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Understanding Consumer Enchantment via Paranormal Tourism: Part I— Conceptual Review

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Abstract

Tourism-hospitality businesses sometimes market consumer experiences in terms of "enchantment," although this phrase is often used vaguely or variously. Therefore, we approached the issue conceptually by examining prior research on the experience economy, extraordinary architectural experiences, and accounts of paranormal tourism. Our critical overview suggests that we are dealing with a phenomenon rooted in environment-person bidirectional (or enactive) effects. We subsequently argue for the term "situational-enchantment" to denote a distinct and progressive arousal state characterized by dis-ease or dissonance that facilitates a sense of connection or oneness with a "transcendent agency, ultimate reality, or Other." An iterative Content Category Dictionary exercise based on target literature specifically mapped this hypothesized state in terms of five competing features: (a) Emotional, (b) Sensorial, (c) Timeless, (d) Rational, and (e) Transformative. We frame this phenomenology within Funder's Realistic Accuracy Model, which we propose drives an epiphanic process involving attentional, perceptual, attributional, and social mechanisms. Our synthesis of the multidisciplinary literature in this domain helps to clarify the nature and relevance of enchantment as an individual difference that varies across people and is subject to a variety of contextual influences. Accordingly, we discuss how this hypothesized state can be manipulated to an extent within certain people by creating or reinforcing conditions that spur experiential and rational engagement with ambiguous or unexpected stimuli.

Introduction

The tourism-hospitality industry seems to be constantly striving to innovate a sense of place and experiential connection for consumers that is arguably grounded in *enchantment*, or what many people might describe simplistically as "being charmed" or "experiencing great surprise, delight, wonder, or awe" (for a discussion, see Kushner, 2018). Hartmann and Brunk (2019) reframed these basic definitions as ". . . rendering the ordinary into emotionally-charged, exciting, magical, and special market resources" (p. 669). There are some indications that this focus has become popular, if not a strategic priority, with many businesses. Google the phrase "enchanting experiences" and over 13 million entries appear—most being advertisements for travel-tourism excursions and other service-hospitality products. Enchantment as a descriptor certainly presents as preferred industry buzzword, with a compelling value proposition for consumers that hints at escapism. Spacey (2016, para 1) defined escapism as ". . . the use of imagination, entertainment, art, music, celebration, and recreation to transcend the mundane or unpleasant realities of daily life." These activities can be active or passive, but both forms have long been recognized as strong consumer motivators (Cohen, 2010; Jones et al., 2018; Labrecque et al., 2011). This is especially true in today's market landscape of increased competition and behavioral shifts caused by the COVID-19 pandemic (see, for example, Cameron, 2020; Kemp, 2017).

That said, a fresh examination of what "enchantment" specifically entails is needed given its vague or varied use.

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Some business pundits, for instance, have explicitly equated the concept with memorable experiences (e.g., Kawasaki, 2011). To be sure, the concepts of experiential and engagement marketing (Marketo 2020; Schmidt, 2010) underscore the philosophy that businesses compete by offering increasingly memorable experiences versus strictly focusing on the quality of product or service (King, 2002; Walls et al., 2011). This approach is generally known as the "experience economy" (Pine & Gilmore, 1999; Richards, 2011; Scott et al., 2009). However, other authors (e.g., Carù & Cova, 2003; Vézina, 1999) have gone further by designating experiences as a central element in the life of consumers, who are looking to make sense of a post-modern world. These more philosophical definitions emphasize that experiences can usher an extraordinary "transformation"—often with emotional significance and an engrossing quality—whereby the consumer is physically and mentally immersed within the context of the consumption experience (Carù & Cova, 2003, 2006).

Illustratively, the cultivation of cognitive-affective states encourages people to have strong psychological and emotional involvement with their physical environments. This, in turn, is integral to customer satisfaction, promotion of locations, and the attraction of future guests (Weaver, 2009). Pertinent to tourism, memorable experiences increase consumers' attachment to places and cultures beyond the frequency of visits (Smith, 2015; Vada et al., 2019). Likewise, research in marketing theory and practice demonstrates that (a) brands have personalities or human-like characteristics that distinguish them from each other, and these personalities are important to consumers; and (b) that consumers become engaged with brands, that is, develop special emotional or symbolic connections (Aaker et al., 2001; Goldsmith & Goldsmith, 2009; Lin, 2010).

On these points, Smith (2015) drew an analogy between the idea of "terroir" in viticulture and the link between place and culture for defining tourism experiences. He asserted that

> Terroir is the set of qualities that shape the sensory and intellectual appreciation of a wine, including soil, climate, grape variety and wine-making techniques. In the case of placed-based cultural tourism development and promotion, the terroir of a place includes history, local traditions and cultures, religion, industry, the natural environment, cuisine and arts, as well as attractions and events. A key feature of place-based product development and promotion is the identification and telling the story of a place through a variety of narrative techniques. (p. 220)

This emphasis on the importance of intangibles obviously applies to all types of service-hospitality experiences, as highlighted by the research on so-called "servicescapes," or the contextual environments in which services are delivered and where the firm and customer interact (Bitner, 1992;

Wakefield & Blodgett, 1994, 2016). Consequently, it is unlikely that consumers become attached to, and consequently enchanted with, situations or settings due to the sole effects of physical variables in the environment.

Evidence suggests instead that personal experiences are more like subjective and pliable "narrative constructions" than objective and fixed representations of physical reality (see de Rivera & Sarbin, 1998). Situational or environmental variables like confirmation bias, subconscious interference, sensory cues, or coincidental or extraneous information shape or transform perceptions, interpretations, and memories (Lange & Houran, 2001; Oakley & Halligan, 2017). By extension, all tourism-hospitality experiences are fundamentally rooted in systems theory, that is, environment-person bidirectional or enactive processes (Goldhagen, 2017; Jelić et al., 2016). The related notion of experiential marketing has been studied and applied for decades across a wide range of industries, but surprisingly, it has been a relative newcomer to service-hospitality (Williams, 2006). This view—that *physical places* and *providing services* are best conceptualized and studied as *psychological spaces* and *delivering experiences*—has important theoretical and practical implications.

Houran and colleagues (2020) claimed that this perspective and its underlying principles are well exemplified by the niche sector of paranormal tourism. In fact, they further argued that the tourism-hospitality market is evolving in some respects from an experience economy to an "enchantment economy." Paranormal tourism therefore seems ripe with unique insights to help businesses understand and potentially maximize consumer enchantment. As we outline below, our critical overview and synthesis of the limited multidisciplinary literature characterizes enchantment as a complex and malleable psychological state that is regulated by an amalgam of perceptual, attentional, and interpretational mechanisms. Thus, a conceptual map of this individual difference variable should reveal insights about how it can be reinforced or encouraged in receptive individuals.

Exploring the Nature of Enchantment

Enchantment is apparently a normal part of the human condition. Far from having fled with the rise of science, it continues to exist, often unrecognized, where neither science nor practical knowledge have much utility (for discussions, see Bennett, 2001; Josephson-Storm, 2017; Schneider, 1993). It can be invoked in many scenarios, such as encountering art or nature, watching a movie, reading a book, participating in immersive-entertainment experiences, or meeting a socio-religious leader or favorite celebrity. A notable example of enchantment, called "the overview effect" (White, 1987), involves the profound reaction astronauts have when viewing the earth from outside its atmosphere. This radical shift in consciousness is deeply

emotional and promotes a sense of connectedness with the earth and its inhabitants (Yaden et al., 2016). Not surprisingly, the overview effect has been described by many astronauts as one of the most meaningful moments of their lives. Likewise, Holloway (2006) examined how modern forms of enchantment are engineered and produce emotional changes. Enchantment is beneficial, because it encourages people to engage with the world and be enamored with existence (Bennett, 2001). For the tourism-hospitality industry, enchantment inspires wonder and delight with specific locations, settings, or scenarios (Cravatte & Chabloz, 2008; Weaver, 2009).

To date, enchantment has been ill-defined in conceptual or quantifiable terms (see, for example, Bennett, 2001; Holloway, 2006; Kushner, 2018; Landy and Saler, 2009; Ostergaard et al., 2013; Weber, 1905/2002, 1919/1946, 1922/1978). However, some literature offers insights to its nature. Silvia et al. (2015) specifically described "awe" as a "powerful state," characterized by "wonder, amazement, fascination, or being moved and touched" (p. 376). Research has further shown that two things in particular promote a feeling of awe—aesthetic beauty and a sense of vastness. These emotions and ideations are echoed in studies that have empirically modeled the "ideal" features within the context of the highly competitive experience economy. This work presumably reveals the underlying psychological drives, desires, or needs that such experiences satisfy, and arguably these findings would also apply to experiences that are considered enchanting. Seven features have emerged from this research; specifically, consumers seem to seek experiences grounded in (a) aesthetics, (b) authenticity, (c) education, (d) entertainment, (e) escapism, (f) newness, and (g) transformation (e.g., Aulet & Vidal, 2018; Belhassen et al., 2008; Bremer, 2006; De Geus et al., 2016; Fu et al., 2018; Gil de Arriba, 2006; Huang & Pearce, 2019; Kirillova et al., 2017a, 2017b; Luo et al., 2018; Mehmetoglu & Engen, 2011; Paulauskaite et al., 2017; Shackley, 2002).

This comparison paints enchantment as "extreme happiness or delight in something" (i.e., Features a–d) and particularly as this is related to an "expansion of one's awareness or existential boundaries" (i.e., Features e–g). It also implies a foundation in positive psychology, or a focus on the pleasant aspects of the human experience (see, for example, Filep & Pearce, 2014; Hosany et al., 2015). This interpretation aligns to the idea of enchantment as the embodiment of "hedonic, symbolic, and interpersonal value" (Badot & Filser, 2007, p. 167). Hartmann and Brunk (2019) discussed how such value propositions (and hence, putative enchantment) can be conjured by various nostalgic associations, that is, (a) *re-instantiation* (symbolic retrojection into a past), (b) *re-enactment* (reflexively informing the present with past-themed brands and practices), and (c) *re-appropriation* (ludic re-interpretation of the past).

Moreover, physical factors in the environment can directly influence emotions and ideations, and thus potentially foster enchantment. This principle underlies *evidence-based art* (EBA) and *evidence-based design* (EBD) (Cochrane, 1972; Ulrich, 1984). Related applications of environmental psychology have become increasingly popular across wellness and hospitality settings (Houran et al., 2018), since they derive from the premise that "the physical environment is not a mere backdrop for health care delivery—it is an integral part of the health care experience" (Hathorn & Nanda, 2008, p. 1). Studies have also found that the incorporation of visual arts and aesthetic design can enhance patient wellness and staff efficiency by increasing positive feelings and reflective curiosity (see Hathorn, 2012). Moreover, some consumer outlets or public community spaces adopt "biophylic design" to exploit the hypothesized tendency for people to seek out connections with nature or naturalistic features (Wilson, 1984). These various concepts are clearly compatible with tourism-hospitality products and services that promote "restorative experiences" (Devlin, 2018; Filep & Pearce, 2014).

To be sure, every "place" that people encounter elicits some kind of emotion. Morgan's (2010) concept of place refers to "the subjective experience of embodied human existence in the material world" (p. 11). This implies that the specific experience of a place can encompass positive or negative emotions and ideations, as shaped by a person's unique configuration of background, worldview, and range of mental characteristics (MacKian, 2011). That said, some particular sites or settings seem to be consistently associated with captivation and allurement and therefore are called *enchanted* or *sacred spaces* (e.g., Holloway, 2006; Lidov, 2006; MacKian, 2012; Mazumdar & Mazumdar, 2004).

According to Holloway (2006), the key elements of enchanted spaces are *affect* and *embodiment* — with particular emphasis on the sensuous and vitalistic forces that "weave religious spiritual or sacred spaces together" (p. 182). Bennett (2001) similarly noted that sensuous experience is central to enchantment requiring the presence of a pattern or grouping of sounds, smells, tastes, forms, colors, and textures. These views agree with Matless (2008), who described sites or settings imbued with magical qualities or supernatural associations as "spatial encounters with affective electricity." Dixon (2007) further discussed how such spaces are sometimes "extra-geographies," meaning places that are difficult to understand within one's normal experience of the world. Thus, a range of positive and negative emotions can be generated beneath any conscious registering.

Authors have additionally noted the importance of prior knowledge of spaces via texts and story-telling. These narratives can cause experiential senses to be heightened when individuals actually visit sacred or enchanted spaces. For

example, Mazumdar and Mazumdar (2004) highlighted the significant spiritual and emotional impact on visitors (e.g., awe, reverence, solemnity, melancholy, or excitement) during trips and religious pilgrimages to sacred sites such as Jerusalem and Mecca. While a pilgrimage might have religious connotations, research suggests that not all pilgrimages are spiritual per se (see Collins-Kreiner, 2010; Digance, 2006; Reading & Walter, 1993). Overall, individuals visit enchanted or sacred spaces to have meaningful encounters, to escape the mundane, to sense the past, and to experience the extraordinary. What constitutes "sacred" and triggers these powerful emotions is not always specific to the site, but instead arises from the interaction between the individual and environment.

Such circumstances can produce astounding, almost mystical perceptions, known as *extraordinary architectural experiences* (EAEs) (Bermudez, 2009a, 2009b). These are encounters with structures or buildings that fundamentally alter an individual's normal state by facilitating numinous or transcendent experiences (see Table 1). That is, the product essentially equates to enchantment. Phenomenologically, this necessitates a passage from transactional ("my") experiences of a building ("it") to a deep-seated sense of "oneness," whereby the observer and setting become entwined. Based on comprehensive content analysis of visitor accounts, Bermudez (2009b) profiled EAEs as "Emotional, Sensual-Perceptual-Physical, Timeless, and Pleasurable" experiences that specifically deliver "Insight, Beauty, Joy/Satisfaction, and Peace" (p. 11).

These characteristics overlap in important ways with "ideal" experiences in the experience economy and strongly support the idea that enchantment-type states are transformative in their capacity to push boundaries of personal awareness or existential understanding. Indeed, Bermudez et al. (2014) found that contemplation-inducing buildings (e.g., temples, retreats, or churches) allowed participants to enter into meditative-like states, which decreased anxiety and mind-wandering. It was also observed that the phenomenological and neural correlates of this *architecturally* induced contemplation had similarities with *internally* generated meditation. Evidently, the complex relationships among space, culture, and belief hold important implications for overall well-being (Perriam, 2015).

The Chartres Cathedral, the Pantheon, and the Chapel of Ronchamp are three of the top 10 places known to induce EAEs. While no features in these locations are explicitly linked with EAEs (Bermudez & Ro, 2012), there are characteristics known to consistently elicit profound *aesthetic* experiences. Freeman (2012) reported that these features include a large entryway or threshold, longer-lasting building materials than are ordinarily used in construction, special or specific uses of lighting, and high ceilings. Such features are essential for individuals to feel a sense of transcendence, connection to something larger, and a shift in focus away from ordinary life (Freeman, 2012; Mizrahi, 2018). There is also a wealth of architectural research devoted to creating sacred and enchanted spaces—even recommending design guidelines that highlight the roles of symmetry, light, structure orientation, passage ways, geometric shapes, use of patterns, spatial order, role of objects, ceiling heights, inclusion of nature (i.e., water, vegetation, etc.), use of natural light, use of shadows, construction materials, and even arrangement of furniture (Klerk, 2015; Rodrigues, 2008; Wang & Ho, 2011).

The preceding literature might suggest that enchantment has strong *cognitive-affective* components that deliver inherently *positive* perceptions or outcomes. Yet contrary to a phenomenon grounded purely in positive psychology, some previous abstractions identified enchantment as a by-product of cognitive dissonance or "dis-ease" (i.e., the natural state of "ease" being imbalanced or disrupted) related to competing ideations. Here, confounds arise when experiencers cannot easily make sense of the characteristics or stimuli available to them in certain settings. This process undoubtedly plays off variables such as nostalgia, familiarity, rational engagement, or imaginative involvement (see Bermudez, 2009a; Hartmann & Brunk, 2019). The ensuing conflict between embedded expectations and perceived experience can create distress as individuals attempt to reconcile information that seemingly contradicts the belief systems used to make evaluations.

Therefore, cognitive dissonance potentially "shocks" people out of their embedded assumptions about reality. Schneider (1993) described it as, "The excitement that comes from being lifted out of our mundane existence and situated on the verge of a new understanding of our world" and the "unease . . . from the assault upon our prior sense of how the world works and thus upon our practical competence in dealing with it" (p. 3). Bennett (2001) elaborated on this epiphanic view:

> Enchantment is something that we encounter, that hits us . . . to be enchanted is to be struck and shaken by the extraordinary that lives amid the familiar and the everyday . . . to be simultaneously transfixed in wonder and transported by sense, to be caught up and carried away—enchantment is marked by this odd combination of somatic effects. Therefore, enchantment "*consists of a mixed bodily state of joy and disturbance, a transitory sensuous condition dense and intense enough to stop you in your tracks and toss you onto a new terrain and to move you from the actual world to its virtual possibilities.*" (p. 111, emphasis added)

Table 2 provides additional accounts of generic feelings reportedly associated with enchantment. Implicit to these perspectives is *awe*, the reverential feeling of respect combined with *fear* or *wonder* (Mikulak, 2015; Schneider, 2017). Awe empowers the processing of rich environmental information, and focuses attention on the present moment,

Table 1.
Representative Accounts of Extraordinary Architectural Experiences (EAEs).

Description	Reference
"an encounter with a building or place that fundamentally alters one's normal state of being. By '**fundamental alteration**' it is meant a **powerful and lasting shift** in one's **physical, perceptual, emotional, intellectual**, and/or **spiritual appreciation** of architecture. In contrast, an ordinary experience of architecture, however interesting or engaging, does not cause a **significant impact** in one's life"	Bermudez (2008, p. 1)
"Extraordinary experiences of architecture have the ability to produce **significant**, **lasting**, and **insightful changes in our view of life**, not to mention their **pleasurable and spiritual uplifting nature**."	Bermudez (2011b, p. 20)
"Under certain conditions the experience of architecture is able to deliver us into an **extraordinary state** nothing short of **mystical**"	Bermudez (2009b, p. 46)
"situations that **defy our beliefs, ideas, and knowledge** of architecture, self, and beyond"	Bermudez (2009b p. 46)
"**dissolution of the subject-object divide**"	Bermudez (2009b, p. 46)
"**profound intuitions** on nature and life"	Bermudez (2009b, p. 46)
"a **direct apprehension of the ultimate goodness** of/in the universe (god, or reality) and language's inefficiency to express the experienced"	Bermudez (2009b, p. 46)
"**occur suddenly**, involve important **time-space perceptual anomalies, collapse boundaries separating self and other**, are **extraordinarily vivid**, and may elicit an **experiential epiphany**"	Bermudez (2010, p. 11)
"**shutting down verbal functioning** and simultaneously **opening up other ways of knowing, feeling, and sensing beyond left brain, neo-cortex, or discursive operations**."	Bermudez (2009a, p. 10)
"**exceptional state of consciousness** that was in many ways similar in sensation, emotion, intuition, or insight to that of profound religious or mystical experiences"	Bermudez (2009a, p. 11)
"the space has **presence, a fullness of spirit**"	Bermudez (2009a, p. 10)
"The visual impact caused instantaneous physical reaction: **quiet shivers of joy, a slow exhalation of an unnoticed breath, and no desire to move**"	Bermudez (2009a, p. 10)
"**overwhelmed** with the light pouring in and the peaceful, glorious space created by the purity of the structure"	Bermudez (2009a, p. 10)
"I felt somehow **lifted** into the space"	Bermudez (2009a, p. 10)
"**struck**," "**amazed** by the **intensity**"	Bermudez (2009a, p. 10)
"it **became part of me**"	Bermudez (2009a, p. 10)
"I felt as **though I understood . . . it . . . and that somehow . . . it . . . understood me**"	Bermudez (2009a, p. 10)
"**mystical awe**"	Bermudez (2009a, p. 10)
"**overwhelming**," "**transcendental**," "**spiritual**"	Bermudez (2009a, p. 11)
"**gateways** to the **sublime** or **holy**"	Bermudez (2009a, p. 11)
"a **suspension of the preconceptions, ideas, and will** that individuals bring to most situations"	Bermudez (2009a, p. 10)
"EAEs are in-progress **experiential discoveries** based on a certain **abandonment to the moment**"	Bermudez (2009a, p. 10)
"Bodily sensations during EAEs (i.e. goose bumps, weeping, trembling, etc.) demonstrate a poignant state **devoid of substantial intellectual intervention**"	Bermudez (2009a, p. 10)
"The strength of the dome and archways recalled to me the people who created it. I felt as though their hands were my own and, through history, I could sense the focus with which they had put the stone together. I also **felt the faith, or strength of belief**, that thousands of people had brought to this structure before me. In total, it was **deeply moving** and something which still brings tears to my eyes."	Ro and Bermudez (2015, p. 20)
"I had the **feeling of inner freedom and more energy available** . . . **lightness**, lack of things to worry about, **contentment**, **being really present in the moment**."	Ro and Bermudez (2015, p. 20)
"The world fell silent around me. I was **present in the moment**. It felt as if the **space was breathing me**—a **surrender in the moment to a greater experience**."	Ro and Bermudez (2015, p. 20)
"a **deep understanding** of space"	Ro and Bermudez (2015, p. 20)
"The **energy of the Space** far exceeds the actual architecture itself. You feel as if you have stepped into ageless history and the universal."	Ro and Bermudez (2015, p. 32)
"I felt as if I was completely **out of body, in a dream**"	Ro and Bermudez (2015, p. 32)
"the moment I stepped into the area surrounding the temple, I began to have another worldly feeling. It was of a **stimulating, thought provoking, spiritual moment** at first that grew the closer I walked into the area surrounding the temple. It was a time of **realization that there were places, architectural places that could touch your soul and stir your spirit**."	Ro and Bermudez (2015, p. 33)
"I remember coming to a **(sudden) realization** that I was now involved with something that was **connected to something powerful** and **bigger than I ever imagined** possible."	Bermudez (2011a, p. 3)
"I felt that I had been **reduced to nothing but senses and emotions**."	Bermudez (2011a, p. 4)
"As I surrounded myself with the purity of living rock, water, mountain, and light, I couldn't help but crying for the **beauty and deep spirituality of it all**. I felt the spirit of the place. I cried and cried at the **realization of the deeper meaning** of it all."	Bermudez (2011a, p. 4)
"**Stunning, mesmerizing, ethereal, soulful**, such **immense** beauty"	Bermudez (2011b, p. 24)
"**emotional raptures** that provide immediate (i.e., **intuitive**) **access** to the timeless nature of **physical, sensorial, and perceptual reality**"	Bermudez (2008, pp. 4–5)
"atmospheres permitting **fundamental, transforming and lasting shifts in consciousness**"	Bermudez (2008, p. 5)
"**spiritual, peace, awe, inspiring-stimulating-impressive, dreamlike/other worldly, and enlightening/ awakening or grandeur/magnificence**"	Bermudez (2008, p. 6)

Table 2.
Representative Sample of Generic Accounts of Enchantment.

Description	Reference
". . . rendering the ordinary into **emotionally-charged**, **exciting**, **magical**, and **special** . . ."	Hartmann and Brunk (2019, p. 669)
"Enchantment is a mood of lively and intense engagement with the world [which] consists of a mixed bodily state of **joy** and **disturbance**, a transitory sensuous condition dense and intense enough to stop you in your tracks and toss you onto a new terrain and to move you from the actual world to its virtual **possibilities**"	Bennett (2001, p. 111)
"Enchantment . . . is part of our normal condition, and far from having fled with the rise of science, it continues to exist (though often unrecognized) wherever **our capacity to explain the world's behavior is slim**, that is, where **neither science nor practical knowledge seem of much utility**."	Schneider (1993, p. 4)
"We become enchanted . . . when we are **confronted** by circumstances or occurrences so **peculiar** and so **beyond our understanding** as to leave us convinced that, were they to be understood, our image of how the world operates would be radically transformed"	Schneider (1993, p. 3)
"**fascinating spell** that takes over consciousness, a state of feeling that immerses the soul in **dreamy reverie of fearful anxiety**"	Bailey (2005, p. 1)
"faced with something both **real and at the same time uncanny**, **weird, mysterious, or awesome**."	Schneider (1993, p. 3)
Enchantment is both " the **excitement** that comes from being **lifted out** of our mundane existence and situated on the verge of a **new understanding of our world**" and the "**unease** that derives from the **assault upon our prior sense of how the world works** and thus upon our practical competence in dealing with it"	Schneider (1993, p. 3)
"Enchantment can be a state in which ghosts, spirits, and spectres exist within a melange of other **marvels**, including magic, myth, monsters, witchcraft, sorcery, voodoo, vampires, and zombies"	McEwan (2008, p. 30)
"Enchantment entails a state of **wonder** . . . temporary **suspension of chronological time and bodily movement**. To be enchanted, then, is to participate in a momentarily **immobilizing encounter**; it is to be **transfixed, spellbound**."	Bennett (2001, p. 5)
"a moment of **pure presence**"	Fisher (1998, p. 131)
"Enchantment includes a condition of **exhilaration or acute sensory activity**. To be simultaneously **transfixed in wonder** and **transported by sense**, to be **caught up and carried away**—enchantment is marked by this odd combination of somatic effects"	Bennett (2001, p. 5)
"The overall effect of enchantment is a **mood of fullness, plentitude, or liveliness**, a sense of having **one's nerves or circulation or concentration powers turned up or recharged**—a shot in the arm, fleeting return to **childlike excitement** about life"	Bennett (2001, p. 5)
"To be enchanted is to be both **charmed and disturbed**: charmed by a fascinating repetition of sound or images, disturbed to find that, although your sense-perception has become intensified, your background **sense of order has flown out the door**."	Bennett (2001, p. 34)
"Enchantment brings with it a sense of **other-worldliness**, of the hidden networks that constitute modernity"	Pile (2005, p. 60)
"To be enchanted . . . is not always to be delighted or charmed, but to be faced with something both **real and simultaneously weird, mysterious, awesome, and perhaps even dreadful**."	McEwan (2008, p. 30)
"We view enchantment as an experience of being **caught up and carried away**, in which, although we are **disoriented**, **perception and attention are heightened**. To the extent that it awakens us to **wonder** and to the wonder of life, it is **enlivening**"	McCarthy et al. (2006, p. 70)
"Enchantment should offer the potential for the **unexpected**, give the chance of **new discoveries**, and provide a **range of possibilities**. The greater the opportunity it offers for finding new aspects or qualities, the longer the enchantment may last"	McCarthy et al. (2006, pp. 370–371)
"Combination of **emotional attachment together with a sense of something not yet understood** leaves us feeling **disrupted** but also **alive, attentive, and curious**."	McCarthy et al. (2006, p. 370)
"Enchantment is at home with **change, transformation, and openness or unfinalisability**. Encountering **change in what appears to be stable** can be enchanting"	McCarthy et al. (2006, p. 373)
"Enchantment is always and necessarily both '**material' and 'spiritual'**: that is, precisely circumstantial—embodied and embedded— and simultaneously deeply **mysterious, undelimitable** and **unmasterable**."	Curry (2012, p. 78)
"Enchantment features **enriched experience, affective attachment**, and **engagement of the whole person**"	McCarthy et al. (2006, p. 377)
"Enchantment may be possible through a combination of the **wonder of sensory experience, emotional response, and direct playful engagement**. Most significantly, it is through the dynamic interplay between elements **engaging** these **different perspectives** that the potential for enchantment emerges."	McCarthy et al. (2006, p. 372)
"It was far and away the most deep and **profound** and **heartfelt** thing that has ever happened to me. It was like this **very small but perfect nuclear fission**."	Capper (2004, p. 141)
"enduring **numinous**, **mystical** experience"	Capper (2004, p. 139)
"Enchantment is magic of a **peculiar mood and power**, at the furthest pole from the vulgar devices of the laborious, scientific, magician"	Tolkien (2001, p. 10)
"the realization, independent of the conceiving mind, of **imagined wonder**"	Tolkien (2001, p. 10)
"epitome of **wonder**"	Curry (2012, p. 77)
Enchantment "manifests in ways which **transgress the official boundaries** between human/non-human, animate/inanimate, as well as spiritual/material"	Curry (2012, p. 78)
"Being partly **in another world while still in this one**"	Del Nevo (2011, p .4)
"**state of one-ness with** a living, **wonderous** world"	Champion (2011, p. 417)
"an **experience of the world as intrinsically meaningful**, **significant**, and **whole** in a way that is fundamentally **mysterious** and includes oneself"	Willis and Curry (2004, p. 112)
Enchantment is being "in the **midst of the unknown**, the **chaotic**, the dimly seen, the **unmanageable**, the **mysterious**, the **not-yet-well phrased**"	Maslow (1979, p. 17)

thereby expanding an individual's sense of time. Moreover, awe shifts a person's focus from "self" to an outward sense of "universality and connectedness." A sense of awe is thereby associated with feelings of religiosity or spirituality. This may in part be attributable to uncertainty arising from fear. The feelings of vastness and need for accommodation that accompany awe can produce psychological *discomfort* (Keltner & Haidt, 2003).

This "Emotion × Cognition" interaction has important implications for how people interpret and respond to environmental factors (Mikulak, 2015; Riener et al., 2011; Van Cappellen & Saroglou, 2012). For instance, emotional states can influence people's perceptions of the physical layout of spaces, as well as the detection and appreciation of stimuli within environments (e.g., Siegel et al., 2018; Zadra & Clore, 2011). Valdesolo and Graham (2013) postulated that competing cognitions and emotions are often resolved by invoking "purposeful agents." Consistent with this notion, students who watched a video of awe-inducing nature scenes versus a comedic or emotionally neutral video reported stronger belief in supernatural control and God.

Moreover, Ross et al. (2017) found that individuals low in "analytic cognitive style" (i.e., the willingness or disposition to critically evaluate outputs from intuitive processing and engage in effortful analytic processing) were more likely to invoke paranormal or esoteric labels for anomalous experiences. These labels also can shift in curious ways depending on the conditions under which these experiences occur. Case in point, Griffiths et al. (2019) observed that naturally occurring "encounter experiences" tended to be ascribed to "God," whereas similar experiences produced by psychedelics were more likely attributed to an "Ultimate Reality." Such processes of meaning-making help to explain why "enchanted" people seem predisposed to describe their perceptions in terms of mystical, spiritual, supernatural, or otherwise transcendent sources.

Taken altogether, we propose that "enchantment" is best characterized as a special *arousal* (or altered) *state* that occurs when a person becomes engrossed within a cognitive-affective melee of "pleasant" ideations and emotions like excitement, surprise, awe, and wonder, *simultaneously mixed* with more "unpleasant" ideations and emotions such as uneasiness, dislocation, tension, and unpredictability. This juxtaposition is the embodiment of dis-ease or dissonance, which ostensibly results from a "person ↔ environment" enaction that disrupts an individual's normal experience (and state of "ease") with a sudden, unexpected, or profound awareness. In turn, this awareness fosters a transformative experience of presence or oneness with "a transcendent power, agency, or Other." Such occurrences are net positive for most people, but there can be negatives. Particularly, Rivera et al. (2020) found that awe-related experiences can sometimes lead to a diminished sense of "self" due to feelings of smallness and insignificance. This circumstance can correspondingly undermine a person's happiness and meaning-in-life.

Paranormal Tourism: A Case Study in Enchantment

The preceding ideas and interpretations are corroborated by authors who have explained the allure of ghostly experiences and paranormal tourism as promoting feelings of *enchantment* (Herrmann, 2014; Holloway, 2006, 2010; Schneider, 1993). Truly, ghost and haunt narratives involve enactive processes (Drinkwater et al., 2019; Eaton, 2019; Hill et al., 2018, 2019) and can help people to develop otherworldly relationships (MacKian, 2011), or encounter a magical modernity involving stimuli outside their conventional experience (Houran et al., 2020; Jenkins, 2000). Thus, "sacred, enchanted, mystical, or supernatural" settings promote more than appeal, engagement, or attachment. They build anticipation for different, wondrous, or elusive possibilities, as well as a sense of "connectedness" to transcendent agencies or what Edwards (2020) has dubbed "Others." Holloway (2010) pointedly summed it up:

> On these ghost tours this modern mode of enchantment is evidenced through the palpable willingness and expectation to be enchanted—a simultaneous opening up to possibility and indeterminacy. This conscious mood for and of enchantment has a capacity to affect those involved and is an acute part of the performative make-up of the space. Indeed, this collective disposition becomes a contagious modality of consumption as the events proceed: often downright cynicism and rational commitment to debunking gives way to a willing and deliberate suspension of disbelief. (p. 626)

Research suggests that "haunted" spaces occur when people's normal sense of space is disrupted and refigured, displaced, and dislocated (Annett et al., 2016; Holloway & Kneale, 2008). Holloway (2010) noted that even the simple act of turning the lights off can lead to disruption of familiar spaces. These effects might be compounded when an interest in ghosts is an index of curiosity with places that are linked with dramatic past events (e.g., deaths, tragedies, or disasters). This fascination with the paranormal frequently intersects with dark tourism, that is, journeys to places associated with suffering, atrocity, and tragedy (e.g., battlefields, graveyards, and buildings; Dann, 1998; García, 2012; Light, 2017; Stone & Sharpley, 2008; Tarlow, 2005). A narrower form of dark tourism is thanatourism, or visitations to places linked to "death." This is an important subgenre to acknowledge because many tourist locations combine narratives of death with stories of ghosts to enhance their special "terroir," as Smith (2015) put it.

A classic example of this is historic Hampton Court Palace (UK), where the history of royal demise intersects with reports of the paranormal. Hampton Court Palace is renowned as one of the most haunted sites in England (Wiseman et al., 2002). One of the Palace's most famous ghosts is Catherine Howard, the fifth wife of Henry VIII. Her execution took place in 1542 on the grounds of treason for committing adultery. Legend holds that following Catherine's arrest she broke free, ran to find the King, and screamed for clemency. Unsuccessful, she was recaptured and dragged through what is now known as the "Haunted

Gallery." Although it is impossible to verify this account, visitors and staff have reported a range of anomalous experiences within the area, including phantom screams, uneasy feelings, strange sensations, and chills. Similarly, the ghostly apparition of Jane Seymour, the third wife of Henry VIII, who died following childbirth complications, reputedly wanders through the palace and its cobbled courtyards carrying a lighted taper.

Thus, for many visitors, the associations among sentimentality, the supernatural, and death contribute to a sense of enchantment. In a larger metaphorical sense, ghosts represent the phenomenology of place. As Table 3 illustrates, this entails the ineffable and quasi-mystical dimensions that emerge from personal interactions with the physical environment. From this perspective, ghosts embody sensual, impressionistic insights into unseen energies (Edensor, 2008). This proposal parallels the observation that ghosts embody a place's prevailing character and atmosphere (Bell, 1997). In terms of phenomenology of place, ghosts constitute the specificity of historical sites, and define a visitor's sense of belonging and comfort. Particularly, they represent important memories, events, and occurrences.

Hence, in sociological terms, enchantment with place often derives from the extent to which an individual believes a location possesses spirits and personified sentiments (Bell, 1997). As a result, ghosts animate landscapes by channeling imaginative involvement and emotional engagement (Dixon, 2007). This is apparently achieved via (a) *place-centered variables* per the notion of servicescapes and (b) *person-centered variables* that involve individual differences across the perceptual-personalities and social profiles of consumers.

Vital to place-centered factors is the background and tradition of haunted locations. These features play an integral role in the commodification of sites by adding to their significance and importance (Cravatte & Chabloz, 2008). In a competitive market, a site's value is determined relative to other similar settings. Thus, places differentiate their brand personalities to become more visible or marketable (see, for example, Houran et al., 2020). Enchantment is apparently an important part of this process; wonder and delight are attributes that entice new and returning tourists. Accordingly, haunted locations draw upon their unique histories and particular ghost stories to create special interest and demand (Cook & Crang, 1996; Kingsepp, 2018). This fetishization attracts tourists to experience "authentic" ghostly experiences. As well as being unique, haunted locations also demonstrate their general historical, social, and cultural value (i.e., de-fetishization). This helps to establish that visits to a location have positive benefits, for example, sustain the local economy and contribute to the maintenance of important sites (Goodman, 2004; Houran et al., 2020).

The twin focus on fetishization and de-fetishization ensures that haunted locations from the perspective of tourism maintain dual identities that emphasize both their uniqueness and more general significance from social and cultural perspectives. In this sense, sites promote enchantment by providing a place where visitors can experience awe without feelings of falseness or embarrassment. Inherent to this is the concept of *solidarity*, where tourists share the business owners' visions and common purpose with other visitors. Thus, with regard to physical environment, the enchantment or disenchantment felt by tourists arises from *expectations* created by guides and promotional materials, the *quality* of the visit, the sense of *solidarity*, and the *salience* attached to encounters. Furthermore, experiences and activities within haunted sites reinvigorate and enchant tourist-pilgrims by adding to a location's sense of wonder and delight (Ricketts, 2011).

We should note that the multipurpose nature of tours can introduce operational or branding challenges. The main issue is how to resolve tensions between education and entertainment. This is difficult because historical material often references real-life tragedy. Considering these competing tensions, García (2012) observed that although tours often appear to be educational in nature, their primary focus is entertainment as a commercialized activity. Therefore, to attract visitors many, locations use commoditization and emphasize customers' interests. In the case of dark tourism, this requires a focus on trivialization of gore and human suffering (García, 2012). These factors are essential to create and maintain interest or engagement in locations. From this perspective, tours are more about thrills and less about facts (cf. Stone & Sharpley, 2008).

Psychologically speaking, several individual differences influence whether visitors have ghost-like experiences at reputedly haunted sites. Illustratively, Wiseman et al.'s (2002, 2003) studies of Hampton Court Palace and the Edinburgh Vaults, found independent of prior knowledge and reputation, there were more reports of unusual experiences in areas that possessed haunting notoriety. This suggests that certain areas within reputed haunts are associated with cues or stimuli that elicit odd feelings or anomalous perceptions. These findings indicated that ghost-like experiences might arise from people unwittingly perceiving and responding to "normal" factors in the physical environment (cf. Dagnall et al., 2020; Jawer et al., 2020). With reference to enchantment, expectancy and engagement with the environment may help to facilitate specific perceptions and feelings related to certain settings (Houran & Lange, 1996; Lange & Houran, 1997).

Other studies have reported that prior knowledge can influence the perception of physical environments when the information presented corresponds with expectations and existing beliefs (Dagnall et al., 2015). Furthermore, independent studies consistently suggest that different types of environmental cues often frame the contents or interpretations of various hallucinatory and expectancy states (Harte,

Table 3.
Representative Accounts of Ghost-Paranormal Tourism Experiences.

Descriptions of Experiences in Paranormal Tourism	Reference
". . . places that embody belief systems **beyond rational** views"	Pharino et al. (2018, p. 21)
"People who visit may feel **uneasy** and some tourists could sense a ghost or spirits while **exploring the setting**"	Pharino et al. (2018, p. 23)
"the images will frighten bad spirits (and people) . . . its **eerie** at night"	Pharino et al. (2018, p. 23)
"Visitors experienced a **range of emotions** to the paranormal sites with **interest**, . . . **excitement** . . ., **joy**, . . . **surprise**, . . . **eagerness**, . . . **expectancy** . . ., **acceptance**, . . . and **awe**."	Pharino et al. (2018, p. 24)
"his strongest emotion at the Taman Festival was that of being very **scared**. He reported **extreme fear mingled** with **interest, awe, and surprise**"	Pharino et al. (2018, p. 25)
"he had strong feelings of fear mixed with **sadness**"	Pharino et al. (2018, p. 25)
"her strongest feeling about the site was **sadness**. Her feelings also included some **anxiety**."	Pharino et al. (2018, p. 25)
"he expressed moderate feelings of **joy** and **interest**."	Pharino et al. (2018, p. 25)
"attractions related to ghost themes . . . have the common characteristics of **fear** and a **sixth sense**"	Pharino et al. (2018, p. 25)
"paranormal contexts are defined by being '**beyond normal belief**'"	Pharino et al. (2018, p. 26)
"[haunted] attractions offer a behavioral **exclusivity**, that is, **unique** things to do in that setting."	Pharino et al. (2018, p. 26)
"the **fear** of phantasms; the **search for novelty**; **nostalgia**; the **celebration** of crime or deviance; basic bloodlust; . . . and 'dicing with death'"	Golańska (2017, p. 75)
"dark tourism privileges the '**visual**' and '**experiential**' over the need for historical rigor"	Stone and Sharpley (2008, p. 577)
"Darkest or 'black' tourism occurs where a **fascination** with death is provided for by the purposeful supply of experiences intended to **satisfy** this fascination . . ."	Stone and Sharpley (2008, p. 579)
"Haunted houses give us the **creeps** not because they pose a clear threat to us, but rather because it is **unclear** whether or not they represent a threat; this **ambivalence** leaves us **frozen in place**, **wallowing in unease**"	McAndrew (2015, para. 5-6; cf. McAndrew, 2020)
Ghosts . . . are "a **felt presence** . . . that **possesses** and gives a **sense of social aliveness** to a place"	Bell (1997, p. 815)
ghosts are "spirits of **temporal transcendence**, of **connection between past and future**"	Bell (1997, p. 816)

2000; Houran, 2000). Similarly, location history and higher levels of paranormal belief can increase the expectation of haunt-type phenomena (Dagnall et al., 2015). These are not new or surprising discoveries, given that Orne (1962) demonstrated long ago that mere suggestion could induce physical complaints, physiological alterations, and hallucinations in particular environments.

These studies further underscore that ghostly experiences can arise from interactions between *environmental settings* with strong contextual information or physical features that inform impression-formation (Jawer et al., 2020) and *psychological processes* related to attentional and perceptual biases (Laythe et al., 2018). By extension, sacred, enchanted, or haunted spaces can be understood as psychological constructions built from situational and sociocultural context, ambiguous stimuli (i.e., unexpected, unpredictable, or anomalous), and a supposition of supernatural or transcendent agency (Lange & Houran, 2001).

It is understandable, therefore, why paranormal tourists often report archetypal or stereotypical phenomena, such as the feeling of being watched (Davies, 2007; Houran, 2000). This illustrates how traditional sociocultural exemplifications can shape the experience of certain spaces or settings

(cf. Garrett & Cutting, 2017). Indeed, the mass media routinely perpetuates cultural representations of the supernatural (Hill et al., 2018, 2019), which serves to reinforce typical ghost characteristics and ascribe haunts to specific locations (National Science Board, 2000). Of course, simply being in certain locations might elicit enchantment whether the space has a paranormal reputation or not. Modern life still contains settings or locations where people can be surprised, charmed, or disturbed (Bennett, 2001).

As systems theory and enactive processes entail the roles of *environment* and *person*, the fundamental question emerges, "*How* does this interaction produce a sense of enchantment during paranormal tours or excursions?" On ghost walks or other forms of paranormal tourism, guides can utilize the environment, affective states, and discourse to help attendees move toward "not disbelieving" in unknown or supernatural forces. Holloway (2010) discussed the key to enchantment as the movement and creation of infrastructural forces and assemblages that build tension for and sensations of anomalous or wondrous possibilities.

Interestingly, tourism studies of haunted or spiritual sites (Langston & Hubbard, 2019; Pharino et al., 2018;

Sharpley & Stone, 2012) have shown that the result is often visitor experiences that reflect a mixture of *positive* and *negative* emotions and ideations. This pattern is also sometimes seen with tourism in general (Prayag et al., 2017). Assuming that such visitor reports partly represent examples of "enchanted" experiences, this juxtaposition further implicates the role of dis-ease or cognitive dissonance. Pharino et al. (2018) found striking confirmation of this in interviews with paranormal tourists about their reactions to the feelings and understandings associated with the haunted places they visited. One participant experienced awe, surprise, and interest and had an anomalous experience. Another participant reported fear mixed with sadness but no anomalous experiences. A third expressed sadness, anxiety, fear, and eagerness, but no anomalous experiences. Finally, a fourth reported joy, interest, surprise, and curiosity along with an anomalous encounter. The most frequently reported emotions at the haunted sites were "interest, excitement, joy, surprise, eagerness, expectancy, acceptance, and awe." The least reported emotions were "sadness, anger, disgust, and fear." Pharino et al. (2018) further observed that the tourists with moderate to high levels of paranormal interest were likely to report more *emotions* (e.g., fear, sadness, and interest) and *anomalous experiences* (e.g., taste and sense of fear).

Toward an Integrative View of Enchantment

We developed a conceptual map of enchantment by synthesizing the literature reviewed here via a Content Category Dictionary (CCD) approach. This type of thematic analysis is frequently used in circumstances where the purpose is to retest existing categories, concepts, or models in new contexts (Catanzaro, 1988). As such, we designed and implemented a two-tier, deductive content analytic protocol using a categorization matrix drawing on Bermudez's (2009b) phenomenology of EAEs augmented with the empirical research on the psychology of the experience economy.

The authors conducted the mapping exercise in dyads using a collaborative process of iterative coding (cf. Flick, 2014; Neale, 2016) that involved data review, reduction, display, and conclusions. This was essentially a Q-sorting task (Stephenson, 1953) that was done using collective judgments via an "expert panel" approach to enhance the reliability of the final classifications (Bertens et al., 2013; Langfeldt, 2004). This is critically important in a content analytical procedure (Roberts et al., 2019). *First*, one dyad qualitatively inspected the terms used to describe the phenomenology of experiences outlined in Tables 1 to 3 and coded their alignment to ostensibly discrete features. For example, the specific terms "sadness" and "fear" were sorted under the same header that was later designated as the "Emotional" rubric, whereas "lasting" and "caught up

and carried away" were classified as similar themes that we subsequently denoted with the "Timeless" rubric. *Next*, another dyad independently cross-checked these classifications both in terms of the broad features and the specific descriptors within each feature. Any lingering discrepancies were resolved via discussion among the authors acting as a larger expert panel, as opposed to quantifying discrepancies with an inter-rater reliability. We acknowledge that some words or terms might apply to more than one of the five broad features, but the full context of the original usages guided the final codings.

As shown in Table 4, this exercise mapped the presumed descriptors for enchantment in terms of five competing features that we interpreted as (a) Emotional, (b) Sensorial, (c) Timeless, (d) Rational, and (e) Transformative. We speculate that this phenomenology results from an individual's attempt to make concrete sense of the "experience and meaning" of environments with sudden, unexpected, or otherwise ambiguous stimuli that suggest the prospect of unexpected or wondrous possibilities and thus instigate *conflicting* cognitions and emotions in need of balance or remedy (cf. Lange & Houran, 1998, 1999, 2000). Our mapping further suggests that the "dis-ease or dissonance" inherent to enchantment occurs on multiple levels, that is, globally there are competing ideations (e.g., Emotional vs. Rational) whose specific aspects are sometimes diametrically opposed (e.g., Pleasant vs. Unpleasant).

Table 4 is not an exhaustive list of descriptors for ostensibly "enchanted" experiences. Thus, we must be cautious about inferring too much from this convenience-type data. It is nonetheless curious to note that the number of *discrete* aspects markedly differed across the five features in our conceptual map. Most descriptors pertained to the Sensorial ($n = 18$) and Emotional ($n = 17$) features, followed closely by Transformative ($n = 16$). In contrast, the Rational ($n = 7$) and Timeless ($n = 6$) features contained the fewest descriptors. It is uncertain what these anecdotal patterns might mean. They could simply be artifacts, or these trends could indicate that the defining features of enchantment show differential weighting for reasons unknown.

Based on the available evidence, we suggest recasting the phenomenon of "enchanted, sacred, or haunted spaces" as *situational-enchantment*. This terminology underscores an interactionist phenomenon that relies more on the confluence of *circumstantial* variables, such as a consumer's perceptual-personality profile, current situation, and broader sociocultural context, than it does on fixed *physical* variables. Priming via social and physical cues certainly can help, assuming a percipient is also influenced by the other factors that promote situational-enchantment. In other words, a space, setting, or situation is not "enchanted" independent of a person. Rather, an individual's psychological profile and context imprints special relevance onto physical spaces and social settings, which in turn promote

Table 4.
Phenomenological Map of "Situational-Enchantment" via Thematic Analysis.

Emotional (n = 17 aspects)	Sensorial (n = 18 aspects)	Timeless (n = 6 aspects)	Rational (n = 7 aspects)	Transformative (n = 16 aspects)
Emotional, emotionally charged, range of emotions, emotional response, emotional raptures. Emotion/Deeply moving	Physical, perceptual, impact/ Intensity/Struck/Power. Time-space perceptual anomaly/Space was breathing me Presence/Pure presence/Real Inner freedom, energy, lightness/Turned up, recharged. Out of Body/Lifted Out Stimulating/Energy of the space	Lasting Temporal transcendence/ Suspension of chronological time and bodily movement Abandonment/ Surrender to the moment/ present in the moment	Intellectual/ ideas, knowledge/ Thought-provoking. Real/Material New discoveries, range of possibilities/ Engaging different perspectives	Appreciation/changes in view of life, uplifting nature. Extraordinary state, beyond normal belief, defy our beliefs. Profound intuitions/Exceptional state of consciousness. Collapse boundaries separating self and other, experiential epiphany/Transgress the official boundaries/Dissolution of the subject object divide.
Pleasurable/ Stunning/ Inspiring/ Impressive/ Excitement/Joy. Contentment/ Satisfaction/ Peace/Fullness, plenitude	Senses/Sixth Sense/Sensing Intuitive, physical, sensorial, perceptual reality/ Acute sensory activity, transported by sense. Stimulating, impressive, grandeur, magnificence/ Fascinating spell/ Immobilizing encounter, transfixed, spellbound.	Suspension of chronological time and bodily movement Caught up and carried away Dreamy reverie	Realization/ Acceptance Amazed Interest/ Special/ Curious/ Search for novelty/ Fascination Mysterious/ Weird/ Uncanny	Opening up other ways of knowing/New understanding of our world/Greater experience. Fullness of spirit/Ethereal, soulful/A direct apprehension of the ultimate goodness. Understanding/Conjoining/Engagement of the whole person. Magical/Mystical/Transcendental/Spiritual, mysterious, undelimitable, unmasterable.
Disturbance/ Disturbed/ Disrupted Peculiar mood/ Eerie Fearful/Dreadful Unexpected/ Surprise/ Expectancy	Heightened perception and attention, enlivening/ Wonder of sensory experience, direct playful engagement/enriched experience/Intrinsically meaningful, significant. Sense of something not yet understood/Mesmerizing, immense			A deep understanding of space/Bigger than imagined possible/Marvels Spiritual, touch your soul and stir the spirit/Gateways to sublime or holy/ numinous Beauty and deep spirituality of it all, realization of the deeper meaning/ Faith, strength of belief/Connected to something powerful.
Chaotic, Unmanageable/ Disoriented/ Overwhelmed. Sadness Ambivalence/ Feeling reduced Awe, awesome, wonder. imagined wonder Charmed	Very small, but perfect nuclear fission. Exploring the setting/ Attentive. Visual, experiential/ Experiential discoveries. Frozen in place/No desire to move Sense of social aliveness/ Alive, liveliness Anxiety, unease/Shivers. Shutting down verbal functioning			Dream-like, other worldly, enlightening, awakening/Fundamental alteration, transforming, shifts in consciousness/ in a dream/Change, and transformation, unfinalisability, change in what appears to be stable. Other-worldliness/In another world while still in this one. Connection between past and future Midst of the unknown/Beyond rational/ Beyond our understanding/Sense of order has flown out the door/ Suspension of preconceptions, ideas, will/Assault on our prior sense of how the world works.
Openness Profound, heartfelt Celebration Nostalgia Eagerness				A felt presence, possesses

a transformative experience of oneness or connectedness to a "transcendent reality or Other."

Hypothesized Process Model of Enchantment

Different empirical models of belief-narrative formation or decision-making could be used to contextualize the development of enchantment in individuals, such as the Knowledge-Conditional Model (Fazio et al., 2015), the Elaboration Likelihood Model (ELM: Petty & Cacioppo, 1986), or the Theory of Reasoned Action (THORA: Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975) and its later extension called the Theory of Planned Behavior (Ajzen, 1985, 1991). Although each of these approaches might offer specific benefits, our critical overview suggested to us that the underlying mechanisms for enchantment are neither purely grounded in volitional actions, nor explicit persuasion.

Considering the cues that people use to develop perceptions, we deemed Funder's *Realistic Accuracy Model* (RAM: Funder, 1987, 1995, 1999) to be the most relevant and useful in the present context of characterizing settings as having "personalities" or person-like characteristics. RAM was motivated, in part, by Gordon Allport's (1937) list of the most important problems that were related to judgments of personality, including the nature and reliability of first impressions and the chief factors involved in judging. RAM is an interpersonal and cognitive model that posits the judgments of targets are formed via a four-stage process. Initially, a target must display characteristics that are *available* to the judge; those characteristics must be *relevant* to the target's personality; the judge must then *detect* the cues; and finally, to make an accurate evaluation the judge must *utilize* the cues correctly (Funder, 1999).

Replacing an interpersonal "target" with the concept of "setting" might help us to imagine how enchantment is fostered: (a) the setting has a personality or "terroir"; (b) this terroir is relevant in the definition of the setting; (c) consumers are able to detect the terroir; but, (d) unlike normal RAM functioning, there is an ostensible breakdown when individuals strive to utilize the cues. The ensuing evaluation seems neither accurate nor realistic—but instead, is surreal. That is, consumers seemingly experience cognitive dissonance when confronted with an authentic experience of something previously deemed to be "unexpected" or "unreal." Disruption, dislocation, or disorientation follows, and this expansion of one's awareness or existential boundaries tends to be attributed to a connection or oneness with mystical or supernatural agencies, that is, some kind of ultimate reality or "transcendent Other."

In terms of Funder's (1987, 1995, 1999) RAM model, we hypothesize that "enchanted" people actively *detect* and appreciate the *salience* of available cues, but subsequently experience confusion when attempting to process their meaning and implication, or *utilize* those cues correctly in terms of their "known" (learned or lived) experiences. Competing cognitions and emotions suspend momentarily an individual's sense of time and everyday experience of the world. This transformative sense of experiencing an elusive or wondrous possibility that expands one's existential boundaries is perhaps the critical essence of enchantment.

Applying the tenets of the RAM model, Figure 1 depicts situational-enchantment as a five-stage, "epiphanic-type" process that aligns to and bridges insights and findings from prior studies:

- *Detection*, the perceptual and mental capability to identify events, cues, or information within settings or environments in terms of their aberrant salience ("specialness or un-realness"). This stage entails a particular readiness, receptiveness, or openness to new experiences. Other Big Six (or HEXACO model) personality traits might also be involved, for example, conscientiousness, moodiness, or honesty/humility. This interpretation might explain, in part, the positive correlation between "anticipation of an anomalous experience" and reports of haunt-type phenomena during fieldwork studies (Houran, 2002; Houran et al., 2002; Pharino et al., 2018).

- *Absorption*, the psychological immersion of the individual within environmental cues and information (Carù & Cova, 2003, 2006; Draper et al., 1998; Drumond, 2019). Thus, in this stage, psychological absorption expands one's existential-boundaries to stoke feelings of connection or oneness with the moment, setting, or scenario.

- *Consternation*, a juxtaposition of various and competing ideations (Festinger, 1957) that is elicited by an "authentic experience of the unexpected, ambiguous, or unreal" (Bennett, 2001; Holloway, 2006, 2010; Schneider, 1993). As such, this phase is defined by the introduction of dis-ease or cognitive dissonance.

- *Impression*, an apparent psychological resolution of the cognitive dissonance, which promotes attributions to purposeful agents that are in*terpreted* as transcendent forces (cf. Valdesolo & Graham, 2013). This stage therefore parallels Lange and Houran's (1998, 1999, 2000) anxiolytic model of paranormal belief and experience, whereby percipients cope with anxiety associated with ambiguous stimuli by invoking esoteric labels or explanations.

- *Affirmation*, the socialization of the "enchanting" experience as a way to contextualize it. This approach carries social risks (Cooney et al., 2014), but we anticipate this final phase for three reasons. *First*, private emotional experiences are generally followed by the social sharing of emotion, or evocation of the episode in a shared language to some addressee by the person who experienced it (Rimé et al., 1991). Thus, the affected person will talk with others about the event's emotional circumstances and his or her experienced feelings. *Second*, research indicates that shared experiences are amplified (Boothby et al., 2014). *Third*, and similar to amendments to the classic grief model (Kessler, 2019), dramatic or life-altering events typically involve an ancillary attitude or behavior described as a strive for *meaning*. Thus, the uncertainty, ambiguity, or implications of "paranormal" or otherwise extraordinary experiences likely motivates percipients to explore their full connotations (Drinkwater et al., 2013; Houran & Lange, 2004).

We acknowledge that our proposed phases could overlap or unfold in sequences different than presented here,
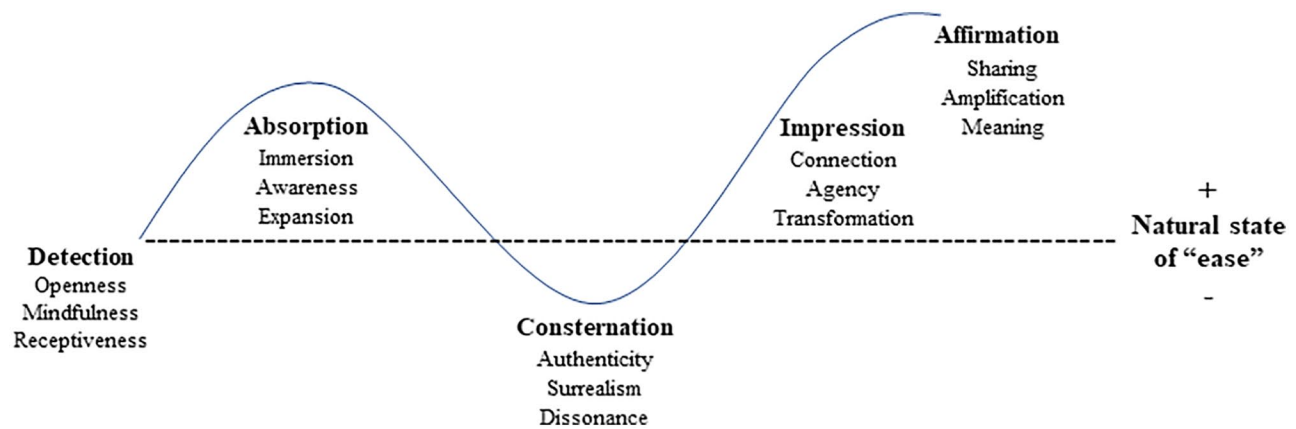
Figure 1.
The Hypothesized "Dissonance—Enchantment Model."

similar to the "stages of grief" model (Kübler-Ross, 1969; Kübler-Ross & Kessler, 2005/2014). A series of steps nevertheless implies that these proposed phases or junctures manifest in a hierarchical fashion. In this regard, our model resembles the concept of "immersion" in a consumption experience, which is a *progressive* rather than an *immediate* process (Carù & Cova, 2006). Moreover, we expect that an interplay among attentional, perceptual, and attributional mechanisms mediates the process. These psychophysiological mechanisms are likely to be further supported or suppressed by the role of physical or sociocultural cues operating during the enactive experience. Thus, we predict that situational-enchantment will show individual differences based on the perceptual-personalities and social profiles of consumers.

Here, the literature provides insights into the likely determinants of an "enchantment-prone" (EP) person. In terms of perceptual abilities and attentional focus, we anticipate positive correlations with hypersensitivity or hypervigilance to environmental stimuli, as measured by constructs like *aberrant salience* (Cicero et al., 2010), *ambiguity tolerance* (Houran & Williams, 1998), *sensory processing sensitivity* (Greven et al., 2019), or *transliminality* (Lange et al., 2019). However, openness to experience and attributional biases might be best predicted from an individual's *emotionality, sensation-seeking, causality understanding* (Ross et al., 2017), *ontological confusion* (Lindeman et al., 2015), *ideology* (e.g., religiosity or paranormal belief), and *ideological adherence* (Hill et al., 2018, 2019).

Neurological influences could also be explored similar to investigations of other altered states of consciousness or exceptional human experiences (e.g., Carhart-Harris et al., 2014; Landry et al., 2017; Preller et al., 2019). Particularly, the state of enchantment might involve microseizuring in the temporal lobe as implicated in mystical perceptions

(Persinger, 1983) or perhaps it is a form of "shock" that is related to "freezing" behavior during innate or learned emotionally challenging situations (Koutsikou et al., 2014). Future work should consider these and other possibilities in an attempt to test, refine, or redefine the process model presented here.

Finally, the term "situational-enchantment" might suggest an acute or transitory mental state. Any such occurrences could certainly be confined to a given moment, but we also speculate about chronic forms of enchantment that build or persist over time. For instance, a paranormal tour lasting several hours might repeatedly stimulate attendees with "anomalies" that promote an escalating sense of dissonance and increasingly reinforce explanations involving supernatural agencies. Moreover, situational-enchantment might occur retroactively whereby people come to interpret past events, after the fact, as unorthodox or paranormal (see, for example, Lange & Houran, 1996). Thus, our suggested "cognomen" neither implies a sense of enchantment that is fleeting, nor fixed. Indeed, as in cases of gaslighting (Drinkwater et al., 2019), we envision that enchantment fluctuates in accordance with attitudinal or normative influences. What is not evident is whether individuals can become "re-enchanted" (Hartmann & Brunk, 2019; Ricketts, 2011) by the same set of stimuli, or whether a tolerance level is established after exposure to certain cues or settings.

Discussion

Our critical overview and conceptual mapping depict enchantment as a construct that differs in important ways from the simplistic notions of "being charmed, delighted, affirmed, or awed," per the lens of positive psychology. It might also prove empirically distinct from other established concepts like cognitive style (Epstein et al., 1996),

gradients in emotion (Cowen & Keltner, 2017), or altered states such as mystical experience (Parnas & Henriksen, 2016) or dissociative "absorption and imaginative involvement" (Bregman-Hai et al., 2018). However, Hartmann and Brunk (2019) were on the right track by emphasizing people's associations with cues that infuse perceptions with "emotionally-charged and magical" qualities. In total, we conclude that enchantment is a special and progressive arousal state that occurs when an enaction disrupts an individual's sense of realism. This induces mixed ideations and dis-ease that can foster heightened awareness and a transformative feeling of connection to a "purposeful agent or transcendent reality." Accordingly, enchantment appears to be a complex and dynamic phenomenon that likely involves several established psychological models of interactions among *psychological characteristics* (e.g., Consternation and Impression), *environmental cues* (e.g., Detection & Absorption), and *social context* (i.e., Affirmation).

A robust conceptualization and measurement can arguably help the tourism-hospitality industry to develop experiences that exceed and redefine consumer expectations. For example, Detection is a function of degree of cue-seeking combined with the presence and accessibility of environmental stimuli. Absorption and Impression are mindsets that also depend directly on the availability of appropriate cues. The idea of Consternation, however, exposes a likely nuance at play. Specifically, enchantment supposedly manifests from an "optimal" ratio of positive and negative cues in the environment or associated ideations within an individual. A precise formula to elicit Consternation, and hence enchantment, obviously has yet to be identified.

Along these lines, we speculate that the preexisting expectations, beliefs, motivations, and psychological characteristics dictate individual differences in the tolerance or interpretation of dissonance, and thus, an individual's "enchantment capacity." There certainly are degrees of cognitive dissonance, and from a consumer perspective, some individuals are expected to react negatively if the dis-ease or dissonance triggers are too intense, especially within purportedly "haunted" locations. To be sure, some of the present authors have witnessed paranormal tourists exhibit intensely unpleasant reactions to cues or experiences (cf. Laythe & Houran, 2019; Terhune et al., 2007). Other times, similar environmental conditions have evoked emotionally captivating episodes that appear dissociative in nature (Houran et al., 2002).

Such observations suggest that "too much of a good (or bad) thing" is an intrinsic maxim to dark-paranormal tourism, and perhaps to all tourism-hospitality settings. Socializing enchanting experiences (via Affirmation) at the time, or soon after, might help to mitigate negative reactions by allowing individuals to compare and contextualize their interpretations or experiences. Whereas extremely negative reactions are relatively rare,

lower-levels of cognitive dissonance would seem equally counterproductive in fostering situational-enchantment. For instance, most people can recall a spontaneous hospitality outing or advertised spectacle that failed to meet their expectations, much less challenge their sensibilities and spark amazement. We propose that the "dissonance—enchantment" relationship depends on the former to produce the latter. Therefore, environments or settings lacking a necessary threshold of dissonance should ultimately fail to enchant consumers.

This study has clear limitations, most notably our use of convenience-type samples of qualitative data. That is, the text for our mapping exercise derived from a non-probability sampling method (vs. systematic review) whereby data were taken from a group of authors that was easy for us to source. We also assumed there was a similar mental state underlying the experiences and associated descriptors within the various literature used in the CCD mapping exercise. Consequently, this was a preliminary exercise to inspire and inform new and improved studies. Part II of our research pursues a preliminary validation of situational-enchantment as an individual difference variable or psychological construct. A successful effort in this respect should permit rigorous empirical scrutiny of the conceptual formulations presented here, as well as their implications and applications.

It will also be useful to explore how broadly our insights and ideas generalize to service-hospitality contexts apart from paranormal tourism. If validated, our hypothesized phenomenology and process model for enchantment might introduce new principles and practices that evolve current approaches and theories regarding service and product development or innovation (e.g., Annett et al., 2016; Burroughs & Burroughs, 2020; Gürbüz, 2018; Kawasaki, 2011; Poade, 2017; Santos, 2018). Moreover, future studies can elucidate how the enchantment construct fits within its respective nomological network as a consumer motivator compared with perceptions about service quality, satisfaction, loyalty, and so on. There could even be implications for organizational psychology concerning worker motivation and engagement (e.g., Boje & Baskin, 2011; Endrissat et al., 2015; Michaelson et al., 2014). Indeed, the literature we consulted hinted that everyone needs a sense of enchantment to help stay challenged, energized, or enriched. Put bluntly, "When we become disenchanted, we die a little" (Turin, 2013, para. 4).

Declaration of Conflicting Interests

Funding

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