

# the Dungeons™

## and the phenomenon 'Dark tourism'

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## Abstract

'Dark tourism' is an important aspect of tourism. It can be found around the world at different locations. Furthermore, the phenomenon 'Dark tourism' as such has been growing in the last two centuries, and therefore many scholars have different definitions regarding it. In the following, the researcher will go through the different definitions and explore the phenomenon. Furthermore, Stone (2006) has argued that different attractions within 'Dark tourism' lie within a spectrum. He argues that some attractions are darker than others. One attraction especially will be mentioned: The Dungeons within Merlin Entertainments. The researcher will explore the phenomenon 'Dark tourism' in the context of the Dungeons, and explore if the Dungeons can be classified as a 'Dark tourism' attraction. To do so, the researcher has used qualitative methods, such as participant observation, interview, focus group and reviews on social networks. The social networks, which the researcher have found reviews on, are: Facebook, Google and Trip Advisor. Through the reviews, the researcher has categorized six different experiences: **Age**, **Funny**, **History**, **Learn**, **Scary** and **Dark tourism**. This research concludes in what way the Dungeons challenge the phenomenon 'Dark tourism'.

**Keywords:** 'Dark tourism', The Dungeons, Merlin Entertainments and Qualitative methods

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## Clarification list

In order to prevent misunderstanding in the following research, I have made this list to clarify the meaning regarding the following terms. The mentioned terms are:

**Guests** – it is the people, which visit the Dungeons.

**Tourists** – it is the people, which visit 'Dark tourism' attractions.

**Phenomenon** – As there are many different definitions regarding 'Dark tourism'. 'Dark tourism' is classified as a phenomenon rather than a term.

**The Dungeons** – this is referred to all the Dungeons within Merlin Entertainments.

## List of Pictures, Figures and Tables

**Picture 1** – The old Sea Fortress Prison, 2015

**Picture 2** – Pearl Harbor in Honolulu, 2010

**Figure 1** – Merlin's Umbrella

**Table 1** – Travels

**Table 2** – Categories of reviews

**Table 3** – Trip Advisor – The London Dungeon

**Table 4** – Trip Advisor – The Amsterdam Dungeon

**Table 5** – The understanding of demand and supply

**Table 6** – Spectrum of 'Dark tourism' *part 1*

**Table 7** – Spectrum of 'Dark tourism' *part 2*

## Table of Contents

<b>1.0 Introduction</b>	<b>7</b>
1.1 Motivation	8
1.2 Problem formulation	10
1.3 Structure	10
<b>2.0 Case description</b>	<b>11</b>
2.1 The London Dungeon	11
2.2 The Amsterdam Dungeon	12
2.3 Merlin Entertainments	14
2.4 Conclusion of Case description	15
<b>3.0 Methodology</b>	<b>16</b>
3.1 Research philosophy	16
3.1.1 Ontology	16
3.1.2 Epistemology	17
3.1.3 Methodology	18
3.2 Research methods	18
3.2.1 Participant observation	19
3.2.2 Interview	21
3.2.3 Focus group	21
3.2.4 Social networks	23
3.3 Data analysis process	27
3.4 Ethics and Limitations	28
3.5 Quality evaluation	30
3.5.1 Reliability	30
3.5.2 Validity	31
3.6 Conclusion of Methodology	31
<b>4.0 Theoretical framework</b>	<b>32</b>
4.1 The definition of 'Dark tourism': A dirty little secret	32
4.1.1 Demand and Supply	35
4.2 'Heritage tourism' and authenticity	36
4.2.1 'Heritage tourism'	36
4.2.2 Authenticity	38
4.3 The spectrum of 'Dark tourism'	40
4.3.1 Dark Camps of Genocide	42
4.3.2 Dark Conflict Sites	42
4.3.3 Dark Shrines	43
4.3.4 Dark Resting Places	43
4.3.5 Dark Dungeons	44

4.3.6 Dark Exhibitions	44
4.3.7 Dark Fun Factories	45
4.4 Fear, Fun and 'Dark tourism'	45
4.4.1 Feel the Fear ...	46
4.4.2 ... Experience the Fun	47
4.5 Conclusion of Theoretical framework	48
<b>5.0 Analysis and discussion</b>	<b>49</b>
5.1 Expectation vs. experience	49
5.1.1 The expectation	49
5.1.2 The experience	52
5.1.3 Sub-conclusion	55
5.2 'Heritage tourism' and authenticity	56
5.2.1 'Heritage tourism'	56
5.2.2 Authenticity	57
5.2.3 Sub-conclusion	59
5.3 'Dark tourism' and the Dungeons	59
5.3.1 The spectrum	60
5.3.2 Sub-conclusion	63
5.4 Fear, Fun and 'Dark Tourism'?	64
5.4.1 Fear...	64
5.4.2 Fun...	65
5.4.3 Sub-conclusion	66
5.5 Conclusion of Analysis and discussion	66
<b>6.0 Conclusion</b>	<b>68</b>
6.1 Conclusion	68
6.2 Limitations	69
6.3 Future research	70
<b>Reference list</b>	<b>71</b>
<b>Appendix list</b>	
Appendix 1: Observation notes	
Appendix 2: E-mail answer from the London Dungeon	
Appendix 3: Interview with Michael Hoogdorp	
Appendix 4: Focus group interview	
Appendix 5: Social media: Facebook	
Appendix 6: Social media: Google	
Appendix 7: Social media: Trip Advisor	

## 1.0 Introduction

*'Dark tourism is the act of travel to sites of death, disaster or the seemingly macabre'* (Stone, 2005, p. 109)

As the quote indicates, 'Dark tourism' is where tourists travel to places with death, disaster or macabre (Stone, 2005). It can also be defined as tourists visiting attractions associated with other unpleasant elements of recent human history, such as former concentrations camps, prisons or battlefields (Hannam & Knox, 2010). 'Dark tourism' is an important aspect of tourism, as it can be found in most locations. 'Dark tourism' is a growing phenomenon, and it has been growing in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century (ibid.).

Theorists have both noticed and attempted to understand the phenomenon 'Dark tourism' where the fundament of death, disaster and macabre is being handled as a tourism product (Seaton, 1996; Lennon & Foley, 2000; Stone, 2005). Politics, economics, sociologies and technologies are important factors, within 'Dark tourism' attractions (Lennon & Foley, 2000). Likewise, Stone (2006, p. 146) argues that 'Dark tourism' lies along a '*... spectrum of intensity*' where it is argued that some attractions are darker than others, depending on the characteristics, perceptions and features.

'Modern' tourism includes ideas of universalism, classification and liberal democratic state (Lennon & Foley, 2000). The tourism industry develops aspects of travel, accommodation and attractions, which benefit the experiences in an area (ibid.). Richards (1995) explains that it is impossible to travel to another place without experiencing the areas effects and products. The growth of modern tourism has given travel opportunities and communication; therefore the tourism industry has become global (Hannam & Knox, 2010). In that context Lennon & Foley (2000, p. 9) asks: *'Can it be surprising that, when the opportunity presents itself to validate that global-local connection that so many decide to visit the sites of these deaths and disaster?'* Therefore, it can be argued if 'Dark tourism' exists of the tourists' motivations to consume these 'Dark tourism' products (Stone, 2006). Nevertheless, Lennon & Foley (2000) argues, that the global news show issues regarding death, disaster or macabre on a regular basis, which affects the viewers, as it reflects emotions and traumas, and therefore can motivate the tourists to visit 'Dark tourism' attractions. By seeing death on a regular basis, the viewers will

have had an experience of the death through replication (ibid.). Furthermore, death offers an opportunity for media to represent death itself, theories, eyewitness testimony, speculations, and 'expert' analysis (Lennon & Foley, 2000). Examples of death, which have been represented through the news, are Princess Diana and John F. Kennedy's deaths. Likewise, fictional characters in movies within different 'real' events are being used to consume in which the character expects to die (ibid.). It can be argued, that it is unreasonable to separate the public association with death to tourism experiences (Lennon & Foley, 2000). Most tourism experiences are familiar with unpleasant events, and it can be said that any tourism product will benefit from 'familiarity' (ibid.) Likewise, many people will connect to the tourism experience, as they already know it, or want to learn something new (ibid.)

Hannam & Knox (2010) argues that 'Dark tourism' attractions turn human drama into a tourist product. Nevertheless, many people want to show their respect by making a public show of grief and expressions (ibid). After some time, maybe a memorial will be created and give people a place to visit out of curiosity and respect (Lennon & Foley, 2000). Each site can act as a forum for a public debate and a place to public mourn, but also appear by dealing with the unpleasant aspects of the history (Hannam & Knox, 2010). Examples of some of these places are US Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington DC, where over 40 million people have visited the site since they opened in 1993 (USHMM). Also the Auschwitz Site in Poland is a good example - here over 1,7 million people visited in 2015 (Auschwitz Museum).

Furthermore, Lennon & Foley (2000) argues that 'Dark tourism' is an indication of post-modernity. They aim to recognize the significant aspects of 'post-modernity' (ibid.):

1. The global communication, which plays a major part in creating interest.
2. The objects of 'Dark tourism' should introduce anxiety and doubt.
3. The educational aspect is with elements of commodification and commercial ethics.

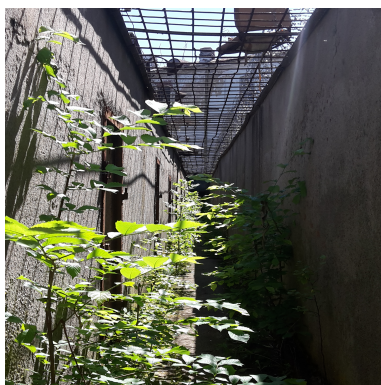
These elements design attractions, which defines 'Dark tourism' (Lennon & Foley, 2000).

## **1.1 Motivation**

My motivation for this research started when I started my Master program. It was the first time I heard about 'Dark tourism'. Since then, it has always interested me. How can tourism be dark? Why do people travel to places, where 'Dark tourism' is an aspect? I then decided that I



wanted to write about it in my Master thesis. As I will go into later, 'Dark tourism' is an aspect of tourism, which has become more and more important to the tourism industry (Stone, 2005). I have visited places, which can be defined as 'Dark tourism': the old Sea Fortress Prison 'Patarei Merekindlus' in Tallinn, Estonia and Pearl Harbor in Honolulu in Hawaii, but without knowing it was 'Dark tourism'. Moreover, 'Dark tourism' can be found all over the world; the 9/11 memorial in New York City, Suicide Forest on the base of Mount Fuji and Costa Concordia Shipwreck in Italy, and of course the most famous, Auschwitz in Poland. Below, pictures from where I have visited places defined as 'Dark tourism', can be seen.



Picture 1: The old Sea Fortress Prison, 2015



Picture 2: Pearl Harbor in Honolulu, 2010

As a Global Tourism Development student, the phenomenon 'Dark tourism' is especially interesting, as the phenomenon is ambivalent. This means that, when I have mentioned this to my friends or family, many have not wanted to talk about it or classified themselves as Dark tourists. Moreover, 'Dark tourism' is defined as death, tragedy and macabre, and these elements are important factors in the history of different locations (Stone, 2005).

It was after a trip to London that I became aware of the importance of these elements. I tried the *London Dungeon* with some friends, and because this attraction is based on '*Fear is a Funny thing*' (London Dungeon + Amsterdam Dungeon), I became critical of the phenomenon: Can the London Dungeon be defined as 'Dark tourism', and in what extent? From some scholars, it can be seen that they classify the Dungeon as 'Dark tourism' (Sharpley, 2005; Stone, 2006), where as other do not (Tarlow, 2005; Best, 2007). This is why I feel this research is interesting, and why it makes a unique analysis and discussion in the end. This research is going to include the London Dungeon, but I also decided to include the Amsterdam Dungeon, as this is not a very famous one compared to the London Dungeon.

## 1.2 Problem formulation

There is not a lot of research done about 'Dark tourism' in the context that I want to focus on. My focus will be on how the Dungeons challenge the phenomenon 'Dark tourism'. I believe it is important to understand 'Dark tourism' and the Dungeons equally to explore the phenomenon. Below, the problem formulation and research questions can be seen:

### **In what way, do the Dungeons challenge the phenomenon 'Dark tourism'?**

1. What is the definition of 'Dark tourism' in the context of the Dungeons?
2. How is the identity associated with 'Dark tourism' and the Dungeons?
3. Can the Dungeons be defined within Stone (2006)'s spectrum?
4. Are the Dungeons 'Dark tourism'?

From the research questions, I want to explore what the Dungeons are, and why they were founded. From their homepage and an interview with the Amsterdam Dungeon, I will make a case description about the Dungeons. I will also look at how 'Dark tourism' can be defined in the context of the Dungeons. In my analysis and discussion, I will explore the phenomenon of 'Dark tourism', and how the Dungeons can challenge the phenomenon. By using various data collection methods, such as a mail from the London Dungeon (Appendix 2) and an interview with the Amsterdam Dungeon (Appendix 3), I get a background of the company. I will use my own observations about what happened in the Dungeons, as well as what type of people visits the Dungeons (Appendix 1). I will use a focus group to get an insight in how the guests feel about their experiences at the Dungeons, and what their opinions are regarding the Dungeons and 'Dark tourism' (Appendix 4). I will also use social networks: Facebook, Google and Trip Advisor, to look at how guests review the Dungeons (Appendix 5, 6, 7). These methods will give me wide range of research data for the analysis and discussion.

## 1.3 Structure

This research will begin with an introduction in Chapter 1. Thereafter a case description of the Dungeons will be presented in Chapter 2. The research's methodological approach will be presented in Chapter 3. In Chapter 4 the theoretical framework regarding 'Dark tourism' will be presented. The analysis and discussion will take place in Chapter 5. And in Chapter 6, the conclusion, limitations and future research suggestions will take place.

## 2.0 Case description

*'Fear is a funny thing...'*

(The London and the Amsterdam Dungeons homepages)

In this chapter, a presentation of the London and the Amsterdam Dungeon as well as Merlin Entertainments will be described: Where the Dungeons are placed, as well as what will be experienced in the Dungeons will be described. This will be done with the support of their homepages, e-mail correspondence with the London Dungeon (Appendix 2), as well as an interview with Michael Hoogdorp from the Amsterdam Dungeon (Appendix 4). Furthermore my own observations from the two Dungeons will be used (Appendix 1) as well as reviews from Facebook, Google and Trip Advisor (Appendix 5-7). The methods mentioned, will be described in the following chapter, as this is a continuation of the previous chapter.

### 2.1 The London Dungeon

The London Dungeon is located on the other side of the bridge from Big Ben: *'(...) when you think London, you think, Big Ben.'* (Appendix 4 - 26:04) It is also right next to the Thames: *'(...) I think it is cool that you step back in time to where the sewers were in the street, as it is so close to the River Thames.'* (Appendix 4 - 24:11) Furthermore, the Dungeon is located very close to Waterloo Station – it is only a few minutes walk from there (London Dungeon)

In March 2013, the London Dungeon decided to change location after 38 years on Tooley Street (Daily Mail). Now, they are located beneath Country Hall on the South Bank (London Dungeon). Furthermore, General Manager Ben Sweet explained the change of locations as: *'We're not just moving address, we're creating something new and dynamic that's scream-out-load-scary and laugh-out-funny at the same time'* (Daily Mail). Likewise, Mike from the London Dungeon replied on a review from Janice W on Trip Advisor on February 18<sup>th</sup> 2016: *'(...) We understand that it is quite different from our old location and that people may prefer the old one. We're glad to hear that you enjoyed your visit to The London Dungeon and our new Tavern (...).'* (Appendix 7) Many guests have different reviews, good and bad, regarding their new location. Kelly P wrote on Trip Advisor on March 29<sup>th</sup> 2016: *'The dungeons is a mixture of live actors and great effects, it had stayed true to the old dungeons with a few different tweaks such as the*

*tavern at the end where you get a free drink (nice touch!)*' (Appendix 7) Likewise Elysia C wrote on Trip Advisor on April 4<sup>th</sup> 2016: *'(...) Would not recommend at all, especially if you'd been there before it moved location as it would just upset you to see what it had become.'* (Appendix 7) The new location is very close to other attractions: the Coca-Cola London Eye and the Sea Life London Aquarium (Daily Mail). One can buy a Combi-Ticket for four attractions - the attractions, which are included, are mentioned above, as well as Madame Tussauds, Shrek Adventure and London Eye River Cruise (London Dungeon), as they are all located at the same place. The price for four attractions is £55, and a single ticket to the London Dungeon is £28,95 (ibid.).

The London Dungeon goes through 1000 years of London's dark past (London Dungeon). The shows in the Dungeon are based upon London's history and legends, for example Jack the Ripper and Sweeney Todd (ibid.). The London Dungeon explains themselves as: *'(...) a fully themed experience. That means 360° sets, full on authenticity and theatrical storytelling'* (ibid.). The journey starts in an elevator, which moves around (Appendix 1 – Observation 1). Thereafter the group is directed into a room, where eight people are put in a boat. The boat moves around in the dark with some scary music (ibid.). The next show is about the Torturer, which explains different tools (ibid.). Jack the Ripper is next – and here the lights blink, and Jack the Ripper appears (ibid.). The next show is about Sweeney Todd; here the chairs, which each guest is sitting on moves as someone is dotting the guests' back (ibid.). After Sweeney Todd, the judge is introduced, who decides the fate of the guests (ibid.). The last show is Drop Dead: Here the guests most drop a few meters *'to be hung'* (London Dungeon). In this Dungeon, the ticket includes a drink in the Tavern bar (Appendix 1 – Observation 1). The Tavern transports the guests to: *'a (...) dodgy pub'* from 1896 (London Dungeon).

## **2.2 The Amsterdam Dungeon**

The Amsterdam Dungeon has been in Amsterdam for almost 11 years at the same location (Appendix 3 - 04:59). It is located near the Dam Square, and it is only 2 minutes away: *'(...) this is an A-location as we call it.'* (Appendix 3 - 14:51) On the street where the Dungeon is located, Madame Tussauds is located only 2 minutes away (Amsterdam Dungeon). In a review from Rishi P on Trip Advisor on September 6<sup>th</sup> 2016, the location is described: *'The dungeon is easy to find. Just walk past the dam square, afterwards past Madame Tussauds and keep walking*

*straight for a few minutes and you will notice it at your right hand side.*' (Appendix 7)

It is clear that Madame Tussauds and the Amsterdam Dungeon work together, and Michael Hoogdorp from the Amsterdam Dungeon explains: *'We work together – marketing and finance department support both Madame Tussauds and Amsterdam Dungeon'* (Appendix 3 – 13:34). He goes on: *'Madame Tussauds was located here 20-25 years ago, but now it is located at the Dam Square. So, if you should have a partner, an attraction, in the city you are already working in, you want it to share locations, as it is cheaper. You want your partner, attraction, as close as possible to the other locations, and they choose the closes building. (...)'* (Appendix 3 – 15:23) Because the Amsterdam Dungeon and Madame Tussauds are both part of Merlin Entertainments, they have a corporation with each other (Amsterdam Dungeon). Here a combined ticket can be bought (Appendix 3 – 45:35), and the price for a combined ticket is €32 (Amsterdam Dungeon). The Amsterdam Dungeon also corporate with other companies: *'Outside of Merlin Entertainments, two Canal tours – the Lovers Canal Tours and the Amsterdam Canal Company. And we also have a deal with the Hard Rock Café, the Ice Bar (...)'* (Appendix 3 – 47:10) The prices for a combined ticket for the Lovers Canal Tours, Madame Tussauds and the Dungeon is €39,95 (Amsterdam Dungeon), and for Amsterdam Canal Company and the Dungeon, it is €32,25 (Amsterdam Dungeon).

The Amsterdam Dungeon describes themselves as: *'(...) an 80-minute journey into 500 years of Amsterdam's horrible history. (...)'* (Amsterdam Dungeon) Michael Hoogdorp from the Amsterdam Dungeon explains that the Dungeon is based on actually, myths or proven stories (Appendix 3 – 19:54). The journey within the Dungeon starts in a jail cell (Appendix 1 – Observation 5). On the walls the people in the different shows are introduced: They tell the guests why they should not go in (Appendix 1 – Observation 4). At a point, the guests are directed into a room (ibid.). Here the group is separated: the girls and the boys into two different elevators: The elevators goes up, and on the top, both groups are together again (ibid.). The group is introduced to the Torturer, (Appendix 1 - Observation 5); the *'noisy crew of VOC Batavia'* (Amsterdam Dungeon); Doctor Deyman and the judge (Appendix 1 - Observation 4). Also, the group is put into a mirror maze (ibid.), and at the end of the maze, the witchhunter is presented (Appendix 1 – Observation 5). The last room is about two sisters, where one has killed the other: the lights blinks, and the killed sister appears (Appendix 4 – 29:59). At the end, the guests go into the shop (Appendix 1 - Observation 4).

## 2.3 Merlin Entertainments

The London and the Amsterdam Dungeon are both a part of Merlin Entertainments (Merlin Entertainments). It is the largest European entertainment company operating in Europe and outside of Europe (ibid.). They have 117 attractions in 24 different countries in four different continents: Asia, Australia, Europe and the US (ibid.). Their aim is to deliver unique, memorable experiences to their visitors, as well as putting smiles (and screams) on the visitors' faces (ibid.). Jay from the London Dungeon describes this in an email to me: *'The London Dungeon is a fun family friendly experience, which takes you on a spine tingling adventure (...)* (Appendix 2). By using creativity, Merlin Entertainments aims to engage their visitors by enrich new knowledge and understanding through fun learning (Merlin Entertainments). Michael Hoogdorp from the Amsterdam Dungeon explains: *'There are a bunch of attractions under the umbrella of Merlin Entertainments (...)*' (Appendix 3 – 13:34). Some of the attractions can be seen below in Figure 1: Merlin's Umbrella.

**Figure 1: Merlin's Umbrella**



Over 59,8 million visitors have chosen to spend their time at a Merlin Entertainments attraction, and there are over 27,000 people working in the attractions (Merlin Entertainments). As mentioned earlier, there are a huge variety of attractions in the Merlin Entertainments, but they still share the same goal: to provide their visitors a memorable experience for the whole family (ibid.). Michael Hoogdorp from the Amsterdam Dungeon likewise explains: *'(...) Merlin Entertainments, they have their goals, and one of their goals is*

*that they want us to do something with a specific holiday, or they want us to increase the amount of visitors. And therefore we need to reach their goals. They are in charge, for sure, but they do support us. (...)*' (Appendix 3 - 30:42) Therefore, it can be said that Merlin Entertainments decides what happens in the different Dungeons, as the Dungeons is their attraction, but they still support the ideas of the employees (Appendix 3 - 32:46). The employees also support each other: *'(...) when they have a good idea for an online post we get inspired by their ideas. Also with shows, for example, the one in London, which have a great idea for an effect in the show, we can use it, or we can't. (...) We try to be inspired by the other Dungeons.'* (Appendix 3 - 26:28) Michael Hoogdorp from the Amsterdam Dungeon further on explains why he is still an employee at Merlin Entertainments: *'(...) You can see and feel that in the company like everyone is really corporative and spirited. It's a great company to work at. (...)*' (Appendix 3 - 32:46) As it is mentioned the employee are important for Merlin Entertainments, but so are the guests – without them, the attractions would not be possible.

Merlin Entertainments has given their guests the opportunity to experience all of their attractions in an affordable way: an Annual Pass (Merlin Entertainments). The guests can buy a pass for Australia, Germany, the UK or the US and get discounts all over the world (ibid.). There are not any Merlin Annual Passes in the Netherlands, but the Annual Pass still gives discounts in the Amsterdam Dungeon (ibid.). Merlin Entertainments explains that the price for a Standard Annual Pass in the UK is £179 per person. On June 19<sup>th</sup> 2016, Izzul Z wrote on Trip Advisor: *'(...) it will be not worth to pay for a family package and suggest you to get Merlin Annual pass.'* (Appendix 7), and therefore even guests suggest others to buy an Annual Pass.

## **2.4 Conclusion of Case description**

In this chapter, I presented the London and the Amsterdam Dungeon as well as Merlin Entertainments. The London Dungeon is located on the other side of the bridge from Big Ben. In 2013, they moved from Tooley Street after 38 years there. They explain that they go through 1000 years of London's dark past. Likewise, the Amsterdam Dungeon explains that they go through 500 years of their dark past. They are located 2 minutes walk from the Dam Square, and also 2 minutes away from Madame Tussauds. The Dungeons are part of Merlin Entertainments. Merlin Entertainments' goal is to deliver unique and memorable experiences for all of their visitors as well as supporting their employees.

### 3.0 Methodology

*'Research is (...) always related to previous research'*

(Hannam & Knox, 2010, p. 174)

I will in this chapter address the methods used in my research. Hannam & Knox (2010) states that methods give the opportunity to gather information and facts to create new knowledge or build on existing knowledge. It can be said that research is always related to previous research that has been conducted (ibid.). Research in tourism is young, and therefore many research traditions, in terms of its conceptual approach, is different (ibid.).

I will start by going through the philosophical positions of this research. Here I will explain in what way I have understood the knowledge in which I have conducted. Thereafter, I will go through the different methods. The process of the analysis and discussion is important to explain as well, and this will be done thereafter. Lastly, the limitations and ethical issues will be addressed and a quality evaluation will be presented.

#### 3.1 Research philosophy

Research philosophy is important, as it is a way to understand how I develop knowledge and the nature of knowledge. But before engaging with ontology and epistemology, the notion of *paradigm* has to be explained (Tribe et al., 2015). The purpose of this research is to explore the phenomenon of 'Dark tourism' with support from the London and the Amsterdam Dungeon. A paradigm is relevant for every research, as there is a set of mutual understandings (Saunders, et al., 2009). A paradigm can be explained as: *'(...) a set of fundamental assumptions and beliefs as to how the world is perceived which then serves as a thinking framework that guides the behavior of the researcher (...)'* (Wahyuni, 2012, p. 69). Therefore it can be said, that a paradigm affects how the research will be perceived and how the framework guides the researcher (Saunders, et al., 2009).

##### 3.1.1 Ontology

Ontology refers to the research of reality (Hollinshead, 2004). This means that the researcher must understand 'the real cultural world' of the investigated (ibid.). In other words, the researcher must see, experience, mean, know and be the investigated (ibid.). This



will be utilized by an interview with Michael Hoogdorp from the Amsterdam Dungeon as well as a focus group with whom that would be considered the Dungeon's guests, and lastly observations from the London, Edinburgh and Amsterdam Dungeons.

There are two types of ontology: *Objectivism* and *Subjectivism*. Objectivism is characterized as the situation of the existing reality, and the pre-existing behavior (Hannam & Knox, 2010). Subjectivism is characterized as the creation of the social actors' perception and actions (Saunders, et al., 2009). This thesis is based on a subjective view as the involved has expressed their perceptions and actions regarding the Dungeons and 'Dark tourism'.

Furthermore, I wish to understand the reality of the involved, and this is associated with the term *social constructivism* (Creswell, 2003): Social constructivism is characterized, as one's own reality (ibid.). Creswell (2003) explains that a researcher using social constructivism aims to understand the variety of meanings, experiences and opinions of the research topic. This can lead to different outcomes, and vary in the situations as people are different, and they have different experiences and views (Saunders, et al., 2009). This will be utilized by the opinions of the guests, and how they are reviewing the Dungeons. Likewise, I can use this to explore the phenomenon 'Dark tourism' in Chapter 5.0.

### **3.1.2 Epistemology**

Epistemology refers to how knowledge is created, and how the social world is studied. It can be said that it is the relationship between reality and account of reality (Hannam & Knox, 2010) It also refers to how the researcher analyzes the literature sources, opinions and experiences of the research topic (Porta & Keating, 2008). I have collected data from participant observations, an interview, focus groups and social networks. These methods deals with people based on feeling and opinions, and therefore this type of data cannot be measured through number, but will be analyzed with the support of relevant literature. The relevant literature that has been chosen is regarding the phenomenon 'Dark tourism'.

According to Snape & Spencer (2003) the relationship between the researcher and the researched is important to determine. After a trip to London, I got interested in how the London Dungeon can in some way explore the phenomenon of 'Dark tourism'. I established an email correspondence with both the London Dungeon and the Amsterdam Dungeon. From

this correspondence I created a relationship, following an interview, with Michael Hoogdorp from the Amsterdam Dungeon. This has generated an understanding of how the Dungeons are structured as well as how the process of the shows is created. Likewise, I have participated in different Dungeons and therefore gotten an insight in how the shows are brought to life from start to finish. My role will later on be examined in the Chapter 3.2.1. The London Dungeon could not help with my request of an interview, however they replied my email, and this can be found in Appendix 2.

### **3.1.3 Methodology**

The methodologies for this research are qualitative. This is associated with words, images and situations rather than facts and numbers, which are quantitative studies (Bryman, 2012). There are three major groups of qualitative methodologies: participant observations, interviews and focus groups (Hannam & Knox, 2010). All of these methods allow a greater opportunity to spend time with the research (ibid.). And for this research all of the mentioned methodologies above have been chosen, and this will be explained in the following.

## **3.2 Research methods**

When considering which methods should be used, the overall question is, which of qualitative or quantitative research will be most usable for the validity of answering the problem formulation and research questions (Chapter 1.2). In this research, the qualitative approach has been chosen, as it will help to understand and expose issues, which is relevant for the research (Hannam & Knox, 2010). By using qualitative methods, I want to understand the experiences and feeling (Corbin & Strauss, 2008) the guests may have towards the Dungeons. Furthermore, the qualitative methods have helped me to understand my own experiences, and how they are presented as being a guest in the setting of this research (Kalof & Dan, 2008). Therefore, in this research, the data collected, is through the following methods:

- Participant observation (Appendix 1)
- Interview (Appendix 3)
- Focus group (Appendix 4)
- Social networks (Appendix 5, 6, 7)

I have decided to use these four methods, as these methods will be used to generalize the idea of how the opinions are regarding the London and the Amsterdam Dungeon as well as the phenomenon 'Dark tourism'. By using these methods, I can also get an idea of how the Dungeons can be used to explore the phenomenon 'Dark tourism': By looking at how the Dungeons go against the phenomenon, or how the Dungeons pushes the phenomenon, and in the end how the phenomenon challenges 'Dark tourism' and may change it. The four methods will be explained in the following.

### **3.2.1 Participant observation**

Gilham (2000) explains that participant observation has three different characteristics: watching people doing something, listen to what they say as well as ask questions. Further on, Bennett (2002: p. 139) described it as: *'Participant observation attempts to understand the everyday lives of other people from their perspective. It requires researchers to situate themselves in the lives of others and to allow their voices and actions to influence the research agenda.'* By using participant observation, the researcher has to spend time building up a long-term practice of the location (Hannam & Knox, 2010). Short-term practice is a perfect way to engage a pattern of the location, which is temporary (ibid.). This means that the researcher has to be a participant or an observer (May, 1997).

In this project, I participated in three different Dungeons: London, Edinburgh and Amsterdam. I have gotten an insight in how the Dungeons are a-like as well as different. It has provided me with an insight in how the guests interacted with the shows and with each other. This can be found in Appendix 1. Even though, there are difficulties regarding participant observation, it is a valuable approach, as it can strengthen the research (Hannam & Knox, 2010). Hannam & Knox (2010) also explains that it is the most direct way to gain data.

### ***Delayed project method***

In this project, I have used Delayed project method. This means that I have not written down my notes during the observation, but I have done it afterwards. This has allowed me to be more involved in the shows at the different Dungeons, and it also gave me the opportunity to be apart of the shows. However, the notes may not be as accurate, as if they were written down during the observations (Philips & Stawarski, 2008). However, the notes were written down in the evenings after the shows with the people, which I have the pleasure to travel with

to the different Dungeons. By doing so, this made up for the mentioned disadvantages of the Delayed project method.

### ***My positions in the Dungeons***

1. My first trip to the Dungeons, were in London, where I travelled with my boyfriend and some friends: Nicoline and Stefan. Here I was strictly an involved participant, as I interacted with the shows of the Dungeon. I was twice pointed out to be a part of the show, but I did not want to do it the first time, as I was afraid of what would happen. The second time I was pointed out, I was pointed out as being a witch, who had danced naked on Liverpool Street (Appendix 1 – Observation 1).
2. My second trip in the London Dungeon, I went with another friend: Louise. Here I was more of an observer. We had both an idea of what would happen, as we had both tried it before – Louise had tried the Amsterdam Dungeon many years ago. We decided that we were not going to be afraid, but rather observe the different people, who were there, and how the different interactions were (Appendix 1 – Observation 3).
3. In November, I had an opportunity to go to Edinburgh with some friends: Malte and Stewen, and here we tried their Dungeon, even though it was not planned. I was therefore an observer / involved participant, as I had not tried that Dungeon before, but I still had an idea of what would happen. I observed the different shows in Dungeon, the length of the shows as well as the interaction between the guests, the actors and the staff (Appendix 1 – Observation 2).
4. I went to Amsterdam to try their Dungeon, and here I was strictly a researcher. I had an email correspondence with Michael Hoogdorp from the Amsterdam Dungeon beforehand. He was nice enough to give me a ticket, and therefore my observations were strictly researched-based. I observed the different shows, the length of the shows and the interactions with the guests. I was still afraid, as I did not know the Dungeon, so I did not observe quite as well as I wanted (Appendix 1 – Observation 4).
5. For that reason, I decided to go back to Amsterdam to explore the Dungeon again; here I observed the guests and how they interacted with the shows. It was more or less the same observations I did in London (nr. 3) (Appendix 1 – Observation 5).

### **3.2.2 Interview**

Participant observations are different from an interview. In an interview, the interviewee can express his or her feelings and opinions regarding the research topic, which cannot be done in an observation (Hansen, 2014). These two methods provide different views within the research (ibid.). There is a combination between the life, which is lived and the life, which is told (Thomson, et al, 2002). In an interview, the researcher wants to know what the interviewee thinks and feels about the life, which they have lived (Hannam & Knox, 2010). The researcher wants to understand the interviewee's experience and provide perspectives within the research topic (Kvale, 2007).

After an email correspondence with Michael Hoogdorp from the Amsterdam Dungeon, we scheduled an interview on January 16<sup>th</sup> 2017. I choose to have an interview with Michael, as he has been working in the Amsterdam Dungeon for four years. I also choose him, because he had an idea of how the Dungeons interact with each other and with their guests. This interview was almost an hour long, and it was conducted in English, even though Michael is Dutch, and I am Danish. It has be recorded and transcribed, and can be found in Appendix 3.

Before the start of the interview, the researcher needs to classify what type of interview it is (Hannam & Knox, 2010) I have decided to use semi-structured interview, as it has advantages from both structured and unstructured interview. A semi-structured interview is informal, open for suggestions from both the researcher and the interviewee (ibid.). It can be said that a semi-structured interview is more of a conversation than an actual interview, and therefore this type of interview can result in a social construction of knowledge between the researcher and interviewee (ibid.). Likewise, the place of the interview also has an impact of how the interviewee is interviewed (Smed, 2014). I had my interview with Michael at a café behind the Amsterdam Dungeon. By interviewing him here, the atmosphere was informal and therefore the relationship between the interviewee and the researcher was relaxing. By interviewing him here, the interviewee was not far away from the Dungeon, as he had just been done with work, when we had the interview.

### **3.2.3 Focus group**

A focus group is a group interview with three or more people discusses the research topic (Hannam & Knox, 2010). It is a good way to get the group opinion, but it is less effective to

establish the opinion of the individual group members (ibid.). Focus groups have distinctive characteristics, which Smith (2017, p. 144) explains below:

1. It generates data on a specific topic by the researcher.
2. The researcher is responsible for the creation of the group.
3. The researcher is responsible for the creation of the data after the interview.

Furthermore, the interactions between the group members can be risky for the analysis, as the focus of the interview can be about the interaction rather than the specific context of the group interview (Hannam & Knox, 2010). Therefore I have recorded and transcript, taken notes and documented the process of the interview.

I decided to have a focus group with the people I had the pleasure of travelling with. In Chapter 3.4, the disadvantages will be explained. Below, in Table 1, the travels can be seen.

**Table 1: Travels**

<b>October 2016</b>	<i>London</i>	Stewen Mathiasen Nicoline Andersen Stefan Eriksen	Appendix 1 – Observation 1
<b>November 2016</b>	<i>Edinburgh</i>	Stewen Mathiasen Malte Henriksen	Appendix 1 – Observation 2
<b>December 2016</b>	<i>London</i>	Louise Andersen	Appendix 1 – Observation 3
<b>January 2017</b>	<i>Amsterdam</i>	Alone	Appendix 1 – Observation 4
<b>March 2017</b>	<i>Amsterdam</i>	Stewen Mathiasen	Appendix 1 – Observation 5

The focus group was held on 19 of January 2017. I choose to have a focus group interview with these people, as they all have different opinions of what their experiences were in the Dungeons. Some tried the London Dungeons; others tried the Edinburgh Dungeon or the Amsterdam Dungeon. I also choose them because they all had different opinions regarding the phenomenon ‘Dark tourism’. The interview was over an hour long, and it was conducted in English, even though all participants are Danish. It has been recorded and transcribed, and it can be found in Appendix 4.

The setting of the interview is important for a focus group, as the members need to relax at the interview (Hannam & Knox, 2010). The focus group interview, I had conducted, were in a private apartment in Copenhagen, where the members had been before. The interview was conducted in the living room, which I believe is a relaxing environment for a focus group interview to be conducted. Likewise, dinner and dessert was served beforehand as a complementary "Thank You".

*Clarification note: Malte Henriksen was not able to appear for the focus group interview. His name is not in Appendix 4, but he did travel with me to Edinburgh.*

### **3.2.4 Social networks**

Since social networks have been introduced in the late 90's and early 00's, Facebook, Google and Trip Advisor, as such, have attracted millions of users, who use these sites daily (Boyd & Ellison, 2007). There are hundreds of social network sites, which support a wide range of interests and practices: Some of the sites help strangers to connect based on shared interests, political views or activities, while others connect based on language or shared nationality, racial, religious or sexual based identities (ibid.). Likewise, some of these sites vary in the way they incorporate new information and communication tools: mobile connectivity, blogging or photo/video-sharing (ibid.).

The reason for me to choose social network, as a method in the research, is to connect with the guests, in a way I would not be able to otherwise. Some of the ethical issues regarding this can be found in Chapter 3.4.

The social networks, which I have chosen, are: Facebook, Google and Trip Advisor. In 2004 Mark Zuckerberg created Facebook. Their vision is to: *'(...) give people the power to share and make the world more open and connected'* (Facebook – Newsroom). Likewise, in 1997 Larry Page and Sergei Brin created Google. They make hundreds of products, which is used by millions of people – YouTube, Android and Google Search (Google - About Our Story). In 2000 Stephen Kaufer and Langley Steinert created Trip Advisor. It is a travel website that provides reviews from tourists at different locations to other tourists (Harvard Business Review).

### **Reviews**

Further on, one of the reasons for me to choose social network method is because on

Facebook, Google and especially on Trip Advisor, tourists can write reviews. The reviews can be good or bad or in-between. Because of the topic of this research, I will only be focusing on the London and the Amsterdam Dungeon. There are many reviews, so I have decided only to focus on the reviews from **2016**. From these reviews, I have made six different categories. These categories can be seen in Table 2.

**Table 2: Categories of reviews**

<b>Age</b>	<b>Funny</b>	<b>History</b>	<b>Learn</b>	<b>Scary</b>	<b>Dark Tourism</b>
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In the following, the categories above will be classified as well as how they are connected to a review. Here it is important to state that the category can be negative and positive. Some of the reviews may overlap in categories, and this will also be classified.

**Age** = When a review has the word: 'Age', for example: *'(...) It's suitable for age 8+ (...)'* (Leanne Fraser, January 2016 – Google → London) or as such: *'(...) 11-50yr.'* (Dianne Jackson, December 24<sup>th</sup> 2016 – Facebook → London), it is classified as the category **Age**. Furthermore, the words: 'Young' or 'Old' is also classified in this category: *'This is a great place for young and old'* (Arne van Leeuwen, November 23<sup>rd</sup> 2016 – Facebook → Amsterdam)

**Funny** = When a review has the words: 'Fun', 'Amazing' or 'Entertainment' in them, for example: *'Amazing attraction! Thrilling and funny, loved it'* (Suzanne Excell, December 30<sup>th</sup> 2016 – Facebook → London) or as such: *'The 'New London Dungeon' (...) is less entertaining and looks more like a cash cow for tourists (...)'* (Frantisek Fuka, January 2016 – Google → London) it is classified as the category **Funny**. Likewise, words as: 'Fantastic', 'Love' or 'Exciting', they are also classified as **Funny**: *'We had fantastic fun at this attraction. (...) very good fun!'* (Sophie S, January 26<sup>th</sup> 2016 – Trip Advisor → Amsterdam)

**History** = When the word 'History' is in a review, for example: *'(...) However, not enough historical facts were given throughout certain events (...)'* (Victoria Burrows, December 4<sup>th</sup> 2016 – Facebook → London), it is defined as **History**. Furthermore, when a review has the words 'Authenticity' or 'Realistic' in it, it is also defined as **History**: *'(...) Unfortunately partly limited only to the Middle Ages and not really leading through the city's history. The best guy was the first guy who shouted at the people in English, that everything was as realistic as in the Middle*



*Ages and then pressed the button on the elevator to move the people group-wise upwards. Very authentic -thoch :-)* (Lars Hampel, October 2016 – Google → Amsterdam)

**Learn** = When a review has the word: 'Learn' in it, for example: *'Fantastic, loved every minute of it. Learnt(sic) so much about London.'* (Lewis James Wright, October 24<sup>th</sup> 2016 – Facebook → London) or as such: *'Not (...) educational'* (Chris Wright, May 13<sup>th</sup> 2016 – Facebook → London), it is defined as **Learn**. Likewise, words as 'Informative' or 'Educational' is defined as the category **Learn**, for example: *'What an experience! I felt like a prisoner the whole time and it was amazing! The experience was very informative and educational. (...)'* (Issam K, August 24<sup>th</sup> 2016 – Trip Advisor → Amsterdam)

**Scary** = When a review has the word: 'Scary', for example: *'(...) scary but not too scary'* (Angela Hölscher, October 13<sup>th</sup> 2016 – Facebook → London) or as such: *'Was brilliant. Thought it may have been more scary than it was but I'd definitely go again'* (Charlene Kerys Screen, November 30<sup>th</sup> 2016 – Facebook → London), it is in the category **Scary**. Words as 'Frightening' or 'Creepy' are also in this category: *'Really enjoyed it. If you're easily frightened, it is not really advisable (...)'* (Claudia d., October 20<sup>th</sup> 2016 – Trip Advisor → Amsterdam)

**Dark Tourism** = The last category, which I have decided to classified, is **Dark Tourism**. An example of this is: *'(...) Great way to find out about the dark side of London and have a scream with your friends (...)'* (Sarah Ives, October 14<sup>th</sup> 2016 – Facebook → London) Here the review is about 'The Dark Side' of London. Likewise, 'Dark History' can be classified within this category: *'(...) This is a fun and scary at times (...) through Amsterdam's dark history! (...)'* (Gary\_Savage, November 4<sup>th</sup> 2016 – Trip Advisor → Amsterdam)

**Mixed categories:** As mentioned earlier some of the reviews overlap with the different categories, some can have both **Funny** and **Scary**, or some can have **History** and **Learn**. Likewise, **Dark tourism** can be mixed with all the categories above. Below some examples can be seen with the London and the Amsterdam Dungeon. Here I have colored how the categories are mixed. In Table 2 on page 24 the color definition can be seen.

*Example 1: Four overlaps*

Facebook Review → London
Kelly Horsman Creek, <b>December 29<sup>th</sup> 2016</b>

**'Great experience. I had a 13 & 10 year old. They both loved it too. Bit jumpy in a few places, but characters and staff were amazing. Got tickets in minutes and arrived at our allotted time 10 mins early and straight in, think we were in there just short of two hours. Definitely worth a visit. Learned / refreshed memory a bit too!'**

In this example these categories can be found: **Funny**, **Age**, **Scary** and **Learn**.

Example 2: Three overlaps

Google Review → Amsterdam
Daniel Granja Conejeros, <b>April 2016</b>
<b>'Just meeh. I would say would be interesting for child 8-12 years old. Funny/interactive enough and kinda scary as it tries to walk you though the history of Amsterdam. Great if you go but you are not missing anything.'</b>

In this example these categories can be found: **Funny**, **Scary** and **History**.

Example 3: Two overlaps

Facebook Review → Amsterdam
Linda Brummelink, <b>February 25<sup>th</sup> 2016</b>
<b>'A lot of fun. All these acts, alternately, and exciting and yet a piece of history.'</b>

In this example these categories can be found: **Fun** and **History**.

Example 4: **Dark tourism** and three overlaps

Trip Advisor Review → Amsterdam
Cynthia T, <b>May 5<sup>th</sup> 2016</b>
<b>'Everyone worked here were very friendly and outgoing. The actors were superb. I am very much afraid of scary things, but the dungeon was okay for me. Although, most of the time my hands were ready to plug my ears. It was a bit interactive as well. We did learn some of the dark secrets of Amsterdam, which was interesting. We had decided to do the Dungeon because it was cold and wet outside and it did not disappoint!'</b>

In this example these categories can be found: **Funny**, **Scary**, **Learn** and **Dark tourism**.

**Reply from the Dungeons:** The London and the Amsterdam Dungeon replies to most of the reviews from the guests. The London Dungeon reply to all three of the social networks: Facebook, Google and Trip Advisor. The Amsterdam Dungeon replies to two out of three: Facebook and Trip Advisor: They do not reply to the reviews on Google. I have furthermore noticed that the London Dungeon reply most of their guests on Trip Advisor; likewise the Amsterdam Dungeon also reply most of their guests there.

**Mixed categories in the replies:** Even in the replies from the Dungeons, mixed categories can be found. Examples from the London and the Amsterdam Dungeon can be seen below. I have colored how the categories are mixed in the review and reply.

*Example 1: Reply from London*

Facebook Review → London
Susann Gosse, <b>September 30<sup>th</sup> 2016</b>
'More telling stories and <b>about dungeon history</b> , <b>no spooky or horror things</b> . Very very soft stuff, <b>great actors</b> . Expected more'
<b>London Dungeon:</b> 'Hi Susann, thanks for reviewing us! <b>We're not actually a scare attraction so don't set out to terrify people</b> . <b>We like to bring history to life with fun and a few frights.</b> '

In this example these categories can be found: **History**, **Scary** and **Funny**.

*Example 2: Reply from Amsterdam*

Trip Advisor Review → Amsterdam
Laura L, <b>August 28<sup>th</sup> 2016, Visited: April 2016</b>
'Overpriced. Waiting for over an hour to get in. <b>Can't say we learned much about the history of Amsterdam</b> . <b>Overall it was amusing</b> however we wouldn't go back.'
<b>Amsterdam Dungeon:</b> 'Dear visitor, <b>The Amsterdam Dungeon throws you back 500 years through an exciting walkthrough experience that you can see, hear, touch, smell and feel</b> . <b>Our shows a built on Amsterdam's historical facts, but we don't want to make your visit a history lesson</b> . We'd rather make it a <b>scary/fun</b> experience you won't forget! Kind regards, The Amsterdam Dungeon'

In this example these categories can be found: **Learn**, **History**, **Scary** and **Funny**.

These categories will be use in the analysis and discussion. When an example will be presented in the analysis and discussion, the categories will not be colored, but rather analyzed and discussed in what way they can explore the phenomenon 'Dark tourism'.

### 3.3 Data analysis process

After collecting data from the mentioned methods above, I have had to take into consideration how it is going to be analyzed and discussed (Bryman, 2012). The collected data for this research was analyzed by using qualitative data analysis. Bernard et al (2017, p. 2) explain this as: 'Investigators focus on and name themes in texts. They tell the story, as they see it, of how themes are related to one another and how characteristics of the speaker or speakers account for the existence of certain themes and the absence of others. Researchers may

*deconstruct a text, look for hidden subtexts, and try to let their audience know (...) the deeper meaning or the multiple meanings in the it.'* For this research, this method is used to analyze the context of the options and expressions in the interview, focus group interview and in the reviews. Here coding is used to categorize the collected data in order to give an overview of the general options of the London Dungeon and the Amsterdam Dungeon. Rossman & Rallis (1998, p. 171) explains coding as: *'(...) the process of organizing the material into chunks or segments of text before bringing meaning to information. It involves taking text data or pictures, segmenting sentences (or paragraphs) or images into categories and labeling those categories with a term'*. Stufflebearn & Zhang (2017) explains that it involves taking the text from the collected data, segmenting it into categories and then labeling the categories.

The categories, I have decided to use for the analysis and discussion, are: **Age, Funny, History, Learn, Scary and Dark tourism**: These categories are the same categories as in the reviews I believe that these categories are the options and expressions within the Dungeons.

### **3.4 Ethics and Limitations**

This sub-chapter is important, as it is a reflection of the research's potentially ethical problems and the limitations regarding the research of the problem formulation.

By being a participant observer at the London and the Edinburgh Dungeons, I did not inform the Dungeons regarding this. I did so to ensure the credibility of the guests as well as the Dungeons and its staff. Likewise, I did not take notes in the Dungeons, and therefore the notes can be missing a few elements. Further on, other Dungeons, such as San Francisco, Berlin and Hamburg never replied the few emails, which I sent. The London Dungeon replied my email, but they were not interested in an interview. The only person, who replied, was Michael Hoogdorp from the Amsterdam Dungeon, he replied after 20 minutes.

In the interview with Michael Hoogdorp from the Amsterdam Dungeon, I have not anonymized him. However, he is the only person, who I have had an interview with from the Dungeons, and therefore it gives me only *one* view of the Dungeons. His view is subjective.

In the focus group, the participants are partly anonymized, as their middle names are missing. This have given me the opportunity to ask questions, which they would not have

answered, if their full name was there. All of these people have different ideas and opinions, and therefore, I have decided to partly anonymize the participants, so it would not affect them. Yet, I, the researcher, know the full names of the participants.

The focus group has been with people, I know from beforehand, and this is a limitation, as they have known about the research. Even though, they have tried not to affect them, it can be seen in the way they talk about 'Dark tourism' and the Dungeons (Appendix 4).

Regarding the reviews on social networks, a few limitations and ethical issues were found: One of the ethical issues regarding social networks is that I have used opinions without asking the person with the opinion. For some, this can be an ethical issue. But for others, it can be a discussion, whether or not this is an ethical issue or not, as when people write reviews or post pictures *online* - everyone is allowed to see and use it.

Nicoline from the focus group also explains another issue regarding the social networks: *'(...) there may be doubts about whether the profiles are genuine or not. It has been heard of before that companies go in and do review of them. Especially when there are some bad, to get the positive numbers back up again.'* (Appendix 4 - 38:24) Here I have decided to use the reviews, which has a partly full name attached to them, and not names with letters and numbers mixed together. An example of one of these mixed names is: 'ZG1067' (December 2<sup>nd</sup> 2016 - Trip Advisor → London) Likewise, an example of a full name is: 'Ben Gleeson' (February 27<sup>th</sup> 2016 - Facebook → Amsterdam).

A last issue regarding the social networks is Trip Advisor. Here the reviews are different from country to country. This means that, if one searches for the London or the Amsterdam Dungeon on the Danish Trip Advisor compared to the Dutch Trip Advisor - the amount of reviews are the same, but the amount of different languages are different. This means that not all the reviews are seen on the two Trip Advisors. Therefore, I have decided to only use the Danish Trip Advisor. Below a comparison of the two Trip Advisors can be seen in Table 3: Trip Advisor - The London Dungeon and Table 4: Trip Advisor - The Amsterdam Dungeon.

**Table 3: Trip Advisor - The London Dungeon**

01.03.2017	Danish Trip Advisor	Dutch Trip Advisor
------------	---------------------	--------------------

Danish	<b>2314</b>	<b>44</b>
Dutch	<b>59</b>	<b>3083</b>
English	6225	6225
German	145	145
Spanish	84	84

Here it is shown that on the Danish Trip Advisor, 2314 Danish people wrote about the London Dungeon, however on the Dutch Trip Advisor, it is only 44. Likewise, on the Dutch Trip Advisor, 3083 Dutch people wrote, and on the Danish Trip Advisor, it is only 59. The numbers regarding English, German and Spanish do not change; they are the same in both.

**Table 4: Trip Advisor - The Amsterdam Dungeon**

01.03.2017	Danish Trip Advisor	Dutch Trip Advisor
Danish	<b>502</b>	<b>6</b>
Dutch	<b>157</b>	<b>774</b>
English	1183	1183
German	96	96
Spanish	23	23

Here it is shown that on the Danish Trip Advisor, 502 Danish people wrote about the Amsterdam Dungeon, however on the Dutch Trip Advisor, it is only 6. Likewise, on the Dutch Trip Advisor, 774 Dutch people wrote, and on the Danish Trip Advisor, it is only 157. The numbers regarding English, German and Spanish do not change; they are the same in both.

### 3.5 Quality evaluation

There are many factors that lead to different results: The researchers influence, the analysis of the findings and uncertainty of questions (Cargan, 2007). To evaluate the collected data, I needed to make a quality evaluation: This is done, by using *reliability* and *validity*. This will be explained as well as how they are used in this research. Cargan (2007) explains that reliability and validity are important since they measure the outcome of the research.

#### 3.5.1 Reliability

In social science, reliability is referred as being the most trustworthy and dependable research within data collation (Kvale, 2007). It can be hard to evaluate if qualitative research is trustworthy and dependable, as the researcher can influence the results (ibid.). One of the

issues with reliability is in the connection with the analysis, as the researcher needs to evaluate, if whether other researchers would come up with the same analysis (Tracy, 2013). In this research, I have evaluated the reliability in the analysis and discussion, as if another person would conduct the same results with the same methods and the same relation to the Dungeons. I have thought out of the box, as the whole research is based upon on the involved own opinions, perceptions and actions regarding the Dungeons and 'Dark tourism'.

### 3.5.2 Validity

Validity is referred to how the methods are investigated (Kvale, 2007). Here it is important to distinguish between internal and external validity: *Internal validity* is referred to the degree of how the methods of the research are investigated the way they are supposed to (Cargan, 2007). *External validity* is referred to the degree of which the results can be generalized: In other words, if the research can be used in other cases in the future (ibid.). In this research, I have investigated whether the phenomenon about 'Dark tourism' can be connected to the London and the Amsterdam Dungeon. Here, I have investigated what other scholars think of the phenomenon 'Dark tourism', and whether it can be connected to the Dungeons. Further on, it needs to be mentioned that the research results cannot be seen as a final answer, but certain aspects can be used in similar research in the future, and therefore I believe other academics can benefit from the presented framework of this research.

## 3.6 Conclusion of Methodology

In this chapter, I have gone through the different methods used to conduct the results of this research. I started by going through ontology and epistemology as the philosophical positions in my research. Thereafter, I explain that I have used different methods: participant observations, interview and focus group. Likewise, I have used social networks to find reviews regarding the London and the Amsterdam Dungeon: Here I explained the use of Facebook, Google and Trip Advisor. I have classified the reviews in different categories: **Age**, **Funny**, **History**, **Learn**, **Scary** and **Dark tourism**. As mentioned earlier, the process of the analysis and discussion is important, and therefore I have explained how it will be conducted. The limitations and ethical issues have also been explained. Lastly, I have explained the quality evaluation of the conducted data. Here I have explained reliability and validity.

## 4.0 Theoretical framework

*'(...) It is something that we are interested in and want to learn more about'*

(Appendix 4 – 50:49)

In this chapter, I will address the phenomenon 'Dark tourism'. I will include Lennon & Foley (2000), as they were the first, whom described it (Light, 2017). Likewise, I will explain Stone (2006), as he has structured 'Dark tourism' in a spectrum from dark to light tourism. I will also explain Stone (2005), as he discusses *Fun, Fear and Dark tourism*. By explaining 'Dark tourism' in this order, I can analyze and discuss in what way the Dungeons can challenge the phenomenon 'Dark tourism' in the next chapter (Chapter 5).

### 4.1 The definition of 'Dark tourism': A dirty little secret

As the heading mentions, 'Dark tourism' is a dirty little secret (Marcel, 2004). The academic aspect of 'Dark tourism' starts with the publication of *'Dark tourism: The Attraction of Death and Disaster'* by Lennon & Foley (2000). This book focuses upon the relationship between tourism and death (Lennon & Foley, 2010). Lennon & Foley (2000) describes 'Dark tourism' as an illustration of inhuman acts, and how tourists understand this. However, the concept of 'Dark tourism' is not new: In 1996, the phenomenon was first introduced in the *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, where Foley & Lennon (1996) defined the phenomenon as: *'the presentation and consumption (by visitors) of real and commodified death and disaster sites'* (p. 198). However, Seaton (1996) has likewise defined the phenomenon as 'Thanatourism', and he defines it as: *'travel to a location wholly, or particularly, but not exclusively, violent death'* (p. 240). He goes on by saying that 'Thanatourism' is a form for 'Heritage tourism' (Seaton, 1996).

Tarlow (2005, p. 48) explains that 'Dark tourism' is identified as: *'visitations to place where tragedies or historically noteworthy death has occurred and that continue to impact our lives'*. Lennon & Foley (2000) suggests that it can be said that many tourists want to experience the reality behind the medias images or want to explore their own personal association with the place that impacts their lives. Therefore, the definition, which I, the researcher, are bound upon, is: *'tourist visiting attractions, which is an illustration of inhuman acts to understand the tragedy and historical aspect that continues to impact our lives'* (Foley & Lennon, 1996; Seaton, 1996; Lennon & Foley, 2000; Tarlow, 2005).



However, some scholars have refined the phenomenon 'Dark tourism', as there is a diversity of places and experiences within 'Dark tourism' (Light, 2017). Stone (2006) has furthermore defined the phenomenon based on practices as: *'the act of travel to sites associated with death, suffering and the seemingly macabre'* (p. 146). Likewise, Ashworth (2004) has defined 'Dark tourism' based on experiences as: *'Dark tourism ... is where the tourist's experience is essentially composed of 'dark' emotions such as pain, death, horror or sadness, many of which result from the infliction of violence that are not usually associated with a voluntary entertainment experience'* (p. 234). Today, the definition of 'Dark tourism' is based on the practices, which is classified as: *'a form of travel where tourists encounter places associated with death, disaster and the macabre'* (Johnston, 2015, p. 20). It can be said that the definition of 'Dark tourism' can vary upon the motivation, the practices, the type of place, and the experience the tourist may have with the attraction (ibid.).

Lennon & Foley (2000) explains that there are two types of Dark tourists: Those who have a special interest to the attraction, and those without an interest, but visit the attraction for other reasons. It is clear that many people visit 'Dark tourism' attractions; not because of the interest in death or suffering, but because of the interest in learning and understanding about the past (Light, 2017). Other motivations include the interest in history, the desire for remembrance as well as visiting places connected to personal or family history (Poria et al., 2004). Likewise, the desire to: *'see it to believe it'* is a motivation for many Dark tourists (Light, 2017). But one motivation that appears the most is the sense of duty or moral obligation (ibid.). Lastly, the motivation of curiosity is a common association with 'Dark tourism' attractions (Ashworth & Hartmann, 2005). A tourist do many activities during their holidays, and therefore it can be discussed whether these people are Dark tourists, if they visited an attraction associated with death and suffering only one day of their holiday (Light, 2017).

The emotional reason why people want to experience 'Dark tourism' attractions is the focus to identify them with the attraction (Best, 2007). Furthermore, some scholars believe that there are many types of emotions, which the tourists can experience: sorrow, sadness, horror and grief (Baldwin & Sharpley, 2009; Stone, 2012; Zhang et al., 2016), disgust and repulsion (Podoshen et al., 2015), shock or fear (Buda, 2015; Zhang et al., 2016), anger (Mowatt & Chancellor, 2011) and disappointment (Podoshen, 2013). Likewise, positive as

well as negative emotions can be stimulated: pride (Cheal & Griffin, 2013) and hope (Koleth, 2014; Sharpley, 2012). Sharpley (2012) further on explains that many visitors may have a deep emotional engagement with the places that they encounter. Emotions can likewise affect the different 'Dark tourism' attractions. Buda (2015) explains that places associated with death, suffering or danger has the potential to produce affective responses among visitors, but only due to the affective dimensions of 'Dark tourism' in the context of traveling to dangerous places. Likewise, it is said that visiting 'Dark tourism' attractions can even be life changing for some visitors (Dunkley et al, 2007; Stone, 2012). Stone (2012) goes on by saying that it is a way for tourists to remember that they will die (*momento mori*).

The phenomenon 'Dark tourism' has increased the academic attention, but not as much as to the understanding of why people visited places associated with death and suffering (Light, 2017). The early stage of the phenomenon 'Dark tourism' is argued that it exists '*across a continuum of intensity*' (Seaton, 1996, p. 240). Seaton (1996) suggests that 'Dark tourism' is a behavioral phenomenon defined by tourists' motivations to understand. He has defined the phenomenon 'Dark tourism' as 'Thanatourism' (ibid.) The distinction between 'Dark tourism' and 'Thanatourism' has become blurred (ibid.). Some scholars argue the 'Thanatourism' is the 'technical' name for 'Dark tourism' (Tarlow, 2005), while others argue that it is the 'precise' name for the phenomenon (Stone, 2006). Likewise, some scholars argue that the phenomenon 'Thanatourism' is more neutral (Johnston, 2015), and less negative compared to the phenomenon 'Dark tourism' (Friedrich & Johnston, 2013). Buda (2015) also argues that 'Thanatourism' is somehow more acceptable than 'Dark tourism'.

An early example of 'Dark tourism' (or 'Thanatourism') is roman gladiatorial games, where the audience came from far away to see the romans fight against each other (Lennon & Foley, 2010). Here the romans died in front of an audience, and therefore the audience became a part of a 'Dark tourism' attraction by seeing death and macabre (Fonseca, et al., 2016). 'Dark tourism' could also be found in the guided tours in the Victorian period (ibid.). Here Boorstin (1987) claims that in 1838 the first guided tour in England was to witness the hanging of two murderers. Likewise, Madame Tussauds established the Chamber of Horrors exhibition in this period: Millions of people have through the last 200 years been curios about the recreations, which she produced (Madame Tussauds). Seaton (1996) states that death and suffering have

been an element of people’s curiosity for centuries; and this can be seen in the increase of ‘Dark tourism’ attractions. The most famous example of a ‘Dark tourism’ attraction is the former concentration camp: Auschwitz in Poland (Lennon & Foley, 2000). Other attractions, which can be defined as ‘Dark tourism’ is: the Tower of London and the Edinburgh Castle (ibid.). Also attractions such as place of famous peoples gravesites, such as James Dean, Buddy Holly and Elvis Presley, is defined as ‘Dark tourism’ (Alderman, 2002). Major disasters attractions such as the 9/11 Memorial at Ground Zero in New York City and the hurricane disaster area in New Orleans is defined as ‘Dark tourism’ (Lennon & Foley, 2000).

#### 4.1.1 Demand and Supply

It can likewise be discussed whether the phenomenon ‘Dark tourism’ is attraction-supply driven or consumer-demand driven (Sharpley, 2005). Sharpley (2005) goes on by saying that it is important to consider both supply and demand to attempt to construct a framework of the phenomenon ‘Dark tourism’. He argues, that there are four shades in this consideration (ibid.). In Table 5 the understanding of ‘Dark tourism’ within demand and supply, can be seen.

**Table 5: The understanding of demand and supply**

	<b>Demand</b>	<b>Supply</b>
<b>Black tourism</b>	An interest in death	Visiting places intended.
<b>Pale tourism</b>	Minimal interest in death	Visiting places non-intended
<b>Grey tourism</b>	Defined interest in death	Visiting places intended
<b>Grey tourism</b>	Defined interest in death	Visiting places non-intended

From this, it can be said that ‘Black tourism’ is the fascination with death, which is satisfied by a supply in which the places are intended; ‘Pale tourism’ has a minimum fascination with death, and here it is also the places, which are non-intended to supply in ‘Dark tourism’ attractions; ‘Grey tourism’ has a defined fascination with death, and here the supply is either intended or non-intended (Sharpley, 2005). These four considerations are said to satisfy the possible existence of the different experiences, in which the tourists can experience through death-related sites and attractions (ibid). Sharpley (2005) goes on by saying: *‘many form of alleged dark tourism experiences are, in fact, alternative experiences’* (p. 226). Therefore, it can be said, that it is possible to locate specific sites, attractions or experiences within these four shades: The 9/11 Memorial would be defined as ‘Black tourism’, and visits to famous peoples

gravesites and death sites would be defined as 'Pale tourism' (Sharpley, 2005). These considerations will be used in the analysis and discussion in Chapter 5.

The more recent development of smartphones has given the visitors the opportunity to search for additional information regarding tourist attractions (Staiff, 2014). Staiff (2014) goes on by saying that tourists, or active participant (co-creators), are the professional interpreters in the making of places regarding death and suffering (ibid.). In other words, it can be said that the supply aspects of the attractions have included many visitors: the visitors' motivations for learning in an educational context have construed a cognitive response within the different 'Dark tourism' attractions (Light, 2017).

An early paper from Miles (2002) argues that some 'Dark tourism' attractions are darker than other based upon their heritage aspect and authentic location. This will be explained in the following. Likewise, the most influential typology is the spectrum of 'Dark tourism' by Stone (2006), and this will be explained in Chapter 4.3.

## **4.2 'Heritage tourism' and authenticity**

In the following, I will explain the heritage and the authenticity aspects of 'Dark tourism'. These aspects are associated with the identity of the tourist (Hannam & Knox, 2010) and will be used in the following chapter to analyze and discuss the challenges regarding 'Dark tourism' in the context of the Dungeons, which this research is all about.

### **4.2.1 'Heritage tourism'**

The word heritage means: *'features belonging to the culture of a particular society, such as traditions, languages or buildings, that were created in the past and still have historical importance'* (Cambridge Dictionary - Heritage). Therefore, an understanding of 'Heritage tourism' indicates that the past is maintained through artifacts. These artifacts remember personalities, symbols and associations, which is served through modern demands (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996). In other words, it can be said that the past is being used to support the social, cultural and political identities of individuals, groups, places or events of today (ibid.). Ashworth (2004) notes that the motivation for 'Heritage tourism' is the search for knowledge and a sense of social responsibility for the locals, the tourists and the government to learn something new about the area. Likewise, Urry & Larsen (2011) describes

'Heritage tourism' as: '*... problematic because it is visual*' (p. 143). For many people history is taught through books, novels and seeing historical dramas on TV (Urry & Larsen, 2011). But when visiting an area, the visitors see artifacts, and they imagine patterns of life, which emerged around the artifacts through what they have learned earlier in their lives (Bruner, 1996). Monuments and war memorials are often a display of the regional and national culture to tell stories to both domestic and international visitors (Hannam & Knox, 2010). They are historically served as bases for the development of tourism attractions (Fonseca, et al., 2016). Smith (1998) suggests that attractions associated with war consist of the largest category of tourist attractions, as they are associated with death and suffering.

Furthermore, war memorials are important implications in terms of the present and the future (Dunkley, et al., 2007). It is a way to honor the men and women, who gave their lives to others and the ideals of democracy, freedom and justice for the area (Hannam & Knox, 2010). The social experiences around historical artifacts are non-existing, as war, hunger and laws cannot be seen (Urry & Larsen, 2011). Social experiences are learned through authenticity (ibid.), and this will be explained later in this chapter (Chapter 4.2.2).

### ***Example: John F. Kennedy assassination***

The circumstances surrounding the assassination of John F. Kennedy in 1963, has become a heritage artifact (Lennon & Foley, 2000). It was the first news event, as television shows were interrupted to inform the people across the globe (ibid.). The funeral of John F. Kennedy was shown on live TV; out of respect, television mediated the experience to millions of people around the world (ibid.). Having created this effect, the situation surrounding this family continues to offers public interest: books and films maintains this curiosity, even today (JFK). Likewise, a number of attractions, such as different memorials and monuments, have been constructed for John F. Kennedy (Lennon & Foley, 2000). One of these attractions are: The Sixth Floor Museum in Dallas, where it: '*explore the life, assassination and legacy of JFK within the context of 1960s history and culture.*' (JFK). Also the gravesite and the eternal flame of John F. Kennedy in the Arlington Cemetery, where Jacqueline Kennedy stated that her husband: '*(...) belongs to the people*' (Arlington Cemetery). These memorials for John F. Kennedy and the Kennedy family are today visited by millions of tourists every year, and it has become a heritage artifact for the whole globe (Lennon & Foley, 2000).

#### 4.2.2 Authenticity

To furthermore understand 'Heritage tourism' and 'Dark tourism', the concept of authenticity must be understood. The word authenticity means: '*the quality of being real or true*' (Cambridge Dictionary - Authenticity). The idea of authenticity is built on the notion that an object is original rather than re-created, but this is not always true (Hannam & Know, 2010). This suggests that authenticity is complex (ibid.). Wang (1999) argues that there are four different types of authenticity. Below these authenticities are presented:

1. *Landscapes of nostalgia*: By attempting to explain the current growth in 'Heritage tourism', it is argued that it is in the era of the globalization (Wang, 1999). It can be said: '*a fear for the past being destroyed becomes a fear of the past destroying the future*' (Crang, 1994, p. 342). In other words, it can be said, that this type of authenticity offers stabilization to people struggling with their identity (Hewison, 1987).
2. *Staged authenticity*: MacCannell (1976) refers this idea to the contrived presentation of attractions, as if they were authentic: '*this is the actual pen used to sign the law*' (p. 14). However, Cohen (1995) argues that tourism is seen as a journey into uncharted territory to give an authentic experience in the limits of the tourists' space. It can be discussed if staging an experience is authentic or not (MacCannell, 1992).
3. *Commoditized authenticity*: MacDonald (1997) argues that 'Heritage tourism' is something that is imposed from the outside of a local community: '*to the authorial intentions and authenticating devices at work in heritage sites*' (p. 156-157). In other words, it can be said that the outside can establish and develop the local experience by telling their own experiences and therefore develop the local community in a way, which may not be true (ibid.). Therefore, it raises the questions regarding the distinction between what is *authentic* and what is *inauthentic* (Stone, 2006).
4. *Authentic souvenirs*: Souvenirs are produced to construct 'an authentic object', typically for the local community (Littrel, et al., 1993). Tourists' focuses on the product in terms of its uniqueness and originality (Hannam & Knox, 2010). Shenhav-Keller (1993) describes that a place can be able to use this sense of authenticity. In other words, when something is sold in an authentic place, the souvenir must be authentic (ibid.).

Cohen (1995) describes authenticity as negotiable: for some tourists the commercial reproduction may be sufficient as 'an authentic' product, and for other tourists it may not. Wang (1999) defines authenticity as having nothing to do with the object being real or not: He describes, that feelings are activated in the attraction and therefore the attraction or object becomes authentic in the tourists objectivism. *'It seems that virtually everything these days has to be somewhat old if it is to be interesting'* (Hannam & Knox, 2010, p. 141), and this might be true. The tourists' motivation includes the desire to learn and understand history by *'see it to believe it'* (Biran, et al., 2011, p. 836), and have an emotional reaction within the attraction (ibid.). Likewise, the locations of the attraction allow the visualization of the truth or the reality behind the truth within the experience of the attraction (Hannam & Knox, 2010). It can be said that authenticity is not about presenting people with the truth, but rather confronting them with something, they believe is true (ibid.).

Every destination needs to identify themselves with the historic monuments, museums, memorials and heritage trails in the area, in order to inform the tourists about the location (Graham, et al., 2000). Richards (1995) suggests that all tourism is cultural tourism, as it is virtually impossible to travel to another culture without experiencing its effects and products. Tilden (1977) goes on by saying that a location has different meanings for different people, as it stimulates thoughts, memories and associations based on the individual background and identity. Lennon & Foley (2000) defines authenticity within 'Heritage tourism' as where tourists visit attractions of massacres, wars and injustices to confront the historical aspects of the location through their own request. It can be said that: *'begins with the highly individualized notion of personal inheritance or request'* (Johnson, 1999, p. 189-190). It is discussed if authenticity within 'Heritage tourism' attractions has been designed because of the service industry, the political aspects or the tourists' requests (Lennon & Foley, 2000).

It is said that there are elements of 'ancient' in 'Dark tourism' (Lennon & Foley, 2000). The construction and visitations of these attractions are to maintain the tourists' curiosity and memory (Young, 1993). By visiting attractions, which could be classified within the authenticity of 'Dark tourism', performative, commodification and entertainment are described as elements within 'Dark tourism' attractions (Lennon & Foley, 2000). In the following, the memorial and museum of Auschwitz-Birkenau will be described.

### **Example: The Memorial and the Museum of Auschwitz-Birkenau**

As mentioned earlier, the memorial and the museum of Auschwitz-Birkenau is the most famous 'Dark tourism' attraction (Lennon & Foley, 2000). Poland was the center of the Holocaust during the Second World War, and many concentration camps were founded there: Majdanek, Zagan, Treblinka and Auschwitz, but as such, the most visited concentration camp in Europe is the Auschwitz-Birkenau (Auschwitz Museum). Lennon & Foley (2000) characterizes Auschwitz-Birkenau as perhaps one of the greatest dilemmas of understanding our history; 90 % of the Jewish were killed here, nearly 1,6 million people, and people still visit the site (Auschwitz Museum). In January 1945, as the Second World War started to come to an end, and the Auschwitz-Birkenau administration evacuated about 58 000 prisoners, and therefore forced the Germans to abandoned Auschwitz-Birkenau (ibid). At the same time, different parts of the concentrations camp was burned down: the crematoria, gas chambers in Birkenau and the warehouse (ibid.). In 1947, the Polish parliament declared the concentration camp for: *'forever preserved as a memorial to the martyrdom of the Polish nation and other peoples'* (Young, 1993; p. 130). In 1973, the memorial and the museum became part of the UNESCO World Cultural Heritage Site (Goldstein, 1995). Allar (2013, p. 198) argues that visiting Auschwitz as a UNESCO Site has: *'become one way in which tourist can learn or (...) experience (...) death'* and *'allow the visitor to form their own memories and interpretation of the site beyond what text books have explained or what Hollywood has promoted'* (ibid.). It is said, that many people are drawn to this site due to the historical aspect: they learn and experience and form their own interpretation of the site (Biran et al., 2011).

'Heritage tourism' and authenticity are important aspects in 'Dark tourism', and I have explained these elements above. The elements will be used in the analysis and discussion in Chapter 5. In the following, Stone (2006)'s *'spectrum of intensity'* will be presented. I will start by going through the spectrum, as it self, and in the end, I will explain the lightest element.

### **4.3 The spectrum of 'Dark tourism'**

Many historical attractions are managed with care (Lennon & Foley, 2000). But its relationship to tourism and its potential appearance to entertainment can be discussed (ibid.). Uzzel (1989) argues that it can become problematic, if tourists who are curious about death attractions endure the darkest elements of history in an entertainment aspect. The



consumption of ‘Dark tourism’ may vary within the intensity of interest and the meaning of the death association (Sharpley & Stone, 2009). ‘Dark tourism’ sites and attractions can be identifying in different ‘shades’ of darkness; in other words, they have been categorized (ibid.). From this, Stone (2006) argues that ‘Dark tourism’ attractions lay along a ‘*spectrum of intensity*’ (p. 146) where particular attractions are ‘darker’ than others, depending upon the definition of characteristics, perceptions and product features (ibid.), such as education, entertainment, authenticity and location (Sharpley & Stone, 2009). Stone (2006) categorizes seven different elements in the ‘*spectrum of intensity*’, and in the following, these elements will be addressed. This spectrum provides a conceptual framework for exploring different types of ‘Dark tourism’ sites and attractions, and therefore gives a basic understanding of the phenomenon as a whole (Sharpley & Stone, 2009).

The spectrum of ‘Dark tourism’ *part 1* can be seen in Table 6:

**Table 6: Spectrum of ‘Dark tourism’ part 1**

Spectrum	Darkest	Darker	Dark	In-between	Light	Lighter	Lightest
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As mentioned, there are seven different elements, which Stone (2006) explains in the ‘*spectrum of intensity*’. I will explain the darkest elements and end with lightest of the elements. In Table 7 the spectrum of ‘Dark tourism’ *part 2* can be seen. Here different examples from different scholars can be seen.

**Table 7: Spectrum of ‘Dark tourism’ part 2**

Elements	Dark Camps of Genocide	Dark Conflict Sites	Dark Shrines	Dark Resting Places	Dark Dungeons	Dark Exhibitions	Dark Fun Factories
Examples	Auschwitz Museum	Normandy Battlefield	John F. Kennedy	Elvis Graceland	South Africa	Body Worlds	The Dungeons

Death, disaster and macabre are becoming an increasing feature within modern tourism (Stone, 2006). As earlier mentioned, there is an increase in ‘Dark tourism’ attractions (Light, 2017). Despite this increase, the literature regarding ‘Dark tourism’ are both extensive and theoretical fragile (Lennon & Foley, 2000). There are a number of fundamental issues as to whether it is possible or justifiable to categories a diverse range of attractions or exhibitions as ‘Dark tourism’ (Stone, 2006; Strange & Kempa, 2003; Sharpley, 2005). This is therefore also why I have had a theoretical disadvantage in the theoretical framework. Despite the many

scholars, whom have appeared throughout the research of the paper: Stone (2006, 2011, 2012), Lennon & Foley (2000), Sharpley & Stone (2009), Ashworth (2004), Marcel (2004), Seaton & Lennon (2004), Strange & Kempa (2003) and Tarlow (2005); many of these scholars have analyzed and discussed the phenomenon 'Dark tourism' (or 'Thanatourism'), but not many have analyzed and discussed the phenomenon 'Dark tourism' in the context of the Dungeons. However, in the following I will explain the '*spectrum of intensity*' by Stone (2006); thereafter I will explain Stone (2005) as he here, as one of the few, has explained 'Dark tourism' in the context of the Dungeons.

#### **4.3.1 Dark Camps of Genocide**

These types of attractions represent sites, which have genocide, massacre and tragedy as the main theme (Stone, 2006). This is the darkest within the 'Dark tourism' spectrum (ibid.). Likewise, this type of tourism involves tourists visiting attractions associated with: '*the deliberate killing of people or a nation*' (CED, 1994). Keil (2005) argues that Dark Camps of Genocide produces the ultimate emotional experience, as these types of 'Dark tourism' attractions tell the terrible tale of human suffering and has a high degree of political ideology. Cole (1999) discusses the historical risks of selling the Holocaust to the tourists. And furthermore, Keil (2005) examines the Holocaust sites and the crossing between conceptual domains and commemoration. Auschwitz, which has been described earlier in this chapter, is an example of Dark Camps of Genocide, as it represents the brutalities, which were committed there (Keil, 2005). Miles (2002) suggests that it is a place of death and atrocity, and therefore darker than other 'Dark tourism' attractions. Also the Killing Fields of Cambodia and the US Holocaust Memorial Museum are examples of Dark Camps of Genocide (ibid.). Miles (2002) suggests these are places associated with death and atrocity, but are less dark than Auschwitz. Stone (2006), furthermore, describes that Dark Camps of Genocide is where the touristic consumption is limited, as there is a restricted insight in the genocide sites.

#### **4.3.2 Dark Conflict Sites**

These types of attractions revolve around war and battlefields, and their potential is to educate and commemorate to the men and women, who has lost their life in the act of war (Stone, 2006). Dark Conflict Sites are becoming more commercialized, and therefore there is an increase in these types of tourism attractions (ibid.). Smith (1998) notes that our

knowledge of war gives us a better understanding about our role in the global society in the present and the future. Walter (1996) goes on by saying that Dark Conflict Sites are a result, which is: '*consumer-led, postmodern tourism that today's battlefield tours has emerged.*' (p. 67). Examples of Dark Conflict Sites are most the battlefields revolving around the First and Second World War (Biran, et al, 2011). Biran et al (2011) goes on by saying that battlefields and war is an alternative approach to understanding the tourists experience regarding death. An example of a battlefield, which is a Dark Conflict Site, is the Normandy Battlefield in France (ibid). Here the tours educate the tourists, but also commemorate to the men and women who lost their lives in the Second World War (Normandy Battle Tours).

#### **4.3.3 Dark Shrines**

These types of attractions are the act of remembering and respecting the recently deceased: They are often constructed formally or informally close to the site of death within a very short time period after death has occurred (Stone, 2006). Also these types of events dominate the media agenda for relatively short period of time, and political awareness is also attached to these types of attractions (ibid.). This element includes attractions, which are famous for their association with death (Dunkley, et al., 2007). Dunkley, et al (2007) goes on by saying that this type of element creates shrines to fallen heroes. A good example, which is mentioned earlier in this chapter, is John F. Kennedy assassination (ibid.). Many people wanted to and still want to give their respects to the site, where he was assassinated: the Sixth Floor Museum in Dallas (Lennon & Foley, 2000) and his gravesite at Arlington Memorial (Arlington Cemetery). Another example is the death of Princess Diana in 1997: Here millions of people came to Kensington Palace and the Althorp House to put flowers around the gates to show their respect (Stone, 2006). O'Neill (2002) suggests that people want to '*pay their respects*' to these attractions, and be a part of it. Walter (1996) goes on by saying, that the events with Princess Diana introduced the act of private mourning in public space.

#### **4.3.4 Dark Resting Places**

Here the focus is attraction regarding cemeteries and grave markers, which are potential products of 'Dark tourism' (Seaton, 2002). Within contemporary society, the act of the cemetery is romanticized, rather than macabre; therefore the Dark Resting Places are located in the middle of the spectrum, as it has both dark and light (Stone, 2006). The dead people

present the darkness, and the romantic maintenance of the gravestone presents the lightness (Stone, 2006). Tanas (2004) discusses that the wide variety of cemeteries contain the bodies of individuals, military personal and victims of terror. Seaton & Lennon (2004) suggest that there is a range of different reasons why tourists visit these attractions. An example of a Dark Resting Place is Graceland, where Elvis Presley lived and died on August 16<sup>th</sup> 1977 (Graceland). It is now a museum for the fans, where items can be seen (ibid.).

#### **4.3.5 Dark Dungeons**

The focus in this element refers to those sites and attractions, which revolves around prisons and courthouses (Stone, 2006). In other words, it is a combination of entertainment and education: Dark Dungeons are located nearly in the center of the spectrum, as it is a mixture of dark and light (ibid.). The former prison of Nelson Mandela, Robben Island, is linked to the struggle of colonialism, freedom, democracy and peace (UNESCO), and is therefore a good example of Dark Dungeons (Stone, 2006). Strange & Kempa (2003) suggests that the political and cultural agendas surrounding the Robben Island influences the 'memory managers' who seek to interpret this attraction. Likewise, Tunbridge (2005) argues that it is the degree of political influence in its design and interpretation in promotion, commemoration and education of the attraction can lead to the way it is interpreted. In 1999, it was put on the World Heritage Site (UNESCO). Here the South Africa government said that the prison would represent the struggle of social justice, and act as a symbol of freedom and education (ibid.). Stone (2006) maintains that it is a mixture of dark and light.

#### **4.3.6 Dark Exhibitions**

This element refers to the sites and attractions, which blend the product design with education and potential learning opportunities (Stone, 2006). Stone (2006) argues that Dark Exhibitions: *'offer products which revolve around death, suffering or the macabre with an often commemorative, educational and reflective message.'* (p. 153). This element is a little more 'serious' than the next element, which is Dark Fun Factories. It is located closer to the darkest side of the spectrum, but on the light side (ibid.). It can be said that this type of attraction is served as a learning opportunity (Korstanje & Ivanov, 2012). The Body Worlds are an example of this element, as it allows the visitors to learn about health education, anatomy and physiology through real human corpses (Stone, 2006). In the recent years, this type of exhibits

has garnered significant interest by the public, as it shows death in a learning manner (ibid.). Stone (2011) goes on by saying that even though death is universal; dying is not. In other words, it can be said that death is something, which will happen to us all (ibid.).

#### **4.3.7 Dark Fun Factories**

In this element the focus is entertainment and commercial ethic, which present real or fictional death and macabre events in the local area (Stone, 2006). Even though these attractions have a high degree of tourism, it is on the lightest side of the spectrum (ibid.) An example of a Dark Fun Factory is the 'Dracula Park' in Romania, which is situated in the medieval fortress (ibid.). This entertainment-based attraction presents the myth of 'Dracula' (Minic, 2012). The official tourism organization of Romania have organized a special seven-days program called the 'Classic Dracula tour', which includes visiting places related to 'Dracula' (ibid.). Furthermore, another example of a Dark Fun Factory is the Dungeons by Merlin Entertainments (Stone, 2006). Stone (2006) explains: *'With gruesome and highly visual, yet 'family friendly' exhibits portraying less savory aspects of (past) life, such as the Black Death or Jack the Ripper, the London Dungeon offers a socially acceptable environment in which to gaze upon simulated death and associated suffering'* (p. 153-154). The Dungeons by Merlin Entertainments provides services in: York, Hamburg, Amsterdam, Edinburgh and London, and each of these dungeons offers the horror story related to the local history (Sharpley & Stone, 2009). These types of Dark Fun Factories offer products in terms of representation and are less authentic than other 'Dark tourism' attractions (Stone, 2006). Dark Fun Factories are completely different from the elements above. Therefore in the following, it will be explained.

#### **4.4 Fear, Fun and 'Dark tourism'**

It is important to differentiate between the Dungeons, torture chambers and death sites, as they represent different elements of 'Dark tourism' (Lennon & Foley, 2000). Lennon & Foley (2000) explains that: *'museums are an entertainment form as well as an educative one.'* (p. 157) and goes on by saying: *'We do not suggest that visitors attend with the sole intention of receiving entertainment, amusement or enjoyment (...) or the significant quantities of visitors who see these venues as the sole, or main reason, for their trip (...).'* (Lennon & Foley, 2000, p. 23). Earlier in this chapter, the different types of 'Dark tourism' elements have been categorized, and therefore I have decided to explain the element of Dark Fun Factories in its

own chapter, as it will be used in Chapter 5, when the analysis and discussion will be presented. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, 'Dark tourism' attractions are focused upon attractions, which represents death and disaster (Stone, 2006). Most of the 'Dark tourism' attractions offer a greater perceives of darkness, and likewise offer a greater political and commemorative dimension (Sharpley & Stone, 2009). Tourists are fascinated with the actual death or disaster, but many of these attractions are perhaps perceived as historically inaccurate as the selection of the representation of the attraction may vary (ibid.). While, the 'darker' tourism attractions appears to have received more academic attention, the 'lighter' tourism' attraction has limited attention within the tourism literature (Stone, 2006). Therefore, I have decided to use Stone (2005) *'Fun, Fear and Dark Tourism'* to explain the issues within the phenomenon 'Dark tourism' in this context of the Dungeons.

#### **4.4.1 Feel the Fear ...**

Stone (2006) suggests that 'lighter' 'Dark tourism' attraction does exist, and it is depending upon on the definition of the 'Dark tourism' features'. In other words, it can be said that: *'lighter forms of dark tourism are those commercial visitor attractions which trade on (re) created and (re) presented death and suffering, and are subsequently referred to as 'Dark Fun Factories'* (Sharpley & Stone, 2009, p. 277). Novelli (2005) suggests that the 'lighter' 'Dark tourism' attractions operate within a micro-niche. For example, Inglis & Holmes (2003) have observed how ghosts and other paranormal entities have been interpretatively recreated on the Edinburgh's Ghost Walk tours. They reveal that the relationship between ghost/haunted spaces have been developed to widen the tourism industry (ibid.).

#### ***Fright tourism***

Bristow & Newman (2004) has explored the lighter forms of 'Dark tourism' attractions in the terms of 'Fright tourism'. The term 'Fright tourism': *'occurs when a tourist seeks a scary opportunity for pleasure at a destination that may have a sinister history or may be promoted to have one'* (ibid, 2004, p. 215). Bristow & Newman (2004, p. 220) suggest that the notion of this type of 'Dark tourism' *'is a natural extension of risk recreation'*. They have compared the commercialization of the Witch Trials of 1692 in Salem with the fictional incarnation of Dracula of Transylvania, Romania to see how the economic and developmental roles within the tourism sector (ibid.). Here it is concluded that 'Fright tourism' is a natural extension

within 'Adventure tourism' (Bristow & Newman, 2004). 'Fright tourism' provides a rush, but not life threatening rush (ibid.). Bristow & Newman (2004) goes on by saying that reality can be stretched, but as such this is not the issue. This type of tourism is fantasy, and they fulfill the unmet need, which the tourists have, and this can become an issue (ibid.). It can be discussed whether 'Heritage tourism' and museums can collaborate within this type of term, and it can likewise be discussed whether it is possible to blend fact and fiction (ibid.).

While the examples of the Edinburgh's Ghost Walk tour, the Witch Trial in Salem and Dracula tourism in Romania are specific within the geographical locations and possess as a cultural identity for those locations (Light, 2017). The lighter dark tourism attractions occur when fear and taboo is in the context of fun, amusement and entertainment, and exploits a commercial advantage (Strange & Kempa, 2003). O'Neill (2002) suggest that: *'fear is an inescapable dimension of the modern urban experience'* (p. 817). In other words, these types of attractions offer excitement and adventure and the possibility to discover something unique (ibid.). In the following, I will explain 'Dark tourism' within the context of the Dungeons.

#### **4.4.2 ... Experience the Fun**

Here, I will explain the literature regarding the Dungeons, and use it in the following chapter I will analyze and discuss the problem formulation from chapter 1. As mentioned in chapter 2, the Dungeons are a commercial establishment, which operate within the mainstream of the tourist attraction sector. It is part of Merlin Entertainments, which is the second largest visitor attraction operator in the world (Chapter 2.3). Furthermore, the Dungeons as such are conceptual Dark Fun Factories and are located on the lightest side of the spectrum from Stone (2006). Fonseca et al. (2016) goes on by saying that this type of tourism is: *'Visitors sites, attractions and tours that have an entertainment focus and commercial ethic'* (p. 3). The concept of the Dungeons is built upon the sense of fear, trepidation, uniqueness and excitement within the guests experience revolving around the 'gruesome past' (Strange & Stone, 2003). Many of the subjects, which had been chosen to be a part of the Dungeons, is considered a taboo within the museology environment, such as torture, execution, witchcraft or death (Chapter 2), but nevertheless the Dungeons concept is to tap into the emotions with the sense of shock and horror in a safe space, where unsafe ideas can occur (Best, 2007). It can be discussed whether the Dungeons are located correctly

on the spectrum: Miníc (2012) goes on by saying that the Dungeons should be located in their own element called Dark Dungeons: *'(...) presented the former prison sentences and restoring judicial systems in the history back through tours and settings that await visitors. This place could be the center – ground of the Stone spectrum, having both dark and light elements.'* (p. 85). He goes on by saying that cemeteries are also attractions of 'Dark tourism' within Dark Dungeons (ibid.). Miníc (2012) argues that the most famous is the Pierre Lashais in Paris with almost two million visitors a year: People visit this cemetery because of the respect and remembrance of their love ones, but also to learn about the local history (ibid.). From this, I have explained whether the Dungeons are located in the right place on the spectrum, and this will be analyzed and discussed in the following chapter.

#### **4.5 Conclusion of Theoretical framework**

In this chapter, I have attempted to address the literature regarding 'Dark tourism'. In doing so, I have examined the background behind the phenomenon. Firstly, the historical background has been examined, and then words like *heritage* and *authenticity* have been explained. By explaining these two words, I can in the next chapter explain in what way the Dungeons challenge the phenomenon 'Dark tourism'. The example of the assassination of John F. Kennedy and Auschwitz-Birkenau has been examined, as they are important 'Dark tourism' attractions. Even though it has nothing to do with the Dungeons, it is important, as it is on the far side of the 'Dark tourism' spectrum, which likewise has been explained. Stone (2006) has made a spectrum of 'Dark tourism' attractions; here each element has been explained, starting with the darkest and ending with the lightest. The lightest element is *'Dark Fun Factories'*: This has been explained, as this element is important in the analysis and discussion in the following chapter. The whole chapter explains, the process of 'Dark tourism', and in what way the phenomenon can develop and change in the future. In the following chapter, I will analyze and discuss the phenomenon within this context of the Dungeons. The theoretical framework above and the collected data will in the following chapter analyze and discuss the problem formulation from Chapter 1.



## 5.0 Analysis and discussion

*'(...) It was funny and scary at the same time (...)'*  
(Appendix 5 – Emma Fentum, March 10<sup>th</sup> 2016)

The theoretical framework, which is described in Chapter 4, explained that there is a gap in the current literature regarding the phenomenon 'Dark tourism' in the context of the Dungeons. Therefore, this analysis and discussion will apply information by using the Case description from Chapter 2 and the collected empirical data from the London and the Amsterdam Dungeon (Appendix 1-7). My own observations, the interview with Michael Hoogdorp from Amsterdam Dungeon, the focus group interview and the reviews from the different social network will be applied in the following.

### 5.1 Expectation vs. experience

The phenomenon of 'Dark tourism' started in 2000 with Lennon & Foley's publication *'Dark tourism: The Attraction of Death and Disaster'* (Lennon & Foley, 2000). Because the phenomenon is verily new, the knowledge regarding the phenomenon is limited. Likewise, when I had my email correspondence with the London Dungeon Jay replied: *'I don't really believe we would class ourselves as dark tourism'* (Appendix 2). Therefore, tourist attractions do not even want to define them as a 'Dark tourism' attraction, and therefore it can be discussed whether it is because of the knowledge regarding the phenomenon or because the London Dungeon is not aware of the phenomenon 'Dark tourism'. I will, in the following, analyze and discuss the general definition of 'Dark tourism'.

#### 5.1.1 The expectation

Many scholars have tried to define the phenomenon 'Dark tourism', and Tarlow (2005) is one of them. He explains, that it is the visitation of a place where tragedies and history has occurred and continues to impact our lives (Tarlow, 2005). In the interview with Michael Hoogdorp from the Amsterdam Dungeon, I asked him, how he defined 'Dark tourism' and he explained: *'(...) if you ask me, 'Dark tourism' is based on real events, and therefore I don't believe the Dungeon is 'Dark tourism'* (Appendix 3 – 36:38), but he goes on saying: *'That depends on if there's a huge market, which I'm not currently aware of, because the term is new to me. But if there's a huge market for it, a big group of people that loves to do Dark tourism attractions, then*

*yes, the Dungeon could definitely benefit from that'* (Appendix 3 –37:59). Ashworth (2004) has also defined 'Dark tourism', and he defines it as the tourist's experiences composed with 'dark' emotions with no associated with entertainment experience. In the focus group, I also asked how they would define the phenomenon 'Dark tourism', and Stewen explains: *'Dark tourism is primarily death and damage throughout history.'* (Appendix 4 - 47:19) and Nicoline goes on: *'I was just about to say that Dark tourism have something to do with how long ago it happened (...)'* (Appendix 4 – 48:09). Poria et al. (2004) also defines 'Dark tourism'; they explain that it is based on the motivations with history, remembrance and visiting places, which are connected to personal history. Louise from the focus group explains: *'I would define it as the dark side of the history. I would define it as a taboo topic – something that you don't talk about, but it is something that we are interested in and want to learn more about.'* (Appendix 4 – 50:49) Are the Dungeons 'Dark tourism'? And is the tourist visiting the Dungeons Dark tourists? In the following, this analysis and discussion will take place.

It can be discussed whether guests visiting the Dungeons are Dark tourists or not. Ashworth & Hartmann (2005) explains that the motivations for a Dark tourist to visit 'Dark tourism' attraction are curiosity, a sense of duty or moral obligation. Stewen from the focus group explains: *'It's a human curiosity'. It's in our genes. Even children play war without knowing the definition. They just think it's cool with soldiers and weapons.'* (Appendix 4 - 50:31), and here it can be discussed that even though the Dungeons may not be defined as 'Dark tourism', the curiosity within the Dungeon may define the guests visiting these attraction as Dark tourists. However, Light (2017) goes on by saying that a tourist doing many other activities during their holidays and may only visit *one* site associated with death and suffering, may not be defined as Dark tourists. Nevertheless, Lennon & Foley (2000) explains that there are two types of Dark tourists: Those who have a special interest to an attraction and those without, but still go to the 'Dark tourism' attraction. A review on Trip Advisor, Heidi L. reviewed on October 18<sup>th</sup> 2016, wrote: *'If you want to learn about the dark sides of the history of London, this is a perfect way to it. (...)'* (Appendix 7) Likewise, Henk E., explained their experience on September 7<sup>th</sup> 2016 on Trip Advisor: *'We didn't know what to expect but thought "Why not try it?". It took almost an hour to get on the show but it was worth it. The show is played in 9 rooms and are all focused on historic Amsterdam. They are set in 15th, 16th and 17th century Amsterdam. (...)'* (Appendix 7) Here the two guests explains their reason for

visiting the Dungeons is to learn about the dark history within London and learned about the history within Amsterdam. So, are these two guests Dark tourists? From the definition, Light (2017) explained earlier, these guests are not, but Lennon & Foley (2000) would defined both guests as Dark tourists, as they are interested in death and suffering. But this is not enough to define the Dungeons as 'Dark tourism'? In the following, I will analyze and discuss the expectations within the Dungeons.

Lennon & Foley (2000) defines 'Dark tourism' as inhuman acts and how tourists understand these acts. Likewise, they suggest that many tourists want to experience the reality behind the attractions and explore their own association with it (Lennon & Foley, 2000). In the focus group, Stefan explains this association within the Dungeon: *'I actually thought that it was a ... The one thing that busted the experience for me, was what I read before entering: A sign where they warn you against what would happen. I didn't have any expectations before, so when I read the sign, I created a picture of how it would be.'* (Appendix 4 - 06:55) In other words, it can be said that the Dungeons create an expectation beforehand, just like other 'Dark tourism' attractions, and for some, it is created right before they enter. From the observations, I had the first time an expectation of how the Dungeons would be, but in the end, knew what could be experienced (Appendix 1 – Observation 1). Nevertheless, I was still scared and surprised regarding my last visited (Appendix 1 – Observation 5). Even though, I had done it many times before, I was still scared, as the Dungeons are based upon inhuman acts, death and massacre (ibid.). Lena S wrote on Trip Advisor on September 29<sup>th</sup> 2016: *'(...) We got really scared. We got history lesson. (...)'* (Appendix 7); and the London Dungeon wrote in their email to me: *'The London Dungeon is a fun family friendly experience which takes you on a spine tingling adventure into the heart of London's gruesome and glorious history'* (Appendix 2) It can therefore be discussed how the expectation versus the experience of the Dungeons are the same for the guests and for the Dungeons. If the guests expect to be scared, but the Dungeons believes that they are a family friendly experience, it can be discussed why the Dungeons and guests expect two different things. In the following, I will likewise explain the target group within the Dungeons.

Michael Hoogdorp from the Amsterdam Dungeon explains the target group: *'Well, we try to target as many people as possible. However, we do focus on families and young adults: Families*

and young adults. We try to have it family friendly as possible. (...) Those are the two biggest target groups, which we have' (Appendix 3 – 17:46). Likewise, he explains: 'We used to do more with blood and scarier stuff. That was a decision that was made 2 years ago – not to have blood on our actors.' (Appendix 3 – 17:46), and here it can be discussed if the guests expect more blood and scarier stuff, as it has already been like before. Tel-Quessir explains this on Trip Advisor on August 28<sup>th</sup> 2016: "The first time I visited this attraction, four years ago, it was incredibly enjoyable and it had just the right amount of horror. This time round I found it some what dull, as they have gotten rid of a few 'rooms', and not as well acted as before. It is a good place if you'd like your children to learn about the history of London, but it's not great if you want to be scared' (Appendix 7). It can be discussed if the guests have too high expectations or if the Dungeons have changed too much within the Dungeons. In the following, I will analyze and discuss the understanding of supply and demand within the Dungeons, and how it can be used to target the right target group.

### 5.1.2 The experience

In the London Dungeon, I experienced the Tavern bar, where I observed families, couples and friends, which talked about their experiences in the Dungeon (Appendix 1 – Observation 3). Claire Whitbread also commented on Facebook on December 27<sup>th</sup> 2016: 'The pub landlord and the torturer was brilliant! Thoroughly enjoyed it, even the free drink in the tavern at the end!' (Appendix 5) Here the guest says that they liked the Tavern bar at the end of the Dungeon, and they also enjoyed the Dungeon very much. Sharpley (2005) discusses how the phenomenon 'Dark tourism' is attraction-supply or consumer-demand driven. He argues that there are four shades within this consideration: The four shades are: Black tourism, Pale tourism, Grey tourism-intended and Grey tourism-non-intended (ibid.) Sharpley (2005) argues that the demand aspect of 'Dark tourism' is argued to be how the interest within death is related to the attraction. Likewise he explains, that the supply aspects of 'Dark tourism' is argued to be the how visiting places intended to be at an attraction (ibid.). In the following, it will be discussed whether the Dungeons are one of these shades. From a review on Trip Advisor, Julie H., explains: 'Most of this experience is in the pitch black dark, we took our 7 year old grandson who was terrified of being shouted at I hope you have a nice death when being sent off on a boat in the dark, then to be told about the details of Jack the Ripper and how he killed his victims (in detail) (...)' (Appendix 7) Here the guest explains that death is part of the

Dungeons, and the actors makes it a part of the Dungeon. Therefore, can it be said that if the Dungeons have death included in their shows, they are one of these shades? In a review from Yukta Naidu on Google in October 2016: *'A little expensive because there are other places that i did visit that were more authentic and satisfying.'* (Appendix 6) Here it is argued that there are other attractions, which have more authenticity than the Dungeons.

Staiff (2014) argues that tourists are *co-creators* of different 'Dark tourism' attractions, and he goes on by saying that tourists develop places of death and suffering rather than professional interpreters. It is said that it is the visitors' motivations for learning that constructs the response within these attractions (ibid.). In the following, I will go through the different experience in which the guests have experienced. I will analyze and discuss using the following categories: **Age**, **Funny**, **History**, **Learning**, **Scary** and **Dark tourism**. By doing so, I will use the different reviews within: Facebook, Google and Trip Advisor (Appendix 5-7), the focus group (Appendix 4) and the interview with Michael Hoogdorp from the Amsterdam Dungeon (Appendix 3) to see how the tourists can challenge the Dungeons.

### **Age experience**

As earlier mentioned there is a target group, the Dungeons want to target. Michael Hoogdorp from the Amsterdam Dungeon mentioned that they try to target as many people as possible (Appendix 3 – 17:46). But it can be seen in the reviews written to the guests from the London Dungeon that: *'(...) We advice that children under the **age** of 12 do not enter, (...).'* (Appendix 7). From the description of the Dungeons, it is not said anywhere what the age limit is, and therefore in many reviews in can be seen that families have taken their children under the age of 12 with them. An example is Cheryl Twyman that wrote on September 27<sup>th</sup> 2016 on Facebook: *'So much fun, I would recommend this to **anyone**. Maybe a little scarey for small children but fab for older children.'* (Appendix 5) Likewise, it can be seen in a review from Maria Helenius in September 2016 on Google: *'One of the best attractions, don't miss it. and please don't take small children, **10+** recommended.'* Michael Hoogdorp from the Amsterdam Dungeons explains: *'For example a big man that just cried, and I had a little kid – I think he was four or five – and he was dressed as Batman or something, and he did the show, and he just went though very tough. So yeah, everyone is different – everyone acts different.'* (Appendix 3 – 18:37). Here he explains that people are different, and they experience and act

differently. Nevertheless, Michael goes on by saying that they still: *'welcome everybody'* (Appendix 3 – 18:37). It can therefore be said that the **demand** of the Dungeons has made it possible for as many people to try it.

### Funny experience

Both the London and the Amsterdam Dungeon has a slogan, which is: *'Fear is a funny thing'* (Chapter 2), and this can also be seen in some of the reviews from the guests. Melle John wrote on Facebook on December 19<sup>th</sup> 2016: *'(...) Excellent tour. **Funny** and scary at the same time. (...)'* (Appendix 5) Furthermore, Kirsty Stuart also wrote on August 22<sup>nd</sup> 2016 on Facebook: *'The dungeons were amazing! All the actors were incredible and very **funny**. Although all areas of the dungeon were enjoyable you can't beat a bit of innuendo. Loved the judge! shame the dead drop wasn't available. Will have to come again just for that!!'* (Appendix 5) By doing the first Dungeon, I had a lot of fun, but was also scared at the same time (Appendix 1 – Observation 1). In the interview with Michael Hoogdorp from the Amsterdam Dungeon, he says: *'(...) it's a **fun** way to learn about the history. (...)'* (Appendix 3 – 10:18) The funny aspect is within the **demand** of the Dungeons, as *funny* has a minimal interest in death.

### History experience

Biran, et al. (2011) argues that the understanding of history is one of the motivations for a tourist to visit 'Dark tourism' attractions. In the reviews from the guests on the different platforms: Facebook, Google and Trip Advisor, it can be seen that history is mentioned within the Dungeons: *'(...) and the storytelling of London's **history** was interesting and entertaining – there was never a dull moment! (...)'* (Appendix 5 - Shawnee Neal, December 14<sup>th</sup> 2016); *'(...) And another thing I learned about the **history** of our beautiful city of Amsterdam'* (Appendix 5 – Sheila Susanne, October 2<sup>nd</sup> 2016). Also in the interview with Michael Hoogdorp from the Amsterdam Dungeon, he mentions: *'For example, a young person, like yourself or me, we do like museums, but we don't want to be in a museum a whole day. And this is a fun way to learn about the **history** of the city, and have a kick.'* (Appendix 3 - 29:06). It can be argued that the interest within the death is in the **demand** of the history regarding the Dungeons.

### Learning experience

Furthermore, the learning aspect regarding the Dungeons is also mentioned a few times: *'Once through the dark history of London travel: Torture in the Middle Ages, the fire of 1666, the*

*plague and, of course, Jack the Ripper meet.... Scary and you **learn** something else'* (Appendix 6 – Anna-Christin Wei, July 2016); *'Fantastic afternoon **learning** about london history in a interesting way'* (Appendix 5 – Luke, Wood, October 9<sup>th</sup> 2016). Also in the focus group, it is mentioned: *'The big fire in London, I didn't know it was such a big part of their history, and I thought it was very cool to **learn**'* (Appendix 4 – 27:41). By learning about an attraction and understanding the past, Biran, et al. (2011) argues that the motivation to *'see it to believe it'* is the reason for many tourists to visit 'Dark tourism' attractions. It can therefore be said that the **demand** of learning is in the interest of death.

### Scary experience

Some of the guests, who have written a review, wrote, that they got scared: *'(...). It is partly **creepy** and frightening, (...)'* (Appendix 7: michele.brunner97, June 28<sup>th</sup> 2016); and *'(... especially with Jack the Ripper, that I found genuinely found **frightening**. Their new effects are on point and I loved the effect of you travelling through English crime. (...)'* (Appendix 7: WorldTravellsBae, August 21<sup>st</sup> 2016) Here it can be seen that the guests mentions that it is scary, but only partly scary. In the focus group Nicoline also mentions: *'(...). We thought it would be scarier than it actually was.'* (Appendix 4 – 10:28). Other guests wrote on Facebook: *'Brilliant, **scary**, interesting and fun!'* (Appendix 5 – Emma Jane Scrivens, October 28<sup>th</sup> 2016); *'(...). beware if you are scared of the dark like me prepare to be **scared** on edge of your seat for 2 hours you will need the free drink!!!'* (Appendix 5 – Laura Billing, October 2<sup>nd</sup> 2016). Depending of the **demand** of the scariness, the Dungeons can either be partly scary or not scary at all.

### 'Dark tourism' experience

In a review from David Sadler on March 5<sup>th</sup> 2016 on Facebook, the guest wrote: *'Really good. Had great time. You learn a lot about the **dark** history of London. It's a bit scary but funny at the same time. I can't wait to come back it was good fun. Thanks.'* (Appendix 5) The guest explains that the Dungeons are **Dark**, **Scary** and **Funny**, and therefore the definition of 'Dark tourism' can be discussed. In the following, this will be analyzed and discussed.

### 5.1.3 Sub-conclusion

It is clear that from the above reviews from the guests, it can be seen that they mention different experiences within the same review. The guests mostly mention: **Funny**, **Scary** and **Learn**. Likewise, it can be seen in the interview with Michael Hoogdorp from the Amsterdam

Dungeon, that he mentions that the Dungeons are fun and one will learn about the history of the city (Appendix 3 – 10:18). Within the shades of Sharpley (2005)'s model (p. 36), I can conclude that the Dungeons can be classified as 'Dark tourism' '**Grey tourism – non-intended**'. The reason is that Sharpley (2005) explains that there are many different types of attractions, and these attractions can give different experiences to different guests: the demand and the supply aspects are different from person to person. Also this shade has a defined interest with death, and because the Dungeons is not placed exactly where the death site (s) has occurred, the Dungeons can be defined within this shade (Sharpley, 2005).

## 5.2 'Heritage tourism' and authenticity

I will, in the following, analyze and discuss the aspects associated with identity of the tourist visiting 'Dark tourism' attractions. In the above, it is seen that identity is an important aspect. 'Heritage tourism' and Authenticity are the two aspects, which I will be focusing on. 'Heritage tourism' is the understanding of the past through artifacts (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996); and authenticity is the understanding if an artifact is real or true (Wang, 1999).

### 5.2.1 'Heritage tourism'

Rob Wellstead wrote on Facebook on October 1<sup>st</sup> 2016: '*Great time at the dungeon... lots of jumps and scares and learning about our gruesome past! (...)*' (Appendix 5) Here the costumer mentions that he learned about his own past in London. It can be argued that the learning and history aspect within the reviews can be a part of the 'Heritage tourism'. As earlier mentioned, the motivations of the tourists to visiting 'Dark tourism' attractions are the search for knowledge and social responsibility (Ashworth, 2004). Nathan Blackwood wrote on Facebook on December 19<sup>th</sup> 2016: '*Absolutely outstanding attraction to London. The amount of history told and the performances from the staff were just unbelievable... (...)*' (Appendix 5) Here it is mentioned that the amount of history, which was told, was unbelievable. In other words, it can be said, that the guest thought it was a great experience; they learned something new about the history of London, and they had a great experience doing it.

Urry & Larsen (2011) argues that 'Heritage tourism' is problematic, because the artifacts are visual. However, it can be discussed whether the artifacts need to be visual or not. Bruner (1996) argues that when visiting an area, the visitors see the artifacts, and the tourists imagine the life, which is emerged around the artifact. Sharon N. wrote on October 2<sup>nd</sup> on Trip



Advisor: *'Historically incorrect with a lot that was told. The whole point of the London Dungeon experience is for actors to make you jump out of your skins and not learn anything. Out of our tour party of 12 only 3 finished and a boy fainted. Yes by all means actor led interpretation is good, but we were being told utter rubbish!!! Please can you add a bit of fact and I miss the old dummy displays with the noises and information boards.'* (Appendix 7) Here the London Dungeon wrote back to the guest: *'(...) All of our stories are historically accurate, apart from Sweeney Todd - however he is an important part of our culture so we take some poetic license with him. (...)'* (Appendix 7) The guest mentions that the facts, which is told through the artifacts and shows is incorrect, and she did not learn anything in the London Dungeon. The London Dungeon wrote back on this review, that the history within the Dungeon are accurate, apart from one show – Sweeney Todd – he is an important part of the English culture, and therefore, he is mentioned in the show (Appendix 7). It can be discussed whether the artifacts within the Dungeons are real or not, as one of the shows are not. Nicoline from the focus group mentions: *'(...) the Dungeons still involve important fact in their shows, (...)'* (Appendix 4 – 58: 44) Fonseca, et al. (2016) argues that the history within 'Dark tourism' attractions is often served as a development aspect. This can be seen in the argument above, that the Dungeons use history, which is accurate (Appendix 7). Michael Hoogdorp from the Amsterdam Dungeon also mentions: *'(...) we try to have every story in the Dungeon based on actually stories, even myths or proven stories – it has to be about the Dutch history. (...)'* (Appendix 3 – 19:54) It is important to mentioned that in the Dungeons, the learning and the history aspect are important aspects, and therefore it can be discussed if the Dungeons are 'Dark tourism' or 'Heritage tourism'? In the following, I will analyze and discuss the authenticity aspect within the 'Dark tourism' and in the Dungeons.

### **5.2.2 Authenticity**

*'A nightmare's celebration! A must for and horror lovers! The most realistic performance of the dark history of London'* (Appendix 5 – Clara Heath Monni, October 19<sup>th</sup> 2016) Here it is mentioned, that the performance in the London Dungeon is realistic and the performance is original. However, it can be discussed if the Dungeons are realistic or not? Hannam & Knox (2010) argues that the idea of authenticity is built on the notion that an object is original and real rather than it is re-created. In the following, I will analyze and discuss the four different types of authenticity Wang (1999) presented in Chapter 4.2.2.

1. *Landscapes of nostalgia*: This type of authenticity is built on the notion of the tourists' own identity and connection with an attraction (Hewison, 1987). In the following review, it can be seen that the guest has a connection with the Dungeons: *'Went here as a little birthday treat and had a fantastic time. The actors really put themselves into character and you learn interesting facts about London's past. (...)'* (Appendix 7 – Rebecca H., March 24<sup>th</sup> 2016) Here the guest explains that they had a fantastic time at a birthday, and they learned interesting facts about London.
2. *Staged authenticity*: This authenticity, it is referred to the idea, that the attraction is the exact attraction from the past (MacCannell, 1976). In the interview with Michael Hoogdorp from the Amsterdam Dungeon, it can be seen that the Dungeon in Amsterdam is actually within an exact attraction from the past: *'(...) So, this is maybe scary information, but there are still dead people underneath the building. (...)'* (Appendix 3 – 16:17) Michael Hoogdorp from the Amsterdam Dungeon likewise explains that the building where the Dungeon is located is an old church, and there are still small bits of the church inside (Appendix 3 – 15:23).
3. *Commoditized authenticity*: MacDonald (1997) argues that the outside can establish and develop the authentic experience within the local community. Lily C wrote on Trip Advisor on July 4<sup>th</sup> 2016: *'I absolutely loved this activity. All of the actors were extremely talented and kept up this very fascinating and real role which help to create a lot of authenticity. (...)'* (Appendix 7) Here it can be argued that the reviews from the guests have developed the Dungeons. Michael Hoogdorp from the Amsterdam Dungeon mentioned: *'(...) We try to reply everybody, and that's also necessary in this day and age to be very active on social media. (...)'* (Appendix 3 – 23:42)
4. *Authentic souvenirs*: Shenhav-Keller (1993) describes this type of authenticity as being items, which is sold in an authentic place; in other words, the souvenir, which can be bought at the attractions. In the London Dungeon, there is a souvenir store within the Tavern bar: Here one can buy items, which is connected with the Dungeon (Appendix 1 – Observation 1). Likewise, in the Tavern bar, the guests got a free drink: *'(...) And a complimentary drink at the end in a tavern. Brilliant!'* (Appendix 7 – ShropshireBlade, October 29<sup>th</sup> 2016) Likewise, in the Amsterdam Dungeon, there is a

souvenir store, but there is no bar (Appendix 1 – Observation 3). I spent my time in both Dungeons to see if there were any ‘authentic’ items. However, I decided not to buy anything, as I did not believe that there were any ‘authentic’ items (ibid.).

From the above, it can be discussed whether or not the Dungeons are authentic or not. However, Cohen (1995) argues that authenticity can be negotiable: for some tourists a reproduction of a product can be authentic, but for other cannot. Biran et al. (2011) goes on by saying that the tourists motivations to learn and understand history, is a reason for tourists to visit ‘Dark tourism’ attractions. Tilden (1977) also argues that an attraction can have different meaning for different people, as it stimulates associations based on the identity of the person, which is visiting. It is also said that authenticity is not about presenting people with the truth, but rather confronting them with something that the tourists believe is true (Hannam & Knox, 2010). Lsc S., wrote on Trip Advisor on December 29<sup>th</sup> 2016: *‘An interesting review of Amsterdam’s dark past! (...) Providing actor – audience participation to provide authenticity and fun. (...)’* (Appendix 7) Here it can be seen that the guests believe that the Dungeons are authenticity, and it is an interesting way of learning about the dark past. However, Andy Wilson wrote on Facebook in November 1<sup>st</sup> 2016: *‘(...) Would be better tho in a more authentic building (like it’s old home in tooley street). (...)’* (Appendix 6) Here it can be seen that the guest has reviewed the Dungeon differently from the guest above. As mentioned earlier authenticity is different for person to person, and it stimulates different feelings within the tourist visiting the ‘Dark tourism’ attraction (Tilden, 1977).

### 5.2.3 Sub-conclusion

By analyzing and discussing the terms ‘Heritage tourism’ and authenticity, it can be seen that from the reviews, they mention that learning about the history are important factors within the Dungeons. Also, in the focus group, it is mentioned that it was a good way to learn about the history. ‘Heritage tourism’ and authenticity can therefore be defined within the Dungeons, as they have the same categorizes: **Learn** and **History**.

## 5.3 ‘Dark tourism’ and the Dungeons

Stone (2006) argues that ‘Dark tourism’ attractions lay along a spectrum. He argues that some attractions are darker than other, depending on the definition of characteristics, perceptions and features (ibid.). In the following, I will analyze and discuss the seven different

elements: Dark Camp of Genocide; Dark Conflict Sites, Dark Shrines, Dark Resting Places; Dark Dungeons, Dark Exhibitions and Dark Fun Factories (Stone, 2006).

### **5.3.1 The spectrum**

As there is an increase within 'Dark tourism' attractions, Stone (2006) argues that within the modern tourism death, disaster and macabre has become an increasing feature. In the following, I will use the same names in the chapters as from chapter 4.3, as each of the chapters will be analyzed and discussed in the context of the Dungeons.

#### ***Dark Camps of Genocide***

This element is argued as being the darkest within the spectrum (Stone, 2006). Stone (2006) argues that this element represent sites, which have genocide, massacre and tragedy as the main theme. Likewise, Keil (2005) argues that this type of element produces the ultimate emotional experience as these attractions tell the tale of human suffering with a high degree of political ideology. In the interview with Michael Hoogdorp from the Amsterdam Dungeon, he argues that: *'(...) Do they have to be real? (...) Of course in the Dungeon, we try to base all our shows on actually stuff, but something are myths – can we prove they happened? (...) If the theory is kind of loss about it, and can be based on myths as well, then yeah, it could be. There is tragedy, not massacre, but murders in the Dungeon.'* (Appendix 3 – 36:38) Here it can be discussed whether the Dungeons are Dark Camps of Genocide or not. Michael Hoogdorp from the Amsterdam Dungeon argues that if the theory *Dark Camps of Genocide* is loose about it, the Dungeon can be defined as such. Nevertheless, Nicoline from the focus groups argues: *'(...) I can also remember from the memorial in New York - that you could only hear the water from the pools. You couldn't hear any noise in there, because people spoke so softly together, because there is this huge grief and tragedy that hangs in the air, because it's actually just in the place where we stand, that it has happened, and so many people and families were destroyed. And you don't do that in the Dungeons. (...)'* (Appendix 4 – 58:01) Here it is argued that the Dungeons cannot be defined as Dark Camps of Genocide, as these types of attractions has a emotional experience attracted, and in the Dungeon there is not this type of experience.

#### ***Dark Conflict Sites***

This element is argued to revolve around war and battlefields (Stone, 2006) such as the First and Second World War (Biran, et al., 2011). There has been an increase within these

types of the attractions (Stone, 2006). The knowledge of war and battlefields gives us a better understanding about our role in the society (Smith, 1998). It is likewise said that war and battlefields is an alternative approach to understand the experiences regarding death, as it can be said that the more we know about the past, the more we will know about our future (ibid.). In the focus group, Stewen argues: *'It's a human curiosity. It's in our genes. Even children play war without knowing the definition. They just think it's cool with soldiers and weapons.'* (Appendix 4 – 50:31) He mentions that war and battlefields is a human curiosity, and children play war without knowing the definition. Without empirical data from the Dungeons, it can be argued, that the Dungeons cannot be defined as Dark Conflict Sites.

### ***Dark Shrines***

It is argued that the sites within this element are constructed to formally and informally act as a form of remembrance and respect for the recently deceased within a short period of time after death has occurred (Stone, 2006). The media attention is a dominated element as well as the political awareness (ibid.). This type of attraction is created to remember and give respect to the fallen heroes right after they have deceased (Dunkley, et al., 2007). In this element, like the element above, the empirical data from the Dungeons, do not mention anything regarding this element, and therefore the Dungeons is not located in this element.

### ***Dark Resting Places***

Within this element the focus is cemeteries or grave markers (Seaton, 2002). This element is located in the middle of the spectrum, as the dark element presents dead people, and the light element presents the romantic idea regarding the cemeteries and grave markers (Stone, 2006). It is also argued that there are a wide variety of cemeteries (Tanas, 2004), and there is a range of different reasons why tourists visit these sites (Seaton & Lennon, 2004). In the interview with Michael Hoogdorp from the Amsterdam Dungeon, he mentions that the building in which the Dungeon is located, is an old church (Appendix 3 – 15:23). He goes on saying: *'(...) We do not use the graves downstairs. We only build over them. However, there are still some graves, which can be seen, (...).'* (Appendix 3 – 17:10) Here it can be discussed whether the Dungeon could use these grave or not, but as Michael Hoogdorp from the Amsterdam Dungeon explains: *'(...) but we don't do anything with them: Due to privacy.'* (Appendix 3 – 17:10) So, even though the Amsterdam Dungeon is located within an old

church, the Amsterdam Dungeon would not be able to use the church due to privacy. Therefore, it can be said that the Dungeons is not located within Dark Resting Places.

### ***Dark Dungeons***

Stone (2006) argues that in this element the focus revolves around prisons and courthouses. He goes on saying that there is a combination of entertainment and education, and therefore there is a mixture of dark and light elements (ibid.). In the Dungeons, I noticed that in both Dungeons, one of the shows revolved around a courthouse (Appendix 1 – Observation 1 + 3) In the London Dungeon, the guests were directed into a room, where the judge pointed me out to be a witch (Appendix 1 – Observation 1). Here I had to explain why I danced naked on Liverpool Street (ibid.) The whole scenario was fun; the judge made fun of me, my friends and the other guests (ibid.) This show was one of the only breaks the guests had to laugh in the Dungeon; otherwise I was been afraid and screaming most of the time (ibid.) In the Amsterdam Dungeon, the judge was also a part of one of the shows: here he decided who was guilty and who was not within different crimes, such as dancing naked on a street (Appendix 1 – Observation 3). The judge did not point me out, but the judge still pointed a few people out within the guests, and made jokes about them (ibid). As the courthouses are only one part of the Dungeons, it can be discussed whether or not the Dungeons can be located within this element.

### ***Dark Exhibitions***

This element revolves around sites and attractions, where there is a potential learning opportunity (Stone, 2006). The Dungeons has earlier in the chapter been argued that they have an educational aspect within them (Chapter 5.2). So, is the Dungeons Dark Exhibitions? In the interview with Michael Hoogdorp from the Amsterdam Dungeon, he argues: *'(...) Definitely, because like I said, we add big amount of fun and entertainment in the shows. The people who take care of Auschwitz they definitely don't. Maybe you can laugh, but they wouldn't appreciate it. That's good of course, but we would appreciate a laugh in the Dungeon.'* (Appendix 3 – 40:10) Furthermore, in the focus group, all of the participants said that they had learned something new within the Dungeons; Stewen said: *'I learned a lot about Edinburgh. Firstly, I didn't know that it is the most haunted city in Europe - that's at least what they said. (...)'* (Appendix 4 – 29:06) Likewise, in the reviews on Facebook, Google and Trip

Advisor, it can be seen that the entertainment and educational aspect is mentioned as few times: Emma St. John wrote on Facebook on September 26<sup>th</sup> 2016: *'(...) really glad we went, really enjoyed and learnt lots too'* (Appendix 5); Haim Krasniker wrote on Google in July 2016: *'Very nice experience. – you learn a lot about the history of London'* (Appendix 6); and Sven L., wrote on Trip Advisor on October 11<sup>th</sup> 2016: *'The Amsterdam Dungeon is a great way to have fun and learn about the dark history of Amsterdam / The Netherlands. It's dark, interesting & fun.'* (Appendix 7) From the reviews, the focus group and the interview with Michael Hoogdorp from the Amsterdam Dungeon, it can be argued that the Dungeons can be located with this element: Dark Exhibitions.

### ***Dark Fun Factories***

The entertainment aspect within this type of element is an interesting aspect, as it is also revolves around real or fictional death and macabre event in the local area (Stone, 2006). Stone (2006) has already located the Dungeons within this element, as it is the lightest within the spectrum. However, through the empirical data, it can also be seen that in the interview with Michael Hoogdorp from the Amsterdam Dungeon that he also defines the Dungeons as being the lightest within the spectrum (Appendix 3 – 40:10). In the focus group, Stewen likewise, argues that it is on the light side: *'(...) They make it a positive thing that there has been death and damage in the city. It's not funny stories that they tell, but they are still smiling and having fun about it.'* (Appendix 4 – 53:43) Even though Stone (2006) argues that the Dungeons is located within the element of Dark Fun Factories, it is important to argue why the Dungeons is located here. In the following, this will be concluded.

### **5.3.2 Sub-conclusion**

From the above elements, it has been analyzed and discussed where the Dungeons can be located within the spectrum. It can be said that the Dungeons cannot be located within these elements: Dark Conflict Sites, Dark Shrines and Dark Resting Places, because The Dark Conflict Sites is defined as places regarding battlefields and wars; Dark Shrines is defined as places dominated regarding politics; and Dark Resting Places is defined as gravesites. These definitions are not part of the Dungeons, and therefore, I can conclude that the Dungeons are not located within these elements. Nevertheless, it can be argued that the Dungeons can be located within the Dark Camps of Genocide, as in the interview with Michael Hoogdorp from

the Amsterdam Dungeon and in the focus group; the attraction is mentioned to revolve around fear. The main theme within the Dungeons is genocide, massacre and tragedy, and it is likewise argued that many have an emotional experience within the Dungeon. However, the Dungeon is based upon: *'Fear is a funny thing'*, and therefore, it can be argued that the Dungeons cannot be located within Dark Camps of Genocide. Within the light side of spectrum, the Dungeon has been argued to be part of Dark Dungeons, Dark Exhibitions and Dark Fun Factories. The definition within these elements is: Dark Dungeons is defined as prisons and courthouses; Dark Exhibitions is defined as an educational and learning attractions, and the Dark Fun Factory is defined as entertainment where real or fictional death is presented within an attraction. The Dungeons is located here, but it can likewise be argued whether or not the Dungeons depending on the different shows can be located in other elements within the spectrum. In the following, I will analyze and discuss the Dungeons, and how the Dungeons can be Fear, Fun and 'Dark tourism'.

## 5.4 Fear, Fun and 'Dark Tourism'?

Lennon & Foley (2000) explains that the Dungeons are museums with the elements of entertainment, amusement and education. 'Dark tourism' has earlier in this chapter been analyzed and discussed in general terms. However, in the following, I will use the Stone (2005) *'Fun, Fear and Dark tourism'* and use my own empirical data to analyze and discuss the phenomenon 'Dark tourism' in the context of the Dungeons.

### 5.4.1 Fear...

Sharpley & Stone (2009) argues that tourists are fascinated with death and disaster. Likewise, they explain that 'Dark tourism' attractions offer a greater perceives of darkness (ibid.). Stone (2005) argues that 'lighter' 'Dark tourism' does exist depending upon the definition and the features within the attraction. Sharpley & Stone (2009) goes on by saying that 'Dark tourism' attractions recreate and represent death and suffering, and when the element entertainment is a part of the attraction, it is located on the lighter side of the spectrum. Robert T wrote on Trip Advisor on April 4<sup>th</sup> 2016: *'Very dark and foreboding atmospherically, this attraction plays with your **fear** while never really doing anything to you beyond poking you or the odd spray of water. Actors explain what horrific tortures have occurred in London. (...)*' (Appendix 7) Here the guest explains that the Dungeon played with **fear**, and



the actors explains the horrific tortures that had occurred in London. Therefore, it can be said that the Dungeons recreate and represent death and suffering in the city of London: *'Creepy journey through the highlights of the macabre side of London's history. Entertaining and occasionally scary...'* (Appendix 6 – Cameron McPherson, March 2016), also here the guest explains that it was a **scary** journey through the dark side of London.

### ***Fright tourism***

Bristow & Newman (2004) has explored the lighter forms of 'Dark tourism' attractions, and they have defined this type of attractions as 'Fright tourism'. They explain that these types of attractions occur when tourists seek a scary opportunity for the rush that might occur, but they also explain that history is promoted within these attractions, and the guests will learn something new (ibid.). In the focus group, Louise explains: *'(...) The people, who were most frightened; they were the ones that were mostly involved.'* (Appendix 3 – 09:00), also in the reviews, it can be seen that the guests will be involved in the experience: *'(...) Only small groups go in at any given time so you the actors can interact with you and get you involved in the experience. (...)'* (Appendix 6 – Lindsay M, October 10<sup>th</sup> 2016) Even though the guests are involved in the experience, the guests also learn about the history within the Dungeons. This can be seen in the reviews: *'(...) Actors were amazing and lots of new information learned! (...)'* (Appendix 5 – Symone Lee-Tubby, November 2<sup>nd</sup> 2016); *'(...) It's scary in a good way, and makes you know the history of the city from a different funny view'* (Appendix 6 – Evellin Paiva, September 2016); *'(...) we did not regret it. It's an original, very original and you learn a lot. (...)'* (Appendix 6 – Bego Lavale, January 2016) In these reviews it can be seen that the guests have learned a lot about the history within the Dungeons. It can be said that the guests seek the Dungeons, as there is an opportunity to be scared, but also a learning opportunity to refresh or get new information regarding the cities where the Dungeons are located.

### **5.4.2 Fun...**

Fonseca et al. (2016) argues that the Dungeons are attractions, which have an entertainment focus within the phenomenon 'Dark tourism'. Many of the subjects that are a part of the Dungeons, are taboo subjects with the museology environment (Chapter 2). However, in the focus group, Louise explains: *'(...) I would define it as a taboo topic – something that you don't talk about, but it is something that we all are interested in and want to*

*learn more about. (...)*' (Appendix 4 – 50:49) Nevertheless, Best (2007) argues that the Dungeons taps into the emotions with the sense of shock and horror, but in a funny way. Therefore, in the following, I will show some reviews, where the guests have written that they both had fun, and they were scared: '(...) *There was some **funny** parts, gross parts and scary parts.*' (Appendix 7 – Jade M, July 28<sup>th</sup> 2016); '(...) *All the rooms were interactive and the smells and sounds from history made it **fun**, entertaining and educational. (...)*' (Appendix 5 – Karen Mechen, August 5<sup>th</sup> 2016); and '*It was a nice horrible & **funny** time there...*' (Appendix 5 – Manni Wellmann, January 2<sup>nd</sup> 2016) From these reviews it can be seen that most of the guests have had **fun** while being in the Dungeons. But if the Dungeons are fun, are they 'Dark tourism'? Miníc (2012) argues that the Dungeons are 'Dark tourism', but they should be located within their own element: 'Dark Dungeons' in Stone (2006)'s spectrum. He goes on by saying that 'Dark Dungeons' is defined as an attraction, which goes through the history within a local community (ibid.). It can be argued that even though the Dungeons are fun, it can be discussed whether or not the Dungeons can be 'Dark tourism'.

### 5.4.3 Sub-conclusion

From the above, it has been analyzed and discussed if the Dungeons are indeed 'Dark tourism'. I have used the article from Stone (2005) '*Fun, Fear and Dark tourism*' and my own empirical data. In the above, I have separated **Fear** and **Fun**. By doing so, I have looked on the aspect **Fear** and defined within the Dungeons; and likewise done it with the aspect **Fun**. Many reviews have mentioned both **Fear** and **Fun**; some has only mentioned **Fear**, and some has only mentioned **Fun**. It can be said the Dungeons are **Fear** and **Fun**. Bristow & Newman (2004) argues that the Dungeons can be labeled as 'Fright tourism'. They define this type of tourism as attractions, where tourists seek a scary opportunity, but where history also a part of the attraction (ibid.). From the reviews, it can be seen that the Dungeons can be defined as such, as many guests seek the Dungeons to get a scary experience, but also learn about the history. Miníc (2012) argues that the Dungeons should be located within their own element within the spectrum of Stone (2006), as the Dungeons are both **Fear** and **Fun**.

## 5.5 Conclusion of Analysis and discussion

In this chapter, I have analyzed and discussed the definition regarding 'Dark tourism' in the context of the Dungeons. I started by going through the definition regarding 'Dark tourism',

and how it is different from the experience to the expectation within the Dungeons. I can conclude that the Dungeons can be classified as '**Grey tourism**' within Sharpley (2005)'s model. Likewise, the identity of the tourists has made it possible for me to analyze and discuss 'Heritage tourism' and authenticity within the Dungeons. These aspects are important within the Dungeons, as the guests learn or recall the history within the local community. Also, Stone (2006)'s spectrum has been analyzed and discussed in the context of my empirical data. Here it is concluded that the Dungeons are located within the Dark Fun Factories, as this element is defined as entertainment, which real or fictional death is presented within an attraction. However, it can still be discussed if the Dungeons can be located in another element depending on the shows within the Dungeons. Stone (2005)'s article '*Fun, Fear and Dark tourism*' has likewise been analyzed and discussed within the empirical data. From the above, I can conclude that the Dungeons are **Fear** and **Fun**. However, it has also been analyzed and discussed whether the Dungeons can be labeled as 'Fright tourism', as Bristow & Newman (2004) has defined this type of attraction as tourists seeking scary opportunities where history also is a part of the attraction. However, from the above, I can conclude that the Dungeons are 'Dark tourism' even though they have aspects **Fear** and **Fun**.

## 6.0 Conclusion

*'(...) the phenomenon 'Dark tourism' is especially interesting, as the phenomenon is ambivalent.'* (Chapter 1.1)

In this chapter, I will conclude the result of this research. I will, likewise, explain a few limitations and future considerations, which is important to acknowledge. In chapter 3 I have already explained some limitations within the methods I have used. Below, I will explain limitations within the research itself. Future research, which could be considered, in this area, will likewise be explained as the ending note of this research.

### 6.1 Conclusion

'Dark tourism' is an aspect, which is important for the tourism industry. At different locations, it can be found around the world. In the last two centuries, the phenomenon 'Dark tourism' has been growing. Many scholars have different definitions regarding it, and therefore I have explored these definitions. Likewise, I have explored these definitions regarding the Dungeons and in what way the Dungeons can challenge the phenomenon 'Dark tourism'. The problem formulation in which, this research was guided by, is: *In what way, do the Dungeons challenge the phenomenon 'Dark tourism'?*

To answer this question, I have read an extensive amount of reports and articles about the phenomenon 'Dark tourism'. Likewise, I have also had contact with the London and the Amsterdam Dungeon, and through this connection gotten a reply on an email from Jay from the London Dungeon, and conducted an interview with Michael Hoogdorp from the Amsterdam Dungeon. I have had a focus group interview, and used reviews on different social networks, such as Facebook, Google and Trip Advisor. Through the different reports, articles, methods and my own knowledge, I have created new knowledge within this research.

The result of this research shows that depending on the scholars and their definition, the Dungeons can be defined as 'Dark tourism'. The definition in which I am bound upon is: *'tourist visiting attractions, which is an illustration of inhuman acts to understand the tragedy and historical aspect that continues to impact our lives'* (Foley & Lennon, 1996; Seaton, 1996; Lennon & Foley, 2000; Tarlow, 2005). However, Stone (2006) argues that 'Dark tourism'

attractions lie within a spectrum, and he argues that the Dungeons are the lightest within this spectrum. By analyzing and discussing the phenomenon 'Dark tourism', the spectrum, and the connection between the phenomenon and the Dungeons, it has been argued that the Dungeons can likewise be located within other element. This has been done by looking at the experiences, in which the guests have experienced: **Age**, **Funny**, **History**, **Learn** and **Scary** through the social networks: Facebook, Google and Trip Advisor. By looking at these different experiences, it is shown that the Dungeons challenge the phenomenon 'Dark tourism'. From the definition above, 'Dark tourism' is defined as attractions where tourists wish to understand and learn about the historical aspect in the local community. The Dungeons aim to teach their visitors new knowledge through fun learning. Because the Dungeons have the category **Fun**, it can therefore challenge the phenomenon 'Dark tourism'.

Moreover, the research process was contributed to my own knowledge regarding the phenomenon 'Dark tourism'. I had my own impressions regarding the phenomenon based upon earlier experiences. This research has not only broadened my horizon, but also challenged the way I think of the phenomenon 'Dark tourism'.

## 6.2 Limitations

Limitations are important to consider, as it has affected way I have researched the phenomenon 'Dark tourism' within the context of the Dungeons.

1. The methods provided in this research are *only* from the London and the Amsterdam Dungeon. As mentioned in chapter 3.4, many other Dungeons are located around the world: San Francisco, Berlin and Hamburg, etc. I have tried to get in contact with other Dungeons, but never got an answer from them. If I have kept contacting the different Dungeons, I may have gotten other answers, which could have supported the findings.
2. The London and the Amsterdam Dungeon provided the findings within this research, but I only captured the behavior within a short-term aspect. I did not capture the actual behavior of the guests over a long-term. Despite this limitation, I could have used quantitative methods, such as online survey or a paper survey in the Dungeons to give the research more richness within the findings and captured the actual behavior

of the guests. By doing a survey, online or paper, I could have gotten other answers from the guests, and this could have changed the analysis and discussion.

3. I have only examined the phenomenon 'Dark tourism' in general term. 'Dark tourism' is still new, and it is still changing – different scholars have different definitions regarding this phenomenon. However, I could have used a theory, such as 'Experience Economy' to show another aspect of 'Dark tourism' in the context of the Dungeons.

### 6.3 Future research

The future research regarding 'Dark tourism' and the Dungeons are likewise important to consider, as the phenomenon 'Dark tourism' has increased within the last few decades. Many scholars have different ideas of the definition, as mentioned earlier, and therefore, future research, which should be consider, is:

1. *The government:* In this research the government has not been mentioned. I believe that for future research, how the government is placed within the Dungeons, as well as how they can be different, from England and the Netherlands, should be considered. The government's placement could likewise affect how the phenomenon of 'Dark tourism' could be defined within the Dungeons.
2. *Management:* In England and in the Netherlands the way the Dungeons are managed is different. Therefore, it should be consider in what way an equal interview with the two Dungeons could be used to define the management within the Dungeons. Likewise, these interviews could also give a specific answer of how the Dungeons and Merlin Entertainments are structured. I believe that in the future, these considerations could be used to explore the connection between the management and the employees.
3. *Statistics:* I do not believe that there are enough statistics regarding the phenomenon 'Dark tourism'. Many of the scholars have empirical data from qualitative methods, but not quantitative. I suggest that for future research this type of method should be considered. It could structure a connection between the tourists and the attractions. Likewise, quantitative methods should be considered within the context of the Dungeons, as it could structure a connection between the guests and the Dungeons.

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