was coined was in 1996 in *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, pointing out dark tourism, thanatourism, and other concepts interrelated to previous two but in an indirect manner (Light, 2017, p. 278).

However, the term dark tourism did not originate suddenly amid nowhere, rather authors like Rojek (1993), Dan (1994), and Prentice (1993), have been identifying the phenomenon of visitation of places of death in their studies. For instance, Rojek (1993,1997) explained and explored the phenomenon of visitation and motivation tourists visiting the celebrity's graves, which he referred as "black spots" or visitation of violent sites referred by the author as "sensation sights" (Light, 2017). Furthermore, Ashworth (1996) related the phenomenon with heritage arguing that it variable with different groups consisting of different significance lacking harmonious nature. Furthering the arguments, the author suggests that it is hard to predict why tourists visit heritage sites making it difficult to manage and interpret those sites (Ashworth, 1996).

Seaton (1996) also defined the idea of thanatourism relatively in a different way suggesting that tourist visit to sites attached to death are not always in terms of experiencing history of violence. This idea introduced a pavement in literature that unlike dark tourism, thanatourism is not always considered as visiting sites with violence rather it is also connected with heritage sites or graveyards of loved ones (Light, 2017). However, Foley and Lennon (2000) advanced their idea of dark tourism arguing the concept of heritage studies suggesting that dark tourism introduces a sense of anxiety and doubt connected to the sites attached to death, disaster, and atrocity. At this point, the authors introduced the ideas of commodification and commercialization of these places in tourism industry while technology playing a major role in its development (Light, 2017, p. 279).

Later in literature, Seaton (2009) introduced the dimensions of light and dark suggesting that the element of darkness lacks the factor morals in tourism (Light, 2017). However, authors like Jamal and Lelo (2011) suggested that the dimensions of dark and light depicts an action of developing a perspective, whereas the ideas of dark and light are socially constructed and carry in different cultures and settings (Light, 2017). However, the term dark

in tourism has not been identified by tourism industry, rather it is a facet of literature world, where many tourist professionals do not consider their sites as something dark from the beginning (Wight, 2009). Sharply and Stone (2009) advancing on Wight's research suggested that hence calling a tourist site dark or light is "unhelpful", not explaining the full picture involving different facets (Light, 2017, p. 280). These arguments lead to a new facet in literature evaluating the existence of the term "dark tourism", and if it really exists. Since many authors disagreed arguing that many places attached to death and misery do not fit into any of the facet of dark tourism or thanatourism. For instance, the research by Ryan (2007) understanding battlefield tourism and Butler & Suntikul (2013) completely disregards the existence of these terms in explanatory frameworks (Light, 2017, p. 280). Thus, the antecedents of dark tourism and thanatourism could not identify the real facets of these concepts creating spaces where both concepts do not fit into literature regarding death and misery.

Furthermore, to elaborate the understanding of above mentioned confusing and interchanging concepts, Rojek (1993) introduced the term "black spots", suggesting the commercialization of grave sites of celebrities or their encounters at different sites with violence and death (Rojek, 1993). In order to elaborate this concept, the author referred two sites such as California Highway where James Dean died, or Peter Le Chaise in Paris where Jim Morrison's grave is placed (Yuill, 2003, p. 13). In addition to black spots, the terms history and heritage are interchangeably used in dark tourism literature focusing on the inheritance and cultural attachments without defining good or bad, light or dark (Yuill, 2003, p. 14). These antecedents of dark tourism are important to identify in the beginning phases of this study since the case identifies an uneven explanation of the word dark tourism and what entails in it. Next section explains the definitions which have been used in literature for dark

tourism developing an understanding of the term and taking a stance on where this research stands ignorer to conduct analysis in later phase.

2.1.2 Defining Dark Tourism

As mentioned above, Foley and Lennon (1996) were the pioneers of the term dark tourism and in specific defined it as, “the phenomenon which encompasses the presentation and consumption (by visitors) of real and commodified death and visitor sites” (Foley & Lennon, 1996, p. 198). This definition defines a couple of facets which are used in planning current research. Amongst them, the aspect of consumption and commodification is primarily focused on while mentioning the concept of visitors instead of tourists only since visitors can or cannot be tourists (if the definition of a tourist is considered as discussed in the previous chapter). Later, in 2000, Foley and Lennon (2000) introduced the concept of serendipity, or in other words an unplanned discovery, to places where death has been encountered with some motivation (Foley and Lennon, 2000, p. 23). However, preceding Foley and Lennon’s discovery, many authors defined dark tourism is their own way while establishing the scope of their research. Light (2017) divided the literature of dark tourism definitions into five different categories, 1) based on practices, 2) based on types of places, 3) based on motivations, 4) based on experiences, and 5) based on heritage (as shown in Table 1).

For instance, Tarlow (2005) introduced the concept of tragedy which impact the present lives of a population and the visitation of sites based on these motivations (Tarlow, 2005, p. 48). Preece and Price (2005) advanced the definitions buy including all concepts of misery and death explaining visitation to the sites of disaster, violence, tragedy, and crimes (Preece & Price, 2005, p. 192). Whereas, Knudsen (2011) introduced the concept of commemoration and remembrance in relation to death (Knudsen, 2011, p. 57).

Table 1. Categorical division of definitions of Dark Tourism overtime (Adapted from Light, 2017, p.282)

Dimensions	Author	Year	Key features of Definition
Based on practices	Foley & Lennon	1997	Visitation for remembrance, education or entertainment
	Tarlow	2005	Visitation that continue to impact our lives
	Preece & Price	2005	Visitation to sites with death and crime against humanity
	Stone	2006	Visitation to seemingly macabre sites
	Robb	2009	Visitation to sites where violence in main attraction
	Johnston & Mandelartz	2016	Travel is encountered with death and sites
Based on places	Foley & Lennon	1996	Real and commodified disaster sites
	Lennon & Foley	1999	Visitation to sites with depravity
	Knudsen	2011	Visitation to sites of commemoration
Based on motivations	Seaton	1996	To have actual or symbolic encounters with death
	Best	2007	Travels to death sites for the purpose of enjoyment, pleasure, and satisfaction
Based on experiences	Ashworth	2008	Visitation for not a voluntary entertainment experience
	Stone	2016	Death sites that continue to impact the living
Based on heritage	Dann & Seaton	2001	Sites associated with heritage and crimes against humanity

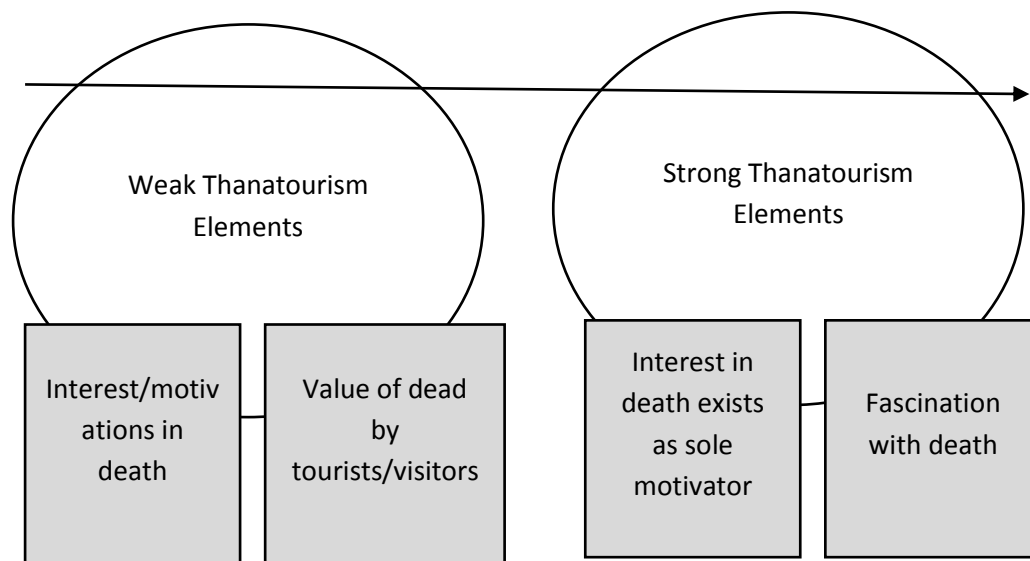
Furthermore, in order to understand the motivations, Seaton (1996) explained the visitation of death sites due to the desire to symbolically encounter with death or places attached to it (Seaton, 1996, p. 240). Best (2007) introduced the concepts of satisfaction, enjoyment and pleasure as motivating factors in visiting places related to death and violence (Best, 2007, p. 38). Ashworth (2008) defined dark tourism in terms of experience consisting of sadness, anger, pain, and horror, without an aspect of entertainment or intention of being entertained by the experience (Ashworth, 2008, p. 234). Dann and Seaton (2001) introduced the concept of inheritance, heritage and calamities of humanity (Dann & Seaton, 2001, p. 24).

However, some researchers took a different stance on dark tourism excluding the concept of death altogether while concentrating on experiences based on shame and social taboos. These conceptualizations altogether put dark tourism in the domain of dark leisure ignoring the concept of death (Light, 2017). In addition to that, another research conducted by Buda and McIntosh (2013) introduced touristic motivations to visit places attached to political danger, making it a dark place to visit (Buda & McIntosh, 2013, p. 217).

Furthermore, as mentioned before, the term thanatourism is interchangeably used in dark tourism literature. Seaton (1996) defined it as, *“traveling to locations, wholly or partially, motivated to encounter death, symbolic or actual, possibly but not always violent”* (Seaton, 1996, p. 240). Seaton (1996) further divides the concept in behavioral and not absolute continues explaining that tourism motives are defined by tourist’s behaviors which keep changing depending on the types and number of motivations. As shown in Figure 2, Seaton (1996) identifies thanatourism having weak and strong elements. Where weak elements constitute interest and value of the death with the tourist’s perspective, where strong elements are fascination and sole motivation for the deceased (Seaton, 1996). The author further divides thanatourism in five categories, 1) seeing death with naked eyes, 2) seeing

death sites after its occurrence, 3) seeing memorials, 4) experiencing performances of past events, and 5) experiencing evidence of death (Yuill, 2003, p. 12).

Figure 2. Seaton (1996) Thanatourism Continuum (adapted from Yuill, 2003, p. 11)



Although there are wide varieties of ways to define dark tourism, in order to build a stance on this research and creating a wider scope, the current study focusses on the definition suggested by Stone (2016);

“Dark tourism is concerned with encompassing spaces of death or calamity that have political or historical significance, and that continue to impact upon the living”
(Stone, 2016, p. 23).

2.1.3 Defining Dark Tourist Sites

On par with defining dark tourism, the literature for defining dark tourists’ site is also not unanimous. Different authors and researchers have divided it differently with a focus on their perspective study. However, the typological categorization of dark tourism literature suggests

some commonly used definitions. The authors in last two decades have regarded dark tourism as war tourism, phoenix tourism, holocaust tourism, genocide tourism, slavery tourism, morbid tourism, black spot tourism, grief tourism, cemetery tourism, terrorism tourism, ghost tourism and prison tourism (Mencfel, 2016, p. 10). However, as explained by Tanas (2013), all the above-mentioned typologies have the factor of violence and death preceding in them. The author explains four different kinds of violence, 1) historical (which relates to the historical evidence and has an aspect of education), 2) present (which explain the current situation affecting the experiences and motivation of tourists), 3) mass (which was experienced in large scale explaining the destruction it has created giving an insight for better future), and 4) individual (which relates to personal, emotional and cognitive dimensions) (Tanas, 2013).

Hence the dark sites are defined according to the typology or the type of violence it entails in them. Stone (2006), while suggesting the framework of dark tourism with respect to supply side which is later discussed, has divided the dark sites into seven categories. The scale of these sites slides from lighter to darker shades of darkness. For instance, “*dark fun factories*” being more entertaining and less authentic are on the lightest side, whereas “*dark camps of genocide*” which define authenticity and are the sites where the actual death or violence is experienced lies on the darkest corner. In addition to these two, the author categorizes the low to high impact of dark sites into dark exhibitions, dark dungeons, dark resting places, dark shrines, and dark conflict sides (Stone, 2006).

In another reference, Foley and Lennon (1996) classified the dark sites largely into two categories, 1) primary (ranging from holocaust museums to graves of celebrities, 2) secondary (sites offering an insight for learning and welcoming research, for instance museums) (Foley & Lennon, 1996). Kotler (1994) somehow took a more marketing stance on this explaining the site as a product breaking it into three levels, 1) the core product (what is

actually being bought), 2) the tangible product (bought on the basis of needs) , and 3) the augmented product (having both tangible and intangible attributes). The author suggests two groups of tourists/visitors on these three levels, 1) survivors (with more emotional connection), and 2) leisure tourists (dark site is based on marketing efforts) (Wight, 2005, p. 121).

After a detailed literature analysis, Tanas (2013) explained the dark tourist sites in following ways;

- Shrines, for instance, epitaphs, tombstones, crypts.
- Cemetery, for instance, plantings and ways of commemorating the death.
- Grave Chapel, for instance, coffins and death symbolic features.
- Ossuary, for instance, remains from the skeletons and fossils.
- Grave, for instance, the actual place where the person is buried.
- Rituals, for instance, prayers and beliefs relating to all death encounters.
- Pilgrims, for instance, encountering the supernatural power.
- Monuments, for instance, places of emphasis on education and remembrance through a message of death.
- Mass death sites, for instance, tragic events happened in past.
- War, for instance, battlefield and act of terror.
- Natural disasters, unavoidable natural disasters like earthquake or tsunami.
- Museums/exhibitions, for instance, physical sites of art symbolizing death and heritage interrelated to each other.
- Landscape, for instance, symbolizing death with respect to natural surroundings.
- Entertainment, for instance, themed exhibition based on art, music, fashion or culture explaining or symbolizing death. (Tanas, 2013, p. 24).

2.1.4 Demand and Supply perspectives of Dark Tourism

Dark Tourism has been studied in past two decades through perspectives of psychological theories focusing on motivation, business models analyzing the commodification and commercialization of sites, historical importance focusing on heritage and marketing theories focusing on authentic experiences. The different perspectives arose different ways of looking at dark tourism and defining it in a variety of ways as mentioned above. From above mentioned perspectives, a considerable amount of literature in Dark Tourism relates to the motivation and experiences of customers. However, the literature on Dark Tourism constitutes of three identifying perspectives, 1) demand perspective, 2) supply perspective, and 3) a combination of both supply and demand (Magee & Gilmore, 2015, p. 900).

Supply perspective, as its name mentions, is from the point of view of a supplier focusing on the site attributes and tourists as one of them. Stone's framework for dark sites is usually referred in most of the literature of supply perspective which is also being considered for the current study. Though it gives a somehow clear understanding of suppliers of point of view, it does not consider the aspect of customers motivation, experiences and intentions while visiting the sites. Hence, demand perspective focuses more on the motivation and psychological theories (Magee & Gilmore, 2015). Reasoning that both supply and demand perspectives explain one side of the mirror, the supply-demand perspective focuses on dark tourism as multilayered phenomenon. (Magee & Gilmore, 2015). In the section below, the first two perspectives are briefly discussed leading to understanding ethical issues in supply side which is the main purpose of this study and lacks in existing knowledge.

2.1.4.1 Demand side of Dark Tourism

Biran, Poria and Oren (2011) explained the experiences of tourists in heritage sites suggesting focusing on the customers and demand side of dark tourism to understand the experiences and how they affect the customers. The authors conducted their research on Auschwitz-Birkenau death camp while understanding tourists' perceptions of the site. The findings neglected the focus on dark tourism, rather emphasized on the heritage tourism suggesting the death camps to be more heritage centric, rather than the attribute of it being dark (Biran, Poria & Oren, 2011). However, Oren and Shani (2012) introduced the term "educational dark tourism" suggesting themes of the museums to be an integral part of the process affecting tourist experience in a more positive manner (Oren & Shani, 2012). Another research by Kidron (2013) conducted on same type of dark sites focused on the experiences of family as tourists. Israeli families who were affected by Holocaust were interviewed while being inquired about their historical heritage and identity. Findings suggested a need to study family emotive experiences and an attempt to ignore the mystification of dark tourism (Kidron, 2013).

Buda (2014) advanced with the introduction of psychological philosophy suggesting that tourists' motivation to visit places with misery, specifically conflict zones, is driven by the feelings of catharsis while negotiating with family traumatic memories disturbing the balance between different emotions, for instance fun/fear and life/death (Buda, 2014, p. 49). Miles (2014), while researching the battlefield sites, found that tourists give less regard to the darker aspects of a site, rather their experiences focus on the set of values that they bring with themselves (Miles, 2014). To advance the demand side of dark tourism, Negro (2014) explains the experience model in this respect suggesting that there are three benefits related to experiences, 1) social, 2) learning, and 3) psychological. Furthermore, the research provides profound insights while creating a causal relationship between tourist experiences and

environmental attitudes (Negro, 2014, p. 69). In addition to that, Kerr and Price (2015) stressed the importance of understanding the experiences of youth while evaluating the distress that they are being encountered with during a visit to dark sites (Kerr & Price, 2015).

Zhang et al. (2016) introduced the idea of interpersonal constraints to explain the demand side of dark tourism suggesting the importance of emotional elements. The authors suggested four elements which affect the revisit and experiences of tourists, 1) culture, 2) emotion, 3) escape, and 4) incuriousness (Zhang et al., 2016, p. 461). This idea was once again supported by Lee (2016) while studying “*emotional experiences, cognition, and behavioral intentions*”, suggesting positive relationships between all three elements (Lee, 2016, p. 697). Later, Zhang et al (2017) used structural equation modeling arguing the importance of experiences playing a wide role in motivation of tourists visiting dark sites. The authors found the demand for emotional experiences is higher than of cognitive, and curious visitors are more prone to dark spaces and exploring them (Zhang et al., 2017, p. 108). Furthermore, Wright and Sharpley (2017) suggested the importance of visuals in the dark sites, specially photographs and audio representations. The authors found that there is a positive relationship between effective use of imagery and tourists experiences and motivation for a dark site making them feel more connected to the site (Wright & Sharpley, 2017, p. 162). Wang and Luo (2017) working on the same dimensions focused more on the local tourists, suggesting no difference between tourists who experienced suffering itself than those who are visiting the site to understand the experience (Wang & Luo, 2017).

2.1.4.2 Supply side of Dark Tourism

While the discussions about demand side of tourism prevail in literature, authors also contributed extensively on the supply perspectives as well. Miles (2002), being the pioneers of this perspective, argued and inquired questions to differentiate the definitions of museum

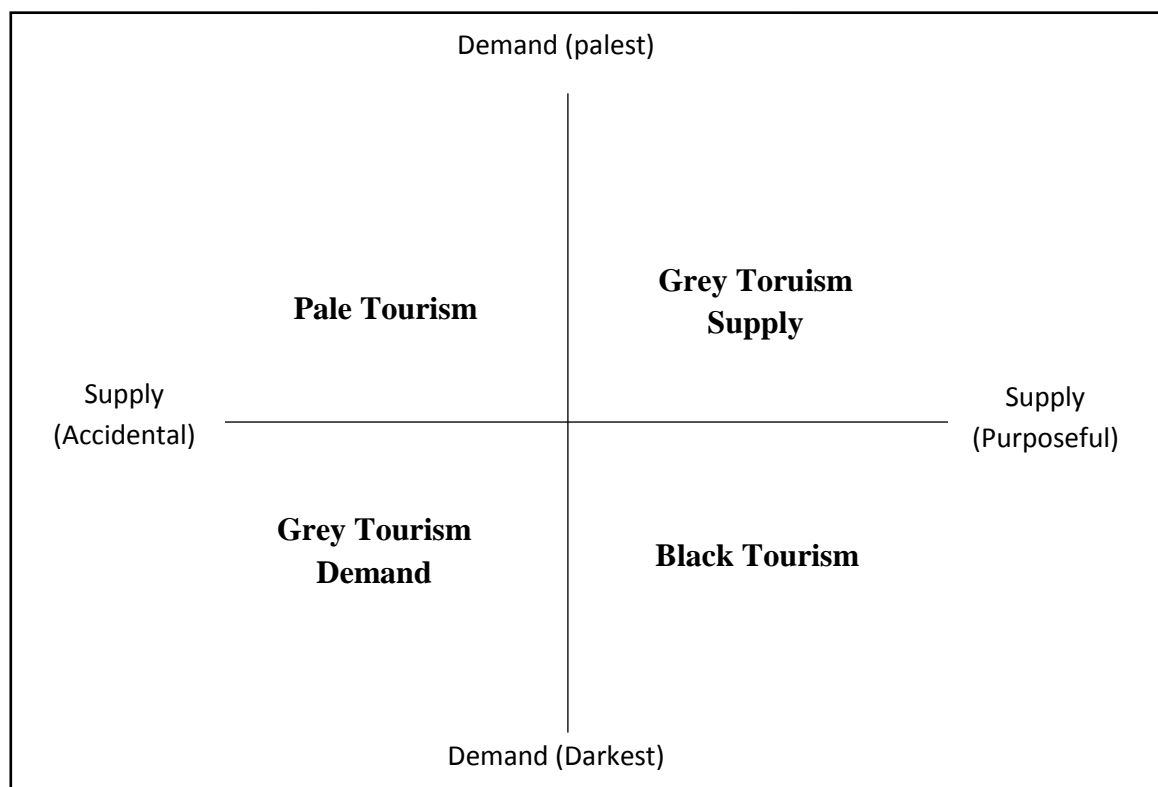
and exhibitions in dark sites context. The author suggests a confusion in calling all sites dark since darkness can be on many different levels. Especially in reference to authenticity, Miles (2002) argues about the distinction of what is dark and how dark a site is. Furthermore, in addition to authenticity, the site's interpretation and how it is recognized in the society by visitors plays a vital role in determining how dark a site is. Additionally, the author suggests that the difference between dark, darker and darkest sites is the variables like time gap between the event happened and its presentation, sites location and its authenticity, and technological influences (Miles, 2002).

In another study, Strange and Kempa (2003) suggest the importance of interpretation external groups and internal managers of the sites which are being termed as dark. The authors, after performing a study on two prisons and evaluating the differences between them, suggest two main facets of explaining the phenomenon, 1) political obligations, and 2) frames of remembrance. In both contexts, the issue of ethical obligations and authentic experiences is expected to be balanced. The authors argue that due to the pressures of commodification and commercialization, it is possible to overshadow the reality and history of those sites, again criticizing the shade of darkness (Kempa, 2003).

Sharpley (2005), however, progressed the research by giving a typology of dark tourism basing on both consumption and supply side of dark tourism. The author argued the notion that whether it is a good idea to identify all sites as "dark tourist sites" and all this phenomenon as "dark tourism". Additionally, Sharpley (2005) discusses the importance of understanding the supply of tourists site as much as understanding the need for consumption from tourists themselves. Since the purpose of supply can be intentional (intentionally exploiting the sites for commercial purpose) or unintentional (sites which are not made for tourism purposes), different elements for instance cultural, political, historical, or commercial purposes play a vital role (Sharpley, 2005, p. 227).

Hence, the author suggested a matrix for understanding different continuums consisting of four types of tourism as shown in Figure 3. Where, “*pale tourism*” explains limited interest and focus is drawn to make a site touristic, and “*grey tourism demand*” focus on the fascination of tourist with death lacking supplier’s perspective. However, “*grey tourism supply*” focuses on the intentional supply of sites while attracting tourists in a passive way and “*black tourism*” constitutes an intention of satisfying the concept of death from both supplier and consumers perspective. The author suggests that the last type in the matrix constitutes the real quality of dark tourist site and rest of the types lie in different facets of darkness (Sharpley, 2005, p. 228).

Figure 3. Matrix of Dark Tourism Demand and Supply (Sharpley, 2005, p.228)



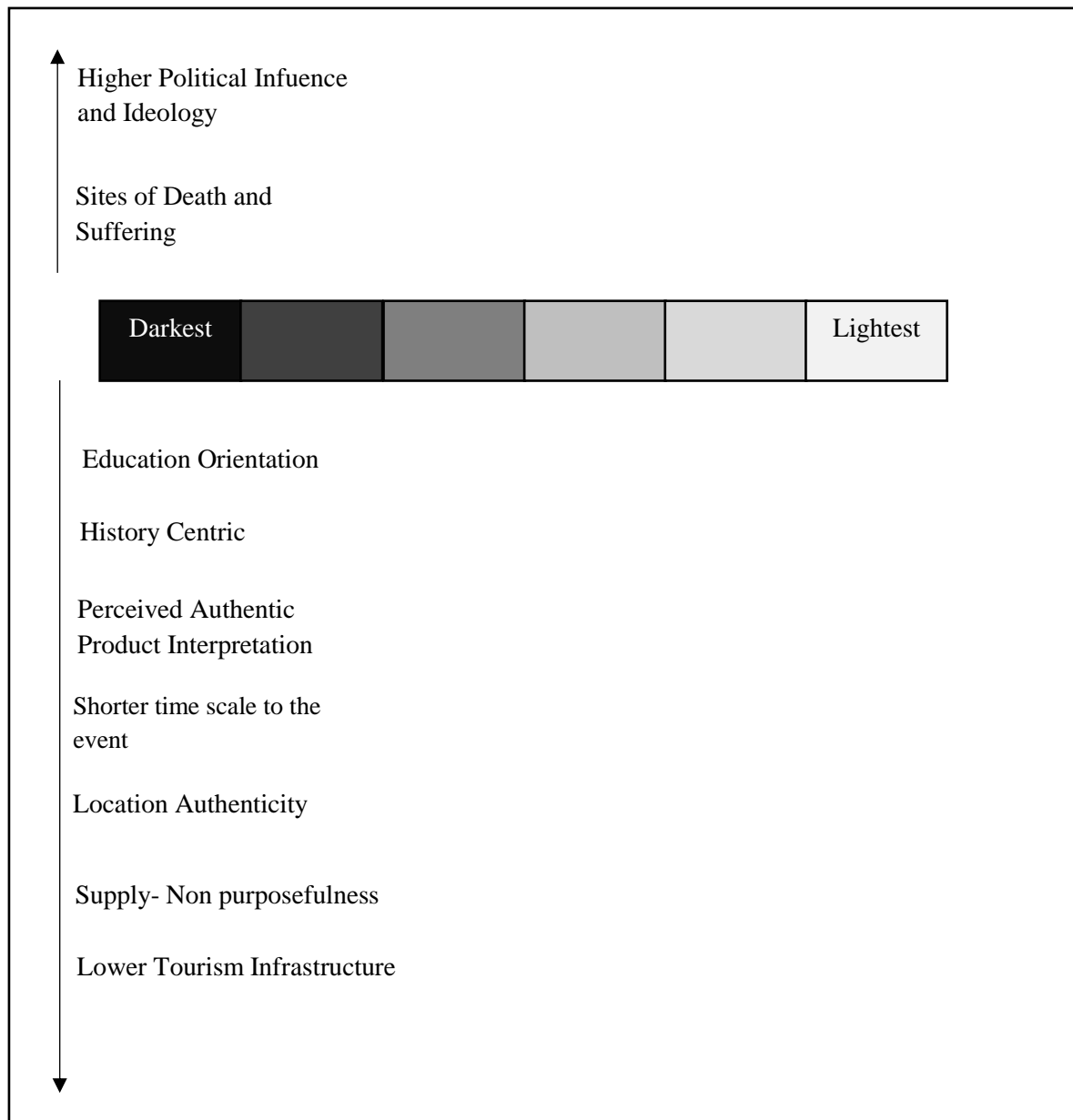
Although the supply side of tourism is widely discussed in tourism literature, the framework suggested by Stone (2006) has been used explaining this phenomenon for last one decade. The argument made by Stone (2006) focuses on the confusion that one can place all the tourist sites related to death and misery into the context of dark tourism. Research shows that, in many instances, suppliers do not agree with the word “dark” for their destination, hence researchers used different terminologies in past, for instance heritage or black spot tourism. The reason behind these differences can be motives of suppliers of providing varying product features, perceptions and characteristics (Stone, 2006, p. 145). Hence, Stone (2006) suggests different shades of darkness explaining different features of sites which can be dark in some respect. As shown in Figure 4, Stone (2006) six shades of darkness which are relative to eight variables, 1) lower tourism infrastructure, 2) supply or non-purposefulness, 3) shorter timescale to the event, 4) location authenticity, 5) perceived authentic product interpretation, 6) history centric, 7) education orientation, and 8) higher political influence and ideology (Stone, 2006, p. 151).

Based on these variables, Stone further classifies dark sites into seven categories (Stone, 2006, p. 152-157)

1. *Dark fun factories*, being fun concentrated sites do not constitute elements which are predominantly representing the real death and macabre while focusing more on the commercial and entertainment goals. In these sites, activities related to fun are prioritized giving an augmented experience to visitors with limited importance given to authenticity and political ideologies. Hence, these sites, as proposed by Stone, are considered as the lightest in the shades of darkness paradigm.
2. *Dark exhibitions*, however, put more focus on the education and learning while portraying death or suffering as something to learn from. Hence, these sites are

considered more darker than fun factories, yet they are more touristic having designed infrastructure, lacking authentic experiences and focusing on commercial value.

Figure 4. A Dark Tourism Spectrum from supply perspective (Stone, 2006, p. 151)



3. *Dark dungeons*, revolving around legal insights focus more on the justice codes promoting these sights as sites which provide entertainment and education to visitors with a focus on commerciality. Hence, since these sites provide both dark and light shades of darkness, they are placed in the middle of the spectrum. Furthermore, these sites have shorter time scale from the event and are more authentic than the two mentioned before leading them to have more political influence.
4. *Dark resting places*, consisting mostly of graves and graveyards, have both dark and light elements in them. For instance, the elements of authenticity can be considered valid since its than place where the people are buried, yet due to the commercialization of these sites with the use of information technology these sites have gained value commercially as well.
5. *Dark Shrines*, on other hand are different from dark resting places due to the feelings of respect and remembrance. Hence, these sites have short time frame from the event and exist on the site of actual death having more political influences rather than media promotions.
6. *Dark conflict sites*, being closer to darker facet, are sites with associated with wars. These sites have an educational purpose, are closer to authenticity, have high political influence, are more prone to history, and lack purpose
7. *Dark camps of genocide* are sites which are located at the darkest periphery of the spectrum. These sites primary purpose is to depict the genocide or the dark event giving an ultimate emotional experience to visitors. Since, the visitors are brought very close to death and misery, the authenticity at these sites is very high having a strong political influence.

Stone (2006) further suggests that although the framework gives some perspective on different dark tourist sites, it does not advocate all the sites in the world. Since different sites have different features, and the framework does not cover all aspects of dark tourist sites, more researched should be welcomed in order to understand the supply side of dark tourism (Stone, 2006).

For last one decade, many other authors also researched in the same perspective to understand the phenomenon either directly researching the suppliers or through the consumption patterns. Bowman and Pezzullo (2010) studied the tour operators' perspectives in order to identify varying patterns related to the term "dark". The authors suggested different approaches to study the intersection of death and tourism, amongst which performing play, performing identity, and performing the everyday were the most used ones (Bowman & Pezzullo, 2010). In another reference, Mowatt and Chancellor (2011) argued the importance of historical evidence and interactions of tourist's sites between tourists and management (Mowatt & Chancellor, 2011). Oren and Shani (2012) explained the importance of theming and how it positively affects the experiences of tourists (Oren & Shani, 2012). Volcic et al. (2014) introduced the concept of branding dark sites arguing the misconception of making a site of suffering a place to visit in order to get profit through social media and the ethical dilemmas this action brings (Volcic et al., 2014).

Another research by Kim and Butler (2014), the authors pointed out while studying the local community perceptions that supply of dark tourism is also created by the demand of tourists, particularly common with those tourists who were not personally there when the event occurred (Kim & Butler, 2014). In another instance, Powell and Iankova (2015), while researching the dark sites in London, found out entertainment as the focus of suppliers while ignoring the historical and authenticity of sites which completely excludes the main ideas of dark tourism (Powell & Iankova, 2015). Whereas, Magee and Gilmore (2015) looked the

entertainment factor in a different way arguing that dark touristic sites are becoming more and more service oriented where the focus is on social engagement and interaction (Magee & Gilmore, 2015). Hence, it can be seen from the above discussion how different authors have given different perspectives on supply side of tourism. Since the focus of this study is on the ethical issues that are involved in dark tourism especially related to the supply side, the next section focuses on the literature review of ethical dimensions to develop a base for the analysis of findings.

2.2 Ethical issues

Ethics in tourism have been in reference for twenty-five years amongst social and business researchers to understand morals in different narratives, for instance green tourism. Butcher (2014) focused on morals like care, awareness and responsibility in public and private sectors of ethical tourism. The author argues the importance of language and how it plays a vital role in constructing society while at many instances been affected by the political narratives (Butcher, 2014). Mostly ethics in tourism is referred to how people behave on a holiday or how the suppliers are catering their needs considering the moral aspects in relation to environment, society and effected parties. Kelman and Dodds (2009) used the word “*disaster ethics*” to study ethics in places of misery and suffering suggesting four guidelines, 1) the primary priority should be given to affected population, 2) none should be at risk, 3) the laws and regulations at the place of disaster should be reasoned, and 4) the funds received for disaster should be equally spread between affected and surrounded non affected areas (Kelman & Dodds, 2009, p. 272). The authors further defined disaster tourism as, “*travel for predominantly recreational or leisure purposes to see areas affected by a disaster*” (Kelman & Dodds, 2009, p. 273).

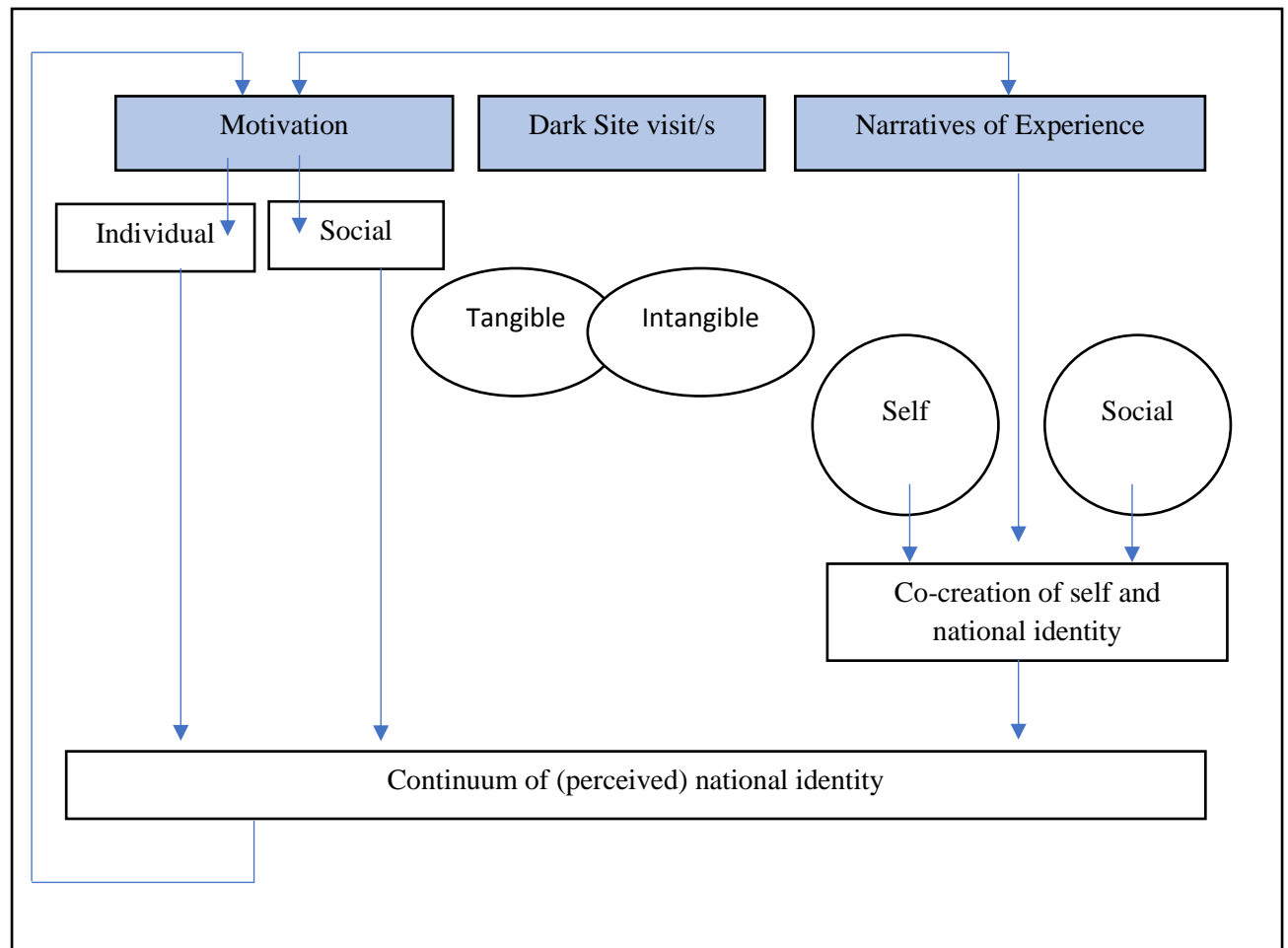
Although there exists a plethora of literature in both demand and supply side of dark tourism or its related terms, a small consideration has been done on ethical issues/dilemmas and referred by authors in different minor instances. Starting from authenticity to smaller discussions like effects of dark tourism in children has been in discussion in last one decade extensively. For instance, Price and Kerr (2016) studied the effects of dark tourism on children suggesting the aspect of values that are transferred to children/youth when they visit these sites. Amongst them, the most common ones are the respect, the understanding of what is right and wrong, and values of art (Price & Kerr, 2016). In another instant, Tinson et al. (2015), while researching the national identity of young Americans, examined the narratives that are being used at these used for reinforcing national identity. The authors suggest a positive correlation between visiting death and enhancing youth national identity while suggesting a model (as shown in Figure 5). The model focuses on three main aspects which result in national identity, 1) motivations, 2) dark site visit, and 3) experience narratives. However, all three aspects are interrelated to each connecting each other in different dimensions. Though the individual or social motivations push visitors to visit dark sites to gain different narratives and developing self and national identity, the cycle continues back and forth to same aspects (Tinson et al., 2015, p. 875).

2.2.1 Ethical issues in the supply side of dark tourism

The question whether it is okay to benefit and gain profit from sites which are related to suffering and directly affect the emotional narratives of some part of society has been discussion since the concept of the idea itself. The issues of acceptability and propriety of promoting and presenting places related to death have been questioned by researchers for last two decades (Light, 2017, p. 218). Ashworth and Hartmann (2005) argued the ethics of normalizing sites with horror and suffering suggesting that it can lead to long term effects of making humanity tolerable to these sensitive issues and feelings (Ashworth & Hartmann,

2005). Other scholars also pointed out the exploitation of these sites and sources of entertainment which raised discussions about humane actions, mainly from supplier's

Figure 5. Youth motivations of dark tourists' visits (Tinson et al., 2015, p.875)



perspective. Furthermore, the concern that tourists might, intentionally or unintentionally, make the visit enter disrespectful paradigms (Light, 2017).

Another aspect of ethical issues deals with the commodification of dark sites where scholars argued about their misrepresentation of historical events to cater the entertainment, gaining the profit and not depicting of what exactly happened. In this context, Foley and Lennon (1996) argued these issues with post modernism understanding authenticity of dark

tourist sites (Foley & Lennon, 1996). Hewison (1987) introduced the idea of nostalgia and how suppliers exploit to create a place where visitors perform catharsis (Hewison, 1987). Additionally, Sharpley and Stone (2009) argued the exploitation of these sites to create feelings of care, safety and hope while using the words of kitsch and kitchification (Light, 2017, 283). However, three basic facets were raised during the literature analysis of ethical debates in supply side of tourism, 1) commodification and authenticity, 2) management related issues, and 3) acceptability.

2.2.1.1 Commodification and authenticity

Heuermann and Chhabra (2014), while studying authenticity basing their arguments of Stone's spectrum, identified different dark site's authenticity at different levels of darkness. The authors point out five types of authenticity, 1) objectivist (in terms of location) 2) constructivist (as a social construct suited with market), 3) negotiation 1 (in terms of negotiating with authenticity creating a balance), 4) theoplacity (presenting an authentic version negotiating with existential authenticity) and 5) existentialist (a state of being of mind) (Heuermann & Chhabra, 2014, p. 217). The authors suggest these variables to be of wide importance to stakeholders and suppliers to understand their sites in a better way to communicate relating with ethical dilemmas. Other scholars studied the phenomenon that some sights do not possess any special historical evidence and rather are created merely for the commercialization purposes (Light, 2017). Potts (2012) identify a phenomenon of voyeurism while studying sale of souvenirs at 9/11 site traumatizing the emotions of directly affected people (Potts, 2012).

In another study by Chen et al. (2017), the authors raised the issue of place identity, suggesting commercialization as not the only facet of dark tourism. Rather, the authors argue that place identity lies on two factors, 1) distinctiveness, and 2) continuity. Hence, the place

identity affects the perception and attitudes of dark tourist sites for local population and can have both positive and negative impacts on society (Chen et al., 2017, p. 351).

2.2.1.2 *Management related dilemmas*

Since authenticity and acceptability has been widely in discussion for dark tourism, scholars investigated a variety of ways to understand and suggest management ideas. Heidelberg (2014) suggested local government's involvement as an important facet to this dilemma. Research suggested the importance of local government's planning of site safety and service while understanding the feelings and demands of local population. The balance has to be created between the sharing of historical event and potential economic benefits. Furthermore, the authors suggested five important facets in site development from the part of government, 1) preservation (the main goal should be to preserve rather than sell), 2) partnerships (partnering with internal and external stakeholders), 3) showcasing other sites (other sites should be given equal importance), 4) private sector involvement (support from private sector), and 5) policy (basing on quality standards) (Heidelberg, 2015, p. 81).

In other references, respect and humane understanding has been suggested to management of sites with sensitive meaning. Seaton (2009) suggests the idea of aura that is created by the site as the most challenging management decision which should be dealt with care (Seaton, 2009). In order to understand the management dilemmas however, it is important to know the audiences which can be constituted into three types, 1) victims, 2) perpetrators, and 3) observers (Ashworth, 1996). Seaton (2009) further suggests four groups of stakeholders, 1) the owners, 2) groups who are being directly affected by the site, 3) host communities, and 4) tourists (Seaton, 2009). The management's understanding of these audiences and their varying perspectives can ease in avoiding the dilemmas (Light, 2017). Furthermore, the suggestion of education and remembrance and the balance between them is

mentioned by scholars in literature. For instance, in order to tackle with the issues that local communities feel, it is important to synchronize the management agendas in a way that they will not dispute with local community's feelings (Light, 2017).

2.2.1.3 *Acceptability*

However, as mentioned above, all the stakeholders should be given equal importance, yet the research lacks widely on the aspect of visitors which results in the notion of acceptability. Gillen (2018) argue that dark tourism sites creates an extraordinary hype for appreciating, however this creates a gap t understand the dark tourist sites more in terms of experience (Gillen, 2018). Cochrane (2015) studied conflict in dark tourism management suggesting peace building and transformation. Furthermore, the author argues that tourism can be enabling and disabling if it is tackled with careful attention (Cochrane, 2015, p. 56).

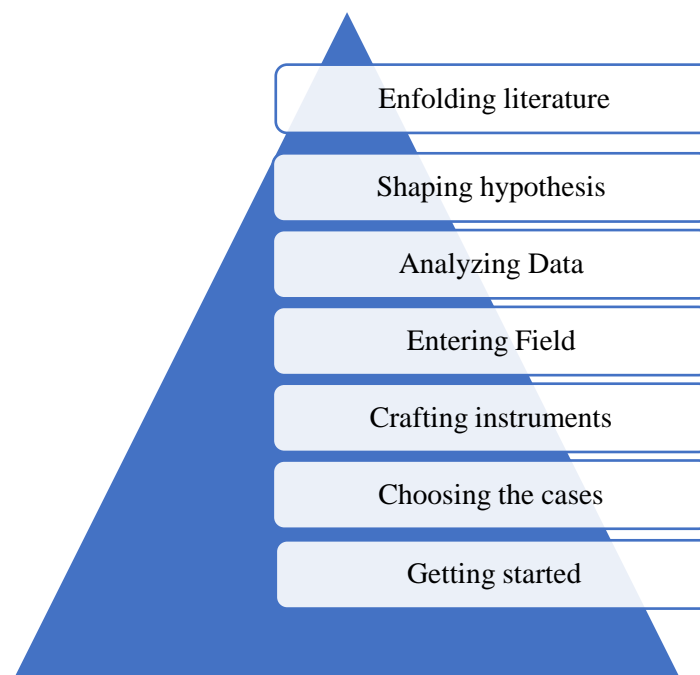
3 RESEARCH DESIGN

As Myers (2013) suggest, research design act as a “road map” for the research undertaken providing a clear pathway for researcher to what is important and what is not (Myers, 2013, p. 19). Research design has two main aspect, 1) descriptive part, and 2) explanatory part, where the former focuses on descriptive analysis focusing on the questions dealing with “what” and latter focuses on explaining the descriptions. Understanding these perspectives do not only provide the researcher with a sense of understanding of what is included and excluded but also provides an overview of how much time, resources and money the research will undertake (Galvis, 2014). In another reference, Eisenhardt (1989) suggests two pathways for conducting research, 1) a road map, and 2) positioning theory. For the former suggestion, Eisenhardt (1989), while developing on the previous literature, provides a research design consisting of eight steps, 1) getting started, 2) selecting cases, 3) crafting instruments and protocols, 4) entering the field, 5) analysing data, 6) shaping hypothesis, 7) enfolding literature, and 8) reaching closer (as shown in Figure 6) (Eisenhardt, 1989, p. 532).

The first step requires defining the research question and establishing constructs in order to retain flexibility in research and provide an understanding the main goals and efforts that are required to build the study. The second step narrows the population down into specific cases while creating an external validity to the context. However, selected cases are preferred to be chosen basing on theoretical understanding, non-random and providing a guideline to extend the conceptual understandings. The third step takes the research further into developing data collection methods, choosing between quantitative or qualitative or a combination, in order to suggest real evidence to the theory. The fourth step involves collection of data using a variety of methods allowing researchers to develop and understand emerging themes. It is after this step, that the researcher enters into practical

understanding of data while analysing it with different patterns and methods which extends the emerging themes into constructive conceptualization. The next step involves synchronization of constructs and evidence understanding the aspects of validity and reliability. The researcher enters in the final stages of enfolding literature and reaching closure while answering the question of “*why*” the research was undertaken from first instance. The last two steps provide researcher with a clear understating of constructs, its validity and generalizability, reaching to conclusions (Eisenhardt, 1989, p. 533).

Figure 6. Research Design adapted by Eisenhardt (Eisenhardt, 1989, p. 534)



Churchill (1979) defined constructs as an “*aspect of something*” suggesting the importance of it in the research design. The scholar identifies eight steps, 1) identifying the domain of the construct, 2) sampling the items, 3) collecting data, 4) purifying the measurements, 5) recollecting data, 6) assessing reliability, 7) assessing validity, and 8)

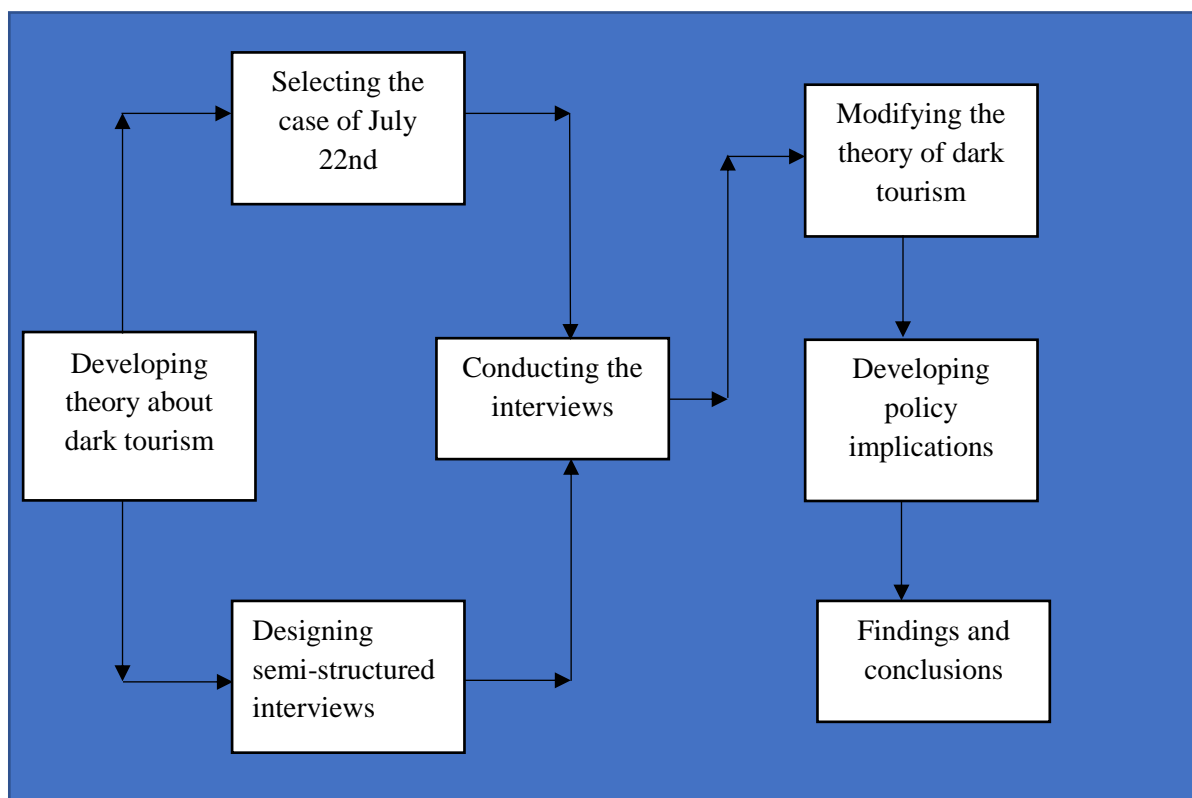
developing norms (Churchill, 1979, p. 68). Churchill (1979) further identifies different types in assessing validity for constructs in order to understand if the construct synchronizes with the traits of the measurement, for instance face validity suggests how the elements of measurement reflect coherently with the main concepts. However, convergent validity suggests the correlation of other methods to measure the same constructs, and discriminant validity focuses on the uniqueness of measurement without any reflection of other variables (Churchill, 1979, p. 70). Furthermore, the reliability of the measurement plays an equal and wide role in measurement where the author describes it as the face or content validity suggesting the outlook of items and if they present the main concept in them. However, these concepts will not be widely taken under consideration in current study yet there will be reflection of it in analysis and findings. Hence, summarizing the research design, Yin (2003) defined research design as, *“a logical plan for getting from here to there, where here may be defined as the initial set of questions to be answered, and there is some set of conclusions about these questions”* (Yin, 2003, p. 20).

3.1 Case study approach

Furthermore, Yin (2003) defined case study approach as, *“the essence of case study is that it tries to illuminate a decision or set of decisions: why they were taken, how they were taken, and with what result”* (Yin, 2003, p. 12). Whereas, Eisenhardt (1989) defined case study approach as *“a strategy focusing on understanding the dynamics within single settings”* (Eisenhardt, 1989, p. 534). However, case study approach can have more than one studies in order to correlate different events together having multiple level of analysis. Yet it is of wide importance to build the excluding and including criteria while choosing more than one case company so that it will not interfere with the measurement and result in errors in measurement. Figure 7 explains the case study process suggested by Eisenhardt (1989), who

divided the case study approach into nine steps, 1) starting with the process, 2) selecting case, 3) establishing protocols, 4) entering the field, 5) analysing with the data, 6) identifying for cross case patterns, 7) establishing hypothesis, 8) connecting the evidence with literature, and 9) closing (Eisenhardt, 1989, p. 536-545).

Figure 7. Case study approach for the current study (Eisenhardt, 1989, p. 545)



The first step involves the decision of conducting the research and identifying the research question to provide focus to the research scope in order to not make it very broad or small. Additionally, in quantitative or theoretical studies, establishing the constructs and defining its scope can ease the researcher during measurements. The next step narrows down the scope and deals with the selection of cases. However, unlike other research sampling techniques, theory-based research focus on choosing a population from case studies. For instance, Eisenhardt (1989) argues the importance of choosing cases with extreme situation

allowing it to have a more generalizable content (Eisenhardt, 1989). The next step focuses on establishing the instruments to measure or evaluate the collected data or in this study, measuring the outcomes or themes from the interviews undertaken. At this, instance, the importance of recognizing the quantitative or qualitative evidence.

Following this, the researcher enters the field where the coding and analysis begins. Scholars suggest the importance of note taking and observation as of wide importance, yet it is deemed to be important to identify the fine line between data collection and analysis. The next step is encountered when there are more than one cases in analysis and highlights the importance of within case patterns. However, following this step, the researcher steps into the paradigm of searching for cross-case patterns while analysing the data in divergent ways (Eisenhardt, 1989, p. 540). With these steps, the researcher can finally shape the hypothesis to test the differences, mostly focusing and understanding about the construct in a more elaborative way. Furthermore, elaborating the literature while synchronizing it with the constructs and hypothesis leads to reaching closure of the study where conclusions and limitations are identified.

3.1.2 Case of July 22nd

As shown in Figure 2, the case chosen for this study is the Case of July 22nd at Utøya in the peaceful land of Norway. On July 22nd, the locals of Oslo, the capital city of Norway, faced two terrorist attacks. The first attack was carried out amid government headquarters where a car filled with bombs was placed leading to death of eight people. The second attack, following the bomb on same day, was carried out on the youth summer camp of Norwegian Labor Party, resulting in the death of sixty-nine individuals, mostly youth. In former case, the perpetrator opened fire at the participants in the camp resulting in death and injuries of around two hundred people. Both attacks are considered as the deadliest attacks Norway has

faced since the World War 2 and left deep emotional dilemma for the locals and internationals, leaving every fourth Norwegian directly affected by the attacks (Larsen & Wolff, 2013, p. 200).

The Norwegian government and nationals responded to the events with peaceful walk raising roses high and establishing a way towards a more democratic and multicultural view. However, the nation was devastating hurt by the incidents leaving an emotion psychological dilemma for years, and even now. Additionally, in 2015, the government establish a July 22nd Centre to preserve the memory of the lost ones and with a goal to establish a Centre with learning and education. The July 22nd Centre focuses on the exhibition showing the timeline of terrorist attacks and is located at the place where the first bomb was detonated. The remains of the blast are still prevalent in the exhibition and the effects of bombing can be seen both inside and outside of the center. The use of pictures, videos, texts for the judicial verdict, and artifacts have been used in the center to elaborate the event and explain the trauma that nation suffered on that day.

Furthermore, the timeline also provides the images of aftereffects showing the solidarity of Norwegians responding to the event. While one room consists of pictures of people who died in the event in order to preserve and respect their memory. Most of the artifacts used are collected during the police investigation containing the photographic material, surveillance cameras, and filmed interviews with the survivors of the camp (July 22nd center official webpage). Furthermore, a huge portion of the Centre focuses on learning and educating youth about different dimensions of event and brining awareness among growing generation to focus on the event with different and varying themes. The Centre opened in 2015 as a temporary information Centre but later established into a permanent status while focusing mainly on the school groups and youth.

However, although the Centre focuses on the learning and education of youth, yet the research suggests ethical dilemmas attached to it during its conception and later in time. Furthermore, the Centre is not called a tourist site/center, yet it is open for all tourists who are found to be regular visitors and additionally the attributes of the Centre can be recognized synchronizing with the literature on dark tourism and dark tourist sites. Hence, in order to answer the research question about how ethical dilemmas are interpreted in dark tourist sites, this study focuses on this case with a perspective of Norway while connecting the dots from the literature and identifying different themes relating to ethics.

3.2 Data collection

In order to enhance the credibility of the data, the process of data collection plays a vital role in research. These data sources can be publication, archival records, interviews, surveys, artifacts, or observation (Baxter & Jack, 2008, p. 554). In specific to case study method, the data sources can be of quantitative (surveys) or qualitative (semi structured interviews) depending on the scope and goal of the study (Yin, 2003). Each data source hence ends up being a piece of a puzzle to understand the complete picture of the phenomenon (Baxter & Jack, 2008). Furthermore, Mintzberg (1979) suggests two types of data sources, 1) soft and 2) hard, where the latter deals with uncovering relationships in scenarios and the latter deal with explaining them (Mintzberg, 1979, 587). Hence, for this study both primary and secondary data has been used in order to find the themes and understand the phenomenon of dark tourism. Where semi structured interviews have been conducted to reach the goals of the study, and scholarly articles, tourism related books, published master's thesis, and official webpage of July 22nd Centre has been used as secondary sources.

3.2.1 *Semi-structured interviews*

Semi-structured interview, being one of the most renowned ways of dealing with case study methodology, provide the researcher of the insight of phenomenon in a variety of ways. Since the method provides the research to identify several varying and underlying concepts, the interviews provide a road map to the themes which are non-existent and require a strict process of thought (Aleem, 2015, p. 46). Generally speaking, there are two types of interviews, 1) open ended, and 2) focused, where the latter leave less space for hidden themes and are well structured, while the former focuses on establishing a scenario to conduct an interview in an informal and controversial manner (Eriksson & Kovalainen, 2008, p. 83). Yin (2003) suggests that interviews with an open structure provide the researcher an opportunity to establish underlying themes while synchronizing it with the case study main theses (Yin, 2003, p. 85). Yet, the importance of staying neutral and unbiased is suggested widely in literature related to interviews in order to avoid self-bias errors and leading the interviewee to a specific direction (Yin, 2003). However, in order to deal with this error, this study takes up the alternative of focused semi-structured interviews, where the protocols are developed with questions on certain themes, but the interview is conducted in an informal manner (Yin, 2003).

The process of interviewee selection and conduction of interviews were followed by several steps. In the first step, an email has been sent to the managers/employees of July 22nd Centre and Norwegian Tourism have been contacted while giving the scope and executive summary of the thesis. After sending emails to seven different personals, three positive responses from the July 22nd Centre was chosen to take interviews from. In order to choose the samples or interviewees in this regard, Maxwell (1996) theory of “*purposeful sampling*” has been acquired, where the author suggests choosing the sample from where the highest level of insight can be gathered (Galvis, 2014, 47). And since, July 22nd Centre is the main

focus of this study while encompassing the whole event, the personals from the Centre were given preference for the study. A short meeting was scheduled with the interviewees to explain them agendas of interview and research leading to scheduling for times. Finally, in the last step three interviews were taken ranging from thirty-five to fifty minutes. The three interviewees chosen for the interviews were current employees in Centre, working in the functions related to education of youth, advisory groups, coordinating with witnesses, and communication. The interview questions were divided in to four aspects consisting of thirteen open ended question. The questions were adapted from the literature of ethical dilemmas regarding dark tourism mentioned by Light (2017), 1) acceptability, 2) ethical debates, 3) commodification and authenticity, and 4) management related issues.

3.2.2 Data collection through secondary resources

Yin (2003) mentioned the importance of organization of data sources, especially in terms of secondary data, while using databases in order to collect as much raw data as possible (Yin, 2003). Baxter and Jack (2008) suggested the importance of databases and organization of data in order to improve the reliability of research and avoid bias error. Furthermore, the authors regarded this raw data as pieces of puzzles resulting into the understanding of the overall phenomenon. However, it is important to use the right words to gather these pieces because excessive and unnecessary collected data can result in confusion and mismanagement (Baxter & Jack, 2008, p. 554). For this study, the official University of Stavanger library database for Hospitality and Tourism Studies has been used. The sub forums used to collect raw data are “*Academic Search Premier, Business Source Complete, EconLit, Google Scholar, JSTOR, Hospitality and Tourism Complete and ScienceDirect*”. The words used to collect data, “*dark tourism*”, “*ethical dilemmas in dark tourism*”, “*supply side of dark tourism*”, and “*ethics in tourism*”. A total number of 157 scholarly articles,

Masters and PHD thesis's and new reviews were collected where 85 were chosen after refining the information which is most related to the study.

3.3 Data analysis

In order to divide and understand the collected data into different components to find the themes and to understand the phenomenon, data analysis plays a vital role in research (Dey, 1993, p. 32). Eisenhardt metaphorized data analysis as the heart of the study while considering it as the most important and difficult process (Eisenhardt, 1989). Although, qualitative method of study is being widely discussed in literature and there exists a plethora of knowledge on analysing the data gathered in this respect, limited research has been conducted to explain the analyses of textual data. At one instance, Miles and Huberman (1994) suggested to reduce the difficult of analysis by dividing the data into three phases, 1) reduction, 2) display, and 3) conclusion (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 11). Stirling (2001) further argued that in order to develop meaningful explanations to the data, it is important to scrutiny the data in methodical ways, which can be interpreted easily as well (Stirling, 2001, 386). In order to simplify the process of analysis, Stirling (2001) suggests a step by step model of "*thematic networks*", which can put the researcher to an ease of systematically arranging the textual data. Since the primary data of the current study is interviews which are transcribes into a total of thirty pages, the thematic analysis mentioned by Stirling is used to identify themes and understand the whole phenomenon. However, before presenting the findings, following section explains the constituents of thematic model by Stirling suggested in 2001.

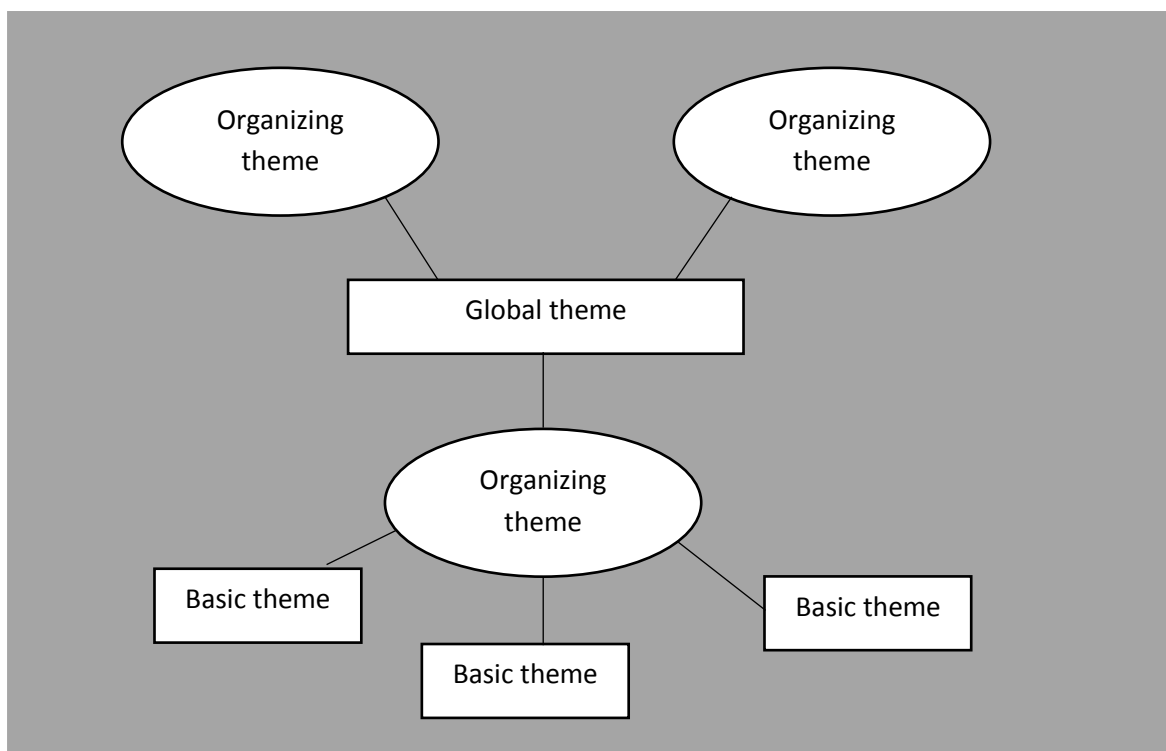
3.3.1 Thematic networks

Stirling (2001) explains thematic networks as “a simple way of organizing a thematic analysis of qualitative data” (Stirling, 2001, p. 387). However, at the same time, thematic networks are arranged in a way that they explain the hidden features of the data on various levels while explaining the overall idea. The author divides the networks into three levels, 1) basic themes, 2) organizing themes, and 3) global themes as shown in Figure 8. Basic themes, being in the lowest and simplest level, are the “statements of beliefs”, which are supported by other themes in the same category to give an overall impression of the phenomenon.

Whereas, organizing themes exist in the middle explaining an abstract analysis of data.

Furthermore, unlike basic themes, organizing themes focus on enhancing the meaning of the global theme and not connecting with other themes at the same level directly. Finally, global themes are the “principal metaphors” suggesting the data explain the ultimate idea of the text (Stirling, 2001, p. 389).

Figure 8. Thematic networks (Stirling, 2001, p. 388)



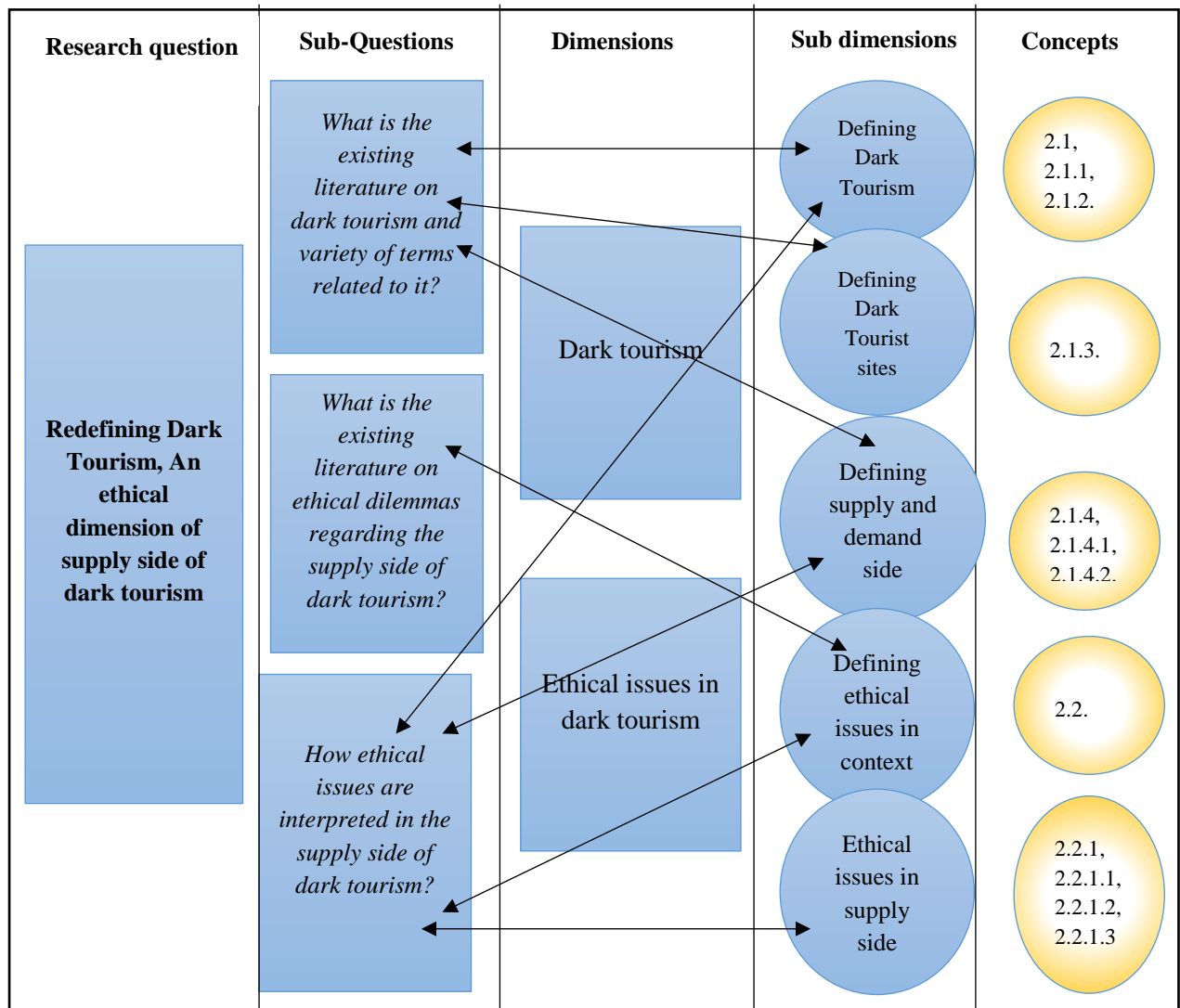
Furthermore, in order to simplify the process Stirling divides the whole process in to six steps, 1) Coding, 2) identify themes, 3) constructing networks, 4) exploring networks, 5) summarizing networks, and 6) interpreting patterns (Stirling, 2001, p. 391). The first two steps deal with dividing the transcribed texts into codes after establishing the coding framework and identifying themes while refining and abstracting them. Whereas, the next step deals with their arrangement, collecting basic themes while arranging them into organizing themes and finally deducing global themes. It is at this instant where the thematic network establishes, and its verification occurs. The next step deals with description and explanation of the network while breaking it down in all the three subcategories. Finally, varying patterns are interpreted while summarizing the networks to understand the phenomenon in relation to the literature review (Stirling, 2001, p. 392). By the end of the process, Stirling suggests that the researcher can easily infer the clusters of themes and an understanding of what those themes entail in them. However, the author further mentions the limitation of subjectivity which is to be noticed during the process and the important of context in order to understand the phenomenon.

3.4 Construction of the operationalization model

Miles and Huberman (1994) reports operational model as an important aspect of research design suggesting three basic purposes, 1) firstly, the model explains the inclusion and exclusion criteria of the research defining its scope, 2) explaining relationships on the bases of logic and theoretical understandings, and 3) easing the researcher to understand the meaning of constructs (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 18). In other references, Burnette (2007) suggest organizational model as a process of putting difficult concepts into easily understandable framework (Burnette, 2007, p. 03). As shown in Figure 9, the organizational model of this study comprises of five divisions which are connected to each other, 1) research

question, 2) sub questions, 3) global themes, 4) sub themes, and 5) literature and semi structured interview questions.

Figure 9. Operationalization model



4 FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

Three semi-structured interviews were taken from the employees of July 22nd Centre each ranging between thirty to forty-five minutes. The interview followed themes conceptualized by Stone (2006) focusing on acceptability, ethical issues, commodification and authenticity, and management related issues. The questions were consciously developed to have an open-ended perspective to increase chance of gaining as many themes as possible because of the newness of the phenomenon and case. Thematic analysis suggested by Stirling (2001) was conducted on the transcribed data containing twenty-five pages in total. Several themes were gathered, which were organized in global, organizing, and basic themes. The aspect of content/face validity was taken in consideration to organize themes with same meanings in one paradigm. Out of many themes, two global themes were analysed, 1) conceptualization of the site, and 2) supply side perspectives. The first global themes further consisted of three organizing themes, 1) goals and structure of the site, 2) profile of visitors, and 3) tour content. The second global theme was further divided into three organizing themes, 1) perspective of acceptability, 2) perspective of authenticity, and 3) issues related to management. Both themes were further categorized in variety of basic themes to explain the phenomenon in complete detail as shown in the sections below.

4.1 Conceptualization of the site

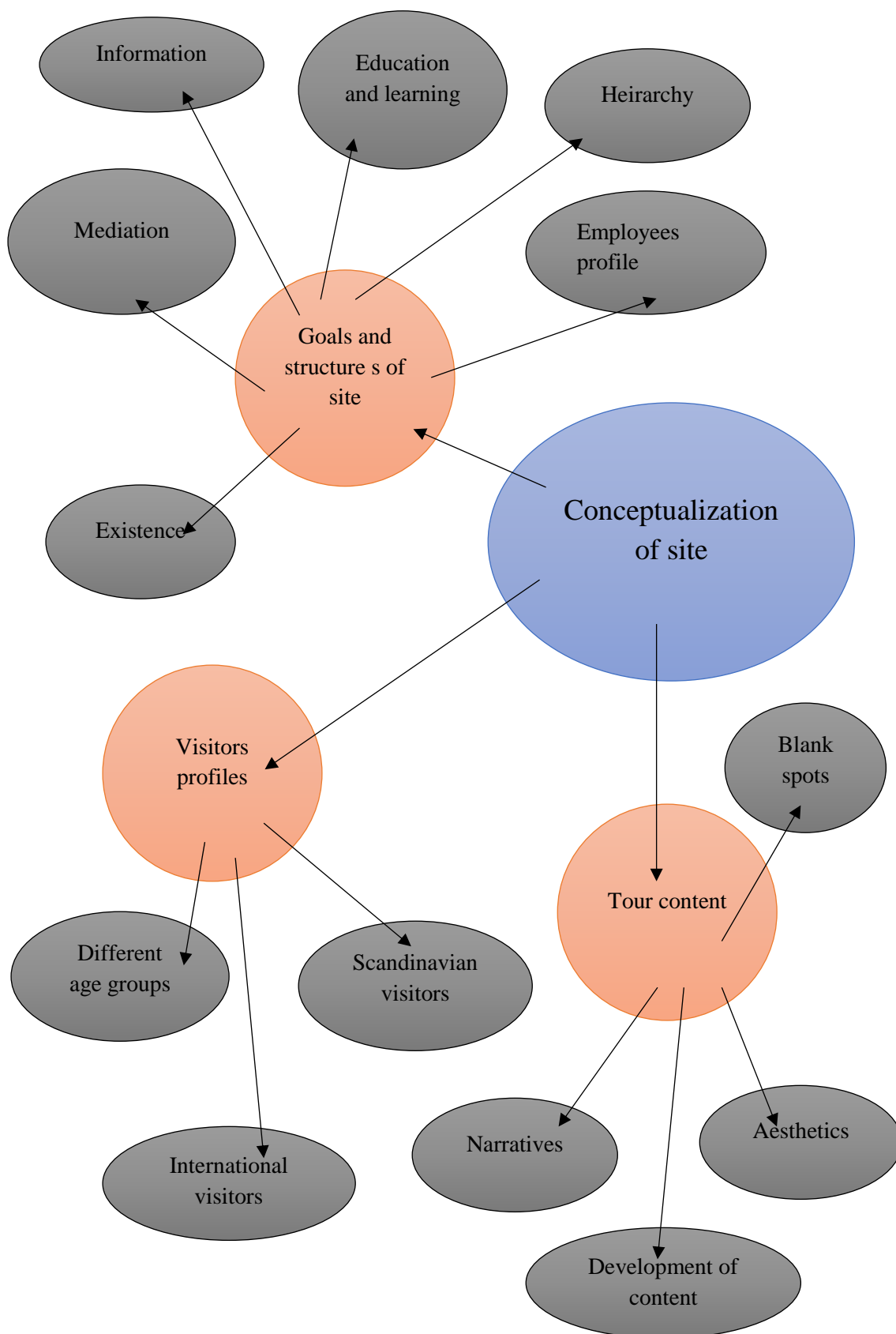
The first global themes, conceptualization of the site, explains the goals, structure, profile of visitors, and content of tour as shown in Figure 11. As shown in the figure, the first organizing themes is divided further into five, the second into three and the last into four facets. In the sections below, basic themes will be explained in detail with the direct quotes of the interviewees and considering the context of literature. Although, the first global theme

develops an understanding of the site consisting of all the attributes that a tourist site has. However, in comparison of other tourist site, the first global theme establishes an argument that not all sites which present death or suffering have same attributes which questions the definitional characteristics of tourist site itself. The findings from first thematic network gives a pathway to understanding the tourist sites or visitor sites, as it called by the interviewees, in a variety of different ways. The argumentation and analysis are continuously contextualized with the attributes of a tourist site from the supply side framework suggested by Stone (2006) and different definitional understandings of dark tourism and dark tourist sites from the literature.

4.1.1 Goals and structure of the site

Literature suggests a variety of goals explaining the definitional understanding of dark tourism and dark tourism sites. Foley and Lennon (1997) mentioned the goals of remembrance, education and entertainment, where Seaton (1996) explained the visitation with the aspect of encountering death with a more sentimental and emotional stance symbolically or realistically. Other authors explained the phenomenon with respect to humane considerations, understand the living, or hoping for a better future. The findings in the current study suggests the aspect of education and learning. Furthermore, the findings further suggest the structure of site with its existence and hierarchy of the centre having certain specific attributes which lack in many other dark tourist sites in literature. For instance, as suggested by interviewees, the selection of employees was done with special care to employ staff with a sense of understanding of issues related to humanity, multiculturalism and have educational background in the same industries. Another special finding, which is not experienced in many other tourist sites, was the hierarchy of the centre where it is found that the centre is controlled by the Norwegian government and the goals are established from top to bottom rotations.

Figure 10. Thematic networks for first global theme (conceptualization of site)



Furthermore, in respect to the existence, the findings suggest the change of temporary to permanent existence of the center due to its influence in society and acceptance of it from the local and directly affected individuals. Foley and Lennon (1997) introduced the idea of dark tourism and tourist sites with the introduction of the most important feature which is remembrance (Foley & Lennon, 1997). The same attribute was also discovered during the analysis where interviewees suggest the importance of the center to remind the event again and again, especially to the new generation and to give respect to the effected ones or martyrs. As suggested by interviewee,

“whenever a year passes, people start to talk again about the fact that we did not talk enough about the event, and I think the politicians decided to be a bit proactive and decided to do something and so they established two centers at the same time...”

It can be inferred from the above statement, that the initial goal of the July 22nd Center was to provide information to the locals and internationals, and it still prevails. Furthermore, in another statement by interviewees, it was also suggested that main purpose or goal of the center was to provide information through an exhibition about the events happened on July 22nd without any intentions of making it a permanent exhibition. In addition to this, the interviewees further suggested the change in information about the whole story since many visitors did not know the whole scenario and background of the event. And especially due to the increase of the visitation, the management had to provide more information about the exhibition and restructure themselves, as commented by interviewee on one instant,

“But also, at the time of the opening, it was basically an exhibition and nothing else... so what we learned from the start, groups started coming and the staff that was there had to

start structuring the visits. And, to provide more information that the exhibition. And... both in past and up until now, the story line in the exhibition starts from 22nd July 2011, and it ends with the verdict in 2012... ”

Stone (2006) introduced the aspect of education orientation in the light to dark spectrum of tourist sites suggesting the high orientation towards education in the darkest corners of the spectrum (Stone, 2006). Oren and Shani (2012) also discussed the “*educational dark tourism*” suggesting a positive attitude of dark tourist sites (Oren & Shani, 2012). The same aspect was found in the analysis as well when all three interviewees mentioned the importance of education and learning as the primary goal of the centre, suggesting,

“Viewing the exhibition would be enough according to the curators back then... but we soon understood that it was not possible to do it that way... because people were expecting some contact... not especially a guided tour but some information before ... and the visitors wanted to express their anger, sadness, grief... they wanted a place to do that and they used it.. so, we ended up by developing this introductions and conversations in the end with group and also developing this educational activity with school classes...”

Furthermore, the interviewees also emphasis on the official existence of the center as for education and learning purposes which is continuously changing from the educational and development teams, as mentioned by an interviewee,

“The mandate to be a learning center has been expressed officially, in official documents. But the content of such a mandate has been formed and is still formed continuously by the educational development team...”

An aspect which is not very much discussed in the literature about the dark tourist sites is the existence of the hierarchy, which in current context is completely different from all the sites mentioned in the literature. However, once again, the attributes of darkest tourist site from Stone (2006) argues for a higher political influence. While inquiring about the hierarchy of the center, the interviewees mentioned the role of government and political parties in all the operation since they primarily control the functions of the center and has been the creation of government from the beginning, for instance, one of the interviewees mentioned,

“But it’s very hard to explain how we are structured because we don’t have a boss in the center but our boss is in DSS (Norwegian government security and service organization) ... but we have to govern ourselves a little bit because we don’t have any leadership... so we follow the hierarchy in that organization ... and the last say is by DSS...”

Furthermore, inquiring about the future of the center, the interviewees suggested the transition of governing bodies from DSS to Ministry of education, which gives a different stance to the existing knowledge about dark tourist sites. It can be suggested that although the July 22nd center has the same attributes of education and learning mentioned by Stone, it still has some new facets. In addition, the discussion of hierarchy, the importance of employee selection was mentioned by interviewees in different contexts. Interviewees suggested that the employees were chosen with particular care due to the sensitivity of the centre with

backgrounds of human and political related studies. At this point, the issue of selection suggests the ethical dilemmas that were involved during the inception and to deal with sensitive matter, employees with a clear mindset were required, as mentioned by one of the interviewees,

“they hired staff with a background to handle a complicated memory and a national trauma... so they hired people with backgrounds who have studied such issues and so I think those two things combined made our center...”

The findings related to the existence of the center provided insights of involvement of politics, the sensitivity of the trauma, and the involvement of the local population, which has been suggested at many intervals in dark tourism literature. As suggested by the interviewee,

“...and it was a political decision, it came out of a need to handle an unsolved issue and open wound in our society, and I believe, because these types of events, the trauma was so open and cultural historians also said that the way that Norwegians handled in extremely special with marching with streets with roses and coming together..”

In addition to that, the involvement of the local population was mentioned at one instant suggesting the motivation of locals to be involved, which has not been discussed widely in dark tourism literature. As mentioned by the interviewee,

“I do not have the numbers in my head... but we had long lines from the first day and then it just lasted and lasted, people wanted to come and see this exhibition from all over Norway primarily... to begin with it was primarily Norwegians citizens...”

4.1.2 Profile of visitors

This leads to the discussion on what kind of visitors the centre has regularly. The findings suggest three different groups of visitors for the centre, 1) visitors from different age groups, 2) Scandinavian visitors, and 3) international visitors. It can be argued from the findings, that although, the centre was developed for the purposes of education and learning and has not been promoted as the dark site for tourists, yet many visitors perfectly fit the description of a tourist as mentioned in the introduction (any individual travelling for more than fifty miles from home). For instance, the interviewees mentioned the family visits and the accompanying children and the change in learning for that specific group. The interviewee suggested about the children's corner with books and fliers on attacks and about the event in a more children friendly way. This scenario was discussed in literature by Kidron (2013) in the family visits at Holocaust museums for the emotive experiences and learning about the heritage. The interviewees mentioned the same phenomenon in their explanations. Furthermore, old age people were also mentioned as regular visitors at the centre suggesting for a call for more research on the old age groups and their motivations of visiting sites related to death and misery, as mentioned by interviewees,

“...Those who come alone are especially 50 years and up and they react a lot...but we also have visitors, young visitors who have been there with school groups and then he or she brings his friends... and it goes very well because they are interested in learning...”

Furthermore, both Scandinavian and international tourists were suggested to be regular visitors where at one instinct it was mentioned that Scandinavian tourists and American tourists relate to the event or the center as their own pain. This phenomenon has been discussed by Buda (2014) where the author argued about the process of catharsis that

visitors gets involved when they visit sites which has affected their daily lives (Buda, 2014).

As mentioned by the interviewee,

“...outside Scandinavia, we have fliers in different languages, in Mandarin, Japanese, German, French, English and Norwegian. And many tourists from other countries address in English. So, it’s hard to have a realistic image... We have one group that usually book in advance that American cruise ship tourists. May be the most concrete group of regulars. It’s called the grand circle...”

4.1.3 Tour content

The findings on tour content were explained through the usage of narratives, aesthetics, content development, and the existence of blank spots. The interviewees explained usage of the main place where the bomb occurred to present the place which has emotional narrative enclosed in it. As suggested by one of the interviewees,

“...initially the mandate was to establish a center in pavilion, but the architect insisted to go in the big canteen, former reception... where the opening wound is, and this is where a narrative is...”

Furthermore, in respect to the tour content, the interviewees suggested the importance of usage of all narratives, including official, national, and private, and establishing the need of understanding the event in all perspective to provide a better understanding of the aftereffects. As mentioned by the interviewee,

“...It is an institutional narrative. But still pupil understand that the national or official narrative is used but it’s not the only possible narrative so we are open to other kind of narratives, that’s why we have witnesses’ program so that school classes can have a conversation with the survivors and families...”

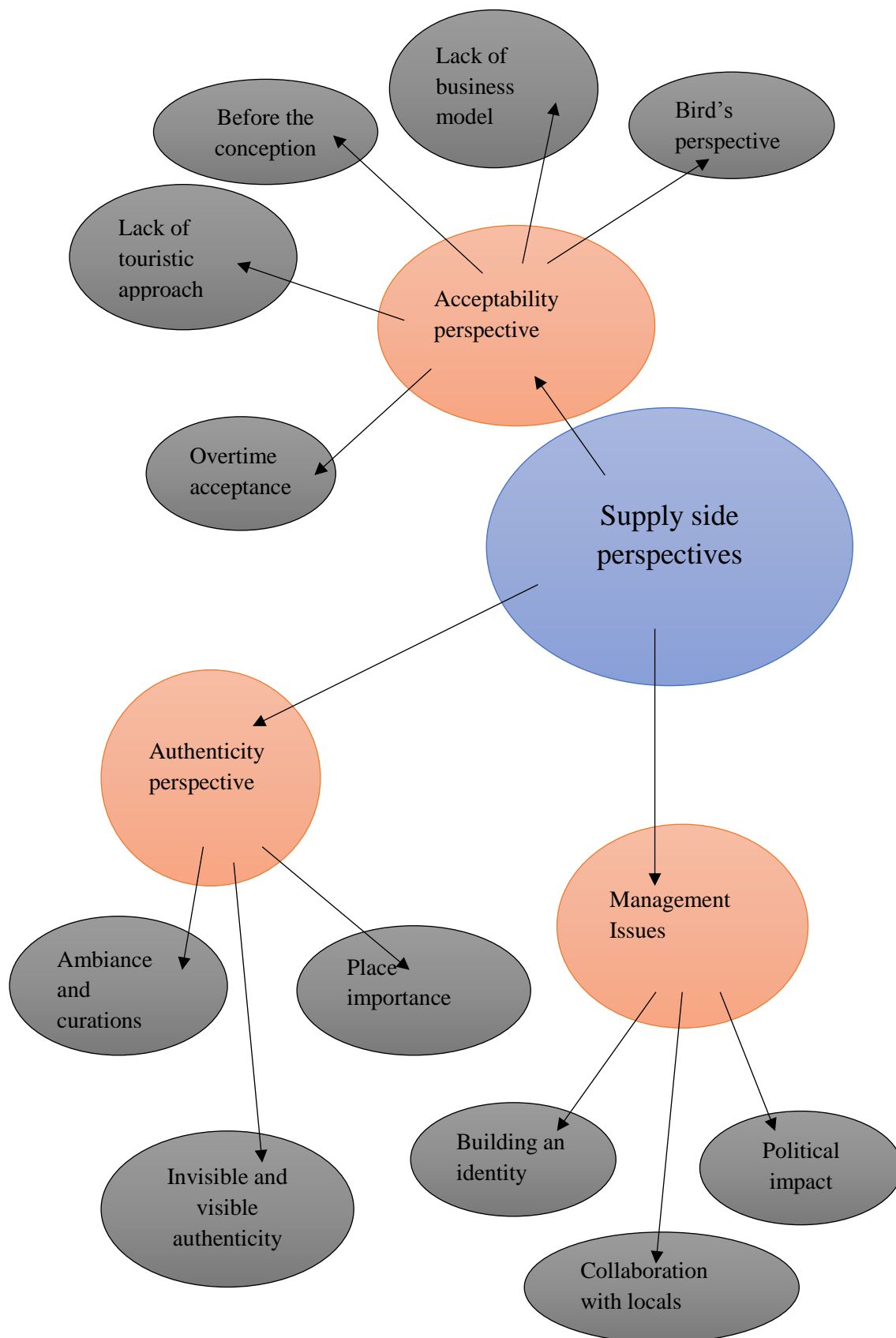
In another instant, the development of content was suggested to focus on information about what happened on that day and the surrounding ideas on different streams. Wright and Sharpley (2017) focused on the local tourist explaining the positive relationship between effective use of imagery and tourist experiences and interconnected between visitors and sites (Wright & Sharpley, 2017). This attribute was also seen in the findings, since the interviewees mentioned the existence of blank spots in the exhibition, providing a platform to visitors to find answers to some questions themselves while connecting them to unseen. The aesthetics was also mentioned by interviewees suggesting that the tour was not influenced by any sounds or background music giving it a more realistic essence. For instance, as mentioned by interviewees at one instant,

“...it is just the clean story... which also means they don’t give any context... so there are a lot of elements not explained, for example the window. There is a window... which points out where the car bomb was... you have to figure out on your own and things like this...”

4.2 Supply side perspectives

The analysis suggests three supply side perspectives or organizing themes., 1) acceptability, 2) authenticity, and 3) management related issues as shown in Figure 12. As shown in the figure, the first organizing themes is divided further into five, the second and the last into three facets. In the sections below, basic themes will be explained in detail with the direct quotes of the interviewees and considering the context of literature.

Figure 11. Thematic networks of second global theme (Supply side perspectives)



4.2.1 Perspective of acceptability

The perspective of acceptability is further divided in to five basic themes, 1) acceptability before the conception, 2) birds' perspective of presentation, 3) overtime acceptance, 4) lack of touristic approach, and 5) lack of business model. The interviewees discuss the acceptability factor in detail before the conception of the centre suggesting,

“...well there was some critical press prior to the opening, that also gathered some momentum in the general public because on Facebook someone opened a page, “No to Breivik’s Center” ... and it quickly gathered about 15000 in numbers...So people were really hesitant before it opened...”

The above statement introduced the ethical dilemma that the center faced before its establishment hence it is not wrong to suggest that the process of acceptance has been accompanied by many ethical issues from the locals. However, the notion of acceptability is not something new in dark tourism literature. As mentioned by Cochrane (2015), the dark tourist sites management enables or disables the peace building of society (Cochrane, 2015). For instance, Gillen (2018) also explained the same phenomenon suggesting the hype that sites related to death create which can be a hurdle for the local or effected population to accept its existence (Gillen, 2018) Since the event of July 22nd was so deeply rooted in Norwegian citizens and the center’s opening had a real small time difference to the event, the local population was not sure how to respond to the situation as they were direct stakeholders. The interviewees mentioned the same phenomenon when asked for the acceptability of the center. However, the data suggests that acceptability increased overtime as the visitors realized the neutrality of the information presented in the exhibition, as mentioned by one of the interviewees,

“...after the opening there was only positive reviews and then the things died down very quickly after that...”

Another finding relating to the accepting of the center deals with the explanation of the narratives, as one interviewee called it as *“bird’s perspective”*. Since the exhibition only used the curations from the court verdicts, the information was intentionally made very neutral to avoid any emotional contradictions. However, this was not always considered positive in terms of acceptance since one interviewee mentioned the demands of effected population vary from person to person. For instance, the silent room in the exhibition consisting of portraits of all the martyrs was still not filled because some of the families did not agree with the designing of the room or other features like that. Furthermore, the missing portraits filled because as the time passed, the families felt more comfortable to share their children’s portrait. As referred in another statement,

“...I think the time helps... we can’t expect anyone to be ready to give their child away to the public which I think some people feel it is ... and also you have people who disagree with the layouts of the room... like if they could have wanted, they would have wanted it differently.. like more pictures... or different kinds of pictures... more information, or not only pictures but also texts... it’s really hard to get 77 or more to agree...”

Another aspect which played a vital role in the acceptance of the center was its approach towards tourism. This finding, being of wide importance, introduced a new facet in dark tourism literature suggesting the fact that how different exhibitions or sites call themselves. For instance, in the current case, the word of “tourism” was never used, although

the center has been continuously visited by visitors all over the world. The main goal of the center, as mentioned before, was to promote education and learning for the society, yet the center's attributes connect widely with the literature of dark tourist sites. As mentioned by one of the interviewees,

“...we see ourselves as an educational site, and tourists are welcome course because we want to spread information about 22nd July to keep the conversations alive... but as a tourist site I don't think so... we don't see ourselves for entertainment purposes... It has to do with both ethical and main objectives of the center...”

Although, the above statement mentions the objectives as an answer for touristic approach, it also considers the ethical issues as well. This finding can be interpreted in a way that one of the main reasons of not calling the site as a touristic place is due to the issues of acceptance that government faced from the local population. This is further explained from the findings that suggest that lack of intention of commodifying and commercializing the center. The center, governed by Norwegian government, is also funded by the government itself resulting in no business model or visitation fees for the visitors. These findings provide the study with a completely new understanding of sites related to death and suffering and promotes the new concept of dark tourist sites.

4.2.2 Perspective of authenticity

Heuermann and Chhabra (2014) suggested five facets of authenticity in terms of supply side of dark tourism as discussed previously, 1) in terms of locations, 2) as social construct suited with market, 3) in terms of creating the balance, 4) creating an authentic version while understand the mind of visitors, and 5) existentialist (Heuermann & Chhabra, 2014). The

findings from the current study suggest the existence of authenticity in terms of location or in other words “*objectivist authenticity*” as mentioned by interviewees at different instances, for instance,

“...And the authenticity about the place, the exhibition is in the place where the attacks began, the damages from the bomb are still in the walls... so, you have the narrative and you have the physical wastage of what happened...and the bomb car is also there because of the authenticity...”

The findings also suggested the importance of curations and ambiance of the center providing authentic experiences to the visitors. For instance, findings suggest that curations used in the timeline of the event are taken directly from the court discussion without the addition of any personal perceptions creating a neutral argument. As mentioned by the interviewee at one instant,

“...because the curators had to do choices there, for example, they used text from the courts trial to be more neutral and possible, but still they made choices on what kind of topics they would have in that timeline, what kind of pictures to choose, for instance to have a timeline that begins with the explosion and ends with the verdict and the reaction of the person...”

However, at the same time, the findings suggest the existence of visible and invisible authenticity promoting the idea that no matter how neutral curators try to be, there always is a choice to make. For instance, Chen et al. (2017) suggested the ideas of distinctiveness and

continuity in terms of place identity arguing that these factors affect the attitudes of local population in positive or negative ways.

4.2.3 Issues related to management

The findings suggest three facets in terms of issues related to management, 1) building of an identity, 2) political impacts, and 3) collaboration with the local population. Interviewees suggested the importance of identity building overtime and being in a phase of continuous change in the exhibition models. The issue of identity is found to be directly related to the acceptance and authenticity of the centre. As mentioned by interviewees when asked for the future touristic of the centre,

“...we had hardly any identity when we opened. So, we have to build an identity first. The most logical way and where we are most needed now is towards the education center, and this center is needed for our future generation so we thought that we will try and purify elaborating our identity... this is not we are focusing right now...”

It can be suggested from this finding, that identity development plays a vital role in developing a positive image of societies associated with death and suffering and identification of new goals. It will be not wrong to suggest that overtime, with strong independent identity, sites can overcome the criticism from local population for making sites like these as dark sites as in many other cases, for instance holocaust museums which have been widely discussed in literature or the vent of 9/11 in America (Potts, 2012). Furthermore, the impacts of politics also found to be an interesting phenomenon which has been discussed by Stone (2006) in dark tourism literature. Stone (2006) argues that in terms of darkest sites, there is a huge political influence and impact on the management (Stone, 2006). However, in

this case, the political impact eases the acceptability of the centre by providing funds and not gaining financial benefit, which could have been a huge hurdle for the locals to accept. But at the same time, influence of politics can impact the functions of the site, even if the site focuses on education and learning. For instance, the interviewee mentioned,

“...we don't charge entrance...we are under that entity which is under the ministry. so, we are in political system, which makes it difficult to discuss political topics, because now political decisions often overwrite the educational decisions... not always but most commonly if it goes towards difficult topics...”

Finally, the findings suggest an increase importance on collaborating with the locals. As mentioned before, different people have different requirements and it is impossible to satisfy all the individual. Which in this case, shows the difficulty of creating a space satisfying the emotional stance of all the effected victims. However, the findings suggest a strong sense of collaboration with the locals where it can again be suggested that it might have helped in the acceptability of the center itself. For instance, an interviewee mentioned,

“...the whole center is made with very tight collaboration with the grieved families and the survivors... so you try and embrace all the narratives in a way, even this is a factual exhibition...”

5 DISCUSSIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

The main purpose of the current study was to explain different perspectives on dark tourism and dark tourist sites, especially with the reference of supply side of tourism while understanding the ethical dilemmas involved in it. Firstly, the conceptualization of dark tourism is made following explaining the dark tourist sites and the different researcher's point of views involved in it. Secondly, the concept of supply side of dark tourism was developed with a brief understanding of the demand side and the research involved in it. Finally, in order to relate theory to practical understanding, the sad case of July 22nd at Utøya in Norway was taken in consideration.

Three semi structured interviews were taken for data collection, which were then analyzed through Stirling's thematic analysis. Two global themes were identified during the analysis, 1) conceptualization of the site, and 2) supply side perspectives. The former theme was subdivided into three organizing themes, 1) goals and structure of a site, 2) visitor profiles, and 3) tour content. Whereas, the latter theme was also subdivided into three organizing themes, 1) acceptability perspective, 2) authenticity perspective, and 3) management issues. The semi-structured interview was built on Stone's attributes of dark sites from supply side perspective in the light to dark framework focusing on facets related to authenticity, acceptability, ethical debates and management related issues.

In order to conclude the findings, the last section of the study establishes arguments on the three research sub questions while trying to connect with theory. Furthermore, in the end the discussion concludes with a matrix adapted from the research of Sharpley (2005) with the explanation of sites through Stone's (2006) attributes and conceptualizing a new way of understating dark tourism sites. The following three sub questions are briefly explained in next sections;

- What is the existing literature on dark tourism and the variety of terms included in it?

- What is the existing literature on ethical dilemmas regarding dark tourism?
- How ethical issues are interpreted in the supply side of dark tourism?

5.1 What is the existing literature on dark tourism and the variety of terms included in it?

Although there exists a plethora of literature of dark tourism, the researchers for last two decades are still struggling to unanimously agree on one definition. The literature on dark tourism is still in the conceptual stage while defining what entails in the term. In this respect, authors have taken different stance concentrating on supply side, demand side, or the actual characteristics of the dark tourist site. Hence, the first sub question of the current study deals with explaining the concepts which have been used in the literature for last two decades. However, though the concept is still in definitional stage, its antecedents can be identified centuries ago where human death relationship has been investigated (Light, 2017). The fascination of death has been used in different contextual backgrounds in different fields of research ranging from historical pilgrimages to graveyards to psychological influences of death on humans.

However, in tourism literature, the word dark tourism or thanatourism was first coined by Foley and Lennon in 1996, where the authors explained the phenomenon as presentation or consumption of dark sites or sites associated with death (Foley & Lennon, 1996). Later on, Seaton (1996) furthered the concept by introducing the concept of symbolic interaction and fascination of visitors with death (Seaton, 1996). Though the historical evidence suggests the visitation of places related to death as an act of paying respect to dead from family and friend, Foley and Lennon (1996) while explaining the phenomenon in tourism context excluded family and friends, rather focusing on the conscious or unconscious factor of curiosity attached to certain places (Foley & Lennon, 1996). However, Rojek (1993) used the word

“black spots” to explain the same phenomenon of visitation of places related to death and misery (Rojek, 1993). However, some authors disagreed with the term “dark” and referred different concepts such as heritage tourism (Dann & Seaton, 2001).

The literature on definitional conceptualization of dark tourism is divided in to five major divisions (Light, 2017);

1. *Definitions based on practices:* Authors have identified different practices to define dark tourism arguing the reasons of visitation with a motive of remembrance, education, entertainment, humanity, understanding violence, or simply encountering death.
2. *Definitions based of places:* The concept of disaster sites, deprive sites, and sites of commemoration have been used in different contexts to explain the phenomenon of dark tourism.
3. *Definitions based on motivations:* Motivations were also a basic context used by authors for last two decades to explain the phenomenon of dark tourism. Main motivations mentioned in literature were symbolic encounters with death or for the sake of pleasure, entertainment and satisfaction.
4. *Definitions based on experiences:* Experiencing death with a notion of involuntary entertainment experience and understanding the impact of death has been contextualized to understand the phenomenon.
5. *Definitions based on heritage:* Finally, the term heritage has been replaced in dark tourism literature to define the phenomenon with reference to positive or negative legacies dead have left behind.

In order to understand what entails in dark tourism, authors have described the dark tourist sites in a variety of ways as well. The terms such as war tourism, phoenix tourism,

holocaust tourism, cemetery tourism, terrorism tourism, ghost tourism and prison tourism have been frequently used in literature to explain the phenomenon (Mencfel, 2016, p. 10). Tanas (2013) explained the phenomenon of explaining dark tourist sites into four leading characteristics, 1) the sites which are historically important promoting an aspect of education, 2) the sites which are effecting the current daily lives of people with varying experiences and motives, and 3) the sites which have been experienced by a huge mass and effected the lives of many communities, 4) finally, the sites which are associated to personal trauma and individuals feel personally attached to the event (Tanas, 2013). Furthermore, Tanas (2013), while conceptualizing the literature of dark tourist sites suggested shrines, graves, ossuary, rituals, monuments, battlefield, disaster, and museums/exhibitions as widely used concepts in dark tourism literature.

Thus, the existing literature on dark tourism and dark tourist sites from the above discussion suggests a variety of ideas mentioned by different scholars' overtime. However, even after two decades of the term's existence, the scholars could not agree with one single definition or defining characteristics of the phenomenon leaving a huge gap and a call for further understanding of what entails in it. It can be argued from the above discussion, that although there is no consensus on the definition of dark tourism, yet in order to understand the phenomenon for future research, it is of wide importance to understand the different perspectives. The varying definitions of dark tourism act as a backbone to future researchers to stand on the shoulder of scholars and develop new dimensions on the existing literature. The current study stands on the same argument suggesting a new concept (as mentioned in next sections) of dark tourism explaining a different way of understanding the dark tourism and dark tourist sites and what entails in it.

5.2 What is the existing literature on ethical dilemmas regarding the supply side of dark tourism?

In order to give perspective to the defining the concept, the authors have been exploring the demand and supply side of dark tourism. Generally speaking, demand side, evaluating the consumers perspectives, mostly deals with the tourist motives and interests to visit sites of suffering and disaster, whereas supply side deals with the perspectives of owners and suppliers and their motives to present a place of disaster. Due to the sensitive nature of these sites, the literature suggests a variety of ethical dilemmas that's supply side of dark tourism faces. One of the most common amongst them is the term of dark tourism itself. The generalization of calling all sites related to death and suffering into dark tourism faced a great deal of criticism in literature. Similarly, literature suggests a concern of suppliers to feel uncomfortable when their museum or exhibition was called something dark (Miles, 2002). Authors in this respect developed frameworks of defining dark sites into a paradigm of lighter to darker shades.

For instance, the study of Stone (2006) suggests different levels of darkness in dark tourism with different shades from lightest to darkest. This framework of Stone (2006) evaluated the dark sites in terms of nine different facets to determine its level of darkness (Stone, 2006);

1. Level of political influence and ideology.
2. Qualities of sites of death and suffering
3. Orientation towards education.
4. Focus on history.
5. Perception of authenticity and product interpretation.
6. Time scale to the event.
7. Authenticity of location.

8. The purposefulness of supply.
9. Tourism infrastructure.

On the basis of these nine facets, Stone (2006) defined seven types of dark sites, 1) dark fun factories, 2) dark exhibitions, 3) dark dungeons, 4) dark resting places, 5) dark shrines, 6) dark conflict sites, and 7) dark camps of genocide. Where, the first one stands (dark fun factories) on the lightest and last one (dark camps of genocide) being the darkest of the paradigm (Stone, 2006, p. 152-157). Furthermore, the darkest site was highly influenced by political ideologies, located in the place where event happened, historically authentic, has shorter time scale to the event, constitutes non purposeful supply and has lower tourism infrastructure. In another reference, Sharpely (2005) suggested a typology of dark tourism basing on the demand and supply side of dark tourism arguing the sentiment of calling all related sites as dark sites. Hence, the author suggested four types of sites in tourism related to darkness, 1) pale tourism, 2) grey tourism supply, 3) grey tourism demand, and 4) black tourism. Where pale tourism suggested limited demand and accidental supply, grey tourism supply shows purposeful supply but low demand, grey tourism demand focuses on higher demand, but accidental supply and finally black tourism explains higher demand and purposeful supply (Sharpely, 2005, p. 228).

Another argument prevailing in ethical debates is the authenticity and commodification of dark tourist sites or sites which present death and suffering as their basic product. Concerns about how authentic the history, experience and supply have been widely discussed by different scholars in literature. For instance, Mowatt and Chancellor (2011) suggested the importance of historically correct evidence to play a major role in affecting tourists' perceptions (Mowatt & Chancellor, 2011). At another instance, Oren and Shani (2012) suggested the importance of themes at sites and how that can influence the

experiences and post experiences of tourists (Oren & Shani, 2012). In terms of commodification, the question that how acceptable it is to take financial advantage of sites related to death and suffering has been also a topic of discussion. Ashworth and Hartmann (2005) argued the ethics of normalizing sites with horror and suffering normalizing the humanity with sensitive issues (Ashworth & Hartmann, 2005). Furthermore, many scholars explained the concern of usage of entertainment and deviation in these sites to attract more visitors and gain profit not realizing the effects on the authenticity and historic importance (Hewison, 1987).

Summarizing the literature, the ethical dilemmas in dark tourism, especially supply side, is discussed in three main paradigms, 1) authenticity, 2) acceptability, and 3) management related issues.

5.3 How ethical issues are interpreted in the supply side of dark tourism?

In order to relate the theoretical understanding of supply side of dark tourism, the sensitive case of July 22nd in land of Norway was taken in consideration. Findings suggest a detailed overview on how supply side of dark tourism is interpreted in real settings. However, the first question before starting this question is to ask is that even justifiable to call July 22nd centre a dark tourist site or even a tourist's site? Since the interviewees continuously used the word exhibition for the site without referring to any touristic approach, the whole idea of the current study come into question. In order to argue with this perception, this study presents two main factors of its relevance;

- Firstly, as discussed in the global theme of "*conceptualization of the site*", although the sites main goals are related to education and learning of student for younger age groups, the exhibition welcomes tourists from the world. Not that it only welcome, but July 22nd centre is a continuously visited by national tourists as well as

international tourists, as distant as Americans. Though the centre lacks touristic approach, it constitutes all the aspect of a tourist site or museum consisting of information, ambiance, historical evidence and existence of touristic artefacts.

- Considering the findings, the attributes mentioned by Stone (2006) for its darkest site synchronize with the qualities of case in discussion. For instance, July 22nd centre is founded to be a subsidiary of government and is governed by the active political party. The centre is related to the deaths of huge number of people and explains the trauma Norwegians suffered due to the attacks. Instead of focusing on commodification, the centre focuses on education and learning providing group discussions to youth. Furthermore, the centre of attention of the whole exhibition is to explain the historical evidence and keeping the memory alive for all the victims suffered. In addition to that, the time difference between the event and establishment of the centre is only four years. The location of the site is authentic in nature since it is designed the place where the actual bombing occurred. The supply, from the very beginning, was non purposeful where the management was establishing a temporary exhibition. Finally, the suppliers or management although welcomes all kind of tourists yet lacks any touristic approach in their model or operations.

Since the site has all attributes of a dark tourist site defined by authors in literature but is not called or referred as a dark site or even a tourist site suggest the involvement of ethical dilemmas. The findings suggest these ethical dilemmas in three paradigms, 1) acceptability, 2) authenticity and 3) management issues.

- Findings suggest the acceptability issues before and after the conception of the centre. Due to the sensitive nature of the event, findings suggest a very critical response from the local population before the centre was opened. However, after

the conception, the information provided in the exhibition resulted in positive feedback from the locals resulting in temporary existence of the centre with plans of making it permanent in future. Furthermore, another ethical concern was satisfied with the lack of business model and entrance fees from the supplier's side while avoiding concerns of commodification of sufferings. The suppliers of centre also ignored the touristic side of the exhibition focusing more on the education, learning and memory preservation which resulted in acceptability from the local population. Finally, overtime acceptance from the directly or indirectly effected victims was understood from the findings.

- Findings suggest the authenticity of the centre in two basic forms, 1) authentic curations, and 2) authentic location. All the content in the exhibition has been taken from the verdicts of the court while establishing a neutral standpoint without any personal interpretations. In addition to that, the centre established a neutral ground on ambiance as well while not adding any music or artificial surroundings further avoiding any ethical traumas from the local population. Finally, the centre is located at the place where the actual bombing occurred and contains artefacts which are gained during the event, for instance the bombed car.
- Finally, the existence of political impact, identity configuration and collaboration with locals suggest further ethical concerns that site faced. The centre is governed by the current political party and is continuously funded by the government to carry out its daily operation. Where the findings suggest the existence of political decisions in daily operations of the management. Secondly, findings also suggest the struggle of identity status of the site and its conceptualization overtime. Finally, another ethical consideration founded in analysis suggest a wide

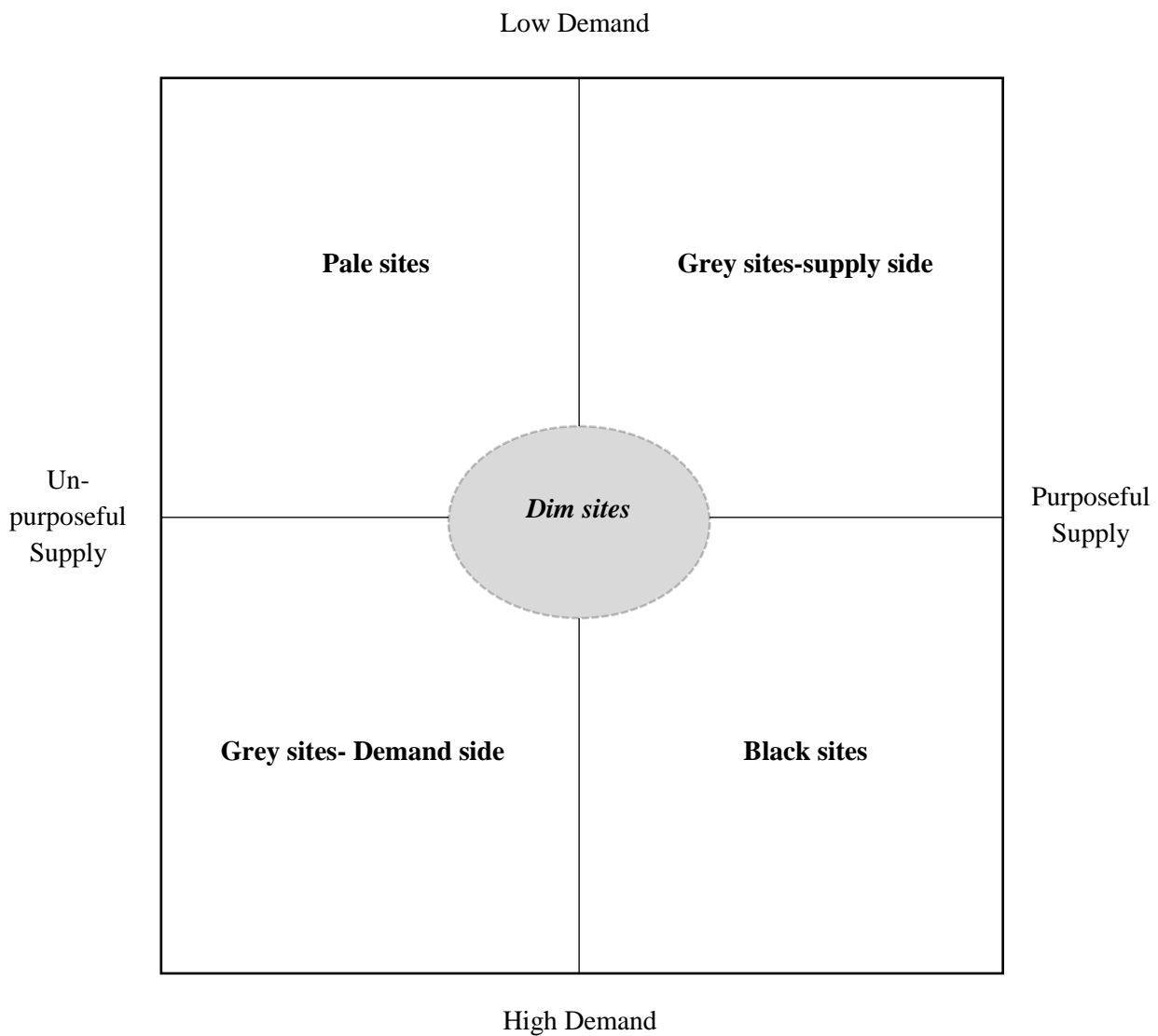
understanding of locals and collaboration with locals to create an exhibition which will not hurt any of the victim's emotions and feeling.

Understanding the ethical dilemmas founded through the case study analysis, this study takes a stance on redefining the term dark tourism and what entails in it. While agreeing with many scholars in the field, the study argues on what is dark and what is not and how ethical dilemmas define the site as dark or even touristic, although it has all attributes of the dark touristic site. In order to establish this argument further, the study employs a new way of understanding dark tourism while adapting the matrix suggested by Sharpley (2005).

5.3.1 A matrix of dark tourism introducing the blurry concept of dim sites

As mentioned in above section, the most profound ethical dilemma faced by supplier's side is the argumentation on what is dark and what is not. As mentioned before in literature section, Sharpley (2005) in this context explained four paradigms considering the demand and supply of sites, 1) pale sites, 2) grey sites supply, 3) grey sites demand, and 4) black sites. The sites were analysed by concentrating on the high and low levels of demand from the consumers side, and purposeful and purposeful supply from the management side. However, the matrix suggested by Sharpley (2005) does not employ the ethical dilemmas involved in defining sites. Hence, understanding the findings and analysis, this study introduces a new concept of "*dim sites*" while taking a middle stance focusing on the ethical considerations.

Figure 12. A matrix of dark tourism (adapted by Sharpley, 2005, p. 228)



5.3.1.1 *Pale sites*

Pale sites are those sites where the demand for the site from the consumers side is low and the supplier's intention is non purposeful. In this case, the sites do not focus largely on tourism and neither the consumers visit these sites with a perspective of tourism.

5.3.1.2 *Grey sites, demand and supply*

Whereas, grey sites are divided into two quadrants suggesting the focus on demand in the former and supply on the latter. Grey sites with the focus on demand have low purposeful supply but high demand from the consumer's perspective. However, grey sites with the focus on supply constitute low demand from the consumer's perspective.

5.3.1.3 *Black sites*

Black sites, considered as the darkest sites in literature, are those sites which constitute the fascination of death from both demand and supply side.

5.3.1.4 *Dim sites*

However, considering the findings, it cannot be suggested to put the current case in any of the above-mentioned facets. It will not be wrong to suggest that this dilemma is due to the ethical issues involved in the conceptualization of sites. Hence, the matrix suggested by Sharpley (2005) is employed through a new stance while suggesting the introduction of a blurry site taking the middle ground having the features of all the quadrants. The blurriness (showed with the dotted alignment) is termed as "*dim sites*", which are defined as,

"Dim sites are designed, consciously or unconsciously, with the motive to depict or present death or suffering without the conscious intention towards tourism yet depicting all attributes of a tourist site"

This new idea develops an understanding of literature while understanding the ethical issues from the supplier's perspectives and site's attributes from the Stone (2006) framework. The new concept employs both consciousness and unconsciousness of touristic approach,

where the unconscious part explains the ethical dilemmas involved and consciousness explains the intention of tourism.

5.5 Managerial implications

The study provides a profound understanding on dark tourism and dark tourist sites and what entails in these concepts. From the first question, the study proposes to develop an understanding on the constitution of dark tourism concept and argues about its definitional stance in the literature. The study further develops an idea, with the help of literature, that although there exists a plethora of knowledge on the concept, yet authors and practitioners are not able to come to a unified decision on what constitutes in it. One of the most pivotal managerial implication this study suggests is for the managers to understand and define the site according to their goals and missions. It is after this that the managers can deliver an authentic touristic experience to the mass minimizing ethical concerns at large. The second question implicates a wide understanding of ethical dilemmas faced by suppliers in this industry. The study develops an understanding of authenticity, acceptability, and management related issues which suppliers face during and after the progression of opening a site related to the darkness. However, as suggested by literature and findings, in many instances, the sites associated with death are mostly not even called as dark sites or even tourists' sites, although they have all the attributes of a dark tourist site. This study argues this phenomenon to be directly related to the ethical dilemmas these sites face before and after their conceptions.

It is suggested that this study coordinates with some of these ethical issues and gives an understanding to the managers to better understand their market, product and the understanding of different concepts of commodification and commercialization. Finally, one of the main contributions of this study is to reevaluate the definition of dark tourism or dark

tourist sites in specific. Considering the chosen case, the study finds that although the Centre has all attributes of a dark tourist site, yet it was not called or understood as a dark or a tourist's site. This reason can be argued due to the ethical concerns involved with this sensitive event and lack of touristic approach. In order to summarize the findings, the study provides a new way of understanding dark tourist sites and further coincides with the argument in the literature that all sites are not equally dark, and some sites are not even considered dark or touristic. These findings give a profound understanding of dark tourism to the managers leading them to individually understand their site's case without generalizing it.

5.6 Limitations and future research

Based on research, the study provides concerns for the generalizability of the findings over the mass. The study focuses on a very strange case, where the site being studied is not considered as the dark site, neither its business model is touristic. This provides the reader with a confusion on why to study this site at first place. Although, it is argued again and again in the study that the chosen case gives a symbolic representation of a dark tourist site, yet ethical dilemmas played a vital role. Hence, this study limits the concept of generalizability over the whole world because sites associated to death have variety of features. Furthermore, the study understands dark tourism on a very general scale without going deep into the literature requiring more critical research in the matter for future.

Another limitation attached to the sample size and selection argues for a bigger sample size and more random selection than the current study. The future research can concentrate on understanding this complicated case with bigger sample size both from the supply and demand perspective to understand the ethical dilemmas in more critical ways. Additionally, in terms of data analysis, the themes were established and analysed by one researcher raising concerns of reliability and introduces a bias error in this respect. Future

research is required to develop themes using a variety of ways to avoid biases. Further research is required to understand the dark tourists' sites and their definitional characteristics since all the sites cannot be placed in one bracket of darkness.

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