

Motivation Factors in Dark Tourism

Case: House of Terror

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ABSTRACT

Dark tourism is a multi-layered mixture of history and heritage, tourism and tragedies. Humanity has been interested in the end of life since the time of pilgrimages. In contemporary society the individual has been isolated from the end of life and even discussing it is considered taboo. Why do people travel to dark attractions associated with death and suffering if even talking about them is so hard?

The House of Terror museum in Budapest, Hungary, is a good example of a dark tourism attraction. It stands as a monument to the memory of those held captive, tortured and killed in the building under the Nazi and the Communist reigns during and after the Second World War. Opened on February 24th in 2002, the museum reveals the horrors of the two cruellest systems of the 20th century with the purpose to draw people's attention to understanding the sacrifice for the freedom in Hungary – and giving the visitor a possibility to contemplate the balance of life and death.

The core of this study is to find out which factors motivate tourists to travel to dark tourism attractions and, especially, to visit the House of Terror museum. The theoretical context will present the definitions of tourism with its subgroups and, more specifically, dark tourism. Motivation in tourism will be also discussed. The functional part of this thesis includes designing and implementing a customer questionnaire for the House of Terror museum.

Dark tourism is a special type of tourism business which doesn't appeal to everyone but has an important role in delivering information and bringing the past to present. According to the quantitative survey in the House of Terror, the strongest motivating factor was educational: People visit the museum in order to get information about the Second World War and the site's background. Emotional and educational motives are strongly related to dark tourism as well as seeking one's heritage, indulging curiosity and searching for nostalgia. Visiting a dark attraction can cause not only strong emotions but also broader discussion and contemplation about the dark side of history and humanity.

Key words: dark tourism, motivation, tourism, quantitative research

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Dark tourism on monitasoinen sekoitus historiaa ja perinnettä, matkailua ja tragediaa. Elämän päättymisen on kiehtonut ihmisiä pyhiinvaellusajoista saakka. Nykyyhteiskunnassa ihminen on etääntynyt kuolemasta ja siitä puhuminenkin mielletään tabuksi. Miksi ihmiset matkustavat kohteisiin, jotka liittyvät vahvasti kuolemaan ja kärsimykseen, varsinkin, jos aiheita on niin vaikea käsitellä?

House of Terror- museo Budapestissa, Unkarissa, on hyvä esimerkki dark tourism-kohteesta. Se kohooa monumenttina muistuttaen Toisen maailmansodan aikana ja sen jälkeen tapahtuneista kauheuksista: Natsi-Saksan ja kommunistisen Neuvostoliiton vallan alla lukemattomia ihmisiä vangittiin, kidutettiin ja tapettiin museon paikalla sijainneessa päämajassa. 24.2.2002 avatun museon päämäärä on kiinnittää vierailijoiden huomio Unkarin vapauden vaatimiin uhrauksiin ja kunnioittaa uhrien muistoa.

Tämän tutkimuksen ydin on selvittää, mitkä tekijät motivoivat matkailijaa vierailemaan dark tourism- kohteissa ja erityisesti House of Terror- museossa. Teoreettisessa osiossa esitellään matkailun ja sen alalajien määritelmiä keskittyen nimenomaan dark tourismiin. Työssä käsitellään myös motivaatiota matkailun näkökulmasta. Opinnäytetyön toiminnalliseen osioon sisältyy asiakaskyselyn suunnittelu ja toteutus House of Terror- museossa.

Dark tourism on erityistä matkailun liiketoimintaa, jolla on tärkeä rooli tiedon jakamisessa sekä menneen tuomisessa nykyisyyteen. House of Terror- museoon tehdyn määrällisen tutkimuksen mukaan voimakkain motivaatiotekijä on tiedonjano: Matkailijat vierailevat museossa saadakseen tietoa Toisesta maailmansodasta ja museon historiallisesta taustasta. Dark tourismissa tunnepitoiset ja oppimiseen liittyvät motivaatiotekijät ovat vahvoja, kuten myös oman taustan etsiminen, uteliaisuuden tyydyttäminen ja nostalgian hakeminen. Dark tourism- kohteessa vierailu aiheuttaa paitsi voimakkaita tunteita myös laajempaa keskustelua ja pohdintaa historian ja ihmisyyden varjopuolesta.

Avainsanat: dark tourism, matkailu, motivaatio, kvantitatiivinen tutkimus

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1 INTRODUCTION

Why does death fascinate people? Humanity has been interested in the ending of life since the time of pilgrimages and before. Roman gladiator contests and public executions of the Middle Ages were normal events according to the norms of the society of that time. Nowadays death is considered taboo, frightening and uncontrolled issue. Despite its inevitability – and its necessity for the circle of life – the final ending of life is experienced as unpleasant and a hard subject in public conversation.

There are many tourist attractions which are connected directly or indirectly with death. War memorials, war museums, battle fields and prison camps attract visitors. After a natural disaster not only the close relatives of victims but also outsiders travel to the area. What kinds of factors motivate tourists to visit such places? For part of the visitors of Auschwitz concentration camp the tour is very personal experience due to, for example, imprisoned family members but part of the visitors might attend the tour in order to see the pictures of history books with their own eyes. The number of attractions is increasing – purposely or unintentionally. After the tragedy of the Twin Towers of the World Trade Center in New York City (2001) there have been an uncountable number of visitors. Museums commemorating different tragedies and presenting significant events are founded and authentic sites are opened for public. Has the interest towards tragedies increased or is there just more to offer? What can even be shown?

The core of this thesis is to find out which factors motivate tourists to visit dark attractions and, especially, the House of Terror museum in Budapest, Hungary. In this study the museum will be introduced and the aim is to find out what a typical House of Terror visitor is. Tourist experiences in dark tourism, especially in the House of Terror, are also studied, but also a supply-oriented glance at the dark tourism industry is taken. Definitions of tourism with its subgroups and, more spe-

cifically, dark tourism will be presented in the theoretical context. Motivation theory of tourism will be also discussed. The functional part of this study includes designing and implementing a customer questionnaire for the House of Terror museum. The results of this research are presented in the end of this paper.

I got to know the term dark tourism during my period in Budapest, Hungary. For Hungarians the time of communism is still in close memory – the step towards more democratic politics and free market economics was not taken until 1989 when the communist domination ended. The actions in Hungary reflected the dissatisfaction towards the 40 years of communist rule and, on the other hand, the weakening position of the Soviet Union. (The History Channel website, 2010.)

Dark tourism is strongly related to culture and heritage tourism and history plays an essential role in it. Hungary has an extremely interesting, though tragic, history as a country in the heart of Europe that hasn't been able to avoid wars during her existence. The Second World War and its influences can still be seen in the capital. Budapest is full of monuments, sculptures and museums which memorialize the victims of war and celebrate the ending of the Communist Period. There are national holidays when people give thanks for the revolution but also remember the lost.

The House of Terror museum is located in the centre of Budapest (Andrássy út 60). The building was the headquarters of Hungarian Nazis and, right after the Nazi period, Hungarian Communists. The museum presents life in Hungary during and after the Second World War. I visited the House of Terror for the first time in autumn 2008 with a group of friends. The permanent exhibition – and as a matter of fact the whole building itself – is very impressive and audiovisual effects make the experience strong. Visiting the House of Terror did stop me. I started to think about what makes people fascinated with attractions like the House of Terror and what kinds of people visit the museum. I visited the museum a second time close to the Finnish Independence Day with my family, including my grandmother who had experienced being an evacuee as a young girl in Finland. After the tour we had a long conversation about her experiences during war time – and, actually for the

first time, I was able to understand the horror any war causes to a nation. The House of Terror raises a huge amount of strong emotions, presents important information and provokes the visitor to have a conversation and to contemplate the past, present and future. I decided to do my dissertation on the subject.

2 INTRODUCING HOUSE OF TERROR

The House of Terror Museum was established in order to erect an appropriate memorial to the victims of two terror eras (the Nazi period and the Communist regime) and to present a picture of life in Hungary during that time. Opened on February 24th in 2002 the museum reveals the horrors of the two cruelest systems of the 20th century with the purpose to draw people's attention to understanding the sacrifice for the freedom in Hungary. (House of Terror 2002.)

2.1 History of the Museum

In 1944, during the domination of the Hungarian Arrow Cross Party, there was a building at 60 Andrásy Boulevard known as the "House of Loyalty". This was the headquarters of the Hungarian Nazis. Between 1945 and 1956, this very same building was the residence of the dreaded communist terror organizations, the ÁVO (the State Security Office) and its successor, the ÁVH (the State Security Authority). (House of Terror 2002, 1,6.)

In 1937 the Hungarian National Socialist movement's Szálasi branch rented the space in the building. Ferenc Szálasi was the head of the Hungarian Arrow Cross Party. During the Second World War, Hungary was trapped between two great powers: Nazi German and Communist Soviet Union. Following the occupation of Hungary by Nazi Germany, the round-up of Jews began. The Jews were forced to wear the Yellow Star and most of them were deported to Nazi concentration

camps in the German Empire. Those who remained intact in Budapest were endangered by the hatred of the Arrow Cross activists. In the cellar of the "House of Loyalty", members of the feared Arrow Cross tortured and killed hundreds of people. The reign of the Arrow Cross Party drove Hungary into destruction. (House of Terror 2002, 4-5.)

In 1945, when Hungary ended up under Soviet occupation, the Department for Political Police (PRO) took over the abandoned Arrow Cross headquarters. 60 Andrassy Boulevard became the headquarters of the State Security Office (ÁVO) and later the State Security Authority (ÁVH) led by Gábor Péter. In the end, the organization took the whole block under control in order to form an underground labyrinth of prison cells. Under the hegemony of the tyrannical "shadow army" guided by the Soviet occupiers, legal processions were held against one third of the adult population. No one could feel safe. People were sent to prisons and labor camps. (Booklet of House of Terror, 2002, 5-10.) *"Officers serving at 60 Andrassy Boulevard were masters of life and death."* (House of Terror 2002, 6).

2.2 Venue

In December 2000 "The Public Foundation for the Research of Central and East European History and Society" purchased the building at 60 Andrassy Boulevard in order to establish a museum to present the dark period of Hungarian history (House of Terror website 2009). Andrassy Boulevard is part of UNESCO's World Heritage site in Budapest being one of the world's outstanding urban landscapes illustrating the great periods in the history of Budapest (United Nations 2010). During the year-long construction work the building was fully renovated and designed by architects Attila F. Kovács, János Sándor and Kálmán Újszaszy. Ákos Kovács composed the music for the exhibition. In 2002 the House of Terror was opened by the lead of Director-General Dr. Maria Schmidt. (House of Terror website 2009.)

The museum stands out by its sharp contrast to the other buildings on the street, drawing attention into this building turned into a monument. The permanent exhibition in the House of Terror includes four floors reflecting the terrible times in Hungary during and after the Second World War. In addition, there are temporal exhibitions, book/souvenir store and cafeteria (outsourced service). Visitor can receive information about the topic from videos, pictures, items and printed info sheets. Music in the background makes the atmosphere appropriately serious. Pictures of the museum can be found in Appendix 1.

3 TOURISM

3.1 Definitions

Tourism, leisure and recreation are related to one another but there are conceptual differences. Tourism can include leisure and recreation but not all tourism is leisure-driven. Leisure is described as free time when other obligations are at a minimum and one can spend leisure time at home. Recreation consists of the activities carried out during leisure time. (Bowen & Clarke 2009, 6.) Tourism is defined as a short-term movement of people to places some distance from their normal habitat. Tourism, in the broadest sense of the word, has existed since ancient Roman times. (Swarbrooke & Horner 2007, 13.)

3.2 Subgroups of Tourism

Educational Tourism: Members of the Greek and Roman elites travelled in order to increase their knowledge of the world. Nowadays, the phenomenon of travelling to learn can be seen, for example, in student exchange and special interest holidays where a tourist's main motivation for taking a trip is to learn something new. In recent years there has been a growth in this sector and it is particularly strong among early retired people, so-called "empty-nesters". (Swarbrooke & Horner 2007, 35.)

Cultural Tourism: Culture is everything – knowledge, abilities, beliefs, customs, values, moral and routines – which a person learns as a part of a society. External culture, for example music or clothes, comes out through material objectives and different shapes, customs or behaviour. Internal culture includes language, beliefs, religious and political views and social norms. Culture shapes individual and also affects all parts of consuming behaviour. (Albense & Boedeker 2003, 121-122.)

Cultural tourism includes experiencing other current cultures and viewing the artefacts of previous cultures. Cultural tourist may visit heritage attractions and desti-

nations, attend a local event or leisure activities, enjoy national, regional or local cuisine, or perhaps visit workplaces, for example farms or factories. Cultural tourism is the core of tourism in many countries but concern is often expressed at the impact tourist can have on the cultures they meet. (Swarbrooke & Horner 2007, 35-36.)

Cultural tourism started to increase in the 1980s thanks to rising interest towards the arts, history and culture. Due to demographic changes the number of senior citizens in the Western world has increased. Interested in culture and having lots of leisure time retired, moneyed and active elderly people have extended the markets in cultural tourism. In addition, there are more singles and couples without children who tend to enjoy escaping a busy life by taking a holiday to historic cities. It is suggested that nowadays' tourists wish to experience the destination travelled to by learning and participating in order to gain personal fulfilment and identity enhancement. In addition, greater interest towards local, regional and national history as an expression of one's own identity has increased cultural tourism. (Sigala & Leslie 2005, 27-28.)

Special Interest Tourism: A special interest tourist's motivation is either to indulge in an existing interest or to develop a new interest in a new or familiar location. Special interest tourism can be either the focus of the whole holiday or a way to spend one or two days during a holiday. The themes of interest military history and visiting battle fields can be mentioned as an example. (Swarbrooke & Horner 2007, 37-38.)

Heritage Tourism – Portraying the Past in the Present: Heritage means literally what we have inherited from our past. Approached from the tourist point of view, this subgroup of tourism is based on consumers' motivations and perceptions rather than on specific site attributes. The main motivation for visiting a site is based on the characteristics of the place according to the tourists' perception of their own heritage. Heritage tourism has been connected with nostalgia for the past, different emotions, romanticism and sense of belonging in time and space. It is stated that heritage tourism is unique and universal at the same time: though

each site has its own, unique attributes the heritage is for all. Heritage tourism can concentrate on everything inherited, such as, historic buildings, beautiful scenery or art works. It is suggested that heritage sites and attractions should be divided based on types of heritage: built, natural and cultural heritage. (Sigala & Leslie 2005, 7-8.)

According to Poria, Reichel & Biran (2006), the first approach for defining heritage tourism is an individual visiting in spaces or at locations classified as heritage sites in order to view historic artifacts. Secondly, there is a link between the individual and the heritage presented – the site is in relation to the individual's own cultural background. The same historic artefact or site is perceived differently by different people. The history displayed often represents more than just a formal educational experience. It may evoke an emotional experience or allow the individual to feel connected to ancestors and historical roots. (Poria et al. 2006, 163.)

4 DARK TOURISM

Is dark tourism “the dirty little secret of the tourism industry” (Marcel 2004, referred by Stone 2006) or an important channel to commemorate past victims and contemplate death in contemporary society? Dark tourism is a multi-layered mixture of history and heritage, tourism and tragedies. Being called by several names, dark tourism has a long history and still it provokes conversation about the past, ethics and the inevitable - death.

4.1 Death and Contemporary Society – As we shall live so we shall die?

According to Gibbons (1991, referred by Stone and Sharpley 2008), a characteristic feature of contemporary society is the purchase and maintenance of ontological security. This means the practical consciousness of the meaningfulness of our day-to-day actions. Society protects the individual from direct contact with madness, criminality, sexuality and death in order to preserve the sense of order and continuity of life. Though, according to Stone and Sharpley (2008), ontological security is constantly threatened by the angst of disorder or chaos. Therefore, society strives to bracket out those questions which might raise anxiety. The level of controlling the factors which may harm ontological security varies but regardless of the culture it happens in all societies. Death is clearly one such issue causing great fear. This kind of inevitable dread has the potential to cause the individual to question the social frameworks in which they live and participate. (Stone & Sharpley 2008, 581.)

This bracketing out may have been the reason for the contemplation of death becoming a taboo. Furthermore, contemporary age is associated with rapid technological, economic and scientific process. In addition, in our culture the focus is placed on youth and beauty, on the celebration of life and living. The trust in sci-

ence has created an illusion of controlling one's life and people must to a certain extent deny death in order to be able to live their lives with some sort of commitment. Death has become more and more absent. Rather than being an open, communal event, death is relatively private experience which, due to increased medicalization, more often happens in hospitals. The dying process has become noiseless, hygienic and very personal. This hiding of death doesn't neutralize the threat of the inevitable but leaves many people uncertain and socially unsupported when it comes to facing mortality. (Stone & Sharpley 2008, 582-583.)

At the same time, death is constantly present in popular culture and media output. Television news, movie production, music, printed media, arts and even jokes are channelling death among us all the time in abstract, intellectualized and depersonalised ways. Mortality is resurfacing in society through media coverage of death. This creates absent-present paradox. Durkin (2003, referred by Stone & Sharpley 2008) suggests that bracketing out and insulating the individual from mortality leads us to long for some information and insight concerning death. Secondly, the presence of dark themes in popular culture and the treatment of mortality as an entertainment is a way of bringing death back to social consciousness. (Stone & Sharpley 2008, 584-585.)

4.2 Definitions and Labels

According to "The Dark Tourism Forum", led by the University of Central Lancashire, the term "dark tourism" was first used in the mid 1990's by Professors John Lennon and Malcom Foley of Glasgow Caledonian University. There is another term used to describe the same concept, "thanatourism" (*thanatos* means death in Greek), but also other labels are used in literature, such as, "morbid tourism", "disaster tourism", "grief tourism", "black spot tourism" and even "phoenix tourism". (Stone 2005.) According to Stone (2006) Rojeck presented the concept of "Black Spots" in 1993 which mainly included visiting grave sites or sites in which celebrities or large number of people has met with sudden and violent death. Stone (2006) also introduces also the distinction made by Blom (2000) who states that

“morbid tourism” is attraction-focused tourism whose core is the interest in artificial or real death which quickly attracts large number of people. (Stone 2006, 148.) Tragedies and incidents occurred on dark sites still continue to impact on our lives not only in emotional but also in social and political ways. (Tarlow 2005, 48-49).

Dark tourism is a complex tourism branch. It has features from educational, cultural, heritage and special interest tourism. Tarlow (2005, 48) categorizes dark tourism as special interest tourism being part of niche tourism. Roughly, niche tourism is an opposite of conventional tourism which involves large numbers of tourists and used to be called “mass tourism”. Niche tourism includes special interests, culture and/or activity based tourism which involves a small number of tourists and is placed in authentic settings. (Robinson & Novelli 2005, 9.) Dark tourism is very different from, let’s say, package beach holidays and authenticity is important for the visitors’ experience and credibility of the attraction. Marcel (2003, referred by Tarlow 2005, 48) notes that people have always been pulled by sites where tragedies have occurred, giving a major tourist attraction, the Coliseum in Rome, as an example. Mentioning few other dark attractions – Auschwitz- Birkenau, the site of Princess Diana’s tragic car crash in Paris or Ground Zero of 9/11 – it can be suggested that the sites of dark tourism attract a considerable number of people and not a small number of tourists as in the definition of niche tourism.

4.3 Dark Attractions

As mentioned in the beginning, dark tourism is travelling to the sites associated with death, suffering and tragedy. There can be seen parallels in such historical activities as gladiatorial contests in Ancient Rome or public executions in the Middle Ages (Daams 2007.) The present day tourist can visit Ground Zero of the terrorist attack on September 11 (2001) in New York, London Dungeon or the concentration camp of Auschwitz. Sites, purpose built or otherwise, which attract paying or non-paying visitors, and which have real or simulated death, pain or suffering as their main theme can be called dark tourism attractions. (Stone 2005.)

House of Terror stands as a monument to the memory of those held captive, tor-

tured and killed in the building during the Nazi and the Communist reigns. The museum presents the horrors in a tangible way and intends to make people understand that the sacrifice for freedom was not in vain. (House of Terror website 2009.) In this way, the House of Terror fits the definition as a dark tourism attraction.

4.3.1 A Dark Tourism Spectrum

Does authenticity matter when viewing dark attractions? Are all dark sites the same? Stone (2006) presents a dark tourism spectrum by Miles (2002) which suggests a “darker-lighter tourism paradigm” for reflecting different “shades” of dark tourism. Miles compares Auschwitz-Birkenau with US Holocaust Memorial Museum as an example to point out the differences between two dark attractions. He underlines that there is a significant distinction between sites associated with death (US HMM), and sites that actually are of death and suffering (Auschwitz-Birkenau). “The Darkest” sites have usually location authenticity – the attraction is situated on the spot or close to the place of death – and the original intention wasn’t to attract visitors but that the site is non-purposefully created. Product interpretation is authentic and frequently sites are history centric and presentation made from a commemorative, educational or conservational point of view. “The Darkest” sites usually have higher political influence and ideology than the sites at the lighter end of the spectrum. Unlike purpose-built lighter sites darker ones provide rather limited tourism infrastructure.

Miles also states that the closer the connection between the sightseer and the past victim (or product) is, or more recent the death or tragic event is, more emotive reaction the site creates. Therefore, those sites can be described as “darker”. (Stone 2006, 150-152.) This supports the results in the case of Anne Frank which will be presented wider later on this study. Survey made via structured questionnaire revealed that the more the visitors felt the (dark tourism) site as being a part of their heritage the more they wanted to feel connected and also to get information about the period of time presented. (Poria et al. 2006, 168-172.)

4.3.2 Seven Dark Suppliers

Stone (2006) writes in his article about typology of dark tourism sites from a supply-oriented view. He presents “Seven Dark Suppliers” in order to construct a conceptual framework in which the supply of diverse and fragmented dark tourism product may be located. The order of different suppliers varies from the lightest to the darkest based on Miles’ tourism paradigm presented above.

- 1) Dark Fun Factories are entertainment focused sites which present real or fictional death and macabre events with commercial ethics. Stone brings out “Dracula Park” in Romania as an example. Situated in a Medieval fortress this entertainment-based site presents the myth of a bloodsucking aristocrat “Dracula” and it presents the lightest form of dark spectrum. (Stone 2006, 153-154.)
- 2) Dark Exhibitions offer products related to death often with a commemorative, educational and reflective message. Despite the conservational ethic these sites encompass some tourism infrastructure and commercial focus. Dark Exhibitions are often located away from the actual site of death or macabre. These exhibitions tend to provoke rather than narrate. For example, the world-wide “Body Worlds” exhibition aroused ethical conversation about displaying corpses preserved through a technique called plastination in the name of health education, anatomy and physiology. (Stone 2006, 153.)
- 3) Dark Dungeons present bygone penal and justice codes by bringing the history back through tours and acts. It is suggested that these sites may occupy the centre-ground of the spectrum, having both dark and light elements. For instance, the Galleries of Justice in Nottingham, UK, promoted as the “Family Attraction of the Year”, is created from buildings originally used as prisons and courts. Entertainment and education as a core product, the Galleries of Justice invites the visitor to partake in a particular kind of heritage with a marketing line “Feel the Fear”. (Stone 2006, 154.)
- 4) Dark Resting Places refer mainly to cemetery sites. These revolve around a history-centric, conservational and commemorative ethic. Perhaps the most famous Dark Resting Place is the cemetery at Père-Lachaise in Paris, France with almost two million visitors a year. Stone refers to Association of Significant Cemeteries in Europe (ASCE) that cemeteries are an integral component of cultural heritage. People visit cemeteries primarily for respecting and commemorating the loved lost ones but also for exercising, relaxing and studying nature and local history. It might be that these Dark

Resting Places are becoming more commercial and entertainment focused, as an example celebrity death tours in Hollywood, and in this way sliding along the spectrum towards Dark Fun Factory. (Stone 2006, 154-155.)

- 5) Dark Shrines are often situated very close to the site of death and within a short time period of the death occurring. Most Dark Shrines are non-purposeful for tourism and have very little tourism infrastructure. These sites have temporal nature and they work as an act of remembrance and respect for the recently deceased. Media has a big role in presenting sites. As an example Stone mentions the gates of Kensington Palace which became a focal point for millions of people at the time Diana, Princess of Wales was killed in 1997. Within a relatively short period of time, this site was dismantled and reconstructed - with tourism infrastructure – at Althorp House. (Stone 2006, 155.)
- 6) Dark Conflict Sites are history-centric, war-related and originally non-purposeful in the dark tourism context. These sites essentially have an educational and commemorative focus, although, Dark Conflict Sites often have strong political ideologies on the background. Due to increased trips by tour operators, these battlefields and other war-related attractions are becoming more commercialized. There are differences in the ways of displaying the history between battle sites based on the chronological distance: those battles which are beyond the living memory often take on a more romanticised and “fun-led” orientation and, because of this, may be classified as lighter in the dark tourism spectrum. (Stone 2006, 155-156.)
- 7) Dark Camps of Genocide occupy the darkest edge of the dark tourism spectrum. These sites represent places which have genocide, atrocity and catastrophe as the main thanatological theme. Dark Camps of Genocide are located at the actual site of the death-event and have a high degree of political ideology attached to them. Sites such as Auschwitz-Birkenau, the universal symbol of evil, tell the terrible tales of human suffering. (Stone 2006, 157.)

Stone (2006) reminds us that many dark tourism products are multi-layered and groups of people in different parts of the world will perceive those products differently. He presents a note by Seaton (1999) which suggests that changes in the dark attraction environment, for example manipulation of “dark heritage” for political purposes or adding entertaining elements into Dark Exhibition, might cause the

suppliers to “slide” along the Dark Tourism Spectrum. Also, many products may be a mixture of the outlined characteristics and, because of this, be difficult to place in any frame. (Stone 2006, 158.) Based on Stone's distinction of dark sites House of Terror is closest to the group of “Dark Camps of Genocide”. The whole building represents the memory of cruel atrocity of the periods of the Nazis and the Communists in Hungary. The museum stands on its authentic place and has strong political ideology attached. However, destinations are multi-layered and House of Terror museum has features related to other groups also. The museum was established in order to commemorate the victims and in order to tell about the tragic history of Hungary. The exhibition has an educational point of view and it can be reflected into modern society. Based on this, House of Terror has features also from the groups of “Dark Exhibitions” and “Dark Conflict Sites”.

4.4 Seeking Danger in Safety

It is said that all history is not dark tourism but all dark tourism is history. According to Tarlow (2005) dark tourism has to be connected with tourism nostalgia in order to understand the power of it. Tourism nostalgia has elements of restorative and reflexive nostalgia: it is not only viewing the authentic history, truths and traditions in linear time line, but also facing modernity and asking questions about the absolute truth. Nostalgia in tourism is touching danger without actually being in it. A few people would actually want to take part in fights at battle fields but many would be interested in having simulation of the historical and tragic experience. (Tarlow 2005, 51-52.) As a visitor to the House of Terror writes: "*When you leave the House of Terror, you -- can head right to some of the most freewheeling cafes, clubs and restaurants in Europe*" (House of Terror website 2009).

Though the society is trying to protect the ontological security, dark tourism is an increasingly widespread feature in the popular culture landscape. Making absent death present may help the individual to understand mortality. "*We see death, but we do not “touch” it*" (Tercier 2005:22, referred by Stone and Sharpley 2008). Even though people are spectators to more deaths than any previous generations

were, thanks to technological development, it is argued that the individual is left isolated in the face of death and, as mentioned before, without enough craved information. Therefore, dark tourism offers a way for an individual to indulge curiosity in a socially acceptable environment and, in that way, it gives an opportunity to construct one's own contemplations of mortality. (Stone & Sharpley 2008, 585-587.)

In addition, visiting a dark attraction can be a very educational experience - by raising awareness of terrible events of the past, dark tourism guides human to understand the world. While much of modern tourism is simply about recreation, visiting a dark attraction can be a multi-dimensional experience that can have a deep impact on your life. (Daams 2007.) For example, Reiss (2009) compares his visits in the National Civil Rights Museum (Memphis, USA) and the House of Terror and describes the House of Terror as “*an artistic and educational triumph*” compared with the NCRM. Reiss continues revealing that a visit in the House of Terror encouraged him to read more about Hungarian history and evoked an appreciation of the plight of the Hungarians. (Reiss 2009.) Experiencing the absent death becoming present may help minimize the threat of the inevitable and increasing acceptance of mortality. It allows individuals to view their own death as distant and with hope of a “good” death. (Stone & Sharpley 2008, 585-587.)

Dark sites can be used as the pretext to explain the current political situation. Visitors are expected to learn from the past and to carry the message forward in order to avoid history happening again. (Tarlow 2005, 54.) A founder and editor of Brave New Traveler, Ian MacKenzie writes in article “The Case of Documenting Death” about his experience of visiting the Killing Fields of Cambodia, known for its history of genocide, famine and death. He describes a moment when he was photographing the scene:

A part of me felt like a crass tourist, simply collecting photographs just like any other scene-- But another side of me felt compelled to bear witness, fulfilling the solemn duty of the traveller to collect evidence of sorrow in order to share it with their friends and family--.

When a survived victim was telling a true story about the time in work camp, MacKenzie was listening in disbelief and unable to understand such sadness. For the victims presenting the past is a way to share the story and remind the listener not to make the same mistakes again. (MacKenzie 2007.) House of Terror visitor writes in a blog about the museum and the experience of exploration there. For this person House of Terror was “*more meditative than depressing*” - the exhibition was asking everyone to remember the lessons of history and to think how humans can be so blind and cruel. (House of Terror website 2009.)

5 MOTIVATION

5.1 Classifications and Models

“Motivation (in tourism) – those factors which make tourists want to purchase a particular product or service.” (Swarbrooke & Horner 2007, 413)

Maslow’s hierarchy of needs was originally developed for clinical psychology but due to its simplicity it is used in many other areas too. Maslow’s motivation theory (1970) contains a hierarchy of needs. The hierarchy model starts from lower, basic needs and aims to self-actualisation. Maslow proposes that if none of the needs in the hierarchy was satisfied, then the lowest needs would dominate behaviour. However, if these needs were fulfilled they would no longer motivate and the individual would be motivated by the next level of hierarchy. (Cooper et al. 2008, 45.)

As describing the order of the hierarchy as steps, the lowest step contains physiological needs. These are needs for survival, such as, a need for food, water, shelter and maintenance of homeostasis. The next step includes safety and security needs – a need for stability, order, protection and structure. Love and belonging needs, such as, social needs and the wish for affection, sense of community, are on the third step. The fourth step contains esteem needs which are divided into another hierarchy: The lower form involves the respect of others and the higher self-respect, competence, independence, achievement and mastery. These needs Maslow called deficit needs. The highest level of need according to Maslow is self-actualisation. (Ryan 2002, 28-29.)

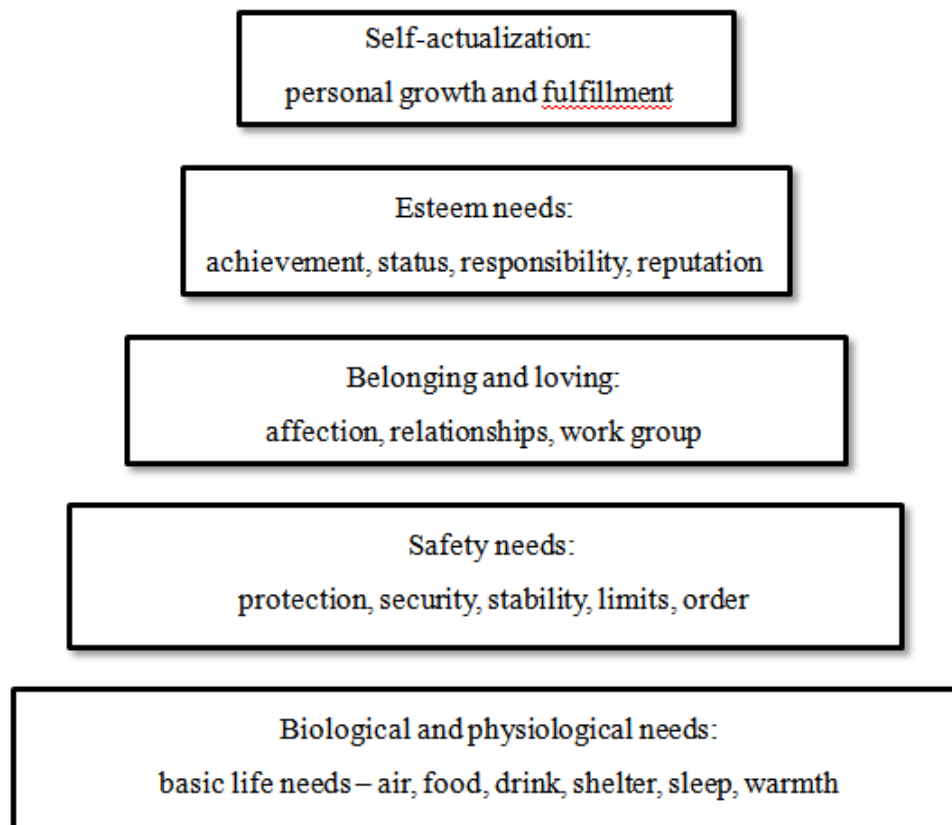


FIGURE 1. Maslow's hierarchy of needs. (Adapted from Cooper et al. 2008, 45 and Hsu & Huang 2008, 15.)

Maslow's theory of motivation emphasizes human existence, the nature of humanity and that the needs are innate. The hierarchy views human activity as predetermined, understandable and predictable aspect of action. Though Maslow's model of needs is commonly used in tourism, according to Cooper et al. (2008) there are gaps in the theory. Maslow's hierarchy has been criticized not having had any clinical observation or experiment about the topic. Questions have arisen also about lacking arguments of selecting and ranking five basic needs. Cooper et al. (2008) remind us that while motivation can be stimulated and activated in relation to the "want" to travel, "needs" are dependent upon the human element through psychology and circumstances of the individual. (Cooper et al. 2008, 46-50.)

5.2 Motivation in Tourism

Tourist behaviour is a complex and widely dealt with matter - there is still no universally agreed concept of tourist motivation. Understanding specific tourist motivations can help planning better products and services, more efficient marketing communication and developing visitor attractions. There are many classifications and models to represent different motives. Differences between classifications of motives are not big. More attention can be paid to the point of views. (Bowen & Clarke 2009, 88, 97.)

For example, Crompton's classification of travelling motives (1979), presented by Albanese & Boedeker (2003), has seven levels: Escaping from weekday routines, relaxing, escaping from socially acceptable roles, self evaluation and contemplation, raising status, improving relationships in family and increasing social intercourse. (Albanese & Boedeker 2003, 108-109.) Leisure motivation scale by Beard and Raghob (1983) includes four motivating components. The intellectual component evaluates the extent to which person is motivated to involve mental activities such as learning, exploring, thought or imagery. The social component includes need for friendship and inter-personal relationship and the need for the esteem of others. The competence-mastery type counts in motivations to take part in activities, usually physical, in order to achieve, challenge and compete. The stimulus-avoidance component assesses the desire to escape the over-stimulating life situations. The motivators are not universally present and some people have, for whatever reason, little or no desire to take holiday. (Swarbrooke & Horner 2007, 54-55.)

According to Maslow's motivation theory (1970) travelling for health, for example, to overseas surgery is based on survival-related needs. Escaping from stressful and consuming work in order to avoid a breakdown in health can also be seen as fulfilling needs at a basic physiological level. Fear of flying is related to safety level and, in the worst case, can cancel all travelling. Cruises and package holidays, again, are good examples of fulfilling social needs. Arriving at a destination with the same flight automatically creates a feeling of belonging and being a part of the

group with other passengers. These types of holidays are excellent opportunities for making new friends or even finding romance. Visiting destinations which are appreciated in the tourist's peer or subgroup may boost the tourist's self-esteem. Educational and cultural trips on which tourist can challenge oneself, compete and achieve provide possibilities for self-actualisation. (Holloway 2004, 120.) Furthermore, Maslow (1970) presents two other sets of human needs which are not included in the hierarchical model: the aesthetics needs and the need to know and understand. From a tourism point of view these two are significant – people travel in order to learn something new and to see beautiful objects. (Hsu & Huang 2008, 16.)

Based on Maslow's model Pearce (1982) presented an idea that an individual's travel motivation changes with the individual's travel experience. According to this framework - the travel career ladder (TCL) – the needs or motivations of travellers' are organized in a hierarchy and when tourists become more experienced they seek satisfaction of higher level needs. Many people have predictable travel motivational patterns but some may either jump straight to higher level or remain at a particular ladder. (Hsu & Huang 2008, 16-17.) A first-timer going on a holiday may choose a safe package tour but few years later, when their travel career has developed, that same tourist may organise the whole trip independently. Travel motives change according to lifespan and personal build-up of holiday experiences. (Bowen & Clark 2009, 35.) Bowen & Clark (2009, 142) note that nowadays TCL could be called tourist career elevator – contemporary society allows tourists to experience more, faster and with less risk and effort. TCL is criticised because there is no strong empirical evidence supporting the framework. (Hsu & Huang 2008, 16-17.)

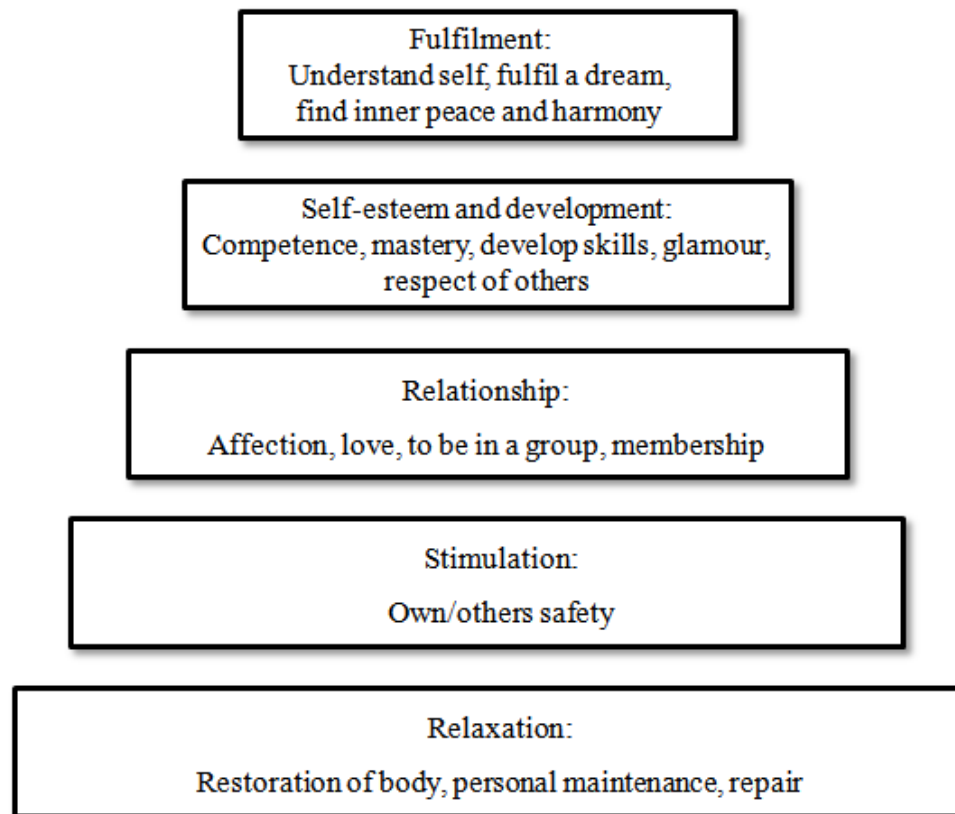


FIGURE 2. Travel career ladder. (Adopted from Bowen & Clark 2009 and Hsu & Huang 2008)

Push/Pull Factors

The push-pull concept is used to classify and identify different motivational forces but also to study the interrelationship between push and pull factors. Push factors cause tourists to seek activities to satisfy their need and are identified as internal motives. These can be, for example, desire for escape, adventure, social interaction or rest and relaxation. Pull factors, again, are destination-generated forces, such as recreation facilities, beaches or cultural attractions, which attract tourists to choose a particular destination. Tourists' knowledge about the destination can be seen as pull factor. The push and pull model is adopted broadly in tourism research. In addition to the mentioned seven socio-psychological motives, Crompton (1979)

identifies novelty and education as cultural motives. From the push/pull point of view socio-psychological motives can be seen as push motives and cultural motives as push motives. Jamrozy and Uysal (1994, referred by Hsu & Huang 2008) studied travel motivation among German travellers using push and pull factors. According to Klenosky (2002, referred by Hsu & Huang 2008) single pull factor can have different associations for tourists. For example, beaches as a pull factor can mean meeting people and having fun, getting tanned and looking attractive or enjoying nature and relaxing. (Hsu & Huang 2008, 18-21.)

Escaping and Achieving

Mannel and Iso-Ahola (1987, referred by Hsu & Huang 2008) present a two-dimensional frame for tourist motivation in which two forces affect a tourist's behaviour at the same time. Tourists are motivated to travel in order to escape from their everyday life but simultaneously to gain certain psychological rewards. (Hsu & Huang 2008, 21). Escape from routines can be related to personal environment such as problems or failures, or social environment such as family members or neighbours. Inner prizes can be personal, such as learning new things, or social (meeting new people, raising status). (Albanese & Boedeker 2003, 109.) Bowen & Clarke (2009) remind us that tourists may create their own balance between the escape from the known and ordinary and the search for the new and different. In addition, each motive has a psychological and social component which means that together four motivation dimensions affect on the tourist at the same time: personal escape, personal seeking, interpersonal escape, interpersonal seeking. (Bowen & Clarke 2009, 92.)

Plog's Allocentrism/Psychocentrism Model

Plog's model (1974, 1987, 2001, presented by Hsu & Huang 2008) is another broadly adapted model in tourism industry often used for explaining why tourist destinations rise and fall in attractiveness. Plog's model introduces types of personalities that tourists have and how these differences affect a destination's popularity. Starting from the birth and maturity towards old age and declination of a destina-

tion there are certain types of visitors at each stage. The first ones to arrive at a new destination are the self-assured venturers, previously called allocentric tourists. (Hsu & Huang 2008, 22-23.) Allocentric travellers seek unique, daring and adventure in their life (Tarlow 2005, 53). After the venturers come the near-venturers and then the mid-centric travellers. Due to the bigger number of visitors the demand increases making the locals in the destination to develop the site. Gradually, the destination gets more touristy look and starts to attract the near-dependable and dependable visitor types, previously called psychocentrics. (Hsu & Huang 2008, 22-23.) Venturesomeness plays an even bigger role than income in identifying the types of activities people pursue when travelling. Venturers travel more than dependables. (Bowen & Clarke 2009, 97.) Dependable visitors tend to be fearful travellers who seek comfort and safety (Tarlow 2005, 53). The criticism towards Plog's model is based on the tourists' different motivations on different occasions. McKercher (2005, referred by Hsu & Huang 2008) argues that individuals drawn to a destination have a unique relationship with the site. He adds that a destination can be seen in many levels along Plog's model at the same time.

These models have been developed rather a long time ago – and not many improvements have followed. The basic idea behind the early models is the distinctiveness of tourism from every-day life (Cohen 1972; MacCannell 1973; Smith 1989, presented by Bowen & Clarke 2009). Many tourist experiences are accessible in everyday life, such as enjoying aspects of other cultures. The divisions of home and away, leisure and work, ordinary and extraordinary, and even everyday life and holiday, are blurred. Tourism is related to forming social networks, meeting face to face, especially concerning business trips. Travelling is easier than before and even on a holiday tourists stay in contact with home. Bowen & Clarke (2009) ask what tourists escape towards if “*tourism is everything and everything is tourism*” (Munt 1994; presented by Bowen & Clarke 2009, 95). (Bowen & Clarke 2009, 94-95.)

5.3 Motivations in Dark Tourism

Eric Daams, an editor of *Travellerspoint*, states that a visitor should think about the motivations for visiting a dark attraction. If the motivation is merely a wish to be entertained, are those whose suffering has become a “spectacle” being disgraced? As Tarlow (2005) reminds us, dark tourism has the commercial side making the horrors of yesterday to the business of today. For this reason souvenir shops can be seen in the places of tragedy, individual's memory is replaced with collective one and those who pay their respect to the victims become the consumers. (Tarlow 2005, 52.) Who can judge another's reasons, especially, if a visitor doesn't necessarily even recognize his or her own motivations (Daams 2007)?

According to Tarlow (2005) there are four basic emotions which interact on a dark tourist's psychological state: insecurity, gratitude, humility and superiority. Visiting a dark attraction can raise multiple feelings as well as dark tourism can be seen in various ways. Feelings of romanticism can be aroused from visiting a battlefield, where the visitor can imagine fighting for a specific cause. Sites of barbarism make a visitor feel compassion for the victims and superior to the perpetrators by demonstrating how cruel humans can be. Tarlow (2005) gives a Nazi concentration camp as an example. Many sites are part of national identity which can make the visitor have a proud feeling of “we” surviving against “them”. Paying a visit to a personally or socially important place might give a sense of pilgrimage. Visiting a tragic place can raise a sense of mysticism, especially when there is a connection between the visitor and the sufferer. The closer the relationship the stronger the experience. Wider than mystical experience is a sense of spirituality which is based more on a common sense of humanity than on the connection to the spot. (Tarlow 2005, 54, 57.)

According to Moutinho (2000) there is a new generation of travellers emerging. Instead of a tourist the traveller has become a searcher. Motivations include finding oneself, willingness to know different cultures and to get to know an area's or

country's "psychological aura", fauna and flora. The searcher has the need to explore, involving exciting and even risky action, to feed the need related to knowledge and curiosity. (Moutinho 2000, 49.) People who experience less stimulation in their lives than they desire tend to search for stimulation on a holiday. Conversely, over stimulated people seek tranquillity and peace. This is called optimal arousal – finding the ideal level between lifestyle stimulation and stimulation on a holiday. (Hsu & Huang 2007, 22.) It might be that a visit to a dark attraction raises stimulation by providing often educational and strongly emotional aspects. Visiting, for example, House of Terror can decrease the hunger for knowledge and curiosity, simultaneously giving a chance to explore the history of Hungary and reflecting the past to present.

Based on Plog's socio/psychographic model Tarlow (2005) states that a person seeking tourism nostalgia is more likely to be found from the group of dependable, psychocentric travelers. To be attractive for venturer travelers history should be presented with a mix of adventure and physical activity with sentimental emotions. Tarlow underlines that this doesn't mean that venturers would necessarily shun dark tourism sites – nostalgia can touch anyone along Plog's continuum. (Tarlow 2005, 53.)

Tarlow (2005) reminds us of the importance of the effect of media on dark tourism visitors. Television, film and Internet can define and select modern dark tourism which people spend their leisure time with instead of having to travel away from their arm chair. In contemporary society it is possible to worry about far away causes via media output. We care, we suffer and, for that reason, we visit dark tourism sites. On the other hand, being citizens of another time and place people are more visitors than participants. (Tarlow 2005, 57.) We decide whether or not to watch the chosen channel and we can also switch the television off if we feel like it. In the same way tourists visit dark attractions – there is always an option to leave or stop listening. A better way to define the contemporary way of consuming dark tourism: "*We come, we see, we leave*" (Sartori 1998, referred by Tarlow 2005, 57).

Case Anne Frank

Poria et al. (2006) studied the association between the perception of heritage site in relation to a tourist's own heritage and tourist behaviour. The case attempts to explore the link between the tourist's perception and pre-visit motivations to visit the place, investigate relationship between perception and expectations of tour guides on the premises and clarify the link between perceptions and expectations of the role of interpretation provided. The focus of the study was Anne Frank House in Amsterdam, the Netherlands. Research was carried out by questionnaire. (Poria et al. 2006, 165.)

Anne Frank and her family with four others were hiding from the Nazis 25 months during the Second World War. They were arrested and deported to a concentration camp. Anne Frank's diary (first published in 1947) from that time has become the most powerful memoirs of the Holocaust. Frank died at the age of 15 in March of 1945. (Poria et al. 2006, 166-167.) The House of Terror Museum presents a tragic picture from the time of the Second World War and both of the museums can be considered important channels displaying the heritage of that period. This makes the results of the case of Anne Frank interesting and relevant.

Questions in the Anne Frank case were about the tourist's perception of the site. Another set of questions concentrated on reasons and overall motivation for the visit. The reasons were based on literature and on a study of 40 short interviews with potential tourists who were asked to name possible reasons for visiting. In the questionnaire a zero to five scale was used. The even interval was used in order to avoid selecting the mid-option. (Poria et al. 2006, 166,168.)

The study showed that the more the tourists considered the site as a part of their own heritage the more interested they were in visiting the site. After asking overall motivation, respondents were asked about their specific motivations in three question groups: willingness to feel connected to one's heritage, willingness to learn and reasons not linked to the heritage on display. For analysis purposes Poria et al divided participants into three groups based on their overall motivation level. In

addition, the respondents were asked onsite interpretation expectations. The survey revealed that the more the visitors felt the site as being a part of their heritage the more they wanted to feel connected and also to get information about the period of time presented. Because of the emotional element, heritage tourism (and according to my own consideration, dark tourism) shouldn't be seen just on the basis of leisure and recreation motives. (Poria et al. 2006, 168-172.)

The Anne Frank case speculates that tourists' motivations are associated with the different meanings of the heritage on display. For someone who feels connected with the presented heritage the site has an especially relevant, emotional meaning. For others the site can be pure "history", something to learn about. Another segment might find the site mainly an attraction where the history shown is not the main core of the visit. For some the motivation may include an element of social "obligation" – they visit the site because they feel they should, perhaps because of some social expectations. (Poria et al. 2006, 172.)

6 RESEARCH METHODS

A method is a procedure guided by rules and is used in order to seek information and solve practical problems. A research method consists of means and practises which are used for collecting observations. It is important to be familiar with methods and ways to apply them to study – a researcher has to justify results somehow. Choosing a method is based on what is going to be studied and in which time. For example, when the aim is to find out what people think, feel, believe or experience, like in this study, interviews or questionnaires are applicable. (Hirsjärvi et al. 2007, 178-180.)

According to Hirsjärvi et al. (2007) there are three traditional research strategies: experimental research, survey research and case study. In the first one the aim is to measure the affect of one variable on another and in a case study the purpose is to gain detailed, intensive information about single case (or small number of cases). Survey research, on the other hand, is used when information about a group of people is collected in standardized form. The function of survey research is to describe, compare and explain phenomena. Typically, material is collected via questionnaire or structured interview from a sample of population. (Hirsjärvi et al. 2007, 130.) In this study, the aim is to describe a typical visitor of House of Terror and to try to explain the reasons for visiting the museum.

Term “population”, or “theoretical population”, is used for the group that the researcher wishes to generalize. For example, the population of this study covers all the visitors of House of Terror. Unfortunately, reaching every visitor of the museum is impossible. Therefore, a better expression would be “accessible population” – the non-Hungarian people visiting the place when the questionnaire is carried out. The sample is the group of people who the researcher selects from the sampling frame. This frame is the listing of the accessible population. The sample is the people who the researcher wishes to be in the study. (Trochim 2006.)

Survey research is a quantitative research strategy. In quantitative research causal connections are underlined. As mentioned before, the aim is to describe, compare and explain. Quantitative research is a way to find out numbers and amounts. It answers the questions: How much? How many? How often? The quantitative method is often compared to qualitative research method but, according to Hirsjärvi et al. (2007), the distinction doesn't really help in the research in practise. Actually, both methods are frequently used together to reach the information required and therefore many researchers wish to remove the strict bounds between them. Measurement in any level includes both quantitative (amounts and numbers) and qualitative (meanings and quality) aspects. (Hirsjärvi et al. 2007, 131-134, 156)

Survey is a central method of quantitative research. Using survey research it is possible to get a board research material: Survey is an efficient way to contact many people and to ask several questions at the same time. A well designed questionnaire is quick to download to the saved form and easy to analyze. Schedule and costs can be evaluated quite accurately. On the other hand, there are weaknesses in survey. Designing a good questionnaire takes time. The designer should have skills and knowledge of many kinds. Researcher can't be sure how seriously the respondent has taken the survey, how much the respondent knew beforehand about the topic or how many misunderstandings there have been. Problematic is also if no one answers. (Hirsjärvi et al. 2007, 190.)

Material in survey research can be collected by sending questionnaires via post or internet or by controlled survey. There are two forms of the latter: informed survey, in which the researcher distributes the questionnaires, and personally checked survey in which questionnaires were sent via post but collected in person by the researcher. (Hirsjärvi et al. 2007, 191.) In this study the respondents were given questionnaires in person and the papers were filled on site.

Questionnaires can be used in collecting information about facts, knowledge, values, attitudes, behaviour and actions, beliefs, impressions and opinions. Most of the

questionnaires include also background questions about the answerer. Questions can be open questions, multiple choice or questions based on scale answers. Open questions let the answerer express the thoughts in their own words and give a chance to recognise motives and knowledge. Open questions are essential when planning multiple choices. Multiple choices, again, are easier to answer – choices are visible so that the answerer doesn't have to remember them. In addition, marking is quick and simple. Because everyone answers the same questions with same answer choices, material can be saved, analyzed and compared easier than in open questions. (Hirsjärvi et al. 2007, 192-196)

Making a functional questionnaire is referred to as a form of art. The main purposes of a questionnaire are collecting relevant data, making data comparable, minimizing bias and motivating the respondent. This is why it is important that questions and answer options are clear and specific. Every word counts. Double meanings and long questions are not recommendable. By using multiple choice instead of extremities it is possible to reduce social desirability (people tend to choose the choice they think is expected). The number of questions shouldn't be too high. Especially due to the serious topic of the exhibition of the House of Terror and the emotional factor in dark tourism it is important to pay attention not only to the questions but also the order and structure of the questionnaire. The respondent has to be informed about the importance and purpose of the survey. The respondent should always be thanked in the end. (Hirsjärvi, 2007, 197-199.)

7 THE RESEARCH

I contacted the museum and got an appointment with Mr. Áron Máthe, the historian of the House of Terror. We went through my idea to design and implement a customer questionnaire and talked through the main lines of the study. About a week later I received confirmation from the Director-General of House of Terror. This customer questionnaire was the first one carried out in the museum.

In this study the quantitative research method was used in a form of a structured questionnaire. The questionnaire was carried out in the House of Terror museum, Budapest, Hungary in 19th and 20th of August 2009. The aim of the survey was to find out the visitors' reasons for visiting the museum. In addition, there was a set of questions to measure the visitors' overall motivation and to find out visitors' experiences. Visiting the exhibition in the House of Terror takes time and is quite exhausting due to its serious theme and rather heavy atmosphere. For this reason Mr. Máthe (historian of the House of Terror and contact person in this study) didn't wish the survey to take a lot of time and a questionnaire was better option compared with interviews. Attention was paid also to the visitors' language skills and simple written questions in the questionnaire was considered a better option than face-to-face interview. This survey was the first made in the museum.

Before launching the questionnaire there was an on-line pre-survey made for travellers from this researcher's circle of acquaintances who had visited the museum already. Besides filling out the questionnaire the respondents were asked to give feedback about the form and number of the questions. According to Vilkka (2007), a questionnaire has to be tested before collecting the actual information. By launching a pre-survey the researcher can evaluate the function and exactness of questions, the length of the questionnaire, the functionality of the indicator in relation to the research problem (number and importance of questions) and questions' ability to measure what it is supposed to. After testing the questionnaire possible faults can be corrected and, depending on resources, testing can be made again.

(Vilkka 2007, 78-79.) Based on received information, the second version of the questionnaire was made and sent to Mr. Máthe. After the approval and comments from Mr. Máthe the final version was designed.

The questionnaire was targeted for foreign tourists. Hungarians were not included into the sample because of different background, possible lack of interest in answering questions about their history for a student and due to language barrier. This was suggested by and decided with Mr. Máthe.

The questionnaire contains two A4 size sheets. The first three questions are about the number of visits, the number of participants in the party, and their main information source. Question four concentrates on different motives for their visit. There are eight suggestions with a scale from 0 to 5 to answer and one open space for respondent's own proposal. Three questions are related to educational aspect – visitors were asked to evaluate their interest in learning about site's historical background, the Nazi and the Communist era and Hungary's role in the Second World War. The visitors were asked to evaluate their level of wanting to feel emotional, paying respects to the victims and to consider if the site is part of one's heritage. Two questions concentrate on the leisure point of view and ask about the level of wanting to have a day out and visiting the museum because it is a famous tourist attraction. An open question asked some other reason for the visit.

Question five gives respondent a scale from 1 to 10 for evaluating overall motivation for the visit. Question number six is for finding out the main impression about the tour giving five ready answer possibilities and two open ones. Question seven asks how well the visit met the visitor's expectations. The eighth question is for finding out how much the respondent knew about the Nazi and Communist era in Hungary. The three last questions are about the respondents, asking age, gender and home country. In the end of the second sheet there are thanks and my personal information. The full questionnaire can be found in Appendix 2.

Respondent info: There were 54 respondents. The majority of the answerers came from Europe and most of the respondents were from The United Kingdom (FIGURE 3). There were almost the same number of males and females. Almost all of the respondents visited House of Terror for the first time. Almost half of the answerers visited the museum with another person and one third with 2-4 persons. Visiting a dark tourism attraction feels safer with company. The majority of the respondents were in group of 25-34 years (FIGURE 4).

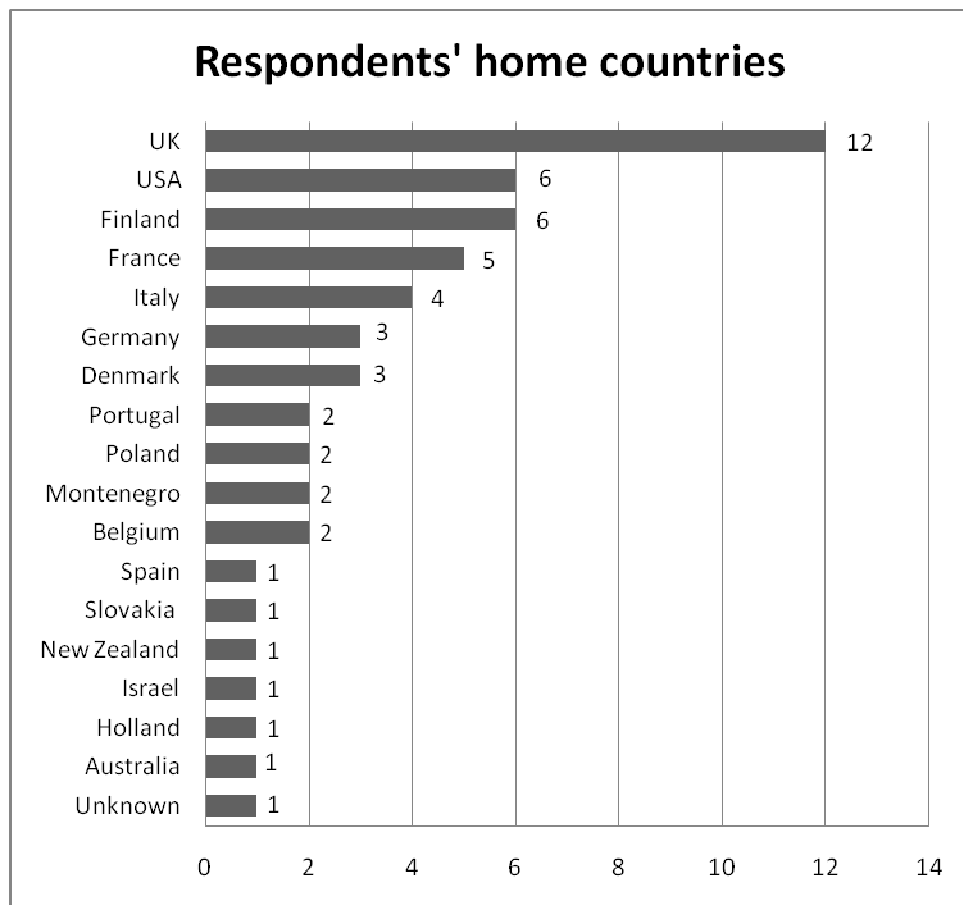


FIGURE 3. Respondents' home countries

The visitors of the House of Terror seem to belong to the two higher steps of the TCL, the travel career ladder. A traveller can seek feeling of mastery or respect from visiting a dark tourism attraction, especially when he or she is visiting a site with a friend. A dark tourist might desire of understanding the existence of human-

ity, the relationship between life and death, good and evil. In other words, according to the TCL, the visitor of the House of Terror museum should be more experienced traveller than an average tourist. However, the majority of the visitors were rather young, between 25 and 34 years. This shows that tourists of contemporary society can experience much in an early age. On the other hand, the House of Terror museum is a famous tourist attraction located in the centre of Budapest so it is easy to access. In addition, we have to bear in mind the limited number of respondents which reduces the reliability of the study.

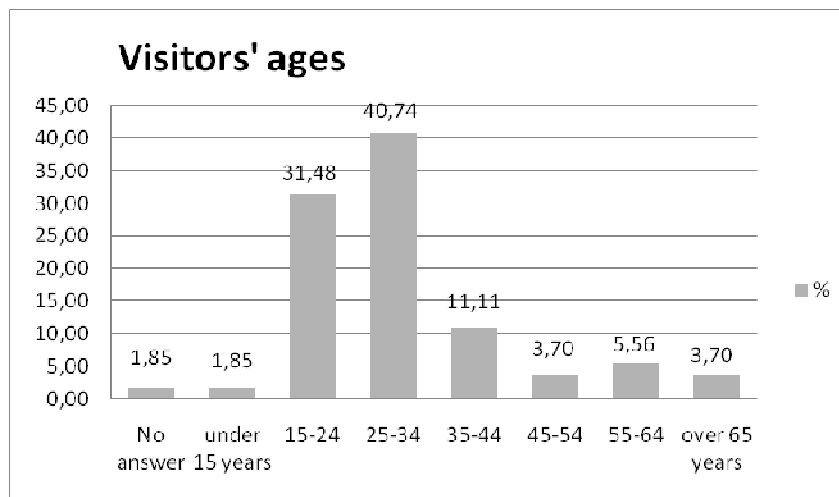


FIGURE 4. Visitors' ages in percentages

Information sources: The majority of visitors got information about the museum from a friend. Other information sources were the Budapest Tourist Info, a guide book and hotel or hostel staff. Other sources were Budapest web page, a travel agency and an advertisement on the street. No one visited the House of Terror web page. (FIGURE 5.)

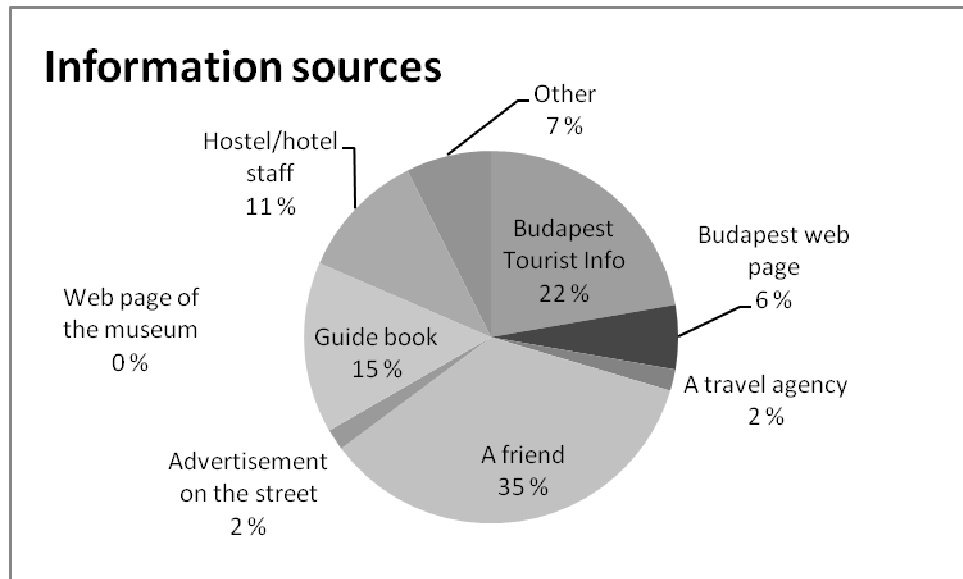


FIGURE 5. Information sources about House of Terror

Reasons to visit House of Terror: The strongest reasons to visit the museum were educational. The score got suggestion 4D “You wanted to learn about the Nazis and/or the Communists”. All questions related to educational element were on the top 3 of the results. This shows that an educational element in motivation is very strong. After willing to learn, respecting victims and wanting to feel emotionally involved were next in the ranking. Respondents didn’t visit the museum because it is a famous tourist attraction or because they wanted to have a day out. On the other hand, respondents don’t always reveal or know their real motives. Only a minority of the answerers felt the site being a part of their heritage, which was slightly surprising when comparing the result with Anne Frank study. Presumably, this would be higher among the Hungarian visitors because museum presents history specifically from Hungarian point of view. Relations between the results can be seen in the Figure 6.



FIGURE 6: Visitors' reasons to visit House of Terror

Overall motivation: Question 5 asked respondent to evaluate the overall motivation to visit House of Terror in a scale 1 to 10. The scale was divided into three sections – poor motivation, medium motivation and high motivation in order to clarify the results. The distinctions can be seen in the Figure 7. The majority of answerers showed high motivation in visiting the House of Terror. The average motivation grade was 7.4.

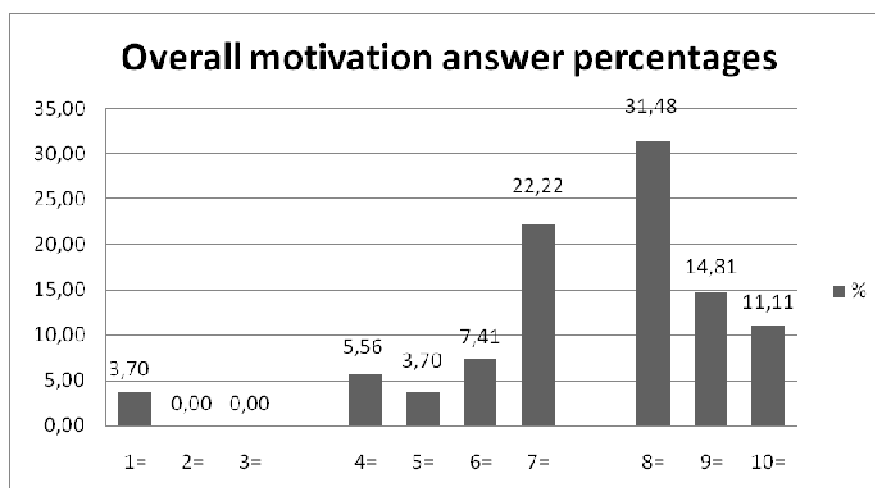


FIGURE 7. Overall motivation to visit the museum

Experience of visit: Question number 6 asked the respondents to pick one option which was the closest to one's opinion. Most of the answerers considered the visit informative. The second largest group of answers was "emotional" and the third "shocking". Thus, both "reason to visit" and "experience of the visit" are related to educational point of. The visitors' experiences can be seen in the Figure 8.

Satisfaction: Question 7 asked how well the visit met their expectations in a scale 1 to 10. The mean grade was 7.2. Results were again divided into three sections – poor, medium and well. The majority felt that visit met their expectations well. Respondents who evaluated the overall motivation between 8 and 10 considered the visit more successful than others with mean grade 8.2.

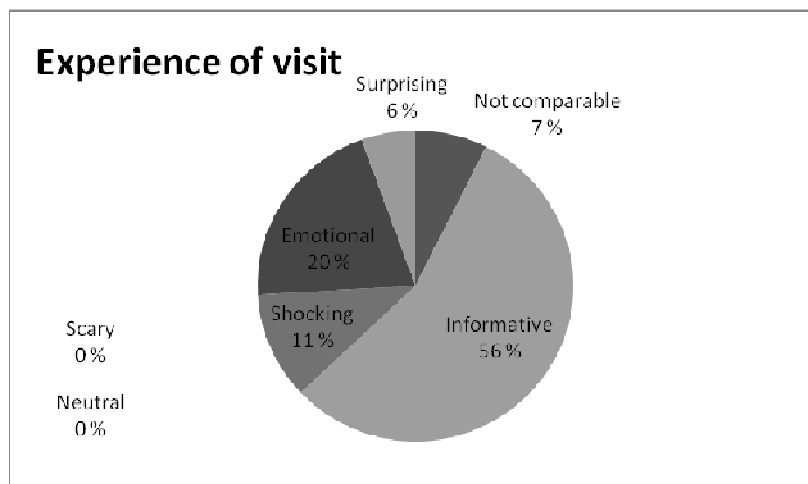


FIGURE 8. Visitors' experiences of visiting House of Terror

Respondents' knowledge: Majority of the respondents evaluated knowledge of the Nazi and the Communist era in Hungary as basic school knowledge. Approximately one fourth of respondents evaluated themselves as having a high level of knowledge. Their overall motivation to visit House of Terror was higher (average 8.29) than the rest of respondents (average 7.1) as well as satisfaction (high knowledge group 7.79 – low/basic knowledge group 7.05). Respondents' knowledge of the theme of the exhibition can be seen in the Figure 9. Problematic in this

question is that respondents evaluate their own skills and that respondents come from different countries, different education systems, which may cause error.

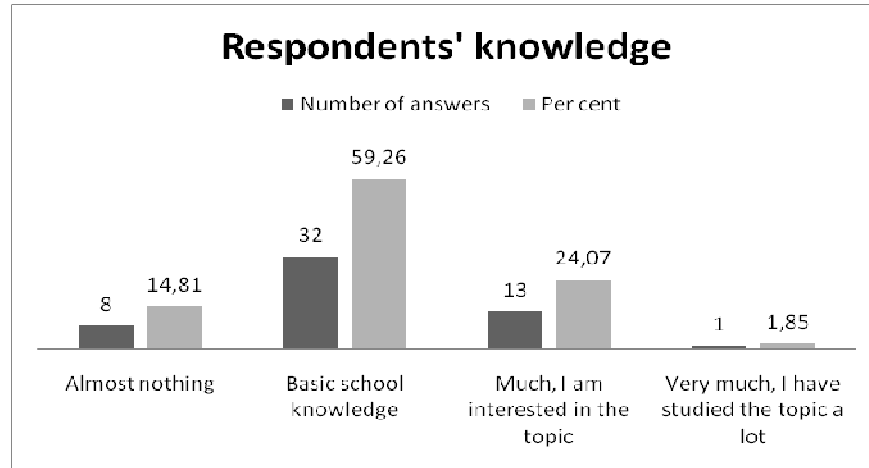


FIGURE 9. Respondents' knowledge about the theme of exhibition

8 CONCLUSIONS

Dark tourism is strongly related to culture and heritage tourism having history and tragedies as a vital part of it. It is a special type of tourism business which doesn't appeal to everyone but is having an important role in reflecting the past to present, delivering information and causing not only personal emotions but also broader discussion and conversation about the dark side of history and humanity. As well as generally in travelling there are numerous reasons behind visiting a dark attraction. People are fascinated with death partly because of its absent-present paradox. It is a taboo, kept silent and made distant. At the same time death comes back to society's everyday life via media output. Dark tourism is a channel to observe the themes associated with death and suffering safely from a distance. Emotional and educational motives are strong, as well as seeking one's own heritage, indulging curiosity and searching for nostalgia.

The aim of this study was to introduce dark tourism and to contemplate which reasons attract tourists to visit dark tourism sites. There was a survey carried out in the House of Terror museum, one of the dark attractions in Budapest, Hungary, in order to find out the visitors' motivations for paying a visit to this specific place. Theory of motivation was discussed to support the study and to give some knowledge about the reasons behind tourist behavior.

According to this research the typical visitor of the House of Terror museum is between 25-34 years old, European, visiting the museum for the first time with another person or in a group of 2-4 persons. Hardly anyone visited the museum alone. Visitors got information mainly from the suggestion of a friend, Budapest Tourist Info or hostel/hotel personnel. The strongest motivating factor was educational – visitors wanted to receive information about the Nazis and/or the Communists, Hungary's role in the Second World War and the museum's historic background. The typical visitor has basic school knowledge of the Nazi and the Com-

unist era in Hungary. The majority of the respondents considered their overall motivation for the visit high. Respondents experienced the tour in House of Terror mostly as informative and secondly as emotional and the majority felt that the visit met their expectations well.

The results weren't precisely the same with the case of Anne Frank. The strongest motivating factor of visitors in the Anne Frank House was emotional – willingness to feel connected with one's heritage. The more the visitors felt the emotional connection with the attraction the more interested they were in the site. There were not many visitors in the House of Terror museum who considered the site as being a part of their personal history but the same sort of phenomenon can be seen with the group of high knowledge – they were more interested in the exhibition and also were more satisfied with it compared with basic knowledge group. According to the model of push/pull factors, tourists' knowledge about the destination (and based on the case of Anne Frank, feeling connected with the site) can be seen as a pull factor.

As in the Anne Frank case different motives can be detected also in the House of Terror survey. For the majority visiting the House of Terror, the educational aspect was the most important; others considered the emotional side, paying respect to the victims being the strongest motivator while a small part came to see the exhibition in order to have a day out.

Because the questionnaire of this survey was the first one in House of Terror I would recommend to either repeat the survey (so that there would be more comparable data) or implement interviews (in order to deepen information). In general I would suggest a topic related to dark attractions: How a site becomes a dark attraction. For example, the current situation in Haiti (2010 Haiti earthquake) is very interesting from a dark tourism point of view, without underestimating the seriousness of the tragedy. Also, investigating dark attractions in Finland would be interesting. The concept of dark tourism is still rather unfamiliar in Finland so there is a good reason to study this.

8.1 Valuation of the Research

Reliability of research is evaluated by the permanence of the results from one measurement to another. In other words, the results should be the same regardless of researcher. Accuracy of measuring and implementing the research are examined when investigating reliability. Validity of research evaluates how well the researcher has succeeded to translate theoretical concepts into simple and understandable language, Did the researcher and the respondent understand the questions in the same way and what kind of inaccuracies might there be in the measurement? Reliability and validity together form the total reliability of research. Total reliability is good when the sample is representing the population and there are a minimum amount of errors in the measurement. (Vilkka, 2007, 149-152.)

The number of respondents was 54. The aim was to collect close to 100 filled questionnaires. For this reason, the results of the survey can be seen as rather guiding than generalized. Though, all respondents had the same chance to get chosen and the sample hit its target well. The questions were simple and easily understandable but also provided needed information. There were only a few misunderstandings. The questionnaire was the first one to be implemented in the House of Terror so there was no previous research to compare the results with. In order to gain reliable results it would be recommendable to carry the survey out again.

8.2 Self evaluation

The process started with getting and developing the idea of dark tourism as a topic of a thesis in spring 2009. I was in Budapest doing my exchange student program when I started to write the dissertation plan. After getting approval from the school and discussion with my tutoring teacher I started seek information and to write.

I started to write my thesis in Finnish but I changed the language to English after having done the research plan. I thought it would be a better choice in general: the

museum would benefit more; the majority of the material about dark tourism was in English and studying and writing scientific text in English would help me developing my language skills. In addition, writing in English felt natural after being an exchange student for ten months. Working in English seemed to be a good challenge in the beginning.

During my stay in Budapest I met Mr. Áron Máthe, the historian of the House of Terror museum and got an agreement for doing the survey there. I designed the questionnaire during June and July of 2009 and implemented the survey in August 2009. The questionnaire was well formed, though interviews would have served my aim maybe better. I should have paid more attention to implementing the survey in order to have more responses, for example by staying at the site longer. I continued writing during fall 2009 and now, in spring 2010, I am about to put my last “dot” on my study.

For me, the hardest part of this research process was to keep my topic clear and understand the process itself. I became interested in so many minor points that it was tough to bear in mind the goal. Also, it was difficult to accept that the work changes along the way and that my time table never works. Deleting a part of my text was really frustrating. Letting go is also challenging - a researcher can always find something to correct in the study.

I enjoyed working on the study mainly because of the interesting topic. Making the thesis international was a big but exciting step. I have already gotten e-mail from Norwegian and Romanian students in Budapest who wish to read my study in order to get some tips for their research of the House of Terror museum. The possibility of helping other students also abroad is another good side of writing the study in English. Co-operating with foreign people is highly interesting and, considering my future career plans, potentially productive.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

Pictures of House of Terror museum

APPENDIX 2

Questionnaire to House of Terror museum