Understanding Motivation and Perception at Two Dark Tourism Attractions in Winnipeg, MB

by

Laura Jane Lindsay Bissell

A Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of

The University of Manitoba

in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of

Master of Arts in Recreation Studies

Faculty of Kinesiology and Recreation Management

University of Manitoba

Winnipeg

THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

*****

COPYRIGHT PERMISSION

Understanding Motivation and Perception At Two Dark Tourism Attractions in Winnipeg, MB

BY

Laura Jane Lindsay Bissell

A Thesis/Practicum submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of The University of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirement of the degree

Of

MASTER OF ARTS

Abstract:

While visitation and interest in dark tourism sites has been growing in the last century, little specific research was conducted in the area prior to the mid-1990s. Since that time, there has been increasing academic and media attention paid to this form of tourism.

The purpose of this research was to understand motivation and perception at two dark tourism attractions in Winnipeg, MB (a ghost tour and a cemetery). Sharpley's typology of dark tourism was used as a framework to investigate visitors' motives and satisfaction at two different attractions that offered differing types of experiences with death to visitors (i.e. accidental or purposeful supply). The influence of respondents' perceptions of the site(s) as part of their own heritage was investigated as a possible factor in motivation. In general, several of the dark motives were rated fairly low as reasons for visiting both attractions. While overall motive satisfaction was high at both attractions, satisfaction with dark motives was found to be largely unaffected by supply and only two differences were found between the two attractions. Three motive items crossed the attractions and were identified as a potential "dark experience" motivation. It is possible that these three motives may form a triumvirate core of "dark" motivation in dark tourism.

Perception of the attractions as part of visitors' own heritage was not found to be lower amongst those who visited for "dark" reasons. Visitors that scored the lowest level of dark motivation were those that did not perceive the attraction as part of their own heritage. Based on the results of this study new insight was gained into the experiences of visitors to dark tourism sites, which in turn have theoretical and practical implications.

Key Terms: dark tourism, motivation, perception, heritage tourism, ghost tours, cemetery tourism, Manitoba.

Acknowledgements

As I sit here at my trusty laptop one last time, I am struck by a chilling thought: what if this page is as far into the publication that people read? That even after all the blood, sweat, and tears on my part, it is here where you think you will find whether you meant something in the life of a graduate student. Well I am sorry to say that even if you are not mentioned here by name, it is not because you were not important. In fact it is quite the opposite. Rather, it is likely a result of my low level of sanity as my tenure as a graduate student now comes to an end.

Several people have been instrumental in helping me complete this document. First and foremost I would like to thank my thesis advisor, Dr. Kelly Mackay, for taking a chance on a young geography major from British Columbia. Your unwavering support, direction and encouragement over the last three years have been invaluable and I will never forget all your time and effort you invested in helping me bring this publication to fruition. Special thanks to my thesis committee members Dr. Christine Van Winkle and Dr. Mary Benbow for always asking such great questions and helping me think outside the box. I cannot thank you enough for all your kind words and insight. I also wish to say thank-you to the one woman who is likely the most-thanked person in our Faculty's history: Janis McGonigle. Thank you for always keeping me on track and assisting me in so many ways.

I wish to express my sincere gratitude to Kristen and Nicole Verin-Treuch of Muddy Water Tours and Carmène Fiola of Tourisme Riel. This research would not have been possible without your kind and enthusiastic support last summer. I would not have gotten very far without you. I wish you many tourists hungry for a "dark" experience in the future!

I am grateful to all my friends back home, especially my best friend Christine Hunt. You and I have been through a lot together these past ten years. Thank you for helping me through the rough times and for all the emotional support and camaraderie you've shown me. One day I hope I can return the favor.

The one person who cannot be overlooked is my amazing boyfriend, Michael Jacobs. Thank you for being the very special person that you are and being so patient while I froze my arse off in Winnipeg. You are my rock! Your encouragement and endless love throughout this entire journey have helped me more than I could ever express with words. I love you, always.

Thank my family, both immediate and extended. I did it! Thank you to my parents Bob and Jane Bissell. You raised me, supported me, taught me, encouraged me and loved me. I love you both and dedicate this thesis to you.

Finally, I am going to thank myself. These last three years I've pushed myself further than I ever thought possible. I've cried, I've learned, I've succeeded. This is not an end, but a beginning, and I plan to always keep moving forward.

Table of Contents:

List of Tables:

List of Figures:

Chapter 1: Introduction

New York City is home to some of the most influential cultural and artistic institutions in the world. Known affectionately as the "the big apple", tourists have long visited New York for its shopping, Broadway theatre productions, restaurants, and historical landmarks. However, this changed following September 11, 2001. Despite its many attractions, the most popular site in the city has now become Ground Zero, the viewing platform where the remains of the World Trade Centre once stood and where more than 3,000 people died in a terrorist attack against the United States (Lisle, 2004). Ninety-five years following the sinking of the Titanic, thousands gathered in Halifax in April 2007, Nova Scotia, where over 100 victims are buried, to commemorate the infamous ocean liner's untimely demise (Canadian Press, April 15, 2007). Visitors listen to lectures, tour gravesites and visit the Maritime Museum of the Atlantic that features artifacts from the doomed vessel. Across the Atlantic Ocean, a tourist's journey to Amsterdam would not be considered complete without a visit to the home of Anne Frank, the former hiding place of a young Jewish girl whose diary detailed her days hiding from the Nazis during World War Two. Visitors guide themselves through the museum which tells the story of Anne and her family and those that helped them during the war. This site has been accepting visitors since 1960 and in 2004, the number of visitors reached over one million (Anne Frank Museum, 2007).

Why is it that people travel to these sites associated with tragedy and loss? Do they have some sort of "ghoulish" fascination with death and disaster, or are they simply acting on natural human curiosity? Tourism researchers have begun to tease out the answers to these questions with the establishment of "dark tourism". While visitation and interest in these sites has been growing in the last century, little specific research was conducted in the area prior to the mid-1990s. Since that time, there has been increasing academic and media attention paid to this form of tourism. Much of the academic output has been related to identifying what constitutes "dark sites", and attempting to understand visitor motivations from a theoretical perspective.

Purpose of Study

The purpose of this research was to understand motivation for dark tourism experiences. More specifically, the research employed Sharpley's (2005) model of dark tourism to assess visitors' motives to visit dark tourism attractions. Guided by four hypotheses, the study used Sharpley's typology as a framework for investigating visitors' motives at two different attractions that offer visitors differing levels of experiences with death (i.e., accidental or purposeful supply). The influence of respondents' perceptions of the site(s) as part of their own heritage on motivation was also investigated as a factor in motivation along with overall satisfaction.

Definitions

The term "dark tourism" first emerged in the late 1990's. Since that time, the increasing attention paid to this form of tourism has centered upon the supply of dark tourism, as evidenced within the numerous case studies by researchers (see Lennon & Foley, 1996, 1999; Seaton, 1999; Strange & Kempa, 2003) and little attention has been paid to demand (i.e., motivation). As a result, researchers have begun to question the definition of dark tourism and have argued for the inclusion of a personalization response to these sites and their recognition as inherently 'dark' on the part of the tourist. Further research into the perceptions of visitors to these sites is therefore warranted.

The first classification system to be developed has been Sharpley's (2005) "Shades of Dark Tourism". Sharpley based his typology on Seaton's (1996) suggestion that dark tourism (or, thanatourism) operates on a "continuum of intensity" based on whether the interest in death or disaster is general or person-specific and whether it is the dominant motive for visitation. This typology will form the basis of this study and act as a framework for its analysis.

Closely linked to the phenomenon of dark tourism and with considerable overlap is heritage tourism. Since dark tourism is partially defined by motivation, it is imperative that it be distinguished from its close relative, heritage tourism. Following this argument, tourists' perceptions of the attraction as part of their own heritage is seen as a potential factor in motivation for visiting attractions. Today, the simplest definition of heritage is the "contemporary use of the past" (Graham, Ashworth, & Tunbridge, 2000, p. 2). Thus, heritage tourism is defined as tourist activity at a site where historical artifacts are presented and interpreted (Garrod & Fyall, 2001). Yet for

many researchers, this definition is too simplistic and there are other factors at play in the formation of heritage experiences, the most important of which is motivation. Poria, Butler, and Airey (2001) define heritage tourism in terms of the motivation rather than the particular attributes of a site. They see a true heritage tourism definition existing within the realm of those who personally identify with the particular heritage on display.

For the purposes of this study, the following definitions were employed:

Dark tourism: Tourism motivated by a fascination/interest in death and/or tourism to sites associated with death, whether individual, mass, violent, natural, untimely or otherwise (Sharpley, 2005, p. 220). While there are several definitions currently available for dark tourism (see Chapter 2), this definition attempts to connect the supply and demand sides of the phenomenon, which is the basis of this study. Following Sharpley (2005), the supply of dark tourism falls in to two separate categories:

Accidental Dark Tourism Supply: Attractions/sites that have become tourist attractions unintentionally or by accident. These include burial sites, churches, and battlefields.

Purposeful Dark Tourism Supply: Attractions/sites that have intentionally been developed as tourist attractions to satisfy the visitor's fascination with death. These include attractions such as ghost tours and "House of Horrors" wax museums.

Heritage Tourism: Tourism in which the main motivation for visiting is based on the attraction's heritage characteristics according to the tourists' perception of their own heritage (Poria, Butler, & Airey, 2001, p. 1048).

Importance of Study

The potential implications for this line of research are multifold. The interest in catastrophes and disasters may at the surface seem distasteful and inappropriate; however, as Rojek (1993) observed, "it would be foolish to deny it is widely shared," (p. 138). While there has been more theoretical investigation of the possible motivations of visitors to these sites, empirical investigation of these developments at the site/attraction level has been minimal; therefore, the testing of proposed motivations from the literature is imperative to better understand the concept in general. Sharpley's "Shades of Dark Tourism" has also been minimally tested, and as such,

research is needed in order to investigate its applicability at dark sites and whether there is an identifiable "dark" sector of tourism (2005, p. 226). Due to prior lack of empirical investigation of the demand side of dark tourism, this study employed survey research using a self-administered visitor questionnaire at two dark tourism attractions: one with accidental supply and one with purposeful supply. A list of the specific motives included in this study was generated from a review of the literature (see Chapter 2 Literature Review) and adapted from research by Biran, Poria, and Reichel (2006). Using the same list of motives across different sites gives insight into whether there are common motives across different dark sites. In addition, visitors replied to five questions intended to capture their perceptions of the particular attraction in relation to their own heritage. Recalling Seaton's (1996) description of the phenomenon, dark tourism is not an absolute form but exists on a spectrum of intensity according to whether it is motivated by the desire for actual or symbolic encounters with death and the extent to which the interest in death is person-centered or generalized. Seaton, like Sharpley, argued that the pure dark tourism is exclusively motivated by fascination with death, irrespective of the individual or individuals involved. Tourists do not focus on the dead as "individuals or collectives with differentiated features, but on the forms or scale of the death itself," (Seaton, 1996, p. 240). At the other end of the spectrum is travel to such sites where the dead are known to, and valued by, the visitor. Seaton further argues that the more comprehensive the tourist's knowledge of the particular death involved, the weaker the dark touristic element. Consequently, the closer the tourist feels to the particular "dark" artifacts on display, the less likely they are to visit for an encounter with actual or symbolic encounters with death. This lends credence to the argument that the more a person perceives a site/attraction as part of their own heritage, the more likely he/she is to visit for heritage reasons and not out of a fascination with death. As a result of this argument, perception of the site itself as part of the visitor's heritage must be a part of the definition of dark tourism. This line of investigation was thus included to better understand tourists' motives for visiting and what constitutes a "dark tourism experience". Additionally, insights gained into the experiences of visitors to dark tourism sites have managerial implications. If managers can better understand why people visit and gain key insight

as to how visitors react to this attraction and others like it, the needs and expectations of future visitors can be better addressed and planned.

Study Scope

This study was limited to a survey of tourists visiting two dark tourism attractions located in Winnipeg, Manitoba during the months of June and July 2008. The study time frame corresponded with the highest influx of tourists to the area. Using multi-stage probability sampling enables the results to be generalized to the study population (visitors attending these two dark attractions in Winnipeg, MB). The questionnaire included questions regarding tourists' reasons for visiting, perceptions of the attraction as part of their own heritage, and satisfaction.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Dark Tourism

Visitation to sites associated with death by tourists is not a new phenomenon. Some would even argue that it is amongst the oldest forms of tourism in history. However, while visitation and interest in these sites have been growing in the last century, research into the phenomenon was initially slow. Since that time, there has been increasing academic and media attention paid to this form of tourism. Dark tourism has had several aliases: thanatourism (Seaton, 1996), morbid tourism (Blom, 2000), black spots (Rojek, 1993), and atrocity tourism (Ashworth & Hartmann, 2005). These terms were developed in attempts to make sense of the packaging and consumption of death in the tourism industry of both the distant and recent past (Strange & Kempa, 2003). While they were the first to use the term "dark tourism", J. John Lennon and Malcolm Foley (1996) were not the first to consider the relationship between tourist attractions and an interest in death. Rojek (1993) identified "black spots" in tourism that he defined as "the commercial development of grave sites and sites in which celebrities or large numbers of people have met with sudden and violent death [for tourism purposes]," (p. 136). Rojek further suggested that these types of attractions were post-modern spectacles that were dependent on audio-visual media as the primary force in their continued popularity. Similarly, Blom (2000) noted that "tourist attractions focusing on accidents and sudden violent death are being produced and consumed in ever growing numbers," (p. 30).

Lennon and Foley's (1996) original definition of dark tourism was "travel to sites associated with death, disaster and depravity" (p. 46). This definition was very broad in its inception and application and, at first, was used interchangeably with Seaton's "thanatourism." Seaton (1996) similarly defined thanatourism and suggested that it is "travel to a location wholly, or partially, motivated by the desire for actual or symbolic encounters with death" (Seaton, 1996, p. 240). While both terms were conceptualized with motivation in mind, some researchers initially questioned the validity of using these two terms interchangeably. Originally, these terms were defined in a very broad sense. The term "dark tourism" was so quickly adopted in the late 1990s likely because of

the simplicity of the word "dark"; however, it is this simplicity that may be the problem. The word "dark" has many emotive connotations associated with it and may suggest a fascination with the morbid or sinister that is "out of the ordinary". It imposes a value judgment on the activity and, as a result, also on the tourists who visit these sites. Thanatourism, conversely, is often considered a neutral term for describing these sites, as it is assumed that its widespread occurrence is a "taste all [individuals] share to some extent" (Seaton, 1996, p. 240). Lennon and Foley (2002) later amended their original definition and added that in order for a tourist site to be "dark", the events they represent should have taken place within living memory (i.e. within 100 years) and those events should question or introduce anxiety and doubt about the consequences of modernity. In addition, with the increasing number of historical films being produced means that the time factor may not be as relevant a factor in dark tourism as previously suggested (Tarlow, 2005). Furthermore, history, memory, and fantasy have blended and it is likely that what is viewed on screen is perceived as reality rather than what is lived (Tarlow, 2005).

There is also the additional question of what happens once those persons who remember these events pass on. Will these sites cease to be "dark sites" simply because there will be no one alive who remembers the event on which they are based? These are questions researchers will need to continue to reflect upon when defining what is considered to be "dark tourism" and what constitutes a "dark site". Smith and Croy (2005) argued the current definition is too strict and inherently restricts "dark sites" to modern human-induced disasters (rather than natural) as well as excludes older sites no less dark in history and which may be just as popular and visited for similar reasons. Smith and Croy further suggested that the definition of dark tourism be extended to incorporate both the supply and demand sides of dark tourism. The authors observed that while there has been much attention given to the supply of dark tourism (as evidenced within the numerous case studies by researchers (see Lennon & Foley, 1996, 1999; Seaton, 1998; Strange & Kempa, 2003) little attention has been paid to demand (i.e., motivation). They argue that to maintain Lennon and Foley's (2002) definition would be to ignore completely the demand side of the tourism equation. Included in their definition of dark tourism, therefore, is the requirement of personalization of response to these sites and their recognition as inherently 'dark' on the part of

the tourist. If the site itself is not recognized as "dark" in nature by the tourist, what is the purpose of classifying it as such? Further research into the perceptions of visitors to these sites is therefore warranted.

Towards a Dark Tourism Typology

It is only recently that researchers have begun to attempt to develop typologies of dark tourism consumption. Seaton originally postulated there were five categories of tourism behaviour related to travelling to these sites (1996, pp. 240-241):

- Travel to witness public enactments of death
- Travel to see sites of mass or individual deaths after they have occurred
- Travel to internment sites of, and memorials to, the dead
- Travel to view material evidence/symbolic representations of particular deaths
- Travel for re-enactments or simulation of death.

These five activities comprise a wide range of possible practices that are likely to be difficult to assign to traditional motivational categories (Seaton & Lennon, 2004). In addition, there may be infinite motivational variations that may exist both between different kinds of dark activities as well as within single ones (Seaton & Lennon, 2004). As a result of such variability, researchers have been slow to adopt overarching typologies of dark tourism demand.

The first classification system to be developed has been Sharpley's (2005) "Shades of Dark Tourism". Sharpley based his typology on Seaton's (1996) suggestion that dark tourism (or, thanatourism) operates on a "continuum of intensity" based on whether the interest in death or disaster is general or person-specific and whether it is the dominant motive for visitation. According to Sharpley, there exists an almost infinite variety of forms of dark tourism consumption as well as a variety of motives among different tourists to the same site. Sharpley (2005, pp. 223-224) identified four general categorizations of consumption in dark tourism within which he argued all attractions could be placed, ranging from "pale" to "darkest":

> *Dark Tourism as Experience:* represents paler experiences and includes a wide variety of attractions that have some social or phenomenological meaning to the tourist. The tourist is not fascinated by the mode of death, but the meaning or repercussions of that death. Examples: war cemeteries/memorials, battlefields, holocaust sites, assassination sites, etc.
>
> *Dark Tourism as Play:* also represents "paler" tourism experiences. While the death of an individual/group may be the initial precursor for visitation, it is the collective commemoration of death and remembrance that is the dominating driver and may be similar to the religious

pilgrimages of ancient times. Extra meaning is given in the knowledge that others will share in the experience. Examples: visiting celebrity grave sites or mansions.

Dark Tourism as Integration: operates on two levels and represent darker tourism experiences. On one level, tourists may have the fascination of simulating experiences that led to death, where the main purpose of the visit is not the experience of the death itself but rather it is the opportunity to identify with the broader context within which that death occurred. Example: becoming temporary soldiers. On the other level, the most extreme form is where tourists seek to integrate themselves with death, most often by witnessing it, or more rarely, travelling with the expectation of their own death. Example: travelling to current conflict zones.

Dark Tourism as Classification: also falls under the "paler" end of the gray tourism spectrum and includes attractions that are visited to seek social status advancement by engaging in activities or forms of travel that are dangerous in order to "survive to tell the tale" rather than by specific fascination with death or disaster. Examples: visiting sites of past political unrest or terrorism.

This classification system is helpful in understanding the consumption of "dark sites" and demonstrates Sharpley's claims that a fascination with death may not be the driving factor in the consumption of dark attractions. This classification system, however, is not without its flaws. It is likely that for any given attraction, there may be a multitude of differing motives for visitation, and it is therefore experienced in different ways by different tourists. In addition, this typology does not differentiate between dark attractions that are entertainment-based, heritage-based, or in the case of attractions like ghost tours, some mixture of the two. Sites, such as the London Dungeon and the Criminals Hall of Fame Wax Museum in Niagara Falls, are commercially-driven and may represent either real or fictional and sanitized experiences with death (Stone, 2006).

Sharpley (2005) goes on to suggest a categorization of dark tourism consumption based on two dimensions: the nature of demand and supply of the product. According to Sharpley, these two dimensions exist on a continuum, varying from accidental and purposeful (supply) and intense morbid fascination and little or no interest in death (demand). He argued that within this continuum, it would be possible to map the various dark tourist attractions based on visitor motivations, as well as the wide range of cultural, political, historical and/or commercial purposes that may underpin them.

Figure 1 is a representation of Sharpley's (2005) proposed model:

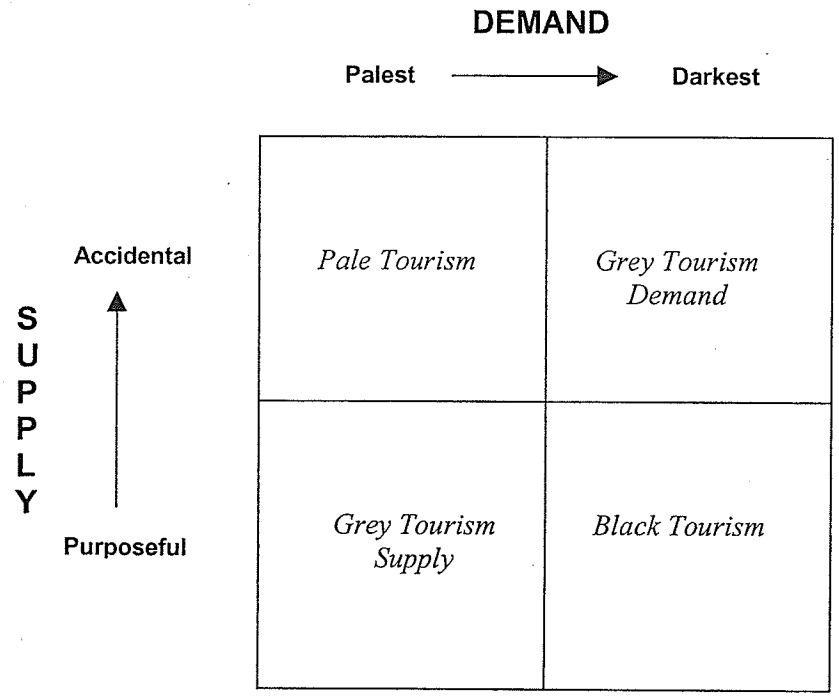


Figure 1: Shades of dark tourism (adapted from Sharpley, 2005, p.225)

From this model, Sharpley (2005, pp.225-226), defined four "shades" of dark tourism:

> *Pale Tourism:* minimal or limited interest in death when visiting sites unintended to be tourist attractions.
>
> *Grey Tourism Demand:* tourists who have a fascination with death and visit unintended dark tourism sites.
>
> *Grey Tourism Supply:* sites that have been intentionally developed and established to exploit death, but still attract visitors with some, but not a dominant interest in death.
>
> *Black Tourism:* i.e. "pure" dark tourism, where the tourist's fascination with death is satisfied by the purposeful supply of experiences that are designed to satisfy this fascination.

Following Sharpley, therefore, dark tourism, in its definitional form, is relatively rare and is likely to manifest itself in the context of discrete dark events, such as disasters and murders, where interest in the site itself trails off quickly rather than in situations where there is some long term memorialization of a dark event. Sharpley also suggested that both the demand and supply of dark attractions are driven by other factors not related to a fascination with death (i.e. political, economic,

and social). There is thus a need to identify and more fully understand these supply and demand factors to establish whether there is indeed an identifiable "dark" tourism niche among the general population of tourists.

Ryan and Kohli (2006) were the first to test Sharpley's (2005) typology at the site level. Ryan and Kohli conducted their research at The Buried Village in Te Wairoa, New Zealand (site of one of the worst volcanic disasters in the country's history in 1886). The Buried Village was previously identified as a dark tourism site by Smith and Croy (2005). By eliciting over 600 visitor responses through self-administered questionnaires, Ryan and Kohli assessed the degree to which the visitor experiences would be faithful to Lennon and Foley's (2002) description of a dark tourism product, or whether it would instead support Sharpley's continuum model of grey tourism. In their analysis, Ryan and Kohli found that while the traditional themes of "dark tourism" did not emerge immediately within the visitors' responses, there was support for both conceptualizations of dark tourism.

The volcanic explosion itself was seen as an "act of god from the distant past" that seemed remote by today's standards among respondents, lending support to Lennon and Foley's (2005) conceptualization that events of dark attractions should have occurred within living memory. In addition, Ryan and Kohli (2006) found that observations of "darkness" may be culturally bound. Most of the respondents were international visitors, and had little or no prior knowledge of the site or its impact on the local people. It is likely that local or national visitors to the site would have a different, and perhaps more personal, interpretation of the site. Also, the three main factors that accounted for the success of the site were safety, convenience and amenities, nature/scenery, and history/culture experience. Thus, while it is clear visitors appreciate the history of the site as one where there was great loss of life, its current beauty and peacefulness seemed to overshadow the recognition of darkness at the site. This lack of recognition was situational, however, and when visitors were guided by a Maori descendent who personalized the experience for tourists, they identified more with a sense of loss. These findings would suggest support for Sharpley's (2005) "grey tourism supply" category: one, because of its historic antecedents and interpretation and two, because of the attraction of those who do not necessarily have an interest or fascination with death.

Additionally, the results suggest that the appraisal of loss may be contextual and personal interaction with the culture or victims may be crucial in marketing "dark" attractions. Therefore, while the Buried Village does not fit Lennon and Foley's (2002) specifications of being within living memory and man-made, there is purposeful supply and demand (albeit paler) and supports Sharpley's (2005) model of grey tourism.

Dark and Heritage Tourism: Two Sides of the Same Coin?

Closely linked to the phenomenon of dark tourism and with considerable overlap is heritage tourism. Timothy (2006) went further and suggested that dark tourism (or thanatourism) is a sub-category of heritage tourism and that the growing numbers of visitors to former war zones, concentration camps, cemeteries, and prisons attests to his claim. Heritage tourism encompasses many diverse attractions, each of some historical importance that can range from historic buildings and monuments to museums, parks, and festivals (Trotter, 2001). Like dark tourism, however, heritage tourism is subject to definitional challenges and its definition has evolved over time. The word "heritage" was originally used to describe a legal inheritance that an individual received through the will of a deceased relative (Graham, Ashworth & Tunbridge, 2000). It was a straightforward definition with little ambiguity attached to it. This definition has since been watered down over time and has been applied to a variety of contexts, and sectors. Today, the simplest definition of "heritage" is the "contemporary use of the past" (Graham, Ashworth, & Tunbridge, 2000, p. 2). It is purposely broad in scope so it can include both the tangible (i.e. "movable objects or attractions") and intangible (i.e. "cultural expressions and practices"), (Timothy, 2006). It has also been expanded to include not only the built environment, but the natural as well, and includes rural and agricultural landscapes. Thus, using this definition of heritage, heritage tourism is defined as tourist activity at a site where historical artifacts are presented and interpreted (Garrod & Fyall, 2001). This suggests that the mere presence of tourists at a site is grounds for its classification as heritage. Yet for many researchers, this definition is too simplistic and there are other factors at play in the formation of heritage experiences.

Aitchinson, Macleod, and Shaw (2002) see heritage as "anything that has been inherited" and their interpretation is more closely tied to the original meaning of the word. This type of

definition concentrates on the idea that the "past" that is displayed is part of a society's inherited history (built and/or natural). The authors recognize that this definition is not a problem when this inheritance is related to some personal or familial history and "a common sense of belonging and ownership is possible" (Aitchinson, Macleod, & Shaw, 2002, p. 95). However, when the site begins to attract visitors who feel they have no connection to the site, the argument that they are engaging in heritage tourism breaks down. This suggests heritage as a construct is intimately related to one's identity, both personally and culturally (Trotter, 2001). This does not mean that a particular site can only be a heritage site to local visitors nor does it mean that an individual will only identify with local sites. Indeed, depending on the nature of the site itself, the heritage in question can occur at either the local, national or global level and there is likely overlap within these categories (Poria, Biran, & Reichel, 2006). What is important, however, is the personal connection to that heritage. A stricter definition of heritage tourism is thus warranted. Poria, Butler, and Airey (2001) define heritage tourism in terms of the motivation rather than the particular attributes of a site. They see a true heritage tourism definition existing within the realm of those who personally identify with the particular heritage on display, regardless of its level. For the purposes of this study, the definition of heritage tourism provided by Poria, Butler and Airey (2003) will be used.

Secondly, heritage tourism and dark tourism both contain elements of the post-modern (Nuriyanti, 1996; Lennon & Foley, 2002). In order to understand post-modernism, it is imperative that there be a discussion of this theory's predecessor: modernism. Modernism is associated with advanced urbanization, expanded literacy, generalized health care, rationalized work environments, and increased mobility (MacCannell, 1989). According to MacCannell, modern tourists have a wish to know the authentic. Their main wish is to see and observe what is going on *behind the scenes* in the places they visit (MacCannell, 1989). However, while this was the request of these tourists, the realization of the absolute authentic was eventually recognized as impossible and such attempts resulted in the creation of *pseudo events*. As a result, there was a shift in thinking and a new era began: postmodernism. Postmodernism rejects the notion that there is a "grand narrative" that unifies all history and practice (Rojek, 1997). It insists that everyday life and experiences are fragmented, diverse and unstable (Rojek, 1997). It emerged in the 1980s as a reaction to the many

consequences of modern living. The influence of post-modernism on tourism can be seen in the increasing prevalence and consumption of interpretation sites that concentrate on the past by travellers (Nuriyanti, 1996). Postmodern tourists are moving towards the rediscovery of their roots and travel as a way of relating themselves to their ever-changing environment (Nuriyanti, 1996). It is heritage tourism that provides these tourists with the opportunity to interact with the past in the present. Furthermore, these sites provide "an infinite time and space in which the past can be experienced through the prism of the endless possibilities of interpretation" (Nuriyanti, 1996, p. 250).

Lennon and Foley (2002) approach dark tourism based on the main features of post-modernism. First, Lennon and Foley argue that in dark tourism, global communication technologies (i.e., the media) are crucial in creating initial interest in a site. It does not matter whether these communications are positive or negative; however, they must be present in order to create an image or symbol to produce an initial appraisal on the part of the individual (Blom, 2000). Many of the catastrophes in recent history have been brought to the masses in real time and subsequently repeated endlessly: the death of Princess Diana of Wales, the destruction of the World Trade Centre, and the devastation of Hurricane Katrina in the Southern United States, to name a few. This can create an ever increasing spiral of sensation and over-dramatization, which can lead to great fear and anxiety. This leads to Lennon and Foley's second argument, that dark tourism products appear to initiate anxiety and doubt about the realities of modern life (e.g., the sinking of the Titanic and the realization of the failure of "infallible" science; the use of "rational planning" and technological innovation during the Holocaust and the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki). These sites thus become places where the progress of modernity can be challenged while re-enacting or simulating the experience of the event. Similar to heritage tourism, interpretation and education are key themes of these attractions (Lennon and Foley's third argument) and as such, these attractions often employ various audio and visual techniques to simulate reality and create consciousness among visitors (see Wight & Lennon, 2005 for an example of such techniques). In addition, rapid advances in information technology and access have played a part in the availability of information, images, media display and film footage to help

visitors "re-live" past events to understand more fully their consequences (Lennon & Foley, 1996). Tourism thereby becomes a tactic for conserving and prolonging modernity and protecting it from its own tendencies toward self-destruction (MacCannell, 1989).

What must be noted is that both heritage tourism and dark tourism have existed for centuries and are not necessarily new phenomena. Ancient Egyptians and Romans also traveled to experience places of historic and cultural significance (Ryan, 2003). Displays of death and violence are nothing new and have historically attracted many travellers (Seaton & Lennon, 2004). For example, Seaton (1996) described several instances in history where travel to battles and prisons was common in the 17th century. Seaton (1996) further describes the discovery of Pompeii in 1748, the Roman city that was destroyed by an ancient cataclysmic volcanic eruption, as one of the most visited sites in Europe at the time. In addition, ancient pilgrimages can also be considered as one of the earliest forms of dark tourism, as many pilgrimage sites were often associated with the death of individuals or groups, mainly violent and untimely (Lennon & Foley, 2002). Furthermore, there have been an immeasurable number of battlefields, museums, internment sites, and disaster locations inventoried and logged in guidebooks since the 18th century, when "modern" tourism first started to develop (Seaton & Lennon, 2004).

MacCannell, in his influential book *The Tourist* (1989), supposes that cultural (heritage) and/or natural sites (and artifacts) undergo a process of "sacralisation", or marking, which makes these sites effectively "sacred objects" within a particular society. This process is also applicable to dark tourism, and has been shown by Seaton (1999) to be followed in his analysis of the development of tourism at the Battle of Waterloo site, one of Belgium's most visited tourist sites. MacCannell suggested there were five phases in the process of sight sacralisation: naming, framing and elevation, enshrinement, mechanical reproduction, and social reproduction. The first phase, labeled the "naming phase", takes place when the site or artifact is set above other similar objects as worthy of preservation. This is usually achieved through some official or governmental designation of the site and great attention is paid to accumulating evidence that the preservation of the site or artifact holds true value to the society. The second phase is the "framing and elevation phase". Elevation involves the exhibition of the object. This entails either the movement to a

distinct case or pedestal or the opening of the object for visitation. Framing is the placement of some "boundary" around the object. This can be done to both protect the object from degradation as well as to enhance it. Examples of this can be seen in the establishment of a fence around a heritage park or the placement of glass around an ancient artifact in a museum. Framing can also be seen in the placement of spotlights on a national monument at night.

After this stage, MacCannell's (1989) sacralisation process moves into a phase of "enshrinement", or the point at which the framing material itself enters the first phase of sacralisation. Examples of this include the establishment of buildings or museums erected to showcase the particular object of display and they themselves become objects of visitation. The next stage of MacCannell's sight sacralisation process is "mechanical reproduction" (of the object). This includes the following activities: the creation of photographs, souvenirs, replicas, figurines or any other commercial representations of the object. The collection of these objects on behalf of the tourist can occur either before or after visitation, but it is the experience of the "real thing" that motivates the tourist to visit. The fifth and final stage is "social reproduction" which occurs when "groups, cities, and regions begin to name themselves [or parts of themselves] after famous attractions" (MacCannell, 1989, p. 45). This can be seen in the naming of roads, pubs, parks, bridges, and schools after famous objects in history or individuals associated with those objects and can be partly engineered by state and municipal governments as well as through commercial organizations and the demand of the popular majority (Seaton, 1999). Seaton went on to critique MacCannell's work and suggested that the sacralisation is not a finite process comprised of distinct, chronological steps, but a complex set of events that changes over time. For example, new markers may be added over time and often do not have to go through the same stringent steps as the original markers.

Heritage sites also commonly have been used "to build patriotism at the domestic level and spread propaganda to international visitors" (Timothy, 2006, p.3). According to Timothy (2006), in state-socialist countries such as China and the former USSR, many tours include visits to monuments devoted to great communist leaders and patriots. These tours additionally include "visits to schools, community centres, factories, and specially designed villages where the people

(often actors) live an idealized communist lifestyle," (Timothy, 2006, p. 3). These types of attractions are not, however, limited to socialist countries. In Canada, for example, all heritage sites are government established and maintained, whether they are at the national, provincial or municipal level and are developed as such to encourage locals as well as visitors to take pride in the importance of these sites and their conservation. Many of the sites chosen as nationally historic are chosen as being of some "aesthetic, historic, scientific, cultural, social or spiritual importance or significance for past, present or future generations of Canadians" (Parks Canada website, 2007a). They represent highlights from the nation's past that Canada wishes to display to the world. Similar sites can be found throughout the United States and the rest of the world. With respect to sites associated with war, and battlefields in particular, not only do they play an important role in national psyche of a country, they are also subject to another factor: the role of changing ideologies. As social ideologies change over time, so do the constructed and received interpretations of tourist attractions, especially those that are enduring over time (Seaton, 1999). With respect to battle sites and Waterloo in particular, the propensity of visitors to visit for reasons of pride and patriotism in the military prowess of a nation has waned. Many sites in Europe that previously emphasized these elements now emphasize the importance of peace and reconciliation in their interpretation of past wars (Seaton, 1999). Thus, while these sites are still sites of death and destruction, their interpretation has switched from a nationalist point of view to one of commemoration and understanding. As a result of these changing ideologies, much of the past can become "sanitized" in order to avoid conflict and to attract more visitors. The 'noble past' is displayed at the expense of the true history of a site thus potentially creating a 'societal amnesia' among visitors (Timothy, 2006). This is likely exacerbated when there is a large chronological distance between the original events of history and the establishment of an attraction in its honor. In addition, when the violent nature of such an event is recognized, it is often done in a playful and ironic form: for example, tourists visiting the Colosseum in Rome playfully pose for photographs with a gladiator who 'threatens' them with a sword or trident (Keil, 2005, p. 481). It is this general wish to emphasize the positive in tourism among providers that has likely given rise to the anxiety felt at the increasing

interest in dark tourism as a form of travel, for it may require many sites to entirely rethink their marketing and interpretation activities.

In sum, while not all heritage sites have elements of the macabre, it can be argued that the majority of designated "dark" sites have elements of heritage associated with them, whether they are at the personal, local or global level. Indeed, as Seaton wrote, "death is the one heritage that everyone shares" (1996, p.3). Dark sites, including battlefields, cemeteries, places where famous people died, prisons, and even sites of natural disaster, are all in some way historically significant simply because they are remembered as such by societies. They are marked as worthy of preservation, just as heritage sites are, and as such play a role in the development of social attitudes and values (MacCannell, 1989). Thus, while there are likely motives that are unique to dark tourism, it would be no surprise to see similar motives to those identified within heritage tourism present among visitors to sites classified as "dark" in nature. The following paragraphs begin to explore this possibility.

Tourist Motivation: The Socio-Psychological Perspective

To market their products well, tourism operators and destinations alike, need to understand the motivating factors that lead people to their travel and purchase decisions (MacKay, 2001). This is especially the case in special interest tourism, as its products are designed to meet the specific needs of individual patrons and less to those of the masses (Derrett, 2001). It is no surprise then that tourism motivation has long been an interest to researchers and many have gone to great lengths in the attempt to understand why people engage in one activity over a seemingly endless number of alternatives (Crompton, 1979; Dann 1977; Mannell & Iso-Ahola, 1987; Pearce & Lee, 2005). Much of this research has stemmed from the socio-psychological perspective. A brief summary of the main motivation hypotheses is below.

Dann (1977) divided tourism motivation into two categories: push and pull factors. Pull factors are those elements that attract or draw an individual to a particular activity or destination. They consist of the individual characteristics of the destination that play a part in destination choice, such as sunshine, sea, and number of attractions (Dann, 1997). Push factors, conversely, refer to the individual tourist and those factors that predispose him or her to traveling and are based on

socio-psychological motives, such as escape, novelty, and social interaction. Taking a socio-psychological perspective in his investigation of travel motives, Dann suggested that while a destination or activity may hold a number of attractions, the decision to visit is consequent on the need to travel. It is vital, therefore, that researchers understand the push factors that lead to travel before any examination of the pull factors are investigated. Dann went on to hypothesize that push motives for travel could be understood through the concepts of "anomie" and "ego enhancement". The anomie hypothesis includes individuals' needs for social interaction, love and affection. Dann hypothesized that traditional home and work life in western societies can create feelings of isolation and social deprivation in the individual and thus the tourist simply wishes "to get away from it all" (Dann, 1977, p. 187). Vacations are thus viewed by Dann as a means of alleviating this isolation and provide the opportunity for self-reflection and the improvement of self esteem. Dann's second hypothesis suggested that just as people have the desire for social interaction, they also have the desire to be recognized by others, and the act of travel provides them with this opportunity for ego-enhancement.

Crompton (1979) agreed with Dann's push and pull factors and further suggested that motives act as a basis for distinguishing between or segmenting people who travel for pleasure from those who travel for business or to visit friends and relatives. Crompton identified seven socio-psychological motives which "served to [push or] direct pleasure vacation behaviour" (p. 416): escape from a perceived mundane environment; exploration and evaluation of self; relaxation; prestige; regression; enhancement of kinship relationships; and facilitation of social interaction. Crompton additionally identified two cultural motives: novelty and education seeking. Crompton saw these as concerned with the destination itself rather than the internal status of the individual (i.e., they act as pull factors).

Continuing the socio-psychological investigation of tourist motivation were Mannell and Iso-Ahola (1987). Mannell and Iso-Ahola's conceptualization of tourist motivation emerged from leisure and recreation research. The authors hypothesized that there were two dimensions involved in tourism motivation that influenced the individual's behaviour simultaneously (Mannell & Iso-Ahola, 1987). The first was escape from everyday environments. By escaping, the person is able to leave

behind their personal and/or interpersonal worlds (Mannell & Iso-Ahola, 1987, p. 323). These may include personal problems, troubles or failures or interpersonal issues with co-workers, friends or relatives or all of these. The other dimension of travel motivation is the person's tendency to seek psychological (i.e., intrinsic) rewards (Mannell & Iso-Ahola, 1987, p. 323). These rewards can also be separated into personal (e.g., self-determination, mastery, education, exploration and relaxation) and interpersonal (e.g., rekindling romantic or familial relationships and social interaction with others). The authors hypothesized that any leisure behaviour (including tourism) has both seeking and escaping forces working on it at any given time and that people may engage in them simultaneously, although one may dominate over the other in different contexts (see Partridge & MacKay 1998). The escape-seeking dimensions are similar to the aforementioned push and pull motivations suggested by Dann (1977) and Crompton (1979); however, the Mannell and Iso-Ahola escape-seeking approach takes pull motivations one step further and defined them in terms of intrinsic motivation rather than in terms of the specific attributes of the attraction or destination as previously done by Dann (Crompton & McKay, 1997). Therefore, because of the variety of differing push and pull factors that may compel an individual to visit particular attractions and destinations, it is imperative that these attractions and destinations are aware of their visitors' motives both in terms of attracting new and/or repeat visitors but also in terms of satisfying these visitors.

Motivation and Need-Satisfaction

Any investigation of tourist motivation must recognize its close relationship to satisfaction (Crompton & McKay, 1997). The term "motivation" comes from the Latin word *movēre*, which translates as the verb "to move" (Mannell & Kleiber, 1997). This suggests there is an action requirement associated with motivation. As Mannell and Kleiber (1997) suggest, a motive is therefore "something that impels people to action and gives direction to that action once it is aroused or activated" (p. 188). As described in the above section, much of the tourism motivation research undertaken by researchers has been from the social-psychological perspective and has its origins in the investigation of leisure motivation (Harrill & Potts, 2002). According to Mannell and Kleiber (1997) the basic components of a social-psychological model of motivation are needs and motives, behaviour or activity, goals or satisfactions, and feedback.

This model suggests that in general, people have a multitude of needs, motives, desires and expectations (Mannell, 1999). Needs and motives are seen as triggers that "stimulate" behavior. This "stimulation" occurs in two phases: first, the mere surfacing of a need creates within the individual a sense of disequilibrium which they then actively try to lessen. Second, the existence of this need is generally associated with the individual's belief or expectation that specific actions taken on their part will return them back to equilibrium or their desired state of being. Based on this assumption then, people engage in activities that they believe will lead to a desired outcome (i.e., satisfaction). If the behaviour chosen by the individual fulfils their specific need, the experience is seen as appropriate and it reinforces the behavior (i.e., provides positive feedback). If, on the other hand, the behaviour does not result in need fulfillment or satisfaction, this may cause the individual to modify or stop the chosen behaviour entirely (Mannell & Kleiber, 1997). It is this aspect of the model that is most important from a management perspective. Marketing strategies can be based on this information and can help providers match the demand for particular motives and experiences with the supply of opportunities to achieve them (Mannell & Kleiber, 1997).

Dark Tourism Motivation

Why is it that tourists are drawn to sites of death and disaster? Dark tourism researchers have only begun to attempt to understand and identify the motivational rationale for such behaviours. It is important to understand the motivation of tourists to these sites in order to understand what makes them attractive. In addition, understanding motivation is important to the marketing (if any) and management of dark sites (Ashworth & Hartmann, 2005). There are a range of potential motives for participating in dark tourism identified within the literature; however, the majority of these motives remain largely untested in this context. Very few studies have investigated individual motives of dark tourism visitors empirically and it is important to recognize that most of the motives listed below are still speculation, do not apply to all dark tourism sites, and likely exist alongside other travel motivations.

Seaton and Lennon (2004) propose that dark tourism may be motivated by the search for encounters with the *Other.* These encounters are fueled by the desire to encounter extremes of the "everyday" and as such, people often will travel to satisfy this desire. Visitation to cemeteries, battlefields, and disaster sites are thereby suggested by Seaton and Lennon as simply "another kind of journey into this alterior territory that has frequently been seen as a principal motive for travel," (p. 68). The authors recognize that most of the previous academic discussion of "otherness" as related to tourism has considered experiences with different, living cultures rather than with death and violence as "others" (Seaton & Lennon, 2004). Related to the theory of "otherness" is the curiosity argument of Ashworth & Hartmann (2005). Tourists have long been attracted to the unique and unusual, whether it is a natural space, an artistic or heritage structure, or an extravagant event (Ashworth & Hartmann, 2005). Ashworth and Hartmann argue that the reason tourists are attracted to what the authors call "atrocity" likely comes from the same curiosity tourists have for "regular" tourist attractions, like Niagara Falls or Disneyland. Dark sites are out of the ordinary and are therefore attractive and can satisfy natural human curiosity (Ashworth & Hartmann, 2005).

Conversely, in light of this curiosity motivation, Slade (2003) called for a tightening of the definition of dark tourism (thanatourism) to exclude those who list it as a dominant motivation. Slade (2003) further suggested that due to this natural curiosity, much of the visitation to these sites may be, in fact, incidental and that tourists' simple presence at such sites is not a direct reflection of their motivation for being there. Therefore, if the definition of dark tourism is largely motivation-based, then those who visit purely on a whim of curiosity cannot be considered dark tourists according to Slade (2003). What is missing from this argument, however, is what the visitors are curious about. While they could simply be looking for an "out of the ordinary" experience, they could also be curious about the historical significance of the site, or curious about how the people died. This has significant implications as to the classification of the site as "dark in nature" and the marketing of these sites and it is necessary, therefore to clarify what is meant by "curiosity". Similarly, a study by Rittichainuwat (2007) investigated the travel motivations of Scandinavian and Thai tourists to Phuket, Thailand following the Tsunami disaster of December 2006. The author

found that the curiosity displayed by those who visited the sites was not one of a curiosity about death and destruction, but a curiosity of the outcome and improvements following the disaster. In addition, this curiosity was mostly felt by domestic rather than international visitors, although the author suggested that this was likely due to cultural differences between the groups studied and is likely not representative of the entire tourism population of Phuket.

Seaton and Lennon (2004) suggest that another potential motivation for dark tourism is *schadenfreude*, or the secret pleasure in witnessing the misfortunes of others. This phenomenon is often used to explain the "mad dashes" to car- and air-crash sites and may explain the media's desire to be the first on the scene for pictures of disaster (Ibid). It is described as voyeuristic in nature and ghoulish and its empirical investigation brings many ethical issues to light. As such, *schadenfreude* remains largely misunderstood. This motivation is linked to Ashworth and Hartmann's (2005) horror argument, whereby tourists visit dark sites out of some morbid fascination with horrific and violent occurrences. This motivation is also often-avoided empirically and is one of the foci of the fear of engaging in "dark activities" expressed among the general public and in the media (Ibid).

Another proposed motivation for dark tourism identified in the literature is thanatopsis, or the contemplation of death. Seaton (1996) argued that along with birth, death is an event in life all humans share. Thus individuals attempt to come to terms with their own mortality and visit sites that will enable them to do so. Thanatopsis has a long and colorful history and is by no means a new phenomenon (Seaton, 1996). This contemplation of death may be person-centered or generalized and is behavioral in nature; however it is not necessarily morbid. It is instead a "taste that all share to some extent" (Seaton, 1996, p. 240). Seaton (1996) also recognizes, nevertheless, that thanatopsis is a minor motivational form and likely exists alongside other motivations. Many people are drawn to these sites in an attempt to come to terms with their own mortality.

A fourth proposed motivation for dark tourism is nostalgia. There are several differing definitions of nostalgia available and researchers have yet to able to decide on a single definition. Tarlow defines nostalgia as occurring "when the traveller seeks to heal past hurts by traveling back in time" (Tarlow, 2005, p. 52). He argued that dark tourism may be the vessel through which the

tourist can vicariously visit the site of a tragedy and experience the tragedy's place. This is likely the case in the visitation of war veterans to battlefields, cemeteries, and war memorials. Rojek (1993) furthered this argument and proposed that of all the dark sites visited by tourists, it is likely that only cemeteries and monuments meet the criteria for nostalgia as a motivator for visiting. He further suggested that because of the nature of cemeteries, they are "clearly on the edge between culture and nature, and the physical decay of headstones, effigies and epitaphs only serve to make the contrast [to the present] more poignant," (Rojek, 1993, p. 145). Linked to nostalgia is Ashworth and Hartmann's (2005) empathy argument. Ashworth and Hartmann suggest that visitors to dark sites attempt to identify with the portrayed victims to understand the atrocities that befell them and, at times, to identify with the perpetrators. The authors suggest this motivation has great implication for the management and interpretation of many sites.

A pull motivation that is likely connected with dark tourism is the previously described notion of "sightseeing and sight sacralisation". Dean MacCannell was the first to suggest that some tourist destinations and attractions have become "sacralised" over time (MacCannell, 1989). Sight sacralisation is defined as the process by which some places or objects acquire such a status and reputation that they exert a "pull" on the tourist. They are "items of collective significance... [and] are iconic points of shared reference filled with symbolic value," (Keil, 2005, p. 479). In essence they become something tourists "must see" while visiting a particular destination. It must be recognized, however, that a tourist's desire to witness a particular attraction is not limited to dark tourism. However, it is the dark content of the particular attraction that sets it apart from other attractions. Because many of these sites go through this process of memorialisation, they are likely to bring about motives concerned with commemoration and paying respect to the dead (Keil, 2005). Sites such as war graves, battlefields, former concentration camps, cemeteries, catacombs, castles, and cathedrals all are likely to bring about such motives in their visitors.

One of the few specific empirical investigations of motives of dark tourism participants was by Preece and Price (2005). Using Lennon and Foley's (2002) definition of dark tourism, the authors chose Port Arthur, Australia as the location for their study. Port Arthur was selected because of its historical past as the site of a 19th century prison of brutality and death as well as the

site of a deadly massacre in 1996 when a young man went on a shooting spree in the town. Preece and Price used semi-structured interviews with 35 participants to investigate tourists' motives for visiting the town. From these in-depth interviews, Preece and Price identified three main motives: historical interest, learning, and fascination with the abnormal or bizarre. The most often cited reason for visiting Port Arthur by respondents was historical interest (79%). A sub-theme included within this motive was the desire to gain knowledge concerning family history and roots and was expressed by one third of those who identified historical interest. Preece and Price linked this motive to the modern pilgrimage. These results also reflect the aforementioned nostalgia and empathy arguments, (Tarlow, 2005; Ashworth & Hartmann, 2005). The desire to visit for learning and education was also strong among respondents and was evident in over half (58%) of the interviewees. This motivational theme was characterized by the need to gain general and/or specific knowledge about the site itself as well as to gain insight and understanding from their visit (either on behalf of themselves or for family members). The need to "sympathize with the underdog", to pay homage to the departed, and for re-enactments or simulation of death or brutality were also sub-themes identified by those respondents who visited for learning purposes. The third motivational theme identified by Preece and Price was fascination with the abnormal or bizarre. This fascination was less strong among respondents and was only present for approximately 25% of respondents. Some respondents indicated they simply had a "morbid curiosity" about the site; however others were not so forthcoming and unwilling to acknowledge this fascination.

The results of this study suggest that while there may be some dominant motivational themes among visitors to dark tourism sites, they are often inter-related and difficult to separate. The Preece and Price (2005) study was one of the first to study motives at a 'dark site' and give insight into why people visit them. Their findings partially support the suggestion that visitation is motivation based (as required by the current definition); however, there are several limitations to this study. The results of the study are not able to be applied beyond the Port Arthur site due to the small number of people interviewed. Further larger-scale research is warranted, therefore, and should be conducted at various other dark tourist sites so that comparisons can be made across attraction types to see whether there are any common motives that exist among attractions or

whether some motives are unique to particular attractions. What is interesting about the research at Port Arthur is the overwhelming dominance of historical interest as a motivation. It has not been extensively recognized by dark tourism researchers that many of the attractions that researchers have identified as "dark" in nature have a high likelihood of overlapping with heritage tourism. Sites such as Anne Frank House in Amsterdam, the Alamo in San Antonio, and the USS Arizona Memorial in Honolulu while they have elements of the macabre, the marketing and management of these sites is within the heritage context. Thus it would not be surprising that the majority of people who visit these sites may not be visiting to have a "dark" experience in particular, but to have an historical experience. It is likely that the observed motives for dark tourism are not easily separated from those for heritage tourism, and indeed, as indicated in the next section, there is much overlap between the two forms. This links back to Smith and Croy's (2005) argument that the perception of the site is vital in its definition as a "dark tourism" attraction. If the site is visited for largely heritage-based reasons, can it be said that visitation to that site falls under the category of "dark tourism"?

Heritage Motivation

While there is comparatively little empirical research into the individual motives for dark tourism, there has been an abundance of investigations into the motives of heritage tourists. Heritage tourism is one type of a larger group of tourism experiences called Special Interest tourism, or SIT (Trotter, 2001). SIT is conceptualized as tourism undertaken for a distinct and particular reason; that is, those who engage in it have a "specific, interest-based motivation" for participating (Brotherton & Himetoglu, 1997, p. 12). As a result, SIT requires that providers develop specific marketing strategies that may differ from those for general interest tourism. Heritage attractions are part of the total mix of opportunities available to all tourists and it is the particular selection of these attractions that identifies a heritage tourist from general tourists (Trotter, 2001). It is because of this mix of tourists that heritage attraction stakeholders often have to deal with a variety of motives and must build them in to their promotional strategies. In general, motives for engaging in heritage tourism fall in to three categories: sightseeing; education; and engagement with the past (Trotter, 2001).

The motive of sightseeing is intimately connected to MacCannell's (1989) concept of "sacralised" tourist destinations. This suggests that the status and the reputation of the attraction exert a "pull" on the tourist. The attraction attains notoriety and thus tourists begin to feel they "must" see a particular attraction because it is famous. MacCannell goes on to suggest that "when [tourist attractions] appear in itineraries, they have a moral claim on the tourist," (1989, p. 45). In Canada, attractions such as the Rocky Mountains of Alberta, the CN Tower and Lucy Maude Montgomery's Home (author of Anne of Green Gables) on Prince Edward Island are all examples of "must-see" Canadian icons. This is similar to Urry's concept of the "tourist gaze". A tourists' gaze is thus directed to features of our world "which separate them off from everyday experience... Such aspects are viewed because they are taken to be in some sense out of the ordinary" (Urry, 1990, p.3). While this particular motive is not singularly linked to heritage tourism, it does play a role in attracting visitors to the site and is relatively constant across general interest tourists as well as those who are identified as heritage tourists (Poria, Reichel & Biran, 2006).

Education is one of the most commonly cited reasons for visiting a heritage site (Poria, Reichel, & Biran, 2006). This educational role is not surprising since many of the heritage attractions act as "custodians of the past" (Trotter, 2001). Museums in particular take their educational role very seriously: according to the International Council of Museums, a museum is a "non-profit making, permanent institution in the service of society ... open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits, for purposes of study, education and enjoyment, material evidence of people and their environment," (ICOM website, 2001). Similarly, Parks Canada defines a national historic site as a "distinct and vibrant symbol of Canadian identity. It is also a centre of learning, a wealth of information, a living history adventure, an experience of what Canada used to be and what it is today," (Parks Canada, 2007b). Historic theme parks attract visitors who are mainly motivated by an interest in the particular history on display and a desire to learn how people lived in the past (Zeppel & Hall, 1991). A motive-based segmentation study of tourists to Native American cultural heritage sites by Nyaupane, White, and Budruk (2006) found that those visitors who were identified as "culture-focused" tended to identify motives that involved learning about the history of the cultural attraction as their most important reasons for visiting.

Similarly, a survey of museum visitors in an urban setting by Jansen-Verbeke and van Rekom (1996) found that the most central reasons for visiting were "to have food for thought" and to "learn something" as a way of enriching one's quality of life (p.371).

The third set of motives identified by Trotter (2001) is engagement with the past. Trotter argued that individuals can access heritage through five routes: popular memory, nostalgia, mythos (symbolic/spiritual elements produced by groups of people, ethnic groups or national groups), history, and historical sciences (2001, p. 151). Trotter goes on to suggest that it is through nostalgia or group popular memory and mythos that people mostly engage with their past, with nostalgia being the most common. Zeppel and Hall also emphasize this motivation, and describe heritage tourism, as "based on nostalgia for the past" (1991, p.30). The term nostalgia is broadly conceived as a "sentimental yearning for the past that invokes a positive evaluation of it in contrast to the present," (Kim, 2005, p. 85). This can either be at the personal (i.e., one's own childhood) or historical (i.e., a desire for the distant past beyond one's living memory (Kim, 2005). Personal nostalgia is considered to be a fundamental human characteristic that all people share. Conversely, historical nostalgia is more likely to be socially constructed. It is important to note that this nostalgia and popular memory of historical events do not result in total recall but are socially constructed and organized representations of history (Urry, 1990). In essence the experiences that are produced It has also been argued by Hewison (1987) that nostalgia is a postmodern phenomenon and is felt most strongly when society is in a time of discontent, anxiety or disappointment, (as cited in Urry, 1990). Dissatisfied with the present, visitors thus flock to heritage sites where they encounter not representations of the "true past" but "fantasies of a world that never was" (Hewison 1987 p.10 as cited in Urry, 1990). As a result the supply of the past has often become a positive representation of the past and can result in an embellishment or re-creation of the past for commercial purposes (Rojek, 1995). However, what is important to note is that when one is considering the nostalgia motive, one must consider the tourists' perception of their personal connection to the site itself. It is unlikely an individual will feel nostalgic for a site/historical period they do not identify with. This mitigating factor and its effects will be discussed in the next section.

Perception at Heritage Sites: A Factor in Motivation?

While the need to define dark tourism in terms of both supply and demand has been previously investigated, the relationship between the two elements has not. Emerging research from the heritage tourism field may play a role in identifying this relationship. As Poria, Butler and Airey (2003) observed, previous tourism literature has suggested that visitors travel to particular locations and attractions to "gaze upon or view a set of different scenes, of landscapes or townscapes which are out of the ordinary" (Urry, 1990, p. 1). According to Urry (1990) sites are visited because they represent different forms of life that are disconnected from the tourist's everyday life. In the case of historic and heritage sites, visitors are attracted because they want to be educated or entertained and there is no personal meaning behind their visitation. While this may be true for some visitors, Poria, et al. argued that visitation has an emotional/personal experience and that visitors are there not simply to "gaze" at a site but instead come to "feel" (2003, p. 239). Prior to the research by Poria et al., Prentice, Witt and Hamer (1998) found that tourists to heritage sites could be segmented along their particular experiences and benefits derived in terms of their motivations and socioeconomic profiles. Prentice et al.'s (1998) research conducted at an industrial heritage park in the UK, also supports the notion that the same product can be experienced by tourists in several ways and that experience is not homogenous. It is more beneficial for managers to recognize this and instead of offering one over-arching experience to visitors, managers should be aware of the differing experiences sought by differing types of tourists. However, while Prentice et al. considered personal interest in their investigations (some visitors even experienced feelings of nostalgia), they did not consider whether the tourists perceived the site as part of their own heritage. Similarly, McIntosh argued that by "understanding the personal value attained from heritage visiting, justification can be afforded to [heritage] tourism development beyond that of an economic generation to an understanding of how people need heritage to add perspective and meaning to their lives" (McIntosh, 1999, p. 44). Thus in order to understand people's presence and behaviours in a specific place, it is necessary that the connections between them are investigated.

Researchers have now begun to investigate this line of thinking in an attempt to categorize and differentiate between those who visit heritage sites and heritage tourists (Poria et al., 2003 and

2004; Biran, Poria & Reichel, 2006; Poria, Reichel & Biran, 2006). Poria et al. (2003) first investigated the relationships between four key variables (personal characteristics, site attributes, awareness, and perception) and behaviour at a heritage site (before, during, and after). The authors used a structured questionnaire implemented through face-to-face interviews at Ben-Gurion airport to query visitors who claimed to have visited the Wailing Wall in Jerusalem at some point during their stay in Israel. A total of 398 visitors participated in the study. The authors found that motivation, behaviour (both at the site and after), and perceptions of the visit were all linked to perceptions of the site. Those who perceived the site as part of their heritage were more likely to be emotionally motivated to visit than those who did not. They were also more likely to revisit the site. Less clear associations were found with motives related to education and no associations were found with those motives that had no links to the history or heritage of the site. Those who saw the site as part of their personal heritage were also more likely to be satisfied with their visit and spend more time at the site. They were more likely to feel proud about their visit to the site and feel that part of their heritage was displayed. This approach has the benefit of identifying subgroups of visitors who may or may not be known to the managers of the site or may represent a new group of visitors that may be targeted based on their perceptions of that site and reasons for visiting. It also helps distinguish between those who visit a site simply "because it is there" or to learn from those who are fully engaged in the site at a personal level.

Another study by Poria, Butler, and Airey (2004) expanded on this initial research by testing their previous results in two separate heritage locations each with starkly different site characteristics (the Wailing Wall in Jerusalem and Massada in the south of Israel) and investigated how reasons already mentioned in the heritage literature and motives associated with the actual heritage presented may be influenced by the perception of a site as part of the visitor's personal heritage. The sample was composed of four hundred structured interviews conducted with English-speaking tourists leaving Israel through Ben-Gurion airport that had spent at least 24 hours in Israel and had visited either the Wailing Wall or Massada. The results suggested that site attributes play a role in understanding why people visit historic sites. While the desire to visit these sites for educational and entertainment reasons was confirmed, there was also another factor at

play: to visit a site that is part of their personal heritage. At both heritage sites, those who perceived the site as part of their own heritage were more likely to visit for a "heritage experience".

An interesting result from this study suggested that some site specific motives, such as "I felt obliged to visit the site", exist outside of the traditional realm of recreation and leisure motivation but are still related to an emotional experience at the site (Poria, Butler, & Airey, 2004). The results have implications for dark tourism and associated sites, as several of the proposed motives for study do not fit current conceptualizations of recreation and leisure motivation. In addition, many sites that have been classified as theoretically "dark" in the literature can also be seen as heritage sites. Knowing visitors' perceptions of the site and whether they are considered part of the "heritage tourism" or "dark tourism" realm or some combination of both based on motivation for visitation is important. This would have implications for managers of sites and would warrant the development of different products (both in terms of marketing and on site interpretation activities) to meet the needs of differing motivational groups.

Recent research at Anne Frank House in Amsterdam, Netherlands (Biran, Poria & Reichel, 2006; Poria, Reichel & Biran, 2006) has also explored this phenomenon but in the pre-visit context. Poria, Reichel, and Biran (2006) investigated pre-visit perceptions of and motives to visit Anne Frank House. As with previous studies, there was a high correlation between those visitors who perceived the site as part of their own heritage and those who were motivated by the heritage experience. The study also found the existence of motives often ignored in previous heritage site studies: emotional involvement and desire to pass the story on to their children, which were positively correlated with perception (p. 323). Those who did not perceive the site as part of their heritage were the most likely of visitors to indicate they were motivated to visit the site to "have fun". The authors also considered visitors' overall motivation for visitation on a scale that ranged from 'not at all motivated' to 'highly motivated'. Those who had the greatest overall motivation for visitation were those who were more likely to perceive the site as part of their personal heritage.

Biran, Poria, and Reichel (2006) continued the investigation of pre-visit perceptions and motivations of visitation to Anne Frank House and expanded it to include pre-visit expectations using a structured questionnaire administered by face-to-face interviews in two contexts: while

waiting in line to enter the site; and in different locations throughout Amsterdam. As with the previous two studies described, there were three main motives that were identified: heritage experience, educational experience, and recreational experience. For both groups, the more tourists perceived the site as part of their own heritage, the greater their "interest in learning, being connected to their heritage, and passing the legacy on to their children" (Biran, Poria & Reichel, 2006, p. 297). Potential visitors identified three main expectations as wishes for: a) an emotional experience, b) an educational experience, and c) a recreational experience. This indicates that visitors to heritage sites are not simply interested in an educational or cognitive experience (Urry, 1990). They are also interested in the emotional dimension of the site (Biran, Poria & Reichel, 2006). Both groups also indicated a high expectation that the site would provide interpretation opportunities that would facilitate emotional involvement when they perceived the site as part of their own heritage.

There are two main limitations to this line of research. First, while the authors recognized Anne Frank House as a location associated with human atrocities, they analyzed the site in terms of traditional heritage tourism and did not allow that visitation to the site may or may not be influenced by "dark" motives. As such, it is unknown whether these types of motives played a role in perception of the site. Second, most of this research has been from the perspective that those visiting the site and perceive it as their heritage can take pride in that heritage. In places of conflict, there is always a perpetrator and a victim; a winner and a loser. Individuals who may visit these sites may not want to identify with the site because it may be an embarrassing or unpleasant episode from their collective past or they may not want to admit it occurred at all. As a result, they may shy away from claiming heritage motivation and may choose other motives as a result of choice bias. For instance, Japanese visitors to the USS Arizona Memorial may have entirely different motives for visiting the site than American visitors yet they may equally perceive the site as part of their personal heritage. Third, the site's classification at the level of "World Heritage" may have played a role in visitors' perceptions of the site being a part of their personal heritage. It is not known if the connection between motivations and perceptions would be replicated at a site of national or local significance (Biran, Poria & Reichel, 2006). Future research is needed to clarify

these issues and gain an understanding of the role of perception on behaviours at heritage sites. From the research reviewed here, it is clear that motivation for visitation to heritage sites is influenced by the visitor's perception of the site as part of his or her own heritage; however, there are still several questions that remain.

Purpose of Study and Hypotheses

The overall purpose of this research is to understand motivation for dark tourism experiences. More specifically, the research will employ Sharpley's (2005) model of dark tourism to assess visitors' motives to visit dark tourism attractions. To date, there has been only one study that has investigated Sharpley's typology at the site level; however, its generalizability to other dark sites is limited due to the nature of the site investigated (Ryan & Kholi, 2006). The proposed study will use Sharpley's typology as a framework to investigate visitors' motives at two different attractions that offer differing levels of experiences with death to visitors (i.e. accidental or purposeful supply). The influence of respondents' perceptions of the site(s) as part of their own heritage on motivation will also be investigated as a mitigating factor in motivation along with overall satisfaction, visitor demographics, and sources of information about the attraction used.

The main research question addressed in this study is "what are the motives and perceptions of visitors to a 'dark tourism' attraction"? Using Sharpley's (2005) conceptual model to explore the experiences of visitors, more specifically this question can be subdivided into four directional hypotheses based on the literature reviewed.

Hypothesis 1: The attraction providing "accidental" (i.e. unintentional) supply will coincide with a 'paler' demand and heritage/general tourism motives will dominate.

Hypothesis 2: The attraction providing "purposeful" (i.e. intentional) supply will coincide with a 'blacker' demand and heritage/general tourism motives will be less dominant.

Hypothesis 3: Motivational satisfaction at the attraction providing "purposeful" supply of an experience with death will be higher for 'darker' motives than at the unintentional supply site.

Hypothesis 4: Participants who perceive the attraction as part of their own heritage are less likely to have "dark" motives.

Chapter 3: Method

Research Design

This research employed a cross-sectional self-administered visitor survey at two dark tourism attractions: one with accidental supply and one with purposeful supply. Self-administered questionnaires are among the most widely used methods for collecting data across all disciplines. This is likely due to their ability to be used not only in research settings, but in a variety of settings for a variety of purposes (Bourque & Fielder, 2003). A self-administered questionnaire is a useful instrument used by researchers to gather information from individuals who complete the instruments themselves (Bourque & Fielder, 2003). There are three types of self-administrated questionnaires: supervised, unsupervised and semi-supervised. Supervised questionnaires are completed in the presence of the researcher and can be done at the individual or group level (Bourque & Fielder, 2003). Unsupervised questionnaires are those that are completed either by mail or, with the advent of the Internet, online. This research employed a semi-supervised questionnaire. The semi-supervised questionnaire is most often used in settings such as registration lines, amusement centers, airports, and as individuals are entering or exiting stores or other sites and attractions (Bourque & Fielder, 2003). They are named semi-supervised because the administrator is available to provide instructions to respondents and answer any questions that may arise. The degree of control the administrator exerts is limited, however, to the selection of respondents, the ability to ensure questionnaires are completed and returned, and the consistency with which any verbal instructions are solicited by or available to respondents (Bourque & Fielder, 2003, p. 7).

The biggest advantage of using self-administered questionnaires is that they require the least amount of resources (Salant & Dillman, 1994). They have a relatively low cost of implementation and as a result can cost up to 75 percent less than other methods such as face-to-face and telephone interviews (Bourque & Fielder, 2003). A further cost advantage can be incurred when the self-administered questionnaire is completed by the respondents on site and returned directly to the researcher or to a drop-box instead of being mailed back to the researcher

(Bourque & Fielder, 2003). They also enable the respondent to spend the desired amount of time completing the questionnaire. A second advantage of using self-administered questionnaires important to this particular research is the reduced social desirability effects. Social desirability effects occur when respondents believe their true answer would not be acceptable to give to the interviewer directly (whether in person or over the phone) and thus they substitute their answer for a more socially acceptable one or an answer they may think the interviewer wants (Weisberg, 2005). These effects create two possible issues for researchers. First, social desirability can relate to the over or under reporting of behaviour (Smith, 2007). Respondents may want to "look good" for the researcher and thus edit or change their answers to reflect this wish dramatically affecting the reliability and validity of the study results (Smith, 2007). Second, results can become inflated or moderated depending on the responses thus also potentially affecting reliability and validity. An important instance of social desirability effects involves the issue of sensitive topics (Weisberg, 2005). While individuals differ in what they consider as "sensitive", ensuring confidentiality of responses is paramount. As a result survey modes that "provide high anonymity should therefore lead to greater reports of sensitive behaviour" (Weisberg, 2005, p. 291). Similarly, Bourque and Fielder wrote that "people are more likely to give complete and truthful information on [sensitive] topics in a self-administered questionnaire than an interview" (2003, p. 14). Because of the potential sensitive nature of this research topic, use of a self-administered questionnaire in lieu of a face-to-face structured interview was thought to capture more truthful results because the respondents would not feel the need to impress the researcher and thus reduce the effects of social desirability.

Self-administered questionnaires also have a number of disadvantages that must be recognized. First, self-completion can result in lower response rates and item-missing data, which can cause bias in the results. Sources of this low response can come from unclear directions and failure to follow skip patterns as well as language, literacy, and visual acuity difficulties (Bourque & Fielder, 2003). It is vital that extreme care and attention is paid to the layout and presentation of the questionnaires and that they primarily consist of 'closed ended' questions with minimal skip patterns so that it is easy for the untrained person to respond (Veal, 1992). In addition, and for this

research, the primary researcher was available if the respondents had any questions about or had difficulty completing the survey in an attempt to increase response rate. There are additional ways to increase response rates for self-administered surveys. The inclusion of incentives/tokens for answering all the questions in the survey can be very effective in increasing response rates (Weisberg, 2005; Dillman 2000). If a surveyor makes a goodwill gesture such as including a small token of appreciation in advance, it can create a sense of "reciprocal obligation" (Dillman, 2000, p. 153). A second disadvantage of using self-administered questionnaires is that the researcher is not able to probe deeper in to answers that may be unclear or inadequate (Weisberg, 2005). It is for this reason that self-administered questionnaires are better suited for closed end or forced choice questions. Because the intention of this research is to compare motives across attractions statistically, the use of closed ended questions was emphasized.

The visitor survey is one of the most common types of survey used by managers in leisure and tourism (Veal, 1992). There are two main ways of accessing tourists at a site level: on-site visitor surveys and street surveys. Street surveys are used to capture general tourists to an area or city. Visitors are interviewed in the street, at shopping malls, in airports, anywhere that tourists are considered to "congregate" (Veal, 1992). The drawback to this approach is that it generally must be brief, as the interviewee may be in a hurry. It also has the difficulty of contacting a representative sample of the population under investigation as many respondents will be self-selected (Veal, 1992). Some types of tourists may frequent some areas but avoid others, potentially leading to an under- or over-representation of certain types of respondents. In general, the on-site visitor survey is more controlled than its counterpart, the street survey. Those persons who conduct the survey are perceived by respondents as part of the management of the facility and the opportunity to solicit responses from visitors is taken at a convenient time when visitors are "not in a rush" (Veal, 1992, p. 114). Self-administered site surveys involve giving a visitor a questionnaire as they arrive and then collecting them as they exit or conducting the entire procedure as visitors leave.

Before the administration of the questionnaire to respondents at each attraction, ethical approval from the University of Manitoba's Research Ethics Board was obtained. Appendix A

details the memorandum submitted to the Education/Nursing Research Ethics Board, or ENREB, under whose jurisdiction this research falls under. Guidelines outlined in the protocol were satisfied both before the survey was piloted as well as when distributed to the study participants. No separate consent form was administered with the questionnaire. Instead, a tear-off section was attached to the questionnaire (Appendix B). The tear off section contained all relevant information for research participants, including: study purpose, study procedures, risk the subject assumes in participating, degree of confidentiality that will be maintained, and the opportunity to access the results of the study. Participation is voluntary so by completing the questionnaire, respondents consent to participate in the study. There was a chance that the dark motive items could be of a potentially sensitive nature for respondents; however, because they were aware of the nature of the attraction prior to visitation, this issue was limited. Additionally, respondents were given the option to not answer any question and release themselves from the study at any time. The study used inducements to encourage subjects to respond to the survey. This is an increasingly popular approach among researchers to encourage participation and thereby increase response rates (Weisberg, 2005). Participants received a small gift (a choice between a lollipop or cookies) upon completion of the questionnaire. The time to complete the questionnaire was short (under 10 minutes, determined by a pilot test of the instrument at St. Boniface Cemetery) and thus also encouraged completion.

Study Locations

The questionnaires (Appendix C) were administered at two different dark tourism attractions located within Winnipeg, Manitoba. One attraction was classified as "purposeful" while the other was classified as "accidental" and will follow the definitions offered by Sharpley (2005). Both locations were first contacted by letter (Appendix D) to invite them to participate in the study. This was then followed up with a phone call to cement the details of each attraction's participation. The first dark attraction was the ghost tours jointly operated by Heartland International Travel and Tours and Muddy Water Tours. These tours, which operated on Tuesdays and Thursdays from June 3 to October 28, 2008, included a two and a half-hour guided bus tour of Winnipeg that commenced at the Winnipeg Via Rail Station and ended at the Hotel Fort Garry in downtown Winnipeg. Visitors

were informed of ghost sightings, paranormal research in Winnipeg, and eye witness accounts of paranormal experiences at various historically significant Winnipeg locations. Participants were also given the opportunity to communicate with spirits thought to haunt various locations. While the Tuesday tours focused more on the historical aspects of the ghost sightings and the Thursday tours focused more on communicating with the dead, both tours offered very similar types of experiences and information for visitors and were thus treated as one attraction. Because the tours were created expressly for the intent of connecting visitors with the paranormal, it was classified as a "purposeful" attraction, i.e., one developed for the consumption of activities related to death by tourists.

The second attraction was the St. Boniface Cemetery in Winnipeg, MB. Located in the St. Boniface District of Winnipeg, the St. Boniface Cemetery is the burial site of many of the city's important historical Métis figures, at the local, provincial and even national level. It is also the site of the famous St. Boniface Cathedral, one of Winnipeg's most recognizable and historically significant landmarks. Among those buried at St. Boniface Cemetery are: Louis Riel, national hero of the Métis Nation of Canada and considered to be the founder of Manitoba; Monseigneur Provencher, the priest who established the first mission on the land the cemetery is located upon; and Jean-Baptiste Lagimodière and Marie-Anne Gaboury, the first white couple to settle in the Canadian west (Bisson, unknown date). The attraction grew in popularity out of the familiarity with those buried within it and its importance as a historical site. As the main purpose of this place is as a burial site and not a tourist attraction, its establishment as a tourist attraction may be classified as "accidental". Visitors to the cemetery have two main options when visiting the attraction: a) they may guide themselves through the graves and tombstones; or b) they may attend a regularly scheduled play in the summer months that tells the stories of several of the cemetery's most famous residents. The play, entitled "In Riel's Footsteps", was offered in both French and English at various times during the week from July 2nd to August 31st, 2008 on Wednesdays through Sundays. Only those plays offered in English were included in this study.

Sampling and Data Collection

As with most survey research, it is necessary to sample a particular population of interest (Veal, 1992). Largely because of cost concerns, it is impossible to survey all members of the population under investigation. Instead, procedures must be employed that allow the investigator to produce a representative estimate of the population, that is, a sample. There are two basic strategies for drawing a representative sample: probability sampling and non-probability sampling. Probability sampling is "sampling when there is a known chance that every element in the sampling frame will be selected for the sample," (Weisberg, 2005, p. 231). It provides a statistical basis for stating that a particular sample is representative of the target population and implies that every member has a known, non-zero probability of participating (Fink, 2003). Non-probability sampling involves the investigator selecting participants based on a judgment of the characteristics of the target population and the requirements of the study and participants do not have a non-zero likelihood of being included in the study (Fink, 2003). Types of non-probability sampling include availability/convenience samples, purposive samples, snowball samples, and quota samples. Non-probability sampling is problematic because it introduces unnecessary bias and it is impossible to estimate sampling error. The external validity, or the extent to which the results of a study can be generalized to the greater population, is thus compromised.

As stated earlier, probability samples are those in which each individual within the sampling frame has a known chance of being selected for inclusion (Weisberg, 2005). Because the probability is known, generalization to the greater population can be more easily employed. It is also possible to attach a sampling error to the data and allows for statistical inferences and confidence statements to be made (Weisberg, 2005). The most basic (and most common) form of probability sampling for self-administered surveys is simple random sampling in which every member of the sampling frame has an equal chance of being selected (Dillman, 2000). One way of doing this is to give each member a number on a slip of paper and randomly pull them from a hat or use a computer program that will number and randomly select respondents (Dillman, 2000). There are drawbacks to using simple random sampling because of the need to satisfy its strict requirements. First, the investigator must sample from a list of all possible cases to give each

member an equal chance of selection and these lists often do not exist (Weisberg, 2005). Second, this form of sampling is potentially very expensive, depending on the mode of administration. It is most expensive for national face-to-face interviews, where the interviewer must travel to each randomly selected participant. This is not considered to be an issue in this study as it will be attraction-specific. Since a list of all possible respondents cannot be generated for this study, to ensure randomness, a random list of days within the study time frame (six weeks) was generated for the investigator to visit each attraction. However, this sampling frame on its own is not enough to ensure a representative sample and thus requires an additional sampling strategy to be imposed at the attraction-level. Multi-stage sampling is "sampling that is not done directly but in stages" (Veal, 1992, p. 150). One of the most commonly used sampling approaches for site/visitor surveys that employ multi-stage sampling is cluster sampling (Veal, 1992). Cluster sampling involves the sampling of clusters or groups of cases instead of individual cases (Weisberg, 2005). It is very useful in reducing study costs to the investigator because it is geographically concentrated and requires less extensive lists than simple random sampling (Weisberg, 2005). Cluster sampling can be disadvantageous in the sense that those in the same cluster tend to be similar to one another and can thus introduce more error. However, with the addition of the random survey days, this approach is considered more representative than using quota or convenience sampling which would decrease the generalizability of the statistical results.

As stated earlier, data were collected on randomly selected days within the study time frame, from 26 June to 7 August, 2008. The number of randomly selected days for both attractions was based on the average visitor numbers specific to the attraction as well as days and hours of operation. The ghost tours operated on Tuesdays and Thursdays only. According to the tour operator, the number of visitors at each tour would range from approximately 10 to 47. This suggested there were 29 visitors to the tours on average. Subtracting approximately 25 percent of visitors who would potentially decline a survey this left 22 questionnaires for each tour. To make 150, seven tours were surveyed and were randomly split appropriately between the two tour nights. Because of lower than anticipated response, an additional tour was added at the end of the data collection period to attempt to meet the desired sample size. At St. Boniface Cemetery, it was

suggested that the plays would yield visitor numbers between 2 and 22. This suggests on average, 11 visitors to the plays, which ran Wednesdays to Sundays once a day in English. A similar number was also suggested for those visitors to the cemetery who did not attend the plays. Subtracting approximately 25 percent of visitors who may decline a survey or be otherwise unable to complete the survey, this suggested an average of 8 visitors per day. Splitting this equally between play days and non-play days and to achieve a sample size of 150, 10 days for each day-type were randomly selected from the sampling time frame. Due to low response rates, play cancellations, and weather issues, 6 extra days were added to the data collection at the St. Boniface cemetery.

Since the conditions at tourism attractions can vary enormously, it was necessary that the investigator adhere to strict data collection rules. When a ghost tour or play was cancelled, it was replaced with the next available date for that tour that had not been already randomly selected. Similarly, when the weather at the St. Boniface cemetery did not allow for data collection, the next available date for collection was assigned. Often, these attraction-specific studies operate in one of two ways; the interviewer is stationary and the users mobile, or the user is stationary and the interviewer is mobile (Veal, 1992). The first option was employed by the investigator in this study. Visitors were offered a survey as they exited the attraction. In the case of the ghost tours and the St. Boniface Cemetery play, visitors were first prompted by the tour guide of the investigator's presence and were encouraged to complete the questionnaire. Following this introduction, the investigator gave participants additional information regarding the study itself and those who were interested in responding were given a questionnaire to complete. Individuals approached at the cemetery who did not attend a play were only approached after they had spent some time examining the graves and tombs located within the grounds. The investigator located herself at the most visited grave in the cemetery – that of Louis Riel. All visitors who approached the grave were given the opportunity to complete the questionnaire. Those who came to the property and did not visit the cemetery were not approached and were thus not included in the visitor count. The respondents completed the survey on-site and returned it directly to the investigator. A conservative sample size of 150 from each attraction was the goal of completion. In order to

ensure a good response rate (above 60 percent), at least 250 visitors needed to be approached at each attraction (Babbie, 1997).

Original eligibility criteria for this research were those domestic and foreign visitors 18 years of age or above (the age of majority in Manitoba), who are fluent in the English language, and who have made the decision to visit the attractions in question. According to Statistics Canada, tourism is defined as "the activities of persons travelling to and staying in places outside their usual environment for not more than one consecutive year for leisure, business and other purposes not related to the exercise of an activity remunerated from within the place visited," (Statistics Canada, 2007, p. 5). Domestic tourists are those persons travelling within the country in which he or she resides outside their usual environment while foreign tourists are those persons travelling outside their country of residence (Statistics Canada, 2007). Although it was the original plan of this research to include only those visitors classified as tourists in the data analysis, a large number of visitors to these attractions were residents; consequently it was decided to include them in the study, barring any significant differences in their motives for visiting the attractions. If there were significant differences in the *a priori* dark motives for visiting the attractions between residents and tourists, they would be treated as separate groups.

Instrumentation

Two aspects that must be considered in the construction of any questionnaire are validity and reliability. Validity is defined as "the extent to which [a] measure truly reflects the phenomenon [under] consideration," (Veal, 1992, p. 36). Reliability is conceptualized as the extent to which the results of the study would be the same if it were repeated at a later date or by another investigator and a new sample of subjects (Veal, 1992). To increase the reliability and consistency of information gathered by the instrument itself, a pilot study was employed. In addition, the majority of item questions were pre-coded. This helped to ensure each item was measured in the exact same way every time it is used (Buckingham & Saunders, 2004). To estimate the instrument's internal consistency, or the extent to which all the items assess the same skill, characteristic or quality, Cronbach's alpha for each of the scale questions was calculated. Using motive, perception,

satisfaction and demographic questions from previous research was another method employed to increase the questionnaire's validity.

The information collected by this questionnaire (Appendix C) can be divided into four groups: introductory questions, motivation and satisfaction, heritage perception, and visitor characteristics. The questions consisted mainly of rating scales and partially closed-ended questions. According to Weisberg, "scale questions are closed-ended questions that have ordered categories which can either be numerical or verbal" (2005, p. 105). Advantages to using closed-ended questions are that they are relatively quick and easy to fill in, easy to code and analyze, and allows the researcher to conduct statistical tests on the data collected. In addition, minimal writing on the part of the respondent reduced writing burden that can plague open-ended questions and they are less difficult and time consuming (Meyburg & Metcalf, 1997). Because of the nature of the questionnaire, this advantage was vital to encouraging completion. There are also disadvantages associated with closed-ended questions. Because these questions are forced-choice, the respondent is often only able to answer within the listed options and the list may not be exhaustive enough to cover all possible answers (Meyburg & Metcalf, 1997). One way to correct for this is to include an "other" category for the respondent to fill in if their response does not fall within the listed answers (the nature of partially closed-ended questions). Numeric and verbal open-ended questions were also be used to collect some of the demographic information. By employing this approach the researcher was able to collect higher level data and categorize responses after the data was collected as required (e.g., for age, cultural group, etc.).

The first series of questions were general questions pertaining to participants' trip characteristics including where they were from, whether they were a first time or repeat visitor to Winnipeg, and how they heard about the attraction. Part two of the questionnaire asked specific questions about participants' motives and perceptions of the attraction as part of their own heritage (particulars discussed below). The demographic questions included in the third part of the questionnaire helped to characterize the types of people who visit these attractions. A list of the specific motives to be included in this study was generated from a review of the literature and adapted from the research by Biran, Poria, and Reichel (2006). Biran et al. (2006) produced a list

of 14 motive items for visitors to a heritage site (Anne Frank House in Amsterdam). Upon factor analysis, the motives were separated in to three factors: heritage experience, educational experience, and recreational experience. The Cronbach's alpha for each factor was 0.749, 0.724, and 0.726, respectively which suggest high and moderate levels of reliability (Biran et al., 2006). Not all the items from Biran et al.'s (2006) study applied to the present study and thus some were excluded or altered to reflect the specific attraction being investigated. Six dark motive items identified from the literature were also incorporated into the motivation list. These six dark motives were: to have an experience with death, to come to terms with your own mortality, to pay tribute to those who died, curiosity about how the victims died, fascination with the abnormal or bizarre, and to heal past hurts (Tarlow, 2005; Seaton 1996; Seaton & Lennon, 2004; Ashworth & Hartmann, 2005, Preece & Price, 2005). Following Biran et al., a six point zero-to-five scale was used, where a score of 0 indicated "completely disagree" and 5 indicated "completely agree". The participants were provided with an even scale because it was assumed that "no neutral point exists within the context of these questions" (Poria, Reichel & Biran, 2006, p. 320). Zero was to be used as an anchor based on its equivalent for nothing or not at all (Poria, et al., 2006). This same scale was used to investigate motivational satisfaction later in the questionnaire. Additionally, an open-ended question followed the closed-end motivation question to investigate if there were any additional motives for visiting the attraction not included in the items listed. Table 1 presents the motives included.

Table 1

Motivation to Visit Attraction
To have an experience with death
To come to terms with my own mortality
To pay tribute to those who died
I am curious about how the victims died
I am fascinated by abnormal and bizarre events
To heal past hurts
I feel a sense of belonging to this attraction
It is a part of my own heritage
I feel a sense of obligation to visit
I feel that I should visit this attraction
Because of its historic background
I want to learn about the history of the local people
I want to learn about Winnipeg
I think it is important to visit this attraction
I want to feel emotionally involved
I want to have some entertainment
I want to have a day's outing
It is a well known attraction
I want to relax

*Adapted from Biran, Poria, and Reichel (2006)

Visitors were asked to reply to five questions to capture their perceptions of the particular attraction in relation to their own heritage. The questions were adapted from Biran, Poria and Reichel's (2006) study conducted at Anne Frank House in Amsterdam. The Cronbach's Alpha statistic for this scale is 0.823. This is relatively high and suggests that the questions measure the same latent variable and are relatively reliable (Biran, et al, 2006). The same six point zero-to-five scale was used as with the motivation and satisfaction questions, where a score of 0 indicated "completely disagree" and 5 indicated "completely agree". Table 2 presents the five perception of heritage statements that were included.

Table 2

Perception Scale of site relative to visitors' own heritage
The site represents something that relates to your identity
The site represents something that is relevant to your present existence
The site has symbolic meaning for you
The site generates a sense of belonging for you
You consider the site to be part of your own personal history

*Adapted from Biran, Poria, and Reichel (2006)

Several socio-demographic questions were also included and were a mix of closed-ended and open-ended questions. Gender, marital status, and education variables were closed-ended while age (i.e., year of birth) and cultural affiliation were open-ended questions.

Data Analysis

Following the completion of data collection, data were coded, cleaned and analyzed using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences version 16.0. To prepare for hypotheses testing, scale reliability testing and factor analysis were conducted and heritage perception groups were formed following Biran, et al.(2006). To test the study hypotheses the following analyses were undertaken. It is important to note here that factor analysis was done following hypotheses one through three as these hypotheses questioned the individual performance of the motive items themselves in relation to the attractions whereas in hypothesis four, the motives were tested as to whether they behaved as a discrete group of motives together.

Hypotheses 1 and 2:

Hypothesis 1: The attraction providing "accidental" (i.e. unintentional) supply of an experience with death will coincide with a 'paler' demand and heritage/general tourism motives will dominate.

Hypothesis 2: The attraction providing "purposeful" (i.e. intentional) supply of an experience with death will coincide with a 'blacker' demand and heritage/general tourism motives will be less dominant.

Both these hypotheses were investigated by analyzing the descriptive statistics of the motive items from both attractions including measures of central tendency such as mean, median, mode and standard deviation. To determine if there were significant motivational differences in mean values between the two attractions, an independent sample student's t-test was employed. Since the t-test requires that the data be normal, a test for non-normality was employed. The Shapiro-Wilk test was used as it is appropriate when the sample size is below 2,000 and is one of the commonly used tests of normality (Park, 2006). According to Buckingham and Saunders (2004), if the data are negatively skewed, "cubing or squaring the data will 'stretch' the scale and push the higher values out" and thus restoring normality (p. 188). If the data are positively skewed, taking the square root or log of the data will 'shrink' the scale and will reduce the effects of trailing cases or outliers (Buckingham & Saunders, 2004). It is from these analyses any dominant motives and differences between the dark attraction types were identified. The open-ended motivation question was

content analyzed for both attractions to identify any additional emerging themes not captured by the scale.

Hypothesis 3:

> *Hypothesis 3:* Motivational satisfaction at the attraction providing "purposeful" supply of an experience with death will be higher for 'darker' motives than at the unintentional supply attraction.

Similar to Hypotheses 1 and 2, Hypothesis 3 was investigated using descriptive statistics and measures of central tendency. The Shapiro-Wilk test was also applied to the satisfaction data to ensure normality of the data. To compare satisfaction scores for dark motive items between the purposeful and accidental dark attractions, t-tests were employed.

Hypothesis 4:

> *Hypothesis 4:* Participants who perceive the attraction as part of their own heritage are less likely to have "dark" motives.

Following the motive items, respondents were asked their agreement with a series of questions meant to evaluate visitor perceptions of the attractions as part of their own heritage (PAOH). With the addition of the dark motives to the motive scale, there was a need to explore if there are underlying common dimensions among the motive items; therefore, a Factor Analysis was undertaken. Following Biran, et al. (2006), it was assumed that the factors were likely correlated and thus a Principal Component analysis with oblique Promax rotation was used. The number of factors extracted was determined by their eigenvalues. While there is no firm rule about when to stop extracting factors, the common convention used by statisticians is that any component with an eigenvalue less than 1 is considered no longer viable (Buckingham & Saunders, 2004). In addition, following Biran et al. (2006), respondents were classified into three groups based on the following procedure: first the PAOH score was calculated as the summated mean. Next, based on the PAOH score, each respondent was placed into one of the following categories based on a three-part partition of the PAOH scale: 1) those who perceived the attraction as part of their own heritage (mean of 3.4 or higher); 2) those who somewhat perceived the attraction as part of their own heritage (mean score between 3.4 and 1.7); and 3) those who did not perceive the attraction

as part of their own heritage (mean score below 1.7). These divisions were used to find diversity among participants in how they perceive the attractions (Biran et al., 2006). To investigate differences among visitors' motives for visiting based on their perceptions of the site, a one-way ANOVA test was employed using the motive dimensions identified in the factor analysis and the perception group classifications.

Chapter 4: Results

Questionnaire Response

Data collection commenced on June 26th, 2008 following ethics approval and ended August 7th, 2008. There were 30 data collection days in total (3 ghost tour only days, 22 cemetery only days, 6 days at both locations). Data collection days were randomly selected based on days of operation for the ghost tours and days of operation/time of day for the St. Boniface Cemetery. In total, there were 252 visitors approached at the ghost tours and 150 completed a questionnaire (Table 3). This gave an overall response rate for the ghost tours of approximately 60 percent and the targeted number. Those people who did not complete the questionnaires were either underage or otherwise not interested or able to complete.

Table 3

Ghost Tour Response Rates

Date	Approached n	Completed n	Percentage %
June 26	17	12	70.59
July 1	12	11	91.67
July 8	10	7	70.00
July 15	20	17	85.00
July 17	47	18	38.29
July 24	42	27	64.26
July 29	25	18	72.00
July 31	32	16	50.00
August 7	47	24	51.06
Total	252	150*	59.52

*Note: 2 questionnaires were removed from the final data set as they did not fulfill inclusion requirements. The final N was 148.

Table 4 represents the response from St. Boniface Cemetery. In total, 285 visitors were approached and 139 questionnaires were returned, producing an overall response rate of 47 percent. Those who did not complete the questionnaires did so because they were underage, uninterested, unable to complete it due to language barriers, or for other unspecified reasons.

Table 4

St. Boniface Cemetery Response Rates

Date	Approached n	Completed n	Percentage %
June 27	2	2	100.00
June 29	26	12	46.15
July 1	30	18	60.00
July 2	2	2	100.00
July 5	12	3	25.00
July 6	29	14	48.27
July 8	16	4	25.00
July 9	9	2	22.22
July 11	2	2	100.00
July 13	15	8	53.55
July 17	18	16	88.89
July 18	2	2	100.00
July 20	2	2	100.00
July 21	21	7	33.33
July 23	24	3	12.50
July 25	9	2	22.22
July 27	7	7	100.00
July 28	8	4	50.00
July 29	7	2	28.57
July 30	3	3	100.00
August 2	6	6	100.00
August 3	7	3	42.86
August 4	10	1	10.00
August 5	6	4	66.67
August 6	7	7	100.00
August 7	5	3	60.00
Total	*285*	*139*	*47.44*

Because of the unforeseen large number of visitors to the attractions that were residents of Winnipeg, a comparison of the motives of both residents and tourists was made. T-tests were employed to determine if there were any motivational differences between residents and tourists at both locations (See Appendix E). Only two items were found to be significantly different between tourists and residents at the ghost tours: it is a part of my own heritage, $t(142)= -1.10$, $p<0.05$; and I feel a sense of belonging to this attraction, $t(141) = 2.11$, $p<0.05$. Four differences were found to be significantly different at St. Boniface cemetery: it is a part of my own heritage, $t(132) = 3.07$, $p<0.01$; it is a well-known tourist attraction, $t(132) = 2.41$ $p<0.05$; I feel a sense of belonging to this attraction, $t(134) = 3.80$, $p<0.001$; and I feel a sense of obligation to visit, $t(134) = 2.24$, $p<0.05$.

None of the classified "dark" motive items were found to be significantly different. It was based on this conclusion that the residents and tourists be treated as one group for hypotheses testing.

Ghost Tour Respondent Description

Prior to data entry, each of the 150 questionnaires received was checked for completion and eligibility. Two questionnaires were then dropped from the study – one was rejected based on the age of the participant (under 18 years of age) and the other based on lack of completion. This left the total response at 148 questionnaires (Table 5). Of those 148, 53 were from the Tuesday night tours (36%) and 95 were from the Thursday night tours (64%). Table 6 provides an overview of the sample description for the ghost tours.

Table 5

Ghost Tour Visitor Response (N=148)

	n	%
Ghost Tour Tuesday	53	35.8
Ghost tour Thursday	95	64.2
Total	148	100.0

Table 6

Respondent Description (Ghost Tours)

	n	%
Visitor Classification		
Resident	104	70.3
Tourist	44	29.7
Gender		
Male	46	31.3
Female	101	68.7
Relationship Status		
Married (including common-law)	86	58.9
Single	60	41.1
Education		
0-8 years	2	1.4
Some secondary (high school)	4	2.8
Graduated from high school	21	14.5
Some post secondary	34	23.4
Post secondary certificate/diploma	39	26.9
University degrees	44	30.3
Other	1	0.7

One hundred and forty-four (70%) of visitors to the tours were residents of Winnipeg. The remaining 44 visitors were classified as tourists. Approximately two-thirds of the ghost tour visitors were female and over half were married/common law. Only 19 percent of visitors held less than

some post secondary education with over a third of the sample (30%) holding at least one university degree. There was great diversity in the ages of ghost tour visitors, ranging from 19 to 76 years. The average age of the visitors was 37 years (*SD* = 13.7), while the most frequent age of visitors was 23 years.

Over 80 percent of visitors were from Canada - two percent were from the United States and two percent were from the United Kingdom and Ireland. The remaining 16 percent did not specify their country of residence. One hundred and fifteen visitors (78 percent) stated they were from Manitoba and 90 percent of which identified their home town as Winnipeg. The remaining visitors came from Alberta (5%), British Columbia (4%), Ontario (3%) and others (Table 7).

Table 7

Province/State of Residence (Ghost Tours) (N=143)

	n	%
Manitoba	115	80.4
Alberta	8	5.6
British Columbia	6	4.2
Ontario	4	2.8
New Brunswick	2	1.4
Texas*	2	1.4
Iowa*	1	0.7
North Ireland*	1	0.7
Nova Scotia	1	0.7
Newfoundland	1	0.7
Saskatchewan	1	0.7
Cheshire*	1	0.7

*Indicates International Origin

Filtering out the responses of the residents, the following table was created (Table 8) for tourists' main purpose of visit to Winnipeg. Approximately 45 percent came to visit friends or relatives. This was followed by those who visited for pleasure, vacation or holiday (36%). Only five visitors (11%) on the ghost tour were in Winnipeg for business or work-related reasons and three visited for other reasons (7%). When asked to describe those other reasons, all three respondents indicated they visited the city primarily to engage in a sports-related activity. Of the 44 tourists who attended the ghost tours, 75 percent indicated this was not their first trip to Winnipeg.

Table 8

Main Purpose for Visiting Winnipeg (Ghost Tours) (N=44)

	n	%
For pleasure, vacation or holiday	16	36.4
To visit friends or relatives	20	45.5
For business or work-related reasons	5	11.4
Other	3	6.8

St. Boniface Cemetery Respondent Description

At the end of the data collection phase, 139 questionnaires were returned to the investigator (Table 9). No questionnaires were removed from the study. Seventy-six visitors to the cemetery (55%) were those who simply came to see the cemetery. Sixty-three visitors (45%) came to see the cemetery and watch "In Riel's Footsteps", a play held every Thursday through Sunday explaining the significance of the cemetery to Winnipeg's and Western Canada's history. Table 10 provides an overview of the sample from the cemetery visitors.

Table 9

St. Boniface Cemetery Visitor Response (N=139)

	n	%
Cemetery Visitors	76	54.7
In Riel's Footsteps Play	63	46.3
Total	139	100.0

Table 10

Respondent Description (St. Boniface Cemetery) (N=139)

	n	%
Visitor Classification		
Resident	32	23.3
Tourist	106	76.8
Gender		
Male	58	42.0
Female	80	58.0
Relationship Status		
Married (including common-law)	87	64.4
Single	48	35.6
Education		
0-8 years	1	0.7
Some secondary (high school)	3	2.2
Graduated from high school	13	9.4
Some post secondary	22	15.9
Post secondary certificate/diploma	19	13.8
University degrees	76	55.1
Other	4	2.9

Unlike the ghost tours, the majority of visitors to the St. Boniface Cemetery were tourists (77%). Only 32 visitors surveyed were residents of Winnipeg. The majority of visitors were female (58%), similar to the ghost tours. Visitors to the Cemetery were also more likely to be married, with only 36 percent of visitors indicating they were single. In general, visitors to the St. Boniface Cemetery were very well educated with over 55 percent of visitors holding at least one university degree. The average age of visitors (M = 46.01, SD = 14.763) was approximately 9 years older than those who visited the ghost tours; however, the range of ages for visitors was approximately the same (i.e., from 19 to 78 years). Similar to the ghost tours, the majority of visitors to the St. Boniface Cemetery were also Canadian (65%); however, there was a much larger international component (Table 11). Approximately 17 percent of visitors stated they were from the United States.

Table 11

Country of Residence (St. Boniface Cemetery) (N=118)

	n	%
Canada	90	76.3
USA	23	19.5
Germany	2	1.7
Poland	2	1.7
Australia	1	0.8

Like the ghost tours, the province with the largest individual proportion of visitors' province/state of residence was Manitoba (25%). However, as the majority of visitors were classified as tourists, there was a greater proportion of visitors who were from other parts of Canada and abroad. A summary of the provinces and states of residence of cemetery visitors can be found in Table 12 below. Approximately 21 percent of visitors were from Ontario, followed by Alberta (17%), British Columbia (7%), Minnesota (3%) and other Canadian and international provinces/states (20%).

Table 12

Province/State of Residence (St. Boniface Cemetery) (N=132)

	n	%
Manitoba	35	26.5
Ontario	29	21.2
Alberta	24	18.2
British Columbia	9	6.8
Minnesota*	4	3.0
Quebec	3	2.3
Texas*	3	2.3
Newfoundland	2	1.5
Nova Scotia	2	1.5
Saskatchewan	2	1.5
Massachusetts*	2	1.5
North Dakota*	2	1.5
Wisconsin*	2	1.5
California*	1	0.7
Hesser*	1	0.7
Indiana*	1	0.7
Florida*	1	0.7
Oklahoma*	1	0.7
Colorado*	1	0.7
Oregon*	1	0.7
Illinois*	1	0.7
Queensland*	1	0.7
Rheinlandpfals*	1	0.7

*Indicates International Origin

Over 64 percent of tourists surveyed at St. Boniface Cemetery indicated this trip was not their first trip to Winnipeg. When asked their main purpose for visiting Winnipeg, over 42 percent stated it was for pleasure (Table 13). This was followed by visiting friends or relatives (34%) and for business or work-related reasons (8% percent). Approximately 16 percent visited for other reasons, which can be found in Table 14.

Table 13

Main Purpose for Visiting Winnipeg (St. Boniface Cemetery) (N=106)

	n	%
For pleasure, vacation or holiday	45	42.5
To visit friends or relatives	36	34.0
For business or work-related reasons	8	7.5
Other	17	16.0
Total	106	100.0

Table 14

Main Purpose for Visiting Winnipeg – Other description (St. Boniface Cemetery) (N=13)

	n	%
Educational Tour	6	46.1
Familial Celebrations	4	30.8
Archery Tournament	2	15.4
Visiting Historic Sites	1	7.8
Total	13	100.0

Results for Hypotheses One and Two

It is clear from Table 15 below that the strongest motivations for those who took the ghost tours was to try something new and 'out of the ordinary' (M = 4.32, SD = 0.857), because of the historical background of the attraction (M = 3.69, SD = 2.867), fascination with abnormal and bizarre events (M = 3.59, SD = 1.606), to learn more about Winnipeg (M = 3.53, SD = 1.327), and to have some entertainment (M = 3.50, SD = 1.326). This suggests that visitors are interested in learning about history included in the tour but in a new and entertaining way. The lowest scoring motive for visiting was to heal past hurts (M = 0.90, SD = 1.354).

Table 15

Purposeful Dark Attraction - Ghost Tour Motive Items (N=148)

	n	%	M*	SD
I want to try something new and "out of the ordinary"**	145	98.0	4.32	0.857
Because of its historical background	143	96.6	3.69	2.867
I am fascinated by abnormal and bizarre events**	143	96.6	3.59	1.606
I want to learn more about Winnipeg	144	97.3	3.53	1.327
I want to have some entertainment	143	96.6	3.50	1.326
I want to learn about the history of the local people	142	95.9	3.31	1.498
I want to have a day's outing	144	97.3	3.25	1.544
I am curious about how the victims died**	142	95.9	2.80	1.775
It is a well known tourist attraction	142	95.9	2.42	1.517
It is a part of my own heritage	144	97.3	2.35	1.814
I think it is important to see this attraction	143	96.6	2.32	1.599
I feel a sense of belonging to this attraction	143	96.6	2.17	1.678
I want to relax	141	95.3	2.13	1.580
I want to feel emotionally involved	142	95.9	1.77	1.649
I want to pay tribute to those who died**	143	96.6	1.64	1.709
I want to have an experience with death**	143	96.6	1.58	1.717
I want to come to terms with my own mortality**	143	96.6	1.36	1.532
I feel a sense of obligation to visit	143	96.6	1.27	1.510
I want to heal past hurts**	142	95.9	0.90	1.354
Other	7	4.7	3.57	2.440

*Based on a scale from 0-5, where 0 = completely disagree and 5 = completely agree
**Dark motive items

The results from the ghost tours support the curiosity argument of Ashworth and Hartmann (2005) and the similar "encounters with the Other" motivation identified by Seaton and Lennon (2004). It is clear the visitors are interested in the history recounted in the tours themselves. However, as Ashworth and Hartmann (2005) argued, tourists have long been attracted to the unique and unusual. The ghost tour itself is out of the ordinary and as such are appealing attractions to tourists. However, as there was not an overwhelming interest in visiting for the other theoretical "dark" motives on the ghost tours, the demand at the attraction cannot be considered fully "dark" in nature, but rather closer to a "grey" demand as suggested by Sharpley (2005). As such, the ghost tours more rightly correspond to the "Grey Tourism Supply" category of Sharpley's dark tourism typology where the attraction has been intentionally developed to give visitors an experience with death but attractions visitors with some but not a dominant interest in that experience.

Table 16

Accidental Dark Attraction - St. Boniface Cemetery Motive Items (N=139)

	n	%	M*	SD
Because of its historical background	136	97.8	4.26	1.018
I want to learn about the history of the local people	139	100	4.04	1.245
I want to learn more about Winnipeg	135	97.1	3.88	1.258
I want to have a day's outing	135	97.1	3.68	1.375
I think it is important to see this attraction	136	97.8	3.58	1.479
I want to try something new and "out of the ordinary"**	136	97.8	3.10	1.605
It is a well known tourist attraction	134	96.4	3.00	1.487
Other	17	12.2	2.94	2.536
I want to relax	135	97.1	2.90	1.625
I am curious about how the victims died**	135	97.1	2.70	1.821
I want to have some entertainment	135	97.1	2.64	1.743
I want to pay tribute to those who died**	135	97.1	2.37	1.705
I feel a sense of belonging to this attraction	137	98.6	2.31	1.806
It is a part of my own heritage	134	96.4	2.15	2.024
I want to feel emotionally involved	134	96.4	1.81	1.655
I feel a sense of obligation to visit	136	97.8	1.68	1.833
I am fascinated by abnormal and bizarre events**	134	96.4	1.48	1.814
I want to come to terms with my own mortality**	133	95.7	0.89	1.486
I want to heal past hurts**	133	95.7	0.88	1.528
I want to have an experience with death**	133	95.7	0.71	1.236

*Based on a scale from 0-5, where 0 = completely disagree and 5 = completely agree
**Dark motive items

The top five motives for visiting the St. Boniface Cemetery listed by visitors were: because of its historical background (M = 4.26, SD = 1.018), to learn about the history of the local people (M = 4.04, SD = 1.245), to learn more about Winnipeg (M = 3.88, SD = 1.258), to have a day's outing (M= 3.68, SD = 1.375), and because they felt it was important to see the attraction. From this list it is clear that the majority of visitors recognized the historical importance of the attraction and they are looking for an educational experience while on site. While visitors did have a curiosity about those buried in the cemetery and how they died (M =2.70, SD = 1.821), they did not visit to come to terms with their own mortality (M = 0.89, SD = 1.486), to heal past hurts (M = 0.88, SD = 1.528) or to have an experience with the dead (M = 0.71, SD = 1.236). As such, the results from the accidental attraction do not support Tarlow's (2005) nostalgia argument that visitors go to cemeteries visit to "heal past hurts" nor do they support Seaton's (1996) argument that visitors go to dark sites to contemplate death. However, the results at this attraction do support Sharpley's "pale tourism" argument as there is minimal or limited interest in death while visiting the site that is originally unintended to be a tourist attraction.

As these hypotheses involved t-tests, a test of normality for each motive item was completed. Following this test, motive item data were found not to be normal (see Appendix E) and the appropriate modifications to each item were made before any t-tests were calculated. When the ratio of the skewness statistic to the skewness' standard error (SE) exceeded 2 points in either direction (i.e., positively or negatively), the appropriate transformation was made (See Appendix F). Following the transformations and re-testing for item normality, t-tests were employed and can be found in Table 17.

Table 17

Motive Item t-tests (After Transformations)

Statements	Location	n	M	SD	t	df	p
I want to learn more about Winnipeg*	Ghost Tour	144	14.24	8.22	-2.426	277	0.016***
	Cemetery	135	16.64	8.26			
It is a part of my own heritage	Ghost Tour	144	2.35	1.81	0.860	276	N.S.
	Cemetery	134	2.15	2.02			
I want to try something new and "out of the ordinary*	Ghost Tour	145	19.43	6.63	7.836	279	0.000***
	Cemetery	136	12.14	8.87			
I want to have a day's outing*	Ghost Tour	144	12.93	8.51	-2.504	277	0.013***
	Cemetery	135	15.43	8.13			
It is a well-known tourist attraction	Ghost Tour	142	2.42	1.51	-3.191	274	0.002***
	Cemetery	134	3.00	1.49			
I am curious about how the victims died	Ghost Tour	142	2.80	1.78	0.459	275	N.S.
	Cemetery	135	2.70	1.82			
I feel a sense of belonging to this attraction	Ghost Tour	143	2.17	1.68	-0.701	278	N.S.
	Cemetery	137	2.31	1.81			
I want to have an experience with death**	Ghost Tour	84	0.36	0.23	2.408	127	0.017***
	Cemetery	45	0.25	0.24			
Because of its historical background**	Ghost Tour	143	1.79	0.68	-3.780	277	0.000***
	Cemetery	136	2.04	0.32			
I feel a sense of obligation to visit**	Ghost Tour	143	0.78	0.81	-1.652	277	N.S.
	Cemetery	136	0.95	0.88			
I want to pay tribute to those who died**	Ghost Tour	90	0.48	0.33	-1.704	197	N.S.
	Cemetery	109	0.56	0.30			
I want to feel emotionally involved**	Ghost Tour	142	1.05	0.82	-0.256	274	N.S.
	Cemetery	134	1.07	0.82			
I think it is important to see this attraction*	Ghost Tour	143	7.93	7.84	-7.048	277	0.000***
	Cemetery	136	14.99	8.88			
I want to have some entertainment*	Ghost Tour	143	14.02	7.75	4.029	276	0.000***
	Cemetery	135	10.01	8.85			
I want to come to terms with my own mortality**	Ghost Tour	83	0.31	0.23	1.014	131	N.S.
	Cemetery	50	0.27	0.26			
I am fascinated by abnormal and bizarre events	Ghost Tour	143	3.59	1.61	10.297	275	0.000***
	Cemetery	134	1.48	1.81			
I want to learn about the history of the local people*	Ghost Tour	142	13.18	8.49	-4.767	279	0.000***
	Cemetery	139	17.88	8.03			
I want to relax	Ghost Tour	141	2.13	1.58	-4.022	274	0.000***
	Cemetery	135	2.90	1.62			
I want to heal past hurts**	Ghost Tour	60	0.25	0.25	-1.771	101	N.S.
	Cemetery	43	0.34	0.25			

*Original data squared to counter negative skewness
**Original data square rooted to counter positive skewness
***Significant at the p>0.05 level

Table 17 presents the differences in visitor motives between the two attractions. It is clear from the table that not all items were found to be significantly different. This applied to the dark motives as well as the heritage/learning/recreational motives; however, there were some clear differences displayed between the two locations. Seven items of the twelve heritage/general tourism motive items were found to be significantly different at the locations. These seven motives were found to be stronger at St. Boniface cemetery than at the ghost tours and as such support hypothesis one: the attraction providing "accidental" supply of dark tourism coincides with a 'paler' demand. Additionally, this pattern of results also lends support to Hypothesis 2 in that heritage/general tourism motives are less dominant at the attraction providing "purposeful" supply of an experience with death. Only one item in this category did not follow this pattern. The item "I want to have some entertainment" was found to be stronger at the ghost tours than at the cemetery. This suggests that visitors to the St. Boniface are less likely to associate the cemetery with a fun experience, but more with a learning and reflective experience.

Of the seven theoretical dark motives that were included in the study, only three were found to be significantly different between the two locations. These three items were: *I want to try something new and out of the ordinary*, *I want to have an experience with death*, and *I am fascinated by abnormal and bizarre events*. This is not surprising considering the nature of the ghost tours themselves and the types of activities and experiences provided (i.e., opportunities to communicate with the dead, stories of paranormal experiences, etc.). However, because not all of the dark items produced significant differences between locations, this may suggest that the items themselves may cross attractions and be of equal importance or unimportance at dark attractions regardless of the nature of their supply (i.e. accidental or purposeful). As such, the results provide partial support for Hypothesis 2.

Results for Hypothesis Three

Table 18 details visitors' motivational satisfaction. Four out of five of the most satisfying motive items were also the top reasons for visiting the attraction. This suggests that the attraction is fulfilling the motivational needs of the visitors at an appropriate level. The five motive items visitors to the ghost tours were the most satisfied with were: to try something new and out of the ordinary ($M = 4.10$, $SD = 1.028$), fascination with abnormal and bizarre events ($M = 3.93$, $SD = 1.198$), to have some entertainment ($M = 3.81$, $SD = 1.124$), to have a day's outing ($M = 3.80$, $SD = 1.239$); and to learn more about Winnipeg ($M = 3.75$, $SD = 1.128$).

Table 18

Purposeful Dark Attraction - Ghost Tour Motive Satisfaction (N=148)

	n	%	M*	SD
I want to try something new and "out of the ordinary"	136	91.9	4.10	1.028
I am fascinated by abnormal and bizarre events	119	80.4	3.93	1.198
I want to have some entertainment	124	83.8	3.81	1.124
I want to have a day's outing	122	82.4	3.80	1.239
I want to learn more about Winnipeg	130	87.8	3.75	1.128
Because of its historical background	120	81.1	3.58	1.221
I want to learn about the history of the local people	119	80.4	3.51	1.241
Other	15	10.1	3.40	1.298
I am curious about how the victims died	110	74.3	3.25	1.279
It is a part of my own heritage	97	65.5	3.23	1.237
I think it is important to see this attraction	99	66.9	3.14	1.392
It is a well known tourist attraction	109	73.6	3.09	1.266
I want to have an experience with death	79	53.4	2.94	1.547
I want to relax	102	68.9	2.91	1.350
I feel a sense of belonging to this attraction	90	60.8	2.89	1.361
I want to pay tribute to those who died	82	55.4	2.87	1.455
I want to come to terms with my own mortality	73	49.3	2.82	1.347
I want to feel emotionally involved	89	60.1	2.80	1.375
I feel a sense of obligation to visit	81	54.7	2.73	1.369
I want to heal past hurts	61	41.2	2.38	1.319

*Based on a scale from 0-5, where 0=completely dissatisfied and 5=completely satisfied.
Note: Not applicable (n/a) responses have been omitted from this analysis.

Table 19

Accidental Dark Attraction - St. Boniface Motive Satisfaction (N=139)

	n	%	M*	SD
Because of its historical background	125	89.9	4.09	1.055
I want to learn about the history of the local people	124	89.2	3.93	1.135
I think it is important to see this attraction	113	81.3	3.93	1.091
I want to learn more about Winnipeg	127	91.4	3.77	0.994
I want to have a day's outing	115	82.7	3.67	1.032
I want to have some entertainment	99	71.2	3.61	1.276
I want to try something new and "out of the ordinary"	110	79.1	3.57	1.129
Other	7	5.0	3.57	1.813
I want to relax	100	71.9	3.56	1.166
It is a well known tourist attraction	115	82.7	3.52	1.165
I am curious about how the victims died	86	61.9	3.40	1.295
I feel a sense of belonging to this attraction	69	49.6	3.35	1.270
It is a part of my own heritage	78	56.1	3.28	1.318
I want to pay tribute to those who died	83	59.7	3.27	1.389
I feel a sense of obligation to visit	78	56.1	3.14	1.316
I want to feel emotionally involved	74	53.2	3.11	1.350
I am fascinated by abnormal and bizarre events	61	43.9	3.05	1.607
I want to heal past hurts	38	27.3	2.92	1.600
I want to have an experience with death	42	30.2	2.55	1.577
I want to come to terms with my own mortality	42	30.2	2.36	1.511

*Based on a scale from 0-5, where 0=completely dissatisfied and 5=completely satisfied.
Note: Not applicable (n/a) responses have been omitted from this analysis.

Table 19 describes visitors to St. Boniface Cemetery's motivational satisfaction. Unlike the ghost tours, none of the top five most satisfying motives were "dark". Similar to the ghost tours, the top five most satisfying items were also visitors' top five reasons for visiting the attraction, suggesting the attraction is meeting the motivational needs of the visitors. Visitors were most satisfied with their wish to visit for historical reasons (M = 4.09, SD = 1.055). This was followed by learning about the history of the local people (M = 3.93, SD = 1.135), the importance of seeing the attraction (M = 3.93, SD = 1.091), learning more about Winnipeg (M = 3.77, SD = 0.994) and having a day's outing (M = 3.67, SD = 1.032).

The Shapiro-Wilk test was applied to the dark items to ensure normality in preparation for t-testing (Appendix F). Skewness testing was thereafter employed and the appropriate transformations to the items were made if required (Appendix G). When the ratio of the skewness statistic to the skewness' standard error (SE) exceeded 2 points in either direction (i.e., positively or negatively), the appropriate transformation was made. Following these transformations and re-testing for normality, independent sample t-test was thus used to compare the satisfaction scores of

visitors for the dark motive items between the purposeful and accidental dark attractions. The results from these t-tests can be found in Table 20.

Table 20

Dark Item Satisfaction t-tests (After Transformations)

Statements	Location	n	M[a]	SD	t	df	p
I want to try something new and "out of the ordinary*	Ghost Tour	136	17.88	7.56	3.941	244	0.000**
	Cemetery	110	14.03	7.71			
I am curious about how the victims died	Ghost Tour	110	3.25	1.28	-0.810	194	0.419
	Cemetery	86	3.40	1.29			
I want to have an experience with death	Ghost Tour	79	2.94	1.55	1.326	119	0.187
	Cemetery	42	2.55	1.52			
I want to pay tribute to those who died	Ghost Tour	82	2.87	1.45	-1.803	163	0.073
	Cemetery	83	3.27	1.39			
I want to come to terms with my own mortality	Ghost Tour	73	2.82	1.35	1.703	113	0.091
	Cemetery	42	2.36	1.51			
I am fascinated by abnormal and bizarre events*	Ghost Tour	119	16.89	8.32	3.440	105.19	0.001**
	Cemetery	61	11.84	9.81			
I want to heal past hurts	Ghost Tour	61	2.38	1.32	-1.757	67.47	0.084
	Cemetery	38	2.92	1.60			

*Original data squared to counter negative skewness
**Significant at the p>0.05 level

An examination of Table 20 reveals that only two items were significantly different in their satisfaction scores at both the accidental and purposeful attractions. Both *I want to try something new and out of the ordinary*, $t(244) = 3.94$, $p<0.001$ and I am fascinated by abnormal and bizarre events, $t(105.19) = 3.44$, $p<0.005$ were found to be significantly more satisfying in the ghost tours. This is not surprising considering the nature of the ghost tours themselves. As such there is only minimal support for Hypothesis 3 and differing supplies of dark tourism do not necessarily play a role in dark motive satisfaction.

Results for Hypothesis Four

The fourth objective of this study was to examine the potential links between visitor's motives for visiting dark tourism attractions and their perceptions of those attractions as part of their own heritage. Below is a summary of the descriptive results including mean scores by location followed by the factor analysis and ANOVA tests. Tables 21 and 22 are summaries of the perception items that visitors were asked to answer based on their level of agreement. The Cronbach's alpha for this scale was very high ($\alpha=0.937$), indicating that the items are highly related

and measure the same concept (i.e., participants' perceptions of the attraction relative to their own heritage).

Table 21

Heritage Perception Item Frequencies (Ghost Tours) (N=148)

Level of agreement*	0		1		2		3		4		5	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
The attraction has symbolic meaning for you	47	31.8	25	16.9	25	16.9	25	16.9	15	10.1	11	7.4
The attraction represents something that relates to your identity	42	28.4	23	15.9	25	17.2	22	15.2	21	14.5	12	8.3
The attraction generates a sense of belonging for you	49	33.6	26	17.8	24	16.4	19	13.0	18	12.3	10	6.8
You consider the attraction to be part of your own personal history	46	31.3	28	19.0	26	17.7	17	11.6	19	12.9	11	7.5
The attraction represents something that is relevant to your present existence	36	25.0	24	16.7	21	14.6	22	15.3	28	19.4	13	9.0

* Based on a scale from 0-5, where 0 = completely disagree and 5 = completely agree

Table 22

Heritage Perception Item Means (Ghost Tours) (N= 148)

	n	M*	SD
The attraction has symbolic meaning for you	148	1.79	1.630
The attraction represents something that relates to your identity	145	1.95	1.676
The attraction generates a sense of belonging for you	146	1.73	1.645
You consider the attraction to be part of your own personal history	147	1.78	1.649
The attraction represents something that is relevant to your present existence	144	2.15	1.705

*Based on a scale from 0-5, where 0 = completely disagree and 5 = completely agree

Overall, the means for the perception items were relatively low. This pattern of results is similar to that found by Poria, et al. (2006). Examining the frequency distributions from Table 21, there is a distinct pattern in the responses. A large proportion of the sample did not perceive the attraction as part of their heritage in any way. There was however, a larger portion of visitors who were ambivalent to the heritage on display (i.e., they circled two or three on the scale). As Poria, et al. (2006) observed, they do not perceive the attraction as part of their own heritage, but do not perceive it as not being part of their own heritage either. This is surprising since the vast majority of visitors were residents of Winnipeg themselves and this is likely to be of importance to management of the attraction. From Table 23, visitors scored a 1.9 (*SD* = 1.473) on average, which is relatively low.

Table 23

PAOH Average Score (Ghost Tours) (N=148)

n	144
Mean*	1.858
Median	1.800
Mode	0.000
Std. Deviation	1.473

*Based on a scale from 0-5, where 0 = completely disagree and 5 = completely agree

Visitors' perception responses were then placed in one of three categories, based on their overall score for PAOH, constructed from the perception items (see page 49 for details). Table 24 is a summary of the distribution of scores for each perception group. As the individual items suggested, approximately 46 percent of visitors did not perceive the attraction as part of their own heritage at all and over a third somewhat perceived the attraction as part of their own heritage. Descriptive statistics of the PAOH scale results can be found in Appendix H.

Table 24

Perception of Attraction as Part of Own Heritage (PAOH) Frequencies (Ghost Tours) (N=144)

PAOH Groups*	n	%
Group 1: Do not perceive attraction as part of own heritage	66	45.8
Group 2: Somewhat perceive attraction as part of own heritage	53	36.8
Group 3: Perceive attraction as part of own heritage	25	17.4

*Group 1: PAOH score below 1.70, Group 2: PAOH score between 1.70 and 3.40, Group 3: PAOH score above 3.40

Tables 25 and 26 are summaries of the perception items that visitors were asked to answer based on their level of agreement. The Cronbach's alpha for this scale was very high (α=0.925), indicating that the items are highly related and measure the same concept, i.e. participants' perceptions of the attraction relative to their own heritage.

Table 25

Heritage Perception Item Frequencies (St. Boniface Cemetery) (N=139)

Level of agreement	0		1		2		3		4		5	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
The attraction has symbolic meaning for you	17	12.4	20	14.6	25	16.9	25	16.9	15	10.1	11	7.4
The attraction represents something that relates to your identity	31	22.6	19	13.9	23	17.2	22	15.2	21	14.5	12	8.3
The attraction generates a sense of belonging for you	35	25.5	25	18.2	26	16.4	19	13.0	18	12.3	10	6.8
You consider the attraction to be part of your own personal history	46	33.6	22	16.1	28	17.7	17	11.6	19	12.9	11	7.5
The attraction represents something that is relevant to your present existence	26	19.1	17	12.5	24	14.6	22	15.3	28	19.4	13	9.0

* Based on a scale from 0-5, where 0 = completely disagree and 5 = completely agree

Table 26

Heritage Perception Item Means (St. Boniface Cemetery) (N=139)

	n	M*	SD
The attraction has symbolic meaning for you	137	2.88	1.698
The attraction represents something that relates to your identity	137	2.42	1.793
The attraction generates a sense of belonging for you	137	2.07	1.694
You consider the attraction to be part of your own personal history	137	1.97	1.839
The attraction represents something that is relevant to your present existence	137	2.60	1.765

*Based on a scale from 0-5, where 0 = completely disagree and 5 = completely agree

The means for the perception statements at the St. Boniface cemetery were comparatively higher than those found on the ghost tour. Like the ghost tours, the perception statement frequencies also displayed a marked pattern with a number of visitors indicating they did not perceive the attraction as part of their heritage. However, there were more visitors who did perceive the attraction as part of their heritage than on the ghost tours. Following this analysis, visitors' individual item scores were then tallied and converted to the PAOH scale (see page 48 for details). From Table 27, on average visitors to the cemetery scored a 2.4 (*SD* = 1.546) on the PAOH scale. This was slightly higher than the average score of the ghost tour visitors. Descriptive statistics of the PAOH scale results for cemetery visitors can be found in Appendix H.

Table 27

PAOH Average Score (St. Boniface Cemetery) (N=139)

n	135
Mean	2.393
Median	2.400
Mode	0.000
Std. Deviation	1.546

Visitors' item scores were then their placed in Group 1 (low PAOH), Group 2 (average PAOH), or Group 3 (high PAOH). Table 28 is a summary of the dispersal of visitors in each category. Similar to the ghost tours, a large portion of visitors did not perceive the attraction as part of their heritage or only perceived it as somewhat part of their heritage. However, unlike the ghost tours, there were a significantly larger number of visitors who perceived St. Boniface Cemetery as part of their heritage.

Table 28

Perception of Attraction as Part of Own Heritage (PAOH) St. Boniface Cemetery (N=139)

PAOH Groups*	n	%
Group 1: Do not perceive attraction as part of own heritage	47	34.8
Group 2: Somewhat perceive attraction as part of own heritage	43	31.8
Group 3: Perceive attraction as part of own heritage	45	33.3

*Group 1: PAOH score below 1.70, Group 2: PAOH score between 1.70 and 3.40, Group 3: PAOH score above 3.40

Factor Analysis Preparation

Before the factor analysis, both the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin's Measure of Sampling Adequacy (KMO) and Bartlett's Test of Sphericity tested if factor analysis was appropriate. The KMO statistic varies between 0 and 1 (Field, 2005). A value close to 0 indicated that factor analysis is not appropriate because the data is too diffuse for correlation (Field, 2005). A value close to 1 indicates that factor analysis is favorable because the "patterns of correlations are relatively compact" and thus would allow the creation of distinct and reliable factors (Field, 2005, p. 6). A value of 0.5 is considered to be the lowest acceptable value for factor analysis to be employed. The KMO statistic for the ghost tour data was found to be 0.847, and is considered to be "great" thus the investigator can be confident that factor analysis was appropriate (Field, 2005). The KMO

statistic for the cemetery data was found to be 0.768, which is classified as "good", and as such, factor analysis was also deemed appropriate.

Bartlett's Test of Sphericity tests the null hypothesis that the original correlation matrix is indeed an identity matrix (Field, 2005, p.6). If the correlation matrix is an identity matrix, then all correlation coefficients have a value of zero. As such, in order for factor analysis to be appropriate, the Bartlett measure must be significant (i.e., have a significance value less than 0.05) and indicate that there are indeed some relationships between the variables and the matrix is not an identity matrix (Field, 2005). For both the ghost tour and cemetery data, the Bartlett test was found to be significant (i.e, both had a significance level of 0.000).

Factor Analysis and ANOVA – Ghost Tour Motives

The determination as to the number of factors was made according to eigenvalues for each factor and the scree plot (Biran, Poria, & Reichel, 2006). Table 29 lists the eigenvalues associated with each factor before extraction, after extraction and after rotation. Before extraction, SPSS identified 19 factors within the data set. This was to be expected, since there are 19 items under examination. It is clear from Table 29 that following extraction, the first four factors explain relatively large amounts of variance with eigenvalues that exceed 1 in comparison to those that follow. Factor 1 explains the most variance, accounting for almost 36 percent. This is followed by Factor 2 at 10.9 percent, Factor 3 at 6.9 percent and Factor 4 at 6.4 percent. Considering the scree plot for the data (Appendix I) it is clear that after the fourth factor, the eigenvalues drop and then steadily level off, suggesting it is safe to retain the four factors.

Table 29

Total Variance Explained (Ghost Tours)

Factor	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings			Rotation Sums of Squared Loadings[a]
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total
1	6.813	35.858	35.858	6.813	35.858	35.858	5.808
2	2.063	10.860	46.718	2.063	10.860	46.718	4.438
3	1.308	6.885	53.604	1.308	6.885	53.604	3.470
4	1.230	6.471	60.075	1.230	6.471	60.075	1.498
5	0.941	4.951	65.026				
6	0.907	4.773	69.800				
7	0.747	3.929	73.729				
8	0.678	3.570	77.299				
9	0.647	3.406	80.705				
10	0.564	2.969	83.673				
11	0.537	2.825	86.499				
12	0.475	2.501	88.999				
13	0.470	2.474	91.473				
14	0.408	2.150	93.623				
15	0.314	1.653	95.275				
16	0.288	1.518	96.793				
17	0.246	1.297	98.090				
18	0.238	1.251	99.341				
19	0.125	0.659	100.000				

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.
a. When components are correlated, sums of squared loadings cannot be added to obtain a total variance.

As an oblique rotation was used in this analysis, the pattern matrix (Table 30) is included here as the pattern loadings best show what variables are highly involved in which cluster. Only those variables that loaded above an absolute value of 0.4 in each factor, which explains approximately 16 percent of the variance were retained (Biran, Poria, & Reichel, 2006). Table 30 presents the loading values of the various motive items.

Table 30

Factor Analysis (Ghost Tours)

	Dark Experience	Engaging Entertainment	Unique Learning Experience	Casual Interest
I want to have an experience with death	0.886			
I feel a sense of belonging to this attraction	0.764			
I am fascinated by abnormal and bizarre events	0.707			
I want to feel emotionally involved	0.695			
I want to come to terms with my own mortality	0.651			
I am curious about how the victims died	0.641			
I want to relax		0.703		
I feel a sense of obligation to visit		0.630		
I want to pay tribute to those who died		0.597		
I want to heal past hurts		0.522		
I want to have some entertainment		0.509		
I think it is important to see this attraction		0.455		
I want to learn more about Winnipeg			0.790	
I want to learn about the history of the local people			0.737	
It is a part of my own heritage			0.580	
It is a well-known tourist attraction			0.555	
I want to try something new and "out of the ordinary"			0.527	
Because of its historical background				0.824
I want to have a day's outing				-0.467
Cronbach's Alpha	0.862	0.785	0.700	N/A

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis. Rotation Method: Promax with Kaiser Normalization.
a. Rotation converged in 23 iterations.

As can be seen from Table 30, the motives for visiting the ghost tour can be grouped under four main factors, explaining 60 percent of the variance. The first factor, referred to as "the dark experience", is composed largely of statements related to death, curiosity and emotional experiences. This is the "dark tourism" factor. The second factor is termed "Engaging entertainment" and is composed of reasons relating to visitors' wish to connect with the information being presented while still having an enjoyable and entertaining encounter. The third identified factor refers to visitor's wish to have a "unique learning experience" while on the tour. This factor includes items associated with learning about the history on display while in a non-traditional

environment. This is also the factor in which the heritage variable is placed. The fourth factor contains just two items that are termed together as "casual historic interest".

To explore differences between ghost tour visitors' motives and their perceptions of the attraction as part of their own heritage, one-way ANOVA tests were employed. ANOVA was employed due to the weak relationships found between the factors and did not need to be combined for multiple analyses. This can be seen in Appendix J.

Four new variables were created based on the factors that were identified in the factor analysis: DARK, ENGAGE, UNIQUELEARN, and CASUAL. Item scores involved in each factor were summed and then divided by the number of items in the factor. These four variables were then filtered for each PAOH group to produce a mean score for each factor. Once these mean values were found, the one-way ANOVA test was completed. With respect to post-hoc analysis, the Scheffé test was employed. Table 31 presents the three categories of visitors based on their perceptions of the attraction and the four factors of motivations identified in the factor analysis.

Table 31

Motives to Visit Relative to PAOH (Ghost Tours) (N=148)

	Low PAOH Mean n=66	Average PAOH Mean n=53	High PAOH Mean n=25	One-way ANOVA	Differences between groups	Scheffé's Test
Dark Experience	1.58	2.86	3.75	F=44.736 Sig.= 0.000	1 and 2 1 and 3 2 and 3	0.000* 0.000* 0.004*
Engaging Entertainment	1.47	2.30	3.01	F=33.870 Sig. = 0.000	1 and 2 1 and 3 2 and 3	0.000* 0.000* 0.003*
Unique Learning Experience	2.86	3.41	3.56	F=7.329 Sig. = 0.001	1 and 2 1 and 3 2 and 3	0.008* 0.008* N.S.
Casual Interest	3.04	3.63	4.29	F=6.430 Sig. = 0.002	1 and 2 1 and 3 2 and 3	N.S. 0.003* N.S.

*Significant at the $p < 0.05$ level

In general, those visitors who scored the highest on the PAOH scale also scored the highest on each of the four factors. This suggests that the more a visitor perceives the attraction as part of their own heritage, the more motivated they are to visit. Significant differences were found among the three groups in relation to their interest in a dark experience. The pattern revealed by the post-hoc analysis suggests that the more visitors perceive the attraction as part of their own heritage, the greater their interest in having a dark experience at the attraction and having an engaging experience with the heritage displayed. This does not support Seaton's (1996) belief that the less an individual identifies with a dark attraction, the more likely they are to visit for "dark reasons" and as such Hypothesis 4 is not supported at this attraction. It was also found that the more visitors identify with the heritage on display, the more interest they have in having a unique learning experience. With respect to casual interest as a motivation, interest was higher among those who perceived the attraction as part of their own heritage than those who did not, suggesting that while the attraction may be significant to the visitor personally, there is also an element of informal curiosity in visiting the attraction.

Factor Analysis and ANOVA– St. Boniface Cemetery Motives

Similar to the ghost tours, the number of factors extracted was based on the factors' eigenvalues and the scree plot. From the below table (Table 36), it is clear five factors have been

extracted, and account for 64.44 percent of the variance. Factor 1 explains the most variance at 28.06 percent, followed by factor 2 at 12.93 percent, factor 3 at 10.17 percent, factor 4 at 7.51 percent and factor 5 at 5.77 percent. Examining the scree plot (Appendix I), this same five-factor solution is also evident.

Table 32

Total Variance Explained (St. Boniface Cemetery)

Component	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings			Rotation Sums of Squared Loadings[a]
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total
1	5.332	28.062	28.062	5.332	28.062	28.062	4.039
2	2.457	12.934	40.996	2.457	12.934	40.996	3.197
3	1.931	10.165	51.161	1.931	10.165	51.161	2.817
4	1.427	7.509	58.670	1.427	7.509	58.670	3.166
5	1.097	5.771	64.442	1.097	5.771	64.442	2.198
6	0.865	4.551	68.992				
7	0.792	4.170	73.162				
8	0.745	3.920	77.083				
9	0.723	3.807	80.890				
10	0.597	3.140	84.030				
11	0.519	2.731	86.761				
12	0.483	2.543	89.304				
13	0.438	2.304	91.608				
14	0.351	1.845	93.453				
15	0.316	1.662	95.115				
16	0.298	1.568	96.683				
17	0.248	1.306	97.989				
18	0.233	1.225	99.214				
19	0.149	0.786	100.000				

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.
a. When components are correlated, sums of squared loadings cannot be added to obtain a total variance.

Just as with the ghost tour data, the pattern matrix (Table 32) is included here as the pattern loadings best show what variables are highly involved in which cluster. Again, only those variables that loaded above an absolute value of 0.4 in each factor, which explains approximately 16 percent of the variance, were included in the factor loadings (Biran, Poria, & Reichel, 2006). Table 33 presents the loading values of the various motive items.

Table 33

Factor Analysis (St. Boniface Cemetery)

Motive Item	Dark Experience	Emotional Involvement	Unique Learning Experience	Recreational Heritage Experience	Casual Interest
I want to have an experience with death	0.828				
I want to come to terms with my own mortality	0.783				
I want to heal past hurts	0.700				
I am fascinated by abnormal and bizarre events	0.569				
I feel a sense of obligation to visit	0.563				
I want to feel emotionally involved		0.726			
I want to pay tribute to those who died		0.720			
Because of its historical background		0.608			
I think it is important to see this attraction		0.511			
I want to learn more about Winnipeg			0.768		
I want to learn about the history of the local people			0.713		
I am curious about how the victims died			0.577		
I want to try something new and "out of the ordinary"			0.566		
It is a part of my own heritage				0.810	
It is a well-known tourist attraction				0.757	
I feel a sense of belonging to this attraction				0.643	
I want to have a day's outing				0.514	
I want to relax					0.955
I want to have some entertainment					0.577
Cronbach's Alpha	0.781	0.718	0.647	0.661	0.580

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis. Rotation Method: Promax with Kaiser Normalization.
a. Rotation converged in 11 iterations.

The first factor, referred to as the "Dark Experience", is composed largely of statements related to death, fascination with the abnormal and bizarre and emotional experiences. This is the "dark tourism" factor that was also seen in the ghost tour factor analysis. Three of the items that were found in the ghost tour "dark experience" factor were also present: fascination with the abnormal and bizarre, having an experience with death, and coming to terms with one's own mortality. This may suggest there are dark motives common across dark tourism experiences. The second factor is termed "Emotional Involvement" and is composed of reasons relating to visitors' wish to emotionally connect with the importance of the history on display. The third identified factor refers to visitor's wish to have a "unique learning experience" while on site, and is similar in content to the ghost tour factor identified of the same name. This factor includes items associated with learning about the history on display in a non-traditional manner. Again, in this educational factor, three items were also present across the attractions: wish to learn more about the local people, wish to learn more about Winnipeg, and wish to try something "new and out of the ordinary". The fourth factor, "Recreational Heritage Experience", consists of those motives where visitors perceive the

attraction as part of their own heritage, but are also looking for recreational opportunities. The last factor, "Casual Interest" consists of two items that are recreational in nature: i.e., visitors are looking for entertainment whilse still being able to relax.

To explore differences between ghost tour visitors' motives and their perceptions of the attraction as part of their own heritage, one-way ANOVA tests were employed. Again, ANOVA was employed due to the weak relationships found between the factors. This can be seen in Appendix J. Five new variables were created based on the factors that were identified in the factor analysis: DARK, EMOINVOLVE, UNIQUELEARN, RECHERITAGE and CASUAL. Item scores involved in each factor were summed and then divided by the number of items in the factor. These four variables were then filtered for each PAOH group to produce a mean score for each factor. Once these mean values were calculated, the one-way ANOVA test was completed. With respect to post-hoc analyses, the Scheffé test was employed. Table 39 presents the three categories of visitors based on their perceptions of the attraction as part of their own heritage and the four factors of motives identified in Table 33.

Table 34

Motives to Visit Relative to PAOH (St. Boniface Cemetery) (N=148)

	Low PAOH Mean n=47	Average PAOH Mean n=43	High PAOH Mean n=45	One-way ANOVA	Differences between groups	Scheffé's Test
Dark Experience	0.58	1.07	1.76	F=13.346 Sig.= 0.000	1 and 2 1 and 3 2 and 3	N.S. 0.000* 0.015*
Emotional Involvement	2.41	2.95	3.60	F=15.410 Sig. = 0.000	1 and 2 1 and 3 2 and 3	0.049* 0.000* 0.015*
Unique Learning Experience	3.22	3.35	3.66	F=1.945 Sig. = N.S.	N/A	N/A
Recreational Heritage	1.89	2.59	3.83	F=54.743 Sig. = 0.000	1 and 2 1 and 3 2 and 3	0.002* 0.000* 0.000*
Casual Interest	2.52	2.82	2.95	F=1.060 Sig. = N.S.	N/A	N/A*

*Significant at the p = 0.05 level
**N/A = not applicable

Similarly to the ghost tours, the more visitors perceived the attraction as part of their own heritage, the more motivated they were on all factors. This suggests that these visitors are looking for a complete experience. They are interested in all facets of the attraction itself. Those visitors who scored low on the PAOH scale were more likely to be motivated by a unique learning experience and casual interest, suggesting that a large portion of visitors to the St. Boniface cemetery are looking for a relaxed recreational and educational experience rather than a deeper emotional or dark experience. Significant differences were found between perception of the attraction as part of visitors' heritage and their interest in a dark experience. The pattern revealed by the ANOVA testing suggests that the more visitors perceive the attraction as part of their own heritage, the greater their interest in having a dark experience (although it is still very low) and the more likely they are to seek an emotional experience at the attraction. As such, Hypothesis four was also not supported at St. Boniface Cemetery. Unlike the ghost tours, the St. Boniface cemetery visitors did not differ in their desire to have a unique learning experience or in their casual interest in visiting the attraction based on their perception of the attraction as part of their own heritage, however all three groups rated it relatively highly. All three groups did differ, however, in their desire for a

recreational heritage experience. As such, those that perceived the attraction as part of their own heritage were more likely to have an interest in a "heritage" experience, albeit in a recreational context.

Chapter 5: Conclusions and Recommendations

The purpose of this research was to understand motivation for dark tourism experiences. More specifically, the research employed Sharpley's (2005) model of dark tourism to assess visitors' motives to visit dark tourism attractions. Guided by four hypotheses, the study used Sharpley's typology as a framework for investigating visitors' motives at two different attractions that offer differing levels of experiences with death to visitors (i.e., accidental or purposeful supply). The influence of respondents' perceptions of the site(s) as part of their own heritage on motivation was also investigated as a factor in motivation along with overall satisfaction.

Motivation at Dark Attractions: Theoretical Implications

One of the main objectives of this research was to investigate whether the supply of "dark tourism" matched the "demand" for it. Several authors (Smith & Croy, 2005; Sharpley, 2005) have argued elsewhere that this is integral to the definition of dark tourism itself and that if visitors do not perceive an attraction as dark in nature, then its classification as "dark" is irrelevant and that another classification system should be used. In general, several of the dark motives included in this study, regardless of the attraction involved, were rated fairly low as reasons for visiting. The exception to this was found at the ghost tours, where two dark motives were found in the top five reasons for visiting: *I want to try something new and out of the ordinary* and *I am fascinated with abnormal and bizarre events*. However, these motives alone do not constitute a wish for a dark experience per se, but suggest a curiosity about "the Other" and a desire for new experiences and excitement (Seaton & Lennon, 2004). This was likely related to the nature of the ghost tours themselves, with the telling of stories of local hauntings and the opportunity to communicate with the paranormal. The dominance of the entertainment motive at the ghost tours was further support to the notion that visitors are looking more for fun and excitement than some solemn connection with their own mortality. This was not found to be the case at the cemetery, and the entertainment motive was much lower on the list of reasons for visiting. While hypothesis one was supported and hypothesis two partially supported, the majority of the dark motives themselves were very low on the motivation scale suggesting they are not the main reasons for visiting the attractions and that

other more general motives dominate. As such, at St. Boniface cemetery, several of the motives that were thought to be integral reasons for visiting cemeteries were indeed some of the lowest scoring motives in the list. This included: to heal past hurts and to come to terms with [one's] own mortality, (Tarlow, 2005; Seaton, 1996). This supports Sharpley's (2005) suggestion that dark tourism, in its purest form, is thus extremely rare and that paler experiences likely constitute the majority of classified "dark tourism" attractions.

Satisfaction of dark motives (Hypothesis three) was found to be largely unaffected by supply and only two differences were found between the two attractions. Satisfaction was in general high for both locations. The most satisfying motives were also the highest rated reasons for visiting and the least satisfying motives were those that were the lowest rated reasons for visiting. This suggests that at both locations, demand is being matched by supply and visitors are receiving the experiences that they are seeking. As hypothesis two was not fully supported, it is not surprising that hypothesis three was also not fully supported. Since only two motivational differences were found between the attractions, the only differences in satisfaction found were for those motives. Coupled with the low rating of several of the dark motives, this suggests that the other dark variables were not of equal importance to visitors, but rather of equal unimportance. Based on these results, it is suggested here that many of the identified theoretical "dark" motives may not necessarily exist in practice and a large portion of visitors visit for a variety of reasons, most notably one of curiosity with the unknown and to have an "alternative experience" (Sharpley, 2005).

From the factor analysis, it was clear a "dark experience" factor was generated. Overall, this dark experience motivation was rated much higher on the ghost tours than at St. Boniface Cemetery. This was not surprising considering the differences in the experiences offered at the attractions themselves. Three motive items crossed the attractions and were included in the "dark experience" factor: I want to have an experience with death; I want to come to terms with my own mortality, and I am fascinated with abnormal and bizarre events. It is possible that these three motives may form a triumvirate core of "dark" motives in dark tourism and may signify Sharpley's (2005) "fascination with death" motive. It is this group of dark motives that potentially may be used

as a way of classifying demand at dark attractions and thus help to classify various attractions into Sharpley's typology of attractions.

Perception of the attractions as part of visitors' own heritage was not found to be lower amongst those who visited for "dark" reasons (Hypothesis four). In effect, visitors who scored the lowest level of dark motivation were those that did not perceive the attraction as part of their heritage. These visitors were overall the least motivated for all motivational factors of the three groups as well, yet composed the highest percent of visitors for both locations. This suggests that a large portion of the visitors to these attractions are generally casually interested in the information on display and may not, as such, pick up on the "darkness" of the site itself because they have no personal attachment to it. This is in contrast to what Seaton (1996) predicted would be the case and as a result, educational, heritage and recreational motives dominated at both locations. However, while Seaton argued that the more a person attached themselves to an attraction, the less likely they were to visit out of a fascination with death, he failed to realize that while death is inevitable to everyone, it is still a very personal experience. Those that personally identify with the history on display will likely therefore be much more sensitive to the darkness of the attraction and will rate those motivations higher than those that visit out of simple curiosity. Furthermore McKercher, Ho, du Cros, & So-Ming (2003) tested a typology of cultural tourists and found that the distinguishing characteristic between the visitors was the level of engagement visitors were looking for. Those looking for shallow experiences were generally less motivated to visit attractions than those looking for a deeper experience. This could explain why those who perceived the attraction as part of their heritage were more likely to visit for dark reasons, simply because they were more motivated overall.

One of the most important lessons to take from this research is the realization that with dark tourism, the relationship between supply of a dark attraction and the demand for a dark experience is not necessarily a simple linear one, as Sharpley's (2005) model would suggest and there are likely a host of other factors at play. A major factor that likely influences motivation is perception of the attraction as part of one's own heritage. The more an individual connects with the attraction on a personal level, the more likely they are to recognize the darkness of the attraction

and state it as a reason for visiting the attraction. This is of course an over-generalization of the visitors to the attraction and some may not follow this pattern. Some may, for instance, not perceive the attraction as part of their heritage and yet visit primarily out of a fascination with abnormal or bizarre events. Conversely, a visitor who perceived the attraction as part of his or her own heritage may not have a wish to have an emotional experience at the attraction. Additionally, sites may at one point or another fall into more than one supply or demand category at any given time depending on the amount of media attention paid to the site/attraction and its placement within the site sacralisation process, visitors' on-site experiences (exposure to attraction may change motives during course of visit). As Sharpley argued, "pure" dark tourism is likely a rare phenomenon and that visitation to sites associated with death are driven by other factors beyond a fascination with death. As such this research further suggests that due to the rarity of "black tourism", and the likely dominance of "paler" experiences, Sharpley's (2005) model should be revised to reflect these new elements (Figure 2).

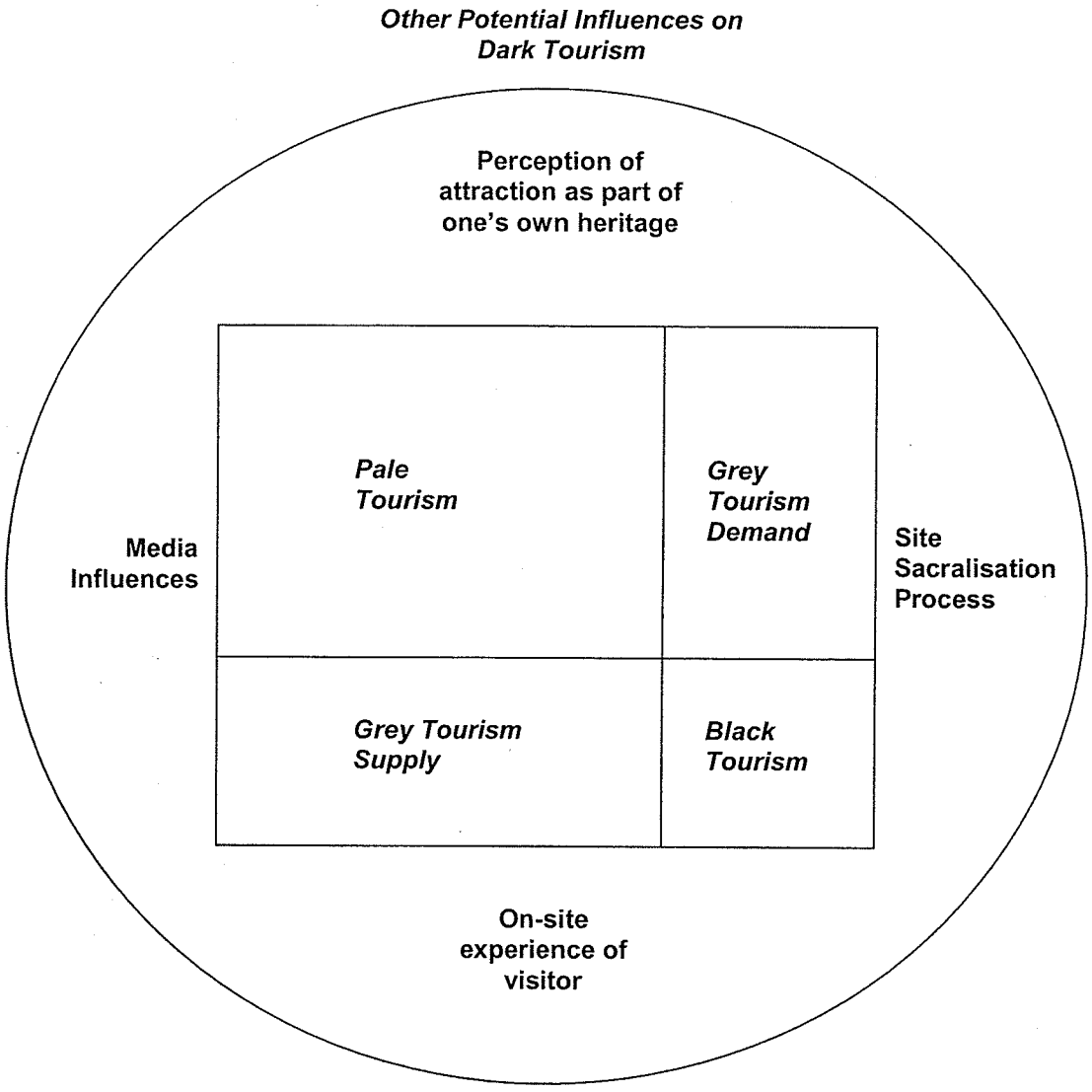


Figure 2: Revised model of dark tourism

Practical Implications

With regard to dark attraction management, this research highlights the need to segment visitors according to their perceptions of the attraction as part of their own heritage and to recognize that the relationship between supply and demand is not necessarily a linear one. In this case study, it was found that supplying dark experiences does not necessarily result in tourists or residents visiting out of a fascination with death, but rather a host of various motives compel visitors to an attraction. Results from this paper indicate that individuals differ in their motivations to visit an attraction: some are highly motivated and are looking for a complete experience while others are less highly motivated and are less serious in their desires regardless of the type of attraction supply. Attraction managers need to recognize the heterogeneous nature of their visitors' perceptions and their desired experiences. Instead of offering one experience to all visitors, dark attraction managers should instead strive to offer different visitors different experiences. Additionally, managers must be careful of what they present in an effort to be sensitive to those who may have a direct connection to the information being displayed (i.e. they may have a relative buried in the cemetery or may be one of the

The two attractions profiled here are well on their way to offering such varied experiences to visitors. The Muddy Water Ghost Tours currently offer various products to visitors that vary in the level of interaction with the paranormal. The biggest issue facing this attraction is the dominance of local residents on the tours, and thus its long-term sustainability may be affected. Only one third of visitors to the ghost tours were tourists. This suggests that current marketing campaigns may need to be shifted slightly to a more tourist-responsive approach in locations where tourists are more likely to search. Much of the recent research into information search behaviours of tourists had found that one of the primary sources that tourists use when planning their vacations is electronic. Traditionally, common sources used by travellers have included travel agents, tour brochures, newspaper and magazine ads, TV/radio, visitor centres, etc., (Ho & Liu, 2005). However, with the invention of the World Wide Web and its increasing accessibility and popularity, internet-based information sources have become one of the major channels for travel and tourism operators to reach potential clients (Ho & Liu, 2005). Using the internet for information searching is

beneficial to both travellers and marketers because it reduces costs and can provide real-time communication between both parties. It allows for customized information, ease of product comparisons, and 24-hour accessibility. While Muddy Water Tours currently had a website with all the required tour information, the marketing of this website may be altered slightly to a more targeted audience. Listing the tours on free Events Listings pages may be a viable option, since many tourists look for special events going on the days they are in town. Additionally, there is an ever-expanding network of "dark tourism websites" that the tours may target (such as www.dark-tourism.org.uk and www.grief-toursim.com) as well as interest groups/associations associated with the paranormal. Individuals seeking "dark tourism" experiences around the world would thereby be exposed to the tours. Establishing partnerships with other similar tourist attractions or conference centres/hotels at the frontline of tourism services is also an option, especially with those that are included in the tours themselves, for example the Winnipeg Parliamentary Buildings or the Manitoba Museum.

The St. Boniface Cemetery currently has limited interpretation on-site and is largely limited to the plays that occur only in July and August at specific times during the week. Visitors to the cemetery, regardless of their perception of the attraction as part of their own heritage, rated the "unique learning experience" motivational factor highly, suggesting that visitors to the cemetery are primarily looking for educational opportunities. However, very few of the tombstones have any additional information for visitors regarding those entombed within them and as such, many visitors, especially tourists from other parts of Canada and beyond, can be left wondering the significance of some of the lesser-known but no less significant individuals buried in the cemetery. Having an interpreter on-site (paid or volunteer), printing informative brochures, interactive maps or establishing plaques beside some of the more important tombs may be a way of alleviating this issue and helping visitors better connect with the attraction, especially for those who perceive the attraction as part of their own heritage and those looking for an emotional or educational experience. Unlike the ghost tours, St. Boniface Cemetery does not have difficulty attracting tourists (versus residents). However, the number of visitors this year was relatively low. A similar approach to the ghost tours may also be applicable here to lure more tourists to the attraction.

Study Limitations

One of the largest limitations to this study was that the research was a case study of two dark tourism attractions and as such its generalizability is limited to a small sub-population of dark tourism visitors. It is unknown whether these results would be obtained at other dark tourism attractions of similar or different types. As such, similar research should be conducted at other sites and comparisons between findings made. Furthermore, the sample sizes at both attractions were relatively small for the factor analysis conducted. While the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin's Measure of Sampling Adequacy (KMO) and Bartlett's Test of Sphericity indicated that factor analysis was appropriate for both locations, the ratio of the sample size to the number of items included in the analysis was less than 10:1, the generally accepted standard for factor analysis. This may have affected the results and potentially changed some of the weightings of items on each factor. In future research, it is recommended that a large sample size be sought to correct for this issue.

Additionally, visitors were not asked if this was their first or second visit to the attraction. Being a repeat visitor may have changed visitors' motives for visiting and affected their satisfaction if the attraction was not as the visitor had remembered and comparison between first and repeat visitors may have been made. Another limitation to the research is related to the questionnaire itself. The questionnaire was only printed in one language, English, yet many of the visitors to the St. Boniface Cemetery spoke mostly French and several declined to complete the survey due to language barriers. This resulted in a potential loss of information and may have introduced some bias in the results to represent only one group of visitors. If the study was to be repeated at the St. Boniface Cemetery, questionnaires would need to be offered in both English and French to capture all visitors to the attraction.

Further Research

The results from this study suggest opportunities for further research. There are many different types of dark attractions that have been identified that range in the amount of violence and death associated with them (Seaton, 1996, Stone, 2006). The two attractions studied here did not themselves have particularly violent pasts and were largely representations of violence that occurred elsewhere (St. Boniface Cemetery) and where there was violence, it was relatively on the

local scale (Ghost Tours). It is likely for this reason that the motivation itself, regardless of the type of supply, was not very dark. Study at other attractions with a more direct violent past, therefore, may yield different results (e.g. a World War Two battlefield cemetery in Europe or the Killing Fields in Cambodia). Furthermore, three "dark" motives in the "dark experience" factor crossed both attractions: This suggests that these variables may be the three core motives that apply to all dark attractions, regardless of their supply. Further research is needed to determine if these three motives are part of an identifiable "dark motivation" at other attractions such as battlefield memorials, former prisons, and sites of natural/human disasters. Additionally, many of the motives that were identified in the literature as potential motives for visiting dark attractions were not found to be significant reasons for visitors to the attractions. Most notable of these were Tarlow's "to heal past hurts" and Seaton's (1996) "to come to terms with one's own mortality" at the St. Boniface Cemetery. These motives were scored very low by visitors; however, this does not mean that these motives may not occur elsewhere, and if the research was repeated, for example at a war cemetery, these motives may emerge as important to visitors.

It would also be wise to explore the role of marketing and the media in the perception of dark attractions with respect to motivation. It has been previously argued elsewhere that if a visitor does not perceive an attraction as dark in nature, it cannot be considered to be a dark attraction (Smith & Croy, 2005). Much of this perception comes from visitors' image formation and much of this is received from marketing and media sources. Understanding visitors' images of dark attractions at both the pre- and post- visitation stage would be most helpful to attraction planners in designing the best experiences for visitors. As access to information technology and the media continues to increase globally, it would be interesting to measure which sources tourists are basing their visitation to these sites on, how those sources may be affecting their image of place and expectations of experience, and whether there is variation between different attraction types (i.e. purposeful versus non-purposeful supply). Related to the issue of the media and its exposure of attractions, is the role that site sacralisation may play in motivation and perception of attractions and whether there is a timeline that can be followed where an attraction may start out as having "black demand" but through the process of memorialisation and sacralisation, the demand begins to

pale until all the elements that made the attraction "dark" in the first place have now been replaced with other less evocative elements. The further research suggested here would provide more insight into the conclusions drawn that perception of an attraction as part of one's own heritage plays a large role in whether an attraction is visited for "dark" reasons. The outcomes could have potentially profound implications for the future marketing and management of dark tourism attractions.

Conclusion

It is likely that the future of dark tourism growth is favorable, as there will likely be no short supply of catastrophes that could potentially become tourist attractions. However, research into dark tourism has been at best, fragmented and consumers of dark tourist sites have rarely been profiled or audited. There have been numerous case studies of dark sites, but most of the analysis has been secondary in nature and visitors have been curiously left out. Due to the diversity of activities and sites as well as the lack of knowledge of the motivations of visitation, there is still much that is unknown about this form of tourism, or whether it is even an identifiable sub-group within the tourism market. This research has attempted to start to fill this gap in knowledge. Sharpley (2005) argued that it is a matter of supply and demand. The results from this study suggest this is likely true; however the likelihood of this demand being completely "dark" in nature and due to a fascination with death is minimal. Visitors are more likely to visit for unique educational and recreational reasons than for several of the reasons previously identified in the dark tourism literature. Additionally, other factors may be at play between supply and demand: perception of the attraction as part of one's own heritage being one of them. Managers of dark attractions need to be aware of the different types of visitors and their perceptions when planning their attractions and the interpretation methods they use. At first, the interest in death and disaster may seem distasteful. Some authors have gone so far as to call the phenomenon "tourism's dirty little secret" (Tarlow, 2005). However, one cannot deny its widely shared interest, regardless of visitors' motivations for visiting.

References

Aitchison, C., Macleod, N.E., & Shaw, S.J. (2002). *Leisure and Tourism Landscapes: Social and Cultural Geographies.* New York, NY: Routledge.

Ashworth, G., & Hartmann, R. (2005). Introduction: Managing atrocity for tourism. In Gregory Ashworth and Rudi Hartmann, (Eds.) *Horror and Human Tragedy Revisited: The Management of Sites of Atrocities for Tourism* (pp. 1-14). New York: Cognizant Communication Corporation.

Austin, N.K. (2002). Managing heritage attractions: Marketing challenges at sensitive historic sites. *International Journal of Tourism Research, 4*, 447-457.

Babbie, E. (1997). *Survey Research Methods 2nd Edition.* Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Company.

Biran, A., Poria, Y., & Reichel, A. (2006). Heritage site management: The link between visitors' pre-visit perceptions, motivations and expectations. *Anatolia: An International Journal of Tourism and Hospitality Research, 17*(2), 279-304.

Bisson, S. (unknown date). The Cemetery: Was it a miracle in modern times?. Retrieved December 18, 2008, from http://www.venite.ca.

Blom, T. (2000). Morbid tourism – a postmodern market niche with an example from Althorp. *Norwegian Journal of Geography, 54*, 29-36.

Bourque, L.B., & Fielder, E.P. (2003). *How to Conduct Self-Administered and Mail Surveys 2nd Edition.* Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE Publications, Inc.

Brotherton, B. & Himmetoglu, B. (1998). Beyond destinations—Special interest tourism. *Anatolia: An International Journal of Tourism and Hospitality Research, 8*(3), 11-30.

Buckingham, A., & Saunders, P. (2004). *The Survey Methods Workbook: From Design to Analysis.* Cambridge, UK: Polity Press Ltd.

Canadian Press. (2007, April 15). Titanic buffs gather on anniversary of maritime disaster. *The Okanagan Sunday*, A5.

Crompton, J. (1979). Motivations for pleasure vacation. *Annals of Tourism Research, 6*, 408-424.

Crompton, J.L., McKay, S.L. (1997) Motives of visitors attending festival events. *Annals of Tourism Research, 24*(2), 425-439.

Dann, M.S. (1977). Anomie, ego-enhancement and tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research, 4,* 184-194.

Derrett, R. (2001). Chapter 1: Special interest tourism: starting with the individual. In Norman Douglas, Ngaire Douglas, Ross Derrett (Eds.) *Special Interest Tourism* (pp. 1-28). Milton, Qsld: John Wiley & Sons Australia, Ltd.

Dillman, D.A. (2000). *Mail and Internet Surveys: The Tailored Design Method Second Edition.* New York, NY: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

Field, A.P. (2005). *Discovering Statistics Using SPSS (2nd edition).* London, England: Sage Publications

Fink, A. (2003). *The Survey Handbook 2nd Edition.* Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.

Garrod, B., & Fyall, A. (2001). Heritage tourism: A question of definition. *Annals of Tourism Research, 28*(4), 1049-1052.

Graham, B, Ashworth, G.J, & Tunbridge, J.E. (2000). *A Geography of Heritage: Power Culture and Economy.* New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Harrill, R., Potts, T.D. (2002). Social psychological theories of tourist motivation: Exploration, debate and transition, *Tourism Analysis, 10,* 105-114.

Hassard, T.H. (1991). *Understanding Biostatistics.* St. Louis, MI: Mosby-Year Book, Inc.

Ho, CI., Liu, YP. (2005). An exploratory investigation of web-based tourist information search behavior. *Asia Pacific Journal of Tourism Research, 10*(4), 351-360.

International Council of Museums. (2001). ICOM statutes adopted by the 16th General Assembly of ICOM (The Hague, The Netherlands, 5 September 1989) and amended by the 18th General Assembly of ICOM (Stavanger, Norway, 7 July 1995) and by the 20th General Assembly (Barcelona, Spain, 6 July 2001). Retrieved January 20, 2008. http://icom.museum/statutes.html#2

Jansen-Verbeke, M., & van Rekom, J. (1996). Scanning museum visitors: Urban tourism marketing. *Annals of Tourism Research, 23*(2): 364-375.

Keil, C. (2005). Sightseeing in the mansions of the dead. *Social & Cultural Geography, 6*(4), 479-494.

Kim, H.G. (2005). Nostalgia and tourism. *Tourism Analysis, 10*(1): 85-88.

Lennon, J., & Foley, M. (1996). JFK and dark tourism – a fascination with assassination. *International Journal of Heritage Studies, 2*(4), 198-211.

Lennon, J., & Foley, M. (1999). Interpretation of the unimaginable: The US Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington, DC and 'dark tourism'. *Journal of Travel Research, 38*(1), 46-50.

Lennon, J., & Foley, M. (2002). *Dark Tourism: The Attraction of Death and Disaster.* London, England: Continuum.

Lisle, D. (2004). Gazing at Ground Zero: Tourism, voyeurism and spectacle. *Journal for Cultural Research, 8*(1), 3-20.

MacCannell, D. (1989). *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class,* New York, NY: Schocken Books.

MacKay, K. (2001). Identification of key influences on heritage tourism activity participation, *Leisure/Loisir: Journal of the Canadian Association for Leisure Studies, 26* (1/2), 5-30.

Mannell, R. (1999). Chapter 14: Leisure experience and satisfaction. In Edgar L. Jackson and Thomas L. Burton, (Eds.) *Leisure studies: prospects for the 21st century* (pp. 235-251). State College, PA: Venture Publishing Inc.

Mannell, R., & Iso-Ahola, S. (1987). Psychological nature of leisure and tourism experience. *Annals of Tourism Research, 14,* 314-331.

Mannell, R.C., & Kleiber, D.A. (1997). *A social psychology of leisure.* State College, PA: Venture Publishing Inc.

McIntosh, A. (1999). Into the tourist's mind: Understanding the value of the heritage experience, *Journal of Travel & Tourism Marketing*, *8*, 41–64.

Meyburg, A.H., & Metcalf, H.M.A (1997). Workshop on questionnaire design resource paper: Question Formulation and Instrument Design. *TRB Transportation Research Circular E-C008: Transport Surveys: Raising the Standard*, pp. 1-27. Retrieved March 29, 2008. http://onlinepubs.trb.org/onlinepubs/circulars/EC008/workshop_h.pdf

McKercher, B., Ho, P.S.Y., du Cros, H., So-Ming, B.C. (2002). Activities-based segmentation of the cultural tourism market. *Journal of Travel and Tourism Marketing, 12*(1), 23-46.

Nuryanti, W. (1996). Heritage and postmodern tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research, 23*(2), 249-260.

Nyaupane, G.P., White, D.D. & Budruk, M. (2006). Motive-based tourist market segmentation: An application to Native American cultural heritage sites in Arizona, USA. *Journal of Heritage Tourism, 1*(2), 81-99.

Park, H.M. (2006). Univariate analysis and normality test using SAS, STATA and SPSS. *Univariate Analysis and Normality Test: 1.* Bloomington, IN: Trustees of Indiana University. Retrieved April 1, 2008. http://www.indiana.edu/~statmath/stat/all/normality/normality.pdf

Parks Canada (2007a). Standards and guidelines for the conservation of historic places in Canada. Retrieved January 19, 2008. http://www.pc.gc.ca/docs/pc/guide/nldclpc-sgchpc/sec1/page1b_e.asp

Parks Canada (2007b). Introduction to National Historic Sites of Canada. Retrieved January 20, 2008. http://www.pc.gc.ca/progs/lhn-nhs/intro_e.asp

Pearce, P.L., & Lee, U-I. (2005). Developing the travel career approach to tourist motivation. *Journal of Travel Research 43*, 226-237

Preece, T., & Price, G.G. (2005). Motivations of participants in dark tourism: a case study of Port Arthur, Tasmania, Australia. In Chris Ryan, Stephen J Page, and Michelle Aicken, (Eds.) *Taking Tourism to the Limits: Issues, Concepts and Managerial Perspectives* (pp. 191-198), London, England: Elsevier Ltd.

Prentice, R.C., Witt, S.F., & Hamer, C. (1998). Tourism as experience: The case of heritage parks. *Annals of Tourism Research, 25*(1), 1-24.

Poria, Y. Butler,R., & Airey, D. (2001). Clarifying heritage tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research, 28*(4), 1047-1049.

Poria, Y., Butler, R., & Airey, D. (2003). The core of heritage tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research, 30*(1), 238-254.

Poria, Y., Butler, R., & Airey, D. (2004). Links between tourists, heritage and reasons for visiting heritage sites, *Journal of Travel Research, 43*(Aug), 19-28.

Poria, Y., Reichel, A., & Biran, A., (2006) Heritage site perceptions and motivations to visit. *Journal of Travel Research, 44*(Feb), 318-326.

Poria, Y. Biran, A., & Reichel, A. (2006). Tourist perceptions: Personal vs. non-personal. Journal *of Heritage Tourism, 1*(2), 121-132.

Rojek, C. (1993). *Ways of Escape: Modern Transformations in Leisure and Travel.* Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

Rojek, C. (1995). *Decentring Leisure: Rethinking Leisure Theory.* Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.

Rojek, C. (1997). Leisure Theory: Retrospect and Prospect. *Society and Leisure, 20*(2), 383-400.

Rittichainuwat, B.N. (2007). Responding to disaster: Thai and Scandinavian tourists' motivation to visit Phuket, Thailand. *Journal of Travel Research OnlineFirst,* 1-11, first online November 29, 2007.

Ryan, C. (2003). *Recreational Tourism: Demand and Impacts.* Clevendon, England: Channel View Publications.

Ryan, C., Kohli, R. (2006). The Buried Village, New Zealand – An example of dark tourism? *Asia Pacific Journal of Tourism Research, 11*(3), 211-226.

Salant, P., & Dillman, D.A. (1994). *How to Conduct Your Own Survey.* New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

Seaton, A.V. (1996). Guided by the dark: From thanatopsis to thanatourism. *International Journal of Heritage Studies, 2*(4), 234-244.

Seaton, A.V. (1999). War and Thanatourism: Waterloo 1814-1915. *Annals of Tourism Research, 26*(1), 130-158.

Seaton, A.V., & Lennon, J. (2004). Thanatourism in the early 21st century: Moral panics, ulterior motives and alterior desires. In Tej Vir Singh (Ed.) *New Horizons in Tourism: Strange Experiences and Stranger Practices* (pp. 63-82), Oxforshire: CABI Publishing.

Sharpley, R. (2005). Travels to the edge of darkness: Towards a typology of 'dark tourism'. In Chris Ryan, Stephen J Page, and Michelle Aicken (Eds.) *Taking Tourism to the Limits: Issues, Concepts and Managerial Perspectives*, (pp. 215-226), London: Elsevier Ltd.

Slade, P. (2003). Gallipoli thanatourism – The meaning of ANZAC. *Annals of Tourism Research, 30*(4), 779-794.

Smith, N., Croy, WG. (2005). Presentation of dark tourism: Te Wairoa, the Buried Village. In Chris Ryan, Stephen J Page, and Michelle Aicken (Eds.), *Taking Tourism to the Limits: Issues, Concepts and Managerial Perspectives* (pp. 199-213), London: Elsevier Ltd.

Smith, W. (2007). Social desirability bias and exit survey responses: The case of a First Nations campground in Central Ontario, Canada. *Tourism Management, 28*: 917-919.

Statistics Canada. (2007). Canadian tourism satellite account handbook, *Income and Expenditure Accounts Technical Series.* Retrieved March 28, 2008. http://www.statcan.ca/english/research/13-604-MIE/13-604-MIE2007052.pdf

Stone, P.R. (2006). A dark tourism spectrum: Towards a typology of death and macabre related tourist sites, attractions and exhibitions. *Tourism, 54*(2), 145-160.

Strange, C., & Kempa, M. (2003). Shades of dark tourism: Alcatraz and Robben Island. *Annals of Tourism Research, 30*(2), 386-405.

Tarlow, P.E. (2005) Dark tourism: The appealing 'dark side' of tourism and more. In M. Novelli (Ed.), *Niche Tourism: Contemporary Issues, Trends, and Cases* (pp. 47-58). Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann.

Timothy, D.J. (2006). Heritage tourism in the 21st century: Valued traditions and new perspectives. *Journal of Heritage Tourism, 1*(1), 1-16.

Trotter, R. (2001). Chapter 6: Heritage Tourism. In Norman Douglas, Ngaire Douglas, Ross Derrett, (Eds.) *Special Interest Tourism* (pp. 140-164). Milton, Qsld: John Wiley & Sons Australia, Ltd.

Urry, J. (1990). *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies.* London, England: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Veal, A.J. (1992). *Research Methods for Leisure and Tourism: a Practical Guide*. Essex: Longman Group UK Limited.

Weisberg, H.F. (2005). *The Total Survey Error Approach: A Guide to the New Science of Survey Research.* Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.

Wight, A.C., & Lennon, J. (2005). Towards an understanding of visitor perceptions of 'dark' attractions: The case of the Imperial War Museum of the North, Manchester. *Journal of Hospitality and Tourism, 2*(2), 105-122.

Zeppel, H., & Hall, C.M. (1991). Selling art and history: Cultural heritage and tourism. *The Journal of Tourism Studies, 2*(1), 29-45.

Appendix A

Ethics Protocol
approved by
Education/Nursing Research Ethics Board

There are ethical concerns that must be addressed before the survey is issued to study participants. According to the University of Manitoba's Research Ethics Board protocols, all research involving human subjects must meet the requirements of the appropriate departmental ethics board. This research will fall under the jurisdiction of the Education/Nursing Research Ethics Board, or ENREB. Guidelines outlined in the protocol will be satisfied both before the survey is piloted as well as distributed to the study participants. No separate consent form will be administered with the questionnaire. Instead, a tear-off section will be attached to the questionnaire. The tear off section will contain all relevant information for the subject, including: study purpose, study procedures, the risk the subject assumes in participating, and the degree of confidentiality that will be maintained. By completing the questionnaire, it will be assumed that they consent. They may refuse to take the questionnaire or take it and choose not to complete any or all questions prior to its return to the investigator. No deception will be used in this study. For this study, the risk assumed by the subject is minimal. There is a chance that the dark motive items will be of a potentially sensitive nature for the subjects, however because it is assumed that subjects will be aware of the nature of the attraction prior to visitation, the potential that the questions will be difficult to answer will be limited. The questionnaire will not ask any questions that will be incriminating for the subject to reveal. If the participant does not wish to respond to a specific question or wishes to withdraw from the study, they retain the right to do so at any time. Contact information for the investigator as well as the ENREB representative will be explicitly provided to the subjects.

The study will use inducements to encourage subjects to respond to the survey. This is an increasingly popular approach among researchers to encourage participation and thereby increase response rates (Weisberg, 2005). In addition to receiving a small gift (a free pen used to complete the survey). The time to complete the questionnaire will be short (under 10 minutes, determined by a pilot test of the instrument) and thus should also encourage completion.

According to the Ethics protocol at the University of Manitoba, the opportunity for subjects to receive the results of the study once it is completed must also be given. To resolve this issue, the tear-off information sheet will provide the respondents with a website address where the study results will be displayed as well as the investigator's contact information should respondents wish to obtain a hard copy of the report. Complete confidentiality will be maintained and no response will be connected with any individual participant or their organization and no names will be collected. Individual findings will not be reported, only group level findings. Any personal information supplied by the participant regarding compensation and/or requests for feedback will be kept entirely confidential. Data will be stored electronically on a password protected computer and contained in a locked cabinet in a locked research lab for a period of 7 years following publication of the study's findings. At this point, all records will be destroyed and/or deleted.

Appendix B

Tear-Off Invitation to Respondents to Participate

Thank-you for agreeing to participate in this study, which is part of my thesis research at the University of Manitoba.

The goal of my research is to understand the motivations and perceptions of visitors to this attraction. If we can better understand why people visit and gain key insight as to how visitors react to this attraction and others like it, the needs and expectations of future visitors can be better addressed. Your participation is important to the study and to the management of the attraction.

Respondents must be at least 18 years old. This brief questionnaire consists of three sections. Section one asks general questions about the nature of your trip and how you became aware of this attraction. Section two inquires about your reasons for visiting today as well as questions about your perceptions of the attraction and how satisfied you were with your experiences. Section three asks several questions about your personal characteristics. Remember, you may withdraw your participation at any time or skip any questions that may make you uncomfortable.

The questionnaire should take you no longer than 10 minutes to answer and you can stop at any time. When you are finished, please return the questionnaire sealed in the envelope provided directly to the investigator or place it in the drop box at *XYZ* location. **Your individual responses will be kept strictly confidential. Please keep this paper for your records.**

This research has been approved by the University of Manitoba Education and Nursing Research Ethics Board and the Faculty of Kinesiology and Recreation Management. If you have any concerns about this project you may contact the principal investigator, Laura Bissell at 204-474-7494 (umbisse4@cc.umanitoba.ca), the Human Ethics Secretariat at 204-474-7122, or the supervising professor Dr. Kelly MacKay at 204-474-7058.

A summary of the results of this research may be viewed on Dr. MacKay's website after Dec. 1st, 2008. Please go to: http://www.umanitoba.ca/faculties/physed/research/mackay/

Sincerely,

Laura Bissell
Master of Arts Candidate
Faculty of Kinesiology and Recreation Management
University of Manitoba
204-474-7494
umbisse4@cc.umanitoba.ca

Appendix C

Questionnaire

Please return your completed questionnaire to the investigator or place it in the drop box provided. *You make keep the pen you were provided to complete this questionnaire.*

SECTION 1: Trip Characteristics

1. What is your current city/town, province/state, and country of residence?

_____ City/Town

_____ Province/State

_____ Country

2. Which of the following best describes the <u>main</u> purpose of your visit to the Winnipeg area? (check [✓] one only)

- O For pleasure, vacation, or holiday
- O For business or work-related reasons
- O To visit friends or relatives
- O Other (Please specify): _____

3. Is this your first visit to Winnipeg? (check [✓] one only)

- O Yes
- O No

4. How did you hear about this attraction? (check [✓] all that apply)

- O Attraction's Website
- O Other website (Please specify): _____
- O Guidebook
- O Television
- O Local Newspaper
- O Tour Brochure
- O Destination Winnipeg
- O Visitor Information Centre (Travel Manitoba)
- O Past Experience
- O CAA/AAA or other motor club
- O Travel Agency
- O Hotel concierge
- O Friends/family
- O Other (Please specify): _____

Continued on next page →

SECTION 2: Reasons for Visiting, Perceptions of the Attraction and Satisfaction

5. Please rate how much you agree or disagree with the following reasons for visiting this attraction today where 0 = completely disagree and 5 = completely agree. (Circle one number for each statement)

	Completely Disagree					Completely Agree
I am visiting this attraction today because:						
I want to learn more about the Winnipeg area	0	1	2	3	4	5
It is a part of my own heritage	0	1	2	3	4	5
I want to try something new and "out of the ordinary"	0	1	2	3	4	5
I want to have a day's outing	0	1	2	3	4	5
It is a well-known tourist attraction	0	1	2	3	4	5
I am curious about how the victims died	0	1	2	3	4	5
I feel a sense of belonging to this attraction	0	1	2	3	4	5
I want to have an experience with death	0	1	2	3	4	5
Of its historical background	0	1	2	3	4	5
I feel a sense of obligation to visit	0	1	2	3	4	5
I want to pay tribute to those who died	0	1	2	3	4	5
I want to feel emotionally involved	0	1	2	3	4	5
I think it is important to see this attraction	0	1	2	3	4	5
I want to have some entertainment	0	1	2	3	4	5
I want to come to terms with my own mortality	0	1	2	3	4	5
I am fascinated by abnormal and bizarre events	0	1	2	3	4	5
I want to learn about the history of the local people	0	1	2	3	4	5
I want to relax	0	1	2	3	4	5
I want to heal past hurts	0	1	2	3	4	5
Other: Please describe: _____	0	1	2	3	4	5

6. Please rate how much you agree with the following statements about the attraction where 0 = completely disagree and 5= completely agree. (Circle one number for each statement)

	Completely Disagree					Completely Agree
The attraction has symbolic meaning for you	0	1	2	3	4	5
The attraction represents something that relates to your identity	0	1	2	3	4	5
The attraction generates a sense of belonging for you	0	1	2	3	4	5
You consider the attraction to be part of your own personal history	0	1	2	3	4	5
The attraction represents something that is relevant to your present existence	0	1	2	3	4	5

Continued on next page →

7. Please rate <u>how satisfied you were</u> with the following reasons for visiting this attraction today where 0= Completely Unsatisfied and 5 = Completely Satisfied. (Circle one number only for each statement that applies to you)

	Completely Unsatisfied					Completely Satisfied
I want to learn more about the Winnipeg area	0	1	2	3	4	5
It is a part of my own heritage	0	1	2	3	4	5
I want to try something new and "out of the ordinary"	0	1	2	3	4	5
I want to have a day's outing	0	1	2	3	4	5
It is a well-known tourist attraction	0	1	2	3	4	5
I am curious about how the victims died	0	1	2	3	4	5
I feel a sense of belonging to this attraction	0	1	2	3	4	5
To have an experience with death	0	1	2	3	4	5
Because of its historical background	0	1	2	3	4	5
I feel a sense of obligation to visit	0	1	2	3	4	5
I want to pay tribute to those who died	0	1	2	3	4	5
I want to feel emotionally involved	0	1	2	3	4	5
I think it is important to see this attraction	0	1	2	3	4	5
I want to have some entertainment	0	1	2	3	4	5
I want to come to terms with my own mortality	0	1	2	3	4	5
I am fascinated by abnormal and bizarre events	0	1	2	3	4	5
I want to learn about the history of the local people	0	1	2	3	4	5
I want to relax	0	1	2	3	4	5
I want to heal past hurts	0	1	2	3	4	5
Other: Please describe _____	0	1	2	3	4	5

8. Please indicate your <u>overall satisfaction</u> with the attraction, where 0= completely unsatisfied and 5= completely satisfied: (Circle one number)

Completely Unsatisfied 0 1 2 3 4 5 **Completely Satisfied**

9. Based on your experience at this attraction, would you recommend it to your friends/family as a place to visit in Winnipeg?

O Yes

O No → if no, please indicate why not in the space provided below:

_____

_____

Continued on next page →

SECTION 3: Participant Information

10. Are you...

O Male
O Female

11. What year were you born?

_____

12. Please indicate which best describes you: (check [✓] one only)

O Married (including common-law)
O Single

13. What ethnic or cultural group do you belong to (e.g. Canadian, Chinese, German, East Indian, Inuit, Jamaican, etc.)? Specify as many groups as applicable:

a)_____ b)_____

c) _____ d)_____

14. Please indicate the highest level of education you achieved: (check [✓] one only)

O 0-8 years
O Some secondary (high school)
O Graduated from high school
O Some post secondary
O Post Secondary certificate/diploma
O University degree(s)
O Other (please describe): _____

Thank-you for your participation!

Appendix D

Invitation Letters to Attractions

Letter to Muddy Water Tours/Heartland Travel and Tours

Laura Bissell
Master of Arts Candidate
University of Manitoba Faculty of Kinesiology and Recreation Management
Health Leisure & Human Performance Research Institute
307 Max Bell Centre
Winnipeg, MB, R3T 2N2

June 2, 2008

Dear Don Finkbeiner,Heartland International Travel and Tours – Haunted Winnipeg Tours Division

I am graduate student at the University of Manitoba conducting a study on motives and perceptions of tourists at dark tourism attractions for my master's thesis. Dark tourism is travel to sites associated with death and disaster, and includes many different types of attractions including ghost tours.

The purpose of this research is to understand motivation for dark tourism experiences as well as perceptions of these sites as part of one's own heritage. It is hypothesized that those tourists who perceive a site as part of their own heritage are less likely to identify themselves with a fascination with death. This research will be conducted under the regulations of the Human Subjects Research Ethics Board at the University of Manitoba.

A minimum of 150 participants is required for the study. *To recruit participants, I am requesting your assistance.* Since a list of all possible respondents cannot be generated for this study, a random schedule of tour days within the study time frame (summer 2008) will be generated for the investigator to visit the cooperating attractions. The number of randomly selected days will be based on the average visitor numbers specific to the attraction as well as days and hours of operation.

Visitors would be approached in person by the investigator about their participation in the study at the end of the tour and would receive a short questionnaire inquiring after their experiences during the attraction to be completed on-site and returned either directly to the investigator or in a specified drop-box. They will be informed of the study purpose, procedures, and the importance of their participation as well as degree of confidentiality maintained not only verbally, but also through a tear-off sheet attached to the questionnaire itself (see enclosed copy).

The questionnaire results will provide your organization with vital information about your visitors, including how satisfied they were with their experiences and how they heard about your attraction. By better understanding why people visit ghost tours, managers, such as yourself, can gain key insight in to how visitors respond to the attraction, and the needs and expectations of visitors which can be used in future planning and marketing.

Your cooperation is vital to the success of this study. If you agree to participate, you will receive a report of results at the conclusion of the study, plus regular updates from the principal investigator. If you have any questions, please contact me at 204-474-7494 or umbisse4@cc.umanitoba.ca. You may also contact the University of Manitoba Human Ethics Secretariat at 204-474-7122 or the supervising professor Dr. Kelly MacKay at mackay@cc.umanitoba.ca .

Thank-you for your consideration of this request. I will be contacting you personally within the next few days to follow-up on this request.

Sincerely,

Laura Bissell
Master of Arts Candidate and Principal Investigator

Letter to St. Boniface Cemetery – Tourisme Riel

Laura Bissell
Master of Arts Candidate
University of Manitoba Faculty of Kinesiology and Recreation Management
Health Leisure & Human Performance Research Institute
307 Max Bell Centre
Winnipeg, MB, R3T 2N2

June 2, 2008

Dear Carmène Fiola, Tourisme Riel

I am graduate student at the University of Manitoba conducting a study on motives and perceptions of tourists at dark tourism attractions for my master's thesis. Dark tourism is travel to sites associated with death and disaster, and includes many different types of attractions including cathedrals and cemeteries like St. Boniface Cathedral and Cemetery.

The purpose of this research is to understand motivation for dark tourism experiences as well as perceptions of these sites as part of one's own heritage. It is hypothesized that those tourists who perceive a site as part of their own heritage are less likely to identify themselves with a fascination with death. This research will be conducted under the regulations of the Human Subjects Research Ethics Board at the University of Manitoba.

A minimum of 150 participants is required for the study. *To recruit participants, I am requesting your assistance.* Since a list of all possible respondents cannot be generated for this study, a random schedule of days within the study time frame (summer 2008) will be generated for the investigator to visit the cooperating attractions. The number of randomly selected days will be based on the average visitor numbers specific to the attraction as well as days and hours of operation.

Visitors would be approached in person by the investigator about their participation in the study as they exit the attraction and would receive a short questionnaire inquiring after their experiences during the attraction to be completed on-site. They will be informed of the study purpose, procedures, and the importance of their participation as well as degree of confidentiality maintained not only verbally, but also through a tear-off sheet attached to the questionnaire itself (see the enclosed copy).

The questionnaire results will provide your organization with vital information about your visitors, including how satisfied they were with their experiences and how they heard about your attraction. By better understanding why people visit cemeteries as tourist attractions, managers, such as yourself, can gain key insight in to how visitors respond to the attraction, and the needs and expectations of visitors which can be used in future planning and marketing.

Your cooperation is vital to the success of this study. If you agree to participate, you will receive a report of results at the conclusion of the study, plus regular updates from the principal investigator. If you have any questions, please contact me at 204-474-7494 or umbisse4@cc.umanitoba.ca. You may also contact the University of Manitoba Human Ethics Secretariat at 204-474-7122 or the supervising professor Dr. Kelly MacKay at mackay@cc.umanitoba.ca .

Thank-you for your consideration of this request. I will be contacting you personally within the next few days to follow-up on this request.

Sincerely,

Laura Bissell
Master of Arts Candidate and Principal Investigator
-Enclosures-

Appendix E

Resident/Tourist Motive Item t-testing

(Both Locations)

Ghost Tour Motive Item t-test Results for Residents and Tourists

Statements	Location	n	M*	SD	t	df	p
I want to learn more about Winnipeg	Resident	101	3.46	1.397	-1.099	142	0.273
	Tourist	43	3.72	1.141			
It is a part of my own heritage	Resident	100	2.58	1.753	2.358	142	0.020***
	Tourist	44	1.82	1.859			
I want to try something new and "out of the ordinary**	Resident	101	4.36	0.901	0.686	143	0.494
	Tourist	44	4.25	0.751			
I want to have a day's outing	Resident	100	3.34	1.499	1.055	142	0.293
	Tourist	44	3.05	1.642			
It is a well-known tourist attraction	Resident	99	2.32	1.517	-1.185	140	0.238
	Tourist	43	2.65	1.510			
I am curious about how the victims died	Resident	98	2.87	1.709	0.616	74.56 [a]	0.540
	Tourist	44	2.66	1.928			
I feel a sense of belonging to this attraction	Resident	100	2.36	1.586	2.113	141	0.036***
	Tourist	43	1.72	1.817			
I want to have an experience with death**	Resident	99	1.74	1.770	1.649	141	0.101
	Tourist	44	1.23	1.553			
Because of its historical background	Resident	99	3.76	3.317	0.451	141	0.653
	Tourist	44	3.52	1.422			
I feel a sense of obligation to visit	Resident	99	1.33	1.471	0.802	141	0.424
	Tourist	44	1.11	1.603			
I want to pay tribute to those who died**	Resident	99	1.62	1.633	-0.269	72.85 [a]	0.789
	Tourist	44	1.70	1.887			
I want to feel emotionally involved	Resident	98	1.76	1.554	-0.125	70.99 [a]	0.901
	Tourist	44	1.80	1.862			
I think it is important to see this attraction	Resident	99	2.25	1.561	-0.775	141	0.440
	Tourist	44	2.48	1.691			
I want to have some entertainment	Resident	99	3.42	1.378	-1.073	141	0.285
	Tourist	44	3.68	1.196			
I want to come to terms with my own mortality**	Resident	99	1.53	1.521	1.910	141	0.058
	Tourist	44	1.00	1.510			
I am fascinated by abnormal and bizarre events**	Resident	99	3.74	1.556	1.605	141	0.111
	Tourist	44	3.27	1.689			
I want to learn about the history of the local people	Resident	98	3.28	1.518	-0.407	140	0.685
	Tourist	44	3.39	1.466			
I want to relax	Resident	97	2.20	1.559	0.760	139	0.449
	Tourist	44	1.98	1.635			
I want to heal past hurts**	Resident	99	0.90	1.290	0.032	140	0.974
	Tourist	43	0.91	1.509			

*Based on a scale from 0-5, where 0 = completely disagree and 5 = completely agree
**Theoretical dark motive items
***Significant at the p>0.05 level
a. Equal variance not assumed. Levine's Test significant (p<0.1)

St. Boniface Motive Item t-test Results for Residents and Tourists

Statements	Location	n	M*	SD	t	df	p
I want to learn more about Winnipeg	Resident	30	3.67	1.493	-0.933	39.98 [a]	0.357
	Tourist	105	3.94	1.183			
It is a part of my own heritage	Resident	31	3.10	1.868	3.065	132	0.003***
	Tourist	103	1.86	1.990			
I want to try something new and "out of the ordinary**	Resident	32	3.16	1.798	0.301	133	0.764
	Tourist	103	3.06	1.546			
I want to have a day's outing	Resident	31	3.97	1.110	1.324	133	0.188
	Tourist	104	3.60	1.438			
It is a well-known tourist attraction	Resident	30	3.57	1.223	2.412	132	0.017***
	Tourist	104	2.84	1.521			
I am curious about how the victims died**	Resident	31	3.00	1.713	1.033	133	0.304
	Tourist	104	2.62	1.850			
I feel a sense of belonging to this attraction	Resident	31	3.32	1.620	3.802	134	0.000***
	Tourist	105	1.99	1.740			
I want to have an experience with death**	Resident	30	1.07	1.530	1.547	38.55 [a]	0.130
	Tourist	103	0.60	1.123			
Because of its historical background	Resident	31	4.23	1.023	-0.161	133	0.872
	Tourist	104	4.26	1.024			
I feel a sense of obligation to visit	Resident	31	2.32	1.815	2.241	134	0.027***
	Tourist	105	1.50	1.803			
I want to pay tribute to those who died**	Resident	31	2.35	1.704	0.015	132	0.998
	Tourist	103	2.35	1.702			
I want to feel emotionally involved	Resident	31	2.06	1.788	0.963	132	0.377
	Tourist	103	1.74	1.615			
I think it is important to see this attraction	Resident	31	3.87	1.335	1.293	133	0.198
	Tourist	104	3.48	1.514			
I want to have some entertainment	Resident	32	3.06	1.848	1.562	133	0.121
	Tourist	103	2.51	1.697			
I want to come to terms with my own mortality**	Resident	31	1.45	1.841	2.069	39.86 [a]	0.052
	Tourist	102	0.72	1.323			
I am fascinated by abnormal and bizarre events**	Resident	31	2.03	2.041	1.788	43.53 [a]	0.081
	Tourist	103	1.31	1.715			
I want to learn about the history of the local people	Resident	32	3.72	1.631	-1.345	39.81 [a]	0.186
	Tourist	106	4.13	1.096			
I want to relax	Resident	31	3.29	1.755	1.517	133	0.132
	Tourist	104	2.79	1.575			
I want to heal past hurts**	Resident	30	1.40	1.850	1.843	39.09 [a]	0.073
	Tourist	103	0.73	1.395			

*Based on a scale from 0-5, where 0 = completely disagree and 5 = completely agree
**Theoretical dark motive items
***Significant at the p<0.05 level
a. Equal variance not assumed. Levine's Test significant (p<0.1)

Appendix F

Normality Testing and Transformations:

Motive Items for Both Locations

Motive Item Shapiro-Wilk Test for Normality at Both Locations (N=287)

	Statistic	df	Sig.*
I want to learn more about Winnipeg	0.858	247	0.000
It is a part of my own heritage	0.861	247	0.000
I want to try something new and "out of the ordinary"	0.824	247	0.000
I want to have a day's outing	0.854	247	0.000
It is a well-known tourist attraction	0.928	247	0.000
I am curious about how the victims died	0.882	247	0.000
I feel a sense of belonging to this attraction	0.892	247	0.000
I want to have an experience with death	0.753	247	0.000
Because of its historical background	0.451	247	0.000
I feel a sense of obligation to visit	0.806	247	0.000
I want to pay tribute to those who died	0.878	247	0.000
I want to feel emotionally involved	0.875	247	0.000
I think it is important to see this attraction	0.899	247	0.000
I want to have some entertainment	0.875	247	0.000
I want to come to terms with my own mortality	0.745	247	0.000
I am fascinated by abnormal and bizarre events	0.830	247	0.000
I want to learn about the history of the local people	0.826	247	0.000
I want to relax	0.917	247	0.000
I want to heal past hurts	0.671	247	0.000

* Significance level $p<0.05$, therefore, items not 'normal'

Motive Item Skewness Test (Both Locations)

	n	M[a]	SD	Skewness		
				Statistic	SE	Ratio
I want to learn more about Winnipeg	279	3.70	1.303	-0.946	0.146	-6.48**
It is a part of my own heritage	278	2.25	1.917	0.138	0.146	0.94
I want to try something new and "out of the ordinary"	281	3.73	1.414	-1.132	0.145	-7.81**
I want to have a day's outing	279	3.46	1.478	-0.993	0.146	-6.80**
It is a well-known tourist attraction	276	2.70	1.527	-0.130	0.147	-0.88
I am curious about how the victims died	277	2.75	1.795	-0.252	0.146	-1.72
I feel a sense of belonging to this attraction	280	2.24	1.740	0.174	0.146	1.19
I want to have an experience with death	276	1.16	1.564	1.185	0.147	8.06*
Because of its historical background	279	3.96	2.187	8.133	0.146	55.70*
I feel a sense of obligation to visit	279	1.47	1.685	0.803	0.146	5.50*
I want to pay tribute to those who died	278	2.00	1.742	0.381	0.146	2.61*
I want to feel emotionally involved	276	1.79	1.649	0.428	0.147	2.91*
I think it is important to see this attraction	279	2.94	1.663	-0.379	0.146	-2.60**
I want to have some entertainment	278	3.09	1.599	-0.665	0.146	-4.55**
I want to come to terms with my own mortality	276	1.13	1.526	1.264	0.147	8.60*
I am fascinated by abnormal and bizarre events	277	2.57	2.009	-0.116	0.146	-0.79
I want to learn about the history of the local people	281	3.67	1.424	-1.089	0.145	-7.51**
I want to relax	276	2.51	1.646	-0.126	0.147	-0.86
I want to heal past hurts	275	0.89	1.438	1.564	0.147	10.64*

a. Based on a scale from 0-5, where 0 = completely disagree and 5 = completely agree
*Significant positive skewness: items square rooted before t-testing
**Significant negative skewness: items squared before t-testing

Appendix G

Normality Testing and Transformations:

Dark Item Satisfaction

(Both Locations)

Dark Motive Item Satisfaction Shapiro-Wilk Test for Normality (N= 67)

	Statistic	df	Sig.*
I want to try something new and "out of the ordinary"	0.779	67	0.000
I am curious about how the victims died	0.864	67	0.000
I want to have an experience with death	0.869	67	0.000
I want to pay tribute to those who died	0.870	67	0.000
I want to come to terms with my own mortality	0.872	67	0.000
I am fascinated by abnormal and bizarre events	0.822	67	0.000
I want to heal past hurts	0.868	67	0.000

* Significance level $p<0.05$, therefore items not 'normal'

Dark Item Satisfaction Skewness Test (Both Locations)

	n	M[a]	SD	Skewness		
				Statistic	SE	Ratio
I want to try something new and "out of the ordinary"	246	3.87	1.104	-0.649	0.155	-4.187*
I am curious about how the victims died	196	3.31	1.285	-0.277	0.174	-1.392
I want to have an experience with death	121	2.80	1.542	0.145	0.220	0.659
I want to pay tribute to those who died	165	3.07	1.432	-0.055	0.189	-0.291
I want to come to terms with my own mortality	115	2.65	1.421	0.302	0.226	1.336
I am fascinated by abnormal and bizarre events	180	3.63	1.410	-0.632	0.180	-3.492*
I want to heal past hurts	99	2.59	1.450	0.430	0.243	1.769

a. Based on a scale from 0-5, where 0 = completely disagree and 5 = completely agree
*Significant negative skewness: items squared before t-testing

Appendix H

PAOH Descriptive Statistics

(Both Locations)

Ghost Tour PAOH Scores (N= 144)

	Score	n	%
Group 1	0.0	25	17.4
	0.2	5	3.5
	0.4	6	4.2
	0.6	5	3.5
	0.8	6	4.2
	1.0	12	8.3
	1.2	3	2.1
	1.4	1	0.7
	1.6	3	2.1
Total		66	45.8
Group 2	1.8	7	4.9
	2.0	10	6.9
	2.2	4	2.8
	2.4	6	4.2
	2.6	11	7.6
	2.8	4	2.8
	3.0	5	3.5
	3.2	6	4.2
Total		53	36.8
Group 3	3.4	3	2.1
	3.6	2	1.4
	3.8	3	2.1
	4.0	5	3.5
	4.2	1	0.7
	4.4	2	1.4
	4.6	3	2.1
	4.8	4	2.8
	5.0	2	1.4
Total		25	17.4

St. Boniface Cemetery PAOH Scores (N=135)

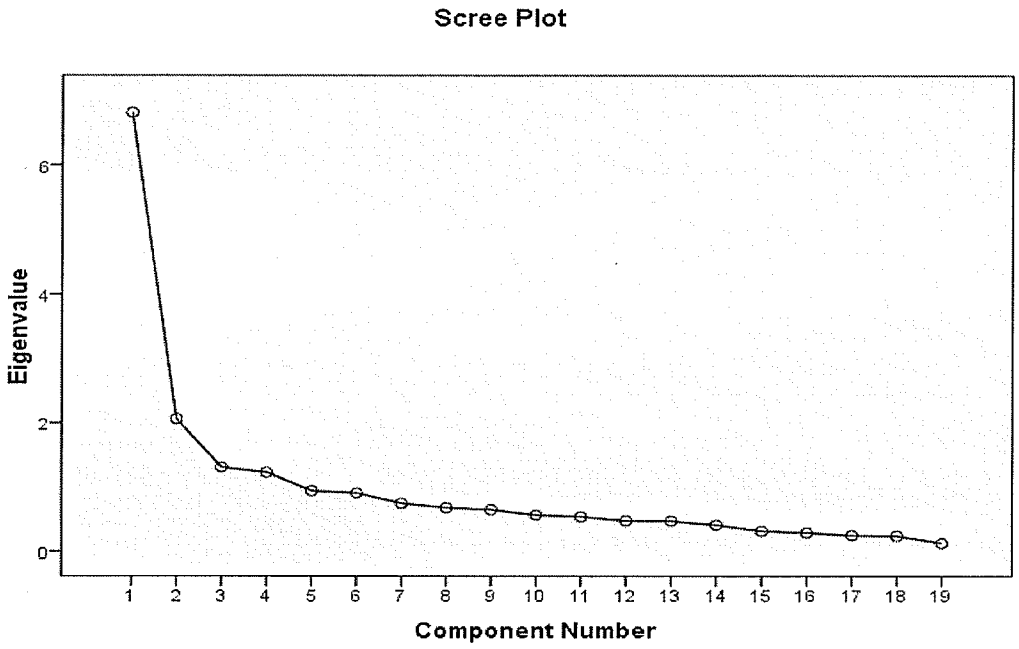
	Score	n	%
Group 1	0.0	14	10.4
	0.2	3	2.2
	0.4	2	1.5
	0.6	6	4.4
	0.8	5	3.7
	1.0	7	5.2
	1.2	4	3.0
	1.4	5	3.7
	1.6	1	0.7
Total		47	34.8
Group 2	1.8	3	2.2
	2.0	9	6.7
	2.2	5	3.7
	2.4	4	3.0
	2.6	4	3.0
	2.8	8	5.9
	3.0	7	5.2
	3.2	3	2.2
Total		43	31.8
Group 3	3.4	7	5.2
	3.6	6	4.4
	3.8	7	5.2
	4.0	6	4.4
	4.2	3	2.2
	4.4	2	1.5
	4.6	1	0.7
	4.8	4	3.0
	5.0	9	6.7
Total		45	33.3

Appendix I

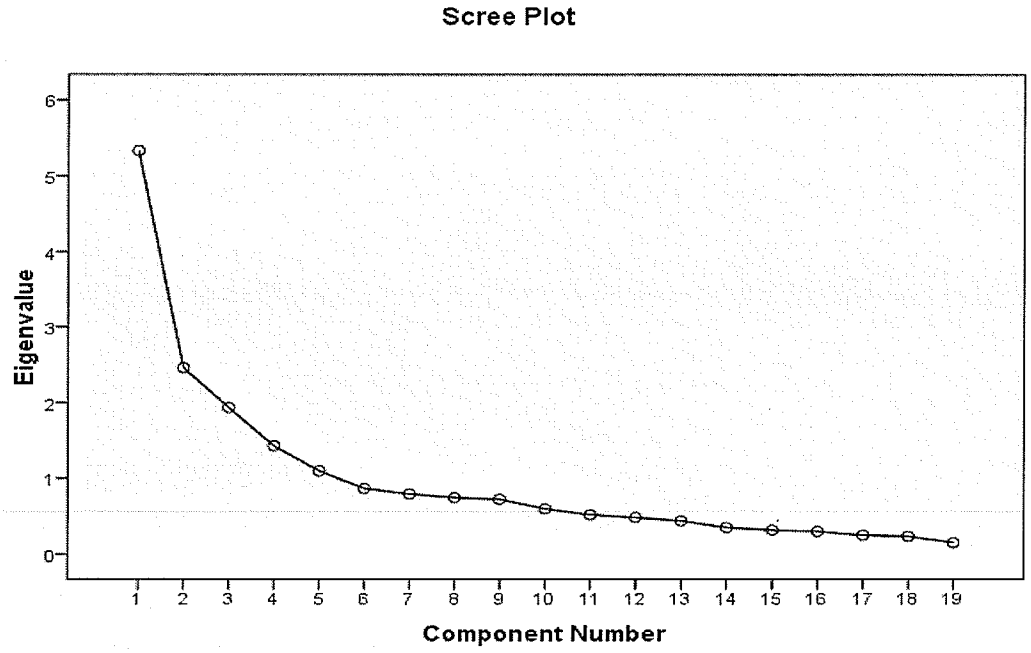
Motive Item Scree Plots

(Both Locations)

Ghost Tour Motive Items Scree Plot



St. Boniface Cemetery Motive Item Scree Plot



Appendix J

Factor Correlation Matrices

(Both Locations)

Ghost Tour Factor Correlation Matrix

Factor	Dark Experience	Engaging Entertainment	Unique Learning Experience	Casual Interest
Dark Experience	1.000	0.467	0.317	0.052
Engaging Entertainment	0.467	1.000	0.313	0.000
Unique Learning Experience	0.317	0.313	1.000	-0.236
Casual Interest	0.052	0.000	-0.236	1.000

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis. Rotation Method: Promax with Kaiser Normalization.

St. Boniface Factor Correlation Matrix

Factor	Dark Experience	Emotional Involvement	Unique Learning Experience	Recreational Heritage	Casual Interest
Dark Experience	1.000	0.277	0.084	0.319	0.205
Emotional Involvement	0.277	1.000	0.143	0.347	-0.063
Unique Learning Experience	0.084	0.143	1.000	0.231	0.330
Recreational Heritage	0.319	0.347	0.231	1.000	0.164
Casual Interest	0.205	-0.063	-0.330	0.164	1.000

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis. Rotation Method: Promax with Kaiser Normalization.