Drivers of World War II Tourism: What motivations and factors attract tourists to WW2 sites?

Bachelor Thesis for Obtaining the Degree

Tourism, Hotel Management and Operations

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Affidavit

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

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Abstract

The topic of World War II tourism and the drivers and motivations that tourists have to conduct such activity is the focus of this thesis. Based on previous literature, there is a lack of information available about drivers and motivations on World War II tourism. Therefore, the research done through both quantitative and qualitative data collection and its analysis aimed to further explore those aspects of dark tourism. The results did manage to provide additional information on this subject. Prime focus was given on films, since they constitute one of the main drivers for World War II tourism. Online surveys as well as interviews were conducted with sixty participants from around the globe, the results were presented, tested and interpreted to reach a final conclusion. The results showed that while there are several motivations and drivers for tourists to conduct World War II dark tourism, there are few that stand out as the most predominant ones like wanting to learn about the history and also pay remembrance to the victims.

Preface

This bachelor thesis aims to further research the phenomenon known as dark tourism by focusing primarily on World War II tourism, which consists in visiting sites or attractions that are related to the war or were directly the site of one aspect of the war. This topic has fascinated me for a long time, as I have learned and watched many documentaries, films and books about World War II throughout my life, I find it to be an interesting yet dark moment in human history. As someone who has conducted World War II dark tourism several times in the past and is interested in doing so in the future, there was an opportunity for me to write my bachelor thesis about the motivations and drivers that draw tourists into these sites and I was very excited to write and research about both tourism and World War II as one single subject. It took around six months from start to finish to complete this thesis.

I learned many things not just about dark tourism and their drivers and motivations, but I also got to compare my own personal motivations for conducting dark tourism with many others, some were similar and others different, but provided me with an insight into this unique form of tourism. Hopefully, the information gathered in this paper can add something new or complement previous information on this subject. This thesis would not have been possible without the incredible support of my supervisor who assisted me throughout the writing and research processes, the many participants who provided their knowledge and input for the research and my parents for their great support.

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1. Introduction

1.1 Presentation of the problem

Dark tourism has been a growing phenomenon that has been attracting large amounts of tourists around the globe to a wide variety of dark tourism sites that go from war related to simply museum like attractions and this has been happening for a long time now. It was not long ago that researchers began to study this type of tourism phenomenon resulting in the publication of several forms of research about this phenomenon which included information such as: where does dark tourism come from and all the implications of such activities, the researchers have also researched the question as to why do people seek these type of tourist attractions, which is something that has been largely discussed in the past. Even though scholars have attempted to clarify what motivations lie behind the dark tourists' behavior and what influences their decision to visit a location of death and suffering, the problem lies in that there have not been concrete answers provided to what are the motivators and drivers that fuel tourists' desire to visit dark tourism sites, particularly the World War II related ones which constitute the majority of the dark tourism demand and also supply.

We as tourists decide to travel and visit certain locations for a number of different reasons but most of people's travels revolve around visiting pleasant, comfortable, joyful and stress-free destinations and also for business affairs which makes it clear why people do it and their motivations behind it. The same may not be said about dark tourism which is a more obscure type of activity and it is conducted on the grounds where thousands if not millions of people have died with some of these tragedies happening not too long ago. This type of activity may sound quite bizarre for many people, after all, why would someone willingly choose to go to a site like Auschwitz where over a million people were murdered? The existing literature has not delved deep into the why tourists go and what drives them into these places, people have countless of mediums to get exposed to World War II and other dark touristic sites,

these include books, movies, documentaries, classes and the unlimited reach of the internet. Nowadays there are not many people alive who witnessed World War II, the people that visit sites like Auschwitz, Dachau, Mauthausen, the Normandy beaches and other war sites must have learned about these sites through one or more of the aforementioned mediums, but which ones and how impactful where they? This is something that past research has not really been focused on, only researchers have slightly touched upon the motivations and reasons for going there, but not what sparks and drives these motivations and reasons. Could it be just morbid curiosity that drives people to death-related destinations or could there be other psychological, cultural, historical or empathic reasons, factors and motivations that play a part in the dark tourist decision making process?

This problem of the lack of information in the area of dark tourism motivations and drivers is quite relevant for today's society. Dark tourism as it is, is already an intriguing concept since it revolves around visiting death and destruction sites. World War II sites are even more complex, we all know about this particular event that has changed and shaped the world we live in right now, especially throughout Europe. Many of the sites where important events of World War II took place still exist and attract millions of people each year. As we all conduct tourism at some point in our lives and we are intrigued or even fascinated with these war sites, today's tourists may want this problem of lack of information to be addressed and hopefully answered.

1.2 Aims of the Bachelor thesis

As can be seen, there has been interest in the past for the topic of dark tourism with many key elements being explored, however there is a gap in the existing research about dark tourism, particularly in the motivations and drivers that fuel it, thus the information available is quite scarce. Therefore what this thesis will aim to accomplish is to explore what are the dark tourist's motivations for visiting sites from World War II such as concentration camps, battlefields, mu-

seums and memorials, since this type of tourism activity is not like others and is based heavily on behaviors and emotions which will be addressed later, it is of paramount importance to aim to further research the motivations behind dark tourism. But not only their motivations will be the subject of research, the drivers that ultimately are what spark their interest will also be a focal part of the thesis, as the aim is also to see what types of mediums can drive and inspire a dark tourist which have not really been researched before and the aim is also to see what impact, if any, these drivers can have on the minds of dark tourists.

Special attention will be given towards the impact that Hollywood films about World War II can potentially have on the motivations for dark tourists and also to see whether films can act as drivers for this type of tourism activity. In order to successfully accomplish these aims there will be a mixed methods type of research done that will provide the research with the opportunity to collect vast and diverse amounts of data while also enabling some more deep and insightful information to be gathered.

Overall, the most important aim that this thesis wants to accomplish is to further develop the existing research on the subject of dark tourism but focusing more on the category of World War II dark tourism and what lies behind the tourists who venture into these sites and also learn what gets them there.

2. Literature Review

2.1 What is Dark Tourism?

The idea of a typical tourist that researchers have in their minds is that of a person that looks for simple adventures, to visit different countries and at times be confused between the imitations and the authentic representations of the foreign cultures (Robb, 2009). This type of tourist still exists nowadays but there are some that are seeking for new and different types of experiences in their travels, leading to many researchers to believe that tourists are not satisfied with just going to the beach or staying in fancy hotels (Robb, 2009). This has led many tourist to travel to destinations and sites that are connected with or are the grounds of death and suffering, either as their main choice of destination or as a part of a long travel plan (Robb, 2009). This type of activity by the tourist is better known nowadays as dark tourism. The phenomenon known as dark tourism or activities that could be described as such which are known as the consumption or visit by tourists of a destination related to death or disaster (Stone & Sharpley, 2008).

There have been many attempts to describe and name this type of tourism activity, some of those have been the likes of 'thanatourism', earlier into the research of this phenomenon people have used expressions like 'holidays in hell', 'morbid tourism', 'black spot' and even 'milking the macabre' (Stone, 2005). This term of dark tourism was first presented to a scholarly audience in the year of 1996 in a journal that studied the heritage and it touched upon both the dark tourism and thanatourism (Light, 2017). Despite the several names and descriptions used, the overall definition of dark tourism remains the same; people visiting places related to death and destruction (Stone, 2005). This type of tourism may sound like a crazy idea for many people, after all, they are visiting and being entertained by a place that was witness to death and destruction and that for some still remains as a place of suffering, the fact that people are attracted to these sites is what makes dark tourism such an interesting thing (Korstanje & Ivanov, 2012). There has been a debate whether dark tourism

and thanatourism are one in the same, it is said that if a place has a relation with death it is basically a dark site while they argue that thanatourism is more about the behaviors and motivators of the people to travel to these destinations of tragedy (Light, 2017). As can be seen based on these literatures, there still is quite a debate of which terminology is the correct to define this touristic phenomenon.

2.2 History and Growth of Dark Tourism

All this debate about what to call this touristic phenomenon can become quite troublesome and create confusion. Nevertheless people have deemed that the naming as well as the description and the framing of these sites is important (Bowman & Pezzullo, 2010). This type of tourism has existed pretty much since people are known to be traveling, activities like pilgrimages are such early examples of this, therefore it can be even said that dark tourism is deeply connected to the inception of tourism itself (Stone, 2012). Although pilgrimages are still popular nowadays, dark tourism has changed and evolved throughout time to incorporate other types of death-related sites and travels (Stone, 2012). The tourism sector has seen great growth since the mid-twentieth century as more people began to travel, this has also impacted dark tourism in that more demand from the tourists is seen and unfortunately the supply of it has also been increasing (Stone, 2012). This increase in the tourists' interest on dark tourism can also be attributed to the growth of the population throughout the years combined with the fact that destinations have become easier to travel to compared to the last hundred years (Bowman & Pezzullo, 2010). Researchers have also stated the possibility that maybe the interest of the people about visiting dark tourism sites has not changed at all through time but it has remained the same, it just happens to be that accessibility to those places has become just easier for the tourists (Bowman & Pezzullo, 2010).

Clear examples of dark tourism can be found since the Roman Empire existed, they had offered some type of dark tourism or attraction for people to consume

and those were the gladiator games, where people flocked to the arenas to watch gladiators fight to the death and also to witness public medieval executions (Stone, 2005). This shows that people have had some sort of fascination with death for centuries now. As the centuries have passed, modern society has also its own fair share of dark tourism. There are several other types of dark tourism sites and/or attractions, these range from assassination sites like the infamous Sixth Floor located in Dallas from where John F. Kennedy was shot, cemeteries and graveyards, prisons, slavery heritage sites and places of atrocities like the Holocaust's concentration camps sites and war battlefield related sites like Gettysburg, Normandy, Pearl Harbor, etc (Stone, 2012). There are other types of dark tourism that can be considered to be less dark or disturbing, some of these include the 'Dracula Experience' in the UK, the Funeral Museum located in Vienna which are more museum-like attractions, other type of sites are the celebrity death sites like the ones from James Dean, Elvis Presley, among others which are very much directly related with death (Stone, 2012). In general, dark tourism sparks into many different categories all of which have their own unique characteristics and history that make the experience of the visit different from each other site (Robb, 2009).

2.3 Types of Dark Tourism Sites

The types of dark tourism sites that can be found more are the ones whose goal is to interpret the history of what happened there and these can be the actual sites where the death took place or a separate site with no direct association (Robb, 2009). What the sites that interpret the history do, is they place the tourists into the shoes of a person in that situation but that thanks to elements like space and time it separates the tourist from the brutal components of the site, there are occasions that such components are still in existence but are secured in glass cages like a museum (Robb, 2009). Then comes the dark tourism sites that are located in the original grounds of the tragedy and these implement an on site way of showing what happened there through recreating, preserving and conserving the facility and surroundings where the tragic

events officially took place (Robb, 2009). These attractions that interpret and the ones that are the original sites of death and tragedy may still not be enough for some dark tourists, so they enroll in another form of dark tourism which revolves around reproducing or re-enacting the original event of death and suffering (Robb, 2009). One example of such peculiar attraction is the location where U.S President John F. Kennedy was assassinated, there dark tourists can pay for a reconstruction of the assassination which includes a limousine like the one the president used along with similar clothing, music and gun fire sounds to recreate the event which ends with the tourists at the hospital when they hear the real radio transmission announcing that the president was shot (Robb, 2009). This type of re-enactment of a tragedy places the tourist into the shoes of the victim which provides them with a unique and immersive exposure to the events that happened and also with a deep look into violence (Robb, 2009). Based on this literature we can say that this type of dark tourism activity can be used in other death related locations and events since it already attracts visitors. We have seen how many types of dark tourism attractions exist and the several categories they fall into, the difference between the sites that are directly related with death and those who only associated with it will be further touched upon later on this paper.

2.4 Reasons for Conducting Dark Tourism

All of these aforementioned sites are bound and connected with death yet they are still different from each other, these battlegrounds, museums, and memorials all can incite different types of responses from the tourists who visit them due to the fact that people decide to conduct tourism for different reasons (Bowman & Pezzullo, 2010). Some of the reasons for visiting these sites could be to remember or pay respect to family members that may have passed away there or to gain knowledge about the background of that place, while on the other hand it can also be possible that these sites don't evoke any emotions at all to the tourists for reasons such as them being uninterested, bored, or their mind is somewhere else and they are not paying attention, these visits from

tourists can occur quite frequently or never at all (Bowman & Pezzullo, 2010). The reason for visiting these sites that most people can relate to more deeply is the one of remembrance or mourning of the people who have died there, this strong identification could be due to direct family connection with the deceased, strong patriotic beliefs, ethnicity ties, or just the need to pay respect and have empathy for what once happened there (Bowman & Pezzullo, 2010). This is why the way people connect with dark tourism is not so straightforward or impersonal but rather a very personal and intimate one as there are distinctions from the people related to the site by blood or relatives to those with no relation at all (Robb, 2009). Other researchers have found that a possible reason for tourists to visit dark tourism sites is for them to be able to get an understanding of what once happened there and also to link to the site in order to know its history (Korstanje & Ivanov, 2012). The tourists themselves have claimed that they decide to visit these sites in order for them to get knowledge about the violence that occurred there so they make sure it does not get repeated in the future or so they can stop current acts of violence and they conduct dark tourism for social justice purposes (Robb, 2009).

2.5 Shades of Dark Tourism

As was previously stated in this paper, for many years now this type of tourism activity is popularly been known as dark tourism, but there are some researchers that think the word 'dark' is not enough to fully categorize the type of sites that fall under this category, the people behind this state that there is a distinction between sites that are just related or connected with death and destruction to the sites that are directly and literally the grounds of death and destruction (Miles, 2002). Therefore it is suggested that if the sites that are only related but were not the place where the death and destruction occurred are already being called as 'dark' sites, i.e the U.S Washington Holocaust Memorial Museum, then the sites that are the grounds where these horrific events actually took place should be described as a 'darker' version of this activity, i.e the concentration camp Auschwitz-Birkenau (Miles, 2002). It is important to

clarify that there is a difference from a dark tourism site to a more darker tourism site, not just in the name or description of it but also how these sites get interpreted and how authentic they remain (Miles, 2002). To further develop this notion take as an example the two aforementioned sites; the Washington Holocaust Museum and the Auschwitz-Birkenau camp. On one hand is Auschwitz which is know throughout the world as a place where atrocities and genocide were committed and that now is open for the public to go visit it, but it does not possess the typical layout or feel that a normal museum would have, the way they show what happened there is different to how a conventional historic museum does and even the facilities are different, while in the Washington Holocaust Museum they have a more modern, conventional and some might say innovated approach to remembering the Holocaust, regardless of how modern or good this museum might be it still has no direct connection to the actual Holocaust tragedies, sort of speak (Miles, 2002).

The dark tourism phenomenon has not been fully clarified if it is attraction-driven or something else although it js viewed that this type of touristic activity, is how modern society consumes death and suffering (Stone, 2005). This has led to the widespread acceptance of dark tourism by modern society and it has grown to be a very diverse phenomenon (Stone, 2005). As can be seen based on the large amount of dark tourism attractions available, this type of tourism is an extensive one, therefore it is quite hard to fully categorize this dark tourism phenomenon (Stone, 2012). There has been however some research done which indicates that there are four different types of emotions that are present in the mind of a dark tourist when he or she is conducting it (Stone, 2005). These emotions can be such as insecurity, gratitude, humility and superiority, all which can be related with the idea that the reason dark tourists decide to visit these sites of tragedy is due to their social and cultural identity (Stone, 2005). There are people who suggest that going to sites that are connected with tragedy and suffering allows the tourists to deal and engage with death in an environment that is free of any horrors and this provides each per-

son the opportunity to feed their curiosity and interest on death and maybe to face what their ultimate fate will be by looking at the rest sites of others (Light, 2017). In order for a dark tourism site to successfully bring up these and many other emotions to the tourists that visit them, the site must not only represent the historical information correctly but also must create a feeling of empathy from the visitor towards the victim of said dark tourism site (Miles, 2002). In here is where the idea presented by a researcher that there is a distinction between 'dark' and 'darker' tourism can play an important part on determining how successful a dark tourism site is in evoking emotions, a darker site like Auschwitz might make a visitor feel more empathy for the victims than just a dark site like a Museum, Auschwitz and other real sites are the exact location where it happened so they do have the location authenticity factor (Miles, 2002).

There have been statements that suggest that there are two types of dark tourism, the 'dark' and the 'darker', but the persons behind this research also suggest that there is a third type of dark tourism that has been slowly making its way into society and it is called the 'darkest' tourism (Miles, 2002). This darkest tourism idea is based on the big technological advancements that have occurred since the beginning of the twenty-first century and how it has impacted dark tourism by providing the people with the technology to view, experience and connect with this dark tourism through online services such as interactive media, videos and virtual tour guides (Miles, 2002). People that use this type of technology for dark touristic purposes are called 'dark cyber tourists' who with just a few clicks can enter online tours of places like prisons, killing grounds, execution cells, museums, among others (Miles, 2002). With this it can be said that the dark cyber tourist may be able to get his hands on more graphic or detailed images and information about these sites on the internet. But if people talk about the experience of conducting dark tourism, the dark cyber tourist does not have the same experience as a traditional dark tourist would, the former may just do some searching online about Auschwitz

while the latter is physical present on the site, so for the dark cyber tourist there is no difference between searching online and being physically present at the site (Miles, 2002). This darkest tourism is a terrifying concept that the people behind the memorials and museums will have to deal with, but these ideas about separating dark tourism idea into dark and darker types may provide the visitors as well as the people behind these sites some insight into what motivates them in their respective involvement with the dark tourism phenomenon (Miles, 2002).

It can be said that the previous research suggests that the phenomenon of dark tourism's impact on the tourists mind is quite complex. The consumption of dark tourism and dark tourists in general has been linked mainly with the western society based on their psychological and emotional views on death (Stone, 2005).

2.6 Previous Research on the Reasons and Motivations for Dark Tourism

Despite the vast research attempts combined with the high interest that society has been building on this subject, the truth is that dark tourism literature remains quite slim (Stone, 2005). Focus needs to the pointed towards the fact that there is even less research done on the motivations and the drivers that dark tourists have to visit these sites and their decision to do so (Stone, 2005). Past researchers have stated that it is paramount to research and understand the reasons that people have to indulge in dark tourism activities (Stone, 2005). Maybe the reason why there has not been enough research done on the motivations of dark tourists is due to the fact that researchers have been more interested in the experience of dark tourists rather than their motivations as they deemed that this will benefit their knowledge on the dark tourism phenomenon (Light, 2017). Despite this claims from the researchers, there is a complication in focusing on just the tourists experience, since there is not just one type of experience for tourists but rather many different ones that the tourists react to differently (Light, 2017). This can make it quite challenging to draw conclu-

sions on this subject, but their results have shed some information like that they have found ten angles from which dark tourists experience the visit to these sites and those are emotional, cognitive, transformative, physical, relational, sensory, hedonic, restorative, introspective and spiritual (Light, 2017). The angles that have been more focused upon are the emotional and cognitive ones, since the latter revolves around gaining knowledge and also to comprehend what happened and that is why several dark tourists visit these sites, although there has been less research done about whether these angles are even successful (Light, 2017). There is not much existing literature about the motivations for dark tourists to enroll in these trips and sites, although some of the literature available states that there are around eleven potential reasons that dark tourists can have to conduct dark tourism, these include interest, looking for risk/adrenaline, authenticity, convenience, validation, remembrance, famous sites, pilgrimage, empathy, self-discovery, and contemplation (Bigley et al., 2010). The reason or emotion that other researchers also mention is always present in the dark tourists is the one of empathy and they use this emotion to be able to relate with the people who died there (Light, 2017). Aside from the previously mentioned reasons, some others have added such reasons as the need to preserve and record, for economic reasons, discovering their heritage, and personal reasons (Bigley et al., 2010). All of these motives found in the literature show us just how dense and one could even say complex the dark tourists' reasons for visiting these sites of war are, and that more research can be done.

All of us have traveled to some place at one point in our lives whether it is for business or leisure reasons, the way that people decide to travel is ruled by two factors, the internal and the external (Bigley et al., 2010). The internal one is supposed to provide the kick start or to push the person to travel, these internal factors can include drivers, emotions, etc, basically they make the person want to travel somewhere else (Bigley et al., 2010). While the external is the one that attracts or pulls the person towards the destination, these external factors

can be the reputation, likeness and/or attributes of said destination, basically they determine which destination to they want to go (Bigley et al., 2010). With this it can be seen that when it comes to the decision making of traveling to a certain place, it has several factors at play that impact the tourists final travel decisions. However, the reasons or factors why they visit these sites can also be less simple, there are other more spiritual reasons for going there as some tourists may be looking for a healing experience or even these tourists use these sites to delve into their own actions and morale (Light, 2017). Although it must be said that this external-internal factor theory can also depend on other factors like a person's personal needs which can be said that they are still internal factors, while on the external side things also can depend on how marketing is made on the destination and how it attracts people (Bigley et al., 2010). Basically these results show that this is not a very straightforward theory.

2.7 Dark Tourism Controversy

It is important to note that this whole dark tourism phenomenon has not always been received very positively by some people, in the early years of research into dark tourism there were people that proposed the notion that this type of tourism is not a very ethical one and they question the allowance of these sites related to death to be accepted (Light, 2017). Some other issues that have been brought up are regarding the tourists, where they claim that if they are in contact with places related with death and misery instead of making the person feel more sad, shocked or disgusted about what happened it will make them think these horrific actions seem like a normal thing (Light, 2017). The misinterpretation of these dark tourism sites has also been criticized, focus has been made on that the commercialization of the dark tourism activity has led to a poor, toned down and at times badly recount of the horrible events that took place on these sites, and instead of providing an educational purpose it has focused more on being a show and providing entertainment (Light, 2017). Based on this it can be seen that people have also noted that dark tourism can

have a downside and that it can have a negative effect on the sites and the history that marked them.

This topic has clearly attracted the attention of many people who want to know more of it, therefore this is a good area to delve into and conduct research and shed some new information. After establishing how massive the area of dark tourism is, a closer look into what this research paper will be about follows.

2.8 World War II Dark Tourism

This paper's main topic will revolve around the subject of dark tourism, more specifically on World War II tourism which falls as a subcategory of dark tourism, which is also known to be an emotional and at times educational experience that can provide visitors knowledge of historical events (Kang et al., 2012). This paper will delve more specifically on World War II tourism in Austria and Europe. As previously stated there had been several articles and books written about the topic of dark tourism before but there has been less interest into researching other factors in dark tourism and these are the motivations that tourists have for visit such destinations or experiences (Stone & Sharpley, 2008). The concept of tourists visiting places where a war or other armed conflict have taken place may be considered as one of the top categories of tourist attractions (Stone & Sharpley, 2008). Also this phenomenon of dark tourism has experienced considerable growth over the past seventy years (Stone & Sharpley, 2008). Even though this type of tourism activity has become quite popular around the world, there is still the question of whether visiting sites related to death and destruction is just due to simple fascination or whether there are other more meaningful factors that motivate tourists (Stone & Sharpley, 2008). Hence, the interest of the people into researching why tourists take the time and resources to visit war related destinations.

It is documented that dark tourism is considered more as a behavioral phenomenon that is based and powered by the own tourist's motivations to indulge in this type of tourism activity (Stone, 2006). This supports the idea that the motivations of the tourist are the key to the demand of dark tourism and it should be further researched what these motivations and factors are. War site tourism can be viewed as a subcategory of dark tourism, which can also be considered the darkest of all, therefore it is said that there is a series of challenging factors both sociological and psychological that motivate people into visiting such dark places (Cohen, 2011). With this it can be said that there must be very intense or important motivators for tourists to go to war sites since it is the ones that are surrounded with a more disturbing past. The media has also played a part in the interest towards dark tourism, people see images of violence whether it is on the news or as entertainment and this causes them to begin imagining what it would be like to travel there as they see what the camera is showing them as potential sites to travel to (Robb, 2009). These images that people see on the media lead to fantasies on their part, and imagining a trip goes beyond just seeing it as people can imagine how the site looks like in their minds and this could lead to them being disappointed once the tourists finally visits the site as their imaginary expectations might not be fully met (Robb, 2009).

As stated the thesis will aim to research the motivations but also what factors also contribute to visiting World War II sites, personally the decision to conduct dark tourism has always been greatly influenced by World War II films, these provided interest to travel to the places where such films took place in. That is why this paper will also add into the research whether films can have an impact on dark tourism demand, particularly the World War II films like Schindler's List, The Pianist, Saving Private Ryan, Dunkirk, Anthropoid, Life is Beautiful, etc.

2.9 Film-Induced Tourism

A particular tourist may have several reasons behind why they travel to the destinations they choose to, one of these reasons can be because they saw either in a TV show, film or video a travel site that sparked their interest and they decided to travel there, this type of activity is called film tourism and it its associated with cultural tourism as well (Hudson & Ritchie, 2006). The producers behind films and TV shows are being talked into aiming their productions towards a certain site or destination, since once a destination is portrayed in a film it shows the location to other filmmakers which then can further develop said location's industry, a site being featured in a film or TV show can offer benefits post-production for the destination like increasing its tourism, therefore a destination being portrayed in a film can bring benefits to both the local film and tourism industries (Croy, 2010). Researchers of this type of tourism have come up with several types of how film tourism is formed, these include six types; the first one being conducting film tourism as a stop in a longer visit in where they only visit the film site but they were not aware of the history of the location beforehand, the second is conducting film tourism as the principal reason behind the decision to travel to that site due to them seeing the site on a film, thirdly another form of film tourism can be to visit the location where the filming occurred, the fourth is linked with a romantic travel where they visit locations portrayed in films as romantic, the fifth is another form in that film tourism can provide the tourists with an escape of the daily life and finally the sixth one is another form in where conducting film tourism is to visit locations with beautiful lands and locations with long history (Tuclea & Nistoreanu, 2011).

There has been research that says that movies which can act as an indirect stimuli can have an effect on the tourists decision on which destinations to visit (Gjorgievski & Trpkova, 2012). At times TV shows and films can have product placement scenes in order to sell a certain product to the audience, that is exactly how film tourism works as well, if a certain site is a big part of the

film or show it can have an influence on the tourists's travel decisions, but the the site must be portrayed in a good image for the potential tourists to see and have a good interest of the site (Hudson & Ritchie, 2006). But a good image of the site in the film is not all that matters as there is research that also backs the notion that films can improve the image of a location but it can also raise the reputation of the city where said site is located and also that the people who experienced the films have a better perception of the location by seeing it on the film compared to the people who did not experience the film (Tuclea & Nistoreanu, 2011).

Another benefit that films possess is that they have the opportunity of being customized and the audiences tend to take films as believable or true which makes the scenes in those films stand out therefore the picture in the viewer's mind is remembered more compared to other types of media (Croy, 2010). Several researchers conclude that films can serve as a factor that can attract tourists to certain destinations as some people have decided to take the film locations themselves and convert them into attractions for the tourists who think visiting such a site would be a good idea (Busby & Klug, 2001). The movies that manage to impact the tourists decisions were not produced with these intentions but nevertheless they manage to impact tourists' decisions (Gjorgievski & Trpkova, 2012). As can be seen, film tourism has had an impact on the tourism landscape and one of the reasons this is happening may be due to the big growth in the amount of people traveling globally combined with the growing film industry (Tuclea & Nistoreanu, 2011). Previous studies have shown that some travel sites have used their portrayal on films and TV shows and the long reach that they have to their favor as they have been seeing increases on the amount of tourists that come to visit these sites after said films or TV shows had premiered (Hudson & Ritchie, 2006). Many destinations of heritage where the scenes of a film took place can gain widespread recognition once the film premieres due to the portrayal and explanation in the film that gives the site a purpose, a site that is not a part of the film's story is

not going to stand out from the other similar locations (Tuclea & Nistoreanu, 2011).

As this paper will focus on World War II tourism, one of the results that came out from these studies is relevant to this paper. The research found out that there was an increase of around 40% on the amount of American tourists that visited the beaches of Normandy located in France after the release of the highly praised film *Saving Private Ryan* which features a lengthy, shocking and memorable opening battle scene in those beaches (Hudson & Ritchie, 2006). The people that run the touristic activity in Normandy have also noted that their destination has not only increased the amount of visitors but also the age diversity of those new tourists which indicates that not only army veterans who witnessed the battle and their families are visiting the site (Busby & Klug, 2001). With this research it can be seen that this particular war film resonated well with the American public and therefore played a part in their decision to travel to the Normandy beaches, this is one example of how a film can boost the number of visitors that a dark tourism site can have.

Film-induced tourism has had a bigger effect on the country of New Zealand, which is where the *Lord of the Rings* films were made. These films made the touristic activity in the country rise to new grounds and nowadays there are tours and other services that take tourists to one hundred and fifty movie sites (Buchmann, 2010). In general based on the aforementioned examples it can be seen that movies can increase visitors which can provide jobs for the locals and many types of attractions for the visitors. For an overview of the impact of film tourism, there are extensive examples that show the effect that some sites have experienced. Scotland saw a 300% increase in visitors after the release of *Braveheart*, Turkey saw an increase of 73% once *Troy* came out, several sites in the U.K saw an increase of over 50% after the *Harry Potter* films premiered and national parks in Sydney saw a 200% increase in visitors after *Mission:*

Impossible 2 filmed there (Hudson & Ritchie, 2006). These are just a few of many sites that have been influenced by a film.

Even though it has been seen based on the existing literature that films can have a big impact on the tourism activity as seen with the case of the beaches of Normandy France and New Zealand. Nevertheless it is advised that the people behind these touristic destinations know that a film can turn the perception of a site and can also impact the assessment of a location which indicates that films can also have a bad influence on a destination since films may not have the same impact as others do which shows that a careful approach towards this must be implemented (Croy, 2010). As can be seen with the previous literature the influence of film and TV on tourism can be a double-edge sword, as it can do both good and harm to a destination, the literature shows that it all falls down to what images are shown to the public and what they portray. With a wide array of World War II films already existing and more being produced around the world each year, combined with the increase of dark tourism demand over the past decades (Stone, 2012). There may be a correlation between World War II films and the increase of tourist influx to World War II sites, which could provide great insight into the motivations of people. Based on the previous literature which details what dark tourism is, how popular of a phenomenon it has become and still is growing and also that the motivations of why people conduct this type of tourism have not been extensively researched, there is something that this thesis could contribute into this topic.

3. Methodology

As previously stated, this paper will go into the topic of World War II dark tourism sites and what drivers and motives the tourists have to visit such locations. Therefore there will be some research conducted to help shed some light into these issues. There are a number of hypothesis that were made based on the main research question of *What Motivators & Factors Attract Tourists to World War II sites?* There are four main hypotheses that will directly revolve

around the research question of this thesis and there will also be some additional hypothesis that will serve as exploratory and to test other interesting correlations that could arise from the survey results. The main hypotheses are the following.

H1: There is a relationship between liking World War II films and the degree that said film could motivate you to visit a site from that film.

H2: There is a relationship between liking a World War II film and wanting to visit a site based on what they saw on the film.

H3: There is a relationship between how often people watch World War II films and the likelihood they'll visit a destination from said films.

H4: There is a relationship between morbid curiosity and the possibility of visiting a World War II site.

The further exploratory hypothesis are the following:

EH1: There is a relationship between being aware of what dark tourism is and wanting to visit a World War II site.

EH2: There is a relationship between having conducted World War II tourism and the interest of visiting a dark tourism site that is not from World War II in the future.

EH3: There is a relationship between having conducted dark tourism in the past and the interest of visiting a dark tourism site in the future.

With the previous hypotheses it will be possible to go more in depth into the drivers and motivation that fuel the demand to visit dark touristic locations. Once the hypotheses are determined comes the part of designing which type of research design or approach would be taken in this paper. Since this paper deals with the why and also how people conduct dark tourism it was determined that an explanatory research would be the type of research used as it revolves around explaining the why and the how things happen as they do. The research approach used was the mixed methods one, in which both quali-

tative and quantitative data collection is done. The reason behind using a mixed methods approach was because it was decided that by just using either a qualitative or qualitative approach would not properly study the topic and hypothesis presented in depth, also using both approaches provides a wider range of data which is always good to have, specially in a topic that as previously stated has not been fully researched yet. The aim of this paper is to try to explain the motivations and drivers in dark tourism through a mixed methods approach.

Once the research approach and design were determined, the decision making regarding which research tools would be used in this data collection procedure was done. Since a mixed methods approach was selected, the usage of both qualitative and quantitative data was available to gather, the topic of this paper is quite unique since it revolves around a very dark and sensitive subject like the Second World War, to properly research the motivations and drivers the use of surveys in the quantitative side and interviews in the qualitative side were done.

After establishing which type of data would be collected, the selection of the sampling began. Based on the type of research in mind and a topic about a form of tourism that tends to be pursued by certain people who find it interesting, it was deemed that a non-probability sampling method would be used in this research. The sampling units would not be selected at random since some of the respondents were directly chosen to take part in the data collection (specially in the interview part), therefore a non-probability method was selected. The type of sampling used was the convenience sampling method in which the respondents are chosen based on their accessibility and convenience, but also judgement sampling was used because there were some respondents that were selected according to some characteristics that they possessed, primarily the fact that they were dark tourists and had visited a dark site beforehand.

As the sampling frame was ready, the first research tool that was implemented was the quantitative one through surveys and it was decided that the usage and distribution of online surveys would serve the data collection better since this type of survey would be able to reach a wider population of respondents. Once the research questions along with the hypothesis were developed, began the sketching of the questions that would be in the survey and whose aim would be to prove whether the hypotheses are correct or not. In the final version of the online survey there were a total of twenty-one questions which were done as a Google document using the Google drive survey format. The people addressed in the survey were students and older adults who have interest in dark tourism. The survey asked questions about dark tourism, Second World War film tourism and about whether the respondent had conducted or was planning to conduct dark tourism and what types of motivations and drivers pushed him or her into this type of tourism activity. The online surveys were distributed through social media and emails for a period of around three weeks, here is where convenience sampling came into play since most of the respondents were easily accessible and were convenient for the research, in which resulted in the collection of sixty complete answered surveys.

Once this type of data collection was done began the qualitative data collection through in-depth interviews. For these there were twelve questions that were similar to those in the online surveys in terms of what it was asking the respondent but it went more deep and personal, asking more open questions in which a more elaborate answer could provide a more insightful and personal amount of information. The selection of the respondents for these interviews was based on judgment/purposive sampling, this was done in order to have participants who had already visited some type of dark tourism site, since they could provide more personal information behind their dark touristic behavior. The interviews were done in a variety of ways, some in a face-to-face way while others via FaceTime, the answers of the respondents were written down

to be later combined and analyzed all together, the interviews were conducted in both English and Spanish, which were then translated into English.

The respondents of the online surveys as well as the participants on the in-depth interviews were notified that their responses along with their identities and other personal information would be strictly confidential and would not be disclosed in the final paper. Once all the data was collected it was separated into qualitative and quantitative to be later analyzed. For analyzing the data of the online surveys, the implementation of a Mann-Whitney U test, a Spearman correlation and a χ^2-test was done using software like Excel and SPSS to draw out the findings of the research and as for the interviews, all the answers were collected with each question and answer being individually analyzed, then mixed with the other answers in order to get a consensus of all the participants answers for each question.

4. Descriptive Statistics

As the online surveys were answered by sixty respondents, they provided very interesting information to be analyzed. It must be stated that the answers of those sixty respondents gave some interesting statistics that need to be addressed as it may provide more insight into the dark tourism phenomenon from a perspective of people from various countries.

As can be seen in the Figure 1 below, the amount of nationalities of the respondents is diverse with twelve different ones. The most representative is Mexico with 35%, followed by Austria and Germany with 21.7% and 6.7%, respectively. From these statistics we can see that the answers and further statistics that will be shown in this paper will come from people of different backgrounds and countries, some of which had no participation or direct involvement with World War II, thus their perspectives, motivations on
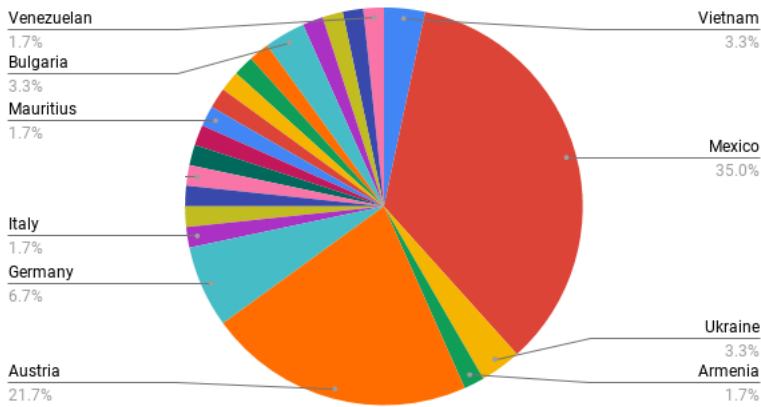
Nationality of Respondents

Figure 1.

dark tourism and the war may differ from those who come from countries directly involved in the war like Germany, Austria, Italy and the United States.

The survey asked the respondents to state whether they had already visited a World War II tourism site, Figure 2 below shows the results that over half of the respondents had been to a dark tourism site about World War II, these could have been locations like battlefields, concentration camps, war museums and memorials. With this it can be seen that this phenomenon is still going strong to this day and that a diverse range of tourists have been visiting these sites.

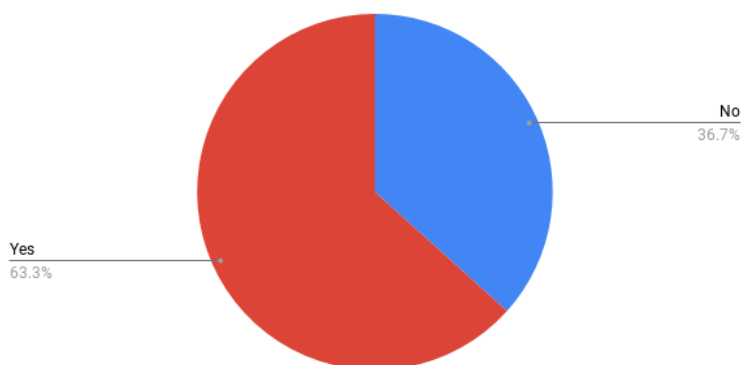## Have you visited World War 2 tourism sites? (i.e. Normandy, Auschwitz, Dunkirk, etc)

Figure 2.

It has been seen that a majority of the respondents have conducted dark tourism into a World War II location or attraction and that these respondents come from different countries. The goal of this paper is to see what motivates and drives the people into these sites, in the Figure 3 below are the motivations that the respondents have for conducting World War II dark tourism.

What reason motivates you to visit World War 2 sites?

What reason motivates you to visit World War 2 sites?

Figure 3.

Out of the four options available there was one which was vastly superior than the others, apparently more respondents decide to visit World War II sites for educational and historical reasons with over 40 responses.

The least selected reason is the one about the influence of a film in their reason to visit the site, which will be further addressed later in this paper. With this it can be seen that people want to learn about what happened in these places and that seems to be what motivates them to travel there. Other less popular reasons for visiting these war related sites were just plain curiosity and to pay respect to the victims. It appears that history and education is vital for dark tourists' decision making, but it is only one reason for visiting these sites. In Figure 4 below are the results of which drivers inspired these tourists to decide to visit a World War II site, in here the answers were slightly more distributed. Documentaries and history classes had the highest amount of respondents with 19 and 18 answers respectively, followed by Hollywood films. With this statistic it can be seen that it relates to the previous chart in which learning about the history is the main reasons behind dark tourists' motivations towards

these sites, documentaries and history classes teach us the facts and show us images of what happened in these places and with these results it could be said that those things really generate the interest and drive people into World War II sites. Hollywood films also seem to be drivers for war induced dark tourism which can be said that they are in ways similar to documentaries only that they are made more focused on entertainment purposes rather than educational or

Figure 4.

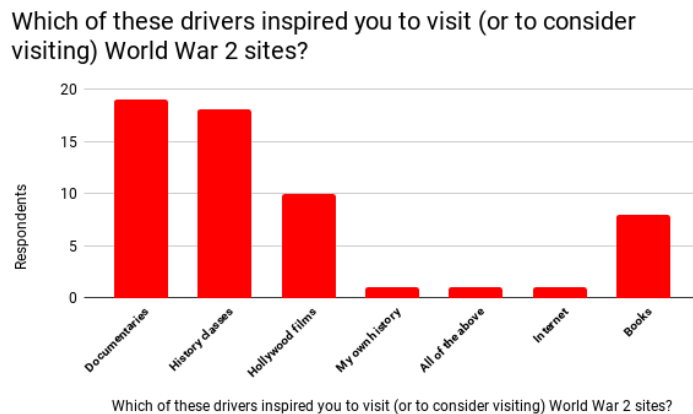historically accurate ones. Both provide us with images of past events which resonate differently with each person but they spark the drive and motivation to travel and visit these dark locations that they saw on the screen or heard about.

It was established that this paper would explore the idea of whether Hollywood films about World War II can have an impact on the dark tourists'
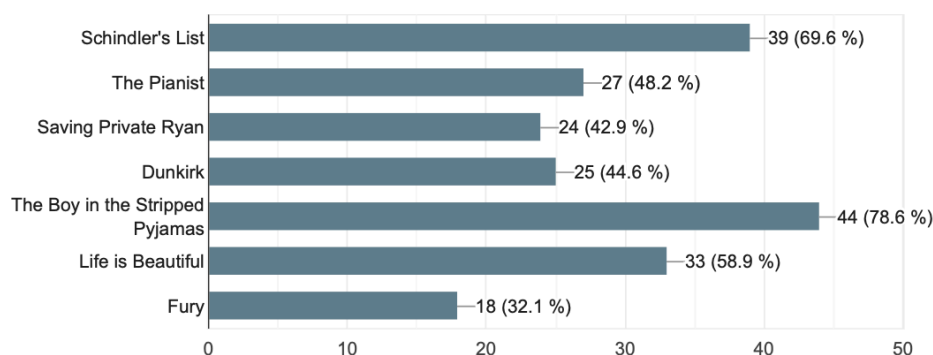

Figure 5.

decision to visit the locations featured in these films. On the survey the respondents

re asked to state which of the presented films about World War II either battle or holocaust themed they had seen. The Figure 5 shows the films and the number of respondents that have watched them. It can be noted that the films with the higher amount of votes have one thing in common, films like *Schindler's List, The Boy in the Stripped Pyjamas, Life is Beautiful* and *The Pianist* are all about events that happened during the holocaust. This information was important to collect, because it can be seen that the respondents are more interested in films about the holocaust, since battle themed films *Saving Private Ryan, Fury* and *Dunkirk* were all in the bottom regarding votes. The data about the films is relevant when it is compared with the Figure 6. There are several types of World War II sites that the public can visit like battlefields, concentration camps, war museums and war memorials. The respondent were asked to state which types of sites they would be interested in visiting and the results showed that there could be a relation between the films they watch and their sites of interest. On the Figure 6 below are the statistics of this question with War Museums and Concentration Camps having the highest amount of votes, followed by Battlefields and War Memorials. The dark tourists that answered these questions seem to be more into the history of the holocaust, either by visiting the actual site of the tragedy or a museum about it.

Although some might argue that concentration camps can be considered as museums, nevertheless the fact that more respondents prefer watching films
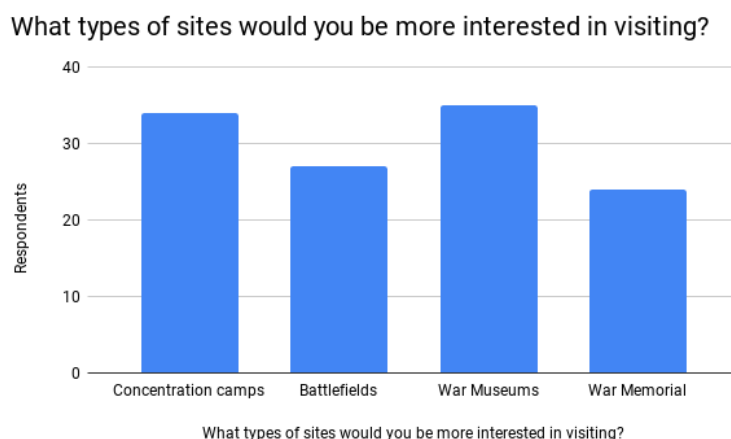

Figure 6.

about the holocaust and that they are more interested towards visiting sites about the holocaust shows that the films could act as a driver for them.

To properly see whether the films did have an impact on their sites of interests, the respondents were also asked to state whether watching these films made them interested in visiting the locations featured in them. Figure 7 below shows that the votes were more distributed between a flat out *No* and both the *Yes* options.

The majority of respondents seemed to agree that watching these films did impact them on their decision to go to these sites, some had been to one site already while others are yet to go. There is however a significant amount of respondents who may not get influenced by a film to visit a World War II site, so it can be concluded that films can to certain extent drive and motivate dark tourists to choose a World War II site as a destination to visit.
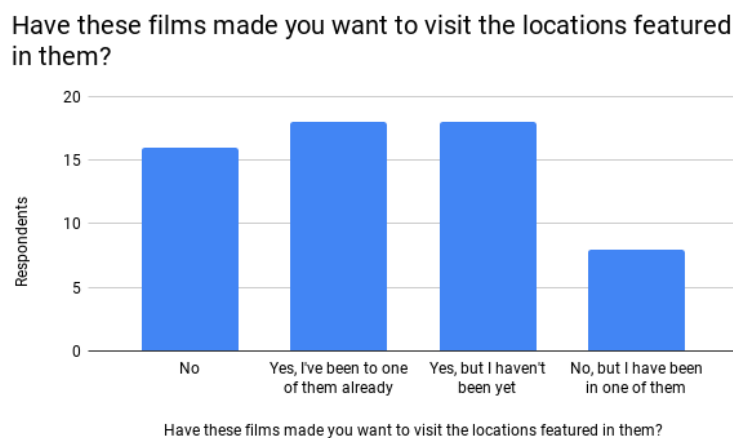
Figure 7.

As can be seen from the previous charts, films do tend to influence the dark tourists in their behavior and to further understand why and how films motivate them, the respondents were asked to state what did the film do to them that would motivate them to visit these locations. The reason behind this is to see what sort of emotions or responses films about World War II can have on the respondents, because as was stated in the literature section, dark tourism can be a behavioral phenomenon (Stone, 2006). Thus knowing what impact these films have could be vital in the understanding of their behavior. The sta-

tistics of this result can be seen in Figure 8, it can be seen that curiosity was the least voted impact by which it could be said that there are more meaningful impacts that the film can have, since being shocked and sparking interest was the most popular impact that World War II films had on the

What did the film do to make you want to visit the location featured in it?

What did the film do to make you want to visit the location featured in it?
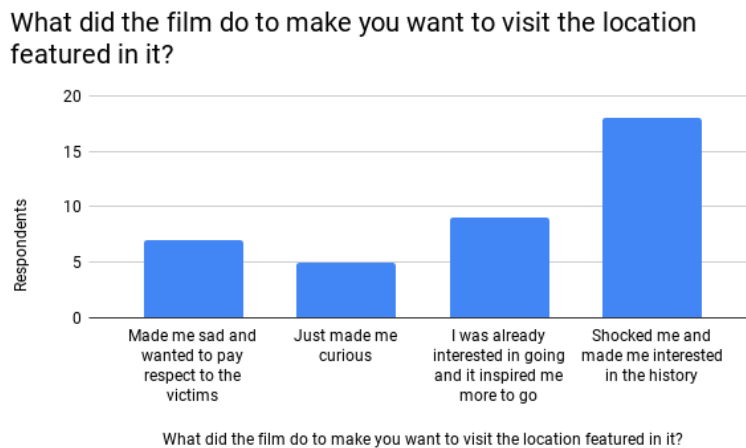
Figure 8.

respondents. With empathy and further inspiration as the follow up impacts that the films had, these results along with the idea that the films can raise interest, relate to the results in Figure 3 where it showed that historical interest in the sites are the leading reason for the dark tourists behavior. Adding the results from Figure 4 which indicate the top choices were documentaries and history classes there is a pattern to be seen here, on almost every question about drivers and motivations the main answers were about learning the history and historical media about World War II.

Based on the descriptive statistics shown here, it can be concluded that the leading motivator for visiting World War II sites is to learn about the history of the events that took place in those places and the drivers that spark this motivation are media and classes that focus more on the historical accuracy of the events. Hollywood films can have an impact but are not the leading drivers but the films about the holocaust seem to resonate with the respondents and influence their sites decision making.

To finalize the survey the respondents were asked to state whether there was a chance that they would decide to visit a World War II site in the coming years.

Would you think there is a possibility that you'll visit a World War 2 site in the future?
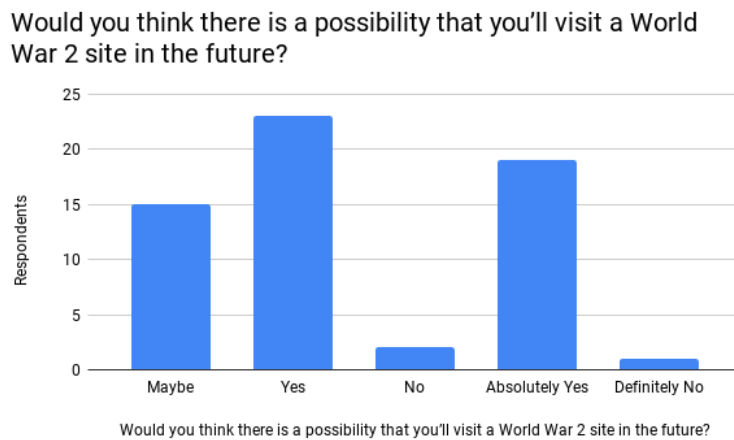
Figure 9.

This was done in order to assess the popularity of dark tourism within this sample group as well as to see if and how the responses would differ. As shown in Figure 9, it can bee seen that there is an overwhelming lead for the affirmative side of the responses, combining both the *Yes* and *Absolutely Yes* answers we have a total of 42 respondents out of 60 who would be willing to visit a World War II site at some point in the future.

This indicates that the attraction that tourists have towards these types of sites is quite strong. Not including the respondents who are still unsure about it, which amounts to 15 who could still be potential visitors who are not discarding the possibility of conducting dark tourism. Only 3 respondents answered that they would not be visiting any World War II sites in the future. This again reassures that dark tourism but more specifically World War II tourism is still going strong.

5. Statistical Analysis

Even after a careful analysis of the descriptive statistics from the results of sixty online surveys, there are more statistics that need to be addressed and analyzed in order to get a bigger picture of what the survey results might indicate to us. There were three different types of test done, Spearman correlations,

Mann-Withney-U-tests and cross-table analyses based on Pearson's χ^2-test; these three would be used to test both the main and exploratory hypothesis presented.

Main Hypothesis

Main Hypothesis 1: Liking war films and being motivated by them to visit

There is a relationship between liking World War II films and the degree that said film could motivate you to visit a site from that film.

The first hypothesis that was tested is the one with the assumption that there is a relation between liking these war films and the degree that such films can motivate people to go there. That way we have the null hypothesis which says that there is no relationship between liking World War II films and the degree that said film could motivate you to visit a site from that film and H1 says there is a relationship between liking World War II films and the degree that said film could motivate you to visit a site from that film.

The first test done was the Mann-Whitney U test, which was used to test both H0 and H1. The data from this test resulted in a median of 3.00 in the *yes* variable (with mean of 3.30) this direction indicates it is less liking, a median of 4.00 in the *no* variable was calculated (mean of 1.35). The p-value was of .004 (1-tailed) which is less than 0.05 which is the α-level. Therefore we have . 004<0.05, this indicates that we can reject H0 as we accept H1 and that there is a significant relationship between the liking of World War II films and the degree that such films could motivate people to visit the locations featured in them.

Main Hypothesis 2: Liking the film and wanting to visit the sites

There is a relationship between liking a World War II film and wanting to visit a site based on what they saw on the film.

After seeing that liking a film can significantly influence the probability of visiting a site, it can be seen that external drivers like films can drive tourists. In order to further test the first hypothesis, other variables needed to be tested since there were several questions about the drivers in the online survey. A cross-table was done in which we had two nominal variables in whether the films had made them want to visit these sites and again whether they liked watching World War II films. In Table 1 below we can see the results where it can be noted that there is a higher amount of people that do like to watch World War II films and that have been to one site already with 16 of the respondents and 15 do like the films but have not visited a site yet. Also 6 of the people who like these films state that they do not get motivated by them to go visit a site. On the side of the respondents who do not like watching these films there are more distributed results, we have that 3 do not like the films but that these made them want to visit the sites in them and also made them go but have not yet. But the majority of the respondents who do not like World War II films are also not influenced by them to visit a site

Table 1: Impact of Liking and Disliking World War II Movies

			Have these films made you want to visit the locations featured in them?				
			Yes, I've been to one of then	Yes, but I haven't been	No, but have been in one of	No	Total
Do you like watching World War II related movies?	Count	Yes	16	15	2	6	39
		No	3	3	6	9	21
Total			19	18	8	15	60

with 9 of the respondents that do not like the films also see no motivation to go there. The relationship is significant with p = 0.001.

Main Hypothesis 3: Regularity of watching films influence on visitation

There is a relationship between how often people watch World War II films and the likelihood they will visit a destination from said films.

Based on the previous two results it can be seen that Hollywood films seem to influence and act as a driver for dark tourists towards World War II sites.

A Spearman correlation was done in order to test this hypothesis which was the correlation between two ordinal variables in how often the respondents watch World War II films and the likelihood that said respondents would conduct a visit to a site from World War II in the coming years. The assumption is that the more films about World War II are seen, the more likely people are to decide to visit those destinations.

The data from this test provided a correlation coefficient of .407 ($p < 0.001$, one-tailed), indicating a positive relation between the frequency of watching World War II movies and the stated likelihood to visit corresponding sites.

The first three hypotheses were done in order to see through the analysis of various variables the impact that Hollywood films can have on not only dark tourists and World War II sites but it showed how influential films can be to tourism in general. In all three hypotheses the p-value was less than 0.05 which meant we could accept H1 in all three cases, thus it leads to the conclusion that by liking World War II films people are more likely to visit a site from that film, some to certain degrees and other more certainly. Also there is a relation between how many films are seen and the desire to want to visit a site in the future. With this it can be seen that films can drive and motivate people towards World War II sites.

Main Hypothesis 4: Morbid curiosity and visiting a site.

There is a relationship between morbid curiosity and the possibility of visiting a World War II site.

For the final main hypothesis that related to the research question, it was tested whether there is a relationship between morbid curiosity and the possibility of visiting a World War II site. This was done in order to see how significant morbid curiosity can be in the reason behind the chance of going to a dark touristic location as previous research has suggested that it might indeed have an influence on the dark tourists site decision making. To test this relationship

a Mann-Whitney U test was conducted since we have one dichotomous variable and an ordinal one. The results that came out revealed for the affirmative group a median of 2.00 (mean of 2.26) and for the *no* group a median of 2.00 (mean of 2.17). The p-value of .853 is not significant, the results do not support the alternative hypothesis.

There were four main hypotheses that related directly to the research question, which after having run tests, correlations and analyzing the findings, it resulted in three out of four hypotheses having a significant relationship with the remaining one having a non-significant relationship. All three significant ones were about the Hollywood films as external drivers for World War II tourism which was the focal point of this thesis to research whether they actually can drive and motivate the tourists and it appears that they do have a strong influence on dark tourists and their interests towards World War II sites. However, causality cannot be assessed using cross-sectional data alone.

Exploratory Hypothesis

The four main hypotheses helped analyze the results of the surveys in base of what the research question is asking, about the drivers that can motivate dark tourists to visit World War II sites. The results as previously stated strongly support that films about this subject do have an influence on the dark tourists, but with the results gathered there is room for more hypothesis and tests to be done that would serve as further exploration of the World War II dark tourism drivers and motivations topic.

Exploratory Hypothesis 1: Dark tourism awareness and visiting

There is a relationship between being aware of what dark tourism is and wanting to visit a World War II site.

For this hypothesis a cross-table was conducted since we have two nominal variables. The results are shown in Table 2 below.

Table 2: Dark Tourism Awareness and Visiting

			Would you like to visit (more) World War II tourism sites in the future?		
			Yes	No	Total
Were you aware of the term 'Dark Tourism' before answering this survey?	Count	Yes	31	3	34
		No	17	9	26
Total			48	12	60

The results in Table 2 show that with 34 responses, there was a majority of the respondents who had a knowledge or had heard about the term dark tourism before they had answered the survey. The remaining 26 had no previously awareness of the term dark tourism. That gives a nearly identical amount of answers, which is interesting to see that in this day and age, not everybody knows what dark tourism means. But not knowing what it means does not necessarily indicate that they will not conduct it. The results also show that a striking majority of the respondents who were aware of dark tourism would like to visit a World War II site with 31 and only 3 said they were not interested in visiting a site, even though they know what dark tourism is. On the other hand there is an interesting result, 17 of the respondents who claimed had no previous awareness of dark tourism stated that they would like to visit a World War II site, with the remaining 9 stating they were not interested.

With this there are two observations that need to be addressed: the first one is quite straightforward in that the people who would like to visit a site from World War II are the ones who were previously aware of what that type of tourism activity it is, which could indicate that these respondents make a conscious decision to conduct dark tourism. The second observation is that despite not knowing what the term dark tourism is (which for many may sound quite intimidating) a good amount of respondents still would be interested to visit a site of death and tragedy, this could indicate that there could be many people who are conducting dark tourism activities without them even realizing it.

To test the relationship between both groups the p-value was analyzed from the χ^2-test. The p-value obtained was .013 which is less than the alpha value of 0.05, therefore we have .013<0.05 which indicates that we can reject H0 and maintain H1 since we have a significant relationship between the awareness of what dark tourism is and the interest to visit a World War II site in the future.

Exploratory Hypothesis 2: World War II tourism vs dark tourism

There is a relationship between having conducted World War II tourism and the interest of visiting a dark tourism site that is not from World War II in the future.

This hypothesis is to see if there is a relation between the respondents who have already visited a World War II site in the past and their interest of conducting dark tourism again but in a different type of location, since dark tourism is comprised of many different types of destinations and attractions, not only war related. To test this relationship a Mann-Whitney U test was conducted with the ordinal and dichotomous variables. The result provided for the *yes* group a median of 1.00 (mean of 1.92) and for the *no* group a median of 3.00 (mean of 1.86). The p-value from this data is .185 which is greater than the alpha value of 0.05. Then we have a result of .185>0.05 which indicates that we can maintain H0 in that there is no relationship between visiting a World War II site and being interested in visiting other further dark tourism sites and attractions.

Since the result does not support the alternative hypothesis, it can be said that having conducted a visit to a World War II site does not mean that said individuals would be interested in potentially visiting other locations related or connected with death and suffering. The reason behind this can be many, it can be that only the subject of a historical event like World War II is what draws the people into places like Auschwitz or Normandy, while other dark tourism sites may not have such an important history or awareness behind them in order for many people to be interested in visiting them. As was stated in the lit-

erature review, war or battle related tourism destinations and attractions are considered to be one of the most visited by tourists (Stone & Sharpley, 2008). The result from this test relates to that statement, it supports the idea that a war site is more attractive for visitation by the tourists than the site of an earthquake or a famous assassination.

Exploratory Hypothesis 3: Past dark tourism influence in the future

There is a relationship between having conducted dark tourism in the past and the interest of visiting a dark tourism site in the future.

We saw in the previous exploratory hypothesis whether having visited a site from World War II would have a relation in the interest of visiting other types of dark tourism sites in the future. Now for the final exploratory hypothesis we will test whether there is a relationship between having already visited any dark tourism site in the past and the interest of visiting one again in the future, this is done to see if people are still interested in dark tourism after having already experienced it. To test this relationship a Mann-Whitney U test was conducted as we once again had a dichotomous and ordinal variables.

The result from the test gave a median of 1.00 for the *yes* group (mean of 1.83) and a median of 3.00 (mean of 2.27) for the *no* group. The p-value was .089 which is greater than 0.05 the alpha value. Thus we have a result of .0445>0.05 in which we can reject H0 and it shows that there is a significant relation between having visited a dark tourism site in the past and the interest of visiting one in the future. As the results does indeed support the alternative hypothesis it can be concluded that if some of the respondents had previously conducted a dark touristic activity it can potentially influence and show that they are still interested in conducting dark tourism again at some point in the future. The cause of this can be extensive as well, perhaps the first experience of dark tourism for some just was good or interesting enough to warrant another visit to such sites, it could be that it was interesting and perhaps educational the first time around and it would motivate them to conduct dark

tourism again. Regardless of the interest from the respondents, dark tourism remains a strong category in the tourism spectrum that still intrigues and attracts many tourists to its controversial locations.

6. Qualitative Data Analysis

In this section the results gathered from the number of interviews conducted will be analyzed to find a consensus and further results on dark tourism along with the drivers and motivators for World War II tourism. As was previously stated there were ten interviews made with a diverse range of participants in order to get more diverse and different answers. This part will delve in detail into all twelve questions that were asked and all ten answers from each question will merge into one consensus. Each direct statement is referenced by the number of the participant who said it, which is shown as *[I#]*.

6.1 Visitation Questions

Question 1: *Have you conducted any type of Dark Tourism activity in the past?*

The first question that the participants were asked was to state whether they had conducted any type of dark touristic activity beforehand, this included sites like concentration camps, graveyards, war museums, assassination sites, etc. The answers were extremely positive with 10 out of 10 respondents having previously conducted the activity known as dark tourism in some form, some even in different countries like Germany, Austria and Czech Republic.

Question 2: *Have you visited any WW2 sites?*

Now the focus of the questions turned strictly about World War II dark tourism, it was important to know: Were the dark touristic sites that they had visited in the past related to World War II. The information provided stated that again 9 out of 10 participants had visited a location directly or indirectly related to World War II. It is important to note that the single respondent who has not visited a World War II site, has however conducted dark tourism from a different war, the one from Vietnam since the participant has visited loca-

tions in that country that related to the Vietnam war during the 1960's and 1970's as he stated the following *"I have travelled to some places historically associated with death and tragedy in my own country during wartime in the past".* [I6] Since we learned from the previous question that 10 out of 10 participants had conducted dark tourism, now adding this information it can be seen that 9 of those participants dark touristic activity revolved around World War II, this can be interpreted that World War II is a big draw factor for dark tourists.

The sites that were most mentioned were the infamous Auschwitz-Birkenau concentration camp located in Poland, followed by the Mauthausen concentration camp in Austria and the Dachau concentration camp near Munich, Germany, showing that these camps spark interest in the tourists, other sites mentioned were Checkpoint Charlie in Berlin and the Holocaust Memorial also in Berlin. This has shown that the topic of the Holocaust is possibly the main attractor towards World War II sites. There are two things that are important from the information gathered from this question: first it shows again that World War II related sites are strong demand generators and secondly, it shows that war dark tourism from any war in history can attract tourists, placing war related tourism as a key category in the dark tourism phenomenon.

Question 3: *Are you planning on visiting a WW2 site in the future?*
It was stated that 9 of the participants had already visited a World War II site, the results from this questions showed that only 7 out of 10 participants stated that they would be interested in visiting World War II sites in the future. The three who were not interested said that it was due to several aspects like being shocked on their first visit and had no desire to relive that experience, *"To be honest after Auschwitz I'm not planning since it was very dark and sad so I'm not planning any time soon" [I8],* said one participant, which indicates being scared of such locations is also pushing people away from dark tourism as one participant stated *"Not really, people were killed there for no reason and it's more important to stay in the present since we cannot change the past, I don't*

really see a benefit" [I5]. These three people seem to be uncomfortable with such a subject so they rather stay away from it. However the other seven participants stated that given the opportunity they would very much like to visit more World War II sites, some had already plans for visiting specific sites such as the Anne Frank house in Amsterdam, museums and other concentration camps, "*Yes I would like to visit more of them in the foreseeable future" [I2]* and *"Definitely, I would like to do it at some point again" [I4]* were some of the positive comments.

With these results we can see that a vast majority are still interesting in pursuing dark tourism activities. It can be interpreted that it is also an activity that can easily scare people away after the first experience.

Question 4: ***Which type of WW2 site are you most keen on visiting?***

Since we have seen from the previous question that the vast majority of the participants are interested in further World War II tourism exploration, it was asked which types of attractions were they most interested in. From all the different types of dark tourism attractions from World War II that exists the one that most participants are keen on visiting is of course the concentration camps with 7 out of 10. Museums were also a popular attraction that the participants find to be interesting and also not as disturbing as a concentration camp, while some are such enthusiast of World War II history that they do not mind what type of location or attraction it is, they will visit it anyhow with comments like *"Concentration camps are most interesting, because you couldn't image that so many people would be killed just because of their religion, race, ethnicity, etc. and seeing a building where this happened you cannot imagine it" [I5]* and *"The ones that makes you understand the war, the most famous places" [I7].* showcasing their interest in these sites.

Apparently one key factor is what is attracting people to concentration camps, as stated, some just want to go there because for them is hard to comprehend that such a place exists and that many people were murdered in there so they feel the need to be physically present in the location in order to understand the magnitude of the atrocities. This makes sense when compared to the previous

statements of why some do not want to go there, once they experience these places of genocide and see the magnitude and realism of it, they are shocked and never return or conduct dark tourism again.

6.2 Motivation Questions

Question 5: *Why do you wanted to go?*

As previously stated some want to go to those places in order to experience and see the locations that were solely designed to exterminate people, this was a common answer among the participants but there were other reasons for them such as the interest in the history and importance of the site and events that transpired there as one said "*Everyone has read the history of WWII and we have to understand what happened so we do not repeat these mistakes*" *[I7]*. Also to pay tribute and remembrance to the victims, to understand the why it happened and finally some participants of Austrian and German nationalities want to go there because they see it as an obligation to understand what happened there, *"First of all, I'm German and is part of my history and I was also in Poland which is where I lived so it was important for me to visit"* *[I9],* was a comment from a German participant talking about their visit to Auschwitz. As can be seen there are many interesting motivations to want to visit World War II sites but clearly the most common ones are about learning the history and paying respect to the victims, which can be interpreted as educational tourism on the learning aspect, this is the opposite to morbid curiosity since the participants clearly are interested in broadening their knowledge on this subject by visiting these sites.

Question 6: *What motivated you to visit this site? / What is motivating you to plan to visit this site?*

This research has pointed out the reasons and motivations for the participants to conduct this type of dark tourism, but as this paper aims to also research what motivators and drivers influence the aforementioned reasons, the partici-

pants provided answers that go along with their motivations, specially the history with statements like *"My first motivation was the history and then TV programs showing partial images" [I7]* and *"I think the experience, and to have the chance to learn more about all this places" [I4]*.

Another comment said *"The idea of knowing how to prevent something like this from happening again would motivate me to maybe visit it" [I5]*, which along with history shows that they want to learn from such tragic events, plus giving their share of respect to the victims. Of course, this relates to the fact that most participants want to visit concentration camps which is where most of the genocide took place, therefore these camps are where people can learn about what happened and also pay respects and remember the victims. It can be interpreted that the more realistic and disturbing sites are the ones people perceived would provide them with good information about what happened.

All participants regardless of whether they would be willing to go there or not stated that educational motivation is what interests them about World War II sites which is seen in the previous comments. The information from this question reinforced the main motivators that these ten participants have, history and remembrance.

6.3 Drivers Questions

Question 7: Which external drivers influenced you to decide to visit (or possibly visit) a WW2 site?

Now that more about the reasons is known the reasons and motivations that the participants have to visit World War II sites are known, they were also asked what external drivers have had an influence on these reasons and motivations. The most popular answers were that films and documentaries have been a great influence in their visit motivations with 7 out of 10 participants, one stating that films and documentaries did better than history classes as she

said *"I was not motivated by the history classes I saw on my school years, but when I began to see films and documentaries about the Second World War that depicted the horrible things that happened I was interested in the event"* [I2]. By watching real images of the tragic things that occurred in these sites, most of the participants seem to be drawn into this subject and want to visit the locations featured on the films and documentaries that they watch. Although films and documentaries were not the only answers, other participants have external drivers such as having to conduct some research for a project or by the influence of family and friends as one participant said *"if I have an assignment which relates to history at school, or my family and friends are also curious about these events, we might go"* [I6]. Another participant who has friends in Poland stated the following *"My first place I visited was Auschwitz due to the fact that I have friends from Poland and they are still remembering the WWII"* [I7]. Showing that having friend who are locals and may have past history with the site can also be external drivers that draw tourists to those sites.

With these answers it can be seen that modern media like films, whether it is for entertainment or educational purposes can have a big influence on the dark tourists' motivation (which will be further explored later on this paper). Family and friends can also act as an external driver when there is interest in these sites and their history. It can be interpreted that seeing video images of the events and locations can spark a bigger interest in the dark tourists compared to only reading about them.

Question 8: *Do you watch or have watched any WW2 related films?*
Now the focus of the interviews shifted towards the external drivers which in this case were films about World War II (either Holocaust or Battle themed). The aim was to see how many had interests and seen a film about the war which had served as a basis for further questions. Overall 9 out of 10 participants have watched a World War II related film, some seem to like watching

them and some do not, with comments such as *"Yes I don't enjoy them but I like the topic and to watch them" [I9]* and *"Yes I have seen some, but not a big fan of them though" [I3],* while others seem to like them *"Yes I have seen a lot, and I really like them" [I4]* one respondent said. Some of the most mentioned films were the likes of *Schindler's List, The Pianist, Life is Beautiful* and *Saving Private Ryan.* This shows that these types of films are quite popular and people are interested in them but they do recognize that they do not enjoy watching them. It can be interpreted that they watch these films as a way of learning about the war, plus a certain amount of entertainment.

Question 9: ***By what you saw on these films, have they motivated you to travel and visit the sites featured in the film?***

Now that we know that most of the participants have watched a film about World War II, the next step was to explore whether the images and information they received from watching these films had motivated them (or would motivate them) to make the decision to visit the sites from such films. A total of 6 to of 10 participants agreed that they were motivated and influenced to conduct World War II dark tourism due to certain aspects of a film that sparked their interest. It must be noted that each participant had a different way of describing how said films influenced them to visit these sites, as one said when asked if the films had motivated her: *"Definitely because I wanted to experience what it was like, what the movie was portraying on the screen, I wanted to see if I would have the same experience and reaction as the characters in those movies" [I8],* another stated that *"I like to know more about WW2, and yes, definitely they have motivated me to visit those places" [I4].* While other were more skeptical about this by saying *"They could be one of the factors that make me feel curious, but not enough for me to decide to visit those sites" [I6].*

With this it can be seen that there is a slight majority of participants who have been motivated by films, some by wanting to feel like they were in the scenar-

ios presented in said films while others to learn more about what they saw in the film. Others agree that films can spark some interest in them but in the end is not enough. It can be interpreted that films can impact us in different ways, we might be interest in what we see in them, however it does not indicate that we would like to be physically present in the sites were the real life events of those films took place.

Question 10: *Can you state which WW2 films, if any, have had a big impact on your Dark tourism behavior?*

Since now we are aware that the participants like watching World War II films and also a slight majority tend to be influenced by them when it comes to site decision making. In order to see if there is a relation between their motivations for visiting these sites and the films they see, they were asked to state which of the several World War II films (if any) had an impact on their decision making. In here the answers refer to specific film titles rather than numbers, it can be mentioned that the films that most participants claim had an impact on them is that of *The Boy in the Striped Pyjamas,* followed closely by *Schindler's List, Life is Beautiful, Saving Private Ryan* and *The Pianist.* All but one of these films have one thing in common, they are centered around the holocaust and the people and events that marked it, as one participants mentioned when asked about which films had an impact *"Several, I would say that Schindler's List was a big one, The Boy in the Striped Pajamas and The Pianist as well, those were the ones that made me more aware about the holocaust" [I2].*

It has been noted that the two apparent main reasons for dark tourists to conduct World War II tourism is to learn about the history and also pay respect to the victims. Now with the information about which films have had an impact on them, there is something that can be noted in this. Most of these films (arguably all) are depictions of real life events and stories that are told from the point of view of the people involved in them, which could be considered as a historically accurate film (or at the very least tries to be one). It can be inter-

preted that these films, which aim to tell a historically accurate representation of what happened, are what influence the dark tourists to visit the sites they saw portrayed in a realistic way on the screen, thus sparking their interest to learn more about them. Also these films are often quite disturbing and violent which could be interpreted that such scenes have an influence on wanting to pay respect to the people who actually suffered these atrocities.

6.4 Experience Questions

Question 11: *When you visited the site, how was the experience?*

Here is when the participants got to share how their respective experiences whilst visiting a World War II site were. Some of them went more in-depth with their answers while others gave more brief answers, here are some of the standout statements they provided. The most common theme in their answers was that of sadness and disturbance as one stated *"It is hard to describe, but I would say it was interesting in a bad way" [I1]*, other statements about the sadness were *"Pretty disturbing, to know that many people died there was horrible but it is important to know about the history" [I3]* and *"Emotional, frightening, eye opening, till you are actually there you realized what happened there is overwhelming" [I9]*. These are some of the answers that reflect how impactful these visits can be for the tourists. Other participants had the same feelings but also had additional emotions during their experiences as some stated the following, *"It was very enlightening to see the places that I had only seen in books, movies and documentaries but very sad at the same time" [I4]* and *"It took me back in time and I had empathy for the people who died in these places" [I2]*. One participant had a very learning experience as he stated that *"It was very educational for me, to see and learn more about these locations and tragedies that happened there almost 80 years ago" [I10]*. These reflect that they also had learning experiences as well as a sad and empathic ones, which relates to their reasons and motivations for visiting those sites.

With these answers it can be interpreted that a visit to those places brings emotions like sadness and people get disturbed by the horrific events that took place there, but these answers also demonstrate that being physically present in the sites were these events occurred can also serve as an educational and learning experience as well and as was shown previously, history and learning is perhaps the biggest motivator for dark tourists, therefore it can be said that the majority of the tourists that share these motivations will be satisfied by experiencing a sad but rich educational and learning experience.

Question 12: *Was it as you expected?*

Finally, the participants were asked to state if their experience was as they expected it to be and if their motivations to visit said places were satisfied. The responses were quite diverse with some confirming that it was as they had expected while others were more surprised by the actual experience. Since most of the participants said they were surprised, here are some of their statements about whether it was as they had expected, *"No it wasn't . You can't prepare or expect something like what you see in these places, not until you go there in person" [I9],* one had expected a more toned down experience but she was surprised, as she said that *"Not really, I expected a more history friendly tour if that makes sense but I did not expected that it would be so deep, dark and disturbing" [I8]* another participants added that *"It was more terrifying that I thought it would be, once I was there it is a completely different experience than what I had imagined" [I2].* These were some that were shocked by their visit since it was more dark and disturbing than they had expected.

There were also some that agree that the visit did meet their expectations of what it would be like as one stated that *"I would say yes, I knew the type of place I was going but I would be lying if I said I wasn't shocked about some of the things" [I4],* one respondent had his expectations met as he said that *"I have been learning about WW2 for a long time so I knew what I was getting*

into by going there" [I10]. Another mentioned that the emotional part of the visit was the thing that was unexpected for her, as she said that "*The site was more or less as I expected but the emotions that one feels are not the same once you are there" [I1].* Overall there were some who knew what they were getting themselves into and managed their expectations accordingly, while others were more shocked by the site and also by learning more about the site while being physically there.

It could be interpreted that the people who had more knowledge of the sites and the events that occurred there were less shocked and their expectations were met as they knew what they were getting themselves into, unlike those who were less aware of the events and had no realization of the type of location they were about to visit. Since most of the respondents claimed their visit was not as they had expected, mainly because it was more disturbing than they had anticipated, it can be concluded that the drivers that motivate them to go there like books, documentaries and films may not fully portray what it is like to be there in the flesh.

7. Summary and Conclusion

Once all the data collected was presented and analyzed individually according to their respective research method, all the results, ranging from the descriptive statistics to the quantitative and qualitative data were analyzed together to come with a final conclusion and summary of what this thesis research found on the topic of drivers and motivations of World War II dark tourism.

As the research went along there were many interesting findings that came up, the participants of both the quantitative and qualitative data collection came from very diverse backgrounds and nationalities which allowed for unique and different perspectives into World War II dark tourism. This thesis aimed to further research what drivers and motivations do the people (dark tourists) have to visit sites either associated or directly related with World War II. The vast amount of results were carefully presented previously in this paper, but in or-

der to summarize and reach a conclusion, the most important and relevant information to the research question was compounded together.

Something that the research successfully provided was the several types of drivers for World War II tourism, with the most mentioned being documentaries, classes and Hollywood films in both the quantitative and qualitative results. This showcases that external media can serve as an important driver not only to World War II tourism, but it may boost the tourism activity of other types of touristic attractions that may be featured in said media. Further tests were done in order to see the relation between what the film presents and is about, to the desire and motivation of visiting one of these war sites, from the three hypothesis and tests done about film, all presented a positive relation between films and liking/wanting to visit a World War II site which solidifies the notion that films are among the biggest drivers of World War II tourism, in the literature review it is stated that the Normandy beaches saw growth in tourism activity after the release of *Saving Private Ryan,* these results from this paper support that information and indicate that nowadays films still play a big role as tourism drivers.

As was seen, the films most of the participants of the surveys and interviews mentioned were *The Boy in the Striped Pyjamas* and *Schindler's List* which both are about the holocaust and are deemed to be portraying a historically accurate representation of what happened during the holocaust. This relates to the results that indicate that documentaries and history classes are other big drivers for dark tourists, those films depict history and real events and for almost everybody in this current time, is the only way of getting a sense or feel of how those horrible events were, we may learn first about the war on classes but documentaries and films provide much more information. Therefore it can be concluded that there is also an inter-relation between the drivers that tourists have, as one complements and/or enhances the other and then drives the interest to visit these World War II sites.

This leads into the motivations for World War II sites, which can be more complex. Drivers like films may spark interest, but actually going to the site

requires much more than just interest. The research provided more insight into what motivations are behind the dark tourists' decision to visit World War II sites.

The results from all the data collection showed that the main motivators for dark tourists towards World War II sites were to learn about the history and events that took place there, followed by wanting to pay their respects and curiosity (although further tests determined that there was not a significant relation for curiosity as a motivator). This information is even more relevant since a grand majority of the participants from both the online surveys and interviews had already conducted World War II tourism in the past, which indicates that they can provide experience based answers. The research fulfilled the goal of further research what motivations lay behind dark tourists and it can be determined based on this research paper that wanting to learn about the events either from battles or the holocaust is the main motivator that brings tourists to these sites, particularly sites that serve a more historical representation of the events like war museums and concentration camps which relates to their desire of wanting to learn more about those locations and events.

It can be concluded that both the main drivers like films and classes go hand-in-hand with the main motivation of wanting to learn or educate and remember the victims, one sparks the interest and the other finalizes the decision to travel there, as some of the participants mentioned that they wanted to feel what it would be like to be in those places they grew up watching or learning about and to finally be there in person is a complete different experience. Therefore it can also be concluded that dark tourists go through a process from first learning about the war through books or films to ultimately being in those sites, then some may be interested in further visit to these sites while others may change their views after the first experience.

To conclude, the why people visit World War II sites will always be an interesting subject to look at. It is a war that took place almost eighty years ago and the number of people who witness it is very low nowadays, thus people rely on films, books and documentaries to learn about this dark period of history.

People want to learn and remember the places and people from this war and time, based on the information from this research they are particularly interested in the holocaust, the reason is due to the unbelievable atrocities that were committed along with many remarkable stories of survival are what makes those sites so interestingly appealing.

Tourism growth along with the conservation of these sites has enabled people to learn and remember this event which has become a tourism attraction phenomenon in the last decades, bringing millions of people into the sites and boosting tourism activity in their areas, but it is important to acknowledge that there are important drivers outside of the touristic attractions themselves that are vital for the supply of tourists into these sites. Overall motivations for conducting any tourism activity differ from person to person, but in the case of World War II dark tourism there are more specific and stronger motivators which in the end we all share somehow.

8. Limitations

On this thesis there were some limitations that the research experienced during the data collection and analysis processes. As this paper deals with a topic like World War II dark tourism which attract millions of people from around the globe, the size of the sample for both the quantitative and qualitative researches was quite small with around seventy in total, a larger sample size may have provided broader results, this goes along with the fact that there was only one researcher behind this thesis which limited the amount of interviews/surveys that could have been collected. Since dark tourism is quite an obscure and arguably unpleasant activity not many people conduct it which also lowers the sample population and can affect the amount of data that can be collected.

There are factors that are uncontrollable like the bias that certain participants may have towards this topic or their history with it, which can skew their answers according in favor of their beliefs. Language also limits the amount and type of data that can be collected, many of potential candidates for interviews did not speak English and some of these had a more direct relation with the

events of World War II but due to language barriers these interviews could not be conducted. Possibly the biggest limitation is the lack of man power and at certain extent resources to expand the research into the actual sites like concentration camps and museums to gather data from those conducting World War II dark tourism.

With this research it can be confirmed that there is one main motivator followed by smaller motivations that dark tourists have and this wide variety of motivations is additionally fueled by several drivers which can equally play an important part in the final decision to visit World War II sites. Those are the things that are certain based on the results from this research. There is however an open aspect of the research which remains uncertain, like the reason why dark tourists want to learn about the sites (it is the biggest motivator), do they go because they are war history or general history enthusiasts, do they want to learn maybe their family's history or perhaps they visit for academic purposes i.e research, reports, etc. This remains uncertain and further, more thorough research could help clarify this aspect and shed more details into this important motivation.

9. Recommendations

Since the dark tourism sector of the tourism industry is a growing phenomenon there are things that they could implement and/or improve to further develop the flow of dark tourists. This research can provide some advice regarding how the institutions and individuals behind World War II tourism sites can use the knowledge of what motivates the tourists to visit the sites they manage and also what drivers can spark interest in them and use this knowledge to their advantage. If they are aware of what is motivating the tourists they can add or adapt to certain extent the site attraction experience for the dark tourist to offer the best and accurate experience (depending on the type of site and possibilities of adapting it). The institutions and individuals leading dark tourism should look into external drivers like films, books and documen-

taries to see how the sites and attractions that they manage are portrayed and presented, because these drivers for some people are their first introduction to events like World War II, an earthquake, an assassination, etc. Which then sparks interests and dictates if the person is willing to visit the sites, thus if the people behind dark tourism attractions take care in how well and accurate their respective site or event is presented in said drivers, potential dark tourists may arise by reading, watching or listening to these accurate and well presented drivers.

What can be recommended from the results obtained on this research, is for the organizations and individuals that are in charge of touristic attractions such as concentration camps, museums and other World War II sites, to maintain and conserve the site for future generations as faithful as possible. A large majority of the respondents in this research are attracted to these sites in order to learn about them and remember the victims. Therefore, such locations and their history need to be preserved, this also includes the people behind films and documentaries about World War II as has been noted that they are a strong driver for dark tourists. This research can be used to determine what is important for the people who visit these infamous historical sites.

Finally it is recommended that the dark tourism sector takes note that not only preserving the sites is important, they need to look into what the visitors wants, expects and what brought them there in the first place. Many (if not all) of these sites are non-profit attractions that are meant for historical remembrance, so the institutions and individuals managing them do not benefit from the amount of visitors that they have, but if the goal is to keep the memories of these events relevant in our society through the use of tourism activities. Then a careful inspection into what drives and motivates a dark tourist is a highly advisable since it can lead to higher visitor rates.

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