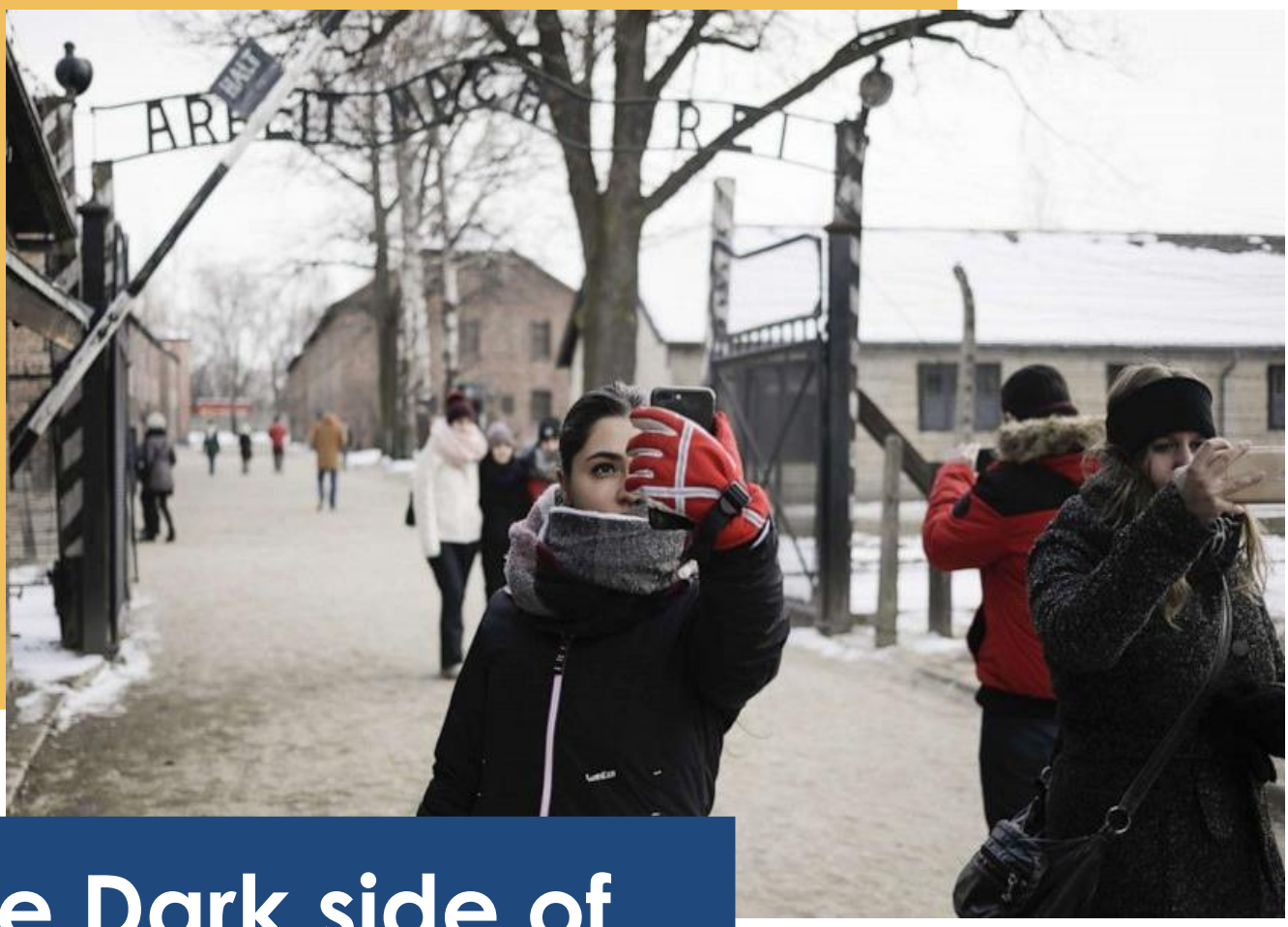

The Dark side of Dark Tourism

A research on the potential development of the Dutch Dark Tourism industry

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Utrecht, 14-01-2022

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Preface

This Master's thesis contains the results and findings gathered by Nadeshe Ferdinandus, written in the context of completing the Master Human Geography at Utrecht University. The process of writing and executing this research has started in February 2021 and was finished in January of 2022.

During my bachelor, Human Geography and Spatial Planning at Utrecht University, my focus has mainly been on urban geography and tourism, which has led to a passion for tourism studies and development. It is therefore not unexpected that both my Bachelor's thesis and Master's thesis have been about topics regarding this field of research.

The broader topic of Dark Tourism has always been an interest of mine, sparked and fueled by both series such as 'Dark Tourist' on Netflix and personal visitations to all different types of Dark Tourism. During the trips I have taken in the past, I have visited not only the torture museums and exhibitions that are part of Dark Tourism, but also more darker destinations such as an old KGB building in Riga (Latvia), the D-Day beaches in Normandy and various concentration camps throughout Europe. Seeing how these different locations attract many tourists every year and how these tourists behave sparked the principles of this research.

During this research, there were some minor setbacks due to COVID-19. Despite these setbacks, I have spent the last months working on this research with great pleasure and interest. Starting with a generous knowledge about Dark Tourism, I have still learned a lot about the subject and those who partake in the industry. There is still plenty of room for further research in the future, and I hope to be involved in these developments.

Throughout the last months I have had help and support from different directions. First, I would like to thank my thesis supervisor, Evert Meijers, who has helped and supported me throughout the process. He provided input and feedback and the discussions about the variety of options and directions to go in has helped me finalize a paper that I feel confident about. Second, I would like to thank both my family and friends, that have supported and motivated me throughout the last months.

I hope this paper provides you with new knowledge and interest in the topic,

Nadeshe Limor Ferdinandus.

Utrecht, January 14 2022

Abstract

Tourism and its industry have been around for a long time and has been growing over the last decades, becoming part of the experience economy. Dark Tourism, being a relatively new and popular sub-category, consists of many different types of destinations. This form of tourism attracts many visitors and has its economic benefits to those working in the sector and the area where such a destination is located. However, Dark Tourism often goes hand in hand with ethical dilemmas and critiques, such as the gain of economic profits and the behavior of the visitors. This conflict, regarding the potential development of the Dutch Dark Tourism industry, is therefore the main goal of this thesis paper.

A dataset has been acquired through an online survey, distributed through social media. A variety of questions, regarding Dark Tourism interests, previous visits, economic factors, and behavior, were filled in by 203 respondents. In addition, an interview with a respondent working in the tourism industry was held in order to gain more background information. The data was then analyzed with the use of SPSS and interpreted based on the research questions.

The results of this research show that the most popular and visited form of Dark Tourism are destinations that fall into the darkest category of Dark Tourism. Hence, future Dark Tourism development should focus mainly on the darkest form of Dark Tourism. However, this has its limitations, as one cannot simply 'copy' popular destinations such as Auschwitz or Chernobyl. Even though the lighter forms of Dark Tourism are less popular potential destinations amongst the respondents, they are often visited and are therefore an area of growth for the Dutch Dark Tourism industry. Profits can be made but should be used for the preservation and education of the area. Potential visitors of such destinations should be warned and reminded of how to behave in a desirable manner. Behavior while visiting a Dark Tourism destination is an area that often receives critiques. However, according to this research, the Dutch population often acts in a respectful manner.

Furthermore, this thesis leaves room for potential further research. On-site observations would be of informational value as an addition to the survey. In order to make the survey 100% representable for the Dutch population, a more controlled manner of distributing the survey should also be executed.

Lastly, many respondents visited the Dark Tourism destinations as part of a larger trip organized by educational institutions. Therefore, these institutions should focus on education the children on the history of such Dark Tourism destinations, and on how to behave respectfully while visiting.

These conclusions and recommendations signify the potential of the development of the Dutch Dark Tourism industry, while maintaining the ethical standards and staying within the ethical boundaries.

Keywords: Dark Tourism development, Economic benefits, Ethical dilemmas, Ethical critiques, Tourism.

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1. Introduction

The tourism industry has been a growing industry for the past decades and has continued increasing over the past years. The amount of money that was spent within the Dutch tourism sector, in 2018, amounts to a total of 87.5 billion euros. Over 790 thousand people worked within the different fields of the sector. The ongoing growth is not only due to foreign tourists, those who are more commonly seen as tourists, but also to domestic tourists. The latter takes credit for more than half (51.9 billion) of the total amount that was earned in the tourism sector (CBS, 2019). Figure 1 shows the increase of spending within the tourism industry.

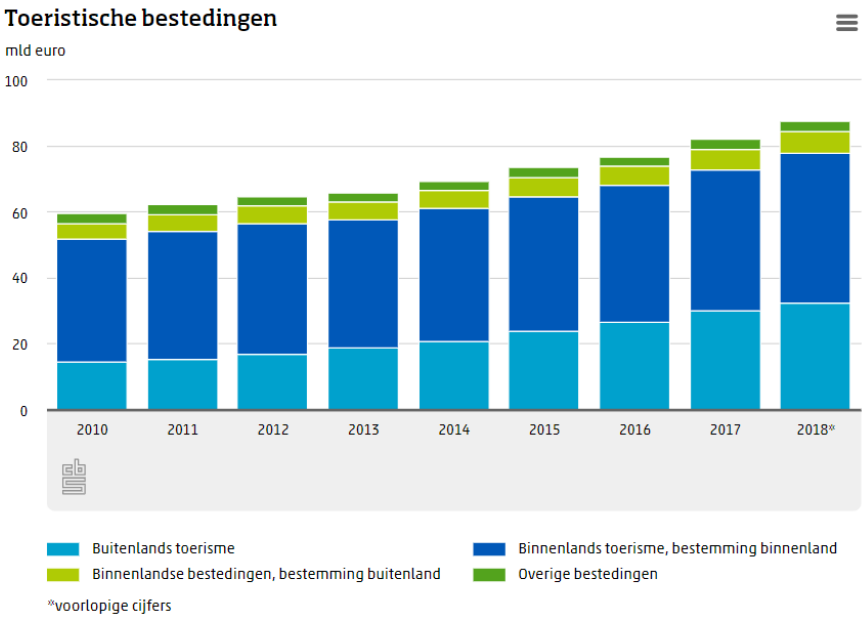

Figure 1: Touristic spending in the Netherlands (CBS, 2019).

Travel and the tourism industry have been around for a long time now. In the past people mainly travelled to survive and gain new land to call their own. When such needs became less important travelling was seen as a way of exploring to fulfill a sense of curiosity, to discover different places and its inhabitants and even for religious purposes. Even during the times of the Roman Empire (550 B.C. – 300 A.D) visiting nearby settlements became available for the wealthy citizens (Cook et al., 2017). Due to the changing population and

Figure 2: An illuminated manuscript depicting Christian pilgrims traveling to the shrine of St. Thomas Becket in Canterbury, England, c. 1400.

the changing needs of those who participate in the tourism industry, the industry itself is ever changing. Where tourism once was just to visit another location in search of relaxation and to get a glimpse of the history of that location, it has now developed into an ever-growing industry. An example of such a development within the tourism industry is the concept of 'living like a local', which is a part of the tourism experience industry. Tourists are not satisfied with merely observing a location or site from a visitor's perspective. They seek authentic experiences and want to focus on activities and experiences where interaction with locals is the main focus. For many cities that try to attract tourists this means adapting tourist attractions in such a way that they feel like they become part of the local community for the short period they are staying (Paulauskaite et al., 2017).

1.1 A new development: Dark Tourism

Considering the fact that the wishes and demands of those partaking in the tourism industry are changing and developing, it should therefore almost go without saying that the industry itself should also adapt. A possibility for the future developments within the tourism industry could be a trend that is less known to the public, and the focus of this thesis paper, Dark Tourism. Dark Tourism can be defined as areas or sites of holocaust, crime, genocide, assassination, suffering, tragedy, or incarceration that are used to attract tourists or visitors (Light, 2017; Novelli,2005). This concept will be discussed further in the theoretical framework. Dark Tourism is a term that in itself is not widely known yet, especially amongst people outside of the academic field. When asking people around you there will not be many that know exactly what the concept means, but upon further explanation some will recognize it and can sometimes even mention an example or two, such as the various torture museums around the world, the nuclear disaster site of Chernobyl in Ukraine or concentration camp Auschwitz in Poland. Even though the concept itself is not widely known yet, it is gaining more popularity because of documentaries and series such as "Dark Tourist" on Netflix and "Chernobyl" on HBO.

The growing interest due to such series could cause Dark Tourism to potentially be a new trend in tourism, as it relies on locations and sites where

disasters, crimes, genocide, suffering, tragedy, and other negative things have happened (Light, 2017; Novelli,2005). These sites already exist but not everyone has had the first-hand experience of the destination yet and are curious and want to learn about what happened there. This type of tourism can combine the historical and the consumer aspect of tourism and the concept of 'living like a local', where one can sometimes experience the history as if they are part of it. However, it should be noted that Dark Tourism is not a new development of the concept 'living like a local' but that it rather takes certain aspects of the trend. For example, the locals around Auschwitz have never lived in the concentration camp itself and the torture museums are a more general idea of how things went back in that time. Therefore, Dark Tourism should be seen as a new development within the tourism experience industry (Paulauskaite et al., 2017). Even though Dark Tourism is starting to become more popular globally, it is something that is not receiving explicit attention within the Dutch tourism industry. While this lack of attention can be ascribed to numerous causes, one of the primary causes is the lack of knowledge concerning the Dark Tourism industry and its research regarding the Netherlands specifically. This lack of knowledge has ensured a gap within existing research surrounding the industry, once again specifically in the Netherlands.

1.2 Positive and negative impacts of Dark Tourism

Just like every type of tourism, Dark Tourism could have both positive and negative impacts. First of all, one of the positive impacts that Dark Tourism can have for a society is income and profit that can be gained from tourism. As Curwen (2020) explains, Dark Tourism is a profitable market not only for the government but also for the locals. The tourists do not only pay to stay in their hotels and eat in their restaurants, they also must pay taxes to the government which were used for the building of local infrastructure.

Dark Tourism destinations, in its many different forms, can serve different purposes. Where some could be entertaining for tourists, other can be educational or even commemorative (Stone, 2006). When a Dark Tourism destination is educational, it allows for people all over the world to come and learn about what happened. This direct confrontation with the past can be a lot

more effective when compared to reading about the event in a book, as it is more confronting. When a Dark Tourism destination is more commemorative it can be seen as a location to remember and honor those who have passed. Lastly, the Dark Tourism destinations can work as a reminder for the current and future generations. They can be seen as a warning, as 'what should never happen again'.

However, Dark Tourism also has its negative impacts, which is something that must be considered when researching if Dark Tourism is a possible development for the Netherlands. Dark Tourism could create a distorted image of the history or event that happened at a location, and it could commercialize what to many is a tragic event (Stone, 2006). When you are dealing with tourism you are essentially selling a part of history as an experience, which could be beneficial to those selling it but could have a negative impact on others. So, it raises ethical questions such as 'who profits from it?', 'where does the money go?' (Tearfund, 2000).

Figure 3: Tourists taking a selfie at the entrance of Auschwitz.

Many travelling websites also critique how the average tourist is acting when visiting Dark Tourism locations. Running around, taking selfies, or talking loudly are seen as rude and disrespectful. Especially the way people take photos or selfies raises ethical questions about the behavior of tourists in Dark Tourism destinations (Hodalska, 2017). Many writers, even outside the field of academic research, try to educate people on "How to visit dark tourism destinations in an ethical way" (Isalska, 2021).

1.3 Research gaps in Dark Tourism literature

What is notable about the academic literature and research literature is that there are multiple research gaps about Dark Tourism. The first one is the amount of literature that is specifically written about Dark Tourism destinations

in the Netherlands. This thesis paper will provide insight based on Dutch perspectives and potential destinations. But how should Dark Tourism be handled in the Netherlands? As mentioned above, Dark Tourism can come with positive but also negative impacts on its surroundings and can raise multiple ethical questions regarding profits, correct behavior of the tourist, the experience of the tourist and the commercialization of Dark Tourism. This information within the Dutch Dark Tourism industry is not studied much yet and therefore not commonly known. These research gaps will be further discussed in the theoretical framework.

1.4 Research questions

Considering both the abovementioned research gaps and the negative impact of Dark Tourism, the goal of this Master's thesis is to investigate to what extent Dark Tourism already has an established place in the Netherlands and whether it has potential to otherwise develop without negatively influencing cities, the local inhabitants, and visitors of the area. The results of this thesis could be interesting to municipalities and tourism organizations, as it could offer insight in the development of potential tourist destinations and how to best deal with the possible negative impacts.

This is why the main research question of this Master's thesis will be as follows:

"To what extent can Dark Tourism be of economic significance to the Dutch tourism industry, while maintaining the ethical standards and boundaries?"

To better answer this question, multiple sub-questions that support the main research question by highlighting the different aspects need to be answered first. These are as follows:

1. What is Dark Tourism and which types can be distinguished?
2. What different types of Dark Tourism are currently popular destinations?
3. What is the current situation of Dark Tourism in the Netherlands compared to other countries?

4. Does the Netherlands have potential sites for Dark Tourism that are not being visited by a wider audience and can these be developed into tourist destinations?
5. What are the potential ethical dilemmas of the development of Dark Tourism destinations in the Netherlands?
6. How is Dark Tourism received in the Netherlands?
7. How do Dutch people behave while visiting a Dark Tourism destination?
8. How can the potential negative impacts be minimalized?

This Master's thesis, and the research questions that will be answered throughout the process, will provide insight into the current situation of Dark Tourism in the Netherlands.

1.5 Social relevance

This thesis paper can be seen as a way to make the concept of Dark Tourism more commonly known. It can make sure people are aware of the consequences that come with visiting a Dark Tourism destination. Not only are they stimulating the economy of that specific destination, but is this done in such a way that the local inhabitants also profit? Awareness of how one acts and how one should act while visiting such a destination has to be created for the everyday tourist. This thesis paper shines a light on how Dark Tourism raises multiple ethical dilemmas, that could potentially come from the existing lack of literature and knowledge of Dutch Dark Tourism. It could potentially influence policy makers in the tourism industry in future Dark Tourism developments.

Furthermore, this research also has societal relevance as tourism often creates irritations and frustrations to some that are, not always willingly, part of the tourism industry. For example, even though the tourists enjoy the mixing with the local inhabitants according to the concept of 'living like a local', others such as the locals might find the tourist that flood their local pubs and cafes a source of irritation and it can even lead to conflicts. By researching how this specific type of tourism can be implemented without having to many negative impacts on the inhabitants of the area, further developments within the tourism industry can consider the influences on the locals in a better way.

1.6 Scientific relevance

The findings of this thesis paper can not only have social relevance but also scientific relevance. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, there are still multiple research gaps within the academic field of Dark Tourism, mainly on the amount of Dutch Dark Tourism and the ethical dilemmas caused by Dark Tourism. This thesis paper can contribute to the tightening of these research gaps and stimulate further in-depth research on these subjects. Secondly, it can give insights in the contextual side of Dark Tourism. For example, by showing why certain types of Dark Tourism work in certain places and not in others.

1.7 Structure thesis paper

This thesis paper consists of six different chapters, of which the first one was this introduction. Continuing on will be the theoretical framework. This chapter creates a base for the research and gives insights about the different concepts and ideas that come into play while doing this research. This paper will then continue with the methods chapter, which describes the process of collecting the different data needed to answer the questions. After that the results from the data collection will examined. Lastly the results will be given and potential points of improvement for further research will discussed.

2. Theoretical framework

2.1 The rise of tourism

Travelling, tourism and the industry revolving these activities have been around for centuries. Nowadays people tend to think of travelling and tourism as a journey which takes place over a greater distance and is mainly for work or pleasure. This was not always the main purpose of travelling in the past. Centuries ago, people traveled in order to survive, to gain new land that they could call their own, find more fertile soil for agricultural purposes or just simply to find land with more suitable living circumstances. Later, when such needs became less important, travelling became an option for the wealthier people, serving as a more entertaining pastime. As early as the times of the Roman Empire (550 B.C. – 300 A.D.) such trips were ways of exploring nearby settlements due to curiosity and to discover and learn about different places and those who live there (Cook et al., 2007). Between the 16th and 18th century marked the time of the 'Grand Tour', an early form of tourism that was practiced by young nobles. The tour, going through a large part of Europe, lasted between one and three years and were planned out to the smallest detail. The main priorities of the tour were to broaden the education and knowledge, maintain social connections and as a mark that symbolized the end of childhood for the young nobles. However, the main priorities changed over time. Pleasure and leisure activities became more important, which caused travelling to be seen less as 'an art' and more as a form of amusement (Gyr, 2010). This continued on in the early 19th century but on a smaller scale and for others than young nobles, but still belonged to the elite (Cocks, 2001).

Figure 4: English tourists in the Campagna (Spitzweg, 1845).

However, the population is ever changing, and so are the needs of those who are part of the tourism industry. Therefore, the tourism industry itself is also developing and changing. Where tourism once was a way of exploring the

history of other places and used as a mean of relaxation, it has now developed into an ever-growing industry.

2.2 Tourism as part of the experience economy

Tourism has developed and become part of the experience economy, an economy where experiences can be translated into economic value (Pine & Gilmore, 2011). However, a tourist experience takes place and shape in the mind of the tourist and therefore cannot be bought. The industry itself can only provide an 'input' that the tourist can then turn into an experience. In order to successfully do so, the experience industry adapts the 'input' that they provide to the needs of the tourists. For example, the industry can provide for options to buy bus tickets, entrance tickets or the booking of a hotel room. The tourist can acquire these items and offers and put together a consumption set for an experience (Rustichini & Siconolfi, 2004). However, in advance, no one can tell if this created consumption set will be successful regarding creating a pleasant experience. But it can be assumed that the tourist in question is able to choose items that will fulfill all their needs and generate a good experience when combined (Andersson, 2007).

An example of such a development within the tourism experience industry is a concept that has been studied by many researchers and that has been a topic of many tourism related papers is the concept of 'living like a local'. This development within the tourism industry was caused by the dissatisfaction of the tourists with merely observing a location or site from a visitor's perspective (Paulauskaite et al., 2017). According to Richards (2013), people started to gain more value for the "being" instead of the "seeing" when experiencing a new location. They seek authentic experiences and want to focus on activities and experiences where interaction with locals is the main focus. For many cities that try to attract tourists this means adapting tourist attractions in such a way that they feel like they become part of the local community for the short period they are staying (Paulauskaite et al., 2017). This type of tourism is stimulated by services as couch surfing and Airbnb, which have seen growth over the past years, confirming the popularity of the 'living like a local' concept. Due to the increasing popularity of this type of tourism, 'local' has become the new

authentic (Richards, 2013). The concept of 'local' seems rather simple, but is in actually, as Urry argues 'really complex and involves analysis of a mixture of social and spatial processes' (Urry, 1987).

2.3 Dark tourism

Another development within the experience economy, and the main focus of this thesis paper, is Dark Tourism. What exactly is Dark Tourism and how did it establish will be discussed down below, followed by the critique that is given upon the form of tourism

2.4 Definition

Dark Tourism is a concept that has been tried to define by many different people. Many of these different definitions have had some overlay but where slightly different from each other. One example of how it has been defined is by Lennon and Foley (2002), who described the term as the 'commodification of anxiety and doubt'. This meant that a price tag was created and put on tourism where people were confronted with feelings such as anxiety. Another definition was by Marcel (2003), who describes Dark Tourism as a form of tourism where important, historically noteworthy or mass deaths have occurred, which still impact our lives today. This definition focusses more on death, whereas the definition of Lennon and Foley focus on a feeling of anxiety. Due to the slight variations in the definitions of the concept, it is wisely to select one that includes multiple aspects to use during the course of this thesis paper. Nowadays the term Dark Tourism is commonly known as areas or sites of holocaust, crime, genocide, assassination, suffering, tragedy, or incarceration that are used to attract tourists or visitors (Light, 2017; Novelli, 2005). This definition is, when compared to those of Lennon and Foley or Marcel, a more inclusive one and will therefore be the one that will be used during the writing of this thesis paper.

2.5 The rise of Dark Tourism

The concept of Dark Tourism has only entered the tourism research field for the past two decades, as it was first designated in 1996 (Seaton, 1996). Dark Tourism and the power behind it can be linked to nostalgia, and more specifically tourism nostalgia. Even though nostalgia is mostly seen as positive, it can simply be interpreted as remembering past events while feeling emotional. The concept of tourism nostalgia explains how a traveler or tourist travels 'back in time' in order to heal from past hurts and how they can experience something that happened in a different time. Dark Tourism does just that, it touches upon danger without the tourist actually being in danger and experiences the tragic and events that happened at that location (Novelli, 2005).

Seaton (1996) states that the phenomenon of Dark Tourism has been around for a long time, even though it has only recently gained more attention in the academic research field. According to Seaton Dark Tourism was already present in the Middle Ages but gained in popularity in the late 18th century. As an example, he mentions in his later work (1999) the battlefield of Waterloo. Marcel (2003) mentions the tombs of the Pharaohs in Egypt and the Via Doloras, which was the path that Jesus followed when he was crucified, and many Christians walked to pay their respects.

Dark Tourism turned out to be profitable, so a market was created where different people tried to make money of the macabre in different ways (Curwen, 2020). Because people were driven towards Dark Tourism and were spending their money while visiting, questions such as "who profits from this type of tourism and where does the money go?" were raised (Tearfund, 2000). This will be discussed further within this chapter in the portion about ethics and Dark Tourism. People got innovative with Dark Tourism and started benefiting from it. For example, the number of tourists after volcanic eruptions in Indonesia decreased, which had a negative impact on locals' income and the economy. To turn the tides, disaster tours where established, which attracted many tourists again. This was not only beneficial for the government but also directly and indirectly for the locals. They had direct benefits from tourist visiting their hotels, restaurants and hiring them as tour guides. Indirectly they benefited from the tourists as the revenue that came through taxed received by the government were used into the construction and rebuilding of infrastructure. These types of

investment aid in the economic and social growth of communities, which in its turn encourages more tourism (Curwen, 2020).

2.6 Different types of Dark Tourism

Following the publication by Lennon and Foley in 2002, many researchers accepted the concepts and started producing their own research, all located within different context and in different locations. During this increase of Dark Tourism research, many focused on the most 'obvious' destinations, such as the Holocaust and places of genocide (Light, 2017). It is therefore not a surprise that places such as Auschwitz are seen as the peak of Dark Tourism. It has become a site where once death seemed to be the norm but now it is very lively as it is visited by many visitors every year. The main audience seems to be young people, visiting the sites with the intention to not only learn about the past but also feel the power of hope and faith and that even after such tragedies there is hope for a better future (Novelli, 2005).

Figure 5: Entrance to Auschwitz (Zacharz).

Where Auschwitz is an example that is mentioned very often when describing Dark Tourism, comparing this to tourist destinations that may have had less impacts or deaths leads to conflict when putting them all under the same term. Many researchers found it difficult to create one 'label' when there is enormous diversity within the different Dark Tourism destinations and sites. A less 'heavy' form of Dark Tourism are the torture museums that exist in almost every touristic city. In Figure 6 you can

Figure 6: Entrance to Medieval Torture Museum Amsterdam (AmsterdamRedLightDistrictTours).

see the entrance of the Medieval Torture Museum in Amsterdam. As you can see it is rather theatrical and the balloons make it almost comedic. The picture was obtained from the website of the Amsterdam Red Light District Tours, which claims that it is very unique and definitely worth a visit. Claiming that such a destination is unique is almost laughable when it is just one of many around the world.

Due to great differences between Dark Tourism destinations, many researchers choose to identify different intensities or levels of Dark Tourism. Miles (2002) argues that there is a distinction between 'dark' and 'darker' forms of tourism. He mentions the difference based the number of deaths, suffering or disaster and even further distinction between the amount of interaction a visitor has with the destination. Sharpley (2005) also argues that there can be different 'shades' of Dark Tourism, based on the different intensities of purpose regarding supply and demand. To elaborate, the different shades are based on two factors; the first being the amount of interest in the destination from the tourist; and the other being the extent to which the destination is able to exploit that fascination and be able to offer an experience. The combination between these two creates different shades where one form of Dark Tourism can be 'paler' or 'darker' when compared to others. Seaton (1996) argues that Dark Tourism can be defined as the travel dimension of thanatopsis (a view or contemplation of death), concluding in thanatourism. People often see thanatourism and Dark Tourism as interchangeable but there are important distinctions between the two. Dark Tourism is seen as an umbrella term for different types of tourism that have to do with not only death but also with loss and suffering, or just tragedy in general. Thanatourism is more specific as it is about travel that is motivated by a desire for an encounter with death. The people partaking in thanatourism want to encounter and "experience" death themselves. The two terms are closely related and could go hand in hand, but it should be kept in mind that there is in fact a difference (Light, 2017). Based on this behavioral perspective, Seaton argues that there are five different categories of Dark Tourism travelling (Seaton, 1996):

- Travel in order to witness (public) enactments of death.
- Travel in order to observe sites of individual/mass deaths after they have happened. Examples are sites of genocide (e.g., the Killing Fields of

Cambodia), death camps (e.g., Auschwitz) or sites where famous people have died.

- Travel to memorial sites, such as graveyards and war memorials.
- Travel in order to observe a symbolic representation of death which did not take place in that location. This category contains museums about weapons or exhibitions that focus on one theme. Therefore, they are often less concerned with being historical correct.
- Travel in order to re-enact or simulate a specific death. This category consists mainly of re-enactments of famous battles.

The idea of different shades or levels of Dark Tourism is also mentioned by Stone (2006). He came up with the concept of a 'spectrum of supply' which had a range of Dark Tourism from 'light' to 'dark'. He makes a distinction between seven categories of so called 'suppliers' which can be characterized by different factors ranging from spatial, political or even ideological. These factors can determine the intensity of how dark any form of Dark Tourism product or destination is. Stone (2006) makes the distinction between the following seven categories:

- Dark Fun Factories. The visitor sites which have entertainment as a main focus. They can represent both real and fictional deaths. They are highly commercialized and have a high degree of tourism infrastructure. E.g., The London Dungeon with the Jack the Ripper experience.
- Dark Exhibitions. The sites and exhibitions that try to focus on educational and learning opportunities. They are more serious but are still commercialized and therefore have some degree of tourism infrastructure. E.g., the Smithsonian Museum of American History.
- Dark Dungeons. The sites which are about past acts of justice and law. They mainly are about courthouses or prisons. They have a combination of both entertaining and educational purpose. There is a high degree of commercialism and tourism infrastructure. Stone argues that these can be seen as the 'center' of the spectrum. E.g., Galleries of Justice in the United Kingdom.

- Dark Resting Places. Sites such as cemeteries as products for Dark Tourism. There is increased infrastructure around the sites. They often display a romanticized version of death. E.g., Père-Lachaise in Paris (which has over 2 million visitors per year).
- Dark Shrines. Sites of remembrance and respect for the victims. They are often located very close to the actual site of death and are built within a very short period after that death has occurred. Often have mass tributes such as flowers, plushies or pictures left behind by those who mourn. They have low tourism infrastructure as they are often not directed towards tourists. E.g., the Dark Shrine at the gates of Kensington Palace for Princess Diana.
- Dark Conflict sites. Sites that focus on war and battlefields. They have both an educational and commemorative focus and are history centric. These sites are becoming more and more commercialized and thus have an increasing level of tourism infrastructure.
- Dark Camps of Genocide. Sites which have genocide and catastrophe as the main theme. They are often seen as the darkest form of Dark Tourism. They are educational and commemorative and unlike Dark Exhibitions are located at the exact location where the historic event has happened. E.g., Auschwitz.

The image on the next page, Figure 7, shows the different shades of Dark Tourism, ranging from darkest to lightest. It shows the differences between the different shades, for example how the darker shades are often education oriented, while the lighter are commonly entertainment oriented. It should be noted however that the location of a Dark Tourism destination on this spectrum is not static and can change over time. The categories are each separated from one another and come with specifics, but a Dark Tourism destination could also be a mix of different shades which can cause tensions.

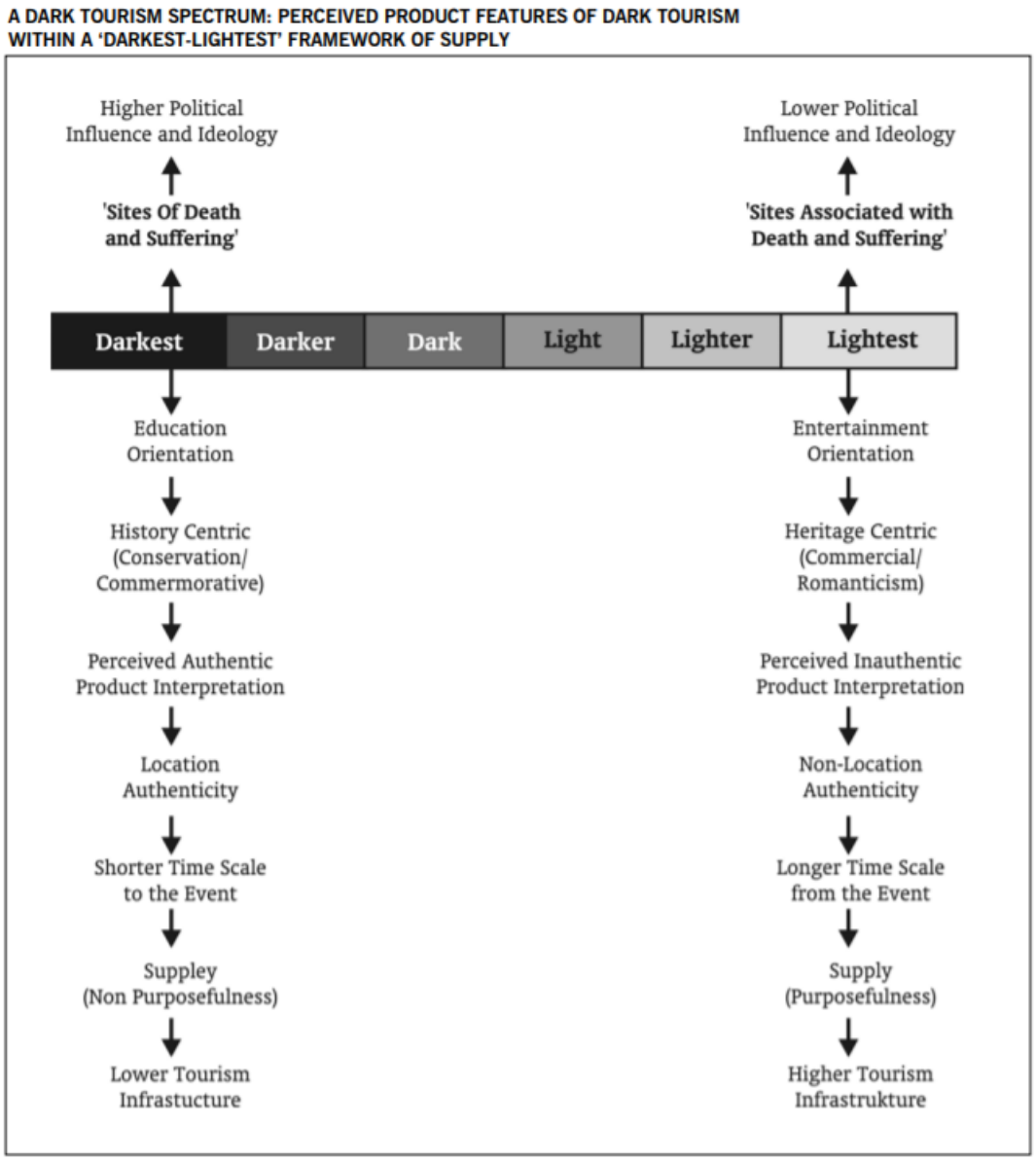

Figure 7: Dark Tourism Spectrum (Stone, 2006).

2.7 Criticisms on ethics and Dark Tourism

Together with the fascination of Dark Tourism came the discussion about the ethical dimensions. Different questions came to mind, mainly focusing on, but not exclusively, whether it was ethically correct to profit from death (Garcia, 2012). Lennon (2005) argues about whether the increase in popularity of Dark Tourism is based on the fascination with the macabre and death or if there are bigger motivational factors. If there are bigger motivational factors, which ethical issues and problems come from the exploitation of these historical events (Seaton & Lennon, 2004; Sharpley & Stone, 2009)?

Ethics and its dilemmas have been on a lot of people's minds and is a subject that has been studied for a long time. However, within the field of tourism it has only been discussed within the past 2 to 3 decades. The term ethics itself derives from the Greek word *ethos*, which means a habitual mode of conduct and is about answering the question; *what must be done in order to do good?* Tourism, in its early stages, was seen as the savior of regions and countries as it was supposed to attract many people who spent money and thus stimulated the local economy. However, in many cases it has failed to do so due to various reasons such as unfair labor practices, the displacement of locals, environmental contamination and the disrespect for the local culture and beliefs (Fennell, 2006). Tourism and its industry cannot be seen as simply an economic transaction that has no further impact on everyday life or other people. When travelling to other places we come in contact with other people, their environment, and their culture. This contact and thus the impact that tourism can have raises multiple ethical questions such as if locals even want tourist around?, what are the environmental consequences of tourism?, who profits from tourism and where does the money go? (Tearfund, 2000). This debate has even expanded outside the field of academic research and has been a point of discussion in everyday media as well, mainly newspapers (Seaton & Lennon, 2004; Sharpley & Stone, 2009).

Approaching tourism in an ethical way is far more complicated than just 'travelling while respecting the local environment and inhabitants'. There are beliefs and values involved which can vary from person to person, as they can be influenced by culture and circumstances, and thus create a more complex situation (Fennell, 2006; MacBeth, 2005).

In 1999 the General Assembly of the World Tourism Organization created a set of principles which were designed as a guide for those who were a part in the tourism industry. The main goal of these principles was to maximize the benefits and to minimize the negative impacts on the local environment, communities, and heritage. The principles were described as 10 different articles, all with different main purposes (UNWTO, n.d.). Three of these principles are relevant to the subject of this thesis paper:

Article 1. "Tourism contribution to mutual understanding and respect between peoples and societies":

This article is about the understanding and the promotion of the common ethics to humans. The tourism activities and the local traditions and conditions of the hosting area should not clash and should happen in harmony and peace. It also states that tourists should not commit crimes while travelling.

Article 4. "Tourism, a user of the cultural heritage of mankind and contributor to its enhancement":

This article states that the tourism takes place in a location that is common heritage of the local inhabitants. The activities and policies surrounding tourism should be done with respect, not to only keep the heritage intact now but to preserve it for future generations. It also states that any resources or profits that come from tourism should be (partly) used as a reinvestment in the destination or area. The activities that come from tourism should be planned and executed in such a way that local traditions and culture can continue instead of becoming standardized and making way for commercialism.

Article 5. "Tourism, a beneficial activity for host countries and communities":

This article states that the locals who live in the hosting regions of tourism should be involved in the tourism activities. This would provide them with social and economic benefits, for example by the jobs that the tourism industry generates. The policies in the tourism industry should be executed in such a way that it increases and raises the way of living for the locals. It also states that those who want to invest in the tourism industry in a region must do studies about what the impact of the development is on the surroundings. Such developments should be carried out with transparency towards those who live there.

But how does one interact with a Dark Tourism location in an 'ethical way'? The 'appropriate' behavior can differ between the different shades of Dark Tourism. Some of the biggest critiques or complaints that are spoken about are the amount and types of pictures people take and how they act while they visit such a destination. These critiques are mainly about the darkest forms of Dark Tourism, as taking pictures in for example a torture museum is not commonly frowned upon. In 2019 Samantha Lock wrote an article for the online newspaper about how social media influencers where increasingly taking 'sexy' and 'inappropriate' pictures while visiting the Chernobyl area. The article showed how various people posed in front of abandoned houses, on the roof of old buildings and in front of the Ferris wheel. An example of such pictures can be seen in Figure 8. People were outraged by the pictures and noted how it is disrespectful to those who suffered and died there.

Figure 8: Picture taken at Chernobyl by Instagram influencer @NZ.NIK (account now private).

This was not the only article, both scientific and for entertainment purposes, written about the touchy subject on how to behave while visiting a Dark Tourism destination. Lonely Planet writer Anita Isalska wrote multiple articles such as "How to visit dark tourism destinations in an ethical way" (Isalska, 2021) and "Cemetery tourism: an ethical traveler's guide to graveyards" (Isalska, 2020). In these articles she tried to make clear to the common public how Dark Tourism can be enjoyed in a respectful an ethically correct way without disturbing the locals and other tourists (Isalska, 2020; Isalska, 2021). Most people would agree that this type of behavior is not that standard of how people would act, some people still need to constantly be reminded on how to behave (Isalska, 2021; Stainton, 2020). Taking selfies can be seen as a form of digital narcissism, where the "self" is the main focus of the picture. The dark locations of Dark Tourism destinations are becoming a more interesting background for the young people (Hodalska, 2017). But these types

of pictures are not to show respect, they are to show they were there (Isalska, 2020).

2.8 Research gap and relevance

The amount of research on Dutch Dark Tourism and even the promotion is relatively low when compared to other countries. Werdler and Geuskens (2012) have done research on a specific case study about the number of visitors and their motivation. A few other case studies about specific locations have been done but there is still room for further research within the Dutch tourism research.

When doing a quick google scholar search on 'Dark Tourism' about 485.000 results come up. When adding 'Netherlands' behind the search this number decreases to around 47.000 results. These results also include when a researcher or writer of the article is from the Netherlands, so it can be said that these 44.300 results are not all about Dark Tourism in the Netherlands. When adding Dutch in front of the search, the number continues to decrease to 37.700. When skimming through the first few pages, one can see that most of the time 'Dutch' or 'Netherlands' is mentioned, it is about the writer of the article, and not the research location of the article.

Furthermore, researchers such as Stone (2005) and Seaton and Lennon (2004) argue that most of the available literature about Dark Tourism is mainly focused on the supply side of the industry. The motivations and reasons why people are attracted to the macabre and sites of death leaves room for further research. Within this thesis paper a survey will be done that not only asks about how people experienced a Dark Tourism destination but also about their own behavior whilst visiting such a destination. This survey can provide more insights on how people act, why they act in such a way and how is their behavior influenced by different factors, such as the presence of others.

Lastly, the current literature which gives insights on the bridge between ethics and Dark Tourism has only been a recent development. The subjects studied are broader and about ethics in general. However, ethical behavior while visiting Dark Tourism destinations is gaining more attention in the common

media. This thesis paper while provide insight on if visitors actually behave more ethical correct at certain destinations and how this behavior is affected by factors such as their pre-existing knowledge of the location.

3. Methods

3.1 Research design

The previous chapters have created a short introduction and a theoretical framework that was necessary for this Master's thesis. They discussed both the rise and the potential of Dark Tourism around the world, also considering the ethical dilemmas that come with Dark Tourism.

This chapter will use the theoretical framework as a base to obtain information needed to answer the research questions discussed in chapter 1 and repeated below.

Main research question: *"To what extent can Dark Tourism be of economic significance to the Dutch tourism industry, while maintaining the ethical standards and boundaries?"*

In order to answer this research question both qualitative and quantitative methods of data collection have been selected to do so. The main mode of data collecting for this thesis paper has been by the use of a survey, as this type of data gathering allows for a large amount of data in a relatively short period of time. Furthermore, this form of data gathering can give insights on how different people experience Dark Tourism and how they interact with their surroundings. This data could answer the sub-questions created in the first chapter, which leads to answering the main research question. The benefits of a survey and how they were executed while conducting this thesis paper will be discussed further in this chapter. As an addition, an interview has been conducted to gain more background information from the perspective of someone who works in the tourism industry of Rotterdam. This was done to gain and add information that could help answer the research questions. The initial proposal of this research included multiple interviews, but due to COVID-19 this was alas not possible. Different organizations were contacted but were unable to respond, as COVID-19 put a pause on the tourism industry as a whole.

3.2 Survey

For this Master's thesis paper, the main mode of data gathering has been conducting a survey. With the use of quantitative data gathering, done by a

survey, data, and information on a few different topics regarding the research questions could be gathered at once. A survey is a type of research that first and foremost allows for larger data sets to be gathered which can collect information on a specific topic or issue (Pfleeger & Kitchenham, 2001). First of all, it can create an image on how commonly known the concept of Dark Tourism is and how many people have ever visited a Dark Tourism destination. Second of all, it can give insights on how tourists interact with their destination and can thus give more insights about if Dark Tourism destinations can actually be ethical responsible. The survey can also provide an image on the educational and economic impacts of Dark Tourism.

Surveys are straightforward and provide a set list of questions for the participants to answer. These questions can either be answered by an open answer or possible answers that are already provided (Pfleeger & Kitchenham, 2001). This survey, in order to provide data that is useful to answering the main research question, should look at the individual sub-questions and then ask questions that contain the following topics:

Research question	**Survey topic**
What different types of Dark Tourism are currently popular destinations?	First Dark Tourism destination that comes to mind.
	Dark Tourism destinations visited by the respondents.
What is the current situation of Dark Tourism in the Netherlands compared to other countries?	Dark Tourism destinations visited by the respondents.
	Comparison between Netherlands vs. the rest of the world.
Does the Netherlands have potential sites for Dark Tourism that are not being visited by a wider audience and can they develop into tourist destinations?	Dark Tourism destinations visited by the respondents.
What are the potential ethical dilemmas of the development of Dark Tourism destinations in the Netherlands?	Economic side of Dark Tourism. Entrance fee, souvenirs.

How is Dark Tourism received in the Netherlands?	Knowledge on Dark Tourism and Dark Tourism destinations.
	Reasons for (not) visiting a Dark Tourism destination.
How do Dutch people behave while visiting a Dark Tourism destination?	Selfies.
	Photos.
	Volume of speaking.
	Visitor or tourist.

Table 1: Research questions and topics.

For a more detailed overview of the survey questions, please refer to Attachment 1 – Survey Questions.

3.3 Survey target audience

The survey for this Master's thesis would have no specific target audience. No specific age, education, income group or other characteristic demographic trait is selected as the main focus of the survey, as these demographics could also influence the answers of the respondents, which can be of value to this research. Of the total of 259 respondents, 92 identified as male, 164 as female and 2 as other. These numbers show that a relatively bigger amount of women have partaken in the survey. This could potentially be caused by the fact that more women use social media when compared to men. Men tend to use social media for business ends, while women use different platforms to share more personal information and experiences (Vermeren, 2015). The use of the snowball effect created for a relative even distribution across the different educational levels when classified into 'lower educated' and 'higher educated'. This was useful as the direct contacts on the platforms of the writer are mainly university students and would not have been representable for the Netherlands. The different education levels of the respondents where almost evenly spread out.

However, it should be noted that not all 259 survey entries were used for this research. A total of 56 entries were left out since they were only partly filled in. Also, the survey respondent group is not completely representative of that of the Dutch population. This will both be further discussed in chapter 4.

The decision on targeting both those who have visited a Dark Tourism destination and those who have not was made because both groups could offer different information. Those who have visited a Dark Tourism destination are of great value as they can give insights on how a 'regular person' acts and interacts with its surroundings when visiting a Dark Tourism destination. Those who have not visited a Dark Tourism destination can contribute to answering such questions as why they have not visited one (yet), if they would like to and if so, which destination would have their preference. Out of 259 respondents, 70 people have never visited a Dark Tourism destination, whereas 171 have. The 18 'missing' respondents could be caused by respondents not filling in every question or abandoning the survey after the introduction questions.

3.4 Conducting the survey

For this Master's thesis, a survey was created by using the Qualtrics Survey tool. This tool is provided by the university of Utrecht and is free for students to use. The format is user friendly for both the creator of the survey and for its respondents. It created the opportunity to customize the following questions depending on the respondent's answers. This means that those who have been to a Dark Tourism destination will be given a different set of questions than those who have not been to a Dark Tourism destination. The image on the next page, Figure 9, shows the flow of the survey, and how answering a specific question will lead to different following questions.

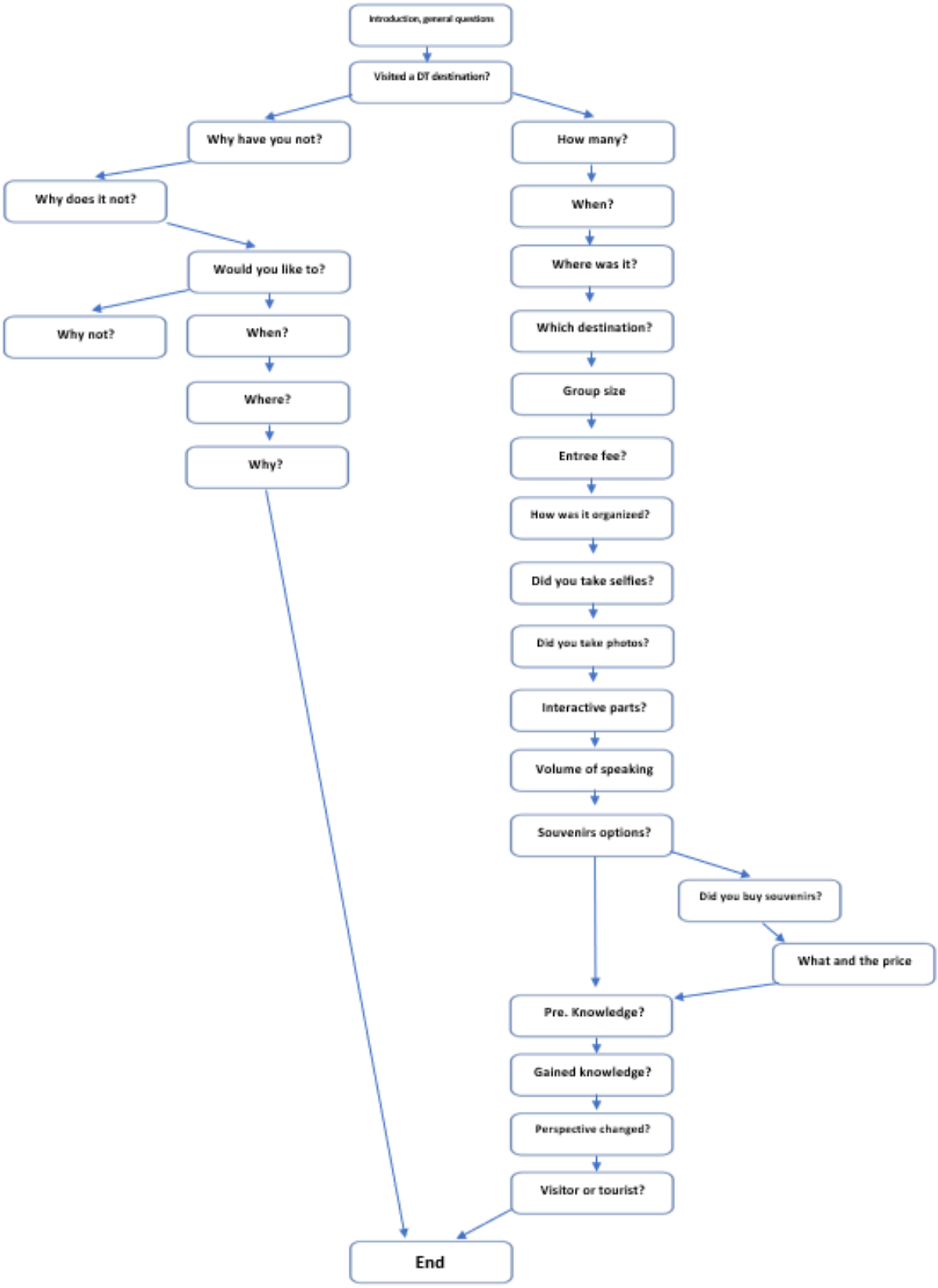

Figure 9: Survey Flow.

Once the survey was finished, it was tested by friends and roommates to see if the survey ran smoothly, regardless of which answer the respondent decided to choose.

The survey was distributed online. Those who partook in the survey were asked to share the survey, which created a snowball effect of possible respondents, which additionally made the respondents random and uncompromised. By distributing the survey online, more people of different demographics could be reached. The use of online distributing of a survey allowed for a quick response, as respondents could easily access the survey on their phones and fill them in. This also provided for anonymity, as there was no need to sign in by email or leave other information that could be traced back to a specific respondent, which some could find comforting. The survey was distributed using both WhatsApp and Facebook. Both platforms are free to use and have many users on a daily basis. It allowed for a snowball effect as one respondent could share the survey with their friends on the social media platforms and so on, reaching respondents that were not part of the original first group that the survey was send to.

Low-cost computing and rapid development of technology have created new environments for conducting survey research. It is particularly a good option when you want lots of response as you can reach a lot of people. It can also be fast (Alam et al., 2014; Sue & Ritter, 2012), the survey for this research for example took a maximum of 10 minutes when filled in by phone. However, it should be noted that this type of distributing also has disadvantages. For example, it creates certain limits, as not everyone has a phone, a connection to the internet or is able to use this type of technology, such as the elderly. An online survey also has a higher abandonment rate than for example face-to-face surveys, as it is easier for people to stop midway without facing any consequences (Sue & Ritter, 2012). Even though this type of survey has its disadvantages, for this specific thesis paper it is considered to be the most efficient way of distributing surveys. The main drive for online distributing of surveys is the fact that the number of respondents needed for this research is too high to be done in a face-to-face manner. Additionally, due to COVID-19 face-to-face surveys are hard to organize, as many still practice social distancing.

After gathering the data, the completed survey was analyzed with the use of SPPS27. This was done in order to gain better insights and make conclusions based on a large dataset.

3.5 Interview

In addition to the survey, qualitative research, done by an interview, was necessary in order to gain an understanding of underlying motives and deeper interpretation of the data that was obtained (Scheepers et al., 2016). This type of data collection is useful in order to analyze and therefore possibly compare or explain certain phenomenon (Neuendorf, 2017). The use of quantitative data gathering, done by a survey, allows for a more general type of data and information on how tourists relate and behave to the subject of Dark Tourism. The use of mixed methods is necessary for this thesis, as they complement each other and can be combined in order to answer different aspects of the research questions (Scheepers et al., 2016).

As mentioned above, interviews are useful to gain a deeper interpretation and clarification on specific subjects (Scheepers et al., 2016). They are used to elicit the perceptions of the respondent, but it should therefore be noted that the answers given by the respondent can be partially biased (Silverman, 2013). When talking to an expert in a specific field one can however assume that they are reliable and the answers are an accurate picture of their believes and opinions (Fontana & Frey, 2000). In this paper, the goal of doing an interview was to gather data from a stakeholder in the tourism industry to gain information on how Dark Tourism, and its rise in popularity, is currently handled. It provides background information and could be used as a check on how the respondents of the survey see and interact with the tourism destinations. The combination of the survey results and interview results could make for future developments in areas where Dark Tourism is possible but not yet active, outweighing the economic benefits and the ethical dilemmas that often accompany this type of tourism. This type of data gathering can provide insights into the perspective of someone who works in the field of tourism daily. This creates for the combination of the data to potentially provide multiple recommendations that are specifically targeted and adapted to the Netherlands.

3.6 Interview respondent

The respondent chosen for the interview was Joël Ferdinandus, manager at Rotterdam Experience; Hospitality & Events at Rotterdam Partners. On a daily basis he works on creating new and unique ways to show the city of Rotterdam to tourists and outsiders. He could therefore give an insider's perspective on how Dark Tourism could be executed in an orderly fashion without having as less negative impact on its surroundings as possible.

It should be noted that due to COVID-19, tourism has been an industry that has been a little slow recently. When approaching possible subjects, it was difficult to make a connection or find people that have the time for such an interview. Many bigger organizations have only one way of contacting the, which is a more general way for people to ask questions which makes it hard to come into contact with them.

3.7 Conducting the interview

In order to make the interview run smoothly preparations were needed. First the respondent was approached by email, as the email address could be found on their LinkedIn Profile and on the website of the company they work for. By conducting an interview, the research questions are possible to answer when combined with the theoretical framework, the survey data, and a targeted topic list:

Research question	**Survey topic**
What different types of Dark Tourism are currently popular destinations?	Dark Tourism destinations located in the work area of the respondent.
Does the Netherlands have potential sites for Dark Tourism that are not being visited by a wider audience and can they develop into tourist destinations?	Sites or events that come to mind. How does one plan such a development.
What are the potential ethical dilemmas of the development of Dark Tourism destinations in the Netherlands? &	How is (Dark) Tourism received within the work are of the respondent.

How is Dark Tourism received in the Netherlands?	
	Potential reception of the rise of Dark Tourism.
How can potential negative impacts be minimalized?	Potential policies.

Table 2: Interview Topic list.

It should be noted that the data gathered by this interview cannot answer these questions on its own and is simply an additional provider of background information on the survey. It should be combined with the data gathered from the survey and the previous set theoretical framework.

For this specific thesis it was most beneficial to approach the interview as a semi-structured interview. This meant that questions were prepared beforehand but there was an open form of communicating. The topics were predetermined but the interviewer was able to interact, respond and even ask for clarification or further explanation. The interview was recorded and took the form of a conversation in order to be fully able to focus on the interview itself (Fontana & Frey, 2000; Giffee, 2005). For an overview of the interview questions, please refer to Attachment 2 – Interview Questions.

Due to COVID-19, the interview was held online by using Microsoft Teams. Not only was this easier to keep a safe distance, planning the interview was easier as there was no need to take travel time into account.

4. Results

For this Master's thesis data was collected through different research methods. The data that was gathered can be combined to answer the main research question;

"To what extent can Dark Tourism be of economic significance to the Dutch tourism industry, while maintaining the ethical standards and boundaries?"

In order to answer the research question, multiple sub-questions have been composed. These break down the main question into smaller sections, making answering the main question easier to achieve. Data gathered from the survey was analyzed with the use of SPSS27 to be able to make conclusions based on a large dataset. This chapter will start by discussing the general demographic attributes of the respondents of the survey, creating an image of who filled in the survey. This data will be compared to the general information of the Dutch population. This was done to see if the group of respondents are a good representation of the Dutch population. Furthermore, each sub-question will be discussed individually, answering them by combining both theories gathered in the theoretical framework and data gathered by the survey and the interview.

4.1 General information of the survey respondents

Distributing the survey online resulted into a total amount of 259 respondents, 73 were filled in by the use of the link distributed by WhatsApp and 186 were filled in through Facebook. However, not all entries were used for this results chapter. A total of 56 entries where uncompleted and missed certain answers, these were left out of the results chapter in order to gain a data base that was complete and not lacking important information. This left 203 survey entries for the analyzing process of this chapter. The first entry was on June 17th 2021, done by one of my friends in order to test the final survey. Some minor details were changed after this, mostly spelling errors, or refining the explanation on the definition of Dark Tourism. The survey went online on June 21st 2021, with the most amount of entries following the next 7 days. The last recorded entry was on July 4th 2021.

Out of the total of 203 respondents, the majority identified as female. This majority consist of 128 people. 73 people identified as male and 2 people identified as other. This data is depicted in Figure 10. Comparing this data in the graph on the right, Figure 11, shows how the Dutch population is more equally divided when compared to the respondents of this survey.

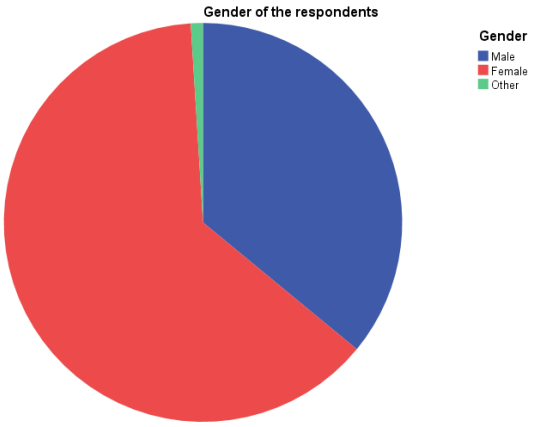

Figure 10: Gender of the Respondents.

The following question the respondents had to answer was "how old are you?". In order to make this set of data more manageable the answers were categorized in different age groups, following to the same guidelines as those on the CBS website which allows for an easier comparison. The table below, Table 3, shows the number of respondents per age group.

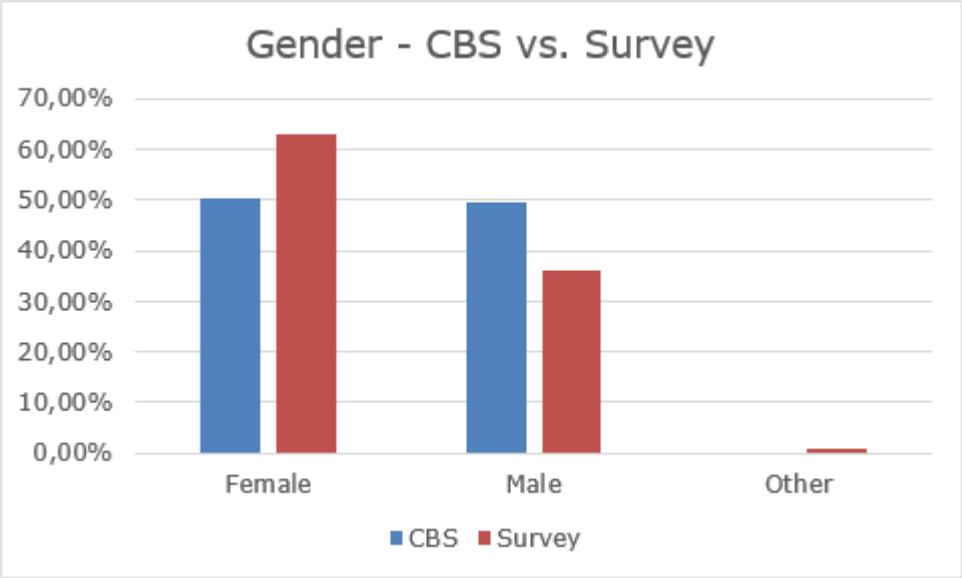

Figure 11: Gender, CBS vs Survey (CBS, 2021).

Age groups respondents

Age group	Frequency	Percentage
0 - 19	5	2,5
20 - 40	100	49,3
41 - 65	94	46,3
66 - 80	4	2,0
Total	203	100,0

Table 3: Age groups respondents.

Comparing this data to the information from the CBS website resulted in the graph in Figure 12. It clearly shows that the general population of the Netherlands is more equally divided when compared to the survey respondents. However, it should be noted that the CBS data considers every Dutch citizen. Distributing through social media excluded younger children and those above the age of 66. The number of respondents in both the 20-40 and 41-65 categories can be caused since these are direct friends on both WhatsApp and Facebook.

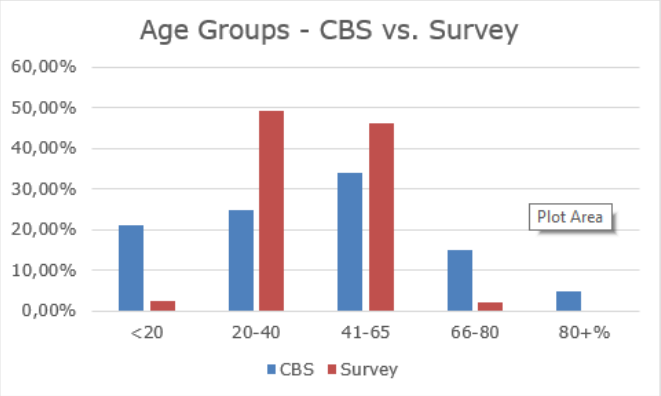

Figure 12: Age groups, CBS vs Survey (CBS, 2021).

These age groups were later recategorized into 0-40 and 40+. This was done because the youngest and the oldest consists of such a small number that statements and conclusions based on these numbers will be unsubstantiated. Due to this recategorization, the age group 0-40 consisted of 105 respondents, while the 40+ age groups consisted of 98 respondents.

The respondents were then asked about the highest level of education that they had finished. As shown on the right in Figure 13, the most common answer was MBO with 74 answers. The least common answer was a HBO-Master's degree. This data was then categorized in lower educated, including primary school and MBO, and higher educated, everything from HBO-bachelor and up.

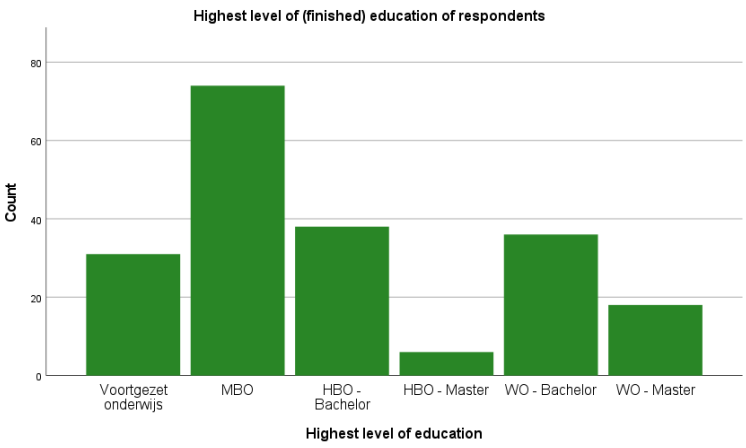

Figure 13: Highest level of education of respondents.

This data was then compared to the available data on the CBS website. This comparison is shown on the right in Figure 14. It becomes clear that overall, the Dutch population that classify as lower educated is significantly higher than those who classify as higher educated. The graph in Figure 14 also clearly shows that the respondents of the survey are more equally divided. This higher number in the higher educated category is probably due to the direct circle of friends that the survey was distributed through where all college students. This resulted in a higher number of respondents in the higher educated category.

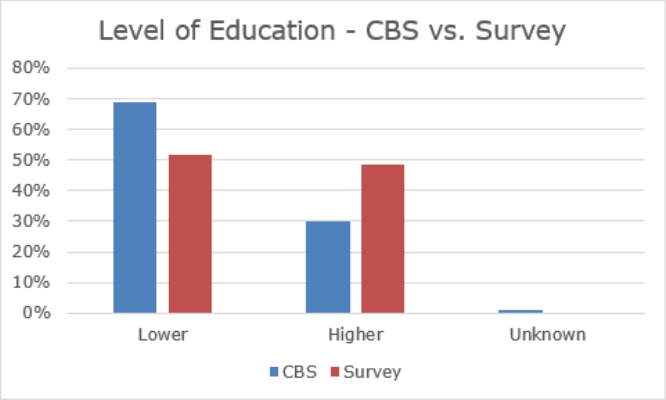

Figure 14: Level of Education, CBS vs. Survey.

Next, the respondents were asked to describe the composition of their family. As can be seen on the right in Figure 15 the majority of the respondents were living with their partner and children. Second most common answer was the option ' single'. These two categories being the largest can be explained by the number of respondents being from the age groups 20-40 and 41-65. These age groups include mostly students, young-adults, and families.

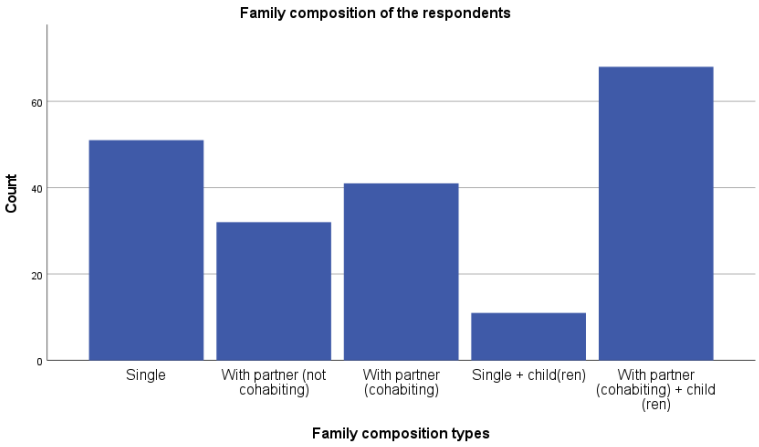

Figure 15: Family composition respondents.

Comparing this data to the information from the CBS website created the graph shown on the right, Figure 16. The graph shows how the amount of people in the category 'single' is significantly higher in the survey respondents group than in the CBS data. On the other hand, the amount of people that classify as 'co-habiting' in the CBS data is a lot higher than in the survey respondents group. This can again be explained by the way the survey was distributed and the direct circle of friends and family that first took the survey.

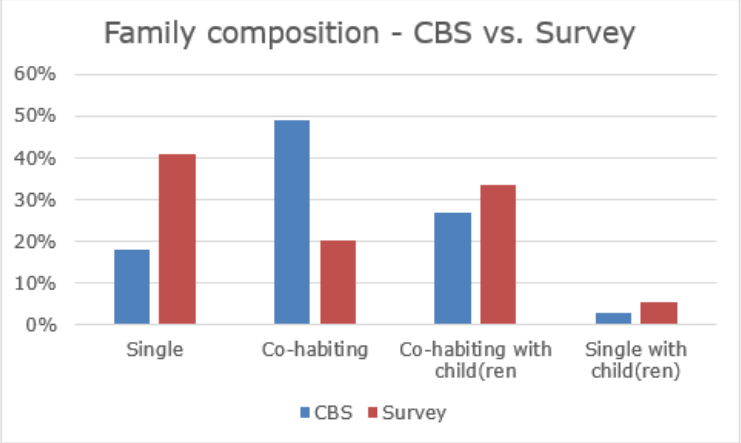

Figure 16: Family composition, CBS vs. Survey.

After analyzing the results, it turned out that the majority of the respondents either lived in the province of 'Zuid-Holland' or 'Utrecht'. The image on the right, Figure 17, creates a clear image on these results. This was to be expected of this survey, as most of the authors family and friends live within these regions. The least common answers were Flevoland and Groningen, both having only 1 respondent, and 'Outside of the Netherlands', with 2 respondents. The later mentioned to be from Belgium and Antwerp (Belgium).

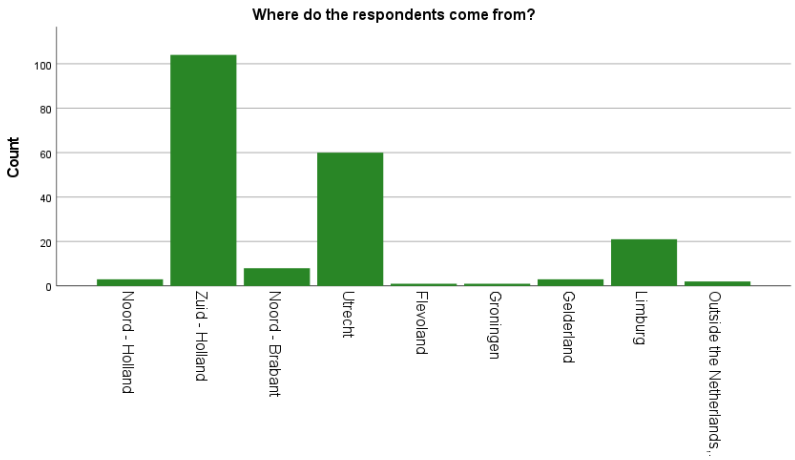

Figure 17: Respondent's residence location.

To conclude, the respondent group consist of 259 people. The majority of this group identify as female, which cannot be seen as completely representative for the Dutch population as this is divided more equally. The majority of the respondents either belong in the age group 20-40 or 41-65. Most of the respondents are either single or in a relationship with children. The respondents live mainly in Zuid-Holland or Utrecht. These last statistics can be due to the location, age, and the friend group of the author. These specifics cause for the

respondent group to no be representable of the Dutch population. Therefore, this should be considered when making statements or conclusions. These conclusions will not be universal but can be used for speculations and insights in the data from the survey respondents. Therefore, the data can be useful to make broader statements.

4.2 Knowledge and visitation

Besides the general information about the respondents' demographics, they were asked about their pre-existing knowledge. They were asked if they have ever heard of the concept of Dark Tourism and if they knew the definition beforehand. As can be seen in Figure 19, the majority of the respondents were unaware of the concept but had heard of its definition. This group has by far the largest share with 86 respondents out of 203 (42.4%). The smallest group, with 11 out of 203 respondents (5.4%), were those who had heard of the concept itself but were unaware of the definition. Figure 18 shows how that the majority of the respondents were in fact aware of the existence of Dark Tourism, but not all in such a way that they would actively know the concept itself.

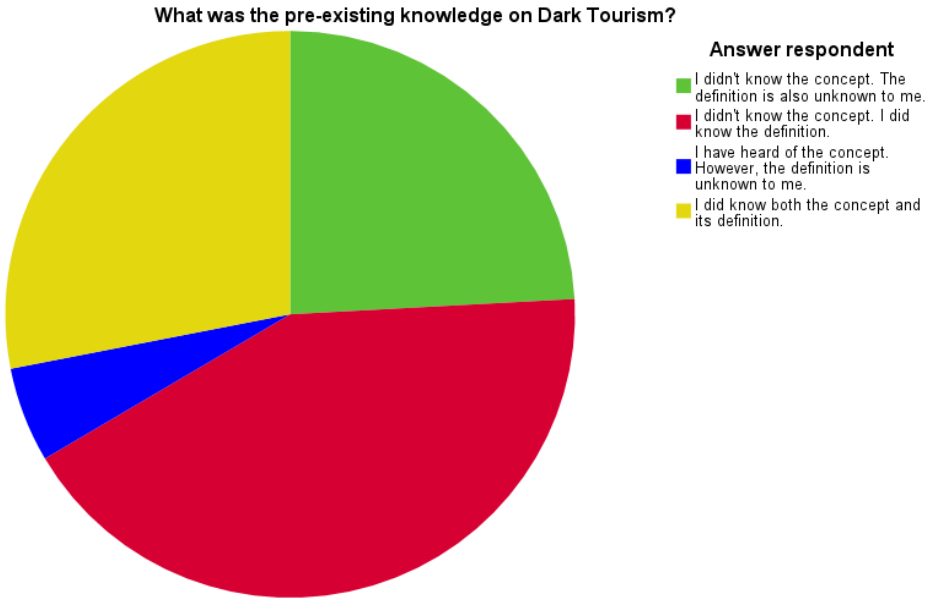

Figure 18: Pre-existing knowledge Dark Tourism respondents.

The final question of the general information and introduction questions of the survey asked the respondent if they themselves have ever visited a Dark Tourism destination. Below, in Figure 19, the results of this question are shown, which makes it very clear that the majority answered 'Yes', with a total of 145 out of 203 respondents (71.4%). Those who answered 'No' were the minority, with 58 respondents belonging to this group (28.6%). This shows that many have visited such a destination in the past. Out of the respondents, the amount of people that knew exactly what Dark Tourism was is small. However, thought the concept is not commonly known, many still practice forms of tourism that can be defined as Dark Tourism.

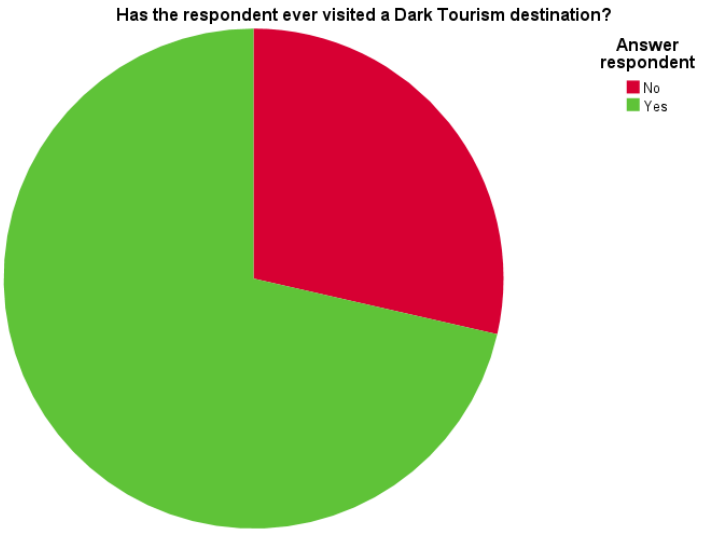

Figure 19: Visitation Dark Tourism respondents.

4.3 Sub-question 1 – What is Dark Tourism and which types can be distinguished?

As mentioned in the theoretical framework, Dark Tourism is a concept that many different people tried to define. The different definitions often have overlay to some extent but can vary due specific details or phrasing. The definition used for this Master's thesis is a combination of the theories of Light (2017) and Novelli (2005):

"Areas or sites of holocaust, crime, genocide, assassination, suffering, tragedy or incarceration that are used to attract tourists or visitors".

Dark Tourism destinations can differ from each other, one cannot compare a commercialized torture museum to a concentration camp from the Second World War and say they are exactly the same. To make a distinction between the variations of Dark Tourism destinations Stone (2006) created seven different categories, or so-called shades, of Dark Tourism. These shades were:

- Dark Fun Factories.
- Dark Exhibitions.
- Dark Dungeons.
- Dark Resting Places.
- Dark Shrines.
- Dark Conflict Sites.
- Dark Camps of Genocide.

For a more detailed explanation of these different shades, refer back to the theoretical framework.

The respondents of the survey were asked what the first destination was that came to mind when thinking about the concept of Dark Tourism. This question was asked in order to gain a better image of what Dark Tourism means to the respondents. The answers to this question are shown in Table 4 below.

What is the first Dark Tourism destination that comes to mind?

Answer respondent	Frequency	Percentage
Missing data	2	1,0
niet legale toerisme	1	,5
2e wereldoorlogen	1	,5
Alcatraz	1	,5
Anna Frank en Normandie Frankrijk	1	,5
Anne Frank huis	19	9,4
Anne Frank. Checkpoint charley	1	,5
Auschwitz	90	44,3
Beetje fout	1	,5
Begraafplaatsen (zoals Père Lachaise)	1	,5
Bergen-belsen	1	,5
Berlijn	2	1,0
Berlin-Hohenschönhausen	1	,5
Birkenau in Krakau	1	,5
Birma spoorlijn	1	,5
Bosnië Szebrenica	1	,5
Cambodja	1	,5
Chernobyl	16	7,9
Concentratiekampen	5	2,5

Dachau	2	1,0
De graven bij Srebrenica	1	,5
De Muur van Mussert	1	,5
Duister	1	,5
Eastern State Penitentiary Pennsylvania	1	,5
Een rampgebied	1	,5
Ellende	1	,5
Geen idee	5	2,5
Geschiedenis en gedenkplaatsen waar leed is gebeurd	1	,5
Graftomben in Parijs	1	,5
Ground Zero	7	3,4
Hacienda Napoles	1	,5
Hiroshima	1	,5
Holocaust monument Berlijn	1	,5
Holocaust museum in Danzig, Polen	1	,5
Iets duisters	1	,5
Kamp Vught	1	,5
Kamp Westerbork	2	1,0
Kindermonument rotterdam	1	,5
Martelmusea	3	1,5
Mary Kings Close, Edinburgh	1	,5
Massagraf, American foxholes in Luxemburg	1	,5
Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe (Berlijn)	1	,5
New Orleans	1	,5
Niet wat het betekend	1	,5
Normandie Frankrijk	1	,5
Nvt	1	,5
Oradour in Frankrijk	1	,5
Rampen	1	,5
Rampgebied	1	,5
Ramptoerisme zoals bij een ongeluk op de snelweg	1	,5
Sitadel in Dinant	1	,5
Slechte manier van tourisme	1	,5
The killing fields - Cambodja	1	,5
Theresienstadt vernietigingskamp, Westerbork en het boek het Pauper paradijs en Ground Zero	1	,5
Toerisme dat slecht is voor de plek	1	,5
Verdun	1	,5
Verlaten gebouwen	1	,5
Verlaten plekken, plekken die te maken hebben met oorlog	1	,5
Westerbork	3	1,5
Total	203	100,0

Table 4: First Dark Tourism destination that comes to mind.

One of the most reoccurring answers is Auschwitz, and also Chernobyl is mentioned quite often. Other themes that come forward from this list are destinations that have to do with World War 2. It becomes clear that these destinations are the most commonly known amongst the survey respondents.

Referring back to the theory of Stone (2006) which categorizes different Dark Tourism destinations in seven shades, these answers were further categorized into these different shades. The category 'other' was created for answers such as 'I have no idea', 'I don't know' or when an answer was too vague, such as 'something dark'. This created the graph below, Figure 20, and gives a clear answer that the most commonly known Dark Tourism destinations amongst the respondents belong to the 'Dark Camps of Genocide'. These destinations are sites which have genocide and catastrophe as the main theme and are therefore seen as the darkest form of Dark Tourism.

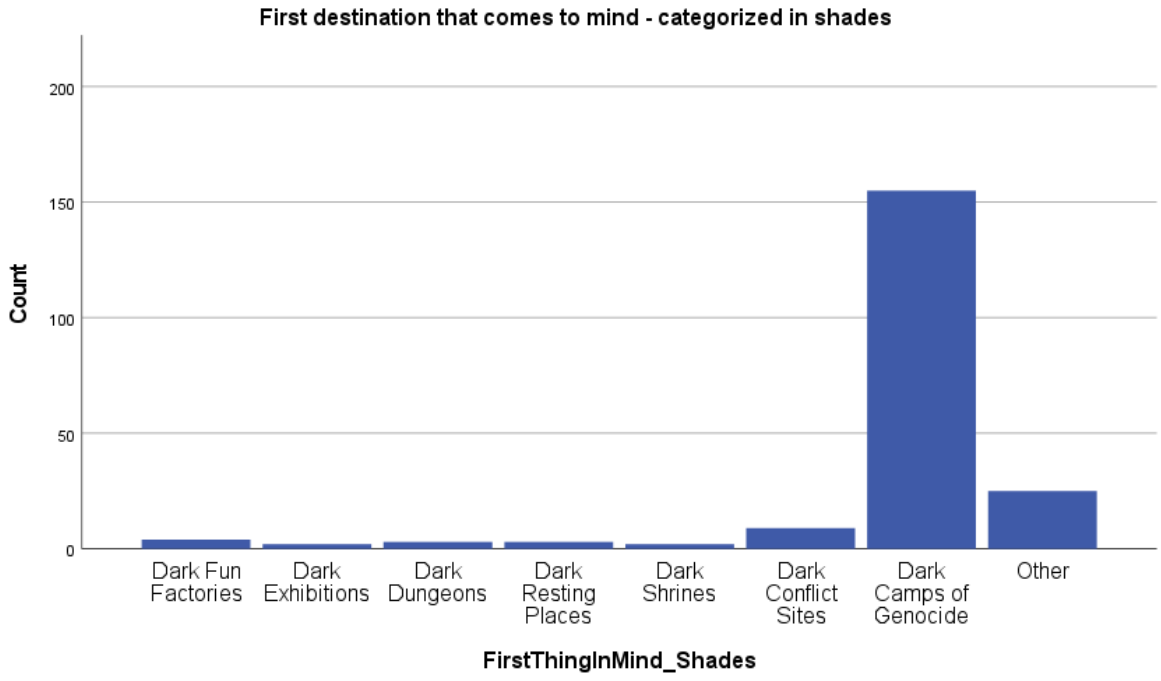

Figure 20: First destination that comes to mind, categorized by shades.

To conclude, there are many different variations of the definition of Dark Tourism. However, they all have some common ground and are categorizable into seven different shades. When asked what pops up first in their mind when

thinking about Dark Tourism, the respondents did answer different types. However, the most common type of Dark Tourism mentioned is Dark Camps of Genocide. This means that when people first think of Dark Tourism, they often think of the darkest or most intense destinations.

4.4 Sub-question 2 – What different types of Dark Tourism are currently popular destinations?

As mentioned in the theoretical framework, some Dark Tourism destinations are more commonly known and attract more visitors than others. Some examples that are most mentioned in both academic literature and more easy access publications such newspapers or online blogs are Auschwitz and Chernobyl. With the help of different questions in the survey an image of what currently popular destinations amongst the respondents are can be created.

When looking at Table 5 below, which contain the answers to the question *"Which Dark Tourism destination would you like to visit? (for those who have not visited a Dark Tourism destination)",* it becomes clear that again Chernobyl is mentioned, and many respondents often mention sites related to past wars.

Which Dark Tourism destination would you like to visit?

Answer respondent	Frequency	Percentage
Have visited a Dark Tourism destination + Missing data (19)	164	80,8
Amerika	1	,5
Anne Frank huis	6	3,0
Anne frankhuis,auschwitz	1	,5
Auschwitz	6	3,0
Chernobyl	2	1,0
Chernobyl, Auschwitz	1	,5
Concentratiekamp	1	,5
Een plek waar vroeger oorlog is gevoerd	1	,5
Geen idee	3	1,5
geen voorkeur	1	,5
Ground Zero	1	,5
Ground Zero, anne frank	1	,5
hoort bij het leven	1	,5
Ik sluit het niet uit maar niet hoog op de bucket list.	1	,5

Ik weet het nog niet	1	,5
Ik zou het niet weten	1	,5
Khmer rouge	1	,5
Locaties die een grote impact op de samenleving hebben gehad en onderdeel zijn van de historie, zeker als vandaag de dag nog effecten "zichtbaar" zijn.	1	,5
Nog geen idee	1	,5
Wanneer de mogelijkheid zich voor doet	1	,5
Weet ik niet	2	1,0
Weet ik nog niet	4	2,0
Total	203	100,0

Table 5: Which Dark Tourism destination would the respondent like to visit?

The table below, Table 6, shows these answers categorized in the different shades of Dark Tourism. The table shows that 18 people answered 'I don't know yet' or other vague answers that were categorized as 'other'. This categorization confirms that most answers, 20 out of 39, where in the 'Dark Camps of Genocide' category, confirming the interest of Dark Tourism destinations in the darkest form.

Which Dark Tourism destination would you like to visit? - Shades

Answer respondent	Frequency	Percentage
Dark Conflict Sites	1	2.56
Dark Camps of Genocide	20	51.28
Other	18	46.15
Total	39	100,0

Table 6: Which Dark Tourism destination would you like to visit, categorized by shades.

The two before mentioned questions gave more insight on what came first to mind (directed at all respondents) and which locations the respondents would still like to visit (for those who have not visited one yet). However, looking further into those who already have visited a Dark Tourism destination before creates a bigger picture of the current popular destinations. Table 7 shows the answers given by the respondents when asked *"Which Dark Tourism destination did you visit?".*

Which Dark Tourism destination did the respondent visit?

Answer respondent	Frequency	Percentage
Have not visited a Dark Tourism destination + Missing data (1)	59	29,1
911 memorial	1	,5
Anne Frank huis	21	10,3
Anne Frank huis en verzetsmuseum Amsterdam	1	,5
Anne Frank huis, Auschwitz'	1	,5
Anne Frank huis, stazi museum etc.	1	,5
Anne Frank huis, Waalsdorpervlakte	1	,5
Anne Frankhuis, Ground Zero	1	,5
Anne frankhuis, Westerbork, museum in Amsterdam	1	,5
Auschwitz	13	6,4
Auschwitz, Westerbork	1	,5
Auswitz Westerbork Ground Zero	1	,5
Auswitz, begraafplaatsen, kampen, etc	1	,5
Bergen Belsen	1	,5
Brandenburger tor	1	,5
Canadese Oorlog Begraafplaats in Holten	1	,5
Chernobyl	3	1,5
Choeung ek	1	,5
Colosseum	1	,5
Concentratiekamp	5	2,5
Concentratiekamp Berlijn	1	,5
Concentratiekamp Buchenwald	1	,5
Concentratiekamp Dachau	1	,5
Concentratiekamp Sachsenhausen bij Berlijn	1	,5
Cu Chi Tunnels	1	,5
Dachau	2	1,0
De Muur van Mussert	1	,5
Doel	1	,5
Dungeons	1	,5
Een Amerikaanse begraafplaats van de tweede wereldoorlog	1	,5
Een kamp, weet niet meer hoe het heet	1	,5
Een martelkamp bij Antwerpen	1	,5
Een werkkamp van WO2, weet niet meer welke	1	,5
Fort Breendonk	1	,5
Gedenkstätte Berlin-Hohenschönhausen	1	,5
Gevangenpoort te 's-Gravenhage	1	,5
Ground Zero	10	4,9
Ground zero, 9/11 museum	1	,5
Herdenkingsmonument WW2 in Berlijn	1	,5

Hiroshima, locatie van de eerste atoombom (little boy)	1	,5
Holocaust gedenkteken	1	,5
Holocaust monument	1	,5
Ieper	1	,5
Ieper memorial (Menin Gate)	1	,5
Ik weet de precieze naam niet meer maar het was een voormalige KGB gevangenis in het centrum van Tallinn.	1	,5
James Island (slaveneiland)	1	,5
Jeruzalem	1	,5
Joden museum Wenen, Museum Groesbeek	1	,5
Kamp sacksenhausen	1	,5
Kamp Vught	4	2,0
Kamp Vught, Kamp Westerbork Kamp	1	,5
Kamp Westerbork	11	5,4
Kamp Westerbork en militair begraafplaats in Margraten	1	,5
Martelmuseum	4	2,0
Massagraf, American foxholes	1	,5
Militaire begraaf plaatsen , anne Frank huis Westerbork	1	,5
Musea	1	,5
Museum over de Holocaust	1	,5
Museum van de Bosnische genocide	1	,5
Museum van voormalig bezetters (over bezetting van Litouwen door Sovjet-Unie en Duitsland)	1	,5
Normandie	1	,5
Normandie, Amerikaans begraafplaats	1	,5
Normandy American Cemetery and Memorial	1	,5
O.a. Hell fire pass	1	,5
Oorlogsmuseum	1	,5
Oradour - Margrate - Normandië	1	,5
Ordensburg Vogelsang	1	,5
Phnom phen gevangenis en Choeung Ek killing fields	1	,5
Point du hoc	1	,5
Pompeï	2	1,0
Robbeneiland	1	,5
Sachsenhausen (concentratiekamp)	1	,5
Sitadel in Dinant	1	,5
Stasi gevangenis in Duitsland	1	,5
Stenen over de holocaust	1	,5
Szebrenica	1	,5
Theresienstadt	1	,5
Tuol Sleng museum	1	,5
Verlaten sterrenwacht	1	,5

Westerbork en kamp Vucht.	1	,5
Total	203	100,0

Table 7: Which Dark Tourism destination did the respondent visit?

Table 7 shows the different Dark Tourism destinations the respondents of the survey have visited before. Even though the literature mostly mentions a few examples, when looking at the table it becomes clear that other destinations are also popular. Despite being one of the more famous examples in the Dark Tourism literature, Chernobyl is only mentioned three times. This could be due to the fact of it being a rather far trip where one must have specific intentions to visit the site. Ground Zero, or the World Trade Centre, is also mentioned by multiple respondents, and even though this is also a faraway destination, it is often easier to be part of a bigger trip to New York or the United States in general. The example mentioned in both the introduction and the theoretical framework, torture museums, is also mentioned by multiple respondents, proving that the different shades of Dark Tourism are indeed being visited. Figure 21 below creates a clearer image of these different shades. The darkest form, 'Dark Camps of Genocide', is again the most answered category. However, in this graph we can see that other shades are also being visited by some. This concludes that the lighter shades of Dark Tourism are less known and popular options when a respondent is asked where they would still like to go. However, despite this lack of popularity, they are being visited by the respondents.

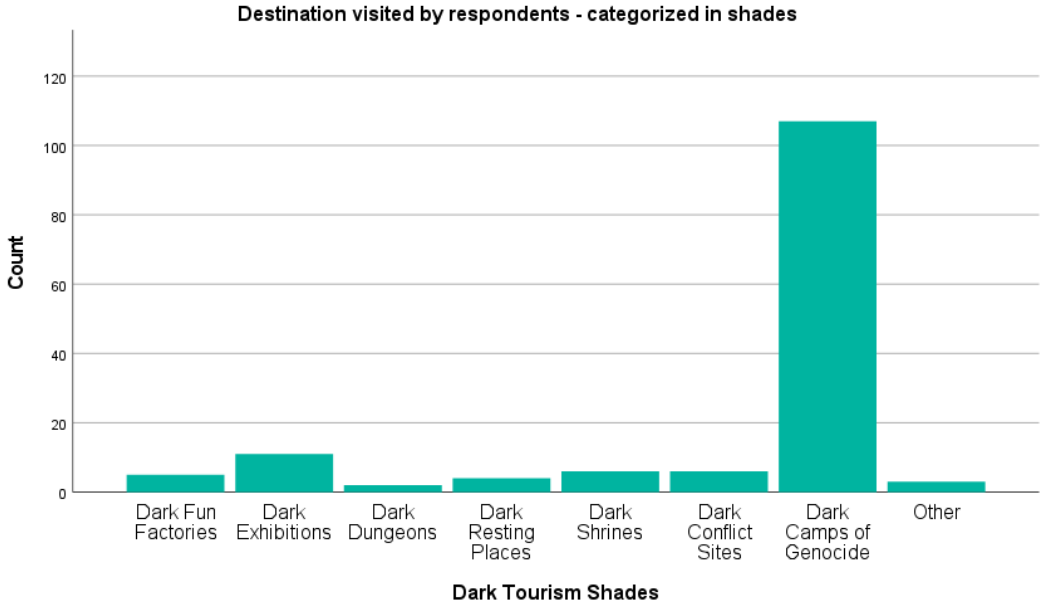

Figure 21: Destination visited by respondents, categorized by shades.

It can be concluded that the respondents who have not been to a Dark Tourism destination yet mostly want to visit destinations related to war and those who belong to the category Dark Camps of Genocide. Dark Tourism destinations located further away, such as Chernobyl, are also mentioned and thus potentially popular destinations. However, the amount of people that are actually visiting these further away destinations is relatively low. Many of the respondents did in fact visit the most popular shade of Dark Tourism, but the answers were more divers. Other examples outside this category were also mentioned to be visited by some respondents and thus they indeed also attract visitors.

4.5 Sub-question 3 – What is the current situation of Dark Tourism in the Netherlands compared to other countries?

As mentioned before, the Netherlands is not considered a frontrunner when it comes to Dark Tourism. This question can be, however, answered with the help of the survey data. When looking at Table 1 it becomes clear that respondents do in fact mention Dark Tourism destinations that are located in the Netherlands. However, these are the more commonly known destinations such as the Anne Frank house. The table contains more general and vague answers such as 'concentration camps', 'a place where something bad happened' and 'a torture museum'. These could indeed apply to the Netherlands but are also located in other countries. Therefore, these answers cannot be seen as only Dutch Dark Tourism destinations.

When looking at Table 5 (where would they like to go) it can be concluded that not many people mention Dutch Dark Tourism destinations such as the Anne Frank house. The answers given are either located further away, such as Auschwitz, Ground Zero or Chernobyl, or broader in a sense that it cannot be pinpointed in a specific country, such as 'concentration camps'. Many respondents also indicated that they indeed would still like to visit a Dark Tourism destination but are not certain about which one yet.

However, the survey asked those who have visited a Dark Tourism destination to mention the location of that specific destination. The results of this question can be seen on the right in Figure 22. It can be concluded that 40 respondents, 27.6%, indeed visited a Dutch Dark Tourism destination. Table 6, earlier in this chapter, shows that these 40 answers mainly consist out of the Anne Frank house and concentration camp Vught. Answers such as 'concentration camp' and 'torture museum' are also answers that can be located in the Netherlands. When continuing analyzing the Figure 22 it becomes clear that most of the visited destinations, 82 out of 145, are located in Europe (excluding the Netherlands). Within Europe the countries that were mentioned most were Germany (21 times), Poland (15 times) and France (11 times). As visible in Figure 22 other continents are mentioned less, this is possibly because of the travel distance and the costs of such trips. Not everybody is able to afford these types of trips.

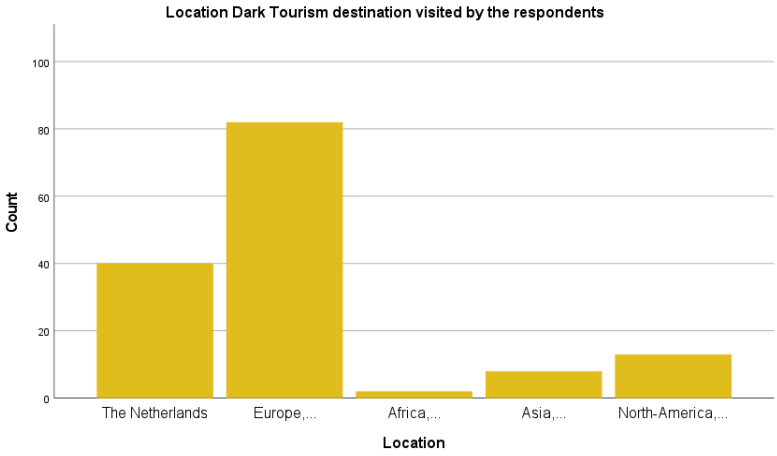

Figure 22: Location visited Dark Tourism destinations.

The table on the next page, Table 8, shows per country/continent which of the different shades of Dark Tourism destinations were visited and by how many different respondents.

	Dark Fun Factories	Dark Exhibitions	Dark Dungeons	Dark Resting Places	Dark Shrines	Dark Conflict Sites	Dark Camps of Genocide	Total
Netherlands	1	0	1	2	0	1	35	40
Europe	4	10	0	2	6	4	54	80
Africa	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	2
Asia	0	1	0	0	0	1	4	6
North America	0	0	0	0	0	0	13	13
Total	5	11	2	4	6	6	107	141

Table 8: Location Dark Tourism destinations, categorized by shades.

The table shows that the darkest category is indeed the most visited in every country and continent. However, it becomes clear that 'Dark Exhibitions' are also destinations that are visited by the respondents. This is mainly done in Europe, excluding the Netherlands, as 10 out of 11 of these types of destinations are located in Europe.

It should be noted that the respondents of this survey are all from the Netherlands, except 2 from Belgium, and it should be therefore considered that Europe is the most accessible out of all continents. Other Dark Tourism destinations might be appealing but factoring in both travel distance and costs can make for less visitors from the Netherlands.

To answer this research question in short it can be stated that the Netherlands does in fact have some popular Dark Tourism destinations. However, the options in the most popular category, Dark Camps of Genocide, are already commonly known and visited. An example of this is the Anne Frank House, which attracts many visitors both Dutch and foreign. When asked where the respondents would still like to go the answers given were of destinations located further away. However, those who have visited a Dark Tourism

destination before did indeed do so in the Netherlands as well, mainly in the category Dark Camps of Genocide.

4.6 Sub-question 4 – Does the Netherlands have potential sites for Dark Tourism that are not being visited by a wider audience and can they develop into tourist destinations?

Referring to the theoretical framework shows that the amount of research done on Dutch Dark Tourism is relatively low (Werdler & Geuskens, 2012). This however does not mean that the Dutch population does not want to visit Dark Tourism destinations. As mentioned before, 145 out of 203 of the respondents of the survey did in fact visit a Dark Tourism destination before. Out of the respondents that did not visit, some indeed still wanted to but haven't had the opportunity yet or want to do so but in a respectful manner, which will be discussed further on in this chapter. These numbers show how there is indeed a demand for Dark Tourism and that it attracts many visitors. Because of this demand for Dark Tourism, the Netherlands could potentially benefit from the development of such destinations.

When looking back at Table 7 it becomes clear that most visitations of Dark Tourism destinations happen outside the Netherlands. The most popular types of destinations are those that belong to the 'Dark Camps of Genocide' category, not only are they the most visited but also the most answered when asked where someone would still like to go. The table above shows how the Netherlands already has visitors in this category and could thus expand within this category. When looking at other popular destinations, the 'Dark Exhibition' shade also attracts visitors. However, the Netherlands does not have any visitors in that category yet. Here there is a possibility to grow as this seems an attractive type of Dark Tourism for people.

During the interview with Joël Ferdinandus, the respondent mainly talked about the potential of Black History tours in Rotterdam. The city of Rotterdam played a big part in the Dutch slave trade history and still has a lot to show that reminds of those dark pages in the history books. These future tours will not only focus on the past but also on the present and the future of the city related to its role in the slave trade.

4.7 Sub-question 5 – What are the potential ethical dilemmas of the development of Dark Tourism destinations in the Netherlands?

Referring to the theoretical framework, Dark Tourism brought some ethical dilemmas and questions to the table. The main critiques on Dark Tourism were about the behavior of the tourists, the economic side of Dark Tourism and respecting the past. These dilemmas and critiques will be repeated below, and in research question 7, and compared to the survey data.

When asked why the respondent has never visited a Dark Tourism destination yet the answers varied. A specific answer that is mentioned by some is that they tend to stay clear from these types of destinations as they would like to visit them but as respectful as possible. As mentioned before, handling the surroundings with care and in a respectful manner is a critique on Dark Tourism. It is often seen as disrespectful to the location, its history and the next of kin (Fennell, 2006). This response shows that (some) respondents are aware of the possible negative impact regarding this topic.

Another ethical dilemma regards the economical side of Dark Tourism. Is it ethically correct to profit of some of these events (Tearfund, 2000)? Do people have to pay for something that should be a reminder of the past and a warning for the future to stop history from repeating itself? In the survey the respondents were asked if they had to pay to enter or be on the site. Figure 23 below shows how the respondents have answered this question. It becomes clear that about 40% (59 out of 145) of the respondents did not have to pay to enter. However, this includes those who answered 'No, but a contribution was optional'. It should be noted that some of the Dark Tourism destinations that were mentioned by the respondents are memorial sites that are easily accessed by the public, such as Ground Zero. As these types of Dark Tourism destinations are located in the public space, they sometimes do not charge an entrance fee.

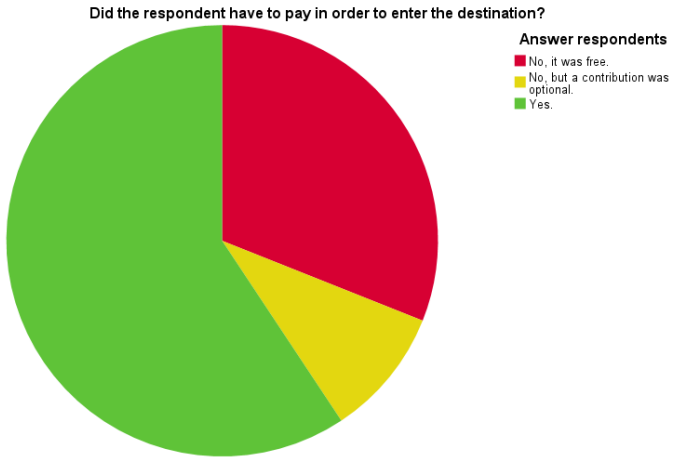

Figure 23: Was there an entrance fee?

About 60% (86 out of 145) of the respondents answered this question with 'Yes'. This shows that a great amount of the Dark Tourism destinations indeed ask an entrance fee of its visitors. When asked how much this fee was some respondents answered that they did not remember that it was organized by someone else, or that it was included in the costs of the whole trip. A large amount of the respondents however did remember (or at least an estimation), ranging the prices from 5 euros/dollars to 100 euros/dollars. However, it should be noted that the entrance fee can vary between different types of Dark Tourism destinations. Therefore, Table 9 was created and can be seen below. It contains the data per shade and if the respondent had to pay to enter.

	Dark Fun Factories	Dark Exhibitions	Dark Dungeons	Dark Resting Places	Dark Shrines	Dark Conflict Sites	Dark Camps of Genocide
Free entrance	0	4	0	2	4	3	29
Free, contribution optional	0	1	0	2	1	0	10
Paid entrance	5	6	2	0	1	3	68

Table 9: Entrance fee, categorized by shades.

As shown above in Table 9, all 'Dark Fun Factories' destinations had an entrance fee. This is no surprise as these types of destinations are often seen as entertainment and are highly commercialized. The 'Dark Exhibitions' were mostly paid destinations, which can be caused by the fact that these types of destinations are often in a form of a museum. The 'Dark Resting Places' and 'Dark Shrines' were almost all free, but contribution was optional. This makes sense as these destinations are mainly graveyards and other memorial sites for victims of war and crimes. These are often free to visit and are not build for

entertainment but for remembrance. The 'Dark Camps of Genocide' was the most visited, and for the most part were paid destinations. What happens with this money is not clear, but in some cases such as the 'Anne Frank house' part of the profit goes to the Anne Frank foundation to maintain the site and do research on different topics related to the tragedy that happened there.

The respondents were then asked if there were any options to buy souvenirs, as this is something that is often critiqued on. Selling, sometimes tacky, souvenirs from historically impactful events can be seen as the commercialization of these events. Almost half of the respondents (68 out of 145) answered yes, including that even though the majority answered 'no' many of these Dark Tourism destinations do sell souvenirs. The table below, Table 10, shows if there was an option to buy souvenirs categorized in the different shades of Dark Tourism.

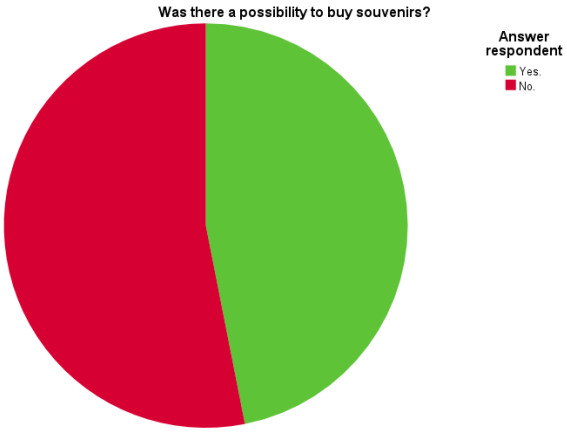

Figure 24: Possibility to buy souvenirs.

Option to buy souvenirs?	Dark Fun Factories	Dark Exhibitions	Dark Dungeons	Dark Resting Places	Dark Shrines	Dark Conflict Sites	Dark Camps of Genocide	Total
Yes	2	4	1	2	3	3	52	67
No	3	7	1	2	3	3	55	74

Table 10: Possibility to buy souvenirs, categorized by shades.

When asked if the respondents that had the option to buy souvenirs actually bought any themselves only 10 out of 68 responded with 'yes'. Out of these 10, 7 identified as female and 3 male. Out of the 10 respondents that did buy a souvenir, 7 belonged to the age group 40+. When asked for further elaboration on what this souvenir was the answers varied from a book, fridge magnets, postcards to a comic book. The prices of these souvenirs were estimated to be between 2 and 25 euros/dollars.

To conclude this research question, it can be said that there are indeed people who do not want to visit Dark Tourism destinations since they want to do so in a respectful manner. As for the dilemma regarding the economic side of Dark Tourism, it can be stated that many destinations are indeed asking an entrance fee. These paid destinations were mainly the more commercialized and popular Dark Tourism destinations. Out of all the destinations, a little less than half did have the option to buy some form a souvenir, with prices varying. It can thus be said that money is made from this form of tourism, but this does not always have to be negative. Joël Ferdinandus mentions in his interview that everything that is worth something is allowed to ask for some amount of money, this could also help the organizations that provide these destinations in order to be able to tell the public these stories.

4.8 Sub-question 6 – How is Dark Tourism received in the Netherlands?

One of the first questions that the respondents were asked was 'Have you visited a Dark Tourism destination before?'. As mentioned earlier in this chapter 145 respondents answered yes. Out of these 145, 60 identified as Male, 84 as female and 1 as 'other'. This means that out of 128 women in total, 65.6% has indeed visited a Dark Tourism destination. Out of the 73 men 82.2% had visited a Dark Tourism destination, this would conclude that Dark Tourism is more appealing for men. When running a Chi-Square test on these variables the Pearson Chi-Square significance was 0.035, which would confirm the significant association between gender and if someone has indeed visited a Dark Tourism destination before. However, the requirements for a Chi-Square test were violated, which is why a Fisher Exact test was also applied to these variables. Since the p-value

was 0.017, the significant association between these variables can be confirmed. This means that for this respondent group, men have significantly visited a Dark Tourism destination more often than women.

By looking at age and if the respondent has visited a Dark Tourism destination the following table was created. Table 11 shows how for this survey mostly those Dark Tourism was the most popular for those who belong to the age group 0 – 40.

Age group	No	No %	Yes	Yes %	Total
0 – 40	23	21.9%	82	78.1%	105
40+	35	35.7%	63	64.3%	98
Total	58	28.6%	145	71.4%	203

Table 11: Visited a Dark Tourism destination, categorized by age group.

When running a Chi-Square test for these variables the Pearson Chi-Square significance was 0.03. The data met the requirements for this test and this therefor means that there is indeed a significant association between age and if the person has indeed visited a Dark Tourism destination before. Therefore, it can be said that a younger respondent is more likely to visit a Dark Tourism destination than an elder respondent.

When asked why the respondent has not visited a Dark Tourism destination 17 out of 58 said that it did not seem appealing to them. 13 out of 58 choose the option 'other,…' and were asked to elaborate on that answer. For the most part the answers where simply that they did not have thought about it, or that they would prefer to go on a sunny, relaxing vacation. However, part of the respondents mentioned that they avoid certain places, as they find it hard to deal with certain locations. The sites itself and the confrontation with what has happened there are received as eerie and shocking, and the respondents want to 'protect' themselves from this confrontation. Other see this confrontation as 'to emotional' as they can be highly impactful on its visitors. Mainly woman answered that they did not want to visit a Dark Tourism destination because of

the before mentioned reasons, confirming that Dark Tourism is more appealing towards men. Some respondents also mentioned that they would like to visit the location but in a respectful manner or that they find it odd and morally incorrect to visit as a tourist. Others, from the respondent group who has not visited a Dark Tourism destination yet, indicated that in the future they would still like to visit one, but are sometimes not sure yet of which destination that would be.

Furthermore, when selecting those who have visited a Dark Tourism destination before, a set of questions focused specifically on the concept of knowledge. When asked to describe their pre-existing knowledge of the Dark Tourism destination that they had visited, the respondent was given 5 options to answer. Figure 25 shows how the respondents have answered.

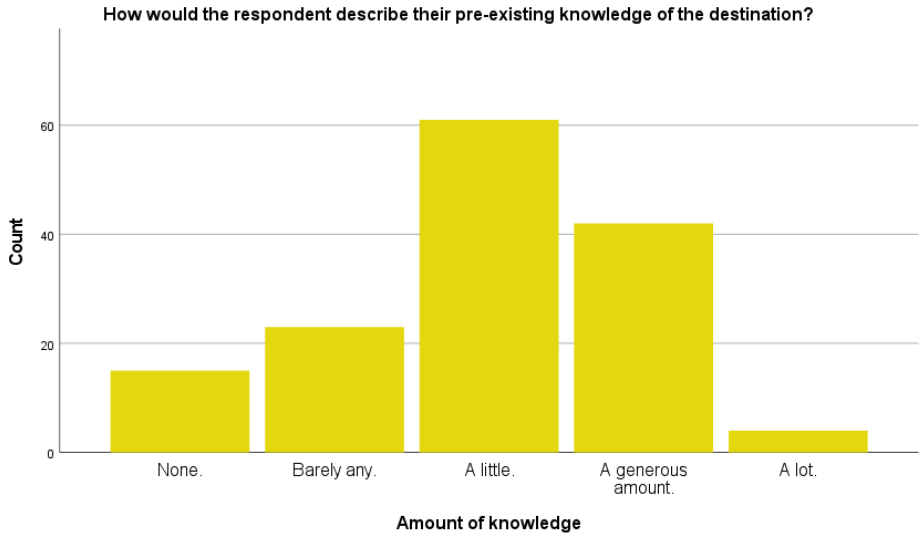

Figure 25: Pre-existing knowledge on the visited destination.

The most common answers were 'a little' (61 out of 145) and 'a generous amount' (42 out of 145). Those who claimed to know 'none' and 'barely any' made up for an accumulated total of 38 out of 145 respondents. By far the smallest group were those who claimed to know 'a lot'. It can therefore be concluded that for the most people have some knowledge about the destination they visit beforehand but have the possibility to learn and gain knowledge. This was the next question asked, *"How would you describe the amount of gained knowledge of the destination?".* The Figure below 26 depicts how the respondents would estimate that amount.

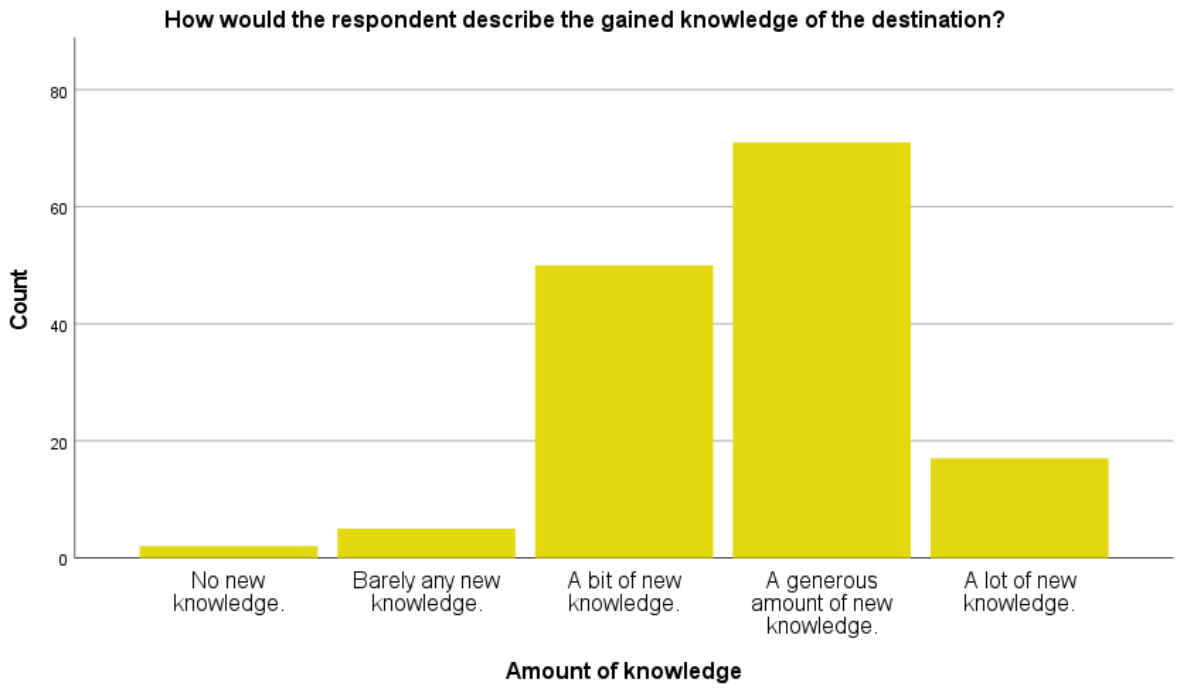

Figure 26: Gained knowledge on the visited destination.

Only 2 out of 145 respondents answered that they gained 'no new knowledge', meaning that they either already knew anything or that the experience itself had no educational purposes. The same can be said for those who claimed to have gained 'barely any new knowledge', which were 5 respondents. By far the largest group were those who gained 'a generous amount of new knowledge' containing 71 out of 145 respondents. Even the group who answered 'a lot of new knowledge' was relatively large, with 17 replies. The graph in Figure 27 shows that most of the respondents have gained new knowledge and thus found the experience educationally fulfilling. When asked if the way

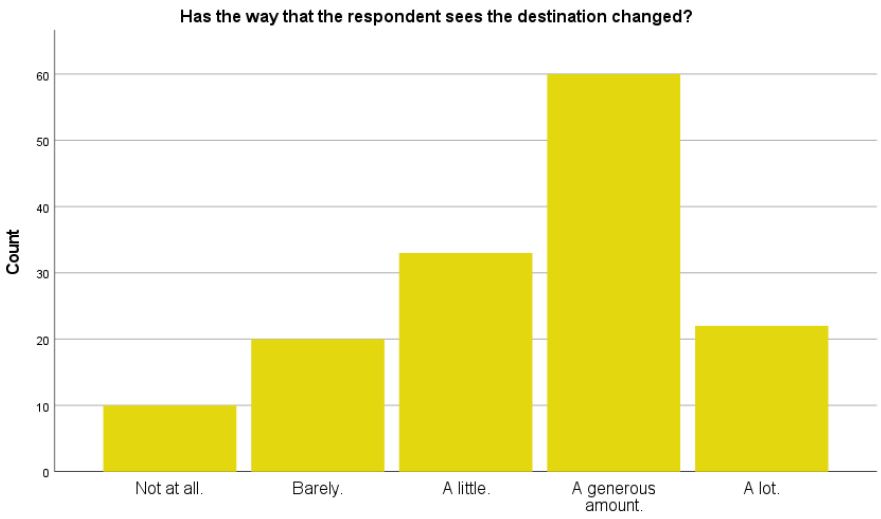

Figure 27: Changed view of destination.

that they see the destination has changed the respondents answered the following, confirming the obtained knowledge and indicating that for many their viewpoints have changed after visiting.

It can be concluded that Dark Tourism is a popular form of tourism among Dutch people, mainly those who identify as male. Although it is not an unpopular form of tourism amongst women, they do have more concerns about potentially visiting a Dark Tourism destination. Some of these concerns include the destination being too emotional or confrontational. It can be concluded that both gender and age indeed have a significant effect on if a person has ever visited a Dark Tourism destination. Also, the data shows that many respondents find visiting a Dark Tourism destination educationally fulfilling.

4.9 Sub-question 7 – How do Dutch people behave while visiting a Dark Tourism destination?

One side of Dark Tourism that has been highly critiqued on is the behavior of the tourists or visitors at the location. One of the most critiqued things a person could do is take pictures or even selfies at inappropriate times or places (Lock, 2019). When asked if the respondent had taken any selfies while visiting a Dark Tourism destination 131 out of 145 of the respondents answered 'no'. Only 12 respondents answered 'yes'. Out of these 12 respondents 7 identified as female and 5 as male. When running a Chi-Square test on these variables the Pearson Chi-Square significance was 0.955. However, the requirements for this test were violated, which meant that a Fisher Exact test was also applied to these variables. The p-value for this test was 1.00, confirming that there is no significant association between gender and

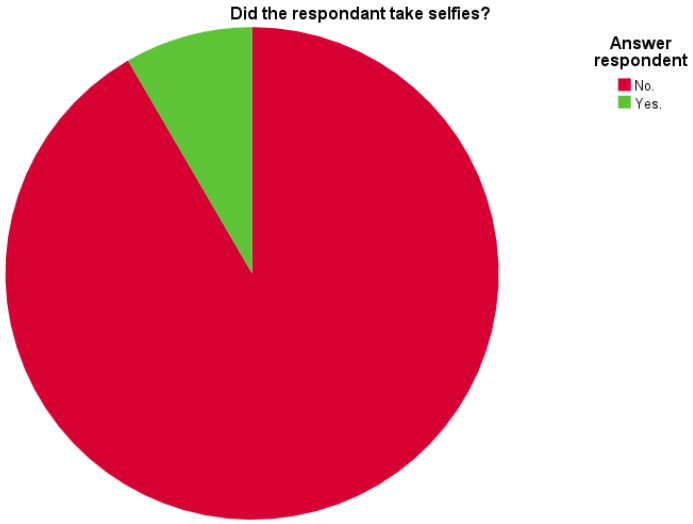

Figure 28: Did the respondent take selfies?

taking selfies and it can therefore not be concluded that respondents of one specific gender are more inclined to taking selfies than the other.

The majority, 10 out of 12, of those who took selfies where in the age group of 0-40. The table below, Table 12, creates a clearer image of the division among the age groups.

Selfies?	0-40	40+	Total
Yes	10	2	12
No	72	61	134
Total	82	63	143

Table 12: Did the respondents take selfies, categorized by age group.

It should be considered that these age groups also contain the highest number of respondents. For this reason, a Chi-Square test was done on these variables. This outcome, 0.051 and validated by the correct requirements for the Chi-Square test, means that there is no significant association between the age of a respondent and taking selfies. This means that respondents of one specific age group are not more inclined to take any selfies than the other age groups.

When these 12 were asked to make an estimation on the numbers of selfies they had taken their answers were as followed.

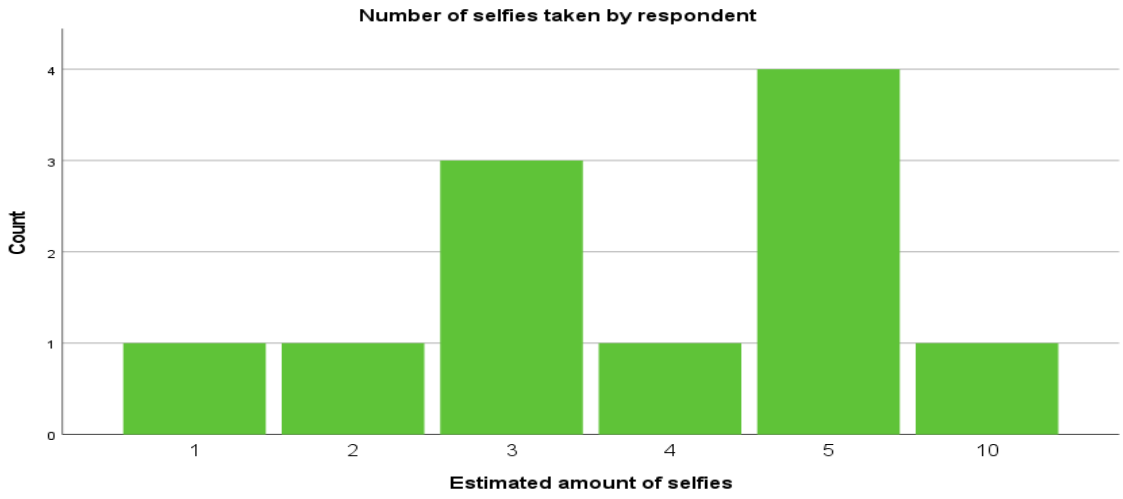

Figure 29: Number of selfies taken by the respondent.

The graph in Figure 29 shows how the largest number of selfies taken by 1 person was 10. This amount only occurred once. The amount that occurred the most was 5 selfies, by 4 different respondents.

The table below shows if the respondents took any selfies, categorized by the different Dark Tourism shades. As becomes clear, most selfies were taken at Dark Camps of Genocide, the darkest form of Dark Tourism. At these destinations taking selfies can be seen as most disrespectful.

Selfies?	Dark Fun Factories	Dark Exhibitions	Dark Dungeons	Dark Resting Places	Dark Shrines	Dark Conflict Sites	Dark Camps of Genocide	Other	Total
No	5	10	2	4	4	4	98	4	131
Yes	0	1	0	0	2	2	7	0	12
Total	5	11	2	4	6	6	105	4	143

Table 13: Did the respondents take selfies, categorized by shades.

When asked if the respondents took any other type of photos a greater number of respondents answered 'yes', 82 out of 145 which is almost 60%. For this question, the majority also identified as female. Out of 82 respondents who answered 'yes', 50 were woman, 31 male and 1 identified as other. When conducting a Chi-Square test, the result was 0.438, which would imply that there is no significant association. However, the requirements that are necessary to validate a Chi-Square test were violated so a Fisher Exact test was executed. The p-value for this test was 0.489, indeed confirming the

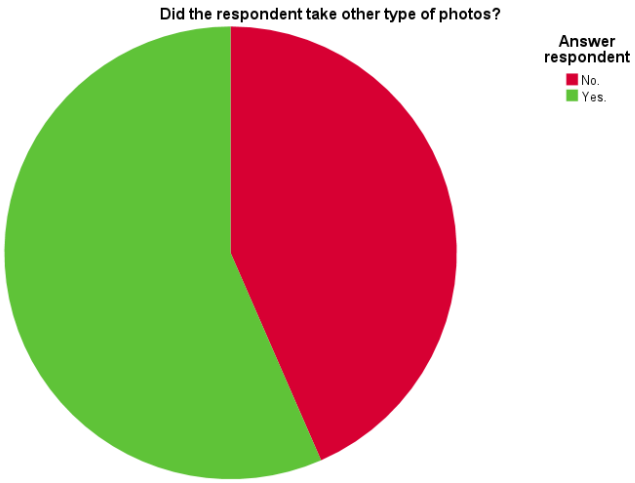

Figure 30: Did the respondent take photos?

outcome of the Chi-Square test. This means that respondents of one gender are not more inclined to take photos than respondents of other genders.

Table 14 shows how out of these 82 respondents who did take photos the majority belonged to the age group 0-40.

Photos?	0-40	40+	Total
Yes	45	37	82
No	37	26	63
Total	82	63	145

Table 14: Did the respondent take photos, categorized by age group.

It should be considered that these age groups also contain the highest number of respondents. Therefore, a Chi-Square test was executed on these variables. The Pearson Chi-Square significance was 0.643 and was validated by the correct requirements. This means that there is also no significant association between age and taking photos.

When asked to make an estimation on how many pictures the respondent had taken the answers varied. The answers of the respondents are shown in the graph in Figure 31.

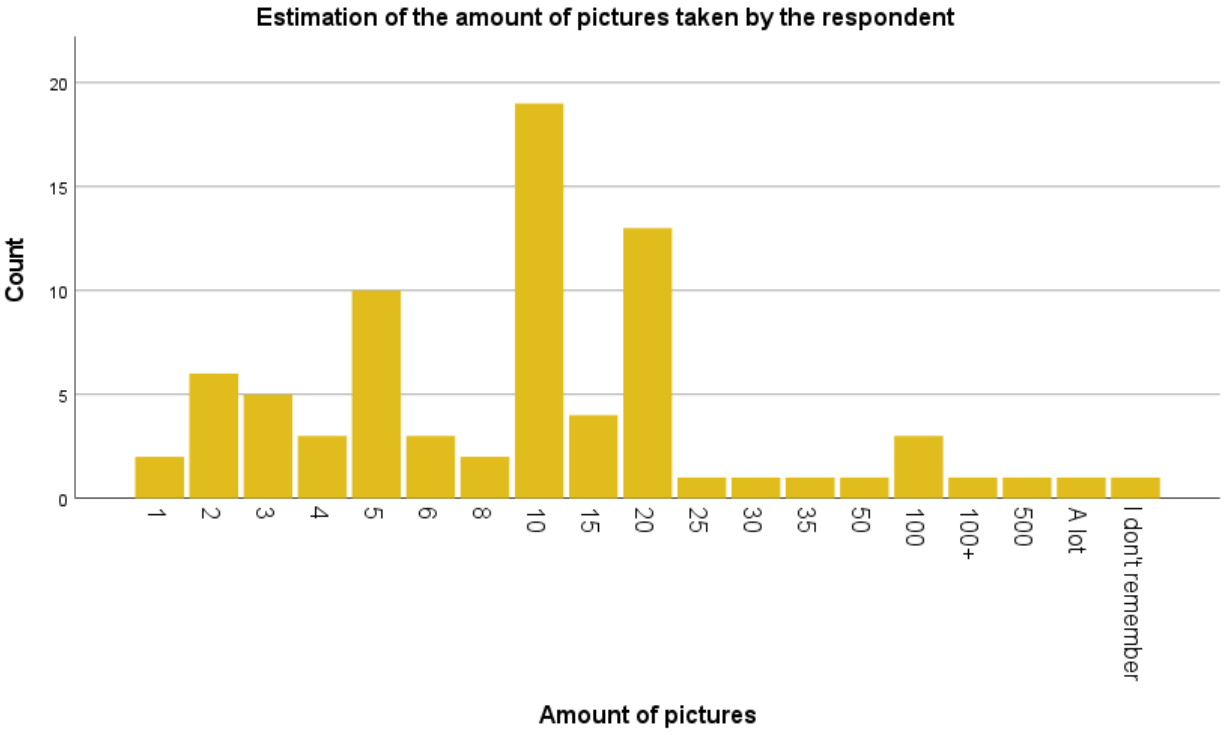

Figure 31: Estimation of the number of pictures taken by the respondents.

Table 15 below shows if the respondent took any photos, categorized by the different shades of Dark Tourism. As becomes clear, almost all categories are about equally divided. Except for the Dark Fun Factories, which is surprising as these are the most commercialized, and the Dark Conflict Sites and Camps of Genocide. The latter is surprising as it is seen as disrespectful to take pictures in such places.

Photos?	Dark Fun Factories	Dark Exhibitions	Dark Dungeons	Dark Resting Places	Dark Shrines	Dark Conflict Sites	Dark Camps of Genocide	Other	Total
No	5	6	1	1	2	0	47	1	63
Yes	0	5	1	3	4	6	60	3	82
Total	5	11	2	4	6	6	107	4	145

Table 15: Did the respondent take photos, categorized by shades.

Another way of behaving that is critiqued on is the volume of speaking when visiting a Dark Tourism destination. These types of destinations often revolve around a tragedy and death, and it is thus seen as disrespectful to speak loudly or even yel. In order to see if Dutch tourists adapt the volume in which they speak the question *"What was your general volume of speaking while visiting the destination?"* was asked. It should be noted that in this case some might answer lower than they actually were, because admitting you were yelling would be embarrassing. The respondents were given five different options to answer from. The results are shown in the graph in Figure 32.

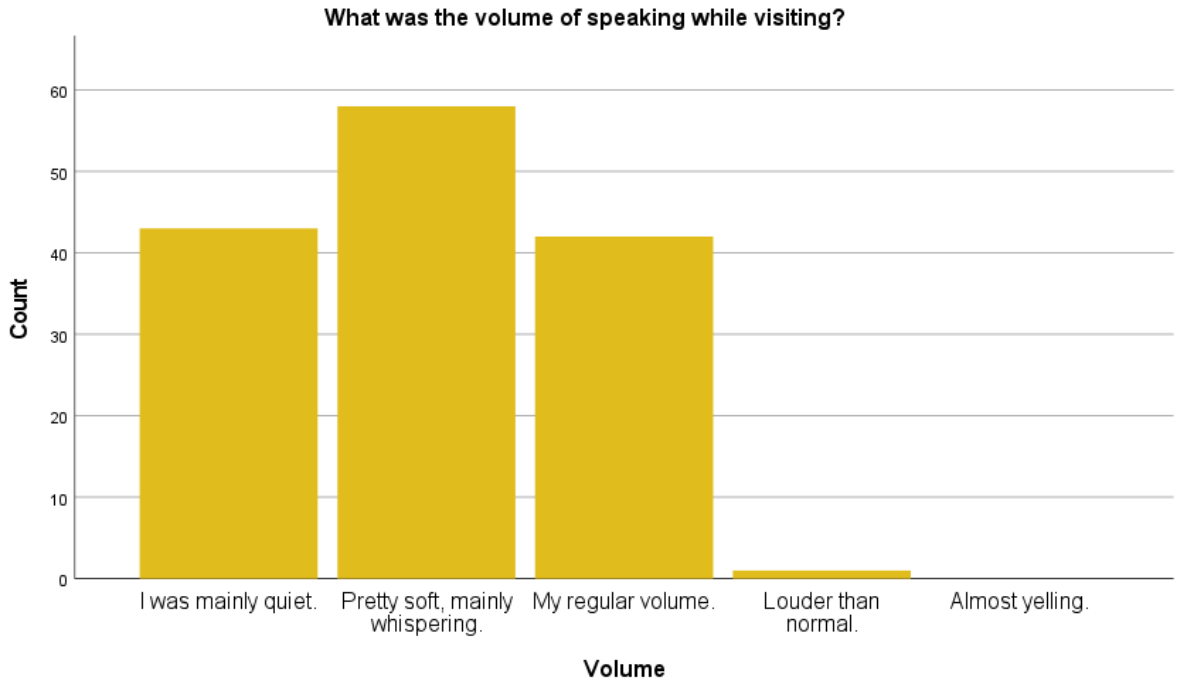

Figure 32: Volume of speaking while visiting a Dark Tourism destination.

The graph shows that only 1 person admitted to speaking louder than usual. Using the rest of the survey data it can be traced back to a respondent who identified as male from the age group 0-40. 42 out of 145 respondents said to be speaking at their regular volume. The largest group, 58 out of 145, adjusted their volume and mainly whispered while 43 respondents claimed to be mainly quiet. The following tables, Table 16 and 17 show this data combined with age group and gender.

	0-40	**40+**	**Total**
Mainly quiet	17	27	44
Soft, mainly whispering	35	23	58
Regular volume	29	13	42
Louder	1	0	1
Total	82	63	145

Table 16: Volume of speaking while visiting a Dark Tourism destination, categorized by age group.

From the largest age group, 0-40, 63.4% spoke softer than usual. From the age group 41+ this percentage was 79.35%, showing that this age group adapts more than the other age group. In order to verify if there is indeed a significant association between these two variables a Chi-Square test was executed. The significance was 0.031, which means that there is indeed a significant association between the age of the respondent and the volume of speaking. However, the requirements necessary to validate this test were violated, which is why a Fisher Exact test was followed. This test confirmed the before mentioned statement on these variables with a p-value of 0.022. This means that older respondents indeed tend to lower their volume of speaking while visiting a Dark Tourism destination.

	Male	**Female**	**Other**	**Total**
Mainly quiet	16	26	1	43
Soft, mainly whispering	25	33	0	58
Regular volume	17	25	0	42
Louder	1	0	0	1
Total	59	84	1	144

Table 17: Volume of speaking while visiting a Dark Tourism destination, categorized by gender.

Categorized by gender, the percentage of those who lowered their volume is almost the same. For those who identify as male this was 69.5% and for female 70.2%. Another Chi-Square test was executed of which the outcome was 0.668. However, the requirements for this test were violated, so to validate this outcome a Fisher Exact test was executed. The p-value for this test was 0.665, meaning that there was no significant association between gender and the volume of speaking.

The following table, Table 18, shows the volume of speaking of the respondents categorized by the different shades of Dark Tourism. What is noticeable that in the more commercialized categories most people spoke at their regular volume or only slightly softer. Only when it came to the darkest shade of Dark Tourism did the majority of the respondents lower their volume of speaking.

Volume of speaking	Dark Fun Factories	Dark Exhibitions	Dark Dungeons	Dark Resting Places	Dark Shrines	Dark Conflict Sites	Dark Camps of Genocide	Other	Total
I was mainly quiet	0	3	0	0	2	2	35	1	43
Pretty soft, mainly whispering	1	3	0	2	2	1	47	2	58
My regular volume	4	5	2	2	1	3	24	1	42
Louder than normal	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Total	5	11	2	4	6	6	106	4	144

Table 18: Volume of speaking while visiting a Dark Tourism destination categorized by shades.

On some occasions, tourist attractions or destinations have interactive elements to them. These do not only provide more information to the visitors but allow for tourists to interact and become part of the experience. This can generate certain behavior that can be seen as problematic, such as playing with objects that one should not with, touch objects or even move around in an unorderly manner. For this reason, the respondents were asked if there were any interactive elements while visiting the Dark Tourism destination. Out of 145 only 33 respondents answered 'yes'. When asked to elaborate on what these

interactive elements were the answers varied. Only 2 answers can be seen as such stimulators of negative behavior. These answers were 'shooting with guns' and 'scavenger hunt for objects'. The other answers were mainly about audio tours, spots where different audio fragments were played, video footage of the event and an interactive map. One respondent even mentioned a wall where visitors could lay down flowers as a tribute to the lives that were lost.

An important factor in Dark Tourism is the difference between a tourist and a visitor. Where a tourist is seen as the more old-fashioned way of visiting a destination, being a visitor is often seen as more respectful to its surroundings. Therefore, the respondents were asked if they saw themselves more as a tourist, a visitor or somewhere in between (neutral). The results are shown in the pie chart in Figure 33.

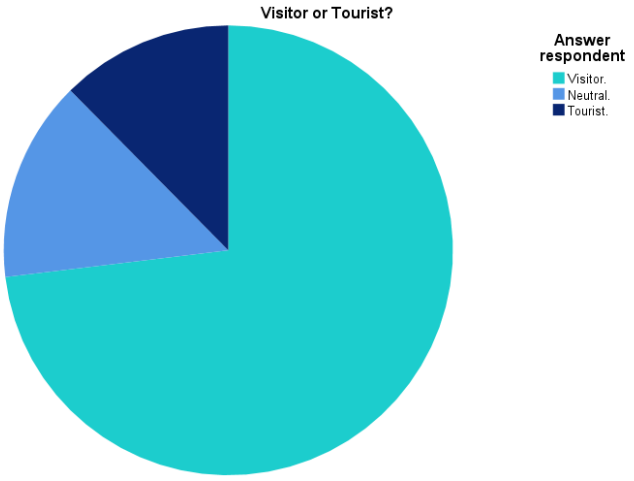

Figure 33: Visitor or Tourist?

As shown on the right, out of 145 respondents who have visited a Dark Tourism destination before, 106 thought of themselves as a visitor. 21 respondents answered neutral and the minority, 18, thought of themselves as tourists. This data is however very general and does not tell us anything about the respondent themselves and the destination they visited. Therefore, the data was crossed with other data obtained from the survey. The tables on the next page show if the respondents thought of themselves as tourist or visitors, categorized by first gender and then by age group.

When looking at gender, about the same percentage of both groups answered 'visitor'. For men this percentage was 71.7% and for women 73.8%. It can thus be said that there is no bigger difference between genders on how the see themselves. The Chi-Square test confirms this, as the Pearson Chi-Square was 0.944. However, the requirements for this test were violated which meant a Fisher Exact test was executed to verify this outcome. The p-value for this test was 0.895, indeed confirm the outcome of the Chi-Square test. These tests conclude that there is no significant association between gender and if the respondent thought of themselves as a visitor or tourist.

	Visitor	Neutral	Tourist	Total
Male	43	10	7	60
Female	62	11	11	84
Other	1	0	0	1
Total	106	21	18	145

Table 19: Visitor, neutral or tourist, categorized by gender.

When looking at age it can be seen that of the age group 0-40 67.1% thought of themselves as visitors. For the age group 40+ this number was even higher: 81%. To see if there was a significant association between the age of a respondent and if they thought of themselves as a visitor or tourist a Chi-Square test was executed. The Pearson Chi-Square significance was 0.164, which means that there is no significant association between the age of a respondent and if they thought of themselves as a visitor or tourist.

	Visitor	Neutral	Tourist	Total
0-40	55	14	13	82
40+	51	7	5	63
Total	106	21	18	145

Table 20: Visitor, neutral or tourist, categorized by age group.

The table below, Table 21, shows if the respondents thought of themselves as either tourist or visitors, categorized by the different Dark Tourism shades they visited. One thing that is quite remarkable is that none of those who visited a Dark Fun Factory thought of themselves as a tourist. This is remarkable as these types of destinations are highly commercialized and are seen as entertainment. The second shade, Dark Exhibitions, can also be seen as commercialized but often have a more educational value. For this category four

respondents thought of themselves as visitors, 5 were neutral and 2 answered tourist. Another conclusion that can be made is that for Dark Resting Places and Dark Shrines the majority thought of themselves as visitors or otherwise neutral. This was predictable as these types of Dark Tourism destinations often include graveyards and other memorial sites for those who passed away and are thus visited with a sense of more respect.

	Dark Fun Factories	Dark Exhibitions	Dark Dungeons	Dark Resting Places	Dark Shrines	Dark Conflict Sites	Dark Camps of Genocide	Other	Total
Visitor	**4**	**4**	**2**	**2**	**4**	**3**	**85**	**2**	**106**
Neutral	**1**	**5**	**0**	**2**	**0**	**0**	**12**	**1**	**21**
Tourist	**0**	**2**	**0**	**0**	**2**	**3**	**10**	**1**	**18**
Total	**5**	**11**	**2**	**4**	**6**	**6**	**107**	**3**	**145**

Table 21: Visitor, neutral or tourist, categorized by shades.

What is remarkable is that out of 107 respondents who visited a Dark Camp of Genocide 85 thought of themselves as visitors, 12 as neutral and 10 as tourists. As these are the darkest type of Dark Tourism, they are often not seen in the same light as for example a torture museum, and behavior should be adapted accordingly.

In order to see if there was indeed a significant association between the two, a Chi-Square test was executed. The Pearson Chi-Square significance was 0.003 which means that there is indeed a significant association between the different shades of Dark Tourism and if the respondents thought of themselves as visitors or tourists. However, the requirements for the abovementioned Chi-Square test were violated. To validate this outcome a Fisher Exact test was executed, which gave a p-value of 0.004. This value verifies the abovementioned statement. This means that respondents who visited a darker shade of Dark

Tourism see themselves as a visitor more often than those who visited a lighter shade.

To conclude, the Dutch respondents of this survey do, for the most part, not take any selfies. When they do however, they mostly do this while visiting the darkest shade of Dark Tourism, which can be seen as disrespectful. The respondents did however often take regular photos, of which the amount had more variation. Factors such as gender and age did not have any influence on both type of the pictures. Furthermore, respondents tend to lower their volume of speaking, which can be seen as respectful. They did so mainly at the darkest shades of Dark Tourism. In this case, age did have a significant influence on the volume of speaking. Lastly, if someone sees themselves as a tourist or a visitor can have a great influence on their behavior. Where a tourist is seen as the more old-fashioned way of visiting a destination, being a visitor is often seen as more respectful to its surroundings. The majority of the respondents thought of themselves as visitors. For the lighter shades of Dark Tourism, which are more commercialized, the majority thought of themselves as tourists. When it comes to the darker shades of Dark Tourism the respondents mainly thought of themselves as visitors.

4.10 Sub-question 8 – How can potential negative impacts be minimalized?

As mentioned before, Dark Tourism often has some critiques. These ethical dilemmas and critiques are mentioned before in the theoretical framework and in this chapter. However, analyzing the data used for the previous research questions, one can argue if there even are that many negative impacts. One of the main criticized sides of Dark Tourism is the behavior of the visitors. They are known to take pictures and selfies in inappropriate places and often do not adjust their way and volume of speaking in a respectful manner. When looking at the data of the respondents, it can be said that this is not the way that Dutch tourists of visitors commonly behave. The respondents tend to not take any selfies, which is seen as the most disrespectful way of taking pictures. However, the average Dutch tourist does take pictures, but it depends on which destination they visit. When looking at the volume of speaking, almost nobody

spoke louder than usual. The majority even adjusted their volume to speak softer. Joël Ferdinandus mentions in his interview that in order to minimalize the negative behavior of the visitors, a city should focus on attracting 'do-rists' instead of regular tourists. He describes them willing to integrate in the local community and as more aware and respectful of their surroundings.

Another critique is the economic side of Dark Tourism. Is it ethical to profit from such disasters, are there cheat souvenirs you can buy and who profits from the money? The respondents who have visited a Dark Tourism destination before mentioned that for the most they had to pay in order to get in. These destinations however include Dark Fun Factories and Dark Exhibitions, both commercialized and thus not surprisingly a paid option. The most popular type of Dark Tourism destination was more divided, as about half were free to enter (some with optional contribution). However, some of these destinations from the darkest category use this money to maintain the area and the site itself.

When looking at the data from the survey, more than half of the respondents said that there was indeed a possibility to buy souvenirs, but only 10 people did. These souvenirs did include such items as fridge magnets or even a comic book, but some answered that they bought a book about the destination itself.

To conclude this chapter, we can state that Dark Tourism, even though not a widely known concept, is popular amongst the common people. Many have indeed visited a Dark Tourism destination before, knowingly or unknowingly. The most well-known and visited forms of Dark Tourism are those that can be categorized into the darkest shades of Dark Tourism.

Furthermore, the behavior of the visitors can be essential for Dark Tourism to properly function. Negative behavior can for example include taking selfies, pictures or shouting. After analyzing the data, it can be said that the respondents of this survey do not engage in such behavior. Therefore, it can be put up for discussion if their actually will be many negative impacts and if they even have to be minimized. The next chapter will further discuss the results in detail.

5. Conclusion

For this Master's thesis, research has been done on the potential of Dark Tourism development within the Netherlands, looking both at the economic potential and the ethical dilemmas and critiques that often go hand in hand with Dark Tourism. The main research question for this paper was:

"To what extent can Dark Tourism be of economic significance to the Dutch tourism industry, while maintaining the ethical standards and boundaries?"

This question was split into 8 different sub-questions, which highlighted the different aspects of the research question.

In order to answer these questions, data was gathered in multiple ways. First, a theoretical framework was created to gain background information and a better understanding of the concept of the different aspects of Dark Tourism. The origin of Dark Tourism and both its positive and negative sides were further researched and explained in this chapter. Second, data was gathered by conducting a survey, which contained 203 respondents, and an interview for additional information. By combining the data that was categorized into the sub-questions, the main research question can be answered.

5.1 Popularity of Dark Tourism

This research shows that Dark Tourism is an upcoming form of tourism that is gaining attention in both the scientific field of research and in everyday life. It can be defined as "areas or sites of holocaust, crime, genocide, assassination, suffering, tragedy or incarceration that are used to attract tourists or visitors" (Light, 2017; Novelli, 2005), which includes different variations of Dark Tourism. Stone (2006) classified Dark Tourism into 7 different shades ranging from the more commercialized 'Dark Fun Factories' to the less commercialized 'Dark Camps of Genocide', which fulfill a more educational and memorable role. These conventions make it more manageable to group certain destinations together.

Even though the concept itself is not widely known yet, it is gaining more popularity because of documentaries and series such as "Dark Tourist" on Netflix and "Chernobyl" on HBO. The everyday person may not always know exactly

what Dark Tourism means in detail, but as the survey conducted in this research has shown, many did indeed visit a Dark Tourism destination before and often find them educationally fulfilling. Out of those who have never visited a Dark Tourism destination before, a large amount claims they would still like to visit a destination someday. This displays the popularity of Dark Tourism amongst the Dutch respondents.

Out of the different shades of Dark Tourism (Stone, 2006), the most popular categories are the darkest forms. According to the survey, these types of destinations were the first that came to mind when thinking about Dark Tourism. They were also the most desired out of all the different shades for future visits. Based on these answers, it can be concluded that the Netherlands should mainly focus on development within these darkest categories. However, it should be noted that this has its limitations. For example, Auschwitz, Chernobyl, and the World Trade Centre were popular destinations, but developing such destinations is not simple. These events and destinations are rare and cannot simply be mass-produced. Development within this category of Dark Tourism should be done based on historic events relative to the area or country. A recommendation for future Dark Tourism development regarding the history of slavery of the Netherland is made in the recommendations section of the next chapter.

Even though these types are the most desired, respondents of the survey did not exclusively visit destinations that can be classified within those categories. The answers given by the respondents were more diverse, including destinations from the remaining shades of Dark Tourism, for example the 'Dark Exhibition' category. The results show that respondents do want to or tend to visit destinations within this category, but they are rarely located in the Netherlands. When looking at the Netherlands it can be concluded that the country indeed has some popular Dark Tourism destinations, mainly in the category of 'Dark Camps of Genocide'. These destinations are, for example, the Anne Frank House, camp Vught and camp Westerbork. However, the other variants of Dark Tourism are less visited within the country. This area, thus, has the potential to further develop within the country. Examples are memorial sites and exhibitions based on impactful historic events. These destinations are not

restricted to the exact location of the event and can therefore be produced and developed in different locations.

5.2 Ethical dilemmas of Dark Tourism

The other factors that were researched were the ethical dilemmas and critiques that often go hand in hand with the development of Dark Tourism. One of these critiques is the economical aspect of Dark Tourism. Tourism itself is a profitable sector in the Netherlands and a provider of many jobs (CBS, 2019). However, some argue whether it is ethically correct to profit from death and it can be seen as the exploitation of historic events (Garcia, 2012; Seaton & Lennon, 2004; Sharpley & Stone, 2009). The results of the survey show how many of the visited destinations indeed asked an entrance fee, or otherwise an optional donation. This does not necessarily have to lead to a negative outcome, as some organizations use this money for the preservation of the location or even education. Frowned upon most, regarding the economic aspect of Dark Tourism, are the souvenirs that some destinations offer, as they can be seen as disrespectful and the commercialization of the destination. However, the results of this research show that not many bought a souvenir. When they did so, it often has educational value, for example a book about the historic events that happened at that location. Hence, it can be concluded that economic profits can be made, as long as they are reasonable, provide for investments, and educational purposes in the future.

Another ethical critique on Dark Tourism concerns the behavior of the tourists or visitors at the Dark Tourism destinations. Tourists of these destinations often behave in a disrespectful manner, for example by speaking at a higher volume or taking selfies in inappropriate places. Mainly this last behavior is most frowned up, as taking 'sexy' or 'inappropriate' photos in places where death and grief are central is seen as negative behavior (Lock, 2019; Stainton, 2020). However, when analyzing the data gathered from the survey, it becomes clear that the average Dutch tourist does not condone such behavior. Their average volume of speaking tends to lower and the amount of people taking selfies is relatively low. The respondents of the survey, for the most part, did not behave undesirably.

All in all, it can be concluded that Dark Tourism in the Netherlands has not completely developed its full potential yet and thus has room to grow. Economic profits can indeed be made but must be validated and transparent, which means that it should be clear what is done with the profits. Positive uses of potential profits are the stimulation of education on the historic events and the preservation of the destination and the area its located in. Additionally, souvenirs can be offered but should mainly serve educational value. Furthermore, the average Dutch tourist does not show any forms of the abovementioned types of negative behavior, and it is therefore even a question if it can be seen as a negative aspect of Dark Tourism. If the Dutch tourist or visitor can behave in a desirable manner, Dark Tourism can develop within the ethical boundaries.

The next chapter will further discuss recommendations for potential development within the Dark Tourism industry, future research, and education.

6. Discussion

This chapter consists of two main segments, the reflection on this thesis research and the recommendations. The first part reflects on how the research was executed and what could have been done differently when looking back. The second part, the recommendations, provides recommendations for governmental policies, future research, and educational development.

6.1 Reflection

In general, the research was executed smoothly. The research was based on a literature framework which provided a good foundation for the rest of the research. The distribution of the surveys through social media platforms caused a quick influx of respondents. This proved to be an efficient method of data collection. In hindsight, there are some aspects of the research that could have been done differently. First of all, the respondent group did not accurately represent the Dutch population overall. Because of this, the conclusions can give valuable insights in a broader context, but further research is required in order to generalize the conclusions onto the Dutch population. This will be discussed more in the recommendations segment of this chapter.

Second of all, due to COVID-19, arrangements to perform interviews with different respondents and organizations relevant to the topic of this thesis could not be made. The addition of multiple interviews, each from different perspectives on Dark Tourism, would have been of great value to this research. It should be acknowledged that this was indeed a setback, though it did not hold back the overall research.

Lastly, it would have been beneficial if the survey could have been distributed in other ways in addition to the chosen social media channels. This would mainly be beneficial for reaching those who do not use social media, for example the elderly. These could have possibly been reached by face-to-face surveys. However, this was again not possible due to COVID-19.

6.2 Recommendations

After finalizing this Master's thesis, multiple recommendations can be made. These recommendations have been categorized into three different subjects: policy, research, and education.

6.2.1 Policy

The first recommendation is for governmental policies or tourism development organizations, such as the NBTC (Nationaal Bureau voor Tourisme & Congressen). The Netherlands still has room for further development within the Dark Tourism industry. The specific form of tourism is popular amongst the Dutch cities, but their demands are not fulfilled within the country. Tourists mainly seek out adventure within the darkest shades of Dark Tourism, of which the Netherlands does not have many destinations to offer. As mentioned before, destinations within these darkest categories are not easily made or mass-produced. However, the Netherlands has had a heavily loaded history regarding slavery, which is a topic that not many are eager to discuss. Thus, this is an area where the Netherlands has the possibility to develop within the darkest forms of Dark Tourism and show the impacts they had on this matter. A great example of this is the development of Black History Tours in Rotterdam, mentioned by the interview respondent.

Aside from the darker shades, the Netherlands also has potential to develop within the lighter categories of Dark Tourism. They may not be the most sought-after destinations but are often visited as they are more accessible to a wider audience. As mentioned before, they are not limited to specific locations and can therefore be developed easier when compared to the darker shades. So, if tourism organizations want to successfully develop the Dark Tourism industry in the Netherlands, they would mainly have to focus on the darker shades but have to try to provide variety by also including the lighter shades.

However, based on the results of this research, it is recommended that when developing Dark Tourism destinations, the visitors must receive some sort of warning on how to behave in a respectful manner, which should be substantiated by the build environment. This combination should make the commercial side feel less obvious and make those who visit feel less like tourists and more like actual visitors who are part of the surroundings. As Joël Ferdinandus mentioned in his interview, Rotterdam has the opportunity to develop a Black History tour throughout the city. These tours will mainly be done using an app which people can download on their smartphones. These count as

interactive elements to the visitation, which are often attractive for visitors. These apps can remind tourists or visitors not to be a disturbance to the surroundings by the use of a warning. Moreover, these apps can provide information that allows tourists to adapt and behave on an acceptable level. The abovementioned recommendations can improve future policies regarding potential Dark Tourism development in the Netherlands.

6.2.2 Research

The second category describes a set of recommendations that can be made after completing this research are proposals for future research. The first is about the representativity of the survey respondents. As mentioned before, due to the distribution by social media, the respondent group for this research is not 100% representative of the Dutch population. In order to make well founded conclusions, which apply to the entire Dutch population, further research needs to be executed. In this future research, the respondent group must be more representative of the Dutch population, which can potentially be done by distributing the survey in a more controlled manner. Having more control over those who respond to the survey can lead to more arbitrariness between respondents. This could make for a better representation of the Dutch population and thus for conclusions that can be applied to the Netherlands in general.

A second recommendation on further research development would be on-site observations at a variety of Dark Tourism destinations. A survey is a good way to gather information from a large number of respondents. However, when filling out a survey about their own behavior, the answers of the respondents can be limited in two different ways. The first one is the idea of filling out a survey with the most desirable answer in mind. When asked about their speaking volume, the answer 'shouting' is the least socially accepted answer, which can cause for people to downplay their answer and hold back when filling out a survey. The second limitation is the awareness of the respondent. Some respondents may be unaware of their own behavior and may not even notice that they are shouting. By observing and recording the behavior of visitors at specific Dark Tourism destinations, a more objective image can be created. This way of doing research could provide better insights on how tourists or visitors

actually behave while visiting such a destination and thus can provide more specific ways to prevent negative or undesirable behavior. The resulting recommendations can benefit the future research regarding Dutch Dark Tourism.

6.2.3 Education

Lastly, the final recommendation is in the field of education. An answer often given by respondents of the survey was that they indeed went to visit a Dark Tourism destination but that the visitation was part of a larger trip hosted by their school. This shows that many, often younger, people tend to visit Dark Tourism destinations in organized trips while in their school years. Therefore, it is recommended that these younger people are educated on the historic events and the impacts of the destinations that they will visit. This will create an understanding of what has happened at the destination and could potentially stimulate positive behavior while visiting. Reminding them that; being respectful and behaving in a respectful manner is essential for minimalizing the negative impacts that they might otherwise have on the Dark Tourism industry. These recommendations can improve the education of the next generation in order to negate the potential negative impacts they have on Dark Tourism.

These findings, conclusions, and recommendations show both the popularity and the complexity of the phenomenon of Dark Tourism. The Dutch tourism industry still has plenty potential for future development, while maintaining within the ethical boundaries. Perhaps the dark side of Dark of Tourism is not so dark after all.

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Attachments

Attachment 1 – Survey Questions

Introduction to the survey, confirming the anonymity if the respondent and notifying the respondent that the gathered data will be used for (future) research by the UU.

Personal information

- What is your gender?
  - Male.
  - Female.
  - Other.

- How old are you?
  - Open answer.

- Highest level of completed education?
  - Primary education.
  - Secondary education.
  - HBO – Bachelor.
  - HBO – Master.
  - WO – Bachelor.
  - Wo – Master.

- Family composition?
  - Single.
  - With partner (not cohabiting).
  - With partner (cohabiting).
  - Single + children.
  - With partner + children.

- Where do you live?
  - North-Holland.
  - South-Holland.
  - Zeeland .
  - North-Brabant.
  - Utrecht.
  - Flevoland.
  - Friesland.
  - Groningen.
  - Drenthe.
  - Overijssel.
  - Gelderland.
  - Limburg.
  - Outside the Netherlands,…..

Introduction questions

Dark Tourism definition, in order to make the respondents aware and able to answer the following questions.

- Have you ever heard of the term Dark Tourism before?
  - I didn't know the concept. The definition is also unknown to me.
  - I didn't know the concept. I did know the definition.
  - I have heard of the concept. However, the definition is unknown to me.
  - I did know both the concept and the definition.

- What is the first destination that comes to mind when you think of Dark Tourism?
  - Open answer.

- Have you ever visited a Dark Tourism attraction?
  - No (continue to **Never visited a Dark Tourism destination questions)**
  - Yes (continue to **Visited a Dark Tourism destination questions)**

Never visited a Dark Tourism destination questions

- Why have you never visited a Dark Tourism destination?
  - It does not attract me.
    - Why does it not attract you?
      - I find it too touching/confronting.
        - Why?
          - Open answer.
      - The potential risks of visiting are too big.
        - Why?
          - Open answer.
      - It goes against my principles.
        - Why?
          - Open answer.
      - Other, open answer…
  - I have never had the option.
  - Other, open answer…

- Would you like to visit a Dark Tourism destination in the future?
  - Yes.
    - When would you like to visit a Dark Tourism destination?
      - In the near future.
      - Within a few years.
      - I have not thought of it yet.
    - Where would you like to go?
      - Open answer.
    - Why would you like to go there?
      - Open answer.
  - No.
    - Why would you not like to visit a Dark Tourism destination?
      - I find it too touching/confronting.
        - Why?
          - Open answer.
      - The potential risks of visiting are too big/ it is dangerous.
        - Why?
          - Open answer.
      - It goes against my principles.
        - Why?
          - Open answer.
      - Other, open answer.

Visited a Dark Tourism destination questions

- How many different Dark Tourism destinations have you visited?
  - Open answer.
- When did you last visit a Dark Tourism destination?
  - In the last year.
  - In the last 2 years.
  - In the last 5 years.
  - 5 – 10 years ago.
  - Over 10 years ago.
- In which country/continent was that destination located?
  - The Netherlands.
  - Europe.
    - Which country?
      - Open answer.

- Afrika.
  - Which country?
    - Open answer.
- Antarctica.
  - Which country?
    - Open answer.
- Asia.
  - Which country?
    - Open answer.
- Australia.
  - Which country?
    - Open answer.
- North America.
  - Which country?
    - Open answer.
- South America.
  - Which country?
    - Open answer.

- Which Dark Tourism destination did you visit?
- Open answer.

- What part of the entire trip/vacation was the visit of the Dark Tourism destination?
- It was the main goal of the trip.
- It was a big part of the trip.
- It was planned but only one of multiple activities.
- It wasn't planned but it was decided on when I was there.

- Did you have to pay an entrance fee?
- No, it was free.
- No, but a tip was optional.
- Yes.
  - How much?
  - Open answer.

- How was the destination organized?
- I was part of a tour group with guide.
- I was part of a tour group with audio guide.
- It was a private tour.
- I could walk around on my own but with a specific path to follow.
- I could walk around freely.
- Did you take any selfies while visiting?
- Yes.
  - How much?
    - Open answer.
- No.

- Did you take any other pictures while visiting?
  - Yes.
    - How much?
      - Open answer.
  - No.

- Where there any interactive parts on the location?
  - Yes.
    - What kind?
      - Open answer.
  - No.

- What was the general volume of your voice while visiting?
  - I mainly did not talk.
  - Very quiet, mainly whispering.
  - Regular volume.
  - Louder than usual.
  - Shouting.

- Was there a place where you could buy souvenirs?
  - Yes.
  - No.

- Did you buy a souvenir?
  - Yes.
    - What was it?
      - Open answer.
    - How much did it cost?
      - Open answer.
  - No.

- How would you rate your prior knowledge about the destination before visiting? **(5-point Likert)**
  - None.
  - Barely any.
  - A little.
  - A generous amount.
  - A lot.

- How would you rate the amount of knowledge/information you gained when visiting? (**5-point Likert)**
  - No new knowledge.
  - barely any new knowledge.
  - A bit of new knowledge.

- A generous amount of new knowledge.
- A lot of new knowledge.

- Did your view of the destination change after visiting? **(5-point Likert)**
- Not at all.
- Barely.
- A little.
- A generous amount.
- A lot.

- Would you consider yourself to be a visitor or a tourist? **(3-point Likert)**
- Visitor.
- Neutral.
- Tourist.

Attachment 2 – Interview questions

Interview Joël Ferdinandus

These questions were written beforehand. It should be considered that this interview was semi-structured, therefore the questions were mainly used as guidelines for a conversation.

- Could you explain in short what your function/job is?
- How are you involved with the concept of (Dark) Tourism?
- How have you promoted the Dark Tourism attraction?
    - Were there specific things that you wanted to promote?
    - Were there specific things that you wanted to avoid?
    - Does Dark Tourism need a different type of promotion when compared to other forms of tourism?
- How did the promotion turn out? Is the attraction popular/often visited?
- How do the locals interact with the tourists and the other way around?
- Is there an entree fee that people have to pay, and if so, how much is it?
- Is there a souvenir shop, and if so, what can you buy?
- What is your opinion on an entrance fee and souvenirs, is it ethical to make money from Dark Tourism?
- What are your opinions about the behavior of tourists?