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Title: **Terror Park: A future theme park in 2100**

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Abstract

In the future, tourism and entertainment could be displayed as spectacles of horror, where consumers are offered and opportunity to revisit the tragedies of the past. Current displays of death where the past is exhibited and consumed as fun, scary and as entertainment productions are widespread. The movie industry provides horror to all ages, children can be exposed to the goulash past in various forms, such as the popular book series 'Horrible Histories'. Theme parks, rides and roller-coaster often take a dark and scary approach to enticing consumers. Another popular and well established product (especially in western societies) are *'fun factories'* (Stone, 2008), such as the dungeon attractions owned by the Merlin Entertainment Group. The market for death and horror based attractions and entertainment is growing. Since the dawn of time death has been a guarantee that awaits us all. Society is well connected to death, however and significantly, the consumption of death and its social transformation historically to present, both in practice and meaning have changed, evolved and continue to do so. The meaning, practice and consumption of death and its evolution into the future will be a significant representation of future societies. This paper, considers how society is moving into a new period, the '*spectacle of death'*. By researching and understanding past and present social realities, it is possible to generate knowledge, ideas and predictions of the future, in this study, the future role of death as tourism entertainment. This paper presents original and challenging potential future scenarios in which tourists engage with death as a form of entertainment, around the year 2100. Uniquely, the paper considers the use of horrific and tragic events that have overwhelmed the world in the early 21st Century (including the 2008 Sichuan earthquake and the September 11 terrorist attacks in New York). Accordingly, presenting innovative narratives exposing how these will become spectacles of death in a *'terror park'*; a lighter form of dark entertainment in the future.

1. Introduction

"People who see life as anything more than pure entertainment are missing the point"
George Carlin.

The purpose of this research is to consider the spatial time in which a dark attraction, one related to dark historical events associated with death and suffering, can progressively become an entertainment attraction. The question is, could dark realities of the 21st Century be played out to future tourists, as a spectacle of pleasure? Berger (1967) noted the role and importance of death as an essential human condition, in which individuals are required to develop mechanisms to help them understand and cope with their eventual end. According to Berger (1967), disregarding and avoiding death is to neglect a universal parameter in which the individual and the collective self is constructed. Death taboos have long been challenged by authors and in our social world, at a time when the individual is consuming death in a multitude of ways and through different formats. Harrison (2003) explored how the dead are absorbed into the living world by graves, images, literature, architecture and monuments. It is suggested by Lee (2002) that the disenchantment of death in modernity has made its way back into social consciousness, advocating that death is *'coming out of the closet to redefine our assumptions of life'* (Lee, 2004: 155). Current social environments have led us to a time and place where individuals are willingly or unwillingly consuming and engaging with real and commodified death and suffering through a variety of audio-visual channels, for many purposes, be it media driven, popular culture (Sharpley and Stone, 2009) and the arts, education and or entertainment.

Future tourists could visit attractions that display our current suffering. Tragedies, horrors and disastrous events from recent history including terrorist attacks such as 9/11 or the Paris shootings, or recent natural disasters such as the Sichuan earthquake and Hurricane Katrina could be used to entertain future visitors. On the surface, this notion is potentially, moderately uncomfortable to contemplate, especially considering how recent these attacks and atrocities are to present day. However, if one is to consider the frequently cited lighter dark tourism attractions or fun factories, such as the dungeon experiences in western countries, and considers the brutal historical realities displayed in these consumer places, then our misery as future entertainment suddenly becomes more realistic to envisage. In line with this, the aim of this research is to provide original ideas and forecasts for the future of themed entertainment that focus on the darker side of history. Six scenarios including natural disasters and human atrocities from the 21st Century are considered. This topic could 'raise eyebrows' it is emotive and could generate criticism. The aim is to engage the reader with the realities of human engagements and developments in the lighter dark tourism attractions that exist currently and could potentially exist in the future. By highlighting our current dark entertainment tourism practices, it provokes readers to consider their own moral 'double standards', in reference to their own touristic engagements with the darker side of the past. Whilst writing this research, the author felt somewhat uncomfortable with the possibility of future entertainment attractions based on current tragedies, but likewise, has visited lighter forms of dark historical sites, ones that veneer towards fun, entertainment and spectacles based on the horrors of the past. We live in the present, a world that bombards us with visual images of suffering and horrifying death, be it in natural and unnatural forms, thus to escape the issue of death and its role in society would be escaping one of the only guarantees in life – our own inevitable end. This paper initially explores death, dark tourism and entertainment before offering unique potential future insights into the future of lighter dark entertainment attractions through a scenario planning approach, based on secondary data analysis. Thus, presenting original literature and innovative research approaches to the field of tourism futures.

2. Research methodology: scenarios and narratives

"..Scenarios give people a 'memory' of the future" (Allan, Fairtlough, & Heinesen, 2002:186)

The valuable application of scenarios is noted by Rasmussen (2005: 229) who suggests, *"scenarios are flexible means to integrate disparate ideas, thoughts and feelings into holistic images, providing the context and meaning of possible futures"* The term scenario is allied with extensive industries and disciplines, ranging from policymakers, business planning, local, national management and governments, to global environmental and development perspectives, and academics and consequently, an extensive range of methodological approaches and classifications have emerged (Fortes, Alvarenga, Seixas, and Rodrigues, 2015). It is beyond the scope of this research to explore the depth of application and methodological approaches of scenarios. Thus, this section will clarify the approach to scenarios taken by this study, which used narrative writing as a means to present a future scenario. Furthermore, this research examined the structural and transitional nature of society, through a social-constructivist lens. Such an approach often explores environmental, social and economic concerns and considers their evolving nature over time (Postma, 2015).

It is common for authors to classify the presentation and justification of their scenarios accordingly to the nature of their data, be it qualitative, quantitative or mixed. Various authors (van Notten, Rotmans, van Asselt & Rothman, 2003; Rotmans, van Asselt, Anastasi, Greeuw, Mellors, Peters, Rothman, & Rijkens, 2000) who use the qualitative data approach present narratives, stories, as their method and approach to scenario presentation. These include visuals, storylines and plots, in so doing, establishing images of the future for the reader. Moreover, within this approach authors express drivers, often without issuing and or relying on numerical figures as means of justification. Consequently, a common criticism of the qualitative approach to scenario presentation is their 'unscientific' nature. Nonetheless, through a constructivist lens, a qualitative approach in creating and presenting future scenarios is applied, where narrative writing and stories are the central aim in visualising the future for the audience. Chase (2005: 651) suggests that narrative inquiry is still considered *"a field in the making."* The narrative epistemological approach to research provides an alternative method to more scientific perspectives, taking human experience and subjectivity as valued based, in contrast to pragmatic approaches, where abstract experimentation is deemed valuable. In support of the narrative approach Polkinghorne (1988) notes, the narrative mode should not be seen as a new epistemology, rather it is one that has roots to the earliest forms of pervasive human experience, and arguably, one that precedes the more logical and pragmatic hard-science epistemologies applied to human understanding and natural-environment sense-making. Rasmussen (2005: 230) identifies that, *"the narrative approach allows the scenario designer to provide holistic views of the future"*. Narrative writing is an effective way of presenting future scenarios, as they provide stories that are engaging and informative (Lindgren & Bandhold, 2009). Bunn & Salo (1993: 294) state *"…scenarios are built from realistic combinations of key driver values, which are elaborated into fully-fledged narratives…"* Further stating, *"scenarios should present credible description of the future environment…. By giving each scenario a 'label' and storylike characteristics…"* (Bunn & Salo, 1993: 294). To realise this, uniquely, the research uses actual 21st Century events that have already befallen society as the basis for its narratives. Thus, providing authority to the narratives presented (as they are genuine historical events), but in so doing also ensuring the audience is capable of engaging and understanding the stories presented. The events selected are dark and morbid events and to some extent, their realness also adds to the provocative and profound propositions presented in the narratives within the future scenario.

Rotmans et al, (2000) note that the overarching value of scenarios does not necessary exist in their capability to predict the future, but in their ability to provide insights into the present. Similar to above, Yeoman (2012: 8) identifies the importance of narratives and using current trends as drivers, suggesting, *"scenarios (stories) are used to express what the future could be in the form of a narrative. Then those stories are explained through a number of drivers that shape that story."* Through the exploration of current trends, researchers can support their explorative views of the future, as the current trends are what researchers use as drivers (Wright, 2016). Pillkahn (2008: 122) notes the term 'trend' from a present context, often refers

to *"something that is 'in' or to describe a certain direction in which things seem to be going in. The 'something' or the 'things' are usually matters of current taste or types of consumer behaviour."* Alternatively, suggesting the term refers to the *"temporally measurable course of a certain development in a certain direction."* Thus, the value of considering the present (current trends) as driving the future is significant and accordingly, this study explored current trends and the adaptive nature of relevant societal entities in order to generate its future scenario. The method of data collection refers to the author's technique in the 'fact-finding' process when developing scenarios. The method in this study is akin to other futures studies (Yeoman, 2012; Yeoman & Mars, 2011; Wright, 2016; Wright, 2017), taking a desk-based research approach, which involved the examination of secondary data material, including but not limited to academic and industry journals and reports (van Notten, et al, 2003). All of which were deemed relevant to current issues and trends pertinent to topics in this study in order to establish a future scenario.

3. Entertainment and tourism

This section takes the title entertainment, but the author could have easily exchanged entertainment, for fairground, amusements, or theme as in some areas the words are interchanged. Hughes (2000) notes that the word entertainment is often used to include a variety of activities, such as watching TV, playing computer games, listening to music, visiting the cinema, watching sport, visiting theme parks, and nightlife socialising, such as clubs and discos. The term entertainment can also be applied to live shows, such as musical performances, band concerts, cabaret, street performances, pop concerts and festivals, music, dancing events, circus, comedy and magic shows and much more. Hughes (2000: 13) also identifies some key worlds used in relation to entertainment, including enjoyment, frivolous, passive, self-indulgent, pleasure, fun, excitement, and escapist. Unlike the 'arts' often associated with culture and being 'cultured' from a tourist consumer perspective (Williams, 1988), entertainment is often considered to be light, pleasurable and undemanding, requiring little effort to appreciate its purpose and meaningfulness. With entertainment labelled with activities associated with 'popular culture', or 'mass culture' (Fiske, 1989, Storey, 1993). The entertainment-arts debate is not for this paper, as the distinction between the two can be a matter of personal judgement (Hughes, 2000). What is interesting is the development of entertainment over time.

"For many people the fairground is now defined by the thrill and spectacle of the riding machines. These rides have a complex history defined by mechanical capability and cultural and social trends" (University of Sheffield, 2017).

The focus in this research is towards the lighter entertainment based tourism experiences. Human evolution has seen a shift in the meaning and focus of various social gatherings. Historically and in present society, people have established places where individuals can collectively come together for various motives, such as religious or ritual purposes, to consume goods, food and beverages, and to be entertained, amused, for theatrical motives (Wright, 2016). Historical and European fairs were commonplace, attacking large crowds, whilst still present today, a somewhat contemporary form of recreation which has its roots in popular culture are amusement / theme parks (Clave, 2007). Cooper (2016) when introducing theme parks (also documenting the interchange with the term amusement) recognises their historical purpose of entertaining visitors. Cooper considers their early establishment dating back to the sixteenth century and the pleasure gardens of Copenhagen, to more recent examples of Blackpool's pleasure beach. This was also recognised by Roberts (2016: 110) who notes, the allure of *"pleasure beaches – basically fairgrounds – were another early, much replicated and an enduring type of attraction."* The mid-19th century saw a significant period for the amusement park as technological developments assisted the progress of fairground rides. The steam-powered carousel was a mechanical innovation built by Thomas Bradshaw (at the

Aylsham Fair) and was a significant stage in the progression to establishing modern day funfair rides. It offered the working class in society the opportunity to occupy their surplus time and earnings on entertainment (University of Sheffield, 2017). Walt Disney played a vital role to the growth of theme parks in the 20th century. Initially distributing films and movies via television and cinema, Disney then established places where people could further indulge their desires for entertainment, in his amusement parks (Wright, 2016). America is often seen and credited as the pioneer of theme parks (Becker, 2013). Today, the amusement, theme and entertainment parks have grown throughout the globe, with all manner of types, narratives taking shape, with a variety of rides and roller-coasters, far too many for this paper to offer coverage. Significantly, the establishment of parks and spaces of entertainment provide locations an opportunity to attract tourists and obviously financial gains. In line with this, this research focuses on entertainment as a means of tourism engagement. More specifically, it explores death as a means of entertaining tourists and consumers, a practice that has its roots historically deep and in present society.

4. The evolution of death as entertainment

"…death, just as much as life, is a defining characteristic of human existence" (Jacobsen, 2016: 2).

Death and its presence in society can be considered from earliest man and will likely forever exist in some form. Any discussion on death and society often includes the scripts of Philippe Ariès, A French historian who published his works in 1974, *Western Attitudes Toward Death from the Middle Ages to the Present* (translated by Ranum, 1974). Covering millennia of history, Ariès explored Western attitudes towards death from four spatial phases. Of course, death has a predating existence much grandeur than Ariès' one thousand years, the start of his analytical framework. However, his framework offers a useful starting point. Pre seventeenth century, *'The Tamed Death'*, individuals at this stage were aware of their own eminent death, they accepted it and were prepared for their inevitable end. For Ariès the medieval period and the 'tamed death' was a significant benchmark (Jacobsen, 2016). During the eleventh and twelfth centuries there were subtle changes in western people's attitudes toward death, which led to Ariès next phase, *'One's Own Death'*. The significant characteristic of this era was the shift from the importance of death 'itself' to a greater focus on the individual, this time saw superior emphasis on the personalization of death. Interestingly, as noted by Jacobsen (2016), Ariès was not all that consistent with his historical scriptures on death, as his original four stages of death mentality were eventually five stages in a more detailed text, *The Hour of Our Death* (Ariès, 1981). The fifth stage was termed the *'Remote and Imminent Death'*. It was considered around the sixteenth century, separating the period *'One's Own Death'* into two distinct categories, *'The Death of Self'*, and *'Remote and Imminent Death'*. The reasoning took into consideration various economic disparities during the period as well as the impact of the Reformation (Ariès, 1981). Around the eighteenth century, Ariès recognised noteworthy changes in the attitudes of western people on the subject of death. Around this era, which Ariès termed *'Thy Death'* there was greater emphasis on the dramatization of death. Where death had once been a normal and central part of human existence where people witnessed the end of others, the shift was the human behaviour of *witnessing* to *mourning* the end of a life. Towards the late nineteenth century and late twentieth century Ariès argues that a somewhat brutal revolution was established in western attitudes towards death, in Ariès *'Forbidden Death'* there was a characteristic of shamefulness and a prohibited nature to death. With expansion of hospitals and the concept and or expectation of happiness above all other attitudes in life, there was greater emphasis on the suppression and avoidance of death and emotions of mourning (Ranum, 1974).

"Death is here to stay. It has been here all along. In all likelihood it will remain forever" (Jacobsen, 2016: 1). Be it, for science, ritual, burial, celebration, life contemplation, memory;

deaths meaning and value has been considered in almost every human context and will continue to do so. Significantly, it should, as death at present is a guarantee to us all, be it our own death and the death of others. At some stage in life, we will be presented with the inevitable finality that comes with death. And whilst death is active and deliberated in all manner of societal domains from past to present, the originality of this paper is to consider the role of death in the future from a tourism entertainment perspective. Death as entertainment has long existed throughout history to present day. Commonly cited examples include Roman gladiatorial games and public executions. The Victorian Era (around 1830s) witnessed a public interest in seeking out crime scenes and carrying out investigation before the police arrived; often fuelled by sensationalised reports as highlighted here:

"Sensationalised reports of horrendous killings could boost circulation enormously, fact and fiction often became blurred and many murders and murderers became mythologised in the eyes of the reader. The public became hooked on these lurid tales and it's no wonder that fear of rape and murder swept across communities leading to fear and panic. Whilst demanding the authorities take action the public eagerly sought out the latest crime scene, trampling over the evidence, taking objects of interest and collecting clues that might help them solve the case" (OPCM, 2017).

In more recent times, in line with the advancement in print media, death and the public display of death via execution became more private. The 1800's saw a growth in military art, such as Eugène Delacroix, The Massacre at Chios in 1824 depicting an infamous attack on Greek civilians by Ottoman forces during the Greek War of Independence. Popular French artists such as Ernest Meissonier, Edouard Detaille, and Alphonse de Neuville established military genre painting in the Paris Salon (Sullivan, 1958). War photography soon followed, as the American Civil War and the Crimean War produced photographers who began to participate in the visual representation of war. Photography artists provided coverage of scenes in camp; offering insights into the aftermath of battles, due to exposure time, actual battle images were difficult to capture (Marien, 2014). Following on from this, around 1850-1900 the penny press found greater rewards in unusual daily events, these often included stories related to crime, fires, and collective fistfights. These types of titillating and sensational news stories attracted a mass audience (McReynolds, 1984 also see UC Press, 2017). Another form of death and entertainment was the growth and distribution of gangster movies in the early 20th century. In line with the political, social and economic climate at the time, crime and gangster films were made to portray real characters, narratives and realities, and the popular gangster films were closely tied and representative of current states. It is suggested that the gangster film, to some extent, offers an insight into the history of crime in the United States (Baxter, 1970: 7). The audiences in the past, very much like current viewers, valued watching stories, ripped from the daily headlines, played out on the big screen.

"By the time cameras were capable of stopping action, murderous action became a major subject" (Goldstein 1998: 49).

Following the war, once audiences had become more normalized by images of death, images of violent death on big screens began to change (Goldstein, 1998). As Goldstein identifies, exaggerated violence and death gradually edged into mainstream movie houses, much to the threat of the atom bomb, science fiction films crossbred with horror, and new ways of dying where popularised by films such as Jaws. The movie industry became visually creative and inventive with alternative means of death displays through film technology and special effect advancements (Goldstein, 1998). As noted by Ariès, in the time of the *'Forbidden Death'*, the public gradually inhibited their emotions and feelings of death and became more private, and for a growing number of society, especially secular spheres of life, death became less public with religious meanings diminishing. Media, photography, film and television filled the death gap, and images and visuals of death became more vivid, exaggerated and entertainment based.

"Death, it seems, is all around. It has not disappeared, it is neither forbidden nor hidden, and it is, quite possibly, not a taboo—at least not as it was in the times of "forbidden death." Death, as we now encounter it, may perhaps rather be captured by the notion of "spectacular death"… (Jacobsen, 2016: 10).

The significance of death in today's public realm is captured by Foltyn (2009) in a chapter entitled, *Dead Sexy: Why Death is the New Sex*. The author explores the growth of images of death and human remains within the media and popular culture, drawing on examples such as *CSI: Crime Scene Investigation* to *Actual Autopsy* and *Body Worlds* (by Gunther von Hagen), the travelling museum exhibiting plastinated human remains, *Hannibal, The Passion of the Christ,* and many others – all of which place the corpse at centre stage, the star attraction. However, as the author notes, few people in Western society have actually seen a dead person of witnessed a real death (Foltyn, 2009). The writings of Geoffrey Gorer (1995) *The Pornography of Death*, evidenced this transition in the 20th century, as death arguably changed positions with sex as the taboo subject. As western society distanced itself with cultural practices of death (mourning and burial), and the realities of *natural death,* the dead body became a genre of pornographic entertainment, as audiences were provided streams of *unnatural death*, more disturbing, violent and macabrely entertaining.

Moving beyond Philippe Ariès stages of death mentality, is a view that we now preside in the spectacle of life or as proposed by French situationist theorist Guy Debord, *'society of the spectacle'* (Jacobsen, 2016). According to sociologist Allan Kellehear (2007), the *'spectacular death'* is experienced, created and executed by individuals in what he coined the *'cosmopolitan age'*. An age in which some of our practices, beliefs and traditions are reinterpreted in order to coincide with new social and cultural circumstances (Jacobsen, 2016). Death in this age is witnessed from a distance, and an experience that individuals are rarely confronted with, we have become spectators and bystanders to death (Debord, 1977). As Jacobson (2016) notes, there are many different facets and dimensions to the spectacular death, personally considering three in his paper. The interesting developments to the spectacular death in relation to this research are *the media and internet*, the *commercialization of death* and the *topic as an academic attention and specialization.* In today's (western) world at least, exposure to death is commonly through mediated forms. Unlike the images and visuals portrayed on film and television a few decades ago, the internet provides a platform where death is displayed in many mutated forms, victims of atrocities, warfare, terrorism, violent attacks and disasters are readily available to the global audience (Jacobsen, 2016). A main purpose today is for impact, to entertain and provoke attention according to Sullivan & Greenberg (2013) when considering the drive of films and entertainment based sources and their impact on audiences. A significant factor in the expansion of the *'spectacular death'* is the *commercialization* of death. The role of the media is not exclusively responsible for the spectacle nature of death. However, in line with the euphoric consumerism associated with Americanization (Ariès, 1974), western death mentality moved towards material circumstances, and death was and continues to be used to increase sales in the private and public realms, such as inflating burial service costs (Mitford, 1963; Young, 1994) and within the movie and entertainment industries. Modern entertainment industries have seen a growth in the representations of death, as Kerr (2013) so vividly expresses *"It's one thing to watch bloodshed rooted in history or floating in the realm of fiction, but turning actual crimes into crowd-pleasing prime time? That's another ball game."* Kerr is referring to Investigation Discovery (ID) a show in the USA. Suggesting that *"it's a dark horse with grim programming inextricably linked to people facing death."* Furthermore, that ID is forward in its offerings of curious niche's, displayed on its sister website, 'ID Addicts', offering individuals the opportunity to further their interests in disturbing stories. Taking this entertainment-based approach, which is immersed in fear, programmes like Deadly Women feel that a more romantic attitude to violence (Kerr, 2013) is more entertaining. The media and the internet and the growing

commercialization of death is further considered latter in this paper. At this stage the academic interest in death is now explored.

"Death will continue to be a source of fascination, an event incomprehensibly unique for future humans" (Inayatullah, 1981 :139).

5. Dark tourism and academic interest

Jacobson (2016) highlighted the growth and interest of death and the spectacular death as a topic of research for academics. Dark tourism as a body of academic literature and media interest has grown since the mid 1990s, with attention on both the supply and demand of attractions and the motivation and behaviour of consumers in places associated with death and suffering. Dark tourism attractions, locations, and "*products are multifaceted, complex in design and purpose and diverse in nature*" (Sharpley & Stone, 2009: 20). Research has focused on a mixture of contextual issues at similar and diverse dark sites, such as prison tourism and the role of movies in romanticising the attractions (Strange & Kempa, 2003). Studies have explored the political and cultural influences on the development and attraction management of sites associated with atrocity (Ashworth & Hartmann, 2005). Research has examined the role of dark tourists in post-disaster destinations (Wright & Sharpley, 2016), whilst other researchers have also considered the different levels of *'darkness'*, by reflecting the temporal and spatial distinctions between sites (Miles, 2002). Given the diversity of dark tourism attractions, it is suggested that there exists various forms of supply and the level of experiences tourist engage with. Consumption of attractions associated with death vary in degrees of intensity and interest for tourists when concerning the depth and interaction one has with the connotations of death in such sites. Due to the variety of sites, and their multifaceted, complexity, diverse purposes and nature in relation to death (or dark, thanatourism sites) it can become difficult to clearly identify the many layers of meaning that are attainable at such sites (Stone, 2006). In attempting to offer further clarification to this issue, Stone (2006) provides a dark tourism spectrum, aiming to offer some further thought into the character of dark sties. The analogy of the model (see Stone (2006:151) for the original dark tourism spectrum) aims to locate dark sites onto a darker-lighter scale, with the following aspects at sites considered:

1. *Political influence and ideology*
2. *Sites of death or sites associated with death*
3. *Perceived level of authenticity*
4. *Location authenticity*
5. *Supply non-purposefulness / purposefulness*
6. *Level of tourism infrastructure*
7. *Educational or entertainment based orientation*
8. *History centric (conservation/commemorative) – heritage centric (commercial/romanticised)*
9. *Time-scale from the event*

Stone (2006) provides a typology of seven dark supplies, the dark end of the scale includes' Dark Camps of Genocide' whilst the lighter end of the spectrum sees sites such as 'Light Fun Factories'. Stone (2006) recognises the potential over simplification of the spectrum in reference to the diverse and complex nature of many sites of death and the events they are related to. But the spectrum can be seen as a useful framework to consider the different levels of supply (within dark tourism) and, additionally, the wider societal matters (in reference to the darker-lighter areas under consideration), that are entwined at dark sites, and allows one to consider supply in relation to the demand (Sharpley and Stone 2009). Stone's (2006) framework offers a useful set of considerations to explore the lighter-darker elements of

attractions. The lighter attractions are said to fall at the lower end of the scale on each of the above nine aspects.

6. Developing and consuming dark tourism

Tourism is commonly associated as an educative enterprise (Burkart & Medlik, 1981; Fletcher et al., 1993). Education and tourism act and unravel in different ways, depending on the desire of the tourist and the types of tourism experiences gained. As Sharpley and Stone (2009) identify, the dead can also be encountered for educational drives. They suggest that educational visits when death is encountered, takes place in many public and private spaces, be it in the classroom, through books and learning, or at heritage sites as educational tourism, often founded on the teaching and understanding of history and past events. Teare & Lennon (2017:130) note that dark tourism is an established term for sites and locations of genocide, holocaust, assassinations, crime or incarceration which serve as a tourism attraction. A phenomenon which exists globally and the interpretation of the sites can "*be the product of ideology and dominant belief systems, and they act as the meeting place for education, history and visitation where questions of authenticity and fact are juxtaposed with tourist visitation and education needs.*" A significant point to be made is with reference to the dark and lighter forms of dark tourism attractions. Sites at the darker side of Stone's (2006) spectrum clearly are said to embrace higher levels of political ideology and the attractions themselves are likely to act as educational places in which tourists can understand the narratives and atrocities that took place. Contrary, attractions which are towards the lighter side of the dark spectrum, are likely to possess lower levels of educational value, as the entertainment value is likely to increase, as is the time between the event and the fun element of the attraction being displayed to visitors.

A central element to be considered and debated when discussing the consumption of dark attractions are the spatial time between the event and the consumption of it. As Lennon & Foley (2000) recognise, there is a dilemma for organizations when considering chronological distance. Tourists are offered guidance of travel safety measures and guidelines to various places and events when disaster and tragedy is in its immediacy. Over time, there gradually becomes an opportunity for exploiting tourism and tourists, with developments in infrastructure and investment. Clearly, there are sensitivities surrounding such developments and any considerations towards tourism and these can change culturally across communities and the type of event (i.e. man-made or natural disasters). As Lennon & Foley (2000) note, in the West, there seems to be an acceptance that people will visit sites of death in the immediacy following the event, with examples such as Princess Dianna's offered. More recent examples, could the tragic burning of Grenfell Tower in London and the 2017 terror attacks in Manchester and London. Here people gathered to show their respects and to mourn for the victims, also termed as 'black-spots' (Rojek, 1993) or 'milking the macabre' (Dann, 1994: 61). It is suggested that there is a period of time in which there is a potentially ethical and or moral obligation to not provide any interpretation of the events at the sites, especially if there is any potential for exploitation. With memorials dedicated to victims and often as a means for pilgrimage, and as Lennon & Foley (2000) state, it often takes more time for any interpretation of the event to be considered as acceptable for touristic experiences. Further suggesting that there is a moment in time at which it does become acceptable. Here Lennon & Foley (2000) highlight the examples in which sites and attractions of shocking events offer tourists infrastructure and interpretation within their respective locations, events that have embedded themselves into the mass consciousness of society and form part of popular culture and the media. Examples include, First World War battle sites in Poland and Germany, Pearl Harbour, Hiroshima, battle sites of the Vietnam War, or individual deaths of political and popular figures, e.g. John F. Kennedy, Martin Luther King, Elvis Presley and Marilyn Monroe. Offering interpretation coinsides with greater levels of education tourists.

Table 1 provides an insight into four commonly discussed dark tourism attractions, which are often suggested to be found at the darker side of dark tourism attractions (Sharpley and Stone, 2009). The table considers the time in which the tragic events took place and an approximate timeframe in which the events became tourism attractions. There is no clear pattern between the time of the event and the time in which these locations / events became tourist attractions.

Table 1: Popular 'darker' dark tourism attractions

Event / Attraction	Brief Account	Time of Event	Tourism Attraction Opening	Spatial Time Between Event and Tourism Attraction
The Fukushima Daiichi nuclear disaster	An energy accident at the Fukushima I Nuclear Power Plant in Fukushima, initiated primarily by the tsunami following the Tōhoku earthquake.	11 March 2011	Tours to the site – around 2014	Around 3 years
Source: Leadbeater (2016)				
Cambodia Killing Fields The Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum. The Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum	Cambodian Civil War (1970–1975). These are a number of sites in Cambodia where collectively more than a million people were killed and buried by the Khmer Rouge regime - 1975 to 1979. The mass killings are widely regarded as part of a broad state-sponsored genocide.	1979	Museum opened 13 July 1980	1 year
Source: Killing Fields (2017)				
Auschwitz concentration camp	From early 1942 until late 1944 - was a network of German Nazi concentration camps and extermination camps built and operated by the Third Reich in Polish areas annexed by Nazi Germany during World War II. 27 January 1945 Soviet soldiers entered the gates of the Auschwitz ending the largest mass murder in a single location in human history.	1942 and 1944 Ending 1945	From 1955 to 1990, the museum was directed by one of its founders and former inmates, Kazimierz Smoleń. Since 1979, the former concentration camp has belonged to the World Cultural Heritage	Around 60 years
Source: Polin Travel (2017)				
9/11 – World trade Center Site	The September 11 attacks were a series of four coordinated terrorist attacks by the Islamic terrorist group al-Qaeda on the United States on the morning of Tuesday, September 11, 2001. The attacks killed 2,996 people, injured over 6,000 others, causing in the region of $10 billion in infrastructure damage.	9 Sept. 2001	9/11 Museum opened in May 2014 Ground Zero	Around 12 years within weeks post-attack became a tourist attraction
Source: Farrell (2014)				

7. 9/11 and the movie industry: A case of turning tragedy into entertainment

"From Savage Stone Age to Terrifying Twentieth Century, find the bestselling books about every terrible time in history. Horrible Histories has been filling heads with foul facts since 1993. It's history with the nasty bits left in!" (Horrible Histories, 2017).

There is no timeline, guideline or specifics regarding the timeframe in which it is deemed appropriate to express interpretation of events of mass atrocities. Society, people and tourists

have a curiosity in the darker side of society, in horrific events and the stories and narratives surrounding them. Significantly, there are also financial rewards to be exploited from such events. Recent examples could be 9/11 and the movies and documentaries that soon followed, the following cases clearly showing that there is a desire on the behalf of producers to create spectacles that offer interpretations of events much for popular culture and entertainment. Table 2 provides an overview of some of the visual depictions of the tragic event, offering a brief insight into the plots and movie / documentary narratives and also the release dates. These dates are clear evidence of how such a tragic event can quickly become a visual spectacle. Evidently, the plots do not offer fantasy narratives, and whilst offering educative purposes and understanding, some are clearly entertainment based products, blockbusters that benefit financially from cinema receipts, an example being United 93 which made on the opening weekend (2nd June 2006) over $11 million and by 30 June 2006 over $31 million (IMDb, 2017a).

Table 2: Movies and documentaries centred on 9/11

Movie / Documentary	Narrative / Plot	Director(s)	Release date
9/11	a French-American documentary film directed by on the attacks in New York City and the two planes crashing into the World Trade Center, from the perspective of the New York Fire Department.	Jules and Gedeon Naudet, and FDNY firefighter James Hanlon	2002
11'09''01 September 11	The effects of the 9/11 terrorist attacks are told from different points of view around the world.	Youssef Chahine, Amos Gitai	2002
DC 9/11: Time of Crisis	This is the story of the days directly after 9/11, and the president's whereabouts.	Brian Trenchard-Smith	2003
Fahrenheit 9/11	Michael Moore's view on what happened to the United States after September 11; and how the Bush Administration allegedly used the tragic event to push forward its agenda for unjust wars in Afghanistan and Iraq.	Michael Moore	2004
911: In Plane Site	What "In Plane Site" accomplishes that no other video expose' on September 11th has to date, is it exposes the viewer to a barrage of news clips from a majority of the mainstream news ...	William Lewis	2004
National Geographic: Inside 9/11	Inside 9/11 provides insight into the events that led up to 9/11 by tracing the timeline from al Qaeda's earliest origins through the aftermath of 9/11 and the ongoing investigation.	National Geographic Channel	2005
Flight 93: The Flight That Fought Back	A docudrama about the efforts of the passengers aboard United Airlines Flight 93 to derail the 9/11 terrorists' plan for the hijacked airliner.	Bruce Goodison	2005
United 93	A real-time account of the events on United Flight 93, one of the planes hijacked on September 11th, 2001 that crashed near Shanksville, Pennsylvania when passengers foiled the terrorist plot.	Paul Greengrass	2006
World Trade Center	Two Port Authority police officers become trapped under the rubble of the World Trade Center.	Oliver Stone	2006
9/11: The Twin Towers	On 9/11 2001 two planes American 11 united 175 hit the World Trade Center and many people died and jumped to their deaths some survived until the tower fell.	Richard Dale	2006
The Path to 9/11	A television mini-series on the events leading up to the US terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001.	David L. Cunningham	2006
Reign Over Me	A man who lost his family in the September 11 attack on New York City runs into his old college roommate. Rekindling the friendship is the one thing that appears able to help the man recover from his grief.	Mike Binder	2007
102 Minutes That Changed America	The morning of September 11, 2001 is shown through multiple video cameras in New York City, from the moment the first WTC tower is hit until after both towers collapse.	Nicole Rittenmeyer, Seth Skundrick	2008

Zero Dark Thirty	A chronicle of the decade-long hunt for al-Qaeda terrorist leader Osama bin Laden after the September 2001 attacks, and his death at the hands of the Navy S.E.A.L.s Team 6 in May 2011.	Kathryn Bigelow	2012
Source: IMDb (2017b)			

As Roberts (2016: 109-110) notes: *"How do you attract tourists? One tactic is to create an attraction. In some places, the natural environment or the historic buildings may be sufficient. If not, attractions can always be created. This happened throughout the history of modern holidaymaking"*. Thus, creating spaces for entertainment based on popular culture, activities and pleasures, is a prime opportunity for developers. Providing historical accounts of death and suffering with education motives, but driven by entertainment, as a means to attract consumers are the popular dungeon attractions, which can be located across the UK, in Europe and the USA. Lennon and Foley (2000: 119) in consideration to the application of the term 'dark 'tourism' as a conceptual framework and a one size fits all approach, clearly note the importance of recognising common denominators which are present at sites and attractions associated with 'cataclysmic events'. They go on to state that *"it is important to differentiate between dungeons, torture chambers and death sites of earlier European history and representations of the recent past. This analysis is based upon the idea that news and entertainment media, most especially the development of photography and, thereafter of mass communications, has changed the relationships between people and world events. Thus, an event represented as 'dark tourism' is likely to have taken place in the last hundred years and been brought to the public via modern mass media. The scale and scope of the tourism product are likely to be driven by the media."* Dark sties, and or sites associated with death and suffering are somewhat politically benign, referred to by Stone (2006) as 'dark exhibitions', 'dark resting places' and 'dark fun factories'.

8. The lighter side of dark tourism attractions

The range and depth of scary theme related experiences is growing, not just as attractions in theme parks such as Derren Browns Ghost Train: Thorpe Park as visitors are told be *"prepared to derail your mind on a ghost train re-invented for the 21st century that will leave you questioning where perception ends and reality begins"* Thorpe Park (2017). Halloween often sees the focus shift from family friendly to the family scary, as a recent article explored American amusement parks that go haunted for Halloween (Travel Channel, 2017). A UK example is Mrs Dawson's Farm based in the Ribble Valley, Lancashire. The family friendly run dairy farm offer a children attraction based on ice-cream and farm-like activities (Mrs Dawson's 2017). That is at least until Halloween, Christmas and the Valentines holiday periods come round, when the family farm turns into a horror attraction that aims to deliver visitors a frightening experience (Scare Kingdom, 2017). There are many other examples growing, where suppliers are considering the scare factor and playing on people fears in line with popular culture. For example, recent times have seen growth in the zombie based attractions, popularised by many movie and TV shows, such as the popular AMC show, *The Walking Dead.* Zombie attractions in the UK include, *Zombie Shopping Mall,* a 250,000 Square foot abandoned shopping mall where visitors will *"journey through armouries, laboratories, morgues and many more extreme locations as you battle the undead in your very own Hollywood blockbuster!"* (Zed Events, 2017). Another example being, *Zombie Infection*, apparently becoming the biggest of its kind in the industry. *"Zombie Infection uses some of the most unique locations across the UK and believe we have something for everyone. A mental asylum, a prison, an abandoned factory, Sherwood Forest and much more....with thousands of highly satisfied customers and a very high return rate...what are you waiting for? Join the infection fight now...."* (Zombie Infection, 2017).

Stone (2009, in Sharpley and Stone, 2009) offers some extensive research and analysis on the lighter side of dark attractions, exploring the fun factories and Dungeon visitor attractions in the UK. Unlike some of the examples above, which offer fantasy like experiences to visitors, often driven by fiction and popular culture, the dungeon attractions aims to explore our dark past. Interestingly, Stone (2009) notes, the lighter forms of dark tourism attractions that have often been created with a commercial visitor purpose, recreated death and suffering presented through entertainment focused means have and often receive limited attention within the tourism literature. Stone (2006: 152) suggests:

"A Dark Fun Factory alludes to those visitor sites, attractions and tours which predominantly have an entertainment focus and commercial ethic, and which present real or fictional death and macabre events. Indeed, these types of products possess a high degree of tourism infrastructure, are purposeful and are in essence 'fun-centric'."

Previous research in the lighter form of dark tourism and that which can be closely associated with the re(created) forms of entertainment include Inglis and Holmes (2003) who explored ghost, paranormal entities and haunted spaces in Scotland and Bristow and Newman (2004) who explored the Witch Trails of 1692 in Salem, MA and the fictional incarnation of Count Dracula in Transylvania, Romania. In these lighter dark attractions, visitors are enticed by the promise of adventure, excitement, and fear-driven entertainment and often novelty and not always historical accounts of truth and non-fiction. As noted, Stone (2009) offers research into the Dungeon visitor attractions, suggesting that these places are commercial establishments which operate within the mainstream tourism sector. An example of Dungeon attractions includes those operated by the Merlin Entertainments Group. The attractions offer tourists an insight into the dark and more gruesome past of the cities in which they reside, a glimpse into a horrible and bloody history. Interestingly one of Stone's (2008 also see Sharpley and Stone, 2009) findings during research, circulated on the elements of the dungeon attractions being more museum like with an educational purpose, and or more entertainment based. As Stone (2009) notes, visitors and staff where aware that not all customers expected interactive shows with live actors, where the history of the city is used to frighten visitors. What is interesting from Stone's research is the contrast between the consumer and the producer. During focus groups (in 2008) with dungeon visitors to York, Stone reported that one guest noted that *'the dungeon did not have any soul; it was fake and empty'*, with a universal feeling from customers that the *'dungeon concept was fun, comical and indeed clever, yet also artificial and built around fear and fantasy'*. However, contrary the Merlin Entertainment Group, at the time claimed that *'as you delve into the darkest chapters of our grim and bloody past, recreated in its dreadful detail, remember: everything you experience really happened'* (see Sharpley and Stone, 2009: 180). Arguably, what this highlights, is the consumers detachment from the horrors of the past, and how adding some fun and thrills to the historical events, has the ability to expose dark history as something fictional and fantasy like.

Taking a similar approach to Stone (2008), Table 3 offers an overview of tourist experiences based on historical events displayed at the Merlin dungeon attractions. The table offers a vivid account of the event as presented on the dungeon website. In addition, dates of the events and approximate spatial times frames to current day are provided, offering an indication of the time scale it has taken for various death sodden events to become entertainment and a spectacle for consumers to purchase. Two events per dungeon attraction have been provided in the table.

Table 3: Spatial Time Since "Lighter" Dark Events at Merlin Entertainment Dungun Attractions

The London Dungeon

32 MAGICAL WORLDS… IT'S A NIGHTMARE DREAM COME TRUE
YES, BUT HOW DOES IT WORK?
The London Dungeon is one of the capital's 'must-see' signature attractions - delighting audiences for almost 40 years. It's an 110 minute journey through 1000 years of London's murky past. You and your companions walk through the Dungeon, moving from show to show, guided by our professional actors. See a map of the London Dungeon's tour.

The shows are based on real London history and legends (minus the boring bits). You'll get up close and personal with sinister characters including Jack the Ripper and infamous barber of Fleet Street, Sweeney Todd.

It's a fully themed experience. That means 360° sets, full on authenticity and theatrical storytelling. On your journey you'll pass through the Whitechapel Labyrinth of misty East London streets, plague-ravaged houses, the fearsome torture chamber... and see (and feel!) what could have been if Guy Fawkes had succeeded. Believe us, it's better than a sightseeing or boring museum tour of London.

Historical Event / Attraction

Jack the Ripper is the serial killer generally believed to have been active in the largely impoverished areas in and around the Whitechapel district of London in 1888.

Time of Event	Tourism Attraction Displayed	Spatial Time Between Event and Tourism Attraction
1888	Post 1974	Around 86 years

Historical Event / Attraction

A member of a group of provincial English Catholics who planned the failed Gunpowder Plot of 1605 to bring down the House of Lords. Fawkes became synonymous with the Gunpowder Plot, and has been commemorated in Britain since 5 November 1605. His effigy is traditionally burned on a bonfire, commonly accompanied by a fireworks display.

Time of Event	Tourism Attraction Displayed	Spatial Time Between Event and Tourism Attraction
1605	Post 1974	Around 369 years

The York Dungeons

FEAR IS A FUNNY THING...
The York Dungeon is a 75-minute journey into more than 2000 years of York's horrible history. The Dungeon brings together an amazing cast of theatrical actors, special effects, stages and scenes in a truly unique and exciting walkthrough experience that you see, hear, feel and smell. It's hilarious fun and it's sometimes a bit scary.

You will laugh and scream, you will love it. We do too and here is why:

The York Dungeon is now Bolder and Better than ever before
10 laugh-out-loud shows
Laughs, screams and cutting-edge storytelling
We're the black comedy of attractions; dark, atmospheric and very very funny.

Historical Event / Attraction

You're at the heart of the Viking invasion in 866 and the last thing you wanted, as a trembling Saxon, is to bump into the infamous Snore Short Sword: fearless Viking warrior and Son of Snore Shorter Sword. His arrogance and dim wittedness is as hilariously funny as it is dangerous. He'll introduce you to the most unpleasant of tortures…viper pits, whipping and much, much more!

Time of Event	Tourism Attraction Displayed	Spatial Time Between Event and Tourism Attraction
866	Present	1,151 years

Historical Event / Attraction		
THE GOLDEN FLEECE *It's late into the night and walking through the narrow Shambles has made you desperate for a refreshment. Enter the Golden Fleece and come face to face with the unnerving Landlord, who delights in telling the tale of the two Williams of 1821! You might even meet the ghost of William Brown!.*		
Time of Event	**Tourism Attraction Displayed**	**Spatial Time Between Event and Tourism Attraction**
1821	Present	196 years

The Edinburgh Dungeon

FEAR IS A FUNNY THING...
The Edinburgh Dungeon is an 80 minute journey through centuries of Scotland's darkest history. Tours leave around 10 minutes apart and guided by a full cast of actors, you and your companions then move from show to show. You will laugh and scream as you encounter gripping storytelling, exciting rides and thrilling special effects. It's based on real history and legend (minus the boring bits) where you come face-to-face with sinister characters from Scotland's gruesome past, including murderous twosome Burke and Hare and Scottish legend Sawney Bean. Experience the disastrous effects of the plague in Street of Sorrows, the fearsome torture chamber and sense the ghostly presence of the Green Lady in 1715 Old Craig House.

It's a fully themed experience. That means 360° sets, full on authenticity and theatrical storytelling. On your journey you'll pass through the Caves of Galloway, plague-ravaged closes, the fearsome torture chamber... and a mysterious graveyard where Burke and Hare might be found lurking. Believe us, it's better than a sightseeing or boring museum tour of Edinburgh.

Historical Event / Attraction		
STREET OF SORROWS *Welcome to 17th Century Edinburgh where the streets are filthy and the plague is rife. Meet the Foul Clenger as he tells you the true story of Edinburgh's underground plague close. It's a dangerous time; people are dying and housing is in a perilous condition. Tenements stretch upwards blocking out the light and the closes are lined with sewage, rats, and who knows what else! Whatever happens, don't breathe too deeply...*		
Time of Event	**Tourism Attraction Displayed**	**Spatial Time Between Event and Tourism Attraction**
1600s	Present	Around 350 years

Historical Event / Attraction		
SAWNEY BEAN *Well done! You've found the Bean Family. Unfortunately, it's been a while since they last ate and you look delicious. Find yourself creeping through the clan's foul smelling lair and discover the leftovers of lost travellers as the hunters become the hunted…! Will you escape, or become the cannibal's next fresh meat? Alexander "Sawney" Bean was said to be the head of a 48-member clan in Scotland anywhere between the 13th and 16th centuries, reportedly executed for the mass murder and cannibalisation of over 1,000 people.*		
Time of Event	**Tourism Attraction Displayed**	**Spatial Time Between Event and Tourism Attraction**
13th – 16th century legend	Present	Between 800 and 500 years

The Blackpool Dungeon

IT'S... BRILLIANT!
The Blackpool Tower Dungeon brings together an amazing cast of theatrical actors, special effects, stages, scenes and a ride in a truly unique and exciting walkthrough experience that you see, hear, touch, smell and feel. It's hilarious fun and it's sometimes a bit scary.

The Blackpool Tower Dungeon is one of the must-see signature attractions of the Blackpool resort. With a full cast of brilliant actors, 10 shows, rich sets, special effects and an exciting drop ride, it's a 60 minute journey through 1000 years of Lancashire's murky past. You and your companions walk through the Dungeon, moving from show to show, guided by our professional, theatrical actors.

The shows are based on real Lancastrian history and legends (minus the boring bits). You'll get up close and personal with sinister characters including Captain Johnson from the notorius Skippool smuggling gang and Alizon Devize, the infamous Pendle Witch.

It's a fully themed experience. That means 360° sets, full on authenticity and theatrical storytelling. On your journey you'll pass through Lytham priory, see and feel the effects of the plague, visit Lancaster Castles fearsome torture chamber... and experience the War of the Roses. Believe us, it's better than sightseeing or a boring history lesson!

Historical Event / Attraction

SKIPPOOL SMUGGLERS
Welcome to the depths of the Skippool Creek caves, where in the gloom the smugglers work. Dirty and dangerous, they are suspicious of strangers and want answers - who are you? What have you got? Are the Revenue following you? Alone in the dark, Captain Johnson is coming to deal with you, and deep in the caves, nobody will hear your screams...

Time of Event	Tourism Attraction Displayed	Spatial Time Between Event and Tourism Attraction
Records date back to 1600	Present	Around 800 years

Historical Event / Attraction

WARS OF THE ROSES
It's time to choose your allegiance, as the hilariously horrifying Wars of the Roses comes to The Blackpool Tower Dungeon! Venture in to the darkest recesses of this monumental conflict, and discover for yourself the dastardly deeds and menacing methods of warfare practiced by some of England's most infamous historical characters. Meet the Black Jester, who can spy a traitor at arm's length, before paying a visit to the Torturer and learning more about some of the bloodiest punishments ever to have taken place on British soil!

Time of Event	Tourism Attraction Displayed	Spatial Time Between Event and Tourism Attraction
1455 – 1487	Present	Around 560 years

The Amsterdam Dungeon

The Amsterdam Dungeons is an 80 minute journey into 500 years of Amsterdam's horrible history. You will laugh and scream as you encounter live actor shows (available in both English and Dutch), gripping storytelling, and state of the art special effects. The Amsterdam Dungeon will ensure you'll have a scarily funny time.

FEAR IS A FUNNY THING
The Amsterdam Dungeon brings together, through an amazing cast of theatrical actors, special effects, stages, scenes, scripts, and an unique, exciting walkthrough experience that you can see, hear, touch, smell and feel. It is hilarious fun and sometimes a little scary.

Historical Event / Attraction

Follow in the steps of the thousands of young sailors who sold their soul to the VOC...
Hold your ears as you'll be deafened by loud cannons and the noisy crew of VOC Batavia. Enjoy the dirty, smelly surroundings on the over crowded ship, where a simple wound can result in a nasty amputation – look after your limbs.
GET ON BOARD
Get on board the 17th century VOC ship, the Batavia and strap in for a thrill-filled journey back in time. Sink or swim…don't hold out too much hope.

Time of Event	Tourism Attraction Displayed	Spatial Time Between Event and Tourism Attraction
1628	Present	389 years

Historical Event / Attraction

THE STORY
It was in July 1733 at the Amsterdam Zeedijk. In a tannery, leatherworker Gerhard lives with his two young daughters, Dina and Helena. Dina is a beautiful gentle woman with long blonde locks. Helena is less refined with her raven hair and coarse features. When one day a sailor named Wouter enters the tannery, the two sisters immediately lose their hearts to him. But only Dina gets her love requited, to Helena's humiliation. One

day, Helena intercepts a love letter sent from Wouter to Dina. So begins a deeply disturbed sister rivlary which ends in a fatal fight. Blindly jealous Helen pushes her sister down the stairs, where she leaves her for dead on the basement floor. If she shows up alive the next day, Helen will beat her brains out, and proclaim everything to be a terrible accident: Beautiful Dina has fallen down the stairs ! The entire Zeedijk is in mourning. Wouter comes back from his trip and hear about this tragedy and is inconsolable. Helena seizes her chance and takes care of him. Her comforting presence makes her his wife; they marry and have a child. When Helena is on her deathbed, she confesses her crime to Wouter, who is furious and curses the day she was born. Helena begs for his forgiveness but it's too late. She died a lonely death on June 24, 1753. A century later, she still has not found peace and her spirit wanders around on the Zeedijk. If you listen carefully you can still hear her moaning.

Time of Event	Tourism Attraction Displayed	Spatial Time Between Event and Tourism Attraction
1733	Present	284 years

The Berlin Dungeon

The Berlin Dungeons is a 70 minute journey into 800 years of Berlin's darkest history. You will laugh and scream as you encounter live shows by skilled actors (available in both English and German language), gripping storytelling, exciting rides and state of the art special effects. You will also drop into the unknown at Berlin's only indoor frefall tower - the Exitus. The Berlin Dungeon will ensure you'll have a scarily funny time.

Berlin Dungeon is a uniquely thrilling attraction that will whisk you way back into the city's most perilous past. See, hear, feel and (ahem) smell the chillingly amusing characters of the 'bad old days' as they come to life before you. Will you lose yourself in fear or in mirth? Which ever way, it's not looking good for your underwear.

Historical Event / Attraction

Twisted monk Pater Roderich will shock and surprise you with ghastly tales of 14th century war, rebellion and murder in the Ancient Library of the Grey Abbey. Monk Pater Roderich, sinister keeper of the Dungeon scrolls, describes the dark history of the city that lies on the banks of the river Spree. Listen to his grisly tales of the Plague, Germanic tribes, Emperor Otto, the Inquisition, the Black Death and many more horrible stories.

Time of Event	Tourism Attraction Displayed	Spatial Time Between Event and Tourism Attraction
14TH Century	Present	Around 700 years

Historical Event / Attraction

You find yourself in Berlin in 1848. The Alexanderplatz is only a potato's throw away. Due to the late blight, groceries and potatoes in particular have become scarce commmodities. On the Gendarmenmarkt in the center of Berlin, ordinary men and women like you have cut open the marketer's potato sacks and helped themselves. Such outrageous conditions! Just because you want to appease your hunger, you're supposed to go to prison for 10 years??? Finally, things are happening: A slightly overwhelmed carpenter takes you and your companions' fate into his hand and builds barricades. Help him in his fight against the 20,000-strong Prussian Army and help him show Friedrich Wilhelm IV. his demands. The leader on the barricades needs your support. But beware: he is not as steady in using his gun as he is with his carpentry tools… which is why you don't only have to dodge your enemy's bullets. By the time the big cannon is fired, someone goes crazy – at the very latest.

Time of Event	Tourism Attraction Displayed	Spatial Time Between Event and Tourism Attraction
1848	Present	169 years

The Hamburg Dungeon

The Hamburg Dungeon is a 90-minute journey through 600 years of Hamburg's murky past. You will laugh and scream as you encounter live actor shows (available in English and German), gripping storytelling, exciting rides and state of the art special effects. The Hamburg Dungeon will ensure you'll have a scarily funny time.

Historical Event / Attraction		
Almost 500 years ago Hamburg's historic alleyway neighborhood, the 'Gängeviertel', reached from as far as the historic 'Speicherstadt' to the harbor embankment. People dwelled poorly and in very cramped conditions, but with a great sense of belonging. The police struggled to get any headway among the tight and rambling back streets. This is where dock workers, scoundrels, and cutthroats went about their business in the dingy pubs and narrow passageways. Experience this wonderfully terrible time up close at Hamburg Dungeon. Make the acquaintance of Hannes and Berta during our 'Gängeviertel' show, and from there begin your exciting journey through the dark and nerve-wracking Hamburg of past.		
Time of Event	**Tourism Attraction Displayed**	**Spatial Time Between Event and Tourism Attraction**
16th Century	Present	Around 500 years

Historical Event / Attraction		
1842 HAMBURG IS BURNING *The night of 4th May 1842 was one of the most devastating in the history of Hamburg. Step back into the Great fire of Hamburg. Shortly after midnight thick clouds of smoke started to cover Deichstraße. A night-watch was the first to spot the quickly unfolding disaster as smoke gave way to fire. Narrow alleyways and wooden houses fed the fire and it wasn't long before a big fire raged through the streets of Hamburg and death traps formed. Chaos and panic spread through Hamburg - there was no stopping the furious blaze. Adjacent reservoirs of flammable materials such as rubber, oil or alcohol fed the fire even further. The raging fire destroyed everything that got in its way. Can you hear the screams? Can you smell the burning wood? The fire is getting closer! Can you find your escape in the stuffy darkness?*		
Time of Event	**Tourism Attraction Displayed**	**Spatial Time Between Event and Tourism Attraction**
1824	Present	193 years

The San Francisco Dungeon

The San Francisco Dungeon brings together an amazing cast of theatrical actors, special effects, stages and scenes in a truly unique and exciting walkthrough experience that you see, hear, touch, smell and feel. It's hilarious, fun and it's sometimes a bit scary.

Historical Event / Attraction		
Violence and corruption dominate the American frontier in 1848, as you are immersed into the clash between natives and new settlers. Father Francisco Palóu details the development of the area – gamblers, thieves, harlots and corrupt politicians have taken over these once peaceful lands!		
Time of Event	**Tourism Attraction Displayed**	**Spatial Time Between Event and Tourism Attraction**
1884	Present	133 years

Historical Event / Attraction		
And you thought the Plague only happened in Europe. This nasty infection made a resurgence in San Francisco in 1900. Lucky you!		
Time of Event	**Tourism Attraction Displayed**	**Spatial Time Between Event and Tourism Attraction**
1900-1904	Present	Around 117-113 years
Source: Merlin Entertainments Dungeon Attractions Website (2017)		

It is clear from the terminology and language used by the Merlin Entertainment Group, that they aim to entice visitors by offering an entertainment based experience, based on fear, shock, and horrific stories of the past. Key messages to entice their consumer audience include: '*It's hilarious fun and it's sometimes a bit scary*', '*You will laugh and scream, you will love it', and 'FEAR IS A FUNNY THING...'.* This was also identified by Stone (2008) who suggested that a core element of the dungeon concept was to capture consumers emotions via a sense of revulsion, horror and shock, by creating a safe place in which unsafe narratives and events could be closely engaged with (also see Sharpley and Stone, 2009). Importantly, and similar to above with the darker sites, there is no specific guidance as to when a dark side

of history is likely to become a dark entertainment attraction. The displays are clearly linked to the dark histories of the city, so the dungeons are restricted to dark events that took place in those cities. Therefore, this is a clear indication of the great variances in time between the events and their displays in the attractions. For example, The York Dungeons explore the Viking invasion in 866 more than 1000 years ago, the Blackpool Dungeons portray events of the Skippool smugglers some 800 years ago and the Berlin Dungeon's expose the twisted stories of monk Pater Roderich dating 700 years. Closer to present day, there are events such as the Wars of the Roses between 1455 – 1487 some 560 years old (Blackpool), or experiencing the terrors and struggles of thousands of young sailors who sold their soul to the 17th century VOC ship, the Batavia in 1628 at the Amsterdam Dungeon, a historical event predating 389 years. The plague attractions are popular features in the dungeons. The London attraction currently displays the last major epidemic of the bubonic plague to occur in England, around 1665 to 1666. It went on display in 2003, thus, a spatial time of 337. Other plague attractions are available in the York dungeons, the event was around 1551; spatial timeframe of 466 years. In Berlin the plague was around 1576 here the spatial time approximately 441 years. Hamburg, displays horrific events from around 200 years ago, a horrifying and devastating time in their history, the Great fire of Hamburg. However, the various dungeon attractions also display histories even closer to our times, with events only just over a century old. Examples include the San Francisco Plague, the battles between the American Frontiers, whilst the London Dungeon provides accounts of the infamous serial killer Jack the Ripper which went first on display around 1974, approximately 86 years post 1888, the time of the event. So what of the future? Will our horrors and tragedies of the early 21st century be displayed in similar ways that are in today's dungeon visitor attractions?

9. Future amusement parks: An industry outlook

Amusement parks have come a long way since Coney Island's Switchback Railway roller coaster ushered in the "gravity pleasure ride" industry in 1884. Formula Rossa at Ferrari World in the United Arab Emirates is now the world's fastest coaster, accelerating to 149 mph in just 4.5 seconds, and the world's tallest is the 570 foot Skyscraper in Orlando, Florida, set to open to the public in 2017 (at the time of writing). On a shift between the financial gains between theme parks and the movie industry, The Economist (2016) notes the following, *"Newfound enthusiasm for them partly reflects upheaval in the media industry. As it has become harder to reap riches in television and film, companies are eager to spin gold from both their vast content libraries and to attract attention to their new offerings. Disney and Comcast have enjoyed considerable success doing this through their parks businesses, which have chugged along as reliable profit engines. Universal Studios has contributed more to Comcast's profits over the past five years than either the broadcast network NBC or the Universal Pictures film studio, its corporate siblings. At Disney, the company's theme-park division has generated a better return on assets than its film studio in four of the past five years."*

A web article by Bysouth (2014) asked the question, *"are there too many theme park rides themed to TV shows and movies?"* The author express how theme parks are relentlessly pursuing original and innovative methods of theming their attractions, but do rides based on popular culture, TV and movies have an effective approach? Theme parks have at their core, the allure of bringing fantasy life into reality experiences, as stories, narratives are expressed through technological distinctiveness, wonder and surprise. Whilst Disney and Universal Studios have established their rides and attractions on film and as TV themes initially, before offering further experience to these narratives in their theme parks. The trend and pattern can be seen developing across the industry. Another example is Thorpe Park, (also owned by the Merlin Entertainment Group), which is a UK based attraction situated on the outer edges of London. In 2009, Merlin unveiled its new creation *Saw, The Ride*, based on the horror Saw films. The ride was successful and ultimately a product for today's consumer market, offering an experience that meets the demand for rides offering scary thrills. A significant question is

raised by Niles (2017) in an article entitled, *"will future amusement park rides be based on original ideas and not movies"?* Niles focuses on Universal, noting that the motto used by the organisation was *'ride the movies'* and they were driven by this approach for around 20 years, basing their attractions on movies, TV shows and or popular books. Nevertheless Universal are to open a water theme park in Orlando, and on this occasion the theme is not based on popular culture and or narrative, instead the designers have created a story about the made-up Waturi people of the South Pacific, hoping this will entice consumers (Niles, 2017). It could be argued that the theme and story in a water park is much less a limiting factor when choosing a water park, when the pull is arguably towards the water rides and all that encompasses a day out at a water park. As Niles (2017) concludes, for the two biggest companies in the theme park business, Disney and Universal Studios, who aim to entice tourists and increase profitability, require consumers to embrace their themes deprived of the assistance of an already widely beloved entertainment franchise, which currently proves to be the successful factor for developing entertainment attractions.

For a future issue of *Funworld*, seen as an official magazine of the International Association of Amusement Parks and Attractions (IAAPA), Weiser (2016) asked 75 industry leaders globally to predict how parks will change by 2020. Answers revolved around advancements in technology, greater focus on visitor reviews, the impact of the economy on patron spending patterns, and ways to reduce what are considered necessary evils. Table 4 presents the answers from industry experts. Five industry educated predictions for the future of amusement parks are expressed.

Table 4: Five potential changes to future theme park experiences

Future Theme Parks: Five Consumer Developments
1. Personal Devices and Self Service Will help eliminate lines.
Ask any amusement park goer, and they'll tell you that the lines are one of the worst parts of the experience. Parks like SixFlags have the FLASH Pass, which speeds up your wait time for an additional cost of at least $40 per person, and Disney World has employed means to entertain their waiting guests - like sending over performers, setting up video games alongside the queue, or even launching a "Move it! Shake it! Celebrate It!" parade to reroute visitors to less populated areas - but those strategies only do so much. In 2010, Disney launched the underground Operational Command Center to monitor line lengths and population density and then take action when necessary; they were able to decrease the amount of time visitors spent in waiting, upping the average number of rides they were able to enjoy from 9 to 10. *But what if no one had to wait in line at all? Peter Rodbro, the Co-CEO of Entertainment Booking Concepts in Denmark, likens his vision to the process of making an airline reservation.* *"By 2020, attractions will need very little IT hardware," he said, because "the patrons will have it themselves on more devices." They'll be able to book a ride in advance using their devices, which will then communicate the transaction to the ride. "Think of the parallel: When you book an airline ticket (or hotel room, etc.)," he said, "you ensure you have a seat at a day and time convenient for you and then you pay digitally (via Google Wallet, Apple Pay, PayPal, etc.)."* *Buddy Wilkes, the General Manager of Shipwreck Island Waterpark in Florida, agrees that amusement parks can learn from airports. "Front entrance operations will begin to integrate self-service kiosks like the airlines are doing, combined with a significant increase in online admission sales," he said. "Most parks will make the transition to computerized POS systems, and paper and coin currency in water parks will go the way of the dinosaur."*
2. Everything will be more interactive and multisensory.
In order to create meaningful and memorable trips, amusement parks will be transforming their attractions from passive amusements into full-on participatory adventures. "Several of our projects are leveraging novel approaches and technology to guest engagement, really sinking the guest into the story," Cynthia Sharpe, the senior director of Cultural Attractions & Research at the Thinkwell Group, told FunWorld. "We're already seeing

the rise of boutique experiences, like small-group escape games, Ollivander's Wand Shop at Universal, and highly interactive meet-and-greets like 'Enchanted Tales with Belle' at Disney."

Rich Hill, the senior designer at Sally Corporation, adds that "in the future, once guests pass through the turnstiles, they should have a nonstop flood of experiences that all relate to one another. Guests will no longer wait in long lines because the attractions will flow into one another seamlessly."

3. Rides and themes will be darker.

To make the experience more adult-friendly, Scott Simmons, the founder and creative director of The ScareHouse in Pennsylvania, also wants to "to explore options for nonlinear and interactive experiences where guests don't necessarily need to follow the same path as everyone else." But unlike The Wizarding World of Harry Potter or Enchanted Tales with Belle, Simmons wants his attraction to explore darker psychological subjects and inspire fear while still giving his guests control over their destiny. "There's nothing as impactful or as terrifying as entering a room with multiple doorways and thus multiple possibilities," he said.

Right now, scary rides often tend to be seasonal, emerging in time for Halloween, then disappearing soon after. However, Bill Bunting, the manager of business development at Oceaneering Entertainment Systems, is planning for engineers and designers to "embrace the concept of dark rides that can recognize guests individually, and adapt the show experience for them in ways we have only begun to understand." He hopes that "multiple ride paths, interactive game engines, and on-demand variable media will allow us to create rides that are constantly changing and morphing, encouraging repeat ridership like never before."

4. They'll be greener.

It's a fair assumption that by 2020, global warming is only going to get worse, and amusement parks will need to adapt in order to conserve resources and comply with government regulations. LEGOLAND in Florida is already using renewable energy to power part of the park, and due to the drought in California, Raging Waters in San Jose has cut back on landscaping efforts to reduce water consumption. Over the next five years, many parks will be attempting to reduce their greenhouse gas emissions, become more energy efficient, and decrease material waste.

"A big portion of a water park's expenses are on energy," Patrick Patoka, the director of Avalanche Bay Indoor Waterpark in Michigan, said. "Between the electricity costs to run the pumps and filters constantly, to the gas costs to heat indoor facilities, there is some real potential for savings for these facilities if there were more efficient methods to operate them."

5. The Food Will Be Held to a higher standard.

Ken Whiting, President of Whiting's Food Concessions and a partner with North Star Food & Beverage Associates, anticipates a greater demand for high quality, customizable, more creative, and healthier food. "Other trends will include use of brands that will drive spending, craft beer and wine selections, and programs targeted to season passholders," he said. "Beverages will move away from sugar-based to flavor-based, with unique and customized options being the norm."

Others predict that food will no longer be a stop along the way from point A to point B, but part of an attraction itself. "Imagine food being gathered during an interactive quest and eaten in a celebration of victory instead of being paid for and wolfed down in a cheaply themed cafeteria," Hill said.

Source: Weiser (2016)

The experts offer an insight into the future of theme parks and some of the guest experiences improvements such as the use of technology to improve waiting times, and to reduce energy consumption and environmental impacts. Interestingly and in line with this research, section three suggests a darker future and a more evolving guest experience. If theme parks and entertainment attractions are to continue in the future, the discussion here is not suggesting that they will saturate the industry, eliminating all other forms rather it is useful to explore the potential growth areas for the lighter side of dark entertainment attractions. The past is forever present in our current worlds. Societies often explore the past through differing methods, and this research now offers a potential insight as to how future societies' could be entertained by the horrors of the early 21st Century.

10. Future Scenario: Terror Park 2100 – Our tragedies as future entertainment

"The competition we worry about is the substitution - when people are spending time on Snapchat or Facebook video or YouTube, or some new app that isn't yet invented. In the long term, you have to believe that movies and TV shows will be like the opera and the novel, pretty nichey businesses. Human entertainment will have moved on to something new. Then the ultimate challenge for us is, can we figure out what that new form of entertainment is?" Reed Hastings Netflix CEO (see, Nscreenmedia, 2016).

Table 5 presents potential future scenarios based on real life tragic events that have transpired in the early 21st Century. The table provides a description of the event based on real life evidence, and consequently how this could be adapted and incorporated into a visitor experience in the future. Additionally, a spatial time section identifies the period between the event and the potential future entertainment attraction. The time scale between the actual events and their potential as a tourism entertainment based experience is just short of 100 years Six historical events have been selected from two main categories, three natural disasters and three human atrocities..

"The value of the narrative should not be underestimated" (Bunn & Salo, 1993: 294).

Table 5: Terror Park 2100: A potential entertainment attraction of the future

Terror Park 2100
Experience the terrors of the past. Our entertainment park offers you a mixture of historical and educational knowledge whilst providing a thrilling and entertaining experience for all the family. *Come in come in…. all welcome. Here you get the opportunity to experience the terrors of the past. With technological capabilities like never before, our scary shows and exhibits of the past are guaranteed to thrill you to your bones. You will delve to the miseries of past societies, from terrorism attacks that will have you screaming for your life, to the terrifying realities of experiencing catastrophic tsunamis that ravaged communities.* *It's an extensive spectacle of terror and entertainment!!!!*
Visitor Attractions: Human Atrocities
Scenario Attraction 1: Paris Terrorism Attack

Historical event	The attacks in Paris on the night of Friday 13 November by gunmen and suicide bombers hit a concert hall, a major stadium, restaurants and bars, almost simultaneously - and left 130 people dead and hundreds wounded (BBC News Europe, 2015).

Historical event realities translated into a future tourist experience	Our visitors will experience the horrors that unfolded night. Starting from the first three explosions that occurred outside the Stade de France stadium on the northern fringe of Paris, that evening France were playing Germany in an international football friendly match – here a bomber and a passer-by were killed. This is followed by an experience where a third suicide bomber blew himself up at a fast-food outlet. Then over to the centre of town where other attacks were unfolding around popular nightlife spots. The first took place at about 21:25 in the 10th district close to the Place de la Republique. Witness how the gunmen arrived at the scene in a black Seat car. Feel the fear of the victims, who initially expressed that it felt like a firecracker had gone off before realising there worst nightmares, that they were under fire from semi-automatic rifles. From here the tour navigates to attacks that followed on diners a few streets south of rue Alibert, in front of the Cafe Bonne Biere and La Casa Nostra pizzeria in rue de la Fontaine au Roi. Here five people were killed and eight were severely injured. Again, witnesses reported that the gunmen were travelling in a black Seat. The next stop takes you to La Belle Equipe bar in the rue de Charonne in the 11th district where reports of shootings emerged. In an enthralling three minutes experience, relive the terrifying thrill besieged on the victims that evening, where two men opened fire on the terrace of the café, where nineteen people died in the shooting, with a further nine in a critical condition. Then to the grand finale of the attraction, the deadliest attack of the night! It came at a concert venue on Boulevard Voltaire, the 11th district, where Californian rock group Eagles of Death Metal was playing. Here, in the 1,500-seat Bataclan hall see if you can escape three attackers wearing suicide belts as they arrive in a black Volkswagen Polo, storming in through the main entrance and into the back of the concert hall. Will you be one of the eighty-nine people who died as terrorist fire Kalashnikov-type assault rifles into the crowd, maybe you will be one of the 99 others taken to hospital in a critical condition or will you escape… *See BBC News Europe (2015) for details on the unfolding events, which have been integrated into the above scenario.*
Spatial Time Between Event and Tourism Attraction	Approx. 85 years post event

Scenario Attraction 2: 9/11 New York	
Historical event	Sept. 11, 2001 terrorist attacks. A series of four coordinated terrorist attacks by the Islamic terrorist group al-Qaeda on the United States. The attacks killed 2,996 people, injured over 6,000 others, and caused at least $10 billion in property and infrastructure damage.
Historical event realities translated	This is your chance to experience the event – which at the time is said to have changed the world like no other event. Here you get the chance to relive the terrors of the day as the events unfolded. Our

into a future tourist experience	thrilling 6-sided-experience will have you thrown into the following experiences: 1. You will experience the first crash which occurred at 8:46 am when Flight 11 slammed into the north tower of New York's World Trade Center as a passenger on-board. 2. Experience front row seats as the second crash comes at 9:03am, when Flight 175 flies into the south tower of the World Trade Center. 3. Be aboard Flight 77 as it crashes into the Pentagon at 9.45am. 4. Again, take a seat aboard the fourth hijacked plane, which crashed at 10:03am in a field in Shanksville, Pa. 5. After burning for 56 minutes, the south tower of the World Trade Center collapses at 9:59am. The fall, which kills approximately 600 workers and first responders, lasts 10 seconds. Here you will take the role of a fire officer and will be compelled by the need to escape as the tower crumples above you – will you escape? 6. To end the show, the jump or fall of a lifetime, as people were locked in at the top of the world trade centre, it is reported that up to 200 people either fell or jumped out of the buildings. Our new ride which give you ultimate experience in what it must have been like – in our fall to death experience. All of these accounts are as accurate as possible, as we have explored the historical accounts and footage of the event, from our vast digital library of the past. *See The Huffington Post (2016) for details on the unfolding events, which have been integrated into the above scenario.*
Spatial Time Between Event and Tourism Attraction	Approx. 100 years post event

Scenario Attraction 3: Chemical Attack

Historical event	The Khan Shaykhun chemical attack took place on 4 April 2017 on the town of Khan Shaykhun in the Idlib Governorate of Syria (Ellen, 2017).
Historical event realities translated into a future tourist experience	Experience, heat, the noise, the smell, as you desperately watch on as a helper. Wearing a mask and protective gear to stop you been infected, see locals tormented by a deadly poison. The poison used in the deadly chemical bomb attack in a rebel-held part of northern Syria is known as the nerve agent sarin. Witnesses said the air raids began shortly after 6.30am on Tuesday, with four bombings around the town. Initially they thought it was just another airstrike, until the first responders who arrived at the scene began falling to the ground.

	But soon reality hit home. Experience the horrific scenes as described by witnesses that day. They described a scene of utter horror at the attack site. The wounded were shaking and convulsing on the ground, foaming at the mouth, their lips blue, passing in and out of consciousness. *"I found children lying on the ground, in their last breaths, their lips going blue,"* said Abu al-Baraa, who lived nearby and rushed to help when the full extent of what had happened dawned on him. In our advanced show you can see the horrors through the eyes of Abu al-Baraa. Standing across the street from the crater left by the missile, you will be able to see people on the rooftops and in the basements. People on the ground in the street. Wherever you look, expect to see the tragic event unfold, using the latest technology and artistic prowess, you will be thrilled and scared by the grotesque and chilling accounts – be prepared for the unexpected as 70+ people are killed. How many people can you save, are you ready to risk your life? *See Shaheen (2017) for details on the unfolding events, which have been integrated into the above scenario.*
Spatial Time Between Event and Tourism Attraction	Approx. 83 years post event

Visitor Attractions: Natural Disasters

Scenario Attraction 4: Earthquake

Historical event	Great Sichuan earthquake 2008
Historical event realities translated into a future tourist experience	Here we take you back in time to the 12th May 2008, to a deadly and terrifying earthquake, known as the Great Sichuan earthquake or Wenchuan earthquake. The quake, which estimated preliminarily to have had a magnitude of 7.9, ravaged a mountainous region outside Chengdu, capital of Sichuan Province. It was mid-afternoon, 14:28:01 and the Sichuan working day was in full swing. Eighty kilometres away (50 miles) from the 7.6-million-person megacity of Chengdu, 19km under the Earth, the fault began to rupture. The fault broke over a length of 240km. Nothing could have prepared the people of Sichuan and the neighbouring provinces for the onset of over two minutes of shaking and now it's your time to relive those devastating moments. The devastating earthquake left 87,150 people killed or missing and 4,800,000 people left homeless, destroying 80 percent of structures in some of the towns and small cities near its epicenter. Its tremors were felt as far away as Vietnam and set off another, smaller quake in the outskirts of Beijing, 900 miles away. Fearing for their lives, many ran into the streets in terror as buildings around them shook violently and began to collapse. In the town of Juyuan, south of the epicenter in the city of Wenchuan, a school collapsed, trapping 900 students in the rubble and setting off a frantic search for survivors that stretched through the night. Two chemical factories in Shifang were destroyed, spilling 80 tons of

	toxic liquid ammonia. The destruction of a single steam turbine factory in the city of Mianzhu buried "several thousand" people. The demonstration will ensure you witness these terrifying moments and the horrors succumbed by the victims.
	See BBC Science & Environment (2013) and Hooker & Yardley (2008) for details on the unfolding events, which have been integrated into the above scenario.
Spatial Time Between Event and Tourism Attraction	Approx. 92 years post event

Scenario Attraction 5: Tsunami	
Historical event	2004 Indian Ocean earthquake and tsunami
Historical event realities translated into a future tourist experience	Indian Ocean earthquake became the deadliest in history – now you can relive the tragic event that took the lives of 220,000 people. The earthquake and tsunami struck on 26 December 2004, hitting Indonesia, Sri Lanka, India, Thailand, the Maldives and Somalia. The earthquake hit at just before 1am UTC with its epicentre off the west coast of Sumatra. The spectacle starts as a megathrust underwater earthquake. It measured between magnitude 9.1 and 9.3 – the third largest earthquake every recorded on a seismograph, providing some scientific knowledge to your journey – but be prepared to get a little wet. Then ride the tsunami waves and experience the devastation it caused as it obliterated coastal areas. First, the tsunami hits the northern tip of Indonesia, just 65 miles from the epicentre, devastating the coast and eventually claiming more than 130,000 lives. More than half a million people lost their homes. Banda Aceh is the worst hit, with more than 60 per cent of its buildings destroyed by a wave that was over 30ft high. Then the Nicobar and Andaman Islands are hit, here an estimated 1,894 died. Observe and experience the desperation suffered by indigenous tribes living on the island and how they had to move to higher ground after the quake to escape the disaster. Then over to Burma, where 59 eventually died, and in Malaysia, killing 89. Even at this point, there is no official confirmation of a tsunami and the number of victims is assumed to be just nine.

Despite a long lag between the time of the earthquake and the arrival of the tsunami, almost all the victims are taken completely by surprise. Then over to the west coast of Thailand and Phuket where the locals and tourists begin to hear reports of the deadly wave heading their way. Here you will feel the fear of the tourists, as you watch as water recedes from the beach (an unnerving moment) before washing back over you, again you might get a wet. Will you be one of the 5,300+ people on the Thai coast who lost their lives, will you be one of the tourists who drowned in their hotel rooms – or will you escape. And the frightening fun is just getting started. |

	Seismologists record another earthquake, of 7.3 magnitude, near the Andaman and Nicobar Islands. Watch as the wave hits Sri Lanka and southern India, destroying fishing villages and coastal towns. As many as 31,000 people died on the east of Sri Lanka. The journey takes you to the south east coast of India around Chennai, at least 8,800 people are killed. In India and Sri Lanka many of the victims are women and children: the men who were out fishing floated over the wave, only to return to towns and villages that have been utterly destroyed. A final indication of the size and impact will take you to the east coast of Africa, some 4,400 miles away in Somalia, with 150 deaths, as the wave destroys homes and poisons water supplies. The spectacle will be a chilling thrill like no other. This truly thrilling ride will allow you to relive one of the most powerful and devastating natural disasters recorded. *See Moore & Ritchie (2014) for details on the unfolding events, which have been integrated into the above scenario.*
Spatial Time Between Event and Tourism Attraction	Approx. 96 years post event

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Scenario Attraction 6: Hurricane

Historical event	Hurricane Katrina, August 2005, was an extremely destructive storm, which struck the Gulf Coast of the United States – The New Orleans Experience.
Historical event realities translated into a future tourist experience	The tropical depression that became Hurricane Katrina formed over the Bahamas on August 23, 2005. Meteorologists began to warn people in the Gulf Coast states that a major storm was imminent. By August 28, evacuations were underway across the region. That day, the National Weather Service predicted that after the storm hit, *"most of the [Gulf Coast] area will be uninhabitable for weeks…perhaps longer."* New Orleans was at particular risk and it is here you will spend your scary days. Think you're safe, whilst half the city lies above sea level, its average elevation is about six feet below sea level–and it (you) is completely surrounded by water. The day before Katrina hit, New Orleans Mayor Ray Nagin issued the city's first-ever mandatory evacuation order. By nightfall, almost 80 percent of the city's population had evacuated, you will not be one of the fortunate people who evacuated. The Superdome (a stadium located on relatively high ground near downtown) would serve as a "shelter of last resort" for people who could not leave the city - 10,000 had sought shelter here. However, tens of thousands of others chose to wait out the storm at home – this will be the ultimate horrifying challenged that you will be faced with. You will feel the force of nature, as you are place into the storm's path, in the morning on Monday, August 29. You will realise this disaster at first hand, nearly 80 percent of the city was under some quantity of water. Be prepared for a soaking.

	1,833 was the often-cited mortality figure, but an accurate estimate of the final death toll was never verified. Death by drowning was the most likely cause of death, and your greatest survival challenge in this spectacle. Forty percent of victims were aged 75 or older, and with the use of our latest incapacitating technology body outfits, you too can experience the frightening and debilitating feeling the elderly victims would have suffered. *See Cook & Rosenberg (2015) and History (2009) for details on the unfolding events, which have been integrated into the above scenario.*
Spatial Time Between Event and Tourism Attraction	Approx. 95 years post event

As noted, the idea that our dark events could be displayed for entertainment in the future, will be for some, a little unsettling, but as our society has demonstrated, highly likely. Thus, rather than if, is the more of a likely reality and debate to be considered. The events used here are from the early 21st Century, with the attraction focusing on the year 2100. Thus, allowing just short of 100 years to pass. As noted, there is no clear guidance as to when tragedies are likely to become sources of entertainment. As seen with the example of 9/11 above, within years, the movie industry offered entertainment based spectacles of the events. As for the dungeons, dark histories are been placed on displayed less than a century old. Are there any patterns and trends in society that suggests some of these events could become entertainment based earlier?

11. Emotional desensitization: consuming violence

If there is to be a relationship between dark histories becoming more entertainment based in a shorter period of time, then emotional desensitization is an area to be explored and considered. Much of this importance can arguably be linked to the current behaviour witnessed by younger tourists at dark sites, sites that are considered to be on the darker scale of Stone's (2006) spectrum, something that will also be explored in more detail shortly. Desensitization studies are often conducted by exploring exposure to violent video games (Anderson et al. 2010; Carnagey, Anderson & Bushman, 2007), and determining the degree to which video games have the capability of eliciting moral emotions, which continue to attract substantial scholarly attention (Grizzard, Tamborini, Lewis, Wang, & Prabhu, 2014; Hartmann, Toz, & Brandon, 2010; Lin, 2011; Schmierbach & Limperos, 2013). Research conducted by Grizzard, Tamborini, Sherry & Webber (2017: 286) examined whether the elicitation of guilt resulting from video game play is reduced with repeated play. The author's findings identified evidence regarding the *"potential effects of repeated video game play on the ability of video games to elicit moral emotions. The current research indicates that any mitigating effect of such play is likely to be short lived, as repeated play desensitizes players to feeling video game-induced guilt."* The authors also conclude that their findings show *"no evidence of video game-induced desensitization generalizing to real-world behaviors. This proposition requires additional research, as it would be faulty to assume that such generalization is guaranteed to occur."*

Theoretically, desensitization to violence embodies a form of familiarisation, it is considered as a well-established form of non-associative learning, which establishes reduced reactions to a stimulus due to repetitive exposure (Rankin et al., 2009). Theoretical accounts and empirical evidence propose that recurrent exposure to violence (real-life and via media outlets)

can produce emotional and physiological desensitization, which are characterized by reduced emotional distress and empathy, as well as reduced emotional and physiological reactivity to further violence (Krahe and Moller 2010; Krahe et al. 2011; Linz et al. 1988; Mrug et al., 2008). Thus, for instance, witnessing community violence would initially elicit strong negative emotional reactions, but after repeated exposure to community violence these emotional reactions would be dampened, resulting in less emotional distress. Habituation typically extends to similar stimuli and across contexts through the process of stimulus generalization (Rankin et al., 2009). Thus, for example, witnessing a fight in the community may produce desensitization to other types of violence in the same context (e.g., threats, shootings), as well as violence observed in other settings (e.g., home or school).

Research has presented data exposing the relationship between emotional desensitization and media consumption (Mrug, Madan, and Windle, 2016). A study by Mrug, Madan, Cook & Wright (2015) examined the emotional and physiological desensitization of both real-life and televised violence among late adolescents and emerging adults, aged 18-22 in the US. This age group were deemed at greater risk of negative effects of exposure to violence than younger youths as they are more likely to experience community violence and more severe types of real-life violence (e.g., involving weapons or resulting in injury) (Finkelhor et al. 2013). Mrug et al. (2015) concluded that, for males, there was a direct association with higher levels of exposure to real-life violence and diminished emotional reactivity to violent videos. Therefore, youth who are exposed to higher levels of *real-life* violence do show signs of emotional desensitization containing lower levels of empathy. However, their research did not identify higher levels of movie violence with emotional desensitization, but it did find that that blood pressure reactivity to violent videos showed more pronounced habituation effects that might show physiological desensitization to audio-media violence. The authors recommend that future research should explore the long-term consequences of emotional desensitization among youth generations who are increasingly exposed to high levels of both real-life violence and media violence.

These discussions on emotional desensitization are significant, because as noted by Tangney, Stuewig, & Mashek (2007, p. 347) moral emotions serve as *"an emotional moral barometer, providing immediate and salient feedback"* concerning the social and moral acceptability of an action(s). Death and grief in popular culture is contrastingly different to how death and grief are experienced by the individual in real life (especially when significant others are concerned). In a recent article Ferguson (2017) discusses the common belief that media violence has the ability to desensitize viewers to violence and suffering in the real world. However, similar to above the author notes that collective evidence suggests that this kind of desensitization does not happen. The author's suggest, "*there are sound theoretical reasons why fictional media should not desensitize us to real-life suffering. Namely, evidence suggests our brains treat fictional stories and real-life exposure to things differently, and it's uncommon to see learning occur in one context (relaxing at home with friends and family consuming media) generalize easily to other contexts (potentially hostile situations in the real world"* (Ferguson, 2017). In technologically dependent societies, news about death is almost without exception, relayed via communication / information technologies (Jones, 2004: 83). Clarke (2005–2006: 154) argues *"in the absence of personal experience with death people rely on the media, among other things, for information, attitudes, beliefs and feelings about death and its meanings."* Death as a story and image are normal, they are universal features to media, journalism and news-broadcasters, film and television and computer games (Walter, Pickering & Littlewood, 1995; Azoulay, 2001; Berridge, 2001; Field & Walter, 2003; Jones 2004; Knox 2006).

Damasio's (2017) essential insight is that feelings are *"mental experiences of body states,"* which arise as the brain interprets emotions, themselves physical states arising from the body's responses to external stimuli (see Griffin, 2017). The order of such events are: I am threatened, experience fear, and feel horror (Swonetz, 2014: 49). Researcher Antonio

Domasio found that frequent exposure to violent media have the ability to numb our emotions. Domasio notes, *"on the news, things are shown one after another. No matter how terrifying, images are shown so briefly that we have no time to sense emotionally the horror of a particular event."* Consequently, our vulnerability to such high-speed input is that *"there will be more and more people who will have to rely on the cognitive system entirely, without using their emotional memory, in order to decide what's good and what's evil. They can be told about good and evil, but good and evil might not stick"* (see Griffin, 2017). Significantly, Alia-Klein, et al., (2014) suggest there is currently limited experimental data to inform the debate as to impact of violent media exposure on the brain and human behaviour. The authors hypothesize that reaction to violent media is dependent on personality / trait differences between individual viewers.

According to Gibson (2007), mediated death such as televisual and cinematic death, journalistic images and narratives of death, do not essentially result in a familiarity, or in an existential acceptance of death, especially when compared to the manner in which death is confronted and experienced in everyday life. What Gibson suggests is that society could be confronted with an ever-increasing difference and realistic disparity between media / technological death culture and 'real life' contexts. Importantly, a potential paradox due to the open and expanding market of produced and consumed mediated death culture (much to the expansions in technology) is the prospective broadening between 'real death' and it's 'imagined' or 'simulated' forms (Gibson, 2007). Interestingly, Wright (2016: 42) notes, *"the role of the media and technology (along with movies and entertainment) are increasingly accountable for saturating individuals with images of death, as a result, it can be suggested that it is more likely that people will become more detached from the emotional impacts of death when it is not 'real life' or a significant other"*. Images and events associated with terror, horror, death and suffering are systematically displayed throughout universal communication platforms and audio-visuals, consumed by the global community (Wright, 2016). Discussions and debates will continue on the impact of death related images, and expose to death and how this can impact our relationship with death in real life events and detached exposure to death. Exploring the potential of hunting humans in the future, partly driven by media and entertainment Wright (2016: 42) suggests the following point:

"It would be naive to think that such mass exposure to death in its multiple forms of coverage is not influencing our feelings and opinions towards the meaning of death. Thus, it is suggested that our present day relationship with death through the movie industry, media and with the growth of technology is actively shaping the future of our affiliation to death as a form of entertainment."

Whilst it is difficult to offer any significant evidence that society is becoming more emotionally desensitized to death and suffering due to the exposure of it, as debates continue for and against, and further research is required. However, this does not directly impact on the scenarios provided above, as the timeframe is around 100 years between the tragic events and the proposed entertainment attractions. And as noted, there is no common and systematic evidence to support the proposed time and thus movement of attractions becoming lighter over time, just current examples, some of which this paper has exposed. However, with further research, and evidence it could be argued that emotional desensitization might have a part to play in reducing the time in which disastrous events become spectacle based visitor attractions. Time is crucial, and to some extent, it could be argued, that it is still a little too early to understand the impacts of the internet generations, as children in today's society have greater expose to media content and technological devices. Thus, over time, how will the younger generation develop? Whilst there is limited academic research, there are growing patterns of behaviour being witnessed at the darker tourism sites. After all, will they not be part of the spectacle of death?

12. Tourism behaviour at dark tourism sites

There are increasing reports on the behaviour of tourists at sites of death and disaster, especially at sites that can be located towards the darker side of Stone's (2008) spectrum. The following reports highlight the upsurge in discontent at the behaviour of tourists at notable dark tourism attractions. Clearly, there is a behavioural debate taking place, and as can be seen from the examples below, these debates are often related to younger tourists taking photos and selfies.

"The Instagram era has now brought us the selfie in a concentration camp" (Margalit, 2014).

"Visitors have been seen splashing themselves with water from the memorial's waterfalls, and sitting on the engraved names of the dead. In a letter to memorial president Joe Daniels, first responder Marianne Pizzitola said she found people acting "like this was a park or playground". She said: "People laughed and took pictures smiling, and so many people leaned on the tablets with all of my friends' names engraved in them, holding Starbucks cups, like it was a kitchen table." A relative of one victim complained that a tourist spilt coffee over her son's name. The Ground Zero memorial at the spot where more than 2,600 people died opened last year. Police and private security guards are present to ensure proper behaviour. But there have been complaints about people having picnics under the newly planted oak tees, and in June a group of high school students threw rubbish in one of the black pools marking the footprints of the fallen towers" (Allen, 2012).

"Auschwitz Being Promoted as a 'Disney-style' Tourist Site"

"Notorious Holocaust-denying historian defends decision to set up tour of Nazi sites as an alternative to what he sees as Poland's fixation with Auschwitz. Polish authorities have turned the site of the former Nazi death camp Auschwitz into a "Disney-style" tourist attraction, the Daily Mail quoted notorious revisionist historian and Holocaust-denier David Irving as saying on Friday" (Haaretz Service, 2010).

"#Holocaust selfies are inevitable if you turn solemn sites into tourist traps."

"For some people, a visit to a place like Auschwitz isn't about paying respect or learning about history – it's simply yet another "must-see attraction" they're checking off in their guidebook, a thing to be Instagrammed, like the Mona Lisa or the Leaning Tower of Pisa. The Holocaust is so visceral and wrenching to me that I'd rather opt out of visiting a camp altogether than run the risk of having to interact with the people who will treat it like an attraction at Disneyland" (Marcus, 2014).

"Artist Shames Disrespectful Holocaust Memorial Tourists Using Photoshop"
"Holocaust memorials are somber places designed to honor the memories of the millions who lost their lives in the genocide, but tourists at the memorials can often be seen posing for lighthearted and disrespectful photos. Visitors to the memorial, however, often use the space as a backdrop for all kinds of goofy selfies and photos. To show a different perspective of what these tourists are doing…" (Zhang, 2017).

"Powerful images that show why Holocaust Memorial selfies are so disrespectful"

"We are a world of selfie takers and they have invaded every part of life. But is there ever a time when they shouldn't be taken? At a Holocaust memorial, for example" (Hartley-Parkinson, 2017).

Interestingly these reports potentially point towards a behavioural trend. The examples above are but a small percentage of the reality as we know it. As tourists of all ages and backgrounds

are armed with camera devices, taking photos and visual memorabilia of the darker sites and attractions they visit. Correctly or not, discussions surrounding ethical and moral behaviours are often highlighted when younger tourists are involved. But is there is value in the debates being raised? Increasingly, is society moving to a place where events associated with death and suffering are less emotive. Are tourists seeking entertainment and pleasurable experiences. With so much visual expose to death on our screens, via the news and social media, are younger generations becoming desensitized, and if so, such behaviour at dark sites likely to become more common? After all, who is responsible for turning events like 9/11 into movie-based entertainment?

13. Tourism and '*The Entertaining Death'*

'The appearance of the cinema and the mass media offer societies new perspectives of entertainment, new languages of communication and new ways - scenic and dramatic - of grasping reality' (Source: Clave, 2007: 5).

Inayatullah (1981) explores strategies that have long existed when considering the manners in which people deal with death. The strategies of dealing with death are relevant to cultural, political, economical, and individual and collective attitudes towards death. Of the eight strategies presented by Inayatullah (1981) the following holds relevance to this research and the future of death. Categorised as 'attempts to circumvent death by winning frame', is a view that recognises that the dead body cannot be kept alive by physical measures, however, the memory of the dead can be kept alive. Society has shown throughout history, various methods and approaches to doing this, with the earlier styles linked to poetry, art, sculptures, stories in written format, and more recently through visuals, such as photography and movies. Are the fun factories of today's tourism industry not to some extent transmitting an element of fame to the dark histories they are presenting, by keeping the memory of such events and characters alive? In the future, this research is emphasising the continued use of death in a spectacle form, where societies will continue to circumvent to difficulties of understanding death through the use of entertainment, providing a more light-hearted approach to difficult and tragic events.

This paper offers a glimpse into the future and how our tragedies and horrors could become the spectacles at lighter dark tourism attractions, similar to the dungeon experiences offered today by companies such as the Merlin Entertainment Group. A central argument that has been explored is the role of death and its relationship to society as a form of entertainment. Urry (1990: 101–102) referred to the 'three-minute' culture. His message was very significant, suggesting the media educate society, individuals to endlessly change the customs and places where pleasure and leisure transpire. Urry (1990) argues that human consumption of leisure time will be less focused and based on collective groups of people aiming to upkeep their cultural ways, celebrating collective memory, a pastime practiced and shared by our ancestors. The future will be driven by societies need to ascertain immediate pleasure and arguably entertainment will be central to the acquisition of pleasure. A short-sighted approach to the future should be cautiously contemplated, as our current developments and actions have a potential role in shaping the future. Thus, a question of potential direction (and potentially the readers personal feelings with such directions) into the future should be something our society addresses. And only through future research studies can such matters be explored and critiqued. As Lee (2012; 132) notes, *"short-termism in human thinking is the root of much evil in politics, economics, finance as well as in social and family relationships. In today's consumer society we have become immersed in what the great sociologist Pitirim Sorokin called 'temporalism'. The creed that 'tomorrow never comes' became an excuse for abandoning responsibilities towards the future. Foreknowledge and foresight are great antidotes to this toxic short-termism."* As noted above, TV entertainment and movies could be left behind as societies' progress and people seek entertaining and pleasurable experiences. Robert MacNeil (1989: 1) on the mesmerizing effect of television notes the following, *"the*

trouble with television is that it discourages concentration. Almost anything interesting and rewarding in life requires some constructive, consistently applied effort. But television encourages us to apply no effort." Thus, how will future parks and places of entertainment drive the consumer industries? This paper has considered the role of death as a continued form of pleasure seeking tourism activity.

Whilst not endorsing the words used on some of the song lyrics, it could be fair to revisit the 1993 hip hop group Jurassic 5, and the following lyrics which express the cultural movement towards entertainment based societies:

"Welcome to the wonderful world of entertainment
where art imitate life and people get famous,
Welcome to the world of showbiz arrangement
where lights, camera, action is the language"
(Genius Media Group Inc, 2017).

14. Conclusion

This paper set out to explore the lighter side of dark tourism attractions in a future context. Death as a form of entertainment throughout the ages was considered and its place in current society recognised. Death and our relationship to it has evolved over time and space, and at present there is sufficient reasoning that we are entertaining the time of the 'spectacular death'. The dark tourism concept was critiqued, and significantly, the scope of dark attractions that exist was considered, here making reference to previous studies and theories such as the dark tourism spectrum (Stone, 2008). Consequently, the research considered and asked the questions, is there a timeframe in which a dark tragic event can become 'lighter' in the sense, thus can be packed up and sold to tourism consumers for entertainment purposes? This research focused on the examination of three main areas, '*the role and impact of the media and the internet'*, '*the commercialization of death'* and '*the topic as an academic attention and specialization'*.

At present, there is no clear pattern to identify the correct timeframe in which a dark event can be used for entertainment purposes. Recent events like 9/11 have been used by the movie industry to create cinematic depictions, some of which prospered financially, very close to the actual event itself. Whilst, the more 'fun factory' style depictions of horrific past events can be experienced in consumer locations such as the Merlin Entertainments Groups dungeon attractions. Here dark and tragic events of the past are displayed in scary and gruesome styles, but a sense of entertainment and spectacle is at the core of the delivery and the shows they offer. The dark historical events are representative to each city and its own history. The timeframes varied considerably, from less than a century old to over 1000 years old.

In today's society, the meaning and places of entertainment vary for tourists, from theme parks to, small and large-scale attractions. Uniquely, this paper has proposed the potential for entertainment spectacles in the year 2100. Applying a scenario planning approach and through secondary data, six tragedies, including natural disasters and human atrocities from the 21st Century were selected as potential entertainment spectacles in a future terror park setting. This research has considered the role of various societal and behavioural changes, such as emotional desensitization and youthful behaviour in dark sites. At present, research studies suggest that it is arguably too soon to fully appreciate the impacts of vast exposure to death related images, as a result of the immediate and constant stream of visual and audio media. Therefore, future research should continue to explore potential timeframes in which dark events in recent history have the ability to become fun and amusing and a product of entertainment to be sold for tourism consumption. This is significant as a younger generation is likely to seek entertainment based experiences, especially if society is driving us into the

era of the spectacle, an era that is potentially far removed from present day. If our society is conformable to profit and create spectacles of current tragedies, in this research, shown through the movie industries expose of 9/11, then it is highly probable that in the years to come, other industries will also look to profit of recent tragedy. The tourism industry, theme parks and other attractions might just make their move to thrill consumers with spectacles of death based on recent horrors. In search of novel and enticing experiences companies might be pushed to produce and market provocative and thrilling experiences, especially in societies where money dictates and death is seen as a commodity to sell.

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