



Research Article

Does a visitor of dark tourism sites have a dark personality? A study of potential visitors of dark tourism sites in Serbia

Tamara Jovanović ¹ , Maja Mijatov¹  and Metod Šuligoj² 

¹ *Department of Geography, Tourism and Hotel Management, Faculty of Sciences, University of Novi Sad, Serbia*

² *Department for management in tourism, Faculty of tourism studies – Turistica, University of Primorska, Slovenia*

ABSTRACT

Dark tourism can be defined as form of tourism that is related to death and suffering and is often a subject of debate whether it is a deviant form of tourism. Previous research on dark tourism in vulnerable post-conflict areas, such as South-Eastern Europe, has overlooked the nature of visitor personalities. Accordingly, the aim of the present study was to determine which basic and Dark Tetrad traits are related to preference of dark tourism sites. The sample consisted of 227 participants from Serbia (73.6% women). Using a multivariate general linear model, it was found that Machiavellianism was positively related to the preference for dark exhibitions and psychopathy to preference for visiting conflict/battle sites, while sadism was negatively related to preference for fun factories as an additional type of dark tourism sites. Narcissism showed no relation with the preference of dark tourism sites. Hence, only agreeableness and honesty-humility showed a significant and positive association with the preference of dark tourism sites (dark exhibitions and conflict/battle sites). These results provide a novel insight into dark sites visitors' personalities.

Keywords: dark tourism, preference of dark tourism sites, Dark Tetrad, HEXACO, Big Five, Serbia

UDC: 159.923.072:338.48

DOI: 10.19090/pp.2021.4. 407-442

Received: 03.09.2021.

Revised: 18.10.2021.

Accepted: 07.11.2021.



Copyright © 2021 The Author(s).

This is an open access article distributed under the terms of the [Creative Commons Attribution License](#), which permits unrestricted use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original author and source are credited.

✉ Corresponding author email: tamara.jovanovic@dgt.uns.ac.rs

Introduction

Relationship between death, on the one hand, and tourism, on the other, is identified as a specific consumption form called dark tourism and this phenomenon has been researched for more than 20 years, starting with Rojek's (1993) highlights of important term 'black spot' (pp. 137). Furthermore, in their initial research, Foley and Lennon (1996), as well as Seaton (1996) described the concept of dark tourism as travel encounters with death. Besides defining it as a 'dark' one, other authors also researched this type of tourism, labelling it as thanatourism (Christou & Hadjielia Drotarova, 2021; Jagiellonski, 2015; Lee et al., 2011; Lloyd-Parkes et al., 2021), fright tourism (Bristow, 2020; Bristow & Jenkins, 2020; Bristow & Newman, 2004), trauma tourism (Clark, 2006, 2009), grief tourism (Lewis, 2008; Sharpley & Stone, 2009), morbid tourism (Blom, 2000; da Silva, 2018) and death tourism (Biran et al., 2014). However, authors, such as Dunkley et al. (2007, 2011) and Sun and Lv (2021), summarized the main terms used in the available literature and they indicated that the concept of 'dark tourism' is represented in a majority of such research, considering the fact that it clearly implies the sense of 'darkness' in this unique selective type of tourism, throughout visiting the sites related with death, various types of disaster and human sufferings (Iliev, 2020; Light, 2017).

Dark tourism sites might be classified by different wide themes, such as warfare, as well as the other historical circumstances, disasters (including the natural ones), bizarre traditions, paranormal, poverty and other tragic events that are generally associated with death (Reid, 2016; Tan & Lim, 2018). These perspectives and frameworks make dark tourism sites easy to identify (Bhati et al., 2020). In respect to that, it could be said that tourists are visiting destinations with the main focus on battlefields, death camps, war cemeteries, ossuaries, prisons, points of massacres, coups and execution, graveyards, memorials, places of explosions, earthquakes, places linked to the various mythologies and legends and other sites of mass injuries and terrorism (Popovic & Korstanje, 2020), which can be located in urban or rural areas (Šuligoj, 2019). The intensity of darkness of such sites depends on the

perception of victimization of death, while participants in dark tourism consider their visits to such sites as an act to show the respect to victims, but even to recall the pain of the 'heroes' of a particular hard moment, in order to make them 'immortal' in local or wider society (Osbaldiston & Petray, 2011).

The South-Eastern Europe (former state of Yugoslavia) has been at the centre of many regional and international conflicts, and the 20th century was marked by a series of bloody conflicts (Kennell et al., 2018). Consequently, many (military) cemeteries, charnel houses and other 'sacred' sites stand as evidence to the numerousness of victims and their national heterogeneity, as well as to contemporary attitudes towards the victims of war, which has changed over time. Many sites have become attractive to (international) visitors (dark tourism), although this issue has been politicized and consequently, sharply divides societies in post-Yugoslav countries (Kennell et al., 2018; Naef, 2019; Šuligoj & Kennell, 2021). Research into the dark tourism in post-conflict Bosnia-Herzegovina (Causevic & Lynch, 2013; Wise & Mulec, 2014) and Croatia (Baillie, 2013; Goulding & Domic, 2010; Šuligoj, 2016, 2017) dominate, while Serbian commemorative practices and related dark tourism tend to be overlooked by the domestic and international scholars. Young visitors who were not involved in the conflict are a particularly appropriate target group for the preservation of the memory of the victims and for the development of dark tourism (Šuligoj & Jovanović, 2019).

Šuligoj & Kennell (2021) highlighted dark leisure practices of participants (e.g., ethno-nationalism, intolerance, physical violence) that may characterize attendance at dark commemorative events. While it is difficult to attribute these problematic behaviours to all visitors, it is nonetheless interesting to note the nature of these visitors' personalities. Exploring this in a sensitive post-conflict context such is area of the former Yugoslavia thus seems rather justified. Taking into account that there are no available studies that explore the typology of visitors of dark sites, only motives for visiting, the main purpose of the present study is to determine what personality traits are related to dark tourism sites preference. Specifically, the aim is to explore the association of dark traits (Dark Tetrad) and basic personality traits (Big

Five plus HEXACO's honesty-humility) with the preference of eight different types of dark tourism sites.

Dark tourism and dark traits

Psychological mechanisms of facing fears are often considered as acceptable contemporary practice for dealing with stressful and frightening situations (Biran & Buda, 2018; Stone, 2018). In respect to that, dark tourism, as a specific type of consumption, is often perceived as a psychological buffer against the common and widely spread fear of death, which is often deeply-rooted among the people (Biran & Buda, 2018; Iliev, 2020). Contrary to the main findings of earlier conceptual studies (Foley & Lennon, 1996; Seaton, 1996), which indicated death as a primary motive for visiting the dark sites, Iliev (2020) pointed out that numerous contemporary 'dark' tourists are motivated by their interest in cultural heritage, learning and education opportunities for understanding what actually happened within so-called 'dark' destinations. Authors, such as Ashworth and Isaac (2015), Buda (2015), Nawijn and Fricke (2015) and Tucker (2016) even perceived the concept of dark tourism as an emotional experience that might be characterized as negative but also positive, to some extent (considering an increase of emotions, such as hope, love, pride, fascination, interest, gratitude), or mixed, with accompanying consequences for the life of dark tourism participants. In respect to that, the concept of dark tourism is often considered as an entire process of searching for a personal deeper experience (Iliev, 2020).

Besides the "terror management theory", "mortality mediation model", "dystopian dark tourism", there are limited efforts oriented towards understanding the tourists that are prone to visit the dark sites (Iliev, 2020). In terms of "the terror management theory", Pyszczynski et al. (2021) pointed out that it is focused on the role of the awareness of death in various aspects of peoples' life. On the other hand, Brown (2016), Raine (2013) and Leevit (2012) indicated that visiting the dark sites is considered as a manner of lessening anxiety about death within the "mortality mediation model", while Stone (2012) even pointed out that it represents a kind of a "filter" between life and

death. Podoshen et al. (2015) expanded the “mortality mediation model”, by adding the element of “dark aesthetics”, which allow tourists to be involved in a simulation as a manner of alleviating the fear of death and dystopia, labelling it as a “dystopian dark tourism”.

Alongside dark sites, a dark side of human behaviour has always frightened and fascinated people (Brud et al., 2020; Schreiber & Marcus, 2020). One of the models of researching the dark side of personality is labelled as the Dark Tetrad and represents a unique combination of four socially aversive traits: narcissism, Machiavellianism, psychopathy and sadism (e.g., Paulhus, 2014). Narcissism and psychopathy emerged from labels of personality disorders that were later adapted for describing the traits within the subclinical personality sphere (Paulhus & Williams, 2002; Paulhus & Jones, 2015). On the other hand, Machiavellianism, considered as a trait label, is based on psycho-linguistic analyses of Italian philosopher Nicolò Machiavelli and his highlights regarding the cold and manipulative styles of political leadership (Christie & Geis, 1970; Paulhus & Jones, 2015). Finally, sadism can be described as a tendency to humiliate others, general cruelty and intentional desire to inflict sexual, physical and psychological suffering on others with the goal to enjoy or assert dominance (Buckels et al., 2013; O’Meara et al., 2011).

Dark Tetrad traits contain several common characteristics, mostly related to the lack of empathy, instrumental attitude and behaviour towards other people, including the egoism in its essence, as well as pronounced tendency towards interpersonal manipulation and exploitation (e.g., Paulhus, 2014). However, each trait of Dark Tetrad could also be distinguished by several basic differences. More precisely, psychopathy is characterised by impulsiveness (Jones & Paulhus, 2011; Paulhus & Jones, 2015; Paulhus & Williams, 2002), Machiavellianism is related to the skills of strategic thinking and planning (Jones & Paulhus, 2009), while narcissism is expressing the personal tendency and strivings towards strengthening the various self-issues (Back, 2018). Narcissism is somewhat different from psychopathy and Machiavellianism (Rogoza & Ciecuch, 2020), considering the fact that it contains assertive self-enhancement through self-promotion, besides

antagonistic facets (such as a self-protection on the basis of a self-defence, for example, see Back, 2018). While those high on Machiavellianism and narcissism would generally avoid aggression, those high on sadism and psychopathy tend to be more impulsive and are prone to aggression. However, sadistic aggression differs from psychopathic since sadists are constantly looking for cruelty and would act unprovoked even if their aggression would be costly both in time and effort (Buckels et al., 2013). Psychopathic aggression is almost always low cost and instrumental (Woodworth & Porter, 2002). Sadistic impulse can be adaptive or maladaptive meaning that it can be some form of humiliation of a consenting partner but it can also be an act of a psychotic murderer (O'Meara et al., 2011). Even though most of the studies focus on the sexual aspect of sadistic behaviour, sadism does not necessarily have to be manifested through sexual behaviour (Berger et al., 1999; Millon, 1996). For example, it can be seen in occupational setting or in sports preference (O'Meara et al., 2011).

Big Five and/or HEXACO models can be considered as appropriate for the explanation of the core of “evil” within the study of Dark Tetrad (Book et al., 2016). Low emotionality, agreeableness, conscientiousness and honesty-humility are consistently shown to predict higher Dark Tetrad scores (Book et al., 2016; Dinić et al., 2021; Lee et al., 2013; Meere & Egan, 2017). Honesty-humility is often the most significant predictor and there are numerous studies that are focused on relations between dark traits, on the one hand, and honesty-humility, on the other (Djeriouat & Trémolière, 2014; Hodson et al., 2018; Howard & Van Zandt, 2020; Meere & Egan, 2017). Meere and Egan (2017) state that those with higher Dark Tetrad scores are usually manipulative, like to show their wealth and power and see themselves above others. Interestingly, Hodson et al. (2018) go as far as to conclude that there is a complete overlap between Dark triad and low honesty-humility.

A literature review and detailed insight into the relevant findings related to the concept of dark tourism consumption pointed out that the main subjects of the previously conducted studies were mostly focused on a dark tourism motivation and experiences (Çakar, 2020; Mangwane et al., 2019).

However, the recent studies are highlighting the fact that aforementioned concepts are advancing and evolving, which is putting the additional tasks in front of the authors, by orienting their studies towards finding the new directions of researching the dark tourism (Iliev, 2020), as well as in a variety of socio-cultural contexts (Stone, 2011). Bhati et al. (2020) also stated the importance of researching the motivational factors that are not only important for understanding the entire decision making process for travelling, but also due to the fact that such factors might affect and shape the tourists' behaviour during and after their travelling. One of the most commonly used motivation theories in practice is indicating an importance of push and pull factors. Push motivation arises from intrinsic psychological motivators and individual-level factors and desire for travelling, while pull motivations are extrinsic and related to the main destination characteristics (Bhati & Pearce, 2017; Bhati et al., 2020; Bozic et al., 2017). Although history, cultural heritage and identity are identified as the strongest pull factors, location and artefacts/exhibits also represent significant factors for making a decision to visit dark tourism sites (Bhati et al., 2020). More precisely, concrete dark tourism site might have several attractive attributes and significance in historical and geographical senses. It means that such historical sites provide unique connection with the past and specific experience that enables a sense of travelling "back in time" (Azevedo, 2018; Bhati et al., 2020; Gaya, 2013). On the other hand, push factors were mainly researched on the basis of tourists' intrinsic motivation, such as expressed need for escaping, resting, relaxing, but also for gaining a kind of self-development and chasing for a specific adventure (Bhati et al., 2020). However, there is a question in which manner other standardized theories related to personality, such as the Dark Tetrad, shape the tourists' selection of visiting the dark tourism sites.

The dark personality is widely researched in different aspects of human functioning, such as a health behaviour (Dębska et al., 2021), work behaviour (Forsyth et al., 2012), entrepreneurial orientation (Kraus et al., 2018), behaviour within universities (Perry, 2015), social networks (Christou et al., 2020), as well as in the field of a tolerance towards unethical behaviour

(Peixoto et al., 2021), etc. In terms of the sector of tourism, narcissism was mainly researched through its effects on social representations of tourist selfies, as a need and one of the main drivers of individual self-expression (Pearce & Moscardo, 2015; Taylor, 2017; 2020). There is one available research that connects digital narcissism of teenagers, expressed through self-portraits, with horror sites such as concentration camps (Hodalska, 2017). Research is qualitative and concludes that self-portraits are a way to promote a person and to connect them with the history of the site but they, in no means, relate the story of the horrors that occurred on that site (Hodalska, 2017). Khan et al. (2021) researched the negative effects of psychopathic leadership on employees' career satisfaction and turnover intentions in tourism enterprises, while Machiavellianism was researched in respect to its effects on sales executives of a resort timeshare company, showing that salespeople with expressed Machiavellian orientation are likely to be more successful in their business performances (Crotts et al., 2005). As for sadism, there are several studies that connect sadism to the dark tourism context (Korstanje & Ivanov, 2012; Korstanje, 2020; Kunwar & Karki, 2019). The question that these studies raise and that remains to be answered is whether dark tourism is a new form of repressed sadism i.e. sadist spectacle, an act of macabre taste of a modern tourist or is it an empathic experience of other's pain and suffering.

Finally, there are no available studies that directly examine the relationship of any personality traits and dark tourism preference. Many tourism studies have explored numerous typologies of tourists (Frew & Shaw, 1999; Hoxter & Lester, 1988; Plog, 1974) but none have examined a typology of a tourist in the context of dark tourism. Therefore, it is difficult to postulate any specific hypotheses given that there is no previous research directly associated with the goal of this study. However, we could make several general assumptions. Firstly, we expect that Dark Tetrad traits will be related to dark tourism preference (H1) since many dark tourism sites could be seen as the result of human dark behavior – low impulse control, vengefulness, aggression, selfishness and so on. Studies have shown that people are

attracted to destinations that are seen as a reflection of themselves (Ahn et al., 2013; Bjerke & Polegato, 2006; Božić, 2016) so we believe that this will also be the case in our study. Since there are numerous subcategories of dark tourism destinations, lighter (such as dark fun factories) as well as darker (such as concentration camps, see Stone, 2006), we assume that darker sites will yield more significant connections with the dark traits than lighter sites (H2). Our last assumption is that basic personality traits will also show effects on dark tourism site preference but not as much as dark traits (H3). Since low honesty-humility could be seen as the core of Dark Tetrad traits among basic personality traits, we believe that it will show highest and negative association with dark tourism site preference.

Method

Sample

The structure of the convenience sample can be seen in Table 1. The total sample consisted of 227 participants with the average age 25.30 ($SD = 8.96$, range 18-63). In the data gathering phase, 166 students filled out the questionnaire as part of course requirements while 61 participants came from the general population.

Table 1*Structure of the sample*

| Variable | Category | Total |
|------------------------------------|-------------------|-------------|
| Gender | Male | 58 (25.6%) |
| | Female | 167 (73.6%) |
| | non-binary | 2 (0.9%) |
| Place of living | Village | 86 (37.9%) |
| | City | 141 (62.1%) |
| Marital status | Single | 106 (46.7%) |
| | in a relationship | 72 (31.7%) |
| | common-law union | 11 (4.8%) |
| | married | 34 (15%) |
| | Divorced | 4 (1.8%) |
| Monthly income | below 100€ | 60 (26.4%) |
| | 100-300€ | 95 (41.9%) |
| | 301-500€ | 23 (10.1%) |
| | 501-700€ | 26 (11.5%) |
| | over 700€ | 23 (10.1%) |
| Experience with dark tourism sites | With | 130 (57.3%) |
| | Without | 97 (42.7%) |

Instruments*Spectrum of eight dark tourism products*

To measure the preference of visiting dark tourism sites, a spectrum of eight dark tourism products developed by Stone (2006) was used (see Table 2). Stone (2006) has based his categorization on the number of victims, the level of suffering and the consequences of these tragic events. For each site an example from Serbia and surrounding countries, was provided and participants evaluated their preference of given sites on a 5-point Likert scale (1 - *I am not interested at all*, 5 - *I am completely interested*). Participants were also asked whether they have visited any of these sites (YES/NO) and what would be their reason to visit such sites. After that, participants chose one out of eight responses where seven were offered reasons for visiting dark tourism sites and the eighth response was that they are not interested in

visiting this type of destinations. The seven reasons to visit dark tourism sites are: 1) for better understanding of the conflicts/wars of the 20th century, 2) out of compassion for victims and survivors of conflicts/wars, 3) to pay tribute to all victims of conflicts/wars, 4) in memory of the victims from my family, 5) because of suggestions and experiences of friends and/or family, 6) to learn and experience something new and 7) out of sheer curiosity. The list of reasons was created based on the previous research on the topic of dark tourism (Çakar, 2020; Mangwane et al., 2019).

Mini IPIP-6

Mini IPIP-6 (Sibley, 2012, for Serbian adaptation see Međedović & Bulut, 2017) is a short version of IPIP with 24 items that measure six personality traits: extraversion, neuroticism, agreeableness, conscientiousness, and openness to experience from the Big Five model, and honesty-humility as the sixth factor from the HEXACO model. Each of the six traits is measured by four items that are rated on a 5-point Likert scale. Mini IPIP-6 has shown good alpha reliability ranging from .74 to .80 (Međedović & Bulut, 2017).

The Short Dark Triad (SD3)

Short Dark Triad (SD3: Jones & Paulhus, 2014, for Serbian adaptation see Dinić et al., 2018) is a brief measure of three dark personality traits: Machiavellianism, narcissism and psychopathy. It consists of 27 items, nine per each trait, measured on a 5-point Likert scale. In the study of Jones and Paulhus (2014) scales show acceptable alpha reliabilities ranging from .71 to .77 while for the Serbian sample reliabilities range from .70 to .80 (Dinić et al., 2018).

Short Sadistic Impulse Scale (SSIS)

Short Sadistic Impulse Scale (SSIS: O'Meara et al., 2011, for Serbian adaptation see Dinić et al., 2020) is a unidimensional measure of sadistic tendencies. It has 10 items with 5-point Likert scale responses. According to O'Meara et al. (2011), internal consistency is satisfactory, $\alpha = .86$. For the Serbian version, alpha reliability is .78 (Dinić et al., 2020).

Alpha reliabilities of the above mentioned measures in this study can be seen in Table 2.

Table 2

Psychometric characteristics of the measures in this study

| Scale | No. of items | <i>M</i> | <i>SD</i> | <i>Sk</i> | <i>Ku</i> | Cronbach's Alpha |
|--|--------------|----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|------------------|
| MiniIPIP6 Openness | 4 | 3.87 | .75 | -.49 | .25 | .68 |
| MiniIPIP6 Conscientiousness | 4 | 3.64 | .78 | -.58 | -.11 | .71 |
| MiniIPIP6 Extraversion | 4 | 3.13 | 1.01 | -.19 | -.71 | .84 |
| MiniIPIP6 Agreeableness | 4 | 4.03 | .71 | -.53 | -.11 | .72 |
| MiniIPIP6 Neuroticism | 4 | 2.99 | .86 | -.12 | -.28 | .75 |
| MiniIPIP6 Honesty-Humility | 4 | 3.49 | .78 | -.42 | -.10 | .73 |
| SD3 Machiavellianism | 9 | 2.86 | .72 | -.02 | -.02 | .81 |
| SD3 Narcissism | 9 | 2.65 | .58 | .15 | 1.03 | .64 |
| SD3 Psychopathy | 9 | 1.93 | .58 | .96 | 1.84 | .67 |
| SSIS Sadism | 10 | 1.34 | .46 | 2.77 | 11.28 | .76 |
| fun factories* | 1 | 3.29 | 1.32 | -.43 | -.94 | |
| Exhibitions | 1 | 3.67 | 1.16 | -.65 | -.32 | |
| dungeons/prisons | 1 | 3.70 | 1.34 | -.83 | -.49 | |
| resting places | 1 | 3.14 | 1.28 | -.17 | -1.05 | |
| Shrines | 1 | 3.28 | 1.12 | -.23 | -.49 | |
| conflict/battle sites | 1 | 3.66 | 1.20 | -.73 | -.36 | |
| camps of genocide | 1 | 3.57 | 1.37 | -.63 | -.85 | |
| places where natural disaster occurred | 1 | 2.95 | 1.35 | -.05 | -.121 | |

Note: grey colour depicts the level of darkness of a given dark tourism site estimated by Stone (2006).

Procedure

Data was collected online in the period from November 2019 till July 2021 using Google Forms platform. All the participants were informed that their answers will be anonymous and their participation is voluntary. As

mentioned in the Sample section, part of the participants were students that participated in the study as part of course requirements while the other part were participants from the general population recruited on Facebook using snowball sampling technique.

Results

All statistical analyses were conducted using IBM SPSS 23.0. Before conducting the analyses, we have excluded 17 participants that stated that they are not interested in visiting dark tourism sites. We have also excluded gender non-binary participants since there were only two of them, which is insufficient to make any adequate comparison. This resulted in the final sample of 208 participants.

First, we've examined the correlations between measured personality traits, dark and basic traits (Table 3). It is evident that honesty-humility is the only trait that negatively and significantly correlates with all Dark Tetrad traits. All but one correlation of dark and basic traits are negative. The only positive correlation is between extraversion and narcissism.

Table 3*Intercorrelations between dark and basic traits*

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
|----------------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|-------|-------|------|------|-----|
| 1. sadism | 1 | | | | | | | | |
| 2. Machiavellianism | .17* | 1 | | | | | | | |
| 3. narcissism | .17* | .42** | 1 | | | | | | |
| 4. psychopathy | .47** | .46** | .35** | 1 | | | | | |
| 5. conscientiousness | -.31** | -.18* | -.09 | -.35** | 1 | | | | |
| 6. extraversion | -.01 | .01 | .44** | .09 | .12 | 1 | | | |
| 7. openness | -.22** | -.07 | .11 | -.04 | .09 | .26** | 1 | | |
| 8. agreeableness | -.28** | -.16* | -.06 | -.35** | .10 | .21** | .14* | 1 | |
| 9. neuroticism | -.07 | -.09 | .07 | -.11 | .19** | .21** | .12 | -.11 | 1 |
| 10. honesty-humility | -.22** | -.43** | -.48** | -.22** | .19* | -.12 | .14* | .09 | .09 |

Notes: *Correlation is significant at the .05 level (2-tailed). ** Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed).

To determine the effect of the selected personality traits on dark tourism site preference, multivariate general linear model (GLM) was used. We've tested all mentioned sociodemographic variables as well as sample variable (student vs. general population) but only gender and age showed significant influence on dark tourism site preference and were included in the final model. Thus, final model encompassed gender as a between factor while age and all personality traits were covariates of all eight dark tourism site preferences. Gender showed marginally significant effect on the preference of conflict/battle sites. Male participants preferred these sites more than female ($t = 3.09, p < .01$). Preference of four out of eight types of dark tourism sites was related to participant's age. Specifically, younger participants preferred more dark fun factories, dungeons, camps of genocide and places where natural disaster occurred. Interestingly, this trend was present for all dark sites except resting places where older participant had higher preference (but this was not statistically significant).

As for the dark traits, results showed that all Dark Tetrad traits, except narcissism, showed significant effects on dark destination preferences. Thus,

sadism is negatively related to preference of dark fun factories, Machiavellianism positively to dark exhibitions preference, while psychopathy is positively related to conflict/battle sites preference. Regarding basic traits, only agreeableness and honesty-humility showed significant effects on dark tourism site preference. Agreeableness is positively related to dark exhibitions, camps of genocide and conflict/battle sites preference while honesty-humility is positively related to dark exhibitions preference.

Table 4

Multivariate GLM: Significant effects of gender, age, basic and dark traits on dark tourism site preference (df=1)

| Effects | Dark tourism site preference | β | R^2 | F | p |
|------------------|--|---------|-------|-------|-----|
| Gender | conflict/battle sites | .14 | | 3.71 | .06 |
| Age | dark fun factories | -.14 | .13 | 4.09 | .04 |
| | dungeons/prisons | -.15 | .08 | 4.04 | .05 |
| | camps of genocide | -.15 | .08 | 3.77 | .05 |
| | places where natural disaster occurred | -.23 | .10 | 9.36 | .00 |
| Machiavellianism | exhibitions | .29 | .16 | 11.33 | .00 |
| psychopathy | conflict/battle sites | .19 | .14 | 4.12 | .04 |
| Sadism | dark fun factories | -.21 | .13 | 6.75 | .01 |
| agreeableness | exhibitions | .27 | .16 | 12.68 | .00 |
| | conflict/battle sites | .19 | .14 | 5.97 | .02 |
| | camps of genocide | .18 | .08 | 3.89 | .05 |
| honesty-humility | exhibitions | .21 | .16 | 6.36 | .01 |

We've also explored the reasons for visiting dark tourism sites. Nobody answered "because of suggestions and experiences of friends and/or family". Remaining six reasons can be divided into two categories: intellectual (for better understanding of the conflicts/wars of the 20th century, to learn and experience something new and out of sheer curiosity) and emotional (out of compassion for victims and survivors of conflicts/wars, to pay tribute to all

victims of conflicts/wars and in memory of the victims from my family). The most frequent reason was “to learn and experience something new” (39%) while “in memory of the victims from my family” was the least represented reason within this sample (1.9%). To better understand the relationship between independent and dependent variables (Table 4), we’ve explored the order of reasons by each predictor (Table 5). According to the findings for sociodemographic variables, men most frequently chose curiosity (30.4%) and to learn and experience something new (30.4%) while women also chose to learn and experience something new (42.1%) but also out of compassion for victims and survivors of conflicts/wars (19.1%). It would seem that women are more empathic while men tend to approach the topic intellectually. In terms of age, older participants strive towards remembrance while younger have stated both emotional and educational reasons (Table 5). On the other hand, for dark personality traits Machiavellianism and psychopathy, reasons are almost the same, predominantly intellectual. For higher sadism, compassion is a number one reason, which might be more in terms of identification with the victims, rather than empathy. Persons who have high sadism gravitate towards both categories equally stating intellectual and emotional reasons but with a more personal connotation (see Table 5). Finally, agreeableness and honesty-humility were more related to caring and sympathetic reasons to visit dark tourism sites.

Table 5

Rank of average responses and standard deviation of GLM predictors for reasons to visit dark tourism sites

| | Reasons to visit | <i>M</i> | <i>SD</i> |
|-----|---|----------|-----------|
| age | pay tribute | 33.89 | 6.15 |
| | in memory of the victims from my family | 29.00 | 16.75 |
| | curiosity | 25.64 | 8.91 |
| | understanding the conflicts | 25.00 | 9.02 |
| | compassion | 24.84 | 9.01 |
| | learn and experience something new | 22.95 | 7.08 |

| | | | |
|------------------|---|------|------|
| sadism | compassion | 1.44 | 0.71 |
| | curiosity | 1.34 | 0.40 |
| | in memory of the victims from my family | 1.33 | 0.17 |
| | understanding the conflicts | 1.30 | 0.33 |
| | pay tribute | 1.27 | 0.23 |
| | learn and experience something new | 1.25 | 0.35 |
| Machiavellianism | curiosity | 3.01 | 0.78 |
| | learn and experience something new | 2.95 | 0.68 |
| | understanding the conflicts | 2.89 | 0.68 |
| | compassion | 2.67 | 0.74 |
| | in memory of the victims from my family | 2.64 | 0.06 |
| | pay tribute | 2.22 | 0.72 |
| psychopathy | curiosity | 2.04 | 0.63 |
| | understanding the conflicts | 2.02 | 0.44 |
| | learn and experience something new | 1.90 | 0.59 |
| | compassion | 1.90 | 0.62 |
| | in memory of the victims from my family | 1.64 | 0.37 |
| | pay tribute | 1.61 | .53 |
| agreeableness | pay tribute | 4.33 | .63 |
| | in memory of the victims from my family | 4.19 | .63 |
| | learn and experience something new | 4.12 | .60 |
| | compassion | 4.12 | .72 |
| | understanding the conflicts | 3.99 | .62 |
| | curiosity | 3.74 | .94 |
| honesty-humility | in memory of the victims from my family | 4.06 | .32 |
| | pay tribute | 4.06 | .86 |
| | curiosity | 3.60 | .75 |
| | understanding the conflicts | 3.49 | .67 |
| | learn and experience something new | 3.39 | .78 |
| | compassion | 3.39 | .90 |

Discussion and Conclusion

Based on the review of the available studies, this is the first research of the relationship between basic and dark personality traits and dark tourism site preference. Even though there were no previous findings that were directly related with this issue, we were able to formulate three general assumptions. First, we expected that all Dark Tetrad traits will be related to dark tourism site preference (H1). As mentioned earlier, these sites have always frightened and fascinated people (Brud et al., 2020; Schreiber & Marcus, 2020) and can even be associated with deviant behaviour (Šuligoj & Kennell, 2021). This is generally consistent with previous findings about characteristics of dark traits, such as: callousness, interpersonal manipulation and exploitation, impulsivity and reinforcement of various self-issues (e.g., Back, 2018; Jones & Paulhus, 2011; Paulhus & Jones, 2015; Paulhus & Williams, 2002). Consequently, H1 assumption was mostly confirmed considering the results that Machiavellianism, psychopathy and sadism are related with dark tourism site preference while there is no significant association with narcissism. The results show that Machiavellianism is positively related to preference of dark exhibitions, psychopathy to preference of visiting conflict/battle sites and sadism negatively to dark fun factories preference. Psychopathy and Machiavellianism are quite similar constructs however there are several distinctions such as higher level of impulsiveness among those high on psychopathy while those high on Machiavellianism are more concerned for their reputation and are therefore prone to plan ahead and build relationships (Jones & Paulhus, 2014). Our results indicate that both of these groups can identify themselves with dark tourism sites, however, those high on Machiavellianism might be more interested in understanding why the tragic event occurred while those high on psychopathy could be striving to enact their dark fantasies/imaginings. Dark exhibitions (which can be lighter in their essence than other researched dark sites) are structured and planned and there is a clear storyline which those high on Machiavellianism find attractive. On the other hand, those high on psychopathy are looking for a darker, more authentic place where a tragic event occurred, such as

conflict/battle site, in order to come into contact with residual aggression that this place could provide. Since aggression is often mentioned as one of the characteristics of psychopathy (Jones & Paulhus, 2010), spending time on such sites could help those with higher psychopathy imagine themselves as active participants.

On the other side, fun factories (the lightest of the dark sites) are seen as family friendly sights, with well defined activities and itineraries and truthful in their inauthentic content. There is no real suffering or macabre represented (Stone, 2006), which might explain the negative effect of sadism. Those high on sadism might prefer a more aggressive and cruel setting, with live interaction such as reenactments of battles or gladiator fights. Finally, Serbian dark tourism sites that were selected for this study are passive/commemorative, without some exciting, interactive and/or controversial content, representing past events that have ended years ago which could also explain why sadism was not related to the preference of any other dark tourism sites.

Narcissism yielded no connection with the preference of dark tourism sites. These are places where everything associates to the transience of life and remembrance of the deceased which might not be appealing to people with high narcissism who are generally self-absorbed (Back, 2018). Visiting these sites in Serbia does not help them in self-promotion and would not be socially acceptable to, for example, take selfies there. This is unlike the most globally recognizable places, for example, some Holocaust sites, Hiroshima Peace Memorial, the 9/11 Memorial, that might show different results.

As for the second assumption that darker sites will yield more significant connections with the dark traits than lighter sites, the results showed that this is not the case. More precisely, dark traits are related to dark fun factories, dark exhibitions and conflict/battle sites, where first two can be considered lighter and third is considered darker.

The last assumption that basic personality traits will be to some extent related with dark tourism site preference but not as much as dark traits was mostly confirmed. Only two out of six personality traits (agreeableness

and honesty-humility) showed significant connection with dark tourism site preference, i.e. exhibitions, conflict/battle sites and camps of genocide. Majority of dark traits (three out of four) showed significant relation with the preference of three types of dark tourism sites (dark fun factories, exhibitions and conflict/battle sites). Agreeableness is characterized by tolerance, empathy, lenient temperament and gentle nature (Graziano & Tobin, 2009) and this trait is positively related to the preference of dark exhibitions, conflict/battle sites and camps of genocide. It could be assumed that this preference among agreeableness is probably emotional in its essence, to empathize with the victims or heroes, to remember them and to honor their legacy. As for honesty-humility, results showed that it was positively related to dark exhibitions preference. This is contrary to what we have initially assumed. Low honesty-humility has often been equated with dark traits (e.g., Hodson et al., 2018) so it was expected that honesty-humility would have a negative relationship with dark tourism site preferences. There is indeed a significant negative correlation between honesty-humility and Dark Tetrad traits (Table 3) but it is weak to moderate, which means that the opposite pole of this trait is not analogous to dark traits, i.e. it has a distinct variance. What is interesting is that honesty-humility has no correlation with agreeableness which would mean that motives for their preference of dark exhibitions are different. It could mean that dark exhibitions provide a certain honest insight into what really happened and what was the real number of victims which would be appealing to those high on honesty-humility. Their underlying motive for wanting to visit dark exhibitions could, in some cases, be a sense of righteousness rather than empathy.

All, basic and dark, personality traits have shown the most significant connection with dark exhibitions and conflict/battle sites which have been identified by Stone (2006) as the two out of top three dark destinations (see Table 2). These sites are also the most frequently visited dark destinations since they are often a part of organized elementary school and high school trips. This means that the participants of these tours are mostly young and inexperienced and they are often unaware of what they are visiting, which

might explain the high percentage of those who indicated that they didn't have experience with dark tourism destinations (42.7%, see Table 1). This is consistent, for example, with Šuligoj and Jovanović's (2019) findings that the higher education system does not pay enough attention to these topics.

Besides testing the dark tourism site preference, we have examined what are the possible reasons for their interest in this specific type of tourism. None of the participants stated the reason because of suggestions and experiences of friends and/or family while only few mentioned in memory of the victims from my family. Suggestions could be important since visiting domestic dark tourism sites is usually a one-day excursion that is fundamentally linked to the collective memory context (Hirsch, 2008; Nora, 1989). Indeed, dark tourism sites offer the opportunity to transfer narratives among generations (Dunkley et al., 2011), which was also in the background of the above variables, which were surprisingly found to be less important/insignificant. Moreover, this is in line with the fact that the reason to learn and experience something new is the most common reason to visit dark tourism sites meaning that our participants consider tragic events as something distant and abstract and have the need to understand them. In addition, most of them are students so it is not surprising that intellectual reasons are predominant. Looking at the average age by selected reasons, previous statements are confirmed. To sum up the findings, participants who are younger, male, higher on Machiavellianism and psychopathy are motivated by intellectual reasons while older, female, higher on agreeableness and honesty-humility are primarily motivated by emotional reasons. In practical terms, these findings provide a knowledge basis for those in charge of managing the dark tourism locations, i.e. for creating the tours, thematic events and exhibitions and connections with other service providers that will be in line with the underlying motivators. In addition to managers of memorial sites or places of dark tourism, related experts such as historians, ethnologists, curators and promoters/marketers interested in different segments of visitors should also benefit from our results.

The combination of both basic and dark traits with Stone's classification of dark tourism sites is a methodological novelty that will be of interest to researchers. The main contribution of this study is whether dark tourism sites/destinations attract dark personalities, i.e. do these destinations promote dark spectacle that evokes morbid fascination or an experience of enlightenment followed by hope and gratitude among the visitors? Our findings support both scenarios; dark tourism could be perceived as morbid in its essence but can also have profound positive impact by increasing the awareness of how tragic events could be avoided in the future. The question is what would be the desirable visitor profile for this type of destination. Our assumption is that the goal of destination management organizations should be to promote, above all, empathy and remembrance which are important mostly to those who are older, female and could be described as sincere, tolerant and empathic. We believe that most of the participants are unaware of the gravity dark tourism destinations hold, especially the younger ones. Since we are daily exposed to the tragic events through media, it could be said that we've become numb to the macabre and we can also be manipulated this way (van Dijck, 2004). This might especially be true in the context of dark tourism destinations that represent historical events. History is often not perceived as "real enough", too separate from the modern life, subject to various interpretations, politicization and manipulation (see McKenna, 2012). This actually distances (young) people from important historical facts and the importance of preserving memory.

One of the limitations of this study is the sample structure. Most of the participants were female and students. Further research should be conducted on a more diverse sample. Also, this research was based on Stone's classification of dark tourism sites (2006), dividing these destinations into lighter and darker ones. This distinction might not be true anymore and further studies should include a scale to measure the level of "darkness" directly by participants. For example, exhibitions are nowadays much darker since technology provides re-enactment of the past events, with sound and picture which makes them more real to the visitors. Finally, the concept of

compassion should be further explored in this context since we were somewhat unsure whether the participants perceived it as the empathy towards the victims or the enactment of the given tragic event. Moreover, psychological aspects that have been overlooked in the past require further in-depth research to better understand visitors of dark tourism sites.

Funding

This research was supported by Ministry of Education, Science, and Technological Development of Republic of Serbia (Grant No. 176020) given to Tamara Jovanović and the authors acknowledge financial support of the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia (Grant No. 451-03-9/2021-14/ 200125).

Conflict of interest

We have no conflicts of interest to disclose.

Data availability statement

The dataset linked to this empirical research was not deposited in any of the data repositories, but can be obtained by contacting the author.

References

- Ahn, T., Ekinci, Y., & Li, G. (2013). Self-congruence, functional congruence, and destination choice. *Journal of Business Research*, 66(6), 719–723. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jbusres.2011.09.009>
- Ashworth, G. J., & Isaac, R. K. (2015). Have we illuminated the dark? Shifting perspectives on 'dark' tourism. *Tourism Recreation Research*, 40(3), 316–325. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02508281.2015.1075726>
- Azevedo, A. (2018). Lighthouse tourism: Is there a "dark" side? *International Journal of Tourism Cities*, 4(1), 54–67. <https://doi.org/10.1108/IJTC-03-2017-0019>
- Back, M. D. (2018). The narcissistic admiration and rivalry concept. In A. D. Hermann, A. B. Brunnel, & J. D. Foster (Eds.), *Handbook of trait narcissism*.

- Key advances, research methods, and controversies* (pp. 57–67). Cham: Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-92171-6_6
- Baillie B. (2013). Memorialising the ‘Martyred City’: Negotiating Vukovar’s Wartime Past. In W. Pullan & B. Baillie (Eds) *Locating Urban Conflicts*. Palgrave Macmillan: London.
- Berger, P., Berner, W., Bolterauer, J., Gutierrez, K., & Berger, K. (1999). Sadistic personality disorder in sex offenders: Relationship to antisocial personality disorder and sexual sadism. *Journal of Personality Disorders*, 13(2), 175–186. <https://doi.org/10.1521/pedi.1999.13.2.175>
- Bhati, A., & Pearce, P. (2017). Tourist attractions in Bangkok and Singapore; linking vandalism and setting characteristics. *Tourism Management*, 63, 15–30. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2017.05.014>
- Bhati, A., Agarwal, M., Tjayaindera, D. N., Aung, R., Thu, M., & Nguyen, T. M. T. (2020). Dark tourism in South East Asia: Are young Asian travelers up for it? *International Journal of Hospitality & Tourism Administration*, 1–17. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15256480.2019.1708223>
- Biran, A., & Buda, D. (2018). Unravelling fear of death motives in dark tourism. In P. R., Stone, R. Hartmann, T. Seaton, R. Sharpley, & L. White (Eds.), *Handbook of dark tourism* (pp. 515–532). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Biran, A., Liu, W., Li, G., & Eichhorn, V. (2014). Consuming post-disaster destinations: The case of Sichuan, China. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 47, 1–17. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2014.03.004>
- Bjerke, R. & Polegato, R. (2006). How well do advertising images of health and beauty travel across cultures? A self-concept perspective. *Psychology and Marketing*, 23, 865–884. <https://doi.org/10.1002/mar.20137>
- Blom, T. (2000). Morbid tourism - A postmodern market niche with an example from Althorp. *Norsk Geografisk Tidsskrift. Norwegian Journal of Geography*, 54(1), 29–36. <https://doi.org/10.1080/002919500423564>

-
- Book, A., Visser, B. A., Blais, J., Hosker-Field, A., Methot-Jones, T., & Gauthier, N. Y. (2016). Unpacking more “evil”: What is at the core of the dark tetrad. *Personality and Individual Differences, 90*, 269–272. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.paid.2015.11.009>.
- Božić, S. (2016). *Uticaj ličnosti turista na brend destinacije i turističko ponašanje na primeru lokaliteta kulturne rute* [The impact of tourist personality on destination brand and tourist behavior on example of the sites of the cultural route] (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Faculty of Sciences, University of Novi Sad.
- Božić, S., Kennell, J., Vujičić, M. D., & Jovanović, T. (2017). Urban tourist motivations: Why visit Ljubljana? *International Journal of Tourism Cities, 3*, 382–398. <https://doi.org/10.1108/IJTC-03-2017-0012>
- Bristow, R. S. (2020). Communitas in fright tourism. *Tourism Geographies, 22*(2), 319–337. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14616688.2019.1708445>
- Bristow, R. S., & Jenkins, I. S. (2020). Geography of fear: Fright tourism in urban revitalization. *Journal of Policy Research in Tourism, Leisure and Events, 12*(2), 262–275. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19407963.2019.1631319>
- Bristow, R. S., & Newman, M. (2004). Myth vs. fact: An exploration of fright tourism. In K. Bricker (Ed.), *Proceedings of the 2004 northeastern recreation research symposium* (pp. 215–221). Northeastern Research Station: USDA Forest Service.
- Brown, L. (2016). Tourism and pilgrimage: Paying homage to literary heroes. *International Journal of Tourism Research, 18*(2), 167–175. <https://doi.org/10.1002/jtr.2043>
- Brud, P. P., Rogoza, R., & Ciecuch, J. (2020). Personality underpinnings of dark personalities: An example of Dark Triad and deadly sins. *Personality and Individual Differences, 163*, 110085. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.paid.2020.110085>

- Buckels, E., Jones, D., & Paulhus, D. (2013). Behavioural confirmation of everyday sadism. *Psychological Science*, 24, 2201–2209. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0956797613490749>.
- Buda, D. M. (2015). The death drive in tourism studies. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 50, 39–51. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2014.10.008>
- Çakar, K. (2020). Investigation of the motivations and experiences of tourists visiting the Gallipoli Peninsula as a dark tourism destination. *European Journal of Tourism Research*, 24, 2405–2405.
- Causevic, S., & Lynch, P. (2013). Political (in) stability and its influence on tourism development. *Tourism Management*, 34, 145–157. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2012.04.006>
- Christie, R., & Geis, F. L. (1970). *Studies in Machiavellianism*. New York, NY: Academic Press.
- Christou, P. A., & Hadjelia Drotarova, M. (2021). Aura, thanatoplaces, and the construction of thanatourism emotions. *Journal of Heritage Tourism*, 1–19. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1743873X.2020.1869241>
- Christou, P., Farmaki, A., Saveriades, A., & Georgiou, M. (2020). Travel selfies on social networks, narcissism and the “attraction-shading effect”. *Journal of Hospitality and Tourism Management*, 43, 289–293. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jhtm.2020.01.014>
- Clark, L. B. (2006). Placed and displaced: Trauma memorials. In L. Hill, & H. Paris (Eds.), *Performance and place* (pp. 129–138). London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Clark, L.B. (2009). Coming to terms with trauma tourism. *Performance Paradigm*, 5(2), 162–184.
- Crotts, J. C., Aziz, A., & Upchurch, R. S. (2005). Research note: Relationship between Machiavellianism and sales performance. *Tourism Analysis*, 10(1), 79–84. <https://doi.org/10.3727/1083542054547921>
- da Silva, W. C. (2018). Cities of the dead people originating cities for living humans: Study about the representativeness of the Alecrim Cemetery

- (Cemitério do Alecrim), Natal (RN, Brazil) as an attractive option for Morbid Tourism. *Turismo e Sociedade*, 11(3), 383–411.
- Dębska, M., Dębski, P., Polechoński, J., Rozpara, M., & Tomik, R. (2021). The Dark Triad of Personality in the Context of Health Behaviors: Ally or Enemy?. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*, 18(8), 4113. <https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph18084113>
- Dinić, B. M., Bullut Allred, T. Petrović, B., & Wertag, A. (2020). A test of three sadism measures. Short Sadistic Impulse Scale, Varieties of Sadistic Tendencies, and Assessment of Sadistic Personality. *Journal of Individual Differences*. Online First. <https://doi.org/10.1027/1614-0001/a000319>
- Dinić, B. M., Petrović, B., & Jonason, P. K. (2018). Serbian adaptations of the Dark Triad Dirty Dozen (DTDD) and Short Dark Triad (SD3). *Personality and Individual Differences*, 134, 321–328. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.paid.2018.06.018>
- Dinić, B. M., Wertag, A., Sokolovska, V., & Tomašević, A. (2021). The good, the bad, and the ugly: Revisiting the Dark Core. *Current Psychology*, 1–13. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12144-021-01829-x>
- Djeriouat, H., & Trémolière, B. (2014). The Dark Triad of personality and utilitarian moral judgment: The mediating role of Honesty/Humility and Harm/Care. *Personality and Individual Differences*, 67, 11–16. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.paid.2013.12.026>
- Dunkley, R. A., Morgan, N., & Westwood, S. (2007). A shot in the dark? Developing a new conceptual framework for thanatourism. *Asian Journal of Tourism and Hospitality*, 1(1), 54–63.
- Dunkley, R., Morgan, N., & Westwood, S. (2011). Visiting the trenches: Exploring meanings and motivations in battlefield tourism. *Tourism Management*, 32(4), 860–868. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2010.07.011>
- Foley, M., & Lennon, J. (1996). JFK and dark tourism: A fascination with assassination. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 2(4), 198–211. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13527259608722175>

- Forsyth, D. R., Banks, G. C., & McDaniel, M. A. (2012). A meta-analysis of the Dark Triad and work behavior: A social exchange perspective. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 97*(3), 557–579. <https://psycnet.apa.org/doi/10.1037/a0025679>
- Frew, E. A., & Shaw, R. N. (1999). The relationship between personality, gender, and tourism behavior. *Tourism Management, 20*(2), 193–202. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0261-5177\(98\)00081-8](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0261-5177(98)00081-8)
- Gaya, E. (2013). *Understanding motivation of visitors at dark tourism sites: Case study of August 7th memorial park, Kenya* (Bachelor's thesis). Retrieved (May, 2021) from <https://www.theseus>.
- Goulding, C., & Domic, D. (2009). Heritage, identity and ideological manipulation: The case of Croatia. *Annals of Tourism Research, 36*(1), 85–102. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2008.10.004>
- Graziano, W. G., & Tobin, R. M. (2009). Agreeableness. In M. R. Leary & R. H. Hoyle (Eds.), *Handbook of individual differences in social behavior* (pp. 46–61). The Guilford Press.
- Hirsch, M. (2008). The Generation of Postmemory. *Poetics Today, 29*(1), 103–128. <https://doi.org/10.1215/03335372-2007-019>
- Hodalska, M. (2017). Selfies at horror sites: Dark tourism, ghoulish souvenirs and digital narcissism. *Zeszyty Prasoznawcze, 2*(230), 405–423.
- Hodson, G., Book, A., Visser, B. A., Volk, A. A., Ashton, M. C., & Lee, K. (2018). Is the dark triad common factor distinct from low honesty-humility?. *Journal of Research in Personality, 73*, 123–129. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrp.2017.11.012>
- Howard, M. C., & Van Zandt, E. C. (2020). The discriminant validity of honesty-humility: A meta-analysis of the HEXACO, Big Five, and Dark Triad. *Journal of Research in Personality, 87*, 103982. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrp.2020.103982>

-
- Hoxter, A. L., & Lester, D. (1988). Tourist behavior and personality. *Personality and Individual Differences*, 9(1), 177–178. [https://doi.org/10.1016/0191-8869\(88\)90045-1](https://doi.org/10.1016/0191-8869(88)90045-1)
- Iliev, D. (2020). Consumption, motivation and experience in dark tourism: A conceptual and critical analysis. *Tourism Geographies*, 1–22. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14616688.2020.1722215>
- Jagiellonski, U. (2015). Thanatourism: Experience, memory, ethics. *Magdalena Banaszkiwicz*, 3(35), 91–104. <https://doi.org/10.12797/Politeja.12.2015.35.07>
- Jones, D. N., & Paulhus, D. L. (2009). Machiavellianism. In M. R. Leary & R. H. Hoyle (Eds.), *Handbook of individual differences in social behavior* (pp. 93–108). The Guilford Press.
- Jones, D. N., & Paulhus, D. L. (2010). Different provocations provoke aggression in psychopaths and narcissists. *Social Psychological and Personality Science*, 1, 12–18. <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F1948550609347591>
- Jones, D. N., & Paulhus, D. L. (2011). The role of impulsivity in the Dark Triad of personality. *Personality and Individual Differences*, 51(5), 679–682. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.paid.2011.04.011>
- Jones, D. N., & Paulhus, D. L. (2014). Introducing the Short Dark Triad (SD3) a brief measure of dark personality traits. *Assessment*, 21, 28–41. <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F1073191113514105>
- Kennell, J., Šuligoj, M., & Lesjak, M. (2018). Dark events: Commemoration and collective memory in the former Yugoslavia. *Event Management*, 22(6), 945–963. <https://doi.org/10.3727/152599518X15346132863247>
- Khan, N. A., Khan, A. N., Moin, M. F., & Pitafi, A. H. (2021). A trail of chaos: How psychopathic leadership influence employee satisfaction and turnover intention via self-efficacy in tourism enterprises. *Journal of Leisure Research*, 52(3), 347–369. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00222216.2020.1785359>
- Korstanje, M. E. (2020). What is wrong with Dark Tourism Research?. *IJSTH* (21), 9–13.

- Korstanje, M.E., & Ivanov, S. (2012). Tourism as a form of new psychological resilience: The inception of dark tourism. *Cultur*, 56–71.
<https://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2168400>
- Kraus, S., Berchtold, J., Palmer, C., & Filser, M. (2018). Entrepreneurial orientation: The dark triad of executive personality. *Journal of Promotion Management*, 24(5), 715–735.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/10496491.2018.1405524>
- Kunwar, R. R., & Karki, N. (2019). Dark tourism: Understanding the concept and recognizing the values. *Journal of APF Command and Staff College*, 2(1), 42–59. <https://doi.org/10.3126/japfcsc.v2i1.26731>
- Lee, C., Bendle, L., Yoon, Y., & Kim, M. (2011). Thanatourism or peace tourism: Perceived value at a North Korean resort from an indigenous perspective. *International Journal of Tourism Research*, 14(1), 71–90.
<https://doi.org/10.1002/jtr.836>
- Lee, K., Ashton, M.C., Wiltshire, J., Bourdage, J.S., Visser, B.A., & Gallucci, A. (2013). Money, power, and sex: Prediction from the dark triad and honesty-humility. *European Journal of Personality*, 27, 145–154,
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1002/per.1860>
- Leevit, L. (2012). Solemnity and celebration: Dark tourism experiences at Hollywood Forever Cemetery. *Journal of Unconventional Parks, Tourism and Recreation Research*, 4(1), 20–25.
- Lewis, C. (2008). Deconstructing Grief Tourism. *International Journal of the Humanities*, 6(6), 165–169. <https://doi.org/10.18848/1447-9508/cgp/v06i06/42476>
- Light, D. (2017). Progress in dark tourism and thanatourism research: An uneasy relationship with heritage tourism. *Tourism Management*, 61, 275–301.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2017.01.011>
- Lloyd-Parkes, E., Deacon, J. H., Grant, A., & Thomas, S. (2021). Emotional Overload! A Dialogic Autoethnography of Scholar-Participant-Consumer Reactions

- to the Marketing of Thanatourism. *The Qualitative Report*, 26(3), 992–1011. <https://doi.org/10.46743/2160-3715/2021.4733>
- Mangwane, J., Hermann, U. P., & Lenhard, A. I. (2019). Who visits the apartheid museum and why? An exploratory study of the motivations to visit a dark tourism site in South Africa. *International Journal of Culture, Tourism and Hospitality Research*, 13(3), 273–287. <https://doi.org/10.1108/IJCTHR-03-2018-0037>
- McKenna, M. (2012). Moral Responsibility, Manipulation Arguments, and History: Assessing the Resilience of Nonhistorical Compatibilism. *The Journal of Ethics*, 16, 145–174. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10892-012-9125-7>
- Međedović, J., & Bulut, T. (2017). The Mini IPIP-6: Short, valid, and reliable measure of the six-factor personality structure. *Primenjena psihologija*, 10(2), 185–202. <https://doi.org/10.19090/pp.2017.2.185-202>
- Meere, M., & Egan, V. (2017). Everyday sadism, the Dark Triad, personality, and disgust sensitivity. *Personality and Individual Differences*, 112, 157–161. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.paid.2017.02.056>
- Millon, T. (1996). *Disorders of personality: DSM-IV and beyond* (2nd ed.). New York, NY: Wiley.
- Muris, P., Merckelbach, H., Otgaar, H., & Meijer, E. (2017). The malevolent side of human nature: A meta-analysis and critical review of the literature on the Dark Triad (narcissism, Machiavellianism, and psychopathy). *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, 12, 183–204. <https://doi.org/10.1177/17456916166666070>
- Naef, P. (2019). Memorial Entrepreneurs in post-conflict tourism. In R. K. Isaac, E. Çakmak & R. Butler (Eds.), *Tourism and Hospitality in Conflict Ridden Destinations* (pp. 171-174). Abingdon-on-Thames: Routledge.
- Nawijn, J., & Fricke, M.-C. (2015). Visitor emotions and behavioral intentions: The case of concentration camp Memorial Neuengamme. *International Journal of Tourism Research*, 17(3), 221–228. <https://doi.org/10.1002/jtr.1977>

- Nora, P. (1989). Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire. *Representations*, 26, 7–24. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2928520>
- O'Meara, A., Davies, J., & Hammond, S. (2011). The psychometric properties and utility of the Short Sadistic Impulse Scale (SSIS). *Psychological assessment*, 23(2), 523–531. <https://psycnet.apa.org/doi/10.1037/a0022400>
- Osbaldiston, N., & Petray, T. (2011). The role of horror and dread in the sacred experience. *Tourist Studies*, 11(2), 175–190. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1468797611424955>
- Paulhus, D. L. & Williams, K. M. (2002). The Dark Triad of personality: Narcissism, Machiavellianism, and psychopathy. *Journal of Research in Personality*, 36, 556–563. [https://doi.org/10.1016/s0092-6566\(02\)00505-6](https://doi.org/10.1016/s0092-6566(02)00505-6)
- Paulhus, D. L. (2014). Toward a taxonomy of dark personalities. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, 23, 421–426. <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0963721414547737>
- Paulhus, D. L., & Jones, D. N. (2015). Measures of dark personalities. In G. J. Boyle, D. H. Sahlofske & G. Matthews (eds.), *Measures of personality and social psychological constructs* (pp. 562–594). Academic Press.
- Pearce, J., & Moscardo, G. (2015). Social representations of tourist selfies: New challenges for sustainable tourism. BEST EN Think Tank XV The Environment-People Nexus in Sustainable Tourism: Finding the Balance, 59–73.
- Peixoto, Â., Gouveia, T., Sousa, P., Faria, R., & Almeida, P. R. (2021). Dark personality traits and tolerance towards unethical behaviors on entrepreneurship: A comparison between entrepreneurs and non-entrepreneurs. *Journal of White Collar and Corporate Crime*, 2631309X211029877. <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F2631309X211029877>
- Perry, C. (2015). The 'dark traits' of sociopathic leaders: Could they be a threat to universities?. *The Australian Universities' Review*, 57(1), 17–25.

- Plog, S. C. (1974). Why destination areas rise and fall in popularity. *Cornell Hotel and Restaurant Administration Quarterly*, 14(4), 55–58.
- Podoshen, J. S., Venkatesh, V., Wallin, J., Andrzejewski, S. A., & Jin, Z. (2015). Dystopian dark tourism: An exploratory examination. *Tourism Management*, 51, 316–328. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2015.05.002>
- Popovic, A., & Korstanje, M. E. (2020). Potential assessment of dark tourism in India. *International Journal of Management (IJM)*, 11(8), 1284–1296.
- Pyszczyński, T., Lockett, M., Greenberg, J., & Solomon, S. (2021). Terror management theory and the COVID-19 pandemic. *Journal of Humanistic Psychology*, 61(2), 173–189. <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0022167820959488>
- Raine, R. (2013). A dark tourism spectrum. *International Journal of Culture, Tourism and Hospitality Research*, 7(3), 242–256. <https://doi.org/10.1108/IJCTHR-05-2012-0037>
- Reid, R. (2016). Is 'Dark Tourism' OK? Retrieved (August, 2021) from <http://www.nationalgeographic.com/travel/features/is-dark-tourism-ok-chernobyl-pripyat-disaster-sites/>
- Rogoza, R., & Ciecuch, J. (2020). Dark Triad traits and their structure: An empirical approach. *Current Psychology*, 39(4), 1287–1302. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12144-018-9834-6>
- Rojek, C. (1993). *Ways of escape*. Basingstoke: MacMillan.
- Schreiber, A., & Marcus, B. (2020). The place of the “Dark Triad” in general models of personality: Some meta-analytic clarification. *Psychological Bulletin*, 146(11), 1021. <https://psycnet.apa.org/doi/10.1037/bul0000299>
- Seaton, A. (1996). Guided by the dark: From thanatopsis to thanatourism. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 2(4), 234–244. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13527259608722178>
- Sharpley, R., & Stone, P. R. (2009). (Re)presenting the macabre: Interpretation, kitschification and authenticity. In R. Sharpley, & P. R. Stone (Eds.), *The darker side of travel: The theory and practice of dark tourism* (pp. 109–128). Bristol: Channel View.

- Sibley, C. G. (2012). The Mini-IPIP6: Item Response theory analysis of a short measure of the big-six factors of personality in New Zealand. *New Zealand Journal of Psychology*, 41(3), 21–31.
- Stone, P. R. (2006). A dark tourism spectrum: Towards a typology of death and macabre related tourist sites, attractions and exhibitions. *Tourism: An International Interdisciplinary Journal*, 54(2), 145–160.
- Stone, P. R. (2011). Dark tourism: Towards a new post-disciplinary research agenda. *International Journal of Tourism Anthropology*, 1(3/4), 318–332. <https://doi.org/10.1504/IJTA.2011.043713>
- Stone, P. R. (2012). Dark tourism and significant other death: Towards a model of mortality mediation. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 39(3), 1565–1587. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2012.04.007>
- Stone, P. R. (2018). Dark tourism in an age of ‘spectacular death’. In P. R., Stone, R., Hartmann, T., Seaton, R., Sharpley, & L. White (Eds.), *Handbook of dark tourism* (pp. 189–210). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Šuligoj, M. & Kennell, J. (2021). The role of dark commemorative and sport events in peaceful coexistence in the Western Balkans. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 1–19. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09669582.2021.1938090>
- Šuligoj, M. (2016). Memories of war and warfare tourism in Croatia. *Annales. Series Historia et Sociologia*, 26(2), 259–270.
- Šuligoj, M. (2017). Warfare tourism: an opportunity for Croatia? *Economic research-Ekonomska Istraživanja*, 30(1), 439–452. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/1331677X.2017.1305800>
- Šuligoj, M. (2019). Dark events of the Istrian countryside: An electronic media perspective. *Academica Turistica*, 12(2), 121–132.
- Šuligoj, M., Jovanović, T. (2019). Education for dark tourism: some contemporary facts and issues. In J. Gržinić, M. Kostić-Bobanović, D.M. Currie (eds.), *Tourism education in an age of change* (pp. 93-113). Pula: Juraj Dobrila University of Pula, Faculty of Economics and Tourism “Dr. Mijo Mirković”.

-
- Sun, J., & Lv, X. (2021). Feeling dark, seeing dark: Mind–body in dark tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, *86*, 103087. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2020.103087>
- Tan, G., & Lim, S. (2018). The “Pearl of the Orient” as a dark tourism destination in Malaysia. *International Journal of Tourism Cities*, *4*(1), 68–80. <https://doi.org/10.1108/IJTC-04-2017-0023>
- Taylor, D. G. (2017). (Don't You) Wish You Were Here? Narcissism, Envy, and Sharing of Travel Photos Through Social Media. In P. Rossi (Ed.), *Marketing at the Confluence between Entertainment and Analytics* (pp. 821–824). Springer, Cham.
- Taylor, D. G. (2020). Putting the “self” in selfies: how narcissism, envy and self-promotion motivate sharing of travel photos through social media. *Journal of Travel & Tourism Marketing*, *37*(1), 64–77. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10548408.2020.1711847>
- Tucker, H. (2016). Empathy and tourism: Limits and possibilities. *Annals of Tourism Research*, *57*, 31–43. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2015.12.001>
- van Dijck, J. (2004). Mediated memories: personal cultural memory as object of cultural analysis, *Continuum*, *18*(2), 261–277. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1030431042000215040>
- Wise, N.A., & Mulec, I. (2014). Semblances of ‘War Tourism’ in Sarajevo, Post-2005. *American Journal of Tourism Management*, *3*(1B), 1–9. <https://doi.org/10.5923/s.tourism.201402.01>
- Woodworth, M., Porter, S. (2002). In cold blood: Characteristics of criminal homicide as a function of psychopathy. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, *111*, 436–445. <https://doi.org/10.1037//0021-843X.111.3.436>