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Motivations and intentions for engaging in Dark Tourism

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Affidavit

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

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

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1   Abstract

The niche tourism, dark tourism, which involves destinations that are associated with destruction, disaster, and death, has gained popularity over the last few years. However, little research about people's motivations and intentions to engage in dark tourism has been done. As a result, this thesis focuses on finding possible driving forces and motivations to engage in dark tourism. It especially concentrates on one of the most prominent dark tourism destinations, the nuclear disaster zone in Chernobyl.

The exploratory research design was used to answer the research questions about the primary motivations to visit dark tourism sites as well as identify experienced emotions during the visits. In addition to that, both primary and secondary data were used to investigate this topic.

Firstly, academic literature was analyzed thematically. The findings show that general motivations to visit a dark tourism site are very difficult to detect, as they can vary immensely from person to person. Secondly, for the primary data, the qualitative approach was chosen. The data was collected through an online survey, which gathered information about the visit to the zone from twenty-five participants. The results show that there are four primary motivations to visit the nuclear disaster zone in Chernobyl. These motivations are photographic opportunities, interest in technology, educational reasons, and sheer curiosity. However, as the literature review already indicated, it is very difficult to determine general motivations for traveling to a dark tourism site. In addition to that, the primary experienced emotion on-site, excitement, was determined. Even though a few primary motivations could be categorized, motivation is very dependent on the individual. All findings and their implications are presented and discussed at the end of the thesis.

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4   Introduction

Places, such as the 9/11 Memorial in New York, the exploded nuclear plant in Chernobyl, the Auschwitz Memorial death camp or the Khmer Rouge killing fields in Cambodia recognize a high number of visitors each year (Sheppard, 2020). Many of the people visiting these places do not know that they all have one thing in common: they are all dark tourism destinations. Dark tourism, also known as thanatourism (Seaton, 1996), blackspot tourism (Rojek, 1993) or morbid tourism (Blom, 2000), is a kind of tourism, that has already been existent for a long time but has just recently gained more academic attention. Locations that are associated with destruction, disaster as well as death have always attracted people. However, it seems that since the demand for traveling has risen, the number of dark tourism tourists has also steadily increased (Sharpley, 2009).

A great demonstration of this rise is the 9/11 memorial at Ground Zero in New York City, which had more than 4.5 million visitors within its first year open (Thornber, 2018). In addition to that, the abandoned city of Pripyat, which is located close to the radioactive nuclear plant in Chernobyl, which exploded in 1986, has gained immense popularity over the past three years. This is partly due to the fact, that the HBO miniseries "Chernobyl" had aired. After the release, many people became aware of the opportunity of guided tours in the area and the number of tours started increasing (Street, 2019). These two are just a few examples of dark tourism sites, which can be found worldwide in nearly every country nowadays (Krisjanous, 2016). This is due to the fact that dark tourism locations can be anything from war-related sites to museum attractions (Stone, 2006).

Even though there have been quite a few studies conducted on this topic, there seems to remain a research gap about the general motivations that influence tourists to visit dark tourism sites. Especially, when it comes to the nuclear disaster zone in Chernobyl. While visitor numbers have increased, little to no research on the visitor's motives to visit such places has been done. Stone (2005) mentions in one of his books that it is very difficult to figure out the general motivations and intentions of people traveling to such destinations because they vary immensely. A few attempts identify curiosity

(Ashworth, 2004), interest in death (Seaton, 1996), the desire of learning and understanding bygone tragedies (Stainton, 2020) as well as entertainment purposes (Stone, 2006) as possible motivations. Nevertheless, these motivations have not been declared as concrete answers.

To close the mentioned research gap, the thesis aims to detect possible motivations to visit dark tourism sites as well as contribute to and extant secondary literature. The contribution will be in the following areas. Firstly, possible driving forces and motivations of dark tourism trips will be demonstrated. Secondly, general interests and reasons for visiting dark tourism destinations will be presented for a better and clearer understanding of the visitor's motives. Thirdly, learning about the visitor's experience and attempting to figure out which emotions the tourist experience while visiting the site.

4.1   Problem Definition

The tourism industry is one of the biggest and fastest-growing industries. Travel and tourism contributed 2.9 trillion U.S. dollars to the global economy in 2019 (Lock, 2020). There are many different types and categories of tourism within this industry. One of them being dark tourism. As the interest in this niche tourism increased so did the number of travelers visiting dark tourism destinations (Kozak and Bahçe, 2006 cited in Sert, 2017). However, it seems that behind this niche a research gap exists, regarding interest and motivation. This could be due to the fact that dark tourism is a rather young and unexplored topic (Yan et al., 2016) and little academic literature exists. For this reason, the author explores the topic in-depth with a focus on the demand side of dark tourism.

Many different elements can affect a tourist's motivation to travel to a destination. Escaping daily life routine, educational or entertainment reasons are just a few of the mentioned elements (Krippendorf, 1987). Most people prefer traveling to places that bring joy and happiness. Nevertheless, studies show that dark sites have gained more attention and realized higher visitor numbers (González, 2018). It is, therefore,

especially interesting to figure out why visitor numbers have increased. Even though a few researchers attempted to identify dark tourists' behavior and their motivation to visit a place that is associated with death and suffering, no concrete answers have been provided yet. This could be because motivation varies immensely on the individual and can sometimes be difficult to identify (Kang et al., 2012).

4.2   Research Aim

The primary aim of this research was to identify the main motivations of people engaging in dark tourism as well as finding out which emotions the visitor experiences during the visit. As Stone (2006) mentions in his book, to understand the phenomenon of dark tourism, the driving forces and motivations of visitors need to be identified first. Therefore, author of the thesis decided to investigate the following two research questions:

- What are a visitor's motivations to travel to a dark tourism site?
- What emotions does the visitor experience when visiting a dark tourism site?

The author decided to use field-related literature as well as a survey to answer the research questions. Moreover, a qualitative research approach was chosen. Since there is little academic literature available for the motivations of travelers and the experienced emotions, an online survey was created and distributed online. The survey reached 15 nationalities. In addition to the gathered data from the survey, academic sources have been used to compare and better explain the results.

5 Literature Review

5.1 The Rise of Dark Tourism

The World Travel & Tourism Council (WTTC) has declared tourism as one of the largest and most profitable industries worldwide. Each year the industry provides a big part of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) (Statista, 2019). The main reason for traveling is the escape from work and daily life. People are looking for new experiences, which are more thrill-seeking and something extraordinary (Niemelä, 2010). Especially, the new generation, which includes the middle class and individual travelers, are trying to find niche tourism sectors, in order to experience something special and to escape mass tourism. This generation enjoys learning and discovering, which is reflected in their destination decisions (Verma, 2013).

One kind of niche tourism that has steadily developed over the past few years is dark tourism. Dark tourism has been existent for many years, however, Lennon and Foley named and introduced the term to the literature only in 1996. At this point, the term has found its general meaning and has been used frequently in their work. Four years later they both associated dark tourism with places, that have a connection to genocide, war, assassination, or any other tragic event (Lennon and Foley, 2000). As mentioned before, this niche has been existent for many years. This is represented by the fact that, humankind has always been drawn to places, sites, and events that are associated with suffering, disaster, violence, and death in one way or another (Stone, 2005 cited in Stone, 2009). Stone (2006) continues by stating that for as long as we can think of people have been fascinated with death, it does not matter if it is their own or others. It is argued that the reasons for that are a mixture of curiosity, respect as well as superstition. An early example for this is the Roman gladiator games, which took place at the Colosseum (Stone, 2006). According to Boorstin (1964), people have gone on tours to witness the hanging of criminals as early as 1838, in England. The hangings were originally made public to warn others, however, some execution sites, such as the Tyburn in London, used the opportunity and offered special seats where people would have a better viewpoint of the occurrence to voyeurs (Stone, 2006).

Nearly a century later, some of the biggest and most cruel wars occurred. Sites, where wars or genocide took place have also gained more visitor attention over the last few decades e.g. concentration camps and former battlefields (González, 2018). Additionally, Smith (1998) suggests that locations that are associated with war contribute the biggest category of dark tourism attractions worldwide. From these examples, it can be stated that there are many various sites that can be classified as dark tourism sites (González, 2018). Furthermore, González (2018) mentions that places related to cruelty and terror such as battlefields, prisons as well as concentration camps are now world-class tourism attractions.

Finally, the growth in the dark tourism industry is due to the rise in tourism in general. The increase and gained attention are because of various factors, including increased fame, concerns by people and the events that took place there (Seaton, 1996). The sharp increase in dark tourism and these sites can be demonstrated by various examples. One of them being the Cambodian killing fields. The number of visitors has tripled within the last decade. More than 800 people have visited the site each day in 2017 (Sheppard, 2020). Whereas the years before that there would only be around 100 visitors daily (Dunn, 2017). Another example for the increase, is the Auschwitz-Birkenau concentration camp in Poland. Recent studies show that the number of visitors at Auschwitz has steadily been going up. 2.320.000 people from all over the world have visited the former German Nazi concentration and extermination camp in 2019. About 170,000 people more than the year before (Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial, 2020).

Due to the increase in attention, the supply of dark tourism sites has also risen steadily over the last half-century (Farmaki, 2014). Farmaki (2014) continues by mentioning that people became aware of the opportunity to commercialize and commoditize (Verma, 2013) any sites over the years. Seaton (1996) also mentions that organizations are trying to improve the marketing aspects of dark sites in order to profit from them. As a result, companies are developing and marketing partially new attractions according to customer wants. Hence, the locations are noticeably more advertised than they used to be and reach a much wider audience nowadays (Farmaki, 2014). Additionally, Foley and Lennon (1996) mentioned that wherever a destination

or event received attention via the mass media, such as newspapers or television, the probability that it already is or will be turned into a dark tourism site is quite high. Seaton (1996) adds that the media plays quite an important role when it comes to marketing these sites, as it can increase the attention drastically.

For many people traveling to these sites means learning about forgone events and tragedies and how they could possibly be prevented in the future. Others, however, feel that these sites and kind of tourism are being exploited. When talking about exploitation, it is important to mention that not all dark destinations are being exploited. Moreover, the exploitation is largely dependent on two factors. One being the visitor's interest and fascination in death. The second one, is the site itself and its supply, in terms of purposely trying to satisfy the visitor's interest and fascination (Sharpley, 2005). There are a few examples, representing the exploitations. One of them was a local farmer in Pennsylvania. He decided to offer tours called 'Flight 93 Tour', for $65 per person after the terror attack 9/11. He would take people to the site where one of the hijacked aircrafts - the United Airlines Flight 93 – had crashed and showed them around (Aicken et al., 2006). Another example has been given by residents in Indonesia, that claim that tourists steal their cultural relics and burial gifts. This is attributable to the fact that each year, thousands of tourists visit the funeral processions in Indonesia. During these visits some of the visitors are taking advantage and steal residents personal belongings (Coote, 2010). Finally, the gift shops at and near the Ground Zero Memorial have also been highly criticized for selling various souvenirs, from t-shirts and caps to magnets (Wills, 2020; Croote, 2010).

5.2 A Definition of Dark Tourism

In order to fully understand the concept of dark tourism, this chapter provides various definitions about dark tourism as well as a clear definition of tourism in general. Moreover, different categories for dark places and an explanation of the difference between dark and pale tourism are further illustrated.

Walton (2020) defines tourism as the act and process of spending time away from home in order to achieve some kind of recreation, relaxation, and pleasure while making use of the commercial provision of services. The United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) (2008) provides the following definition: "Tourism is a social, cultural and economic phenomenon which entails the movement of people to countries or places outside their usual environment for personal or business/professional purposes. These people are called visitors (which may be either tourists or excursionists; residents or non-residents) and tourism has to do with their activities, some of which imply tourism expenditure" (UNWTO, 2008, para. 1). The UNWTO (1995) defines three main types of tourism: domestic, inbound, and outbound. Domestic tourism appears when a person travels within his/her country. Inbound tourism is tourism in which travelers from overseas come into a country. Lastly, outbound tourism happens when residents of the country travel to another country (The Henley College, n.d.). Additionally, there are further classifications of tourism: nature, cultural, educational, and hobby-based tourism. These classifications can be further divided into subcategories, such as botanical tourism, nature tourism, ethical tourism, festival tourism, youth tourism, shopping tourism and many more. Dark tourism is a subcategory of culture-based tourism (Kozak and Bahçe, 2006 cited in Sert, 2017).

Many researchers have defined the term dark tourism, however there is no universally agreed definition. Mancinelli and Palou (2016) defined the term as "a travel niche developed around the historical value of sites of death and tragedy" (p. 167). In addition to that, Tarlow (2005) described it as those "visits to places where tragedies or historically noteworthy death has occurred and that continue to impact our lives" (p. 48). Stone (2009) mentions that regarding the long history of dark tourism it is

astounding that it took so long to gain academic attention. In the mid-2000s, the topic of dark tourism has gained more attention in the academic field and reached a wider audience. Many researchers have tried to define this tourism that is associated with death and atrocities. Rojek (1993) came up with the term blackspot followed by Blom (2000) who called it morbid tourism. Furthermore, Seaton (1996) introduced the term 'thanatourism'. The term derives from the Greek word Thanatos and translates to the personification of death (Johnson, 2012). After further research, Seaton published five different categories of places and activities that describe thanatourism, in 1996.

- Traveling to a public "death in progress" (execution)
- Visiting mass or individual death sites, after the incident (e.g. Holocaust concentration camps)
- Attending memorial sites (cemeteries and catacombs)
- Looking at actual materials and evidence, at a different place as the occurrence (museums)
- Visiting re-enactments or simulations of death (Battlefield) (Seaton, 1996)

Ashworth (2004) stated that to define a site as a dark tourism attraction and to be able to make a profit from it, it has to fulfill four characteristics. First, there must be a human perpetrator as well as a human victim. Only if these two are given, tourists can identify themselves or other people as perpetrators or victims. The Rwandan genocide demonstrates this quite well. Visitors can walk through local churches where the remains of thousands of victims lie. It is said that the tour guides there do not put the visitors completely into the role of perpetrators, but the perpetrator is still very visible (Robb, 2009). Second, it is necessary that the victim is innocent and overpowered in the situation, whereas the perpetrator is intendedly acting in a certain way e.g., the Auschwitz-Birkenau concentration camp (Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum, 2021). In this category it is especially cruel that the victim is conscious of the perpetrator's act. The third characteristic describes the fact that, what happened at the site or the site itself, attracts people. The more unusual and bizarre it is, the more attention the site gains e.g., the Chernobyl nuclear disaster zone (Staiton, 2020). Finally, the fourth characteristic is the fact that cruelty is an event, that requires knowledge and

memorability to know and remember. An unknown site can only be used limited, and therefore the full potential cannot be reached. It is important that the imagination of the visitors is captured and will be the main event. The event will be remembered on-site as well as at a later point in time. Ashworth (2004) suggests that this leads to an advantage for more recent events, due to the fact that survivor's memories as well as the utilization of global distribution techniques, are easily accessible. An example for a rather more recent event is the 9/11 memorial and museum attraction. Due to the fact that the terrorist attack happened in 2001, there are still many people who witnessed the attack in person ana are able to talk about it with others (Hohenhaus, 2021).

Apart from these categories it is very important to mention that there is also a clear distinction within dark tourism as a whole. Having said this, not all dark tourism sites can be put within the same category and are equally 'dark'. There are three types, the dark/black tourism, pale tourism as well as grey tourism. The dark/black and pale type are both dependent on the visitor's interest as well as the intention of the visited place (González, 2018). Moreover, the intensity of darkness of the site can be determined by the supply and the demand. Pale tourism can be identified as a place where the interest in death is limited, and the site is not intended to be a tourist attraction. An example for this are graveyards or churches (Oddens, 2016). Black tourism or better known as dark tourism can be identified with places that purposely supply an experience and an interest in death. Examples for black tourism include the Auschwitz-Birkenau concentration camp or the nuclear disaster zone in Chernobyl. Finally, grey tourism - which is divided into the grey tourism demand and supply (Oddens, 2016). It is said that the grey tourism demand comes from people who have great motivation to visit a destination, that does not intend to represent dark tourism (González, 2018). In other words, tourists who are fascinated with death attend unintended dark tourism sites. An example for grey tourism demand is the Canterbury Cathedral. People can visit the exact spot where Bishop Thomas Becket was murdered (Oddens, 2016). The grey tourism supply, on the other hand, is focused on locations where death and suffering are intentionally exploited. According to González (2018), people who are visiting grey tourism places have a certain motivation to engage in

dark tourism. In other words, the motivation and interest in death exists to a certain degree, but certainly is not the main and dominate reason for visiting the site. An example for this would be the Colosseum in Rome and various Christian catacombs (Oddens, 2016). In the case of the Colosseum, people are visiting because it is the main symbol of Rome and the biggest amphitheater worldwide (Mariana, 2019). Being built in 80 AD and remaining in a good condition until today, is just one more reason why visitors are fascinated with the site (De Giulio, 2021). In addition to that, many visitors are also interested in the gladiator games that took place many centuries ago (Mariana, 2019). This is where the site becomes a grey tourism site. The main reason for visiting the site are not the gladiator games but rather the history or architecture, however a certain interest in the games and involved death is also existent.

To further facilitate the understanding of dark tourism destination and the different classifications, there are a few concepts that have been developed. These concepts also help to define the site more precisely when it comes to how dark it really is and provide a better overview of dark tourism as a whole. In 1998, Dann was the first person to create a construct to differentiate the main forms of dark tourism. The five categories he came up with are perilous places, houses of horror, fields of fatality, tours of torments as well as themed Thanatos. In addition to the mentioned categories, Dann (1998) developed eleven subcategories, which provide a further differentiation of the current sites and their characteristics (Stone, 2006). The categories are towns of terror, dangerous destinations, dungeons of death, heinous hotels, bloody battlegrounds, the hell of Holocaust, cemeteries for celebrities, mayhem and murder, the now notorious, morbid museums, monuments to morality (Dann, 1998). However, the two most important and frequently used concepts are 'The Dark Tourism Spectrum' by Strange and Kempa (2003) as well as the 'Seven dark Suppliers' by Stone (2006). These different concepts will be explained in more detail in the subsequent chapters.

5.2.1 A Dark Tourism Spectrum

Strange and Kempa (2003) first introduced a differentiation between 'lighter' and 'darker' tourism sites. Due to the fact that 'dark' is a very broad name for this kind of tourism, it was useful to introduce a scale, which helped to distinguish the different positions of sites within dark tourism as a whole. Stone (2006) says that dark tourism products are distributed on a fluid and energetic range, on which some sites are classified as darker than others. The classifications are always depending on the characteristics, perceptions as well as product traits. Figure 1 shows that there is a clear distinction between the darkness of dark tourism, represented by the different shades.
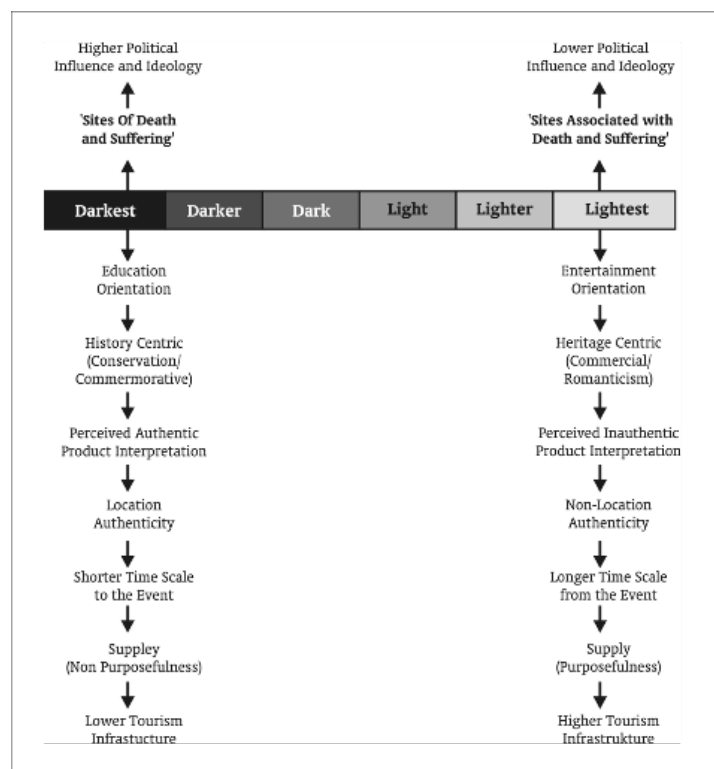

Figure 1: Shades of Dark Tourism (Stone, 2006)

Miles (2002) created this scale to show the difference between the levels of dark tourism locations. Evidently, not all destinations have the same level of darkness. The scale ranges from darkest, describing sites of death and suffering, to lightest, describing sites that are only associated with death and suffering. Therefore, Miles

(2002) suggests that dark touristic sites must have a certain empathy between the visitor and the past victims of the site. Having said this, the further a site is categorized on the left, the more educational purpose it provides. These sites are also more authentic when it comes to location, product interpretation and are more history centric. The lighter sites are more focused on entertainment for tourists, which makes it less authentic (Stone, 2006). This is also confirmed by MacDonald (1997), as he mentioned that it is important to make sure that the sites still remain authentic since many sites are very commercial oriented. In order to get a better understanding of the scale, an example would be the difference between the Auschwitz-Birkenau death camp site and the US Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington DC. More than a million people have died at the Auschwitz-Birkenau concentration camp. People can visit the very same place where all the cruelty happened, meaning that it is positioned at the very left on the scale – the darkest (Stone, 2006). The US Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington DC represents the exact opposite of the Auschwitz-Birkenau death camp site. Due to the fact that the museum in Washington DC is merely associated with death, it is positioned at the very right of the scale. In order to provide a visualization of the sites, they are showcased with the following figures. Figure 2 shows the Auschwitz-Birkenau death camp site and Figure 3 represents the US Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington DC.

Figure 2: Auschwitz-Birkenau Death Camp Site (Xiquinhosilva, 2010)

Figure 3: US Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington DC (Kalina, 2013)

As it can be seen from Figure 2, some of the original buildings and fences are still at the site and can be visited by tourists. The building of the museum in Washington, on the other hand, was only built with the purpose of becoming the museum. Another example is the London Dungeon. A scary tourist attraction can be categories as lightest because it does not have much in common with real death and suffering but is more for entertainment purposes says MacDonald (1997). Figure 4 shows the entrance of the London Dungeon.

Figure 4: The London Dungeon Entrance (Malditofriki, 2005)

Additionally, Sharpley (2005) suggests that different shades could be identified, depending on the intensities of purpose with respect to the supply and consumption of dark tourism. Moreover, it is important to keep in mind that some attractions and

exhibitions are developing concepts to exploit the visitor's interest and fascination with death and suffering, which leads to the demand and supply (Sharpley, 2005). Stone (2006), goes further on by suggesting that the supply of sites, which were not purposely built or opened to visitors, and not intended to attract them, are probably categorized as the darkest form on the dark tourism spectrum. These sites also have a limited tourism infrastructure, i.e. the murder sites in Soham, UK. Having said this, it also argued that more recent events related to death and suffering are received as darker, due to the fact that witnesses of the tragic event are transporting the live memory by surviving (Miles, 2002). In summary, this spectrum intends to declare sites with different characteristics, such as the degree of political influence, how high the affiliation with death is and how much educational purpose the location has.

5.2.2   Seven Dark Suppliers

Besides the dark tourism spectrum, the seven dark suppliers are also often used to classify places. For this reason, will this subchapter explain in more detail the seven different categories when it comes to dark tourism sites, according to Stone (2006). The categories are "Dark Fun Factories", "Dark Exhibitions ", "Dark Dungeons", "Dark Resting Places", "Dark Shrines", "Dark Conflict Sites", and "Dark Camps of Genocide". It is important to mention that each of these seven categories can be perceived differently depending on the location in the world and the person visiting. Additionally, some of the categories are multi-layered and they are dependent on the micro and macro environment (Stone, 2006).

5.2.2.1   *Dark Fun Factories*

Sites, tours, and other attractions that are classified as d*ark fun factories* typically have the purpose to entertain their visitors. Additionally, these factories focus on commercializing the event, since they often take over a high amount of the tourism infrastructure. Sites in this category frequently amenitize death and are therefore also more family friendly (Stone, 2006). The best example for a *dark fun factory* attraction

would be the 'Dracula Park' in Romania (BBC News, 2003). The park is based on the real-life 'Vlad the Impaler'. A person who used to torture and kill his prisoners (Minic, 2012). Having said this, it is a socially acceptable attraction where visitors can experience simulated death and suffering in a rather fun way. This specific category can be counted as the lightest form of dark tourism on the dark tourism spectrum (Stainton, 2020).

5.2.2.2 Dark Exhibitions

The second category is *dark exhibitions.* This category normally refers to sites as well as exhibitions that focus on learning opportunities for its visitors. Dark exhibitions also focus on the educational purpose and message of a product that revolves around death and suffering (Stainton, 2020). These kinds of sites can repeatedly be perceived as rather controversial since they also focus on making a profit, which involves a certain degree of the tourism infrastructure. Moreover, *dark exhibitions* can be found on the rather darker side of the tourism spectrum as they are more serious than *dark fun factories* for instance (Stone, 2006). The Smithsonian Museum of American History did an exhibition of the 911 attack, which displayed different images and artifacts. This exhibition is a great example of *dark exhibitions* (Smithsonian Museum of American History, n.d.).

5.2.2.3 Dark Dungeons

Dark dungeons include sites and attractions that revolve around former prisons and courthouses as well as represent bygone penal and justice codes (Stone, 2006). These destinations not only focus on the entertainment aspect but also on the educational aspect (Phuong, 2020). In addition to that, these sites are greatly commercialized, have a high degree of tourism infrastructure, and are established at locations, which were not originally intended for dark tourism (Stainton, 2020). Furthermore, *dark dungeons* are located in the middle of the dark tourism spectrum, which means that they have a mixture of dark and light elements (Stone, 2006). An example for *dark dungeons* is the Bodmin Jail Centre in Cornwall, UK. Visitors are able to go into the dungeon, which is located underground, and find some of the many crimes and punishments of ancestors (Bodmin Jail, 2003).

5.2.2.4   Dark Resting Places

The fourth category has its focus on cemeteries and grave markers, which can be used as potential dark tourism sites. In today's society cemeteries are often romanticized and are a rather macabre tool used to attract visitors. These places are frequently used as mechanisms to attract many visitors and preserve the structural integrity of the landscape as well as the architecture. Lastly, they are also used to sustain the ecology of the local environment (Meyer & Peters, 2001). Due to the rise of popularity of the internet and dedicated tour guides, these places have gained immense popularity. *Dark resting places* offer their visitors a way to interact with death in a more charming way. Therefore, this category is in the middle of the dark tourism spectrum with light and dark elements. The Père-Lachaise in Paris is the biggest and most visited cemetery, with over two million visitors annually and thus is a great example. Even though, this site is mainly used for funerals it was decided to build an open-air museum and pantheon garden, as it is the biggest park in Paris (Stone, 2006). An example for a more commercialized *dark resting place* is the 'Dearly Departed' tour in Hollywood. The tour offers visitors information on the deaths and murders of celebrities but still makes sure to include fun as well as present the tour in a relaxed atmosphere (Dearly Departed Tour, n.d.).

5.2.2.5   Dark Shrines

Sites that are constructed short after and close to where a death happen are categorized as *dark shrines*. These sites can be formal or informal. Due to the quick construction after a death occurs, they are positioned at the darkest side of the dark tourism spectrum. Particularly through the media, *dark shrine* places frequently gain high attention and political awareness, which usually do not last very long. A typical sign of a *dark shrine* site are floral tributes (Stone, 2006). Many people who have no direct relationship to the victim often place the floral tributes as mourners and as a sign to pay their respects (Phuong, 2020). The majority of *dark shrines* have no tourism purpose and therefore have little tourism infrastructure (Stone, 2006). A great example for this category is the *dark shrine* that was constructed for Princess Diana after her death in 1997. Said shrine was built around the gates of Kensington Palace and attracted millions of people. Later on, it was degraded and rebuild at the Althorp

House, which now includes an award-winning exhibition and attracts many visitors (Freundel, 2017).

5.2.2.6 Dark Conflict Sites

Due to the great number of wars and battlefields, Smith (1998) suggested that sites, destinations as well as attractions related to warfare should be considered as a big component of the tourism attraction market. However, *dark conflict sites* are mainly focused on educational and reminiscent purposes as well as history centric. This means that this category is located at the rather darker side of the dark tourism spectrum. Nevertheless, many people saw their chance to make a profit with these sites and therefore, many old battlefields are highly commercialized (Stone, 2006). The Solomon Island is an outstanding example for this commercialization. People are advertising its beautiful beaches, where remains of the Second World War can still be found (Panakera, 2007). In addition to that, there are also organized reenactments of battlefields. These events are bringing history to life and the brutal battlefield killings are made more attractive for the participants as no one is getting hurt or killed. As a result of this commercialization these sites can also be positioned on the rather lighter side of the dark tourism spectrum (Stone, 2006).

5.2.2.7 Dark Camps of Genocide

The seventh and last category is *dark camps of genocide*. These sites are located at the very end of the darkest side of the dark tourism spectrum. The reason for that, is that these places are all related to cruelty, genocide, or big catastrophes. Due to the fact that these sites are very dark, there are not many places, travelers can visit. However, if people decide to visit such locations, they will most likely have a very emotional experience (Stone, 2006). *Dark camps of genocide* tell the horrible stories of death and the cruel suffering of humans (Stainton, 2020). There is no event like the Holocaust that represents this better. The Auschwitz-Birkenau former concentration camp has been turned into a museum and the old building can be visited by people (Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum, 2021). The Holocaust is the most frequently known kind of 'dark tourism' as it is often used in the mass media (Stone, 2006).

5.3   Motivations to Engage in Dark Tourism

5.3.1   Difference between Motivations to Engage in Tourism and Dark Tourism

Motivation is the desire or need of a person that leads to taking an action, that will most likely result in satisfaction (Heitmann, 2011). As motivation leads to many different decisions, one of them to traveling, it is necessary to list and explain them. This chapter, therefore, first describes motivation to travel and take a holiday and will be followed by motivations that influence people to engage in dark tourism. In the case of tourism, motivation leads to the desire of taking a vacation. The psychological need can often be the reason for people feeling the motivation to travel to certain destinations. Hence, motivations are our internal individual wants, desires as well as needs (Crompton & McKay, 1997). It is important to mention that society also has a huge influence on our decisions and motivations (Heitmann, 2011).

Tourist behavior has been the subject of many research studies so far. Nonetheless, there still remains a lack of a universally agreed definition for the motivations of a tourist. Beard and Raghob (1983) came up with four major motivation constituents. The first component is the intellectual one. It is used to figure out to which extent the traveler is motivated to learn, explore as well as imagine. The second component is the social component. It revolves around the desire for friendships and romantic relationships. The third component is the competence-mastery type and takes into consideration the motivation to complete challenges and compete with others, through physical activities. The fourth and last component is the stimulus avoidance component. This represents the fact that some people have no desire at all to travel somewhere or take a holiday (Swarbrooke & Horner, 2007). It is also important to mention that the travel motives can change depending on the personal lifespan and previous holiday experiences (Bowen & Clark 2009). The whole tourism industry relies on motivating people to travel to different destinations. Studies show that there are many different reasons why people travel, for instance, the desire to escape their daily routine and life process represents one such a reason. People enjoy taking a break from their day-to-day life and like to experience something new and exciting.

Coltman (1989) describes the motivation to travel as personal fulfillment, travelers want to reach. Having this in mind, it was found that traveling works as a break or relaxation (Coltman, 1989) and is a way to escape the daily routine and life process (Krippendorf, 1987). Another motivation is the desire to experience oneself. People often want to self-explore, be excited to learn about new things, and socially interact with others. This is also represented in Crompton's seven different classifications for traveling motives, which he created in 1979. These classifications include escaping daily routines, avoiding socially acceptable roles, raising status, self-evaluation, improving relationships with the family, relaxing as well as increasing social interaction (Albanese & Boedeker, 2003). Krippendorf (1987) adds another eight motivations that lead to travel to desire to travel. These eight motivations are recuperation and regeneration, escape, freedom and self-determination, happiness, self-realization, communication, compensation and lastly broadening of the mind.

Nevertheless, there is also a different view on tourism motivation by Sharpley (2006). He mentions that it is very difficult to figure out what the exact motivations are since people often do not know themselves why they have the desire to travel somewhere.

The difference between the travel motivation in general and the motivation for traveling to dark tourism sites can vary depending on the individual traveler (Niemelä, 2010). Furthermore, many people travel to dark tourism sites to experience something new and out of the ordinary. Their main motivation is the desire for a different experience than the typical beach vacation or city weekend trip (Niemelä, 2010). One important aspect is that throughout the visit people are probably going to experience very different emotions depending on the fact if they engage in tourism or dark tourism. Most people travel to enjoy themselves and relax. They want to experience positive emotions and create happy memories. However, there are also people, who enjoy traveling to dark tourism destinations and are therefore most likely not going to have positive thoughts and happy memories afterwards. They rather have an oppressive feeling and tend to reflect on what happened at the site.

Seaton and Lennon (2004) declare the mass media as a clear driver for dark tourism. Newspapers and guidebooks are reporting more and more about the new kind of

tourism, and some are even creating moral panic (Seaton & Lennon, 2004). Furthermore, they suggest that the experience, one can have when visiting a dark tourism site, is the extreme opposite of their daily life and this specifically excites them (Seaton & Lennon, 2004). Schadenfreude, the secret enjoyment in witnessing the unhappiness of others, is one of two possible origins for trips to dark sites. An example for schadenfreude is when people are stopping in order to witness a car accident or if people want to see footage of disasters on the news (Blass, 1992). The topic of schadenfreude has been extensively researched for many years and can be found in many different areas (Blass, 1992). Having said this, recent studies show that dark tourism resurfaces as an approach, in which travelers can enjoy the suffering of others (Tzanelli 2016; Korstanje, 2016). The second origin is the contemplation of death. In the past, it was very common for people to show interest in death and to meditate on it. People, such as James Boswell, would attend public hangings to learn about their own faith. Today, people are occupied with health and fitness and do not consider death as much as they did many centuries ago (Seaton & Lennon, 2004). Then again, these two reasons remain as an assumption, since there is just little significant evidence confirming this. Dann (1998) suggests that possible motivations are the fear of phantoms or distinction as well as "bloodlust" (Sharpley and Stone, 2009). Moreover, the desire to satisfy one's curiosity and fascination could also be a motivational factor (White & Frew, 2013). Visiting dark tourism sites and interacting with the concept provides the possibility to build one's own reflection of death. Yet, there still remains a part of the visitors who visit dark tourism destinations solely for an entertainment purpose e.g., the London Dungeon (Wilson, 2004 cited in White and Frew, 2013; Stone, 2006).

Niemelä (2010) pointed out that dark tourism is a combination of heritage, tourism, history as well as tragedy, where the motivations and drivers are often not clear. However, according to Biran et al. (2014) there are three primary motivations for people to travel to dark tourism destinations. The first motivation is the morbid fascination with death. Followed by the motivation to consider one's own mortality and life, rather than death at the site itself. Lastly, the third motivation is to neutralize the sense of death and negative emotions. This is done by offering dark tourism sites

which are entertaining, educational, and memorialized. Furthermore, Ashworth (2004) describes curiosity as one of the main motivations for people to travel to extraordinary tourist attractions. Moreover, he found that many tourists are traveling to these sites to find themselves and to achieve realization. Seaton (1996) mentions that for many travelers the interest in death and understanding of authenticity play a huge role. Another reason for people to travel to dark tourism sites is that they want to truly feel for the people who have suffered or died at the specific location. They want to connect to them on a deeper level rather than just being fascinated with their deaths (Seaton, 1996). "Seeing is believing" is one aspect that Biranet (2011) researched. This aspect shows that some of the motivation lies in the learning and understanding part of the visit to dark tourism sites.

Motivation lies within the desire to understand bygone events and tragedies or the need to experience something new and different (Stainton, 2020). Lennon (2004) mentions that a reason for people to travel to dark tourism destinations could be that they want to understand the present and be more considerate about the future (Sampson, 2019). Lastly, Seaton (1996, p. 240) stated that:

> "Dark tourism is the travel dimension of thanatopsis which is why we shall rename it Thanatourism and define it as it follows: Thanatourism is travel wholly or partially motivated by the desire for present or symbolic encounters with death, particularly, but not exclusively, violent death, which may, to a varying degree be activated by the person-specific features of those whose deaths are their local objects".

In addition to the mentioned motivations, there are also various push and pull factors which lead a person to engage in tourism and to visit a dark tourism destination. The relation of motivations and the push and pull theory in tourism is represented by Iso-Ahola (1982). He suggests that tourism motivation is a combination of escaping and seeking. He believes that there is a pushing factor, the escaping, and a pulling factor, the seeking. This would further suggest that the tourism motivation would have both a social and psychological part (Iso-Aloha, 1982). As mentioned before, people want to escape their daily life routine. This motivation can be classified as a push factor; hence, it draws people to the unknown and unusual (Krippendorf, 1987). In order to

get a better understanding of the push and pull theory, it will be further explained in this subsection.

The push and pull theory is commonly known and widely represented in tourism. The push factor is an internal psychologic motive, which creates the desire for a person to travel. The pull factor, on the other hand, is an external factor that affects the person in a way that he or she feels the need to fulfill the desire (Antara & Prameswari, 2018). To simplify this model, Dann developed the push and pull model in 1977. It demonstrates how external forces can influence our daily life and lead to certain decisions, such as traveling to specific holiday destinations. According to Dann (1977), the push factor is the reason for people to choose one location over another location when planning a holiday. This also relates to services. Therefore, the push factor is responsible for the decision to travel somewhere and is a pre-travel factor. The pull factor then influences the person, where to travel, and which services at the destination are preferred (Dann, 1977). Uysal et al. (2008) mention that the push factors are represented by individual needs, wanting, and leading to the desire to travel somewhere and escape the daily life routine. The pull factor, on the other hand, is responsible for the features as well as qualities, which are associated with the location. Features include the climate, amenities, and much more (Dann, 1977). The pull factor, hence, is the reason to go to a certain destination. Furthermore, it was generally characterized that both factors are considered when two separate decisions are made at two different points in time. Therefore, the push and pull factors can be described as the two motivators for tourism. The first mentioned factor includes the reasons that motivate a person to go on vacation. The latter factor influences the decision to where to go, at what time, and what kind of tourism will be chosen (Zekan, 2019).

Crompton (1979) said that people go on vacations to experience, see and do things. Travelers are especially drawn to locations, which offer a lot of culture and special features on-site. This means that the attraction represents something to someone, in this case, the tourist. Dann (1977) also mentions that with his theory about the push factor, there is also an ego and anomie enhancement, which play an important role

as it enables the formation of a fantasy destination, which people would occasionally travel to. He goes on by saying that the anomie is connected to the change in the social environment. In this environment rules are associated with limited order as well as chaos is widespread. The notion of ego enhancement is described as a performer of the push factor and is related to the human need to feel superior and the need for recognition. Dann (2012) mentions that these are the reasons why people are traveling. During the vacation, people experience the feeling of greatness as they are at a destination where their standing is unknown. Additionally, after they have traveled, they enjoy talking about their experience to others as it makes them feel superior and it boosts their ego.

In 1989, MacCannell suggested that a tourism attraction is a sign. According to this theory, dark tourism uses this representation to pull tourists to the attraction. The push and pull theory is also connected to dark tourism, namely through the fact that the push factors influence travelers by giving them the need for a better understanding of the past and that they have the possibility to connect with bygone events. Moreover, there are many different reasons for traveling to dark tourism sites including remembering family and friends, having personal involvement with the site (e.g. war), maintain religion and ethnicity, as well as pure curiosity of morbid events (Bigley et al., 2010; Collins-Kreiner, 2010; Cheal & Griffin, 2013).

According to Farmarki (2013), there are certain components of the push and pull theory that can be found in the supply and demand of dark tourism. These aspects can cause an enhancement in the promotion and marketing development of dark tourism. One factor influencing people to travel to dark tourism sites is definitely the interest in educational and entertainment purposes (Cuka & Chovancová, 2013). Bigley et al. (2010) mention that the supply side in dark tourism might also be the pull factor. Having said this, site attribute-driven motivations are pull-force rooted motivations. External mechanisms are often the site's marketing or management aspects and are also responsible for generating the mentioned motivations and drivers.

Krakover (2005) reveals that the younger generation curiosity represents the main push factor and motivation to travel to a dark tourism site. Furthermore, these dark sites also possess certain pull factors, which convince people to travel to the site. These factors include education, nostalgia, tribute (e.g. Holocaust museums and memorials), and much more. Curiosity is generally a big push factor for people to travel to dark tourism destinations. Moreover, Crompton (1979) mentions that curiosity is associated with innovation, meaning that travelers are searching for an extraordinary location and attraction. Curiosity pulls travelers worldwide to dark sites, in order for them to experience multiple unseen facts, which are connected to death and suffering (Strange & Kempa, 2003).

As mentioned before, the media also plays an important part in the interest in dark tourism sites (Seaton & Lennon, 2004). Since news reports and the internet are easily accessible, and the dissemination of macabre places has increased, it has also become a push factor (Smith, 1998). Natural catastrophes, such as tornados and tsunamis, serve as pull factors, leading to the result that people want to experience the damage firsthand. Mayo and Jarvis (1981) said that everyone is born with a certain amount of curiosity and appetite to travel the world and experience new things. Nevertheless, for some the desire decreases more than for others and the push and pull factors change accordingly.

5.3.2 Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs

Maslow's hierarchy of needs is probably one of the best explanations of human needs and is used in various fields. As such, it seems suitable to provide a better understanding for individuals' need for dark tourism. In this subsection, the Maslow's hierarchy of needs will be explained from a general perspective first, before the theory will be transferred to the human's need for dark tourism.

Maslow created the five-tier model, which is also often portrayed as a pyramid, in 1943 (McLeod, 2018). The motivational theory model shows the order of human needs and suggests that if none of the needs are satisfied, the bottom need would dominate behavior (Cooper et al, 2008). As soon as a need would be attained, there would be a desire to reach the need above. The needs at the very bottom are the psychological needs and always have to be fulfilled in order to achieve the need above. Figure 5 illustrates the hierarchy and the order of the needs.
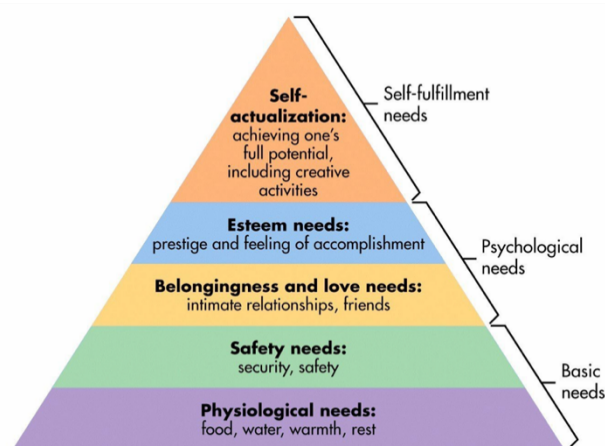
Figure 5: Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs (Maslow, 1943)

At the very bottom are the physiological needs followed by the safety needs, belongingness and love needs, esteem needs, and at the very top the self-actualization (McLeod, 2018). Physiological needs include basic necessities of life, such as water, food, and breathing. The safety needs consider shelter, resources, and upkeeping of the body. The third tier, belongingness and love needs, describe intimate relationships, family as well as the desire to create friendships. Esteem needs include positive self-esteem and confidence, as well as the feeling to be respected by others.

The last tier, self-actualization, is fulfilled when full potential, creativity and morality are achieved (Maslow, 1943). Having said this, the pyramid can be further divided into deficit needs and growth needs. The deficit needs, also known as D-needs include the bottom four categories, whereas the growth need, also known as being needs or B-needs, only includes the top category.

Maslow (1943) himself initially explained that a person must first fulfill a lower need in order to achieve the need above it. Hence, self-actualization can only be reached when all other needs are reached before. Nonetheless, at a later point in time, he decided to change his initial concept. From then on, a need would not have to be 100 percent fulfilled to attain a higher need (McLeod, 2018).

Taking the Maslow's hierarchy of needs, Pearce (1988) developed a concept, called the leisure ladder model. He suggests that some needs of people, outside of their physiological needs, can be achieved via tourism. Even though this model is based on Maslow's model, it additionally tries to explain individual behaviors. Pearce's model has the same construct and includes the following tiers: relaxation and bodily needs, stimulation, relationship, self-esteem and development, and lastly fulfillment (Cook et al., 2002). Once again, people must achieve the lower needs first, before they can reach the upper needs. After the initial release, Pearce decided to expand the model in 1992. He claimed that the model is not static or absolute but rather can be adjusted accordingly to individuals and might change as time goes by. Furthermore, he mentions that people have a career within their travel behavior, which also reflects their motives for tourism. The main point of the model is that there is a possibility that multiple motivations can have different effects on people. Therefore, it is not feasible to make a clear distinction between the motivations and needs of travelers. This leads to the result, that the needs within the leisure ladder model can be reorganized depending on each traveler and their personal needs (Goeldner & Ritchie, 2006).

In addition to the leisure ladder model, Maslow (1970) mentions some examples on how his hierarchy of needs is connected to tourism motives. One of them is traveling overseas for medical surgeries, which can be seen as part of the physiological needs. Another example would be having the desire to escape daily stressful situations in

order to avoid mental breakdowns. Making new friends or creating new relationships, sometimes even romantic, can help people to increase their self-esteem. Furthermore, trips during which a person is able to learn, challenge him/herself, and compete can be seen as self-actualization (Holloway, 2004).

There has not been much research done about Maslow's hierarchy of needs and how it is directly connected to dark tourism, but rather tourism in general. Still, there are a few assumptions. One of them could be that people travel to dark tourism destinations to achieve a certain degree of self-actualization Coltman (1989) as well as feel superior towards others. Another one might claim that they experience this feeling towards others, because they have traveled to a 'special' place, where not many people have been before e.g., Chernobyl nuclear disaster zone. The trip to these destinations is much more unique and different than typical trips to the beach (Niemelä, 2010). Moreover, visitors might feel more accomplished, because they have visited locations which can be more difficult to travel to and more 'special' than places their friends have visited. Some might even use their trips to brag about them. With these feelings and thoughts, they feel prestige and realize their esteem needs. Another way to fulfill their esteem needs could be by proving that they have enough courage to travel to e.g., a dangerous area, such as Chernobyl where radioactivity is still quite high.

In addition to these assumptions, one could also assume that people travel to dark tourism sites in order to experience something new and exciting (Niemelä, 2010). As mention previously, this is one of the biggest motivations for people to travel. People have enough of the typical beach vacation or sightseeing in a city. They rather enjoy traveling somewhere unique and sometimes even scary to escape their daily routine. This could be connected to the top tier of the Maslow hierarch of needs – self-actualization. The tier self-actualization could also be reached if people have the motivation to travel to a destination in order to truly connect with the history of the site and the aim to learn more about it. These people want to truly expand their knowledge (educational purposes) and feel empathy towards the victims (Crompton, 1979). People traveling to the former concentration camp Auschwitz-Birkenau are probably more interested in understanding the past happenings than people who visit

the London Dungeon. The desire to educate oneself can also be associated with creative activities, which are part of the esteem needs.

5.4 An Example of a Dark Site: Chernobyl

In order to get a better understanding of dark tourism sites and the increase in popularity over the last few years, the nuclear disaster zone in Chernobyl was chosen. This site has gained immense attention and therefore, proves to be a perfect example. Visitor numbers have steadily risen because of various factors, which will be listed and described in detail in this chapter. On April 26, 1986, one of the reactors at the nuclear plant exploded and destroyed everything around it. The nearby city Pripyat, where originally 50,000 people had lived, has turned into a ghost town and is now a popular tourism destination. The site has been open since 2011 and attracts more and more visitors each year. Various articles show that especially after the HBO miniseries "Chernobyl" was aired, guided tours increased between 30% to 40% (Sheppard, 2020; Hunder, 2019). The series represents the events of the accident in detail and showcases how the accident was dealt with. It seems that after the series aired in May 2019, and Chernobyl was trending, many people traveled to the site in order to make pictures and post them online to gain attention (Staff, 2019). Tourists can visit abandoned houses, schools, and an amusement park, which was supposed to open a few days after the accident. To get a better understanding of the current state of these amenities, the following pictures are provided. Figure 6 shows an abandoned classroom and Figure 7 exhibits a part of the amusement park.

Figure 6: An Abandoned Classroom (Kötter, 2016)

Figure 7: Part of the Amusement Park in Chernobyl (Pixabay, 2011)

Records show that the rise during the year 2019 was immense with a fivefold increase, starting at around 3,000 visitors in January and February to 17,038 visitors during the month of October. This is the highest number of visitors Chernobyl has experienced so far. Due to this immense increase the Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky decided, in summer 2019, to start a new concept, called The Chernobyl Development Strategy. He hoped that the new concept would bring structure to the 19-mile-long exclusion zone and stop ongoing corruptions, trespassing and theft. Additionally, the Ukraine government announced that the site will be turned into an official dark tourism site and that official routes, waterways, as well as checkpoints, will be built. Zelensky continues mentioning that until now the nuclear accident has been a negative aspect and part of the country and that he, therefore, wants to change this image by declaring it as an official tourism attraction. One of the reasons for that is the fact that Chernobyl provides the Ukraine with valuable money from tourists and boosts their economy (Mettler, 2019).

Numbers show that the new concept has worked, and the visitor number has increased. Harnyk (2019) confirms that the increase is mainly because there has been an international promotion of the exclusion zone and its new concept. He continues to mention, that the rise is also due to the loosened rules and restrictions. Alongside the series, the introduction of the electronic ticket, new infrastructure, and new exciting routes have led to the growth in the visitor flow. Moreover, today there are 33 tour operators, whereas in 2018 there were only 10 (Panyushkina, 2020).

Chernobyl had a total number of 46,136 visitors in 2017, 71,869 in 2018, and 124,423 in 2019. Due to the global pandemic COVID-19, visitor numbers in 2020 have been much lower with 31,720 between January and October (Mudrik, 2020).

It appears that the TV show and loosened rules have influenced many people to visit the nuclear disaster zone themselves. According to Jim Beasley, an associate professor at the University of Georgia, who has been interview for the Washington Post, Chernobyl remains the most radioactive area on earth. The reason for that is, that the area is still coated with radioactive dust, including plutonium, cesium, strontium as well as americium radionuclides. Even though these chemicals can cause serious health issues when touched or ingested, tourists are not discouraged. Dr. Steen, mentioned in an interview from the Washington Post, who studied microbiology and immunology and continuously oversees the radiation research at nuclear sites, states that visitors have to be informed about potential health risks. The longer people stay there and are exposed, the more they are at risk and their future is impacted. In addition, visitors should wear clothes that they will throw away afterwards and wear masks and gloves in order to reduce the impact of the radiation (Mettler, 2019).

A visit to Chernobyl can be safe under the condition that visitors stay on the pathways since some areas are more radioactive than others. However, recent tourist behavior shows the exact opposite. People are going inside buildings, walk off-road and touch belongings that have been left behind by residents. This behavior can easily be recognized by various Instagram posts (Staff, 2019). One of the many people who posted about their trip to the nuclear disaster zone in Chernobyl is photographer Robin Ching. He regularly posts pictures; he took himself from various places all over the world on Instagram. As it can be seen from the following pictures, he has also been to the nuclear disaster zone in Chernobyl. Figure 9 shows Robert Ching inside a children's bedroom and on Figure 8 one can clearly see how a room has started to become ruinous.

Figure 8: Ruinous Apartment (Ching, 2021)

Figure 9: Children's Bedroom (Ching, 2021)

These two pictures are just an example of the many pictures posted by visitors online. Even though it is advised not to go inside buildings, as the radiation levels are higher inside, many people have no doubt that these areas are safe. This is mainly due to the fact that professional guided tours of the abandoned town are offered, and tour guides often allow their visitors to go inside the buildings. In an interview, published in The Washington Post, Mousseau, a biologist and professor who has been studying Chernobyl for more than 20 years now, says that he was shocked when he last visited the site in 2019. Visitors walked around in regular street wear and most went off-road, taking pictures with bumper cars or radioactive toys. More than 250 tourists were at Chernobyl at the same time, and due to this high increase in the number of tourists, more and more buses are needed to transport the tourists there. The more traffic the more contaminated dust will be whirled up in the air (Mettler, 2019).

6 Methodology

This chapter will explain in more detail the methodology that has been used. First, the research design will be presented, followed by an introduction to survey and sampling procedure. The subsequent chapter elaborates on the survey development. Finally, the data collection process and data analysis will be presented.

6.1 Research Design

The research design is a crucial part of the bachelor thesis and helps to determine the collection of data. Overall, there are two main types of data, the primary and secondary data. As the name already indicates, primary data is data that is collected firsthand. In other words, the researcher gathers the information from observations, experiments, or questionnaires. The secondary data is data that has previously been gathered by someone else and is, therefore, already available. Secondary data can be collected from databases, research papers or other scientific articles (Mayring, 2000). This bachelor thesis focuses on primary data, which is composed of three different types of data: quantitative, qualitative as well as mixed methods (Creswell, 2014). A quantitative research approach focuses on gathering a large amount of unstructured data in order to detect the relationship between measurable variables (Matthews & Ross, 2010). Moreover, it collects data that can measure behaviors, attitudes as well as performance instruments. Quantitative data can be collected through surveys or conducting experiments (Creswell, 2014) and focuses on numbers, operationalization, and representative samples. (Krippendorff, 2004). The qualitative research approach, on the other hand, focuses on variables that cannot be measured but rather are open-ended data. This approach is used to gain a better understanding of the behavior or data of the conducted research, e.g., via interviews or observations (Creswell, 2014). Having said this, qualitative data is used for categories, interpretation of verbal information, individual cases, and everyday reality (Krippendorff, 2004). The primary differentiation between these two methods is the data analysis (Wong, 2003). The analysis part of qualitative data involves a more dynamic, creative as well as inductive reasoning process (Basit, 2003), whereas quantitative data mainly involves statistical

methods (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003). This process requires exploration of the values, meanings, and characteristics of the conducted sample (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003).

The third and last type, the mixed methods, collect, integrate, and analyze both the qualitative and quantitative research method to reach a broader market (Tashakkori & Creswell, 2007). Lastly, it is used to provide a complex comprehension of the research problem. Mixed methods use open-ended data as well as numerical data (Creswell, 2014).

For this specific bachelor thesis, qualitative research is the most appropriate one. The reason for that is, that qualitative data is mainly unstructured text-based data and does not focus as much on numbers, as quantitative data does. Since this research focuses on different motivations and intentions of people engaging in dark tourism, and the answers are rather individual and cannot be represented via numbers, the qualitative data approach was chosen. There are many advantages and a few disadvantages when it comes to qualitative research. One of the biggest advantages is that the researcher can capture different behaviors and attitudes within the sample. Moreover, qualitative research proves to be a more flexible approach. Nevertheless, one disadvantage is the sample size. The size of the sample is very important and the lower the number is, the chance of the sample being biased rises (Vaughan, 2019). Another advantage is that the researcher can conduct in-depth analysis and is able to identify specific patterns or themes. This is especially important for this research because the author wants to find specific reasons and motivations for people engaging in dark tourism. Finally, qualitative research provides the researcher with rich data, which can also be very helpful for further research (Vaughan, 2019).

6.2   Introduction to Surveys and Sampling

A survey describes the process or method of collecting data from a sample of individuals (Scheuren, 2004). It is further used to describe, compare as well as explain knowledge, attitudes, and behavior (Fink, 2003). The sample refers to a segment of the population that is being studied. Surveys are a great and versatile tool as they can

be used in many ways. One can either collect qualitative or quantitative data (Krippendorff, 2004). Researchers can collect the information from the surveys either directly or indirectly. Directly would be by asking people in person for their answers and indirectly can be achieved by reviewing written, oral, or visual records of participants (Fink, 2003). Moreover, a survey can be distributed through various ways, including mail, telephone, online or in-person (Scheuren, 2004). Having said this, a wide range of people from all over the world can be reached. Surveys are mainly used for researching people's feelings, motivations, plans, beliefs, or personal backgrounds as well as preferences (Fink, 2003).

The size of the sample can vary depending on the research topic and the purpose of the study. The survey aims to ask the participants the same question and see how the answers differ. One crucial factor is that the participants always stay anonymous, and their answers are mostly represented in statistical tables or charts.

According to Fink (2003), the survey exists of seven steps. These steps are setting objectives for data collection, designing the research, arranging a trustworthy and valid survey tool, running the survey, managing, and analyzing the survey data, and lastly, recording the results.

There are many advantages when it comes to questionnaires, such as being able to gather a large amount of data from a range of different people. The collected data is provided in a standard format and all participants get the same question, which makes it easy to analyze. Moreover, a questionnaire can be designed in any way, which is most convenient for the researcher and the topic (Matthews & Ross, 2010). In addition to this, there are further advantages a survey provides, such as the fact that the development, distribution, and analysis of the questionnaire has little to no cost at all (Brace, 2018). Disadvantages include limited access to in-depth feelings and experiences, the sample could be biased due to low results, and the possibility of excluding some groups of people is given (Matthews & Ross, 2010).

The author of this thesis decided to create an online survey. By doing that a wider audience can be reached and it is easier to target specific people, who are needed for the research.

6.3   Survey Development

The survey is a very crucial part of the thesis and provides great insight into the topic of dark tourism and the author with useful information. It is, therefore, especially crucial that the right questions are asked in the survey. In the case of this thesis, the survey aims to learn about the reasons and motivations of tourists who have traveled to the dark tourism site Chernobyl. The results will help the author to answer the two research questions, which are: "What emotions are experienced when visiting dark tourism sites" and "what are the reasons for people to engage in dark tourism".

The survey was created through the website www.umfrageonline.com and consisted of 18 questions. In the survey various types of questions, including open-ended, closed-ended as well as questions, where the participant had to choose from different categories (e.g., age, highest achieved degree and gender), have been made use of. Moreover, there was also a question which asked the participator to choose from various pre-defined words (emotions) e.g., excitement, grief, anxiety, they had experienced during their visit at Chernobyl.

The first part of the survey mainly revolved around the topic of Chernobyl and the nuclear disaster zone, which can be visited by tourists. This part included thirteen questions, of which the majority were open-ended questions. The first question asked for the first thought that came to the participators mind when thinking about the nuclear disaster zone in Chernobyl, Ukraine. This question was used to find out what visitors affiliate with the site and the topic of tragedy.

Another question asked for their biggest motivation to visit Chernobyl. Followed by the question, whether someone recommended them to visit the site and when was the first time they got in touch with the topic. Further, one question asked how the family/friends of the visitor have reacted after they heard about the traveling plans. Moreover, queries such as did you go alone or did you have company were part of the survey. One question asked the participant to select some of the pre-defined emotions that can be experienced during the visit. "Why do you think a visit to the nuclear disaster zone is important" and "would you recommend visiting this site to your friends", were also questions that were included. After the questions, which

specifically asked for the experience on the site of Chernobyl, a few questions about dark tourism and demographic questions were asked in part two. For instance, question twelve asked if the participant had also visited other dark tourism destinations so far. Finally, the last five questions were demographic questions. A few examples of these questions are how old you are, what gender do you identify as and what nationality do you have.

6.4   Data Collection

As mentioned before, the qualitative primary data collection was chosen to gain valuable insight regarding the topic and to learn more about the motivations and intentions of people visiting Chernobyl. The survey was available for approximately one month and was shared from the beginning of March until the beginning of April 2021. This time period was chosen in order to have enough time to evaluate the results. A full transcript of the questionnaire will be attached at the end of the bachelor thesis.

Since the survey required people who have already visited the dark tourism site Chernobyl, it was distributed through various channels, specifically searching for people, who already traveled to Chernobyl. Facebook and Reddit proved to be a great source, because many groups that specialize on a certain topic are represented on these platforms. The author searched for groups, which focus on either Chernobyl as a tourism site or as the HBO miniseries as well as dark tourism in general. In addition to posting the survey in two groups on Reddit and two groups on Facebook of, the social media app Instagram was made use of. The hashtag *#Chernobyl* was used to find people who posted pictures of their trip to the nuclear disaster zone. Moreover, a popular Chernobyl tour guide group, which is also represented on Instagram, turned out to be a great source. Numerous people who have been to Chernobyl with this tour guide group, tagged them in their uploaded pictures. The author then messaged 39 individuals directly. Lastly, the author would like to state that all participants have answered the survey voluntarily and their identity has been kept anonymous. Having said this, no personal information, and questions, such as names or addresses have

been asked for. Moreover, all gathered information and results from the survey have been handled confidentially and not been shared with any other third party.

6.5   Data Analysis

"Content analysis is a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from data to their context." (Krippendorff, 1980, p. 21)

The content analysis can be used for both a quantitative and qualitative data, as well as in a deductive or inductive way. The inductive content analysis is used if there is only little information or knowledge in a research are available (Krippendorff, 2004). Deductive content analysis on the other hand, focuses on the analysis of previous knowledge (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008). Since the topic of dark tourism has just recently gained more academic attention there is not much information and data available. This is the reason why the inductive content analysis has been chosen for this thesis.

Moreover, the qualitative content analysis was used to analyze the collected textural data. This method uses controlled analysis for empirical and methodological texts within their context of communication. It follows rules as well as step-by-step models to make sure that they are not quantified too fast (Mayring, 2000). Mayring's sequent model for the qualitative content analysis exists of five steps. First, the right material needs to be chosen. Next, the direction of the analysis needs to be determined. Here, one can choose to analyze either the material, the author of the material, a target group, the sociocultural background of the material, or the object area. The third step revolves around selecting the form of the content analysis (Pfeiffer, 2020). There are three main forms, which consist of the summarizing, explicit, and structured content analysis. As the name of the first form already indicates, the researched material is summarized and only the most important facts are stated. The explicit content analysis is the exact opposite of the summarizing analysis. Whenever, there are unclear text parts additional material is used for reference. Finally, the structured content analysis aims to assess the material with the help of predefined criteria (Mayring, 1994). After deciding on the form, the results are interpreted. The

interpretation is dependent on the research topic; however, it is important to introduce categories, which will help to organize the data (Mayring, 2002). Finally, the last step examines if the content analysis fulfills the quality criteria of qualitative research. These criteria include transparency, range, and intersubjectivity. All three criteria have been fulfilled in this bachelor thesis (Pfeiffer, 2020).

The qualitative content analysis was accomplished with the help of the step-by-step model by Mayring. For this research the author decided to use the results of the self-created online survey. In the second step, the author decided to analyze the participants of the survey (target group). Next, the author chose the summarizing content analysis, as it seems to fit the best. The most important answers and results from the survey were analyzed and stated. Moreover, when it comes to the interpretation of the data, the results of the survey were carefully analyzed. The primary motivations to visit the destination as well as experienced emotions during the visit, of each participant have been identified via the survey results. The detected motivations have been put into four different categories, in order to facilitate demonstrating the difference between them. This was done in the inductive way because no previous data for motivations to visit Chernobyl exist. Lastly, the quality criteria were validated.

7 Findings and Discussion

This following chapter discusses the findings of the survey. The gathered data will be analyzed and summarized. Moreover, the primary motivations will be summarized into categories and explained in more detail. The author tries to identify patterns and display the collected data with the help of some tables and graphs.

Since the survey was distributed on social media and other online platforms a wide range of people responded, which allowed the author to gain useful insight from people all over the world. The survey reached a total of 15 different nationalities including people from Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Britain, Canada, Cyprus, Denmark, Germany, Ireland, the Netherlands, Poland, Sweden, Ukraine, and the United States. This shows that people from all over the world travel to the nuclear disaster zone in Chernobyl and that it is, therefore, known worldwide. A total of twenty-five people participated in the survey. Of these twenty-five people, 76% are male and 24% are female. Moreover, the age spectrum ranged from 20 to 61 years old. When it comes to the completion of the highest level of education, the majority with 40%, has completed a high school degree or equal degrees. The second most achieved education of the participants is a bachelor's degree with 32%. The option other, standing for any additional levels of education that have been achieved, represent (16%), followed by master's degree, less than high school and PhD, each represent 4%. One question requested the status of employment, and the following answers were provided. Almost two-thirds of the participants are employed and represent 64% of all participants. Students and self-employed both represented 16% each and lastly other was 4%. No participant selected unemployed or retired.

The data revealed that there are multiple motivations for visiting Chernobyl. The main motivations have been summarized into four categories, existing of photographic opportunities, educational reasons, interest in technology and lastly, curiosity. Table 1 displays the different categories and shows some exemplary answers from the participants.

Categories	Participants Answers
Photographic Opportunities	- Did a second trip especially for unique photo opportunities - Passion for photography
Educational Reasons	- Learn more about what happened and see it firsthand - Interest in the history and experience pain of tragedy personally
Interest in Technology	- Groups of engineers who are interested in nuclear plants - Fascination for nuclear energy - Interest in nuclear energy and desire to see the negative aspects of it
Curiosity	- First visit solely for thrill experience - See what the disaster did to the zone - Read a lot about Chernobyl and wanted to see the area personally

Table 1: Categories of Motivation to Visit Chernobyl

As it can be seen from Table 1, it seems that one of the biggest motivations is the photographic opportunities. This could be because the site offers unique photo opportunities, such as abandoned apartments, the amusement park, and the control rooms of the nuclear plant. Some people indicated that they have been influenced by published photos of others to visit the site. Another main motivation is the history the

site provides. For several people, it was important to learn about what had happened in Chernobyl and the desire to see the repercussions the accident had done to the city. The results of the survey show that for many people it is important to look back, reflect and remember what had happened many years ago. In addition to that, one person mentioned that they wanted to experience the silence and pain the destination exudes. During the visit, it felt like time stood still for them. In addition to that another person wrote: "When we arrived there you feel like time has stopped and you have travelled back in time." Furthermore, curiosity has also been listed as one of the main motivations. The curiosity not only belongs to the accident but also to the nuclear power plant itself. This interest was mainly mentioned by survey participants who work in the nuclear powerplant industry themselves. Finally, a few people said that it was their childhood dream to visit the site one day. These people have been influenced by various things, such as documentaries, hearing about the accident in the news or because they were born in the same year as the accident happened. One participant mentioned:" I was born in 1986 and when I was 14 I've learned what Chernobyl is. I've promised myself that one day when I will have a job – I will visit it at least once in my lifetime. Always joked that I still have the "legacy" of it in me, like all people born in 1986 after the explosion. "

The question asking if the site had been recommended to the visitor proved to be quite important as it turns out that only three people, which represent 12%, had been recommended to visit the destination. The remaining 22 people (88%) decided themselves to travel to the location and some were even advised not to visit.

The advice not to visit the zone was also mentioned in another question, which asked about the visitor's family and friends' response after hearing about the travel plans. As it can be seen from Figure 10, the reactions have been rather negative than positive. 44% of the survey results show that the family and friends reacted in both a positive and negative way to the news. Some indicate that e.g., the mother was against the trip and the father wanted to join, or the initial reaction was negative, because of the danger but after hearing about the trip, they changed their mind and wanted to go themselves. A total of 36% represent a negative reaction the participants received. The answers include statements such as participants were

confronted with fear, health, and safety concerns as well as a lack of understanding. Lastly, only 20% met positive feedback. For those feedbacks, people said that others wanted to join them after hearing about the travel plans or were used to unusual travel destinations of the participant.
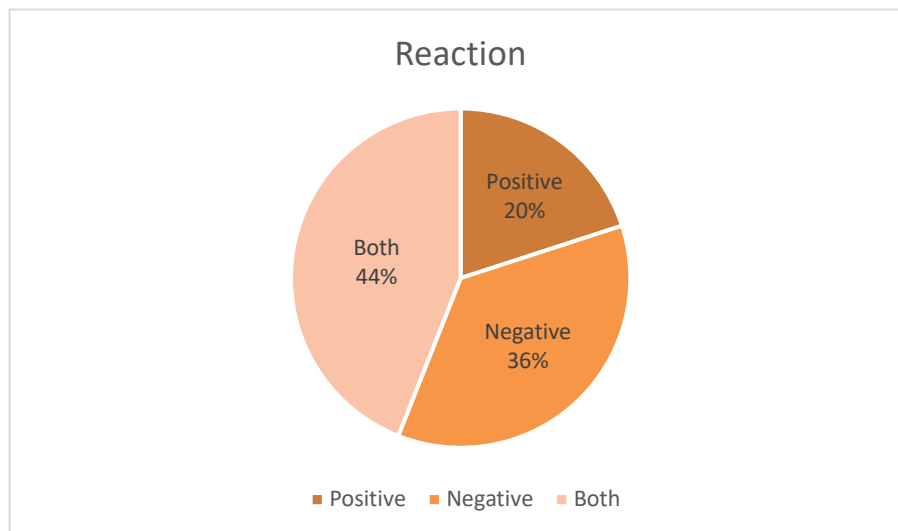

Figure 10: Reaction of Family and Friends (Screenshot by the author, 2021)

When the participants were asked if they would recommend a visit to the nuclear disaster zone in Chernobyl to others, the majority answered with a clear yes. The main reason for that is the educational aspect the site provides. For many people, it is important that others also reflect and learn about what had happened and the history of such places. This is a very interesting point, especially because only a few participants named educational purposes as their main motivation to visit the dark tourism site in one of the previous survey questions, asking about the visitor's main motivation. It is, therefore, not clear why the participants would recommend the site (for educational purposes) when their own motivation was something completely different e.g. photographic interest. It can, however, be suggested that despite the initial motivation was different, it seems that Chernobyl provides educational value – which is then the most memorable experience. Moreover, participants recommended visiting the site for various other reasons. One of them is to learn about the mistakes that have been made and to increase awareness of selfishness, carelessness and how dangerous it can be that the government/companies control and negligent safety, for

the sole reason of cutting costs. Further, people want to give others the chance to see how powerful nuclear energy is and how quickly it can get dangerous. Another reason is to see what can go wrong and how nature can overcome even some of mankind's biggest mistakes, such as one participant mentioned: "It's the only place in Earth where you can see with your own eyes, how nature is able to overcome even biggest mistakes of mankind. Many scientists thought that life will never come back to this place and yet, we see it totally opposite. Nature is dominating and showing its power over everything. It adapted as it always does."

Moreover, the location offers a great opportunity to rethink one's life decisions. One participant mentioned that he was able to find balance, in his normally very chaotic life, as the site provided a dark but calm feeling and atmosphere at the same time. After his visit he was able to make life decisions, he could not make before. Other participants indicated that the desire to see abandoned buildings has influenced their decision to go there. Even though there are many different reasons explaining why a visit to Chernobyl is important, two reasons clearly stand out. One being the reminder that terrible and life-threatening events can quickly happen, due to lack of safety and ignorance. As well as the fact that these events have serious consequences for a huge amount of people. The second one is to see how nature can recover from these terrible events. Nature shows that nothing can destroy it, and this feeling provides people with hope. Having said this, several people believe that a trip to Chernobyl is not necessarily a thing everyone should experience. Reasons for that are, that one can be quite overwhelmed with emotions when visiting as well as having false hopes when visiting or as one participant stated: "People don't usually want this kind of experience."

For the question asking about the participants' intentions to revisit the site, most indicated that they are interested in a second or third visit to the nuclear disaster zone. The main reason for another visit is that the visitors were not able to see everything, the nuclear disaster zone has to offer. According to some survey participants, there is much more that they want to explore, even though some of them already went on two/three-day tours. Apparently, there is still so much more left to see and explore. In addition, a person stated that he travels to the site twice a year.

He does this to escape his daily life routine and the site allows him to re-examine his life choices. Moreover, he indicates that he feels happy there, and it is his way of relaxing, as the moment seems to stay still. On the contrary, there are also a few who stated that a second visit is not necessary. Mentioned reasons include overwhelmed feelings during the visit, that it's a one-time thing and that visitors have felt depressed while being there. One person mentioned that he would like to revisit the location in ten years, to see how much has changed.

When it comes to the experienced emotions during the visit to Chernobyl, participants had the chance to choose from pre-defined emotions or add additional emotions. The pre-defined emotions were anxiety, nervousness, anger, irritation, grief, excitement, enthusiasm, and satisfaction. Participants were able to choose multiple emotions at the same time. As Figure 11 shows the emotion excitement has been chosen the most, with a total count of 15. Followed by grief and enthusiasm, which were both elected eleven times. Satisfaction and nervousness have also been selected quite often, to be more specific six times. The remaining emotions have been chosen between two to five times. In addition to the provided emotions, survey participants had the possibility to add additional emotions in the category "other". Mentioned emotions include curiosity, amazement as well as in trepidation in this category "other". Moreover, regarding the pre-defined emotions, one participant wrote: None of the above really, except irritation. Not understanding that people let it come that far of a disaster. Very hard to describe." Figure 11 represents the number of selected emotions quite nicely.
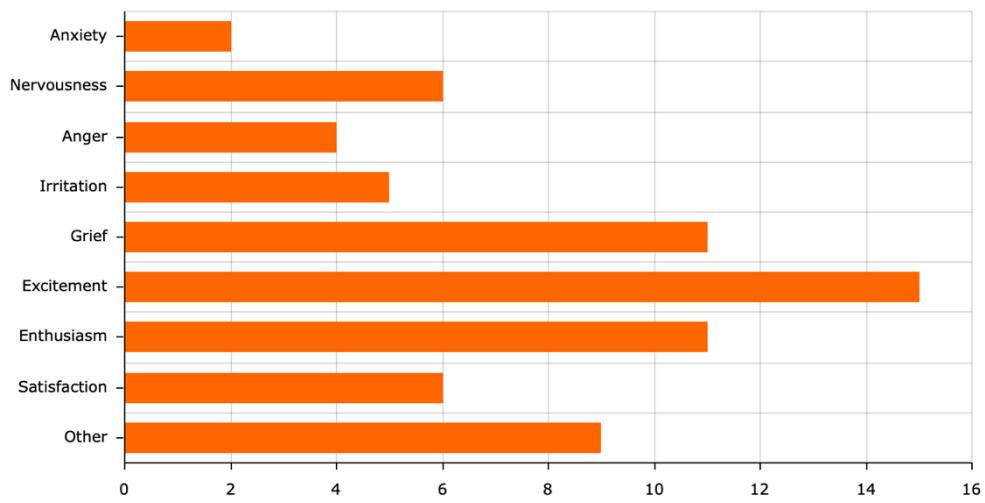
Figure 11: Experienced Emotions On-Site

Overall, Figure 11 shows that the emotions can vary quite a bit from some visitors feeling nervous to satisfied. It might seem a little bit surprising that most people have experienced excitement during their visit, especially since the site is connected to death and tragedy.

The questionnaire displayed that 96% of all visitors went to the site voluntarily and only 4% went because it was mandatory. Moreover, the results showed that majority of people went to the nuclear disaster zone with friends. However, there was also a significant amount of people who went alone and with a tour guide. The reason for that could be that they could not find someone else who is interested or willing to go to a dark tourism site or because they just wanted to go alone. Some people did both, they first went alone and on their second trip they were accompanied by someone else.

Another survey question asked participants if they have visited any other dark tourism sites as well. The results show that many people, fifteen out of twenty-five, have been to other dark tourism destinations. The mentioned destinations included Ground Zero, the concentration camps Auschwitz-Birkenau and Mauthausen, the Failaka Islands, the Patarei Prison, the Fukushima exclusion zone as well as various

cemeteries, abandoned military bases and other concentration camps. Some participants also indicated that they already have plans for future visits to dark tourism sites.

Finally, in the last question of the survey, participants had the opportunity to add anything they felt needed to be added. One comment mentioned that people in Europe are generally taught a lot about wars and disasters in school and that it, therefore, might not be as extreme as it can be for others. Moreover, one participant stated that he was not as impressed by the zone itself but rather by the Duga radar. The Duga radar is a 150 meters high and 700 meters long structure and used to be one of the most powerful military facilities of the Soviet Union's communist empire (Fedykovych, 2019).

The results of the questionnaire show that numerous people believe that it is important to visit dark tourism site, not only to learn about what happened but also to raise awareness. Even tough, many visitors indicated that the educational aspects were not their primary motivation to visit, it is still important to them to make others aware of the tragedy that could probably have been prevented. Traveling to dark tourism sites, such as the nuclear disaster zone in Chernobyl, can have a substantial impact on one's views and perceptions of life.

There are a few limitations that occurred in this research. One limitation that needs to be mentioned is that the author messaged a few photographers through Instagram and asked them to answer the questionnaire. This could lead to a tendency towards one of the mentioned main motivations – the photogenic scenery.

Moreover, another limitation, which may have occurred is the language barrier. Since the survey was distributed online and reached a variety of people from all over the world, which may not have English as their first language, some could have had trouble understanding some questions.

Finally, it can be argued that the sample size, existent of twenty-five participants, could be too small. It is, therefore, recommended that further research on this topic consider a larger sample population.

8 Conclusion

In conclusion, it can be stated that the term *dark tourism* is relatively well-known nowadays. People are becoming more aware of this niche tourism, which is shown by the increase in visitor numbers at various dark tourism sites. As previous studies show, scholars are trying to identify and understand the motivations behind traveling to places, that are associated with death and suffering, much more in recent years (Yan et al., 2016). This thesis tries to contribute to the previous studies about driving forces by providing identified motivations in the case of the nuclear disaster zone in Chernobyl. Moreover, even though visitor numbers of dark tourism locations have increased steadily, it is important to note that not all dark tourism sites are equally 'dark'. Therefore, a clear distinction between lighter and darker sites is necessary. This can be demonstrated with the help of the *seven dark suppliers'* model as well as the *dark tourism spectrum*, which have been explained in detail in the literature review.

Since dark tourism has gained popularity due to various facts, including television series and the promotion of various sites, it is intriguing to follow the trend and learn more about the topic. Especially with the help of the survey, the author was able to identify a great number of motivations to visit the nuclear disaster zone in Chernobyl. Moreover, the experienced emotions during the trip have been recognized. As a consequence of these findings the two research questions 'What are a visitor's motivations to travel to a dark tourism site?' and 'What emotions does the visitor experience when visiting a dark tourism site?' have been successfully answered. The research shows that the primary motivation to visit the zone was mostly not related to educational reasons, even though previous academic literature indicated that educational reasons are one of the primary motivations to travel to dark tourism sites. Instead, primary motivations included photographic opportunities, interest in technology and sheer curiosity. Moreover, it was interesting to learn that even though educational reasons were not the primary motivation to visit, almost every participant recommended visiting the zone to others for this exact reason. In addition to that, the author learned that the primary experienced emotions were rather positive than negative, with selecting excitement as the most experienced feeling while being on-

site. This may seem a little surprising since many people died directly on the site as well as many thousands from the consequences of the explosion later.

In addition to that, the survey provided many captivating findings, such as learning about the participators' experiences on-site, other dark tourism trips they have taken and whether they would revisit the zone or not. Having participants from all over the world allowed to gather unique perspectives and diverse believes and attitudes towards the topic of dark tourism.

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10 Appendices

Appendix 1

Nuclear Disaster Zone Chernobyl: Tourist Experience

Leere Seite

Page 1

Dear survey participant,

I am currently working on my Bachelor Thesis about motivations to engage in Dark Tourism. This survey focuses on the nuclear disaster zone in Chernobyl. It will only take you a few minutes to answer and all answers are handled anonymously and kept confidential. In case you have any questions, please do not hesitate to contact me: 1811034@modul.ac.at

Thank you very much for your participation and time!
Isabel Jarl

Page 2

1. What is the first thought that comes to your mind when thinking about the nuclear disaster zone in Chernobyl, Ukraine? *

2. What was you biggest motivation to visit Chernobyl? Why did you choose this exact dark tourism site? *

3. Did someone recommend you visiting the site? *

4. When was the first time you got in touch with this topic? *

5. How did your family/friends react when you told them that you went to Chernobyl? *

6. Did you visit the site voluntarily or was is mandatory (e.g. school, university, work)? *

◯ Voluntarily

◯ Mandatory

7. Did you visit the site alone or were you accompanied by someone? *

8. What emotions did you experience while you visited the nuclear zone? *

Multiple selections possible

☐ Anxiety

☐ Nervousness

☐ Anger

☐ Irritation

☐ Grief

☐ Excitement

☐ Enthusiasm

☐ Satisfaction

☐ Other _____

9. Why do you think a visit to the nuclear disaster zone in Chernobyl is important? *

10. Would you recommend a visit to Chernobyl to your friends and family? Please also indicate the reason for yes or no. *

11. Would you revisit Chernobyl? Please also indicate the reason why you would or would not. *

12. Did you visit any other dark tourism sites so far (e.g. Ground Zero, Auschwitz- Birkenau concentration camp)? *

13. If you would like to mention anything else, please do this here.

Page 3

14. What gender do you identify as?

◯ Female

◯ Male

◯ Other

15. How old are you? *

16. What is your nationality? *

17. What is the highest level of education you have completed? *

◯ Less than high school

◯ High school degree or equal

◯ Bachelor's degree

◯ Master's degree

◯ PhD

◯ Other

18. What employment status best describes your current situation? *

◯ Student

◯ Unemployed

◯ Self-employed

◯ Employed

◯ Retired

◯ Other

You have completed the survey. Thank you very much for your participation.

You can now close the window.