Dark Tourism: Understanding the Attraction to Death

A Case Study on the Paris Catacombs

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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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Abstract

Dark tourism, a niche subsector in tourism that focuses on sites associated with tragedy, suffering, crime, and death, has gained prominence in recent years. While people have long been drawn to death and tragedy, the growing accessibility to unique experiences has fueled the demand for such tourism. Popular sites like the Chernobyl exclusion zone have experienced a surge in visitors due to media representation. The Paris Catacombs, attracting those seeking alternative excursions, represent this trend and has been chosen as a case study for this paper. However, the classification of death-related sites as "dark tourism" remains debatable, and empirical research on motivations and emotional responses is limited. This thesis aims to bridge this gap by examining differences in motivations and emotions between Regular Visitors and Cataphiles in the Paris Catacombs.

This paper adopts a quantitative research design, considered most appropriate for the study. An experiment was conducted using an online survey tool, where participants provided responses to diverse questions relating to their motivations and emotions while visiting the Paris Catacombs.

Cataphiles, a distinct group of catacomb visitors, exhibit a closer bond to the Catacombs, making multiple trips and describing them as addictive. They seek adventure, escape, and social interactions, while feeling a sense of belonging and safety. Cataphiles have higher expectations for thrilling experiences and are more likely to have those expectations met.

Regular Visitors make single trips to the Catacombs, motivated by curiosity and a desire to learn about the historical significance. They appreciate the visual elements and experience fear and discomfort in the spooky atmosphere. Regular Visitors emphasize the historical context and appreciate the stories embedded within the Catacombs' walls.

These findings demonstrate the distinct motivations and emotions of Cataphiles and Regular Visitors in the Paris Catacombs and are more thoroughly discussed further into this paper.

List of Figures

List of Tables

Table of Contents

1   Introduction

The adjective dark is often used as a symbol for fear, sadness and other psychological emotions (Singh & Srivastava, 2011). Dark tourism can be considered a niche tourism subsector which incorporates any tourism related to tragedy, suffering, crime and death (Light, 2017) and commercializes the consumption and presentation of death and disaster sites (Foley & Lennon, 1996, p. 198). Dark tourism is no new concept to humanity, people have been drawn to death and tragedy for centuries, from deadly battles in the Colosseum to public executions in the Middle Ages (Zeek, 2019).

The consistent increase in accessibility to tourism nowadays leads to a demand from people wanting to experience new, unique and extraordinary locations and experiences (Kasiawrites, 2022). Various dark tourism sites, such as the Chernobyl exclusion zone in the Ukraine have experienced significant growth in visitor numbers over the past few years, mostly due to some locations being more prominently represented in media. The HBO series "Chernobyl" has caused significant interest in visiting the site (Gale, 2019) and consequently the number of visitors peaked in 2019 with over 124,000 visitors (Statista, 2021), which is an almost 100% increase from 2018. The Paris Catacombs serve as another prime illustration of such a destination, attracting individuals who enjoy dark and unusual excursions. Due to the escalating number of visitors, the facility has expanded its operating hours by three hours, now accommodating guests from 10 am to 8 pm. Presently, over 350,000 individuals delve into these subterrain grounds annually (ParisCityVision, 2018).

Although its media presence is growing, an essential question remains unanswered; whether it is justifiable to classify death- and tragedy-related locations, attractions and services with the term "dark tourism". As it includes a broad variety of attractions, sites and experiences, its meaning has been regarded rather vague and diluted (Kunwar, 2019). Specifically, it is still

unclear whether the demand for tourism drives the development of dark tourism or if it is the availability of dark attractions that fuels the modern phenomenon of "mourning sickness." (West, 2004).

Many research papers simply suggest incentives and objectives to visit dark tourism locations, with a lack of empirical research to support these claims (Light, 2017). Moreover, many past research papers have used different case studies to examine a visitor's motivations such as concentration camps, well known sites of tragedy and battlefields (Lennon & Foley, 1999; Miles, 2002). Nevertheless, it is important to acknowledge that while motivations for engaging in dark tourism receive considerable research attention, they do not encompass the entirety of the research focus. Niche areas such as the examination of emotional responses as well as more specific motivational factors remain relatively underexplored.

Besides trying to fill current research gaps, this thesis aims in better understanding if there are significant differences in motivational and emotional factors when why a tourist may be attracted to engage in dark tourism and to identify and analyze a tourist's emotional response to dark tourism, the following research question was formulated:

- Are there differences in the motivations and emotions experienced when visiting the Paris Catacombs between Regular Visitors and Cataphiles?

2   Literature Review

In this section, a comprehensive review of the existing literature on dark tourism will be presented. This will begin with a general overview of the concept of dark tourism, followed by an examination of the motivations behind this type of travel, the associated ethical considerations, the emotions, and the recent growth in popularity of dark tourism. Furthermore, the Paris Catacombs, which has been selected as a case study for this paper, will be thoroughly explored.

2.1 Definition of Dark Tourism

The touristic presentation of death is not a recently emerging case. People as far back as the 19th century have been paying visits to the morgues in Paris for their own pleasure. This is an example of what is known today as dark tourism (Lennon & Foley, 2000). It is however important to notice that modern dark tourism does not represent death as such but rather symbolizes certain kinds of death (Walter, 2009). Stone (2011a, p. 25) suggest that dark tourism provides an individual with the opportunity to cogitate death of oneself while reflecting about the significant others death, whilst Walter (2009) defines dark tourism as a social construct that bridges the gap between the living and the dead, representing specific instances of death in a contemporary context. Stone (2011b, 2012) also argues that dark tourism related experiences, at least for most of the target audience is not about consuming narratives of death, but rather of thoughtfully and deeply thinking about life and living in the face of expected death. It was at the point when current types of travel were insufficient to meet an individual's curiosity level towards the world, when people became keen to discover death and disaster in dark relics (Chang, 2014).

Dark tourism is sometimes also being referred to as thanatourism. Thanatourism originates from the ancient Greek word Thanatos in mythology, which symbolises the embodiment of death. Trotta (2013) describes thanatourism as being an extreme kind of grief tourism which embodies the dark inspection of death at its occurrence.

2.2 Motivation to engage in Dark Tourism

As travelling becomes more and more popular among all generations, the want to explore new locations, which are not yet commercialized or seen as ordinary destinations, grows. This is where dark tourism finds its niche spot in the tourism industry, attracting individuals who are looking to experience adventures far away from safe and sound tourism (Bendetto, 2018). Seaton

(1996) highlighted the significant variations between visitors engaging in dark tourism and has come up with five different types of dark travel activity:

1. To observe public enactments of death (e.g. public executions)

2. To observe re-enactments of death (e.g. re-enactment of famous battles)

3. Travelling to burial / memorial sites (cemeteries, memorials – e.g. 9/11 memorial)

4. Seeing symbolic representation of death which is not on site of tragedy occurrence (museums, galleries, monuments – e.g. Royal Armouries in Leeds, UK)

5. Visiting individual or mass death sites (battlefields, holocaust concentration camps – e.g. Auschwitz)

It is evident that there are many types of dark tourism and that tourists' motives can greatly differ from one each other. Niemelä (2010) defines dark tourism as being an arrangement of heritage, history, tourism and tragedy. According to Seaston (1996), people visit dark tourism sites in order to fulfill their desire of understanding their authenticity or curiosity in death. Unusual tourist attractions present visitors with curiosity and hence lead to travel to certain relics for realization and self-identity (Ashworth, 1998). Previous research has shown that common motives are looking for the truth, pursuing education and social responsibilities (i.e. not making same mistakes again and not forgetting about past tragedies) and pilgrimage (Ashworth & Hartmann, 2005).

One should however make sure to understand the difference between dark tourism sites which have emerged due to natural causes or man-made causes (Ryan & Kohli, 2006). Certain sites have become recognized as dark tourism attractions after natural disaster have occurred and have led to fatalities (e.g., earthquake in Sichuan, China) (Biran, Liu, Li, & Eichhorn, 2014). Man-made

locations on the other hand, were places where death has occurred due to an individual's or groups action (e.g., Auschwitz & Pablo Escobar's place of death) (Seaton, 1996).

Research in dark tourism allows for a deeper insight into why tourists have the intention to visit these places and indicates a change into how death and disaster are being handled by people that are linked with offering tourism products. According to Lennon and Foley (2000) the demonstration and consumption of death at touristic locations is linked to three factors:

a) Initial interest towards visiting the place of death and the death itself is being created by global communication

b) Objects of dark tourism demonstrate fear and uncertainty

c) Dark tourism locations have been commodified

One must however mention that their study was conducted over two decades ago and might be considered outdated, as dark tourism has benefited from extensive research, particularly in the fields of political influences, motivations, behavior and visitor experience as well as ethical issues (Light, 2017).

2.3 Dark tourism on the rise

Although no official statistics currently exists on how many people participate in Dark Tourism (Rashaad, 2021), the thought of visiting death related sites has been consistently rising over the recent years (Zhang, 2021). It is estimated that Chernobyl welcomed a record 124.000 visitors in 2019 and about 2.15 million people visited Auschwitz, which marks a significant increase from previous years (Rashaad, 2021). The recent boom of technology also had a major impact on dark tourism. The tragedy series "Chernobyl" released in 2019 on Netflix, has caused an increase of 30-40% in the number of tourists visiting the area (Sharma, 2019).

According to a report by Forbes (Ledson, 2020), the rise of dark tourism in Europe has been notable in recent years, particularly with the increasing popularity of visiting sites such as former concentration camps and disaster zones. Studies have shown that the reasons behind the growth of dark tourism are varied. For some, it is an opportunity to pay respects and remember the victims of historic events (Canterbury, 2022). For others, it is a way to learn about history and the consequences of human actions (IU, 2019). Some even find the experience to be intriguing and a way to challenge their own perspectives on life and death (Kasiawrites, 2022).

Despite its growing popularity, dark tourism remains a controversial and divisive topic. Some argue that visiting sites associated with death and suffering is disrespectful to the victims and spreads a voyeuristic attitude (Sampson, 2019). However, supporters of dark tourism argue that it can provide an important education about the darker aspects of history and offer a way for individuals to gain a deeper understanding of the past.

2.4 The impact of dark tourism on local communities

A study by Jordan & Prayag (2022) examined the impact of dark tourism on local economies. The findings showed that dark tourism has a substantial influence, as tourists spend money on things like accommodations, food, and gifts. Although dark tourism can result in significant revenue for local communities, there are also potential drawbacks, such as cultural disruption and the commercialization of tragedy. To ensure positive economic benefits, it's important to regulate the tourism industry and make sure local communities receive appropriate compensation for their contributions. This can include benefits such as increased revenue for local businesses, job creation, and taxes for local government to enhance local residents' quality of life (Heidelberg, 2015). Moreover, dark tourism can raise the visibility of local attractions and potentially attract even more visitors.

As tourism to these sites continues to grow, there is an increased focus on understanding the social effects on local communities. Dark tourism may

bring economic benefits to local communities, such as job creation, increased income, and business opportunities, but can also lead to social conflicts, such as cultural appropriation and resource exploitation (Wang, Chen, & Xu, 2017). Wang, Chen, & Xu (2017) state that dark tourism should be closely monitored and managed to minimize negative social impacts and that the potential effects on local communities should be considered when planning and managing dark tourism sites. Lennon (2017) argues that while some communities may benefit financially from increased tourism, others may experience negative impacts on their culture and traditions. Lennon stresses the significance of considering the ethical implications of dark tourism on neighborhood communities and discovered that it can have both favorable and unfavorable consequences. It is critical for dark tourism stakeholders to ensure that the benefits outweigh the costs to the local community and that any potential negative effects are closely monitored and addressed (Lennon, 2017).

Sigala and Steriopoulos (2022) discuss that the phenomenon of dark tourism has the potential to elicit both beneficial and adverse effects on the local cultural context. While dark tourism can bring in additional revenue to local communities through an increase in visitors and tourism-related income, it also has the potential to contribute to the commodification of a culture, resulting in its exploitation for commercial purposes. This can lead to the misrepresentation or even distortion of the culture, as the focus shifts towards the darker aspects of the culture, which may be exaggerated for the purpose of attracting more tourists. Moreover, dark tourism can also cause tensions between local communities and tourists, as locals may feel that their culture is being misrepresented or exploited. Despite these potential drawbacks, dark tourism can also be seen as an opportunity for local communities to engage with tourists and share stories, knowledge, and understanding of their culture.

2.5 Emotions in Dark Tourism

Chen & Xu (2020) state that negative emotions such as fear, sadness, and disgust can act as a source of fascination for visitors and can lead to

heightened levels of engagement and a more meaningful experience. It is necessary to emphasize the importance of understanding the emotional dynamics of dark tourism sites for managers and operators and suggested that these sites can be managed in a way that allows visitors to safely explore the negative emotions without feeling overwhelmed (Chen, & Xu, 2020). This approach could create a more positive experience and provide visitors with a valuable and enriching experience. A nuanced and comprehensive approach to the management of dark tourism sites must be taken to enable visitors to confront the negative emotions tied to the site, while guaranteeing a secure and purposeful experience.

According to Magano et al (2022), the nature of dark tourism experiences is dual, with both positive and negative effects. Positive effects, such as personal growth, enhanced historical knowledge, and emotional connection to the site, were found to be derived from dark tourism experiences. Negative effects such as disorientation, anxiety, and depression that can result from such experiences were however also present. An individual's psychological state is responsible for how big of an impact a dark tourism experience can be to oneself and thus it is important for travelers to be mindful of their psychological needs and limitations prior to engaging in dark tourism activities.

A research paper examined the emotional responses of dark tourism visitors at a Memorial of the Victims of the Nanjing Massacre with semi-structured interviews and focus groups. The results indicated that visitors experienced a mixture of both positive and negative emotions, such as curiosity, admiration, respect, sadness, and regret. Additionally, the physical environment of the site was found to have a significant impact on visitors' emotions, with some participants reporting a somber atmosphere in the presence of the sculptures and memorial artifacts (Zheng, et al, 2016). These findings emphasize the importance of emotions in dark tourism experiences and underline the need for tourism practitioners to consider visitors' emotional needs while designing dark tourism experiences.

Visiting dark tourism sites is often described an emotional experience, as these locations carry a strong sense of loss and sadness. The sites serve as powerful reminders of the devastating impact of historical events, particularly for those related to the Holocaust or other acts of genocide (Dalton, 2014). Dark tourism sites, despite their macabre connotations, can be perceived as sacred pilgrimage destinations. These sites can serve as communal spaces for mourning, offering comfort and condolence to those who have been traumatized by the tragic events that have occurred at these locations. Through visiting these sites, individuals can confront their past, pay homage to the victims and their parted families, and preserve the memory of those who endured such suffering. It is crucial to note that although these sites may evoke feelings of melancholy, they also provide a transformative experience, fostering growth, alleviation, and a sense of belonging (Dalton, 2014).

2.6 Ethics in dark tourism

According to Stone (2006) ethics and morality are significant issues in dark tourism as they involve the selling of sensitive and provocative content through heritage of a specific location or community. Whilst the provider commercializes dark tourism related activities to preserve and upkeep these historic sites, an individual may regard it as exploiting tragedy. Moreover, the want to spread education by using vulgar images by the provider, may seem unethical to individuals (UkEssays, 2018). Stone (2006) has come up with a "shades" of darkness spectrum, which acts as a tool to measure different levels at dark tourism locations, and which allows the previously mentioned issues to be critically analyzed and evaluated.

Mixing pleasure and leisure with tragedy has always been a prominent catalyst for ethical debates in dark tourism (Kempa & Strange, 2003), as a large proportion of people believe that some locations are too sensitive to be presented to society. Though this might be the case, it depends on what "shade" is being assessed to the site. Stone (2006) highlights this by stating that not all dark tourism locations and its resources have the same level of

ethics and darkness. He believes that each site and its product hold their own degree of darkness and if it fulfils certain criteria's, it can be put on a "darkest-lightest" spectrum.
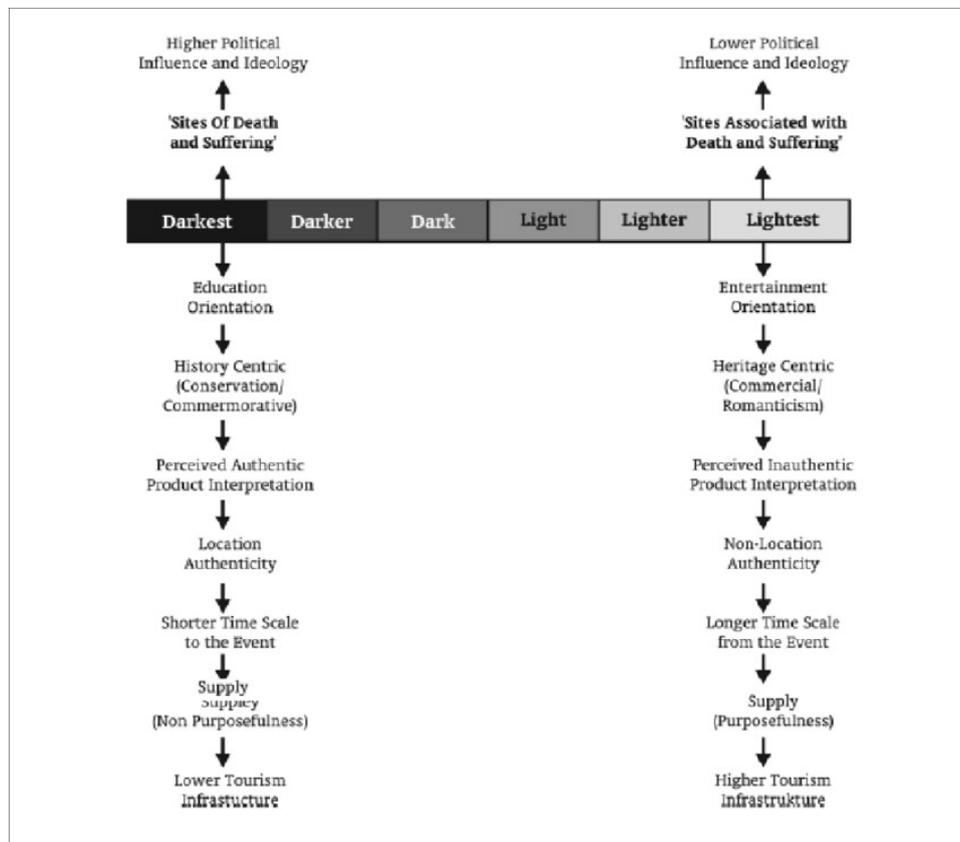
Figure 1: Detailed overview of "darkest - lightest" spectrum (Stone, 2006)

The left-hand side of figure 1 indicates the "darkest" side, where sites are placed which solely are based upon death and suffering and whose aim it is to pass on knowledge (Stone, 2006). These sites are also being referred to as "primary" sites and include locations such as holocaust camps (Auschwitz) or the Murambi Genocide Memorial Centre. These sites are often regarded as being authentic and non-purposeful, which increases the degree of unethical aspects surrounding these types of sites (Wight, 2005).

The right-hand side of the spectrum indicates the "lightest" side, in which its criteria are the opposite of those on the "darker" side. Locations which are positioned on this side of the spectrum tend to be fully commercialized

providers such as the "Dracula Park" in Romania or the "London Dungeon". Stone (2006) also refers to these sites as "Dark Fun Factories" as its main aim is to create monetary value rather than opting for educational purposes. One must understand though that although these sites are associated with death and tragedy, it is not OF death and tragedy. Hence, sites which are located on the "lighter" side of the spectrum are regarded as being purposeful and whose main values are entertainment based, leading to a lower degree of ethics surrounding it.

The phenomenon of dark tourism and the underlying motivations behind it have remained relatively under-explored, and to date, there has been a lack of research examining the emotional and behavioral implications of this form of tourism. Hence, there is a pressing need for a more nuanced comprehension of the reasons why individuals choose to visit dark destinations, experiences, and activities, and how these encounters affect them emotionally and behaviorally. This thesis aims to fill this research gap by delving into the topic of dark tourism and seeking to provide a more comprehensive understanding of the driving forces behind it and its emotional and behavioral consequences. Through this exploration, the study aims to shed new light on the attraction of this type of tourism and the impact it has on tourists.

2.7 McClelland's Theory of Motivation

The subject of motivation is complex and covers both psychological and physiological elements. Individuals and organizations can more effectively motivate themselves and others by understanding the underlying mechanisms of motivation. Human behavior is driven by motivation and can be impacted by various factors (Cherry, 2022).

The Hierarchy of Needs, created by Abraham Maslow in 1943, is one of the most well-known theory models on motivation. Maslow argues that human needs are ordered in a hierarchy, with lower-level requirements prior to higher-level needs (basicsbybecca, 2023).

In 1961, David McClelland published a book titled "The Achieving Society", where he built upon McClelland's theory and proposed a new theoretical framework, demonstrating how motivation in humans can be perceived.

His framework will firstly be discussed in a general perspective, whereas further into this section, the author will discuss how the framework could also apply to dark tourism.

McClelland identified three main motivational factors that according to him, each human possess (see figure 2):

1. A need for power

2. A need for affiliation

3. A need for achievement
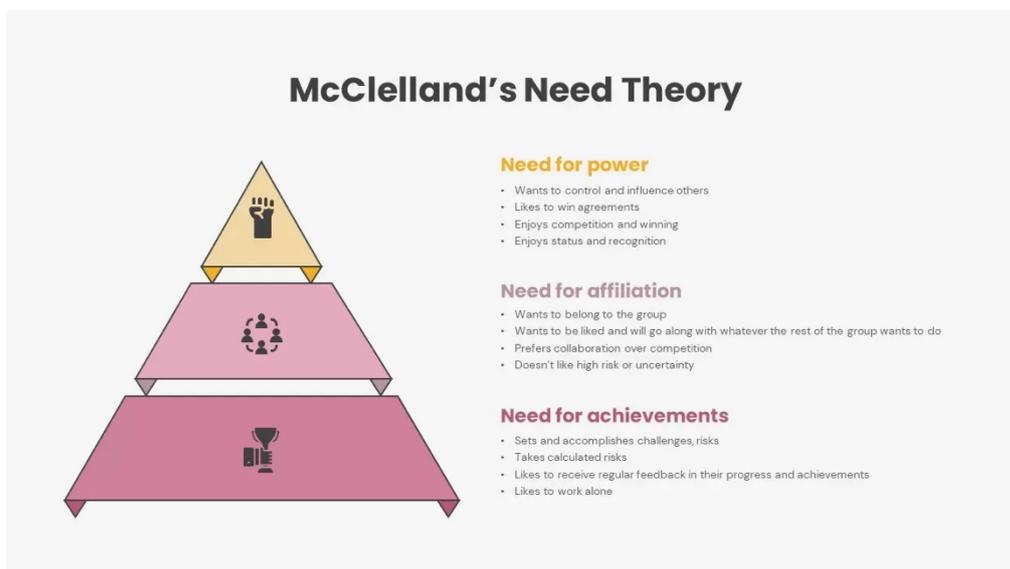
Figure 2: McClelland's theory of motivation (SlideBazaar, n.d.)

Regardless of our gender, culture, or age, McClelland believes that we all possess three motivational factors, one of which will ultimately become our main motivator. This main motivator is heavily influenced by our society and experiences in life (MindTools, n.d.). These characteristics can be seen down below in table 1:

Dominant Motivator	Characteristics of This Person
Achievement	• Has a strong need to set and accomplish challenging goals. • Takes calculated risks to accomplish their goals. • Likes to receive regular feedback on their progress and achievements. • Often likes to work alone.
Affiliation	• Wants to belong to the group. • Wants to be liked, and will often go along with whatever the rest of the group wants to do. • Favors collaboration over competition. • Doesn't like high risk or uncertainty.
Power	• Wants to control and influence others. • Likes to win arguments. • Enjoys competition and winning. • Enjoys status and recognition.

Table 1: McClelland's 3 dominating motivators (MindTools, n.d.)

The three dominators can be defined as following (Knowledgehut,n.d.):

- **Achievement**: a desire to complete tasks and show off one's abilities. High achievers favor assignments that let them take personal responsibility and produce outcomes based on their own efforts. They also desire quick acknowledgement of their accomplishments.

19

- **Affiliation**: a need for affection, community, and approval from others. Being liked and accepted by other people is motivating for people with a high need for affiliation. They frequently participate in social events and may find disagreement uncomfortable.

- **Power**: a need to manage one's own or other people's work. High needers of power seek for circumstances in which they have control and influence over others. They tend to be more concerned with their level of influence than they are about good work performance because they aspire to positions of status and authority.

Although, a person's motivation can be driven by all three of these factors, one is more prominent than the others and essentially acts as the main catalyst for one's motivation.

McClelland's Theory of Motivation in Tourism

Although McClelland's theory is not prominently set up for the tourism sector, various parts of the framework can be linked to tourism as well. When applying the framework to tourism, the following points can be identified (Granapala, 2012):

- **Achievement:** A person likes to travel to new destinations and explore new areas. Through extensive traveling, people gain new experiences and knowledge and therefore feel a sense of achievement which motivates them to keep travelling.

- **Affiliation:** A person that is predominantly driven by affiliation, enjoys having a good relationship with both guests and hosts, and thus fosters those relationships through intense socialization. They enjoy engaging in new cultures and trying to dive as deep into the culture as possible, to feel a sense of belonging and community, which is their main motivator.

- **Power:** Power is most likely the least common dominant motivator in tourism. A tourist's motivation driven by power could be caused due to wanting to plan itineraries and lead a certain group. They may also be driven by authority and status when vacationing at luxury resorts and attending exclusive events.

2.8 A Case Study: The Paris Catacombs

Although dark tourism is a niche subgroup of tourism, it is relatively broad in terms of locations and throughout the world. Therefore, the Paris Catacombs have been chosen as a case study for this thesis, which helps to gain more insightful and valuable data as opposed to targeting a broader dark tourism sample.

McClelland's Theory of Motivation in the Paris Catacombs

The author was unable to find previous research of McClelland's theory being applied to the Paris Catacombs, neither in dark tourism overall, but some basic assumptions can be made based on previous research within the tourism sector.

- **Achievement:** Visitors might be motivated to learn more about the cultural and historical significance of the site. They might be curious to find out about the history of the Catacombs and how they influenced Paris. The difficulty of traveling through underground passageways and touring the Catacombs may motivate them. This achievement of having been there and visited the Catacombs and thoroughly having learnt about them, may be a key achievement, which motivates them.

- **Affiliation:** Affiliation can be separate for the two main groups that visit the Catacombs. Whereas the Regular Visitors may want to be part of a guided tour and connect with other likewise travelers to share their experiences, the affiliation motivator can be very prominent when referring to the Cataphiles. Cataphiles is a small knit tight community,

which are extremely discreet and anonymous, and therefore hard to get into. Therefore, being part of that group can be a huge motivation.

- **Power:** Regular Visitors may feel power as in that they are able to handle the gruesome views of a room filled with bones and skulls. They might be attracted to the sense of excitement that comes with exploring underground tunnels, as well as the sensation of exploratory control. The Cataphiles on the other hand hold a certain status within the Catacombs, as they are the group that have access to the illegal parts of the tunnels. Therefore, their exploration of the restricted areas of the Catacombs which involves a mix of danger and excitement may motivate them. Furthermore, they may be driven by the power of knowing the Catacombs better than the authorities, and thus often not getting caught.

History

The Paris Catacombs are a series of tunnels and rooms that contain the remains of over six million people. Located beneath the streets of Paris, the Catacombs have become a popular tourist attraction for visitors seeking a unique and unnerving experience (The Guardian, 2015).

The Paris Catacombs were formerly a system of limestone quarries from which many of the city's well-known structures, including Notre-Dame Cathedral and the Louvre, were constructed (Dodsworth, 2015). The odor of rotting corpses was intolerable, and Paris' cemeteries were overflowing in the late 18th century. As a result, the city made the decision to repurpose the deserted quarries as a mass graveyard.

The late 18th century saw the construction of the Catacombs as a response to Paris's overflowing cemeteries. Millions of people had their remains moved to the Catacombs, where they were arranged in complex designs of bones and skulls. For many years, the Catacombs were off-limits to the public; but, in the

19th century (Bryant, n.d.) they were finally made available as a tourist destination. Today, visitors can take a Catacombs tour with a guide, which includes a journey through the rooms and meandering tunnels that house thousands of people's remains.

Almost 320 kilometers of tunnels make up the Paris Catacombs, which run beneath the city. Most parts of the Catacombs are too unsafe for people to enter, therefore only about 1.7km of this network is accessible to the public (Rizhlaine, 2020). There are several unofficial entrances to the Catacombs in addition to the main one, which have been used over the years by daring urban explorers and thrill seekers. The blue mark in figure 4 shows the official entrance to the Paris Catacombs and the red indication marks an illegal entry point, which can be accessed through a manhole on the street "Rue du Père-Corentin" as seen in figure 3. Although while officials frequently block off these unauthorized openings, those who are tenacious enough to find them can still enter them. Yet, it is dangerous and illegal to explore the Catacombs through these unauthorized openings and doing so might get you fined (Independent, 2010).
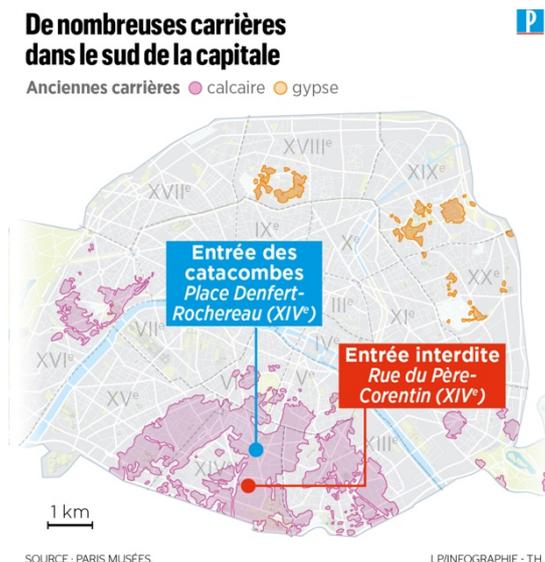
Figure 4: An illegal and legal entry point to the Catacombs (Carez, 2020)

Figure 3: A Cataphile illegally descending into the Catacombs (Carez, 2020)

When discussing the Paris Catacombs, we differ between 2 key subgroups that visit the site (Independent, 2010):

- The regular tourists that come and visit the museum and have access to about 2km of the unrestricted area of the Catacombs.
- Cataphiles, which are a people that are part of a community of Parisian urban explores, that illegally wander the Catacombs and explore the restricted areas.

By using their cameras and phones, these trespassing explorers, also referred to as Cataphiles have been able to capture images and videos that expose the Catacombs' hidden areas. They have even remembered or charted hundreds of access sites, passed along advice or given visual cues to watch out for when navigating the many unsettling mazes of the Catacombs' restricted areas (Rajput, 2021).

It is important to mention that it is unsafe for a solo visitor to explore the Paris Catacombs. In the underground passages, individuals have occasionally gotten lost (Rajput, 2021) or injured (Rozenbaum, 2019). There have been reports of deaths as well, although no clear evidence has been published, confirming these cases (Stampler, 2017).

Cataphilie, the term for trespassing in Paris quarries, is regarded as a type of urban exploration, which entails exploring urban areas and, in particular, breaking into buildings and abandoned or unused regions that are excluded from urban development activities (Lebreton, 2015 ; Stones, 2016).

Previous research has shown that multiple motivations have been found which result in Cataphiles wanting to engage within this trespassing, such as the desire to engage within an activity that other people have not done (Wilson, 2012; Peirazeau, 2015; Stones, 2016; as cited in Fafet, 2019) or just simply looking for an adventure (Zuckerman, 1994; Wilson, 2012; as cited in Fafet, 2019). A third motivation has been found by Lebreton et al (2018) which states that through visiting the illegal parts of the Catacombs, Cataphiles

combine cultural practice and sport and thus highlight the motivation of wanting to educate themselves about the historical, geological, and cultural features of the Paris quarries. Another motivation that has been identified through past research is attending the illegal parties that are being held in the Catacombs. In 2022, various crypto developers held an illegal rave deep below the streets of Paris. The party had about 100 attendees, and one of them told CNBC that "it's extremely illegal but also very crypto." According to reports, the party included a DJ, a bar with neon illumination, and extra candlelight and went on until 4am (Eede, 2022).

The increasing popularity of the Paris Catacombs

The Paris Catacombs have a unique and frightening place in the city's history, and the fascinating tales and legends associated with this subterranean site captivate people from across the globe, drawing above 500.000 yearly visitors (Nicklin, 2022).

The appeal of the Paris Catacombs has also been boosted by the growth of social media and digital marketing. Via various social media platforms, primarily Facebook and Instagram, as well as niche forums, such as the Paris Catacombs subreddit, the Catacombs have been advertised and promoted, which has served to spark interest and generate buzz among potential tourists.

Finally, the Paris Catacombs are now more accessible for visitors thanks to upgrades in the amenities and infrastructure. Significant financial investments have been made recently to enhance the tourist experience, including the installation of modern lighting, informative displays, a larger staircase as well as improved sanitary facilities (Europe1, 2017). These changes have made it simpler for people to explore the Catacombs and discover their significance and history.

3 Methodology

The following part will focus on the research. In the beginning, the different research models will be explained, and the chosen study design will be explained into more detail. For this paper, for primary data collection the quantitative method is used. To gather data a survey was conducted, and the survey development will be explained. At the end, the findings will be presented and discussed into detail.

3.1 Research Design

A well formulated research design aids in the alignment of methods used with the research goal, the collection of high-quality data as well as using reliable sources to choose the appropriate analysis style to answer the research questions. Thus, the research design helps to the attainment of reliable and accurate findings (Scribbr, n.d.). One generally differentiates between three different types of research methods and choses the one that is most appropriate to one's research goal. The major difference however is between the quantitative and qualitative research design. (Creswell, 2013).

The objective of a quantitative research design is to collect and analyze numerical data with the aim of testing hypotheses and identifying the cause-and-effect relationships between variables. The focus of qualitative research design, on the other hand, is on analyzing and documenting the experiences, viewpoints, and actions of individuals and groups using techniques such as focus groups, interviews, and observations (Creswell, 2013).

According to Steefkerk (2019) one should use quantitative research when testing or verifying something (a theory or hypothesis), whereas one should use qualitative research to thoroughly understand a subject (concepts, thoughts, experiences). There are however many additional external factors which affect what type of research design should be chosen, including your research question(s), whether you're conducting experimental, correlational, or

descriptive research, and practical factors like time, money, data availability, and access to respondents (Steefkerk, 2019).

For this paper, the quantitative research design appears to be the most suitable and will therefore be used.

A valuable analysis tool for contrasting the outcomes of one or more variables with those of another is cross tabulation (crosstab). It is applied to numerical data when variables are identified or labeled without regard to order (nominal variables) (SurveyMonkey, n.d.). Cross Tabulations have been used as the main method of analysis for this paper, identifying the relationships and differences between 2 sample groups: The Regular Visitors and the Cataphiles.

- Research Question (RQ): Are there differences in the motivations and emotions experienced when visiting the Paris Catacombs between Regular Visitors and Cataphiles?

To acquire a holistic perspective on the motivations and emotions shown by Regular Visitors and Cataphiles, the author came up with five sub-research questions.

- Sub Research Question 1: Are there differences in the primary motivations of Regular Visitors and Cataphiles when visiting the Catacombs?
- Sub Research Question 2: Are there differences in McClelland's three motivators "achievement, affiliation, or power" in between Regular Visitors and Cataphiles when visiting the Catacombs?
- Sub Research Question 3: Are there differences in the main factors that influence Regular Visitors or Cataphiles to visit the Paris Catacombs?
- Sub Research Question 4: Are there differences in the primary emotions of Regular Visitors and Cataphiles when visiting the Catacombs?
- Sub Research Question 5: Are there differences in the specific aspects of the Paris Catacombs contribute to the emotions experienced by Regular Visitors and Cataphiles?

To explore these research questions efficiently, the following five hypotheses were formulated which will either be rejected or accepted:

- Hypothesis 1: There are differences in the primary motivations of Regular Visitors and Cataphiles when visiting the Catacombs.
- Hypothesis 2: There are differences in McClelland's three motivators "achievement, affiliation, or power" in between Regular Visitors and Cataphiles when visiting the Catacombs.
- Hypothesis 3: There are differences in the main factors that influence Regular Visitors or Cataphiles to visit the Paris Catacombs.
- Hypothesis 4: There are differences in the primary emotions of Regular Visitors and Cataphiles when visiting the Catacombs.
- Hypothesis 5: There are differences in the specific aspects of the Paris Catacombs contribute to the emotions experienced by Regular Visitors and Cataphiles.

3.2 Data Collection

Survey Introduction

An experiment has been conducted by using an online survey tool, where participants answered different type of questions regarding their motivations and emotions during their visit to the Paris Catacombs. According to Trochim (n.d.), surveys can be split into two different categories, an interview survey and a questionnaire survey. Typically, questionnaires are given out as paper-and-pencil forms that must be independently filled out by the respondent. In contrast, interviews involve a verbal conversation between the interviewer and the subject, who then records the subject's responses.

As Cataphiles generally do not like to talk to outsiders and the Paris Catacombs are a niche dark-tourism location, it is relatively hard to find an audience to conduct in-person interviews with. Therefore, in this thesis, an experiment using an online questionnaire will be conducted as this allows for a higher outreach and thus a greater sample size. The aim is to find out if there are differences in motivation and emotions between tourists and Cataphiles

during their visit to the Paris Catacombs. The two sample groups of our survey are both Cataphiles and Regular Visitors, and have been to the Paris Catacombs, and therefore the focus on survey deployment will be on forums related to the Catacombs, such as the Paris Catacombs subreddit on Reddit, various Facebook groups and directly contacting visitors over Instagram. A minimum of 100 participants should be achieved to have a representative sample.

Survey Implementation

It is of great importance to formulate the relevant survey questions with clarity and precision to ensure that the data collected is both significant and accurate, while also minimizing any potential confusion among survey participants. The resulting data will assist the author in addressing both research questions and in presenting their findings and stating the conclusion.

The survey was created by using Google Form and consists of 20 questions, including both close-ended questions as well as questions where multiple answers could be ticked. Only two (one is optional to answer) open-end questions were used as these often seem to discourage survey participation from contributors. Anecdotal data suggests that open-ended inquiries can be less enjoyable to respond to, according to Berinsky et al. (2014). Such inquiries might even discourage respondents with lower literacy skills or particular disabilities from expressing themselves in writing, which could result in selective exclusion among particular demographic groups.

The survey consists of 4 pages (see Appendix), whereas the first page aims at collecting demographic data which provides an overview of the sample. In order for researchers to have a better grasp of the population that is relevant to their research, gathering demographic information is both crucial and beneficial (Supersurvey,n.d.).

The second page consists of the visitor's overall experience and tries to gather some general information about a visitor's experience and classifies survey

participants into 2 different subgroups (Regular Visitor & Cataphiles) which may have a significant effect on the answers submitted on question 3 and 4.

The third- and fourth-page focus on data which directly relates to the research questions and collects data regarding a visitor's motivations and emotional experience.

Survey Distribution

As the survey targets a specific audience, it is of great importance to also select the correct sources to receive the relevant data required. Therefore, the author has chosen 2 different channels where data has been gathered from:

1. The subreddit "/ParisCatacombs" on Reddit. Roughly 5000 people have subscribed to this subreddit, but on average only 0-10 people are active at a time. Although the number of participants which the author can reach is on the smaller side, it is an extremely beneficial way of gathering data, especially from Cataphiles. Reddit allows users to browse under an anonymous identity, thus making it the perfect place for Cataphiles to exchange information with each other. Therefore, the author has created a quick thread, with a request if people would be kind enough to participate in the survey. Cataphiles tend to not want to reveal their identity, and therefore this was the only channel where Cataphile data could be collected from, which is extremely interesting and insightful.

2. The second channel is Instagram. This is where most data was gathered from, but mostly from a Regular Visitor's point of view, as again, most Cataphiles are very discreet and only chat on anonymous platforms. The #catacombedeParis hashtag has around 25.000 posts registered and the location itself another 80.000 posts, and therefore it is a significant channel to gather the required data. The author private messaged the accounts that have actively engaged with the Paris Catacombs on Instagram in some way and politely asked them if they were kind enough to participate in this short survey.

By using these two channels, the author was able to gather equal data from both target groups: Cataphiles as well as Regular Visitors.

3.3 Method of Analysis

This chapter explains the tools which have been used to analyses the results and presents the findings of the study. One research question, and 5 sub-research question will be addressed in the following section and the corresponding hypothesis' will be tested.

Firstly, the data gathered must be organized as well as any other documents related. Afterwards the data should be carefully looked at again and be explored. A mix of descriptive and inferential analysis methods will be used to analyze the collected survey data.

In preparation for the analyzation of the data, the author has classified the survey questions into different categories:

1. Multiple Choice Questions: "Mark only one oval"

The author has come up with a codebook, which allows for the quantification of the collected data. In the coding book, each multiple-choice answer was given a number starting from 1 upwards (refer to figure 5). The author then input the quantified data into SPSS, a statistical analyzing software, by creating values for the given labels (survey answers) and thus was able to proceed with evaluating the data. Data coding is a crucial phase in the data analysis process because it enables researchers to interpret data and reach relevant conclusions. Researchers can easily spot patterns and trends that would otherwise be challenging to spot by giving codes to data elements (QualityGurus, n.d.).

12. Please indicate which of the following best describes your motivation for *
visiting the Paris Catacombs:

Mark only one oval.

◯ A desire for achievement or recognition (e.g. to say you've been there, to check it off your bucket list) (1)

◯ A desire for affiliation or belonging (e.g. to share the experience with others, to feel a sense of connection to history, to be part of a community) (2)

◯ A desire for power or control (e.g. to confront your fears, to feel a sense of mastery over the environment, to have a certain status) (3)

Figure 5: An example on coding multiple choice questions from the survey

2. Check Box Questions: "Tick all that apply"

The author had to come up with a different coding method for the check box questions, as SPSS requires different values to be used when dealing with multiple response sets. All responses were laid out in an Excel sheet where they were quantified by using dummy variables (refer to figure 6). 1 represented if the response was selected, and 0 if the response was not selected. Because they allow us to represent several groups using a single regression equation, dummy variables are helpful. As a result, we get rid of the necessity to create unique equation models for every subgroup. The dummy variables function acts as 'switches' that turn certain equation parameters on and off. Another benefit of a 0,1 dummy-coded variable is that you can statistically treat it like an interval-level variable even though it has a nominal level (Conjointly, n.d.).

Additionally, for all checkbox questions, participants were able to pick the "other" option and input a further response if they felt like the given responses did not cover the whole spectrum. The author was unable to quantify and input

this data into SPSS, and therefore it will be individually addressed under each analyzation marked as "optional variables".

Figure 6: The dummy variables used for quantification

3. Open End Questions

The survey only included 2 open end questions, whereas "*Were there any particular exhibits or areas in the Paris Catacombs that triggered an emotional response?*" was required to be filled out and *"Is there anything else you would like to mention or add regarding your visit to the Paris Catacombs?*" was optional to answer. These questions were implemented to gain a more personal interpretation of the sample regarding their motivations and emotions.

The answers to these questions are subjective and cannot be quantified, thus a basic thematic content analysis was applied. The author evaluated the different responses and then categorized them into similar groups. This allows to have an organized and clear overview of the responses from survey participants and classified them together with similar responses from other survey participants.

4   Findings

4.1 Demographic Analysis

A total of 24 people participated in the survey, where 12 participants classify themselves as Regular Visitors and the other half as Cataphiles.
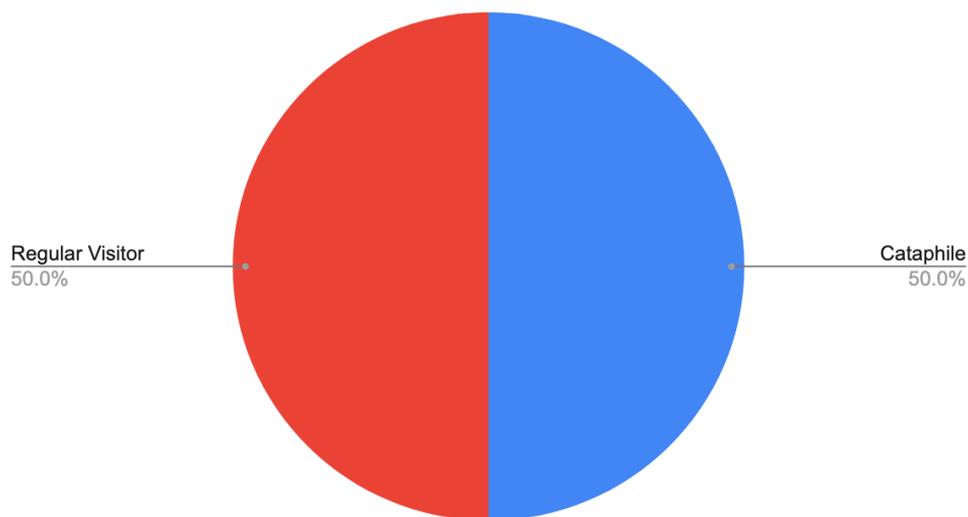
Figure 7: Cataphile or Regular Visitor

75% of all participants are below the age of 30, indicating that the Paris Catacombs appear to be an attraction mostly to a younger crowd. This may however also have been influenced by the data collection method, as social media is primarily used by a younger audience.
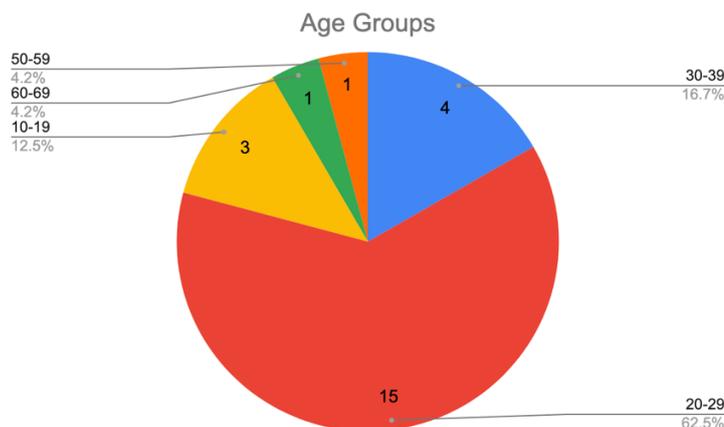
Figure 8: Age

When evaluating the gender distribution among both groups, it is evident that there is a significant difference in gender depending on the sample group. Out of all Cataphiles that submitted the survey, 8 out of 12 were male. Out of all Regular Visitors that submitted the survey, 9 out of 12 were female. One may assume that there is a higher presence of males among the Cataphile community and a higher presence of females which also posted about their trip on Instagram. According to Vermeren (2015), women use social media more than men to share personal information and thus reveal more about their personal life. This may explain the high female response rate.
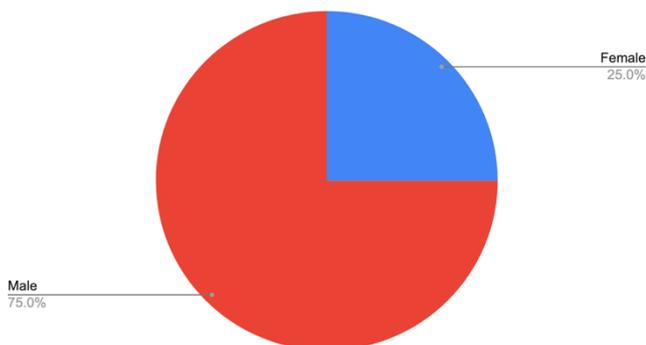
Figure 9: Cataphile Gender

Figure 10: Regular Visitor Gender

Out of all participants, 9 have classified themselves as students, once again highlighting that the site is shaped by a younger demographic. 10 people are employed and 2 self-employed. Only 2 people are unemployed, and 1 person is not able to work due to a disability.

Which of the following categories best describes your employment status?

Disabled, not able to w…
4.2%
Unemployed
8.3%
Self-employed
8.3%

1
2
2
10 — Employed 41.7%

9
Student
37.5%
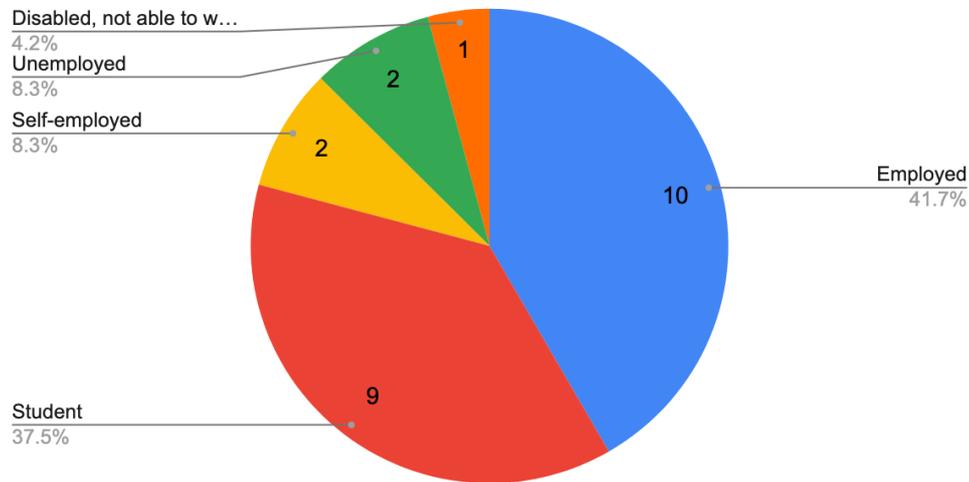
Figure 11: Employment Status

It is evident that the nationalities vary heavily according to the sample group. 8 out of 12 Cataphiles have a French origin, thus indicating that the Cataphile community consist mostly of French nationals. The origins of the Regular Visitors are mixed, although the majority, with 5 answers, seem to be from the United States. One should also note that not a single person that answered the survey from Group 2 is French, thus indicating that the legal Catacombs are a major tourist attraction and motivations and emotions in between both groups may differ heavily.

Cataphile: What is your nationality?

German 1 | French 8 | Uruguay 1 | Italian 1 | Norwegian 1

Regular Visitor: What is your nationality?

German 2 | Brazilian 1 | Belgium 1 | Chinese 1 | United States 5 | Russian 1 | British 1
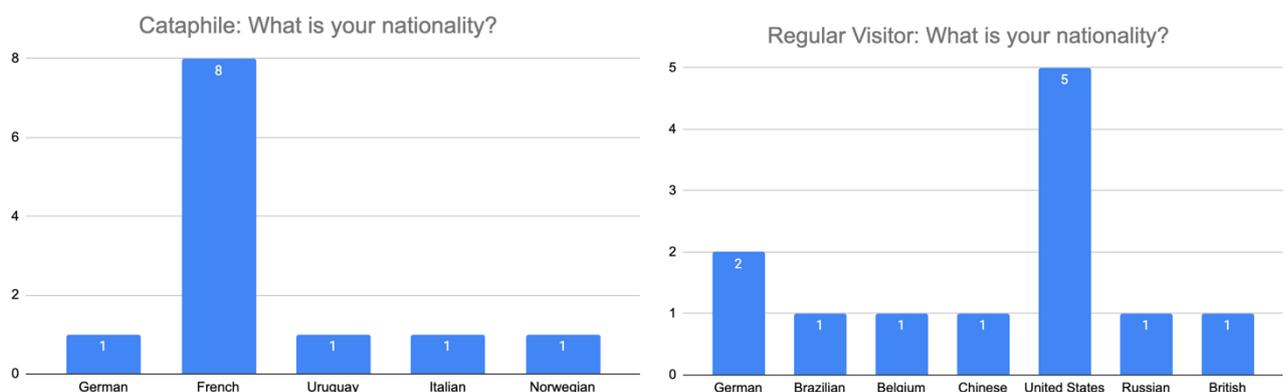
Figure 12: Cataphile & Regular Visitor Nationality

When referring to the demographic data just discussed, it is evident that there are significant differences among the two groups. The following section will discuss what the motivations and emotions are that both groups experienced and will answer the following research question:

- Are there differences in the motivations and emotions experienced when visiting the Paris Catacombs between Regular Visitors and Cataphiles?

4.2 Experience Analysis

Initially, crosstabulations will be used to analyze the first part of the survey, aiming to identify differences between the two sample groups and provide a broad understanding of their overall experience at the Paris Catacombs. Subsequently, the focus will shift to the data related to motivation and emotion, which will directly address the research question and the hypotheses will be tested by running Chi Square Tests.

1. *Multiple Choice Question: How many times have you visited the Paris Catacombs?*

Cataphile or Regular Visitor? * How many times have you visited the Paris Catacombs? Crosstabulation						
Count						
		How many times have you visited the Paris Catacombs?				
		Once	2–5	5–10	10+	Total
Cataphile or Regular Visitor?	Regular Visitor	10	2	0	0	12
	Cataphile	1	1	1	9	12
Total		11	3	1	9	24

Figure 13: Crosstabulation of the number of visits to the Paris Catacombs

Regular Visitors:

- The majority of Regular Visitors (10 out of 12) visited the Paris Catacombs only once.
- Only 2 of the Regular Visitors visited the Catacombs more than once.
- There is a low frequency of visits among Regular Visitors, with only 2 respondents indicating multiple visits.

Cataphiles:

- The majority of Cataphiles (9 out of 12) have visited the Paris Catacombs 10 or more times.
- One Cataphile has visited the Catacombs between 5 to 10 times, one between 2 and 5 times and one has visited only once.

- There is a high frequency of visits among Cataphiles, with 9 out of 12 respondents indicating visiting 10 or more times.

Cataphiles showed a higher inclination for multiple visits, especially 10 or more times. This suggests a stronger connection and ongoing exploration among Cataphiles compared to Regular Visitors. These findings highlight the distinct visitation patterns and levels of engagement between the two groups at the Paris Catacombs.

2. Checkbox Question: Why did you choose to visit the Paris Catacombs? (Select all that apply)

$reasonofvisit*RegularVisitorOrCataphile Crosstabulation					
			Regular Visitor or Cataphile?		Total
			Regular Visitor	Cataphile	
Why did you choose to visit the Paris[a]	Curiosity	Count	11	11	22
		% within RegularVisitorOrCataphile	91.7%	91.7%	
	Historical Interest	Count	6	10	16
		% within RegularVisitorOrCataphile	50.0%	83.3%	
	Educational Purposes	Count	1	1	2
		% within RegularVisitorOrCataphile	8.3%	8.3%	
	Adventure	Count	6	11	17
		% within RegularVisitorOrCataphile	50.0%	91.7%	
Total		Count	12	12	24

Percentages and totals are based on respondents.
  a. Dichotomy group tabulated at value 1.

Figure 14: Crosstabulation of the reason to visit the Paris Catacombs

Regular Visitors:

- Curiosity: 11 out of 12 Regular Visitors (92%) chose to visit the Catacombs out of curiosity.
- Historical Interest: 6 out of 12 Regular Visitors (50%) selected historical interest as their reason for visiting.
- Educational Purposes: Only 1 out of 12 Regular Visitors (8%) visited the Catacombs for educational purposes.
- Adventure: 6 out of 12 Regular Visitors (50%) chose to visit the Catacombs for adventure.

Cataphiles:

- Curiosity: 11 out of 12 Cataphiles (92%) visited the Catacombs out of curiosity.
- Historical Interest: 10 out of 12 Cataphiles (83%) selected historical interest as their reason for visiting.
- Educational Purposes: 1 out of 12 Cataphiles (8%) visited the Catacombs for educational purposes.
- Adventure: 11 out of 12 Cataphiles (92%) chose to visit the Catacombs for adventure.

Optional Variables:

- "Meet a lot of different people" – Cataphile
- "Underground raves" – Cataphile
- "Adrenaline and the desire to escape my everyday life" – Cataphile
- "The story of the phantom of the opera played there as well" – Regular Visitor

These results provide insights into the motivations of both Regular Visitors and Cataphiles. Curiosity and historical interest are prominent reasons for visiting the Catacombs in both groups, while educational purposes have the lowest representation. Adventure appears to be a significant factor for both groups as well, but a more significant motivation for Cataphiles.

3. *Checkbox Question: What were your expectations before visiting the Paris Catacombs? (Select all that apply)*

$expectations*RegularVisitorOrCataphile Crosstabulation			Regular Visitor or Cataphile?		
			Regular Visitor	Cataphile	Total
expectations[a]	I expected to be fascinated by the historical significance of the site	Count	4	7	11
		% within RegularVisitorOrCataphile	33.3%	58.3%	
	I expected to be scared by the dark and eerie atmosphere of the catacombs	Count	5	4	9
		% within RegularVisitorOrCataphile	41.7%	33.3%	
	I expected to feel uncomfortable or uneasy during the visit	Count	4	5	9
		% within RegularVisitorOrCataphile	33.3%	41.7%	
	I expected to have a thrilling and exciting experience	Count	7	11	18
		% within RegularVisitorOrCataphile	58.3%	91.7%	
Total		Count	12	12	24

Percentages and totals are based on respondents.
a. Dichotomy group tabulated at value 1.

Figure 15: Crosstabulation of the expectation before visiting the Paris Catacombs

Regular Visitors:

- Fascinated by historical significance: 4 out of 12 Regular Visitors (33%)
- Scared by dark and eerie atmosphere: 5 out of 12 Regular Visitors (42%)
- Feel uncomfortable or uneasy: 4 out of 12 Regular Visitors (33%)
- Thrilling and exciting experience: 7 out of 12 Regular Visitors (58%)

Cataphiles:

- Fascinated by historical significance: 7 out of 12 Cataphiles (58%)
- Scared by dark and eerie atmosphere: 4 out of 12 Cataphiles (33%)
- Feel uncomfortable or uneasy: 5 out of 12 Cataphiles (42%)

- Thrilling and exciting experience: 11 out of 12 Cataphiles (92%)

These findings suggest that both Regular Visitors and Cataphiles had similar expectations regarding being fascinated by the historical significance and feeling uncomfortable or uneasy. However, Cataphiles had a higher expectation for a thrilling and exciting experience compared to Regular Visitors.

4. Multiple Choice Question: Were your expectations met?

Wereyourexpectationsmet*RegularVisitorOrCataphile Crosstabulation					
			Regular Visitor or Cataphile?		Total
			Regular Visitor	Cataphile	
Were your expectations met?	Yes	Count	9	11	20
	No	Count	0	1	1
	Somewhat	Count	3	0	3
Total		Count	12	12	24
Percentages and totals are based on respondents.					

Figure 16: Crosstabulation of if their expectations were met

Regular Visitors:

- Expectations met: 9 out of 12 Regular Visitors (75%) reported their expectations were met.
- Expectations not met: None of the Regular Visitors indicated their expectations were not met.
- Expectations somewhat met: 3 out of 12 Regular Visitors (25%) reported their expectations were somewhat met.

Cataphiles:

- Expectations met: 11 out of 12 Cataphiles (92%) reported their expectations were met.
- Expectations not met: 1 out of 12 Cataphiles (8%) indicated their expectations were not met.
- Expectations somewhat met: None of the Cataphiles reported their expectations were somewhat met.

These findings indicate that the majority of both Regular Visitors and Cataphiles had their expectations met when visiting the Paris Catacombs. It suggests a high level of satisfaction with their experience, with only a small proportion reporting their expectations as not met or somewhat met.

4.3 Motivation Analysis

The analysis of motivations will involve utilizing crosstabulations to examine the differences in motivations between the two sample groups. Additionally, to assess the significance of these differences, a chi-square test was conducted.

1. *Checkbox Question: What was your primary motivation for visiting the Paris Catacombs? (Select all that apply)*

$PrimaryMotivations*RegularVisitorOrCataphile Crosstabulation			Regular Visitor or Cataphile?		Total
			Regular Visitor	Cataphile	
Primary Motivations[a]	To learn about the history of the catacombs	Count	10	6	16
		% within RegularVisitorOrCataphile	83.3%	50.0%	
	To experience dark tourism	Count	4	4	8
		% within RegularVisitorOrCataphile	33.3%	33.3%	
	To see the human remains	Count	5	4	9
		% within RegularVisitorOrCataphile	41.7%	33.3%	
	To feel a sense of adventure	Count	5	10	15
		% within RegularVisitorOrCataphile	41.7%	83.3%	
	To confront my fears or discomforts	Count	1	5	6
		% within RegularVisitorOrCataphile	8.3%	41.7%	
	To take interesting or unusual photographs	Count	2	3	5
		% within RegularVisitorOrCataphile	16.7%	25.0%	
	To appreciate the art and decoration within the catacombs	Count	3	5	8
		% within RegularVisitorOrCataphile	25.0%	41.7%	
	To escape the crowds and noise of the city	Count	1	8	9
		% within RegularVisitorOrCataphile	8.3%	66.7%	
	To engage in a meaningful or spiritual experience	Count	1	3	4
		% within RegularVisitorOrCataphile	8.3%	25.0%	
Total		Count	12	12	24

Percentages and totals are based on respondents.
  a. Dichotomy group tabulated at value 1.

Figure 17: Crosstabulation of the primary motivation to visit the Paris Catacombs
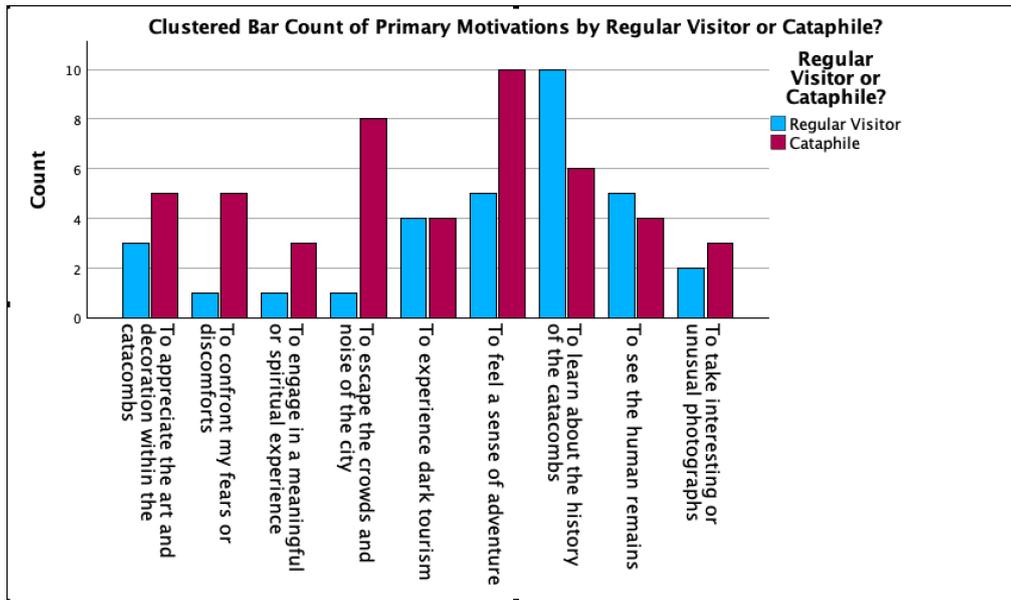
Figure 18: Clustered Bar Chart of the primary motivation to visit the Paris Catacombs

Regular Visitors:

- Primary Motivation to learn about the history of the Catacombs: 10 out of 12 Regular Visitors (83%) had this motivation.
- Primary Motivation to experience dark tourism: 4 out of 12 Regular Visitors (33%) had this motivation.
- Primary Motivation to see the human remains: 5 out of 12 Regular Visitors (42%) had this motivation.
- Primary Motivation to escape the crowds and noise of the city: 1 out of 12 Regular Visitors (8%) had this motivation.

Cataphiles:

- Primary Motivation to feel a sense of adventure: 10 out of 12 Cataphiles (83%) had this motivation.
- Primary Motivation to confront fears or discomforts: 5 out of 12 Cataphiles (41%) had this motivation.
- Primary Motivation to appreciate the art and decoration within the Catacombs: 5 out of 12 Cataphiles (41%) had this motivation.
- Primary Motivation to escape the crowds and noise of the city: 8 out of 12 Regular Cataphiles (67%) had this motivation.

Optional Variables:

- "To have a good time with friends" – Cataphile
- "The story of the phantom of the opera" – Regular Visitor

The data reveals that both Regular Visitors and Cataphiles are motivated by learning about the history of the Catacombs. However, Cataphiles exhibit a stronger inclination towards adventure, escaping the crowds and noise of the city, confronting fears or discomforts, and appreciating the artistic elements within the Catacombs compared to Regular Visitors. Regular Visitors seem to be much more interested in learning about the history of the Catacombs.

4.3.1 Hypothesis 1

H1: There are differences in the primary motivations of Regular Visitors and Cataphiles when visiting the Catacombs

H0: There are no differences in the primary motivations of Regular Visitors and Cataphiles when visiting the Catacombs

Pearson Chi-Square Tests		Regular Visitor or Cataphile?
Primary Motivations Chi-square		22.092
df		9
Sig.		.009[*,b]

Results are based on nonempty rows and columns in each innermost subtable.

*. The Chi-square statistic is significant at the .05 level.

b. More than 20% of cells in this subtable have expected cell counts less than 5. Chi-square results may be invalid.

Figure 19: Chi Square Test of Primary Motivations

The result of the Chi-Square test for the variable "Primary Motivations" reveals a significant chi-square value of 0.009($p < .05$), indicating that there is a statistically significant difference between the motivations of the two sample groups and thus we accept H1.

Chi Square Test results should be interpreted with caution (Limitations).

2. Multiple Choice Question: Please indicate which of the following best describes your motivation for visiting the Paris Catacombs:

Regular Visitor or Cataphile? * Please indicate which of the following best describes your motivation for visiting the Paris Catacombs: Crosstabulation					
Count					
		Please indicate which of the following best describes your motivation for visiting the Paris Catacombs:			
		A desire for achievement or recognition (e.g. to say you've been there, to check it off your bucket list)	A desire for affiliation or belonging (e.g. to share the experience with others, to feel a sense of connection to history, to be part of a community)	A desire for power or control (e.g. to confront your fears, to feel a sense of mastery over the environment, to have a certain status)	Total
Regular Visitor or Cataphile?	Regular Visitor	8	3	1	12
	Cataphile	5	5	2	12
Total		13	8	3	24

Figure 20: Crosstabulation of the dominant motivators to visit the Paris Catacombs

Regular Visitors:

- Desire for achievement or recognition: 8 out of 12 Regular Visitors (67%) indicated a desire for achievement or recognition as their motivation for visiting the Paris Catacombs.
- Desire for affiliation or belonging: 3 out of 12 Regular Visitors (25%) expressed a desire for affiliation or belonging as their motivation.
- Desire for power or control: 1 out of 12 Regular Visitors (8%) stated a desire for power or control as their motivation.

Cataphiles:

- Desire for achievement or recognition: 5 out of 12 Cataphiles (42%) mentioned a desire for achievement or recognition as their motivation.
- Desire for affiliation or belonging: 5 out of 12 Cataphiles (42%) indicated a desire for affiliation or belonging as their motivation.
- Desire for power or control: 2 out of 12 Cataphiles (17%) expressed a desire for power or control as their motivation.

Overall, the motivations for visiting the Paris Catacombs are generally aligned between Regular Visitors and Cataphiles, with a focus on achievement or recognition and affiliation or belonging. The difference lies in the higher representation of the desire for power or control among Cataphiles, but this difference is small. This suggests that Cataphiles may have a stronger inclination towards seeking a sense of power or control in their exploration of the Catacombs. Furthermore, they have a higher desire for affiliation or belonging. Generally, however, there appears to be no major difference.

4.3.2 Hypothesis 2

H1: There are differences in McClelland's three motivators "achievement, affiliation, or power" in between Regular Visitors and Cataphiles when visiting the Catacombs

H0: There are no differences in McClelland's three motivators "achievement, affiliation, or power" in between Regular Visitors and Cataphiles when visiting the Catacombs

Chi-Square Tests						
	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)	Point Probability
Pearson Chi-Square	1.526[a]	2	.466	.520		
Likelihood Ratio	1.544	2	.462	.520		
Fisher–Freeman–Halton Exact Test	1.584			.520		
Linear-by-Linear Association	1.296[b]	1	.255	.397	.198	.122
N of Valid Cases	24					
a. 4 cells (66.7%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1.50.						
b. The standardized statistic is 1.138.						

Figure 21: Chi Square Test of Dominating Motivators

The result of the Chi-Square test for the variable "Dominating Motivators" reveals a not significant chi-square value of 0.520, indicating that there is no statistically significant difference between the dominant motivators of the two sample groups and thus we reject H1 and accept H0.

Chi Square Test results should be interpreted with caution (Limitations).

3. Multiple Choice Question: Did someone recommend you to visit this site?

Regular Visitor or Cataphile? * Did someone recommend you to visit this site? Crosstabulation				
Count				
		Did someone recommend you to visit this site?		Total
		Yes	No	
Regular Visitor or Cataphile?	Regular Visitor	6	6	12
	Cataphile	6	6	12
Total		12	12	24

Figure 22: Crosstabulations of whether recommendations were given to visit the Paris Catacombs

The data shows that an equal number of Regular Visitors and Cataphiles (6 respondents each) were recommended to visit the site. This suggests that recommendations play a similar role in influencing both groups' decision to visit the Paris Catacombs. It indicates that personal recommendations hold some level of significance in attracting visitors, regardless of whether they identify as Regular Visitors or Cataphiles.

4. *Checkbox Question: What factors influenced your decision to visit the Paris Catacombs? (Select all that apply)*

$InfluencingFactors*RegularVisitorOrCataphile Crosstabulation			Regular Visitor or Cataphile?		Total
			Regular Visitor	Cataphile	
What factors influenced your decision to visit the Paris Catacombs?[a]	Personal interest	Count	8	12	20
	Recommendations from friends/family	Count	6	5	11
	Guidebook or travel website recommendation	Count	3	2	5
	Social media (e.g., Instagram, TikTok)	Count	2	3	5
	Cultural significance	Count	5	5	10
Total		Count	12	12	24

Percentages and totals are based on respondents.
a. Dichotomy group tabulated at value 1.

Figure 23: Crosstabulation of the influencing factors for visiting the Paris Catacombs

- Personal interest: 8 out of 12 Regular Visitors (67%) and 12 out of 12 Cataphiles (100%) stated that personal interest influenced their decision to visit the Paris Catacombs. This indicates that a strong intrinsic curiosity and fascination with the Catacombs played a significant role in motivating individuals from both groups to visit.

- Recommendations from friends/family: 6 out of 12 Regular Visitors (50%) and 5 out of 12 Cataphiles (42%) mentioned that recommendations from friends or family influenced their decision. Word-of-mouth recommendations from trusted individuals played a noteworthy role in attracting visitors to the Catacombs.

- Guidebook or travel website recommendation: 3 out of 12 Regular Visitors (25%) and 2 out of 12 Cataphiles (17%) cited guidebook or travel website recommendations as a factor that influenced their decision. While this factor had a relatively lower impact, it still contributed to the decision-making process for a subset of respondents.

- Social media: 2 out of 12 Regular Visitors (17%) and 3 out of 12 Cataphiles (25%) mentioned social media platforms like Instagram and TikTok as an influencing factor. This suggests that visual and experiential content shared on social media platforms played a role in generating interest and motivating visits.

46

- Cultural significance: 5 out of 12 Regular Visitors (42%) and 5 out of 12 Cataphiles (42%) stated that the cultural significance of the Catacombs influenced their decision. The historical and cultural value of the site played a role in attracting visitors from both groups.

Overall, personal interest and recommendations from friends/family are the most influential factors for both Regular Visitors and Cataphiles in deciding to visit the Paris Catacombs. However, it is interesting to note that Cataphiles are more influenced by personal interest, while Regular Visitors have a higher proportion influenced by recommendations. This difference is however very small and almost not noteworthy.

4.3.3 Hypothesis 3

H1: There are differences in the main factors that influence Regular Visitors or Cataphiles to visit the Paris Catacombs

H0: There are no differences in the main factors that influence Regular Visitors or Cataphiles to visit the Paris Catacombs

Pearson Chi-Square Tests

		Regular Visitor or Cataphile?
Influencing Factors	Chi-square	5.473
	df	5
	Sig.	.361[a]

Results are based on nonempty rows and columns in each innermost subtable.

a. More than 20% of cells in this subtable have expected cell counts less than 5. Chi-square results may be invalid.

Figure 24: Chi Square Test of Influencing Factors

The result of the Chi-Square test for the variable "Influencing Factors" reveals a not significant chi-square value of 0.361, indicating that there is no statistically significant difference between the influencing factors of the two sample groups and thus we reject H1 and accept H0.

Chi Square Test results should be interpreted with caution (Limitations).

4.4 Emotion Analysis

The analysis of emotions will involve utilizing crosstabulations to examine the differences in emotions between the two sample groups. Additionally, to assess the significance of these differences, a chi-square test was conducted.

1. *Checkbox Question: Which emotion did you experience the most during your visit? (Select all that apply)*

$PrimaryEmotions*RegularVisitorOrCataphile Crosstabulation			Regular Visitor or Cataphile?		Total
			Regular Visitor	Cataphile	
Which emotion did you experience the most during your visit?[a]	Fascination	Count	12	10	22
		% within RegularVisitorOrCataphile	100.0%	83.3%	
	Excitement	Count	5	11	16
		% within RegularVisitorOrCataphile	41.7%	91.7%	
	Admiration	Count	2	7	9
		% within RegularVisitorOrCataphile	16.7%	58.3%	
	Fear	Count	3	1	4
		% within RegularVisitorOrCataphile	25.0%	8.3%	
	Discomfort	Count	6	0	6
		% within RegularVisitorOrCataphile	50.0%	0.0%	
	Nervousness	Count	2	2	4
		% within RegularVisitorOrCataphile	16.7%	16.7%	
	Curiosity	Count	7	10	17
		% within RegularVisitorOrCataphile	58.3%	83.3%	
	Sadness	Count	2	0	2
		% within RegularVisitorOrCataphile	16.7%	0.0%	
Total		Count	12	12	24

Percentages and totals are based on respondents.
a. Dichotomy group tabulated at value 1.

Figure 25: Crosstabulation of the primary emotions experienced at the Paris Catacombs
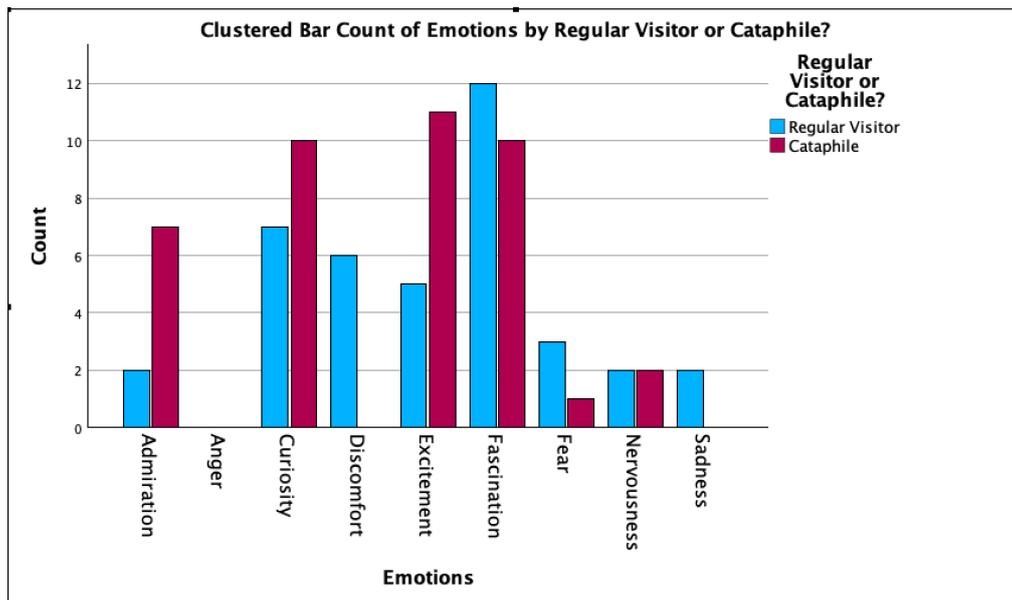
Figure 26: Clustered Bar Chart of the primary emotions experienced at the Paris Catacombs

Regular Visitors:

- Fascination: 12 out of 12 Regular Visitors (100%) experienced fascination during their visit to the Paris Catacombs.
- Excitement: 5 out of 12 Regular Visitors (41.7%) reported feeling excitement.
- Admiration: 2 out of 12 Regular Visitors (16.7%) expressed admiration.
- Fear: 3 out of 12 Regular Visitors (25%) experienced fear.
- Discomfort: 6 out of 12 Regular Visitors (50%) felt discomfort.
- Nervousness: 2 out of 12 Regular Visitors (16.7%) felt nervous.
- Curiosity: 7 out of 12 Regular Visitors (58.3%) were driven by curiosity.
- Sadness: 2 out of 12 Regular Visitors (16.7%) experienced sadness.

Cataphiles:

- Fascination: 10 out of 12 Cataphiles (83.3%) experienced fascination during their visit to the Paris Catacombs.
- Excitement: 11 out of 12 Cataphiles (91.7%) reported feeling excitement.
- Admiration: 7 out of 12 Cataphiles (58.3%) expressed admiration.
- Fear: 1 out of 12 Cataphiles (8.3%) experienced fear.
- Nervousness: 2 out of 12 Cataphiles (16.7%) felt nervous.
- Curiosity: 10 out of 12 Cataphiles (83.3%) were driven by curiosity.

These findings highlight the range of emotions experienced by both Regular Visitors and Cataphiles during their visit to the Paris Catacombs, with

fascination and curiosity being prominent in both groups. However, there are slight variations in the proportions of emotions, with Cataphiles generally exhibiting higher levels of admiration and excitement compared to Regular Visitors. Regular Visitors in contrast experience significantly more fear and discomfort than Cataphiles.

4.4.1 Hypothesis 4

H1: There are differences in the primary emotions of Regular Visitors and Cataphiles when visiting the Catacombs

H0: There are no differences in the primary emotions of Regular Visitors and Cataphiles when visiting the Catacombs

Pearson Chi-Square Tests		Regular Visitor or Cataphile?
Primary Emotions Chi-square		26.573
df		8
Sig.		<.001[*,b,c]

Results are based on nonempty rows and columns in each innermost subtable.

*. The Chi-square statistic is significant at the .05 level.

b. More than 20% of cells in this subtable have expected cell counts less than 5. Chi-square results may be invalid.

c. The minimum expected cell count in this subtable is less than one. Chi-square results may be invalid.

Figure 27: Chi Square Test of Primary Emotions

The result of the Chi-Square test for the variable "Primary Emotions" reveals a significant chi-square value of 0.001 ($p < .05$), indicating that there is a statistically significant difference between the primary emotions of the two sample groups and thus accept H1.

Chi Square Test results should be interpreted with caution (Limitations).

2. *Checkbox Question: Which aspects of the Paris Catacombs contributed to the emotions you experienced? (Select all that apply)*

$AspectsEmotions*RegularVisitorOrCataphile Crosstabulation			Regular Visitor or Cataphile?		Total
			Regular Visitor	Cataphile	
Which aspects of the Paris Catacombs contributed to the emotions you experienced?[a]	History	Count	8	7	15
		% within RegularVisitorOrCataphile	66.7%	58.3%	
	Atmosphere	Count	10	12	22
		% within RegularVisitorOrCataphile	83.3%	100.0%	
	Visual Displays	Count	6	5	11
		% within RegularVisitorOrCataphile	50.0%	41.7%	
Total		Count	12	12	24

Percentages and totals are based on respondents.
  a. Dichotomy group tabulated at value 1.

Figure 28: Crosstabulation of the contributing aspects to the emotional experience at the Paris Catacombs
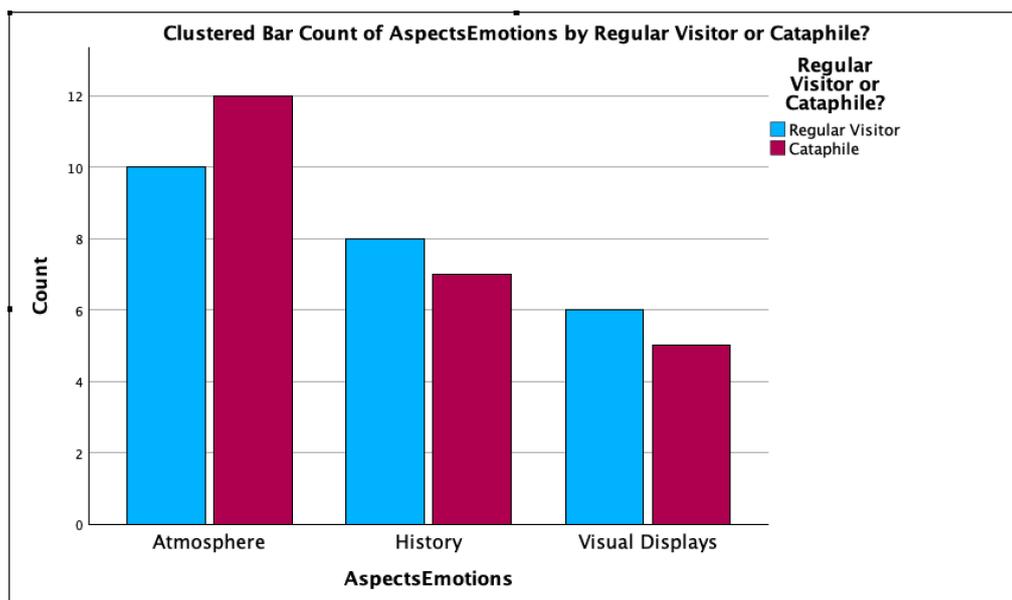
Figure 29: Clustered Bar Chart of the contributing aspects to the emotional experience at the Paris Catacombs

Regular Visitors:

- History: 8 out of 12 Regular Visitors (66.7%) considered the historical aspect of the Paris Catacombs as significant.
- Atmosphere: 10 out of 12 Regular Visitors (83.3%) recognized the importance of the atmospheric qualities of the Catacombs.
- Visual Displays: 6 out of 12 Regular Visitors (50%) found the visual displays within the Catacombs noteworthy.

Cataphiles:

- History: 7 out of 12 Cataphiles (58.3%) valued the historical aspect of the Paris Catacombs.
- Atmosphere: All 12 Cataphiles (100%) acknowledged the significance of the Catacombs' atmosphere.
- Visual Displays: 5 out of 12 Cataphiles (41.7%) appreciated the visual displays present in the Catacombs.

These findings indicate that both Regular Visitors and Cataphiles place a strong emphasis on the historical aspect of the Paris Catacombs. Additionally, the atmospheric qualities of the Catacombs are highly valued by both groups. Visual displays are also acknowledged by both groups, although this category is the least significant in terms of contributing to the emotions experienced for both groups. Overall, there appear to be no major differences between both sample groups.

4.4.2 Hypothesis 5

H1: There are differences in the specific aspects of the Paris Catacombs contribute to the emotions experienced by Regular Visitors and Cataphiles

H0: There are no differences in the specific aspects of the Paris Catacombs contribute to the emotions experienced by Regular Visitors and Cataphiles

Pearson Chi-Square Tests		Regular Visitor or Cataphile?
AspectsEmotions	Chi-square	2.527
	df	3
	Sig.	.470
Results are based on nonempty rows and columns in each innermost subtable.		

Figure 30: Chi Square Test of Aspects Emotions

The result of the Chi-Square test for the variable "Aspects Emotions" reveals a non-significant chi-square value of 0.470, indicating that there is no statistically significant difference between the aspects contributing to emotions of the two sample groups and thus reject H1 and accept H0.

Chi Square Test results should be interpreted with caution (Limitations).

3. *Open-End Question: Were there any particular exhibits or areas in the Paris Catacombs that triggered an emotional response?*

Were there any particular exhibits or areas in the Paris Catacombs that triggered an emotional response?		
Category	**Cataphiles**	**Regular Visitors**
Overall Experience	- The whole experience was just awesome	N/A
People and Community	- Rooms where other Cataphiles could be found. - Female Cataphile feels more secure and welcomed under the surface (Catacombs) than on the streets of Paris. - The rave community	N/A
Specific Areas	- The multiples ossuary and sculptures made by other Cataphiles - Room "Enfer" - The little rooms, the Viandox (an ossuary in the south where I had a spiritual experience) - Access Points (manholes), sense of mastery,	- the entrance (tunnels) felt scary (they were dark, humid and no one was there)

	excitement, adrenaline - maybe the bunkers because they are really impressive	
Atmosphere	- The atmosphere can quickly become depressing if it is crowded and our social batteries are empty.	N/A
Visual Elements:	- The bones - Lamartine Quotes	- Skulls - Loved the shields with the warnings. - The poems - How the bones were organized - Seeing the amount of human remains we were able to see and knowing we only saw a small portion of them. - The patterns made from bones on the walls along with some of the tombstones/marked areas. - rooms with skulls and bones - The first sight of the bones

Table 2: Categories of emotional experiences at the Paris Catacombs

Cataphiles:

- Overall Experience: Cataphiles generally express that the entire experience in the Catacombs was awesome. No specific triggers were mentioned.
- People and Community: Cataphiles mention the presence of other Cataphiles and the sense of security and belonging they feel in the Catacombs compared to the streets of Paris. The rave community is also highlighted as a part of the experience.
- Specific Areas: Cataphiles mention multiple ossuaries and sculptures created by other Cataphiles, the room "Enfer," and specific locations

such as Viandox (an ossuary in the south) and the bunkers. These areas evoke a sense of awe and impressiveness.
- Atmosphere: Cataphiles note that the atmosphere can become depressing if there are crowds and their social energy is exhausted.

Regular Visitors:

- Specific Areas: Regular Visitors mention various visual elements that trigger emotional responses, such as skulls, shields with warnings, poems, organized bones, the sheer quantity of human remains, and patterns made from bones on the walls. Rooms with skulls and bones and the first sight of the bones also stand out.
- Entrance and Tunnels: Regular Visitors describe the entrance tunnels as scary due to their darkness, humidity, and lack of people.

Overall, the table illustrates the distinct triggers of emotional responses for Cataphiles and Regular Visitors. Cataphiles emphasize the presence of other Cataphiles, specific locations, and the overall experience, while Regular Visitors focus more on visual elements, the entrance, and the initial encounters with the Catacombs' features.

4. *Open-End Question: Is there anything else you would like to mention or add regarding your visit to the Paris Catacombs?*

Is there anything else you would like to mention or add regarding your visit to the Paris Catacombs?		
Category	Cataphiles	Regular Visitor
Motivation	Curiosity and personal discovery	Recommendation and fascination
Experience	Sense of secrecy and exclusivity, considering the Catacombs as a hidden world	Overwhelming and awe-inspiring atmosphere, particularly the sight of bones
Preservation	Emphasizing the need to protect and respect the Catacombs, as well as avoiding publicizing restricted areas	N/A

Social Aspect	Positive interactions with fellow Cataphiles, mentioning the presence of like-minded individuals	N/A
Addiction	Describing a deep fascination or emotional attachment to the Catacombs, referring to the experience as addictive and transformative	N/A
Observation	Criticizing the lack of respect from some visitors who disregard rules or leave rubbish behind	N/A

Table 3: Categories of additional comments by survey participants

- **Motivation**: Cataphiles express a strong sense of curiosity and personal discovery, often driven by their own desire to explore the hidden depths of the Catacombs. Regular Visitors, on the other hand, are often motivated by recommendations from others and a general fascination with the site.
- **Experience**: Cataphiles describe their experiences in the Catacombs as secretive and exclusive, relishing the feeling of being part of a hidden world. They also mention the overwhelming atmosphere and ambiance of the Catacombs. Regular Visitors are particularly fascinated by the sight of bones, finding it awe-inspiring and memorable.
- **Preservation**: Cataphiles emphasize the importance of protecting and respecting the Catacombs, expressing concerns about the potential sealing or destruction of the site if public knowledge increases. Regular Visitors do not specifically mention preservation in their responses.
- **Social Aspect**: Cataphiles mention positive interactions with other Cataphiles, highlighting the presence of like-minded individuals during their explorations. Regular Visitors do not mention social aspects in their responses.
- **Addiction**: Some Cataphiles describe their experiences as addictive, with a deep fascination and emotional attachment to the Catacombs. They mention being transformed by their visits and experiencing a

sense of addiction. Regular Visitors do not express addiction-like sentiments.
- **Observations**: Cataphiles express disappointment with visitors who do not respect the Catacombs, leaving rubbish behind or ignoring the established rules. Regular Visitors do not offer any observations in this regard.

Overall, the table provides insights into the different motivations, experiences, and perspectives of Cataphiles and Regular Visitors when it comes to the Paris Catacombs. Cataphiles exhibit a stronger attachment to the Catacombs, emphasizing secrecy, preservation, and the social aspect of their explorations, while Regular Visitors focus more on the fascination of the site and the visual impact of the bones.

5. *Multiple Choice Question: Would you recommend the Paris Catacombs to others?*

Regular Visitor or Cataphile? * Would you recommend the Paris Catacombs to others? Crosstabulation				
Count				
		Would you recommend the Paris Catacombs to others?		Total
		Yes	Maybe	
Regular Visitor or Cataphile?	Regular Visitor	9	3	12
	Cataphile	9	3	12
Total		18	6	24

Figure 31: Crosstabulation of if the sample groups would recommend the Paris Catacombs to others

- **Regular Visitors:** Out of the 12 respondents who identified themselves as Regular Visitors, 9 stated that they would recommend the Paris Catacombs to others, while 3 responded with "maybe."
- **Cataphiles:** Similarly, among the 12 respondents who identified themselves as Cataphiles, 9 indicated that they would recommend the Paris Catacombs to others, while 3 responded with "maybe."

In summary, most of both Regular Visitors and Cataphiles expressed a positive inclination towards recommending the Paris Catacombs to others.

5 Discussion

The findings above will now be discussed and evaluated. They will be split into 3 subsections: Experience, Motivation and Emotions. Within the experience section, the author aimed at gaining some basic knowledge of the reason of visit of survey participants as well as their expectations. The motivation and emotion section aim at answering the research question "Are there differences in the motivations and emotions experienced when visiting the Paris Catacombs between Regular Visitors and Cataphiles?". The

discussion will be supported by reintroducing McClelland's theory of motivation, which will aid in evaluating the survey participants motivational factors. Both sample groups; Regular Visitor and Cataphile will be compared and differences will be discussed.

Experience

Regular Visitors and Cataphiles have different attendance patterns, according to data on the frequency of trips to the Paris Catacombs. Regular Visitors often only made one trip to the Catacombs, whereas Cataphiles had a higher tendency for multiple trips, especially 10 or more. This implies that Cataphiles have a closer bond and are more active in their exploration than Regular Visitors. Cataphiles have mentioned in the survey that the Catacombs are "like a drug, you have to take your daily dose to be ok in your life" and that they feel like "addicted" to them. This suggests a reason for the number of visits a Cataphile makes. This has also been evident in other research, such as by Pelosoff (2022): "Elena, a 20-year-old Cataphile, has experienced such an "addiction" and has led to her falling in love with the secret world of the Paris Catacombs. She fell in love with the hobby back in January and has been addicted ever since. She describes the Catacombs as rediscovering the Parisian streets that you know by heart". Another female Cataphile has mentioned "alone strange men can bully girls, like everywhere in the world, but less than in surface". This may indicate that the Paris catacomb act as a safe space for certain people, where they feel welcomed and secure.

The data indicates that a Cataphiles main reason for visiting is adventure, whereas it is curiosity for Regular Visitors. This difference suggests that Cataphiles are looking for a more adventurous and exciting experience in the Catacombs, perhaps motivated by a desire for peacefulness, exploration and socialization, which is highlighted by a Cataphile mentioning that they descend into the Catacombs to escape their everyday life and seek to meet people and attend illegal raves. The main driving force for Regular Visitors, however, is their general interest to find out more about the significance and history of the catacomb. One visitor also mentioned that they were particularly interested to visit the Catacombs due to the play "The Phantom of the Opera" also taking place at this site.

Both groups are fascinated by the historical relevance and experience some level of anxiety, although Cataphiles have higher expectations for a thrilling and exciting experience than Regular Visitors do. This implies that Cataphiles desire a more intense and adventurous encounter with the Catacombs and are looking forward to an exciting and adrenaline inducing journey. Regular Visitors, on the other hand, can have somewhat lower expectations and focus more on the historical and cultural components of their visit rather than looking for a greater sense of thrill. The results show that both groups' expectations were met in most cases, showing a high degree of general satisfaction. However, when comparing the two groups, more Cataphiles (92%) than Regular Visitors (75%), felt that their expectations had been met.

One Cataphile (8%) reported their expectations not being met, which may have been caused due to having higher expectations. These results suggest that Cataphiles, were more likely to have their expectations fulfilled compared to Regular Visitors, who may have had more basic touristic expectations.

Over In contrast to Regular Visitors, who approach their visit with a more general and surface-level interest in the tourist attractions and historical significance of the Catacombs, Cataphiles seek a deeper and more immersive experience, driven by personal exploration and emotional connections.

Motivation

The data indicates that Cataphiles are more likely to seek an escape from crowds and a quieter environment, suggesting their preference for finding solace and tranquility away from the bustling city atmosphere. While both groups are primarily interested in learning about the Catacombs past, Cataphiles show a larger interest for exploration, facing anxieties and discomforts, and enjoying the artistic features of the Catacombs. On the other side, the desire to understand the Catacombs' past is what motivates Regular Visitors the most. This implies that Regular Visitors approach the encounter with a more educational perspective, seeking knowledge and an understanding of the past, whereas for Cataphiles the Catacombs provide a thrilling and exhilarating experience that goes beyond ordinary historical curiosity. Their motivation is further driven by the rich decoration, artwork, and architecture that they find beautiful and inspiring.

While both groups share a common interest in achievement or recognition and affiliation or belonging, there is small difference in the emphasis placed on these motivations. It is important to mention that the Chi Square Test that was run, identified that there was no significant difference, but as the sample size is very little, it is hard to validate it (refer to Limitations). The desire for achievement or recognition emerges as a primary motivation for Regular Visitors. This suggests that Regular Visitors may seek personal accomplishment or validation through their visit to the Catacombs. It implies a drive to engage with the historical significance of the site and perhaps share their experience with others as a source of pride or recognition.

Contrarily, Cataphiles show a higher desire for affiliation or belonging, with 42% of respondents citing this as their main reason for visiting, compared to only 25% of Regular Visitors. This suggests that the sense of belonging and connection that visiting the Catacombs stimulates is what Cataphiles are most inspired by. It shows a strong desire to be a part of a group or subculture that has an intense desire in exploring the Catacombs. The Catacombs act as a melting pot for Cataphiles, bringing them together and fostering a sense of belonging. According to Pelosoff (2022), a participant in her study named Elena, states: "For me, it's somewhere to get together with my friends more than anything. We'll have raclette or fondue inside." Elena further emphasizes the appeal of the Catacombs, noting the isolation from the rest of the world as

part of its charm, stating, "there are no rules. I can walk around in my bra if I want and no one cares", further supporting the social aspect of the Catacombs.

Additionally, it is worth noting that the desire for power or control was a relatively minor motivation for both Regular Visitors and Cataphiles, with only 3 out of 24 respondents selecting this option. This suggests that the majority of visitors, regardless of their group, are not primarily driven by a need for power or control when visiting the Catacombs.

These motivations align with McClelland's Theory of Motivation, which places a strong emphasis on the three dominant motivators: achievement, affiliation, and power. Regular Visitors display a higher need for achievement, seeking personal accomplishment and recognition through their visit. On the other hand, Cataphiles exhibit a stronger need for affiliation, finding a sense of belonging and connection within the Catacombs' subculture. The data aligns with McClelland's theory by highlighting how these distinct motivations shape visitors' experiences and drive their engagement with the Catacombs. It is noteworthy to mention that individuals acquire these motivators through their culture and life experiences; they are not inherently present in us (MindTools, n.d.), thus explaining the slight differences in between the two sample groups.

The data reveals that personal interest strongly influenced the decision to visit the Paris Catacombs, with 67% of Regular Visitors and 100% of Cataphiles citing it as a factor. This highlights the intrinsic curiosity and fascination that individuals from both groups have towards the Catacombs, emphasizing the strong pull of personal interest in motivating their visits. Word-of-mouth recommendations from trusted individuals also served as a valuable source of information and motivation for both groups, with 50% of Regular Visitors and 42% of Cataphiles mentioning it as an influencing factor. Guidebooks, travel websites and social media channels seemed to be lower influential factors, and thus not acting as significant channels to attract both groups to the Catacombs.

Emotions

According to the data, both Regular Visitors and Cataphiles experience similar emotions, mainly fascination and curiosity, when they visit the Paris Catacombs. This suggests that both types of visitors find the Catacombs to be engaging and intriguing. Regular Visitors and Cataphiles both indicated high degrees of curiosity, which demonstrates a strong engagement with the site's historical and cultural relevance.

However, regarding other emotions, there are noticeable differences between the two groups. Compared to Regular Visitors, Cataphiles display higher degrees of excitement and admiration. This could be explained by the Cataphiles' inherent sense of adventure, which drives them to actively seek out fascinating and exhilarating experiences in the Catacombs and heightens their sensation of excitement. It is possible that Cataphiles' admiration originates

from their appreciation of the unique and beautiful features of the Catacombs' design and decoration.

Regular Visitors, on the other hand, express increased levels of fear, discomfort, and nervousness. This might be explained by the Catacombs' gloomier and spooky environment, which could make some people feel uneasy and afraid. Additionally, Regular Visitors may not be as accustomed to exploring underground spaces or confronting their fears, leading to a greater sense of discomfort and nervousness.

Most respondents from both groups recognized the historical aspect as significant, indicating a shared appreciation for the rich historical context and the stories embedded within the Catacombs' walls. Additionally, both groups placed a high importance on the Catacombs' atmospheric attributes, with almost all the respondents ticking this option. Dim lighting, cramped spaces, and echoing noises all add to the atmosphere's mysterious, unsettling atmosphere, which influences a visitor's emotions. Although a reduced percentage of respondents from both groups felt that visual displays were remarkable, they are still a part of the emotional experience. The Catacombs' visual components, such the arrangements of the bones are a significant emotional factor as mentioned by several survey participants.

The data reveals distinct differences between Cataphiles and Regular Visitors in their triggers of emotional responses. Cataphiles are driven by curiosity, emphasizing the presence of fellow Cataphiles, the sense of security, and the feeling of being part of a hidden world. Although the Catacombs may appear claustrophobic and unsettling to those on the outside, Eliott discovers a surprisingly cozy ambiance within (Pelosoff, 2022). They find specific areas, such as ossuaries and sculptures remarkable. Regular Visitors, on the other hand, are fascinated by visual elements like skulls and poems, and they find the sight of bones particularly impactful. Cataphiles express concerns about preservation and the need to respect the Catacombs, while Regular Visitors do not mention this aspect. Leo, in Pelosoff's study (2022), emphasizes a crucial aspect shared by all Cataphiles' advice: a profound respect for the Catacombs is utmost important. Leo explains that compared to venturing into sewers, the Catacombs are surprisingly clean, thanks to the respectful behavior exhibited by most people who visit them. Cataphiles also highlight positive social interactions within their community and describe their experiences as addictive and transformative, while Regular Visitors are more fascinated by the visual impact. Cataphiles also express disappointment with visitors who disregard these rules and according to Pelosoff's (2022) findings, a key emphasis lies in keeping out visitors who are careless, solely seeking cheap thrills or viral content. By doing so, they can actively contribute to preserving the charm of the underground city and fostering the thriving community that has formed within it.

Research Question

-   Are there differences in the motivations and emotions experienced when

    visiting the Paris Catacombs between Regular Visitors and Cataphiles?

The research question is successfully answered by the data, which clearly show that there are noticeable differences in the motivations and feelings of Cataphiles and Regular Visitors to the Paris Catacombs. Regular Visitors are generally drawn by curiosity and a desire for historical knowledge, and they occasionally experience fear or discomfort due to the creepy environment in addition to intrigue and inquiry. Cataphiles, on the other hand, seek thrilling experiences and a break from their regular routines, seeking comfort and excitement in the underground setting. Increased excitement, admiration, and a sense of belonging to the Catacombs' subculture are the emotions that best describe them.

Despite these differences, both Regular Visitors and Cataphiles share common emotions of fascination and curiosity when exploring the Paris Catacombs, as they are drawn to its historical significance and atmospheric elements.

6   Conclusion

Concluding, it is evident that dark tourism is on the rise and people are becoming increasingly aware of it. Dark tourism has grown significantly in popularity as a travel trend in recent years. Even the Tourism Society has emphasized how exciting and significant the field of dark tourism has become for the travel and hospitality sector. Dark tourism has expanded and evolved along with the general increase in off-the-beaten-path travel, as it ventures outside the realm of well-known guidebooks and TripAdvisor ratings (Ghansiyal, 2021). Indeed, there is an increasing interest among adventurous travelers seeking to explore extraordinary destinations, and one such notable site is the Paris Catacombs, making it an intriguing case study. There is a lack of scientific research investigating the motivations and emotions that visitors encounter during their Catacombs' experience, making it an appealing and understudied subject.

When discussing the Paris Catacombs, it is important to highlight the different groups of visitors. Firstly, the Regular Visitors, consisting mostly of tourists seeking an exciting experience during their holiday. This group has limited access to the Catacombs, exploring only the commercialized section, which spans approximately 2km. On the other hand, there are the Cataphiles, a closely-knit community of individuals who have extensive knowledge over the subterranean grounds. They navigate around the vast 300km network of tunnels, which are accessed through unauthorized means (Rajput, 2021).

This paper addressed the potential differences, similarities and relationships in motivations and emotional experiences between two distinct sample groups visiting the Paris Catacombs. To achieve this, the following research question has been explored:

- Are there differences in the motivations and emotions experienced when

  visiting the Paris Catacombs between Regular Visitors and Cataphiles?

Data was collected from both sample groups through an online survey and the following findings were made:

Regular Visitors to the Catacombs are primarily driven by curiosity and a general interest in learning about the historical significance of the site. They approach their visit with an educational perspective, seeking knowledge and understanding of the Catacombs' past. For Regular Visitors, the Catacombs serve to explore and discover the cultural heritage of Paris. Their intrinsic curiosity and fascination with the Catacombs' history drive their decision to explore this unique site. When Regular Visitors enter the Catacombs, they often experience a mix of emotions. Fascination and curiosity are prominent, as they engage with the Catacombs' historical and cultural relevance. The visual elements, such as the arrangement of bones and poetic inscriptions, evoke a strong emotional impact on Regular Visitors. However, they may also experience increased levels of fear, discomfort, and nervousness due to the gloomy and eerie atmosphere of the Catacombs. For Regular Visitors, these emotions may stem from being less accustomed to exploring underground spaces or unfamiliar with confronting their fears.

Cataphiles, on the other hand, have different motivations when visiting the Catacombs. Adventure is a key motivation for Cataphiles, seeking a more thrilling and exciting experience. The Catacombs provide them with a sense of escapism from their everyday lives, allowing them to explore hidden underground spaces and engage in activities such as attending illegal raves. Cataphiles have a deep appreciation for the subterranean environment and find comfort and tranquility away from the bustling city atmosphere. They are driven by a desire for peacefulness, exploration, and socialization within the Catacombs' community. Cataphiles' emotional experiences differ from those of Regular Visitors. They exhibit higher degrees of excitement and admiration when exploring the Catacombs. The sense of adventure and exhilaration drives their emotions, as they actively seek out thrilling and intense experiences within the Catacombs. Cataphiles find specific areas, such as ossuaries and sculptures, remarkable and inspiring. They appreciate the unique features, architectural design, and artistic aspects of the Catacombs. Within the Catacombs' subculture, Cataphiles also experience a sense of belonging and connection, fostering positive social interactions and emotional fulfillment.

63

It is important to note that not all factors differ between the groups, but they also share similarities, such as emotions of fascination and curiosity when exploring the Catacombs. For both Regular Visitors and Cataphiles, exploring the Catacombs is a mysterious and engaging experience because of their historical relevance and atmospheric elements.

7 Limitations and Future Research

As this case study is so narrowly focused, it has proven difficult to find enough individuals to gather sufficient data. Cataphiles often don't talk about the Catacombs with anyone outside of their community, as previously stated in this research, making it very challenging to collect a significant amount of data. Therefore, the author was only able to collect responses from 24 people, and thus has not reached the desired minimum sample size of 100 participants.

These limitations affect the generalizability and statistical significance of this paper's findings because a bigger and more diverse sample would have offered a more solid foundation to draw conclusions.

The author primarily introduced Crosstabulations as the main method of analysis due to the small sample size. However, in an attempt to further support the findings, the author also attempted to run Chi Square Tests. Unfortunately, due to the small sample size, running these tests resulted in an error message indicating that more than 20% of cells in the sub-table had expected cell counts less than 5, potentially invalidating the Chi-square results. This issue is linked to the limitations occurred by the small sample size. Upon further investigation, the author discovered that for smaller sample sizes, a Fisher's Exact Test would be more appropriate. However, SPSS did not permit the use of Fisher's Exact Test for variables with multiple values within a single variable, which was the case for several of the sub-questions and hypotheses tested in this study. Consequently, caution should be exercised when evaluating the results of hypothesis testing, and greater reliance should be placed on the crosstabulations, which are acceptable and appropriate for analysis given the small sample size.

Language and cultural differences also present a limitation in this study. Some survey responses were written in French and expressed in informal or slang language, which may have led to inaccuracies in translation. Future research should involve translators familiar with the participants' cultural nuances and slang expressions to ensure more accurate findings when examining motivations and emotions between Regular Visitors and Cataphiles at the Paris Catacombs.

Further research could focus on exploring the motivations and emotional experiences of Cataphiles in greater depth through qualitative data collection methods, such as conducting in-person interviews or visiting the Catacombs themselves. This approach may uncover more valuable and exclusive

information, shedding light on the complex world of the tunnels beneath the surface.

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9   Appendix

A Visitor's experience at the Paris Catacombs

* Indicates required question

1.   What is your **age**? *

_____

2.   What is your **gender**? *

Mark only one oval.

⬭ Male (1)

⬭ Female (2)

3.   Which of the following categories best describes your **employment status**? *

Mark only one oval.

⬭ Student (1)

⬭ Employed (2)

⬭ Self-employed (3)

⬭ Unemployed (4)

⬭ Retired (5)

⬭ Disabled, not able to work (6)

4.   What is your **nationality**? *

_____

Experience Information

5.   Would you classify yourself as a **regular visitor** (who only accesses the museum * and the regulated 2km of the catacombs) **or** do you consider yourself a **cataphile** (who ventures into the restricted and illegal parts of the catacombs)?

Mark only one oval.

◯ Regular Visitor (1)

◯ Cataphile (2)

6.   When was your **last** (most recent) **visit** to the Paris Catacombs? Enter in MM/YY *

_____

7.   How many times have you visited the Paris Catacombs? *

Mark only one oval.

◯ Once (1)

◯ 2-5 (2)

◯ 5-10 (3)

◯ 10+ (4)

8.   Why did you choose to visit the Paris Catacombs? *

Tick all that apply.

☐ Curiosity (1)

☐ Historical interest (2)

☐ Educational purposes (3)

☐ Adventure (4)

☐ Other (5):

9. What were your expectations before visiting the Paris Catacombs? *

Tick all that apply.

☐ I expected to be fascinated by the historical significance of the site (1)

☐ I expected to be scared by the dark and eerie atmosphere of the catacombs (2)

☐ I expected to feel uncomfortable or uneasy during the visit (3)

☐ I expected to have a thrilling and exciting experience (4)

I had no particular expectations

before the visit. (5) Other (6):

10. Were your expectations met? *

Mark only one oval.

◯ Yes (1)

◯ No (2)

◯ Somewhat (3)

Motivation and Intention

11. What was your primary motivation for visiting the Paris Catacombs? *

Tick all that apply.

- [ ] To learn about the history of the catacombs (1)
- [ ] To experience dark tourism (2)
- [ ] To see the human remains (3)
- [ ] To feel a sense of adventure (4)
- [ ] To confront my fears or discomforts (5)
- [ ] To take interesting or unusual photographs (6)
- [ ] To appreciate the art and decoration within the catacombs (7)
- [ ] To escape the crowds and
- [ ] noise of the city (8)
- [ ] To engage in a meaningful or
- [ ] spiritual experience (9)
- [ ] Other (10): _____

12. Please indicate which of the following best describes your motivation for   * visiting the Paris Catacombs:

Mark only one oval.

- ( ) A desire for achievement or recognition (e.g. to say you've been there, to check it off your bucket list) (1)
- ( ) A desire for affiliation or belonging (e.g. to share the experience with others, to feel a sense of connection to history, to be part of a community) (2)
- ( ) A desire for power or control (e.g. to confront your fears, to feel a sense of mastery over the environment, to have a certain status) (3)

13.   Did someone recommend you to visit this site? *

Mark only one oval.

○   Yes (1)

○   No (2)

14.   What factors influenced your decision to visit the Paris Catacombs? (Select all   * that apply)

Tick all that apply.

☐   Personal interest (1)

☐   Recommendations from friends/family (2)

☐   Guidebook or travel website recommendation (3)

☐   Social media (e.g., Instagram, TikTok) (4)

☐   Cultural

☐

significance

(5) Other (6):

_____

Emotional Experience

15.   Which emotion did you experience the most during your visit? (Select all that   * apply)

Tick all that apply.

- ☐ Fascination (1)
- ☐ Excitement (2)
- ☐ Admiration (3)
- ☐ Fear (4)
- ☐ Discomfort (5)
- ☐ Nervousness (6)
- ☐ Curiosity (7)
- ☐ Sadness (8)
- ☐ Anger (9)
- ☐ Other (10)

16. Which aspects of the Paris Catacombs contributed to the emotions you * experienced?

Tick all that apply.

- ☐ History (1)
- ☐ Atmosphere (2)
- ☐ Visual displays (3)
- ☐ Other (4)

17. Were there any particular exhibits or areas in the Paris Catacombs that* triggered an emotional response?

18. Is there anything else you would like to mention or add regarding your visit to the Paris Catacombs?

_____

_____

_____

_____

19. How would you rate your overall experience at the Paris Catacombs? *

Mark only one oval.

Very Unsatisfied

1 ⬭

2 ⬭

3 ⬭

4 ⬭

5 ⬭

Very Satisifed

20. Would you recommend the Paris Catacombs to others? *

Mark only one oval.

◯ Yes (1)

◯ No (2)

◯ Maybe (3)