



# **Understanding motivation of visitors at dark tourism sites: Case study of August 7<sup>th</sup> Memorial Park, Kenya**

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<p>Recently, the fascination of death and disaster has influenced the tourism scene and today, millions of visitors from all over the world travel to sites of death and disaster. This study aims to identify what motivates tourists to visit sites of death and disaster in order to understand better visitor behavior at such sites and specifically the August 7th Memorial Park, Kenya; which was the site of a 1998 terrorist bomb attack that caused the deaths of 218 people and injured thousands more. Further it aims to provide site managers with information for better site management. Research questions ask which push and pull factors of motivation and which other motivational influences play a role at the Memorial Park. Also what the implications of these motivational factors are to site management. The classic push and pull motivation model by Crompton (1979) and Dann (1981) is used to build a theoretical framework for visitor motivation in dark tourism. The researcher also introduces and proposes a connection between these motivation factors and John Urry's (1990) Tourist Gaze Theory.</p> <p>A structured questionnaire and interviews are used to collect data at the Memorial Park from 108 visitors and 4 staff members respectively. Microsoft Excel and Microsoft Word are used to analyze the questionnaire and interviews respectively. The study finds two push factors of motivation at the Park; curiosity and novelty seeking with non dominant roles; also pull factors of motivation, remembrance, education, artifacts and exhibits with non dominant roles; and cultural heritage and identity, death and dying, and location with dominant roles. Media plays both 'push' and 'pull' roles. Other factors found include history; also rest and relaxation with a dominant role, catharsis and peace, change, art in the Park and commerce which are unique to the Park. Additionally, the 'collective tourist gaze' is dominant at the Park.</p> <p>These findings present implications which provide managers with tools to better manage the site. The Park's aims and mandate constitutes education and remembrance respectively but their roles are non dominant. There is therefore need to create more interest in the Memorial museum by for example having special garden exhibit showings or considering a 'free entry day' concept. The non dominant role of curiosity and novelty seeking implies non visibility of the Park.. Enhancement of Park interpretation by for instance posting informative signage in the vicinity of the Park can draw in new markets. Further, commerce, one of the Park's unique factors, can advance the Park's mandate and authenticity by for example selling themed commissioned works of art and souvenir items. Repeat visitors at the Memorial gardens for rest and relaxation present opportunity to promote the Park for instance through brochures. Results also imply recognition of new marketing strategies such as promoting the Park as place of remembrance, using social media to create a notable presence, nurturing the role of media for consistent and positive coverage and promoting the park to the Muslim community.</p> <p>In conclusion, this study not only contributes generally to studies of motivation in dark tourism sites but suggests tools for better management and interpretation of these sites.</p>	
<b>Key words</b> Dark tourism, Motivation, Memorial Park, Push and pull, Tourist gaze, Visitor, Interviewee	

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# 1 Introduction

What causes people to slow down their cars to gape and stare at a horrific accident scene on the highway? Or why do people sit through hours of horrific or catastrophic events on TV? Could it be the same thing that causes people to visit places that are connected with death and disaster? Is it just mere curiosity or a bizarre fascination with death or the macabre? These are some of the questions that sparked the author's interest and curiosity in dark tourism. Also, the realization that the author is a dark tourist herself, lead to the curious need to carry out a thesis research, with a topic related to motivation and dark tourism.

The dark tourism phenomenon is not new at all; humanity has been fascinated by death and the macabre since the gladiators of the Roman times. People all over the world have flocked to visit sites associated with death from ancient religious pilgrimages to today's ground zero tourists. Stone (2005) writes that there is an increasing plethora of sites associated with death, tragedy or the macabre that have become significant tourist attractions. Freire-Medeiros (2008,3) gives instances of dark tourism such as guided bus tours giving tourists the eligibility to enter and take photos of the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina in New Orleans, tourists wandering around radioactive fields of Chernobyl, visiting the concentration camp in Auschwitz-Birkenau or travelling to prisons such as Alcatraz Island. These examples show just how dark tourism has taken its place in the world. Other researchers have noted that it seems the dark tourism phenomenon has recently touched not only consumers but other stakeholders in the tourism industry. Lennon and Foley discuss this as follows:

Furthermore dark tourism sites present governments and other authorities with moral and ethical dilemmas. Recent tragic history often confronts the dynamics of commercial development and exploitation. Complex issues are raised surrounding the extent and nature of interpretation, the appropriate political and managerial response and the nature of the experience perceived by visitors, local residents, victims and their relatives. (Lennon & Foley 2000).

## 1.1 Objectives and research questions

The objectives of this study are to identify push and pull tourist motivation factors at the August 7<sup>th</sup> Memorial Park, through a quantitative and qualitative visitor and staff survey respectively; to identify what role these factors of motivation play at the August 7<sup>th</sup> Memorial Park; to identify other factors of motivation that arise and may be unique to the Memorial Park; and finally to discuss implications that arise from these findings and make recommendations as to how they can be used for the benefit of site management.

Literature review uncovered a wide array of tourists' motivational factors. Most of these factors were associated with leisure tourism. Tourists visiting sites of death and disaster would most likely not have the same reasons for visiting dark attractions. For example, a tourist may be compelled to visit ground zero in New York for totally different reasons as compared to a leisure site such as a beach resort. A list of possible motivational factors for tourists visiting dark attractions had to therefore be compiled.

The push and pull motivational theory models (Crompton 1979 & Dann 1981) was found to be a practical framework that would suit this study. It would allow the researcher to put motivational factors into manageable categories. Crompton's (1979) push and pull model emphasizes that tourist's choice of a travel destination is influenced by two forces. Push factors that push individuals from home, and pull factors that pull individuals toward a destination. According to Dann (1981), push factors are internal drives or the desire for travel such as the need for escape, the need for novelty, or the need for self esteem. Pull factors are the attractiveness of travel destinations which motivate tourists to visit such as beaches, shopping centers, or friendliness of locals. The study will therefore examine a number of possible tourist motivations that follow a similar vein of division of internal push and external pull factors.

The research questions to be addressed will be as follows:

1. Which push factors play a role in visitor motivation at the Park?
2. Which pull factors play a role in visitor motivation at the Park?
3. What other motivational factors influence visitors' decision to visit the Park?
4. What are the implications of these motivational factors for site management?

## **1.2 Justification and aim of the study**

Smith (1996, 248) on her research on war found that despite the horrors of death and destruction, the memorabilia of warfare and allied product probably constitutes the largest single category of tourist attractions in the world. Similarly, Stone (2006) writes that as a diverse and fragmented set of dark tourism suppliers exists, so equally diverse are the motives of tourists who visit and consume these products. It is evident that there is a huge volume of supply of dark tourism products and demand of the same products. The researcher is assuming that tourism is a structure based on the interaction of supply and demand and that this interaction is a function that is relevant for studying visitor motivations. Further, Stone (2011) maintains that the existing literature on the motivations for dark tourism is fragmented. To bridge the

gaps in existing literature, a deeper insight is required into the topic, and understanding reasons why people visit places of dark tourism is relevant at this time. Importantly, studies such as these form a hub of knowledge and provide tools for managers of dark tourism sites

The aim of this research is therefore to identify what motivates tourists to visit sites of death and disaster and specifically the August 7th Memorial Park; in order to understand better visitor behavior at such sites. Further; to provide site managers or marketers with more holistic information that would help them in better site management and visitor experiences.

### 1.3 Concepts, definitions and labels

Due to the ever growing phenomenon of dark tourism; and academics' focus turning to various forms of death related tourism; different labels of this kind of tourism have since emerged. To understand the aims of this study, it is important to understand the concept of dark tourism together with related terms. Background and definition of main concepts and terms in the study found in literature are therefore provided.

**'Dark Tourism'** was first used as a term in the mid 1990's by John Lennon and Malcolm Foley. They described it as the phenomenon which encompasses the presentation and consumption (by visitors) of real and commodified death and disaster sites. (Lennon & Foley 1996, 198).

In later studies, they observed that it is those who visit due to serendipity (chance), the itinerary of tour companies or the merely curious who happen to be in the vicinity that forms the basis of dark tourism (Lennon & Foley 2000, 23). The authors here specified what actions and by which kind of tourists defines dark tourism. Also, seemingly, according to them, visitor motivations do not play a role in dark tourism. Similarly, and more recently, Stone defines dark tourism as the act of travel and visitation to sites, attractions and exhibitions which has real or recreated death, suffering or the seemingly macabre as a main theme. (Stone 2008). In his definition, Stone also does not consider motivation.

Seaton on the other hand uses the word "thanatourism" coined from the Greek word "thanatos" meaning death. He defines thanatourism as travel to a location wholly, or partially, motivated by the desire for actual or symbolic encounters with death, particularly, but not exclusively, violent death, which may, to a varying degree be activated by the person-specific features of those whose deaths are its focal objects. (Seaton 1996, 240). Seaton unlike Foley and

Lennon acknowledges that individual motivations play a role in death and disaster tourism. He goes on to develop categories of activities related to death tourism based on motivation.

Marcel describes thanotourism as “the dirty little secret of the tourism industry” (Marcel 2003), and raises up the issue of ethics of stakeholders in the industry. He suggests that the commercialization of the macabre and tragedy is distasteful and full of moral ambiguities. A common factor though in all these definitions is the connection between a tourism site and death, disaster or suffering. Tarlow (2005, 48) defines dark tourism as visitations to places where tragedies or historically noteworthy death has occurred and that continue to impact our lives. His definition connects dark tourism to specific sites and gives a glimpse into particular motives.

Other labels used in literature that describe the same concept are for example, ‘black spots’ (Rojeck 1993, 136), ‘morbid tourism’ (Blom as presented by Stone 2008, 148), and ‘grief tourism’ (Slayton 2006) etc. As indicated by this variety of definitions and labels, there has been no clear definition of this tourism niche and therefore no conclusive definition of this concept has been agreed upon. In this study however, Seaton’s definition of thanatourism will be relied upon because it is more detailed and takes into consideration people’s motivations which is what the study investigates. Also the word dark tourism and thanatourism will be used interchangeably to mean the same thing.

**Dark attractions** are interpreted as huge areas that have death and disaster as a theme and covered by dark tourism, according to Lennon and Foley (2000). A search through literature has however found that, not all sites or attractions related to death and disaster can be classified as dark attractions. Sharpley and Stone (2009, 7) note that dark tourism sites and attractions are not only numerous but also vary enormously, from ‘playful’ houses of horror, through places of pilgrimage such as graves or death sites of famous people, to the Holocaust death camps or sites of major disasters or atrocities. Stone(2005) differentiates sites of dark tourism according to the product offered by the site, ranging from the ‘lightest’ to the ‘darkest’ product, characterized by dominating design features of the site. This means for example that a site founded with the main purpose to be a memorial site can be perceived as presenting a darker product, and one founded with the main purpose to be a cultural heritage site can then be perceived to present a lighter product. Similarly, one with a commemorative approach presents a darker product than one with a commercial approach. Stone(2006) goes on to categorize dark attractions (suppliers) as dark fun factories, dark exhibitions, dark dungeons, dark resting places, dark shrines, dark conflict sites and dark camps of genocide; the detail and



scope of which this study will not go into. Stone suggests that understanding dark tourism supply is important for the investigation of the demand and consequently the motivations, behavior and experiences of tourists.

Stone (2005) defines dark tourism attractions, as sites, purpose built or otherwise, which attract paying or non-paying visitors, and which have real or simulated death, pain or suffering as their main theme. This definition speaks well for the purpose of this study as the Memorial Park is a site built on the actual site where death and disaster happened. Its main purpose is memorial and it attracts paying visitors who may be motivated by the themes of death and suffering as presented by the site.

**Motivation** is defined as an internal drive that activates behavior and gives it direction. The term motivational theory is concerned with the processes that describe why and how human behavior is activated and directed (Romando, 2007).

According to Deci (2000), Professor of Psychology at Rochester University, there are two types of motivation, intrinsic and extrinsic motivations. He explains that intrinsic motivation refers to motivation that is driven by a curiosity or gratification in the task itself, and exists within the individual, while extrinsic motivation comes from outside sources rather than that of the individual. This essentially means for example that leisure activities such as sightseeing and visiting museums are intrinsically motivated or done for the spontaneous satisfaction provided by the activity. Activities such as training for a marathon or studying for an exam are motivated extrinsically or done for the rewards that come from without, such as medals and grades.

Extrinsic motivation is linked to behaviorist theories in which desired behavior gets a reward or reinforcement. McLeod (2007) discusses B.F Skinner's behaviorist Operant Conditioning theory. He implies that behavior which is reinforced tends to be repeated or strengthened and behavior which is not reinforced tends to die out or weakened over time. A tourist who visits a particular site and has a good experience there for example will want to visit again and again. On the contrary if the experience there was unpleasant, the chances are that the visit will not be repeated. On the other hand, Deci & Ryan (2010) explain that intrinsic motivation is based in people's innate predisposition to be proactive, to feel a sense of accomplishment and to interact with the world in an attempt to have an effect. When people are at their healthiest, they are curious, eager to take on challenges, engaged with interesting tasks or stimuli, and

ready to learn. Further to Romando's (2007) definition, he sees motivation as essential to be successful in any Endeavour and describes it as positive or negative, tangible or intangible, subtle or obvious, and is still needed in order to energize behavior. Romando's perception of motivation is similar to Deci's to a certain extent in that they both identify a link between motivation and achievement or some sort of satisfaction in people's endeavors.

In summary, motivation can be defined as the inside or outside stimulant that drives humans to satisfy their needs. Dark tourists are driven by certain intrinsic forces that comes from the spontaneous satisfaction/ gain/ reinforcement in the visit itself; or extrinsic forces to visit sites of death and disaster. Similarly visitors to the Park are driven by the same intrinsic and extrinsic forces.

#### **1.4 August 7<sup>th</sup> Memorial Park**

On August 7<sup>th</sup> 1998, a group of terrorists used a car bomb to blow up the then United States Embassy, located at the center of the city of Nairobi, Kenya. This caused the deaths of 218 people and injured thousands of others. Later a new Embassy was constructed at a different site while ownership of the existing site was donated by the American and Kenyan people to the August 7<sup>th</sup> Memorial Trust, a non-profit organization. The Trust was charged with turning it into a Park, a tribute to the victims but also a place where the public would be educated about the futility of violence and the essence of peace. The construction of the park was made possible by donations in cash and kind by a number of individuals, companies and organizations. These formed part of 'Friends of the Park' who help the Park achieve its objectives. The Memorial Park was opened on 7<sup>th</sup> August 2001. Today it is maintained through gate collections, event fees, donations and sponsorship from the public, individuals and private sector (August 7<sup>th</sup> Memorial Park.)

The Memorial Park was built as a memorial to those who lost their lives. It is located on the central business district of Nairobi and comprises a landscaped garden with exotic trees and flowers; a wall commemorating the names of those who died; a Ying Yang fountain symbolizing peace; a sculpture made from the debris of the blast; a visitor's centre and souvenir shop. The visitor's center houses an auditorium where visitors can watch a documentary about the disaster titled "Seconds from disaster: 1998 U.S embassy bombings"; as well as a conference center. The peace center, housed inside the visitor's center, is a place where visitors can come to learn the importance of living in harmony with neighbors, also the need to condemn acts of

violence and to consequently promote peace. The Park is dedicated to both the mission of remembrance and peace building as it relates to both domestic and international terrorism and violence. (August 7<sup>th</sup> Memorial Park.)

One of the key missions of the Park is to provide a place where people can learn the importance of living in harmony with neighbors and the need to condemn acts of violence, so that peace may prevail. In 2007 the Park initiated a program called Children as Peace Builders. Its main objective was to offer education that would promote peace building among children through simple and practical programs offered via the Park. The key elements of the education project were peace building at individual and community levels; forgiveness and compassion; breaking the cycle of violence and replacing it with new ways of dealing with conflict and developing peace initiatives. The Park plans to extend this program to secondary school level and eventually to community level. (Memorial Park Peace Builder's Club brochure, 2012).

The Memorial Park gets about 300-500 visitors daily with the majority being local visitors. There are large numbers of school groups and a sizable number of regional and international visitors as well. The Memorial Park attracts over 13,000 visitors every month and up to 300,000 visitors annually. (Standard newspaper 2011). Research found the Memorial Park listed in several local social media and travel guide sites. Also several local tour companies include it in their itinerary as part of their walking tour of Nairobi city. A number of blog spots by international visitors about the Park were also found. This is an indication that the site is gaining in visibility both locally and internationally.

The grounds are open daily from 7.00am to 6.00pm while the visitors centre is open Monday to Saturday from 9.00am to 6.00pm, and Sundays/Public Holidays from 1.00pm to 6.00pm. Entry fee is Kenya shillings 20 (approximately 20 euro cents) to tour the garden and park grounds and an extra charge of Kenya shillings 100 (approximately 1 euro) for adults and Kenya shillings 50 (approximately 50 euro cents) for children and Kenya shillings 30 (approximately 30 euro cents) for school groups of 30 or more students to tour the peace museum. For the survivors and those that were affected by the bombing event, entry is free. (August 7<sup>th</sup> Memorial Park.)

A map of the Memorial Park in perspective of its central location in Nairobi city can viewed in attachment 5. In this study, the August 7<sup>th</sup> Park will be consistently referred to as the Park.

## **2 Tourist motivation in dark tourism and the ‘tourist gaze’**

Tourist motivation can be defined "as the global integrating network of biological and cultural forces which gives value and direction to travel choices, behavior and experience". (Pearce, Morrison & Rutledge 1998).

From early days of tourism research, scholars have looked at the reasons for people being involved in tourist activities. Fodness (1994, 556) comments that it is possible to describe the who, when, where, and how of tourism, together with the social and economic characteristics of tourism, but not to answer the question "why," the most interesting question of all tourist behavior. He goes on to add that tourists' travel motivation can benefit tourism marketing. Literature review revealed a wide array of motivations. Crompton (1979), for example proposed that tourists undertake traveling for leisure purposes such as to relax and to learn; Iso-Ahola (1982) perceived motivation to travel as triggered by a need to seek escape from routine or familiar environments and to be social. Further he noted that individual motivation are the driving force that causes action and decision on choices made; but that motivations vary depending on individual characteristics such as age, gender, cultural orientation or even past experiences.

Tourist motivation has become an important topic of research as the quest for academicians to explore the subject expands but also as tourism becomes more and more about the psychology of the consumer and how this may enhance their experiences. Kim and Lee (2002, 257) express this by suggesting that psychological needs which play a significant role in causing a person to feel disequilibrium can be corrected through a tourism experience. Bowen and Clarke (2009, 88, 97) discuss that tourist behavior is a complex and widely dealt with matter and that there is still no universally agreed concept of tourist motivation. They explain that understanding tourist motivations has become important because specific tourist motivations can help in planning better products and services, more efficient marketing communications and developing visitor attractions; also that there are many classifications and models to represent different motives.

### **2.1 Push and pull factors of motivation**

Although a universally agreed-upon conceptualization of tourist motivation construct is still lacking, the push-pull model has become one of the most popular concepts of tourist motiva-

tion and has been used by many researchers. (Dann 1977; 1981; Crompton 1979; Zhang and Lam 1999; Jang and Cai 2002; Hsu and Lam 2003). The concept of push and pull generally presents that people or travelers are “pushed” into making travel decisions by internal or intrinsic psychological motivators and “pulled” by external or extrinsic motivators of the destination.

Dann (1977) in his studies observed that pull factors had taken precedence in tourism research and that there is a lack of enthusiasm for push factors. According to Dann (1981), push factors are internal drives or the desire for travel such as the need for escape, the need for novelty, or the need for self esteem. Pull factors are the attractiveness of travel destinations which motivates tourists to visit places such as beaches, shopping centers, or to go and experience the friendliness of locals. Crompton (1979, 421) was of the same opinion, that tourism research focused on pull factors. He argued, “... *modus operandi* is based on the assumption that people go on vacations to see things”. In this case, “things” being the pull factors that motivate people to go on vacation.

Both Dann and Crompton sought to fill this gap in literature for push factors as travel motivators. Crompton’s (1979) push and pull model emphasizes that tourist’s choice of a travel destination is influenced by two forces. Push factors that push individuals from home, and pull factors that pull individuals toward a destination. Crompton focused on seven push- socio-psychological factors; escape, exploration and evaluation of self, relaxation, prestige, regression, enhancement of kinship relations and facilitation of social interaction perceived to be related to the tourists themselves; and two cultural pull factors; novelty and education, related to the destination. Uzzell (1984) on other hand believed that tourists are motivated to visit destinations that match their psychological needs, rather than visiting these places because of their specific qualities or attractions offered there. He described pull factors as explanations for common touristic activities rather than relevant motivators and did not recognize pull factors as relevant to the study of tourist motivation.

Other scholars have since used a similar conceptual model as a basis of their studies. Others define the push-pull concept clearly as follows: “... people travel because they are pushed by their own internal forces and pulled by the external forces of destination attributes”(Baloglu & Uysal 1996). More recently, Pearce and Lee (2005) identified fourteen motivation factors that influence tourist behavior. These were novelty, escape/relax, relationship (strengthen), autonomy, nature, self-development (host-site involvement), stimulation, self-development (person-

al development), relationship (security), self-actualize, isolation, nostalgia, romance and recognition in that order of importance. Nevertheless, Crompton (1979) observes that push and pull factors should not be treated as acting independently from each other, even though they might correspond to individual stages in travel decision making. In the context of the Park, a visitor may be 'pushed' to visit the Park because of an intrinsic need to remember a relative who died there but also be 'pulled' by the site itself with its offering of guided tours during an anniversary. The visitor is therefore pushed by remembrance and pulled by the site commemoration activities.

I do not consider push and pull factors as sole motivators of travel but sees the motivators as a simple, easily understood division that can be used for this study. Further; research in the context of leisure tourism has shown that; push and pull factors of motivation as a conceptual model can provide appropriate guidance in building a conceptual framework in visitor motivation studies. Therefore I will attempt to use the same conceptualization from the perspective of dark tourism.

## **2.2 Motivation factors in dark tourism**

It was found that studies of tourist motivation or studies that apply the various theoretical frameworks mainly focus on travel classified as leisure or pleasure related. For example, earlier studies such as Gnoth (1997), perspective of holidaymakers and more recently; Jönsson & Devonish (2008), visitors to the Caribbean; among others. Such understanding and theoretical framework may not apply to reasons for visiting dark attractions as those places may not be perceived by visitors as recreation or leisure sites. Also, a search through literature showed limited research connected specifically to tourist motivation at dark tourism sites.

A wide variety of possible push or intrinsic factors as well as some pull or extrinsic factors that motivate visitors to dark attractions were however found. For example, Tarlow (2005) outlines four basic emotions that interact and play on the dark tourist's psychological state. These he suggests may include a sense of insecurity; a sense of gratitude; feelings of humility; and feelings of superiority. Rojeck (1997) suggests that tourists seek out such dark sites because of a fragmented sense of social and cultural identity. This study will narrow down and discuss the most commonly found factors and ones that the researcher deems relevant to the study.

**Curiosity** is a strong desire to know or learn something. It is therefore something that comes from within a person, an intrinsic ‘push’ that makes a person wants to know or understand something. People visit dark attractions to remember, mourn, hope and many other reasons. Tarlow (2005, 48) suggests that rather than for more meaningful purposes; contemporary visitors to places such as Auschwitz and other Nazi death camps; perhaps the epitome of a dark tourism destination; may come simply ‘out of curiosity or because it is the thing to do’. Stone and Sharpley (2008) argue that as a consequence of curiosity, tourists may implicitly take away meanings of mortality from their visit, rather than explicitly seek to contemplate death and dying as a primary motivation to visit any dark site. Additionally, the level of mortality meaning to the individual will undoubtedly depend upon their socio-cultural background, and of course, to the varying ‘intensities of darkness’ perceived in any given dark product and/or experience.

Soon after the August 7<sup>th</sup> Bomb blast at the Memorial site, I witnessed first account as crowds of people milled around the site for days on end. Years later, people, out of curiosity still came to the site and just stood and stared. Dava Castillo (2012), an anchor for All voices in Clearlake, California reports that , for whatever reasons people have to participate in Dark tourism it appears to be human nature to be drawn to these sites whether its historical inquiry, morbid curiosity, or documenting “I was there.”

Ashworth and Hartmann (2005) also present curiosity as a motive of visitors to dark attractions. They argue that the unusual or unique is interesting to people and so whether it is a natural phenomenon, an artistic or historical structure, or a spectacular event and including sites of atrocity, the motive remains partly curiosity. Uzzell (1989 as presented by Stone and Sharpley 2009) describe people’s curiosity about atrocity as insatiable. He notes that people are motivated by empathy, excitement and other psychological stimuli of varying moral worth. He goes on to say that perhaps this is the reason that people are drawn to accidents sites to gape and stare or travel to go visit and experience a place where people died or disaster happened. They are unable to resist it even though others may find it morally questionable.

“Therefore, dark tourism, in its various guises and with its camouflaged and repackaged ‘Other’ death, allows individuals to (uncomfortably) indulge their curiosity and fascination with thanatological concerns in a socially acceptable and, indeed, often sanctioned environment, thus providing them with an opportunity to construct their own contemplations of mortality.” (Stone and Sharpley 2006, 587).

**Novelty seeking**, an intrinsic need for change, adventure or thrill is part of the process of travel choice. Webster dictionary defines novelty as something new or unusual. Novelty seeking as a tourist motivator was found to have been well researched. Lee and Crompton (1992), identify novelty as one of the push motivational forces that explains tourism behavior patterns.

Crotts (1993), on the other hand suggests that a traveler weighs conflicting needs for psychological security and novelty, meaning that novelty as a motivator does not act independently. Cohen's (1972) classic tourist role typology proposes four tourists roles. These are the organized mass tourist, the individual mass tourist, the explorer and the drifter. He differentiates these four kinds of tourists by the amount of novelty they seek with their travel choices. He identifies the organized mass tourist as more likely to seek familiarity and least likely to be influenced by novelty and identifies drifters as novelty seekers. He describes drifters as tourists who will shun contact with the tourist and tourist establishment, and identify with the host community. (Snepenger, 1987 as reported by Sellick and Muller, 2005), did a study, where novelty seeking was found to be inversely related to age. This means that the older a person, the less novelty seeking they are. In a more recent study however, Basala and Klenosky (2001) did a study where they found that age has no bearing on whether a person seeks familiarity or novelty.

**“Remembrance** is a vital human activity that shapes our links to the past, and the ways we remember defines us in the present”. (Lennon & Foley, 2000, 146.)

Many of the Kenyan communities place a lot of emphasis and importance on death anniversaries and it is common for friends and relatives to gather together every year on death anniversaries, for events or occasions of remembrance. This is not only on a family level but extends to a national level, for example the death anniversary of the first president of Kenya, Jomo Kenyatta, is marked by an event every year in August. Remembrance therefore could be a significant factor in this study since a lot of Kenyans lost their lives on August 7<sup>th</sup> 1998.

Lennon and Foley (2000) in discussing pilgrimage associated with death of individuals or groups, term them as acts of remembrance, sometimes acquiring greater significance at certain times of the year and is a feature of memorialization of death. They further state that practices associated with death and remembrance are highly ritualized in all societies where there is a



belief system based on the separation of body and soul and an afterlife or reincarnation. Majority of the Kenyan society are Christian-Protestant 45%, Roman Catholic 33%. (CIA World Fact book). These belief systems are based upon the same principles.

Literature review revealed several dark attractions that have their foundation based on remembrance as one of the key elements. The Park was established to remember the dead and the commemoration wall with names of those who died and sculpture made from the debris of the blast are a testament that the dead should not be forgotten. It's mandate of remembrance 'pulls' visitors to the site. Similarly, the U.S Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington D.C has its' foundation on education and remembrance. The Museum includes a "Hall of Remembrance" which is six-sided building where people can reflect on what they have seen. (Lennon & Foley 2000, 151.)

**Education** is one way that offers knowledge and understanding of devastating events. There is almost always a need to understand why a devastating or fatal event occurred and people may find different ways of dealing with it. A lot of dark tourism attractions have educational aims in order for people to learn from the past. Lennon and Foley (2000) in discussing about the Dachau concentration camp in Germany, write that in the late 1950's and early 1960's, when it was overgrown and becoming invisible, the towns people began to establish itself 'free' of its' dark legacy. However when renovation of the camp began and the structure became visible again, there was considerable local resistance, except for the victims, their relatives and others, whose understanding required interpretation and rediscovery. Even though these sites of death and atrocity may present feelings of shame in the society, they are still a reminder of an injustice and places for later generations to learn about the past.

Henderson (2000) suggests that visitors at sites of dark tourism may be motivated by a search of knowledge or novelty. Sites' educational mandates such as the Park's may act as 'pull' factor but on the other hand, visitors' intrinsic search for knowledge or novelty may act as a 'push' factor. The Park focuses a lot on its educational programs as described in chapter 1.2 therefore education is theorized by the researcher to be a key 'pull' motivator to people visiting the Park.

**Cultural heritage and identity** may present as a pull motivating factor in this context. University of Massachusetts Amherst Center for Heritage and Society (CHS) defines heritage as the full range of our inherited traditions, monuments, objects, and culture. Most important, it

is the range of contemporary activities, meanings, and behaviors that we draw from them. Heritage includes, but is much more than preserving, excavating, displaying, or restoring a collection of old things. It is both tangible and intangible, in the sense that ideas and memories - of songs, recipes, language, dances, and many other elements of whom we are and how we identify ourselves - are as important as historical buildings and archaeological sites. (University of Massachusetts website).

Kušen (2002) classifies cultural-historic heritage sites as memorial sites and buildings, like cemeteries, necropolis, historic sites and locations, buildings connected to historic figures and events etc. This study will assumed that the Park is a cultural monument and therefore visitors come for reasons of cultural heritage and identity. Stone and Sharpley (2008) suggest that people who have a direct or indirect relationship with events that are related to death and disaster often return to that site of the event because they identify with it as part of their heritage. These may be survivors or friends and relatives of the deceased or victims and the 'pull' of heritage and identity causes them to return. Other people may not have a link to the event but identify with it in terms of sympathy, race, and religion or are fans of the deceased. This has commonly been seen when famous celebrities die and scores of people visit the site of death and leave flowers or tributes. An example is the site of Princess Diana's car crash in a Paris underpass in 1997. Today, death tours for Diana are available to this site for fans all over the world, who continue to adore her even in death.

In the opinion of Ashworth (2004), the search for self-understanding and self-identity was the 'birth' of the tourism industry and personal motives arise from personal or family history and the desire to pay respect to those whom the visitor feels a connection. Ashworth and Hartmann (2005) present heritage as a motivating factor in dark tourism, as consumers identify themselves with the individuals in the atrocity; thereby creating empathy with the victims and preventing recurrence of similar events; or creating empathy with the perpetrators thereby stimulating the visitors to replicate the events. These individuals pay their respects to people they consider important and through their feelings of connection and empathy create their identity and heritage.

**Death and dying** is the one heritage that everyone shares and it has been an element of tourism longer than any other form of heritage. Dann (1998) observes that death is very much linked to the tourist and Lee (2002) notes that despite disenchantment (taboo) of death in modernity, death is making its way back into social consciousness. It seems then that individu-

als may see dark tourism destinations as places to validly express their interest in the outcome of death and thus be pushed to visit these destinations.

Meanwhile, Lennon and Seaton (2005) argue that even though Schadenfruede (satisfaction or pleasure felt at someone else's misfortune as defined in Dictionary.com) may be only one aspect of the ulterior fascination with representations of violence and death, another may be thanatopsis or the contemplation of death. They note that since death is the fate of all, interest in and meditation on it was seen as normal or even a moral requirement. Stone and Sharpley (2008) argue similarly in that although they mention diverse reasons as to why tourists visit dark tourism sites, they point out the 'extend' and 'interest' in death as the dominant reason. Further, Sharpley and Stone (2009) argue that places such as war cemeteries, sites of mass disasters, memorials to individuals or multiple deaths/acts of personal sacrifice and so on may be a more powerful and positive means of confronting death than more playful attractions, such as 'houses of horror'.

However, literature leans toward a review of death in terms of 'contemporary society' and puts it into a cultural framework of western individuals and how they cope with death and where death and the discussion of death are considered to be taboo. (Mannino 1997; DeSpelder and Strickland 2012). Indeed in recent a BBC article the writer expresses this as follows.

"Western society is not good at accepting death- we are much more focused on life. Because of this we use phrases like 'passed away' or 'passed over', this immediately sets up barriers surrounding death which are not helpful." (Kristine Turner 2011, BBC).

I have special interest in this sub title in relation to the cultural or even religious beliefs in Kenya. My Kenyan heritage allows knowledge and experience that death, dying, the contemplation of death or even mourning, is not considered such a taboo in some Kenyan communities as it is in the west. I therefore assume that the role death and dying as a factor of motivation is significant in this study, that is in contrast to the studies in the western hemisphere.

**Location/site** may be a pull factor for visitors by virtue of its different attributes. (Urry 1990 as quoted by Lennon and Foley 2000.) questions whether it is possible to develop for example a museum or a heritage center, preserving any set of objects in a particular location just anywhere in the world. To illustrate that this is possible; Lennon and Foley (2000) express the significance of location in both historical as well as geographical contexts. An illustration is

given of John F. Kennedy's grave site in Arlington Virginia which has become a commoditized attraction and been developed as part of the Arlington National Cemetery tour. Also possible is a related site with a different kind of consumption; the John F. Kennedy museums in Dallas and Boston. Both of these sites are significant, geographically and historically; Dallas as the historical landmark where death of former U'S president occurred and Virginia as the geographical location where he was buried. It is possible therefore that because the Memorial Park is located at the very site where tragedy occurred and hundreds died, visitors may be 'pulled' by the site by virtue of its' historical (actual site of tragedy); or possibly just by its' geographical location in Nairobi.

**Artifacts/exhibits** 'pull' visitors to touristic sites as found in many instances in literature. Lennon and Foley (2000) discuss of National Maritime Museum in Greenwich UK where artifacts raised from the real Titanic are put on display as part of their exhibition, also objects such as human hair, shoes and spectacles on display in Block 4 in Auschwitz. According to Young (1993) such artifacts force us to recall the victims as the Germans have remembered them to us. Seaton (1996) identifies as part of categories of dark travel activities, travel to see evidence or symbolic representations of death at unconnected sites. He gives examples of museums containing weapons of death or exhibitions that reconstruct specific events or activities.

It was also found that that artifacts are also meant to take visitors 'back in time', to experience how it was then. As discussed by Lennon and Foley (2000), a facility entitled the Winston Churchill's Britain at War Experience advertises as follows: "the horror of the blitz...Britain is at war, ...and YOU can be in the midst of it. Come back with us on an unforgettable journey back in time to war time London and the blitz..." The facility replicates a 1930's underground station, where visitors' experience of sheltering underground and street life of Second World War is replicated, using a combination of real artifacts and reconstructed models. Apart from the 'fun' element, such exhibits may indirectly be educating a new generation as well as being a reminder of the past to keeping memories of atrocities alive never to be repeated.

**Role of media** in terms of global communications technology nowadays allows death-related news and events to be reported, and most often it is live coverage. The relationship between media and dark tourism are quite interconnected and people can access death and disaster events every day in their living rooms as they happen at the touch of a button. It is no wonder that dark tourists can be encouraged to visit simply by media coverage of these events.

Fotsch (2010) in analyzing John Urry's "tourist gaze" states that even if their motivation is educational or spiritual, visitors are likely to have also learned about a location they plan to visit from multiple sources, ranging from travel magazines to network news. The proliferation of channels on cable, including ones dedicated just to travel, means there are many opportunities to gaze on locations before they are visited. Brand and Platter (2011) state that modern technology such as the internet indeed plays an important role in dark tourism as contemporary society absorbs death related themes and dark tourism consciousness is raised.

On the other hand there seems to be selectivity in the role media plays. The site of the Park in Kenya suffered almost a similar fate as the ground zero site in New York, not to mention that it happened several years earlier than the ground zero event. Terrorists blew up buildings and many people died but today, the world does not remember it as does the international media. Tarlow (2005, 57) argues that television and film can define modern dark tourism. The site of the World Trade Center is visited, while the tragedies of Africa are ignored and that due to television's selectivity we can say that while all life is precious not all life is remembered. Seaton and Lennon (2004) are of the same opinion. In their discussion regarding modernity – seeking in thanatourism, they state that media, particularly at a popular level, routinely seek to maximize content featuring disaster, crime and social pathology, all of which are often identified and coded primarily through their geographical location. They go on to give instances of disaster and violence reported in the news that have stimulated thanatourism but are primarily in the west. They think however that media may contribute to the belittlement of serious events. Further, those individuals with less knowledge of contemporary history could misunderstand caricatures or movies of people playing a role in very serious tragedies and disaster.

Most likely, dark tourism as a relatively 'new' niche of tourism has caught the attention of the world because the media has had a big influence through reports, articles, films, television, etc. It should be noted however that media can act both as a push factor and as a pull factor or as a mediator between push and pull factors. It draws (pulls) visitors to these sites by increasing public awareness. This awareness of visitors is then what 'pushes' them to visit these sites.

### 2.3 The tourist gaze and dark tourism

The concept of the “tourist gaze” according to Urry (1990, 1992) is that the tourist experience is characterized by gazing at or viewing the environment. In trying to bring out the visual nature of the tourist experience, Urry argued that it was the unique or unusual nature of visual sensations that placed other activities within a different frame. Urry (2002) further contends that when people travel, they look at the environment with interest and curiosity. It speaks to them in ways that they appreciate, or at least they anticipate that it will do so. In other words, tourists gaze at what they encounter.

In the process of literature review, the concept of the tourist gaze was found to be connected in one aspect or another, to several dark tourism motivational factors found in literature. Stone and Sharpley (2008, 588) seem to point to this connection when they discuss that; increasingly socially acceptable ‘gaze’ upon death and its re-conceptualization for entertainment, education or memorial purposes offers both the individual and collective self; a pragmatic confrontational mechanism to begin the process of neutralizing the impact of mortality. From this point of view, the researcher hypothesizes that:

“The need to visit sites or unusual places connected to tragedy or disaster results in a bigger, holistic picture of tourist motivation which results in the ‘tourist gaze’.”

Urry (1992) outlines five distinct forms of the tourist gaze including:

- i) Romantic (solitary, sustained immersion involving vision, awe, aura),
- ii) Collective (communal activity, series of shared encounters, gazing at the familiar),
- iii) Spectatorial (communal activity, series of brief encounters, glancing and collecting different signs),
- iv) Environmental (collective organization, sustained and didactic [designed or intended to teach or intended to convey instruction and information as well as pleasure and entertainment], scanning to surveil and inspect), and
- v) Anthropological (solitary, sustained immersion, scanning and active interpretation).

Supporting this concept further, Urry (2002) contends that there is no single tourist gaze as such. It varies by society, by social group and by historic period.

To illustrate the connection between the tourist gaze and motivations to dark tourism sites found in literature, the researcher proposes, that push and pull motivation factors at dark tour-

ism sites can be categorized into the five types of gazes identified by Urry. Different kinds of visitors to dark attractions view these sites in different ways; in other words, their motivations can be found in different 'tourist gazes'. For example, motivations of curiosity, novelty, remembrance, education, cultural heritage and identity, death and dying, location, media and artifacts and exhibits fits into the tourist gaze concept as follows:

- i) **Romantic gaze** is illustrated by visitors who come out of curiosity and seeking novelty. They exhibit sustained immersion (complete attention) are expectant and eager to see new things for the first time. They gaze with awe and feeling.
- ii) **Collective gaze** is illustrated for example in the case of those visiting the Park with a friend or in a group. This is often a communal activity undertaken in the company of other people who share encounters and gaze at the familiar for example a shared heritage, remembrance of victims who were family or friends.
- iii) **Spectatorial gaze** illustrated by visitors who come because they want to see and experience the artifacts and exhibits at these sites. "They want to be able to confirm to other dark tourists through word, photographs or souvenirs (signs) that a visit was made to the site". Connell (2004). According to Fotsch (2010) The media also play a crucial role in creating the tourist gaze. Media structures what the tourist chooses to visit and how the tourist looks at a particular site. A description in a newspaper article or a photo of the site is a marker that makes the sight worth seeing or not.
- iv) **Environmental gaze** illustrated by visitors motivated by education or other site events and activities. They come in organized groups, subject their environment to surveillance and inspection, they are attentive, they come to learn, get information, pleasure or entertainment.
- v) **Anthropological gaze** illustrated by those motivated by thanatological (death and dying) reasons or are there simply because it is the very location/ site where so many died. They are bound to have an emotive experience and may spend time immersed in viewing memorial monuments; hearing; feeling and interpreting the meaning of death.

Conclusively, the resulting tourist gaze that any specific visitor/s exhibits is as a consequence of either a pull or a push motivational factor. It should also be noted that there is the possibili-

ty that visitors may exhibit more than one type of gaze at the same time. Figure 1 illustrates the concept described above.

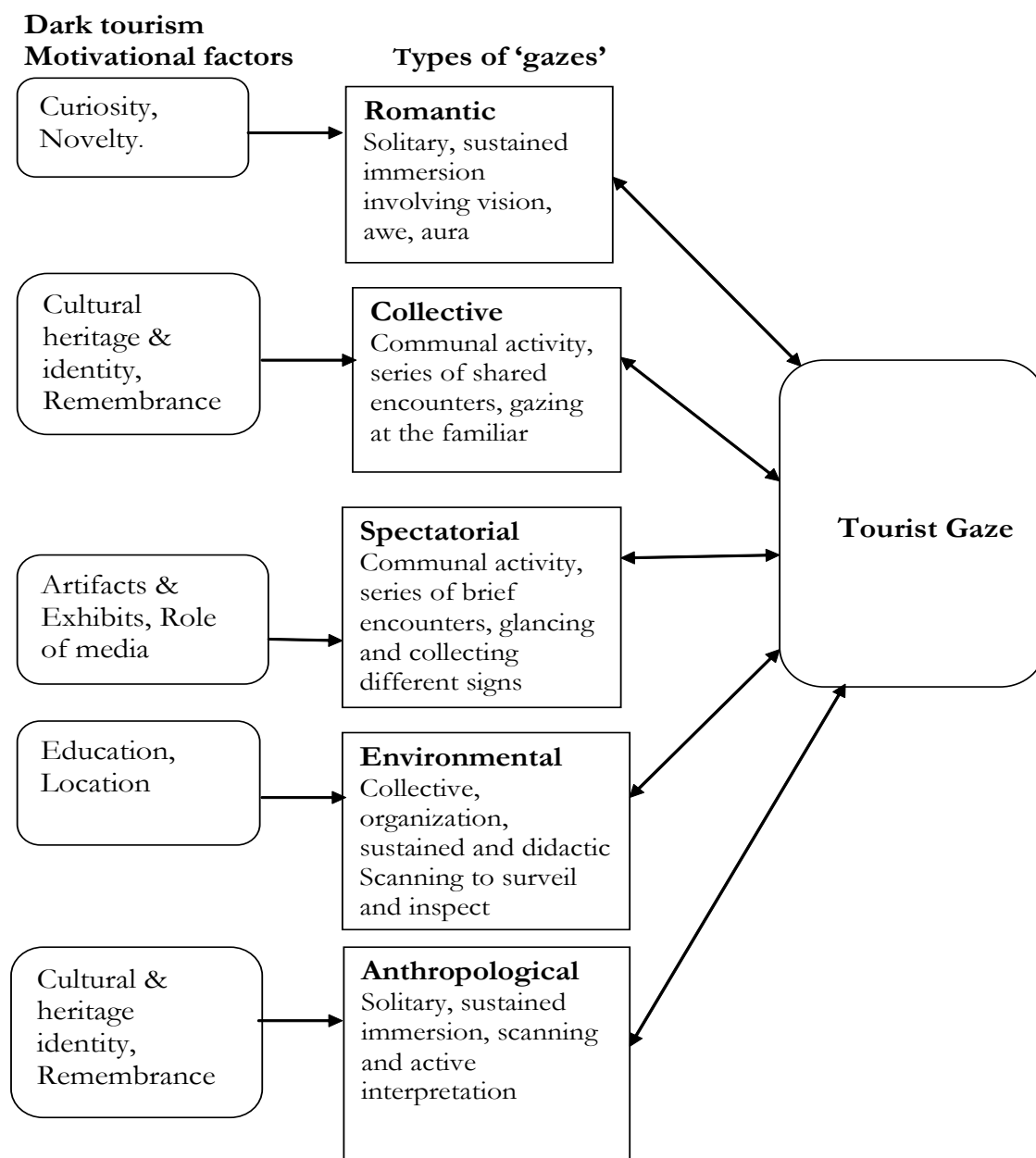


Figure 1. The tourist gaze in relation to dark tourism motivational factors



### 3 Methods of data collection and analysis

Both quantitative and qualitative approach was used. The principal method used was a quantitative structured, self administered questionnaire survey. I decided that approaching individuals visiting such a place connected with emotional significance may be perceived as insensitive and therefore a self administered questionnaire was chosen for visitors as a survey instrument, as opposed to a one on one interview. The second method used was a qualitative staff interview survey. I decided that the Park managers encounter and interact with visitors closely on a daily basis and are more likely to gain a deeper understanding of visitors. Their comments and observations would give deeper understanding of visitor motivations and therefore enhance the quality of the survey.

#### 3.1 Visitor sample and questionnaire design

**The visitor sample** was randomly selected from all visitors to the Park. These included visitors to the garden area where the commemoration wall, sculpture and Ying yang fountain are located and the visitors' center where the museum, peace center and auditorium are located; so that as many visitors as possible participated but also in order to get a representative sample.

Johns & Lee Ross (2004) explain that the size of sample required for a particular survey depends upon three things; the confidence level to which the researcher wishes to work, the acceptable error range in the final result and the way the attribute that is being measured is distributed within the survey population. A confidence interval is the margin of error that a researcher would experience if he or she could ask a particular research question, say, of every member of the target population and receive the same answer back that the members of the sample gave in the survey. A confidence level is an expression of how confident a researcher can be of the data obtained from a sample. Confidence levels are expressed as a percentage and indicate how frequently that percentage of the target population would give an answer that lies within the confidence interval. The most commonly used confidence level is 95% (About.com.)

I worked with the average figures per day of visitors to come up with an estimated total population during a 3 week period to be about 10, 500 visitors. Taking this into consideration, a 95% confidence level and a 5% confidence interval, a web based calculator was used to come

up with a required/target sample size for the Park survey as 370 visitors. (Creative research systems.)

**The questionnaire design** which included the content and format was guided by of with the help of a trail survey at the Park. The questionnaire model reflected the research questions guided by Dann's (1977) push and pull theory as discussed in chapter 1. Questions drew from factors identified in the literature review on dark tourism and the design was also guided by similar a survey carried out in dark tourism studies; Yuill (2003). This is because it was the same kind of study, tried and tested but only in a different setting. The resulting structured questionnaire for visitors was used to collect data.

The questionnaire has a total of sixteen questions. The first ten questions seek to identify push and pull factors of motivation as reflected in literature discussed in chapter 2. The questions also seek other motivation factors and those specific to the Park. This is followed by an open ended question to allow respondents to express their feelings, attitudes and understanding of the subject and to give more depth to the research. The next five questions are related to demographics to establish a profile of the visitor and also a clue to motivation. Attachment 2 explains why each question was asked and which part of literature review corresponds to it.

In order to ensure that the survey was conducted correctly and consistently, clear instructions were given in the form of a cover letter to the respondents, including the purpose, objectives and confidentiality of the survey. The questionnaire and attached cover letter are illustrated in Attachment 1.

A trail survey was carried out before the real survey, using five volunteers at the Park and two friends who had previously visited the Park. A Swahili version of the questionnaire was also made for the trail survey. The trail survey helped to raise issues and address them before the questionnaire was officially launched. This included issues such as questions that the respondents found difficult or did not understand. The researcher was sensitized to the kind of answers people may come up with, and this helped to phrase the final questions. It was found that all the trail respondents struggled to complete the Swahili version for mostly reasons of being more confident with English. It was then decided that the study would utilize only the English version. Secondly, four of the respondents had difficulty interpreting one of the choices provided in question 10 which asked how the respondents found out about the Park. One of the choices provided was 'Media'. The researcher realized that it was not clear what media entailed and decided to break it down to travel guide, TV, Newspapers and radio to

make it clear and specific. Fortunately, no other problems were encountered enabling completion of the survey instrument.

### **3.2 Questionnaire implementation and analysis**

An English version of the questionnaire was made available to visitors by Park administration at the visitors centre. They kindly agreed to notify visitors about the possibility of participating in a questionnaire survey. Questionnaires were also physically handed out to visitors during, a three week period; December 23<sup>rd</sup> 2012 until January 14<sup>th</sup> 2013. This was done so that as many visitors as possible were accessible or available to take part in the survey. Visitors at different times of the day and weekends which are the busiest times of the Park would also be able to participate. Respondents were asked to complete the questionnaire at the end of their visit to the Park. It took approximately 5-10 minutes to fill out one.

As discussed in chapter 3.2, the researcher aimed to collect a total of 370 questionnaires for this study. However, 112 questionnaires were collected back from the Park. 3 were incomplete and 1 was spoiled and therefore inadmissible, this brought down the usable total of questionnaires to 108 out of the targeted 370. This represents an overall response rate of 29.2%.

Once all the questionnaires were collected, they were generally reviewed to make initial sense of each and spoiled or unusable ones were picked or sorted out. Each questionnaire was then assigned a number and a code value was assigned to each response. This formed the data for input into Microsoft Excel, which was used for data analysis. Data frequency analysis was then used to present data through graph displays which were used to show overall response to individual questions so as to build a 'picture' of dark tourism motivations within the case study scope and see the results at a glance. In order to find deeper connections and correlations, pivot tables (cross tabulation) were also used and results presented in tables. This enabled ease of use and access of the data in a summary form. The push-pull theories of motivation identified in the literature review was referred back to in order to identify and count findings and correlations of motivation factors. Lastly, a basic descriptive analysis was used to describe results.

### **3.3 Staff sample and interview preparation**

4 out of 6 staff members of the Park were chosen for the staff survey. This was because, personal interviews of these staff members who have daily close contact with visitors would provide more insight into why people visit the Park or attractions like this. Their perspective was

quite valuable because they interact with and personally know some of the visitors who were directly or indirectly affected by the bomb blast.

Each interviewee had experience in different expertise ranging from Park management to giving visitors guided tours. Their years of experience at the Park ranged from 6 months to 9 years and covered responsibilities from management to daily operations of the Park. This ensured a broad perspective of the topic and every aspect of visit contact was accounted for. Table 1 illustrates a profile of each interviewee.

**Table 1. Profile of August 7<sup>th</sup> Memorial Park interviewees**

<b>Interviewee</b>	<b>Area of expertise</b>	<b>Responsibilities</b>	<b>Park experience</b>
<b>Interviewee 1</b>	Administration, tour guiding	General operations, guided tours, visitor reception, management assistance	3 years
<b>Interviewee 2</b>	General management	General, financial & event management, administration, supervision, fund raising, public relations	6 months
<b>Interviewee 3</b>	Marketing & events	Visitor orientation, new & potential market identification, visitor contacts through telephone, emails etc, appointment bookings, marketing & event campaigns	5 years
<b>Interviewee 4</b>	Park ticketing/cashier	Visitor assistance, handling gate payments, Park promotion, information distribution, ground supervision	9 years

Each member of staff was given a cover letter explaining the aim and importance of the survey as well as confidentiality related to the information that would be given. Also included was a list of 16 open preselected questions that would be asked during the interview. This gave them a chance to familiarize themselves with the questions and prepare beforehand; it also saved time on the actual interview. The questions were developed with the theoretical framework and research question in mind and aimed to illustrate, confirm, elaborate or even contradict findings from the sample survey. Besides that, it was hoped that these interviews would also reveal new motivation themes that are not discussed in theory. The staff interview questions and cover letter are illustrated in attachment 3 while attachment 4 illustrates how staff interview questions relate to theory.

### 3.4 Interviews implementation and analysis

To begin with, the four interviewees were given a chance to introduce themselves and say something about their work and responsibilities. To establish a general feel of the topic, questions related to visitor profiles, visitor duration and peak visitation dates were asked and discussed. The rest of the interview involved questions related to why visitors come to the Park. The interviews lasted between 40 minutes and 1 hour. The interviewees were coded as interviewee 1-4 for purposes of anonymity. The interviews were conducted at the Park on separate occasions and their responses electronically recorded. The researcher applied Johns & Lee-Ross' (2004, 125.) interview method where the interviewer starts with a plan indicating the areas to be covered, and the interview is allowed to proceed at its own pace in a conversational style. Thus the interviewee is guided but also permitted and even encouraged to make 'de-tours'. This makes it possible to identify essential issues which are important to the interviewee but unforeseen by the interviewer.

The electronically recorded interviews were eventually transcribed verbatim into a Microsoft Word document which served as the source of data for a content analysis. First an inductive approach was taken where the predetermined push and pull theory framework was ignored and the transcripts scanned to determine and gather together new themes of motivation from the text. This was done by reading the text and picking out words or short phrases that sum up themes or categories and eventually the most appropriate topic or name that described the theme or word was picked to represent a motivation factor. Some topics were easily identified because they were names of programs or processes already at the Park such as 'Art in the Park' and 'commerce'. This way, other factors of motivation not discussed in this study and those specific to the Park were identified. Next, a deductive approach was taken where the predetermined theory of push and pull was imposed on the data to identify key indicators that represent the factors discussed in literature. All the answers to each question from each interviewee were given this treatment and presented side by side for easier identification of themes and categories already discussed in literature review of this study.

Further, because literature suggests that these factors don't always act independently, the researcher looked out for correlations amongst the factors. The data was then examined to find out whether there was information that illustrated, confirmed, elaborated or even contradict findings from the questionnaire survey. Finally, the quantitative findings were reported under main themes and where appropriate, verbatim quotes were used to illustrate the findings.

## 4 Results

Results are presented under relevant subtopics to enable flow and clarity. Questionnaire survey data and transcribed texts from staff interviews were analyzed separately. In this chapter, results from the questionnaire survey and staff interview survey are presented on a basic level. Interpretation and discussions of the results are provided in chapter 5.

### 4.1 Visitor profile and reasons for visiting

**Visitor profile** showed that females made up a slight majority of 56.5% of total respondents. All respondents were aged 10 or above; the largest group, 50.9% being between 21 and 30 years. No respondent was reported being over 60 years. Figure 2 shows the age distribution of visitors at the Park.

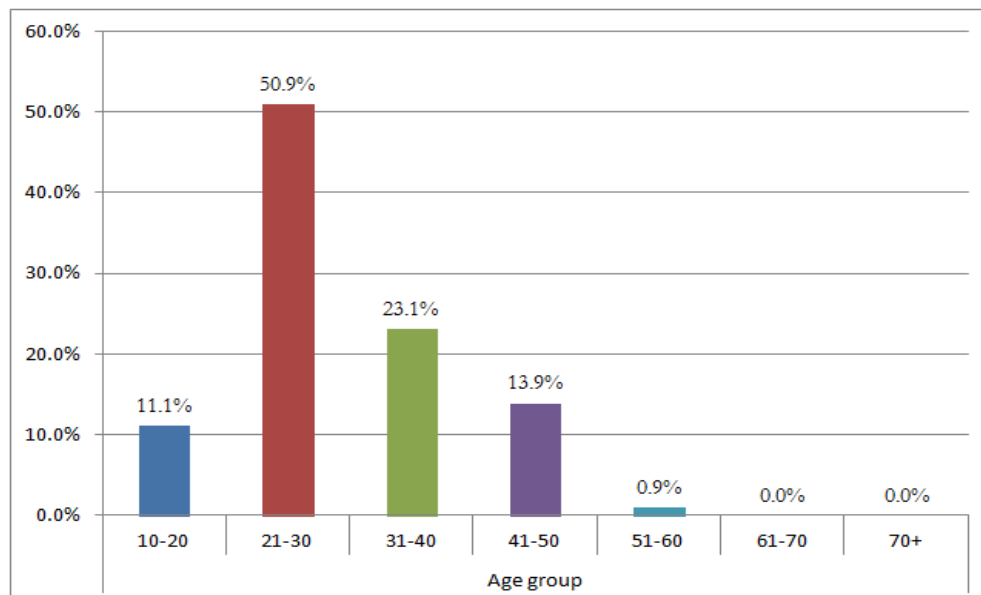


Figure 2: Age distribution of respondents (n=108) at the Park

Also, about half, 51.8% of the respondents were residents of Nairobi or locals, while the rest, 48.2% were not from Nairobi or non locals. Therefore out of the total respondents, 15.7% were visiting friends or family, 12% came to the city on holiday, and 9.3% of respondents came to Nairobi specifically to visit the Park. The 'Other' option was chosen by 5.6%, similarly, 5.6% were on a business trip. For those who chose 'Other', one main theme of education emerged as most of the respondents were on a school or study strip to the city. Further, majority 59.2% visited the Park with friends or family, 28.7% visited alone and 9.3% visited

with a school group. A significantly small number of respondents were with tour, artist or business groups and nobody chose 'Other' option. Over 60% of the respondents were repeat visitors with 18.5% having visited twice and 44% visiting more than twice. The rest 37% had visited only once.

Results showed that most respondents were highly educated with 80.5% having attained college education and above, 16.7% had completed high school, while only 1.9% reported to have completed primary school. The nationality of visitors to the Park apart from Kenyans, constituted a profile of regional as well as international visitors. Almost half 49.1% of visitors to the Park were Kenyans and visitors from the USA 17.6% were the second largest group. Figure 3 displays the different nationalities that were recorded at the Park.

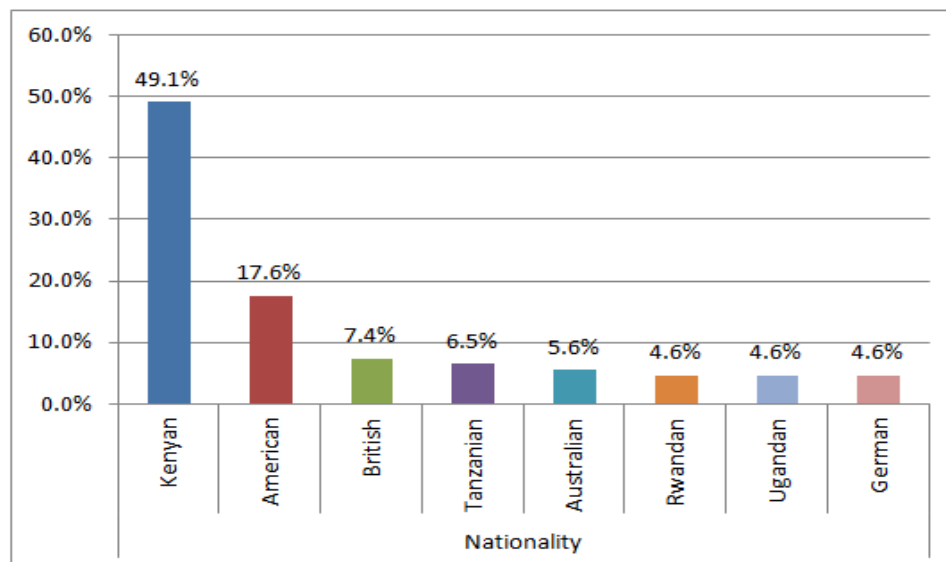


Fig 3: Nationalities of respondents (n=108) at the Park

Finally, the vast majority 84.3% of the visitors were Christian. No body reported to be either Muslim or Hindu. Analysis of those who chose "Other" and specified two themes emerged, a lack of faith, that is aethism and the jewish faith.

**Reasons for visiting the Park** that was most common was to reflect and meditate at 18.5% and paying respect to the victims at 16.7% of respondents. The others significant reasons were to have a day out 14.8%, to remember 12.1% and to learn about the tragedy 11.1%. A few were there to satisfy their curiosity 7%, to see artifacts and exhibits and to experience something new 5.5 %. The 'other' option was chosen by 4.4% of the respondents. Only 3.7% of the respondents had come as result of recommendations. Almost all the respondents who

chose 'Other' specified that they were there to rest or relax in the garden. Figure 4 represents reasons to visit the park.

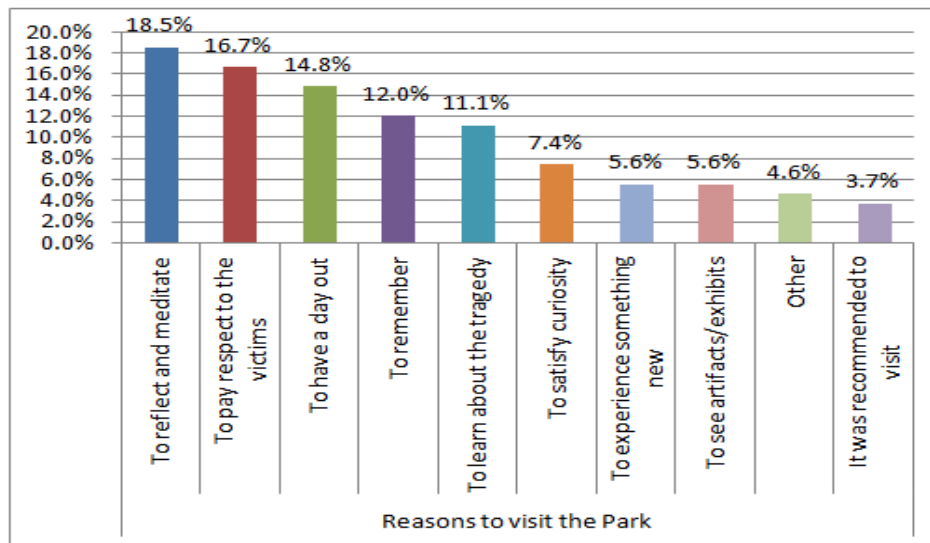


Figure 4: Reasons for visiting the August 7th Memorial Park. (n=108)

Other results showed that 28.7% of total respondents had attended an educational event at the Park with the documentary film being the most popular at 10.2%, followed by seminars at 9.3% of total respondents. The remaining few had been there on a school peace building program or organized tour.

Using cross tabulation (pivot tables) it was further found that visitors who visited more than once came for reasons of reflection and mediation, paying respect to the victims, having a day out. This is illustrated in table 2.

Reason for visiting	Number of visits			Grand Total (n=108)
	1 (n=40)	2 (n=20)	> 2 (n=48)	
reflect & meditate	4.6%	2.8%	11.1%	18.5%
pay respect	4.6%	2.8%	9.3%	16.7%
have a day out	2.8%	4.6%	7.4%	14.8%
remember	4.6%	0.9%	6.5%	12.0%
learn about tragedy	7.4%	1.9%	1.9%	11.1%
satisfy curiosity	4.6%	0.9%	1.9%	7.4%
experience something n	3.7%	1.9%	0.0%	5.6%
see artifacts/exhibits	0.9%	1.9%	2.8%	5.6%
other	1.9%	0.0%	2.8%	4.6%
recommended	1.9%	0.9%	0.9%	3.7%
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>37.0%</b>	<b>18.5%</b>	<b>44.4%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>



Also, since theory suggested a relationship between age and novelty seeking as a reason for visitation. A deeper analysis was done using cross tabulation to find out if this could be the case. This showed that all survey respondents who reported to visit the Park for reasons of experiencing something new or novelty; were in the younger age group 10-20 and 21-30. No one in the other age groups visited for these reason. It could also be said that all those who were curious were in the younger age groups. Table 3 shows this relationship.

	Age group					
Reason for visiting	10-20 (n=12)	21-30 (n= 55)	31-40 (n= 25)	41-50 (n= 15)	51-60 (n=1)	Grand Total (n=108)
reflect & meditate	1.9%	9.3%	5.6%	1.9%	0.0%	18.5%
pay respect	0.9%	10.2%	1.9%	3.7%	0.0%	16.7%
have a day out	0.0%	5.6%	6.5%	2.8%	0.0%	14.8%
remember	0.0%	6.5%	3.7%	1.9%	0.0%	12.0%
learn about tragedy	3.7%	5.6%	0.9%	0.9%	0.0%	11.1%
satisfy curiosity	0.9%	6.5%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	7.4%
experience something n	3.7%	1.9%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	5.6%
see artifacts/exhibits	0.0%	3.7%	0.9%	0.9%	0.0%	5.6%
other	0.0%	1.9%	1.9%	0.0%	0.9%	4.6%
recommended	0.0%	0.0%	1.9%	1.9%	0.0%	3.7%
Grand Total	11.1%	50.9%	23.1%	13.9%	0.9%	100.0%

Additionally, 53.7% of the visitors elaborated their reason to visit in the open question; which sought to allow respondents to include other unconscious motivations or reason. Themes of remembrance, education and death emerged. Also, a connection between remembrance and heritage identity came up. For example, one respondent spoke of remembering and paying respect to the victims. Another spoke of coming to reflect and meditate upon life. One respondent wrote: “I came to meditate and reflect upon the meaning of life and death”. The main themes that emerged but not discussed from literature were history and peace. One respondent wrote; “To learn the history of Nairobi, both good and bad”; yet another observed; “This place reminds me and fellow citizens that the events of August 7th should never happen again and that living together in peace is paramount”.

## 4.2 Park attractions and other factors of visitation

**The Park attraction** that was most popular was the memorial garden with 38% respondents finding it most interesting. Also significantly popular was the granite wall with names of the dead at 18.5% and the Peace Memorial museum at 17.6%. Others were sculpture made from debris of the blast, 15.7 %, ‘Other’, 7.4% most of whom specified the documentary video

shown in the museum. 2.7% chose the Ying yang fountain. Figure 5 illustrates different Park attractions and percentage of visitors that found them most interesting.

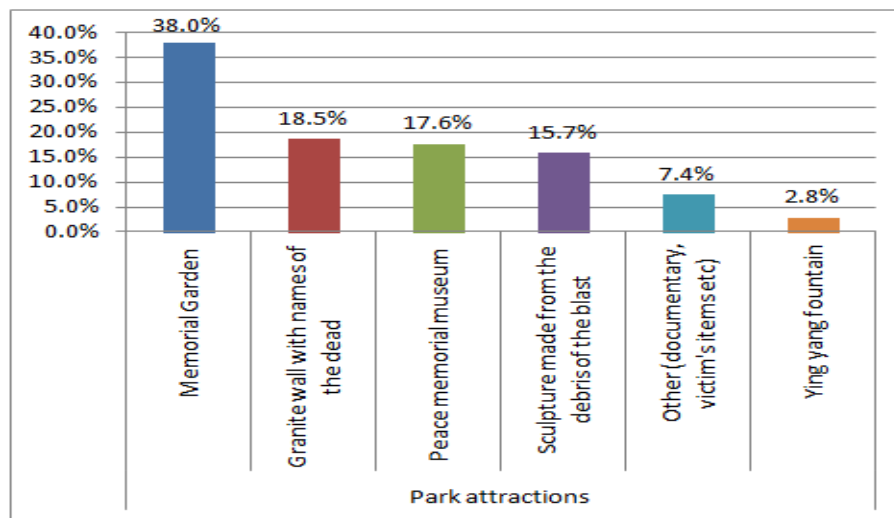


Figure 5: Park attractions and visitor interest. (n=108)

**Other** results showed that visitors were influenced to visit the Park, mostly by friends, 44.4%. Television at 15.7% had the second most influence on visitation and others were travel guides and the Park website both at 10.2%. Family influenced 6.5% and ‘Other’ option was chosen by 4% out of which, those who gave specifics, the consistent theme of location emerged. Finally, internet was noted by 2.7%, newspapers by 1.9% and only 0.9% reported to have found out about the Park through radio. This meant that collectively, the media (travel guides, radio, newspapers and television) had a significant influence of 28.7%. Figure 6 illustrates factors that influence visitation at the Park.

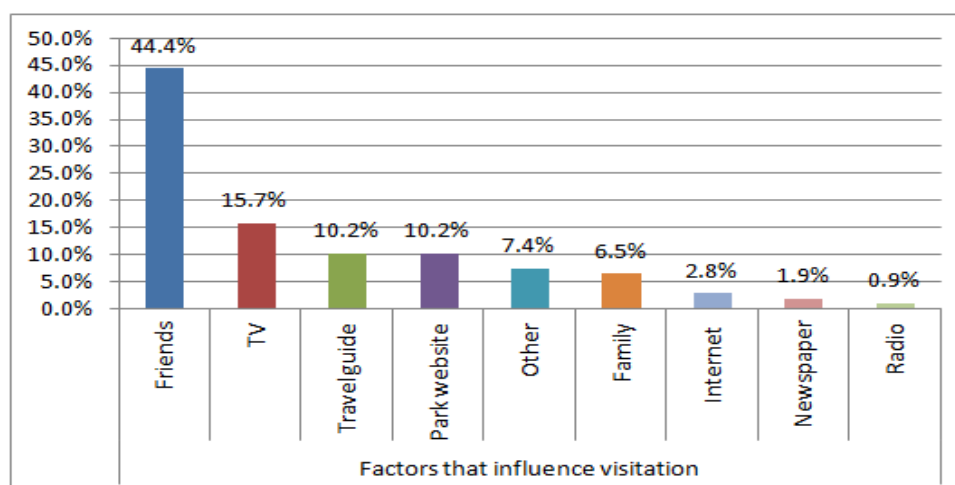


Figure 6. Factors that influence visitation at the Park. (n=108)

### 4.3 Thanatological theme and personal connection

The theme of ‘death’ at the Park came up in results as follows. Family and medical counsellors were found to be the main way most visitors would cope with death at 20.3% and 19.4% respectively. This was followed by church or faith, 16.6%; friends, 13.8%; spirituality and meditation both at 8.3%; visit site of death, 5.5%; did not want to answer, 3.7%; visit grave 2.8%; and 0.9% chose media as a coping aid while nobody chose the ‘other’ option. An overwhelming majority, 84.3% of total respondents, reported that they would visit a similar site related to death and disaster. Figure 7 illustrates the aids to cope with death and dying at the Park.

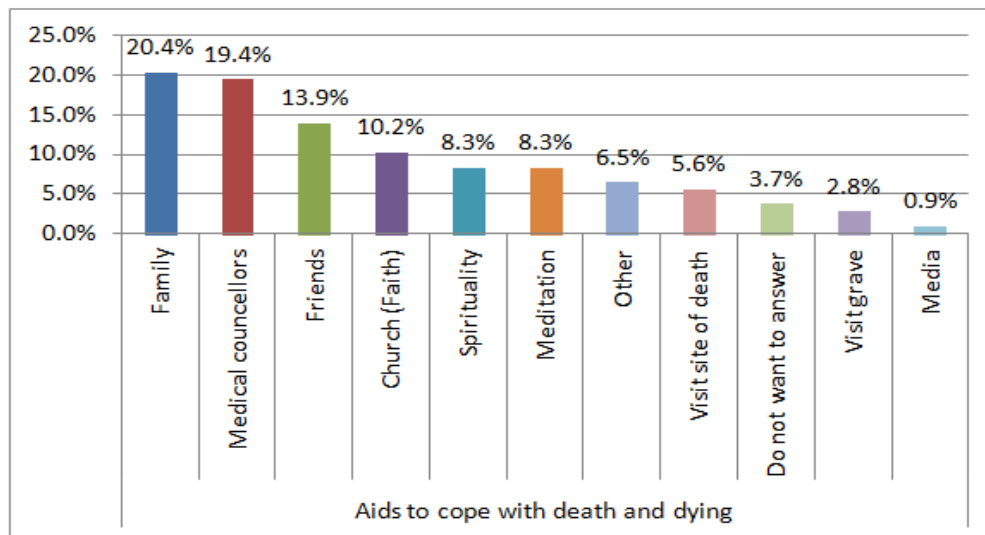


Figure 7: Visitor aids to cope with death and dying. (n=108)

A connection to the tragedy was also evident in the results. A large percentage, 46.3% respondents reported that they felt closely related to or connected to someone affected by the tragedy at the site. Out of the total respondents who had a connection, 76 % specified that they felt connected as sympathizers, 8 % were survivors, 10 % were related to victims of the tragedy and 6 % did not want to answer. Due to this large percentage of respondents who felt connected to someone affected by the tragedy, the researcher chose to examine this connection further in relation to nationalities. It was found that those respondents who felt a connection were mostly Kenyan and Americans. Table 4 shows this relationship.

Table 4. Relationship between connection to the tragedy and nationality			
	Related/connected		
Nationality	No (n=58)	Yes (n= 50)	Grand Total (n= 108)
Kenyan	16.7%	32.4%	49.1%
American	7.4%	10.2%	17.6%
British	7.4%	0.0%	7.4%
Tanzanian	4.6%	1.9%	6.5%
Australian	4.6%	0.9%	5.6%
Ugandan	3.7%	0.9%	4.6%
Rwandese	4.6%	0.0%	4.6%
German	4.6%	0.0%	4.6%
Grand Total	53.7%	46.3%	100.0%

#### 4.4 Staff interviews

A general analysis of the interviews revealed that the Park attracts people from all walks of life. Most of them are Kenyan nationals; others are regional visitors from the neighboring countries. There are also international guests who include occasional VIPS from the United States of America. Peak visitation periods include school holidays (April, August & December), weekends and especially Sunday afternoons. Visitation duration at the museum lasts a maximum of 1 hour and 3 hours or less at the garden depending on the activity going on.

Further to this and more relevantly, five themes not discussed in dark tourism literature and not related to the theoretical framework emerged. These themes were recurrent topics discussed by the interviewees. I considered these to be site specific and included rest and relaxation, catharsis and peace, change, art in the park and commerce. Further, the theme of history that dark tourism literature covered although shallowly; surfaced during analysis. Even so, when the theoretical framework was applied to the data, much of what was discovered correlated to nine themes discussed in dark tourism literature. These were remembrance, education, curiosity, novelty seeking, cultural heritage and identity, death and dying, exhibits and artifacts, location and the role of media.

The following results represents themes discussed during the interviews, starting with those unrelated to topics discussed from literature. Interpretation and discussion of these results takes place in chapter 5.

**History**, although found in literature as a motivator, was sparsely discussed. I did not suppose that this would be a factor in visitor motivation at the Park because the events of the bomb blast happened fairly recently. However, interviewees consistently connected the theme of the Park to history in their responses. Interviewee 1 said that visitors came to learn the history of the Park; Interviewee 2 said that the main attraction was the history behind the Park and that it was this history that made an impact on the people who visit. When asked the reason why people visit the Park she responded, “Tourists, especially, mostly, the American tourists, visit the park mostly because of the history... they can also be able to relate to it because they had the twin tower attack”. Yet interviewee 3 when asked the same what attracts people to the Park, said, “People just come here because it is historic. There are visitors who are like 15, people who were born in 1999, they want to know what went on; you know it’s a historic thing...and also our schools here learn about it in history.”

**Rest and relaxation** was discussed by all respondents as being one of the main reasons visitors come to the Park. Interviewee 2 stated “... the garden area of the Park is popular for people who want to get away from the hustle and bustle of the city, students from nearby colleges come here during their breaks, families come to picnic during weekends while others just come to enjoy the quiet and clean surroundings.” Interviewee 4 when asked who visits the Park replied, “We have people from all walks of life who come to the garden; from children to adults, old and young. They walk in and come to sit down to rest from their problems and to relax”

**Catharsis and peace** were put together as a motivator because staff expressed catharsis as a precursor to peace. Catharsis is defined in the Oxford dictionary (2013) as the process of releasing, and thereby providing relief from, strong or repressed emotions while the Concise Encyclopedia (2013) defines it as Purging or purification of emotions through art. It was an unexpected theme that interviewees expressed in different ways linked and seemed to be linked to expressing strong emotion when they visit the Park.

Interviewee 1 in talking about the kinds of visitors that come to the Park said; “... quite a number of people came to the Park to pray individually or in groups...there are visitors who come because they want to pray, to find peace of mind but also the peaceful surroundings attract them to get away from the hustle and stress of the city” To the same topic, interviewee 2 said; “... survivors and relatives of victims mostly repeatedly attend thematic concerts, plays or exhibitions at the Park or visit to pray or be prayed for by a priest who visits the Park fre-

quently. She expressed it further as follows: “There are people who come here and they feel like “ah, my day is fine” ...you know because probably you lost someone, or you know someone who has died and it brings a sense of peace...also, the children in the peace builders club and who have been exposed to bullying take part in role playing or re-enactment of bullying to sensitize them about peaceful co-existence”. Interviewee 3 expressed the same concept as follows: “We get them to do role playing about bullying. We get them to act out how bullying occurs in school and how they can act as peace ambassadors to avoid those kinds of incidences happening in school and if they come across it happening, how they can act as diplomats when they come across those kinds of situations.”

**Change** was generally depicted by the interviewees as a post-visit response. Interviewee 1 perceived the Park as a place where people came and experienced positive change. She talked of a man who lost his wife on the site in 1998 and only came to visit the Park for the first time in 2012. “It was the first time he was setting foot here after his wife’s death and he said that by coming here, he was finally expecting closure of what had happened.”

Interviewee 3 reflected how they have got positive feedback of change from the schools that belong to the ‘peace builders club’ She gave an example of how bullying has become less in particular schools and not only that, but the children on their own initiative now participate in other activities like tree planting and visiting children’s homes. In her own words she said; “we normally get feedback from the teachers especially on how the children are doing in school and you would be surprised about how they say bullying has become less in those particular schools ...It also makes the children to look at the broader picture and appreciate each other, no matter where you come from whether you are black, white, you can still join hands and do something”.

**Art in the Park Program** was discussed as a Park initiative that promotes local talent in the form of fashion, music, theatre, art exhibitions with an underlying peace message. Interviewee 1 spoke of how this program helps raise funds for Park maintenance and consequently keep the Park doors open to the public. All interviewees mentioned the ‘Art in the park’ initiative as a reason many people come to the Park citing concerts, plays and other events. Interviewee 3 said the following about ‘Art in the Park program’

...last December we had a Christmas cantata and we had about 500 people attend the concert. It was a music concert that actually brought together a group of 40 vocalists who came to entertain those who attended the concert...the proceeds used for maintenance of the park, because the park is a non-profit organization and we have to keep our doors open. You can imagine if one day the usual visitors or any

visitor came to our gate and found us closed. That would be a disaster. So we try our very best in different creative and original and unique ways.

**Commerce** was according to interviewees, in the form of both formal and informal business meetings at the site. Interviewee 4 spoke of small groups of visitors who come to meet out in the open gardens. She said, “The finance meeting groups don’t stay for long, they come and give their monies, when they finish, they pray and go. These groups consist of informal personal finance groups who meet say on a monthly basis and stay a maximum of an hour, just enough time to carry out their agenda and leave”. Interviewee 1 while speaking about the kind of activities visitors engage in at the Park spoke of a different kind of business group that books meeting rooms in advance. She said; “...these consist of company and institution type meetings... there are also large groups that book either the whole Park or a section of it for events such as peace campaigns that are open to the public or other events such as pre wedding parties.” Interviewee 2 in talking about their target market noted that: “We market to corporates, the public, the common man and training institutions because we have meeting rooms... also have organizations that come and do their trainings over here...all these act as a source of funds for the Park’s maintenance”.

**Curiosity** was agreed by all interviewees as a reason why people visit the Park. Interviewee 2 expressed it as curiosity of the unknown. Interviewee 4 said “ many times people come up to the gate just to ask what is in the Park...they pass by the Park and never know what is happening here”. Interviewee 2 commented “.... others say: ‘we have always wondered what was here’. It’s just curiosity”.

**Novelty seeking** as a reason to visit the Park was expressed differently by different interviewees. Interviewee 3 when asked what attracted visitors to the Park said, “People, especially from out of town came to the Park because they have heard of it but never been there and just wanted to see and experience it.” Interviewee 4 when asked if she had any ideas of why visitors visit such sites as the Memorial Park said. “People sometimes just come here because it is different from the busy city environment around”. Also, interviewee 1 when asked what kind of reasons people give for visiting the Park replied, “often people hear about the Park from somewhere and they want to come to experience something different.”

**Remembrance** and themes of remembrance came up time and again with all the interviewees. Interviewee 4 when asked about the Peak visitation periods of the Park said, “... family

members, who are frequent visitors, spend time praying at the Park or meeting other visitors who are also family members of victims. Also, that a lot of people come to remember Kenyans who died in the tragedy during peak visitation period in the month of August”. Interviewee 2 when asked why visitors come to the Park simply replied “...also survivors and sympathizers come to the Park to remember”. To Interviewee 3 when asked about which exhibits attract people to the Park replied, “...most is the memorial wall. People go to the memorial wall just to check out the names and because it helps them remember their loved ones”

**Education** as a theme was discussed broadly by interviewees Interviewee 2 discussed the education initiatives at the Park said, “ The peace builders children’s program is a program at the Park that not only educates children but which we are planning to expand to encompass secondary schools and adult institutions”. Interviewee 3 on discussing about the same program said “We use the children peace builders club to teach about the negative effects of terrorism in the society. Terrorism is equated to anything that harms or hurts another individual on the basis of differences in religion, ethnicity, tribe etc. Using this as a foundation, the Park uses tools such as play acting to teach children about bullying and the negative effects it has on others.”

Interviewee 2 discussed further on the education theme and said: “The Park reaches out to the public with its message of peace through their ‘Art in the Park Program’ which includes artistic events such as concerts, plays and art exhibitions. The Park premises are also opened to individuals, groups and institutions for lectures, seminars and other events that promote peace.” Interviewee 1 on answering about her responsibilities at the Park mentions giving visitors guided tours as one of them. When asked about which attractions visitors like most at the Park said: “visitors also like the documentary film...” Interviewee 4 summarizes the theme of education clearly: “Because I talk to them, a lot of the visitors say they come here to learn about what happened on that day. Some bring their children to learn and some their siblings. Tourists from abroad also come to learn about that day. Most people like to come to watch the video”

**Cultural heritage and identity** theme was expressed by different interviewees in several ways. Interviewee 3 revealed that finding a personal connection plays a significant role at the Park. She mentioned that family members of victims and survivors who are frequent visitors to the Park to pray or meet others who share the same past of having lost a family member or friend. Interviewee 1 pointed out that the victims’ family members and survivors had formed a



bond and met frequently at the Park but especially during the commemoration day in August; while others just come because they are sympathizers. Yet interviewee 2 said that visitors come to the Park to connect with memories of their loved ones.

**Death and dying** as a subject also came up repeatedly with interviewees. When asked which specific exhibits or areas in the Park visitors are attracted, Interviewee 3 replied; "...someone will just come here and go to the memorial wall because there is some perception that people are buried there." while interviewee 2 while talking about reasons why people come to the Park observed; "... some people because of their cultures cannot come to a place where they believe a large number of people perished". On the other hand interviewee 4 thought the opposite about what attracts people to the Park. she said; "... because people died here, that is what precisely attracts people to the Park...in my interactions with visitors, one of the frequently asked questions, especially from first time visitors is on the subject of the dead and also whether they were buried at the Park". To the same question about what attracted people to the Park, interviewee 3 replied "...many people come specifically to see the names of the dead on the granite wall and to reflect. Also, the American visitors are interested to know, the number of Americans who died in the tragedy.

**Location** of the Park was discussed by interviewees as playing an obvious significant role in visitation. Interviewee 2 while discussing reasons why people visit the Park said; "... the strategic location of the Park right in the middle of Nairobi's central business district plays a significant role in the reasons why people visit the Park. The site itself, because it is in the middle of the CBD, at the busiest corner in Nairobi. The element of being strategically placed; we have a lot of concerts, exhibitions, anything that can bring up the public. If you want to target people in Nairobi, people in the CBD, I think this is the place, if you want to shout, you will be heard. So that is also a plus." Interviewee 4 while talking about her responsibilities to promote the Park said; "...We are lucky that the Park is so centrally placed, visitors both far and near find us easily, even when I pass out brochure outside the Park, I do not have to go far to reach our people"

**Artifacts/exhibits** was a topic that touched on most discussions about reasons for visiting the Park and the attractions of the Park. The memorial wall with names of the dead, in the garden area of the Park was cited by all interviewees as the most popular attraction in the Park. Interviewee 2 When asked about which attractions visitors like most at the Park said: "...I would also say the Memorial wall is very popular" to the same question, interviewee 1

said; “visitors also like the documentary film ‘Seconds from Disaster’ as well as the stories of the tragedy featured in the museum.” To the same question about attractions of the Park interviewee 3 said “The stories, actually the stories are quite popular, I would say are catchy and moving... so another thing that draws them is the US flag.”

**Role of media** was mentioned in both positive and negative connotations. Interviewee 1 when asked how the media has impacted visitation to the Park replied; “... when the local newspapers, magazines and television covered stories on the safety, clean environment of the park and peace initiatives, as well as interviewed visitors who had a positive feedback. This greatly increased the number of visitors to the park. On the other hand when the media highlighted the controversial issue of non compensation of victims and survivors, it impacted the Park negatively.” The same question, interviewee 2 replies; “... negative stories that did not portray the real facts and parties involved in the issues affected and have continued to affect the Park. The public “blamed” the Memorial Park for the unresolved issue of compensation; this caused bad publicity and a low visitor turnout causing the Park to be closed for a month in 2006.”

## 5 Discussion

In this chapter discussion of questionnaire results and interview results are presented side by side to give an overall view but also to allow interpretation, comparison and connections.

The profile of the Park shows that the majority of Park visitors fall in the younger age group of 30 and below, with over half of them being female and residents of Nairobi. About half are Kenyan by nationality but regional and international visitors can also be found. The large percentage of repeat visitors (over 60%) is significant. Likely the central location of the Park allows local visitors from the surrounding to visit again and again. This finding points to location as an important motivation factor at the Park. Visitors are highly educated with most having completed college education. Visitors get their information about the Park mainly through friends and the vast majority of them are Christians.

All the nine potential motivation factors in dark tourism discussed from literature play a role at the Park. Other factors not discussed in the literature review influence motivation at the Park. Discussions and interpretation of the results are found in more detail in the following section. Also discussed are implications for site management based on these findings; as well as the relationship between the tourist gaze and dark tourism motivation factors at the Park at the end.

### 5.1 Factors of motivation at the Park

#### **Push factors of motivation**

This section answers research question 1. Which push factors play a role in visitor motivation at the Park? Two push factors of motivation namely curiosity, novelty seeking play a role at the Park. The following is a discussion of the role they play at the Park.

**Curiosity** as a motivator seemingly plays a minor role at the Park since only a few of the respondents visited the Park for reasons of curiosity. Interviewees also confirmed that there are people who visit because of curiosity. Although not a strong motivation factor at the Park, curiosity is justified by other motivations for example, the location of the Park seems to influence curiosity as an interviewee reported that passersby often walk up to the gate to ask what's inside the Park. This probably means that, because the Park is located in the busy central business district of Nairobi, a lot of people pass by it and some of them are drawn by curiosity to visit. Curiosity as a factor of motivation is therefore connected to location.

Media could also be creating curious awareness, this deducted from an interviewee's report that visitors who had heard about the Park through the media were curious to see for themselves what the Park was all about. These findings correspond with Tarlow's (2005) argument that visitors visit dark tourism sites out of curiosity or because it is the thing to do. It also relates to Hartmann's (2005) observation that the unusual or unique is interesting to people; and so whether it is a natural phenomenon; an artistic or historical structure; or a spectacular event and including sites of atrocity; the motive remains partly curiosity.

**Novelty seeking** as a motivator was found not to be a dominant motivator but closely related to curiosity. This is because just a few respondents reported to visit the Park for reasons of experiencing something new or novelty. Interviewees also confirmed that out of town visitors were curious and visited to experience something new, indicating curiosity as a precursor to novelty and linking the two push factors.

Those who look for new experiences or novelty seem to be from the younger age groups of between 10-20 and 21-30 as shown in pivot table 2 in chapter 4. The table also shows interestingly that no one in the other age groups visited the Park for reasons of novelty or curiosity. This corresponds to Snepenger's classic (1987) study and which is commonly referred to in other tourism studies. This study found that novelty seeking was inversely related to age meaning that the older a person is, the less novelty seeking they are. Further, the type of visitor classified as a drifter by Cohen's (1972) classic tourist typology; discussed in literature; and whom he describes as a novelty seeker was not identified in the analysis of either the questionnaire survey or interview as that would have required more in depth interviews.

### **Pull factors of motivation**

This section answers research question 2. Which pull factors play a role in visitor motivation at the Park? Six pull factors of motivation namely cultural heritage and identity, death and dying, remembrance, education, location and artifacts and exhibits play a role at the Park. The following is the discussion of the role they play at the Park.

**Cultural heritage and identity** was a dominant pull factor of motivation at the Park. Interestingly, the second most popular reason to visit the Park was to pay respect to the victims a concept connected in this study to cultural heritage and identity. In addition to this, a large number of the respondents felt closely related to or connected to someone affected by the tragedy, a concept also associated with cultural heritage and identity. Most of the visitors felt a strong connection of sympathy with the victims.

On closer examination, more than half of the Kenyans as well as the Americans who visited felt a connection as was shown in pivot table 1 in chapter 4. This is probably because it's mostly Kenyans who died at the site and by virtue of being Kenyan, they shared in what other Kenyans suffered; or being an American, they identify with the fact that Americans also died at the site. Among those who felt a connection were survivors, relatives and friends of victims. Even though most did not know anyone who died at the site, they still felt a connection and were drawn or pulled back to the site. They seek their cultural heritage and identity through a connection with the site where their family friends and relatives died. The large number of such respondents points to cultural heritage and identity as a strong pull influence or motivator at the Park.

These findings correspond to Rojeck (1997) suggestion that tourists seek out such dark sites because of a fragmented sense of social and cultural identity; also, Stone and Sharpley's (2008) comments that people who have a direct or indirect relationship with events that are related to death and disaster often return to that site of the event, because they identify with it as part of their heritage. Further that these may be survivors or friends and relatives of the deceased or victims. The 'pull' of heritage and identity of the Park causes visitors to return and even though some people may not have a link to the event, they identify with it in terms of sympathy.

The Park as a historical site came up in the survey. Also, interviewees through their contact with visitors, report the Park as a site that represents Kenya's history, identifying it as a cultural heritage site. The Park's educational aims or mandate teaches this history through artifacts and exhibits that tell stories and peace initiatives that make sure that a terrorist attack never happens again. This establishes the Park as a cultural heritage site and a monument that conserves the history of what happened and that seems to have had a strong impact on society and therefore visitors visiting the Park. Corresponding to this, Kušen (2002) discusses the cultural-historic heritage sites as memorial sites and buildings, like cemeteries, necropolis, historic sites and locations, buildings connected to historic figures and events.

**Death and dying** was discussed in literature as a push factor. This study found that it played more of a 'pull' role at the Park. It was also a significant factor of motivation at the Park and many visitors come to the Park because of its thanatological theme. Even though not many visitors consciously or specifically visit the Park because of an intrinsic need to cope with death; a lot of them are drawn to the Park because of its thanatological theme. This is because few respondents reported directly that they would visit the site of death as a means to cope

with death; while on the other hand, the main reason of visiting reported by visitors was reflection and meditation; a concept related to death of victims at the Park.

Further, an overwhelming majority of respondents reported that they would visit other similar sites of death and disaster indicating that the thanatological theme of the Park is a pull factor of motivation. This could also mean that the same push/pull factors evident at the Park could apply to similar dark attractions. These results are affirmed by an interviewee's insight, that belief by locals, that the dead are buried at the Park, is what brings some visitors to the Park. This finding however does not correspond to literature (Mannino 1997, DeSpelder and Strickland 2012) who suggest that in western society, death and discussion of death is considered a taboo. The researcher's assumption though that death and dying plays a significant role at the Park seems to be justified and the topic of death may not be such a taboo in some communities in Kenya after all; given that about half of the visitors were Kenyan. This is in contrast with the west as indicated in some studies.

Other results that may support this are that the wall with names of the dead was the second most popular attraction of the Park; the peace memorial museum which depicts events of the tragedy through pictures and exhibits; and a sculpture made from debris of the blast were some of the top attractions of the Park. All these are aspects of the Park that present a thanatological theme. Visitors come to see these attractions, reflect, contemplate and meditate upon the death of victims. Stone and Sharpley (2008) acknowledge this when they mention diverse reasons as to why tourists visit dark tourism sites; they point out the 'extend' and 'interest' in death as the dominant reason. These findings also illustrate that motivation factor of death and dying at the Park is connected to factors of remembrance and cultural heritage and identity (wall with names of the dead); exhibits and artifacts (Peace Memorial Museum, sculpture made from debris).

**Remembrance** was assumed to be a highly significant pull factor of motivation at the onset of the study, given the memorial nature of the Park. However, it featured as the third most significant motivation reason for visitation at the Park. It is possible that this is because it is mostly survivors, relatives and friends of victims who come to the Park to remember. A high number of this kind of visitor is therefore not expected at any one time.

Also, visitors come to the Park to remember victims of the tragedy especially during the memorial season in August as affirmed by interviewees; yet this study was carried out at the end of the year. Interestingly, the Peace Memorial Museum which this study relates to remem-

brance was also the third most popular attraction of the Park. These findings correspond to Lennon and Foley's (2000) argument that pilgrimage associated with death of individuals or groups, are acts of remembrance; sometimes acquiring greater significance at certain times of the year.

Further to this, majority of the visitors to the Park during the survey were Christians, which according to literature closely relates to the concept of remembrance. Lennon & Foley (2000) also comment that practices associated with death and remembrance is highly ritualized in all societies where there is a belief system whose faith ascribes to separation of body and soul and an afterlife or reincarnation. It was surprising that none of the respondents were found to be of the Islamic faith, given that almost half of the visitors were Kenyan and that Islam is the other significant religion in Kenya and constitutes 10% of religions in Kenya. At this point it is important to note that the perpetrators of the tragic events ascribed to the Islamic faith and this could have a bearing on why there were no Muslim visitors.

**Education** as a motivation factor was the fourth most important reason to visit the Park. It does not play a dominant role but has an important role of pulling visitors through the Park's educational aims such as the Peace Builders program at schools and community level, Art in the Park program, the documentary film; not to mention opening up the Park to private individuals and companies for peace initiatives targeting the public. Despite this, not many visitors (11.1%) are motivated to visit the Park by reason of learning about the tragedy. Even though the theme of education is brought up by respondents in the open question, the number is still significantly small. Nevertheless, this indicates that there are few visitors whose intrinsic search for knowledge pushes them to visit the Park. On the same note, visitors to the Park were found to be highly educated, so one would expect more interest in educational events at the Park but this is seemingly not the case.

27.8% of total visitors had at one time or another attended an educational event at the Park; indicating that education as a pull motivating factor though not dominant is still significant. A lot of visitors who come to the Park connected with the education programs are mainly students who come during the school term. This study was carried out during school holidays and this may also explain the lack of visitors interested in educational events. These findings however correlate to Henderson's (2000), argument that, visitors at sites of dark tourism may be motivated by a search of knowledge or novelty and that sites' educational mandate may act as 'pull' factor but on the other hand, visitors' intrinsic search for knowledge or novelty may act as a 'push' factor. Education is consistently linked to other factors such as history, artifacts

and exhibits and novelty in discussions with interviewees at the Park, when they bring up learning alongside these themes. For example, visitors are educated about the history of the tragedy through depiction of exhibits at the Peace Memorial Museum and the showing of the documentary film.

**Location** was found to be a dominant motivation factor at the Park. An interviewee stressed that one of the main reasons they had so many visitors (about 300,000 annually) was because of the location of the Park, in the busiest part of Nairobi's central business district. Even though not many visitors indicated location specifically as a factor that influenced their visitation, other results such as the high number of repeat visitors (over 60%) possibly points to location as playing a significant role in visitation. This is supported where an interviewee points out that most of these repeat visitors come from offices, colleges or other institutions in the vicinity of the Park, due to the convenience. The high number of repeat visitation could also be attributed to the affordable gate charges.

A few respondents in answering the open question suggested a historical connection to the location of the Park and an interviewee suggests that the location as a historical site of the 1998 terrorist bomb blast is quite significant for visitation. As earlier discussed, it seems also that the Park's local geographical location in the CBD of Nairobi is an important factor of motivation at the Park. Visitors, especially locals find the central location of the Park in the city convenient and therefore accessible making the Park's geographical location a 'pull' motivating factor for local visitors and possibly, international and regional visitors whose first port of entry into the country is mainly Nairobi. These findings ties in with literature discussed earlier where Lennon and Foley (2000) talk about how location in historical and geographical contexts is significant in dark tourism.

**Artifacts and exhibits** although seemingly did not play a dominant role as a pull motivating factor; was found to have an obscured importance. A closer look at the results, revealed a hidden or unconscious interest in artifacts and exhibits. Although only 5.6% of total correspondents reported directly to have come to the Park specifically for reasons of seeing artifacts and exhibits, other results showed that 17.6% respondents found the Peace Memorial Museum most interesting and 10.2% respondents who had watched the documentary film, indicated an underlying interest in artifacts and exhibits.

Additionally, an interviewee spoke of specific exhibits in the museum such as the documentary and flag corner that were popular and attracted a number of visitors. The Peace



Memorial Museum houses a lot of exhibits (Including pictures and stories of the tragedy) in various forms. The documentary film can also be watched at the museums auditorium to learn about the tragedy. Further, the granite commemoration wall, sculpture made from the debris of the blast and the Ying yang fountain are exhibits that make the Park attractive in their own right. All these aspects of the Park are no doubt the attractions or exhibitions that 'pull' people to visit, see and experience them for themselves. Many instances found in literature correspond to this finding where sites use artifacts to 'pull' visitors. An example is given by Lennon and Foley (2000) where objects such as human hair, shoes and spectacles are on display in Auschwitz as part of exhibitions to attract visitors. They also point out that such exhibits are used indirectly to educate a new generation as well as being a reminder of the past to keep memories of atrocities alive, never to be repeated. Even though visitors may not report exhibits as a direct reason to visit the Park, these exhibits reflect other factors such as education and cultural heritage and identity and are therefore connected.

Finally, **Media** was found to play both push and pull roles of motivation. When asked how they found out about the Park, respondents most commonly reported friends as means of finding out about the Park. This means that visitors know of the Park through word of mouth more than any other medium. Even collectively, media; that is television, newspapers, travel guides and radio; although significant still turned out to influence the second highest number of respondents, with television in the lead. This corresponds with Fotsch's (2010) account that even if their motivation is educational or spiritual, visitors are likely to have also learned about a location they plan to visit from multiple sources, ranging from travel magazines to network news.

Tarlow (2005, 57) also argues that television and film can define modern dark tourism. Additionally, qualitative analysis of interviews revealed that media plays both a positive or negative role at the Park. Media coverage about the Park and its offerings has had a positive effect leading to an increase in visitor numbers. However, the same media coverage highlighted controversial, unresolved compensation issues at the Park, causing a low visitor turnout to the point of a one month closure in 2006. This finding illustrates well, that media draws (pulls) visitors to these sites by increasing public awareness. This awareness of visitors is then what 'pushes' them to visit or not visit these sites. Otherwise, media could also be said to have created curious awareness to see this unique site, illustrating the connection of media to curiosity as a motivator.

Besides this, interviewees lamented the media's lack of consistency and how at the Park, there was only interest from the local media around July and August when the Memorial Day is coming up or when VIP's from the U.S are visiting. This finding shows that the local media can also be selective on what and when to report. There was no mention however from interviewees regarding international media coverage and their selectivity in covering only stories about sites in the west as reported in literature.

### **Other factors of motivation**

This section answers research question 3. What other motivational factors influence visitors' decision to visit the Park? Apart from factors of motivation discussed in literature and found at the Park, other factors not discussed from literature emerged; some of them unique to the site.

**History** was found to influence visitation at the Park; but was not discussed at the beginning of this study. It was found to be closely connected to education as it turned out that visitors see the Park as historic place where they can learn about the past, similarly an interviewee perceived that the main attraction of the Park is the history behind it. The researcher assumes that history is consistently linked to education in this study because those visitors, who go to the Park to learn, specifically want to learn about the past; which is the history of what happened at the site. To forward one of the Park's mandates of education, administrators must go back in history. The need to learn and experience history at the Park 'pulls' visitors there and so history can be considered as a pull factor of motivation at the Park.

**Rest and relaxation** as a push motivator was odd for a dark tourism site and unique to the Park. Relaxation also happens to be one of Crompton's (1979) push- socio-psychological factors from his push-pull model showing that motivation factors unique to the Park can also still be categorized in this way. Rest and relaxation was found to play a dominant role, a notion supported by the Memorial garden being the most popular attraction and high number of visitors reporting to visit the Park to have a day out.

**Catharsis and peace** are two themes which seemed suited together as a motivating factor. This is because interviewees consistently expressed the need by visitors to release strong emotions of grief or remembrance through prayer and events at the Park so as to have peace of mind. Catharsis therefore was expressed as a precursor to peace by interviewees and seen as a push motivating factor and an unexpected unique factor to the Park. Visitors had the intrinsic need release and thereby provide relief from, strong or repressed emotions through prayer, art,

music etc. Visitors also came to the Park individually or in groups to pray and to find peace of mind. Others specifically visited to be prayed for by a priest who came to the Park frequently. Also, mostly survivors and relatives of victims experienced catharsis through thematic concerts, plays, music or exhibitions at the Park. Additionally, the serene surroundings of the Park attracted visitors to get away from the hustle and stress of the city

**Change** was another motivation factor unique to the Park and could be categorized also as a push factor due to its intrinsic nature. Visitors spoke of expecting a positive change after a visit to the Park and an interviewee lauded for example how the Peace Builders program has changed the students who participated in it for the better. The children are sensitized to the negative effects of bullying, terrorism and about peaceful co-existence. Their teachers can report a definite change in them as new generations of diplomats are made.

**Art in the Park** could be categorized as a pull motivator due to its role as a program that draws and promotes local talent at the Park; through art and cultural events which strongly supports the Park's peace initiative. Through it also, funds are raised for Park maintenance and therefore art in the Park plays a vital role in the Park. Although there was no Art in the Park event happening during the time of the study; it was evident from consistent interviewee accounts that this program contributes for a lot of visitors to the Park. The study therefore considered it a motivation factor unique to the Park.

**Commerce** as a motivating factor was evident through groups of people that were attracted to the Park for formal or informal business purposes. From two interviewee account, the informal groups meet at the memorial gardens and pay just gate charges, while the formal groups hire the meeting rooms for events or the whole Park for company or institution events. Commerce therefore plays a role as pull factor of motivation and can be considered to be quite an important role, because the Park is a non-profit organization and completely depends on these activities to raise money to sustain itself.

The range of motivations for visiting dark tourism sites is generally considerable. It is important to note however that all findings in this study must be taken into context. Apart from death and dying which was found to possibly be a motivating factor in similar sites; the findings of this research suggests only what motivates visitors to the August 7<sup>th</sup> Memorial Park, Kenya. It cannot purport to know for sure what really pulls or pushes visitors to other sites of dark tourism; although findings from this study may give a general guide to similar studies at similar sites.

## 5.2 Implications and recommendations for site management

This section answers research question 4. What are the implications of these motivational factors for site management? As touristic sites realize more and more the importance of good service for their clients, they also realize that better understanding of visitor behavior is crucial to providing this service. Knowledge gathered from this study and better understanding of visitor motivation can therefore help promote the Memorial Park in several ways.

**Park administrators** should note from this study that Park mandates of remembrance, education do not elicit strong motivation for visitors to visit the Park. This may be reflected in the fact that a lot of visitors are not visiting the museum and choosing to end their tour at the Memorial gardens. There is therefore the possibility of administrators creating more interest in the Memorial museum by enhancing education and remembrance as motivation factors for visitors. This can be done by for example having special occasional showings of some of the more popular museum exhibits in the garden area if possible; or show them during Art in the Park events that further the themes of remembrance and education and ultimately peace. The administrators could also consider the concept of a 'free entry day' where for example the museum is open to the public for free every first Friday of the month from 4 p.m to 6 p.m. or any other convenient time.

Additionally or alternatively, the concept of rest and relaxation which was found to be a motivation factor unique to the Park can be creatively expanded at the visitors' center to ultimately draw visitors into the museum. This may include simply providing a sitting/rest area equipped with a coffee and water dispenser and where visitors can rest, quench their thirst, access reading materials such as brochures and newsletters about the Park and museum and ultimately decide to extend their visit to the museum.

Another implication for administrators is that there is a need to improve Park interpretation. The Park is quite visible but it is not initially clear to those passing by and are curious or those seeking for novelty, what goes on behind the walls. This is reflected by weak motivation influences of novelty seeking and curiosity as found in the study. To cater to these kinds of visitors, administrators can improve interpretation at the Park by taking advantage of a related strong motivation factor such as its location in the CBD. More information for example, in form of signage such as pictures, illustrations, texts about the Park or even a map could be posted outside the Park and in the vicinity where hundreds of people pass by every day. This will inform at a glance, curious passersby or those simply seeking for novelty what the Park is

all about. Improved Park interpretation may open up new markets simply because there will be a new breed of visitors with a little more knowledge about the Park and who come with certain expectations about what they would like to see and experience.

Further still on interpretation; Stone (2004) comments that heritage consumption is derived from form, content, narrative and nature of how the past is interpreted. Cultural heritage and identity is an important motivator at the Park, and it was indeed found to be closely related to history, a motivator which consistently came up in the study. Site administrators can take advantage of this relationship by focusing on relevant interpretation of history to make cultural heritage and identity an even more powerful motivator at the Park. An example of such interpretation can be the promotion of additional related services such as workshops, art exhibits and concerts not only depicting the peace message but incorporating the history of and behind the Park.

The Park's authenticity could also be enhanced through commerce which was found to be a motivating factor unique to the Park. This could be done for example by and selling at the existing shop, commissioned works of art to souvenir items such as T-shirts, key chains, badges etc with themes related to peace and remembrance. Also, items such as flowers at the shop would sell well especially during and leading up to the memorial month.

**Gate and ground managers** are in constant touch with visitors to the Memorial Garden. The large amount of repeat visitors especially at the Memorial garden coming for rest and relaxation, presents an opportunity for Park management in terms of a promotion resource. They can be involved in promoting the Park not only to the public outside the Park, but to the visitors spending time at the Memorial gardens. A subtle way of doing this could be occasionally availing of illustrated, informative promotion materials such as leaflets and brochure within the garden area and verbally encouraging each visitor to spread the word to their friends and relatives. Also, raising Park awareness through subtle engagement of these visitors, by encouraging them not only to visit and sit at the gardens but to also go to the visitor's center, take a museum tour or watch the documentary film and even become a donor or friend of the Park. This is bound to have a domino effect since these visitors are influenced to visit the Park, mostly by friends and they are the same visitors who will spread 'word of mouth' to their relatives and friends.

**Marketing and events** managers at the Park can recognize from this study, new marketing strategies to effectively market the Park through all seasons. For example, the study found that

in the weeks leading up to the memorial month of August, survivors, friends and relatives of victims are the expected visitors. The marketers can place emphasis on promoting the Park as a site for remembrance or a place to come and pay respect to the victims, through their website, newsletters, brochures and importantly encouraged word of mouth. Further, the study found that visitors are influenced strongly by their friends. Marketers can create, for instance, a presence on social media such as Facebook, Twitter and blogs where visitors may not only give feedback but pass on information about activities and events at the Park to friends.

The study found that media has the capacity to influence visitation at the Park both positively and negatively but it also seems selective about when and how they cover events about the Park. The marketing and event management personnel can be proactive and engage the media by choosing to work with newspapers, radio and television stations to promote the image of the Park throughout the year. For instance, offering open invitations or tickets to interesting events at the Park to establish consistent and important contacts and relationships with them. Social media can further act as an important platform for strong public relations and even raise the traditional media's awareness. This can be done through improvement of the Park's website by linking it to other social media outlets such as facebook and twitter; effectively allowing communication across multiple channels. Supporting this with a proactive E-News service to for example members of the "Friends of the Park" would further enhance the effectiveness of the website. Lastly but not least, not a single Muslim was reported to have visited the Park during the period of study. This is of concern given that almost half of the visitors were Kenyan and that Islam is a significant religion in Kenya and also given that the perpetrators of the event ascribed to the Islamic faith. Questions could be raised to marketers about how to reach out to the Muslims community and other minority groups with the message of peace.

'The tourist gaze' is alive and well at the Park as found in the study, the most popular gaze being the collective gaze which is represented by visitors accompanied by friends. Site administrators can target these 'friends' to expand their "Friends of the Park" program; which currently includes some big companies, organizations and individuals. This group helps the Park to achieve its objectives and they are also entitled to discounts at the Park. Anyone who comes to the Park with a friend is given the opportunity to join friends of the Park. The campaign can appeal to volunteers of all ages and it will be a way for local residents to get involved in keeping the Park a place of beauty that everyone can enjoy. Benefits of becoming a friend of the Park can for example include getting a free "Friend of the Park" badge, helping to improve the park's appearance with volunteer cleanups which would ultimately save the Park

money in maintenance. Others benefits would include having a say in its facilities and biodiversity through a representative; discounted entry charges; a chance to meet new people and generally just be able to make a positive contribution to the city of Nairobi. The above implications attest to literature discussed in chapter 2 where Bowen and Clarke's (2009, 88, 97.), propose that understanding tourist motivations has become important because specific tourist motivations can help in planning better products and services, more efficient marketing communications and developing visitor attractions.

Finally, if site administrators and managers know what their visitors need, they will be better equipped and prepared to receive their visitors. A clearer understanding of visitor motivation can enable better design and interpretation of the site for all stakeholder involved. More importantly; well taken care of visitors will be more satisfied, leading to a higher profile of the site through word of mouth and other media. This will lead to more visitors at the Park; which will in turn bring in more revenue and heritage preservation and sustainability.

### 5.3 The tourist gaze and motivation factors

All motivation factors found in literature were identified at the Park, meaning that Park visitors exhibit all five 'gazes' as described by Urry(1990). These gazes are connected to motivation factors at the Park as described in chapter 2.4. Results from the Park found five motivation factors unique to the Park. The researcher has further attempted to explain how these motivation unique factors fit in the tourist gaze as follows:

- i) **Rest and relaxation** as a motivation factor can be categorized as '**a collective gaze**'. These may be visitors who come to the Park with a friend, in a group, with family members, for a picnic or simply from a break of the hustle and bustle of the city. It is a communal activity undertaken in the company of other people who share encounters and gaze at the familiar, for example, the gardens, the nature around. They also come to meet familiar faces.
- ii) **Catharsis and peace** and **art in the Park** as motivators can be categorized as an '**anthropological gaze**'. These visitors are motivated by a need to purge their emotions. They are bound to have an emotive experience and may spend time immersed in viewing memorial monuments, hearing, feeling and interpreting the meaning of death. These may be individuals such as survivors and friends and relatives of victims who attend or participate in artistic or other events at the Park; also those who come to pray or be prayed for by a local priest.

iii) Commerce as a motivation factor can be categorized as an ‘environmental gaze’. Visitors who come for business purposes come in organized groups such as the finance groups who meet at the gardens or the companies and institutions who hire rooms for meetings or company business events. These groups subject their environment to surveillance and inspection, they are attentive, and they come to learn, get information, pleasure or entertainment.

iv) **Change** as a motivation factor can be categorized as a ‘romantic gaze’. Visitors who come out to experience change have sustained immersion (complete attention) are expectant and eager to experience new things; they gaze with awe and feeling. These may be the individuals who want a change in their daily routines but they may also expect to be changed by the experience.

The above discussions therefore justify the researcher’s proposal that “The need to visit sites or unusual places connected to tragedy or disaster results in a bigger, holistic picture of tourist motivation which results in the ‘tourist gaze’.” Figure 8 illustrates motivational factors at the Park in relation to the ‘Tourist gaze’.

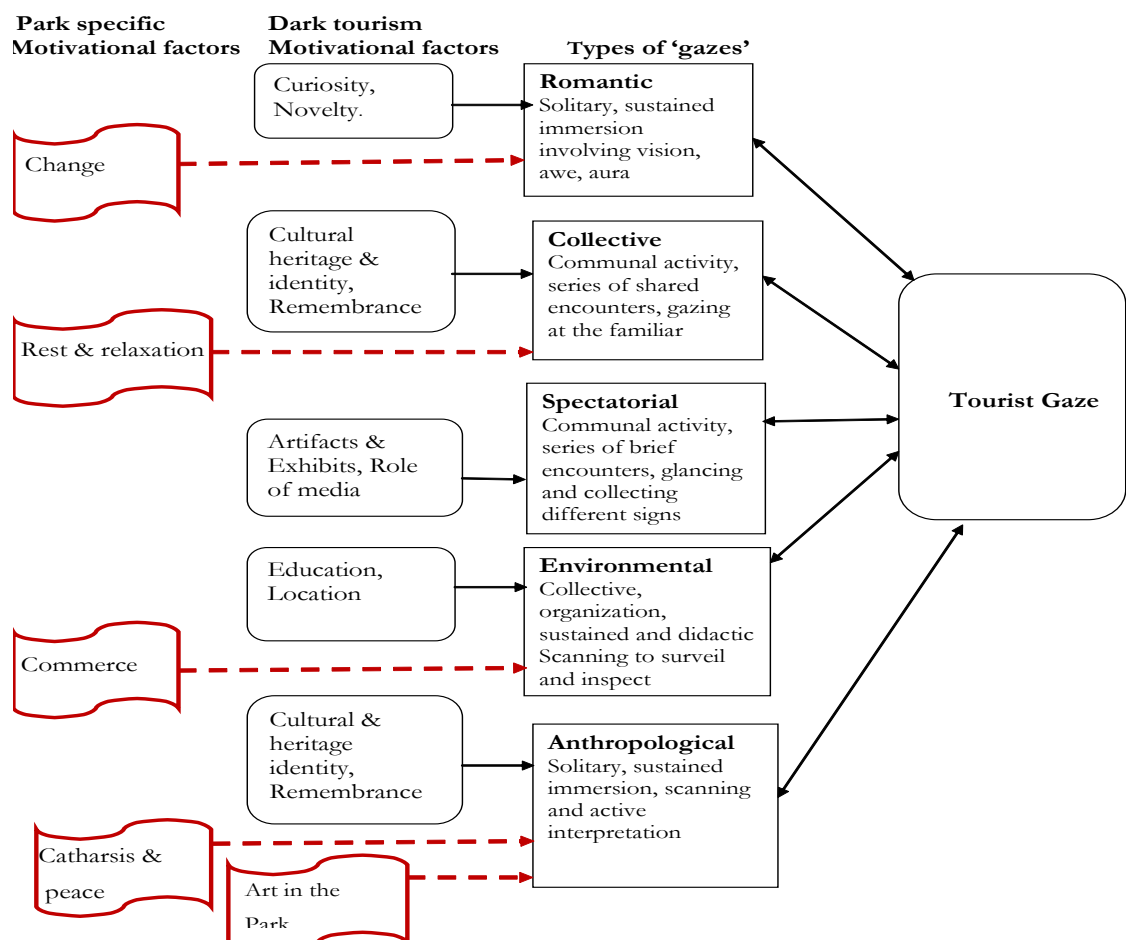


Figure 8. The tourist gaze in relation to dark tourism motivational factors at the Park



## 6 Conclusions

The aim of this study was to identify what motivates tourists to visit sites of death and disaster. The study has specifically identified these motivations at the August 7th Memorial Park and discussed their roles for a better understanding of visitor behavior at this site; and possibly by extension to other similar sites. Further; the study also sought to provide site managers or marketers with more holistic information that would help them in better site management and visitor experiences.

The theoretical framework of the study is based on Crompton's (1979) and Dan's (1981) push and pull motivational models which generally presents that people or travelers are "pushed" into making travel decisions by internal or intrinsic psychological motivators and "pulled" by external or extrinsic motivators of the destination. Also noted was that supply and demand of dark tourism products is huge, but comes short and is fragmented when it comes to studies of motivations of tourists to dark tourism sites. A study was therefore justified to bridge the gaps in existing literature, and to create a deeper insight and understanding as to reasons why people visit places of dark tourism.

The study sought to answer these four questions:

1. Which push factors play a role in visitor motivation at the Park?
2. Which pull factors play a role in visitor motivation at the Park?
3. What other motivational factors influence visitors' decision to visit the Park?
4. What are the implications of these motivational factors for site management?

Separately but in addition, the researcher proposed that Urry's (1990) 'tourist gaze' concept was linked to these motivational factors.

The objectives of this study which have so far been met; were to identify push and pull tourist motivation factors at the August 7th Memorial Park, through a quantitative and qualitative visitor and staff survey respectively; to identify what role these factors of motivation play at the August 7th Memorial Park; to identify other factors of motivation that arise and may be unique to the Memorial Park; and finally to discuss implications that arise from these findings for site management. This chapter outlines a summary of findings, limitations, reliability and validity and last but not least recommendations for further research and conclusions.

## 6.1 Summary of findings

Empirical findings of this study were presented in chapter 4 leading up to discussions and interpretations in chapter 5. Below is a synthesis of the findings.

1. The Park was visited mostly by people 30 years and younger and over half of them were female and residents of Nairobi. About half were Kenyans but regional and international visitors were also to be found. Over 60% were repeat visitors and most visitors had completed college education. They were mainly influenced to visit the Park through friends and television and the vast majority of them were Christians.
2. Two push factors of motivation; namely curiosity, novelty seeking was found to play a minor role at the Park. Few visitors visited for reasons of curiosity and novelty seeking which was also found to be directly linked to location and proximity of the Park.
3. Six pull factors of motivation, namely cultural heritage and identity death and dying, remembrance, education, location and artifacts and exhibits were found to play a role at the Park. Cultural heritage and identity, death and dying; and location played dominant roles at the Park. Surprising was that although the Park's mandate and aims focus on remembrance and education, they did not come up as dominant motivators. Remembrance as a push motivator was important only during and leading up to the memorial month of August when survivors, friends and relatives of victims visited. Media was found to be both a push and pull factor of motivation and impacted the Park both negatively and positively. Factors of motivation were found to be closely connected to each other for example, the Park's education programs played a central role of pulling visitors to come learn about the tragedy through artifacts and exhibits at the museum or to watch the documentary film.
4. Other factors of motivation; included history which was found to be closely linked to education as visitors came to learn about the past. Other factors which were unique to the Park included rest and relaxation, which played a dominant role due to the popularity of the memorial garden. Minor roles were played by catharsis and peace; change; art in the Park and commerce. Given the thanatological theme of the Park, rest and relaxation and commerce were found to be interesting and surprising factors of motivation.

5. The findings presented a number of implications for site administrators and managers for which recommendations were given. These were: i) A need to create more interest in the Memorial museum by for example having special exhibit showings at the garden, considering a 'free entry day' concept and creating a rest area at the visitors center to draw garden visitors. ii) A need to improve Park interpretation by for example posting illustrative signage in the vicinity of the Park to draw in visitors iii) A need to enhance the authenticity of the Park by for example selling commissioned works of art and souvenir items that advance the themes of peace and remembrance. iv) An opportunity to source Park promotion from repeat visitors by for example handing them promotion material such as brochures, and v) Recognition of new marketing strategies such promoting the Park as place of remembrance during the memorial month of August, creating a presence on social media through the Park website, nurturing a relationship with the media for consistent and positive coverage, promoting the park to the Muslim community and other minority groups and growing the 'friends of the Park' group.

6. Finally, the findings also supported the proposal that Urry's (1990) five types of tourist gazes were linked to dark tourism motivational factors. To this effect, the researcher concluded that the need to visit sites or unusual places connected to tragedy or disaster results in a bigger, holistic picture of tourist motivation which results in the 'tourist gaze'.

## **6.2 Limitations, reliability and validity**

Although the research has reached its aims, there were some limitations that could not be avoided. First, it must be noted that dark tourism is a relatively 'new' area of study and there was insufficient number of published studies; but especially published recent studies on the subject of motivation of tourists to dark attractions.

This was the first time a questionnaire was implemented at the August 7<sup>th</sup> Memorial Park and there was no previous research at the Park to compare results with. In order to gain more reliable findings, it would be recommended that another survey be carried out at the Park. Secondly, this was a case study of the Park; therefore not all results may necessarily apply to other sites of dark tourism. The findings therefore can only represent the opinions expressed by those in the sample and should be seen as guiding for other sites of dark tourism, rather than generalized.

Thirdly, the methodology used in this study may present some limitations to the results and findings of this study. The use of a structured questionnaire restricted respondents to multiple

choice answers provided by the researcher. Respondents therefore had little opportunity to qualify the meaning of answers. Further to this, the questions asked were by definition, those considered important by the researcher. Similarly, there may have been a possibility to miss important information by failing to ask appropriate questions.

Data collection was dependent a lot on the willingness of the visitors to participate in the survey and therefore the expected sample size of 370 visitors was not achieved resulting in a response rate of 29.2%. Lastly, even though a literature review was done, the researcher is a self proclaimed dark tourist who consequently has her own assumptions of why people visit such places. Therefore in relation to the staff interviews, there is the possibility that interviewer bias may affect the interpretation of the answers provided by the respondents.

This study used both qualitative and quantitative methods of research. The concepts of reliability and validity are viewed differently by qualitative and quantitative researchers. The researcher evaluates validity and reliability of this study from both perspectives.

According to Joppe (2000), in quantitative research, the research instrument is considered to be reliable if the results of the study can be reproduced under similar methodology while validity determines whether the research truly measures that which it was intended to measure, or how truthful the research results are. In this study, replicability of results is assumed because care was taken to come up with a credible survey instrument. The questionnaire design was guided by a similar survey carried out in dark tourism studies and it was also tested at the site before being implemented. Similarly, this research can be considered valid because it has measured what it set out to measure; that is; the survey instrument used produced quantitative results that enabled the researcher to answer the research questions set at the beginning of the study.

According to Guion, Diehl and McDonald (2011), validity, in qualitative research, refers to whether the findings of a study are true and certain-“true” in the sense that research findings accurately reflect the situation, and “certain” in the sense that research findings are supported by the evidence. They further introduce triangulation as a method used by qualitative researchers to check and establish validity in their studies by analyzing a research question from multiple perspectives. They write that methodological triangulation involves the use of multiple qualitative and/or quantitative methods to study the program. For example, results from surveys, focus groups, and interviews could be compared to see if similar results are being found. If the conclusions from each of the methods are the same, then validity is established.

Methodological triangulation was used in this study and most of the results from questionnaire survey were similar to those found in the interview survey. This study therefore has attained some level of validity. To further prove validity, the researcher has employed different validity strategies by providing a detailed description of the methodology used and has also clarified researcher bias.

Trochim (2006) equates reliability to dependability in qualitative research where for example different researchers reach similar interpretations or repeated examinations produce similar observations. To this effect, the researcher has tried to present qualitative data (Interview scripts) verbatim as much as possible so that readers or researchers can also interpret the data for themselves.

### **6.3 Future research recommendations**

There is need to mention that the concept of dark tourism is still unfamiliar in Kenya and the region, so this study could also be the beginning of further research into the topic. This is because hardly any academic works related to the topic of dark tourism were found from Kenya. On the basis of this research, five implications for further research are presented.

1. The study found cultural heritage and identity and death and dying to play strong roles of motivation at the Park; these could therefore provide basis for further research at the Park or similar sites in the region, valuable for understanding cultural heritage and identity and death and dying roles of dark tourism.
2. The concepts of rest and relaxation, peace and catharsis, change, and commerce which were found to be unique to the Park could provide specific areas of further research in dark tourism at the Park or related sites. For instance, the Park as a dark tourism site has embraced a commercial side and researchers could investigate how commercialization of such sites affects visitation or visitor experience or other such related topics.
3. A study using a different methodology, for example in-depth interviews at the Park or at a similar site in the region; could provide deeper and more detailed understanding of visitor motivation. This is because this study faced the challenge of topic sensitivity, and yet more than half of the respondents still took time to answer the one open question showing an openness to discuss a seemingly sensitive topic.

4. Media was found to have the ability to make or break the Park's image. It would be interesting to investigate deeper, media's influence at such sites or even how the social media as a marketing tool can affect visitation of such a site.

5. Lastly, the researcher proposed a conceptual model based on Urry's (1990) 'Tourist gaze' in relation to dark tourism. This thesis provides a blueprint to begin to investigate deeper the relationship between motivation and the different kinds of 'tourist gazes' at dark tourism sites.

This is the first such study carried out at the August 7<sup>th</sup> Memorial Park, Kenya. The principal benefit of this study of course lies in understanding visitor motivation at the Park; but generally provides a guide that could help managers of other related sites in the region to better understand visitor behavior; which is nowadays essential to providing better services.

In conclusion the findings show that dark tourists at the Park are motivated by a range of factors from cultural ones such as cultural heritage and identity to socio-psychological ones such as remembrance. This study contributes additional useful information to 'fragmented' motivation in dark tourism studies; it suggests tools for better management and interpretation of the Park and also similar sites of dark attractions; which ultimately enable better services, more efficient marketing communications and better visitor experiences. This study could also eventually open more doors for more of such studies to be carried out in Kenya and the wider African region.

Finally, the appeal of dark tourism does not lie within the sphere of the dead and forgotten but in our cultural legacy and identity and our need to comprehend death. It is therefore a wish of those alive to uphold and carry on history for future generations, identify with those who suffered injustice and hope for positive change for the future.

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## **Attachments**

- Attachment 1. August 7<sup>th</sup> Memorial Park visitor survey and cover letter
- Attachment 2. Survey questions, explanations and corresponding literature review
- Attachment 3. August 7<sup>th</sup> Memorial Park staff interview and cover letter
- Attachment 4. Staff interview questions, explanations and corresponding literature review
- Attachment 5. August 7<sup>th</sup> Memorial park location in central Nairobi, Kenya

## Attachments

### **Attachment 1. August 7<sup>th</sup> Memorial Park visitor survey and cover letter**

Dear Memorial Park visitor,

My name is Esther Gaya and I am an undergraduate student doing research on visitor motivation at the August 7<sup>th</sup> Memorial Park. Given the nature of the Memorial Park, our goal is to better understand what motivates people to visit the site. With this understanding, it is hoped that this site, and others like it, can better administer their exhibits and collections.

Your participation in this survey is therefore quite important. Your name is not required on the survey and all responses are confidential. The survey takes 10-15 minutes to complete. Your help is greatly appreciated. I would be more than happy to answer any questions you might have. Feel free to email me at [valgaya@yahoo.com](mailto:valgaya@yahoo.com). Thank you in advance for your assistance

Sincerely,

Esther Gaya,  
Haaga-Helia University of Applied Sciences  
Helsinki, Finland.

1. Are you a resident of Nairobi?

Yes ☐ No ☐

1b. If No, why did you come to Nairobi?

To visit Park ☐

Holiday ☐

Visiting friends or family ☐

Business trip ☐

Other (please specify): \_\_\_\_\_

2. With whom are you visiting the Memorial Park?

Alone ☐ With artist group ☐

With friends ☐ With business group ☐

With school program group ☐ With tour group ☐

Other (please specify): \_\_\_\_\_

3. How many times have you visited the Memorial Park?

1 time ☐

2 times ☐

More than twice ☐

4. What is your reason/s for visiting the Memorial Park?

To remember ☐ To pay respect to the victims ☐

To reflect and meditate ☐ To see artifacts/exhibits ☐

To learn about the tragedy ☐ To experience something new ☐

To satisfy curiosity ☐ It was recommended to visit ☐

To have a day out ☐

Other (please specify): \_\_\_\_\_

<p>5. Have you attended any educational events at the Park?</p> <p>Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>5b. If yes what kinds of educational events were they?</p> <table> <tr> <td>Lectures</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td>Documentary film</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Seminars</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td>Artist talent program</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> </tr> <tr> <td>School peace building program</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td>Organized tours</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="4">Other (please specify): _____</td> </tr> </table>	Lectures	<input type="checkbox"/>	Documentary film	<input type="checkbox"/>	Seminars	<input type="checkbox"/>	Artist talent program	<input type="checkbox"/>	School peace building program	<input type="checkbox"/>	Organized tours	<input type="checkbox"/>	Other (please specify): _____				
Lectures	<input type="checkbox"/>	Documentary film	<input type="checkbox"/>														
Seminars	<input type="checkbox"/>	Artist talent program	<input type="checkbox"/>														
School peace building program	<input type="checkbox"/>	Organized tours	<input type="checkbox"/>														
Other (please specify): _____																	
<p>6. What part (aspect) of the Park do you find most interesting?</p> <table> <tr> <td>Sculpture made from the debris of the blast</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Granite wall with names of the dead</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Memorial Garden</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Ying yang fountain</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Peace memorial museum</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="2">Other (please specify): _____</td> </tr> </table>	Sculpture made from the debris of the blast	<input type="checkbox"/>	Granite wall with names of the dead	<input type="checkbox"/>	Memorial Garden	<input type="checkbox"/>	Ying yang fountain	<input type="checkbox"/>	Peace memorial museum	<input type="checkbox"/>	Other (please specify): _____						
Sculpture made from the debris of the blast	<input type="checkbox"/>																
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Memorial Garden	<input type="checkbox"/>																
Ying yang fountain	<input type="checkbox"/>																
Peace memorial museum	<input type="checkbox"/>																
Other (please specify): _____																	
<p>7. Are you closely related to or connected to anyone affected by the event of the August 7th Bomb Blast? (Tick all that apply)</p> <table> <tr> <td>Sculpture made from the debris of the blast</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Granite wall with names of the dead</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Ying yang fountain</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Peace memorial museum</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="2">Other (please specify): _____</td> </tr> </table>	Sculpture made from the debris of the blast	<input type="checkbox"/>	Granite wall with names of the dead	<input type="checkbox"/>	Ying yang fountain	<input type="checkbox"/>	Peace memorial museum	<input type="checkbox"/>	Other (please specify): _____								
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Ying yang fountain	<input type="checkbox"/>																
Peace memorial museum	<input type="checkbox"/>																
Other (please specify): _____																	
<p>7b. If you feel personally connected to the August 7<sup>th</sup> Bomb Blast, what is the connection?</p> <table> <tr> <td>Survivor</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Victim</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Sympathizer</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Do not want to answer</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> </tr> </table>	Survivor	<input type="checkbox"/>	Victim	<input type="checkbox"/>	Sympathizer	<input type="checkbox"/>	Do not want to answer	<input type="checkbox"/>									
Survivor	<input type="checkbox"/>																
Victim	<input type="checkbox"/>																
Sympathizer	<input type="checkbox"/>																
Do not want to answer	<input type="checkbox"/>																

8. What do you think would be the best aid or way to cope with death?

- |                               |                          |                                 |                          |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------|
| Family                        | <input type="checkbox"/> | Meditation                      | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Friends                       | <input type="checkbox"/> | Visit site of death             | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Medical counselors            | <input type="checkbox"/> | Visit grave                     | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Church (Faith)                | <input type="checkbox"/> | Media(TV, radio, newspaper etc) | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Spirituality                  | <input type="checkbox"/> | Do not want to answer           | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Other (please specify): _____ |                          |                                 |                          |

9. In the future, would you visit a similar site that is related to death and disaster?

Yes ☐ No ☐

10. How did you find out about the Park and which influenced you the most?

- |                               |                          |            |                          |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------|------------|--------------------------|
| Family                        | <input type="checkbox"/> | TV         | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Friends                       | <input type="checkbox"/> | Newspapers | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Travel guide                  | <input type="checkbox"/> | Radio      | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Memorial Park Website         | <input type="checkbox"/> | Internet   | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Other (please specify): _____ |                          |            |                          |

11. Is there anything else you would like to share about your reasons for visiting the Memorial Park?

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12. Please tell us something about yourself.

Are you? Male ☐ Female ☐

13. What is your age group?

10-20 ☐ 41-50 ☐ 70+ ☐

21-30 ☐ 51-60 ☐

31-40 ☐ 61-70 ☐

14. What is your Nationality? \_\_\_\_\_

15. What is the highest level of education you have completed?

Primary school ☐ Undergraduate ☐

High (secondary) school ☐ Postgraduate ☐

College ☐

16. What is your faith?

Christian ☐

Muslim ☐

Hindu ☐

Other (please specify): \_\_\_\_\_

Do not want to answer ☐

## Attachment 2. Visitor survey explanations and corresponding literature review

Survey question	Literature review Chapter 2.3, 2.4	Explanation
1. Are you a resident of Nairobi?	Sub title – Location Lennon & Foley (2000)	To distinguish between local and non local. To establish a visitor profile. May give a clue to motivation. Local visitors may be attracted due to proximity (location) etc, while non locals may be there because it's on their travel itinerary
1b. If No, why did you come to Nairobi?	Sub titles- Location, cultural heritage and identity Stone & Sharpley (2008), Ashworth (2004)	To find out if visitors specifically came to visit the Park
2. With whom are you visiting the Memorial Park?	Chapter 1, research question 3. Chapter 2.4, subtitle - 'The tourist gaze. Urry (1990)	To find out what other factors influence visitation.
3. How many times have you visited the Memorial Park is?	Subtitles, education, remembrance, cultural heritage and identity. Lennon and Foley (2000),  Ashworth and Hartmann (2005)	Repeat visitation may mean that some push or pull factors such as education, remembrance or identity and heritage have a dominant influence.
4. What is your reason/s for visiting the Memorial Park	Subtitle – See literature review for motivation factors in dark tourism.	To find out push/pull motivation factors or other primary motivations
5. Have you attended any educational events at the Park? 5b. If yes what kinds of educational events were they?	Subtitle - education. Henderson (2000)	To find out if education is a motivational factor and which aspects are mainly of interest.
6. What part (aspect)of the Park do you find most interesting	Subtitles - death and dying, remembrance, cultural heritage and identity, education. Lee (2002),	To specifically identify which aspects of the Park motivate people the most. Could give clues to motivations of death and dying, remembrance, cultural heritage and identity and education as well as other motivations specific to the Park

<p>7. Are you closely related to or connected to anyone affected by the event of the August 7<sup>th</sup> Bomb Blast?</p> <p>7b. If you feel personally connected to the August 7<sup>th</sup> Bomb Blast, what is the connection?</p>	<p>Subtitles Cultural heritage &amp; identity, remembrance</p> <p>Stone and Sharpley (2008)</p>	<p>To find out if people are motivated by connection to victims.</p> <p>May indicate motivations of remembrance (survivor), cultural heritage &amp; identity connection, (sympathizer).</p>
<p>8. What do you think would be the best aid or way to cope with death?</p>	<p>Subtitle, death and dying.</p> <p>Lee (2002), Lennon &amp; Seaton (2005)</p>	<p>To Find out understand how society copes with death and disaster and if the thanatological theme of the Park plays a role</p>
<p>9. In the future, would you visit a similar site that is related to death and disaster?</p>	<p>Subtitle, death and dying.</p> <p>Lee (2002), Lennon &amp; Seaton (2005)</p>	<p>To Find out understand how society copes with death and disaster and if the thanatological theme of the Park plays a role</p>
<p>10. How did you find out about the Park or which influenced you the most</p>	<p>Subtitle</p> <p>Role of Media.</p> <p>Fotsch (2010), Tarlow, (2005, 57)</p>	<p>To find out which factors Influence visitation but specifically what role Media plays at the Park.</p>
<p>11. Is there anything else you would like to share about your reasons for visiting the Memorial Park?</p>	<p>Chapter 1, research question 3</p> <p>Chapter 2.3. See literature review for motivation factors in dark tourism as above</p>	<p>This allows respondents to include other unconscious motivations that brought them to the Park. It allows for potential factors not found in literature and deeper understanding of motivations.</p>
<p>12-16. Please tell us something about yourself.</p> <p>12. Are you? Male- Female -</p> <p>13. What is your age group?</p> <p>14. What is your nationality?</p> <p>15. What is the highest level of education you have completed?</p> <p>16. What is your faith?</p>	<p>Chapter 2.3, See literature review for motivation factors in dark tourism as above</p>	<p>To find out basic demographic profile of visitors. Also a clue to motivations. May have a direct or indirect bearing on the study e.g limitations or otherwise caused by literacy levels, understanding of questions and attitudes of faith or religion in relation to thanatological theme.</p>

### **Attachment 3. August 7<sup>th</sup> Memorial Park staff interview and cover letter**

Dear \_\_\_\_\_:

Thank you for participating in this survey, which is part of my undergraduate studies research at Haaga-Helia University of Applied Sciences. Our goal is to better understand the motivations of visitors to the Memorial Park. Given the nature of the Park, it is vital that we understand what motivates people to visit the site. With this understanding, it is hoped that this site and others like it, can better administer and interpret it's their exhibits and collection.

The interviews should take approximately 40 minutes of your time. Its primary goal is to obtain additional insight into visitor motivation to the Memorial Park. For the duration of the interview, your answers will be tape recorded. Your answers will be analyzed to illustrate, confirm or elaborate the survey applied to visitors of the Memorial Park, in order to add quality and validity to the findings of the research. Your responses are confidential and your names will never appear in the research.

If you have any other questions or concerns, please do not hesitate to contact Esther Gaya at +254722637444 or via email, [valgaya@yahoo.com](mailto:valgaya@yahoo.com).

Thank you. Your cooperation is greatly appreciated.

Esther Gaya, Student

Haaga-Helia University of Applied Sciences

Helsinki, Finland.

**Questions in italics are the interviewers own notes to probe participant responses, encouraging them to provide detail and clarification.**

1. How long have you worked at the Memorial Park?
2. What are your responsibilities at the Memorial Park?
3. How is your typical day like at the Memorial Park?
4. Who visits the Park?  
*Do any similar characteristics stand out, for example a specific age?*  
*Does one gender appear to frequent more than the other does?*  
*Does any group composition stand out?*
5. Where do most of your visitors come from?
6. How long do visitors usually stay?
7. Approximately how many visitors do you handle in a day?
8. When is your peak visitation period?
9. Which specific exhibit(s) or areas in the Park are visitors attracted to?
10. If so, why do you think this is the case?
11. What kind of reasons do visitors give for visiting the Park?  
*Do you think that some people are drawn to the Park because...*
  - *Of a personal connection to the August 7<sup>th</sup> bomb blast event?*
  - *they come to remember the victims of the tragedy*
  - *Of an interest in learning about the victims and the tragedy?*
  - *They are interested in the educational events at the Park?*
  - *That some visitors come out of simple curiosity?*
12. Have you any ideas, suggestions, or knowledge of why visitors visit sites such as the Memorial Park?
13. In your opinion, how has the media impacted visitation to the Park?
14. Do you have any repeat visitors?
15. What do you think are their reasons for visiting again?
16. Please tell us any other thoughts you may have about visitors to the Memorial Park and their reasons for visiting.

#### Attachment 4. Staff interview explanations and corresponding literature review

Question	Literature review (chapter 2.3, 2.4)
1. How long have you worked at the Memorial Park	To set pace and familiarity during the interview
2. What are your responsibilities at the Memorial Park?	To establish connection and knowledge of visitor behaviour
3. What is your typical day like at the Memorial Park?	To establish connection and knowledge of visitor behaviour
4. Who visits the Park?	Hints to Location- Dava Castillo (2012), cultural heritage & identity - Lennon & Foley (2000), Stone & Sharpley (2008), tourist gaze - Urry (1990)
5. Where do most of your visitors come from?	Hints to cultural heritage & identity – Sharpley & Stone (2008)
6. How long do visitors usually stay?	Hints to education – Henderson (2000), novelty seeking – Lee & Crompton (1992), curiosity – Tarlow (2005, 48)
7. Approximately how many visitors do you handle in a day?	Hints to influence of Location – Lennon & Foley (2000)
8. When is your Peak visitation period?	To establish other factors that influence visitation e.g Remembrance - Lennon & Foley (2000)
9. Which specific exhibits or areas in the Park are visitors attracted to?	To find reasons for visitation. Cultural heritage & identity – Centre for Heritage & Society (CHS), artifacts & exhibits, education, remembrance – Lennon & Foley (2000), death & dying – Lennon & Seaton (2005), location – Stone & Sharpley (2009)
10. If so, why do you think this is the case?	To find connections between Park attractions and reasons for visitations. See literature review on motivation factors of dark tourism.
11. What kind of reasons do visitors give for visiting the Park	To explicitly find reasons why visitors visit the Park. See literature review on motivation factors of dark tourism
12. Have you any ideas, suggestions or knowledge of why visitors visit sites such as the Memorial Park?	Research question 3. To find other factors that influence visitation.
13. In your opinion, how has the media impacted visitation to the Park?	To establish the role of media – Fotsch (2010), Brand & Platter (2011)
14. Do you have any repeat visitors?	To find out if thanatological theme of Park or other factors pull visitors to the Park – specifically death & dying – Lee (2002), Lennon & Seaton (2005)
15. What do you think are their reasons for visiting again?	To find out if thanatological theme of Park or other factors pull visitors to the Park. Death & Dying – Lee (2002), Lennon & Seaton (2005)
16. Please tell us any other thoughts you may have about visitors to the Memorial Park And their reasons for visiting.	To find out other factors of motivation that may be specific to the Park

## Attachment 5. August 7<sup>th</sup> Memorial Park location in central Nairobi, Kenya

