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**The Killing Fields of Cambodia: An Investigation into Motivations of Visitors to
Dark Sites.**

by

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Canterbury Christ Church University

Thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Year 2017

Abstract

A central aim of this study is to establish tourist motivations to visit dark sites such as Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek in Phnom Penh, Cambodia. The body of literature that exists around dark tourism published so far agrees there is a general lack of understanding around dark tourism motivations. The research questions set out in this study ask if tourists who visit such sites view themselves as dark tourists, whether time plays a role in their motivations to visit and what factors inspire them to visit such sites. The study also considers sub-conscious, psychological and instinctive drivers that exist which may compel tourists to visit and experience dark sites.

The study revealed that tourists who visited Tuol Sleng and/or Choeung Ek did not consider themselves dark tourists, and moreover, did not like to be associated with the terminology. They assumed that to be labelled a dark tourist, their motivations would be inspired by the dark and macabre nature of the sites, or that they would seek enjoyment from their visit. They were keen to stress that this was not the case. They were there to learn and understand what happened and to experience Cambodia properly. Moreover, tourist guidebooks, such as The Lonely Planet heavily advise a visit and act as a powerful driver, as well as trusted word-of-mouth sources. The study also revealed that chronology heightens curiosity and motivation to visit, but does not act as a motivator in its own right – tourists would have visited anyway. A significant finding of this study reveals that human instinct and psychology plays an important role in human fascination with violent death and, therefore, visits to dark sites. We need to learn and understand what happens to either avoid it happening to us, or to learn how to survive should we find ourselves in the same situation. Visiting such sites is part of our psychological make-up and that these drivers exists in all of us to a greater or lesser degree.

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Acknowledgments

Firstly, and most importantly, I would like to acknowledge the victims of the Khmer Rouge genocide. The images of their harrowing faces in the thousands of photographs on display at Tuol Sleng, and their remains laid bare for all to see at both sites, will never leave me. I would like to acknowledge and thank the many guides and workers at both sites who enthusiastically showed me round and shared their personal stories. Without exception they are still looking for lost members of their families.

I would like to acknowledge the enormous patience of my family, my husband Gavin and my children Murray and Belinda. Thank you for your encouragement and motivational talks along the way. Thank you also to my parents for all your encouragement.

I want to thank my supervisors Dr Marion Stuart-Hoyle and Dr Chris Bull for their support and advice over the years of this study, it has been greatly appreciated. I am also indebted to the interviewees who took time to talk to me at length, either during or after their visit. Thank you also to Anna Torroni who helped me with formatting.

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Introduction and Context of the Study

As the literature review chapters of this study will establish, dark tourism typologies and definitions offered to date have proved to be problematic and motivations to visit dark sites are yet to be fully established. Ultimately, this study hopes to progress the academic body of work in this area. To do so, it will be based on two interlinked dark sites in Cambodia, Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek, and tourist motivations to visit them. It is hoped that the findings of the study can be applied to other dark sites.

On the 17th April, 1975 the radical communist Khmer Rouge defeated the America-backed army of the Cambodian President Lon Nol and marched into Phnom Penh, Cambodia's capital city. Within hours of entering the city, the Khmer Rouge forced virtually all inhabitants into the countryside in a mass atrocity that cost uncounted lives (Tully, 2005; Short, 2004). The regime embarked on a brutal campaign of social cleansing in an attempt to rid the country of its urban and educated classes and create a pure, self-sufficient peasant society. By the time the Khmer Rouge were driven from power by a Vietnamese invasion on 7th January 1979, at least 1.7 million (some estimates are over 2 million) people had died of starvation, forced labour and untreated disease as well as torture and execution (Mey, 2012). Overall, roughly one in five Cambodians died as a result of the regime (Brinkley, 2011; Chandler, 1999).

Cambodia has since become an established part of visiting Southeast Asia. In 2003 tourism statistics were put at 701,014 arrivals, this increased to 4,210,165 in 2013, then 5,012,000 in 2016, and continues to rise year on year (Tourism Cambodia, 2016). The next two parts of this chapter gives an overview of two sites, Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek, which became notorious and infamous during the Khmer Rouge regime, and are

now significant visitors' attractions in Phnom Penh. They will also outline what is present for the tourist to see and visit, thus, offering the context of the study.

Introduction to Tuol Sleng

In 1975, Tuol Svay Prey High School was taken over by Pol Pot's security forces and turned into a prison known as Security Prison 21 (S-21); it soon became the largest centre of detention and torture in the Cambodia. S-21 has since been turned into the Tuol Sleng Museum, which serves as a testament to the crimes of the Khmer Rouge. Between 1975 and 1978 more than 17,000 people held at S-21 were taken to the killing fields of Choeung Ek (Meng, 2010; Mey, 2012). Like the Nazis, the Khmer Rouge leaders were meticulous in keeping records of their barbarism. Each prisoner who passed through S-21 was photographed, sometimes before and after torture. The museum displays include room after room of harrowing black and white photographs; virtually all of the men, women and children pictured were later killed. During early 1977, S-21 claimed an average of 100 victims a day (Rough Guide to Cambodia, 2014; Brinkley, 2011; Short, 2004). When the Vietnamese army liberated Phnom Penh in early 1979, there were only seven prisoners alive at S-21, all of whom had used their skills, such as painting or photography to stay alive. Fourteen others had been tortured to death as Vietnamese forces were closing in on the city (Rough Guide to Cambodia, 2014; Brinkley 2011; Short 2004). Photographs of their gruesome deaths are on display in the rooms where their decomposing corpses were found. Their graves are now located in the courtyard. Two of the seven survivors, Chum Mey and Bou Meng, are still alive, and often spend their time at Tuol Sleng talking about their first-hand accounts of their time in the prison.

The majority of tourists who visit Tuol Sleng arrive by tuk tuk (a three wheeled taxi), and currently up to 800 people visit per day (Too Many Tourists Are Visiting Cambodian ‘Killing Fields’, accessed 01st May 2017), this equates to 292,00 visits per year, which arguably is a significant number of visitors. Many guidebooks such as the Lonely Planet and The Rough Guide, as well as the Cambodian Tourist Board promote tourists to visit Tuol Sleng. The Rough Guide to Cambodia positions visiting Tuol Sleng at number five on their highlight list (Rough Guide to Cambodia, 2014:53), and the Lonely Planet promotes visiting Tuol Sleng as a ‘Top Choice’ (Lonely Planet Guide to Cambodia, 2014:14).

After passing through the entrance, where there are 14 graves and a sign with the barbaric rules of the prison stands, the site is set in four distinct blocks. Block A comprises three floors of cells that still contain iron bedsteads and the shackles used to chain the prisoners to the beds as well as blood stained walls. Block B which was used for mass detention, now contains hundreds of black and white photographs of some of the victims. Block C is still enclosed with the barbed mesh wire that prevented prisoners from jumping to a self-imposed death. Visitors can see the crude cells, which are too small to lie down, that some prisoners were detained in. Block D displays graphic paintings of the torture committed, and a small permanent exhibition of extracts of ‘confessions’ from some prisoners and letter exchanges between the cadres. Also in Block D is the Documentation Center of Cambodia, and a traumatic emotional film about two people caught up in the Khmer Rouge regime is shown twice a day (Tuol Sleng Guide, 2013). Most visitors to Tuol Sleng also visit Choeung Ek, ‘Killing Fields’.

Introduction to Choeung Ek (Killing Fields)

During 1977 the facility at S-21 filled up, so did the impromptu cemetery nearby. At some point during the year a Chinese graveyard near the hamlet of Choeung Ek, about fifteen kilometres southwest of Phnom Penh was put into use by the Khmer Rouge regime (Tully, 2005).

For the most part prisoners from Tuol Sleng were brought to Choeung Ek for execution (Brinkley, 2011). The site was graphically portrayed by the film 'The Killing Fields' (1984), and it is now often referred to by that name. There are an estimated 200 killing fields in Cambodia (Ngor & Warner, 1993) and Choeung Ek is the most infamous and well known of the killing fields that are all over Cambodia. To start with, people were killed by being shot. However, later on to save valuable bullets, they were bludgeoned or stabbed to death. Babies were killed by being savagely thrown against trees, as loud music blared in the background to drown out the sounds of screams (Rough Guide to Cambodia, 2014; Brinkley 2011; Short 2004). About 20,000 people including foreigners were executed and murdered in Choeung Ek. 129 mass graves and about 8,000 human skulls at the site bear testimony to the brutality of what went on there (Choeung Ek entrance ticket 10th June, 2013). The Choeung Ek Memorial stupa situated in the middle of the site contains the remains of 8985 exhumed bodies. An estimated 43 burial pits are still to be exhumed at the site, and every year during the monsoon season, the shifting soil and mud exposes more remains and bones (Dark Tourism.org accessed 04th July 2016).

Now the national focal point for the Khmer Rouge genocide, it is known as the Choeung Ek Genocidal Center and an estimated 800 tourists visit per day (Too Many Tourists

Are Visiting Cambodian ‘Killing Fields’, accessed 01st May 2017), and most tourists who visit Choeung Ek, also visit Tuol Sleng.

After passing through the entrance, you are guided around 19 information points that highlight certain points of the site. For example, mass graves, the killing tools storage room, The Killing Tree (used to bash infants against), a museum and the glass stupa containing many remains. There is no doubt that visitors to either Tuol Sleng or Choeung Ek will be left with some knowledge on how brutal and barbaric the Khmer Rouge regime was, and the atrocities they imposed on the Cambodian people during their rule.

The Khmer Rouge and Modern Cambodia

The Khmer Rouge regime legacy is still present in modern Cambodia in many ways. Firstly, there are still countless missing people. In 1989, the Cambodian Red Cross began helping Cambodians trace missing family members. By 2000, tracing requests for more than 20,000 people had been collected. The Documentation Center of Cambodia aimed to create a comprehensive list of all missing persons by the end of 2014 (ICMP, 2014).

Secondly, land mines (which were implemented during the Khmer Rouge regime). Cambodia’s mine and explosive problem is still a major impediment to the social and economic development of the country. It prevents development by hindering access to land, water sources, roads and health services and it imposes financial and emotional hardship on families needing to care for landmine survivors (Halo Trust, accessed 16th July 2014). Around the towns and cities of Cambodia it is easy to see land mine victims

and survivors. Thirdly, a war crimes tribunal backed by the United Nations is still in progress and is reported on regularly by the local and national press (United Nations 2014). For example, in 2012, former chief of the S-21 Tuol Sleng prison Kaing Guek Eav, more infamously known as 'Duch' was sentenced to life in prison, and in 2014, Nuon Chea and Khieu Samphan (two former Khmer Rouge leaders) were sentenced to life imprisonment for crimes against humanity (United Nations, 2014). It was reported on internationally as well as nationally (United Nations 2014).

Lastly, the Khmer Rouge's legacy still dominates government and political life. For example, during the field research of this study, a general election was taking place. The opposition leader was accused by the government of denying the Khmer Rouge atrocities and that Tuol Sleng existed at all. The government sponsored a Khmer Rouge survivor, Chum Mey, who sells his autobiography at Tuol Sleng each day, to sue the opposition leader for defamation. However, the opposition leader denied the allegations and accused the government of playing politics and using Chum Mey (portrayed as a simple, humble man), for political gain. This was reported on daily in Phnom Penh press as well as nationally in Cambodia (The Cambodian Daily, June 15th 2013, The Phnom Penh Post, 12th June 2013, The Phnom Penh Post 25th June 2013).

Focus of Study

This study focuses on why tourists, with no apparent connection to either site, visit Tuol Sleng and/or Choeung Ek and, therefore, take part in what is now become known as dark tourism (Lennon and Foley, 2000). This study hopes to build an understating of what drivers exist to encourage or inspire people to visit the sites in the knowledge that their visit would contain gruesome artefacts, and potentially be emotional and

upsetting. Furthermore, the study focuses on the tourists themselves and their perceptions of being a dark tourist. The study also examines the issue of chronology and the role it plays in labelling this genre of tourism. It is hoped that the findings of this study will be applicable to motivations at other similarly dark sites.

Motivation for the study

The motivation for this study mainly lies in the author's interest in the topic of dark tourism and what motivates people to visit such sites. During a personal visit to a dark site in Germany, the author questioned why visitors would want to visit such a place, especially as part of a wider holiday, when arguably one hopes to enjoy themselves. Typically, people on holiday may visit restaurants, mountains, theme parks, beaches, theatre, museums and other cultural attractions, why then would people visit a place where violent mass death has occurred and human remains are on show?

Additionally, whilst the author of this study was at primary school in the late 70s, a coach full of very young 'Boat People', (refugees that had fled Vietnam), arrived to be entertained for the day. The author was assigned to the only Cambodian girl (about five years old), and took care of her throughout the day, and a close bond was formed. It has often been wondered what happened to her, why she was part of that day, and where she is now. It has led to the author's interest in recent Cambodian history and in particular the Khmer Rouge atrocities. The author has spent many years of her childhood living under a dictatorship, which has led to an interest in political regimes and their legacies.

This study does not question people who visit with a personal link to such sites, but rather, quizzes why tourists with no connection, would visit the sites whilst on their holiday.

During the onset of this study, only a small amount of dark tourism literature existed and established motivations to visit such sites were hypothetical and theoretical. Of the small amount of studies then published in this genre of tourism, there appeared to be a concentration on sites in Europe and a few in Africa. As set out at the beginning of this introduction, significant atrocities happened in Cambodia at the sites of Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek. Furthermore, Cambodia is experiencing a large increase in tourism arrivals, and therefore, it can be assumed an increase in visitors to Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek (Tourism Cambodia, 2014). This meant that there is a potential gap in the dark tourism literature that explains motivations to visit such sites, as well as a gap in the literature looking at dark sites in Asia. Potentially findings of this study could help inform the overall dark tourism motivations literature as well as the wider dark tourism literature. To establish a more widely accepted definition of dark tourism, Sharpley (2011 dark Tourism Symposium) suggested that there is a need for more research on motivations to visit dark sites, and more recently Light (2017) suggests that understanding motivations to such sites is what is missing from the literature. The findings of this study intend to inform the gap in the theory of motivations and dark tourism.

Justification for the Study

Many studies on the darkest sites of the dark tourism spectrum (Stone 2009) (see p. 17), use World War Two genocide sites as a basis to discuss their theory or findings. For

example, Miles (2002) used Auschwitz in Poland to evaluate interpretation in museums in connection with dark tourism; Dalton (2009) also used Auschwitz when discussing remembrance and trauma in a memorial space; Biran, Poiria and Oren (2011) used Auschwitz-Birkenau to discuss the nature of the tourism experience and the symbolic meanings assigned to the site. Cohen (2011) also used the holocaust in his research at Yad Vashem, memorial museum in Jerusalem, to describe dark tourism sites within a population to whom a tragedy befell. Furthermore, Hartmann (Date) acknowledged that early research concentrated on visits to sites such as Auschwitz or Chernobyl.

Many researchers have used Ground Zero for the context of their study. Edkins (2004); Hurley (2004); Lisle (2004), Sturken (2004); Juttel and Jarrell (2007); Hurley (2010) and Potts (2012) all use the site to discuss topics such as voyeurism, rebuilding and tourism making, and more recently, Winters (2016) uses Ground Zero to discuss tourism and making places.

The massacre and dark tourism sites in Rwanda has been used in some research. For example, Bolin (2012) discusses morality at Rwanda's Genocide memorial sites; Friedrich (2013) explores the challenges of morality involved in the production and consumption of memorial sites in Rwanda; Sharpley (2014) explores tourists experiences' in Rwanda; and Craciunescu (2015) questions whether building a tourism image out of dark tourism in Rwanda is acceptable.

Some academics list multiple sites in their publications to help demonstrate their points. For example, Lennon and Foley (2000) used many sites from Eastern and Western Europe, USA and Asia in their book titled 'Dark Tourism' as case studies. Robb (2009) lists sites in Europe (Auschwitz), Rwanda, USA and Argentina in her work on 'Vacationing in the Realm of Dark Tourism'; Copeland (2011) researches 'The Aesthetics of Dark Tourism', and uses Cambodia and Rwanda as case studies. More recently Sion (2014) has sections on Auschwitz, Hiroshima, Cambodia, The World Trade Center and the mass graves of Rwanda in her book 'Death Tourism: Disaster Sites as Recreational Landscape'.

At the onset of this study, there were only a few studies that specifically examined Cambodia's tragic heritage and tourism. Lennon (2009) discussed the challenges of commemoration and interpretation of the period; Koleth (2014) conjuncts volunteer tourism and dark tourism in the context of Cambodia; and more recently Brent (2016) discusses Cambodia's reconciliation efforts by promoting tourism in Khmer Rouge sites. Hughes (2009) in her research into 'dutiful tourism' in Cambodia argues that existing theories are inadequate for the task of understanding motivation and experiences of visitors to the two genocidal sites researched as part of this study. There is seemingly a gap in literature that specifically discusses tourism and Cambodia's dark heritage, therefore, this study can be justified in two ways. Firstly, to add to the inform knowledge of dark tourism and Cambodia, and, secondly, to attempt to fill the gap in tourist motivations to the darkest tourism sites of the dark tourism spectrum (Stone, 2009).

The literature will examine the work of Sharpley and Stone (2006); Miles (2005); Lennon and Foley (2000); Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996) and Seaton (1996) amongst

others. Some definitions such as Podoshen et al (2015) and Podoshen (2013) suggest that dark tourism is motivation to see death and the macabre. Lennon and Foley (2000) argue that dark tourism is a matter of chronological distance, whilst Seaton (1996) suggests that thanatourism has always been part of human behaviour, but is a deliberate act to have an encounter with death. This study hopes to inform the discussion that exists in this genre of tourism that is around the contentious issue of time and dark tourism.

Biran et al (2011) suggest tourists are motivated to see a famous site associated with death; Best (2007) and Brown (2016) argues that people visit because it is part of an organised itinerary. Podoshen (2013) suggests that it is a tourists desire to have a connection with death or violence that drives them to visit such sites. Whereas, Biran et al (2014) and Thurnell-Read (2009) argue visitors have an interest in death and a morbid curiosity. These motivations have been suggested based on a wide variety of sites, ranging from battlefields, sites of natural disaster and sites of genocide. As chapter one and three of the literature review will discuss, many of the motivations offered are without establishing who or what a dark tourist is, or without a consensus on a definition of dark tourism. Light (2017) has recently argued that tourism research is slow to address why people visit places associated with death and this study aims to fill this significant gap in the literature.

Limited studies have looked beyond basic motivations, therefore, this study offers a novel approach by attempting to establish deeper motivations for visiting such sites. Throughout time, people have had an obsession with death and things related to death, and there are some academics and commentators who suggest that such a fascination is

part of human instinct (Wilson, 2012; Goldstein, 1998 and Kottler, 2011). We have evolved to be aroused by death and violence in order to survive, that it is part of our deep ancestral genetics. Some more famous psychologists (Freud, 1920; Jung 1950b) have argued that it is natural human behaviour, as it is part of our sub-conscious psychological make-up. Very little research has attempted to study this philosophy in relation to dark tourism motivations. This study will attempt to establish if there is any link between such theories and the desire to visit dark sites such as Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek, and arguably, other dark sites.

Furthermore, some theorists (Wilson, 2012; Duncum, 2006; Goldstein, 1998) argue that we are now habituated into seeing death and violence, and that we are programmed to be entertained by it. Goldstein (1998) and Kottler (2011) suggest we encourage children to enjoy violent stories in order to educate them, and that we expose children to violence and the macabre through literature by encouraging children to read it. Even as adults, whether it is through the news channels or through films and television programmes, we are exposed to it in an unprecedented way (Duncum, 2006). We are also enthusiastically encouraged to celebrate participants involved in so called violent sports, such as boxing and rugby. Through various forms of media, participants in such sports are often held up as role models for young people (Kottler, 2011). It could be possible that as we have been programmed to be entertained by violence, then it is no surprise that we want to be exposed to it in our leisure time and maybe visit a site where violence has occurred. This study will try and establish if there is a link between being programmed to be entertained by violence and a heightened motivation to visit dark sites such as Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek.

Methodology and Research Questions

Grounded theory is a methodology that has been used to generate theory where little is already known, or to provide a fresh slant on existing knowledge. At the onset of this study there was little known about the motivations of dark tourism, therefore, this approach was deemed most suitable for this study. Within the grounded theory approach, this study will focus on the chosen approach of triangulation. Three key research tools (blog evaluation, semi-structured interviews, and evaluation of comments from the visitors' books) will be developed and their use justified in the context of the study's key research questions, these being:

1. To what extent do tourists who visit dark sites such as Tuol Sleng and/or Choeung Ek consider themselves dark tourists?
2. Is there evidence that time plays a significant motivating factor in visiting dark sites such as Tuol Sleng and/or Choeung Ek?
3. Is there any evidence that tourists are motivated to visit dark sites because they are fascinated with the dark and macabre nature of the sites?
4. What are the other key factors which influence tourists to visit dark sites such as Tuol Sleng and/or Choeung Ek?

The grounded theory methodology, will use each stage of the triangulation process to help inform the next stage. The stages are set out in the methodology chapter of this study.

Proposed Structure of the Study

This study will be structured in two parts. Part one will discuss the literature and the methodology of the study. Part two will present the data analysis and the overall conclusions of the study.

Part one, chapter one, will mostly deal with the contentious literature around the definitions of dark tourism and their conflicted meanings; and it will also explore the different types of typologies of dark tourism that have been offered so far by academics. It will conclude that many of the typologies are problematic, and that academics have a tendency to include any visitor attraction that has even a small connection with death into the dark tourism genre without any deeper understanding of motives. Ultimately, it will conclude that there is a lack of understanding on motives and reasons why people visit such sites.

Chapter two will discuss the literature that suggests that looking at death and violence may be part of natural human behaviour. Either it is part of human instinct and biological evolution, or part of our psychological make-up. It will also look at literature that suggests we are programmed to be entertained by violence, either through all media channels such as films and television, children literature and a liking for violent sports. It will ultimately conclude that there may be a link between these theories and a motivation to visit dark sites such as Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek.

Chapter three will discuss the small amount of dark tourism literature that does exist. It begins with looking at general tourism motivational theory before focusing on dark tourism motivations. The chapter will also review the literature that suggests that

motivations to visit dark sites are probably multiple, and that possibly different motivations exist for different sites. For example, Mowatt and Chancellor (2011) suggest visitors to the slave castles in Ghana are doing so to connect with their heritage. Whilst Yankholmes and McKercher (2015b) suggest that visits to some dark sites are motivated by an interest in history. Some academics argue that an interest in visiting dark sites is fuelled by a desire to connect with the dead/death or visitors have a macabre curiosity (Best, 2007, Biran et al, 2014 and Yankholmes and McKercher, 2015b).

Chapter four will offer the methodology and justification for the approach to be taken in this study. The approach of grounded theory will be justified as it is often used to generate theory where little is already known, or to provide a fresh slant on existing knowledge. Weed (2016:4) suggests that the main ‘thrust’ of grounded theory is to develop a higher or new understanding, and that it is rooted in data collection rather than literature. However, core to grounded theory is the iterative process, where data is collected and compared with the literature, and Glaser (1978) argues that importantly, grounded theory researchers should be steeped in literature and associated concepts. In this study, comparisons will be made between concepts emerging and the established literature, with further and constant on-going checks between the data, concepts and literature (Weed, 2016).

As the literature review will set out, only a few studies into motivation to visit dark sites have been published and they are relatively small-scale studies. Grounded theory is most appropriate when there is limited existing theories or studies and, moreover, grounded theory can be supplementary to existing research (Weed, 2016; Lingard et al

2008; and Strauss and Corbin; 1998). Therefore, grounded theory was deemed the most suitable for this study.

The chapter will also outline how within the grounded theory approach, the study will focus on the chosen approach of triangulation. Three key research tools (blog evaluation, semi-structured interviews, and evaluation of comments from the visitors' books) will be developed and their use justified in the context of the study's key research questions.

Part two will offer the data analysis and conclusions of this study. Chapter five of part two (the first data analysis chapter), will set out to present the findings of the semi-structured interviews, blogs researched and comments from people in the visitors books. It will first attempt to establish who or what a dark tourist is, before analysing if chronology played a part in motivating tourists to visit the sites. It will go on to conclude that tourists do not like the label dark tourist, and that not all tourists who visit the sites are there because they want to be. Furthermore, tourists who do visit do so because they want to understand and learn about Cambodia, and were keen to point out that they were not there because of the macabre nature of the sites. It will also establish that timing of events at the sites does play an important part in visiting such sites. It makes it more emotional and hard-hitting, but does not act as a motivation to visit in its own right.

Chapter six will also present analysis of the interviews, blogs and comments from the visitors' books. A potential finding of this study will establish that a main driver to visit dark sites such as Tuol Sleng and/or Choeung Ek, is that there exists in all of us a sub-

conscious instinctive desire to look and learn what has happened, so we would know what to do should we find ourselves in the same situation and, ultimately, be able to survive. Chapter six will also attempt to establish if any respondents have a heightened motivation to visit the sites because they have been programmed to enjoy and be entertained by violence, either through children's stories or various forms of the media.

Chapter seven will conclude that there are other significant drivers that exist which motivate tourists to visit Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek. The tourist guidebook and word-of-mouth from various sources may prove to be powerful drivers in tourists to visit dark sites.

Chapter eight will offer the overall conclusions and limitations of this study. It will argue that the terminology of dark tourism/tourist/thanatotourism is problematic for visitors and should be avoided. It will also argue that visits to such sites are part of natural human behaviour and should be viewed in that way. It will acknowledge that the study is western-centric and that the research will be conducted with people who actually visited the sites, and will not include tourists who chose not to visit whilst they were travelling in Phnom Penh and wider Cambodia.

PART ONE – DARK TOURISM

LITERATURE AND METHODOLOGY

Chapter One – Dark Tourism Definitions

1.0 Introduction

This chapter section begins with a review of various perceptions and definitions of ‘dark tourism’. It discusses the main authors and thinkers of dark tourism to date, the problems associated with trying to define dark tourism, and the problems of deciding what tourist attractions should be included under this heading. It starts with the main authors and then discusses what potentially, should and should not be included under the terms ‘dark tourism’.

The terms ‘Dark Tourism’, ‘thanatourism’ and ‘dissonant heritage’ are increasingly common place in books and papers. All over the world tourists engage in this type of tourism. London’s Bloody Tower, Alcatraz, Auschwitz, Slovak Gulag, The Prisoner of War Museum at Changi and many other such places and attractions receive thousands of visitors a year. They are a part of a growing trend in organized sightseeing, at locales of earth, disaster and atrocity known as dark tourism. The phenomenon has been categorised as essentially a commodification of death, but the dark tourism paradigm is not simple. With human suffering and death as their main draw (Wilson 2008) they are usually multi layered historically and sociologically, and from these layers a diverse range of meanings have evolved. Hartmann (2009) argues that dark tourism is a ‘fuzzy concept’. Stone (2005:216) concedes, ‘that dark tourism

literature remains both eclectic and theoretically fragile’, and Ashworth and Hartmann (2005) are concerned that the sheer variety of human unpleasantness throughout time will make any definition incomplete. Bowman and Pezzullo (2010:190) take these concerns further, ‘by labelling certain tourists or tourist sites as dark, an implicit claim is made that there is something disturbing, troubling, suspicious, weird, morbid, or perverse about them, but what exactly that may be remains elusive and ill-defined because no one has assumed the burden of proving it’. Sharpley (2005:220) suspects that dark tourism has become a fashionable and emotive term that perhaps over simplifies a complex and multi-faceted and multi-dimensional phenomenon. The term dark tourism that has been applied by some academics and journalists has been used to define anything dark or macabre consumed by tourists. This involves curiosity at murder sites, torture sites, genocide sites, war sites, themed horror rides and natural catastrophes.

1.1 Definitions and Origins of Dark Tourism

There has been some contention around the definitions and concepts of dark tourism, and this section will attempt to examine some of the earlier definitions and discuss the problems and contradictions involved.

It would be prudent to start with Foley and Lennon (1996) and Lennon and Foley (2000) as they coined the phrase ‘Dark Tourism’ and so far this has been the most commonly used phrase in this genre of tourism. They argue that dark tourism is a postmodern phenomenon influenced and driven by capitalism and global communication technologies. They explicitly state that tourists who visit sites with difficult or

unsettling stories, such as various battlefield sites or murder sites prior to the twentieth century, are not examples of dark tourism or dark tourists. They add to their argument by stressing that dark tourism has two main layers. The first is when commodification of anxiety is brought into question (merchandising and revenue generation), and visits to such sites or engagement in dark tourism suggests elements of anxiety and doubt. Secondly, and most important to their postmodern contemporary argument, is that tours to such sites have taken place within the memories of those still alive to validate them. (Lennon and Foley 2000:12). Lennon (2005) further argues that ‘the difference between what is acceptable and unacceptable as a tourist attraction is often only a matter of chronological distance.’ He further explains that the walking tours of Jack the Ripper in London are enduringly popular, as the world that Jack the Ripper inhabited is distant enough in time from our own for his crimes to be deemed entertaining and not controversial. Therefore, some chronological distance to the event and the present moment in time is integral to his/their concept. During this part of the literature review process the term dark tourism will be adopted as a neutral term to refer to this genre of tourism.

The terms ‘dissonant heritage’, ‘dissonant heritage tourism’, ‘dissonance in heritage’ and ‘heritage of atrocity’ were introduced by Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996). ‘Dissonant heritage is a condition in which there is a lack of congruence at a particular time or place between people and the heritage with which they identify’, (Ashworth and Hartmann 2005:253). The heritage of atrocity, they argue, can be disproportionately significant to many heritage users. For example, they write that dissonant heritage or atrocity can so dominate individuals, social or political groups that it can have profound effects on a society many centuries later. However, they do

acknowledge that the elapse of time may soften the events themselves. To demonstrate their point, they argue that a visit to a castle dungeon and a visit to a concentration camp are separated not just by the scale of the atrocities that occurred but also by time. They go on to explain that visits to atrocities sites from centuries ago alter the responses of visitors as there is no longer a personal involvement (or much less so) and, therefore, visitors do not suffer dissonance (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996:115). Ashworth (2004) further argues this point in his work on tourism and the heritage of apartheid by saying ‘the noticeable differences are in the timing, as the ending of the apartheid system is much more recent than the abolition of slavery or the ending of the Jewish Holocaust’ (Ashworth 2004:97). Hartmann (2009:5) goes some way to agree on what he describes as tourism to places with a difficult past, ‘...there are no rules on when and how a place with a difficult past enters the process of sanctification. It may take a few years, a few decades or more than a century...’, and Knusden (2011:56) enthuses that ‘the quality of his experience is a matter of closeness to the event (the closer the better).’ Although they are not as explicit and strict as Lennon and Foley’s (2000) ‘anything before the twentieth century is not dark tourism’, they do share the same idea that some form of chronological distance is important to the concept of dark tourism.

The concept of ‘thanatourism’ was introduced by Anthony Seaton in the mid 1990’s (1996). Derived from the Ancient Greek word ‘Thanatos’ for the personification of death, and violent death in particular, thanatourism is tourism involving visits to sites associated with death and suffering (Seaton 1996). Thanatourism is more of a philosophical option over the postmodern term of dark tourism. Seaton (1996) argues that thanatourism is not a postmodern phenomenon and that it has been present for centuries. It can be construed from his work that the phenomenon of dark tourism is not

a recent trend. Seaton (1996) draws inspiration for his ideas from the late 19th century essayist Thomas De Quincey, who suggests that ‘an act or event which might be deplorable or repugnant from a moral point of view could have considerable attraction as a spectator experience. The main act De Quincey had in mind was murder.’(Seaton 1996:234).

His research investigates thanatopsis and the contemplation of death and the stimuli by which such contemplations are generated. He argues that from the middle Ages until the mid-nineteenth century thanatopsis was encouraged and induced (Seaton 1996:235). He notes that death was highly visible in everyday life and it was made to appear terrifying, and that thanatopsis served a number of functions in the communal life of Christians and other societies, for example contemplating death could be cathartic. The examples he sites on what he calls ‘Thanatopsis in History’ includes displays such as the medieval ‘Dance of the Death’ and various other forms of representations and artefacts (death masks and effigies) which were depicted in books, tableaus, medals, walls, churches and bridges amongst others (Seaton 1996:235). As these examples are representations of death rather than visiting actual sites of violent and deliberate death where motivation and consumption are questioned, one could argue that they are examples of various art forms and how they impacted lives in their time, rather than a form of dark tourism.

One could conclude from Seaton’s (1996) work that thanatopsis was/is a way of life rather than a dark or controversial act, particularly as he argues that thanatopsis was a major element in pilgrimages to the sites of martyrdoms or internment of saints. For example, the bloody murder of an archbishop in Canterbury Cathedral has inspired

travellers, tourists and pilgrims since the twelfth century to initially see the tomb, and since Henry VIII's reign to see the murder spot in the cathedral. The pilgrims were inspired to worship at Becket's tomb especially after his canonization in 1173. Hundreds of thousands travelled to the cathedral to pray, repent or be healed at his shrine (Canterbury Cathedral 2011), thus indicating that motives to visit were not inspired by death and that there was/is no dissonance apparent by such a visit. Although it may be true that man has always travelled to death sites or to see death (pilgrimages, public hangings, Roman gladiatorial fights etc.), which in their time could have been examples of dark tourism, now in the 21st century they do not generally evoke controversy, query the commodification process and in the main cause anxiety when visiting. The site of the bloody and violent murder of the Archbishop Thomas Becket in Canterbury is now part of the many school outings for most primary schools in the area. Many schools have encouraged their pupils to play-act the scenario of the murder and write the story enthusiastically in their own words (Blean Primary School Canterbury, St Stephen's Primary School, Canterbury), using this event as a fun way to learn the history and heritage of the area.

Dann and Seaton's (2001) thanatourism is somewhat different to the postmodernist view of dark tourism, and further on in this literature review it will be argued that this type of tourism (visiting a site of a murder some 900 years ago) is not a form of dark tourism. However, Seaton (1996) does slightly hint at thanatourism being a contemporary form of tourism by saying 'effects can be seen in thanatourism sites of the past and present' (Seaton and Lennon 2004:72). Perhaps by this he acknowledges that some form of timing and chronological distance is important to modern day thanatourism, but he/they do not discuss this further.

In a joint chapter by Seaton and Lennon (2004:63) they concede that the two terms dark tourism and thanatourism have been used interchangeably, and they purposefully adopt the word thanatourism for the sake of ease in their writing. What is interesting however is that many of the examples they discuss are events long before the start of the 20th century. These include exhibits at the Tower of London and Westminster Abbey, and a lengthy discussion on the Battle of Isandlwana. The battle took place between the British Empire and the Zulu Kingdom in 1879. The battle was a crushing victory for the Zulus; however, it resulted in the British army taking a much more aggressive approach in the Anglo-Zulu war, leading to a heavily reinforced second invasion and the defeat of the Zulu Kingdom (AngloBoerWar.com, 2012). From Seaton and Lennon's (2004) discussion one could conclude that Lennon either agrees that there are some exceptions to his postmodernist contemporary argument with Foley (Lennon and Foley 2000), or he has revisited his 'anything before the 20th century is not dark tourism' argument and sympathises with the more philosophical approach of Seaton (1996). Neither are clear, thus again adding to the rather grey and fuzzy concept of dark tourism.

Using the term thanatourism makes the genre very wide and varied and as history is an infinite place, it therefore means the term can potentially include anything in history. As the concept of thanatourism includes art and artefacts of death, Knusden (2011:57) notes that 'thanatourism is understood as tourism to globally recognized places of commemoration' and not necessarily visits to actual sites of violent and deliberate death.

It can be concluded that there is clearly some contention on time and dark tourism. Some academics and authors use incidents and battles from hundreds of years ago, whilst some only use examples from the 20th century onwards. Although there is some agreement that time and recency may be a defining part of dark tourism, what that time is, is still to be defined.

1.2 Emerging Dark Tourism Typologies

Whilst some academics are trying to establish a widely accepted definition, some are working towards a typology. The next sections will examine these and discuss the problems and contradictions that have emerged so far. It will start with an overview of the literature by Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996), Ashworth and Hartmann (2005), Seaton (1996) and Tarlow (2005), followed by a review of some of the sub-sections of dark tourism that have been researched to date and particular focus is placed on Sharpley's (2009) dark tourism matrix and Stone's (2009) dark tourism spectrum.

Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996:96) further develop the concept of atrocity heritage in offering a categorization which includes: 1) natural or accidental disasters by alleged human action or neglect. 2) atrocities interpreted by an entire category of people on another entire category of people 3) atrocities arising from war or in the context of war 4) atrocity perceived to have existed in former judicial systems 5) persecution of a racial, ethnic or social groups 6) large-scale killing or massacre, and 7) genocide. Whilst these categories are large and have varying degrees of seriousness one single event could overlap many categories, (Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996). Ashworth and Hartmann (2005:2-3) note that to qualify as an atrocity there are four fundamental

conditions: 1) there must be a human perpetrator and a human victim. 2) the perpetrator must be engaged in mindful, deliberate action and the victims must be innocent. 3) atrocity implies a scale of intensity that is out of the ordinary, with a degree of unusual seriousness and 4) they, (the events) must be remembered. Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996) and Ashworth and Hartmann (2005) discount cruelty to animals and pure natural disasters such as earthquakes, as their core argument depends upon a human perpetrator and human identity. What is not clear is the fourth condition, 'the events must be remembered'. Is this living memory? Or historical memory? Or does this not matter as long as they are remembered? Some clarity on this may help design a more widely accepted definition of dark tourism.

However, most of their argument lies within the context of the management and manipulation of atrocity sites as tourist attractions (Wight 2009) and much of their discussion lies within management strategies. They propose that there is dissonance in the commodification processes, dissonance implicit in the creation of place products and dissonance implicit in the content of messages displayed at such sites. Tunbridge and Ashworth's (1996) management theories of dark tourism are similar in some way to those of Lennon and Foley (2000) who argue that dark tourism raises some anxiety and questions with the commodification process, but different from Stone and Sharpley (2008), and Macdonald (2005) whose definitions elude to either emotions and fascination with death and the macabre or both. Both definitions will be discussed later on in this chapter.

The seven categories that Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996) discuss are wide and varied. When using the terms 'heritage dissonance' or 'atrocity heritage sites' this could potentially exclude events and sites that other authors and theories have included when

discussing dark tourism. For example, infamous murder sites and celebrity deaths (Rojek 1993), as well as larger scale natural deaths like the Tsunami in Asia in 2004, and the Japan Earthquake and subsequent Tsunami in 2011.

Seaton (1999) subsequently developed five categories of activities related to dark tourism based on motivation that can potentially look like a typology. These are widely quoted and are:

1. Travel to watch death (public hangings or executions)
2. Travel to sites after death has occurred (Auschwitz)
3. Travel to internment sites and memorials (graves and monuments)
4. Travel to re-enactments (Civil War re-enactors)
5. Travel to synthetic sites at which evidence of the dead has been assembled (museums)

However, categories 3, 4 and 5 are vague and general, and as already discussed (in the section on definition) could potentially include anything from history, thus, making an accepted typology problematic. Later on in this chapter Mowatt and Chancellor's (2011) raised concerns about the genre being wide, and various sites being 'lumped' together under one heading will be discussed.

Even earlier than Foley and Lennon (1996), Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996), and Seaton (1996), Rojek (1993:136) introduced the concept of Black Spots, 'these refer to the commercial developments of grave sites and sites in which celebrities or large numbers of people have met with sudden and violent death.' However, he then confuses

this definition in his chapter called 'Fatal Attractions' by discussing metropolitan and national cemeteries and in particular describing the buried of Arlington National Cemetery in Washington, Westwood Memorial Park in Los Angeles and the Hollywood Memorial Park. Other cemeteries he lists include the Montparnasse Cemetery in Paris and Highgate Cemetery in London (Rojek 1993:139). He offers a short inventory of who is interred in each. However, most of those whom he describes died from natural deaths or certainly not 'sudden and violent deaths' putting some of his examples of Black Spots at odds with his own definition, (he does discuss other disaster sites such as the Pan Am Airlines Flight 103 which crashed over Lockerbie in December 1988, and John Kennedy's assassination spot). One could argue that this is an early example of the difficulty of what to include in the concept of dark tourism. Further on in this chapter it will be argued that in the main, visiting cemeteries are not necessarily examples of dark tourism.

However, it should be noted that Rojek's (1993) concept of Black Spots is a more philosophical approach to the later concepts of Foley and Lennon (1996) etc. He uses the deaths of James Dean and Elvis Presley to demonstrate his point by describing the re-enactments of the fans who process to the crash site each anniversary (in the case of James Dean), and take pride in the period authenticity of their automobiles and their fifties style of dress. Or to Graceland (in the case of Elvis Presley) where hundreds linger until dawn on the actual anniversary of his death lighting a succession of candles, or throughout the year, tourists are invited to walk where he walked, sit where he sat and see what he saw. Rojek argues 'that the commercial development of Black Spots encourages the tourist and the fan to project themselves into the personalities, events and ways of life which have disappeared' Rojek (1993:144).

The black spots described by Rojek (1993) have a staged, sensational quality to them and he uses Debord (1967) cited in Rojek (1993:145) to highlight this by quoting, 'the spectacle presents itself as something enormously positive, indisputable and inaccessible. It says nothing more than 'that which appears is good, and that which is good appears'.' From these points you can presume that Rojek (1993) views his Black Spots as a positive leisure form rather than 'seemingly macabre' (Stone 2009), or a fascination with death (Seaton 1996) or a 'place of shame and pain' (Logan and Reeves 2009), or where dissonance is present (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996). However, it should be noted that the examples he offers of Black Spots, by and large are celebrity deaths or examples of various cemeteries. If other dark tourism sites such as the Cambodian Killing Fields or the death camps of Poland, or torture chambers were included, it could be doubted that the same positive view would be held, therefore, making his concept of Black Spots limited.

Similar to Lennon and Foley's (2000) contemporary view of dark tourism, Tarlow (2005:48) identifies dark tourism as 'visitations to places where tragedies or historically noteworthy death has occurred and that continue to impact our lives'. He argues that visits to sites where such events have taken place, are events that are more than just tragedies in history, but still touch our lives not just from an emotional perspective but also still impact our politics and social policies. As an example and to illustrate his point, Tarlow (2005), like Rojek (1993) cites the Arlington National Cemetery in the US and flippantly includes Waxahatchee Texas, the home of the infamous couple Bonnie and Clyde and how the city exploits their criminal histories. Although 'cemetery tourism' and how the media drives motivation will be discussed later on, both examples are at odds with his definition. There are many tours in Waxahatchee

proudly showing off places such as Bonnie and Clyde's junior schools and the houses and neighbourhoods they grew up in. There is also a restaurant featured in all the tourist guides for the area called the 'Bonnie and Clyde's Speakeasy' with themes and events. They promise that 'Bonnie and Clyde's Speakeasy welcomes you to enjoy the warmth and hospitality that only a Mama can give, in an atmosphere reminiscent of years gone by' (Bonnie and Clyde's Speakeasy, accessed 20th July 2011). This example may be more at home with Stone's (2006a) 'dark fun factories' which are discussed later on and will be argued are not examples of dark tourism; and in the main do not significantly impact lives today. Arlington National Cemetery is a focal place for burial and mourning in America, however, it is not an actual place where death occurred, if one was drawn to take Tarlow's (2005) definition literally. Mowatt and Chancellor (2011) also worry about various dark tourism sites being 'lumped' together in one genre. They discuss the similarities and contrasts about how dark tourism is theoretically conceptualised. Their research into the slave castles of Ghana worries that to 'lump slave castles with celebrity death sites (Elvis or Princess Diana), prisons (Alcatraz), battlegrounds (Gettysburg or Waterloo), torture chambers (Draculas Castle), museums, graveyards or even concentration camps (Auschwitz) does a disservice to Slave Castles and each site, respectively.' (Mowatt and Chancellor 2011:9).

So far, it can be concluded that working towards a typology of dark tourism has been problematic. Some of the examples of dark tourism that have been offered thus far, are contradictory or a presumption has been made that they are examples of dark tourism. Tunbridge and Ashworth's (1996) fourth condition that 'the event must be remembered' needs further clarity in relation to time. Seaton's (1999) categories are

wide and general. Some academics and authors have attempted to add shades or colours to dark tourism to help establish a definition and a typology. The next section will examine some of these theories.

1.4 Different Shades of Dark

Part of the difficulty in defining dark tourism is the apparent scale of what to include, and as already established some authors are concerned that many sites get lumped together under the heading of dark tourism (Mowatt and Chancellor 2011). Some academics have started to argue that though the scope is wide, there are varying degrees of darkness. This next section will examine some theories around the emergence of dark tourism spectrums.

Stone (2009) defines dark tourism as ‘The act of travel to sites associated with death, suffering and the seemingly macabre.’(Sharpley and Stone 2009:10) (His earlier definition included ‘visitation to sites, attractions and exhibitions which has real or recreated death, suffering of the seemingly macabre’ 2005 – Dark tourism Forum (accessed 23rd June 2011)). They are critical of what they call Lennon and Foley’s (2000) ‘narrow’ concept of dark tourism, claiming that it is mainly western-centric, and that the self-imposed time restriction they place on dark tourism is unnecessary (Sharpley and Stone 2006:14), furthermore, they question their ‘postmodern’ ideas of dark tourism.

Like Seaton (1996) both Stone’s (2009) definitions have large scope and are easy to understand. Sharpley (2006a:10) acknowledges that such a definition ‘...embraces an

enormous variety of places and experiences...’ He argues that ‘shades’ of dark tourism exist by producing a matrix, (Sharpley and Stone 2009a:19): (1) **Black tourism** – a fascination of death is satisfied by the purposeful supply of experiences (pure dark tourism); (2) **Grey tourism supply** – sites intentionally established to exploit death; (3) **Grey tourism demand** – tourists with a fascination with death visiting unintended dark tourism sites; (4) **Pale tourism** – tourists with a minimal or limited interest in death visiting sites unintended to be tourist attractions.

Sharpley (2006) suggests that the supply and demand of this type of tourism is driven by the visitor’s fascination with death. For example, he suggests that tourists which take the ‘Flight 93’ tour, (the crash site of the United Airlines Flight 93 – one of the 9/11 aircraft) are fascinated by death and, therefore, fall under the ‘black tourism’ quadrant. Interestingly, as an example of ‘paler’ tourism Sharpley (2009a:19) notes the ‘Killing Fields’ of Cambodia, claiming that motivations to visit would be more of a ‘status’ rather than a fascination with death. On the other hand Miles (2002) argues that a site such as the ‘killing fields’ is at the much ‘darker’ end of the spectrum, by suggesting there is a ‘spatial’ element to dark tourism sites. To aid his argument he offers as an example of the major difference between the Washington Museum in the United States and the Museum at Auschwitz and Birkenau, (they both commemorate the horrific story of Auschwitz and Birkenau). Although the former has technological advantages and adds historical contextualisation, the latter is much more authentic and darker just by ‘being there’ and, therefore, the tourist will have a much more empathetic and darker experience (Miles, 2002:1176). Sharpley’s positioning of the ‘Killing Fields’ in Cambodia as an example of ‘paler’ tourism, is also at odds with Stone’s (2009a) dark tourism spectrum which consists of six categories: Darkest, Darker, Dark, Light,

Lighter, Lightest, (see figure 1, p.17). Although no examples are offered as to which sites fall into each category, he highlights certain features under the darkest and lightest headings. Under the 'darkest' heading, features include 'sites of death and suffering', 'location authenticity', 'shorter time scale', supply (non-purposeful); clearly the Cambodian 'killing fields' have all of these in abundance, therefore, placing them under the 'darkest' category. As both spectrum and matrix draw on some issues to do with the supply of dark tourism, and that they are both highlighted in their joint book 'The Darker Side of Travel' (Sharpley and Stone 2009:19-21), it is easy to see how the dark tourism debate has become 'muddied'.

The spectrum and matrix are clearly at odds with Lennon and Foley's (2000) theory of dark tourism, which deals with elements of 'anxiety and doubt'. No doubt visiting such a site as the Cambodia 'killing Fields' will evoke such emotions, motivations and emotions are tackled in the next chapter and ultimately in the methodology and the field study itself.

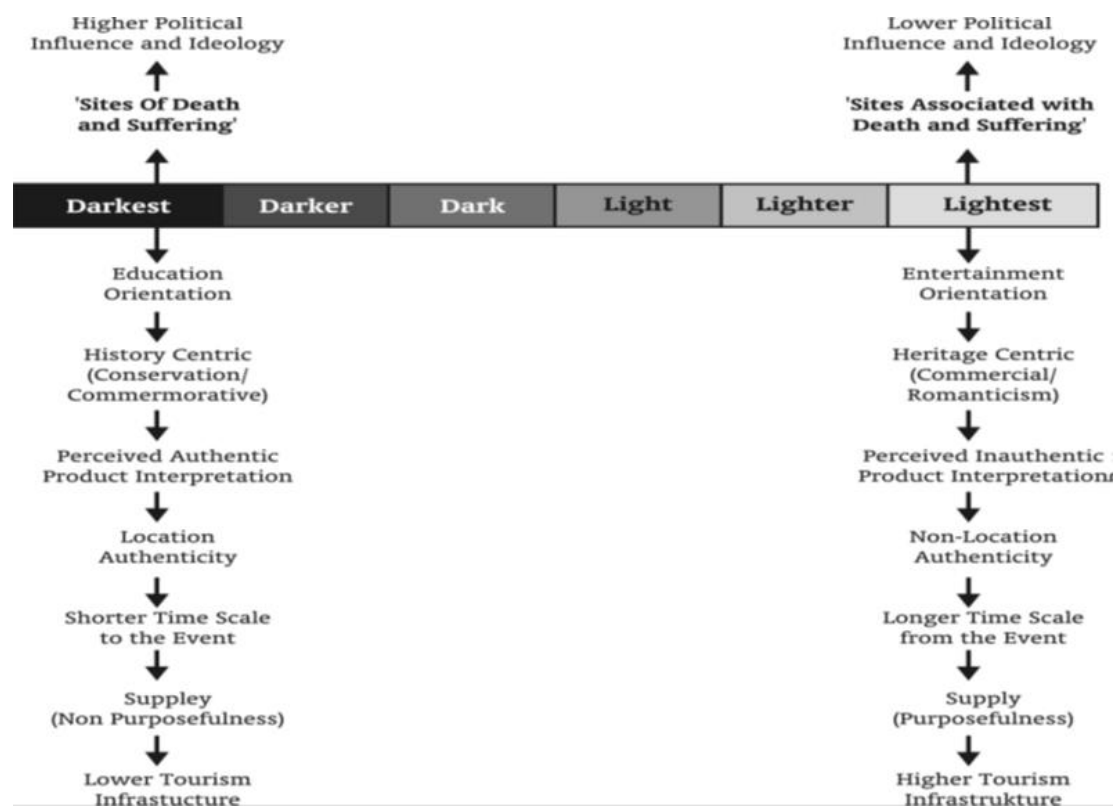


Figure 1 - A Dark Tourism Spectrum: Perceived Product Features of Dark Tourism within a Darkest-Lightest' Framework (Stone 2009a:151)

Like Sharpley and Stone (2009), Miles (2002:1176) suggests that a darker-lighter tourism paradigm exists. He argues that there is a distinction between 'dark' tourism and 'darker' tourism, that a '...greater notion of the macabre and the morose can exist between sites.' He adds weight to Lennon and Foley's (2000) post-modern idea that dark tourism is tourism that has taken place within the memories of those still alive to validate them, by suggesting that recent death and tragic events should be transported by living memory through survivors and witnesses and that these are 'darker' than other events in the more distant past or with no one living to validate the events. He suggests that a 'living' story will create more empathy and the touristic experience is therefore 'darker', (Miles, 2002), and advises adopting a space-time framework in approaching the dark-darker paradigm.

Strange and Kempa (2003) also suggest that ‘shades’ of dark tourism exist and like Sharpley and Stone (2009), Stone (2006a) and Miles (2002), this also deals with the supply side of dark tourism. Their ‘shade’ argument lies within the interpretation of dark tourism, and ‘...how those darker and lighter elements have been represented and consumed...’ (Strange and Kempa, 2003:391). In their comparative research between the two notorious prisons of Alcatraz and Robben Island they suggest that many shades of dark tourism have developed and co-exist at each site. For example, managers at the Alcatraz site discuss the job they have in changing visitors from Hollywood informed visitors into informed visitors by interpretation that includes the non-penal history and the Indian history of the site as well as the well-known characters and stories of the penal site, therefore, making the visit to Alcatraz a more lighter shade of dark tourism. In comparison, Robben Island concentrates almost entirely on the incarceration of Nelson Mandela and the general struggle with the Apartheid regime in South Africa. Efforts to stretch the interpretation into less triumphalist accounts and to include contradicting accounts of the struggle for democracy in South Africa, and in the prison in general, is very limited or often resisted. So by seemingly not offering an alternative story to the main one, this makes the visitor experience to Robben Island a darker shade of dark tourism. Tunbridge (2005) observes that Robben Island's evocative power lies in its very recency, which aids Lennon and Foley's (2000) postmodernist argument of dark tourism.

To add confusion to the semantics of dark tourism and the spectrum theories, Bowman and Pezzullo (2010:191) in their article titled ‘What’s so ‘Dark’ about ‘Dark Tourism’?: Death, Tours, and Performance’, interpret Urry's (2004) theory of ‘there are only a few places of play – for recreational leisure’ as ‘light tourism’ - where death is

not part of the story in any way. Their point is not clear, are they adding another shade to the spectrum?

It is clear that although some academics agree that certain sites are darker than others, there is not a general consensus on which are darker and which are paler, and that it depends on aspects such as motivations and the supply and demand of such attractions. As discussed, some authors argue that ‘living memory’ or a shorter time-scale to the event is important to the darker elements of dark tourism and Miles (2002), Tunbridge (2005), Tarlow (2005), Stone (2009) all add some weight to Lennon and Foley’s (2000) theory.

The discussion now turns to the difficulty of what to include under the genre of dark tourism. Whilst it is not possible to discuss each type of tourism and evaluate whether it should be placed under dark tourism or not, the next section will examine the most commonly used examples of dark tourism in the existing literature.

1.5 Prisons as Dark Tourism

The scope of dark tourism is potentially very wide and varied and, therefore, it may be necessary to include some boundaries of what and not to include when discussing dark tourism. It is not possible to list every apparent dark tourism site and discuss whether it is part of the genre or not, but the next few sections discuss the most widely researched dark tourism sites, and the next part of the literature review examines these. This section examines prisons as many academics have used various prisons as a basis for their research into dark tourism.

The presumptions that prisons fall into the dark tourism genre is problematic for three reasons. Firstly, there are many different types of prisons from POW prisons such as Changi in Singapore (which still functions as a gaol), Robben Island the former prison of Nelson Mandela, to the medieval and Victorian West Gate Towers in Canterbury and the Tower of London, so the scope of prisons is wide. Secondly, some prisons are historically rich (Tower of London) and, therefore, do not fall under the recency postmodern contemporary debate. Thirdly, some questions could be raised on innocence. Ashworth and Hartmann (2005) argue that for an atrocity to occur the victim must be innocent. There is no further discussion on this or what innocent means, but one can presume that prisoners are guilty of their crime unless otherwise proven by history and/or hindsight, therefore, one could argue that any punishment of the prisoners could be just. This discussion now turns to problems associated in including prisons under the dark tourism paradigm.

Strange and Kempa (2003) do not offer a definition as such of dark tourism or establish from which definition of dark tourism their research draws. Rather, they offer a general overview of the established literature up to their time of writing. They then make a presumption that the two prisons (Alcatraz and Robben Island) fall into the category of dark tourism. Their research compares the general history, decision making and interpretation at both sites. Although they acknowledge the frustration of the rangers at Alcatraz, faced with the fact that their educational attempts are outshone by the glare of commerce, and that there was initial resistance to turn the prison into a visitor attraction, there is no evidence that visits to either site cause anxiety and doubt and that commodification of it being a tourist attraction are brought into question. They further explain that in spite of the rangers' best efforts to encourage tourists to see Alcatraz in

all its complexity, many tourists continue to pose comically inside open cells. This further demonstrates the point that in the main, tourists who visit here are not viewing this with much or any anxiety or moralisation issues.

This could be at odds with Lennon and Foley (2000) who suggest that dark tourism is when commodification of anxiety is brought into question and visits to such sites or engagement of dark tourism suggest elements of anxiety and doubt. Strange and Kempa (2003) write that the Robben Island Prison Museum has deliberately positioned itself as a visionary and reconciliatory one, designed to communicate and promote the master narrative of reconciliation and the capacity of the oppressed to survive and overcome.

Ahmed Kathrada, Chair of the then Future of Robben Island Committee and former political prisoner said ‘...we will not want Robben Island to be a monument to our hardship and suffering. We would want it to be a monument reflecting the triumph of the human spirit...’ (Kathrada 1997:10-11 cited in Strange and Kempa 2003:394-395).

Bowman and Pezzullo (2010) also highlight this in Strange and Kempa’s work (2003) by marvelling that although one might imagine such a prison as ‘dark’ it also contains the seeds of hope for radical social and political change, (Bowman and Pezzullo 2010:191). You could assume from this that Robben Island does not want itself to be positioned as ‘dark’. They, Strange and Kempa (2003) offer no evidence that visitation to Robben Island raises doubt and anxiety over commodification of the prison as a tourist attraction, (Lennon and Foley, 2000), (obviously a motivational/emotional study of Robben Island would clarify this). However, it should be noted that Tunbridge

(2005:29), when referring to Robben Island says ‘that such an institution could have been built to sustain a racist system during a period of international racial liberalization is singularly macabre...’

The interpretation methods (using living memory and story- telling techniques) at both sites sits comfortably into the darker side of the darker-lighter paradigm of Miles (2002), and sits at the lighter end of Stone’s (2006a) spectrum (features under the lightest headings include, ‘heritage centric’, entertainment orientation, supply (purposefulness), high tourism infrastructure). Neither site could be placed on Sharpley’s matrix of dark tourism. His matrix deals with either the visitor’s degree of fascination with death, or sites established to exploit death, which neither site does. Again, this further complicates the muddy and fuzzy concepts of dark tourism.

Placing other prisons under the dark tourism heading is also problematic. For example, researching Fremantle Prison in Western Australia, (this was one of the first prisons set up in Australia to house convicts shipped from the UK. Poor conditions and hangings were normal for a significant time (Fremantle Prison accessed 16th December 2011)). One of their main objectives is to ‘create a precinct that encourages repeat visitation and provides unique and enjoyable experiences for visitors’ (Fremantle Prison accessed 16th December 2011). Although they proudly address some contentious issues such as the annual ‘John Pat Memorial Day’ – in memory of all aboriginal people who have died in custody, they mostly position themselves as a positive visitor experience aimed at all the family. Their tagline is ‘Step inside and do time with us’, and they are currently running tours which encourage you to ‘Scare your kids straight with our brand new holiday tour for children. Escape from Fremantle

Prison is a new tour for children aged 5 to 12 years old.’ (Freemantle prison accessed 16th December 2011). This attraction does not sit with most definitions that relate to the words dark and macabre, and arguably should not be included in this genre of tourism.

This is not to say that no prisons fall under the noted dark tourism definitions. Wilson (2008) in her book entitled ‘Prison Cultural Memory and Dark Tourism’ includes research into some prisons that are now open to visitors which include gallows and rooms where executions occurred, (quite often nooses are left hanging). Such features, she argues ‘...incorporate such a narrative in presenting the implement of death, thus, the prison’s darkest feature...’ (Wilson, 2008:180). During her research she observed ‘the sense of unease engendered by the place and its artefacts makes some visitors fall quiet; others manifest their discomfort with awkward jocularly.’ You could assume by these two points that some prisons can be classed as dark tourism. They fall under Lennon and Foley’s (2000) idea of anxiety and doubt and also concur with their postmodernist argument as the executions at one of the prisons she researches (Pentridge Prison in Melbourne, Australia) occurred between 1932 and 1967. Using Wilson’s (2008) research you could place some prisons on Stone’s (2006) spectrum at the ‘darker’ or darkest’ end, as most of the features are present. Some of the prisons also fall into Sharpley and Stone’s (2009) visits to places associated with ‘death suffering and the seemingly macabre’ definition. However, it becomes problematic to place the Pentridge Prison on Sharpley’s (2009) matrix without some specific in-depth research into motivations to visit such sites. It cannot, therefore, be presumed that all tours and visits to prisons are part of the dark tourism phenomena.

Walby and Piche (2011) have conducted research into six prisons in Ontario, Canada. Their article 'The polysemy of punishment memorialization: Dark tourism and Ontario's penal history museums' offers a mixed and confusing argument on their link to dark tourism. For instance, a large part of their argument goes some way to prove that media perceptions of a prisoner experience being akin to that of a holiday resort is wrong and misguided, and that penal reform in Ontario is sometimes wrongly interpreted in these prisons. They also discuss and critique at length the link with interpretation and memorialisation within their research prisons. They state, 'We argue that dark tourism is not only a question of interpreting the past but one of producing meanings that inform contemporary understandings of penal sites' (Walby and Piche, 2011:453). This can be said of most heritage and cultural attractions and is not specific or unique to dark tourism. Their only real link to the established definitions of dark tourism is offered in their discussion on marketing of these prisons, 'penal museum companies are in this business of marketing unease' Walby and Piche (2011:461). However, they don't really critique this, rather list various ways the prisons get tourists to part with their money, i.e. admission charges and gift shops. Pretes (2002) refers to this process of selling items related to the tourist site as 'mining tourist', cited in Walby and Piches (2011:461)

One of the intentions of this study is to investigate the motivations of visiting Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek. Tuol Sleng is the infamous and notorious high school turned prison during the Pol Pot Khmer Rouge regime. During its time as a prison, there was routine torture and most of the site is still intact today as it was then. It includes most of the torture equipment, which is on display along with other relics for visitors to see.

Many prisons such as Fremantle Prison in Western Australia and Robben Island in South Africa position themselves as either a family day out or as visionary or reconciliatory visitor attraction. Most of the research discussed has presumed the prisons fall into the dark tourism genre without really stating how they link to the established literature. Clearly some prisons are macabre and disturbing places to visit Wilson (2008), but from what the literature suggests not all, i.e. Alcatraz, (Strange and Kempa, 2003). From this literature it clearly depends on the content, positioning and according to Kang et al (2011) the interpretation at each prison site. Again it is easy to see how the dark tourism debate can be confusing and fragile (Stone 2005:216). The next section will discuss whether dark fun factories are a part of the dark tourism genre.

1.6 Dark Fun Factories

This next section will look at what Stone (2006a) calls dark fun factories. It will examine Wong and Cheung's (1999) definition of theme parks and discuss whether 'dark fun factories' are better suited as an example of theme parks, or Bristow's (2004) definition of Fright Tourism rather than a sub section of dark tourism.

Dark tourism attractions and sites evoke emotions including fear, horror, sadness and depression, empathy, sympathy and feelings of vengeance (Krakover, 2005), and according to Kang et al (2011), dark tourism sites differ from the simulated 'horror' experiences presented by theme parks, such as the London Dungeons and the once proposed Dracula Experience in Romania, which focus on entertainment and family days out. Reijnders's (2011) research on Dracula in an article called 'Stalking the Count, Dracula, Fandom and Tourism', makes no reference at all to any dark tourism literature, but instead draws on research from the fields of film, literature and media

tourism. Rather, they concur with Stone's (2009) idea that this kind of shock and horror differs substantively from the shock and horror evoked by actual encounters with death and suffering such as the 'killing fields' in Cambodia. Stone (2006a) suggests that there are seven suppliers of dark tourism. These are i) Dark Fun Factories ii) Dark Exhibitions iii) Dark Dungeons iv) Dark Resting Places v) Dark Shrines vi) Dark Conflict Sites and vii) Dark Camps of Genocide.

According to Wong and Cheung (1999) a theme park is an amusement park that has themed attractions, be it food, costumes, entertainment, retail stores and/or rides. Theme parks are distinguished from other amusement parks in that there is a theme that runs through all or most of their attractions. Moreover, they argue that 'theme parks aim to create the atmosphere of another world and it is essentially the theme itself that creates such an atmosphere. A theme represents a story line or framework which highlights a particular attraction at a destination' (Wong and Cheung 1999:320). Their research shows that theme parks are becoming increasingly attractive to the tourist who has limited vacation time, as they provide a condensed holiday product. A cursory look on the London Dungeons website promises a fun filled experience, '1000 years of London's darkest and most gory history, 11 actor led shows and 2 scary rides make the London Dungeon attraction an educationally chilling experience and a great day out for the whole family' London Dungeons (accessed 14th July 2011). Their theme of horror and history is a very successful one, it attracts around 700,000 visitors each year (KGB answers, 2014). The rides on offer include 'Drop Ride to Doom' (a fun and thrilling way to simulate a hanging) or the 'Boat Ride to Hell' (a fun and thrilling way to simulate being sentenced as a traitor). Also on offer are visuals and odours simulating the great Fire of London and the Great Plague. Other features include a 'Jack the Ripper

Tour' and torture chambers. Their theme creates an atmosphere as argued by Wong and Cheung (1999) and a story line of some major historic events in London. Lennon and Foley (2000) would not count any historic event simulated at the London Dungeons as all events featured happened long before the turn of the twentieth century and there is no one alive to validate events). Moreover, Rojek (1993) argues that

'Theme parks and heritage sites are certainly places in which the rules of everyday life are relaxed and rules of 'normality' are bypassed in tolerated ways. One sees this not only in the rides and the time-space compression attractions, but also the re-enactments of the past using costumed actors or tableau. Similarly one of the common denominators behind all four leisure forms is that they seem to offer the experience of momentary escape from the encumbrances and pressure of everyday life' (1993:165)

Clearly the London Dungeons fits succinctly with this quote by offering a fun experience for all the family using rides and shows, further outlining the argument that such themed attractions are probably not part of the dark tourism genre.

Stone (2006a) argues that a site such as the London Dungeons is a supplier of dark tourism under the first heading of 'fun filled factories' and that they would be placed at the lighter end of his spectrum. He further explains that 'a Dark Fun Factory alludes to those visitor sites, attractions and tourists which predominately have an entertainment focus and commercial ethic, and which present real or fictional death and macabre

events. Indeed, these types of products possess a high degree of tourism infrastructure, are purposeful and are in essence ‘fun centric’ (Stone 2006a: 152).

The London Dungeons (**based on reality**) and The Wizarding World of Harry Potter (**fictional**) theme parks are similar in many ways. At the Wizarding World of Harry Potter created by Universal Studios, ‘Muggles from all around the world can now experience the excitement of battling a dragon on the Dragon Challenge rollercoaster, or taming the Hippogriff at the Flight of the Hippogriff, be chosen by a wand at Ollivanders wand shop, or sit down and have a tasty Butterbeer at the Hog’s Head Pub!’(Wizarding World of Harry Potter, accessed 18th July 2011). Both attractions offer a theme, rides, a story line, interaction, merchandising, food and possible controversy. When the Harry Potter books were first published, some states in America refused to sell them due to their ‘witching way’. Both are aimed at families and there is an emphasis on entertainment and fun. One could compare such tourist attractions to that of the increasing popularity of ghost tours, ‘The tour can be hired for private parties, and is also suitable for educational visits, birthday parties, corporate entertainment and team building exercises, and promises history humour and haunting,’ (Canterbury Ghost Tours, accessed 20th December 2011). Other ghost tours in Edinburgh and York promise similar entertainment, such as ‘always elevated, the guide can be seen and heard by everyone, children are encouraged to come to the front.’ (The Ghost Hunt of York, accessed 20 December 2011) and the tour ‘engages, enthrals and entertains (Mercat Tours, accessed 20 December 2011).

Stone (2009:171) also argues that what the London Dungeons offers are subjects that may have once been considered taboo within the attraction environment are now

packaged up in the London Dungeons or similar attractions through an ‘amalgamation of kitsch artistic commodity and playful mirth’. However, many Victorian fun fairs included the ‘ghost train’ and most travelling fun fairs in the UK still do. In 1969 the Disney Group introduced the ‘Haunted Mansion’ attraction and in 1992 introduced the ‘Phantom Manor’ attraction at their Paris location. Seaton and Lennon (2004:65) describe how Madame Tussauds in the late 18th century started her wax modelling making death masks of political figures guillotined during the French Revolution, they further describe how she eventually made models of notorious criminals and reconstructions of their crimes and punishments, an exhibition that came to be known as the Chamber of Horrors, (a title coined by the satirical magazine Punch in 1846), the Chamber of Horrors is still a very successful part of the experience today, (Madame Tussauds, accessed 24th Aug 2011). These exhibitions and attractions are just some examples of long standing ‘fun filled factories’ rather than ‘taboo’ attractions. That ‘fun filled factories’ can be placed under the same heading as ‘dark tourism’ albeit at the lighter end is very hard to reconcile. They clearly are themed entertainment visitor attractions aimed at all the family.

Bristow (2004:215) describes ‘Fright Tourism’ as tourism that ‘may occur for any frightful place explored for ‘recreation’ or entertainment reasons’ He explains that Fright Tourism is big business especially in America, and increasingly in other western societies. Fright tourism attractions may be found all year round at amusement parks and museums, and are quite often associated with Halloween. He further explains that fright tourism is a natural extension of risk recreation or adventure tourism, and that some fantasy experiences are sought by tourists. His research centres on two sites: Salem and the tourism established around the Salem Witch Trials of 1692, and the

Dracula myth and legend in Transylvania, Romania. The London Dungeons and similar sites would sit more comfortably under either the theme park definition or 'fright tourism', and probably sit quite comfortably as examples of both. The Bonnie and Clyde experiences and tourism in Waxahatchee as suggested by Tarlow (2005) may also be more at home coming under the category of 'themed attractions'

It could be argued that the tours to Alcatraz Island fall into the category of a theme park. Strange and Kempa (2003:402) state that 'Although Alcatraz's interpretation is already overshadowed by commercialized representations, and while Robben Island may yet succumb to its 'theme park' potential ...' By this you could conclude, that though Alcatraz could with the right interpretations have been classed as a dark tourism site, however, with its commercialization and links to the film industry and behaviours of tourists, as already discussed earlier under the chapter heading of Prisons, it clearly is not viewed this way by the majority of tourists who visit. A similar point could also be made about Fremantle Prison in Western Australia where many themed events take place. (Fremantle Prison, accessed 16th December 2011)

'Dark Fun Factories' does not sit comfortably with many other definitions of dark tourism. Macdonald (2009:1) uses the words 'difficult heritage' and defines this as 'a past that is recognised as meaningful in the present, but that is also contested and awkward for public reconciliation with a positive, self-affirming contemporary identity'. Logan and Reeves (2009:1) call dark tourism sites 'Places of Pain and Shame.' They further explain that dark tourism sites 'bring shame upon us now for the cruelty and ultimate futility of the events that occurred within them and the ideologies they represented'. Causevic and Lynch (2011:) further argue that in dark tourism

scholarship, grouping fun-factory such as the London Dungeon, and the concentration camp Auschwitz under the same spectrum (Stone 2006) omits important characteristics of both and results in dark tourism being removed from the social and cultural context in which it takes place’.

Juxtaposing the words ‘fun, entertainment and dark tourism’ could potentially be sensitive and offensive to survivors and sufferers of such sites that include (real) murder and mass death. There is also no evidence offered that visits to a ‘dark fun factory’ would arouse feelings of anxiety and doubt, and no evidence of visitors being motivated by any fascination with death or the seemingly macabre (Sharpley 2009). Therefore, ‘dark fun factories’ are probably not examples (lighter or darker) of dark tourism.

This section has examined the literature and writing that surrounds dark fun factories and analysed if these can be included under the genre of dark tourism. It has compared such attractions to other theme park attractions and tours, and examined where dark fun factories sit with the established definitions to date and concluded that dark fun factories are not examples of dark tourism. The next section will evaluate the literature that surrounds cemetery and battlefield tourism and establish if these are examples of dark tourism sites.

1.7 Cemeteries and Battlefield Tourism

Many academics and authors include cemeteries and battlefields as examples of dark tourism, and quite often discuss them together. This section will discuss if cemetery and battlefield tourism are examples of dark tourism. It will evaluate the literature from

various authors such as Lloyd (1998), Hyde and Harman (2011) and Baldwin and Sharpley (2009). This part of the literature review will also include war memorials because of their close links to battlefields and cemeteries.

‘...Battlefield tourism has become a significant sector of the tourism market, supported by a large number of dedicated tour operators and promoted by a national or local tourism bodies anxious to ‘cash in’ on the heritage of war and battle’, (Baldwin and Sharpley, 2009:188). ‘The appeal of these sites to tourists and pilgrims is indicative of the pervasive presence of the war...’ (Lloyd, 1998:2). Weaver (2011) suggests that tourism and war are not a separate unrelated phenomenon and that the commemoration of historic battles through war memorials, military museums and battle re-enactments undoubtedly makes up a large part of tourism, (Henderson 2000; 2007), (Lee 2006) (Seaton 1999) and (Winter 2009). Smith (1998) takes this further and suggests that this genre of tourism probably constitutes the largest category of tourism.

Seaton’s paper on war and thanatourism: Waterloo 1815-1914 (1999) relates in detail the strong connection between tourism and the Battle of Waterloo. He writes, ‘Waterloo involved the presence of significant numbers of tourists before, during, and, particularly, after the battle’ (Seaton, 1999:133). He amusingly records Wellington’s private words after the battle ‘I hope the next battle I fight will be further from home. Waterloo was too near: too many visitors, tourists and amateurs, all of whom wrote accounts of the battle.’ (The Times 1934:17, cited in Seaton 1999:133).

Smith (1998) emphasises the importance of the Second World War with respect to the rise of modern tourism and portrays it as a causal agent in the creation of mass tourism.

For example, he observes that the Second World War gave rise to transport technologies, in particular large aircraft. Some of these were eventually used to visit overseas destinations for the purpose of pleasure, or for soldiers who acquired wanderlust and curiosity while in the military.

Many authors when writing about this genre of tourism discuss pilgrimage, memorial and education. When referring to the First World War, Winter (1995) cited in Lloyd (1998:3) explains that ‘all levels of society had to come to terms with the memory of the war and that the confrontation with the memory of the war was played out in a variety of contexts, including the process of constructing and unveiling war memorials, ceremonies of remembrances such as Armistice Day and popular poems and novels’. Later on in his writing, Lloyd (1998) explains that pilgrimages were among a range of ceremonies and rituals of mourning and commemoration that brought consolation to many people in the aftermath of war. Many visits to battlefields, cemeteries and memorials have strong religious imagery, and religious organisations quite often assist bereaved relatives to visit war graves and large pilgrimages often included a religious service. Mosse (1990) takes this further and contends that visiting a site where there is the memory of war, the memory is quite often re-fashioned into a sacred experience. Lloyd (1998) suggests that during various wars, soldiers were/are portrayed as heroes sacrificing themselves for their country; a sacrifice which was likened to that of Jesus Christ. Baldwin and Sharpley (2009) discuss that we do not treat soldiers in the same way that we would other killers or their victims. Soldiers are licensed and are potentially murderer and victim in the same continuum. This they say shapes our attitudes towards visiting battlefields and memorials etc. Baldwin and Sharpley (2009:194) also argue that ‘battlefield pilgrimages can be defined as travelling for

remembrance with the focus on the spiritual and emotional experience of visiting graves and memorials’.

Hyde and Harman (2011) in their work on ‘Motives for a secular pilgrimage to the Gallipoli battlefields’, discuss that the modern pilgrimage does not necessarily have a religious lean to it. They define pilgrimage as ‘travel to, and communion with, a specific, non-substitutable physical site that embodies and makes manifest the religious, cultural or personal values of the individuals, the deeply meaningful, or a source of core identity for the traveller’ (Hyde and Harman 2011:1344). They discuss that non-religious people may attach sacred meaning to a wide variety of non-religious sites and seek a journey to such sites. Such journeys they call ‘secular pilgrimages’. Included in the modern-day phenomenon of secular pilgrimage are journeys to battlefields and war memorials such as Gettysburg, and gravesites and memorials to modern-day dead celebrities such as Elvis Presley. They argue that no place is intrinsically sacred, that it is a meaning placed upon them by the visitors. For example, the Gallipoli site which they research is ‘charged with meaning’ and these meanings are made in Australia and unpacked in Gallipoli’ (Hyde and Harman 2011:1344), (their research focuses on the journey of Australians and New Zealanders to the Gallipoli battlefield in Turkey).

Veterans generally visit to seek more understanding of the overall campaign in which they participated, however, according to Baldwin and Sharpley (2009) the vast majority of modern tourists to battlefields are not veterans, but individuals with a leisure interest in military history. A minority of these are more proactive or have a more intensive interest, for example, re-enactors or living history enthusiasts; collectors;

preservationists. Educational visits by schools with learning objectives and visits to promote peace and reconciliation are also prevalent in this type of tourism, (Baldwin and Sharpley 2009). Tarlow (2008) stretches this further by linking romanticism to visits 'where the visitor can imagine himself as a warrior fighting for a specific cause. An example is the visit to the World War II European battlefields by those who participated in these battles, or by their children' (Tarlow 2008:54).

Some of the memorials erected after wars may sometimes cause tensions. For example, Seaton and Lennon (2004) suggest that the memorials erected by the British after the Battles of Isandlwana and Rorke's Drift that are still standing today, cause tension with the local people. The battlefields and monuments of the Anglo-Zulu War in Natal, Isandlwana and Rorke's Drift were initially controlled by the British (who commemorated their dead in memorials that celebrated heroism and the patriotic mission). However, in post-Mandela South Africa these monuments are allowed to continue and remain, partly due to the country's international visitors and especially people from the UK (Seaton and Lennon 2004).

At both battlefield sites local black African communities living nearby, everyday watch white Europeans, many in conducted parties; tour grounds that have been the contested sites of an historical oppression that was forged by the ancestors of those making the tours. (However, it should be noted that Zulu memorials now sit alongside the old imperial ones and at each battlefield site is a Zulu Cultural Centre to provide an alternative narrative). This could be an example of dissonant heritage (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996).

Despite this, none of the writings and research so far have suggested any elements of the seemingly macabre (Stone and Sharpley 2009). There appears to be only two vague exceptions to this. 1) Seaton's (1996) five categories of dark travel activities, cited in Sharpley and Stone (2009:17). In his third activity he describes 'travel to memorials or internment sites, including graveyards, cenotaphs, crypts and war memorials', however, he does acknowledge that reasons for such visits are diverse. Baldwin and Sharpley (2009:190) even suggest that not many battlefield visitors would happily regard themselves as 'dark tourists' or 'thanatourists', and that many would be horrified to think that academia places them in the same category as tourists who visit murder sites for example. Slade (2003:781) also stresses that the presence of people at places associated with death does not mean that their motivations are necessarily thanatouristic, or that people at a battle site are all necessarily thanatourists, 'These tourists, in part, come to gain a slightly better understanding of who they are and where they come from. Therefore, such people are not thanatouristically motivated, at least in the sense suggested by Seaton' (Slade 2003:780) (motivations will be discussed further in the next chapter). 2) Lennon and Foley (2000:99) argue that war sites of the First and Second World Wars have left some interesting sites to visit. Battle sites, cemeteries, memorials, buildings, emplacements, bunkers, museums and interpretive facilities they argue are critical to the development of a tourist product associated with dark tourism. The reason they give is that such resources are 'both physical and those of a personal and collective memory' (Lennon and Foley 2000:99). However, they do acknowledge/presume that visits to such sites are probably motivated by remembrance, therefore, one can presume from their work that visits to such sites are not macabre.

As observed, battlefield tourism and all that this relates to, no doubt has a strong tourism pull, but do these examples fall into the dark tourism genre? What is obvious is that most researchers of this genre of tourism do not in the main use words such as thanatopic or dark or macabre or even death. Words such as pilgrimage, remembrance, sacred, peace and reconciliation are commonly used. An example is the visit to the World War II European battlefields by those who participated in these battles, or by their children.’ Hyde and Harman (2011) suggest that for many, the pilgrimage is a culturally-prescribed social obligation. As noted with the Zulu example, dissonant heritage may exist, but there is little evidence that this type of tourism can be considered dark.

This section has reviewed the literature that surrounds the areas of battlefield tourism, which includes cemeteries and memorials. Authors such as Lloyd (1998), Hyde and Harman (2011), Baldwin and Sharpley (2009) and Slade (2003) have acknowledged that this type of tourism is probably motivated by pilgrimage rather than the macabre and some, such as Hyde and Harman (2011) do not even consider or discuss dark tourism literature when conducting their research. It is therefore hard to place battlefield tourism and all that this entails into the genre of dark tourism. The next section discusses sites of murder and genocide and considers if these types of tourism fall into any of the existing definitions of dark tourism.

1.8 Democide and Atrocity

This next section examines if sites of genocide and mass murder can be easily placed under the genre of dark tourism. It will establish what is meant by genocide and atrocity and why there may be difficulty using these terms. This section will mainly examine

the work of Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996) and Ashworth and Hartmann (2005), and include research from Beech (2009) and Poshodon and Hunt (2011).

As acknowledged by Beech (2009), there is no universally agreed definition of the word genocide. Various attempts have been made since the United Nations 1949 definition, ‘actions committed with intent to destroy in whole or in part a national, ethnic, racial or religious group’, to subdivide the word genocide. Autocide and ethnocide for instance have been used by various authors such as Bodley (1992); Melson (1996) to specify a particular type of genocide. Semelin (2005) argues that the problem with the word genocide is that it takes part in various kinds of political, identitarian or humanitarian rhetoric. The following list indicates where there is now general agreement:

- The killing is against a racial group because of their race.
- The killing is deliberate.
- The killing is systematic.

(Beech 2009:208)

Democide is the murder of any person or people by a government, including genocide, politicide, and mass murder. Democide is not necessarily the elimination of entire cultural groups, but rather groups within the country that the government feels need to be eradicated for political reasons and due to claimed future threat, (Rummel, 1994). Using the word democide, events such as the Rwandan Genocide in 1994, Srebrenica Genocide in the Bosnian War in 1995, the Cambodia genocidal regime of the Khmer Rouge in the late 1970’s, and the various Nazi extermination and concentration camps of the Second World War, can uncontroversially be included.

Ashworth and Hartmann (2005) agonise over the definition of the word 'atrocious'. They argue that atrocious is when a perpetrator is engaged in mindful and deliberate actions, the more innocent the victim the more atrocious the event. They also argue that an atrocious is when the scale or intensity of the event is out of the ordinary. (Ashworth and Hartmann 2005:2-3). However, the word atrocious has had a steady extension of the term to cover more and more occurrences 'until in popular usage it has come to mean any event that is just abnormally bad (such as atrocious weather).' Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996:95)

Genocide is the most serious atrocious, and to qualify as an atrocious, events must be on a sufficient scale, must be a deliberate act and its aim an eradication of people, (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996:103). However, they worry that the word is often misused and even underused. To demonstrate this point they offer the Highland Clearances of the 18th and 19th centuries as an example. Though the clearances aims were to eradicate an economic and social system, the indifference to the fate of the highlanders led to their deaths. This they argue could be classed as a genocide atrocious.

As acknowledged by Pososhen and Hunt (2011), atrocious tourism generally arouses dissonance for the visitor who feels compelled to visit but uneasy with its commodification. Ashworth (2002:363) takes this point further 'atrocious is not only peculiarly intense and lasting, but raises particularly complex issues of interpretation with those who associate with the victims, perpetrators and observers' Ashworth and Hartmann's (2005) theme of dissonant heritage relates to the manner in which particular sites are developed into tourist attractions.

Between 1975 and 1979, Pol Pot's communist Khmer Rouge regime in Cambodia killed an estimated 1.7 million people (21% of the country's population), and in April 1994, civil war reignited in Rwanda and genocide followed with the slaughter of 800,000 to 1 million people, primarily Tutsis, by the Hutu people (Yale University Genocide Program, accessed 16th March 2012). Both genocides have sites that are now visited by tourists. Typically at such sites death is on display. At a school in Murambi, Rwanda where 45,000 people were slaughtered, one visitor writes:

'In a number of the old classrooms, the preserved bodies of some of the victims are laid out on tables. The bodies are desiccated because of the lime used to preserve them, but their contorted bodies, and mouths open in silent scream are a horrifying testament to the events that happened here. No one was spared. In some rooms, small bodies belonging to children and infants lay on the wooden slats, mouths open in silent screams, their skulls spilt open from the blow of a machete or club...'
(Travelpod, 2008, cited in Beech 2009:220).

Tuol Sleng and Cheoung Ek in Cambodia are places where more than 17,000 civilians were tortured killed and buried in mass graves. In the centre of Cheoung Ek is a seventeen story glass stupa which houses 8000 skulls exhumed from mass graves. (Cambodia Travel, accessed 16th March 2012). These places are a chilling reminder of the brutalities of the genocidal Khmer Rouge regime.

Other examples of democide and atrocity include the Bosnian Genocide, Armenian Genocide and the Holocaust of World War II, these also have sites that can be visited

by tourists and have either bodies, parts of bodies, instruments of murder/extermination or all of these on display.

All these sites can be considered part of the realm of 'darker tourism' Miles (2002), and at the darkest end of Stone's (2006a) dark tourism spectrum. Empathy, emotion and anxiety over commodification amplified by the recentness or chronological distance is also apparent, Lennon and Foley (2000) and Pososhen and Hunt (2011):

'You walk from room to room, a caretaker opening each door to let you view the remains inside. You are told it is ok to take photographs. You do, feeling slightly sick and disgusted with yourself...You think you should be crying. You think you should smash things. You feel you should be feeling something, anything, but instead feel dazed. A thick numbness fills your skull as room after room is opened and body after body is seen.' (Travelpod, 2008 cited in Beech 2009:220).

It is quite easy then to conclude such sites fit well under most dark tourism definitions and within most typologies of dark tourism offered by academics so far. What is not obvious is why tourists visit such sites and this study hopes to add significant insight to this. Some definitions indicate that dark tourism is motivated by the seemingly macabre (Stone and Sharpley, 2009). Whilst some argue that visits to such sites are motivated by pilgrimage, '...that pilgrimages to sites of destruction allow for traditional commemoration and ritual that are so prevalent in the Jewish culture', (Poshodon and Munt, 2011:1333). With this in mind, it becomes hard to place most supposedly dark

tourism sites (including sites of democide and atrocity) under this genre without knowing why people visit.

This section has reviewed the main literature that surrounds the areas of atrocity and genocide tourism. It has examined how Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996) and Ashworth and Hartmann (2005) and Beech (2009) use the words genocide and atrocity. It demonstrates how sites where democide has taken place can comfortably be placed under most definitions of dark tourism. It does raise some concerns about motivations to visit such sites, but this study hopes to establish if such visits are motivated by the macabre or similar.

1.9 Conclusion

Despite a growing literature it is evident that there is difficulty in defining dark tourism. This chapter has examined the work of Lennon and Foley (2000); Sharpley and Stone (2006); Miles (2005); Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996) and Seaton (1996) amongst others. It has looked at their definitions and typologies and discussed the difficulty with establishing a recognisable definition and a workable typology. Some definitions such as Sharpley and Stone (2006) suggest that dark tourism is motivation to see death and the macabre. Lennon and Foley (2000) argue that dark tourism is a matter of chronological distance, whilst Seaton (1996) argues that thanatourism has always been part of human behaviour; and Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996) are mostly concerned with management issues such as interpretation. Occasionally the same author has contradicted himself, such as Lennon in a joint chapter with Seaton (2004). Other authors have presumed that their subject is an example of dark tourism, Tarlow (2005)

and his Bonnie and Clyde example and Strange and Kempa (2003) and their prison examples, without establishing which definition if any they are working from. Stone and Sharpley's (2006) dark tourism matrix and dark tourism spectrum also contradict each other.

It is not possible to go through each genre of tourism and discuss if they all fall under the established dark tourism definitions to date, however, this chapter has discussed some of the types of tourism that are typically used when dark tourism is discussed. Examples include prisons, theme parks (dark fun factories), battlefields and cemeteries and sites of genocide and mass murder. As demonstrated, it has been difficult to place many of these examples under most of the established typologies and dark tourism definitions, therefore making any typology problematic and incomplete.

Many academics have hinted that research into motivations and experiences is what is mostly lacking, 'there remains further scope for further empirical research, especially qualitative in-depth study of motivations and experiences' (Dunkley, Morgan and Westwood, 2011:867; Light 2017). Podoshen and Hunt (2011:1334) claim that the literature to date has 'largely been explored from the supply perspective in the existing literature and that a better understanding of consumption oriented motivations and experience is needed'. Even Sharpley (2009) acknowledges that the theoretical perspective is largely descriptive and that not much is revealed about the nature of the demand side, 'in particular, limited attention has been paid to exploring why tourists may be drawn towards sites of experiences associated with death and suffering' (Sharpley 2009:11).

It could be concluded that the problem with the definitions and typologies is the general lack of deep research into motivations. An insight into motivations to see sites associated with death could potentially lead to a more widely accepted definition and a dark tourist typology. The next chapter will examine some possible factors that might inspire travellers to visit dark sites. It will evaluate some psychology literature in an attempt to establish if visiting such sites is an example of human behaviour that has deep psychological roots. Additionally, it will discuss if the media and other factors play a role in inspiring visitors to visit dark tourism sites.

Chapter Two - The Strange Allure of Death and the Macabre

*'Not to laugh, not to lament, not to curse, but to understand'.
Spinoza (1632-1677)*

2.0 Introduction

Chapter two explores the theories that our fascination with death and the macabre stem from deep survival instincts, and also discusses some possible psychological theories. Later on in the chapter subjects such as the media, children's literature and the role of violent sports are discussed and an attempt is made to link these subjects to external factors as to why we are fascinated with violence and the macabre. Finally, it concludes that there may be a mixture of reasons that explain our fascination with death and violence, and in turn could help explain motivations for visiting dark tourism sites.

The fascination with homicide and the macabre goes far beyond the practical. The story lines are a staple of art and literature and a subject for both drama and comedy. The crime of murder is a most fundamental taboo and also, perhaps, a most fundamental human impulse.

Thurnell-Read (2009:27) puzzles over the appeal of dark tourism, when referring to visiting Auschwitz he asks, 'what do individuals find so enticing about such a macabre attraction?' He suggests that the appeal of such sites for tourists seems somewhat peculiar as many people who visit have no direct connection to the Holocaust, being neither German, Jewish, Polish. He further asks, 'is Holocaust tourism not simply morbid voyeurism?' Thurnell-Read (2009:27). Kastenbaum (2000) suggests that many of us find death interesting when it occurs to people who are not close to us.

Rhoads (2009) argues that curiosity is the single most important attribute with which humans are born. Curiosity is a powerful tool, like a scalpel or a searchlight. It allows us to look at something as abstract as behavioural patterns or as grand as history: to study it, to dissect it and marvel over its component parts. Curiosity changes us and is also a way to effect change, perhaps even at a global level (Rhoads, 2009).

We are endlessly curious and fascinated with murder. Often homicide and acts of death and violence are sources of entertainment. We wonder why people kill and are intrigued by the ways in which the deed is accomplished. Human beings are the only inhabitants on Earth that deliberately inflict cruelty on others without any apparent gain (Kottler 2011). According to Goldstein (1998) people voluntarily expose themselves to, and often search out, images of violence. In the real world, there is in fact a practical duty we share in understanding the means and the motivations for crime and violence. Understanding is necessary for prediction, prevention and protection (Kottler, 2011).

Kottler (2011:21) also argues that the human race paradoxically relishes the idea of deliberately inflicting pain and cruelty on others as well as holding a capacity for compassion and altruism. He goes on to explain that this conundrum at first troubled Sigmund Freud, though, Aristotle, Marquis de Sade and eventually Freud all argued that humans are sadists at heart.

2.1 A Question of Survival

This section of chapter two explores the arguments that a fascination with death and the macabre is a question of genetics, evolution and the survival instinct. This section

attempts to link the idea that general curiosity at murder sites and traffic accidents is part of our deep ancestral past and in order to survive and reproduce we had to be violent and hyper-alert to violence. This sections discusses, amongst others, Wilson (2012), Kottler (2011), Buss (2005) and Goldstein's (1998) theories that a fascination with violence and the macabre could be a throwback to early human times and it still lingers in our genetics today. This section of chapter two goes onto to conclude that maybe a fascination with death and the macabre is part of our natural human make-up.

Kottler (2011) argues how we are irresistibly drawn to horror whilst simultaneously repulsed by it. For example, whilst watching a macabre film, the reflective rational conscience may ask 'why am I watching this?', but it is a deep basic instinct that draws us into the experience in the first place, and it may be a legacy from our ancestors that makes us hyper alert to violence. Kottler (2011) suggests that if our ancestors reacted hesitantly to the constant threat of predators and warfare, this would have resulted in their death. He further argues that we (humans) are all products of 'spectacularly violent ancestors who survived and procreated largely because of their ability as stalkers and killers', (Kottler 2011:23). He also explains that the neurological, endocrine and muscular systems of the human body are designed to tune into potential violence and danger and respond decisively. He describes how the only true danger we (humans) now encounter is crossing the busy street or negotiating rush hour traffic, but the deep natural instinct to react to violence or be violent is still present, and, therefore, 'biology predisposes us to become aroused by violence and death', (Kottler 2011:24). Buss (2005) also proposes that killing, murder and violence is a product of the evolutionary pressures our species confronted and have adapted to. He argues that killing and being violent was so advantageous in an evolutionary sense that he puzzles,

‘the real mystery is not why killing has been so prevalent over our evolutionary history, but why killing has not been MORE prevalent’ (Buss, 2005:11).

Goldstein (1998) takes this further and argues that for millennia, blood and gore were linked to gratifications of food intake, to well-being, and to survival, ‘that those with the keenest interest in the kill by others had a feeding advantage translatable into greater reproductive success, and that this selective linkage left a trace of paleomammalian brain (Maclean, 1964) a trace that manifests itself in a continuing interest in blood and gore and kills made by others’ (Goldstein, 1998:192).

Wilson (2012) also has some sympathies with an evolutionary biological theory as to why humans are fascinated with death, violence and the macabre. He discusses the analogy of why elephants are drawn to dead elephant carcasses and seemingly play with the dead bones. According to Poole (1996) elephants are one of a few other species of mammals known to have any recognisable ritual around death. They show a keen interest in the bones of their own kind. They are often seen gently investigating the bones with their trunks and feet while remaining very quiet. Sometimes elephants that are completely unrelated to the deceased will still visit their graves. Although this elephant behaviour is not totally understood, according to Wilson (2012) this practice may have evolutionary value, that studying the dead might give the elephants hints on how the creature died and so, understand behaviour that should be avoided. Wilson (2012:23) further wonders if being drawn to things dying or dead is a drive for survival. What he calls ‘dark curiosities’ arguably could be natural phenomenon, and be useful, and further suggests that the ‘morbid is ameliorative’, (Wilson 2012:23).

It is for precisely these instinctive reasons that Kottler (2011) gives as to why there appears to be general curiosity at sites of murder or those slowing down to see what has happened after a car crash. Kottler (2011) explains that three basic questions naturally and sub-contentiously arouse from seeing such scenes. 1) What happened to this person? 2) How did it happen? 3) What can I do to prevent such a thing from happening to me? Kottler (2011:24), then further states that we are curious ‘not just because we are morbid and perverse, but also because we are trying to learn from what occurred.’ (Kottler 2011:25). According to Becker (1973) early men that were most fearful and aroused by violence were the most realistic about their situation in nature, and passed on to their offspring a realism that resulted in a high survival rate. Bonn (2011) also suggests that a fascination with violence and serial killers appeal to our most basic and powerful instinct - that is, survival.

Kottler (2011) amusingly recounts the answer Stephen King offered, (the American author of contemporary horror, suspense, science fiction and fantasy whose books have sold more than 350 million copies (Empire, 2011)), when asked why he had morbid interests and kept so many scrapbooks on infamous murderers such as Charlie Starkweather. He answered “Well, it was never like, ‘yeah, go Charlie, kill some more.’ It was more like, ‘Charlie, if I ever see anyone like you, I’ll be able to get the hell away.’” Kottler (2011:123). Thus, lending some superficial weight to the survival and biological theory on what Kottler (2011:122) entitles ‘curious self-protection’.

Buss (2005) also likens curiosity with murder and death to a survival strategy, that by learning the motives and methods of murderers, people learn ways to prevent becoming victims. Vicary and Fraley (2010) also argue that people’s fascination with murder and

death may stem from a desire to avoid becoming the victim of a deadly crime, ‘...it might be the case that fascination with murder arises from evolved mechanisms more broadly concerned with monitoring fitness-relevant information’ (Vicary and Fraley 2010:82).

Spriggs (1998) discusses what he calls a ‘biological knowledge’ of a fascination with death, ‘the unconscious, innate reason we avoid death is that we will no longer be able to pass on our genes’ (accessed 13th November 2012). He argues that we seek stories on death to analyse it so it can be avoided it as much as possible. He further argues that a fascination with death is a universal activity. It is something certain to all of us and a subject such as quantum physics for example, may have a smaller potential audience. This may go some way to explain why a fascination with death, murder and the macabre appears to be on such a large scale.

Wilson (2012) discusses Beers’ (no date cited in Wilson 2012) idea that morbid curiosity may be a by-product of imagination. Beers (no date cited in Wilson 2012) suggests that imagination evolved alongside intellect and language in response to evolving more sophisticated communication techniques. That it is our ability to relate to others that is beneficial to a group, and it is empathy in particular that helps with survival, ‘the capacity to identify with the pleasures and pains of another’ (Wilson 2012:30). Wilson (2012) suggests that Beers (no date) argues that our attraction to the macabre is possibly a desire to experience someone else’s suffering. Wilson (2012:30) laments; ‘this ideas comforts me. It tells me that my macabre fascination are expressions of a deep human need to feel another’s pain and also useful for the survival of species and individual.’

Kottler (2011) further suggests that we can be entertained by grotesque killing or acts because on a deep level we (humans) are hungry for action and excitement as a result of genetic programming, and it is this that is now missing from our daily lives. Moreover, Kottler (2011) also argues that tolerating and learning to enjoy violence is a rite of passage for adolescent boys in particular, which he says is particularly so with hunter-gatherer cultures, but can still be seen in our schools today (Kottler, 2011). ‘So-called horseplay and playground fights are simply part of the gender socialization in which young animals of all species learn the rituals and skill of hunting and self-protection’ (Kottler 2011:83).

After discussing Kottler (2011), Wilson (2012) and other authors such as Spriggs (1998), Bonn (2011) and Vicary and Fraley (2010) theories on why many people are fascinated with violence, death and the macabre, it would be easy to assume that this desire and fascination is a natural part of human nature. Whether it is our eagerness to look at a road traffic accident to learn what happened and avoid it happening to ourselves Kottler (2011), or Goldstein’s (1998) idea that we all come from violent ancestors, either way it more than hints at being a natural phenomenon. However, some theorists believe that there are psychological reasons as to why we are fascinated with the macabre and death. Psychologists such as Freud (1920) claimed that there are deep physiological instincts within us and that we all have a desire for death, and it is these desires that might explain why humans have a curiosity to see violence and death, and therefore, visit dark sites such as Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek to satisfy this curiosity. This next section of chapter two will explore Freud’s (1920) theory in particular and examine if our curiosity at seeing death and the macabre is part of our psychological makeup.

2.2 Psychology of Death

The preceding section of chapter two explored the idea that our fascination with death and violence is to do with our survival instinct. That we had to be aroused by violence and be violent in order to survive, Kottler (2011), and it is this legacy that still lingers in us today. It also discussed the argument that we look at incidences such as road traffic accidents, to sub-consciously learn what happened and avoid it happening to us, therefore, linking these theories to survival instincts. The preceding section also explored similar theories by Goldstein (1998) and Wilson (2012). This next section discusses some psychologists' views that we have a death instinct and that we all secretly desire death. Kastenbaum (2000) and Freud (1920) amongst others are discussed along with criticisms of Freud's death-instinct theory and human motivations. It goes on to conclude that together with the survival instinct, the death instinct is part of human nature and thus, our desire to see death (dark tourism) may be a natural phenomenon.

2.2.1 Death Instinct

Human motivation is founded upon the tendency to seek pleasure and avoid pain. This commonplace notion has long been familiar; it is enshrined in the philosophical position known as hedonism. It was also taken for granted by the forerunners of contemporary behaviourism. A positive experience will act to reinforce the behaviour that produced or became associated with it; a negative or unpleasant experience would have the opposite outcome (Kastenbaum 2000).

However, it was Freud (1920) that really took the death–instinct theory forward. He believed that there are two instincts: the life instinct and the death instinct. The life instincts are those that relate to a basic need for survival, reproduction and pleasure. They include such things as the need for food, shelter, love and sex. These instincts are important for sustaining the life of the individual as well as the continuation of the species. He calls this a strong countervailing force and he says it exists in all living organisms. The force (Eros) seeks to ‘combine more and more living substances into ever greater utilities’ (Kastenbaum, 2000:166).

He also suggested that all humans have an unconscious wish for death, which he referred to as the death instinct. Self-destructive behaviour, he believed, was one expression of the death drive. This force he calls Thanatos. ‘Freud’s death-instinct hypothesis lies in the mere insistence that each of us carries within the potential toward destructiveness (Piven, 2004:178).

Eros and Thanatos are inter-mingled throughout life, each jousting with the other in an attempt to achieve its own aims. He suggests that humans are never wholly orientated towards survival and development, and only in the most extreme conditions, if ever, does the death instinct reign without challenge. He believed however, that the death instincts were largely tempered by the life instincts (Freud, 1920).

Part of his death-instinct theory is the notion of deliberately seeking pain and loss. He claims that all instincts are conservative, that they aim to repeat or restore some earlier state. Freud’s (1920) examples are the tendency of many organisms to regenerate lost body parts and of migratory birds to follow the same seasonal routes (Kastenbaum

2000). He further explains that we have a compulsion to repeat, and this rules both our mental and vegetative functioning, and that the compulsion to repeat an earlier condition can often take precedence. However, instead of acting to seek pleasure, one may actually seek pain and loss in order to appease the repetitive compulsion, (an example of self-destruction) (Kastenbaum 2000).

It had become evident to Freud (1920) that people sometimes acted as though they were seeking out pain rather than pleasure. He was not referring to the simple equation, pleasure sought, pleasure found, instead Freud (1920) perceived a quality of compulsion in some people, they 'had to do it', even though a painful experience was almost guaranteed. This would be an example of the self-destructive Thanatos instinct that exists in his death-instinct theory (Freud, 1920).

Of course there were/are critics to Freud's (1920) death-instinct theory. For example, Gernsbacher (1985), Becker (1973), and Brown (1959), who claimed that the death-instinct theory was 'worse than useless for therapists', cited in Kastenbaum (2000:173). The criticism aimed at Freud's death-instinct theory was mostly that the theory was burdensome with a most unattractive load of pessimism, (a personality trait that Freud apparently possessed (Kastenbaum 2000)).

However, it was Einstein that gave some prominence to Freud's (1920) death-instinct theory. Through correspondence with Freud after World War One, they puzzled over the question 'Why war?' Kastenbaum (2000:185). Freud's (1920) death-instinct theory was essentially their answer: 'how is it possible that the mass of the people permits itself to become aroused to the point of insanity and eventual self-sacrifice? The answer

can only be: Man has in him the need to hate and destroy' (Kastenbaum, 2000:185). Einstein and Freud eventually wrote a paper together Einstein and Freud (1932), discussing the death instinct theory. They discuss that Eros and Thanatos are both real in a sense, that each of these drives is just as indispensable as the other; the phenomena of life evolves from their acting together and against each other. They suggest that most societies can acquire sufficient strength through the rule of law over the most primitive of death impulses and that Eros is the perfect counter balance to Thanatos. The normal business of life requires the interaction of processes opposite in their individual aims, but that together contribute to effective development and functioning (Einstein and Freud 1932).

There have been very few attempts to link tourism and theories such as Freud's. Kingsbury and Brunn (2008) used Freud's sub-conscious theories to examine magazine articles in the months after the 9/11 attacks. They argue that psychoanalytical concepts, such as Freud's enable us to critically understand the 'uncanny disjuncture between the exotic, vulnerable, terrorized, and sunny tourist worlds...' (Kingsbury and Brunn, 2008:40). Uriely et al (2011), uses the theories of Freud and Jung (discussed later on in this chapter), as a way of understanding 'deviant behaviour' in tourists, when individuals engage in non-rational and irrational behaviours. They argue that tourism-related behaviours are shaped by unconscious forces, that can be explained by 'seminal psychodynamic concepts' (Uriely et al, 2011:1068). They link an array of tourism activity to the sub-conscious need and Freud's and Jung's theories, as demonstrated in the table below:

Deviant Tourism	Normative Tourism	Unconscious needs
Commercial sex tourism, sexual transgression in public	Romantic holidays, occasional sex	Sex (Freud)
Alcohol-related violence, hooliganism, excessive risk taking	Dark tourism, non-compulsive gambling, bungee jumping, rafting and trekking	Aggression (Freud)
Non-conformist wanderers, "Jerusalem Syndrome"	Existential modes of tourist experiences (pilgrimage and heritage tourism)	Social rules (Freud)
Excessive risk-taking	Backpacking, adventure tourism, volunteer tourism, ecotourism	Hero (Jung)
Drug tourism	Sea-sand-sun, search for nostalgia	Paradise (Jung)

(Uriely et al, 2011:1068)

Dark tourism only gets a 'passing mention', where they argue that visiting a dark tourism site satiates a sub-conscious aggression. They go on to acknowledge in their conclusion that an extensive review of psychodynamic theories is needed, and this study intends to inform the link between dark tourism and the sub-conscious.

More recently, Buda (2014:39) asserts that 'tourist experiences in areas of socio-political conflict can be more critically explored by unpacking the uncanny juxtaposition of tourism with the death drive'. She further argues that the dark aspects of human nature, such as the deviant and the irrational have not received the deserved attention in tourism studies. Moreover, the understandings of the death drive within the context of critical tourism research should not be regarded as clinical but conceptual. Her small research into motivations and women travelling in Jordon revealed that 'travelling in a conflict area some tourists seek to negotiate and purge embedded memories and archaic traumas...' (2014:39). She acknowledges that much more

detailed work needs to be done to bring motivations and such theories together, and this study intends to do just that.

Critical to this research, Freud's (1920) death-instinct theory could go some way to explain why someone on their holiday, typically visiting ancient temples and idyllic beaches would be curious about visiting a dark site such as Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek, in the knowledge that what they will see/experience will more than likely be upsetting and emotional. Kottler (2011) suggests that many humans are 'Jekyll and Hyde', 'when there is so much to celebrate that is beautiful and peaceful in the world, why would anyone choose to watch the most disgusting, degrading and brutal inhumanity?' (Kottler 2011:243).

In spite of its criticism, Freud's death-instinct theory still has popular appeal. This section of chapter two discussed how he argued that human psychology is made up of dark and light forces and that both are important. That light (good) forces are the perfect counter balance to the dark (bad) forces. If Freud is right, and like Kottler (2011) and Goldstein (1998) in the first section of chapter two, it could be argued that whether it is a mixture of genetics, survival instinct or psychology, a fascination or curiosity with death, seeing death and/or violence is part of natural human behaviour, therefore, arguably visits to sites where violent death has occurred, such as Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek, could be examples of this deep survival instinct, and therefore, part of natural human behaviour. To add weight to this theory, the catharsis theory explores the psychological nature of our fascination with death and violence. The next section of chapter two discusses the catharsis theory and Jung's (1951, 1970) idea that seeing

violence or death, subconsciously actually stops us being violent, therefore exploring the idea that seeing violence and death, might actually be good for mental health.

2.3 Catharsis

The previous section of chapter two mostly discussed Freud's (1920) death-instinct theory. Exploring the idea that, psychologically, as well as a light (good) side, we all have a dark side and a desire for death and destruction, and that this may explain why we have a curiosity for violence and observing death. The previous section of chapter two explained that although Freud's theory received and still receives criticism, it remains popular. This next section of chapter two discusses another psychological theory, the much debated catharsis theory. This theory examines the idea that by seeing violence and death, it might actually prevent one from being violent. That seeing death and the macabre might actually satisfy your dark side, and without this it may be detrimental to your mental health. Jung (1951, 1970) is discussed and later on in this section Schmidt (2005), who argued that by being close to death, or being frightened may ultimately motivate one to live each moment with great appreciation and satisfaction.

'One of television's greatest contributions is that it brought murder back into the home where it belongs. Seeing a murder on television can be good therapy. It can help work off one's antagonism.' (Alfred Hitchcock, 1966).

Catharsis theory dates back to ancient Greece, when Aristotle suggested that art can have a cathartic (cleansing) effect by allowing us to experience powerful emotions such as pity and terror without having to go through the real-life events that would give rise to such feelings. Catharsis theory has changed since Aristotle's time; modern proponents suggest that it means that people, including children, can use various media (films, television, video games, visitor attractions) as ways to vent inappropriate urges or emotions in safe, socially acceptable ways (Kastenbaum, 2000). For instance, instead of acting out violently against peers, a child can play a video game that allows violent behaviour to be purged, hopefully preventing violence from ever manifesting in a real encounter. However, most research on media effects, particularly regarding children, contradicts the catharsis theory and suggests that the detrimental effects of media depicting undesirable behaviour outweigh any cathartic function (Kastenbaum, 2000).

However, according to Ivory and Kalyanaraman (2011) the catharsis theory disputes the claim that violent computer game content, and watching violence or seeing death encourages aggression. They suggest that the emotional drive evoked by violence or seeing violence (real or fictional) reduces the chance of actually exhibiting violent behaviour. A fantasy and imagined actions cause some to have reduced urges to act out aggression in actual behaviour (Ivory, 2001).

There remains amongst some researchers and many practitioners a very strong belief in the age-old catharsis hypothesis. The belief that experiencing and expressing aggressive emotions and thoughts will decrease subsequent aggressive thoughts, feelings, and emotions (Bushman et al, 2002; Bushman et al, 1999). This ancient Greek idea, later popularized by Breuer and Freud (1936), states that aggressive impulses can be reduced

by watching, reading, or singing about anger and aggression as well as by behaving in symbolically aggressive ways (Anderson et al, 2002).

Bushman and Huesmann (2006) argue that popular belief in the catharsis theory remains strong, and that according to the catharsis hypothesis, acting aggressively or even viewing aggression is an effective way to reduce anger and aggressive feelings. They claim that one likely reason for the continued widespread belief in catharsis is that the mass media continues to endorse the view that expressing anger or aggressive feelings is healthy, constructive, and relaxing, whereas restraining emotions creates internal tension that is unhealthy and may lead to an emotional break down.

Freud (1920) was not the only expert to assert that venting can be beneficial. More recent and current works, especially those of popular psychology aimed at the general public, continue to exhort people to express their feelings rather than keeping them inside, for the sake of one's own mental health. For example, Lee (1993) exhorted angry people to hit a punching bag or pillow while imagining it as having the face of the person with whom they are angry, 'so that you can stop doing violence to yourself by holding in poisonous anger' (Lee, 1993:96). It was Freud's view that emotional responses remained potent until they could be felt and expressed, and so refusing to express anger caused the destructive feelings to remain inside the person, where they could lead to psychological symptoms (Breuer and Freud, 1936), and ultimately be detrimental to mental health.

Jung (1970) also argued that we like to witness violence precisely because, the watching, allows us to entertain our most destructive impulses without actually harming

others or ourselves. Jung (1951b, 1970) distinguishes two domains of the unconscious: the personal and the collective. The personal collective is said to be made up of contents which have at one time been conscious, but have disappeared from consciousness through having been forgotten or repressed. In other words, personal memories, retrievable with different degrees of difficulty, Goldstein (1998). In contrast, the contents of the collective conscience have never been in the consciousness and these primordial contents are equated with instincts, which he termed 'archetypes', Goldstein (1998). He further argues that it is the shadow archetype that is conceptualized as our dark side. The shadow archetype is our basic animal instinct, our pre-human state that possess our premoral impulsions (Jung 1951b, 1970). The shadow archetype is an archive of morbid impulses with a propensity toward melancholy or suicidal and murderous urges, and because we don't like the shadow we repress it, the harder we repress it, the more aggressively it festers (Jung, 1951b, 1970). However, like Freud's (1920) death-instinct theory, Jung argues (1951b, 1970) that although we do not like the shadow, we also secretly desire it. Jung (1951b, 1970) further believed that mental health and depression are a result of the overemphasising of the conscious mind and ego, and that neglecting the unconscious mind is disharmonious. According to Wilson (2012) Jung's example suggests that a fascination with the morbid phenomena is necessary for mental health, 'for expressing the psyche's destructive powers and reconciling them with bright reason' Wilson (2012:45). This may account for our morbid and macabre fascinations (or Jung's own fascination with corpses (Wilson, 2012)). Wilson (2012) humorously likens this theory to going to the cinema to watch the latest violent and/or gory film, 'in going to the multiplex to check out the latest gore, I'm really popping down on the therapist's couch, in quest of a more concordant and capacious and generous self' Wilson (2012:45). According to Wilson (2012), Jung

argues that mental health arises from the concord between darkness and light. As long as we demonize our morbid tendencies, 'we are only half a person, unnatural, like day with no night, up without down' Wilson (2012:43).

More recently Rhoads (2009) quotes Dr Samuel Johnson in 1750 'Every man comes into the world morbid' Johnson (1750) cited in Rhoads (2009: xviii). If this is true she asks, how can a morbid state be unhealthy? 'To me, curiosity-even about "morbid" topics-is ultimately life affirming' (Rhoads, 2009: xviii).

Schmidt (2005) suggests that watching or seeing death up close helps us deal with anxieties about our own annihilation. That by being near death, or being frightened this may ultimately motivate us to live each moment with greater appreciation and satisfaction. In a sense we feel more alive during those times when we are most fearful. Kottler (2011) claims this is why people deliberately jump off cliffs or out of aeroplanes, climb mountains or take other life-threatening risks. Wilson (2012) also claims that we have all experienced and been exhilarated by our fears, 'scared to death but more alive than ever' Wilson (2012:41). It is interesting to consider that the breakthrough in violent films occurred during the Great Depression when people were most desperate for ways to escape the hopelessness of their lives. This was the golden age of horror; films such as *Dracula* (1931), *Frankenstein* (1931), *Murders in the Rue Morgue* (1932), and many more became box office sensations (Kottler 2011). Goldstein 1998) also acknowledges that socially and historically events affect the popularity of violence and macabre attractions, referring to violent films he says that 'during times of war, or when violence permeates our neighbourhoods, it gains in popularity' (Goldstein, 1998:225).

There have been many attempts to explain our dark side and fascination with violence and the macabre. Freud (1920) and Jung (1951, 1970), explain that we have a desire for death or to experience death, the more we can express these desires the better for our mental health. That these cathartic desires are probably unconscious instincts, controlled by our conscious instincts. Bushman and Anderson (2001), claim that the catharsis theory remains popular due to a powerful media and film industry endorsing it. The film director John Carpenter is quoted ‘Horror is the universal language, and horror films have a job to do-to prevent violence by offering an entertaining vision of it.’ Ibid (no date: 189) cited in Kottler (2011:244). Others, such as Zillman and Weaver (1995) could find no correlation in their research that watching violent films acted as a cathartic experience for the viewer. Nonetheless the catharsis theory remains popular and ever present, (Wilson, 2012;Goldstein, 1991; Kastenbaum, 2000), and although some critics dismiss it when referring to watching violent/macabre films, (Zillman and Weaver, 1995), it may go some way to explain why people would visit death sites such as the ‘Killing Fields’ in Cambodia or Auschwitz in Poland. It is an instinctive, unconscious desire, to visit our shadow archetype, Jung (1951, 1970) and thus balance our equilibrium.

This section started with a discussion of the catharsis theory, Jung (1951, 1970) who advocated the idea that seeing death and/or violence might actually be good for your mental health, that it stops you acting it out yourself. It then compared the catharsis theory to Freud’s death-instinct theory. It also discussed some theories such as Schmidt (2005) and Wilson’s (2012) idea that we can feel more alive and maybe even exhilarated after being scared. Like Kottler (2011) and Goldstein (1998) who argue that our curiosity at death and violence is part of a survival instinct, and Freud (1920),

in the last section of chapter two, who argued we have a death-instinct, and together with Jung (1951, 1970) who argued that seeing violence is good for your mental health, one could assume that a fascination or curiosity with death and violence is part of natural human behaviour. However, there could be more than just natural instincts that motivate us to visit murder/death sites or be aroused by violent acts. Outside influences such as the modern media, the role of sport and the stories we listened to from the moment we could hear, may act as external motivators and the next section of chapter two discusses some of these possibilities.

2.4 The Influence of the Media and a Desire to see Horror and Violence

The preceding sections of chapter two mostly discussed the idea that dark tourism, or having a curiosity with violence and death is part of natural human behaviour. The survival instinct argues that we have descended from spectacular violent ancestry and these genes still linger in us today. It also argued that we become aroused by violence and death as a means of survival, we look to see what happened to avoid becoming a victim. Freud's (1920) death-instinct theory argues that we all have a dark side and a sub-conscious desire for death, and this is the reason we seek out the macabre and destruction. Jung's (1951, 1970) catharsis theory also insinuates that we seek out the macabre and are aroused by violence, because we need to satisfy our destructive impulses, and by not acknowledging such impulses this might be bad for our mental health. It goes on to conclude that our desire to visit dark tourism attractions, or see violence in one way or another is probably natural human behaviour. The next few sections of chapter two will discuss other motivating factors that may exist for visiting dark tourism sites. This section discusses the scale of the media in all its forms, and

whether we are becoming de-sensitised to violent imagery. It starts with a discussion on the role on the local, national and international news. It then goes on to discuss some violent films and the role film tourism may play in visiting a place and or an attraction It then concludes with the theory that we are now so habituated to seeing death, violence and the macabre in the media, that experiencing real life death attractions (dark tourism) could now be a way of satisfying a thrill.

2.4.1 The Reporting of Death in the Media

Violent stories (true or fictional) have been a societal staple pre-dating the mass media and where there is violence, there is generally dying and/or death as accompanying consequences (Meyer, 2008).

The topics of death and dying have been a part of most cultures and societies throughout the world since the invention and development of the movable type printing press by Johan Gutenberg in the 15th century. Current western culture has experienced a steady flow of content on death and dying as the various media technologies have evolved from print to the electronic media of radio, television, and film, and to the Internet as the most powerful and pervasive purveyor of such content. Any disaster or tragic event results in unprecedented media coverage of the incident aftermath and its horrible, graphic consequences (Meyer, 2008).

Images of devastation, lost lives, famine and disease have filled the television networks around the world and gets transmitted and retransmitted over the Internet and television. These images of real-life death and dying often remain juxtaposed against television

commercials for violent video and computer games that use simulations of death as the centre piece to attract customers, and against an array of fictional television programmes and films that also incorporate numerous images of death and dying.

Violence and death are regular content features on international television news and information programmes. Acts of violence are incorporated into fictional or reality content and dying and death, topics highly attractive to audiences, are two popular items for television news (Duwe, 2000).

Moeller (1998) also makes the point that death and dying are often featured topics on local and national news programmes. Deaths of celebrities (and news stories that foreshadow such deaths when celebrities are dying), people of local, regional, or national prominence (e.g., civic leaders, elected officials), or victims of natural disasters or accidents routinely fill the time allotted for news programs (Stack, 2000). Bonn (2011) argues that it is not surprising that we have a fascination for the serial killer, violence and the macabre. He says that our fascination is fuelled by the 'massive' news media attention they receive 'One may recall the 'Son of Sam' murders during the summer of 1977 in new York City and the relentless media coverage of those events throughout the so-called summer of Sam' (Bonn, 2011:1).

According to Meyer (2008), death and dying are staples of reporting on wars or terrorist acts ranging from battlegrounds in Southeast Asia during the Vietnam War to Afghanistan and Iraq and Syria more recently. Advances in technology have allowed viewers around the world to vicariously experience the consequences of war and terrorism, and Meyer (2008) continues that the media spends a great deal of time and

space on events connected to death and dying. He also argues that such an emphasis suggests that human beings have a certain degree of fascination with these topics. Audiences drive the commercial media because they are important to advertisers seeking to reach them, and it is the advertisers who provide most of the revenue, hence profits, for the media industries. Duwe (2000) explains that since the inception of the penny press in the 1830s, the media have viewed the reporting of crime as a way to boost their sales, he states, 'in an effort to make crime news more entertaining, and thus more appealing to consumers, the news media over represent violent interpersonal crimes because they are dramatic, tragic and rare in occurrence' Duwe (2011:365). "If it bleeds, it leads,' goes the maxim of the news business' (Kottler, 2011:135). This is evidence, according to Myer (2008), of the recognition of the selling power of death and violence, 'whether one blames supply or demand...the market for media violence remains intact, vibrant and growing' (Trend 2007:118).

2.4.2 Violent Film and Television Programmes

Television and films also portray death and violence in an unprecedented way. In the film franchises *Saw* and *Hostel*, characters are systematically tortured in the most vivid, brutal ways possible. People are forced to cut off their own body parts, naked women are hung up in meat lockers, chained victims are subjected to all kinds of cutting equipment. Blood and human viscera are scattered everywhere on screen. These franchises, and others like them, have generated billions of dollars in ticket sales (Kottler 2011). 'It's all about excitement for me – the more the better. I like over-the-top stuff with maximum gore. It's kind of like seeing a car wreck that's just too good to pass by; you have to see what's there even though you know it's going to be horrible' (Kottler, 2011:99). This could be an example of Freud's (1920) death-instinct theory

or Jung's (1951b, 1970) shadow archetype at work, or even Wilson's idea that 'morbid is ameliorative' (Wilson 2012:23). Maybe as Kottler (2011) suggests, watching such films might somehow protect yourself against being a victim, if you can somehow learn to recognise the symptoms of a predator on the hunt and avoid being their victim.

Duncum (2006) suggests that it is now habit that keeps us watching violent films and television programmes. He argues that most people find violence an acceptable way to tell stories, and the person who is most likely to be attracted to violence in media and entertainment is the adolescent male. They feel that through watching violence or playing violent video games they may master their fears and are enabled to play out their socially allotted gendered role as emotionally detached and fearless. That watching and interacting with violent imagery acts as a way to bond with their peers. Duncum (2006) also suggests that violence is offered as ever more unreal, stylized and unconnected to real experiences, and further claims that film and general media violence has become so pervasive it can no longer be reflected upon, that it is only consumed, 'we have become so habituated to violence that some audiences delight in the audacity of a film or video that greatly exceeds their expectation for violence.' Duncum (2006:29). He also suggests that the thrill that people derive from seeing death and violence in the media, diminishes with repeated exposure, 'initial strong reactions to violence fades in intensity and with massive exposure may even lead to complete desensitization' Duncum (2006:29). Several studies have shown that in the long run, habitual exposure to media violence may reduce anxious arousal in response to depictions of violence. Research has found that the more time individuals spent watching violent media depictions, the less emotionally responsive they became to violent stimuli e.g., Averill et al (1972) cited in Krahe (2013). Implications are that

violent media (in all its forms) leads to a more violent media, as the thrill and the chase of Thanatos in the death-instinct theory (Freud 1920), becomes ever more extreme.

This possible desensitisation to violence in films and television could go some way to explain why holiday makers are visiting real death sites/dark tourism sites, be it the 'killing fields' in Cambodia or Auschwitz in Poland in ever increasing numbers, 'Auschwitz concentration camp reached another record number of visitors in 2011, with almost 1,400,000.' (Isaac and Cakmak 2013:2). People are, perhaps sub-consciously seeking out an experience that exceeds their expectation for violence (Duncum, 2006).

Many directors, writers and producers cannot exactly explain the appeal of their violent films, all they know is that the more gruesome the violence in their films, generally the more success at the box office (Kottler, 2011). Even Shakespeare recognised the attraction of death and violence in his writings, and he referred to them as 'violent delights' Duncum (2006:1). Tarantino has written and directed some of the most violent films such as *Pulp Fiction* and *Reservoir Dogs*. In an interview with Brunette (1999), cited in Kottler (2011:114), Tarantino explains of his violent scenes that he is 'trying to be disturbing' and that 'saying you don't like violence in movies is like saying you don't like dance sequences in movies'. When referring to the 1969 film *The Wild Bunch*, one critic (Rainer 1982) called it the 'most essential American film from the Sixties because it confronted point-blank the audience's fear and fascination with violence' (Rainer, 1982 cited in Kottler, 2011:101). Oliver Stone who has directed violent films such as *Platoon* (1986) and *Natural Born Killers* (1994), believes that the appeal of violent films is that they play into our most natural instincts 'This is what we

are; we're animals, we were animals, this is our Darwinian chain; we have aggression in us. This is part of our nature.' Bouzereau (1996) cited in Kottler (2011:244).

Of course, not everybody is attracted to violence and macabre in the way Tarantino suggests, and although Duncum (2006) claims that violence and death is highly popular in mass media entertainment and is increasingly gory, he also suggests that most entertainment is not violent. Nonetheless, he offers some interesting facts and figures. He suggests that 60% of US television contains death and/or violence, and 40% presents death as humorous. Duncum (2006) also suggests that by the age of eighteen, a child has seen around 200,000 acts of violence on television, including 40,000 murders (Duncum 2006:2). Kottler (2011:31) also suggest that the average child before reaching the age of eighteen has witnessed thousands of murders and ten times as many acts of violence on television. This figure would double, or even triple once films are added in as well. Whether real, fictional or for entrainment there can be no doubt that in general we are exposed to violence and death on an ever increasing basis, and that many of us deliberately seek it out as a tool for entertainment. It could be argued that due to the sheer scale of violence and death observed in the many media forms, Duncum (2006), viewers have been programmed to watch violence and death.

2.4.5 Film Tourism

Film tourism describes the effects that film and TV productions can have on our travel decisions as they inspire people to experience the screened places first hand. According to Connell (2012), a number of high-profile tourism destinations utilise film-related aspects in inbound marketing campaigns, most notably the UK, USA, Korea, Australia

and New Zealand. In the UK, film has featured as a distinct arm of the VisitBritain marketing portfolio since the 1990s, while the 2004 Visit America Alliance inbound television marketing campaign featured the line: 'You've seen the movies, now visit the set'. Likewise, the New Zealand Tourism Ministry has harnessed the positive nation images in films like 'The Piano' and 'Whale Rider', and the hype created through 'The Lord of the Rings' to stimulate awareness and tourist visits through strongly associated marketing initiatives. Connell (2012) also discusses that cases where film tourism effects have been observed now proliferate, and examples range across the spectrum of film genres, from comedy to thrillers. Ritchie (2006) also argues that films can have a powerful influence on travel decisions. Therefore it can be argued that an established link between films and tourist motivations to visit certain sites/destinations exists.

Blom (2000) suggests that films and the media are the major influential factor as regards creating interest in tourist attractions and destinations. Beeton (2005) argues that the popularity of certain films has not only increased visitations to destinations featured, but also encouraged a range of niche tourism products associated with the film. 'Film-induced tourism' is the study of tourism visits made to a destination or attraction resulting from its featuring in cinema films, television series or promotional videos (Cardoso, 2017). There is little doubt that films have an influence on tourism decision-making. Busby and Klug (2001), in their research on the tourist impact of the film Notting Hill, concluded that the majority of their respondents would travel to film locations, or destinations featured in films in the future.

When film viewers encounter destinations through films, their interests are enhanced and they formulate destination images and develop intentions to visit the filmed destinations (Lee and Bai, 2016). Beeton (2005) also argues that the development of

a country's image and cultural representations can be traced through films and television series, moreover, Carsoso (2017) also concludes that film constitutes a factor in the creation of the images and imaginaries of a place or destination. For example, Light (2007:748) argues that Romania is in a constant dilemma of 'identify vs. economy' since more than 200 films have been made that feature Count Dracula and Transylvania, which is set in the country, and that Romania has been repeatedly reproduced in film and the media through the Dracula story. Additionally, the film 'Slumdog Millionaire' received both praise and criticism for the imagery and cultural representation displayed (Mendes, 2010).

A small link has also been established between films and motivations to visit 'dark sites/events'. Privitera (2015) suggests that the increase in 'slum tourism' is largely down to the success of some films. For example, she suggests that the Oscar winning films 'City of God' in 2002 and 'Slumdog Millionaire' in 2008 are responsible for the increased interest in the Brazilian favelas and the Indian slums as tourist destinations; furthermore, Privitera (2015) asserts that these two films initiated and increased demand for such tourism. According to Thurnell-Read (2009), 'Schindler's List', the multi-award winning film directed by Stephen Spielberg in 1993, was responsible for a marked increase in interest to travel to holocaust sites in Poland and other European destinations. He also argues that other noteworthy films about the Holocaust have helped a steady rise in visitations to sites such as Auschwitz, for example, *Life is Beautiful* (Benigni, 1997), *The Pianist* (Polanski, 2002) and *Fateless* (Koltai, 2005). Moreover, the film 'Dunkirk', (about Operation Dynamo in World War Two), released in July of 2017, was expected to stimulate an increase in visitors to the city in Northern France, in much the same way tourists' interest in Normandy piqued by the 1998 film

‘Saving Private Ryan’, another World War Two film, depicting Allied troops landing on its beaches (Butler, 2017). Yen and Croy (2016) claim that the influence on a destination featured in a film (especially if they have high celebrity involvement) increases visitations greatly. The film ‘Dunkirk’ stars several high profile celebrities, such as Tom Hardy, Kenneth Branagh, Cillian Murphy and singer Harry Styles (of One Direction fame) in his first acting role. The city of Dunkirk has prepared for the increase in tourists by renovating museums, designing tours, staging exhibitions and offering bus tours and services.

It is important to note that the name ‘The Killing Fields’ of Cambodia, referring to the death sites (particularly that of Choeung Ek, the most infamous of killing fields in Phnom Penh) of millions of Cambodians during the Pol Pot regime of the 1970’s, was so called after the British film ‘The Killing Fields’ (Tourism in Cambodia, 2014), and the term is now widely used in tourism literature of Cambodia. The title of this study uses the term and this study attempts to ascertain tourism motivations to visit Choeung Ek.

It is obvious that we are exposed to a large amount of violence and death through all forms of the media. Whether it is computer gaming, the evening news, television or films, death and violence is being presented to us in an increasingly extreme way. In the preceding sections of this chapter, natural instincts such as the survival instinct, death-instinct and catharsis were discussed as possible reasons as to why we apparently like to watch or visit violence and death. It can therefore be argued that as we are exposed to many stories and images throughout all forms of the media, that we are now programmed or habituated to see and/or watch it.

This section of chapter two discussed that Moeller (1998), Stack (2000), Bonn (2011) and Myer (2008) have all argued that death and dying are now staple parts of local, national and international news. Duwe (2011), Brunette (1999) and Kottler (2011) also acknowledge the media industry on the whole recognize that the more violence and death shown, the more sales at the box office, Kottler (2011). This section of chapter two also discusses Duncum (2006) and Prince's (no date) argument that we are now so used to seeing such scenes that audiences are becoming more de-sensitised to seeing death and violence, resulting in violence and death being presented in more extreme ways to thrill the audiences. After examining the general media and the way it presents violence and death, this section of chapter two argues that there might be outside influences as well as natural instincts that influence our motivations to visit dark tourism sites. That viewers have been exposed to so much violence and death in the media that it is now a form of habit to see it, and that visiting real places of death and macabre maybe needed to satisfy the need for a thrill. Of course, there may be other outside motivators such as the stories of which we are exposed to from a very young age. Many stories have violent and macabre content and parents willing to read and expose their children to these as a form of entertainment or education. The next section of chapter two discusses the controversial idea that children stories may play a part in our desire to expose ourselves to violence and death in our leisure time.

2.5 Children and Horror Stories

As already indicated there is some thinking that a fascination with death and violence may have evolutionary biological origins (Kottler, 2011; Wilson, 2012). However, the preceding section of chapter two examined the role of media and violence and the

theory that due to the sheer volume of violence and death we are exposed to, we are now habituated to seeing death and violence (Duncum, 2006). The section concluded that as well as some human instincts there may be some external factor that motivates us to be entertained or fascinated by violence. This next section examines the role children's literature plays in our fascination of death and violence as an adult. Firstly it discusses the use of violence in children's literature and then moves on to theories that we are weaned on violent stories for a variety of reasons (Kottler, 2011).

Some authors have argued that this instinctive fascination with death, horror and the macabre is rooted in childhood. Traditional and modern stories are steeped in violence and horror, stories such as Little Red Riding Hood, which is essentially about rape and murder, and Hansel and Gretel, a story about cannibalism. Bedtime stories frequently feature witches, goblins, monsters, ghosts and demented killers, 'Throughout the ages, children have been indoctrinated into the violent legends, myths, and stories that have been passed on from one generation to the next' (Kottler 2011:24).

Most children's fairy tale stories have their origins in folklore. The narrative excesses of folk raconteurs often took the form of comic exaggerations, burlesque humour and depended on violence for its full effect. When folktales moved into the nursery, they mostly lost their bawdy humour, but retain their grotesqueness and present a world in which villains are regularly decapitated or boiled in oil and giants are slain or tricked into cutting the throats of children (Goldstein, 1998).

Whether in fairy tales, fables, or mythology, children's stories often present moral lessons and cautionary tales. According to Kottler (2011), Little Red Riding Hood is

about mistrusting strangers, who might rape, kill and eat you. Classic children's films like *Sleeping Beauty* or *The Wizard of Oz* have terrifying wicked witches who threaten to torture and kill people unless they manage to find the resourcefulness and courage to defeat evil. 'Adults instrumentalize narrative violence in order to discipline and socialize children in the name of guiding and healing them.' Goldstein (1998:71). These and other children's stories are designed to be remembered. The messages in these stories have been implicit even in the earliest Greek Dramas – the negative consequences of taking the wrong path (literally or morally), (Kottler, 2011). Violence not only drives the plot but also is central to the themes explored.

Many examples of this exist, *Jack and the Beanstalk* is the story of a boy committing trespass, burglary and murder, but it offers a lesson on the dangers of curiosity. Roald Dahl's *Charlie and the Chocolate factory* plot lines include the torments of unruly children such as greedy Augustus Gloop and spoiled Verruca Salt, and more recently the tales of *Harry Potter* and his friends, that includes messages of mistrust and the fear of demons and dark forces. Some of the stories have quite explicit violence. One example of this is *The Brothers Grimm Juniper Tree*. The story sees a wicked stepmother chop up her stepson and serve his head and flesh to his kind and unknowing father in order to protect her inheritance, enticing her own daughter to help with the awful deed along the way. Ultimately, the wicked stepmother gets what she arguably deserves by being killed by a millstone falling on her. Goldstein (1998) offers many examples of old children's stories that have a cautionary message, stories such as *Struwwelpeter* (1845), and *Little Truths, for the Instruction of Children* (1802). Whether in comic books, films or children's literature, the same mythological stories have been told to children; that there is evil in the world, there are monsters living

among us. Some are easily recognisable and others look very ordinary. ‘They are Satan, Darth Vader and Dracula and Freddy Krueger and Hannibal Lecter and the Predatory and the Wicked Witch. Hiding under the covers will not make them go away. These villains must be challenged with violence equal to that which they bring to the battle.’ (Kottler, 2011:97).

2.5.1 Why Children Like Violence

There are several theories on why children apparently like violent/horror stories. Wilson (2012) argues that violent fantasies help children feel stronger and it helps access their emotions ‘to fight their way through emotional challenges and lift themselves to new developmental levels’ (Wilson 2012:35). Jones (2004) also takes this point of view by arguing that children identify with literary and film violence because it makes them feel powerful in a scary world. He further argues that children’s fascination with violence and horror has more to do with how the violence makes them feel. By imagining or pretending to be violent figures, children take on the strength to negotiate daily dangers (Jones, 2005). According to Wilson (2012), this idea goes as far back as Aristotle who also believes that fictions about destructive emotions can purge these feelings, ‘an aesthetic experience of the macabre-in pictures, books, films, maybe even video games-is useful, therapeutic’ (Wilson 2012:38). The children’s author Maurice Sandak was well known for the dark psychological undertones of his fairy tales. Sendak's proclivity for sturm und drang earned him some vociferous critics. *Outside Over There* (1981), for instance, received both praise and censure for its harrowing depiction of an infant turned to ice and kidnapped by goblins. His willingness to explore darker subject matter made some books, like *Wild Things*,

beloved, and others controversial, even banned. However, he argued that empowering children to navigate effectively a sinister environment, violent stories make children less instead of more destructive, and that his stories acted as cathartic experiences (Wilson 2012). Roald Dahl, another celebrated children's author, believed that by creating suspense, the writer is simply playing upon the subconscious masochistic instincts of the reader. Whether these authors understood Freud's death-instinct theory of Jung's catharsis theory is not known, but it is clear they both understood that children appear to have some type of arousal to violent stories. Part of this study will reveal if this fascination lingers into adulthood.

Psychologists, child specialists, and literary critics alike argue that stories allow children to tame threatening feelings that might otherwise overwhelm them, (Kottler, 2011). Bettelheim (1976) suggests that fairy tales help children externalise, and ultimately diffuse, their deepest anxieties. The child must somehow distance himself from the content of their unconsciousness and see it as something external to him/her to gain any sort of mastery over it. Bettelheim (1976) further argues that this is why so many fairy tales take place in deep and mysterious woods, it is the realm of the subconscious, where the wandering child-mind can encounter its fears and wants in reified form, then neutralize them. Bettelheim (1976) offers the folktale classic Little Red Riding Hood as one example; the kindly grandmother undergoes a sudden replacement by the rapacious wolf which threatens to destroy the child. It's a terrifying transformation—unrealistic and, maybe, unnecessarily scary. But, when viewed in terms of a child's way of experiencing, Bettelheim asks, 'is it really any more scary than the sudden transformation of his own kindly grandma into a figure who...humiliates him for a pants-wetting incident?' (Bettelheim 1976:5). The fable helps the child deal

with the sudden, confounding changes that scare him/her. Sendak (1964) argued that children are unavoidably beset by grief, yearning, anxiety, and rage, the same turbulent emotions that seize adults. 'To master these forces,' Sendak said, in his 1964 Caldecott acceptance speech, 'children turn to fantasy: that imagined world where disturbing emotional situations are solved to their satisfaction' (Fassler, 2011 accessed 19th December 2012).

It is not part of this study to determine why children like violent stories, but rather to try and establish why most humans like to see death and violence and visit dark tourism sites and to try and establish if there is a link between the two. However, it is obvious that children are exposed through literature or the media to a vast amount of death and violence. This is quite often deliberate and, furthermore, writers of children's literature, parents and carers are encouraging their children to enjoy stories of violence. According to Goldstein (1998), Roald Dahl emphasised time and again that the complex interplay of pleasure and pain created interesting textual effects for readers, 'torture and suspense, according to Dahl, are the most effective means of casting a narrative spell on readers' (Goldstein,1998:81). Kottler (2011) suggests that we educate our children to enjoy a degree of violence, that we wean them on stories of murder and torture in fairy tales. We tell them scary stories about the headless horseman of Sleepy Hollow or the evil witch in Sleeping Beauty or Wizard of Oz or similar, then we put them in front of televisions to watch cartoon characters beating each other, 'finally, they graduate to video games in which they can take on villains in simulated combat' (Kottler, 2011:43).

Whether it is instinct (survival, death-instinct, catharsis), it is clear that children are entertained and/or are fascinated with stories of death and violence, as Kottler (2011) suggests, children are weaned on it, mostly for moral and cautionary purposes, and that many children's authors recognise this and they deliberately write with suspense and violence. It can be argued that together with instinct, humans are nurtured to listen to and enjoy stories of death and violence.

This section of chapter two has attempted to establish what role, if any, children's literature has played in an adult's fascination with death and violence. It established that as children we are encouraged to read and enjoy violence and death, whether it is for cautionary or for educational purposes. It also discussed how many children's authors deliberately write about dark themes and use suspense to keep the child reading. Some academics such as Kottler (2011) and Bettelheim (1976), suggest that children like these stories because it makes them feel validated and strong in a confused world and liken it to Jung's (1951b, 1970) cathartic theory. This section of chapter two, concluded that as well as instincts, and the media, adult encouragement of children to listen to or read violent stories, may play a role in our fascination with death and the macabre as an adult.

Violent sports such as rugby and boxing are featured in newspapers and on television daily. The participants are often held up as role models to children and society, and the next section of chapter two examines whether the encouragement to play and watch violent sports acts as an external reason why there is general fascination with violence and death.

2.6 The Appeal of Violent Sport

The preceding sections of chapter two discussed various instincts as a possibility of why we have a fascination with death and violence. They also examined some of the external factors which may have influenced why we like to see death and violence. Influences such as the media and children's literature. This next section of chapter two will explore another possible external influence, the appeal of violent sports. It is not the intention to discuss at length the appeal of violent sports, more to establish the fact that we are encouraged to like and enjoy it as children and many participants are held up as role models to the youth and in general society.

According to Goldstein (1998:7) violence is the 'unsanctioned or illegitimate use of harmful or destructive physical force'. Violent sport has long been a fascination and a form of entertainment for humans. It was in ancient Greece and Rome that battles between individual fighters in the ring were first presented for public entertainment. The prestige of a Roman Gladiator increased with the number of opponents he slew, (Goldstein, 1998). Like gladiatorial combats, boxing matches and other sports such as rugby offer the spectre of serious injury, yet these and similar sports spectacles are enormously popular (Goldstein, 1998). Mitchell (1988) ponders the motivations of a boxing competitor 'Why do men allow themselves to be led to a ring and fight each other for nothing more tangible than glory or money – when the price can be death or a lifetime of half-death?' Mitchell (1988:174). There is some evidence that suggests that it is the violence that is the attraction. Kottler (2011) recounts a conversation with a fellow spectator at a cage-fighting event. After enthusing how he had been drawn to the sport since he was eight years old and after being asked if he was drawn to the sport because of the competition and test of skill, he answers 'No, that's not really true. If

I'm really honest the fights are boring if someone doesn't get hurt' (Kottler 2011:74). In another conversation with a fellow cage fighter audience member, Kottler (2011) recounts, 'I could never do this sort of thing myself, but I love watching the recklessness and unpredictability of what happens in the cage or the ring' Kottler (2011:82). Raney and Depalma (2006) concluded after researching the appeal of violent sport, that viewers enjoyed the violent play more than the nonviolent, enjoyed the unscripted violent play more than the scripted. Even Ernest Hemingway, a writer who greatly admired bullfighting as a display of courage, was amazed at the ways the violence of the crowd would be stirred up by the spectacle of blood-letting.

Most contests and competitions were originally invented as ways to provide simulated combat that would actually prevent more serious casualties. There is some degree of violence, whether actual or symbolic, in almost all sporting contests. Football and rugby and many other competitive sports involve defeating opponents by using physical strength. Even games such as chess are about engaging in a war in which the object is to destroy or capture the other person's pieces.

There may be a presumption that it is mostly males that are attracted to violent sport, but according to Kottler (2011), females make up a large proportion of the audience. This he concludes is evolution at work, 'women in their prime mating years are unconsciously attracted to successful warriors who would have been the ones who had the greatest status and access to meat and resources' (Kottler:76). Mitchell (1988) wonders that if biologically humans are little better than animals, then maybe it is our baseness that makes us like violent sport, a deep, rarely tapped urge to survive that can

never be wholly civilised, this he suggests draws us closer to Darwin and his theory of the survival of the fittest. Goldstein (1998) suggests that social psychologists are wary of Freud's theories, but less positivistic scholars have speculated that sadism and masochism are both involved in the appeal of violent sports, 'if sports spectatorship is an occasion for the sanctioned expression of sadistic impulses, which seems too obvious to dispute, it is also a site for the enactment of the perverse joys of masochism.' (Goldstein, 1998:24).

It is apparent that when watching violent sports, like the media and children's literature there are some basic human instincts at work. Moreover, like children's literature, there is evidence that we are encouraged or programmed to enjoy or be entertained by violent sport.

Kottler (2011), recounts another interviewee 'as a child my family would rally around the television for the big Mike Tyson pay-per-view events. My father followed boxing for the majority of his life and would share stories about the great Mohammed Ali 'rumble in the jungle' fight, or Roberto Duran and Sugar Ray Leonard bouts. It's become a family event everyone has come to enjoy'. Kottler (2011:82). Alexander (2009) after watching her ten year old son playing rugby 'Sunday morning and I'm cheering as my ten year old son launches himself at the legs of a small boy. 'Fantastic. Lovely,' I sigh contentedly as the other child eats mud.' Alexander (accessed 11th Feb 2014).

Stories about children and these sports are celebrated in the press, according to the Rugby Football Union (RFU) (accessed 09th Feb 2014), Ashford Rugby Club in Kent

had 60 girls joining the club, allowing Ashford to start the 2013/14 season with two U13 teams, a large squad of U15 girls and a newly formed U18 team. This was celebrated in various local newspapers and on the RFU website. They enthused how Ashford RFC volunteer Liz Ashby had successfully recruited, 'In order to spread the word and recruit new girls I contacted and coached in local schools and held all-girls tag festivals. The focus was on learning the sport, having fun and building confidence. To have recruited 60 girls by the end of the season was more than we could ever have imagined (RFU, accessed 09th February 2014).

Many successful sportsmen and woman who compete in violent sports are celebrated as role models for children. Very early in life, young children refer to their immediate family members, to provide positive attitudes and behaviours. Up to the age of five, parental influence may have the greatest impact. At school, the principal role models change from family members to friends and teachers and as the child gets older, his/her role models begin to originate from a range of other areas including athletes and sports personalities (Payne et al, accessed 11th February 2014).

Nicola Adams was predicted to bring a new generation of young people into boxing, by the Amateur Boxing Association of England (ABAE) after the 29-year-old flyweight from Leeds became the first woman in history to win an Olympic boxing medal. Prime Minister David Cameron recently declared boxer Amir Khan a role model for young people despite his recent run ins with the law. Amir Khan was fined £1,000 and banned for six weeks for driving too fast after being caught doing up to 140mph on a motorway, David Cameron was unperturbed by his convictions, and held up Khan as a suitable person for young people to look up to. He said: "Some people might say 'is it a good

idea to get young people boxing...young people need to have role models like Amir Khan." (Mail Online, accessed 12th February 2014).

A recent headline in the Telegraph and Argus sports pages read 'Bradford Bulls loan trio good role models for young players' Heppenstall (accessed 12th February 2014). This headline referred to three rugby league players who recently moved from Warrington Wolves rugby club to Bradford Bulls rugby club. The three players played youth rugby league at Warrington and all three have progressed to be celebrated senior players, 'James, Joe and Tom are good role models for other young people.' (Heppenstall, accessed 12th February 2014). By putting in the heading that the young rugby players are 'role models' they are emphasizing and highlighting the so called violent sport as something that young people could aspire to.

In conclusion to this part of chapter two, it can be assumed that along with the media and children's literature, certain types of sports are celebrated and watched by children from an early age. Discussion has included Kottler (2011) and Mitchell (1988) who suggest that yet again, some form of human instincts account for our desire to watch violent sport. However, Kottler (2011), Goldstein (1998) and various newspaper journalists discuss or show how we often celebrate when young people participate in violent sports and participants of these sports are often held up as role models to young people. It could be suggested that along with the various forms of media, children's literature and the encouragement to watch/participate in violent sport, that as well as human instinct, some form of programming is taking place. Part of this study is to ascertain motivations of dark tourism and interviewees will be asked what, if any,

violent sports they were encouraged to participate in or liked to watch as children and now as an adult.

2.7 Conclusion

The fascination with death and violence extends far back into human history. Throughout time, people have had obsessions with death and things related to death. Today there are a number of commentators and academics who have spoken on the fascination people have with death, violence and the macabre. Wilson (2012), Goldstein (1998), Kottler (2011) and Spriggs (1998), amongst others have argued that this fascination is part of human instinct. In the past we needed to be aroused by violence and death in order to survive and our fascination today is a legacy from early human times.

There is also a body of literature, mainly Freud (1920) and Jung (1951b, 1970) who argue that it is psychology that accounts for our desire or fascination for/with violence and death. Freud argued that we have a death-instinct within us, and Jung argued that we like to see such things because it purges our own inner violent thoughts and therefore seeing violence and death is ultimately good for our mental health.

Other academics conclude that we are habituated to seeing death and violence, particularly in the media. Duncum (2006) offers some statistics on the sheer volume of violent scenes that children see and suggests that we are now habituated to seeing such scenes. 'If it bleeds it leads' is a phrase related to the news channels, meaning that in the media, one of the most popular topics to do with violence and death, and that the

media recognise this. Many film directors also recognise the appeal of violence and gore, though they don't always understand why.

Bettelheim (1976) and Wilson (2012) argue that children enjoy violent stories because it makes them feel powerful and helps them deal with various strong emotions. Goldstein (1998) suggest we encourage children to enjoy such stories and Kottler (2011) argues that we use violent stories to educate children. Either way it is obvious that children are exposed to violence and macabre scenes through children's literature and they are encouraged to read it.

As well as encouraging children to like violent stories there is also some evidence that we are encouraged to enjoy and celebrate violent sports. Many journalists write enthusiastically about young competitors and role models in violent sports. Statistics are eagerly produced 'The number of people playing rugby union grew by 26,000 in the year to April 2012 according to figures released by Sport England' (RFU, accessed 12th February 2014). As ever, Goldstein (1998) and Kottler (2011) argue that the appeal of violent sports can be accounted for by human instinct, cathartic or survival.

It is clear that there may be many aspects to a fascination with death and the macabre and, therefore, many aspects for visiting dark tourism sites. So far, dark tourism literature does not deal with motivation in depth, a gap that this study hopes to inform. Biran et al (2010) claim that research on such sites largely focuses on the display, and Seaton and Lennon (2004) claim that consumer-orientated research of visits of death, disaster and atrocities has hardly even begun. The next chapter will examine the very small body of literature that specifically discusses dark tourism motivations.

Chapter Three - Dark Tourism Motivations

3.0 Introduction

This chapter has two key elements to its design; firstly the chapter will start by discussing general tourism motivations theories. It will then progress to dark tourism motivations before concluding.

3.1 General Tourism Motivation

Motivation involves the biological, emotional, social and cognitive forces that activate behaviour. In everyday usage, the term motivation is frequently used to describe why a person does something.

'The term motivation refers to factors that activate, direct, and sustain goal-directed behavior... Motives are the "whys" of behavior - the needs or wants that drive behavior and explain what we do. We don't actually observe a motive; rather, we infer that one exists based on the behavior we observe.'

(Nevid, 2013 cited in Cherry 2016 accessed 16th August 2016).

As already discussed in chapter two, psychologists have proposed different theories of motivation including drive theory, instinct theory, and humanistic theory. The reality is that there are probably many different forces that guide and direct our motivations (Cherry 2016). Though each individual theory tends to be rather limited in scope, by

looking at the key ideas behind some theories, one can gain a better understanding of motivation as a whole.

Motivation refers to the inner forces which arouse and direct human behaviour (Beh and Bruyere, 2007; Boo and Jones, 2009). Inherent in the concept of tourist motivations are human needs – which require satisfaction, as well as the need to maintain a balance between under-stimulation and over-stimulation (Crompton, 1979; Iso-Ahola, 1980; Pearce, 1993).

Considerable literary work has focused on the idea of travel as a vehicle of self-discovery. Motivation refers to the inner forces that arouse and direct human behaviour (Boo and Jones 2009), and it is generally acknowledged that tourist motivation is multi-faceted; that tourists have multiple motives for travelling even within a single journey (Bowen and Clarke 2009). Pearce and Lee (2005) declare that there are four common motives for leisure tourism: novelty seeking, escape/relaxation, relationship enhancement and self-development. These motives resemble Iso-Ahola (1982) categories – seeking, personal escape, interpersonal seeking and interpersonal escape, as well as the four motivational factors in Beard and Ragheb's (1983) theory of leisure motivations – intellectual, mastery, stimulus-avoidance and social motives. As far back as 1970, Gray (1970) argued that people travel because of wanderlust or sunlust, seeking or escaping, though since, motivational patterns have established that travellers are motivated by different factors (Poria, Reichel and Biran, 2006).

To date, the concepts of push and pull are widely accepted for use in tourism research and marketing (Kim and Lee, 2002). Crompton (1979) classified tourist motivations

into push and pull factors; push factors are considered as intrinsic motivations; whereas, pull factors are thought of as extrinsic motivations.

Working on the theory of human motivation and esteem needs, Maslow (1954) stated that all people in society have a desire for self-respect and self-esteem. Going forward, Maslow (1954) classified these needs into two subsidiary sets. These are, first, the desire for strength, achievement, adequacy, mastery, and competence; second, the desire for reputation or prestige, status, dominance, recognition, attention, importance, and appreciation. These satisfactions play a very important role in motivation for tourism participation. Maslow's (1954) concept was echoed in findings reported by Botha et al (1999) when they identified the common factors that influence the motivational process of the tourists. Understanding the motives for travelling contributes towards understanding tourism and is frequently used as a means for defining and separating tourism segments (McCain and Ray, 2003).

In terms of empirical studies associated with push and pull, the majority appear to be pull related, for example Hobson and Josiam's (1992) research looked at motivations of students for choosing a spring break destination. The majority of responses relate to the influences of friends or of those going to the destination, other reasons related to pull factors such as weather, facilities and pricing. Similarly, in Butts et al (1996) research associated with 29 student destination choices, found that pull factors such as accommodation, nightlife and price played a key role in facilitating the decision making process in relation to where to stay, this was also a key finding in Van der Merwe et al's (2011) research.

According to Gisolf (2014) most people are not led by just one motive, but rather a series of travel needs and motives may play out simultaneously. It may very well be the case that members of the same group doing the same activities may satisfy different personal needs or are pushed by different motives. Gisolf (2014) discusses that tourism motivations may also stem from an inner feeling of wanting to learn about new things, and that elements of wanting to learn new things, experience different cultures, discover oneself and probe one's own body are all basic elements of a personal search. Interesting to this study, Gisolf (2014) also expresses the opinion that today tourism motivations include desire as a main travel motive. For example, certain emotions or deep spiritual experiences such as ecstasy and/or anguish are sought. He argues that in the 21st century, so-called dark tourism has experienced a rapid expansion in which negative experiences, based on disasters or site such as concentration camps, may give rise to experiencing extreme emotions that have been selected previously, and can be controlled (Gisolf 2014).

Most theories of leisure tourism motivation in general, may or may not explain adequately motivations to visit dark tourism attractions. Though sun, sea and sangria holidays still retain their popularity, it is acknowledged that there has been a trend towards alternative tourism experiences of cultures and histories (Robb, 2009). This has precipitated a desire to experience more obscure tourism sites and attractions, and dark tourism may be a feature of this.

Gisolf (2014) presents the idea that during the 20th century, potential tourists often depended on tourism markets, but from the year 2000 onwards there was a shift towards a more active role being played by tourists when defining the holiday. Motives and

motivations are more geared towards the tourist desires and needs. The interaction between markets and users raises the question of whether the number of different tourist needs has increased and, therefore, the market has expanded its supply; or perhaps this can be turned around and one can imagine that precisely because of the increased variety in supply functioning as a pull factor, the gamut of travel needs has broadened. Gisolf's (2014) point may have some value when it comes to travelling to Cambodia. Since Cambodia became a democracy in 1993, tourism has slowly trickled in, 2004 saw for the first time tourist arrivals reaching over one million, and in 2015 tourist arrivals were stated as 4,775,231 arrivals (Tourism in Cambodia – accessed 16th August 2016). It could be that the country is now simply available to visit and may explain in part some tourists' motivations.

Previous studies of dark locations/sites suggest that motivations for visitation are complex and disparate, resulting in a multitude of reasons for engagement with the macabre (Stone 2011). However, it is an under-researched field (Sharpley and Stone, 2009) and a small amount of academics are trying to ascertain if visiting dark tourism sites are the same as general tourism/travel motivations and there is an attempt to address this in the next part of this chapter.

3.2 Dark Tourism Motivation Literature

Seaton and Lennon (2004) argue that dark sites are important because many sites are part of history and to neglect this would hinder our understanding about what it is like to be human. Ashworth and Hartmann (2005) claim that there is popular dismissal of visitors to sites of horror and disasters. For example, they say there is discussion that

that at best, strange weirdos and at worst seriously disturbed ghouls are attracted to sites of atrocity Ashworth and Hartmann, 2005:34. Dom Joly also hinted at a disapproving tone ‘...The Observer noted, the growing phenomenon of ‘Dark Tourism’ Joly (2011:4). Stokes (2013) despite describing her visit to Auschwitz as one of the most memorable trips she had ever made went on to say, ‘Still, there was also something very wrong with my experience.’ (Stokes 2013, Ethical Travel accessed 08th August 2016). Even Seaton and Lennon (2004) detail how dark tourism motivations are linked to *schadenfreude*, the fascination and pleasure associated with viewing the misfortunes of others, and Kendle (2008) entitles her piece on dark tourism as ‘Dark Tourism: A Fine Line Between Curiosity and Exploitation’ (Kendle 2008, accessed 16th August 2016).

Yet despite this, there is a growth in the number of visitors to dark tourism sites in recent years. For example, in 2010, nearly 800,000 tourists visited the Jewish Museum in Berlin, a record since its opening in 2001 (Plocki and Plagemann, 2011), while the Anne Frank House (Anne Frank Trust, 2016) and Alcatraz Prison (Rheenen, 2016) have received more than one million visitors annually. Arlington National Cemetery in Virginia (Arlington National Cemetery, 2011) has more than four million visitors, and perhaps the most iconic dark tourism site, the Auschwitz concentration camp reached another record number of visitors in 2016, with over two million visitors (Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial and Museum, 2017).

Academics have conducted a large number of supply-side-related studies on definitions of dark tourism, including labels of dark tourism and tourists, i.e. sub-categorisation, spectrums and typologies (Stone and Sharpley 2006, Seaton 1996, Seaton and Lennon

2004). Fewer studies have examined why tourists visit such sites and how they experience them, thus, a very small amount of literature exists on this topic, and this study will help inform and advance this area of academia. There is little literature on dark tourism motivations, and many academics stress that it is this side of the dark tourism debate that is lacking. Sharpley and Stone (2009:250) suggest that 'there is a pressing need for empirical research into the ways in which dark sites are consumed, both in terms of tourists' motivations and experience...', and Poiré, Butler and Airey (2003) have also noted that motivations are a key issue in discussing types of tourism.

Chapter one acknowledged, that it has been problematic to establish an agreed definition on what or who a dark tourist/tourism is, and this may be one of the reasons why empirical studies have not yet been conducted to establish motivations, thus, allowing only weak conceptualisations of dark tourism (Rami and Cakmak, 2016). According to Rami and Cakmak (2016), this may be because of the sheer diverse nature (as well as the issues with ascertaining what can be described as dark tourism sites as discussed in chapter one) or perceived dark tourism sites, from prisons, dark fun factories, sites of slavery, holocaust battlefields and so on, it could be hard to establish common motivations across all sites. They also argue that it could be that to date, visits to dark sites identified in literature have not been based on empirical research and are largely drawn from theoretical research (Rami and Cakmak, 2016).

Despite this, many academics have suggested that visits to dark tourism sites are motivated by a desire to see death to some degree or other. For example, a variety of dark motives for dark tourism have been proposed and conceptualised in the tourism literature (Rojek, 1997; Seaton, 1999; Tarlow, 2005; Wight and Lennon, 2007) and

Dann (1998). Dann (1998) suggests that ‘dicing with death’ – that is, seeking experiences that challenge tourists or heighten their own sense of mortality, may be considered one reason for participating in dark tourism (Joly, 2011; Pelton, 2003). Stone and Sharpley (2008:576) point out that the identified eight ‘influences’ of dark tourism of Dann (1998), while insightful, are largely descriptive and may be related more to specific attractions, destinations, or activities rather than individuals’ motives’. In addition to the idea of ‘dicing with death’, Dann's (1998) influences include: desire to celebrate crime or deviance; fear of phantom; the search for novelty; nostalgia, bloodlust, and interest in mortality. Best (2007:38) implied that visits to dark sites refers to ‘individuals who are motivated primarily to experience the death and suffering of others for the purpose of enjoyment, pleasure and satisfaction’. More recently, Raine (2013) and Biran et al (2014) argue that tourists who visit such sites may have an interest in death or hold a morbid curiosity.

Seaton (1996) conceptualised five categories of travel behaviour regarding thanatourism: travel to witness public enactments of death; travel to sites of mass or individual death; travel to interment or memorial sites; travel to synthetic sites of material or symbolic representations of death; travel for re-enactments or simulations of death. Sharpley (2005) argues that interest or fascination with death by visitors is not the only motivation that brings visitors to a site, but nonetheless, a desire to see death is present. Furthermore, in light of these suggested motivations, Stone (2009a) has noted that it is important to acknowledge that the basis for tourists to visit dark sites can be driven by a ‘pseudo-relationship’ to the mediatisation of the person. Stone (2012) further appraises dark tourism from an experiential perspective, arguing that

many dark sites provide an opportunity for mediation, an opportunity for those who are alive to experience and construct meaning to the afterlife.

Dale and Robinson (2011) argue that at the heart of the dark tourism debate is the fear of death itself, as well as mankind's mortality resulting in wanting to experience, albeit at arm's length, some tangible components of death, 'For one to pass over and experience the afterlife and return must itself be the ultimate in travel and with the absence of the authentic/here and now, a visit to a dark site, with all its manifestations of previous dark activities, arguably comes a close second to experiencing the afterlife' (Dale & Robinson 2011:9).

Seaton (1996) implies that two aspects of dark tourism motivations exist. Firstly, thanatourism is behavioural, which means that tourists and their different motivations to visit attraction, distinguish whether a site is dark or not. The second aspect is that Thanatourism works on a continuum of intensity (Seaton 1996:240), which depends on whether a tourist has a single motivation or many, and whether the degree of interest in death is more general or person-specific. It can be assumed from this that the presence of tourists at death-related sites reflect to some degree 'thanatouristic' motives (Slade, 2003), in essence meaning that all tourists to dark sites are seen as dark tourists.

Many dark tourism sites are themselves components of heritage. This is certainly true of Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek described by The Rough Guide to Cambodia (2014:4) as 'harrowing monuments to Cambodia's grisly past during the Khmer Rouge's murderous rule'. It is possible that some heritage motivation literature may explain in some part, visits to dark tourism sites. For example, Poiria et al (2006), in their research

into interpretation at heritage sites (based on visiting Anne Frank's house in Amsterdam), suggest that motivation to visit sites is increased if there is a connection to the visitor's own heritage. Biran et al (2015) in their research titled 'Sought Experiences at (Dark) Heritage Sites', suggest that the interpretation at Auschwitz hosts and presents a heritage experience rather than a dark tourism one. Furthermore, Bryce et al (2015) suggest that heritage interpretation at visitors' sites has a direct impact on motivations to visit and engage with heritage studies.

Ashworth and Isaac (2015) dismiss the terminology 'dark tourism' and instead choose to use 'atrocities heritage', and 'dissonant heritage'. Logan and Reeves (2009) introduced the phrase 'difficult heritage' and more recently Light (2017) suggests that dark tourism is generally a sub-section of heritage tourism, and argues that some researchers have sought to redefine dark tourism in terms of particular types of heritage. Many authors when discussing the slave trade and the historic sites associated with it, use the term 'slave heritage', Alderman et al (2016), Stone (2016), Cook (2016) and Modlin (2008). Alderman et al (2016), when discussing slave sites (arguable examples of dark tourism), suggest that heritage tourism plays a significant role in interpretation and motivations of such sites, and that often researchers explore the opportunities and challenges of addressing slavery through heritage tourism. Moreover, Carter et al (2014) when discussing museums of slavery, recognizes the role of interpretation has on emotions and motivations to visit.

A few studies have found that education, learning and the attributes of the site such as location, were important as well as interpretation methods (Mossberg et al, 2014), and Prentice et al (1998) suggests that visits to heritage sites may form part of a larger

heritage tour or trail in which other sites, waterfronts and other buildings associated with heritage will influence the visit. More recently, Light (2017) argued that on the whole tourists who visit dark sites are probably typically heritage tourists.

3.3 Multiple Motivations

In contrast to Seaton (1996) and Slade (2003), who argue that at least some motivations to dark tourism sites lie in the desire to see suffering and the macabre, according to Isaac and Cakmak (2013), this overlooks the possibility that the reason for visiting might be completely devoid of any interest in death itself. For instance sites of atrocities and death can be captured as a place for remembrance, for mourning, for a spiritual experience, as a demonstration of national identity, educational experiences, or merely a random visit (Lowgan and Reeves, 2009; Slade, 2003; Austin, 2002). Kendle (2008) suggests that the reasons people visit dark sites are similar to the reasons we visit other tourist attractions. The reasons are many and varied, but range somewhere between wanting to understand how other people live through catastrophe and showing sympathy to victims, all the way through to an out-and-out interest in death and depravity.

Like Isaac and Cakmak (2013), not all academics suggest that a visit to a dark tourism site must be connected to a motivation to see death and suffering to one degree or other. For example, Dunkley et al (2011) in their research on battlefields in France and Belgium, suggest that visitors visited because of remembrance and pilgrimage. Mowatt and Chancellor's (2011) study on slave castles in Ghana concluded that many visitors wanted to connect to their heritage rather than a desire to see suffering.

Additionally, in a study on visitor motivations for visiting a World War II transit camp in Westerbork the Netherlands by Isaac and Cakmak (2013), it revealed that motives for visiting did not include any interest in death. Furthermore, it revealed that motivations were typically a want to learn about and feel empathy for the victims and that they were curious about what really happened.

Ashworth (2002) also argues that motivation may be more complex than simply a desire to see death, he suggests that motivations may include pilgrimage, a search for identity, a quest for knowledge or a sense of social responsibility, though he does also argue that motivations may include an interest in violence and suffering. This suggestion may go some way to collude with Boo and Jones's (2009) idea that tourism motivations are generally acknowledged to be multi-faceted. Biran et al (2011:838) suggest that visits to sites like Auschwitz happen because they are iconic sites, 'site of paramount symbolic meaning and may be seen as a 'must see' tourist attraction" rather than an overt motivation to see suffering and death'.

Push and pull provides us with a relatively simple overview as to the motivations for travel, but they offer us a useable platform and starting point from which one can debate further. In terms of those push factors that facilitate visits to dark sites these include a better understanding of the history associated with an event. Some visit for personal reasons to commemorate loved ones or their own personal experience of war (e.g. battle sites) (Bigley et al 2010), some visit to affirm cultural and religious identity (e.g. religious sites) (Collins-Kreiner 2010), and some visit out of morbid curiosity (Cheal and Griffin 2013). Other factors include enhancement of relationships, support, kinship and belonging / togetherness (Cohen et al 2015, Jung et al 2015, Tie et al 2015 and

Wilson 2014), all of which can be described as push factors. Interestingly in research carried out by Krakover (2005), young people cited curiosity as the main push travel motivation for visiting dark sites associated with atrocity. In contrast dark sites also have the power to pull visitors with the allure of education, reminiscence and remembrance; this is certainly the case at any of the Holocaust related museums where remnants of a bygone evil political regime are normally showcased for all to see.

Smith and Croy's (2005) conceptualization of dark tourism argues that it is the perception of the dark, which determines whether tourists are motivated to visit and the nature of their motivation. Importantly, they argue the possibility that not all tourists to sites associated with death and suffering are seeking a dark experience. Isaac and Cakmak (2013), further argue that several studies have revealed that tourists may not be familiar with the sites attributes (Poria, Butler and Airey, 2004), and several studies have highlighted educational experiences, (Austin, 2002; Teye and Dallen, 2004) as a key motivation of dark tourism sites. It is important to note at this stage that Stone and Sharpley (2008) acknowledge that the motives for visiting death-related sites have not yet been fully or systematically examined, and thus, allowing for weak conceptualisations of dark tourism, this study hopes to advance the thinking on motivations to dark tourism sites.

Ashworth (2002) describes motives, such as curiosity, horror, empathy and self-understanding, as well as pilgrimage, search for identity, quest for knowledge and a sense of social responsibility, to darker motives such as an interest and indulgence in violence and suffering. Dunkley (2007), when referring to battlefield tourism suggested that there were eleven possible motives, which include, special interest, thrill/risk

seeking, validation, authenticity, self-discovery, iconic sites, convenience, morbid curiosity, pilgrimage, remembrance, empathy and contemplation.

Other motivations identified through some small studies include educational reasons, the popularity and awareness of a site and interest in the subject (Dunkley et al 2011). Braithwaite and Lieper (2010), on their study at the Death Railway on the Kwai River, conclude that most visited for recreational motivations since a lack of knowledge about the site meant that some tourists were not aware of what exactly they were visiting. Hughes (2008), interestingly to this study, recorded that tourists may visit a site merely because it is a must see site, when exploring Tuol Sleng Museum of Genocide in Phnom Penh, Cambodia. This suggests that the awareness, as well as the knowledge of the site may influence the different motivations visitors might have.

More recently, in a small range of studies a variety of motivations to visits dark sites have been proposed. For example, Kamber et al (2016) and Farmaki (2013) suggest people are curious. Isaac and Cakmak (2013) and Yan et al (2016) suggest visits to dark sites are an opportunity for education. Brown (2016) and Dunkley et al (2011) suggest visits are motivated by pilgrimage. Kokkrankikal et al (2016) and Yankholmes and McKercher (2015b) say visits are motivated by an interest in history and/or culture. Some writers have argued that tourists are motivated by many the stated reasons and more, such as Hyde and Harme (2011), Isaac and Cakmak (2014) and Biran et al (2011; 2014). Isaac and Cakmak (2014) as well as Dunkley et al (2011) and Mowatt and Chancellor (2011) all argue that there are probably a variety of motivations for dark tourism. Dunkley et al (2011) concluded that battlefield tourists showed motivations

such as pilgrimage, remembrance and special interest and Mowatt and Chancellor (2011) suggest that visitors wanted to connect with their culture.

Muzaini (2007) identifies a number of motivational factors that have been elicited from primary research carried out at a former World War II Japanese prison complex, Fort Siloso, in Singapore. The study identified a number of factors that inspired visitation to the site. Not only were visitors interested in viewing components of history associated with the relics of war, they also expressed pilgrimage-like tendencies associated with viewing sites where a historical link with their own family heritage may have existed, or where previous generations of a related family may have been imprisoned (Violi 2012).

Ashworth and Hartmann (2005) suggest that there are three main arguments possible as to why people visit dark sites, or sites of atrocity. Firstly, they say there is a 'curiosity argument', visiting somewhere like Niagara Falls, Stonehenge or the royal wedding is arguably the same as visiting a dark site; it is out of the ordinary, and that the motivation desire is heightened by being on holiday and seeking an experience that is different to everyday life. They also suggest that some spectator sports and some traditional entertainment activities, like that of a circus, owe their popularity to the possibility of disaster overtaking the performance. In other words, there is an entertainment value in out of the unusual and out of the ordinary, and most dark tourism sites can be classed as 'out of the ordinary' (Ashworth and Hartmann 2005:9). Secondly, Ashworth and Hartmann (2005) argue that there is an 'Empathy Argument'. This they say is a more acceptable way of experiencing and expressing the fascination of horror. Most people they say, identify with the victims, though many may identify with the perpetrators.

Thirdly, Ashworth and Hartmann (2005) suggest there is a 'horror argument'. Other academics such as Seaton (1999) argue that dark tourism is not new. They site Madam Tussauds as a pioneer and entrepreneur of horror, whose chamber of horrors originated in the terror of the French Revolution and whose exhibits are still a major tourism attractions in many large cities. Visitors seek the thrill of proximity to horror, and this is not very different to reading crime literature and watching films, and Meyer (2008) and Kottler (2011) suggest that whilst watching horror and violence on films and television, the viewer can obtain a voyeuristic thrill close to reality while maintaining the ultimate safety of the television off button. Ashworth and Hartmann (2005:9) also argue that there has always been a link between descriptive violence and entertainment and again like Meyer (2008) and Kottler (2011) as discussed in chapter two, they claim that horror has always been a staple of literature and folk stories and more recently film and television. This they say underlines the idea that visits to horror/dark/atrocity sites are demand driven, that people on the whole like seeing horror and suffering.

It is important to note that Ashworth and Hartmann's (2005) three arguments are theory based rather than empirical evidence based, and the 'empathy argument' relates weakly to motivations to visit, and is more a way of experiencing the site rather than a motivation to visit. However, they do suggest that people and tourists in particular like to seek out of the ordinary experiences, and can be voyeuristic from the safety of their tourist title.

3.4 Conclusion

This chapter has evaluated the small but now growing body of literature around the genre of dark tourism and visiting dark sites.

It first discussed general motivation theories established by academics such as, Pearce and Lee (2005) and Gisolf (2014), before discussing the more specific dark tourism motivation theories that have been offered so far. For example, Biran et al (2014) argue tourists have an interest in death, and Dunkley et al (2011) argue that remembrance and pilgrimage are key drivers to visit dark sites.

This chapter also reviewed the literature that suggests that motivations to dark sites are probably multiple, and that possibly different motivations exist for different sites. For example, Mowatt and Chancellor (2011) suggest visitors to the slave castles in Ghana are doing so to connect with their heritage. Whilst Yankholmes and McKercher (2015b) suggest that visits to some dark sites are motivated by an interest in history.

There are, however, a few academics that argue that an interest in visiting dark sites is fuelled by a desire to connect with the dead/death or have a macabre curiosity (Best, 2007, Biran et al, 2014 and Yankholmes and McKercher, 2015b). The findings of this study will help to establish motivations to visit Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek in Phnom Penh, Cambodia, and therefore, inform the general debate around definitions and motivations.

The next chapter will outline the research methodologies selected for this study and justify the approaches taken.

Chapter Four - Methodology

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to describe and outline the journey of constructing an appropriate research methodology. The research seeks to investigate who or what a dark tourist is, and why tourists are motivated to visit dark sites. To accomplish this, a qualitative approach was used involving an interpretive paradigm, relying on conversational data to unravel multiple layers of motivations.

Some academics outside the discipline of tourism studies (Clarke et al., 2014; Korstanje and Ivanov, 2012; Naef, 2014, Sion, 2014b) have criticized dark tourism research for its predominantly quantitative/questionnaire-based methods and approaches, but Light (2017) points out, however, that there is little foundation for this claim. Since around the year 2000, it seems fair to say that qualitative methods have been increasingly accepted and put to use to study dark tourism (Brinkmann, 2016), and academics focusing on this genre of dark tourism in particular have argued for the advantages of qualitative research as a methodology (Wilson and Hollingshead, 2015; Friedrich and Johnston, 2013; Dunkley et al 2011).

The methodology for this study has been developed based on an approach recommended by Marshall and Rossman, (1995:8) which argues that ‘the (research) design is the result of a series of decisions made based on knowledge gained from the methodological literature and previous work’. Such an approach has already been adopted by a number of researchers in the tourism genre and particularly in tourism motivations. For example, Prayag (2010) when examining the relationship between the

‘push’ and ‘pull’ factors of a tourism destination; Dunkley, Morgan and Westwood (2011) on their research titled ‘Visiting the trenches: Exploring meanings and motivations in battlefield tourism, and more recently, Munar and Jacobsen (2014) on their study involving motivations for sharing tourism experiences through social media.

This chapter will outline the research methodologies used and their justifications.

4.1 Research Paradigm

Any rigorous research effort must be underpinned by the appropriate study paradigm to help understand the research aims and objectives. Research needs to select an appropriate methodology and suitable tools for the study (Jennings, 2010). The methodology chosen is governed by a specific paradigm, that is, a group of beliefs that guides action, in particular, the worldview or belief system that guides research (Lincoln and Guba, 2000). Therefore, a paradigm is the overlying view of the way the world works, with the methodology being the complementary set of guidelines for conducting research within this overlying paradigmatic view of the world. From this paradigm, the chosen methods then become the specific tools of data and/or empirical material collection and analysis/interpretation that a researcher will use to gather information and subsequently build knowledge about the world (Jennings, 2010).

4.2 Developing a Research Methodology: The Research Approach

As outlined in the literature review, research to date in the genre of dark tourism does not appear to be developed around any large quantitative or qualitative studies. There

has been a notable lack of significant field research in particular, focusing on the demand side of dark tourism and motivations. As established in chapter one of the literature review, there is little consensus on the definitions of dark tourism, and therefore, problems with defining who or what a dark tourist is. More recently, Light (2017) argues that little is known about the fascination of dark tourism, because researchers on the whole have neglected to specifically ask visitors about the importance of the death present at a dark tourism site and their motivations for visiting, a significant gap that this study intends to rectify. Furthermore, the media has tended to regard dark tourism as deviant and troubling and, in some cases, a source of moral panic (Seaton and Lennon, 2004).

Over the past two decades, dark tourism and thanatourism research has focused on a broad range of themes. Namely: 1) a concern with definitions and typologies of dark tourism and thanatourism; 2) ethical debates regarding the presentation of places of death and suffering to tourists; 3) the broader political roles of such places which overlaps with their role as tourist attractions; 4) the nature of demand for such places (particularly the motivations and experiences of visitors); 5) the management, interpretation and marketing of places of death and suffering for tourism and tourists; 6) the research methods used to understand dark tourism and thanatourism. (Light, 2017). This study intends to inform the debates around the concerns with definitions of dark tourism, and the nature of the demand for visit to dark sites.

4.2.1 Ontology

Each paradigm has an ontological base, or set of beliefs associated with the manner in which the world is observed. Gruber (1995) argues that ontology is the specification of

conceptualisations, used to share knowledge. The objects, concepts, and other entities that are assumed to exist in some area of interest and the relationships that hold among them (Genesereth and Nilsson, 1987). There are two dominant ontological and epistemological traditions/ideologies: Positivism and Interpretivism.

The positivist ontology generally takes a controlled and structural approach in conducting research by identifying a clear research topic, constructing appropriate hypotheses and by adopting a suitable research methodology (Churchill, 1996; Carson et al., 2001). Positivist research seeks objectivity and uses consistently rational and logical approaches to research (Carson et al., 2001). A positivist ontological researcher will put distance between themselves and the research/participants and it is important in positivist research to have objectivity and use consistently rational and logical approaches to research (Carson et al., 2001). It is important for a positivist researcher to remain emotionally neutral and make clear distinctions between science and personal experience.

Alternatively, the ontology of interpretivism is that researchers believe the reality is multiple and relative (Hudson and Ozanne, 1988). Lincoln and Guba (1985) explain that these multiple realities also depend on other systems for meanings, which make it even more difficult to interpret in terms of fixed realities (Neuman, 2000). The knowledge acquired in this discipline is socially constructed rather than objectively determined (Carson et al., 2001:5) and perceived (Hirschman, 1985, Berger and Luckman, 1967:3 in Hudson and Ozanne, 1988).

The interpretivist remains open to new knowledge throughout the study and lets it develop with the help of other research tools. The use of such an emergent and collaborative approach is consistent with the interpretivist belief that humans have the ability to adapt (Hudson and Ozanne, 1988). An interpretivist ontological researcher depends upon the individual and their opinions and experience. Important to this study are respondents and bloggers opinions and experiences to develop a theory on why tourists are motivated to visit dark tourism sites, and therefore, an interpretive methodology was needed.

Interpretive research is generally idiographic, which literally means describing aspects of the social world by offering a detailed account of specific social settings, process or relationships. The focus of the research might be to uncover how people feel about the world and make sense of particular vantage points (Kings and Horrocks, 2010). The general focus of this study is to establish who or what a dark tourist is and what motivates visitors to visit dark sites, therefore, making an interpretive methodology the most suitable for this study.

4.2.2 Epistemology

Epistemology is the study of our method of acquiring knowledge. It answers the question, 'How do we know?' It encompasses the nature of concepts, the constructing of concepts, the validity of the senses, logical reasoning, as well as thoughts, ideas, memories and emotions. It is concerned with how our minds are related to reality, and whether these relationships are valid or invalid. Epistemology is associated with the manner by which knowledge is obtained and the relationship between researcher and

subject matter under investigations (Jennings 2010). Epistemology is a field of science that tends to describe the many approaches we can choose to understand our world and mostly, it studies the fundamental choices or givens you take into account when you attempt to know something.

Grounded theory is a methodology that has been used to generate theory where little is already known, or to provide a fresh slant on existing knowledge. There is currently little known about the motivations of dark tourism. Grounded theory is an interpretivist mode of enquiry which has its roots in symbolic interactionism and as such language, gestures, expressions and actions are all considered primary to the experience. Due to the nature of the research topic, and the anticipation that some respondents might be emotional, it was important to the findings of this study, that language, expressions and actions were captured. Unlike phenomenological methods, grounded theory allows for multiple data source which may include interviews, observations of behaviours and published reports. Grounded theory is when the research derives a general, abstract theory grounded in the view of the participants (Creswell, 2014). Grounded theory usually involves using multiple stages of data collection and the refinement and interrelationship of categories of information (Charmaz, 2006; Corbin and Strauss, 2007). Weed (2016:6) asserts that the integrity of a grounded theory study is maintained by conducting a substantive review of the literature as ‘part of the iterative process as concepts and ideas are developed and refined...’ and each stage of the methodology of this study will direct and inform the next stage of the research.

Goulding (1998) described grounded theory as the missing methodology on the interpretivist agenda. Grounded theory is a general methodology for developing theory that is grounded in data systemically gathered and analysed. Theory evolves during actual research, and it does this through continuous interplay between analysis and data collection (Strauss and Corbin 1994). Connell and Lowe (1997:167) describe the grounded theory approach as setting out to ‘discover new theoretical insights and innovations...’ i.e. it is not a question of testing hypotheses based on gaps in theoretical knowledge, but of generating new theory. In this sense, a grounded theory approach implies theory construction as opposed to theory testing. Assumptions have been made that tourists who visit dark sites do so for ‘dark and macabre reasons’. For example, Best (2007); Biran et al (2014) and Yankholmes and McKercher (2015b) argue that tourists visit such sites as they have an interest in death or have a morbid curiosity, and Podoshen (2013) argues that tourists have a desire for contact and connection with death, dark events or violence. This research, as directed by the research questions, seeks to clarify dark tourism motivations, and, as yet undetected, key influencing factors. The research that underpins this study is qualitative in nature and follows a paradigm that is interpretive and a methodology this is qualitative.

This study investigates the drivers that motivate tourists to visit dark sites where mass death has occurred, and uses Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek in Phnom Penh, Cambodia as specific case studies. At both sites you can see blood stained floors and walls, thousands of human remains, a tree that was used to bash babies against rather than shoot them with valuable bullets. Using a qualitative paradigm has provided the space to explore what the overt motivations are for visiting dark sites such as Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek, as well as deep psychological drivers that inspire tourists to visit such

sites. A hypothetic-deductive method would not be appropriate due to the lack of a robust or rigid theory of dark tourism as highlighted in the literature review.

4.2.3 Qualitative Research

At the core of this research is some academics' presumption that people visit dark sites because they have a morbid fascination with the dark and macabre. For example, dark tourism is 'travel to a location wholly, or partially, motivated by the desire for actual or symbolic encounters with death, particularly, but not exclusively, violent death' (Seaton, 1996:240), and 'refers to the individuals who are motivated primarily to experience the death and suffering of others for the purpose of enjoyment, pleasure and satisfaction (Best, 2007:38). Moreover, some academics have placed morality at the centre of dark tourism (Stone, 2011c). This study's aims and objectives intend to ascertain dark tourism motivations and establish who or what a dark tourist is and, therefore, inform the debate and help find a definition that is more universally accepted using a qualitative methodological approach.

Qualitative research encompasses several research methods, such as observations, interview, ethnographies and aims to 'implement a critical interpretive approach...make sense of the conditions that define daily life' (Denzin and Lincoln 2005: xv). Holliday (2007:5) argues that qualitative research studies are 'open-ended and set up research opportunities designed to lead the researcher into unforeseen areas of discovery within the lives of the people she is investigating.' This type of methodology was deemed most appropriate for this study, as no other known studies have ascertained motivations for visiting dark sites in the field before, so there was a

high expectation of discovering ‘unforeseen areas’. Moreover, Richards (2003:10) claims that ‘the broad aim of qualitative inquiry is to better understand some aspect(s) of the lived world’, and an objective of this study is to understand why tourists visit such sites.

Some researchers, (e.g. Cresswell, 2011; Richards and Morse, 2013; Teddlie and Tashakkori, 2009) believe that a mixed-method approach, the use of qualitative and quantitative strategies is appropriate, however, qualitative research in itself provides a broad platform from which a rich, multi-layered, thick description can be composed and shared in a valid way. As this study drew theory from a variety of sources, a qualitative approach, rooted in interpretivist grounded theory was the most appropriate methodology.

The methodology in part is innovative and experimental in terms of the use of new research instruments, the ‘travel blogs’ and the ‘comments in the visitor books’. These two sources provided unsolicited views that will help support or find new themes that emerged during the semi-structured interviews. The methodology also includes a traditional method, such as a semi-structured interview.

The semi-structured interviews were carried out within or very near the sites of Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek. Preliminary research suggests that most travellers visit both sites, one after the other, and often view the two sites as interlinked sites. Between 1975 and 1978 more than 17,000 people were held and tortured at S-21, now referred to as Tuol Sleng (Lonely Planet, 2013). If prisoners survived the torture of S-21 they were then taken to Choeung Ek (often referred to as ‘the killing fields’) and

murdered. At Choeung Ek, are the remains of over an estimated 100,000 people (Rea, 2006, accessed 04th May 2016). Each prisoner that passed through the gates of S-21, was meticulously photographed and processed by the Khmer Rouge regime. This included men, women and children. The photographs and personal artefacts are on display throughout both sites. Today both sites are now significant visitor attractions in Phnom Penh. At the height of the tourist season around seven to eight hundred tourists visit each site each day (Pann, 2017, accessed 03rd April 2017). This has increased significantly from one to two hundred ten years ago. Although one of the main reasons for this could be that Cambodia has opened up to tourists and is now firmly on the map with travellers to South East Asia, it is significant the amount of tourists who choose to visit one or both sites. After some preliminary research, the author established that the daily management of both sites do not keep details of who and why foreigners visit and are largely unaware of motivations and perceptions of foreign visitors. For example, trying to establish official visitor numbers for the sites was problematic. The methodology chosen for this study, will hopefully present findings that will be able to inform why tourists visit and in part be a useful management tool.

4.3 Nature of, and Justification for Data Collection Methods

The research was initially designed in three stages. Firstly, stage one was examination and evaluation of twenty travel blogs. The themes that emerged from stage one helped form the questions of the semi-structured interviews in stage two. Stage two, the semi-structured interviews in or near the sites of Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek. From the themes that emerged from the analysis of the semi-structured interviews, this helped inform the themes and gaps to be examined and evaluated in stage three. Stage three,

examination and evaluation of some more travel blogs. At each stage of the research the results would help inform the next stage. However, as the methodology chosen was an interpretivist epistemology, based on grounded theory, it meant that the researcher was open to new information throughout the study. Whilst onsite at Tuol Sleng, the researcher was offered to study the contents of the comments in the visitor books at both sites. This was not anticipated, and although the comments are mostly reflective, the researcher realized that they might provide some valuable insights into motivations. This opportunity was taken up. Therefore, the research was retrospectively ultimately designed in four stages, multi-method by nature, otherwise known as methodological triangulation, i.e. using multiple methods to study a research problem (Tashakkori and Teddlie, 1998). Triangulated research implies a combination of research methods in an attempt to ‘pinpoint the values of a phenomenon more accurately by sighting in on it from different methodological viewpoints’ (Brewer and Hunter, 1989:17). Triangulation is also the term given to the use of other qualitative methods, literature and experimentation to evaluate research findings. It enables researchers to overcome the weakness or intrinsic biases that results from qualitative methods where the data is derived from a small number of observations and, takes the view that we can gain most by employing a mixture of information sources and thereby avoiding the limitations of any single method (Adam and Cox, 2008).

Ultimately, three key research tools were employed during the four stages of the research, namely, initial evaluation of some travel blogs, the semi-structured interviews, further evaluation of some travel blogs, and evaluation of the comments in the visitors’ books. The research was designed bearing in mind the fact that ‘the best (research) method (or methods) is the one that answers the research questions(s) most

efficiently, and with the foremost inference quality (trustworthiness, internal validity) (Tashakkori and Teddlie, 1998:167).

Table 1 - Research questions, associated research methods and justification

Research Questions	Research Tools	Justification
<p>1. To what extent do tourists who visit dark sites such as Tuol Sleng and/or Choeung Ek consider themselves dark tourists?</p>	<p>Stage One (a) Analysis of Blogs (20 blogs analysed)</p> <p>Stage Two (b) Semi-structured interviews (50 interviewees)</p> <p>Stage Three (c) Analysis of Blogs (a further 20 blogs analysed)</p> <p>Stage Four Analysis of comments in the visitor books of Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek. (300 comments analysed)</p>	<p>Interviews used to elicit detailed insight into tourist motivations on why they visited either or both sites. Also to establish is tourist who visit dark sties class themselves as dark tourists.</p> <p>Analysis of travel blogs allows unsolicited views of tourist motivations, it also allows for a more measured view of why they visited. Initially 20 travel blogs were selected to ascertain themes that would help inform the content and structure of the semi-structured interviews. After the analysis of the semi-structured interviews, a further 20 travel blogs were selected to evaluate. This was to either validate findings or provide new themes to the research findings of this study.</p> <p>Analysis of the comments in the visitor books in addition to the analysis of the interview transcripts and travel blogs allows for a more robust and triangulated approach to ascertain perspectives on motivations and influences.</p>

Research Questions	Research Tools	Justification
<p>2. Is there evidence that time plays a significant motivating factor in visiting dark sites such as Tuol Sleng and/or Choeng Ek?</p>	<p>Stage One (a) Analysis of Blogs (20 blogs analysed)</p> <p>Stage Two (b) Semi-structured interviews (50 interviewees)</p> <p>Stage Three (c) Analysis of Blogs (a further 20 blogs analysed)</p> <p>Stage Four Analysis of comments in the visitor books of Tuol Sleng and Choeng Ek. (300 comments analysed)</p>	<p>Interviews used to elicit detailed insight into tourist motivations on why they visited either or both sites. Also to establish if tourists who visit dark sites class themselves as dark tourists.</p> <p>An analysis of travel blogs allows unsolicited views of tourist motivations, it also allows for a more measured view of why they visited. Initially 20 travel blogs were randomly selected to ascertain themes that would help inform the content and structure of the semi-structured interviews. After the analysis of the semi-structured interviews, a further 20 travel blogs were selected to evaluate. This was to either validate findings or provide new themes to the research findings of this study.</p> <p>Analysis of the comments in the visitor books in addition to the analysis of the interview transcripts and travel blogs allows for a more robust and triangulated approach to ascertain perspectives on motivations and influences.</p>

Research Questions	Research Tools	Justification
<p>3. Is there any evidence that tourists are motivated to visit dark sties because they are fascinated with the dark and macabre nature of the sites?</p>	<p>Stage One (a) Analysis of Blogs (20 blogs analysed)</p> <p>Stage Two (b) Semi-structured interviews (50 interviewees)</p> <p>Stage Three (c) Analysis of Blogs (a further 20 blogs analysed)</p> <p>Stage Four Analysis of comments in the visitor books of Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek. (300 comments analysed)</p>	<p>Interviews used to elicit detailed insight into tourist motivations on why they visited either or both sites. Also to establish if tourists who visit dark sties class themselves as dark tourists.</p> <p>An analysis of travel blogs allows unsolicited views of tourist motivations, it also allows for a more measured view of why they visited. Initially 20 travel blogs were randomly selected to ascertain themes that would help inform the content and structure of the semi-structured interviews. After the analysis of the semi-structured interviews, a further 20 travel blogs were selected to evaluate. This was to either validate findings or provide new themes to the research findings of this study.</p> <p>Analysis of the comments in the visitor books in addition to the analysis of the interview transcripts and travel blogs allows for a more robust and triangulated approach to ascertain perspectives on motivations and influences.</p>

Research Questions	Research Tools	Justification
<p>4. What are the other key factors which have influenced tourists to visit dark sites such as Tuol Sleng and/or Choeung Ek?</p>	<p>Stage One (a) Analysis of Blogs (20 blogs analysed)</p> <p>Stage Two (b) Semi-structured interviews (50 interviewees)</p> <p>Stage Three (c) Analysis of Blogs (a further 20 blogs analysed)</p> <p>Stage Four Analysis of comments in the visitor books of Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek. (300 comments analysed)</p>	<p>Interviews used to elicit detailed insight into tourist motivations on why they visited either or both sites. Also to establish if tourists who visit dark sties class themselves as dark tourists.</p> <p>An analysis of travel blogs allows unsolicited views of tourist motivations, it also allows for a more measured view of why they visited. Initially 20 travel blogs were randomly selected to ascertain themes that would help inform the content and structure of the semi-structured interviews. After the analysis of the semi-structured interviews, a further 20 travel blogs were selected to evaluate. This was to either validate findings or provide new themes to the research findings of this study.</p> <p>Analysis of the comments in the visitor books in addition to the analysis of the interview transcripts and travel blogs allows for a more robust and triangulated approach to ascertain perspectives on motivations and influences.</p>

It can be seen from the table one on page 116-119, there was a logical progression through four key stages of the research. Stage one, an examination and analysis of the first twenty travel blogs. The findings of the first stage helped to inform the themes of the semi-structured interviews. Stage two, the fifty semi-structured interviews, which was the largest of the research tools used, and offered a synthesis of reasons of why

tourists had visited Tuol Sleng and/or Choeung Ek. Stage three, analysis of a further 20 travel blogs allowed the researcher to look for common, contradictory or new themes to those that had emerged from the semi-structured interviews. Stage four, examination and evaluation of the comments of the visitor's books additionally helped the researcher look for common or new themes, to those that had emerged from the semi-structured interviews and evaluation of the travel blogs, thus, further validating any findings. As illustrated in table one, all three methodological instruments were appropriate for the four questions of this study.

4.4 Research Methodology: Instruments of Investigation

Stage one: Blogs as a research tool

Web-based logs, abbreviated as 'blogs' are frequently updated webpages with a series of archived posts containing texts and photos about the author's travels and experiences. Travel blogging is a global phenomenon that has captured the interest of the public in the past few years. As travel blog sites such as TravelBlog.org and TravelPost.com continue to grow in popularity, there is a growing recognition that they can facilitate powerful discussion that could affect consumer decisions (Banyai and Glover, 2012). By analysing travel blogs, researchers, and more importantly this study, can gain access to the travellers' unsolicited emotions and travel motivations. Furthermore, the overall experience of travelling, the anticipation, planning, packing, departure, driving, flying, and delays enroute, were all reflected in the travel blogs. Visitors' experience involved kaleidoscopic perception and sense of the destination: from attractions, accommodation and dining, to access and overall impression' (Pan, Maclaurin and Crotts 2007:42). The main themes in travel blogs are general

descriptions of a destination such as climate, cuisine, transport and attractions. Hence, blogs are rich narratives that contain details of experiences. Some blogs are descriptive narratives of their travels, whilst others offer emotions and feelings of their experience. Importantly to this study, blogs can rework narratives and images as suggested by Bosangit et al (2012), and can offer an insight into their thoughts and emotions.

Narrative analysis of travel blogs can have its limitations; for example, words can be taken out of context and misinterpreted and one of the weaknesses of studying narratives is that the text is by its own nature linguistically subjective. i.e. difficult to quantitatively access in an objective manner since it is subjective i.e. personally meaningful. However, Banyai and Glover (2012) argue that with the growing phenomenon of blogs, there is increasing recognition that blogs can affect consumers' decisions and moreover, by using content analysis when researching travel blogs, it is possible to fill gaps in the literature, such as dark tourism motivations.

Furthermore, Banyai and Glover (2012) consider the content of travel blogs as a rich source of information for researchers. Moreover, Bosangit, McCabe and Hibbert (2009) suggest that travel blogs can be considered as a tool for narrative analysis. For these reasons blogs were considered to be a valid tool to analyse and gain some perspectives on who a dark tourists is and on travel motivations to dark sites such as Tuol Sleng and/or Choeung Ek.

Although many respondents said that they would blog about their visit to Tuol Sleng and/or Choeung Ek, it was decided to look at blogs written by authors who had not been or were not going to be interviewed, thus, offering unsolicited views on their

motivations and experience of visiting the sites, and therefore, further validating any findings of this study.

Blogs were identified through an internet search, for example, ‘blogs on visiting Tuol Sleng and/or Choeung Ek in 2012’. The first 20 blogs that were studied in depth were selected because firstly, they were written in English, although it was not always obvious what nationality the author was. Secondly, they provided more than just a factual, historical account of the Khmer Rouge and the atrocities that they imposed. Therefore, the first 20 blogs chosen met the research needs of this study to help investigate the overall aim of investigating who or what a dark tourist is and their motivations to visit dark tourism sites, in particular, Tuol Sleng and/or Choeung Ek. The findings of the initial 20 blogs, helped inform the themes for the questions in the semi-structured interviews in the next stage of the research process.

Stage Two: Semi-structured interviews

Stage two of the research was designed to focus on interviewing tourists in or near the sites of Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek and evaluate the themes which emerged from the analysis of the transcripts of these semi-structured interviews. Important to this study, was to ascertain responses on or near the sites, so that tourists may answer more instinctively and, therefore, help validate the findings, rather than identify respondents upon their return after some time had passed, and their responses may have been more measured. Interviewing the participants’ onsite also provided opportunities to easily include a variety of nationalities.

Semi-structured interviewing is a qualitative research technique that involves conducting intensive individual interviews with a small number of respondents to explore their perspectives (Creswell, 2014), on a particular idea program, or situation. In the case of this study, eliciting their motivations to visit dark sites such as Tuol Sleng and/or Choeung Ek, and establishing if they perceived themselves to be dark tourists.

A target of fifty interviews was set. Varied methodological and epistemological approaches to the question of 'how many' interviews should be conducted, range across epistemological and disciplinary positions, and across conversational and academic styles. These include epistemological and methodological questions about the nature and purpose of the research; whether the focus of the objectives and of analysis is on commonality or difference or uniqueness or complexity or comparison. The general consensus is that it depends on your research (Baker and Edwards 2012), and furthermore, the answer to this is often based on gut feeling and experience, as well as the conditions within which the research is taking place (Ramsden, 2016). The sample size for qualitative research depends on a study's aim, objectives, time and resources. Generally speaking, quantitative studies are associated with a large sample size to obtain a high degree of accuracy and to ensure findings are representative of the population being studied (Jennings, 2010). In qualitative research, the researcher continues to gather data until the data reaches the level of saturation. Saturation is reached when no further categories or relevant themes emerge (Corbin and Strauss, 2008) and the idea of saturation comes from grounded theory (Creswell, 2014). Enough time was given to allow more interviews if deemed necessary.

The semi-structured interview is one of the most widely utilised methods in a qualitative research enquiry (Bryman, 2012; Yin, 2009). Unlike structured interviews, which entail strict adherence to an interview schedule by an interviewer and ensures that all interviewees are administered in the same context of questioning (Bryman, 2012), semi-structured interviews which are interactive in nature Yin (2009) and allow new questions to be included. According to McCracken (1998:9) 'the long interview is one of the most powerful methods in the qualitative armoury...no instrument of inquiry is more revealing'. A semi-structured interview is a qualitative interview that is defined by a pre-set question guide. It aims to provide in-depth findings through informal discussions with participants (Collis and Hussey, 2003). This interview method was chosen over unstructured or structured interviews, because this study intends to answer the research questions by asking specific questions, but not so much (unstructured) that it generates useless data, and not so less (structured) so as not to miss out on any unanticipated information.

To date there has been limited significant research about motivations to visit dark tourism attractions, and this research aims to establish who or what a dark tourist is, as well as the overall drivers that exist to visit such sites, and ultimately, help inform the dark tourism literature. The research aim was to gather personal views and opinions from tourists who were visiting either or both sites, in or near both sites as to why they had visited. In preparation for the field visit, much research was conducted about the contents and exhibits at each site and the history that led up to the atrocities. As a result of this, it was anticipated that some respondents may be affected by what they were visiting and possibly be very emotional. Given the context of this study, it was

important to capture the voices and emotions of the participants to help inform the study.

The interview question themes and topic guide are in appendix one. The themes utilized in this study were derived mainly from the literature review and were crucial in developing the questions that were raised during the study. They were also derived from stage one of the methodology. The semi-structured approach also provided the researcher with the ability to probe answers, which was particularly useful in responses whereby more explanation was needed in order to fully understand the answers.

4.4.2 Qualitative Questioning

Choosing to collect data using an interview needs to be thought out carefully. A major advantage of the interview is its adaptability (Bell 2000). As highlighted by Finn et al. (2000) the advantages of closed-ended questions are that they are quick to answer and easy to analyse. The disadvantage is that the respondents may be forced to choose an answer which they would not choose if the question was structured as an open-ended question. Open ended questions as noted by Rubin and Rubin (2005) take more time for respondents to answer, and as a result, respondents are tempted not to answer these types of questions and instead focus on the more closed-ended questions. Finn et al. (2000) highlight that semi-structured interviews combine the flexibility of the interview with a comparability of key questions and allows more probing to seek clarification and elaboration. Furthermore, this particular technique increases the level of trust between the interviewer and respondent. Both of these factors, therefore, increase the validity of

the data obtained. This study is designed to inform the debate as to why visitors are motivated to visit dark tourism attractions.

Kahn and Cannell (1995) describe the in-depth interview as ‘a conversation with a purpose’ (Kahn and Cannell in Marshall and Rossman, 1995:80), which is believed to be more fruitful than highly structured interviews. Although there did need to be some form of systemisation in terms of the questioning (to aid the analysis and comparison of findings), it was vital to ensure that a flexible approach was maintained throughout in order to encourage openness and honesty on the part of the respondent. As such, the interviews were semi-structured but maintained specific objectives or outcomes. The semi-structured approach with the presence of an interviewer allowed probing of the respondent in a suitable manner without making him/her feel pressured or uncomfortable.

At this stage a number of problems associated with the researcher’s role in qualitative research of this nature had to be recognised. It is because of the enquiring and probing nature of qualitative research that Marshall and Rossman (1995:59) see the researcher himself/herself taking on the role of the ‘instrument’ for research because he/she almost enters the lives of the respondents in order to gain their trust and openness. This in turn gives rise to the ethical issue of ensuring that the possible perceived views of the interviewer and the nature of the topic does not restrict the respondent’s answers. As Simon and Burnstein (1985:248) warn, ‘even if the interviewer is perfectly unbiased, the interviewee may be affected by him or her’. In addition to this, a vital consideration is the fact that ‘interviewer’s biased perception of interviewees and their responses can cause trouble’ (Simon and Burnstein, 1985:248).

4.4.2.1 Honest and Trustworthy

Interviews, no matter how well designed and planned, often fail to elicit data of requisite quality. Even the most efficient researcher can encounter unforeseen problems. This is especially evident for interviews concerned with the nature of social scientific inquiry more generally. The respondent may agree to an interview, but be reluctant to divulge the level of interest in the macabre nature of the sites (Davies and Dodd, 2002). It is possible that interviewees can be suspicious of the researcher's motives that may, at best, be an inconvenience or an intrusion to their visit to Tuol Sleng and/or Choeung Ek, or their stay in Phnom Penh. Davies and Dodd (2002) argue that to get the interviewee to answer as honestly as they can, it is important to develop a bond with interviewees and, furthermore, develop commonality and empathy that emerges between interviewer and interviewee and that the objective is to get both parties to reconcile themselves to the research agenda of this study.

It was imperative to the study for respondents to feel comfortable to answer honestly if they were visiting purposefully because of the macabre nature of the sites. The hope was to gain the trust of the interviewees to feel comfortable about articulating their motivations and opinions and to have a conversation that is natural and fluid whilst still focusing on the research topic (Ryan and Dundon, 2009).

Although there are many different styles and approaches to choose from, the student-tutor approach as a style of interviewing, is the easiest and quickest to pick up and implement. In this approach the interviewer takes on the role of a student who is asking questions from an expert (Adam and Cox, 2008). As this research was establishing personal answers and motivations, it can be assumed that the interviewees were experts

in their own motivations and emotions. This approach accentuates to the interviewee how much their opinions will be valued and hopefully put the interviewee at ease answering questions in or near sites of atrocities.

It is also recognized that ‘a tension is thought to exist between subjectivity and objectivity in the interviewing process’ (May, 1997:114). The task for the interviewer is one of balancing the need to gain and maintain a rapport with the respondent with the need to ensure that the dialogue is relevant to the research questions and devoid of overt subjectivity from the respondent. In the case of the fifty interviews, despite the use of a topic guide (seen prior to the interview if the respondent required it), the interviewer needed to remain detached, non-judgmental, yet concerned so as not to discourage the respondent from feeling comfortable and speaking freely and openly. Approaching the interviewees in an empathetic student-tutor style proved to be very suitable for this topic, as evident in the length of time each respondent was happy to talk (see table two, appendix two). The shortest interview lasted 59 minutes and the longest one lasted 2 hours 15 minutes. The average length of each interview was 1 hour, 29 minutes, and, therefore, the answers, discussion and themes that emerged from the semi-structured interviews are more likely to be viewed as honest and trusted and, therefore, more capable of informing the debate around tourist motivations to dark sites and dark tourists. An overview of respondents can be found in appendix two.

The fact that respondents were more than willing to enter into dialogue in an enthusiastic manner rendered the interviews very fruitful. The tendency for respondents on occasions to openly cry or be very emotional, though adding significantly to the findings, it also meant that the researcher at times found it difficult to end the interview

easily. For example, one respondent, due to her emotional state, went on to discuss, very tearfully, a recent bereavement in her family, thus, the researcher ended up spending a significant amount of time comforting her. Another respondent, (Ausm1), who was Australian, was fascinated and moved by the only Australian victim of Tuol Sleng, and ultimately cried several times during the interview about the victim's plight, and again the researcher spent a significant time comforting the interviewee.

4.4.2.2 Recording Devices

It is useful to consider the impact that a recording device will have on the interview structure and responses. A large, imposing recording device will be likely to intimidate the respondent and thus their responses to the questions. However, it is worth noting that after a while the respondent often relaxed and forgot the presence of the recording device, it is important to ask permission to use any recording device and highlight to the participant why you need the device (e.g. 'I can't write down what people say quickly enough'). Permission was sought at the beginning of each interview, and the respondents were shown the recording device and how it works. All of the respondents in the semi-structured interview readily and happily gave permission to be recorded.

4.4.2.3 Interview Setting and Maps of Both Sites

Most semi-structured interviews took place on site at Tuol Sleng or Cheoung Ek. Permission was sought from both sites to conduct the interviews before travel to Phnom Penh and Cambodia. However, there was a lot of confusion regarding who to attain permission from; even the Cambodian Consulate and tourist board 'Tourism of

Cambodia' could not really identify who to ask, their response was 'you do not need permission!' Due to the sensitivity of the subject this answer was not satisfactory. Several e-mails to both sites went unanswered. After analysing the maps and photographs of both sites, a few cafes were identified as places to conduct the semi-structured interviews. However, after speaking and seeking help from a local guide in Phnom Penh, permission was granted very enthusiastically from both sites to conduct the semi-structured interviews within the sites. The researcher was also offered limitless access to the visitor comments books and moreover, this study was allowed to take photographs of the comments books. This qualitative research was not anticipated, but was greatly welcomed and helped inform the findings of this study.

The positionality and subjectivity of the author of this study is in various contexts; a mature, white, western middle-class female and mother of two teenage children, with life experiences and spiritual beliefs. The author's early life was spent living in various countries across the world, which meant that when approaching visitors and conducting interviews, the author was already very comfortable and at ease talking to a wide variety of nationalities and cultures. Life experiences of the researcher, as well as the social cultural and political factors that influence a person could impact the type of research one chooses to engage in (St Louis and Barton, 2002) and the author's long term experience of living under a ruthless dictatorship, has resulted in an interest in political regimes and their legacies such as the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia

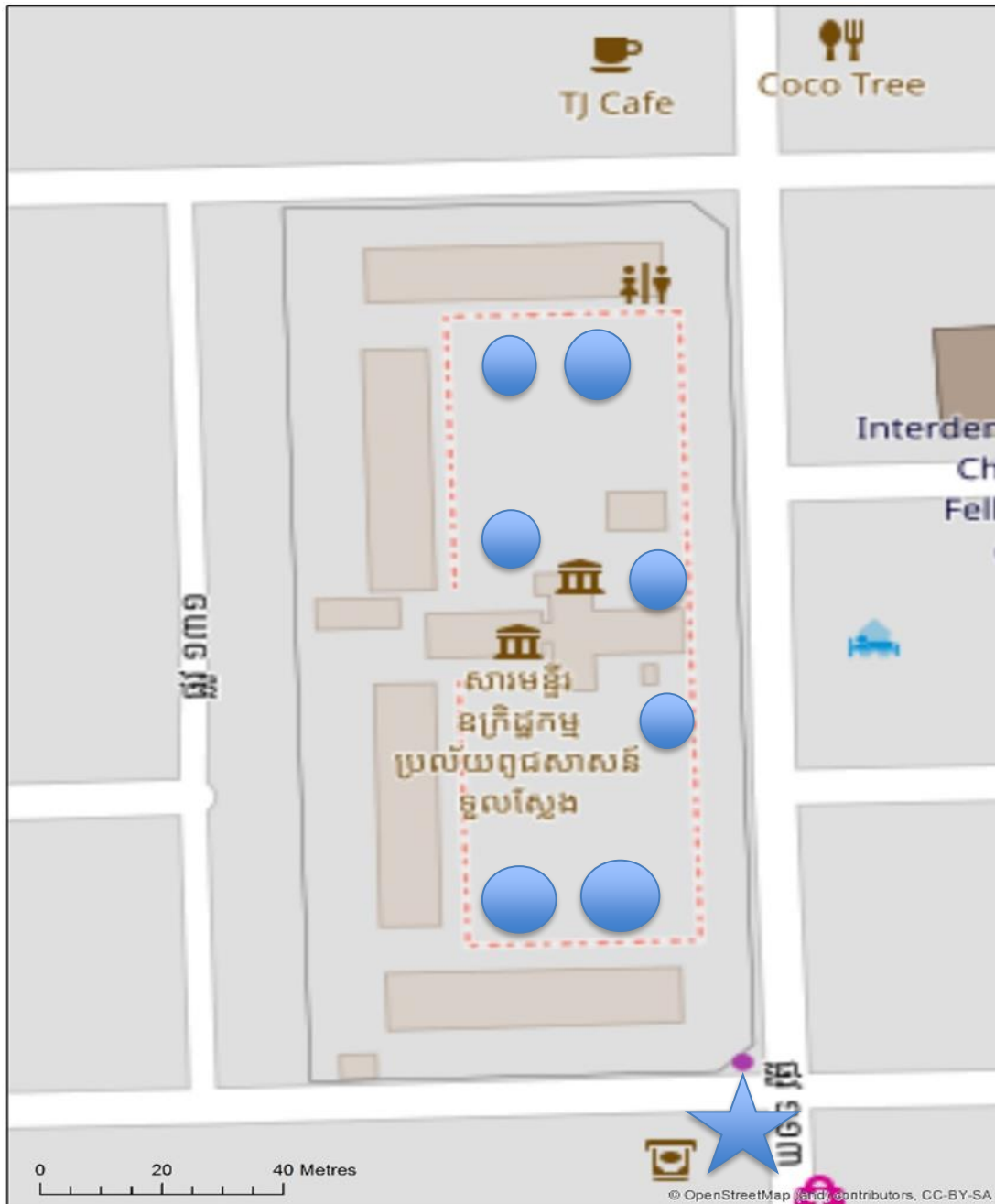
However, it was expected that the commonality of being a western person, asking other western people about their reasons for visiting a site where a brutal regimes' legacy is very apparent, would aid with the introduction process and flow of the conversations.

Nonetheless, care was taken when conducting the interviews to maintain a neutral position, so not to influence the participants and their responses (Bourke, 2014). As evidence by the wealth of data collected and length of interviews (see appendix two), it is apparent that the participants were comfortable with talking about their opinions and experiences. The context of positionality might have been different if the study intended to interview local people.

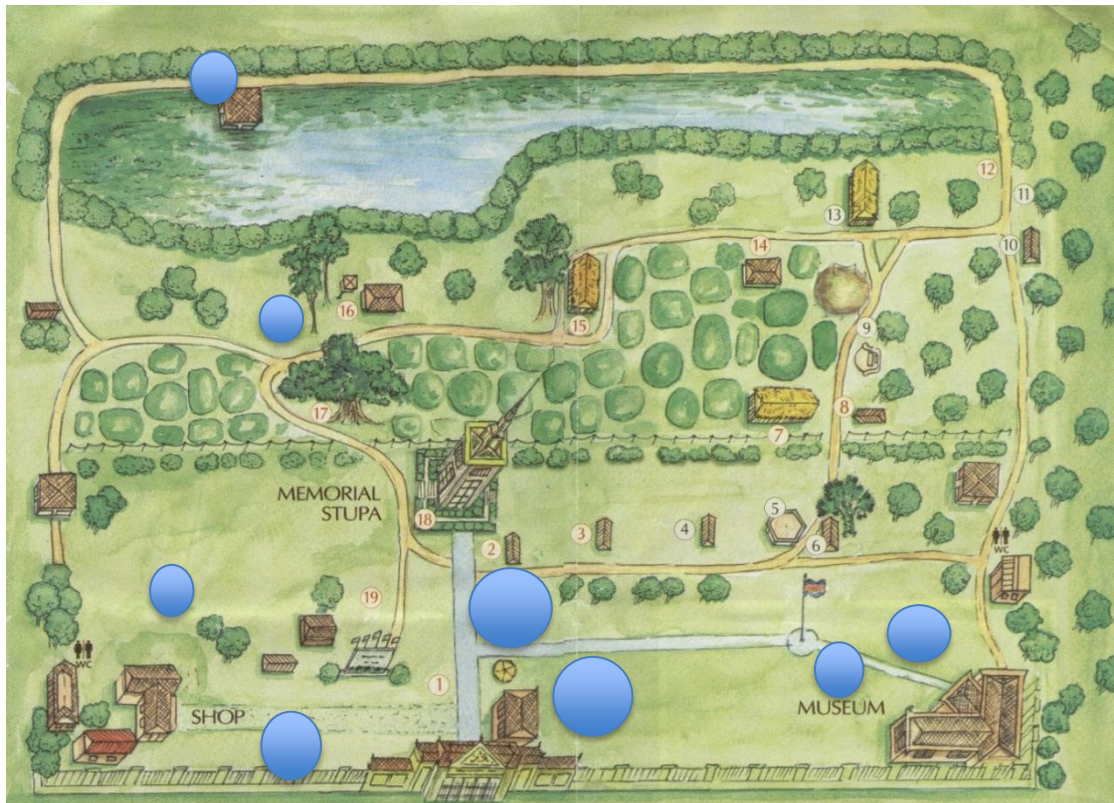
The semi-structured interviews took place during a five-week period over the months of June and July 2013. The interviewer typically arrived at the site at around 1000am each day and left around 5.00pm. Interviews took place over the seven days of each week.

All of the semi-structured interviews were conducted in informal environments, mostly either inside Tuol Sleng and/or Choeung Ek. A few were conducted at the café immediately outside the gates of Tuol Sleng. On map one of Tuol Sleng, the blue circles mark the spots within the site where the semi-structured interviews took place, and the blue star marks the café immediately outside the main entrance of Tuol Sleng where a small amount of interviews were conducted. On map two of Choeung Ek, the blue circles mark the spots where the interviews took place at that site.

Map One: Tuol Sleng



Map Two: Choeng Ek



All interviews were conducted during the day outside in warm and very humid conditions. Interviews not conducted in the café, were conducted on the shaded benches around the sites marked on both maps. All interviewees gave their permission for the semi-structured interviews to be recorded, and the use of the digicorder did not seem to stem the flow of conversation. All participants answered questions at length, quite often in an emotional state, with a few respondents openly crying. Due to the humid conditions all respondents were asked if they would like a cold drink during the semi-structured interview, with about half taking up the offer.

Respondents were initially approached and asked firstly if they spoke English. After an introduction and explanation of the study and assumed length of the interview, respondents asked if they had time and willingness to either sit down now, or at another stage of their visit to have an in-depth interview on why they have visited. Only a few people approached declined, largely due to their own time constraints. A few respondents preferred to give their interview at the end of their visit, and those interviews took place in the small café opposite the gates of Tuol Sleng (approximately 10 metres away), see map one.

Any person who looked like a typical western tourist (arrived by tuk-tuk, spoke English to other tourists or to their tourist guides and typical western dress) were identified as possible respondents. As the intention of this study, was to question tourists with no apparent connection to the sites, any visitor that looked Cambodian or South East Asian were dismissed as potential interviewees. As mentioned in the introduction of this study, facts about attendees to the sites were hard to attain, so there was no prior knowledge on nationalities and age groups of tourists who visit either site. The intention of the sampling was to be open-minded to any English speaking western tourist, and not target any particular age group or nationality. A researcher with ‘openness is often more receptive to the emergent (theory)...’ (Glaser, 1978: 46). However, during the process, each evening, after reflecting on the day’s interviews, the age, gender and nationalities of the interviewees were noted. The research process was mindful to not unintentionally focus on any specific age group, gender or nationality.

The respondents were made up of sixteen nationalities, namely: Austrian; Australian; Belgium; Brazilian; British; Canadian; French; Finnish; Hungarian; Irish; New

Zealand; Norway; Polish; Swedish; Swiss and American, and there was representation from three continents. The age range of the respondents was 18-72, and the majority of the respondents were in their 20s, and the average age of the respondents was 30 years and 2 months. As will be discussed later on in chapters five, six and seven, no themes emerged with regard to age and nationalities. The results of this study generally focuses on the human sub-conscious, and therefore, potentially applicable to all humans. For a more detailed profile of the respondents, please refer to appendix two.

The setting for the interview can influence its success as the more natural the setting, for the respondents, the more likely they are to give naturalistic responses. Although some academics argue that context is problematic (Dilley, 2000), the social science researcher often looks for meaning within a context. Brinkmann (2016) argues that context in qualitative interviews is implicitly or explicitly important. As this study attempts to ascertain dark tourism motivations to two sites in particular, Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek, it was important to the study that the interviews took place at or near the sites.

During the interviews, respondents were able to point to things around the sites to help them make their point, and thus, help validate the findings of this study.

Stage three: Blogs as a research tool

As already discussed, grounded theory is a design of inquiry in which the researcher derives a general, abstract theory of a process, or interaction grounded in the views of participants. The process involves using multiple stages of data collection and the refinement and interrelationship of categories of information (Creswell, 2014). As

more data is analysed additional properties are determined allowing categories to be clarified. Stage one helped inform the themes of stage two and analysis of a further twenty travel blogs for stage three of the research process helped clarify and confirm the themes that emerged from the first two stages.

As with stage one, although many respondents said that they would blog about their visit to Tuol Sleng and/or Choeung Ek, it was decided to look at blogs written by authors who had not been interviewed, thus, offering unsolicited views on their motivations and experience of visiting the sites, and therefore, further validating the findings of this study.

As with stage one, blogs were identified through an internet search, for example, 'blogs on visiting Tuol Sleng and/or Choeung Ek in 2014'. The twenty blogs that were studied in depth at this stage of the research process, were selected because firstly, they were written in English, although it was not always obvious what nationality the author was. Secondly, they provided more than just a factual, historical account of the Khmer Rouge and the atrocities that they imposed. The themes established in stage one and two, helped toward a more refined study of stage three.

Stage four: Comments in the visitors' books

The final stage and final research instrument was the examination and evaluation of the comments in the visitors books of Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek. This was an unanticipated research tool, and one that was offered whilst on site at Tuol Sleng. It provided the chance to have a triangulated approach to the study and help further

validate any findings. Due to the interpretive grounded theory approach of this study, the author realised that this might reveal valuable insights to motivations and adapted the methodology to include the comments in the visitor's books.

Photographs were taken of the last 150 comments (in English) at each site. Each photograph contains 2-3 comments. They were later put into categories that roughly contained the sentiments of their comment. For example, Category A, contained comments that hinted at human nature. Category B, contained comments that included sentiments about 'awareness and educational'. Category C contained comments that included sentiments about 'must not forget'. Category D, contained comments with sentiments about 'being thankful'. Category E contained miscellaneous sentiments that did not form a theme, or fit into the first four categorisations (see appendix three for an example of each category).

The comments were then examined to see if they either reflected, or otherwise, the established themes that had emerged during the semi-structured interviews, and the study of the travel blogs. They were also examined to see if new themes could be identified. After examining the comments in detail, it was ultimately established that the comments validated findings of the semi-structured interviews and study of the travel blogs that are detailed in chapters five and six in particular.

4.6 Data Analysis Strategy

Due to the triangulated approach being used in this research a systematic approach to analysing the data retrieved had to be adopted. Data analysis means quite simply

‘bringing order, structure and meaning to the mass of collected data’ (Marshall and Rossman, 1995:111). The multi-strategy approach implies a disciplined flexibility in terms of managing the data which is generated by the various research tools in place. Whilst the data is collected and put ‘into order’, there has to be a mechanism for identifying emerging concepts regarding the central focus of the research, i.e. the motivations to visit dark tourism sites such as Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek.

4.6.1 Content Analysis

Qualitative data analysis is, at its simplest, ‘a search for general statements about relationships among categories of data; it builds grounded theory’ (Marshall and Rossman, 1995:109). Content analysis is the dominant method applicable to the qualitative aspects of the research and is used in a variety of contexts, namely analysis of the interview transcriptions, the travel blogs and the comments from the visitor’s book at each site.

Content analysis is, quite simply, ‘the systematic analysis of written (or oral) material’ (Simon and Burnstein, 1985:193) and can be described as ‘an enumerative strategy based on listing, counting and categorising the individual words within a text’ (Fielding and Lee, 1998:52). More specifically it can be described as ‘any technique for making inferences by systematically and objectively identifying special characteristics of messages’ (Berry, 1995:175). Perhaps the most important weakness of content analysis is the problems incurred in trying to locate the unobtrusive ‘messages’ relevant to the research questions. So as the researcher attempts to work his/her way through the written/transcribed material it might not be a straightforward task to recognise and

interpret those comments, opinions and views which are relevant to the overall research objective. What the researcher is attempting to do is 'to identify bits of data which can be related for the purpose of comparison' (Dey, 1993:95). Comparison in this case is between one respondent's answer and another's, or between the travel blogs, or between the respondents answers and the travel blogs, and between the respondents answers, travel blogs and the comments in the visitors books at each site.

It is for this reason that content analysis involved what might appear to be the very simple process of grouping or categorising data into 'like piles'. However, categories of data cannot be created in isolation; each category will have formal relations to other categories. The method of generating categories is the most complex aspect of content analysis. Categories, (or like views, opinions and themes) should not be imposed upon the data in an arbitrary fashion (Dey, 1993:98) but need to be allocated as a result of reflecting upon the key research questions and the relevance of the data to those questions.

4.6.2 NVivo as a research tool

There are many different approaches to qualitative data analysis and these have been widely debated in the social sciences literature (Bryman & Burgess, 1994; Coffey & Atkinson, 1996; Dey, 1993; Mason, 1996; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Silverman, 1993; Strauss and Corbin 1997). For example, Mason (1996:54) outlines three possible approaches labelling them 'literal', 'interpretive', and 'reflexive'. The first approach is an analysis process that focuses on, for example, the exact use of particular language or grammatical structure. The second approach is concerned with making sense of

research participants' accounts, so that the researcher is attempting to interpret their meaning. Finally, the reflexive approach attempts to focus attention on the researcher and her or his contribution to the data creation and analysis process. Whichever of these three possible approaches is taken by researchers, they face a choice of using either manual and/or computer assisted methods in their data analysis and this paper will discuss the advantages and disadvantages of both.

Using software in the data analysis process has been thought by some to add rigor to qualitative research (Richards and Richards, 1999). This could be achieved by using the search facility in NVivo. The searching tools in NVivo allow the researcher to interrogate her or his data at a particular level. This can, in turn, improve the rigor of the analysis process by validating (or not) some of the researcher's own impressions of the data. However, in terms of interrogating text in more detail it is a little more difficult, as Taylor et al (2016:136) suggests, 'the existence of multiple synonyms would lead to partial retrieval of information', so that although it is possible to search for particular terms, and derivations of that term, the way in which respondents express similar ideas in completely different ways makes it difficult to recover all responses. NVivo was considered for this study and training of the software and its processes was undertaken. The first set of interview transcripts were coded with the help of the NVivo; however, due to the traumatic nature of both sites, many respondents were very emotional during the semi-structured interviews, with some openly crying. The researcher constantly referred to the transcripts and the voice recorder to hear emotions to help with interpretation, this in turn helped with ascertaining themes and similarities in responses, therefore, became unnecessary to use NVivo.

4.7 Validity and Reliability

Good research relies on the validity and reliability of the survey instrument and Creswell (2014) recommends a triangulated approach of multiple instruments to enhance the researcher's ability to assess the accuracy of the findings. This study used three instruments. The well-respected semi-structured interview process, as previously tested in other studies, and the two innovative and new techniques of travel blog analysis and analysis of comments in the visitor books.

Due to the nature of the travel blogs and visitor books, modifications were not appropriate. However, after the first three sample interviews that took place onsite, the researcher modified a few questions to illicit more information. For example, the introduction of a percentage scale, out of 100, 'what percentage of the dark and macabre nature of the sites has attracted you to visit?' (or variations of that question), rather than 'does the dark and macabre nature of the sites motive you to visit?', was introduced as the respondents found it easy to understand and ultimately easier to answer.

4.8 Limitations

While the research approach and chosen methods were regarded as appropriate in the case of this study, there are some limitations which warrant consideration. Firstly, in spite of a triangulated approach to the study in the use of three research instruments (the semi-structured interviews, evaluations of the travel blogs and study of the comments in the visitor's books at both sites) the research was entirely with English speaking respondents and writings that are in English. It is possible that other cultures and nationalities may have motivations that are different. For example, during the study

it was anecdotally observed by the researcher that other non-English speaking tourists, such as South Korean visitors in particular, appeared to behave and act differently to respondents in this study. On the whole they were noisier and appeared to be less traumatised than respondents interviewed in this study, they also seemed to visit in large groups. It was not obvious what other drivers influenced them to visit, such as recommendations from travel guidebooks (see chapter seven). Moreover, Light (2017) recently argued that generally researchers when raising issues of ethics and management of dark tourism have presumed it is a phenomenon amongst Western tourists only.

Further triangulation could have been achieved, thus increasing the validity of the findings, if non-English speaking tourists, blogs and comments were researched expanding the variety of nationalities to those interviewed for this study, it is possible that additional themes may have emerged. Ultimately, this study concludes that most of the drivers that exist to visit dark sites are sub-conscious, instinctive natural human behaviour, and tourists on the whole visit to 'learn' and 'understand' (chapter five and six), and that this is common to all humans and therefore, all tourists. However, it is possible that external drivers might be different, such as word-of-mouth recommendations, the use of tourist guidebooks and the way in which they travel to such sites. Secondly, although the intention of the study was to capture tourists instinctive and reactive opinions as to why they visited or were visiting the sites, and therefore, the interviews were conducted onsite or very near the sites; a follow up interview sometime after visiting may have provided more reflective and measured responses and new themes might have emerged. The study of the forty travel blogs and comments from the visitor's book provide unsolicited insight to this study, but

reflective and measured responses might have further triangulated and validated the findings of this study.

Thirdly, as the study emerged, new technologies and review websites such as TripAdvisor have become more popular and now have a wide usage. It may be possible that they played an important role in directing and inspiring tourists to visit Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek. Further research will help establish the power of motivations and reviews on such sites.

4.9 Conclusion

This chapter has developed the methodology for the study. Grounded theory is a methodology that has been used to generate theory where little is already known, or to provide a fresh slant on existing knowledge. There is currently little known about the motivations of dark tourism, therefore, this approach was deemed most suitable for this study. Within the grounded theory approach, this study focused on the chosen approach of triangulation. Three key research tools (blog evaluation, semi-structured interviews, and evaluation of comments from the visitors' books) were developed and their use justified in the context of the study's key research questions. The methodological approach proposed was one which was carefully developed with consideration to the problems associated with investigating motivations of visited dark sites such as Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek, and which may inform the way in which dark tourism and dark tourists are viewed.

An unforeseen positive outcome of the research methodology, was the offer to have unlimited access to the visitor's book at both sites. There were hundreds of comments in both books, and the researcher realised that valuable insight into motivations might be present and the offer was quickly taken up. This research tool added to the two planned research instruments of semi-structured interviews and analysing travel blogs.

This meant that retrospectively a triangulated approach to the methodology was implemented. This helped to ascertain the themes discussed in this study and ultimately help validate the findings.

For the most part, problems highlighted were concerned with the respondent's emotional state, and this challenged the researcher's ability to move onto the next question at times or to close the interview. The potential weaknesses are that the interviews were conducted only with English speaking tourists, and therefore, the study and its findings are mostly western-centric. Further studies would ascertain if the themes that emerged during the findings of this study, in particular the overt conscious ones, are the same with non-Western tourists.

This chapter has justified the research methodologies employed in this study of dark tourism motivations, and discussed the issues around deploying the best interview techniques. It has also introduced the new and innovative research instruments of analysing travel blogs and the comments in the visitor's books, thus adding to the dark tourism methodological techniques.

The next three chapters analyse the results and findings of the research and finally, chapter nine will discuss the significance of their findings and provide overall conclusions.

PART TWO: THE KEY FACTOR INFLUENCING OF VISITING DARK SITES

Introduction to the Data Analysis

The preceding chapters discussed the arguments that surround the definitions of a dark tourist, dark tourism and various typologies. For example, chapter one attempted to grapple with the eclectic dark tourism literature and argue that most academia tend to lump any tourist attraction associated with death into the genre of ‘dark tourism.’ Chapter two explored the possibility that our drive to visit places of death and the seemingly macabre are driven by our sub-conscious instinctive and physiological desires (Freud 1932, Jung 1950). The chapter further examined other arguments that suggest that we may be programmed by the various forms of the media, (television, films, newspaper) to enjoy horror and the macabre, and, moreover, as children we are taught for one reason or other to enjoy violent stories. Chapter three examined the area of dark tourism motivations where many academics conclude that a desire to visit a dark tourism site is possibly motivated to see death and the macabre, though a variety of motives for visiting dark tourism attractions has been proposed and conceptualised in the tourism literature, (Rojek,1997; Seaton, 1999; Tarlow 2005; Wight and Lennon 2002). Dann (1998); Joly (2011) and Pelton (2003) suggest that ‘dicing with death’ – that is, seeking experiences that challenge tourists or heighten their own sense of mortality - may be considered one reason for participating in dark tourism; whereas Seaton and Lennon (2004) detail how dark tourism motivations are linked to schadenfreude, the fascination and pleasure associated with viewing the misfortunes of

others. However, the definitions so far have not been based on research and this study intends to inform the dark tourism literature and theories.

Chapter four outlined the methodological approach chosen for this study. Three key research tools were developed and their use justified in the context of the study's key research questions. As outlined in chapter four, a triangulated approach to the methodology was implemented retrospectively, though the overall methodology used for this study was based on grounded theory, which usually involves using multiple stages of data collection and the refinement and interrelationship of categories of information (Charmaz, 2006; Corbin and Strauss, 2007). Three research tools were used to help inform this study.

The next three chapters present the findings of the study. The data analysis is presented in three chapters and responds to this study's research questions set out below:

1. To what extent do tourists who visit dark sites such as Tuol Sleng and/or Choeung Ek consider themselves dark tourists?
2. Is there evidence that time plays a significant motivating factor in visiting dark sites such as Tuol Sleng and/or Choeung Ek?
3. Is there any evidence that tourists are motivated to visit dark sites because they are fascinated with the dark and macabre nature of the sites?
4. What are the key factors which influence tourists to visit dark sites such as Tuol Sleng and/or Choeung Ek?

As mentioned in the methodology, blogs, respondents and comments in the visitors' books, were chosen on the basis that they were either written in English or could speak English. Appendix 2 charts the blogs that were examined and evaluated in stage one, the respondents in stage two, and the blogs examined and evaluated in stage three. Examples of comments from the visitors' books are presented in appendix three.

It is clear from a number of sources that tourist interest in recent death, disaster and atrocity is a growing phenomenon in the late twentieth and early twentieth-first centuries and that theorists have both noticed and attempted to understand it. Stone's (2006) dark tourism spectrum framework and the 'seven dark suppliers' categorisation implies that there are different levels or shades of macabre or darkness in which a tourism product can be categorized. The descriptive conceptualization of dark tourism covers tourist attractions that are most often considered and categorized as heritage sites. This is certainly true for what Stone (2006) termed the darkest camps of genocide (e.g. Auschwitz, Killing Fields).

Isaac and Cakmak (2013) claim that this categorisation is irrational since people may experience dark or less emotions; arguably, sites cannot experience anything and cannot be classified that way. Nonetheless, it is quite easy to conclude that sites such as Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek fit well under most dark tourism definitions and within most typologies of dark tourism offered by academics so far. As highlighted in the introduction and methodology 17,000 people (Tuol Sleng Guide, 2013) were detained and tortured at Tuol Sleng, and 100,000 people were brutally murdered in Choeung Ek (Choeung Ek audio guide). Much of what you see when you visit the sites are the torture rooms, torture equipment and remains of victims and every respondent in this

study agreed that the sites were dark. Some definitions indicate that the macabre (Stone and Sharpley, 2009) motivates visits to dark tourism sites. Others such as Slade (2003) stress that the presence of people at places associated with death does not mean that their motivations are necessarily thanatouristic, or that people at such sites are all necessarily thanatourists, 'These tourists, in part, come to gain a slightly better understanding of who they are and where they come from' (Slade, 2003:781).

What is not obvious is why tourists' visit dark sites whilst on their holiday and this study hopes to add significant insight to this. The data analysis offers reasons why tourists visit such sites and are discussed in chapter five and six and seven. Chapter five mostly concentrates on how the tourists view themselves in relation to the terminology dark tourism/dark tourist and will establish if chronology plays an important part in their decision to visit.

The data analysis will ultimately find that visiting dark sites is probably part of natural human behaviour and the findings of this part of the research are mostly discussed in chapter six. Chapter seven will evaluate what other drivers exist to motivate tourists to visit Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek and, therefore, arguably other dark sites.

Chapter eight will offer overall conclusions and recommendations.

Chapter Five – Perceptions and Motivations of Being a Dark Tourist

The purpose of this chapter is to establish the extent to which visitors to dark sites regard themselves as dark tourists and to examine their motivations for visiting. It has become evident through the findings of this research that many tourists to dark sites do not actually regard themselves as dark tourists, and some respondents in this study did not like the suggestion at all. The following paragraphs will examine the evidence that supports this contention.

5.1 Perceptions of Being a Dark Tourist

In response to the question ‘do you consider yourself a dark tourist?’ out of the fifty respondents, all except one respondent said that they were not, and some respondents were emphatic with their response as demonstrated in panel 5.1.

Panel 5.1 Perceptions of Being a Dark Tourist

“No, I wouldn’t call it dark tourism, though obviously it is very dark here, that is certain, I’m not a dark tourist, no definitely not. It’s history, it happened, it has to be acknowledged, but no, I’m not a dark tourist” (Asf1).

“No, I come to learn about history, because it’s interesting. I am not a dark tourist, I don’t like the horror stuff, no - I would be uncomfortable being classed as a dark tourist!” (Cf1)

“I’m not a dark tourist, no way, but I like to be informed. It’s not the dark side that draws me, it’s the story – all of it, it happens to have a dark side. “I’m not a dark tourist, no way, but I like to be informed. I wouldn’t say that makes me a dark tourist.” (NZm3)

The respondents in panel 5.1 were typical in their answers. When asked if they considered themselves a dark tourist by visiting Tuol Sleng and/or Choeung Ek, they said no and then continued to offer an explanation as to why they were there, *“It’s history, it has to be acknowledged”* (Asf1), Asf1 then went on to conclusively state that she was not a dark tourist. Cf1 also gave a very similar response *“No, I’ve come to learn about the history...”* (Cf1) and claimed that although she was visiting Tuol Sleng and/or Choeung Ek, that she was uncomfortable being classed a ‘dark tourist’. This respondent in particular was adamant in her answer and repeated what she said many times. (NZm3) claimed that it was not the dark side that inspired him to visit but the total story and stated that *“I’m not a dark tourist, no way, but I like to be informed. It’s not the dark side that draws me, it’s the story – all of it, it happens to have a dark side. I wouldn’t say that makes me a dark tourist.”* (NZm3).

It started to emerge from the answers of the respondents that the labels ‘dark tourist’ ‘dark tourism’ were problematic to the visitors, thus establishing a gap between academic literature and reality. Respondents perceived negative connotations of the phrases, and distanced themselves away from it/them. It is important and interesting to note at this stage of the findings that none of the fifty blogs researched as part of this study referred to themselves as a dark tourist.

Most respondents answered in a similar way to those in panel 5.1.

Panel 5.2 Perceptions of Being a Dark Tourist

“No, because it’s not the only tourism I come to see, so coming here is just part of it, we didn’t come here for the Killing Fields, we came for Angkor Wat.” (USAf1).

“Well, really it is here, we have seen other tourist attractions, like the Silver Pagoda and next week we will go to Angkor Wat. So we are here to see the lovely stuff too, I don’t think that makes me a dark tourist, do you? I mean I want to see the nice stuff the most and if it wasn’t here we would still come, so I can’t really say that I am a dark tourist, so no.” (Braf2)

“No I am not a dark tourist, no not at all, we are travelling all around, no just here. Of course it is dark here, but I AM NOT A DARK TOURIST” (Frenchf4)

As in panel 5.1, the respondents in panel 5.2 were also typical in their answers when asked if they considered themselves a dark tourist. Respondents did not consider themselves dark tourists as they were not in Cambodia/Phnom Penh to see Tuol Sleng/Choeung Ek specifically, and that they were also visiting other sites not considered dark, such as the Silver Pagoda and Angkor Wat in Siem Reap (Braf2). (USAf1) was strong in her answer that she was not a dark tourist as visiting Tuol Sleng and/or Choeung Ek was not the only tourist attraction she was visiting. (Frenchf4) whilst acknowledging the site is dark, said very slowly and firmly that she was not a dark tourist and repeated several times that she was travelling *“all around”* (Frenchf4).

As respondents were keen to list other attractions they had visited or were planning to visit, it is clear from these answers that respondents had presumed that to be classed as a dark tourist, it would be the single or main motivation for visiting Phnom Penh/Cambodia and that it might be the only attraction visited. As these respondents did not have these intentions, they stated they were not dark tourists.

Most respondents answered with a similar theme as demonstrated in panel 5.3

Panel 5.3 Perceptions of Being a Dark Tourist

“Well no, I don’t think so, I’ve come to Cambodia to see and obviously experience it. I don’t want to just turn up to Phnom Penh and go to the Killing Fields on a tuk tuk and like oh there’s loads of skulls and then come back to my hostel, I want to see it as it is today too, go to the Russian Market etc. I think it’s important. That’s not dark, that doesn’t make me a dark tourist I don’t think. I want to see today’s stuff too.” (If1).

“Err, probably not no, I don’t like to see people die or where they died, but it is interesting to find stuff out, but that’s true of other places like Angkor Wat that doesn’t have all this death – so I wouldn’t say I was a dark tourist” (Cm1).

“Today we are going to do the markets and we’re also going to the riverside, yes to the Central Market and tomorrow we are going to the Killing Fields, I don’t think that makes me a dark tourist, no not really.” (If2).

Overwhelmingly respondents in the study did not class themselves as dark tourists; rather they classed themselves as typical tourists as they were visiting or taking in other forms of tourism that were not considered dark to them. Respondents (If1), (Cm1) and (If2) all named other tourist attractions that they had visited or would visit to demonstrate their point. (If1) said she was also going to the Russian Market, (Cm1) said he was also visiting Angkor Wat and If2 listed the Riverside and the Central Market as examples of other tourist activity. According to the respondents in this study, together with visiting Tuol Sleng/Choeung Ek this makes them typical tourists rather than dark tourists. More evidence of these type of responses are presented in panel 5.4.

Panel 5.4 Perceptions of Being a Dark Tourist

“We came for Angkor Wat.” (USAf1).

“I want to see it as it is today too, go to the Russian Market etc. I think it’s important. That’s not dark, that doesn’t make me a dark tourist I don’t think. I want to see today’s stuff too.” (If1).

“No. but you don’t want it all the time, so no.” (Nm1)

“No, I’m a tourist, not a dark tourist, I come because it’s interesting history” (Sf1).

Respondents such as (USAf1) quickly and confidently gave an explanation as to why she visited, and (If1) repeated that she wanted to see other attractions such as the Russian Market. Collectively, these responses are evidence that tourists to such sites do not in the main consider themselves dark tourists, and that most consider themselves typical tourists, and this is a significant finding of this study. The respondents distanced themselves from the dark tourist label. Respondents presumed that by being called a dark tourist, their main motivation to visit Cambodia or Phnom Penh would have been to visit the two sites, or that they would gain some sort of voyeuristic pleasure from visiting. The respondents were careful to point out that they were typical tourists. There are further examples of this answer presented in panel 5.5.

Panel 5.5 Perceptions of Being a Dark Tourist

“Dark tourist? No, no, I think I am just a normal tourist, I come here, I have been to Anchor Wat, next week we are at the beach, I have been to the bars...I am not especially a dark tourist no, just a normal one” (Hm1)

“I prefer tourist, not ‘dark tourist’, I think I am a tourist, not a dark tourist, even though I am here it is strange, but I prefer ‘tourist’. (Britishf1)

“After thinking about what you have asked me, I have been travelling round SE Asia, I have been to all sorts of attractions, so, thinking about it I am a backpacker so to speak, but really I have done all the normal things a backpacker would do, so I am just a normal backpacker” (Ausm1)

“Erm no not at all, I am not dark, I like to travel and learn and understand, the way most tourists do.” (Fm2)

The answers in panel 5.5 concurs with the answers presented in panels 5.1, 5.2 5.3 and 5.4. (Hm1), and (Britishf1) and (Ausm1) saying the same as the other respondents, they are ‘normal tourists’. Interestingly, these findings contradict other research which argues that people prefer to think of themselves as being authentic or individualistic travellers rather than stereotyped tourists (Prebensen et al., 2003; McCabe, 2005; Week, 2012). The general argument is that people wish to perceive themselves as being different from the mainstream tourist population (MacCannell,1976; Culler, 1981; Crick, 1989).

According to Doran, Larsen and Wolff (2014), people rely on social comparisons in order to position themselves as individualistic travellers by means of contrasting own travel motives to those of other tourists and that on the whole people do not like to be classed as ‘typical tourists’. Their findings in their study ‘Different but Similar: Social Comparison of Travel Motives Among Tourists’ argued that people distinguished themselves from typical tourists in terms of travel motivation. This view is supported by McCabe and Stokoe (2004) who argue that tourists distinguished between ‘good’ and ‘bad’ types of visitors, and that visitors categorised themselves and others alongside

these moral categories. McCabe and Stokoe (2004) concluded that people seem to construct their tourist experiences by means of contrasting their own behaviours to those of others and that many tourists do not like to be classed as a typical tourist. Prebensen, Larsen and Abelsen (2003) also indicate that being a tourist constitutes a negative aspect of individual self-perception and in addition, characterise the antitourist as a person who does not want to be viewed as a typical tourist, and they further argue people do not agree that they actually belong to such a group. However, findings of this study suggest that rather than being differentiated by the label dark tourist, visitors preferred to be called typical tourists.

Even the respondent, discussed further on in this chapter (chapter 5.4.1, p.183) who stated he was a dark tourist and visited Cambodia especially to confront its dark history, ultimately, gave the same motivations and used the same words and phrases as the other respondents and bloggers researched in this study (panels 5.6, 5.7, 5.8) and concludes that motivations, rather than being unique from visitor to visitor, were largely the same, if not identical (chapter 5.4). A significant finding of this study has discovered that rather than being stereotyped as a dark tourist, visitors would rather be classed as a typical tourist when visiting dark sites such as Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek.

It is possible that due to the nature of the topic and the context of the questions that respondents were not being truthful or honest in their answers for fear of judgement. However, the theme in the answers was more or less universal, so therefore, it can be considered that the answers given in the semi-structured interviews are truthful and honest.

The respondents answered that their motivations for travelling were to learn or understand Cambodia and its history (panels 5.11, p.159 and 5.12, p.164); moreover, other respondents said they were there by default (section 5.2.1). Nearly all the respondents said they were there as that is what was advised to do and highlighted by their guidebooks, or suggested to them by a trusted word-of-mouth, as will be argued in chapter seven. Furthermore, respondents highlighted other activities they had done or will do to demonstrate that they are typical tourists.

Further evidence of this exists in the travel blogs researched as part of this study. Bloggers also wrote about their travel and went to the same attractions as the respondents and took the same photos as each other. Every single blogger described at length all the other activity they had been doing whilst travelling. Blog Eleven, who titles himself as the 'Mad Traveller', whilst describing his visit to Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek, also describes their visit to Angkor Wat, the bars of Pub Street in Siem Reap, and further travels around Asia including a bird park in Thailand (Blog 11). (Blog 12) writes at length of their visit to Angkor Wat and other typical tourist spots in South East Asia (Blog 17). Blog Seventeen, who titles himself as the 'The Rusty Compass' also described their visit to Angkor Wat, Phnom Penh and the typical tourist spots there such as the museums and The Royal Palace (Blog 17). In fact, every single blog researched in this study was very similar in this way, describing the bloggers' travels and visiting the same things in Cambodia. All bloggers mentioned the same tourist attractions such as Tuol Sleng and/or Choeung Ek, Museums, Royal Palace or the Russian Market and all bloggers described their visit to The Angkor Wat Temple complex in Siem Reap.

As with the respondents of the semi-structured interviews in this study who mostly articulated that they were ‘typical tourists’, the blogs act as further evidence that tourists who visit Tuol Sleng and /or Choeung Ek are typical tourists, as described or articulated by themselves.

Further evidence emerged when Dom Joly, the popular television entertainer in his book called *The Dark Tourist*, declared that the macabre and dark side of the attractions were not the main factors for visiting, and that he wanted to take in other tourist activity too. Of his visit to Cambodia he said, ‘I wasn’t obsessed with blood and gore and I didn’t exactly get off on scenes of human suffering...certainly there was a lot about the place that wasn’t great, but there were also wonderful things that people never got to hear about – the food, the scenery, the people...that was what I loved travelling for’ Joly (2011:5). Despite the fact that his book is called ‘*The Dark Tourist*’ he lists ‘typical tourist’ activity as his motivation for travelling.

Other respondents declared that they were not a dark tourist, as they were not gaining ‘pleasure’ out of their visit, as presented in panel 5.6.

Panel 5.6 Perceptions of Being a Dark Tourist

“Err, I don’t like that term I’m not...well I am coming here as a tourist, but it’s not somewhere where I am getting pleasure out of...the whole dark tourist kind of has the ring of something that you’ll go and take some sort of enjoyment from. That’s NOT what I get.” (SwissM1)

“Well I didn’t exactly have a great time, the whole visit was very traumatic, it was not a pleasure, by asking if I am a dark tourist somehow suggests that I would get some pleasure from it, and I didn’t, so that must mean I am not a dark tourist” (Britishm3)

“Hmmm well that is hard to answer, ermmm no I am not a dark tourist, no I am not, this isn’t a pleasurable thing to do, so really it is easy to answer .(Ausf4)

“I’m sure there’s a bunch of folk that go to all these places but I’m not entirely sure what the enjoyment is. I guess I came with trepidation because of what I was warned about, but I honestly felt sick at the end of it. I don’t think that makes me a dark tourist” (NZf1)

Presented in panel 5.6 are some respondents did not like the label as they assumed that to be classed as a dark tourist, then there would be some sort of enjoyment or pleasure from visiting such sites, *“the whole dark tourist kind of has the ring of something that you’ll go and take some sort of enjoyment from. That’s NOT what I get.”* (Swissm1) and *“but I honestly felt sick at the end of it. I don’t think that makes me a dark tourist”* (NZf1). These respondents have assumed because they did not get pleasure from visiting or they felt sick because of their visit that they could not be classed as dark tourists. A significant finding of this study suggests that the terminology that academics have associated with this genre of tourism is not liked by the tourists themselves because of their perceived connotations associated with it. These findings also help answer research question two of this study, which asks if tourists visit such sites because they are fascinated by the macabre. In response to the questions ‘Do you consider yourself a dark tourist?’ respondents were also offering reasons for visiting and that these were not associated with the dark and macabre. This acts as evidence that visitors to sites such as Tuol Sleng/Choeung Ek cannot be defined as having a fascination with the macabre (Stone and Sharpley 2008; Isaac and Cakmak 2013).

Other respondents declared they were not dark tourists because it was not something that they do all the time as demonstrated in panel 5.7.

Panel 5.7 Perceptions of Being a Dark Tourist

“Dark tourist? Hmm, well I guess I should say yes, because I am here, and I went to the tunnels in Vietnam, but really I am not dark, so I am not a dark tourist. If this is something you do all the time, maybe, but I don’t, I’m not dark, so I can’t be a dark tourist, so no” (Ausm4)

“No I don’t think so, some part of us of course wants to seek that kind of thing, it’s like watching a horror movie, one day is fine, but you don’t want it all the time, so no.” (Nm1)

“No, seeing Tuol Sleng and the Killing Fields is the only time I have seen this kind of thing. I don’t consider myself one, even though I feel that in Cambodia I’ve spent the majority of my time doing dark tours.” (USAm1).

(Nm1) intimated that because it was not something he did all the time he doesn’t consider himself a dark tourist. *“one day is fine, but you don’t want it all the time, so no.”* (Nm1) and (Ausm4) states *“If this is something you do all the time, maybe, but I don’t, I’m not dark, so I can’t be a dark tourist, so no”* (Ausm4).

As presented in panel 5.7, some respondents presumed that by being classed as a dark tourist and visiting Tuol Sleng and/or Choeung Ek that a certain amount of pleasure would be had as a result of their visit. In panel 5.7 are the answers from other respondents who indicated that they are not dark tourists because it is something that they have either not done before or do not do often. Respondent (Nm1) likened it to

watching horror movies, saying it is something you do not want to do all the time and (USAm1) answered that is *“the only time I have seen this kind of thing”*.

Such answers and themes have not been argued or acknowledged in the dark tourism literature thus far, and as discussed in chapter one of the literature review, a lack of research has added to the difficulty in establishing definitions in this genre of tourism. If respondents are answering that to be classified as a dark tourist there is probably something pleasurable in the motivations and experience of the visit and that it is something you regularly do, then arguably, this adds weight to a later conclusion of this study that a dark tourist is not about the site that you visit (despite how dark and macabre it is considered) but about the motivations and intentions with which you visited it (chapter nine). Furthermore, overwhelmingly the motivations and intentions of most visitors are not fuelled by a fascination of the dark and macabre.

What is interesting is that it was Seaton (1996) who argued thanatourism was behavioural and tourists and their different motivations to visit attractions distinguish whether a site is dark or not. Overwhelmingly, the respondents considered the sites dark, but they did not consider themselves dark tourists, as their motivations to visit were not dark.

It is quite easy to include Tuol Sleng/Choeung Ek under most dark tourism definitions and within most typologies of dark tourism offered by academics so far. Evidence that Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek are considered dark sites by visitors, exists in the blogs researched as part of this study. Most of the blogs acknowledged that the sites were dark using a variety of terminology and words. Some examples are in panel 5.8.

Panel 5.8 Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek as Dark Sites

'...but it's a grim shrine to the horrors of what happened here. The skulls look out through the glass doors and windows at the fields in front of them – the fields of death.' (Blog 20)

'...the Khmer Rouge managed to achieve the opposite, the creation of what can only be described as a living version of hell, imposed unwillingly on the Cambodian people.' (Blog 16)

'There is more to the country than this dark chapter.' (Blog 15)

'I'm still not sure how I feel about 'dark tourism' as I always feel very awkward walking around places like this, especially with my camera. However, I do feel it's important to see these things, to acknowledge.' (Blog 17)

Words and phrases such as 'hell' 'grim' and 'dark chapter', together with the respondents answers in this research, means that it can conclusively be argued that due to the history and nature of the two sites, what happened and what is on display, can be categorized as dark attractions or dark sites.

Panel 5.9 Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek as Dark Sites

'However, I do feel it's important to see these things, to acknowledge that they exist, to make people aware of what happened... and to make sure we try to prevent genocide from happening in the future.' (Blog 16)

'This will be my last post focusing on the horrors of the Khmer Rouge. There is more to the country than this dark chapter.' (Blog 15)

'...but it's one thing to read about the unspeakable cruelty humans are capable of in books. It's another entirely to be confronted by it face to face.' (Blog 13)

'Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum lifts the veil to show the Khmer Rouge's horrors in all their preserved glory.' (Blog 8)

In panel 5.9 are examples from blogs that were written in a similar way to those demonstrated in panel 5.8. The terminology used to reflect that what they were visiting was dark and harrowing was similar with words and phrases such as 'genocide' (Blog 16), 'dark chapter' (Blog 15), 'unspeakable cruelty' (Blog 13) and 'Khmer Rouge's horrors' (Blog 8) being visited. Every single blog has similar photographs of each site to demonstrate the emotional nature of their visit. Interestingly, chapter six discusses visiting emotions to Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek in detail and will establish that most respondents, whilst finding the visit traumatic and horrifying, are glad that they have visited, (see panel chapter six, panel 6.11 and 6.12).

Most respondents answered quickly and confidently to the question 'do you consider yourself a dark tourist?' and all were either given the chance to change their mind and were asked the question again towards the end of the interview. No one changed their mind and many were more confident in their answer towards the end of the semi-structured interview. A selection of these are in panel 5.10.

Panel 5.10 Perceptions of Being a Dark Tourist

"No definitely not, DEFINITELY not" (NZm2).
"No, I'm a tourist, not a dark tourist, I come because it's interesting history" (Sf1).
"I said in the beginning that I am not a dark tourist, and I feel more sure of this now" (Ausf4)
"No, I came because of the history mostly, not because of the dark stuff here." (SwissM1)

Answers were definitive. (NZm2) emphasized his response by saying it twice and strongly pronounced the word ‘definitely’. Others such as (Ausf4) repeated in her response many times that she was not a dark tourist. Other respondents were very thoughtful about their answers as demonstrated in panel 5.9.

Panel 5.11 Perceptions of Being a Dark Tourist

“No I don’t think so, I mean I’ve been to all sorts of places, I go there pretty much for the same things – I am comparing this to the Kennedy Space Centre (and that’s not dark), you know, the scale of what humans are capable of, we sent people to the moon, we kill all these people. It’s about what humans are capable of, I’m not wrapped up in the dark side of things, so I think I can safely answer NO there.” (Cm2).

“ It is too big for my brain, I can get it all in what happened, it is like a film, I can’t really say I am a dark tourist or come because of that, because the dark bits are too big for my brain, I can’t really identify with what happened here, it’s like an abstract, so no I am not a dark tourist. (Ff2)

The respondents in panel 5.11 said they were not dark tourists and offered more philosophical answers. (Cm1) gave the analogy of the Kennedy Space Centre, and likened it to what the power of man can do. Man has sent rockets to the moon, man can kill and torture thousands of people; to him it was more about what the power and scale of what man can do, and he was in awe of this. (Ff2) declared she was not there for dark reasons so, therefore, is not a dark tourist, as the story of what happened there does not seem real to her, too big for her to imagine or identify with in anyway and therefore, she is not a dark tourist.

Respondent (Swissm1) indicated that he was a travel agent and extended his answer to his personal professional experience. He argued that so far in his experience (ten years) no one had asked to visit dark sites in particular and that people ask about a destination and if there are dark sites there, then they recommend them along with all the other attractions. For example, *“If someone wants to visit Poland, of course we may suggest Auschwitz, but no one has come in just to say I want to visit Auschwitz. Maybe some war people or school people, somebody with a purpose, but not hey I want to go to Auschwitz.”* (Swissm1). This adds more evidence to a significant finding of this study, that visitors visit dark sites because a visit has been recommended by a trusted source, as chapter seven will argue (chapter seven see chapter seven panels 7.4, 7.5 and 7.6, pgs., 264-269). Moreover, (Swissm1) response adds to the growing evidence established in this study that for the most part visitors to Tuol Sleng/Choeung Ek do not class themselves as dark tourists as they say they are not motivated to visits by dark macabre drivers, and this is discussed in the next section of this chapter.

5.2 Tourist Motivations for visiting Tuol Sleng/Choeung Ek

Robb (2009) argued that experientially dark tourists are unique from visitor to visitor, however, a significant finding of this study determines that motivations to visit dark tourism sites are overwhelmingly similar, that respondents and bloggers used the same phrases and terminology and almost identical photographs in the blogs. In the main, respondents referred to themselves ‘typical tourists’ rather than dark tourists.

Some definitions of dark tourism indicate that dark tourism is visits to dark sites that are motivated by the macabre (Stone and Sharpley, 2009), and Seaton (1996) argues

that tourists who visit dark sites are motivated by a symbolic encounter with death. Best (2007) takes it further and suggests that tourists are motivated to visit dark sites for some aspect of enjoyment. Other academics argue that visits to such sites are motivated by other factors, for example, pilgrimage, ‘...that pilgrimages to sites of destruction allow for traditional commemoration and ritual that are so prevalent...’ (Poshodon and Hunt, 2011:1333). With this in mind, it becomes hard to place most supposedly dark tourism sites, including sites at the darkest end of most typologies, such as sites of democide and atrocity, under this genre without knowing why people visit, and a significant finding of this study suggests that, in the main, respondents were not motivated to visit because of the dark and macabre nature of the sites.

It was Seaton (1996) that argued that thanatourism is not an absolute form, but exists along a continuum of intensity, in which death may not be the single motivation and that the interest in death varies from being person centred to being generalized. Slade (2003) also argued that people’s feelings to see death sites might be personal, nationalistic, humanitarian, and so on. He further argues that the presence of people at places associated with death does not mean that the motivations are necessarily thanatouristic, or that people at a dark site are all necessarily thanatourists, and above all, tourists to dark sites do not on the whole class themselves as dark tourists, as confirmed in the findings of this study. The results of this study have so far established motivations to visit such sites are not fuelled by the dark and macabre.

In some cases, people might have travelled to a site associated with death in an incidental manner; for example, they might have joined a tour that includes it on the

itinerary. Most visitors have read about visiting in their guidebooks or been advised to visit by fellow travellers, as discussed in chapter six of this study.

As every respondent agreed that Tuol Sleng/Choeung Ek were dark sites, and all but one respondent said that they were not a dark tourist, and with increasing visitors to dark sites such as Tuol Sleng/Choeung Ek, seven to eight hundred visitors a day at the height of the tourist season (Pann, 2017, accessed 03rd April 2017), it therefore, remains an issue to ascertain the reasons why people might visit a particular site where death on a significant scale once occurred. It is intriguing that most respondents knew that their visit would be distressing to them, yet they still chose to visit, and these particularly findings will be discussed later on in chapter six.

So far, findings of this study have discovered that visiting Tuol Sleng and/or Choeung Ek is an important part of visiting Cambodia, and visiting helped tourists gain an understanding of how Cambodian history impacts today. They wanted to learn about Cambodia and its people and that this was their main motivation for visiting. Overwhelming evidence of these motivations can be seen in the replies respondents gave when they were asked directly what motivated them to visit. A strong theme emerged from the findings of the travel blogs and semi-structure interviews that tourists visit because they want to learn and understand what happened. Some of these responses are presented in panel 5.12.

Panel 5.12 Motivations to visit Tuol Sleng and/or Choeung Ek

*“It’s the importance of learning the Cambodian history while we are here, it’s such a big part of this country, I don’t understand anyone who travels and doesn’t learn, that’s the point isn’t it? It’s to **learn** about Cambodia” (Nf1)*

*“I think the history of Cambodia is very interesting - I think it is a very important part of Cambodian history and I have come to learn. When I am in a country I like to see it all, the good and the bad – helps you **understand** the country you are in.” (Ff1)*

*“Well to be part of the Cambodian past and understand it today, I read a lot about it with my family and we have seen a few documentaries, so here I am to see it for real. I want to **understand** what happened to them I guess.” (USAf2)*

*“So I guess I came to find out what happened, I don’t really know much about Pol Pot and I didn’t really come to Cambodia to see the Tuol Sleng and the Killing Fields, but while I was here I thought I’d better try and **learn** something about it.” (USAm1)*

As already discussed in Chapter three, some academics have to a small degree attempted to discuss dark tourism motivations (Seaton and Lennon 2004; Tarlow 2005; Wight 2005). Hepburn (2012), in her small discussion on dark tourism motivations, claimed that these definitions have at least one thing in common, ‘the tourist is motivated to visit at least in part by an interest in death and suffering’ (Hepburn 2012:123). Seaton’s (1996:240) proposal of thanatourism is travel ‘to a locality wholly, or partially, motivated by the desire for actual or symbolic encounters with death, particularly but not exclusively, violent death’. What is evident in this study, is that overwhelmingly, respondents answered that it was important to understand Cambodia and apart from one respondent, none of them mentioned an interest in death, macabre, morbid or suffering, putting the findings of this study at odds with these definitions.

The words understand and learn were repeatedly used by most respondents. (Nm1) emphasised the word ‘learn’ in her response and (USAm1) also stated that as he was visiting he wanted to ‘learn’ about the story. (Ff1) and (USAf2) use the word ‘understand’, either to understand the people or understand the country they were visiting. These words were consistently and repeatedly used by the respondents and a theme emerged under the words, ‘understand’ and ‘learn’ as demonstrated in the next two panels 5.13 and 5.14.

Panel 5.13 I Came to Understand

*“To learn, to **understand**, to have a complete visit of Cambodia.” (Polf1)*
*“To **understand** the history and impact it has had on Cambodia and the people.” (NZm2)*
*“To **understand** Cambodia.” (Asf1)*
*“Part of Cambodia, to **understand** the people.” (Ausf1)*
*“Broaden knowledge and **understanding**. Pay respects.” (Ausm1)*
*“To learn, to **understand**, it's part of coming to Cambodia.” (Ausm2)*
“To learn more about the history of Cambodia and its people and to try to understand the feelings of the people.” (Cm1)
*“I believe that the atrocities committed here are an essential part of the Cambodian history and in order to **understand** the state of the country today.” (Nf1)*
*“To try and **understand** what happened and how it was allowed to happen by the rest of the world.” (Sf1)*
*“To **understand** where Cambodia and its people have come from and where I hope they are going.” (Sf2)*
*“It would be rude not to **understand** the people.” (USAm1)*

Panel 5.14 I Came to Learn

*“Part of educational trip so students can **learn** about the culture of Cambodia.”*
(USAm2)

*“I had to come here and **learn** about the country’s troubling past.”* (USAf1)

*“To **learn**, to understand, it's part of coming to Cambodia.”* (Finm1)

*“To **learn**, to understand, to have a complete visit of Cambodia.”*(Nm1)

*“I had to **learn** about the Cambodian people whilst I was in their country.”* (Sf1)

*“It is important to **learn** about the past order to understand today.”*(Sf2)

*“**Learning** is an important part of travelling that is why I am here to mostly learn.”*
(Britishm6)

Panels 5.13 and 5.14, show quite clearly and strongly that visitors, in response to the question ‘Why have you visited today?’ persistently used the terminology, ‘I came to learn and understand’. This was such a strong theme that emerged, that it can be argued with some confidence that tourists who visit dark sites such as Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek are not motivated by the dark and macabre nature of the sites, but a significant driver for tourists to visit is because they want to learn and understand what happened there.

Chapter six, further on in this study will conclude that psychology and instinct play a large part in general motivations to visit dark sites such as Tuol Sleng and/or Choeung Ek, and this study has established that there are sub conscious psychological and instinctive drivers for visiting dark sites such as Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek. That we need to be interested and understand certain situations in order to survive, should the same thing happen to us, and to understand is a symptom of the survival instinct (Kottler 2011). Understanding is how we survived, how we learned and grew and spread. Humans have evolved to understand and learning it is a necessary trait, ‘...we are, all of us, meaning-seeking creatures. We seek not only to define the meaning of our lives by adopting, whether consciously or unconsciously, an over-arching purpose, but also

to understand the reason for almost everything that happens...’ (Likerman 2010, Psychology Today, accessed 06th January 2016). This is particularly evident in panels 5.13 and panel 5.14 and with almost every respondent, who answered that they visited, as they wanted to learn and/or understand what happened.

The travel blogs studied in this research also contained narrative about the reasons that they visited Tuol Sleng and/or Choeung Ek. Some of the writings are demonstrated in Panel 5.15.

Panel 5.15 Motivations to visit Tuol Sleng and/or Choeung Ek

‘But Keith convinced me that we should go — to fully understand Cambodia’s bloody past so we can better appreciate its present’ (Blog one)

‘We left Choeung Ek but we weren’t done learning about the atrocities of the Khmer Rouge. Next we visited the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum.’ (Blog three)

‘We need to visit Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum and Choeung Ek Killing Field to understand the dark history of Phnom Penh.’ (Blog seven)

‘There is much to learn about Cambodia’s long and interesting history – it is so much more than the Khmer Rouge – but to ignore this dark period would, I think, be doing the country (and the victims) a disservice.’ (Blog eight)

‘we made sure to visit the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum in order to pay our respects to the people who suffered and honor the memories of those who died’ (Blog two)

Writings in the travel blogs further confirm that visitors to dark sites do not visit because they are motivated by the macabre and dark, but that they have a desire to learn and understand what has happened. Blog one, three, seven and eight clearly setting out the

reasons for visiting, using the same words as the respondents in the semi-structured interviews. Words such as ‘understand’ (Blog one; Blog seven) and ‘learn’ (Blog three; Blog eight) and Blog two, clearly sets out the reason for visiting ‘pay our respects to the people who suffered and honor the memories of those who died’ (Blog two). Other Bloggers displayed similar motivations.

Panel 5.16 Motivations to visit Tuol Sleng and/or Choeung Ek

‘Only then will you begin to understand modern Cambodia.’ (Blog 29)

‘visit and learn more about Cambodia’s brutal recent history’ (Blog 27)

‘Now that I travel and learn about the places I go’ (Blog 25)

‘helps you to understand the history of Cambodia’ (Blog 23)

Collectively, panel 5.15 and panel 5.16 offer more evidence found in the blogs that a significant drive to visit Tuol Sleng and/or Choeung Ek was to learn and understand what happened. (Blog 29) used the word ‘understand’, as did (Blog23). (Blog 27) and (Blog 25) used the word learn. This terminology was found in many of the blogs and only a few are presented here to prevent repetition. Whilst not all blogs offered reasons for visiting, not one blog hinted at motives that are inspired by the macabre and dark nature of the sites.

Some respondents in the semi-structured interviews were more articulate in their response to the question ‘What motivates you to visit?’, and extended their answers, but were basically saying the same thing to those in panels 5.13, 5.14, 5.15 and 5.16, and some of these answers are presented in panel 5.17.

Panel 5.17 Motivations to visit Tuol Sleng and/or Choeung Ek

“I just think it’s important if you can see a new place to understand the history of it really, if you don’t understand the history of it, you can’t really understand how it’s developed. I think the make-up of the city is decided by things like this” (Britishf5).

“Well I know the basics of what happened in Cambodia, the Khmer Rouge and Pol Pot but I didn’t know the actual details, how was the evolution in time, what happened, when it happened, who happened and I just really want to know what happened exactly” (Fm1).

Clearly respondent (Britishf5) and (Fm1) are similar in their answers to those in panels 5.17 and 5.18, they want to learn and understand what has happened. (Britishf5) used the word ‘understand’ and (Fm1), though not actually using the word learn, listed the things he wanted to know, and although (Fm1) had some knowledge already of what happened, but wanted to know and learn further details.

Another theme that emerged from the respondents’ answers and blogs researched in this study, is that a main reason travellers visit Tuol Sleng and/or Choeung Ek is because, along with visiting Angkor Wat, they felt it was part of the experience when visiting Cambodia. Panel 5.18 presents some examples of those answers.

Panel 5.18 Motivations to visit Tuol Sleng and/or Choeung Ek

“Part of coming to Cambodia.” (Swissf1)

“It’s part of Cambodia.” (USAm4)

“It’s part of coming to Cambodia.” (Belm1)

“Part of experiencing Cambodia.” (Finm1)

“It’s necessary coming to Cambodia.” (Britishf1)

“Because it’s part of the Cambodian history and out of respect.” (Britishf4)

“It’s part of coming to Phnom Penh.” (Ausm4)

‘A visit to Tuol Sleng is “unfortunately” a must when you are in Phnom Penh’ (Blog 18)

‘But when in Phnom Penh, Cambodia, the Killing Fields are a must-see to learn...’ (Blog 17)

‘So it is essential for anyone going to Phnom Penh’ (Blog 28)

Many respondents simply said the same thing – that visiting Tuol Sleng and/or Choeung Ek was part of the experience of visiting Cambodia. Even some blogs, (Blog 18) and (Blog 17), notably state that visits to the sites were a ‘must-see’, (Blog 17) and ‘a must’ (Blog 18). Many respondents in the semi-structured interviews were under the impression that visiting the sites was an important part of visiting Phnom Penh and wider Cambodia. Almost all respondents said this, and examples of this answer are presented in panel 5.18. If the respondents have heard or read in several places that visiting Tuol Sleng and/or Choeung Ek is part of visiting Cambodia, then this can act as a driver to visit such attractions as concluded in chapter six of this study.

Not every single answer has been recorded here as there was much repetition in the answers, such as ‘to understand’ and ‘it’s part of coming to Cambodia’. However, it is overwhelmingly evident that motivations to visit Tuol Sleng/Choeung Ek and arguably, other dark tourist sites, lay empathetically in wanting to experience the country/area and to learn and understand what happened and why, rather than motivations that are driven by the dark and macabre nature of the sites.

This is contrary to popular definitions such as Seaton’s (1996) and Slade’s (2003) who argue that at least some motivations to dark tourism sites lie in the desire to see suffering and the macabre. In the main, visitors to Tuol Sleng and/or Choeung Ek do so for

reasons that are not dark and macabre, but rather visit as they want to learn and understand what happened. Moreover, respondents did not class themselves as dark tourists because they did not consider their motivations dark.

5.2.1 There by Default

Some respondents in the semi-structured interviews and blogger were not motivated in their own right to visit the sites, but were there because it was part of a wider tour, or because others in their groups wanted to go. It is important to acknowledge these respondents as it adds to the evidence that on the whole visitors are not motivated to visit by the macabre and dark nature of the sites. These respondents in particular wanted to stress very strongly that they really did not want to visit at all and some of these answers are presented in panel 5.19.

Panel 5.19 Motivations to visit Tuol Sleng and/or Choeung Ek

“Well I didn’t want to come, I am here because it is part of the tour of Cambodia. Most people on the coach wanted to come, but I didn’t. It’s horrible here, why would anyone WANT to come?” (Britishm6)

“Oh I didn’t want to come, it was part of the tour, I have decided not to go to the Killing Fields I will sit in a café instead.” (Cm1).

“If it wasn’t part of the agenda (of the tour), we wouldn’t have made the journey here”. (Hm1)

The respondents in table 5.19 were all there because it was part of a wider tour or agenda that they did not have much say in. (Hm1) was particularly distressed in his

responses and declared that (despite visiting Tuol Sleng) he would not make the second visit to Choeng Ek (Killing Fields). Equally (Britishm6) and (Cm1) were keen to point out that they did not want to visit, that is was part of a wider tour they were on. Other respondents also had a similar answer and they are presented in panel 5.20.

Panel 5.20 Motivations to visit Tuol Sleng and/or Choeng Ek

“I am here because my boyfriend wanted to come, if it was just me I would not have come, it is disgusting in my opinion” (Swissf1)

“There are three of us travelling and we are all here, I would not have come on my own, the other two wanted to come, but I didn’t really. That is mostly why I am here” (Ausm2).

“No I am not a dark tourist, I came because of somebody else, they wanted to come, I didn’t” (Braf1)

“If it was just me I would not have come” (Fm1)

The respondents in panel 5.20 whilst also declaring that they were not dark tourists, said that they were there because it is what others in the travelling group had decided to do, and moreover, would not have come otherwise. ‘If it was just me I would not have come’ (Fm1) and ‘I would not have come on my own’ (Ausm2) demonstrates this point. One respondent, (Braf1), also extended her answer to include that she was there because of the time of her visit (around lunch time) as the other attractions such as the Royal Palace, museum and Silver Pagoda were closed for lunch. (Swissf1) was very strong in her answer, declaring that the site (Tuol Sleng) was ‘disgusting’ and she would not have visited had it not been for her boyfriend wanting to visit.

Again these findings add to the now growing evidence established in this study, that visitors to dark sites cannot be categorized as having dark or macabre drivers for visiting and do not class themselves as dark tourists

5.3 The Macabre as an Attraction

Even if you are appalled and horrified by the macabre and death present at the sites, almost all people feel morbid curiosity (Wilson 2012). Presumably, it is this type of thinking that led Best (2007:38) to argue that thanatourism ‘...refers to individuals who are motivated primarily to experience the death and suffering of others of the purpose of enjoyment, pleasure and satisfaction’, and Robb (2009:51) who states that dark tourism ‘involves visiting destinations in which violence is the main attraction’.

Although all visitors declared that they were not motivated to visit by the dark and macabre nature of the sites, but rather were motivated to visit because they wanted to learn and understand Cambodia’s history, and that some respondents and bloggers said they were there by default, nonetheless, despite the horrific nature of both sites, the blood stained walls and torture equipment on display, all respondents still chose to visit. One does not need to see the remains of thousands of people and the confronting ‘Killing Tree’ at Choeung Ek, against which babies and infants were bashed to their deaths in order to save bullets, as well as stories and thousands of pictures on display, in order to understand what occurred. The reality is that a traveller could probably learn about the history of Cambodia and Phnom Penh, by visiting the museums and reading a variety of literature. For example, at almost every bar and tourism establishment, young Cambodians (mostly) sell pictures and books to do with the Pol Pot and the

Khmer Rouge history. *'First They Killed My Father: A Daughter of Cambodia Remembers'* is non-fiction book written by Loung Ung in 2000, a Cambodian author and survivor of the Pol Pot regime. It is a personal account of her experiences during the Khmer Rouge years. Whilst visiting Cambodia and Phnom Penh it is impossible to avoid seeing this book, as most vendors and street traders incessantly attempt to sell any traveller a copy. Nevertheless, travellers still chose to visit and experience the horror of it all for themselves. It may be possible that, although the dark and macabre nature of the sites do not act as drivers to visit in their own right, it may heighten curiosity and by default act as a motivation.

Wilson (2012) has an uplifting conclusion as to why we perhaps have a desire to see the death and suffering: that our attraction to the macabre is on some level, a desire to experience someone else's suffering and that we yearn to empathise. Wilson's (2012) theory is incidentally, compatible with the evolutionary argument, (Kottler 2011) that empathy helps us forge close bonds, which are essential for survival. Striving to feel what it might be like to be caught up in the tsunami, or a motorway pile-up, may be fundamentally healthy.

Although most respondents gave clear reasons to why they were visiting, and these reasons were not apparently connected to death, horror and the macabre etc., considering the literature discussed in chapter two of the literature review, it is imperative to try and gain understanding as to why visitors were there or had visited, and they were asked what percentage of the horror attracted them to the site and respondents gave a low percentage. Typical answers are presented in panel 5.21.

Panel 5.21 The percentage of the macabre and death present as an attraction.

‘I think I could, maybe I’m about 20%, Yeah I want to be honest and I have to say low and that I’m only interested in it from the historical point of view’ (If1)

‘I don’t know if this is an isolated visit, but it’s certainly the first time I have been anywhere like this, so maybe 10%. That’s all!’ (USAf2)

‘I would say I am about 10% attracted by the horror here’ (Asf1)

‘Well it is present and you can’t deny that, but really about 10-20%’ (Fm2)

To date, no known research has directly asked the visitors about the death present at a dark site, therefore, the findings of this study are important and will add to the dark tourism literature. In response to the question, ‘what percentage of the macabre and death attracts you here?’ many respondents gave a low percentage, typically between 10% and 20%, thus, providing further evidence that on the whole visitors to Tuol Sleng and/or Choeung Ek are not motivated by the macabre. Presented in panel 5.21 are answers to the question, (If1) was confident in her answer of ‘about 20%’, equally so was (USAf2), who offered ‘maybe 10%’. Similarly, (Af1), ‘10%’ and (Fm2), ‘10-20%’. For many respondents, it was not a hard question for them to answer. Most placed themselves in a similar position to those presented in panel 5.21, and more of these answers are presented in panel 5.22.

Panel 5.22 The Percentage of the Macabre and Death Present as an Attraction.

‘10-20%, that’s all’ (NZm1)

‘...between 0-10%, maybe 15% no more than that’ (Sf1)

‘Between 10 and 20%...’ (Britishf3)

‘Maybe 5%, that is all’ (Ausm2)

“I would say 20%” (Cm2)

“10, 20% maybe” (USAf1)

Presented in panel 5.22, are more typical responses in answer to the question ‘what percentage of the macabre and death attracts you?’ Many respondents were quick and confident in their answer, that it was only a small part of the attraction. Some respondents answered as low as 5% (Ausm2), and some respondents answered up to 20% (NZm1, Britishf3, Cm2). Thus, demonstrating that the dark and macabre nature of the sites was not a big attraction to them. Furthermore, whilst most respondents were able to place themselves somewhere on the scale offered, a small amount of respondents either refused or could not give a value to their fascination with the macabre nature of the sites. Some respondents were animated and adamant in their answers, as demonstrated in panel 5.23.

Panel 5.23 The Percentage of the Macabre and Death Present as an Attraction.

“ Erm, couldn’t even say any percentage, I don’t like being asked that, this is not somewhere I am getting pleasure out of, that’s not what I get, so no, none at all!”

(Bm1)

“Absolutely, none, no way, none at all, that’s why I can’t go round the rest, no none!” (Sf2).

“I can’t say I have a fascination, it is naught, no, I have none.” (Finm1)

Some respondents did not like being asked the question ‘what percentage of the dark and macabre present here attracts you?’ (Bm1), was unquestionably strong in his answers that he did not like the questions and that there was ‘none at all.’ (Sf2) and (Finm1) were equally definitive in their answers.

Panels 5.21, 5.22 and 5.23 have provided more evidence that most visitors to Tuol Sleng and/or Choeung Ek do not visit because they are attracted by the horror and dark nature of the sites. However, what is interesting is that some respondents, whilst saying they were not dark tourists and visiting for ‘understanding Cambodia’ reasons, and giving themselves a low macabre fascination percentage, acknowledged that there was possibly something instinctive or a sub-conscious reason for visiting, and this is presented in panel 5.24.

Panel 5.24 The Percentage of the Macabre and Death Present as an Attraction

“10-20% at the most, I guess it’s instinct, can’t deny that, but I’m from an education background and for me it’s important to educate ourselves, that is overwhelmingly why I have come, not because I am interested in death!” (Britishf3)

“Umm, maybe 10% because there is death here, it’s horrible and I’ve come to see it, so I guess sub-consciously there must be a little, consciously though, not at all.” (Fm2)

“There’s a part of you that’s dark, like everyone, it’s kind of human nature to...well to look and see, I would be lying to say I’m not interested at all. It’s not why I’ve come, but it’s here, so I would say about 10%” (If2)

“No, none, maybe somewhere deep in my mind, but really I am from Switzerland, I can go very quickly from my country to see this sort of thing, yunno It’s all over Europe, Auschwitz etc. So I didn’t come all this way because I am fascinated by this, maybe deep deep in my mind, but no I can’t give a percentage no”. (Sf1)

“From the perspective of what one human can do to another, what suffering one human can actually go through. This is fascinating and I find it fascinating to see, yes. I guess it’s an instinct thing, but it’s fascinating, so maybe about 20%” (Belm2).

As with the answers presented in panels 5.21 5.22, and 5.23, the respondents presented in panel 5.24 all gave themselves a percentage values of between ten and twenty percent. These answers provide evidence in two parts. Firstly, visitors to Tuol Sleng/Choeung Ek and arguably, other dark sites, are not motivated by the dark and macabre nature of the sites. Visitors do not class themselves as dark tourists and visit to 'learn' and 'understand' about Cambodia and its history. Secondly, it provides further support to the findings that will be outlined in chapter six, that there are probably sub-conscious desires (rather than overt motivations) present in all of us to a greater or lesser degree, to acknowledge the dark and macabre nature of humans, and that could, therefore, influence visits to dark tourism sites. Some respondents have recognised that this is probably the case and used words and phrases such as 'instinct' (Britishf3), 'sub-consciously' (Fm2), 'human nature' (If2), '...somewhere deep in my mind...deep deep in my mind' (Sf1) and 'instinct thing' (Belm2). It is possible that these desires, instincts and psychological drivers have allowed us to learn and ultimately survive. Despite this recognition, the respondents in panel 5.24 declared that their (conscious) fascination with the dark macabre nature of the sites was low, all placing themselves between 10% and 20%, similar to respondents in panels 5.22 and 5.23. Moreover, answers from respondents in panel 5.24 mostly placed themselves low without much hesitation.

A few respondents did acknowledge that the dark and macabre nature of the sites, whilst consciously not acting as drivers to visit, was very interesting to them and gave themselves a high percentage as demonstrated in panel 5.25.

Panel 5.25 The Percentage of the Macabre and Death Present as an Attraction

“I would say 80%, because of the name, The Killing Fields, straight away you know what you are getting, even though it was recommended, I didn’t have to come, but yes it is fascinating...but I’m not sure why” (Ausm4)

“I think I do have a high morbid curiosity rate, yes I am interested to know like, how many people were killed or tortured, so around 80%, I have no real shame in admitting that. I guess that’s what most people say?” (Britishf5)

“Hmm, well the macabre side is fascinating, about 60-70%, I mean I’m not sick or anything, but I sort of knew what was going to be here, so it fascinated me to see it, so that’s probably why it is so high. It’s not the only thing of course, and not why I am here but maybe it’s part of it?” (Britishm2)

The respondents in panel 5.25 agreed that the macabre nature of the sites was fascinating and gave themselves 80% (Ausm4 and Britishf5) and 60-70% (Britishm2). (Britishf2) was confident in her reply, whereas (Britishm2) was more hesitant and whilst admitting to finding it fascinating also wanted to point out and clarify that he was not ‘sick’ *“I mean I’m not sick or anything...”* (Britishm2). Even though (Britishf2) was confident she positioned herself with what she presumed was a majority answer *“I guess that’s what most people say?”*, presumably an attempt to make herself sound typical and by default a typical tourist. Whilst (Ausm2) also admitted to finding the macabre nature of the site fascinating he couldn’t really articulate why, thus adding weight to findings that will be established in chapter six, that there is probably deep sub-conscious and/or instinctive reasons that make us fascinated (Kottler 2012, Wilson 2012). These respondents all said that they were not dark tourists and were not motivated to visit because of dark and macabre reasons; however, they did have a high percentage of fascination of the dark and macabre nature of the sites. As will be

articulated in chapter six, it is possible that these respondents are more aware of their desire or natural urge to look at death and the macabre and recognized that the dark and macabre natures of the sites is a fascination to them.

Panel 5.26 The Percentage of the Macabre and Death Present as an Attraction

“Oh I don’t think it attracts me in terms of getting excited about it, but it is interesting in how twisted some people can be.” (Swissm1)

“It’s part of history and I think Pol Pot is very interesting, the horror fascinates me too, I can’t do a percentage, it’s not why I’ve come, but it is fascinating” (Nm1).

“Well I understand it is very fascinating, the macabre side of things is very fascinating, I just don’t know how much, but it is fascinating yes” (Hm1)

Some respondents, would not give (themselves) a percentage value but did acknowledge that the macabre and death present is fascinating to them, though some such as (Nm1), was keen to point out that it was not the reason he visited. (Swissm1) acknowledged *“but it is interesting”*, though still saying it is not something that he can get *“excited about it”*.

This part of chapter five has so far established that whilst the horrific nature of the sites are fascinating to a higher or lesser degree to many respondents, it does not act as the main driver to visit, not consciously anyway. This study reveals that most people who visit Tuol Sleng/Cheung Ek, do so typically to ‘understand Cambodia’, ‘learn their history’, and ‘to understand what happened to them’ (panels 5.1 p.145, 5.14 p.166 and 5.16, p.168); some travellers were there by default, and almost all respondents did not consider themselves dark tourists.

5.4 I am a Dark Tourist

The result of this study so far has ascertained that people do not visit dark sites like Chapter six of this study will conclude that people sub-consciously and/or instinctively are fascinated with death and the macabre, and human nature has dictated that this is the case in order to survive. The findings in chapter seven of this research will conclude that many respondents visited because they were being advised by their guidebooks, other travellers, or word-of-mouth from trusted sources and in most cases all of them. Of the 50 respondents, 40 blogs and 300 comments of the visitor books studied, only one respondent admitted he was a dark tourist.

(Belm2) was the only respondent who had no problems with the terminology used in the semi-structured interview. When asked if he considered himself a dark tourist, his response was confident *“Well yes I am a dark tourist, I am visiting a dark site, I purposely came here, yes I am a dark tourist.”* (Belm2). The responses in the semi-structure interview with (Belm2) were straight forward compared to many others, the respondent answered clearly, confidently and quickly. He did not take time to think about his responses.

He answered several times that he was fascinated with the dark and macabre nature of the site *“Yep, yep, I like the macabre side, I have been to many other places, Auschwitz etc. I like this sort of thing.”* (Belm2) also stated that the reason he came to Cambodia was to confront its dark history *“I came to Cambodia, because of it...it is the reason why I have chosen to visit this country.”* (Belm2).

Respondent (Belm2) further explained that he had been to other sites that are considered dark by most dark tourism typologies and definitions, such as Auschwitz, House of Horror Museum in Budapest, Sachsenhausen Concentration Camp in Germany and many of the World War One sites in France and Belgium.

He also stated that the macabre nature of the site was fascinating to him, though he could not put a percentage value on his fascination, *“Yes definitely it fascinates me, can’t say a percentage, ahh that is hard, but it would be high. Yes, I am fascinated by this sort of thing.”* (Belm2).

Despite agreeing that he was a dark tourist and that his main motivation for visiting was to confront Cambodia’s dark past and see where the atrocities occurred, he could not really articulate what exactly he was fascinated with *“hmm... well, to see where it happened, to see the rooms, to see and experience the surroundings, not to glorify it you understand, just to see it.”* (Belm2)

He was asked several times during the semi-structured interview if he could explain why he was so fascinated with sites such as Tuol Sleng and/or Choeung Ek. Interestingly, he answered as the other respondents who said they were not dark tourists did.

“I want to learn and try and understand what happened, and why it happened, what man can do to another man without much manipulation seemingly, I enjoy this sort of history and politics, that is what I like about it, the history and politics and how we can turn quickly on each other.” (Belm2).

Belm2 used similar terminology to articulate his motivations for visiting Tuol Sleng/Choeung Ek, words such as ‘understand’ and ‘learn’ were repeatedly used throughout his answers in the semi-structured interview.

“It is important to understand what happened here”, “We must confront places like this to learn about what happened, we must always learn, we must never stop learning, we must not be afraid to come to places like this”, “How can we learn, if we don’t understand and vice versa?”, and “I came to understand, and I am not afraid of understanding” (Belm2).

The respondent also repeated many times during the semi-structured interview that he was not visiting “to glorify” or ‘enjoy what happened’; *“I am a dark tourist, but I don’t come to glorify what happened”, “I am not here to glorify all the blood and torture...”, “I am not here to celebrate and glorify no no no...”* and *“I came purposely, but not to enjoy what happened, I do not enjoy what happened, I do not glorify it...”* (Belm2)

Respondent (Belm2) was very comfortable stating he was a dark tourist, he visited Cambodia and Phnom Penh purposely to confront its dark history, and that he deliberately visits other places and countries with equally dark pasts. However, it became clear during the semi-structured interview that his motivations were very similar, if not exactly the same as all the other respondents who said they were there to learn and understand. He repeatedly said he was not there to ‘glorify’, but was there to understand and learn.

Respondent (Belm2) also clarified that whilst he was in Cambodia he would visit Angkor Wat, the Russian Market and the Riverside in Phnom Penh and will visit bars and other tourist establishments. Though admitting he is a dark tourist and deliberately seeking out dark attractions, his motivations and other tourist activity he partook in, is the same as all of the other respondents and bloggers researched in this study.

It can be argued that motivations to visit dark sites such as Tuol Sleng/Choeung Ek are explained by the same desires, to learn and understand what happened. Chapter six will conclude that there is a sub-conscious and instinctive drive in us all to see death and learn about macabre situations. We are simultaneously repulsed and compelled to visit dark attractions, or look at accidents on the road. It is possible that respondent (Belm2) is more conscious of his dark forces (Freud 1932; Jung 1951; 1970) and, therefore, more comfortable to admit or recognise his desires and openly visit places to satisfy himself.

As highlighted in chapter three of the literature review, motivations are complex and there are normally multiple reasons why tourists visit any tourist attraction (Gisolf, 2014).

5.5 Chronological Distance

It was Lennon and Foley (2000) who first brought the issue of chronology to the fore in the discussion surrounding dark tourism. When dismissing the sites of the Scottish Wars of Independence in the 13th and 14th centuries, as examples of dark tourism, they stated ‘it is the simple matter of chronological distance. These events did not take place

within the memories of those still alive to validate them' (Lennon and Foley, 2000:12), so, therefore, cannot be examples of dark tourism.

Knox (2006:186) argues that dark tourism is a new phenomenon amongst tourists '...a (relatively) new phenomenon whereby tourists consume the dramatic elements of the recent history...', whereas Seaton (2009) makes the point that our contemporary fascination with fatality is not a new postmodern phenomenon, rather it has evolved over millennia. He further argues that Lennon and Foley's (2000) dark tourism was born on the battlefield tours post Waterloo and the visits to Pompeii while on the Grand Tours, and not out of the industrial and whole-scale mass slaughters of the two World Wars and modern history, (Seaton, 2009). Knox (2006) in his research on the landscapes of the massacre at Glencoe argues that definitions that include 'living memory' are unsustainable, '...as many events might ostensibly appear to have no direct connection to contemporary life continue to have a resonance that far exceeds what we might expect from their proximity in time' (Knox 2006:186).

There is much contention over the definitions of dark tourism. There cannot, however, be any dispute that the sites researched in this study, are associated with suffering, death and the macabre. What is for discussion is whether they are examples of dark tourism, and whether tourists are motivated to visit because of the dark and macabre nature of the sites. A large part of the dark tourism literature debates whether it is time that gives dark tourism its identity, that atrocities and murders that happened a very long time ago are a matter of history. If events of a dark site can be validated by someone alive today, Lennon and Foley (2000), then this might give dark tourism its identity.

Part of this study is to establish if the atrocities at Tuol Sleng/Choeung Ek feel recent to the tourists and if that had any impact or inspired them to visit, and to further establish if chronology might be the differentiating factor of the genre of dark tourism. Almost all respondents agreed that the sites of Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek are dark sites and many of the blogs studied in this research discussed or alluded to the dark nature of the sites.

In order to understand if chronology of the events that took place in Tuol Sleng/Choeung Ek had any impact on respondents' motivations to visit, and therefore, shed light on time and dark tourism literature, this was addressed by the questions in the semi-structured interview. In response to the question, 'Do you consider the events here recent/have they played a part in your motivation to visit?' some respondents did acknowledge that the events felt recent and typical answers are presented in panel 5.27.

Panel 5.27 Dark Tourism and Chronology.

"In terms of dark tourism? It makes it much darker because it is recent" (Ausm1)

"Yes it really think it is, I am Polish, it is recent, it is darker because of what happened to my family in Poland, and this happened after that, oh yes it makes it darker" (Polf1).

"As I have already said, yes because it is not that long ago, it makes it more horrible, it could have happened to me, it could have happened (shrugs shoulders), it could have been me – it makes it harder hitting, yes darker, real..." (Ff1).

"Yes it makes it more emotional, more fascinating and more emotional, yes to answer it makes it darker, not less so, more so..." (Ff2)

Overwhelmingly, respondents said that the sites of Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek can be considered dark and that the chronology of the events that happened there determined that the sites were darker than if they had happened a longer time ago. Presented in panel 5.27 is evidence of this finding. (Ff1) answered that the chronology of the events makes it more horrible and ‘real’ to her. (Ausm1) was very sure in his answers that it (Tuol Sleng) is darker because the events felt recent to him. (Polf1), an older Polish lady, was quite emotional in her answer, she related events that were personal to her that had happened a longer time ago, so to her the events at Choeung Ek felt very recent and, therefore, darker and more emotional.

Similarly, many bloggers wrote about time and the distance between themselves and the events that took place in one way or another. Most of what they wrote expressed that their visit had a harder hitting impact and was more emotional because the events did not seem that long ago, some of these writings are presented in panel 5.28.

Panel 5.28 Dark Tourism and Chronology

‘It’s hard to believe that all this started just under 40 years ago.’ (Blog 21)

‘Think about it – Where were you between 1974-1979? Most likely, you were not even born. I was between 6 and 11 years old during this time; going to school, playing games with my friends, eating lots of food, ...not a worry in the world.’ (Blog 19)

‘Think about this - it is only 40 years back!’ (Blog 18)

‘The true horror? Most Cambodians over the age of 40 alive today can tell similar stories.’ (Blog 13)

'The physical and mental scars of genocide are still painfully visible in Cambodia today.' (Blog 10)

'Not only am I bothered by having been ignorant of some major world events, I am deeply saddened that some awful ones have occurred during my lifetime, and continue to happen.' (Blog 25)

'Cambodia has a dark recent history.' (Blog 27)

'This took place during my parents' lifetime. What's taking place during mine?' (Blog 28)

'..this dark period in Cambodia's recent past.' (Blog 30)

Some blogs used words such as 'recent' (Blog 27, 30), other blogs talked about the events happening in their lifetime or that of their parents, (Blog 18, Blog25, Blog 28), and some blogs wrote about how the legacy of the events was visible to them, and therefore making it all seem recent (Blog 13, Blog 10).

Some respondents in the semi-structured interviews were able to articulate more about the chronology of the events and the impact the sites had on their visit, and these are presented in panel 5.29.

Panel 5.29 Dark Tourism and Chronology

"Oh yes, I remember it well on the news, because Australia was involved in the Vietnam War a lot of this stuff was on the news, and we always watched the news in my house. So yes very recent, I mean I remember it and I'm not that old (laughs). I mean I really remember it, so yes it is recent and that's what makes it worse I think, I was probably playing with friends when this horror was going on, we were

breathing the same air. Yes it makes it more real for me anyway, more horrific, definitely.” (Ausm1)

“Absolutely, I am Polish so World War Two is still recent for me, this is thirty years later than that, so yes, I am in my 70s now, so I remember it all, yes like yesterday. Yes very recent. I think it makes it more poignant and makes me more respectful. Yes it has an impact” (Polf1).

“Yes I was alive when this happened, if I lived here I would have been a victim I know it, or my family certainly – ah that’s what makes it hard here, if I lived here, you might see my picture on the wall – I am that age where it could have been my story – so yes because it is recent it makes it real and horrible” (Ff1).

“No, I think it is a recent story and that’s what makes coming here so fascinating and what makes it so awful, that it was recent. People are still alive, perpetrators are still alive, no it is because it is recent, and the 70s is not that long ago – that’s why it’s interesting. It’s why it’s so emotional really, it horrible, it was yesterday really!” (Ff2)

“Well, I wasn’t alive, but my parents were, I have seen a few amputees and I know the guide book still mentions landmines from this time, so to me it’s recent, very recent. Yes that makes it more fascinating, more confronting” (NZm1)

Without exception respondents answered that the chronology of the events at Tuol Sleng/Choeung Ek had a major impact on what makes the sites ‘dark sites’. As with some of the blog writers, some respondents related what happened to themselves like (Ff1), who projected the atrocities onto herself and family and wondered if this would have been her story had she been Cambodian. Others remembered it happening, like (Polf1) and (Ausm1) and respondent (Ff2) in panel 5.29, and (Belsm1) and (Sm1) and (Ff2) in panel 5.29 suggest it is still a current story as perpetrators and victims are still alive today and war crime trials are still happening and this makes it more powerful.

It was Skinner (2012) who suggested that a site is a darker tourist experience when the living connection with the past brings home the horror and lends authenticity to any representations. Clearly these respondents are connecting the Tuol Sleng/Choeung Ek story to themselves and/or to the present day, making a tangible link to events at one and/or both sites. Most respondents talked at length in their answers to this question.

A few respondents actually named historic events in their answers as a way to demonstrate how recent the atrocities at Tuol Sleng/Cheung Ek felt to them, and state that the events they mention do not have the same impact because they are perceived as a long time ago to them. Some of these answers are presented in panel 5.30.

Panel 5.30 Dark Tourism and Chronology

“I know it happened in the 70s, and I still think about it in terms of my parents. It makes it a lot more real and more recent instead of World War One which was sooo long ago, and having survivors here; well that just brings even more reality to it. To me it seems recent and that’s what makes it even more horrible.” (Britishf2)

“I think the fact that it was relatively recent does make it more hard-hitting, I don’t know if it makes it worse because it was just so terrible, but it does bring it close and when you think that this was happening just after I was born...yeah, the Second World War seems like a longer time ago so you don’t obviously feel it, but this was much closer...” (Cm1)

“Well this happened in my lifetime, I was alive when it happened. I remember some of it, so it’s not that long ago. As I said our guide in the Royal Palace is still living, it’s not like the Battle of Waterloo or anything, it’s still happening. There are court cases now right? So it’s still very much a current story, that’s what makes coming here more important and powerful”. (Belm1).

A finding of this research has discovered, that when visiting dark sites such as Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek, the more recently the events that happened at them, the more hard hitting and emotional is the experience of visit, therefore, making the site darker. World War I, World War II and the Battle of Waterloo were given as examples of events where significant death occurred, but happened long enough ago to be less hard hitting, less emotional, and therefore, less dark than visits to sites such as Tuol Sleng and/or Choeung Ek (Britishf2, Cm1, Belm1). Of course different ages will have different perceptions of what events are recent. For example, respondent (Bm1) who was eighteen years old, named World War II as events that happened so long ago that it does not affect him in the same way. Older respondents such as (Polf1) in table 5.29 said that as she was in her seventies, World War II still seemed recent to her. Most respondents answered that the events that took place in Tuol Sleng and/or Choeung Ek were relatively recent and, therefore, made for a more emotional and darker experience when visiting.

Panel 5.31 Dark Tourism and Chronology

“Of course it is recent, I wasn’t alive, but there are people alive that it happened to or are still suffering. It makes it more emotional and more real to me. Yes it seems recent to me and that makes my visit here more real and wow...” (Braf1)

“I can’t imagine it having the same impact if it was say a hundred or a thousand years ago, yeah it is recent, I think it is, it has an effect on me like it is recent – it makes it more dark, people are still alive” (Ausm4)

“Well I wasn’t born, but I still think that it seems not so long ago, maybe the buildings seem modern, but our tuk tuk driver told us his father is still missing,

makes it modern and as if it is happening now. Yes I would say it makes it darker, oh yes” (Britishm2)

“Yes It makes it darker, of course it does, it is not deep history yet, of course it makes it darker” (Sf1)

The respondents and blogs researched for this study conclusively agreed that the apparent recency of the events (1970s) that took place in Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek make the sites darker. The fact that the horrific events only took place forty years ago, make the visit more confronting and hard hitting. Even the respondents who were not alive when the events took place, agreed that it still seemed recent to them. For example, (NZm1) in table 5.31 said he was not alive when the events happened but *“Yes that makes it more fascinating, more confronting” (NZm1) “To me it seems recent and that’s what makes it even more horrible.” (Britishf2) in table 5.30, and in table 5.31 “Yes it seems recent to me and that makes my visit here more real and wow...” (Braf1) and “Yes I would say it makes it darker, oh yes” (Britishm2).*

Whilst the respondents agreed that the sites were dark sites to visit and the chronology of the events made the site feel dark and more confronting, it was important to establish if the chronology of the events acted as a driver to visit. They were asked, as part of the semi-structured interview, if the recency of the events acted in part or in whole as a motivation to visit. Some of the respondents answered are presented in panel 5.32.

Panel 5.32 Dark Tourism and Chronology

“Well yes, as I said I remembered it on the news, so I am here, but I would have come if it had happened a longer time ago, because it is such a big part of Cambodia. I suspect visitors will still be coming here in a hundred years time, like

the Slave thing. Yes, I remember it, so I have come, but I would have come anyway”
(USAm4)

“I guess, because I can relate to it in my life, and many museums and things like Angkor Wat, I can’t relate it to my own life because it was such a long time ago. I knew it was recent before I came, I knew I would be affected because of this. I feel sure though I would have come anyway, because it is was you do when you come here, it’s in all the guides. So If I didn’t know when it happened, I would probably still come because of the guides.” (Ausf4)

“What is funny is, if it happened yesterday, I don’t think I would come – that would be toooooo recent. But, this is still recent all the same, so when I read about the dates, I just thought, wow, it’s just happened and it made me want to come more, so yes it had an impact to come, but not the reason I come.” (USAm1)

“I know it makes it more hard hitting and hearing stories from our guides makes it obvious that it is very recent, it made me more emotional actually, I don’t know if it would have had that impact had it happened, say thousand years ago, but I don’t know if it made me come, that’s hard to answer, erm yes it may be made me more curious yes, like the victims and killers are still alive – how does that work? So it made me more curios on that side of things.” (Britishf2)

From the answers presented in panel 5.32, there is a possibility that the recent events at Tuol Sleng/Choeung Ek did not play a large part in motivations to visit, rather, it heightened curiosity to visit, (USAm4, Ausf4, USAm1, Britishf2), as demonstrated in panel 5.32. Many respondents answered that they would have come anyway, despite how recent the events felt to them. *“Yes, I remember it, so I have come, but I would have come anyway”* (USAm6), *“... so yes it had an impact to come, but not the reason I come.”* (USAm5), *“So If I didn’t know when it happened, I would probably still come because of the guides.”* (Ausf8). Chronology has played an important part in heightening their curiosity to visit, and played a significant part of the impact of the

visit, but does not necessarily play an important part in a motivation to visit. Tourists would have visited anyway.

Without exception, they acknowledged that it is because it was recent they could relate it to their own lives, some were alive and remembered, some younger respondents immediately thought of their parents and the fact that they were alive and related it personally that way, and this made the visit more confronting and emotional, as demonstrated with some answers in panel 5.33.

Panel 5.33 Dark Tourism and Chronology

“It’s recent, yes it’s recent, it’s not far, I wasn’t born but my parents were, and you talk to people here, and they were affected or have family that were. Our tuk tuk driver said his father and uncle disappeared, it is still here and happening to many people, oh yes it’s recent.” (Sm1)

“What shocks me the most is that it was so recent, when I think about it terms of my parents. With history you just list things in your head, but recent history makes it harder to wrap your head around things, I guess that’s what makes it so dark, I mean, like, it just happened!” (If2).

These findings are clearly at odds with Tarlow (2005:50) who stated ‘The mixture of ...fact and reality means that time may no longer be a relevant factor in the definition of dark tourism’, but to a degree concurs with Lennon and Foley (2000), who argue to be dark tourism, someone must still be alive to validate what happened. The findings of this study do not support the argument that someone must still be alive to validate events, rather, if the visitor perceives the events to be recent, it makes the visiting experience darker and more confronting. It can heighten a visitor’s curiosity to visit but does not act as a motivational driver in its own right. It is evident that time played a

significant part in the respondents' experiences when visiting the sites, and the fact that their story is still present in modern Phnom Penh and Cambodia made it a darker and more hard-hitting experience for many respondents and blog writers.

Interestingly, it was Poiria et al (2006), in their research on motivations and heritage interpretation whilst visiting the Anne Frank Museum in Amsterdam, concluded that different interpretation expectations were linked to personal heritage, and this study can go some way to confirm this link by arguing that a visitor's actual age can be associated with the perception of time.

Ashworth and Hartmann (2005:9) raise the question of the 'elapse of time', that the impact of atrocity upon public consciousness could be peaked as news is spread of the atrocity – as peaking public interest and curiosity is satiated, followed by a decline and eventual fading of interest as newer events take precedence. As highlighted in the introduction chapter of this study, newspaper articles of the current war crime trials of the perpetrators of Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek taking place in Phnom Penh were reported daily. The election campaigns also heightened reporting of the Khmer Rouge and Pol Pot era, as it was used as a tool to disparage and discredit political opponents. There is no evidence that tourists who visited read the local daily newspapers; however, as will be concluded in chapter seven, word-of-mouth recommendations play an important part in visiting tourist attractions, and as many word-of-mouth recommendations took place from local tuk tuk drivers, it is possible that this was heightened due to the on-going war crime trials and election campaigns that were taking place during the field study.

As respondents mostly agreed that because the events seemed recent to them, it heightened their curiosity and made the whole experience of visiting more emotional, darker and confronting. With this evidence it could be argued, that when considering a definition of dark tourism, time may need to be considered within the definition.

5.6 Conclusion

In an attempt to establish who or what a dark tourist is, several questions were asked of each respondent. All respondents and many bloggers said or wrote that the sites were dark attractions. Importantly, findings of this study reveal that most visitors did not class themselves as dark tourist as all but one respondent disassociated themselves from the label, despite the question being asked either inside or near the Tuol Sleng prison or inside or near the Choeung Ek Killing Fields. Some were emphatic with their responses and some did not like the suggestion at all as seen in panels 5.1 and 5.2.

This chapter concludes that overwhelmingly, travellers who visit Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek are driven by a desire to learn and understand Cambodia's dark history (panel 5.13 and panel 5.14, p.165). Many respondents and bloggers wrote or answered that visiting the sites was very much a part of visiting Cambodia and as chapter seven of this study will argue and conclude, as most respondents said they had read a tourist guide book, this collectively with other word-of mouth sources meant that many travellers were influenced and encouraged to believe that visiting the sites is an essential part of visiting Cambodia.

This chapter also finds that whilst chronology and the recency of the events intensifies the experience and emotions of the visits, it also heightens the curiosity to visit for some visitors. However, chronology does not act as a driver to visit in its own right, as demonstrated in panel 5.33, travellers would probably have visited anyway.

Similarly, when asked to rate their pull factor (on a scale of 1-100%) of the macabre and dark nature of the sites, respondents generally placed themselves low. Whilst some respondents placed their fascination high (and acknowledged there was something instinctive about their fascination), they also said that it did not act as a driver to visit in its own right.

This chapter also finds that not all visitors to dark sites such as Tuol Sleng and/or Choeung Ek actually wanted to visit. Many visitors were there by default, whether it was part of a wider tour, or because someone else in their group wanted to visit.

With this evidence it could be easy to conclude that on the whole dark tourists, as such, do not exist, but it is important to note that one respondent (Belm2) did consider himself a dark tourist, and was happy to admit that confronting Cambodia's dark history was the main reason he visited the country, and that he had been to other dark sites, such as Auschwitz and Sachsenhausen. However, after questioning his motivations for visiting, his answers were the same as the other respondents and bloggers researched in this study. He wanted to learn and understand what had happened rather than a drive to 'glorify' the macabre and dark nature of the sites (Belm2)

A significant finding of this study is that tourists to Tuol Sleng and/or Choeung Ek and arguably, other dark tourist sites, do not class themselves as dark tourists, but as typical tourists. They justify this by explaining that they are visiting other tourist sites such as

the Temples of Angkor Wat, The Riverside and the various markets, and that they are not gaining pleasure from their visit. This is possibly unique to this genre of tourism as other studies and research suggest that tourists like to think of themselves as individualistic (McCabe, 2005 and Week, 2012), and do not like being classed as typical tourists (McCabe and Stokoe, 2004). The findings of this study concur with Baldwin and Sharpley's (2009) theory which argues that few tourists would regard themselves as dark tourists and would be 'horrified' that academics placed them in this category (Baldwin and Sharpley, 2009:190).

The next chapter examines the instinctive and psychological drivers in us all, to a higher or lesser degree; that multiple motivations influence visits to sites such as Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek and ultimately concludes that looking at places where death has occurred is natural human behaviour. Moreover, chapter seven will argue that the power of the tourist guidebook and trusted word-of-mouth act as significant drivers to visit attractions. There are multiple reasons why a tourist would visit a dark site and that the pull factor, (Compton, 1979) is not necessarily driven by the dark and macabre.

Chapter Six - Instinctive and Psychological Sub-Conscious Drivers

6.0 Introduction

So far this study has introduced the idea that visitors to dark sites, such as Tuol Sleng and/or Choeung Ek, visit for a variety of reasons and these reasons are, in the main, not connected to the dark or macabre. Most visitors do not consider themselves ‘dark tourists’ and, as concluded in chapter five, many tourists adamantly did not like the ‘dark tourist’ label, just because they were visiting a dark site. The chapter concluded that travellers who visit Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek are driven overwhelmingly by a desire to learn and understand Cambodia’s dark history (panel 5.13, p.165 and panel and 5.14, p.166).

Nevertheless, it was also suggested that there may be other deeper motivational influences. This next chapter attempts to understand these deeper motivations for visiting dark. It is curious that visitors to the sites unanimously agreed the sites were dark, and all the blogs researched as part of this study described in detail the horror of what happened there, and as all but one respondent declared themselves not to be a dark tourist, they still chose to visit. Although a finding of this study reveals that overwhelmingly, people visit to ‘learn’ and ‘understand’ Cambodia, it is probable and likely that they could do this without visiting the sites. They could visit the museums in Phnom Penh and read a variety of literature sold very cheaply outside every tourist establishment and yet they still chose to visit.

Only a very few respondents admitted that they were fascinated by the horror of Tuol Sleng/Choeung Ek, and gave a high percentage value for their fascination, but still declared it was not their motivation to visit. Only one respondent declared that he was there specifically because of the horror and macabre nature of the sites and to confront Cambodia's dark past.

This chapter examines the results of the semi-structured interviews, blogs and comments in the visitor books in relation to the theories of Kottler (2011), Freud (1920) and Jung (1951, 1970) as well as others, to establish if there are deeper motivations to visit dark sites like Tuol Sleng and/or Choeung Ek.

The chapter ultimately concludes that there are deep instinctive, psychological sub-conscious drivers that exist in all of us to a higher or lesser degree. These drivers are not fuelled by a desire to confront the dark and macabre, but rather an instinctive desire to ultimately learn what happened in order to survive.

6.1 Survival Instinct

It is crucial to this study to try and establish if there are more subtle or sub-conscious reasons for visiting. Despite most respondents declaring that they were not dark tourists, it is a matter of fact that at the height of the tourist season around seven to eight hundred tourists visit Tuol Sleng/Choeung Ek each day (Pann, 2017 accessed 04th April 2017). As highlighted in chapter two, it was Kottler (2011) who argued that we are simultaneously repulsed by and drawn to horror, and it is Kottler (2011) who also suggests that we are aroused by horror, the macabre and violence as it is part of our

deep survival instinct. As discussed in chapter two, Kottler (2011) explains that there are three basic questions that naturally and sub-consciously arise when seeing death. 1) What happened? 2) How did it happen? 3) What can I do to prevent such a thing from happening to me? He argues that we are curious, not because we are morbid and perverse, but ‘because we are trying to learn from what occurred’ (Kottler 2011:25). Vicary and Fraley (2010) also suggest that peoples’ fascination with murder and death stem from the desire to avoid being the victim. Wilson (2012:23) argues that being drawn to things dying or dead is a sub-conscious drive for survival.

Could the desire, to see where death and macabre situations have taken place, simply be a matter of basic human survival instinct? This research has established that most of the respondents and bloggers reveal evidence that the survival instinct theory supports.

In chapter five, panel 5.25, are answers from some respondents who recognized that there is probably something sub-conscious and or instinctive about their fascination with the dark and macabre nature of the Tuol Sleng and/or Choeung Ek. They used words and phrases such as ‘instinct’ (Britishf3), ‘sub-consciously’ (Fm2), ‘human nature’ (If2), ‘...somewhere deep in my mind...deep deep in my mind’ (Sm1) and ‘instinct thing’ (Belm2). It is possible that these desires, instincts and psychological drivers have allowed us to learn and ultimately survive.

The instinctive driver was evident in many respondents answers and bloggers who related the story of Tuol Sleng/Choeung Ek to themselves, and wondered how they could have survived had they been prisoners there. In response to the question, ‘Can you identify with the story here at all?’ many respondents positioned themselves as

victims at the sites and wondered how they would have survived. Presented in panel 6.1, are examples of quotes from those, who either personalised the story of Tuol Sleng/Choeung Ek, or wondered how they themselves would have coped and survived.

Panel 6.1 Learning to Survive

“I was alive when this happened, if I lived here I would have been a victim, I know it, or my family certainly...If I lived here you might see my picture on the wall...that’s what I think about, I don’t think I could have survived here...I mean how the hell did anyone survive?” (Ff1).

“In a way you can identify with it all, because we can think that had we been here that would have been us, I mean it would have, wouldn’t it? Why wouldn’t it? Like we would have been the victims if we were here then, I can’t imagine how we would have survived? I’m sure this would have been our story too, ahhh it’s incredible to think that isn’t it?” (If2).

“It’s hard to say, it’s hard for us to imagine isn’t it? These terrible things happened here, and visiting here you try to imagine how you would have survived? How was it to be chained up, or hung up from those posts? How? Oh I think it’s just awful and really, really terrible!” (Fm2).

“I even think that one of the girls in the photos looks like me, that was weird...I know what happened to her, it made me think would I would have done, how I would have coped...I can’t imagine how I would have acted” (USAf3).

The respondents in panel 6.1 all imagined themselves as the victims. (Fm1), without prompting, wondered what it would be like to *“be chained up and hung from the posts”*, and (Ff1) was sure, had she lived in Phnom Penh during the Khmer Rouge regime, her photo, along with the other victims would have been present *“If I lived here you might*

see my picture on the wall” Incredibly (USAf3) personalises her experience more deeply by seeing a photograph of a victim that looks like her, helping her identify with the victims and imagines the horror of what happened and how she would have coped. (If2) was very animated in her response and clearly placed herself as a victim and wonders how she would have survived, *“Like we would have been the victims if we were here then, I can’t imagine how we would have survived?”* and further comments that she is sure it would have been her story (the victim) had she been alive and in Cambodia during the regime. Although she says *“I can’t imagine how we would have survived?”* by saying this in a passionate tone it is clear that she has tried.

This is all evidence that the survival instinct, as outlined by Kottler (2011), is present and possibly one of the reasons why we are aroused to visit such sites. It is a natural desire and quest to see how one could have survived had one found themselves in the same situation. Respondents are learning what happened in Tuol Sleng and/or Choeung Ek and wondering how they would have coped and ultimately survived had it happened to them. Other respondents answered in a similar way, and their answers are presented in panel 6.2.

Panel 6.2 Learning to Survive

“Well I want to know what happened and learn, so we can see the signs and maybe stop it in the future so it doesn’t happen to anyone else, what led to all this horror? Maybe we should be seeing these signs in Syria now and do something. We need to see if the signs are the same. We always need to learn and learn and learn, until we stop doing these things!” (Ausf4)

“I think I just want to try and work out why it happened in the first place, what led up to it and what sort of mentality or ethos was behind those people who wanted such

a regime. Really to understand the mentality, to understand how people followed Pol Pot and did his orders. I can't understand it now, but when you're in it, maybe you have no choice, I don't know!" (Britishm3)

'Obviously we weren't alive when this was going on, but just thinking of all the people, who they were? And their ideas? Are there plenty of things like this? Did people know about it and thinking of how would I live through this?' (If1)

"I'm not like a violent person, that's why I said that I am wimpy, but if I was forced into doing this...hmmm...I don't think you would know what would happen to you if you were forced into doing it these things, like it could have been you, me, we could have been a soldier too, it just doesn't bear thinking about does it?" (NZf1)

(Ausf4) was very articulate in her answer, and clearly and confidently stated that we need to learn and watch for the signs so we can stop it from happening elsewhere (Auf4). The survival instinct is obvious in her answer, Kottler's (2011) three basic questions 1) what happened? "*Well I want to know what happened*" (Ausf4); 2) how did it happen? "*What led to all this horror?*" (Ausf4); 3) what can I do to prevent such a thing from happening to me? "*so it doesn't happen to anyone...*" (Ausf4).

(Britishm3) also quite clearly details that he wanted to find out what happened and what thinking behind the decisions of the Khmer Rouge regime was and asked why people followed orders, and then reconciles that maybe there was no choice. (Britishm3) also tried to put himself in the shoes of the perpetrators and placed himself in their situation. (If1), like the respondents in panel 6.1, wondered how she would have survived, but also wonders who the perpetrators were and their ideas. (NZf1) also identifies a little with the perpetrators and wonders how she would react if she had been forced into committing the atrocities. Many of the perpetrators are now considered victims in their

own right, there is much evidence that some perpetrators were forced into committing the atrocities or their families, loved ones or themselves would be tortured and killed, “*but if I was forced into doing this...hmmm...*” and further discusses, “*like it could have been you, me, we could have been a soldier too*” (If1). Again, it could be argued that these responses of imagining and placing themselves in the situation of either Tuol Sleng or Choeung Ek, are examples of the sub-conscious survival instinct. Respondents were wondering how they would have coped and ultimately survived, whether they were the victims or the perpetrators.

There are many more examples of this type of response in answer to the question, ‘Why do you want to learn and/or understand what happened here?’ and some are demonstrated in panel 6.3.

Panel 6.3 Learning to Survive

*“It is just so hard to imagine isn’t it, I don’t know if I could have survived”
(Britishf2)*

“I can’t understand how anyone survived, look at that...how would I have survived?” (Ausf1)

“It is hard to imagine isn’t it, the horror, how they would have been, how it could have been...”(Fm3)

“Oh I just don’t know how they had survivors at the end, I am not strong, I don’t think that one of them would have been me” (Nm1)

In panel 6.3 are more examples of respondents’ answers who tried to imagine how they would have survived. They all ask how they would have survived, “*...know if I could have survived*” (Britishf2), “*...how would I have survived?*” (Ausf1), “*...just don’t know how they had survivors at the end...*” (Nm1). All three respondents in panels 6.1,

6.2 and 6.3 answered in a similar way and without being prompted or asked to imagine themselves at either site.

A conclusion of chapter five established that on the whole, visitors claim they are not motivated to visit Tuol Sleng/Choeung Ek by macabre reasons and do not class themselves as dark tourists, and that on the whole respondents were motivated by reasons such as to ‘understand’ and ‘to learn about Cambodia’. A finding of this study suggests that we are driven to learn and understand what happened because of our natural survival instinct, and that it is mostly sub-conscious within us all. Therefore, a key finding of this research has discovered that it is possible that there are some sub-conscious instinctive drivers in us to see where death occurred and therefore, visit dark sites. This driver is not fuelled by the desire to see the dark and macabre, but rather an instinctive desire to survive. A reminder, that as well as Kottler (2011), other researchers have argued that a fascination with violence and death appeals to our most basic and powerful instinct – that is survival (Bonn, 2011; Vicary and Fraley 2010; Wilson 2012).

More evidence of the survival instinct was present in many of the blogs researched as part of this study, as presented in panel 6.4.

Panel 6.4 Survival Instinct

‘I do feel it’s important to see these things, to acknowledge they exist, to make people aware of what happened...and to make sure we try and prevent genocide from happening in the future.’ (Blog 4)

'...these types of horrifying events that they will feel a desire to do what they can to prevent things like this from happening again.' (Blog 2)

'It's so hard to believe that these terrible things actually happened, and not very long ago. I can't image a fate much worse than being sent to S-21.' (Blog3)

'We need to visit Tuol Sleng Genocide Museums and Choeung Ek Killing Fields to understand the dark history of Phnom Penh.' (Blog 7)

'Can you imagine being already forced into hard labour, or living in fear while trying to go about your daily life...' (Blog 40)

'I find myself blinking back tears, trying to imagine the horrors he witnessed...Imagining the thoughts of those who came here.' (Blog 35)

'All I could think of was the people having to trek out on these roads in the searing heat, with very little insight into what went on.' (Blog 37)

'...to imagine that such horrible events took place here only 40 years ago.' (Blog 18)

Blog 35 was particularly emotional about their visit to Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek. The blogger wrote several times about imagining what it would have been like, 'I find myself imagining horrific scenes, brought to life through the haunting audio tour which accompanies our visit...I envisage herds of bewildered, silent men and women brutally pushed into the pits to await their horrific fate. I feel their fear, the pain of knowing they will never be reunited with their loved ones, their loss of self-worth, identity and pride. I feel the trauma of their families...It is inconceivable to imagine the utter desperation of a mother watching her child be brutally murdered in this manner...' (Blog 35).

Blog 35, along with other blogs mentioned in this chapter, describes using a variety of words, how they imagined what it would have been like, and by default how they would have coped. On display at Tuol Sleng and/or Choeung Ek, you see torture equipment, bones, skulls, torn clothing and blood stained walls and floors and hundreds of photographs, and this study has established that it is possible that visitors are visiting to try and learn what happened, to learn how one would survive should it happen to them.

Many other blogs had a very similar theme and some of their writings are presented in panel 6.5.

Panel 6.5 Survival Instinct

'It is my hope that as people learn about these horrifying events that they will feel a desire to do what they can to prevent things like this from happening again...'
(Blog 2)

'...a larger part of me realizes that if we don't acknowledge and remember the evil that has been perpetuated in the past, we leave ourselves vulnerable to forgetting that it's possible, failing to defend against it, and repeating history.' (Blog 11)

'But I think it's SO important to be aware of why and how and when this happened, so that we might be able to open our eyes to similar things happening in the future and speak up about them.' (Blog 13)

Blog 2 and Blog 4 (panel 6.4) talk about visiting and learning so that it can be used as prevention, and Blog 11 includes the suggestion that we must visit and learn so that we can defend ourselves in the future and failing to do so would mean it was repeated.

Further evidence of Kottler's (2011) survival instinct theory presents itself in the comments of the visitor books from both sites. Visitors at both sites are invited to write a comment should they wish to on their experience or observations of their visit. Many comments had a similar message/theme to the ones seen in panel 6.6.

Panel 6.6 Comments from the Visitor books of Tuol Sleng/Choeung Ek

'The fact that people want to educate the world about this catastrophe in hope of a better future is good enough for now ☺, to better tomorrows.' Sandra, Singapore. (Photo A4)

'An interesting yet heart-breaking experience. A must see when visiting Cambodia, seeing what humans are capable of and by seeing so, knowing something like this should never happen again.' Anon. (Photo A7).

'A horrific reminder of the evils of humanity. Hopefully through remembrance such a place will never exist again.' Anon. (Photo A9).

'...I hope future generations will learn from this and globally we can find a way to prevent these kind of horrifying events.' Anon, England (Photo B8).

'My mind is speechless and my heart sinks further in my stomach. Tragedy is everywhere and you didn't expect it to hit you as hard as it can. I hope one day this place will be taught to everyone around the world so that it may never happen again.' Julian, USA (Photo B9).

As with the answers and writings from the blogs researched as part of this study, many of the comments from the visitors' books from both sites provide evidence that the survival instinct is present within the tourists when visiting dark sites like Tuol Sleng and/or Choeung Ek.

Hundreds of comments are similar in the way that they mention learning, education and ‘never again’ sentiments. For example: ‘educate the world’ (Sandra, Photo A4); ‘...by seeing so, knowing something like this should never happen again.’ Anon. (Photo A7); ‘such a place will never exist again’ Anon. (Photo A9); ‘learn from this and globally we can find a way to prevent these kind of horrifying events.’ Anon, England (Photo B8). Learning about what has happened and the talk of prevention is evident in many of the comments.

Although the comments are reflective comments, as they are typically written at the end of a visit, they still give some insight to motivations, in particular sub-conscious motivations, such as the survival instinct as argued by Kottler (2011), that in order to survive we need to find out what happened to people who have died, so that we can learn and prevent it happening to ourselves and therefore, ultimately survive.

All of the quotes in panel 6.6 are typical of hundreds of comments in the visitor books. By visiting Tuol Sleng/Choeung Ek they are 1) Learning what happened to the people there 2) How it happened 3) and mostly (through education) hope that it will not happen again (Kottler 2011). Many other comments were similar in their sentiment and these are presented in panel 6.7.

Panel 6.7 Comments from the Visitor books of Tuol Sleng/Choeung Ek

“I am glad at least that people are able to learn from the mistakes and we can move together towards peace and happiness”. Anon (Photo D1)

‘We must learn from past mistakes’. Anon (photo B12)

It educates the naïve and provides physical evidence of the detrimental effect of war – it isn't glamorous nor a game. Anon (photo B13)

'...overwhelming at first, this was a horrific thing to have happened. Thank you for keeping historical account for everyone, your people and the world ...may this never happen again.' Anon (photo E1)

The comments in panel 6.7, mainly talk about learning from the past and prevention in the future. 'Learn from the mistakes and we can move together towards peace and happiness' (photo D1), 'we must learn from past mistakes' (Photo B12). It is possible that these visitors' sub-conscious drivers to visit Tuol Sleng and /or Choeung Ek was fuelled in part to see what happened there, learn and educate themselves so that it could be prevented from happening in the future. The respondents' answers and the writings from the blogs, together with the comments from the visitors books, collectively, is evidence that we seek out situations that have been traumatic and dark so that we can learn and understand what has happened and ultimately prevent it from happening in the future to ourselves, or to learn how we would survive should it happen to us.

A significant finding of this study explains that overwhelmingly most respondents and bloggers did not consider themselves dark tourists, despite the sites being very dark and macabre. However, daily visitor numbers reach eight hundred at each site at the height of the tourist season (Pann, 2017, accessed 03rd April 2017), so there is clearly a desire to visit such sites. Another significant finding of this study is that within us there is a deep survival instinct and part of that instinct is to find out about dark and macabre situations or be aroused by places where significant death has occurred; that on the whole we are not motivated to visit such sites because we have a morbid fascination with death and the macabre, but rather a natural instinctive curiosity. As the desire is

instinctive and sub-conscious it may explain why some respondents initially found it hard to articulate their motivations for visiting such sites. Rather than a morbid, overt fascination to see death and the macabre, it is a sub-conscious instinct for survival, to see what happened and wonder how they would survive had they been the victims or perpetrators themselves, thus confirming their claims that they should not be regarded as dark tourists despite visiting a dark site.

6.2 A Question of Psychology

In the literature review, it became evident to psychologists like Freud (1920) that sometimes people deliberately seek out pain rather than pleasure. Part of his theory is that all humans have a dark side and a desire for death and destruction, and this he called Thanatos. Thanatos intermingles with Eros (the life instinct). Eros is the natural instinct for survival, reproduction and pleasure. Thanatos is the destructive force within us. According to Freud (1920), it is Thanatos and the death-instinct hypothesis that explains the tangible destructive nature of humans. According to Freud (1920), it also explains why many humans quite often claim that they 'had to do it', or 'had to see it', even though a painful or emotional experience was gained from doing or seeing 'it'.

Crucial to this study, is to establish why tourists choose to visit dark macabre sites such as Tuol Sleng/Choeung Ek whilst on holiday, potentially giving them an emotionally painful and lasting experience. As well as Kottler's (2011) survival instinct, Freud's death-instinct (1920) theory may also help to understand the desire to visit such sites.

Evidence of Freud's (1920) death-instinct is certainly prevalent in many respondents answers and blogs; when giving their initial reasons for visiting the sites, many respondents found it hard to articulate their motivations, typically they said they 'had to see it'. During the semi-structured interviews it was discussed that it is possible to learn and understand what happened by visiting the museums and reading the local literature that is constantly and insistently sold to you and is available on most street corners and at almost every tourist establishment. Some respondents did acknowledge that they had a high fascination with the macabre and dark nature of the sights (chapter five, panel 5.17, p.168), but expressed that it was not a motivation in its own right to visit.

Panel 6.8 A Question of Psychology

"I'm not sure really, I guess it's hard to say, I just felt I had to really, umm, I knew it was horrible, because of what is in the Rough Guide, but, hmmm, I don't like all this death stuff, but I felt because I am here, I better come". (NZf1)

"Well I think it is important to see the good and the bad. The bad is pretty bad here, so yeah that sounds bad, but I thought I should see the bad too, not really sure why" (USAm2)

"To be perfectly honest, I don't really know why I am here, I knew I wouldn't like it, and I knew I would be upset, but I still came". (Britishf1)

"Well I've been to Cambodia before and didn't come, and for some reason I felt embarrassed that I hadn't come, that's silly isn't it? I just thought I better come and see it " (Sf1)

"I felt I had to come and I am glad I've seen it, I am glad I feel the emotion of this horrible place, I don't know why I'm glad, but I am" (Fm3)

It is interesting that many respondents whilst acknowledging that they had to visit, could not really articulate why, (NZf1), (Usam2), (Britishf1) and (Fm3) in particular claimed that they are ‘not sure why, or ‘don’t know why’ they had come, and nearly all acknowledged that they knew they wouldn’t like it, yet still visited. Some respondents such as (Sf1) answered that she “*better come and see it*” and (NZf1) stated that, “*I guess it’s hard to say, I just felt I had to really*” (USAf4). More evidence of Freud’s (1922) death-instinct theory exists in other respondents who said they ‘just had to visit’ and these are presented in panel 6.9.

Panel 6.9 A Question of Psychology

“...I just had to come I guess.” (Ausm4)

“It is hard to say why I visited, I have read about it, I just had to see it, but that is odd to say, but I just had to see it.” (If1)

“Ooooooh now you have asked it is not easy to answer, is it too simple to say, I had to come? I don’t really know why...hmmmm I had to see it.” (Braf1)

“I/we felt we should visit, we don’t know why, we just felt we should.” (Polf1)

As with those in panel 6.8, 6.9 gives examples of respondents who knew that their visit would be emotional and difficult, yet still felt compelled to visit and answered that they just had to. “*I just had to come...*” (Ausm4), “*...I just had to see it...*” (Irishm1), “*...I had to come*” (Braf1). Interestingly, (Polf1) said she did not really know why she felt a compulsion to visit, similarly to other respondents who said also said they did not know why “*not really sure why*” (USAm2), and “*I don’t really know why I am here I don’t know why I’m glad I visited, but I am*” (Britishf4).

Einstein and Freud (1932) argued that human psychology is made up of dark and light shades and the phenomena of life revolves from them acting together and against each other. Like Kottler (2011) who argues that seeing death or having a desire to confront the seemingly macabre is natural survival instinctive behaviour, Freud (1932) argues that having a fascination with the dark and macabre is a normal psychological state and it exists in all of us to a greater or lesser degree.

Further evidence of the ‘I just had to see it/visit’ theme exists in many of the blogs researched as part of this study, and some of their writings are presented in panel 6.10.

Panel 6.10 Psychological drivers

‘You just need to go and see.’ (Blog 2)

‘...I read about it and I knew that I have to see it’ (Blog 13)

‘Simply, I had to go’ (Blog 12)

‘But, sometimes I think we need to visit’ (Blog 13)

Seven to eight hundred tourists visit Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek each day at the height of the tourist season (Pann, 2017, accessed 03rd April 2017), and 1.7 million people visit sites like Auschwitz each year (Jewish Times, accessed 03rd July 2016). Clearly, there is a desire, sub-conscious or otherwise to visit places of death and the macabre. All but one of the respondents in this study claimed that they were not dark tourists, and not one blog researched as part of this study talked about being a dark tourist. Moreover, all the respondents questioned as part of this study claimed that they visited

to ‘learn’ and/or ‘understand’ Cambodia. The rhetoric of respondents and some bloggers that they had to ‘see it’ or ‘had to visit’ without really being able to say why, is possibly evidence of Freud’s (1920) sub-conscious psychological driver he called ‘Thanatos’, and evidence that there is a desire to satisfy this driver, and importantly, this driver is a normal psychological sub-conscious state that exists in all of us to a greater or lesser degree.

Kottler’s survival instinct theory and Freud’s psychological death-instinct may even explain the one respondent who declared that he was motivated to visit Tuol Sleng/Choeung Ek because of the dark and macabre nature of the sites. However, his motivations were ultimately the same as all the other respondents, he wanted to learn and understand what happened and stressed many times that he did not visit to ‘glorify’ the horror of what happened there (BEIm2). It can be argued that his Thanatos instinct is more conscious than most people’s (Freud, 1920) and he is aware of some of these desires within him, and therefore, happy to declare himself a ‘dark tourist’.

6.2.2 Psychology and Catharsis and the Role They Play in Driving Visitors to Dark Sites

There are some psychologists who argue that seeing death and the macabre might actually satisfy your dark side, and without this satisfaction, it could be detrimental to your mental health. Like Freud, Jung (1951b, 1970) also argued that we have two psychological sub-conscious states, the personal and the collective. The personal sub-conscious state is made up of forgotten or repressed memories. In contrast the collective subconscious (made up of archetypes) has never been in the conscious, and the shadow archetype in particular comprises our basic animal premoral instincts, and that the

shadow archetype is an archive of morbid impulses. Jung (1951) believed that sub-consciously or consciously suppressing these impulses would be harmful to one's mental health, and that by neglecting the unconscious mind is disharmonious.

When further questioned, respondents in the semi-structured interviews expressed that their motivations for visiting were mainly to help understand and learn about modern Cambodia. Whilst this may be true in the conscious mind, it is possible that the sub-conscious shadow archetype, our morbid pre-moral impulses, fuels our desire to visit such sites, therefore, subconsciously balancing our personal and collective domains (Jung, 1951). One respondent (Nm1) remarked "*for some reason, some part of us of course wants to seek this kind of thing*", further adding to the evidence that psychologically (and instinctively) there is a sub-conscious desire to seek out potentially emotional and disturbing experiences like visiting Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek. We either do this to help us to learn and survive, should it happen to us, or we do this to balance out psychological equilibrium. Evidence emerging from this study is that both sub-conscious drivers are present and collectively act as motivations to visit dark sites. Despite having at least a little knowledge of what to experience at each site, and the respondents and bloggers expectancy to feel negative emotional trauma, they still visited. As well as being an example of Freud's (1920) death-instinct theory, it could also be a subconscious expression of Jung's (1951) catharsis argument.

To further understand sub-conscious motivations to dark sites such as Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek, it was important in this study to find out if they regretted visiting, this might give some insight into motivations, and possible motivations to visit other dark sites in other countries.

Not one respondent regretted their decision to visit, despite them all declaring that they were emotionally traumatised by the visit. Not one blog researched as part of this study contained regret at visiting either. Moreover, not one comment in the comments book expressed regret at visiting. Instead, the respondents and bloggers expressed gladness and/or thankfulness that they had visited, evidence of these answers are presented in panel 6.11.

Panel 6.11 Glad to Have Visited

“I have enjoyed filling in the gaps of my knowledge and I like the fact that I have been...” (USAf2)

“Like I’m glad I’ve been, it’s not very enjoyable it’s educational...I enjoyed being educated” (USAm1)

“What I enjoyed was all the photographs with all the descriptions and all the cells and some of the torture rooms as well, oh course it’s horrible”.(Ff3)

“Well I have to say I haven’t enjoyed it, because it is so sad and unbelievable, but I am glad I came that’s for sure...I have enjoyed it because it is fascinating, I am glad I have come” (Cm2)

“Well yes I am glad I have been, I can talk about it now. It is sad, but I can’t explain why I am glad I came, but that is my feeling”. (Braf1)

All respondents expressed that they were glad that they had visited, even the ones who said that they were there by default (chapter 5.2.1, panel 5.19, 5.20). Some respondents expressed that they were glad they had visited as it filled in gaps of their knowledge

and took some enjoyment from that (USAf2, USAm1), some respondents simply expressed that they were glad they had visited (Cm2) and Braf1).

Generally, Jung's (1951) shadow archetype represents the traits and attitudes that are the negative or the evil side of the personality with which people fail to recognise or deny exists (Hall, 1989:33). It is conjectured that these negative thoughts and actions occur from animal instincts that are inherited through the evolutionary process, concurring with Kottler's (1991) survival instinct theory. Of course, there is no suggestion or evidence that any of the visitors researched in this study are 'evil' (Hall, 1989) in the traditional sense, but rather that their primal subconscious evolutionary, biological instincts are aroused by visiting dark attractions such as Tuol Sleng/Cheung Ek, thus subconsciously satisfying to some degree their subconscious shadow archetype (Jung, 1951). Furthermore, it could be argued that visitors are glad and/or thankful that they have visited as they have satisfied their survival instinct as argued by Kottler (2011). They have educated themselves and learned what happened so they are more aware should they find themselves in the same situation.

More evidence of this is in some of the blogs that talked about 'gladness' and or 'thankfulness' from their visit and presented in panel 6.12.

Panel 6.12 Glad to Have Visited

'But, I feel it is very important to see these type of sites, to acknowledge and to accept that they do exist on the earth.' (Blog 29)

'I was glad I visited Cambodia and learned more about the genocide.' (Blog 26)

'I am glad only that on this particular occasion, we did not take the Tuk Tuk driver's advice and head to Choeung Ek first, but rather to S-21, in order to follow the route which those caught up for real took...' (Blog 14)

'...and I'm very glad we went.' (Blog 8)

'...deeply heart-breaking experience, but we were thankful we did.' (Blog 1)

Bloggers simply wrote they were glad or thankful they had visited (Blog 26, Blog 8, and Blog 1) and that the author of Blog 14 wrote at length that they were glad they took the same route from Tuol Sleng to Choeung Ek as the victims would have taken. Clearly from the answers in panels 6.11 and 6.12, it is obvious that respondents to some degree or other 'enjoyed' their visit, or were 'glad' they had visited.

There are numerous entries in the several comments books from each site that expressed a 'gladness' or 'thankfulness' for visiting. In panel 6.12 there is a selection of these.

Panel 6.13 Glad to Have Visited

'Thank you for sharing this important story with us' (Photo A3)

'Wonderfully educational exhibit – an eye opening experience. Thank you. (Photo B11)

'A moment I will remember always, very moving. Thank you' (Photo C9)

'Great experience! Very sad, great learning experience' (Photo C10)

'Thank you for sharing these stories and history with us all' (Photo D2)

“I am glad to see such an immense collection of important documents of this genocide’ (Photo D3)

‘I was pleased I came...’ (Photo E1)

Collectively panels, 6.11, 6.12 and 6.13 provide evidence that many visitors are glad and/or thankful that they visited Tuol Sleng and/or Choeung Ek, despite the horrific artefacts displayed, and despite all respondents and many bloggers saying that they knew they would be emotionally affected by their visit. Arguably, this is evidence that visitors are satisfying their natural psychological state that exists in all of us to a higher or lesser degree.

Chapter two discussed the work of Schmidt (2005) who argues that sub-consciously seeing death or being aroused by violence, or by being frightened, ultimately helps us to live each moment with great appreciation and satisfaction. Rhoads (2009: xviii) also states that ‘to me, curiosity-even about ‘morbid’ topics-is ultimately life affirming’. Though there is no evidence that the visits were ‘life affirming’ to the tourists, they were all glad that they had visited. It could be argued that motivations to visit dark sites such as Tuol Sleng and/or Choeung Ek lay at least partly, is a sub-conscious psychological desire to satisfy the dark aspects of ourselves.

To try and further understand why respondents were ‘glad’ or ‘thankful’ that they had visited, they were asked to articulate their feelings. Some of the responses are presented in panel 6.14.

Panel 6.14. Glad to Have Visited

“Hmm, well that is very hard to say, I am glad I have learned, I am glad I have paid respect, I am glad I felt the emotion, I can’t really say, but yes I am glad I have visited” (Ausf1)

“Why am I glad? Well that is obvious isn’t it? I am glad I have learned more...but I probably could have done that through books...well I am glad I have made the effort of coming, and glad I can talk about it to people about my visit and what’s here...erm yes that is why I am glad I think!” (Fm4)

“Glad is a funny word isn’t it? Though I cried throughout my visit and I found it heart-breaking, I am still glad I came, but you are making me think, I don’t really know why I am glad I have just visited such a horrible place, but I’m glad anyway” (If2)

“I have read about it, seen some movies, now I have visited it, so I have satisfied many senses by coming here, I feel I know the whole story now...actually I don’t really know what senses, but I have satisfied them!” (USAf4)

“Oh yes I am glad I have come, yes definitely, as I have already said, I like coming to these sorts of places, and I came deliberately because of Cambodia’s dark history and to see it, yes I am glad...can I say why? Well, I just like this sort of thing, but yes it is hard to say what is going on in my subconscious, and why am I made like this? I know others don’t like it, but yes why am I glad, well because now I have seen it, that’s all” (Belm2)

It is obvious from the examples of answers in panel 6.14 that some respondents found it hard to articulate why they felt glad that they had visited. Even the one respondent who openly admitted that his motivations to visit such places was to confront the dark nature of the sites, found it hard to give a reason why he was glad he visited, and even acknowledged that there may be something in his subconscious “...it is hard to say

what is going on in my subconscious, and why am I made like this? I know others don't like it, but yes why am I glad, well because now I have seen it, that's all" (Belm2). Irsihf2 also couldn't really explain why she was glad she visited, *"I don't really know why I am glad I have just visited such a horrible place ..."* (If2), and neither could Af1, *"I can't really say, but yes I am glad I have visited"* (Af1). Fram4 thought that he was clear in his answer, that it was 'obvious' why he had visited *"...Well that is obvious isn't it? I am glad I have learned more... I am glad I have made the effort of coming, and glad I can talk about it to people..."* (Fm4), though he did acknowledge that he could have learned more from the books; when pressed further he simply said he was glad he visited because he could talk about it to people (of course he could equally do that without visiting), but was vague and unsure with his response.

Interestingly, during the semi-structured interviews, (USAf1) declared that she was glad she visited as her senses had been satisfied; when questioned further to explain which senses, she couldn't answer that question, *"actually I don't really know what senses, but I have satisfied them!"* (USAf1). Other respondents were equally glad or did not regret their visit as demonstrated in panel 6.15.

Panel 6.15 Glad to Have Visited

"I just am glad, it is hard to say as it is horrible." (Braf1)

"I am very glad I have visited yes, but not glad about what happened obviously, I have not liked it, but I am glad, but that is not a good answer" (Cm1)

"That is a hard one, why am I glad? I suppose I understand it more – actually no I understand it less now! Who understands all this? But I do feel glad I have come, I don't know why" (NZf2)

“...because...err...I know about it...because I have seen it...why? Errr glad is a strange thing to say, I am glad I have been, that is all I can say”. (Sf2)

“yes I am glad, we need to come, I wanted to visit, so I am glad I have, but only because I wanted to come, that is why I am glad” (Britishm3)

“I am glad – it is difficult to describe though” (NZm1)

In panel 6.15 are examples of similarly vague answers to those demonstrated in 6.13, all of them declaring that they are glad in some way that they have visited, but find it very hard to articulate why, “...it is hard to say” (Braf1) “...but I am glad, but that is not a good answer” (Cm1), “...But I do feel glad I have come, I don't know why” (Gerf2), “...I am glad I have been, that is all I can say” (Sf2), “...it is difficult to describe though” (NZm1). Respondent (Britishm3), thought that he was giving a clear reason as to why he was glad, he simply said “I wanted to visit, so I am glad I have.” (Britishm3), however, his answer was vague and unclear.

Arguably, this is evidence that the reason respondents cannot really articulate why they are glad they visited, is because it is part of their/our sub-conscious psychological make-up.

6.3 The Influence of the Media on Motivations to Visit Dark Sites

Violent stories (true or fictional) have been a societal staple predating mass media, and where there is violence there is generally dying and/or death as accompanying consequences (Meyer 2008).

Violence and death are regular content features of television and films, and franchises such as *Saw* and *Hostel* have generated billions of dollars in ticket sales (Kottler 2011). Dying and death, highly attractive to audiences, are two popular items for television news as well (Duwe, 2000). Bonn (2011) argues that it is not surprising that we have a fascination for violence and the macabre, as it is fuelled by the mass media. Duncum (2006) argues that we are so exposed to it that we are now habituated to seeing death and the macabre.

As mass media has long been considered an entertainment form, and as Kesinser (2008) argues it is the largest influence on humans' interpretation of reality, there is still much discussion on whether violent films or television inspire violence or a fascination with violence, horror and the macabre. For example, scientific studies have shown that violent films can increase aggression and a fascination of violence, and as violent films are also now easily accessible (Bushman et al 2013), this is likely to increase. Some research suggests that the presence of weapons in films might amplify the effects of violent films on aggression (Bushman et al, 2013). However, Markey, Markey and French (2014) argue that though the violent and macabre genre media has often been blamed for an increase in fascination, they suggest caution when research is often conducted in laboratories or via questionnaires which may not offer societal trends in such a fascination.

With this discussion in mind, there may be a possibility that people who are entertained by and watch a lot of violence and macabre films and television shows, or play a lot of violent games may be more likely to be motivated to visit dark and macabre tourist attractions in their leisure time or whilst on holiday. The horror genre is as popular as

ever (Jarrett, 2011, accessed 03rd May 2016), moreover, it is possible that as violence and the macabre have increased in all forms of media (internet, films, television, gaming etc.), that we have become habituated to seeing it (Duncan, 2006), and it is therefore, not too surprising if it is something that we either look to experience on holiday, or we are not concerned if it becomes part of the holiday itinerary or experience.

However, there is little evidence that in the case of dark tourism, that a link between liking violence and the macabre in the media inspires and motivates visitors to visit dark sites such as Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek. There was no evidence in any of the blogs studied, and the respondents in the semi-structured interviews gave such a mixed response to the set of questions surrounding television, films and gaming that no theme/s could be established. In panel 6.16 is a collection of answers to demonstrate the wide ranging responses to the questions on television, films and gaming.

Panel 6.16 Motivations and the Media

“Well I love EastEnders, but I also LOVE Lord of the Rings, maybe five part dramas, scary movies, but not gory ones, maybe psychological ones...that sort of thing, Fantasy stuff mostly” (Britishf3)

“I never go to scary films, my friends go, but I don’t like it, same with TV, I really don’t like true stories of misfortune, it upsets me.” (Ff1)

“I like the news mostly, though I am not British I try and watch BBC World News, and historical stuff, I get bored otherwise” (Belm2)

“Oh I love the CSI stuff and Forensic Detective stuff, yunno when they put the luminal everywhere to see the blood splatter, yes I like that sort of thing...I guess it is the science of it that is fascinating” (USA f1)

“I don’t like scary films, but I do a lot of gaming, and they are quite violent I suppose, but they don’t affect me I don’t think anyway, I don’t watch much TV at all.” (Ausm1)

Some respondents liked violent and macabre films, some did not, but liked psychological thrillers, and others did not at all. Some do a lot of gaming, but do not necessarily watch films or television a lot. Some do a lot of gaming and do watch a lot of television and films. There was also no consistency between genders or nationality as demonstrated in panel 6.16 and 6.17.

Panel 6.17 Motivations and the Media

“I don’t really like action movies, I never play games, I never watch horror, I just never” (If1)

“I have become a little desensitised to it in films, you see it so often, but I don’t enjoy it, it never adds anything...no I don’t game, my mates do, but I don’t (I don’t like football either laughs)” (Britishm2)

“Oh yes I do like gaming, it is a big part of my life...yes I love action in particular, not necessary violence or macabre, but definitely action. If it was violent and macabre I would be ok with that.” (Braf1)

“I do like gaming, but not violent or scary films, no, I like TV criminal shows, homicide stuff, it is intriguing, but not gory stuff – I don’t like that.” (Ausf2)

The answers presented in panels 6.16 and 6.17 demonstrate the very mixed message to the set of questions around gaming and the media. Some liked gaming, but do not like violent films, some do not mind. Some like gaming, but do not like violence and scary films etc. and some do not like any of it. This study could find no tangible link or theme to assess whether there is a link between those who like to be entertained by violence and horror, and an increased motivation to visit to dark sites such as Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek.

6.3.1 Children's Literature and Their Influence on Visiting Dark Sites

There is an argument that our fascination with death, horror and the macabre is rooted in childhood. Traditional and modern stories are steeped with violence and horror. Bedtime stories regularly feature witches, goblins and monsters, ghosts and demented killers, 'throughout the ages, children have been indoctrinated into the violent legends, myths and stories that have been passed on from one generation to the next' (Kottler 2011:24). Although quite often the overall narrative is of a moral or cautionary tale, as far as this study could establish, most nationalities and cultures tell or read such stories to their children. There are countless examples, the Grimm Brothers Tales, the Nordic Sagas, the tokoloshes and gule wamkulus of southern Africa to name a few.

Whether it is instinct (survival, death, catharsis), it is clear that children are entertained and/or are fascinated with stories of death and violence, and children are quite often weaned on it (Kottler, 2011). The phenomenon of Harry Potter goes some way to demonstrate this. Despite the books attracting some criticism and concern about the increasingly dark tone as the series progressed, as well as the often gruesome and

graphic violence it depicts, the Harry Potter books are distributed in over 200 territories, are translated into 68 languages and have sold over 400 million copies worldwide (Scholastic, accessed 03rd May 2017). It can be entirely plausible that as most of us have had such tales recounted or read to us as children, that we have been taught or programmed to be entertained by violence and the macabre, and it would then be no surprise if we wanted to be entertained by the macabre during our leisure time such as on a holiday, and, therefore, visit dark sites such as Tuol Sleng and/or Choeng Ek.

However, this study has found no link between the respondents and what they were read to as a child and motivations to visit such sites. As with films and television, no theme or themes could be established, and panel 6.18 demonstrates the mixed responses to the set of questions about being read to as a child and what the respondents read now, and whether it acts as a motivation to visit dark sites such as Tuol Sleng and/or Choeng Ek whilst on holiday.

Panel 6.18 Literature and Motivations

“I am sure I was read to as a child, the normal stories, I don’t really read now” (Ausf1).

“I remember Dr Seuss, and Goosebumps, real fun stuff like that” (Ausm4).

“I didn’t really have books, I remember watching the Simpsons...oh hang on Lord of the Flies at school, that was dark and Shakespeare, oh and the Hobbit, I was not really a reader.” (NZm1).

“Oh yeah I had all the typical fairy tales read to me, oh and Harry Potter.” (Britishf3).

The responses in panel 6.18 were typical in the mixed response to the set of questions around literature. Some respondents were read to as children, mostly the typical fairy tales (Britishf3), some said they were read ‘fun’ stories (Ausm4), and some named well known tales such as Lord of the Flies (NZm1) and Harry Potter (Britishf3). No overall theme could be established between being entertained by the violent and horror genre of literature as children and an increased motivation to visit dark sites where horror and violence has occurred. More evidence of this mixed reaction is presented in panel 6.19.

Panel 6.19 Literature and Motivations

“hmmmm I don’t really remember, but now I like real life books, like before I came here I read about a French citizen who had been imprisoned by the Khmer Rouge, I like that type of book, like insider sort of stuff” (Fm2).

“My Mum was really into books, it was her thing since we were babies, we had fake books and the Hungry Caterpillar...but also Harry Potter and the normal fairy tales too” (If2).

“I liked the books that took me back to Victorian times and we would dress up at school” (Britishm2).

“Oh yes we had all the gruesome stories told to me and my brother, we loved them, we loved being scared, it was good fun, I can imagine I will do that to my own children.” (Hm1).

“Yes I was, read a lot to, and I read a lot now too, anything and everything, I can’t say I would not read anything.” (Braf1)

“I was read to as a child, yes, I remember it well, I don’t really read now...I had a range of stories read to me, none of them really stuck with me, just the normal stories I think.” (USAf3)

Panel 6.19 further demonstrates the very mixed response to what respondents were read to as children and a liking for the dark and macabre as adults and, therefore, a possible link to a desire to visit dark sites. Some respondents could not remember what they were read to as children, for example, (Fm2), whereas (USAf3) said that “*none of them really stuck with me...*” (Hm1) remembered being scared yet thrilled by the gruesome stories he was read to as a child. (Braf1) said she would read anything now, whereas (Fm2) preferred real life stories, and (Brtiishm2), reminisced about dressing up at school.

The findings of this study have discovered that there is no tangible link between reading and liking macabre and violent fairy tales as children, and being motivated to visit dark sites which have violent and macabre histories.

Authors on children’s fables and fairy tales such as Zehetner (2014) argue that the imagery in fairy tales (such as personified animals, adults represented as giants and allegorical magic vegetables) allows children to explore their fears in remote and symbolic terms. Children are able to sort through their inner pressures and moral obligations in an environment that is not belittling to them when reading traditional fairy tales such as The Brothers Grimm tales, rather than inspire a liking for the violent and macabre. Moreover, the famous children’s author Philip Pullman, is quoted as saying ‘There is no psychology in a fairy tale...the characters have little inner life; their motives are clear and obvious.’ (Spitz, 2016:483). Whatever the argument and discussion on the impact of children’s fairy tales and literature, a finding of this study has revealed that there appears to be no link with liking fairy tales and supposedly

violent stories as children and inspiring people to visit dark sites with violent pasts as adults.

6.3.2 ‘Violent’ Sport and its Influence on Visiting Dark Sites.

As with the media and children’s literature, there are some academics (Kottler, 2011, Wilson, 2012) who argue that we are programmed to have a fascination with violence, because we have learned to hero worship sports teams and people associated with so called ‘violent sports’. In chapter two of the literature review it was established that we are encouraged through many media channels to exult champions of sport such as boxing and rugby, and ultimately be entertained by the sports. It can be assumed that as we are entertained by so called violent sports, we like to be entertained by violence and, therefore, visit dark sites where violence has occurred in our leisure time. Panel 6.20 presents some answers to the questions themed around the topic.

Panel 6.20 Motivations and ‘Violent Sports’

“I play rugby and cricket...yes I like the violent part of playing rugby, I like the tactical too, but also the rough and violent part” (NZm1)

“I like Taekwondo...I like it because you need discipline and balance, it is fighting with strict rules not street fighting... I like the skill. I actually don’t like violence and watching people get hurt” (Ff1)

“I like rugby and tennis...I like rugby because it is fast paced and the crowds really get behind it” (Britishf2)

“I watch the America sports, ice-hockey, basketball, American football...yes they are brutal sometime...yes I like it for that, but mostly because of the fast pace and the whole culture around them” (Swissm1)

“No, I am mostly bored by the whole sport culture, particularly boxing and so called ‘macho’ sports” (USAm2)

As with watching films and television, and stories we are read to you as children, no link could be found between people who enjoy so called violent sports and heightened motivations to visit places where violence has taken place.

Presented in panel 6.20 are answers from some respondents liked to play or watch violent sports (NZm1), some play them, but don’t like violence (Ff1), some like watching them such as (Britishf2), but not because of the violent aspect of them. Some like the whole potential violent aspect of them such as respondent (Swissm1), and some do not like them at all (USAm2).

There could not be any pattern established between cultures or gender with this set of questions. Further findings of this mixed response is presented in panel 6.21.

Panel 6.21 Motivations and ‘Violent Sports’

“I play netball and I dance, that’s about it – I don’t really watch any sport on television” (Ausf2)

“I am a big big sports fan...yes I like boxing...yes I like rugby...I play rugby and cricket and a bit of football now, but I am a sports fan – that is how I identify. All sports.” (Ausm1)

“I play tennis and I watch basketball ...I HATE American football and things like cage fighting...I have never really been exposed to it, but I hate it anyway” (USAm3)

“Yes I watch rugby and football, I don’t mind boxing, I quite like it...I don’t know why I like it, no big reason, I just don’t mind it. I don’t mind if there is a bit of bloody and gore, I don’t seek it, but I don’t mind it” (Ff2)

“I like boxing yes...I don’t really know why, but I would watch that, especially the big fights” (Nm1)

“I hate sports like boxing – I just don’t get it” (Belm1)

“Yeah I don’t mind boxing, it can be fun to watch.” (USAf4)

“No I would never watch boxing, I hate it” (Ausf1)

This study has found no link between people who like violent sports and motivations to visit sights with violent pasts. The semi-structured interviews revealed no tangible themes and a varied response was given. This is demonstrated in panel 6.20 and further demonstrated in panel 6.21. Some respondents liked sports but not so called violent sports (USAm3), some respondents did not mind violent sports and were not put off by the potential violent nature of them (Ff2). Some respondents play sports but do not really watch other sports (Ausf2), and some respondents claimed they like all sports and said they were sports fans and identified themselves as such (Ausm1). There appeared to be no consistency among those would liked boxing either, some males do not like it (Belm1), some females do not like it (Ausf1), Some males really like it (Ausm1), and some females liked watching it (USAf4).

No overall theme could be established with a link to liking so called violent sports and increased motivations to visit dark sites such as Tuol Sleng and/or Choeung Ek which have violent histories.

6.4 Conclusion

A significant finding of this study has established that a main driver to visit dark sites such as Tuol Sleng and/or Choeung Ek, that exists in all of us is a sub-conscious instinctive desire to look and learn from what has happened, so we would know what to do should we find ourselves in the same situation and ultimately be able to survive. As argued by Buss (2005, Kottler (2011) and Wilson (2012), and now supported with the findings of this study, overwhelmingly, visitors visit dark sites like Tuol Sleng and/or Choeung Ek because they are consciously (chapter 5) and sub-consciously learning and understanding what happened. For example, respondents without prompting, imagined how they would survive, and many blogs wrote about imagining surviving such horrors and learning from what happened for a better future (panels 6.1, 6.2, 6.3, 6.4, pgs. 207-212).

Furthermore, many comments in the visitor books of both sites expressed how we must learn from what happened to avoid it happening in the future (panels 6.5, 6.6 pgs. 214-215).

More evidence of natural human behaviour exists when examining the psychological theories of why humans have a desire (sub-conscious) to see where death has happened and therefore, visit dark sites. Einstein and Freud (1932) argued that human psychology is made up of dark and light shades and the phenomena of life evolves from them acting together and against each other. Freud (1932) argues that having a fascination with the dark and macabre is a normal psychological state and it exists in all of us to a greater or lesser degree. In panels 6.8 and 6.9 are examples where respondents have found it hard to articulate why they felt compelled to visit; typical answers were 'I just had to

visit', and further evidence of this sentiment exists in the some of the blogs (panel 6.9), Freud (1920), argued that part of Thanatos (our death instinct), is the sub-conscious desire to deliberately seek out pain, and he gives this as an explanation as to why some people say 'they had to do it', or in the case of this study 'had to visit' (Freud, 1932).

Another finding of this study, is that despite knowing that their visit would be emotionally traumatic, not one respondent, nor one blogger, or comment in the visitor books, claimed to regret visiting; moreover, many respondents, bloggers and comments indicated that they were glad that they visited (panels 6.11, 6.12, 6.13, pgs. 225-228)

This chapter, collectively with the findings in chapter five, acts as evidence that overwhelmingly, visitors to dark sites are motivated to visit because they have a desire to learn and understand what happened, and this desire is fuelled by our instinct and sub-conscious. Furthermore, on the whole, tourists who visit such sites do not like being classed as a dark tourist. Findings of this chapter concluded that our desire to learn and understand what has happened is natural human behaviour. Instinctively we need to learn and find out what happened so we are equipped should it happen to us and ultimately to be able to survive. Our deep sub-conscious psychologically drives us to seek out emotional experiences to satisfy our deep psychological needs.

This chapter also discussed the results from the respondents of the semi-structured interviews in relation to the questions about the films and television that they watch, literature they were read to, or read as a child, and if they watched or play any violent sports. This was to try and establish if we are programmed to be entertained by horror and violence, and thus, whether it acts as a motivator to visit it in our leisure time.

Part of the literature review in chapter two reviewed arguments that we are influenced by television shows and films, as well as stories we are read to as children and how we were encouraged to put champions of so called violent sports on pedestals and hero worship them (Wilson, 2012; Kottler, 2011). It seems reasonable to argue that as well as instinct and the sub-conscious, we have been programmed to enjoy and be entertained by violence horror and gore and, therefore, have no issue with being entertained in our leisure time by visiting dark macabre sites.

Chapter two of the literature review also established that we are encouraged to be entertained by horror and violence as children by being told or encouraged to read stories steeped in it. Whilst there are inconclusive and contradictory arguments on what horror and violence we consume as children and how it impacts us as adults (Duwe, 2000; Bonn, 2011; Duncum, 2006; Meyer, 2008), there could be an assumption that we have learned to be entertained by it. However, as with the media, this study has found that there appears to be no link with being programmed to like and be entertained by violence and horror and a motivation to visit dark sites. It would be important to acknowledge that asking adults' questions in relation to what they were read to or what they read as children could be an issue of memory. They may simply not remember or remember correctly. However, this does not detract from any of the findings in the study as the impact the stories had (or otherwise) are reflected in respondents answers.

Alexander (2014) argues that we put on a pedestal or hero worship champions of violent sports. Furthermore, violent sport has long been a fascination and a form of entertainment for humans, and research such as Kottler's (2011) suggest that some people are disappointed if 'someone doesn't get hurt' (Kottler, 2011:82). It is therefore

reasonable to investigate whether people who enjoy and are entertained by violent sports, are more likely to visit places with violent pasts. However, like the media and children's literature, no theme or themes could be established between being entertained by violent sports and visiting places with violent pasts in this study.

The fascination with death and violence extends far back into human history. Throughout time people have had obsessions with death and things related to death. This was probably because to be aroused by violence and death was necessary to evolve and survive. How this manifests itself today is that some people might like to watch violence and horror on film and television, others like to read the genre in literature, or be entertained by violent sports, some people like to visit dark attractions such as Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek, and for some people they will do all or a combination of these activities.

The next chapter examines the use of guidebooks and word of mouth as influences in deciding to visit Tuol Sleng and/or Choeung Ek. It was noted during the interviews that all respondents said that they were using a tourist guidebook, and many bloggers alluded to their use of the guidebooks. It also became apparent that most had been recommended to visit by other travellers and had taken tuk tuk rides in Phnom Penh and wider Cambodia. Chapter seven, examines the power of the guidebooks and word-of-mouth to ascertain how influential they were in deciding to visit Tuol Sleng and/or Choeung Ek.

Chapter Seven - External Factors Influencing Visitation to Tuol Sleng and Choeng Ek

7.0 Introduction

So far, chapters five and six of the data analysis of this study, have introduced the idea that visitors to dark attractions such as Tuol Sleng and Choeng Ek are on the whole not motivated by macabre reasons. Chapter five attempted to establish who and what a dark tourist is. The Tourists to Tuol Sleng and Choeng Ek mostly classed themselves as typical tourists rather than dark tourists, visiting the temples, restaurants and beaches as well as other attractions. Whilst the recency of the events at Tuol Sleng and Choeng Ek aroused their fascination, and heightened their emotions whilst visiting, it did not necessarily act as a motivator for going. Many tourists acknowledged that there were probably sub-conscious reasons for visiting that they could not fully articulate and these probably act as drivers to visit dark sites such as Tuol Sleng and Choeng Ek.

The preceding chapter attempted to look at the sub-conscious and discuss Kottler's (2011) survival instinct theory and the psychology behind Freud's (1920) Death-instinct theory and Jung's (1951, 1970) Catharsis theory in an effort to ascertain motivations for visiting dark sites such as Tuol Sleng and Choeng Ek. It concluded it is highly probable that since most respondents declared that they were not dark tourists and that the macabre nature of the sites, whilst arousing their motivations, did not in themselves act as drivers to visit, that there is possibly sub-conscious deep rooted human behaviour that might explain our desire or reasons for visiting such sites. It further concluded that the theories discussed are sub-conscious and that these exist in us all to a greater or lesser extent.

It was noted during the interviews that all respondents said that they were using a tourist guidebook. It also became apparent that most had been recommended to go by other travellers and had taken tuk tuk rides in Phnom Penh and wider Cambodia. Despite the fact that the information that they got from the guidebooks and fellow travellers was informative, it was obvious to the respondents that what they were about to visit was harrowing and distressing and probably very upsetting, yet they still chose to visit and found it hard to articulate why, providing some weight to the theory that some motivations to dark sites are probably subconscious and instinctive, as concluded in chapter six.

However, as all respondents had a tourist guidebook, it was important to this study to ascertain any other external factors that might act as a motivator to visit Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek and the role the guidebook had in motivating respondents to visit. This chapter aims to evaluate the apparent power of the tourist guidebook, word of mouth from other travellers, travel blogs and the influence of the local tuk tuk drivers. Ultimately this chapter will conclude that collectively these acted as conscious motivations to visit Tuol Sleng and/or Choeung Ek.

7.1. The Role of Guidebooks

There are several studies that discuss the apparent controversial use of the tourist guidebook. Many of them are contradictory and offer different conclusions. For example, Bhattacharyya (1997) criticizes guidebooks such as the Lonely Planet for lacking information on topics such as ordinary daily life, normative cultural patterns and contemporary sociocultural developments. Callahan (2011) accuses *The Lonely*

Planet Guide in particular of being highly biased towards colonial history, therefore making the guides insensitive to aspects of local culture and other local history. Callahan (2011) also highlights that local people rarely write them and that this is a particular weakness. Iaquinto (2012) criticizes guidebooks such as *The Lonely Planet* as possessing ‘out-dated information, author bias, lack of details...’ and further argues that due to the rapid use of the Internet, guidebooks are largely out-dated (Iaquinto 2012:150). Though there has been predictions that the printed guidebook would eventually cease, due to online sources and the eBook, however, according to the Nielsen BookScan Travel Publishing Year Book (2017), which contains data from online and high-street book retailers, sales of travel books in both the UK and US rose in 2016 for the first time in a decade, as well as declaring that sales of eBooks plateaued in 2014. UK sales of guidebooks to foreign destinations were up 2.45% compared to the previous year (Robins, 2016). There are many possible reasons for this, such as improved technology and cheaper photography, and companies such as the Lonely Planet continue to expand their printed products (Robins, 2016).

In Koshar’s (2000) opinion, the popularity of guidebooks is due to their ability to grant tourists a sense of independence and freedom by decreasing their reliance on the organized tourism industry and as far back as Cohen (1985) claimed that guidebooks, act as pathfinders and mentors to travellers. Furthermore, Putri and Dwei (2014:106) argue that a ‘guidebook can be seen as a tool to make independent tourists find advice and information worth knowing about...’

Guidebooks can be seen as tools to make independent tourism and travel easier since this kind of tourism literature usually offers advice and information worth knowing

about places, attractions, accommodation, transport, eating out etc. (Bender, Gidlow, and Fisher 2013). It could be argued that this information ensures that tourists will not miss out on anything 'important'. By including and omitting information and by providing tourists with spatial and social information about the tourist destinations, guidebooks excessively manipulate tourists and their decisions on what destination's sites to visit (McGregor, 2000; Zillinger, 2006). Butler and Paris (2016) suggest that the success of guidebooks such as the Lonely Planet have helped standardise the independent traveller's experience.

Kraft (2007) argues that best-selling guidebooks such as the Lonely Planet have shaped the perspectives of many travellers, further arguing that such books 'speak' with an authoritative voice. Moreover, Callahan (2011) argues that travel guidebooks such as the Lonely Planet series inform mostly Western travellers with a didactic project in which the traveller is partly inscribed within a discourse of solidarity with the struggles and identities of the peoples whose spaces and products are being consumed.

There are hundreds of travel guidebooks on the market. McGregor (2000) states that they influence the formation of destination images and moreover, Lew (1991) indicates that they provide guidance and help shape the tourists' expectations of a place. Wong and Liu (2011), boldly claim that guidebooks not only affect destination images, but also influence individual travel decisions. They show travellers both desirable and undesirable aspects of a destination and assist them in selecting the available product options (Carter, 1998; Lew, 1991). Unlike Iaquinto (2012), Wong and Liu (2011) argue that travel guidebooks are still considered as one of the main information sources, despite the fact that the internet is unsurprisingly the most used information source

(Choi & Lee, 2009), and further state that ‘they provide tangible products which travellers can refer to during the journey’ (Wong and Liu 2011;218).

Bender, Gidlow and Fisher (2013) claim that reading travel guidebooks is the first component of travel. Through comprehensive information and evocative imagery covering all aspects of travel and destinations, travel guidebooks offer an insight into prospective experiences. While other information sources provide more fragmented information, guidebooks possess a range of information that have the capacity to inspire the traveller. With this in mind, it is highly possible that if visitors to Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek read about the sites in a guidebook, they would be motivated to visit.

With over 500 titles in stock, having sold more than 80 million guidebooks and been translated into at least eight different languages, Lonely Planet is often quoted as the world’s largest guidebook publisher (Welk, 2008). Iaquinto (2011) also states that Lonely Planet guidebooks are one of the most popular guidebook brands in tourism. Sales of their e-guidebooks and their printed guidebooks, as well as their successful online forum, LP Thorn Tree, are still considered valuable sources of information for independent travellers (Butler and Paris, 2016).

Likewise, The Rough Guides Ltd is a travel guidebook and reference publisher, owned by Penguin Random House. Their travel titles cover more than 200 destinations, and they are distributed worldwide through the Penguin Group.

Stepchenkova, Shichkova, Kim, Pennington-Gray, and Rykhtik (2015) noted that for tourists, the Internet seems to be the main source used when choosing a holiday activity.

However, there has not yet been an in-depth study of the influence of the use of the Internet and the particular social media sites on the development of the different kinds of activities towards tourist destinations (Santana and Moreno-Gil, 2017). For independent travellers, guidebooks such as Lonely Planet, (widely accepted by travellers as ‘the Bible’ (Kraft, 2007; Butler and Paris, 2016)), help with the ongoing process of travel decision making that may be required throughout the trip. Bell and Lyall (2002) claim that ‘*Lonely Planet* and *Rough Guides* show the way. What the tourist’s gaze rests upon is prescribed’ (Bell and Lyall, 2002:145), and more recently Connor (2015) argues that guidebooks such as *The Lonely Planet* have a tendency to feed wanderlust desires in seasoned and inexperienced travellers alike.

In ‘back-packer tourism’ and for independent travellers, guidebooks seem to be an essential tool to refer to and make decisions on accommodation, transportation and visiting attractions (Sorensen 2003:248). The use of travel guidebooks is also welcomed and used by various forms of tourist such as beach tourists, gaze tourists and film tourists (Law, Bunnell and Ong 2007).

7.1.1 Guidebooks and Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek

Whilst Iaquinto (2012) claims that the influence of the guidebook is moderate and should not be overstated, Callahan (2011) argues in his research that guidebooks play a supplementary role in the information gathered by tourists and McGregor (2000) and Sorensen (2003) argue that the guidebook is a powerful tool in decision-making. During the interviews it became apparent that every interviewee had read or possessed a guidebook. It was observed by the author that some tourists were carrying their

guidebooks with them on their visits to Tuol Sleng and/or Choeung Ek. Iaquinto (2011) did acknowledge that guidebooks such as the Lonely Planet are more likely to be used when travellers are new to a destination and their stay at their destination was short. It also became apparent during the interviews that most respondents were staying for short periods of time in Phnom Penh, typically two or three days at the most. This could be a reason why the respondents had overwhelmingly used a travel guidebook as a source of guidance and information.

The Lonely Planet Guide for Cambodia (2013) enthusiastically writes about many 'must see' attractions whilst visiting Cambodia. On p.6 of the guide it lists Phnom Penh and visiting Tuol Sleng prison as number two of the '10 Top Experiences' in Cambodia. Further to this on p.36 of the guide, it encourages the tourist to '*delve into the dark side of Cambodian history with visits to Tuol Sleng and the Killing Fields, essential to understanding the pain of the past.*' Moreover, pages 40-41 give lengthy and detailed information on Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek, as well as suggested travel itineraries which include both sites, if you were in Phnom Penh for one or two days. A detailed history of Pol Pot and Khmer Rouge era is described from pages 279-303, as well as facts about the current war tribunals and the Khmer legacy. The main part of the book is a geographically organized description of places and sights, and Pol Pot and the Khmer Rouge are mentioned many times. There are maps and photographs throughout the book and it could be argued that readers can be left in no doubt that when visiting Cambodia, Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek are an essential part of any traveller's itinerary.

The Rough Guide to South East Asia or Cambodia appeared to be the second most used guidebook that the respondents were using. The first part of The Rough Guide to

Cambodia (2013:10-15), lists '18 things not to miss', visiting Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek are collectively placed at number seven. Pages 71-72 provide detailed information on Tuol Sleng, plus a photograph of the inside of the prison, and p.99 provides detailed information on Choeung Ek. Enticing sentences such as 'An excellent audio guide leads you circuitously around the site...before you leave, drop into the museum, where you can cool off in the air conditioned 'theatre'...' (Rough Guide to Cambodia, 2013:99). On the inside of The Rough Guide to Cambodia's front cover, the book boasts that inside this book is 'what to see, what not to miss, author's picks, itinerary and more – everything you need to get started' (Rough Guide to Cambodia, 2014). Additionally, on p.54 authors highlights on Phnom Pen, lists Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum as the fifth highlight to see whilst visiting there. Like the Lonely Planet, information on Pol Pot and the Khmer Rouge are littered throughout and from p.283-306 detailed information is given about the events and the current war crime trials.

The Rough Guide, like the Lonely Planet, will leave the reader in no doubt that visiting these dark sites is an important part of visiting Phnom Penh and wider Cambodia, and furthermore, with the 'must see' rhetoric of both books, indicates that you might not experience Cambodia properly unless you visit Tuol Sleng and/or Choeung Ek. It was Hughes (2008) who suggested that visitors to Tuol Sleng do so because it is highlighted as a 'must see' site. Hughes (2008) identified in her research 'must see' as a major motivation to visit somewhere and this theory is supported by this study.

Many respondents alluded to the fact that they had visited Tuol Sleng or Choeung Ek because that is what the guidebook, typically the Lonely Planet or the Rough Guide, had suggested for them to do as demonstrated in panel 7.1.

Panel 7.1 The Use of Guidebooks

“Yeah well I read about it in a Cambodian guidebook, it’s about South-eastern Asia, it’s from a travel company, can’t remember the name – it’s like the Rough Guide.”
(USAm1)

“...I’ve learned about it from reading a book...the Lonely Planet like everyone else”. (Swissm1)

“I read about it in the Lonely Planet, when I was in Vietnam reading a book about South East Asia, I looked in the Cambodian section and read a bit about it there.”
(Britishf1)

“Yes in English it is the big traveller so Grande Voyage book, it has countries from the South East Asia in and I read 2 or 3 pages on the history of Cambodia and Pol Pot and of course here (Tuol Sleng).” (Ff1)

The respondents in the panel above shared a number of similarities in terms of guidebooks and pre-visit interest. They all indicated that they had to some degree read about Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek in a guidebook before their visit. The respondents in the above panel are from America, Britain, France and Spain and were typical in their response. For example, “Yeah well I read about it in a Cambodian guidebook” (Ameircanm1), and “I read about it in the Lonely Planet” (Britsf1). It could be suggested that guidebooks play an important and motivating part in visiting dark sites such as visiting Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek. Various guides, such as the Lonely Planet and The Rough Guide books advise the travellers to see these sites and further suggests that they are an essential part of visiting and experiencing Cambodia. Enticing sentences are written such as ‘admission to the Killing Fields includes an excellent audio tour in several languages’ and ‘it is well worth investing an hour to watch this

powerful documentary, which is screened at 10am and 3pm daily.’ (Lonely Planet Guide to Cambodia 2012:41).

During the field research of this study, it became apparent that the guidebook such as Lonely Planet was very influential in the respondents’ decision to visit Tuol Sleng and/or Choeung Ek. For example, the respondents’ answers presented in the panel 7.2 specifically said that it was their guidebook that influenced them to visit.

Panel 7.2 The Use of Tourist Guidebooks

“I read about it all in the Lonely Planet...I looked at the Cambodian section and there is quite a lot on it, so if they say it’s worth visiting...” (Ausm4)

“In my guide book there’s a massive section on it and it’s got like pictures and yeah so that’s the main reason.” (BritishF4)

“I got the idea about coming here from what I read, I mean obviously I knew before I came, but mostly from what I read in the ‘Lonely Planet’” (Britishm3)

“I read about coming here in the Lonely Planet, I looked up the Cambodia section and read a bit about it there” (Cf1)

All of the respondents in panel 7.2 indicated that they had read about visiting from their guidebooks and some respondents offered this as the main reason for their visit, (Britishf4) specifically saying so, and (Britishf4) claiming that the idea for visiting came from reading her guidebook. It was Callahan (2011:98) who stated ‘...the Lonely Planet empire is enormous and influential...’, and all the respondents, no matter the nationality, had read a guidebook, or presented one during the interview, including (Ausm4, Britishm3 and Cf1) (panel 7.2).

As most respondents were staying in Phnom Penh for a short period of time, it can be argued that they were trying to do what their guidebook had suggested for them. Iaquinto (2011) argued that guidebooks such as the Lonely Planet are more likely to be used when travellers are new to a destination and their stay at their destination was short and this study goes some way to confirm this. More examples of these answers are presented in panel 7.3.

Panel 7.3 The Use of Tourist Guidebooks

“Yes I have read about this in the Lonely Planet and the French Le Guide de Router...it has thirty pages telling us about all the history of the Khmer Rouge, the Lonely Planet has better maps, but the French one has more information.” (Fm2)

“I have the Rough Guide to Cambodia, whilst my friend has the Lonely Planet, so we compare notes...they mostly say the same thing, and yeah they both said to come here” (Ausm1)

“Some of us have the Lonely Planet and some of us have the Rough Guide” (Britishm2)

“Oh yes I am using the Rough Guide and my friend has the Lonely Planet, they both tell us to come here, and whilst we are travelling around South East Asia we are generally following the guide books”. (If1)

In panel 7.3 respondent (If1) said, *“Whilst we are travelling around South East Asia we are generally following the guide books”*. Thus, this study has established that one of the main reasons visitors to Tuol Sleng and/or Choeung Ek visited because this is what was suggested in the tourist guidebook.

Some respondents who were travelling with at least one other person or in a group indicated that one of them was using the Lonely Planet guidebook and one was using

the Rough Guide. For example, in panel 7.3, three respondents (Ausm1), (Britishm2) and (If1) all indicated that within the group they were travelling with, they used a mixture of The Lonely Planet and The Rough Guide. Some respondents such as (Fm2) said that he was travelling on his own but still using more than one travel guidebook, as he did not want to miss out on any important information. His response indicates he was using both books to inform his decision to visit certain places whilst in Phnom Penh, “*the Lonely Planet has better maps and the French one has more information*” and he was keen “*not to miss out on any important information*”(Fm2). This was also the reason other respondents gave when asked why they were using more than one guidebook within their group.

When more than one travel guidebook suggests visiting the same places (Tuol Sleng and/or Choeung Ek) this is further validation that visits to the sites are an important part of experiencing the area. (If1) said “*they both tell us to come here*” and (Ausm4) confirmed, “*Yeah they both said to come here*”. Kraft (2007) argues that best-selling guidebooks such as the Lonely Planet have shaped the perspectives of many travellers, further arguing that such books ‘speak’ with an authoritative voice and it is obvious that these respondents visited because it was what the guidebooks advised them to do. Whilst Butler and Paris (2016) argue guidebooks may be deemed obsolete by many younger backpackers, they have and likely will continue to have a meaningful role in the travel experiences of a generation of backpackers. It is important to point out that the respondents in this study ranged in age from eighteen to seventy five. In panel 7.3 are respondents, who were all eighteen, (If1), said that she had turned eighteen the week before their visit to Tuol Sleng. Though Butler and Paris (2016) argue that tourist guidebooks are obsolete for younger backpackers, a key finding of this study suggests

that when it comes to visiting dark sites such as Tuol Sleng and Cheoung Ek, the tourist guidebook is very influential.

Guidebooks can be seen as tools to make independent tourism and travel easier, since this kind of tourism literature usually offers advice and information worth knowing about, such as visiting attractions, transport and eating out. (Bender, Gidlow, Fisher 2013; Callahan, 2014). It is clear that as every respondent in this study had at least read a guidebook, it could be argued that many visitors are responding to recommendations from the guidebooks and visiting Tuol Sleng and/or Choeng Ek to ensure that they will not miss out on anything 'important' whilst visiting Phnom Penh; and furthermore, their decision to visit has been in some way manipulated by the guidebook (McGregor, 2000; Zillinger, 2006).

This could be further evidence that visitors to dark sites such as Tuol Sleng and Choeng Ek may not visit for macabre reasons as suggested by Lennon (1996) who argues that visits are motivated by a desire for actual or symbolic encounters with death, or out of a conscious desire to see death and suffering, or Slade (2003) who suggests that motivation is fuelled to some degree by thanatouristic motives. The findings of this study has revealed that tourists, were inspired to visit simply because that is what the tourist guidebook suggested they do.

Wong and Liu (2011) claimed that guidebooks influence individual travel decisions for independent travellers, and Sorensen (2003:248) argued that guidebooks seem to be an essential tool to refer to and make decisions on accommodation, transportation and

visiting attractions. This certainly seemed to be true in this study of tourists visiting dark tourism sites such as Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek.

As outlined in this chapter, respondents were following what the guidebook suggested them to do, visiting Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek as well as the Silver Pagoda, the Russian Market and the Waterfront. As one respondent said “*whilst we are travelling around South East Asia we are generally following the guide books*” (If1), thus, as concluded in chapter five, making them typical tourists rather than ‘dark tourists’.

7.2 The Role of Word of Mouth

Word-of-mouth (wom) can be defined as ‘informal communication between private parties concerning evaluations of goods and services’ (Anderson, 1998:6). Studies have suggested that wom is nine times more effective than traditional advertising (Day, 1971), and recently, Hogan et al. (2004) showed that wom can triple the effectiveness of advertising. Although wom communication can be very influential in any purchase decision, it is particularly important in a service context, because services are intangible and, thus, difficult to evaluate before purchase (Mangold et al., 1999; Murray, 1991; Zeithmal, 1981). Wom provides a highly credible means of persuasion because the communicator is not seen as having a vested interest in selling the recommended product or service and is likely to portray information in a meaningful way (Herr et al., 1991; Murray, 1991; Silverman, 2001). More recently others have argued that wom is an important component in measuring tourism loyalty (Harrigan et al, 2017), and Human et al (2015) suggests that wom is a very effective way of promoting services.

‘Wom is thousands of times more powerful than conventional marketing’ (Warrington, 2002:22) and (Silverman, 2001 cited in Warrington, 2002:23) points out that wom communication breaks through the promotional clutter consumers experience every day, consumers are ‘...thousands of times more likely to act on a recommendation of a friend, colleague, or trusted advisor than ... a commercial communication’.

Wom is generally agreed to be the informal communication between private parties in which products or services are evaluated (Mazzavoli, Sweeney and Soutar, 2007:1477). As already stated, wom is recognised as an important source of information influencing consumer's attitudes and purchase behaviour, especially in the service industry, to which tourism belongs. Wom is especially important in the tourism industry, whose intangible products are difficult to evaluate prior to their consumption. According to Ishida (2016) wom is particularly critical for providers whose offerings are primarily intangible and experience-based. Jalilvand and Samieie (2012) in their study on tourist decision-making, conclude that wom affects tourist decisions on where they go and what they do on trips. From this it can be assumed that if travellers were advised to visit Tuol Sleng and Choeng Ek from a trusted source that this potentially aroused their interest in going.

7.2.1 Word of Mouth and Tuol Sleng and Choeng Ek

It is recognized that wom, both positive and negative, has the potential to influence customer purchase decisions. Thus, wom communication has been of interest to marketing personnel for some time (Anderson, 1998 and Richins, 1984), and it is Iaquinto (2012) who argues that the most important information source is wom

information amongst independent travellers, which were the bulk of respondents in this study; and more recently Ishida (2016) suggests that consumer-generated information is more important to prospective purchasers of experiential products.

During the semi-structured interviews it emerged that many of the respondents had been advised or encouraged to visit Tuol Sleng and/or Choeung Ek typically from friends and/or fellow travellers. As already established, word is a powerful motivator to visit somewhere, so it is very possible that motivations for visiting was fuelled by this activity. In the panel 7.4 is a selection of typical answers in response to the question ‘Why are you visiting here today?’

Panel 7.4 Word of Mouth

“We heard about it from like travellers we’ve met.” (Britishf1)

“People, yunno other people we have met on our travels say go to the Killing Fields and the school/prison, go and see it as it’s there.” (Braf1)

“Because everyone’s sort of spoke about it [when travelling], so you have to really.” (Finm1)

“...also because everyone else has said to come here, so you come to this area and it’s the recommend thing to do, so you follow the crowd” (Nm1)

“...and people in the same hostel as us, just said ‘you have to go...’ (Sf1)

One of the themes that started to emerge when respondents were asked why they were visiting, was that they had been recommended to do so by other travellers. Many of the travellers could be classed as independent travellers travelling around South East Asia,

typically taking in Cambodia, Thailand, Laos and Vietnam, in a variety of orders. For most respondents, Cambodia was not the first country they had visited, nor was Phnom Penh the first place they had visited in Cambodia. Many respondents had interactions and conversations with other similar travellers and that they had learned from and were inspired by what fellow travellers had said. The respondents' answers demonstrated in panel 7.4 quite happily acknowledged that one of the main reasons they were visiting was because someone had told them to. All five of the answers demonstrated said either "...other people we have met on our travels say go to the Killing Fields..." (Braf1), or "...it's the recommend thing to do, so you follow the crowd" (Nm1) or "...and people in the same hostel as us, just said 'you have to go...' (Sf1). A strong theme that emerged from the answers of the semi-structured interviews, is that some respondents indicated that many people had specifically advised them to visit Tuol Sleng and/or Choeung Ek and, therefore, fuelled their motivation to visit.

In response to the question, are you glad you visited? Respondents typically answered, "... I am glad I felt the emotion, I can't really say, but yes I am glad I have visited" (Ausf1) and "I am glad I have learned more...but I probably could have done that through books...well I am glad I have made the effort of coming, and glad I can talk about it to people about my visit and what's here...erm yes that is why I am glad I think!" (Fm4) Most respondents in this study could articulate why they were glad they had visited as evidenced in the answers to the question, Why are you glad you visited? "I am glad I have learned more...but I probably could have done that through books, well I am glad I have made the effort of coming, and glad I can talk about it to people about my visit and what's here" (Cm2), and "I have read about it, seen some movies, now I have visited it, so I have satisfied many senses by coming here, I feel I know the

whole story now”, (Finn1). Most respondents indicated that they would in turn recommend a visit to one or both sites to future travellers, it became clear from the responses in the semi-structured interviews that travellers who had been were in turn recommending other travellers to visit. For example, in chapter five, in answer to the question, would you recommend a visit to fellow travellers? All respondents said they would, typical answers were, “*Oh of course, I mean it is not nice really, but it is important to come and it is not like anything else, but whatever your reason people must come and visit*” (Cm1), and “*Yes I would tell people to come, it is part of coming to Cambodia after all. I would warn them that it is not nice, but yes I would recommend a visit*” (Fm2). Satisfied tourists tend to positively recommend the visited destination to friends, relatives and colleagues (Bruwer, 2012). Several authors have examined the relationship between satisfaction and negative/positive WOM in the tourism industry (Hui, Wan and Ho, 2007) and a key finding of this study not only supports this theory, but offers new reasons as to why tourists visit dark sites. Respondents were mostly glad that they had visited and therefore, were more likely to recommend a visit to other potential travellers.

It could be suggested that if respondents are recommending visits to fellow travellers in an enthusiastic and knowledgeable manner, this could inspire and heighten motivations to visit, and findings of this study suggest that. Due to their intrinsic nature of ‘experience goods’ (Macintosh and Gupta, 1972), tourism products are intangible goods, which cannot truly be evaluated before their consumption. These characteristics strengthen the importance of interpersonal relationships and influence (Lewis & Chambers, 2000). It is apparent that travellers are advising each other what to visit and that recommendations from other travellers are highly valued. WOM affects the

behaviour and the decision-making process of tourists (Litvin et al, 2008), furthermore, word communication is one of the widest and the most important tools for consumers and it can influence decision making including tourist behaviours (Ozdemir et al 2016). Recommendations by previous visitors, therefore, become a reliable information source for potential tourists, as they represent a sought-after type of information for people interested in visiting anywhere (Hultman et al, 2015; Geng-Qing Chia and Qu, 2008). Panel 7.5 demonstrates some answers from respondents who said they had been advised to go to Tuol Sleng and/or Choeung Ek by several people.

Panel 7.5 Word of Mouth

“I’ve been told to come here by loads of people, I didn’t actually know much, but loads of other travellers said I have to go.” (Ausf3)

“We’ve been told by loads of people to come here because loads of people have visited and said it’s interesting and you should see it.” (Britishf1)

“Lots of people along the way have told me if I go to Phnom Penh that I must MUST visited the two sites.” (USAm1)

Many respondents appear to have reacted to what fellow travellers have advised them to do, with most indicating that this was one of the main reasons for visiting. All of these answers were at the beginning of the semi-structured interview and were quite often offered as one of the main reasons as to why they were visiting. (Ausf3, Britishf1, USAm1), all said that they were told and advised to visit by many travellers that they had encountered during their trip, who had previously visited. The respondents’ answers presented in panel 7.5 are examples of respondents who said that many people had told them to come, they were all animated in their response, including hand gestures

to indicate many. This is evidence that wom had acted as a powerful driver to visit Tuol Sleng and/or Choeung Ek. Some respondents said that they were advised to visit before they embarked on their trip altogether, and some of these answers are presented in panel 7.6.

Panel 7.6 Word of Mouth

“Well I was at university with some Cambodians and they told me I must come and visit here and the Killing Fields in Phnom Penh. So here I am” (Fm3)

“My boss spent a month in Cambodia, and he was telling me all about it, saying it’s mind blowing here (Tuol Sleng) and the Killing Fields, he said I had to come” (Britishf1)

“...a lot of my friends who had been here before, sort of told me to go to the Killing Fields and recommended it for my visit.” (Ausf1)

Respondents said that a trusted source had recommended that they visit, with dominant phrases such as ‘must come’, and ‘recommended it’, (Fm3, Britishf1 and Ausf1).

Wom is recognised as an important source of information influencing consumers’ attitudes and purchase behaviour, (Ishida, 2016, Mangold et al, 1999), especially in the service industry to which tourism belongs. Wom is an informal mode of communication between non-commercial parties concerning the evaluation of products and services (Arndt, 1967). Wom plays an important role in information diffusion in shaping consumers’ attitudes (Hultman et al 2017, Ishida, 2016, Murali et al 2005, Brown and Reingen 1987 and Mizerski 1982).

Travellers search for information from knowledgeable others, such as friends and relatives, to make more informed decisions (Berger and Heath, 1988), and findings of this study confirm that this is what has happened with many tourist that have visited Tuol Sleng and/or Choeng Ek. It can be suggested that this has acted in the very least, as part of a motivation to visit the sites.

7.2.2 The Influential Role of the Tuk Tuk Drivers

Tuk tuks are a very common mode of travel around towns and cities in Cambodia. A tuk tuk is a motorbike that pulls a covered carriage and can normally seat up to four people. Tuk tuks are numerous in Phnom Penh and they are outside every hotel and visitor attraction as well as lined up outside bars and the popular water front area of Phnom Penh. Tuk tuk drivers tout for business, hoping to get the same travellers for several trips, and quite often offer package deals. Tuk tuks, as a form of cheap transport, are mentioned several times in *The Lonely Planet Cambodia* (2013) and *The Rough Guide to Cambodia* (2014).

Even if the respondents had not heard of the sites before visiting and they had not been recommended to visit by others, or read it in a guide book, it would have been immediately obvious as soon as they arrived in Phnom Penh that Tuol Sleng and Choeng Ek were major visitor attractions. Tuk tuk drivers try and secure business from travellers by offering package deals to both sites. Tuk tuk drivers openly tout for business on every road and outside every tourist establishment, and if a traveller is walking, they persistently stop and offer their service. It would be more or less impossible to avoid this activity when travelling in Phnom Penh and wider Cambodia.

It could be argued that the tuk tuk drivers are hard selling their services for financial gain rather than overtly recommending visiting the sites for altruistic reasons. However, the sheer volume of tuk tuk drivers touting for business to take tourists to Tuol Sleng and Choeng Ek could mean that they have by default, become part of the wom process.

Most of the respondents indicated that many tuk tuk drivers offered them trips to Tuol Sleng and Choeng Ek. This is another form of wom and it is possible that together with recommendations from travellers, friends and reading that these are ‘must see’ attractions from the guidebooks, collectively these act as powerful motivations to visit Tuol Sleng and Choeng Ek. Iaquinto (2012) in his study called ‘Back-packing in the Internet Age...’ claims that after wom, information from locals was one of the biggest motivation drivers for visiting an attraction whilst travelling. So prolific are the tuk tuks and their drivers offering business, that one respondent in his interview was clearly irritated by the constant touting for business ‘Yeah, whenever you walk down the street they’re like tuk tuk – Killing Fields?’ (Britishm1).

Many of the respondents indicated that they were offered trips to Tuol Sleng and Choeng Ek as well as other attractions as soon as they arrived in Phnom Penh. Some answers in panel 7.7 demonstrate how frequent some of the respondents felt this activity was.

Panel 7.7 Tuk Tuk Drivers

“As soon as we arrived in Phnom Penh, every tuk tuk we get into offers us a package to take us to here (Tuol Sleng) and the Killing Fields, if we hadn’t heard of them before, we really would have as soon as we arrived”. (Britishm3)

“Yeah the tuk tuk drivers mentioned it the first day we arrived...they wanted to take us on a tour and they mentioned this museum as part of the tour” (Nf1)

“We talked to the tuk tuk driver today as soon as we arrived, he took us from our bus to the hotel and we made a deal with him to take us here and the Killing Fields.” (USAm2)

“Our tuk tuk driver said do you want to go to the Royal Palace and the Killing Fields, he just came straight out with it...” (Belm2)

“Our tuk tuk driver was ‘do you want to go the Killing Fields?’” (Sf1)

One respondent (Britishm3) remarked that even if he had not heard of the sites before (which he had, as he had read it in his guidebook and heard about them from other travellers), it would be very obvious that they were interesting sites as soon as he got into a tuk tuk and therefore, be inspired to visit. All of the answers presented in panel 7.7, demonstrate how prolific the tuk tuk drivers are in touting for business and by default spreading the word, that Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek are important sites to see whilst in Phnom Penh.

Some respondents remarked that it was not just the tuk tuk drivers who highlighted the two sites as interesting places to visit (as well as the Silver Pagoda and the Russian Market), but employees at other tourist establishments, such as staff at hostels, mentioned and encouraged the respondents to visit Tuol Sleng and/or Choeung Ek. This is demonstrated by two respondents set out in the panel 7.8 who said that employees at the hostels they were staying at mentioned the sites to them and even wanted to help them visit.

Panel 7.8 Recommendations from Employees at Tourist Establishments

“As soon as we arrived at our hostel, they wanted to set up tuk tuks and the whole thing for us to come here, they kept saying you should visit the prison and killing fields.’ (USAm1)

“...employees in the hostels we were staying at and even the tuk tuk drivers as soon as we arrived in Phnom Pen” (Belm1)

“ ...yeah, but even the guy (employee) at our hostel, was like, you must go and see the prison and the killing fields” (Ausf2)

“The person behind the reception were we are staying said I should come here (Choeung Ek).” (Finn1)

From the examples of answers in panel 7.8, it is clear that employees at some tourist establishments are acting as unofficial tourist guides and advising people to visit Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek. (USAm1, Belm1, Ausf2 and Finn2) all stated how employees at the accommodation places they were staying advised them to visit the two sites. There can be no doubt that constant word from fellow travellers, tuk tuk drivers and employees at tourist establishments such as hostels, highlighting these two dark attractions, together with reading about these ‘must see’ attractions in tourist guidebooks (Hughes, 2008), that visiting Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek were an essential part of visiting Phnom Penh and wider Cambodia. Collectively or singularly they can all act as drivers to visit the sites.

7.2.3 The Influence of the Travel Blogs

The blogs researched in this study of travellers visiting Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek are largely descriptive, emotional pieces of writing. All of them describe the author’s

emotions and experience of their visit and present multiple photographs of the site they are discussing. All of the respondents expressed sadness and horror about what had happened at both or each site, but all had expressed that they were glad they had visited, and would in one way or another recommend that other travellers visit the sites too. Panel 7.9 includes quotes from blogs about visits to Tuol Sleng and/or Choeung Ek.

Panel 7.9 Recommendations from Bloggers

Blog 2 'You just need to go and see.'

Blog 8 'Firstly, I really do recommend that you do. Despite my rather grim write up, it is a thought provoking, educational place which also helped me to understand Cambodia today a little better, and I'm very glad we went.'

Blog 10 'Yes, our trip to S21 and Choeung Ek was hard, but it was important.'

Blog 12 'Visiting Tuol Sleng Prison and Choeung Ek killing field was deeply heart-breaking experience, and I am thankful that I did visit both.'

Blog 13 'Visits to places like the Killing Fields and Tuol Sleng are not pleasant; being confronted by this type of human cruelty is never a comfortable thing. But I think it's SO important to be aware of why and how and when this happened...'

For example, in panel 7.9, the author of Blog 8 openly recommends that travellers visit Tuol Sleng, and Blog 13 states that it is important to visit both sites, stressing the importance with a 'SO' written in capitals. The authors of Blog 10 also wrote how it was important to visit both sites, and the author of Blog 12 acknowledged that although it was harrowing, they were thankful that they did visit. These were typical entries in many of the travel blogs researched as part of this study. It could be assumed that if

someone preparing for their travels, researched some travel blogs and read these sentiments about Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek, they would be inspired to visit.

As established in the methodology, blogs are online diaries or personal journals that can be presented in multiple styles (e.g. text, photos, and videos) (Huang, Chou, and Lin 2010). Different from the traditional diaries, they usually offer open access and allow two-way interaction between the blog sharers and browsers (Litvin, Goldsmith, and Pan 2008). Compared with other forms of wom, blogs can contain richer information, because of their intimate diary-style nature. In travel blogs, tourists usually publish their personal travel stories and recommendations. Travel blogs often reveal multiple aspects of a tourist's experience at a specific destination (Li and Wang 2011), and, as well as other forms of online wom, share characteristics with traditional WoM communication (Gartner 1993). They are usually considered as unbiased and trustworthy (Mauri and Minazzi 2013). They have been shown to be very influential in tourists' information searching and decision making (Tussyadiah and Fesenmaier 2009; Volo 2010; Ye, Law and Gu 2009; Zehrer, Crofts, and Magnini 2011). However, it became obvious during this study that respondents on the whole did not research travel blogs (despite many saying that they were writing one) widely and therefore, cannot claim that reading one influenced them to visit Tuol Sleng and/or Choeung Ek, though and this is an area of research that needs more attention. Most research on travel blogs to date concerns why travellers write them rather than how they influence the decision making of the readers. It could also be argued that research into the power of review sites such as Trip Advisor and other social media platforms should be studied to see if they have an influence on tourists visiting dark tourism sites.

7.3 Conclusion

According to Bender, Gidlow and Fisher (2012) many people doubt the survival of the tourist guidebook in the future, since the Internet and travel applications on mobile phones increasingly pose competition. Nonetheless, it can be assumed that there will always be tourists who prefer guidebooks rather than online searches, which might even require going through useless, inadequate and uninspiring information (Bender, Gidlow and Fisher 2012). Moreover, unreliable or no Internet connections at some locations would rule out the use of such applications and the Internet. Hence, it seems there will still be a market for guidebooks, even if the travel books might have to find ways to be more effectively used in times of travel applications on mobile phones and the Internet. Lonely Planet already has a thriving online presence called Thorn Tree, where they boast that ‘Thorn Tree is by travellers, for travellers, and covers every place on the planet (even places we don’t have guidebooks for). More than a million members. 20 years of travel advice. Countless connections’ (Thorn Tree, accessed 03rd August 2016). Despite these fears, every respondent in this study claimed to possess or at least to have read a guidebook.

Most respondents were staying in Phnom Penh for short periods of time and, therefore, heavily relied on their chosen guidebook for visitor information (Iaquinto 2011). All respondents claimed to have read about visiting Tuol Sleng and/or Choeung Ek whilst in Phnom Penh in their chosen guidebook. Wong and Liu (2011) claim that travel guidebooks are often the first component of independent travel and that ‘guidebooks possess a range of information that has the capacity to inspire the traveller’ (Wong and Liu, 2011:626). It can be stated with confidence that the guidebook used by the

respondents in Phnom Penh helped inspire them to visit at least one of the two dark sites in this study.

Several studies suggest that word of mouth affects the behaviour and decision-making process of tourists (Litvin et al, 2008; Satta et al 2013). Recommendations by previous visitors, therefore, become a reliable information source for potential tourists, as they represent one of the most sought-after types of information for people interested in travelling (Geng-Qing Chia and Qu, 2008). Many respondents indicated that fellow travellers had recommended their visit, and that this was one of the main reasons why they were visiting.

Most of the respondents who were interviewed had travelled to one or both sites by tuk tuk and many had arranged a 'package deal' with their tuk tuk driver and that the tuk tuk driver had initiated the deal. It is very plausible that even if travellers had not read a tourist guidebook advising them to visit the two sites, the tuk tuk driver touting for business would have initiated travellers' interest in visiting or further cementing the tourists' desire to visit.

Iaquinto (2012) argues that tourists often use multiple sources of information to help and guide their journeys. He further argues that information sources are interlinked and the connections are shaped and maintained by tourists. It is very possible that respondents were motivated to visit Tuol Sleng and/or Choeung Ek because they were informed about the sites and as a result inspired to visit from several sources. Though most respondents did not read any travel blogs in advance, they all had guidebooks, most had discussed visits with other travellers and most had taken tuk tuk rides.

Collectively guidebooks, wom and tuk tuk drivers helped motivate most of the respondents to visit Tuol Sleng and/or Choeung Ek.

In this research, chapter one discussed that some dark tourism definitions such as Sharpley and Stone (2006), suggest that dark tourism is motivated by the desire to see death and the macabre, and that Lennon and Foley (2000) argue that dark tourism is a matter of chronological distance. However, this research brings into question such definitions based on the respondents visiting Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek interviewed in this study. As highlighted in chapter three, Dunkley et al (2011) and Mowatt and Chancellor (2011) discuss that there is a variety of motivations for tourism to dark sites, and so far this study goes some way to confirm this. This research has shown that motivations to visit such sites are multiple.

In addition to the motivations examined in chapters five and six, this chapter has examined some possible external that factors may have had an influence on respondents' motivations to visit Tuol Sleng/Choeung Ek and concludes that other influences such as the tourist guide-book and wom from other travellers or local people, such as the tuk tuk drivers, influenced their decision to visit.

It is a significant finding that all respondents had made use of a guidebook, typically books such as The Lonely Planet and the Rough Guide. Where respondents had travelled in groups, they had made a conscious decision to individually have different guidebooks to make sure they did not miss out on any important information. Most respondents were also advised to visit by fellow travellers or family and friends, and most had taken a tuk tuk ride in Phnom Penh which singularly or collectively acted as

drivers to visit. This study has revealed that motivations to dark tourism sites are varied and multiple.

The next chapter will present the overall conclusions and recommendations of this study.

Chapter Eight - Conclusions and Recommendations

8.0 Introduction

The central aim as stated at the outset of this study was to analyse the key motivational factors of dark tourism, focusing on two interlinked dark sites, Tuol Sleng and Choeng Ek, in Phnom Penh, Cambodia. The overall aim was facilitated by a number of research questions, these being:

1. To what extent do tourists who visit dark sites such as Tuol Sleng and/or Choeng Ek consider themselves dark tourists?
2. Is there evidence that time plays a significant motivating factor in visiting dark sites such as Tuol Sleng and/or Choeng Ek?
3. Is there any evidence that tourists are motivated to visit dark sites because they are fascinated with the dark and macabre nature of the sites?
4. What are the other key factors which influence tourists to visit dark sites such as Tuol Sleng and/or Choeng Ek?

The research and findings of this study builds on the small amount of established theories around the genre of motivations to visit dark sites. As outlined in the methodology chapter, this study was developed on the grounded theory approach. Grounded theory is a methodology that has been used to generate theory where little is already known, or to provide a fresh slant on existing knowledge. There is currently little known about the motivations of dark tourism, therefore, this approach was deemed most suitable for this study. Three key research tools (blog evaluation, semi-structured interviews, and evaluation of comments from the visitors' books) were developed and their use justified in the context of the study's key research

questions. There were four stages in the research methodology, and each stage and research instrument tool helped to establish themes that were used and refined at the next stage.

Chapter five answered the first three research questions. To a degree it offered some insights into how tourists to dark sites such as Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek view themselves, and this gave an indication around what motivates them to visit such sites. As such, they do not view themselves as dark tourists and did not like the label at all. On the whole respondents were at pains to point out that they were ‘typical tourists’ that they were not in Phnom Penh deliberately to visit the sites, they were not gaining pleasure from visiting, and that it was part of visiting Cambodia. Chapter five also addressed the issue of chronology and dark tourism and research question two of this study. This research has shown that time does play a part in the experience of the visit, that it can make it more confronting for some visitors and it can strengthen motivations to visit, but does not act as a motivation to visit in its own right. The conclusions in chapter five are a significant finding of this study and will enhance the dark tourism motivational literature and debates in the definitions in this genre of tourism. For example, studies into motivations at dark sites thus far, have not focused on psychology, external drivers, or specifically spoken to visitors about their attraction of death and the macabre. Additionally, dark tourism definitions offered so far have not been based on asking visitors to such sites how they view themselves.

Chapter six went some way to address research questions three and four. It concluded that visitors are not motivated to visit dark sites such as Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek because they are fascinated with the dark and macabre nature of the sites. Evidence

from the respondents, blogs and comments in the visitors' books, provided significant evidence that on the whole tourists visit because they want to learn and understand what happened. Chapter six introduced a novel approach as it also addressed the factors of psychology and instinct as motivations, and concluded that these are significant drivers to visit dark sites. According to Freud (1920) and Jung (1951b), and more recently Wilson (2012) and Kottler (2011), existing in all of us is a sub-conscious instinctive desire to look and learn what has happened, so we would know what to do should we find ourselves in the same situation and ultimately survive. Furthermore, human psychology is made up of dark and light and these co-exist within us all, and this explains why we sometimes seek out emotional experiences or watch horror films or visit dark sites; they satisfy our deep psychological needs. These findings are important as they suggest that visits to dark sites, are part of natural human behaviour. The findings of chapter six are significant, as it has attempted to look beyond basic motivational arguments; therefore, the findings of this chapter will move forward the literature in this genre of tourism. For example, the dark tourism motivations literature thus far, has suggested motivations are based on encounters with death (Seaton, 1996; Podoshen, 2013) or pilgrimage (Brown, 2016; Dunkley et al, 2011). The findings of this research could also provide a useful tool for the management of such sites.

Chapter six also attempted to address research question four. Due to the frequent and mass exposure of dark, macabre, and violent media (television, films, gaming and literature), as well as inspirational heroes of so called violent sports, and the fact that we are programmed from young infants to like violence, horror and dark stories; therefore, it would be no surprise that we should visit sites that are dark and macabre in our leisure times. However, this study could find no obvious link between those

liking horror films and stories or gaming, and a heightened motivation to visit Tuol Sleng and/or Choeung Ek, and therefore, arguably other dark sites. These findings are important as they can add to the literature around the role some media plays in this genre of tourism, as well as inform the literature that surrounds the impact the media has on some of our leisure time.

Chapter seven went some way to address research questions three and four and provided further evidence for research questions one and two. A significant finding of this study has established that the tourist guidebook plays an important role in inspiring tourists to visit Tuol Sleng and/or Choeung Ek. Furthermore, word-of-mouth (wom) from friends and family and other trusted sources, as well as local tuk tuk drivers and workers at tourist establishments, played an important role in driving tourists to visit the sites. This is a significant finding. No known research has established a link between these drivers and visits to dark sites such as Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek, and arguably other dark sites. Chapter seven acts as evidence that tourists are not motivated by the dark and macabre nature of the sites, but they may have visited because it is what the guidebook advised them to do.

8.1 Summary of Findings

The next part of chapter nine will address the findings of each data analysis chapter and research questions in more detail.

The first research question was initially addressed in the literature review, in particular chapter one, which established that due to an eclectic set of the definitions, debates in

this genre of tourism are problematic and conflicting. For example, some definitions have been based on particular types of place, such as Foley and Lennon (1996); Lennon and Foley (1999); Knusden (2011) and Johnston and Mandelartz (2015). Some definitions are based on the act of visiting dark sites, such as Tarlow (2005); Preece and Price (2005); Stone (2006) and Johnston (2015). Some definitions are based on motivations to visit such sites, for example, Seaton (1996) and Best (2007). A significant definition that is often quoted deals with the issue of time, that time is the difference between a heritage site and a dark tourism site (Lennon and Foley, 2000). However, none of these definitions are universally accepted, rather over the years a body of research on places of death and suffering has emerged.

One of the main issues with the definitions of tourism to dark sites is the apparent scope of what dark tourism potentially encompasses. There has been a tendency to 'lump' any attraction associated with death in any form to the genre of dark tourism. For example, cemeteries; burial sites; genocide sites; prisons; battlefields; sites of natural disaster (Tsunami); sites of manmade disaster (Chernobyl), theme parks that include a scare ride or exhibition; death sites or houses of famous dead people; ghost tours and so on. This vast scope has led Dunkley (2007) to refer to dark tourism as one of the largest forms of tourism in the world. Some academics (Dann and Seaton, 2001 and Seaton, 1999) have referred to the sites or this genre of tourism as thanatourism and, as established in chapter one of the literature review, sometimes these labels have been interchangeable. The definitions to date have mostly not been based on research into how tourists to such sites view themselves, and this study has initiated the debate on dark tourism as a label. Light (2017), recently argued that over the past two decades, many researchers have been reluctant to engage with people who visit such sites.

Therefore, the methodology of this study is significant. It involved speaking directly to fifty respondents and researched over forty unsolicited views of tourists who visited dark sites. The findings of this study are based directly on what tourists' to Tuol Sleng and/or Choeung Ek said, or directly on what tourists' to either or both sites wrote.

8.1.1 I Am Not a Dark Tourist

To date, there has been no known study in the genre of dark tourism that has specifically asked visitors to dark sites whether they think of themselves as dark tourists. Therefore, the findings of this study will help move forward the literature of dark tourism and provide thinking into designing new typologies and spectrums. Whilst more recently there have been attempts to rename 'dark tourism', for example, Macdonald (2015) prefers to call it 'Difficult Heritage', however, the phrase dark tourism has largely stuck and is still used in articles (i.e. Light, 2017) and used as titles in special tracks at academic conferences and symposiums (e.g. ATLAS Annual Conference 2016 and 'Dark Tourism' May 2017 University of Greenwich). Part of this study was to establish how tourists to such sites thought of themselves, and a significant finding of this study is that on the whole, tourists to Tuol Sleng and/or Choeung Ek and arguably other dark sites, do not refer to themselves as dark tourists and are not happy with the term.

Out of the ninety people whose comments were gleaned from blogs and interviews, eighty-nine people did not refer to themselves as a dark tourist, although all fifty respondents in the semi-structured interviews agreed that Tuol Sleng and/or Cheung Ek were dark sites. Many respondents were philosophical and emotional about the story of each site and the artefacts (human remains and torture equipment) on display. Out of

the fifty respondents in the semi-structured interviews, forty-nine respondents did not class themselves as a dark tourist as demonstrated in many panels in chapter five, (panels 5.1, 5.2, 5.3, 5.4, 5.5, 5.6, 5.7, 5.10, 5.11, pgs 145-159). Furthermore, many appeared to be insulted or offended by the suggestion, and that by being associated with the phrase ‘dark tourism’ might imply some negative connotations, such as voyeuristic or dark and macabre motivations for visiting, or gaining some sort of pleasure out of their visit. The respondents were keen to point out that they were ‘typical tourists’, that they were in Phnom Penh and Cambodia to see many of the visitor attractions on offer, such as The Silver Pagoda, The Russian Market and the Temples of Anchor Wat.

Overwhelmingly, and importantly, the respondents were keen to stress that they were typical tourists and referred to themselves in that way, it was repeatedly the response. This is in contrast to previous research that suggests that tourists like to think of themselves as individualistic, McCabe (2005) and Week (2012), and do not like being classed as typical tourists (McCabe and Stokoe, 2004). It is possible that describing themselves as a typical tourist rather than a dark tourist, is at least in part due to the dark nature of the sites, and a keenness to disassociate themselves with any pleasure or macabre motivations for visiting.

Considering the research was conducted at what most academics count as the darkest attractions, (Stone and Sharpley, 2008), the label dark tourism or dark tourist can arguably be classed as not suitable for tourists who visit dark sites. The established motivations set out in chapters five, six and seven of this study refer to ‘wanting to learn and understand Cambodia’ and not dark motives that are associated by the respondents with the term dark tourism. Moreover, the respondents in the semi-structured

interviews were keen to point out that they did not visit Phnom Penh specifically to confront its dark and painful recent history, that this was not their motivation for visiting Cambodia.

More evidence of this lies within the forty blogs researched as part of this study, not one blogger referred to themselves as a dark tourist. Many of the bloggers gave themselves names that were versions of, presumably, their actual names; for example, MichaelElana (Blog 14) and Anneandmonica (Blog 3). Or gave the blog a title that described themselves or the adventure they were on; for example. 'Our Big Fat Travel Adventure' (Blog 10) and 'The Mad Traveler' (Blog 11) and 'Traveling Thru History' (Blog 2). None of the bloggers gave themselves a title with the words dark tourism or similar, or referred to themselves in this way. All the bloggers wrote about the atrocities and horrors of Tuol Sleng and/or Choeung Ek, and acknowledged that the sites were dark and macabre. Other parts of their blogs were details of other activity they did in Phnom Penh and wider Cambodia, and their wider travels in South East Asia or other parts of the world. The bloggers activity in Cambodia was identical in many ways to the respondents in the semi-structured interviews. They had all visited Anchor Wat in Siem Reap, and in Phnom Penh they had visited the Silver Pagoda, The Russian Market, the riverside and other tourist attractions. This activity concurs with the answers of the semi-structured interviews that bloggers partook in typical tourist activity whilst in Phnom Penh. Light (2017) argues if dark tourism can be identified as a distinct form of tourism in its own right, then it needs differentiation from other forms of tourism and so far the literature has failed to do so. This study has found that tourists to dark sites such as Tuol Sleng and Cheoung Ek do not differentiate themselves by the term dark tourist or dark tourism. Light (2017) further argues that dark tourism is probably not

different to heritage tourism, however, a significant finding of this study has found that tourists to dark sites such as Tuol Sleng and Choeng Ek, at the darkest end of the dark tourism spectrum, and arguably other similar dark sites, overwhelmingly, refer to themselves as typical tourists.

Over a hundred and fifty comments from the visitors' books at Tuol Sleng and Choeng Ek were studied in stage four of this research. Not one comment referred to themselves as a dark tourist in anyway. Most of the comments were philosophical and reflective of what happened and expressed emotions such as sadness, empathy and hope for the future.

It is important to acknowledge the one respondent in the semi-structured interviews who did refer to himself as a dark tourist, and deliberately went to Cambodia to visit Tuol Sleng and Choeng Ek and other attractions associated with the Khmer Rouge's regime. He (Belm2) had visited other countries specifically to confront its dark history and dark sites associated with it, for example, Auschwitz in Poland. However, after questioning the respondent as to why he had a desire to visit such sites, his response was exactly the same as most of the other respondents. He was there to learn and understand about Cambodia and its past, and was very keen to point out several times that he was not there to glorify the violence and horror of what took place at each site. Therefore, his reasons for visiting the sites were exactly the same as the other respondents in this study.

A significant finding of this study is that the term dark tourism and arguably thanatourism and its negative connotations perceived by the tourists to dark sites such

as Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek, and therefore, arguably other dark sites, is not helpful and is insulting to many visitors.

8.1.2 Respondents Who Do Not Want To Visit

There has been no known study in the genre of dark tourism that has specifically acknowledged that many visitors to dark sites do not actually want to visit. Some academics have acknowledged that some visitors to sites of death are there because it is part of an organised itinerary (Best, 2007; Brown, 2016 and Farmaki, 2013), but without acknowledging wider motivations. Part of the findings of this study are that the respondents in the semi-structured interviews who said that they were there because it was part of a wider travel itinerary, also said that left to their own devices they would not have visited (chapter five, panel 5.19, p.172). Furthermore, some respondents answered that they were there because someone else in their travelling party wanted to visit, and that they personally did not want to visit at all (chapter five, panel 5.20, 5.21). Therefore, it cannot be assumed that visitors to dark sites want to visit. The dark tourism literature has offered motivational reasons for visiting such sites ranging from ‘curiosity’ (Bigley et al, 2010; Isaac and Cakmak, 2014), and ‘pilgrimage’ (Brown, 2016; Dunkley et al 2011), or a ‘connection with death’ (Podoshen, 2013), or themes such as ‘interest in history’ or to see an infamous site associated with death (Preece and Price, 2005; Yankholmes and Mckercher, 2015b; Biran et al, 2011). However, a finding of this study argues that many visitors to dark sites for a variety of reasons, are not motivated by any of the mentioned reasons and do not actually want to be there.

8.1.3 Tourists Are Not Motivated By the Dark and Macabre Nature of the Sites

Research question three was mostly met within the findings of the field study and a significant finding of this study is that visitors to the sites are not motivated to visit due to the dark and macabre nature of the sites. Not one respondent, blog or comments in the visitors' books, mentioned that they visited for these reasons. A few academics have argued that visitors to such sites are motivated because they have a morbid curiosity (Best, 2007; Biran et al, 2014; Raine 2013), or a desire for a connection with the dark events that happened (Podoshen, 2013). Some of the press has also indicated that visits to such site are voyeuristic and morbid, for example, Stokes (2013) questions profiting from loss and suggests dark tourism is voyeurism. However, a significant finding of this study has revealed that this is simply not the case with visitors visiting dark sites such as Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek, and therefore, arguably other dark sites.

Respondents in the semi-structured interviews, bloggers and comments in the visitors' books, repeatedly used the words and phrases such as they want to 'understand and learn what has happened' and to 'understand modern Cambodia'. This is demonstrated overwhelmingly in chapter five (panels, 5.12, 5.13, 5.14, 5.15, 5.16, 5.17, 5.18, pgs 164-170). It is clear that motivations to visit such sites are not because visitors have a morbid curiosity, or a desire to connect with the dead or death at the sites, or an overt fascination of the macabre. They simply want to learn and understand what has happened.

Many respondents were emotional and visibly affected by their visit. As all of the respondents said that they knew at least a little about the nature of the sites before they

visited, together with the possibility that you could learn about the atrocities from other visitor attractions (for example, the National Museum in Phnom Penh), respondents still chose to visit. With this in mind, it would be simple to argue that the macabre nature of the sites do act as an attraction to visitors. However, a finding of this study has revealed that whilst it might heighten curiosity in a few visitors, it does not act as a motivator in its own right. Most respondents gave themselves a low percentage value in response to the question, ‘what percentage of the macabre and death present here attracts you?’ as presented in chapter five (panel 5.22, 5.23, 5.24, 5.25, pgs. 178-181). A few respondents did admit that the macabre was fascinating to them (chapter five, panels 5.26, 5.27, pgs.182-190), however, they were also keen to point out that this was not the reason they visited, they would have visited anyway, it just heightened their curiosity.

This study is particularly novel, as no known research has directly asked visitors at dark sites how much the macabre nature of the sites attracts them, and as such, the findings of this study will help inform the gaps in the literature that concerns tourists to dark sites, and may help inform a more universally accepted definition in this genre of tourism.

8.1.4 Instinct and Psychology and the Role They Play in Driving Visitors to Dark Sites.

To date, very little research in this genre of tourism has addressed the psychological aspect of why people visit such sites, and therefore, this makes this study and its findings significant in another way. The psychology literature on why humans are aroused by dark and violent events is steeped in the writings of Freud (1920) and Jung (1951b, 1970) in particular, and more recently Kottler (2011) and Wilson (2012) have

addressed such issues. Kottler (2011) argues that it is our survival instinct that makes us aroused to look at places where death and/or violence has occurred, for example, looking or ‘rubber necking’ at an accident on a motorway, that by looking and learning what happened, we learn what to do should it happen to us and ultimately survive. There was significant evidence of such instinctive and sub-conscious instincts in the findings of this study. Most respondents, without prompting, imagined how they would have survived the horrors of the regime. Some respondents really identified with the story by either imagining themselves, or their child, or their compatriot surviving in the Tuol Sleng prison or at Choeng Ek Killing Field. This was presented in chapter six, (panels, 6.1, 6.2, 6.3, 6.4, pgs. 207-212), phrases and words such as ‘imagine’, ‘survive’, ‘prevention’ and ‘why’ ‘never happen again’, were repeatedly used by the respondents, writing in the blogs, and in comments of the visitors books, all examples of the survival instinct sub-consciously within us. These findings help us understand why we want to visit and learn and understand what happened in dark sites.

As well as the idea of the survival instinct, Freud’s (1920) death-instinct theory may also help us to understand the desire to seek out and visit dark sites such as Tuol Sleng and Choeng Ek. He argues that we all have a sub-conscious desire/need to seek out pain. His theory is that within us all we have a destructive side called Thanatos and this intermingles with Eros (our life instinct). This theory was explored in chapter two of the literature review, and helped inform some parts of the questioning of the semi-structured interviews. Part of the theory is that this force is sub-conscious and is the reason why many people cannot explain why they like, to a greater or lesser degree, violence and horror. Many respondents, in response to the question ‘why have you visited Tuol Sleng/Choeng Ek?’ at times could not explain why they visited the sites.

Words and phrases from the respondents and bloggers such as ‘I am not sure why’, ‘felt I had better come’, ‘I had to see it’, ‘don’t’ know why...I had to see it’, these typical answers are demonstrated in chapter six, (panels 6.8, 6.9, 6.10, pgs. 219-222). This is arguably evidence that within us all there is an instinctive and psychological drive to look at places where violence has taken place, and therefore, visit dark sites such as Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek. Moreover, all the respondents expressed that they were glad they had visited, even the ones that were there by default, evidence of these answers is demonstrated in chapter six (panels 6.11, 6.12, 6.13 and 6.14, pgs. 225-230). No respondents, bloggers or comments from the visitors’ books, expressed regret about visiting. This is arguably evidence that their primal subconscious evolutionary biological instinct is aroused and satisfied by visiting dark sites. This could also be the explanation for the one respondent who said that he visited deliberately to confront Cambodia’s dark past. His (Belm2) evolutionary instincts maybe more aroused than others and, therefore, he has a stronger desire to satisfy them, and in visiting dark sites he is doing so.

A significant finding of this study, outlines that visitors to dark sites such as Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek, and arguably other dark sites, are not motivated by a morbid curiosity or a desire to connect with death and violence. Rather, they visit because they want to learn and understand what happened, and it is likely that their subconscious and instinct that drives the desire to learn and understand, as according to writers such as Freud (1920) and Jung (1951b), and more recently, Wilson (2012) and Kottler (2011), these subconscious and instinctive drivers exist in all of us to a higher or lesser degree.

8.1.5 Chronology and Motivations to Visit Dark Sites

Research question three largely addresses the contentious issue of time and when tourists visit dark sites. As discussed in chapter one of the literature review, academics have long grappled over the issue of time and the phrase ‘dark tourism’ and ‘thanatourism’. Arguably, it was Lennon and Foley (2000) who first brought the issue of chronological distance to the fore in the discussion around dark tourism. They suggest to be labelled dark tourism, someone must still be alive to validate the events that took place at the dark site, and this is what makes dark tourism distinctive from other forms of tourism. They further argue that dark tourism is a postmodern 20th century phenomenon. This theory has been debated by many academics, for example, Seaton (1996, 2009a) has repeatedly argued that there has long been a link between travel and death, rather than a postmodern phenomenon, and prefers to use the term thanatourism.

Whatever the discussions, a finding of this study is that the more recent the events are to the visitor, the greater impact it has on the tourist’s experience. The events that took place in Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek happened between the years 1975 and 1979. Overwhelming, this felt recent to the respondents of the semi structured interviews. It was also apparent that it felt recent to many of bloggers, furthermore, evidence of this feeling existed in the comments of the visitors’ books. This theme emerged many times and is presented in chapter five (panels 5.28, 5.29, 5.30, 5.31 and 5.32, pgs. 192-197). Even though some respondents were not alive when the events took place, they were able to relate what happened to their parent’s lives and the fact that they were alive. Other respondents and bloggers remembered what they were doing at the same time as the horrific events in Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek. For some respondents, the recency

of the events strengthened their motivations for visiting, though they were keen to point out that they would have visited anyway. Examples of these answers are in chapter five (panels 5.33, p.198).

The link between heritage tourism and motivations is particularly strong in this finding, for example, Poira et al (2006) suggests that heritage sites are visited for a wide range of reasons and Uzzel (1996) argues that the same location (i.e. battlefield) is visited for different reasons at various points in time. He further suggests that tourists from one generation may visit a heritage site to pay homage, whilst younger visitors may view their visit as a day trip or excursion.

It is therefore, not easy to dismiss time when constructing a definition for this type of tourism. It appears that the more recent the events the more hard hitting and emotional the experience is for the visitor and this is because visitors can in some way relate the events to their own lives. However, as concluded in chapter five, time is personal to the visitor.

8.1.6 Key Factors Which Have Influenced Tourists to Visit Dark Sites Such as Tuol Sleng and/or Choeng Ek

To date, no known research in the genre of dark tourism has investigated key factors that have influenced tourists to visit such sites. A few studies have looked at basic motivations (Biran et al 2014, Podoshen et al, 2015 and Isaac and Cakmak 2014), but no other study has considered key influencing factors in motivations of tourists who visit dark sites. Therefore, this study is somewhat novel and will add to the literature and debates around this genre of tourism. Ultimately, a significant key finding of this

study concludes that there are several powerful factors that influence tourists to visit Tuol Sleng and/or Choeung Ek and arguably, other dark sites. The tourist guidebook, such as *The Lonely Planet*, word-of-mouth (wom) from a trusted source and local people all play a significant part in driving tourists to visit such sites, either singularly or collectively. This overall objective was mostly addressed in findings of chapter seven.

8.1.6.1 Guidebooks and Their Influence on Motivations to Visit Dark Sites

It was noticed during the semi-structured interviews that respondents were either carrying a tourist guidebook or said that they had read one. This was without exception. Even the tourists who were there by default, said they had read a guidebook or were present with one on the site. It quickly became apparent during the field study of this research that the tourist guidebooks played a significant part in inspiring tourist to visit the sites. Although the significance of the tourist guidebook appears to be debated, (Bendor, Gidlow and Fisher, 2012), a significant finding of this study suggests that for some attractions, such as Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek and arguably other dark sites, they play an important part.

Iaquinto (2011) argued that if you were staying in a new town or city for a short period of time, then you were more likely to follow the suggestions in the guidebook. Overwhelmingly, respondents were staying in Phnom Penh for one to two days, only a few people stayed longer, and this might account for the universal usage of the guidebooks from the respondents in the semi-structured interviews. The most used guidebook was *The Lonely Planet*, followed by *The Rough Guide*, followed by ones in

various languages from different nationalities. The guidebooks rhetoric around the attractions of Tuol Sleng and Choeng Ek suggest that they were ‘must see’ sites (Isaac and Cakmak, 2014), and listed them as things not to miss whilst visiting Phnom Penh. Furthermore, they suggest that to miss them out, you might miss out on experiencing Cambodia properly. Many respondents indicated that they had visited the sites because that is what the guidebooks had instructed them to do. Findings of these answers are in chapter seven, (panels 7.1, 7.2 and 7.3, pgs. 256-259). As one respondent answered, “*Whilst we are travelling around South East Asia we are generally following the guidebooks*” (If1). This study has found that a key factor that influenced tourists to visit Tuol Sleng and/or Choeng Ek is because it was listed as a must see site in their influential tourist guidebook.

8.1.6.2 Word of Mouth

Wom provides a highly credible means of persuasion, and Iaquinto (2012) argues that the most important information sources are wom communications amongst independent travellers. A significant theme, and therefore, finding that emerged from the answers in the semi-structured interview was that wom from fellow travellers, or family and friends, or from local people, acted as inspiration to visit Tuol Sleng and/or Choeng Ek.

These findings are important from several angles. Firstly, they go some way to answer research question four, one of the key factors that have influenced tourists to visit Tuol Sleng and/or Choeng Ek is because they were advised to visit from a trusted source, whether that be a fellow traveller, family or friends, the local tuk tuk drivers or

employees at various tourist establishments. Findings of chapter seven revealed that many respondents had read their guidebook, been advised to visit by fellow travellers and their tuk tuk drivers had tried to sell them a package price for both sites. Collectively, these are powerful drivers to visit the sites. To date no known research in this genre of tourism has discovered the influence of the tourist guidebook and word of mouth and the impact they have on driving tourists to visit dark sites. Therefore, these findings are important and significant.

Secondly, it acts as supporting evidence to the findings in chapter six. Many tourists knew at least to some degree, that their visit would be distressing and emotional, and yet they still chose to visit. As overwhelmingly, respondents and bloggers indicated that they were not motivated by the dark and macabre nature of the sites, then this is arguably evidence that their primal subconscious evolutionary biological instincts are aroused and satisfied by visiting Tuol Sleng and/or Choeung Ek.

Thirdly, findings in chapter seven add further support to the suggestion that visitors to the sites were typical tourists as they followed advice from the tourist guidebooks and visiting what the tourist guidebook suggested. This included a variety of attractions such as The Russian Market, The Silver Pagoda, The National Museum, The Temples of Angkor Wat as well as Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek. Therefore, following the tourist guidebook is by no means unique to dark sites, they were not following an itinerary that indicates that they were dark tourists or inspired by the dark past of Cambodia, but the tourist trail that their tourist guidebook advised them to do, making them typical tourists rather than dark tourists. Further evidence that the terminology and label dark

tourist/tourism is problematic and why a definition for this type of tourism is hard to establish.

8.1.6.3 The Influence of the Media

This study has revealed little evidence to support any link or argument that those who enjoy media which show violence, horror and the macabre, act as a driver for tourists to visit sites where the dark and macabre is present. As part of this study, some literature was reviewed around the areas of dark tourism motivation and psychology. Some of the psychology literature debated a link between the power of the media, children's literature and liking violent sports to a heightened arousal of liking such things as adults. As discussed in chapter two of the literature review, we clearly like to be entertained by violence and horror and the macabre, and as such, television shows, films and games feature it a lot and have significant viewing figures. It can be argued that we are also programmed to be entertained by violence and horror, as all cultures and nationalities read their children stories that feature violence and horror; as well as making heroes out of people who are champions of so called violent sports are examples of this. However, this study could find no pattern or theme to establish if visitors who like to be entertained by horror stories, or watch violence sports, are more likely to visit sites that feature it. As established in chapter eight, some respondents liked horror films/stories, some did not, some did, but were there by default, some liked them and but did not like sports. Some could remember what they were read to as a child, some could not. Some were read the typical fairy tales that feature horror and the macabre, but didn't like visiting, and so on. Evidence of this mixed response to this set of

questions can be found in chapter six, (panels 6.16, 6.16, 6.18, 6.19, 6.20, 6.21, pgs. 234-242).

However, as more people visit Cambodia, the story and history of the Khmer Rouge atrocities are becoming more widely known. They will soon feature in a film to be released on Netflix in 2017. '*First They Killed My Father*', directed by the Hollywood actress Angelina Jolie. This is bound to bring much more attention to the two sites and inspire tourists to visit. There has long been a link established between films and television programmes and an increase in visitors to the featured locations. As films have the power to stimulate tourist travel and Yen and Croy (2013) and Pocock (1992), discuss how film tourism is a growing phenomenon worldwide. Reijnders (2015) argues, more and more people are travelling to destinations that they know from stories in novels, films or television series. The film is likely to have an impact on visitor motivations to the two sites, though further research into film tourism and the link with dark sites is required.

The next section of chapter eight will outline the implications of the findings of this study.

8.2 Implications of Findings

There are several implications to the findings of this study and these are set out in the next section of this chapter.

8.2.1 The Terminology of Dark Tourism/Tourist

In the first instance, academics that write prolifically in this genre of tourism (Stone P, Sharpley R, Isaac R, Hartmann R, and Seaton A V) possibly need to reconsider the words and phrases such as dark tourism/dark tourist. The term is simplistic and respondents (tourists) do not like been associated with this terminology and many are offended by it. Visitors to dark sites at the very darkest end of the dark tourism spectrum offered by academics thus far, sites of genocide such as Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek, simply considered themselves as tourists. The terms dark or Thana could be disassociated with the words tourism or tourist, to avoid perceived negative association by the tourists with this terminology.

This also has implications for those who are tasked with managing and running dark sites. As the interest in the genre of tourism has increased in academia during the course of this study, and an increasing number of articles are now being published, managers of dark sites should not be swayed into using the phrases dark tourism/tourist/thanatourism in their marketing or interpretation communication tools.

8.2.3 Visits to Dark Sites May be Part of Human Behaviour

This significant finding has implications as part of the study suggests that visitors to the sites are probably doing so because it is part of natural human behaviour. Chapter three of the literature review revealed that some commentators and popular press often pass judgement on people who visit such places. Sometimes visitors are accused of having morbid fascinations and are voyeuristic. An implication of the findings of this

study should give writers, academics and, more importantly, visitors to such sites, to do so with confidence; they are merely writing about or participating in human behaviour.

Another implication of this finding, is that it will help move forward the debate on motivations to visit dark sites. Motivations offered by academics thus far, include remembrance (Dunkley et al, 2011); interest in death (Best 2007); a desire for a connection with death (Poshsodon, 2013), the results of this study now offers human behaviour as a significant reason for visiting dark sites. This theory can arguably be used for visiting every dark site and become a normal part of the academic literature. Furthermore, this finding could also help construct a more widely acceptable definition for this genre of tourism.

The findings could also be useful to managers and facilitators of dark sites. For example, the findings of this study could help inform visitor and marketing strategies of Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek and other equally dark sites.

8.2.3 Chronology Does Play a Part in the Experience of Visiting Dark Sites

There are two implications for this finding. Firstly, for academics that study this genre of tourism, it is important to acknowledge the distance in time between the events at dark sites and the tourists visit. In the case of Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek, the events felt recent to most of the visitors and, therefore, made their visit more emotional. Different dark sites, with different histories might mean that time is not a generally defined space. Time is defined on how recent the visitors perceive the time, and that

this might be unique to each dark site and unique to each tourist. This is not in total contrast to Lennon and Foley's (2000:12) argument that suggests someone must be alive to validate the story, 'events did not take place within the memories of those still alive to validate them' so therefore, cannot be examples of dark tourism. However, the findings of this study suggest time is undefined and unique to the perception of the visitor, as long as they can relate to the story of the site in some way (many respondents related the story to their parent's lives, or remembered it on the news), it makes the visit more emotional and hard hitting.

Secondly, to neglect the issue of time when defining tourism to dark sites in the future, might mean that definitions and typologies will always be problematic. Moreover, tourists to dark sites might forever be confused with heritage tourism (Light, 2017). It clearly has an impact on the visitors' experiences as this study has revealed, and therefore, it has implications not just for academia, but for the industry too. For academia, it might help with the issue of 'lumping' every visitor attraction connected with death into the genre of dark tourism. A useful, differentiating factor of this type of tourism might be the issue of time and the role it plays on the visitor experience. For the industry, to understand that chronology plays an important part of the tourist experience, may help inform interpretation strategies, visitor flows and marketing communications. For example, if their main objective is to attract more visitors, it may be that they highlight dates to strengthen motivations for visiting, or provide interpretation and information that would enhance the visitor experience that would lead to greater visitor satisfaction.

8.2.4 There are Significant External Influences That Drive Tourists to Visit Dark Sites

There are a few but significant implications of these findings. Firstly, for academia it is apparent that the tourist guidebook plays a significant role in inspiring tourists to visit dark sites such as Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek. Some academics have dismissed the continued use of the tourist guidebook as a tool, or claim that their use is over-stated (Jaquinto, 2012, Bender, Gidlow and Fisher (2012)). However, this study has revealed it played a significant part in motivating tourists visiting Tuol Sleng and/or Choeung Ek, therefore, it may have played a significant part in tourists visiting other dark sites. Therefore, a main implication of this finding is the importance of the tourist guidebook needs to be more widely acknowledged and researched in academia, particularly for this genre of tourism. Furthermore, this study has revealed that word of mouth from trusted sources (fellow travellers, local tuk tuk drivers and employees at tourist establishments), also played a significant part in motivating tourists to visit Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek. As with the guidebook, there is a clear gap in the academic literature over the power of word of mouth, particularly relating to visits at dark sites.

Secondly, these findings add to the evidence that tourists who visit dark sites such as Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek are not motivated to visit because of the dark and macabre nature of the sites and, therefore, goes some way to answer research question two of this study.

Thirdly, it is Hyde and Harman (2011) and Isaac and Cakmak (2013) who argue that some tourists may visit dark sites because they are 'must see' sites. The findings relating to research question three of this study suggest that this is the case, because of

the universal use of the tourist guidebook, and persistent word from a variety of sources, which present them as 'must see' sites in Phnom Penh or wider Cambodia.

Fourthly, these findings have implications for the managers of Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek and arguably other dark sites, as well as local and national tourist offices. Out of their control and outside their marketing strategies, a number of tourists are being motivated to visit, because of tourists guidebooks published and bought in a different country. Managers and marketers of such sites need to be aware of this informal marketing of their attractions and take measures to ensure they are to some degree, part of such activity. A recent article in the VOA Today, entitled 'Too Many Tourists a Concern in Cambodian 'Killing Fields'' (Pam, 01st April 2017, accessed 03rd April 2017), suggests that tourists are overwhelming the site of Tuol Sleng, and various issues may emerge as a result. Managers of such sites may need to work with organisations like the tourist guidebooks to ensure more control of future tourist numbers. Further implications for dark site providers such as Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek, could mean that they might need to work with tuk tuk drivers and tourist establishment employees to make sure the historical and factual information is correct and informative and thus increase visitor satisfaction.

8.3 Limitations of This Study

There are limitations and possible gaps in all research; the next section of chapter eight highlights the possible limitations to the findings of this study.

8.3.1 Honesty in the Semi-structured Interviews

The question of honesty in answers in semi-structured interviews was addressed in the methodology chapter of this study. However, as the respondents were mostly adamant that they were not dark tourists and were keen to distance themselves from that label, it is possible that at least some respondents may have felt embarrassment or shame in admitting that they liked visiting such sites. Although the interviewer worked hard to establish rapport and in the most part achieved this, it still could be argued that some respondents (due to the nature of the topic) were not happy to admit if they had macabre reasons for visiting, and this could be a limitation of this study. However, as the answers were consistent from all the respondents, even (Belm2), the results of this study can be assumed to be valid.

8.3.2 Tourists Who Are Motivated by the Dark and Macabre Nature of the Sites

Though this research overwhelmingly concludes that tourists who visit dark sites are not motivated by the dark and macabre nature of the sites, it is entirely possible that people who are, exist. One respondent, (Belm2), did acknowledge that he considered himself a dark tourist, though his motivations were exactly the same as all the other respondents. It is not out of the question that some visitors are deliberately driven to visit to see the confronting artefacts, human remains and distressing photographs on display and they might take some pleasure or enjoyment from their visit; that they are inspired to visit because of the dark and macabre nature of such sites. Although during

the methodology stage of this study, fifty respondents in the semi-structured interviews was deemed enough for the nature of this study, it could be that by asking more, eventually people who identify themselves as dark tourist would emerge. This is a possible limitation to this research. New research methodologies and instruments may be needed to identify these people to establish their deeper motivations for visiting and ultimately add to the body of literature around this genre of tourism.

8.3.3 Western-Centric Respondents

The concepts and themes that have been established as part of this study are western-centric. As outlined in the methodology, respondents and blogs and comments in the visitors' books were chosen on the basis that they could speak or, were written in English. It is possible that this exact same study would reveal different themes if the respondents and blogs studied were from non-western countries and cultures. It was anecdotally observed that significant numbers of visitors to Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek appear to be non-western visitors. This is a possible limitation to this study and a gap in literature on this genre of tourism, not just on motivations, but supply and demand, interpretations and perceptions. Anecdotally it was observed that non-western tourists appear to act and respond differently whilst visiting as well as walking round in large groups. Although the instinctive, sub-conscious drivers may be the same, external drivers (such as advice from guidebooks and wom) might be different.

8.3.4 Visitors Who Choose To Not Visit Dark Sites

This study only researched tourists who had visited Tuol Sleng and/or Choeung Ek. There was an attempt to establish how many tourists visit Phnom Penh compared to how many visited Tuol Sleng and/or Choeung Ek. However, one of the main issues conducting research in Cambodia is the lack of information on tourist flows, and tourist statistics. Further research interviewing tourists who visit Phnom Penh and choose not to visit either site, might reveal new findings that could either strengthen or diminish the power of some of the external drivers established as part of this study. For example, conducting interviews in different establishments, such as the bars and hotels to identify travellers with guidebooks who choose not to visit either site, will help further inform the findings of chapter seven and overall motivations to dark sites.

8.4 Recommendations for Further Research

As the findings of this study emerged, it has become apparent that further future research areas are necessary to add to the body of literature around this genre of tourism. The next part of chapter eight identifies further research areas needed in this genre of tourism.

8.4.1 Trip Advisor

Additional research tools that have gained in popularity during the course of this study have emerged. For example, review sites such as TripAdvisor have become important to travellers (Fang et al 2016). According to Collie (2014), 65% of leisure travellers will search online before deciding on a travel destination, and 69% of their plans are determined by online travel reviews. Academia are now taking this form of informal

marketing seriously as there is growing evidence that they are powerful tools in any decision making process. A future research area into how TripAdvisor or similar review sites act as drivers to visit dark sites will add further triangulation to any study similar to this.

8.4.2 Influence of Marketing on Visitor Expectation and Experiences

Research into perceptions of visitors as stakeholders can complement the literature on motivations and dark sites. As found by this study, emotions played a major part in visiting to Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek. Research into how tourists engage with the sites before, during and after, will help fill the gaps in the literature. Additionally, although there was/is very limited formal marketing of Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek, how tourists respond to the marketing of these sites and other dark tourism sites might provide further insights into overall motivations and experiences of such sites.

8.4.3 Film Tourism and Dark Sites

The link between films/media and dark tourism and/or dark events was made in chapter two of the literature review. It is apparent that there is an increase in visits to sites after they have been featured in films (Beeton, 2005). During the final stages of this study two significant events were imminently happening that are likely to inspire more tourists to visit Tuol Sleng and/or Choeung Ek. Firstly, a film directed by the famous actress and humanitarian Angelina Jolie will be released on Netflix in 2017. *'First They Killed My Father'* is a biographical historical thriller film written by Loung Ung, based

on Ung's memoir of the same name. This book has been mentioned a few times in this study. Firstly, in the introduction, secondly in chapter six, and as part of this concluding chapter. The book is impossible to miss whilst travelling in Phnom Penh and wider Cambodia. It is on sale outside every tourist establishment. Secondly, the Khmer Rouge story is slowly becoming part of experiences in many western countries. For example, WOMAD 2017, the international music festival held annually all over the world, will feature Khmer Rouge Survivors. Led by Amnesty International activist and flautist Arn Chorn Pond, The Khmer Rouge Survivors' appearance at WOMAD will be the first time the line-up has ever performed outside of Cambodia. The Survivors' debut album '*They Will Kill You, If You Cry*' was released in 2016 to commemorate the 40th anniversary of the genocide.

It will be important to research the influence of such events and in particular the film, '*First They Killed My Father*', on future motivations to visit Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek.

8.4.4 The Opinion and Emotions of Those Affected by the Atrocities

As Cambodia is becoming an established destination to visit, this will more than likely lead to more and more visits to both sites. As identified in the introduction of this study, the Khmer Rouge story is a significant one in Cambodia today. The war crime trials are reported on frequently and there is a significant landmine problem in the country. Moreover, thousands of families do not know what happen to their missing members of their family. Research is required into how they feel and perceive tourists in large numbers who visit the sites of their tragedies every day. The perceptions of local

communities and how they are impacted and respond to this particular type of tourist activity appears to be a significant gap in the dark tourism literature.

8.5 Final Conclusion

The overall findings of this research are significant. No known research has asked the tourist directly about the label of dark tourism/tourist, and no known research has established drivers (other than basic motivations) to visit dark sites. Furthermore, as this study also developed the psychological, subconscious and instinctive aspect of motivations and concluded that they play a significant part in visiting Tuol Sleng and Choeng Ek and arguably other dark sites, it makes this study particularly novel.

There is not one single driver that motivates tourists to visit dark sites like Tuol Sleng and Choeng Ek, rather there are multiple drivers. Some are easy to establish and evaluate such as the power of word and the influence of the tourist guidebook. Others became apparent during the field study; people are driven to visit because they want to learn and understand what had happened. This was a particular strong theme that emerged during and after using all the research tools. Additionally, our sub-conscious and instinctive desires and drivers that exist in all of us, play an important part in our decision to visit dark sites like Tuol Sleng and Choeng Ek, and arguably other dark sites, thus, it is part of natural human behaviour. It is these hidden desires that inspire us to want to learn and understand what happened. Time and chronology also play an important part in motivations to visit dark sites. Though not motivations in their own right, they heighten curiosity and make the visit more confronting and emotional, though time is personal and non-defined. Importantly, the tourists themselves, do not

like the label 'dark tourist'/'dark tourism', they do not like the assumptions and connotations of the title and distanced themselves from it. Some tourists who visit such sites, do not actually want to visit and it is important to acknowledge these visitors in any future tourist typology in this genre of tourism. Recently, Light (2017) has argued that dark tourists are really another type of heritage tourist; however, this study has revealed that people who visit dark sites are simply tourists.

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Appendices

Appendix One - Semi-Structured Interview Topic Guide

Discussion around themes in research question one:

Dark tourist/tourism – other sites (repeat question near end)

The macabre how does it attract you if at all?

Chronology – does it seem recent, if so why, if not why?

Why did you come here/visit, what did you know about the history pre visit?

What aspects of the sites are you looking forward to seeing/learning more about?

Why did you visit both sites, what have you learned from each one? Are you glad you have visited? Would you tell others? Why? Why not?

Discussion around themes in research question two:

What did you know about the sites? Can you describe what you have seen? What aspects did you learn about, which bits are most informative? Did you like learning? How did you feel about the artefacts on display? Human remains? Torture equipment? Audio tours? The macabre as an attraction, give a percentage value? Why do you think it is low/high? Why do you think you like/dislike/other the macabre nature of the site? Did it make you want to come more/less/indifferent. Did you know about the macabre artefacts? Why did you still come? What have you learned, not learned? What would you like to know more of? More macabre? What is the limit? Are you glad you have visited? Why/why not? Do you know why you have visited? What is your main reason for visiting?

Discussion around themes in research question three:

How recent do the events seem? Why does it seem recent? Why not? What aspects seem recent/not recent? How did it make you feel coming here as it seemed recent/not recent? Is the macabre nature more/less? Were you aware of it happening in your lifetime/parents lifetime etc.? How does it inspire you to come? What if it was last year?

100 years ago? How did it affect your decision to come? Does it make you want to come more/less? Does it feel recent? Why? Why not?

Discussion around themes in research question four:

Why did you visit today? Can you explain why you wanted to come? How did you know/learn about the sites? When/where did you first hear about them? How did you travel? Why? Did you read any information before hand? Where? What? Did you speak to anyone? Who? When? Who/what recommended you to come?

Can you remember what children's literature you read/were read to? What did you like about the stories? Will you read them to yours? Were you ever scared? Which bits? Why? What films do you like? What would you watch on television? Why? What about horror etc.? What do you like it? Blood? Violence? Torture? Why? Why not? Gaming, why? why not? How many hours? What is the best bit? Violence etc.?

Sports, which ones do you play/watch? Why? What is the most exciting aspect of watching it? Who are your sporting heroes? Which ones would you never watch? Why not?

Appendix Two - Overview of Blogs researched, and Respondents in the Semi-Structured Interviews

Stage One – First Twenty Blogs Researched

	Blog	Name	Year	Nationality	Visited Tuol Sleng	Visited Choeng Ek	Visited another dark tourism site before
1	1.	Travelling Soulmates	2013	Not known	Yes	Yes	No evidence
2	3.	Anneandmonica	2012	American	Yes	Yes	No evidence
3	5.	Cookiesound is Travelling	2013	Austrian	Yes	Yes	No evidence
4	7	Worldnomads	2012	British	Yes	Yes	No evidence
5	11.	The Mad Traveler	2011	Not known	Yes	Yes	No evidence
6	14.	MichaelElana	2011	Not known	Yes	Yes	No evidence
7	16	Sinhacafetravel	Not known	Not known	Yes	Yes	No evidence
8	17	Pommietravels	2008	British	Yes	Yes	Yes – Auschwitz.
9	18	Gardkarlsen	2009	No known	Yes	Yes	No evidence
10	20	Timetravelturtle	2013	Not known	Yes	Yes	No evidence
11	21	oneworldoneyear	2013	American	No	Yes	No evidence
12	22	Narocsisnick	2009	British	Yes	Yes	No evidence
13	25	wandertooth	2013	Canadian	Yes	Yes	No evidence
14	32	Traveling Thru History	2012	Not known	Yes	No evidence	No evidence

	Blog	Name	Year	Nationality	Visited Tuol Sleng	Visited Choeung Ek	Visited another dark tourism site before
15	35	quinitnlake	2010	British	Yes	No evidence	No evidence
16	36	travelblog	2010	Not known	Yes	Yes	No evidence
17	37	exhibitdev.wordpress	2011	Not known	Yes	Yes	No evidence
18	38	Journey-mercies	2011	USA	Yes	Yes	No evidence
19	39	bettyandlingshin	2012	Not known	Yes	Yes	No evidence
20	40	Gobackpacking	2008	Not known	Yes	Yes	No evidence

Stage Two - Semi-structured Interview Participants

	Coding f=female m=male	Nationality	Age or approximate age	Interview length	Visited Tuol Sleng	Visited Choeung Ek	Visited another dark tourism site before
1	Asf1	Austrian	27	50mins	Yes	Yes	No
2	Ausf1	Australian	27	1hr 03mins	Yes	Yes	No
3	Ausf2	Australian	30 (aprox)	1hr 28mins	Yes	Yes	No
4	Ausf3	Australian	22	1hr 28mins	Yes	Yes	No
5	Ausf4	Australian	23	1hr 42mins	Yes	Yes	No
6	Ausm1	Australian	28	1hr 20mins	Yes	Yes	No
7	Ausm2	Australian	24	2hr 15mins	Yes	Yes	No
8	Ausm3	Australian	37	1hr 14mins	Yes	Yes	No
9	Ausm4	Australian	18	1hr 26mins	Yes	Yes	No
10	Belm1	Belgium	32	1hr 28mins	Yes	Yes	No
11	Belm2	Belgium	35	2hr 05mins	Yes	Yes	Yes Auschwitz, Sachsenhausen, Houser of Horrors, Budapest.
12	Braf1	Brazilian	24	59mins	Yes	Yes	No
13	Britishf1	British	31	1hr 15mins	Yes	Yes	No
14	Britishf2	British	22	1hr 29mins	Yes	Yes	No
15	Britishf3	British	27	1hr 32mins	Yes	Yes	No
16	Britishf4	British	30 (aprox)	1hr 17mins	Yes	Yes	No
17	Britishf5	British	30	1hr 22mins	Yes	Yes	No

	Coding f=female m=male	Nationality	Age or approximate age	Interview length	Visited Tuol Sleng	Visited Choeng Ek	Visited another dark tourism site before
17	Britishm1	British	26	1hr 04mins	Yes	Yes	No
18	Britishm2	British	24	1hr 25mins	Yes	Yes	No
19	Britishm3	British	24	1hr 29mins	Yes	Yes	No
20	Britishm4	British	29	1hr 12mins	Yes	Yes	No
21	Britishm5	British	31	1hr 02mins	Yes	Yes	No
22	Britishm6	British	34	1hr 15mins	Yes	Yes	No
23	Cf1	Canadian	52	1hr 14mins	Yes	Yes	No
24	Cm1	Canadian	35	2hrs03mins	Yes	Yes	No
25	Cm2	Canadian	55	1hr 13mins	Yes	Yes	No
26	Ff1	French	31	1hr 04mins	Yes	Yes	No
27	Ff2	French	26	1hr 28mins	Yes	Yes	No
28	Fm1	French	22	1hr 30mins	Yes	Yes	No
29	Fm2	French	23	1hr 27mins	Yes	Yes	No
30	Fm3	French	39	1hr 13mins	Yes	Yes	No
31	Finm1	Finnish	36	1hr 45mins	Yes	Yes	No
32	Hm1	Hungarian	34	1hr 15mins	Yes	Yes	No
33	If1	Irish	18	2hrs 15mins	Yes	Yes	No
34	If2	Irish	19	1hr 50mins	Yes	Yes	No

	Coding f=female m=male	Nationality	Age or approximate age	Interview length	Visited Tuol Sleng	Visited Choeng Ek	Visited another dark tourism site before
35	NZf1	New Zealand	24	59mins	Yes	Yes	No
36	NZm2	New Zealand	26	1hr 25mins	Yes	Yes	No
37	NZm3	New Zealand	22	1hr 12mins	Yes	Yes	No
38	Nf1	Norway	33	1hr 35mins	Yes	Yes	No
39	Nm1	Norway	29	1hr 28mins	Yes	Yes	No
40	Polf1	Polish	72	2hrs 3mins	Yes	Yes	Yes Bergen-Belsen.
41	Sf1	Swedish	31	1hr 12mins	Yes	Yes	No
42	Sf2	Swedish	28	1hr 34mins	Yes	Yes	No
43	Swissm1	Swiss	24	1hr 27mins	Yes	Yes	No
44	USAf1	American	22	1hr 45mins	Yes	Yes	No
45	USAf2	American	23	1hr 14mins	Yes	Yes	No
46	USAf3	American	48	1hr 12mins	Yes	Yes	No
47	USAm1	American	23	1hr 47mins	Yes	Yes	No
48	USAm2	American	48	1hr 13mins	Yes	Yes	No
49	USAm3	American	33	1hr 42mins	Yes	Yes	No
50	USAm4	American	24	1hr 15mins	Yes	Yes	No

Average interview time: 1hr 29mins

Representation from 16 countries, and three continents.

Respondents age range	Number of respondents
18-20	3
20-29	26
30-39	16
40-49	2
50-59	2
60-69	0
70+	1

Average age of respondents: 30 years and 2 months.

Stage Two – Second Twenty Blogs Researched

		Blog	Year	Nationality	Visited Tuol Sleng	Visited Choeng Ek	Visited another dark tourism site before
1	2.	Traveling Thru History	2014	Not known	Yes	No evidence	No evidence
2	4.	East we go	2015	Not known	Yes	Yes	No evidence
3	6.	Alistair Johnston	2016	Not known	Yes	Yes	No evidence
4	8.	Wandering Lost	2015	British	Yes	Yes	No evidence
5	9.	The everywhereist	2014	Not known	Yes	No evidence	No evidence
6	10.	Our Big Fat Travel Adventure	2014	British	Yes	Yes	No evidence
7	12.	Schwarz Culhane Travels	2015	Not known	Yes	Yes	No evidence
8	13.	A Dangerous Business	2014	USA	Yes	Yes	Auschwitz
9	15.	The Everywhereist	2014	USA	Yes	Yes	No evidence
10	19	Steveschwartz	2015	Canadian	Yes	Yes	No Evidence
11	23	workingwithgrave	2016	Not known	Yes	Yes	No evidence
12	24	divergenttravelers	2015	British	Yes	Yes	No evidence
13	26	travellingapples	2014	Australian	Yes	Yes	No evidence
14	27	thecommonwanderer	2016	Australian	Yes	Yes	No evidence
15	28	thehungrylondoner	2015	British	Yes	Yes	No evidence
16	29	adventurouskate	2017	USA	Yes	Yes	No evidence
17	30	travelblog	2015	Australian	Yes	Yes	No evidence
18	31	Thought from 40 degrees South	2015	New Zealand	Yes	No evidence	No evidence

		Blog	Year	Nationality	Visited Tuol Sleng	Visited Choeng Ek	Visited another dark tourism site before
19	33	A Travelling Circus.com	2015	Not known	Yes	Yes	No evidence
20	34	Theroamingrenegades	2017	Not Known	Yes	Yes	Yes, Kosovo and House of Horrors, Budapest.

Appendix Three - Examples of Comments from the Visitors' Books of

Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek

A3	Visitor Comments	Thank You
	Comments	Name Country Date
	<p>A place that reminds us of the fact that mankind can be ruthless and cruel. This country and its people have suffered, it's even more heartbreaking to see how strong and happy people are today.</p>	<p>Chris + Laura, GERMANY 13/06/2013</p>
	<p>It is hard to know what to say. Thank you for sharing this important story with us. It is very moving + I leave with a heavy heart. I promise to remember.</p>	<p>Tara - Canada 13/06/2013 Tristan - Australia</p>

B2

Comment, Suggestion, and Question

This genocide memorial and former prison is both disturbing and informative. My heart reaches to those who killed and to their families. Everyone is affected by these tragedies and will never forget the suffering endured by the people of Cambodia and promise to educate those around me. May the souls who passed rest in peace and may they know they are not forgotten.

Comment, Suggestion, and Question

I pray for
peace

Comments	Name
A sobering & heart breaking experience. Done very sensitively audio guide is exceptional. May the never allow such things to happen.	Patryn Australia C9
impressive / unforgettable	Abdullah Celik The Net
Unforgettable experience. Very good audio tour	Amanda Sweden
Perfect audio tour, unforgettable	Lora, Germany 4.5.20
A moment I will remember always. Very moving. Thank you.	Hayley, Australia.
The world should never forget this unforgettable.	Ben, the Netherland
Unforgettable and very impressive!	Ferry, The Netherland
Heart breaking, impressive, good information tour... unforgettable and the unanswered question: why?	Willemin, The Net
惨痛历史! 难以忘怀! 20130504	令人非...

Comment, Suggestion, and Question

D1

May their souls rest in peace, this
should never happen again any where
Pray for world peace, happiness and
brotherhood. Love, Peace and light!
Thank you for letting me see
this.

Visitor Comments	Name
<p>A Very moving way to learn about the Khmer Rouge and Pol Pot. This has helped me to understand more about the tragic and horrific Cambodian history.</p>	<p>E2</p>
<p>Very informative and concise explanation of the horrors of the Pol Pot regime.</p>	<p>Bill Barker</p>
<p>I learnt alot about the horrors of pol pot and his regime. The voice was clear and helpful.</p>	<p>Bradie deRist</p>
<p>It was the most amazing and impressing place I have ever visit. I respect Cambodian people as they came over that struggle. Without audio tour it is really hard to understand what happened here. Ali Khun.</p>	<p>Jos</p>
<p>Thank you.</p>	<p>Jos</p>