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SOROZATGYILKOSOKHOZ KAPCSOLÓDÓ ATTRAKCIÓKRÓL**

**THE PERCEPTIONS OF CONSUMERS ABOUT DARK TOURISM AND
ATTRACTIONS CONNECTED TO SERIAL KILLERS**

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1. INTRODUCTION

Humans were always fascinated by death. Crime, murder, and torture was always part of our history, and the curiosity towards it is just as old as time. Our history is bloody, it cannot be denied: public executions, gladiator games, tortures, witch trials, murders, genocides, and terrorism are our heritage. The curiosity and fascination come from the need to understand the one thing nobody can be sure about: death. This is why we are so interested in dark themes; this is why humans are watching detective series on the television, reading thrillers and watching unsolved mysteries on the internet; the reason for why we visit places that are connected to death.

The topic of this essay was chosen because the existence of serial killers was always an interesting subject for me. The psychology behind their actions, the fear of their existence, and how other people view their acts. I am not alone with this interest. For many people, serial killers are both frightening and attractive enough to visit places, sites, tours, museums and other attractions connected to them. Serial killers fascinate people: TV series, books, other types of entertainment cater to this interest. This fascination leads to visiting places that have a connection to them. The morbid curiosity that induces people to seek out macabre entertainment and things related to serial killers is not gender-based, as it is a topic that interests both men and women equally (Harrison & Frederick, 2020).

I believe that by exploring why people are fascinated with serial killers, we will have a better sense of why people consume dark tourism attractions. It would help local DMOs, websites and travel blogs to know what to offer and how to promote them for the interested tourists. The findings of this essay can be helpful for destinations on how to influence destination marketing strategies on how to develop tourism products. It also may help to develop an understanding of how the tourism industry preserves the memory of the victims. For these results, secondary and primary research was equally used. Firstly, to gain a better understanding of the topic, secondly, to find solutions for the problems this paper seeks to find answers for.

Three research questions were included in the research: What is the reason for serial killer tourism? What type of attractions connected to serial killers are the most attractive for the visitors? and What is the attitude of the consumers towards the attractions connected to serial killers?

The darker side of the destination is attractive for the tourists, but only in moderation. While they want to be educated, they also want to be entertained when they are traveling,

therefore both the emotionally taxing, darkest side of dark tourism and the lighter side that offers macabre fun can be attractive for travelers. Visitors have different needs and different interests. As visitors want to gain more insight on the psychology and background of serial killers, museums and exhibits are popular among them, but for most, they do not feel enough. They lack the quality of the received information and the atmosphere of these places. Meanwhile, those who visit the sites of tragedy through walking tours, either believe the supernatural and want to make a connection with the deceased or want to be entertained by an exciting performance.

While the morality of dark tourism, especially “serial killer tourism” is questionable, the respondents were interested in both. They want to learn about these criminals, they want to feel more prepared to face the reality of serial killers, but the offer of attractions is not what they require. They think these places are unethical and only those were attractive for the respondents that are either educational or had a distant relation to the actual crimes.

The essay presents what makes these places interesting, why people are visiting them, how ethical and moral it is to make murder into attractions and how a city can use the history of its serial killer to attract more tourists. This study seeks to find an answer to the broader question about what attracts people to consume dark tourism sites. Since dark tourism consists of an enormous number of types, this research focuses primarily on a smaller, more easily identifiable subsection of dark tourism, intending to examine how consumers perceive these places.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. THE CONCEPT OF DARK TOURISM

2.1.1. What Is Dark Tourism?

In the not-so-recent years, dark tourism attractions became more and more visited tourist attractions in Western countries, due to their fascinating stories and emotional connotations. Dark tourism is a controversial concept: it is described as visiting attractions that are connected to human suffering, death, and catastrophes (Stone, 2006).

Humans have always been fascinated by the darker aspects of our life. The television and the internet are full of crime series, documentaries, and true crime shows, bookshops, and libraries with thrillers, horrors and crime stories, the news is full of tragedy and natural disasters. Dark tourism is just a step further – visiting sites connected to them. Since these dark events and memorial places are interesting for many, more and more destinations are integrating their dark history into a tourism attraction and exploiting human tragedy for economic advantage.

Dark tourism is a popular concept: ‘dark tourism’ has 240 million hits on Google in October 2021. These include guides to dark tourism destinations, blogs and opinions on these places, encyclopedia entries, research papers, tour offers, and webpages of specific dark attractions. This shows that dark tourism comes in various forms, the attractions’ connection to the macabre can be direct (displays death) or indirect (threat of death); popular to mass tourists (museums) or so exotic only the explorers and drifters visit them (hard-to-visit countries).

The term itself is still relatively young, as it was first used by Lennon and Foley (1996) to describe the tourism type for visiting places of genocide, crime, atrocity, and tragedy. Simultaneously, it has been called thanatourism, as according to Seaton (1996) it emerged from the desire to meet with violent death. Currently, the two terms are used to describe the same thing, but originally, the difference was more prominent: dark tourism is an umbrella term for any type of tourism connected to death, crime and suffering, while thanatourism seems to be associated with travels motivated by a specific reason to encounter with death.

Blom (2000) called it “morbid tourism”, but the “dark tourism” name became more known and widely used. Stone (2006) and Verma and Jain (2013) believe that while the term is new, the concept can be found in human history: one of the earliest examples is the Roman

gladiator games, where people visited the arenas to be the spectator of the death of gladiators and criminals. It is safe to say, that going to public executions of all types and witnessing it as entertainment, can be considered dark tourism as well. This suggests that Bowman and Pezzullo's (2010, p.190) argument that "people are no more interested in touring sites associated with death than they have always been" is not without example.

In the subsequent chapter, the scholarly categories will be introduced, but according to the *Dark Tourism* (n.d) website – where people can easily gather information about the attractions and destinations –, the more "mainstream" categories are the following:

- a) Grave tourism – cemeteries, graves, mausoleums
- b) Holocaust tourism – concentration camps, memorial sites, and museums, former ghettos
- c) Genocide tourism – genocide sites outside of the Holocaust
- d) Prison and persecution site tourism – former KGB prisons, gulag sites, other sites of persecutions and imprisonment
- e) Communism tourism – museums of communism and socialism, sites in former communist countries, current communist countries
- f) Cult of personality tourism – places connected to deceased state or cult leaders
- g) Cold War & Iron Curtain tourism – remains of the Berlin Wall, museums about the Iron Curtain, atomic bomb test sites
- h) Nuclear tourism – sites of nuclear testing, destinations connected to atom bombs, nuclear plants
- i) Disaster area tourism – natural and human-made disaster zones
- j) "Icky" medical tourism – exhibitions about the darker side of medicine

What is interesting is that the owner of the website claims that battlefield tourism, Dark Fun Factories and danger tourism are not in the scope of dark tourism, while Stone's (2006) Seven Dark Suppliers typology and the definition of "thanatourism" clearly puts these categories into the field of dark tourism. In addition, the author of this essay misses the "poverty tourism", "ghost tourism" and "doomsday tourism" categories from this collection, as they are strongly connected to human suffering, crime, and death, in addition to the "true crime tourism" or "serial killer tourism", which is the focus of this research.

2.1.2. The Types of Dark Tourism

As it is obvious from the previous chapter, dark tourism is complex and consists of many different types of attractions that are visited for various reasons. It can develop spontaneously due to sudden and tragic death and suffering (e.g. Pont de l'Alma tunnel where Diana, Princess of Wales lost her life) or can be an organized attraction or exhibit that portrays events of the past (e.g. Ground Zero in the place of the New York twin towers). The constructed sites can also be divided into two categories: planned attractions – places, that were built to recreate events, to educate about history and acts connected to death and suffering (e.g. Imperial War Museum in London), and non-purposeful attractions – such as cemeteries and disaster sites that became the scope of tourists because of their own tragic history (e.g. the flood in the Netherlands in 2021). The reasons for developing a dark tourism attraction can be numerous: for political purposes, for commemoration, for education, for entertainment, and/or for economic gain (Stone, 2006).

Clearly and unquestionably, defining dark tourism and dark tourism types is difficult. Researchers tried for years and came up with various typologies. As stated by Seaton (1996), there are five dark tourism categories based on behavioral perspectives:

- a) Travel to witness public enactments of death – gladiator games (Colosseum in Rome), public executions (Salem witch trials), disaster sites (Hurricane Katrina)
- b) Traveling to sites of mass or individual deaths after those happened – concentration camps (Auschwitz-Birkenau), older disaster zones (Pompeii), battlefields (Stalingrad/Volgograd), amphitheaters (Verona)
- c) Travel to memorials of the dead – catacombs (Paris), graveyards (Budapest), memorials (Choeung Ek)
- d) Visiting to see evidence or symbolic representations of death – museums (Crime Museum in Washington, D.C.), exhibitions (Murder Exhibition)
- e) Travel for re-enactments or stimulations of death – religious plays, festivals, re-enactments of battles (Battle of Hastings)

Miles (2002) proposed that the shades of dark tourism (light, dark, darker) should be based on the location of the site, as they are associated in different ways with death. The shades of dark tourism, according to Stone and Sharpley (2008), depends on the degree of exploitation from the suppliers', and the degree of interest in death from the demand's side, which means that the darkest tourism is where death is only for satisfying the fascination towards it.

Stone's (2006) Seven Dark Suppliers typology examines the suppliers' side, categorizing them into seven different classifications:

a) Dark Fun Factories – the lighter side of dark tourism

These products are based on creativity, their focus is on entertainment and being gruesome in a socially acceptable means. They engage people in an exciting and fun, but provocative way. The most prominent example is the London Dungeons by Merlin Entertainments Ltd that incorporates events, such as the Black Death or the Great Fire of London and infamous characters, such as Jack the Ripper and Sweeney Todd into their entertaining journey.

b) Dark Exhibitions – darker periphery of dark tourism

These types of exhibitions educate the visitors on the gory and bloody part of our history. They are the museums that offer educative and commemorative demonstrations of macabre events and human sufferings. They showcase with or without censure what happened, tell the stories of those, who died during that specific event. The Holocaust Exhibition at the Imperial War Museum London educates on the Nazi persecution of the Jews and other marginalized groups before and during the Second World War.

c) Dark Dungeons – the center of the spectrum

These places are a combination of entertainment and education, focusing on former prisons and courthouses. Dark Dungeons show the visitors the more recent history of criminal justice, or “crime and punishment”. Many of these places have some sort of connection to political ideologies, such as Robben Island, where Nelson Mandela and others were held as political prisoners. While the authenticity of real educational history can be questioned in some cases, others are reminders of the struggle against oppression.

d) Dark Resting Places – the center of the spectrum

Dark Resting Places refer to cemeteries or grave markers, which receive visitors outside of friends and family. The focus of these places is the historical connotations: commemoration, remembrance, learning from the past. Some sites offer more “mainstream” tourism products, and some places spark more controversy than others. For example, Parcel 301 (Budapest, Hungary) is considered as a symbol of the nation’s struggle, the legacy of the 1956 revolution, but also, it stands as a politically charged site still to this day.

e) Dark Shrines – darker periphery of dark tourism

Sites, where visitors can pay their respect to the deceased, leaving flowers and candles to show their condolence. Dark Shrines are built around the place of the

death, not soon after the time of it. Usually, they are constructed around tragic events with big media attention, such as the death of Diana, Princess of Wales, attracting huge interest from the grieving people all around the world. The shrines usually do not start as tourist attractions, but the development of tourism infrastructure helps them become widely visited destinations.

f) Dark Conflict Sites – lighter end of the spectrum

Warzones and battlefields are the main examples of Dark Conflict Sites. Battlefield tourism is a popular tourism product, as well as re-enactments and thematic festivals. These sites are historically important, and most of the time, politically charged. Often they are “romanticized”, and offered not only to learn about history but as entertainment.

g) Dark Camps of Genocide – darkest edge of the spectrum

The darkest side of dark tourism is the places, where genocide and atrocity happened. Dark Camps of Genocide are to learn, to empathize with the people, who suffered at the hands of their oppressors and torturers. They represent the darkest part of our history, to “ensure the sins of the past are not forgotten”. While there are Dark Exhibitions to learn about our history and the genocides, these sites are where the real atrocities happened, where the visitors can truly connect with the past.

The scope of this paper is mainly – but not exclusively – Dark Exhibitions and the Dark Shrines as places for commemoration for the victims and museums that have sections of some specific serial killers. In the following subsection, examples will be presented for these categories.

2.1.3. Famous Dark Tourism Destinations

As it was explained before, there are various dark tourism types, which signify numerous, more-or-less known, or almost unknown dark tourism locations. This paper is not equipped to list and describe all of them, it is not within its scope. However, when we are talking about dark tourism, some destinations are necessary to introduce. These are the places that demonstrate the worst of humanity.



1. Figure: Auschwitz-Birkenau

Source: AboutHolocaust.org

Auschwitz-Birkenau is undoubtedly one of the well-known places all over the world. It is the symbol of human cruelty, terror and genocide. It is located in Poland, close to the city of Oświęcim. The place was opened in 1940, initially as a concentration camp to imprison the captives of World War II, but it became an extermination center, where they carried out the Nazi regime's plan to eradicate European Jews, prisoners of war, and other groups the regime found undesirable (e.g. Sinti and Roma, homosexuals). According to records, around 1.5 million people were murdered in Auschwitz I, II, III, and its sub-camps during the five years it operated (Auschwitz-Birkenau, 2021). Currently, it is open for visitors who can see the unchanged camp, the clear evidence of how cruel humans can be. It is protected as a World Heritage site (Auschwitz Birkenau German Nazi Concentration and Extermination Camp (1940-1945), 2021).

September 11, 2001, known as 9/11 is the synonym of terrorism. Four airplanes, hijacked by the Islamic extremist group al Qaeda, carried out suicide attacks: two crashed into the twin towers of the World Trade Center, one into the Pentagon, and one into a field in Pennsylvania. The number of victims of the attack was more than 3000. To honor the victims, the memorial was dedicated in 2011 and the National 9/11 Memorial and Museum opened in 2014 (Bergen, 2020). The museum exhibits artifacts and personal stories, evidence and testimonies, and offers various programs and events for the interested parties (The Museum, 2021).

The immediate devastation and long-term radiation of the nuclear blast in 1945 in Hiroshima and Nagasaki killed tens of thousands of people and lead to Japan's surrender in

World War II (Bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, 2021). It is one of the deadliest tragedies of human history, a man-made annihilation that, similarly to Auschwitz, is the testament of the nature of humans. One of the darkest dark tourism places, the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum is constructed to spread the message: No More Hiroshimas (Information, 2021).

The city of Pripyat saw the world's most devastating nuclear accident in 1986 when the Chernobyl nuclear reactor failed. The disaster caused the death of 30 operators and firemen and led to the evacuation of approximately 350,000 people. The radiation spread all over the world, affecting the lives of countless people (Chernobyl Accident 1986, 2021). It has become a popular tourist destination among those who are authorized to visit it as well as among those who are not authorized to. People can only visit it with tour guides, but some tourists and most locals take a chance on visiting it illegally (Croissant, 2020).

In 1994, approximately 50,000 Tutsi people were killed by the Interahamwe militia in Rwanda. The people were crowded together and slaughtered by the soldiers, only a few managed to survive. The genocide's memory is preserved in the display of the half-decomposed, half-mummified bodies, preventing the denial of its existence. The Murambi Genocide Memorial is a haunting place, whose purpose is to educate people about the "dangers of prejudice and intolerance", and to be a reminder of "our common humanity" (Genocide Memorial Opens at Murambi, Rwanda, 2011).

Between 1975 and 1978, around 17,000 people were transported near Phnom Penh from the S-21 prison and were murdered in the place now known as The Killing Fields of Choeung Ek. The victims were mainly political prisoners of the Khmer Rouge regime, and the killings only stopped when Vietnam invaded Cambodia. The remains of almost 9,000 people were exhumed from the mass grave, and many of their skulls are displayed for the visitors in the Memorial Stupa. The audio tour guides include stories of the survivors, guards and executioners to remember and learn from the past (Marissa, 2021).

The maximum-security prison of Robben Island was built in the 1960s, near Cape Town. The island had been used as a confinement place long before, but it gained notoriety during the Apartheid when political prisoners were incarcerated in harsh conditions. The most known prisoner was Nelson Mandela. The island is now a UNESCO World Heritage Site, and a memorial of the Apartheid – the segregation and oppression of South African black people, under the colonizer white supremacist minority (Robben Island, n.d.).

War-related museums are popular dark tourism destinations all over the world. The Imperial War Museums in England, the National WWII Museum in New Orleans, the Topography of Terror in Berlin, and the Museum of the Great Patriotic War in Moscow are

just some of the many that have a connection to the numerous wars that humanity was involved in. According to Lonely Planet, one of the most upsetting, yet must-see museums is the War Remnants Museum in Ho Chi Minh City, the exhibition of the Vietnam War (War Remnants Museum, n.d.).

The aforementioned dark tourism destinations are connected to the darkest spots of our history: genocide, war, terrorism. However, dark tourism includes many more different destinations and attractions, from entertaining haunted houses through natural disaster zones to abandoned asylums. Some of them will be introduced in later chapters.

2.1.4. Moral Questions Regarding Dark Tourism

In order to understand the problems with dark tourism, we have to examine morality and the idea of moral judgment. As Gross (2020) describes it, morality is a set of socially constructed and accepted values. According to a Britannica article, morality is personal and normative, while ethics is the socially accepted “good and bad” (Grannan, n.d.). The development of individual morality and the process of understanding, reasoning, and judgment has been examined and debated for centuries (Gross, 2020). Haidt’s (2007) definition of moral judgment suggests that when we consider an action or a person’s character as good or bad, it is through a set of compulsory virtues of the culture we live in. Musschenga (2008) argues with this sentiment and believes that there are two kinds of moral judgment: one is intuitive, and one is influenced by empirical beliefs and social conventions.

The phenomenon of dark tourism is often criticized. When we are talking about dark tourism, we must ask the question – is it right to make a profit on tragedy? The issues can be approachable from both the supplier’s side – profiting from these sites – and the demand side – wanting to see suffering. As this research is not only about the moral and ethical questions of the dark tourism, only some of the main points are addressed.

The motivation for promoting these places and visiting them is equally questionable. Constructing an attraction out of a place of tragedy is not always for educational purposes and visiting them is not always to learn from the past. In Stone and Sharpley’s (2008) research, they point out that visitors may be motivated to visit dark tourism sites for oddity or bloodlust, for nostalgia or to seek thrills. As Tarlow (2005) mentions, media also can be an important motivating factor, while Stone and Sharpley (2008) conclude that it offers an opportunity to face our own mortality in a relatively safe environment.

Being fascinated by death is seemingly strange and maybe even unhealthy, but in the end, existence only has two certainties: life and death. Different cultures have a different connection to both, which leads to different mindsets when it comes to dark tourism. The main issue is with the way it mixes leisure with tragedy (Strange & Kempa, 2003), especially considering the ‘darkest’ side of the dark tourism spectrum, where the death and suffering of people are more recent and prominent. Taking photos and sharing them on social media, selling and buying merchandise, commercializing death, and behaving a certain way is the prime example when people are concerned about whether dark tourism is unethical or not (Drury, 2019).



2. Figure: Jack the Ripper News

Source: My English Links

The interest in tragedy, crimes, and criminals is not a 21st century phenomenon; news and newspapers always catered to this interest, with facts and deliberately untrue articles. The crimes of many murderers – among them Jack the Ripper – are being reported, turning the spotlight on the site of the tragedy, dramatizing the dangers, exaggerating the stories to have more media coverage (Marsh & Melville, 2009).

When a tragedy that affects people strikes, it is a common occurrence that people immediately visit the place of the tragedy as a sign of respect, to show compassion and grieve. The site becomes an attraction when people exploit it, constructing a memorial or museum out of it, to invite more and more tourists to spend their time and money there (Lennon & Foley, 2000). To balance between exploiting and respecting the victim(s) depends strongly both on the supply and the demand side.

Dark tourism, like many other types of tourism, can be harmful to the natives, whose rituals are misunderstood, or history is misrepresented or to people, who have a connection to

the tragedy. Native American burial sites are used as an attraction for “ghost hunters” as these places are represented to be haunted by vengeful spirits by YouTube videos and television shows, such as Sweet Springs Sanatorium in Travel Channel’s Destination Fear (2019). While offering a Titanic cruise is creative, replicating the menu and music of the original cruise seems less charming and more macabre (Neill, Murray, & Grist, 2014). Many tours are offered all around the world, linked in some way to the dark history of that place. Scotland’s ghost tourism is one of the main tourism types of the country because of its bloody history and folklore that has a connection to old castles (A sötét turizmus útikalauza [A guide to Dark Tourism], 2020). The United States has ghost tours in asylums, old buildings, and battlefields. Japan’s urban mythology is filled with ruthless apparitions who cannot rest in peace because of a tragedy, and visitors dare each other to visit these places where the ghosts are rumored to haunt.

Tourism, including dark tourism, can cause damage both culturally and environmentally. The environmental aspect is an important topic nowadays, due to climate change and the way travelers have an impact on the local and global situation. In addition, dark tourism has a connection to watching the effect of climate change: visiting melting glaciers, and natural disaster sites. As the Deutsche Welle documentary demonstrated in the case of Anak Krakatoa, an Indonesian active volcano, the “going back early” is a problem for visiting sites of catastrophe (DeutscheWelle, 2021). The morality of visiting and taking pictures of the immediate devastation, of the suffering people is questionable, but it happened and is currently happening everywhere in the world. For example, in 2021 in Belgium and Germany tourists visited to see the flood and its affects on the citizens’ lives (Pleasance, 2021). On the other hand, most places, like the Arab countries after the ‘Arab Spring’ in 2011, encourage tourism to flourish after a disaster or tragedy, as a means to regain financial losses (Groizard, Ismael & Santana, 2016).

Tourism helps the local economy, but in some cases, visiting some countries and supporting their economy may be debatable. This is the main concern for totalitarian regimes, such as North Korea, or oppressing sides where tourism is beneficial for the regime, not for the locals. On the other hand, it is important to have knowledge of these countries and the minimal number of tourists who visit these places may not make a difference.

As dark tourism has many issues, Rachel Noble, a representative of the charity Tourism Concern, believes that dark tourism sites should be avoided for ethical reasons, because visiting destinations where natural disasters and genocides happened may be inappropriate (Stokes, 2013).

2.2. SERIAL KILLERS IN HISTORY

2.2.1. Who Is a Serial Killer?

Ted Bundy, Jack the Ripper, Andrei Chikatilo, Wang Qiang, and Vera Renczi; just four of the countless men and women terrorizing the world's population. Each operated with distinct modus operandi, the number of their victims was different, even the era and location were diverse. Yet there was one common factor: they were serial killers.

“A series of two or more murders, committed as separate events, usually but not always committed by one offender acting alone. The crimes may occur over a period of time ranging from hours to years. Quite often the motive is psychological, and the offender's behavior and the physical evidence observed at the crime scenes will reflect sadistic sexual overtones.” This definition of serial killers comes from the National Institute of Justice to explain the difference between the different types of murders (Schechter & Everitt, 1997, p 73–74), as they are different from mass murderers, spree killers or contract killers.

The first special unit that dealt with serial killers and their psychology was – and still is – the Behavioral Analysis Unit, a department of the FBI, that analyzes the patterns of serial killers to help the work of criminal investigators. It was established in the 1970s as Behavioral Science Unit and in the 1990s it was re-established as its current form, with five departments, working on different types of crimes. The agents of BAU are experts in criminal psychology, researching and analyzing criminal behavior and patterns to assist the investigators to identify the perpetrators (History, n.d.).

To understand the perpetrators, their motivations and their mental state, a separate discipline deals with the minds of serial killers. In some cases, the criminals suffer some kind of mental disorder, but in some cases, they are “in their right mind”. The motive for serial killing in most cases is a sexual indication, but it can be driven by anger, thrill-seeking, financial gain, and attention-seeking (Morton, 2008). According to Dr. Smith, as cited by Rosewood (2015), a lot of serial killers feel inferior that leads to anger and aggression, fantasizing and planning how and on whom to take out this feeling.

Nature versus nurture is a long-standing question regarding serial killers. Were they born with it or the external factors were the main reasons for how they turned out? Many of them were abused during their childhood, had mental disorders, and the “I can't help it” defense was not without precedent, placing the blame away from themselves (Rosewood, 2015).

In terms of pattern, two types of serial killers exist:

- Organized killers: their crime scenes are controlled; their killings are meticulously planned.
- Disorganized killers: the crimes rushed, an act of impulse, leaving behind evidence (Rosewood, 2015).

According to specialists, serial killers can be categorized into four groups based on the way they murder:

- Visionary killers: they have some kind of mental disorders that makes their reality different than ours, their minds are controlled by their delusions and hallucinations
- Mission-oriented killers: they believe themselves as avengers, who clean the world from a specific group of people (e.g. prostitutes, homosexuals, foreigners...)
- Hedonistic killers: they do not have any motives other than they love killing, they get pleasure out of it
- Power seekers: they want to feel powerful, want to dominate other people, assert their superiority over their victims (Schechter & Everitt, 1997).

Most serial killers work in patterns. As Schechter and Everitt cited (1997), Dr. Joel Norris identified seven phases from fantasizing through murdering their victim, to the desire to kill again. These phases are the following:

- The Aura Phase: withdrawal from reality, lessening social interactions, fantasizing about acts of violence and/or sadistic sex.
- The Trolling Phase: searching for the most suitable victim, scouting out possible locations, and the routine of the potential victim.
- The Wooing Phase: initiating contact and luring the victim close to themselves, gaining their trust.
- The Capture Phase: incapacitating the victim, showing their true face.
- The Murder Phase: depends on the type of the killer, but it is the completion of the crime; the kill.
- The Totem Phase: taking a “totem” to remember the crime and the feeling, something that reminds them of the victim.
- The Depression Phase: the end of the cycle, where the killer realizes that the murder was not enough and falls into a depression that will lead to either suicide or starting over from the Aura Phase.

The following table is about the myths and facts regarding serial killers issued by the Behavioral Analysis Unit (Morton, 2008).

Myth	Fact
Serial killers are loners.	Most of the time they are useful members of society with family and jobs.
Serial killers are white males.	They come from all racial groups, from all genders.
Serial killers are only motivated by sex.	There are other factors, including anger and financial gain.
Serial killers operate interstate.	Most of the time they have a comfort zone close to an “anchor point” (e.g. residence).
Serial killers cannot stop killing.	In some instances, serial killers stopped killing before they were caught.
Serial killers are insane.	They may suffer from personality disorders, but most of them are not insane.
Serial killers are evil geniuses.	Just as the population as a whole, they have different intelligence levels.
Serial killers want to get caught.	They get overconfident after each kill, thinking that they cannot get caught.

1. Table: Serial Killer Myths

Female serial killers, while not common occurrences, still exist. Most commonly, they are either “Black Widows”, who kill their love interests – and sometimes even their children – for money, or “Angels of Death”, who work in the healthcare system, murdering the people in their care (Schechter & Everitt, 1997). But there are different types of female serial killers, murdering for sex, or an easier life, as it will be shown in the next subsection.

To summarize the used references and the knowledge that was gained throughout the years from other books, museums, webpages, true crime YouTubers, such as Stephanie Soo (Soo, n.d.) and podcasts, such as Serial (Koenig, n.d.), while the vast majority of serial killers are men, many women became known serial killers; the more they operate without getting caught, the more they want to kill in a specific, sometimes elaborate ways, and the resting period between two kills tend to get fewer. Usually, they have one victim at a time, but the number of their victims can go to 3 or more – sometimes even more than 100, and they are chosen by a strict criterion (based on location, sex, gender, age, other characteristics or personality traits). The murders tend to be completed in a similar manner, with the victims having something common between them. The motivation is usually based on sexual

impulses – either attraction, or frustration -, but other emotions can also lead to murder (e.g. anger, hatred, jealousy, inferiority feeling, superiority feeling, or sadistic urges). They might have mental disorders, and/or some kind of trauma in their childhood (e.g. physical, mental, sexual abuse, neglect), but it is not necessary.

2.2.2. The Diagnosis of a Serial Killer

In many cases, when people hear serial killers and mental disorders in the same sentence, they think “psychopathy”. While it is true, that most serial killers are diagnosed with an antisocial disorder, as they show no remorse, no emotions, other factors can be present as well. In this segment, some of the issues that can be connected to violent criminal acts will be introduced.

2.2.2.1. Antisocial Personality Disorder

Antisocial personality disorder (ASPD) is a personality disorder, commonly known as “sociopathy”, or confused with “psychopathy”. People with antisocial disorder disregard morals, social norms, manipulate and exploit others and have no regard for others’ feelings as they lack empathy. It is unclear what causes it, but both traumatic childhood experiences, unique biology, and genetics may play a role in its development. People with ASPD must be over 18 to be diagnosed, but the traits may show up in their early teen years. These symptoms are the following: aggressivity, cruelty against animals and/or humans, breaking the law, destroying others’ property, lying, and manipulating. They are not necessarily murderers, but most of the people with ASPD are inclinable to commit crimes (Comer, 2005).

Psychopathy is not a clear diagnosis, as it overlaps with ASPD, but its traits are more severe. They do not have a conscience, have no empathy, have less regard for others, and are more calculating and manipulating (Robinson, 2014).

2.2.2.2. Borderline Personality Disorder

People with borderline personality disorder (BPD), characteristically have unstable interpersonal relationships due to their quick emotional reactions, have distorted sense of self and often engage in dangerous behaviors. It impacts the way they feel about themselves and other people and causes problems in their relationships and everyday life. They have severe depression and/or anxiety attacks that can last from a few hours to days or weeks, and they may cause themselves to self-harm and attempt suicide. Most often they turn against

themselves due to their feeling of emptiness and fear of abandonment, but sometimes they may commit violent acts. The cause of BPD is similar to other personality disorders, such the antisocial personality disorder: genetics, biological, environmental, and social factors. In contrast to ASPB which affects mostly men, women are more often diagnosed with BPD. It begins in early adulthood, and it may get better with age (Comer, 2005).

2.2.2.3. *Childhood Abuse*

A significant number of serial killers had an unusually cruel upbringing. Physical, psychological, sexual abuse on them, on their family members; most of the time it is a cycle of abuse. Usually, it is done by a family member (most often parents), or a caregiver, family friend (Schechter & Everitt, 1997). Physical abuse is causing non-accidental injury internally or outwardly; sexual abuse is involving, showing or using a child for sexual purposes; emotional abuse is causing emotional harm by ignoring, humiliating, terrorizing, isolating or corrupting the child (The Issue of Child Abuse, n.d.).

Trauma in childhood may present itself in adulthood as depression, anxiety, suicidal thoughts, aggression, post-traumatic stress, substance abuse, agoraphobia, borderline personality disorder, or dissociative identity disorder. Childhood abuse and the trauma itself may cause brain damage and neurobiological abnormalities (Teicher, 2000), but it is important to note, that it rarely means that they would commit violent crimes (Lilienfeld & et. al., 2010). Most of the serial killers had an abusive childhood, but most of the abused children would not become serial killers.

2.2.2.4. *Childhood Cruelty*

The torture and murder of small animals can be one sign of a future serial killer. Many of the caught criminals enjoyed trapping and torturing pets, experimenting with them and murdering defenseless animals. They enjoyed the pets' suffering, playing god, which turned into an obsession with killing bigger, stronger victims. This type of sadism is one of the three early identifying marks of psychopathic behavior; the other two are the prolonged bed-wetting and pyromania (Schechter & Everitt, 1997).

2.2.2.5. *Dissociative Identity Disorder*

Previously known as Multiple Personality Disorder, is a rare mental disorder, where a person has a split personality. While it is relatively common for serial killers to try to blame

this condition for their actions – the other personality – there yet to be a verifiable case (Schechter & Everitt, 1997).

They have at least two personality states, displaying these different behavior patterns based on those subpersonality's attitude, in an unpredictable way. The change between the personalities may happen in a sudden, visible way, but in some cases, the person's family does not even notice something is wrong. Dissociative identity disorder (DID) is largely associated with abuse in childhood or other trauma in their past, but genetic factors may play a role in its formation as well. The personalities either know nothing about the others, one knows about the others or all of them know about each other. In many cases, they look nothing like each other, their race, age, characteristics, hobbies, and passion are completely different, which means that some personalities may be more likely commit crime than others (Comer, 2005).

2.2.2.6. Schizophrenia

Schizophrenia is a chronic brain disorder, which affects women and men equally. The causes of the disease are not clear, biological and environmental factors equally contribute, but life stressors are the main causations. The symptoms of schizophrenia span a wide range, but usually not all of the symptoms appear in the patient's condition. There are currently three groups of these symptoms: the positive, the negative, and the disorganized symptoms. The first one includes delusions, hallucinations and incoherent thinking. The second one includes the lack of will, emotional desolation or the inability to speak. The last one includes abnormal movements, becoming immobile, or repeating automatic movements. The hallucinations and delusions (such as being spied on) may lead to criminal behavior (Comer, 2005).

2.2.3. Serial Killers in America

In this section, some of the most known serial killers will be introduced. America, especially the United States of America has many current and past serial killers. This paper is not written to list all of them, only the most famous murders will be introduced, who still have media coverage, even after their death.

HH. Holmes was America's first serial killer and con artist. He was born in 1860 to an immigrant family, and contrary to the usual pattern, there is no proof for family abuse. His famous hotel, "The Murder Castle" was built for the 1893's World's Fair to lure and trap his victims into a labyrinth, where he killed numerous people. He confessed to 27 murders, but it

is suspected that he had over 200 victims. In the end, he was executed in 1896 for the murder of his business partner, Benjamin Pitezel (Soo, #73: Hotel of Horrors (Serial Killer - H.H. Holmes), 2021).

Albert Fish was one of the most prolific serial killers, child rapists, and cannibals of the 20th century. He was born in 1870, in a family with a history of mental illness. He spent four years of his childhood in an orphanage, where he was abused and he abused others. Officially, he was executed in 1936 for the murder of Grace Budd, a 10-year-old girl, but he had two other known victims and many other suspected victims (Philbin & Philbin, 2009).

From grave robber to murderer: Ed Gein. He was born in 1906 to an abusive family. His mother was a strict, religious, and controlling person, who he adored. After her death, he wanted to become her, which lead him to make clothing items and household objects out of women's skin, bones and other female parts. First, he exhumed corpses from the local graveyards, but then he killed Mary Hogan and Bernice Worden. On his trial, he was found legally insane and he was confined into a psychiatric institution, where he died in 1984 (Philbin & Philbin, 2009).

Albert DeSalvo, known as the Boston Strangler, was a serial killer and rapist in Boston. He was born in 1931, and had the textbook childhood for a future serial killer: his father was abusive and he liked torturing animals as a kid. He killed 13 women of all ages and backgrounds and was imprisoned for life for only the rapes. He was killed in his cell in 1973 (Philbin & Philbin, 2009).

Charles Manson, the leader of the Manson Family cult was born in 1934. His home life was unstable, and his life went downhill fast, committing various crimes. He founded his cult in the late 1960s in California, where his members committed a series of nine murders, including the actress Sharon Tate, wanting to initiate a race war. The Manson Family is suspected of the murder of 35 people, but due to the lack of evidence, they were not tried for them. He was convicted of first-degree murder and conspiracy to murder because while he did not directly order the murders, he was responsible for them. He died in 2017 (Charles Manson Biography, 2021).



3. Figure: Ted Bundy

Source: The Denver Post

Ted Bundy kidnapped, raped and murdered numerous young, long, dark-haired women and girls. He was born in 1946 in an abusive household. The number of his victims is unknown: he confessed 30 homicides, but the police estimated around 40. He was put into prison in Utah, but escaped, leading to the death of Lisa Levy and Margaret Bowman, before he was arrested again. He was executed in 1989 for his crimes (Philbin & Philbin, 2009).

John Wayne Gacy, known as the Killer Clown – due to his persona Pogo the Clown - was a child rapist and a serial killer. He was born in 1942. His father verbally and physically abused him and a family friend sexually abused him. He was arrested for the sexual assault of a teenage boy but was let out early, leading to the murder and rape of at least 33 young boys. Many of his victims were buried in the garden of his home. He was arrested after the murder of Robert Piest, a sixteen-year-old boy, and was executed in 1994 (Philbin & Philbin, 2009).

The Milwaukee Cannibal, Jeffrey Dahmer was a serial killer, sex offender, and cannibal. He was born in 1960. He was neglected by his parents, and he showed the early signs of being a violent person. He wanted to make sex slaves out of his victims, zombies, who would obey him. As his “experiments” didn’t work, he murdered them, ate them, and kept their skulls on his altar. He was convicted of 17 men’s murder, after being arrested after Tracy Edwards escaped from his home. He was sentenced to 957 years in prison but was beaten to death by another inmate in 1994 (Philbin & Philbin, 2009).

Edmund Kemper was a serial killer, rapist, and cannibal. He was born in 1948. His parents were verbally and physically abusive and he showed the early signs of being unstable. His murders were especially brutal that started with the murder of his grandparents. He was

sentenced to a hospital for criminally insane, yet, after spending five years there, he was released as mentally competent. He continued killing as the “Co-ed Killer”, targeting young women. He was arrested after he gave himself up and was sentenced to life in prison (Rosewood, 2015).

Pedro López, born in 1948, was a Colombian serial child killer. He was sentenced for the murder of 110 little girls – younger than 12 –, but he presumably raped and killed more than 300 girls. He committed his crimes across Colombia, Peru, and Ecuador, which is why he was named the Monster of the Andes. He was found guilty in 1983 and was sentenced to life in prison, which, in Ecuador, means 16 years in prison, so he was released in 1998. Since then, his whereabouts are unknown (Gibson, 2014).

The Ken and Barbie Killers, Paul Bernardo and Karla Homolka raped and murdered three young girls, including Karla’s own sister, Tammy Homolka. Paul Bernardo was a serial rapist, but she did not care about it; the Canadian pair's sadomasochistic tendencies were a match made in hell. Their first rape-murder victim was Tammy, then Leslie Mahaffy and Kristen French, and if not caught in 1993, they would have continued doing it. Homolka was convinced to twelve years in prison (and was released in 2005), while Bernardo got life imprisonment (Philbin & Philbin, 2009).

2.2.4. Serial Killers in Europe

Europe’s history is just as filled with serial killers as America’s, from the 15th century to our current time. Like the previous, this section is intended to only introduce the most famous serial killers, whose atrocities are still live in our memories.

With chronicles from the past, it is often hard to distinguish between facts and myths. The following three serial killers’ crimes were facts, but the details of their murders are magnified through the tales of folklore.

One of the origins of the Bluebeard fairy tale is supposedly Gilles de Rais, a Breton nobleman, a soldier in the Hundred Years’ War. He was accused of torturing, raping, and murdering hundreds of children, and he was hanged for his crimes. Historians debated about the truth, but most of them agree that he was the one who committed these murders (Britannica, n.d.).

Vlad Tepes, the Romanian Voivode of Wallachia is the real-life inspiration of Count Dracula. He was known as Vlad the Impaler for his cruel punishments. He executed his

enemies, foreign and domestic alike, impaling thousands and thousands of people (Pallardy, 2021a).

Countess Elizabeth Báthory, a Hungarian noblewoman is known for being the most prolific female murderer, but the number of her victims is debated. She was accused of torturing and murdering 600 girls and was imprisoned in her chambers until she died. The accusations against her may or may not have been politically motivated to put an end to her dominance (Pallardy, 2021b).

Arguably the most famous (or infamous) serial killer is Jack the Ripper. He (presumably a male) was an unidentified serial killer in Whitechapel, London in the 19th century. He murdered female prostitutes and removed their organs with surgical precision. The “Canonical five” victims, Polly Nichols, Annie Chapman, Elizabeth Stride, Catherine Eddowes, and Mary Jane Kelly were most likely linked to him (according to the most widely accepted version), but there were other alleged victims as well, up to twelve. He was never caught, not because of the lack of suspects, but due to the lack of useful evidence (Gibson, 2014).

The Monster of Florence was the moniker of another unknown serial killer, operating in Florence in the 1960s - 1980s. He (presumably male) killed at least 16 people – eight couples – including two, soon-to-be-married teenagers, Pasquale Genticore and Stefania Pettini. While there were dozens of suspects, arrested for other crimes, but no one was ever found for sure to be the Monster (Gibson, 2014).

Fritz Haarmann, the Butcher of Hanover, or the Wolf Man, was a serial killer and rapist, who sold the meat of his victims to unsuspecting customers. He was born in 1879 in Hanover. In his childhood, he was effeminate and was abused by his father. He sexually abused young boys in his teenage years and when he was caught, he was sent to a mental hospital. He escaped, and after the First World War, he raped, tortured, and killed at least 24 boys. He was convicted and executed in 1925 (Newton, 2006).

Marcel Petiot was a French serial killer. He was born in 1897 and had troubles in his childhood. He was diagnosed with a mental illness, but after the war, he received his medical degree. He was convicted of the murder of 26 people, but he was suspected to have more than 60 victims. He tried to claim to be part of the French Resistance, but he murdered for profit and was executed in 1946 (Jenkins, 2021).

Peter Kürten, born in 1883, was known as the Düsseldorf Monster. His father was a violent abuser. Like his father, he sexually assaulted his sister and he soon started killing and torturing animals, following the footsteps of a dogcatcher. He supposedly committed his first

and second murder when he was nine years old. He raped and murdered nine girls, including the nine years old Christine Klein. His other name was The Vampire of Düsseldorf because he attempted to drink the blood of his victims. He was executed in 1931 (Newton, 2006).

Peter Sutcliffe, born in 1946, was nicknamed the Yorkshire Ripper. His mother cheated on her husband, which contributed to his hatred for women, but during his childhood, he did not show any indication of violent tendencies (Newton, 2006). He murdered 13 women, the youngest, Jayne MacDonald (16), and the oldest Marguerite Wally (47), and attacked seven more. He was caught for having a false license on his car when he was looking for another victim. He claimed to commit the murders as an act of God against prostitutes, but he was convicted. He died in 2020, after catching Covid-19 (Topping, 2020).



4. Figure: Ian Brady and Myra Hindley

Source: The Times

The Moors Murderers in Manchester and the Canadian Ken and Barbie killers were similar as both were committed by a “romantic” pair, both half of the pair a sadistic predator, inflicting harm against children. Ian Brady and Myra Hindley killed Pauline Reade, John Kilbride, Keith Bennett, Lesley Ann Downey, and Edward Evans, five children from 10 to 17 years old were sexually assaulted and killed. They were convicted for their crimes in 1965; Hindley died in 2002 and Brady died in 2017 (Ian Brady Biography, 2020).

Pipás Pista, nee Riegel Pálné Fődi Viktória, was Hungary’s cross-dressing husband-killer for hire in the 19th century. She was young when she was raped and impregnated by the head of the family she worked for; her arranged husband died in the war. After these, she decided she would rather be a man. Her murders were masked as suicides, but the frequent

suicides were too obvious after a while. She was arrested for the murder of ten husbands, but it is suspected that there were more victims. She was executed in 1933 (Faragó, 2012).

Balogh Lajos, the Szászhalombatta Ripper – one of the most infamous Hungarian serial killers – killed five people, including his own sister-in-law, Mihály Krisztina. He was abused by his father, whom he killed when he was an adult. He raped and killed four girls, with the help of two others, enjoying his crimes. He was caught and convicted in 1995, for life with the possibility of parole after 25 years (Faragó, 2012). Currently, he is still in prison, with the possibility of parole after an additional five years, but he is convinced he will spend the rest of his life in prison (TEG, 2019).

2.2.5. Serial killers in Australia

Australia, while not as famous for its serial killers as other continents are, still has its own collection of gruesome criminals.

Ivan Robert Marko Milat, Australia's most known serial killer, who made hitchhiking in the continent a dangerous activity. He was born in 1945, and his murders took place between 1989 and 1992. He raped and killed hitchhikers, such as the two British tourists, Caroline Clarke and Joanne Walters. He was convicted of seven murders, but it is suspected that the “Backpack Killer” had more victims (Newton, 2006). After many suicide attempts, he died in 2019 (Jánossy, 2019).

Catherine and David Birnie, the Australian serial killer couple murdered four women (Mary Neilson, Susannah Candy, Noelene Patterson, and Denise Brown) in the couple's home. This house is called the House of Horror due to the atrocities executed in the house. Catharine Birnie was born in 1951 and grew up in the care of her overbearing grandparents. She was just as involved in the torture and murders as her husband, who was the more sexually sadistic in their relationship. In the trial, they both plead guilty and were sentenced to a minimum of 23 years in prison (Gibson, 2014).

William MacDonald, born in 1926, was known as the Sydney Mutilator. He murdered and mutilated four men in Sydney, allegedly he wanted to take revenge on gay people because he was raped when he was a teen. He got a life sentence, but later he was deemed clinically insane and was moved to an asylum for the rest of his life (Newton, 2006).

Leonard Fraser in his twenties got arrested and sentenced to prison. He served almost twenty years in prison for raping two women, before he was let out. He turned to murder but

was caught and was sentenced to life for the murder of a nine-year-old girl, Keyra Steinhardt. In the prison, he was tried for three more murders (Newton, 2006).

The Granny Killer, John Wayne Glover, murdered six elderly women with a hammer, then strangled them with their garments near Sydney. He was arrested, and after pleading guilty, he received life in prison (Newton, 2006).



5. Figure - John Bunting

Source: Popsugar

The Snowtown Killers – John Bunting, Robert Wagner, Mark Haydon, and James Vlassakis – operated in Snowtown for seven years. They sadistically murdered eleven “dirties”, among them Clinton Trezise, a 22-year-old gay man, Frederick Brooks, a 29-year-old with a learning disability and his aunt, the 37-year-old Elizabeth Haydon, for being obese, unkempt and having eight children from different fathers. In 2001, Vlassakis pleaded guilty to the murder of four people and was sentenced to twenty-six years. In 2003, Bunting was convinced of 11 murders, Wagner on 10, while Haydon was found guilty of five murders (Newton, 2006).

2.2.6. Serial Killers in Asia

This thesis is focused on past violent crimes, but when talking about serial killers, we cannot forget that there are serial killers currently out there or who were only recently caught. In 2017, in Japan, Takahiro Shiraishi was caught and sentenced to death for murdering nine women. His house, where he lured women via Twitter, he drugged, raped, killed, and dismembered his susceptible victims – aged 15 to 26 –, was dubbed as the “house of horrors”.

He is one of the proofs that serial killers are now lurking on social media for vulnerable people (Sim, 2020).

Yoshio Kodaira was one of the most prolific serial killers in Japan. He was born in 1905. When he was in the Imperial Japanese Navy, he participated in the atrocities against Chinese civilians, enjoying every moment of it. As a civilian, his first murder was his father-in-law, for which he got 15 years of hard labor. With a general amnesty, he was released and turned to crime. His second victim was his 19-year-old coworker, Miyazaki Mitsuko. For the next six years, he raped and strangled nine other young women. He was executed in 1949 for rape and murder (Newton, 2006).

Javed Iqbal, born in 1956, was a Pakistani serial killer, who sexually abused and murdered 100 young boys, aged 6 to 16. He strangled his victims, then dismembered them. In 2001, after he was arrested and found guilty, he was sentenced to the same death as he killed his victims. Before the sentence was carried out, he committed suicide (Newton, 2006).

In 1979, the Indian Kampatimar Shankariya was convicted of murdering 70 people. He was executed when he was 27 years old. Another Indian serial killer was known as the Jack the Ripper of India. Raman Raghav slaughtered 41 people regardless of gender and age (Newton, 2006). What could have been the Jack the Ripper of India, was the Stoneman Murders. They were committed in the 1980s, and the serial killer was never caught, he (presumably male) remained a mystery. The thirteen victims were among the homeless people of Kolkata, killed in their sleep (Ghosh, 2006).

The most prolific serial killer of China was Wand Ganggang. He used many pseudonyms, such as Yang Xinhai, while traveling through the country. He raped 25 women and committed at least 67 murders in three different provinces between 1999 and 2003. He was caught in 2003 and was executed in 2004 (Newton, 2006).

Wang Qiang raped ten and killed 45 people (and may have murdered 45 more) from 1995 to 2003 in China. He robbed and raped some of his victims post-mortem. He was arrested in 2003 and was executed in 2005 (Wang Qiang, 2016).

Yoo Young-chul, the Seoul-Korean serial killer, sex offender, and cannibal confessed 14 rape and 31 murders. He lured his victims to his home, killed and dismembered them between 2003 and 2004. The Chijon Family, a gang of ex-convicts murdered similarly: killed and cannibalized five wealthy people because they held a grudge against the rich (Newton, 2006).

Ahmad Suradji, an Indonesian serial killer planned to murder 70 women because he was convinced that his deceased father commanded him to increase his magic powers. He charged his victims – local women – for supposed love rituals, and he murdered them in the nearby

sugar plantation. He confessed to 42 murders, with the help of his three wives. He was sentenced to death in 1998 (Newton, 2006).



6. Figure: Nikolai Dzhumagaliev

Source: Murderpedia

Nikolai Dzhumagaliev was a Soviet serial killer, named Metal Fang who murdered at least 7 people (possibly hundreds) in Kazakhstan in the 1970s. He murdered his victims and fed them to his friends at dinner parties. He was jailed but was declared insane and imprisoned in a mental hospital. He escaped from there but was recaptured and sent into prison again (Newton, 2006).

Vladimir Ionosyan, another Soviet serial killer murdered his victims in the 1960s. He was dubbed as the Mosgas because he gained entry to his victim's house by pretending to be a meter-reader from Moscow Gas. He was convicted for murdering five people and was executed in 1964 (Newton, 2006).

The first documented Filipino serial killer, Juan Mallari, was a Catholic priest. It was reported that he killed 57 people during the Spanish colonial period. He was caught when the attending priest discovered the murder weapons and the belongings of the victims. For his crimes, he was executed in 1840 (Lasin, 2019).

2.2.7. Serial Killers in Africa

African serial killers are not well-known, but there were many serious cases. The South African Daisy de Melker murdered six people, among them two of her husbands for insurance money, and her children. She was executed in 1932 (Newton, 2006).

Moses Sithole, known as the ABC Killer for committing his murders in Atteridgeville, Boksburg, and Cleveland in 1995. He was a serial killer and a rapist; he brutally murdered at least 38 women, as revenge for being accused and arrested innocently for the same crime. He claimed he had 76 victims, but he was sentenced to 2410 years in prison for 38 murders, 40 rapes, and 6 counts of robbery. It was suspected that he had a connection to David Selepe, the Cleveland Strangler, who raped and strangled 11 women, but there was no clear evidence for them working together (Newton, 2006).

Samuel Mfeka was suspected to be the Nasrec Strangler, who had 15 victims but was not charged for those killings. He was, however, arrested and charged for raping and murdering six women between 1993 and 1996 (Newton, 2006).

Sipho Thwala, the Phoenix Strangler raped and murdered 16 or 19 women, aged 20-30. He was arrested for rape in 1994, and in 1999 he was found guilty of 16 murders and 10 rapes. He was sentenced to 506 years in prison (Newton, 2006).

Cedric Maake, the Wemmer Pan Killer was suspected of murdering 34 people. He targeted couples, robbing them and raping the women before murdering the couples. He was found guilty of 27 murders, 28 attempted murders, 15 rapes, and 46 robberies. The sentence he received was 1340 years in prison (Newton, 2006).

Christopher Zikode, the South African Donnybrook Serial Killer was 19 years old when he started murdering. He has 18 victims and 11 attempted murders. He invaded homes, where he killed the men immediately, raped the women, and then killed them. He was arrested for attempted murder but was bailed. He continued his murder spree, until he was caught again, and sentenced to 140 years in prison for 8 murders, 5 attempted murders, and 1 assault (Newton, 2006).

Elias Xitavhuzdi, known as Pangaman for using a machete to kill and mutilate 16 women. All of the victims were from the white segregated community of Atteridgeville. He was sentenced to death and immediately after he was executed (Newton, 2006).

2.3. TOURISM DESTINATION ORGANIZATIONS AND DARK TOURISM ATTRACTIONS

Most of the time, when a destination promotes their heritage, they promote a positive view, the ideal image of their culture, and they cover up the negative, darker parts of their history. The internet and other types of media help to uncover these hidden parts and offer interesting facts and myths about the sites. My research shows that many people research the darker side of the destination they are about to visit. It is because people travel not just for the 4S (sun, sand, sea, and sex) (Lőrincz & Sulyok, 2017), but to experience the contrast within the destination. And the biggest contrast that a place can offer is the one between life and death.

In our society, media has a huge role in spreading information and influencing people. The way people behave, think, feel, everything can be influenced by our media consumption. As the persistent media coverage and the subsequent tourist attention of the site the assassination of John F. Kennedy shows, the communication technology is inevitable in the representation of the event and the promotion of the site. They shape how people view the present, the past, and the future, what is significant and what is not. Therefore, it is not surprising that it shapes the way people gather information about places to visit as well (Lennon & Foley, 2000).

In our society, everything can be capitalized – even death. The question is the how? A Destination Organization Management (DMO) is an organization in charge of promoting the specific destination, its attractions, and creating a unique brand to be attractive for the potential visitors, to enhance the local economy. DMOs have a leading role in managing tourism in the area, to make sure that they present the best offer for the visitors (Varghese & Paul, 2014).

Previously, the most known dark tourism attractions around the world were presented. In this part, Powell, Kennell, and Barton: *Dark Cities: A Dark Tourism Index for Europe's Tourism Cities, Based on the Analysis of DMO Websites* (Powell, Kennell, & Barton, 2018) findings are used to show how some Destination Management Organizations deal with the dark tourism attractions within their cities.

According to the research, the differences between how one city or the other promoted the darker side of the destination were noticeable. They examined the following ten European cities and their Destination Management Organization websites: London, Paris, Istanbul, Rome, Prague, Milan, Barcelona, Amsterdam, Vienna, and Venice. Nineteen keywords

connected to dark tourism were used during the analysis of the websites to compare the cities and rank them in terms of “darkness”.

Ranking	City	<i>f</i>
1st	London	13266
2nd	Amsterdam	11689
3rd	Rome	5468
4th	Paris	4512
5th	Prague	4298
6th	Istanbul	3149
7th	Vienna	3076
8th	Barcelona	2820
9th	Milan	775
10th	Venice	167

2. Table: Ranking of Cities

The results indicate that DMOs include dark tourism sites as offered attractions. London’s dark tourism connection is obvious. It offers numerous dark tourism attractions and entertaining experiences, such as The London Dungeons – which is in the scope of this thesis – while Venice’s connection to dark tourism is not as noticeable and not as well-known. Its dark heritage is mostly connected to criminal justice, and Venice’s romantic city brand does not need it to be capitalized.

Based on this research, it is evident, that while most cities have some connection to dark tourism, and it can be used as an attraction, some cities decide not to do it. It depends on the city brand. London’s brand is built on diversity and openness; it can offer various entertainment types to different people (Ladkin, Fyall, Fletcher, & Shipway, 2008), while Venice is known for being a romantic paradise for couples. The method they used is practical to be able to discover if a city is compatible with dark tourism or not, and how prevalent one or another type of tourism in the city marketing is.

3. EMPIRICAL DATA ABOUT ATTRACTIONS CONNECTED TO SERIAL KILLERS

3.1. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1.1. Research Methodology

Making a research plan is an essential step for effective research and it serves as a framework for the project itself (Mitev, 2019). One was used to define the process and the methods for acquiring the necessary information about dark tourism, serial killers, attractions and visitor attitudes, to analyze the obtained data and come to conclusions that would lead to possible recommendations.

In the first part of the paper, secondary research was used to examine the data previously collected by others, and the existing literature about dark tourism and serial killers (Lőrincz & Sulyok, 2017). The literature about serial killers aided in recognizing that these violent crimes are widely spread around the world and the Seven Dark Suppliers framework helped identify the possible attractions connected to serial killers. The different perspectives showed that while parts of dark tourism are well-researched, attractions connected to serial killers are worth further investigation, as it is a field which is lacking studies.

Another methodology was content analysis, to examine the reactions and opinions of the visitors through their reviews. It was used to see their attitude towards serial killer attractions, but also to analyze the written texts of the webpages of the walking tours, to examine the words they use to describe their tours and the frequency of them (Puczkó & Rátz, 2011). Furthermore, the qualitative method was used to filter the concepts that should be used in the questionnaire (Veres, Hoffmann, & Kozák, 2016), to have a general idea about the attitude of the visitors toward this niche market.

The quantitative research methodology quantifies the results and helps to find correlations between the variables. An appropriate and representative sample would be ensured by random sampling, but this implementation could not be achievable, which lead to a non-representative sampling (Veres, Hoffmann, & Kozák, 2016). The methodology was used to determine the way people think about death, dark tourism, and serial killers. The choice fell on this type of research because it provides specific information on the topic. Survio and Google Form was equally used to gather the data, as Survio had technical issues with its servers. Answers came from all over the world, to be able to compare the results of

the different countries on how different people from different cultures behave towards these types of attractions.

According to Gyulavári et al. (2014), the characteristics of the respondents should be taken into account when the questions are formulated. In this case, it means middle-class people from all around the world, who like to travel and have an interest in the darker side of tourism. The data for this study was collected from a self-administered online survey.

During the non-random sampling, the selection of the sample is based on personal judgment, on what elements should be included in the sample. It gives an estimate in terms of population characteristics, but it does not give an accurate, statistically generalized result to the whole population (Naresh & Simon, 2009).

A snowball sampling technique was used for the selection of respondents. In this case, an initial group of respondents is selected, who would then identify others who also belong to the studied population, and the next person is selected through this method (Naresh & Simon, 2009). It was used to obtain samples from the groups who are interested in dark tourism, and from those who are closed off from this topic; to have people who consume true crime content and those who do not. To have respondents from all around the world, not just from Hungary. It was not as successful as it was supposed to be, as the respondents rarely shared the survey within their own country and the Facebook groups interested in serial killers did not allow the survey to be posted.

This means that the limitation of this sampling is that it is not representative. The total number of respondents does not give a clear picture about the topic, as there might be more people interested in visiting these places and it does not show a representative picture about the different countries and cultures. What it gives is an impression about the consumer behavior and their attitudes towards dark tourism. From the initial data set of 113 respondents, none of them were removed.

3.1.2. Research Questions

To understand better the topic, three research questions were formed that could be answered based on observations when searching for attractions connected to serial killers, on the available literature about serial killers and dark tourism, and the empirical research.

These are the following:

- ❖ What is the reason for serial killer tourism?

- ❖ What type of attractions connected to serial killers are the most attractive for the visitors?
- ❖ What is the attitude of the consumers towards the attractions connected to serial killers?

3.2. COMPARISON OF ATTRACTIONS CONNECTED TO SERIAL KILLERS

3.2.1. Introduction of Chosen Sites

Constructing attractions connected to serial killers is not a new trend. People were always fascinated by these criminals, wanting to know more about the details of the crimes, to experience the tragedy from a safe environment. The “murder hotel” of America’s first serial killer, H.H. Holmes, after the man’s execution, was planned to be an entertaining “murder museum”. A.M. Clark, the new owner, wanted to open an exhibition, complete with a guided tour for tourists, but before it could have been constructed, the building was destroyed in a mysterious disaster. This was not a unique situation: the tanner Ed Gein’s place was crowded by curious tourists after his arrest, but before it could have been turned into an attraction, it was burned down. Even so, his car was turned into a county fair display, as “Ed Gein’s Death Car” (Schechter & Everitt, 1997).

In this thesis, only the “official” tourist attractions are examined, the ones where there is a clear indication that it is supposed to be visited by tourists. The houses where the victims were murdered or the childhood home of serial killers, if not used as tourism attractions, will not be mentioned. When searching for current attractions connected to serial killers, the first and second hit is the Museum of Death of New Orleans, and the Jack the Ripper Museum in London. Both cities have a reputation for being eclectic cities with dark connotations. The other cities were chosen due to their connection to more known serial killers.

a. New Orleans, United States

The two types of attractions that have a connection to serial killers are museums and tours. The Museum of Death is *the* museum for everybody who is interested in true crime. The exhibited objects include, but are not limited to paintings by John Wayne Gacy, letters from Jeffrey Dahmer, and Manson family photographs. The museum’s objective is to educate people on death, and the mystique it is surrounded by. There is no age limit or other restrictions, but it is not advised to be visited by children or overly sensitive people (Museum

of Death, n.d.). Out of 5686 reviews on Google, it has 4,2 stars. The reviews are varied from “the best experience of my life” to “waste of time”. Some of the reviewers objected to the “morbidity” of the place (Museum of Death New Orleans, n.d.).

The offer of true crime tours in New Orleans is seemingly endless; the following ones are just five out of the many.

Name	No. of Sites	Time	Price	Reviews	Webpage
Killers and Thrillers Tour	7	90 minutes	\$37/person	4,8 stars (945)	https://ghostcitytours.com/ghost-tours/new-orleans-ghost-tours/killers-thrillers-tour/
Sinister Criminal Intentions	4	120 minutes	\$30/person	5,0 stars (421)	https://uniquenola.com/tours/sinister-criminal-intentions/
New Orleans True Crime Experience	4	120 minutes	\$30/person	4,85 stars (398)	https://www.airbnb.com/experiences/355409?set=et bev on new domain=1633552151 ODUwYmE4MjVhMzM2&locale=en
Ghost and True Crime Walking Tour	7	90 minutes	\$30/person	4,95 stars (562)	https://www.airbnb.com/experiences/1219146?source=dpdpoth&locale=en&country_override=US

3. Table: New Orleans Tours

Based on the information found on the websites, and the reviews written about the tours, the price and the routes are similar (e.g. the LaLaurie Mansion in the French Quarters). Some have more, some fewer places to visit, but the main deciding factor for the visitors are the reviews about the tour guides. According to the *Find Most Frequent Words of Web Site Content* (Frequent Words, n.d.), the six most used words connected to dark tourism on these

websites are ghost(s) (153), crime/criminal (35), haunted (33), thrillers (20), killers (20) and history (14).

The words “engaging”, “passionate”, “knowledgeable” and “fun” were the most common for the 5 stars reviews by the visitors, and “drawn out”, “boring”, “too much recent history” and “similar to other tours” were characteristic for the negative reviews. This shows that while tours are about the history of the place, and about gruesome crimes, everything is about entertainment. Based on these comments, the visitors are usually between twenty and thirty, mainly women, who visit the tours with friends or family.

New Orleans has many other offers for true crime lovers or ghost hunters with its fascinating history, but as the other attractions are not connected to real serial killers, but movie ones, or to other real-life crimes, they will not be mentioned. Ghost tourism is the paranormal part of the dark tourism, which can always bring new visitors to the destination in order to experience something supernatural (Jászberényi, 2020) and it has an obvious connection to the victims of serial killers – sometimes even to the spirit of the murderers as well.

b. London, United Kingdom

When talking about London, the mysterious figure of Jack the Ripper is unavoidable. The city’s and the visitors’ fascination with this legendary figure who targeted women sex workers in 1888 is never-ending. The Jack the Ripper Museum offers an insight into the unsolved case of the Whitechapel murders. It offers the visitors a chance to immerse themselves into Victorian-era London, to be informed about the lives of the victims, about the main suspects, and the details of the police investigation (Jack the Ripper Museum, n.d.). With 795 reviews on TripAdvisor, the museum has a 4.0-star rating. The positive comments mention that it is worth visiting not just for the serial killer himself, but because it provides useful information about the living conditions of the victims. On the other hand, some visitors thought that the museum did not present the era authentically and that a walking tour would give a better experience (About Jack the Ripper Museum, n.d.).

There are several other attractions connected to this serial killer: the City of London Police Museum, the Royal London Hospital Museum, the Ten Bells pub, and three cemeteries where the victims were buried, out of which, the City of London Cemetery has a memorial that can be visited. The Police Museum has an exhibition about the investigation of the Ripper victims and the supposed letters of the murderer (City of London Police Museum, n.d.). The lack of reviews (only 154) shows that it is not the most visited place in the city, but as a free

attraction, it deserves a 4 star. The small size of the museum can be found both as a compliment and as a complaint, as many people think the information found there is important, while others are missing the other activities (The City of London Police Museum, n.d.). The Hospital Museum has a section dedicated to the murders, but as it is currently closed, there are not many reviews about it (Royal London Hospital Museum, n.d.). The Ten Bells is a pub that some of the victims used to visit. The pub's website does not promote its connection to the murders, but it is one of the destinations of several Jack the Ripper tours (Ten Bells, n.d.). 2418, 4,3-star reviews are mixed: some of them are only about the pub itself and its offers, and some mention its fascinating history as well (The Ten Bells, n.d.).

Name	No. of Sites	Time	Price	Reviews	Webpage
Serial Killers: The Blood and Tears Walk	11	120 minutes	\$21/person	5,0 stars (113)	https://www.viator.com/tours/London/Blood-and-Tears-Walk-chilling-and-informative-two-hour-London-Horror-tour/d737-72652P2
Murder Mile Walks	15	120 minutes	\$15/person	5,0 stars (156)	https://www.murdermiletours.com/
Jack the Ripper Tour	11	120 minutes	\$16/person	4,9 stars (293)	https://www.jack-the-ripper-tour.com/

4. Table: London Tours

The most frequently used words connected to this topic were: ripper (34), murder(s) (25), killer(s) (22), experience (16), blood (9), crime (7). Interestingly, there are differences between the tours in New Orleans, as these words are more crime-focused, but at the same time, neither of the tours has yet to use more than one or two times the word “victim”.

Most of the tours only have positive reviews: “bloody brilliant”, “must do”, “funny” and “informative”. The few negative ones are about the lack of new information and that they could not hear anything due to the crowd in the city.

There is a plan for organizing a Dennis Nilsen Tour for \$41, where they show where this serial killer hunted his victims (e.g. the Golden Lion pub, which is already visited sometimes for this reason), but it is already described as “couldn’t be in worse taste”. Notably, he committed his crimes between 1973 and 1983, so it is relatively recent in human history (Warburton & Davis, 2021).

London has more sites connected to serial killers to offer: the London Dungeon is a unique Dark Fun Factory attraction where history and murder meet with a Disneyland-esque entertainment (The London Dungeon, n.d.); escape rooms connected to famous serial killers; and a mural to counteract the fame of Jack the Ripper by commemorating the Canonical Five victims (Flood, 2020).

c. Vienna

The Crime Museum of Vienna is an interesting attraction about the Viennese criminal history. It shows how criminal justice evolved throughout the years from the Middle Ages through the Habsburg-Hungarian Monarchy to current times and exhibits for example the skull of Hugo Schenk (Austrian serial killer in the late 1800s). Most of the information is in German, but they are working on translating them to English (Wiener Kriminal Museum, n.d.). It is informative, and only worth visiting if somebody is interested in criminal history. It has 4,0 stars and 735 reviews on Google; the reviewers’ biggest problem seems like that it is in German (Vienna Crime Museum, n.d.).

Name	No. of Sites	Time	Price	Reviews	Webpage
Vienna Criminal History Tour	8	120 minutes	\$23/person	4,9 stars (12)	https://www.getyourguide.com/vienna-l7/vienna-criminal-history-tour-in-german-t51444/
Terrible Crimes in Vienna	13	120 minutes	\$27/person	5,0 stars (2)	https://primetours.at/tours/terrible-crimes-in-vienna-macabre-exciting/
The Dark Side of Vienna	5	120 minutes	\$29/person	5,0 stars (6)	https://secretvienna.org/the-dark-side-of-vienna/

5. Table: Vienna Tours

While Vienna has its own dark history, as it is shown by the lack of reviews, it is not as prominent as London and New Orleans are. But promisingly, those, who commented on these tours, liked them very much for being informative and entertaining. The websites' six most commonly used words connected to dark tourism were: history (13), dark (10), secret (8), criminal (6), crime(s) (6), and mysterious (5).

Other attractions connected to serial killers are: escape rooms and city-trail games; the Jack the Ripper attraction in the Prater (Jack the Ripper, n.d.); and the house of the infamous Hungarian countess, Elizabeth Báthory (Ungarisches Haus, n.d.).

d. Los Angeles

The second Museum of Death can be found in Los Angeles. It is currently under reconstruction, but the museum itself holds similar items to the one in New Orleans (Museum of Death, n.d.). Another famous (now almost world-famous due to the Netflix series about it) location is the Cecil Hotel – or as it is named now, the Stay on Main hotel. While it is mainly known because of the mysterious death of Elisa Lam, it is also has a crime-filled reputation due to suicides, but also because it was the home for a longer period of time of two serial killers: Richard Ramirez, “The Night Stalker” and Jack Unterweger, Austria’s most famous murderer (Krueger, n.d.).

Name	No. of Sites	Time	Price	Reviews	Webpage
DTLA Murder Mystery Ghost Tour	Variable	180 minutes	\$45/person	4,0 stars (13)	https://www.thereallosangelestours.com/tours/dtla-murder-mystery-ghost-tour/
Notorious Los Angeles	6	240 minutes	Variable	5,0 stars (6)	https://www.thereallosangelestours.com/tours/dtla-murder-mystery-ghost-tour/
Haunted Hollywood Walking Tour	5+	120 minutes	\$35/person	5,0 stars (16)	https://www.exp1.com/los-angeles-tours/haunted-hollywood-walking-tour/

6. Table: Los Angeles Tours

The webpages used words like “notorious” (14), “ghost” (8), “murder(s)” (6), “mystery” (6), and “crime” (7) to describe the scope of the tours. The reviews said that these tours give a unique Los Angeles experience and that they are not to be missed by true crime lovers. The negative reviews were mostly related to the high prices. Due to the pandemic, many guided tours had to close their businesses. In Los Angeles, it is more noticeable than it was in the previously examined places, as even the most famous Manson-family tour, the Dearly Departed Tours had to permanently close (Dearly Departed Tours, 2021).

A memorial is being constructed for the more than 200 Black women and girls who were victims of serial killers in South Los Angeles in the early 1980s, to remember them and to honor their memories (The Memorial, 2021).

e. Venice

The City of Love may have hidden its connection to serial killers, but it is still visited by some people for its unique serial killer tours. It had a Serial Killer Exhibition, where people could learn about criminology and about famous serial killers, both from around the world and from Italy. The museum is closed for now (Serial Killer, n.d.).

Name	No. of Sites	Time	Price	Reviews	Webpage
The Ghost & Legends Walking Tour	3	105 minutes	\$35/person	4,0 stars (8)	https://www.viator.com/tours/Venice/murders-and-mysteries-tour/d522-3303P41
Ghost Tour Venice	7	105 minutes	\$30/person	No data	https://www.vivovenetia.com/ghost-tour-venice/
Serial Killers of Venice Tour	8	120 minutes	Variable	No data	https://www.tourleadervenice.com/project/venice-and-the-serial-killers-tour/

7. Table: Venice Tours

The Venetian serial killer tours are not as promoted as they are in other cities, as Venice rather hides his dark history. People can book through the websites, and not through

TripAdvisor. The words these websites use: legends (23), ghosts (23), Biasio (6) (he was the Venetian Sweeny Todd), murder (4), corpse (3), and blood (3).

f. Hannover

While it is not exactly about serial killers, the Sprengel Museum Hannover has an artwork about the crimes of Fritz Haarmann (Sprengel Museum, n.d.). The other attractions are also only connected to the Werewolf of Hannover, but he was not the only serial killer preying on their victims there.

Name	No. of Sites	Time	Price	Reviews	Webpage
Fritz Haarmann Murder Tour	4	90 minutes	\$35/person	No data	https://www.viator.com/tours/Hannover/Fritz-Haarmann-murder-tour-through-Hanovers-old-town/d28614-279650P1
Murder Mile Tour	No data	90 minutes	\$29/person	4,5 star (4)	https://www.airbnb.com/experiences/1188090
Werewolf of Hanover Crime Tour	No data	90 minutes	\$29/person	No data	https://www.booking.com/attractions/de/pr6mcl2zmkq7-werewolf-of-hanover-crime-tour.html?ufi=-1785903&date=2021-10-15&start_time=20%3A00

8. Table: Hannover Tours

They use words like “haarmann” (16), “killer” (7), “werewolf” (3), “crime” (2), and “murder” (1). Those few comments think the tour is worth visiting. Another Haarmann-related location is the Memorial, a mass grave for the 27 victims of Fritz Haarmann (Vitaminkate, n.d.).

g. Budapest

The capital of Hungary also has some interesting connections to serial killers, such as the infamous “Blood Countess”, Elizabeth Báthory, who was mentioned in the European serial killers’ section. The Murder Exhibition – a temporary exhibition that was first opened in Budapest in 2012 and was open for a few months each year for seven years – introduced the world’s most famous serial killers to the public with the help of modern technology and special effects. As it was a temporary exhibition, its webpage is not working anymore. On TripAdvisor, only 55 persons reviewed it, but many Hungarian blogs wrote about this topic. For the sake of the thesis, only the TripAdvisor reviews are analyzed. It got 3,5 stars out of 5,0. The positive comments praised it for the audio-visual experiences and the details put into each section, while the negative ones conveyed their boredom and disappointment, but also their disappointment in the decline of quality (Murder - The Exhibition, n.d.).

Name	No. of Sites	Time	Price	Reviews	Webpage
Mysteries and Legends of Budapest Tour	No data	105 minutes	\$21/person	5,0 star (2)	https://www.civitatis.com/en/budapest/mysteries-legends-tour/
Investigation About the First Hungarian Serial Killer (Hungarian)	No data	210 minutes	\$6/person	No data	https://stayhappening.com/e/nyomoz%C3%A1s-az-els%C5%91-magyar-sorozatgyilkos-ut%C3%A1n-s%C3%A9ta-E2IST5714A
Night-time Dark History and Vampire Tour	No data	105 minutes	\$21/person	4,8 (176)	https://www.mysteriumtoours.com/budapest/bloody-tales-from-within-the-castle-walls/

9. Table: Budapest Tour

The websites mostly used the following words: legends (24), history (19), mysteries (12), dark (11), vampires (7), bloody (6), and killers (6). According to the visitors’ feedback, the tours was "fun", and an “enjoyable way to experience Budapest”, that they would “highly

recommended”, but some missed the lack of information about the tour, that it conveyed “common information”, with “no details”.

Budapest has its own Police Museum. The exhibition portrays the Hungarian police work and the typical crimes – including information about at least five Hungarian serial killers. The exhibition presents cases that are interesting either by the nature of the case or by the degree of interest given by the media (Rendőrmúzeum, n.d.). According to Google, the Criminal Museum has 4,6 stars and 423 reviews. Most visitors find the exhibition interesting and diverse, but some thought that there are no newer cases (Police Museum, n.d.).

h. Perth

The Museum of Perth, while not exactly a serial killer museum, it is about the social, political, and architectural history of Perth, which means that it has temporary exhibitions about the serial killers and other crimes in its past (Museum of Perth, n.d.). But the city’s main attraction for true crime lovers is the tour in the Fremantle Prison, where visitors can hear the real-life stories of the prison’s inmates.

Name	No. of Sites	Time	Price	Reviews	Webpage
True Crime	Prison tour	75 minutes	\$22/person	4,5 stars (4076)	https://fremantleprison.com.au/tours/true-crime/
Crimes of Perth Walking Tour	No data	150 minutes	\$50/person	5,0 stars (1001)	https://www.twofeet.com.au/tour/crimes-of-perth-walking-tour/
Torchlight Tour	Prison tour	90 minutes	\$28/person	4,5 stars (4076)	https://fremantleprison.com.au/tours/torchlight-tour/

10. Table: Perth Tours

These websites mainly used “prison” (15), “history” (10), “murder(s)” (10), “crime(s)” (5), and “convict” (4), to describe the scope of their tours. The reviews for both companies (the Fremantle Prison Tours and the Two Feet & a Heartbeat Tours) cannot be separable from their other tours, but those, who clarified in which tour they participated in, enjoyed the

experience, but there were complaints about “false accessibility claims”, and that the tour “felt like a form of punishment”.

i. Philadelphia

The Eastern State Penitentiary, once a prison for known criminals – gangsters, bank robbers, and serial killers – is now one of the city’s main tourist attractions. The interested tourists can enjoy daytime prison tours, as well as night tours where they can learn about the daily lives and backstories of the past inmates. The gothic building is the home for the Terror Behind the Walls, a haunted attraction with special effects, animatronic creatures, and performers (Eastern State Penitentiary, n.d.). From 6343 reviewers, the ex-prison has 4,5 stars on TripAdvisor. According to the visitors, it is “thought-provoking” and “full of interesting architecture”, but it is “overpriced” and “overrated” (Eastern State Penitentiary Historic Site, n.d.).

Name	No. of Sites	Time	Price	Reviews	Webpage
Cemetery & Serial Killer Tour of Philadelphia	No data	180 minutes	\$45/person	4,5 stars (204)	https://www.peek.com/philadelphia/r0y3/cemetery-serial-killer-tour-of-philadelphia/a0zmn5
Sightseeing and Serial Killers Tour	7	150 minutes	\$45/person	5,0 stars (5)	https://www.grimphilly.com/
Philadelphia Walking Ghost Tour	8	90 minutes	\$20/person	5,0 stars (28)	https://www.ghosttour.com/philadelphia.html

11. Table: Philadelphia Tours

These tours attract their visitors with words like “ghost” (10), “killer(s)” (8), historical (5), “cemetery” (4), and “haunted” (4) on their websites. The reviews are mainly positive (e.g. knowledgeable tour guide, creepy atmosphere, and entertaining experience), while the negative ones thought the expectations did not meet with the reality.

j. Johannesburg

The citizens of this South African city made a plea for the government to protect the historical house where Daisy de Melker lived. The house is now known as The Ghost House, and as a historical building, it should be preserved as a tourist attraction. The plans are not yet made for the construction, but it is a preferred idea for the citizens to use it as part of the tourism route (Phahlane, 2021).

Name	No. of Sites	Time	Price	Reviews	Webpage
Cemetery Tour	8	150 minutes	\$12/person	No data	https://heritagesa.org/events/johannesburg-heritage-foundation-brixton-cemetery-tour/
Mystery Ghost Productions Tour	No data	120 minutes	\$28/person	4,5 stars (232)	http://www.mysteryghostproductions.co.za/

12. Table: Johannesburg Tours

The tours use “cemetery” (6), “history” (4), “ghost” (3), and “paranormal” (2) to promote their offers. While the cemetery tour did not have reviews about it, the Mystery Ghost Productions Tour is popular. The visitors described it as “entertaining and spooky” and liked that it was different than the other tours they participated in before. Those, who did not like the tour, criticized it for being boring and did not offer what they advertised.

3.2.2. Conclusion

The research about attractions connected to serial killers, and the content analysis of the websites, and the reviews of the visitors show that these places are niche attractions, but the true crime enthusiasts, and even people who are not as interested in the bloody parts, love to visit them. Some do it to learn, to have a better knowledge of the darkest part of the human mind; some do it for fun; while others do because they believe in paranormal activities and would want to experience some hauntings.

The reviews on the different attractions are subjective, and sometimes even contradictory, which may lead to misleading conclusions. Usually, the comments do not

receive answers from the attractions, but when they do, it is worth noting, as it offers an insight on how they relate to their visitors. The professional, polite responses in most cases represent the attraction in a good light, while the rude, offended and offensive replies paint the attraction in a negative light.

As the motivations are various, the types of attractions are different as well: museums (e.g. Police Museum, Museum of Crime and Punishment), tours (e.g. Jack the Ripper Tour, Fremantle Prison tour), monuments (e.g. mural for the victims of Jack the Ripper, the memorial for black women), or escape rooms (e.g. H.H. Holmes Haunted House) that have connections to real-life serial killers. It seems as the most visited attractions are the museums and exhibitions and the tours in those cities that have a visible connection to those serial killers who were and still are portrayed in the media.

As the examined cities show, most cities that have more than one type of serial killer attraction can be found in the United States, which is not surprising, as the number of active serial killers at any time is the highest there and the American media like to sensationalize them. It is interesting to note, that out of the countries of the world, some of the English-speaking countries (the United States of America, the United Kingdom, and Australia) have the highest number of serial killer attractions.

3.3. QUANTITATIVE RESEARCH

3.3.1. Demographics

53% of the sample identify themselves as a woman, 36% as a man, and 11% as non-binary. The largest percentage of those who completed the questionnaire comes from the age group between 26 and 35 (28%), the second-largest is the 19-25 years old (27%), then the older than 46 (19%), the 36-45 (15%), and the younger than 18 years old (11%). Out of these people, 49% is single, 26% is in a relationship, 24% are married and one person is widowed.

What is interesting is that 43% of the sample is atheist, does not believe in any deities, while 36% believes in some form of Christianity, and the remaining 21% belongs to other religious groups (e.g. Muslim, Spiritual, Pagan, Jewish, or Agnostic).

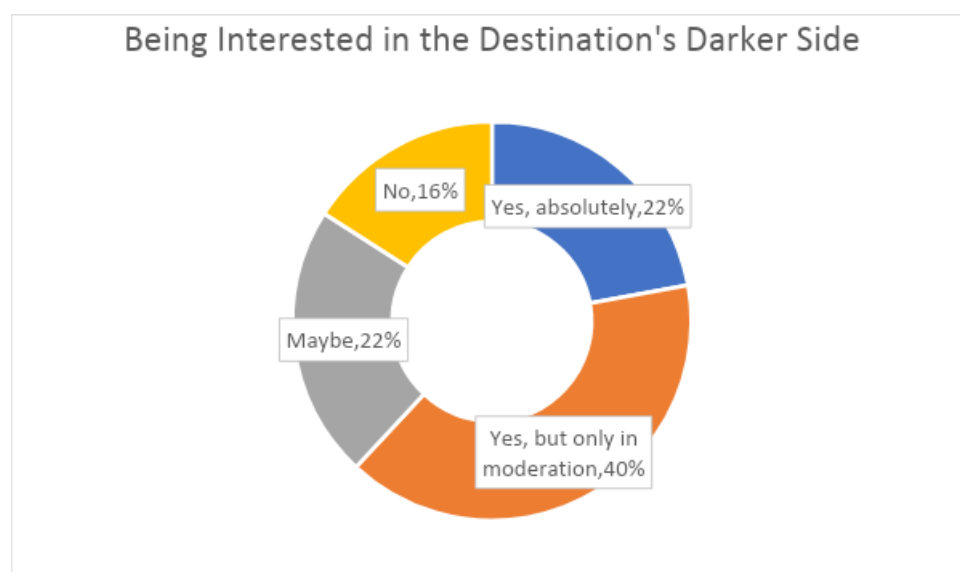


7. Figure: Country of Origin

Source: own research

As it was an international survey, answers came from the Americas (23%), Europe (63%), and Asia (14%). For 30%, the country of origin is Hungary, for 17% the United States of America, for 7% Germany, for 6% Italy, for 5% the Philippines, for 4-4% Canada, the Netherlands, and the United Kingdom, while the remaining 22 percent comes from other countries, such as Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, Croatia, Japan, Romania, Slovenia, Argentina, Belgium, Brazil, China, Denmark, India, Iran, Israel, Lithuania, Poland, Singapore, Spain, Sweden, and Turkey.

3.3.2. Results of the Dark Tourism Part of the Survey



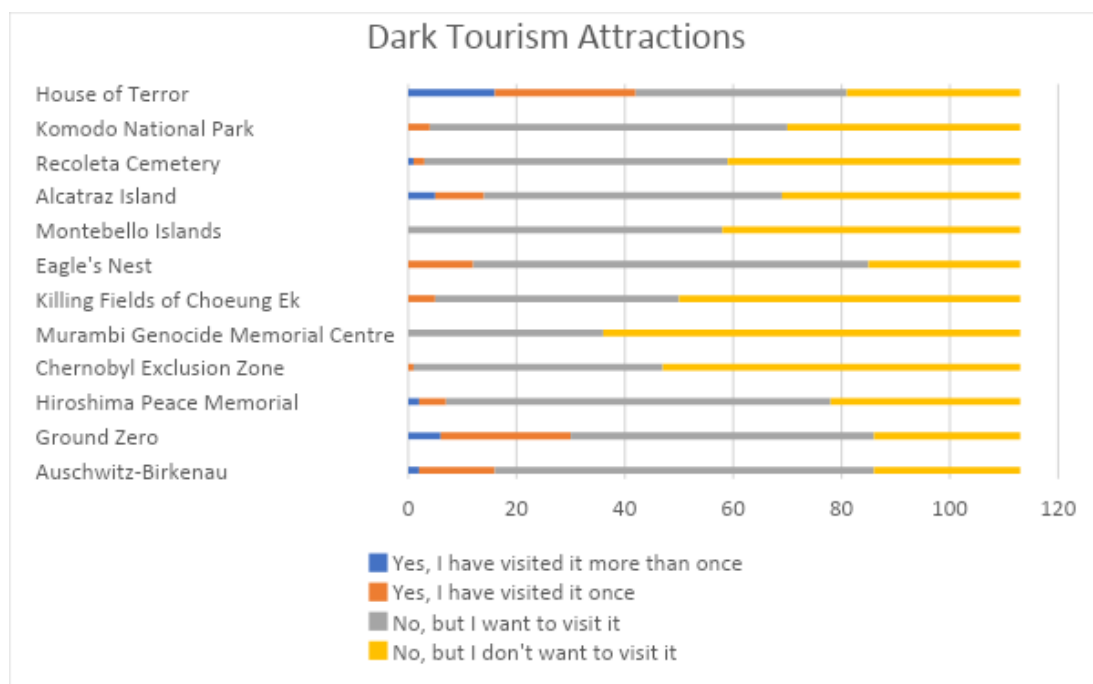
8. Figure: Darker Side of Destination

Source: own research

Most of the people who filled out the questionnaire (62%) are interested in the darker side of the destination's history and are willing to look up information about it. When they visit a place, they are more likely to visit dark tourism attractions than those who said "maybe" (22%), or "no" (16%).

Even without the definition of "dark tourism", 61% heard about it or know some things about it, 5% know many things about it, while 34% have never heard about this phenomenon before. It is worth mentioning that the other results show that even if they do not know "dark tourism", it does not mean that they did not visit a place that could be considered as a dark tourism site.

In order to get to know the sample's inclination to visit dark tourism attractions, twelve dark tourism attractions were offered to the sample to decide whether they have visited it once or more, they have never visited but they want to, or do not want to visit it.



9. Figure: Dark Tourism Attraction Examples

Source: own research

As many answers came from Hungarians, it is not a surprise that the House of Horror is visited at least once by 37%, and it is an attractive site to visit for 34,5%. While it is educational and shows the horrors of the dictatorships of the 20th century, it is not on the darkest side of dark tourism.

The Komodo National Park is famous for the Komodo dragons, who may seem interesting for visitors – 58,4% would want to visit it and 3,5% visited it once –, the bite of these animals is deadly and unsafe for children.

The Recoleta Cemetery was visited by the sample's only Argentinian and one American. Almost 50% of those who filled out the survey would want to visit this beautiful cemetery with interesting history, but a similar number of people would not want to look around there.

12,4% visited at least once the prison on Alcatraz Island, 48,7% would want to do it at least once in their lives, while 38,9% would not be interested in doing that. As one of San Francisco's attractions, it is a noteworthy result, especially compared with the other American attraction, the Ground Zero's results. It means that it is not because of not wanting to go to the United States.

The Montebello Island was not visited by anybody, but around 50-50% would want to and would not want to visit the beautiful, yet radioactive islands, where people can only visit the test sites for one hour a day. As the islands farther than the atomic bomb test sites have more to offer to the visitors, the reason for visiting this destination may not be only because of dark tourism reasons.

The Eagle's Nest, a location where Nazi Party members gathered for social events, was the destination for 10,6% of the sample, and the highest percentage of the people (64,6%) would like to go there on a vacation. Only 24,8% do not care about visiting the place.

The Killing Fields of Choeung Ek was visited once by five persons (4,4%), and almost 40% of the people would like to see the genocide monument, but more than half of the sample (55,8%) is not interested in the site.

The highest number of people who would not want to visit a specific dark tourism site is connected to the Murambi Genocide Memorial Centre, with 68,1% saying that they have never visited it but do not even want to do that. Only 31,9% would want to, but it is more than expected.

In the Chernobyl Exclusion Zone, there are many tour offers around the city of Pripyat and the surrounding area, and it is a relatively attractive destination for adventurous people, but in this survey, only one person said that he visited it. 40,7% of the people would be interested in going on a tour there, but 58,4% would not dare to approach the radioactive site.

The Hiroshima Peace Memorial, the place to remember the effects of the atomic bomb and its victims, was visited by 6,2% of the respondents. It is one of the dark tourist sites people want to visit (62,8%), but the remaining 31% would not do that.

As mentioned before, Ground Zero is one of the places most people would like to travel to see the place where the tragedy of the 9/11 terror attack happened. 21,2% once, and 5,3% more than once was there, while 49,6% is interested in visiting it. Only 23,9% would not want to do that.

Other than Ground Zero, Auschwitz-Birkenau is the site people are most interested in. 14,2 percent of the respondents witnessed the current state of the biggest German concentration camp. 61,9% wish to learn the history of the site. Similarly to the previous attraction, 23,9% would not want to visit it.

The main result of this section is that people would not want to visit places where they have a clear, shocking reminder of what happened there. For example, in the Murambi Genocide Memorial Centre and the Killing Fields of Choeung Ek, visitors can see the skulls and remains of the people murdered there, to raise awareness of the history and install fear of the cruel side of humanity, while in the Chernobyl Exclusion Zone and on the Montebello Islands visitors have to realize that these places are still radioactive, and it can have a negative effect on their health. On the other hand, museums and places where people can be educated about humanity's darkest side in a relatively safe environment are more popular for tourists. Still, no respondent answered every question with "No, but I do not want to visit it".

Out of the respondents, 20% did not visit any type of dark tourism attraction – not one of the examples, nor one they would consider as such. 27% of them visited some of the previous attractions but did not go to other places connected to death and suffering, while 53% did visit such places. Some of the examples they gave were expected, such as Arlington, Pompeii and Herculaneum, the Colosseum, haunted houses, torture museums, and ghost tours, but they visited other interesting sites as well. These are including but are not limited to: Corregidor (Fort Mills), Cu Chi Tunnels, Foiba di Basovizza Memorial, Kilmainham Gaol Museum, the Suicide Cliff Okinawa. One of the respondents gave a curious example:

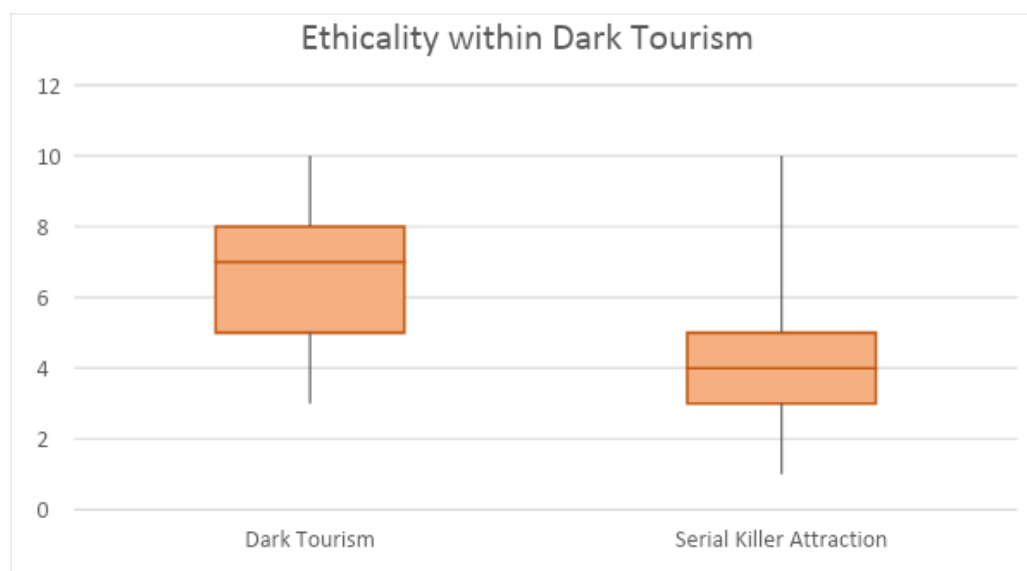
"The buildings of Japanese temples are sometimes made of wood transferred from fallen castles in ancient battles on which samurais' blood stains can be seen."

Out of the attraction types, the castles are the most popular; 68,1 percent of the respondents said that they are interested in these places. Museums are just as attractive for tourists (65,5%). People like to visit memorials (50,4%), cemeteries and mausoleums (43,4%), and ghost towns (40,7%). Less than one-third of the respondents are interested in catacombs and ossuaries (32,7%), current and historical natural disasters (31,9%), battlefields and battle reenactments (31%), prisons (30,1%), concentration camps (29,2%), and murder or assassination sites (21,2%). Out of this last type, two people specified that they are interested

in places where a serial killer murdered their victims. The remaining dark tourism attraction types are less interesting for those who filled out the survey, but they are still noteworthy, such as entertainment parks (17,7%), warzones (12,4%), and massacre sites (11,5%). Only four people said that they are not interested in neither of these types.

The following question was about the reason behind visiting a dark tourism attraction. While the previous results showed that 20% of the respondents did not visit dark tourism sites, only 9,7% answered this question with “I have never visited one”. Most people reasoned their visitation of dark tourism sites with wanting to learn about the history (77,9%) or to remember the victims of terror, wars, and genocides (46,9%), but some visit them because they are fascinating (37,2%), or because most sites are the destination’s “must-see” sights (13,3%).

According to the people who filled out the questionnaire, usually dark tourism sites respect the history and the victims of historical events, while in the case of attractions connected to serial killers, this is not common. On one hand, 61,9% think more positively of the dark tourism sites, museums, and memorials, only 9,7% who do not think as positively, and 28,3% could not decide. On the other hand, 38,9% could not decide whether serial killer attractions respect the victims or not, 44,2% think that these places do not care about the victims, and only 16,8% think more positively about them.

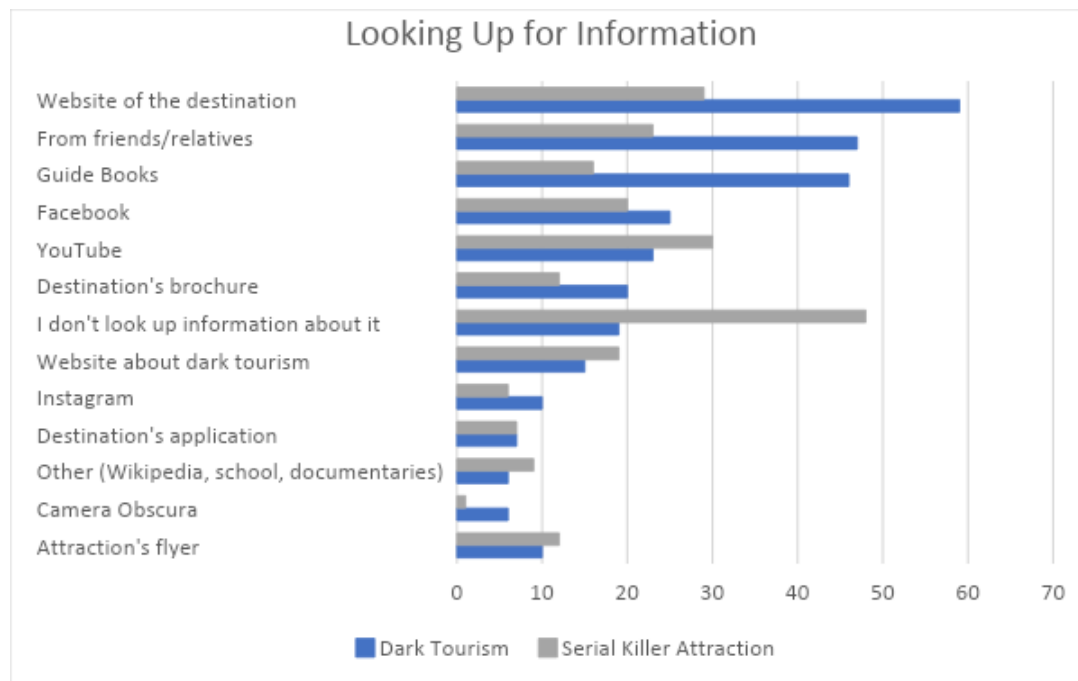


10. Figure: Ethicality of Dark Tourism

Source: own research

Similarly, the respondents think the ethicality of dark tourism sites is ranked higher than the serial killer ones. In the case of dark tourism attractions, the respondents ranked 5-8 out of ten, while for serial killer attractions, they ranked them 3-5 out of ten. These results correlate

with the results of the attraction analysis, as the examined sites more likely to popularize the serial killers themselves than to immortalize the innocent victims.



11. Figure: Information Source

Source: own research

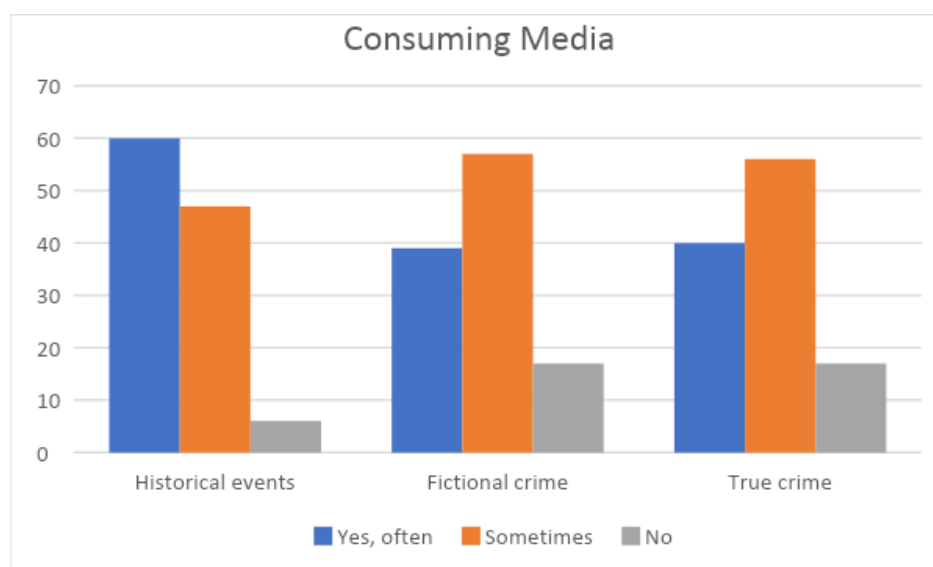
To look up information about either the usual dark tourism sites or about serial killer ones, respondents mainly use the website of the destinations. For dark tourism attractions, 52,2% use the website of destination, 41,6% ask help from their friends and relatives, and 40,7% use guidebooks. Facebook (22,1%), YouTube (20,4%) and the destination's brochure (17,7%) are popular information sources as well.

42,5% do not look for information about serial killer attractions, but for those, who do, the main information sources are YouTube (26,5%), the website of the destination (25,7%), friends and family (20,4%), Facebook (17,7%) and dark tourism websites (16,8%). As it is easier to find out more about general dark tourism sites from the usual origins than about serial killer attractions, it is not surprising that YouTube and Facebook, and documentaries and podcasts (8%) are used as sources of information.

3.3.3. Results of the Serial Killer Part of the Survey

Knowing how the sample perceives serial killers through their portrayal in the media is relevant in order to understand their relation to them. As previously mentioned, media has a huge effect on people's perception and thinking processes. The results show that 63% think

that media portrays serial killers as more appealing as they are, yet even if most people notice this, they still become fascinated with these murderers. 26% was unable to judge, while 11% think that they are not mystified in media.

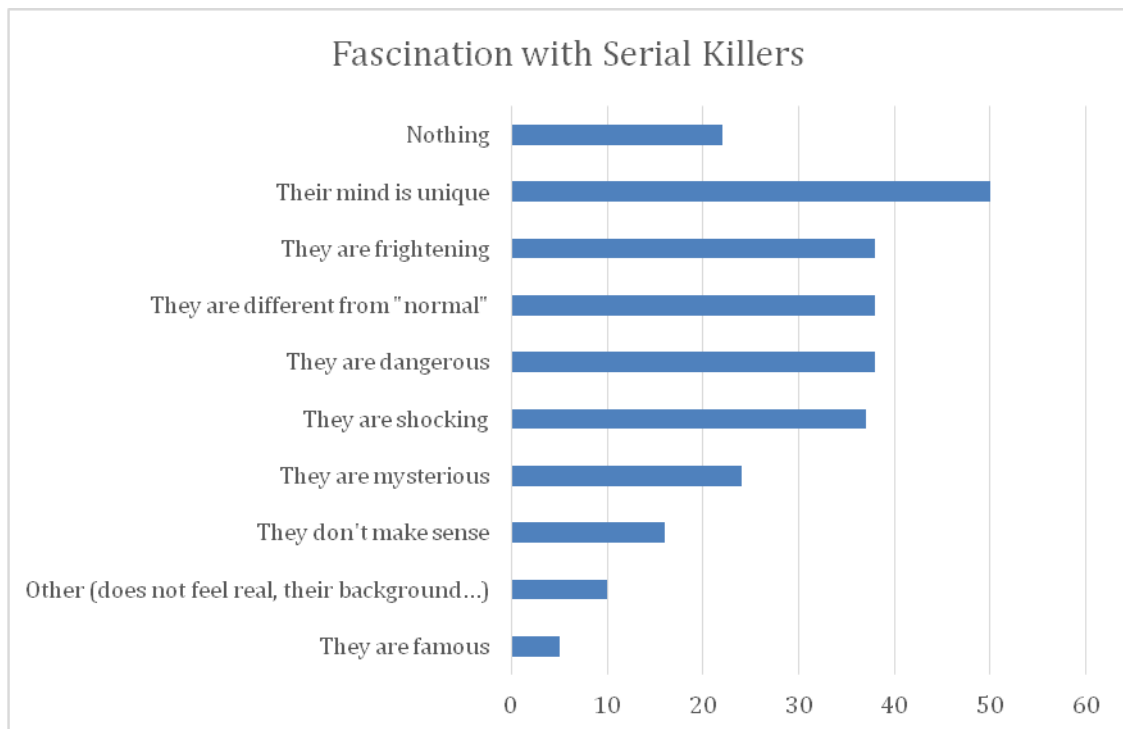


12. Figure: Consuming Media

Source: own research

Comparing the consumption of books, podcasts, and series of different types of crime (historical events, fictional crimes, and true crimes) shows, that most people (53,1%) like reading about history. 41,6% consume them every now and then, while 5,3% do not do it. Fewer people (34,5%) consume fictional crimes all the time, than just sometimes (50,4%), and 15% never does. Meanwhile, 35,4% read true crime often, 49,6% sometimes, and 15% never. This shows that historical happenings are more popular than the other types, and it correlates with the interest in historical dark tourism sites versus serial killer dark tourism sites.

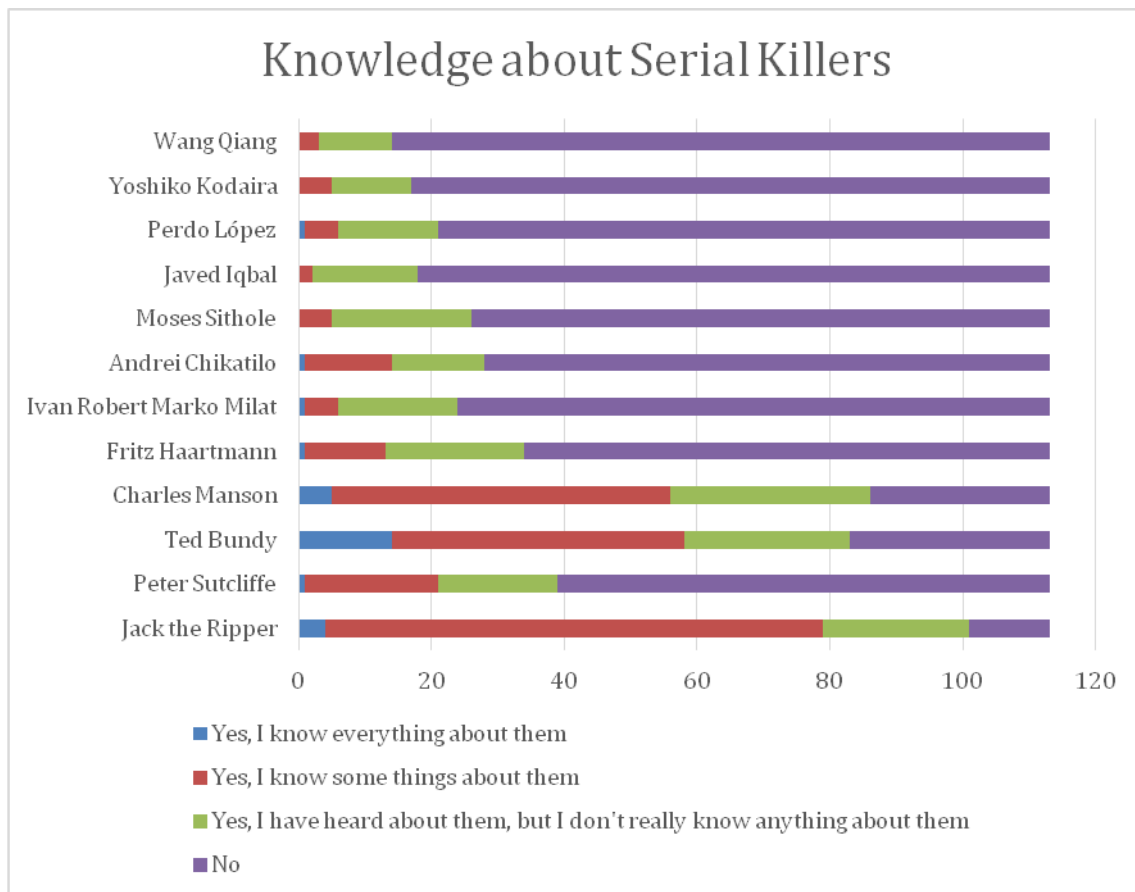
11% have more than basic knowledge about serial killers, while 22% would consider themselves to have sufficient information about these criminals. A third of the respondents are unsure, while the remaining (31%) do not have enough knowledge about them. The proportions are similar to the true crime consumption of the respondents. Those, who are less involved in true crime (69%) did not have any specific reason that made them interested in serial killers, but for those who have a personal reason for it, their reasoning can be categorized into three groups: interest in psychology, a fascination with a specific serial killer and watching documentaries.



13. Figure: Fascination with Serial Killers

Source: own research

According to 19,5%, there is nothing fascinating about serial killers. Yet, for the majority of the respondents, there is something captivating in them. The psychology of serial killers, their thought processes, and the whole reason behind turning into a serial killer is the most intriguing thing for most respondents (44,2%). 33,6%-33,6% think that they are frightening in how dangerous and different from “normal” they are. For 32,7% they are shocking, while 21,2% think they are mysterious. For some people, they are interesting because they do not make sense (14,2%) because they were made famous by the media (4,4%), and 8,8% have some other reasons (e.g. they are attractive, their existence is so unreal, etc.).



14. Figure: Knowledge about Serial Killers

Source: own research

Wang Qiang is the less known serial killer out of the twelve listed. 12,4% have heard or know some things about him, but the majority of the people (87,6%) do not know his name. The other East-Asian serial killer, Yoshiko Kodaira, is similarly unknown; 85% of the respondents know nothing about him. Javed Iqbal from Pakistan is equally unknown for the major part (81,4%) of the respondents.

One of the respondents knew everything about the Colombian criminal, Pedro López, some (17,7%) have heard about him, but in the end, he is relatively unknown as well. Similarly, the South-African Moses Sithole (77%) and the Australian Ivan Milat (78,8%) are unfamiliar to those who filled out the questionnaire.

One person is knowledgeable about, 11,5% know of and 12,4% have heard about Andrei Chikatilo, the most famous Soviet serial killer, while 30,1% learned about the German Fritz Haartmann.

The two American serial killers, the charismatic Ted Bundy and the cult-leader Charles Manson are two of the well-known criminals: only one quarter of the sample do not know their names. Some (4,4%) know everything about Charles Manson, the majority (45,1%)

know many things about him and for 26,5% he is familiar. While Ted Bundy is a bit less known, more people know about him everything (12,4%); 38,9% know less about him or have heard of him (22,1%).

The difference between the two British serial killers is striking: while only 34,5% know the name of Peter Sutcliffe, only 10,6% do not know Jack the Ripper's. 3,5% know everything related to the Whitechapel crimes, 66,4% know a bit less about him and his victims and he is recognizable for 19,5%.

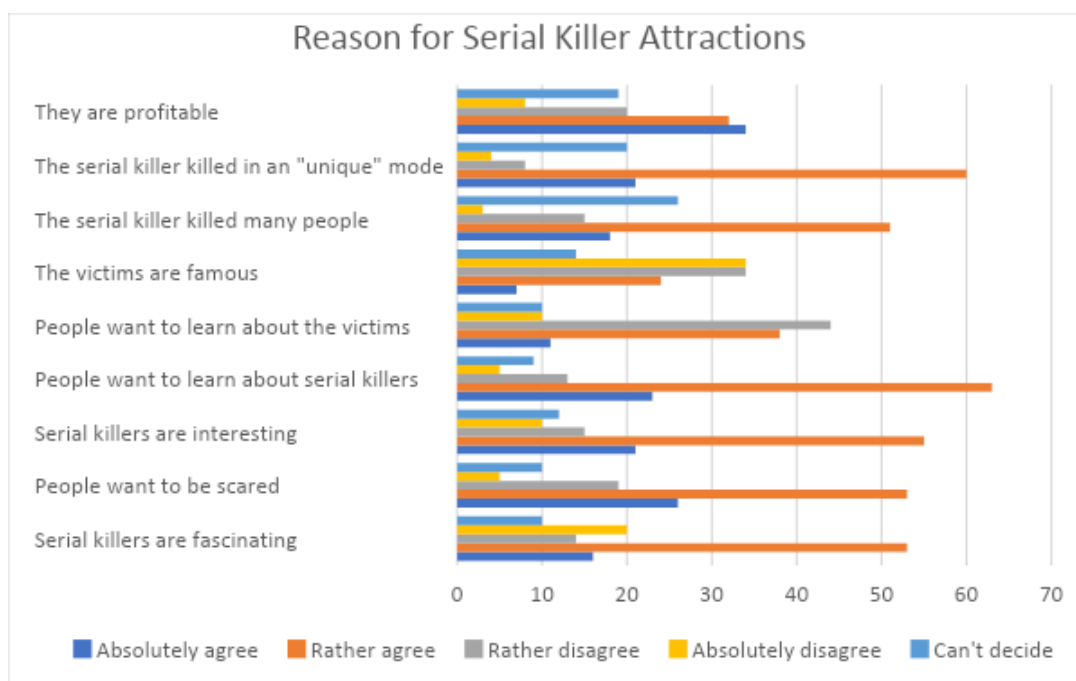
As it was expected, the majority of the people knew about the serial killers from the United States (Ted Bundy and Charles Manson), and the most mysterious, unknown serial killer of London, Jack the Ripper. Connecting this to the serial killers' portrayal in media, it is not surprising, as information about them was some of the most widely spread news in the various media types. Jack the Ripper since he murdered his five victims, and not being caught by the police, has been a mystery that was monetized by the newspapers. Ted Bundy and Charles Manson were similarly widely reported. On the other hand, the other serial killers are known mostly locally or by those who visited the Murder Exhibition, or regularly listen to podcasts about murderers.

Most of the respondents (36%) is unsure about visiting an attraction connected to serial killers, as previously explained, they are not the most ethical sites. They are mostly those who never or only sometimes consume true crime content. A bit less (32%) would like to visit one, while 26% are absolutely not interested. One person visited an attraction like this, but would not do it ever again, while 5% did before and would do it again. When comparing the generations' attitude towards the possibility of going to a serial killer attraction, it shows that the 18 and younger respondents did not have enough opportunity, but they are rather interested in doing it, while the 19-25 and older than 46 age groups are hesitant to do so. In contrast, the respondents between 36 and 45, are opposed to visitation.

These percentages do not exactly reflect the reality, as the results of a subsequent question shows that more people visited the Murder Exhibition than the percentage of those who said they visited an attraction connected to serial killer before at least once. In contrast, those who marked here "No, I would never visit one", did the same on the offered examples as well. This difference in the answers may be because they do not consider exhibitions and museums as attractions connected to serial killers, or maybe they did not remember visiting one before seeing some examples.

Nine statements were listed to see what people think about why serial killer attractions exist. The majority of the respondents unquestionably "absolutely and rather agree" with most

of these statements: they are profitable (58,4%), the serial killer killed in a “unique” mode (71,7%), the serial killer killed many people (61,1%), people want to learn about serial killers (76,1%), serial killers are interesting (67,3%), people want to be scared (69,9%) and serial killers are fascinating (61,1%). In contrast, people “absolutely and rather disagree” that the victims are famous (60,2%) or that people want to learn about the victims (47,8%) would be the main reason behind them. The statements the respondents were most unsure of was the serial killer killed many people (23%), the serial killer killed in a “unique” mode (17,7%) and they are profitable (16,8%).

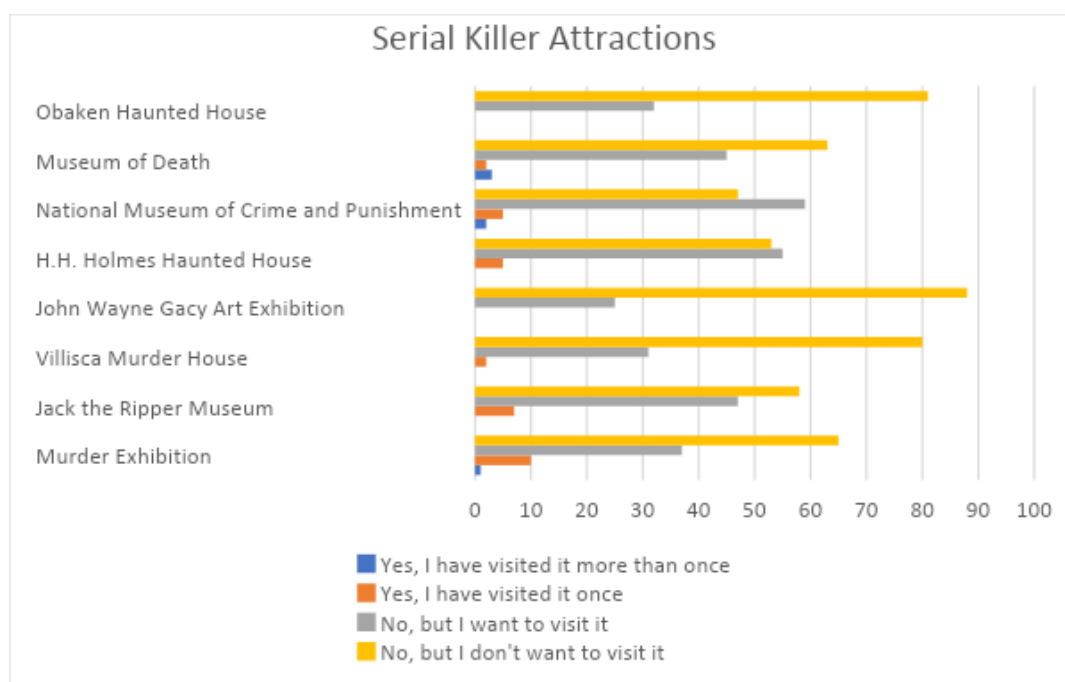


15. Figure: Reason for Serial Killer Attractions

Source: own research

According to the opinion of those who filled out the questionnaire, the reasons behind the existence of attractions connected to serial killers are that they are more-or-less profitable, they make attractions for serial killers who killed many people and/or in a “unique” way because people want to learn a bit about the victims, but mainly about the serial killers themselves as they are interesting and fascinating, as well as because the visitors want to be scared. This is an accurate description of the previously examined attractions: they are mostly about the serial killers and people are interested in all things spooky and gory.

As it was established before, most of the sample had not visited any attraction connected to serial killers. But it is worth noting what type they would want to visit if there were a possibility for it.



16. Figure: Serial Killer Attraction Examples

Source: own research

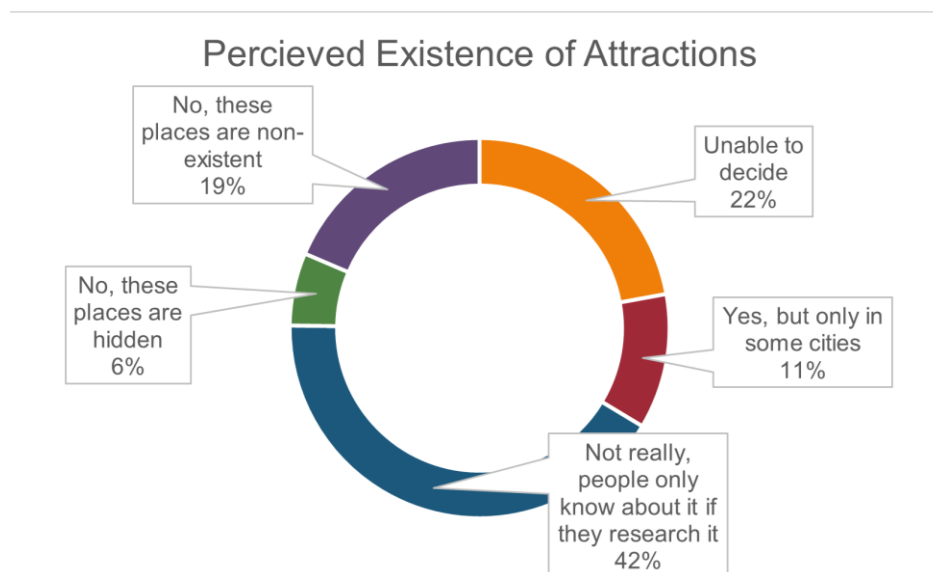
Two attractions were never visited by anybody from the sample: the Obaken Haunted House in Japan and the John Wayne Gacy Art Exhibition. Neither of them is high on the people's list of attractions they want to visit (28,3% for the haunted house and 22,1% for the art showcase). Similarly, the Villisca Murder House, where the Villisca axe murders happened was only visited by two people, and only 27,4% would be interested in visiting it and maybe sleeping there.

9,7% visited at least once the Murder Exhibition in Budapest, while 32,7% would be interested in doing it in the future. The Museum of Death was less visited than previously expected (4,5%), but 39,8% would like to see it.

Even if most people know about Jack the Ripper, only 6,2% visited once, but 41,6% would like to go there and see what it is about. But more than being immersed in the mysterious activities of the English serial killer, they would love to be scared or did already experience it in the H.H. Holmes Haunted House (53,1%). The one attraction that more than half (52,2%) of the respondents wish to visit and 6,2% visited at least once is the National Museum of Crime and Punishment.

Trying to showcase different types of serial killer attractions, to see which one is more interesting for the people, it is clear, that types people would want to visit are the ones that have little connection to the specific serial killer and it is entertaining (e.g. H.H. Holmes

Haunted House), or what is mainly educational without being overly dramatic and bloody (e.g. National Museum of Crime and Punishment).



17. Figure: Perceived Existence of Serial Killer Attractions

Source: own research

The respondents perceive the existence of attractions connected to serial killers in their home country as something that exists, but if somebody is interested in the specifics, they need to research more about the offer (42%). According to 19%, there are no serial killer attractions in their countries, while 11% think that there are many, but only in some cities. The minority (6%) suppose that these sites are well-hidden, only those can find them who spend much time researching about them. Due to the lack of knowledge, 22% were unable to come to an informed decision.

To close the survey, the attitude of the people towards death was examined. As this research was all about human tragedy, suffering, and murders, it is not surprising that death itself had to be included. thirteen statements were listed, and the respondents had to choose how they perceive death.

According to the respondents, death is part of life (86,7%), it is our unavoidable fate (80,5%), it is losing (70,8%), it is pain (77,9%) and grief (80,5%) and upsetting (78,8%). It is something they should think about (63,7%) and talk about (66,4%), as it is going to happen with all living beings. It is almost equally something to be afraid of and not something to be scared about. However, it is not salvation (60,2%), or destruction (64,6%), nor relief (55,8%).

3.3.4. Discussion and conclusion

The results of the quantitative research, while they cannot be considered representative for the whole world nor even for the individual countries, it gave a helpful overview of the relationship between consumers and dark tourism. It gave an idea of how to proceed with future research and how the supply side can change in order to meet the demand side's needs.

Unfortunately, due to the limitations of the research, comparing the results based on the residence of the respondents would not give satisfactory information and would lead to misleading conclusions. For further research, a bigger sample size would be needed, where comparing the results would lead to a better understanding of consumer behavior. Still, it gave a curious insight into the people's feelings and opinions about dark tourism and serial killers.

Even if most bigger cities have some kind of serial killer attraction to offer – mainly in the form of walking tours, they are not widely promoted. In some cases, people cannot escape from seeing promotions connected to a serial killer attraction, but most of the time, if somebody is interested in things like this, they must research them. Based on the previous research, it is clear, that only some of the attractions have big notoriety, others are really only for those who deliberately search for it. As people are interested in the darker side of the destination they are about to visit, more targeted marketing should be implemented in some cases. For example, the Police Museum in Budapest is less known for even the locals, but as it is educational and it may be a unique attraction for true crime lovers.

The respondents were concerned about the morality of serial killer attractions, as they are mainly about how gruesome the murders were. However, with a better understanding of those potential visitors, who are not fascinated by the shocking displays of the murders, but rather the psychology and history behind them, serial killer attractions could have a better image within people's minds. This is because people are fascinated by death, but they have reservations about the topic.

But in the end, only death is certain in life and pretending that it does not exist is not going to stop the clock ticking. It is not something people can prepare for and it is an emotionally hard topic, but if death is not sensationalized, not made into something morbid, people are drawn to exploring the subject even in the context of tourism.

4. CONCLUSION

4.1. AIMS OF THE RESEARCH

People want to experience exciting new things. The demand for unique experiences, emotions and the opportunity to actively participate when traveling, is a growing trend in global tourism. Nowadays, it is not enough that visitors can see ancient relics in museums, nor just sightseeing in a city. Tourists expect more of cities. Museums should be interactive, where they can know more about the artifacts in a fun, entertaining way and cities should offer different modes for sightseeing. People are interested in the history of the place, but they are appreciating it more if the guided tour or individual sightseeing is unique in some way, rather than just hearing a monotonous voice or reading a long and boring text about it. Specialist or alternative tours, which are different from tours in “tourist hotspots” are growing in popularity and can help to disperse flows of tourists to different areas of a city, thus reducing overcrowding.

This constantly changing demand is the reason for examining attractions connected to serial killers. Even if there are common factors for the visitors when they are traveling and visiting a dark tourism attraction, such as the need to be educated, the basic motivations are diverse. Everyone has their own wants and attitudes, their unique mentality, or mental and physical restriction they must face when they plan their leisure, especially when they are visiting such sites. Therefore, the tourism industry requires a better understanding of these dark tourism locations to be able to attract more visitors, but also to offer them better alternatives. If a person is interested in dark tourism, the already existing attractions may be attractive for them, but sometimes their motivations and the offer of the tourism industry do not match each other.

4.2. ANSWERING THE QUESTIONS

The main research question was about the existence of dark tourism, including attractions connected to serial killers: What is the reason for serial killer tourism?

Dark tourism is a fascinating topic, as it involves the darkest side of humanity. Previous research has shown that the morality of dark tourism is still considered questionable, but it has been with us since ancient times, with continuous success. People have always been fascinated by death and it is not a surprise that the offer must meet the demand for this. Dark

tourism, as a tourism to places where human suffering, tragedy, and death happened, includes serial killer attractions. Even if the attractions are not about specific serial killers or they are not at the sites where something tragic happened, there is a demand for attractions connected to them because serial killers interest many people.

The content analysis of the attractions in the examined cities has the answer for the second research question: What type of attractions connected to serial killers are the most attractive for the visitors?

The different places have a different connection to death and visitors have different needs. On one hand, museums are popular among the visitors, as they want to learn the backgrounds, the various crimes committed. On the other, people want to be entertained, but not by the real tragedies. When visiting a place where the tragedy happened, they are more interested in paranormal activity, while when they are interested in serial killers, they want to be educated. When they want to be entertained, they are more comfortable with imagined crimes. The Murder Exhibition was a great initiation for mixing entertainment, new technologies, and education, but as many of the reviews complained about the fact that through the years it turned into a quasi-haunted house with some scary actors and more fake blood.

The third question was about consumer behavior, and their opinions about the scope of this research: What is the attitude of the consumers towards the attractions connected to serial killers?

While most of the people are concerned about the ethicality of dark tourism, they are even less sure about visiting places that exploit terrible tragedies that do not even have an educational purpose. People visit dark tourism sites to learn about history, to know about crimes against humanity and how to avoid them, but they cannot do the same at attractions connected to serial killers. As one of the respondents explained, she was interested in serial killers because she grew up during a time when two serial killers were active in her city and it made her scared, but also fascinated. This controversy leads most people to know more about these criminals, and this is what is missing from most of the attractions: a way to learn about the background of serial killers, they want to understand them and have enough information about them to be able to feel a bit safer.

4.3. SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Serial killers as an attraction is a niche product, but it has its own target audience. There are many people fascinated by serial killers and would want to visit sites connected to them, but due to the fact that most of these places are popularizing criminals, most of them would not visit these attractions. Local DMOs and businesses promote these attractions as a unique experience but try to find the balance between arousing interest with the serial killer and commemorating their victims, because, in the end, it is about people, who lost their lives way too early. They could be a unique selling proposition for the DMOs of bigger cities to consider, but it is worth remembering that even if there are people interested in the gory part of the murders, most of the people who would be interested in visiting a place like this, would rather learn about the psychology and the history of serial killers.

These places exist, but they are questionable. They are sensationalized, the entertainment and the shock factor are high while the educational part is really low, especially compared to other dark tourism products. But as serial killer attractions are within the scope of dark tourism, with a better understanding of what "normal" visitors are interested in (e.g. learn about history, as the dark tourism part showed), they could improve. Of course, entertainment is important, but there should be a more balanced offer, as there are people who are interested in serial killers and their psychology but think negatively about attractions connected to them.

Interestingly, visiting a frightening attraction has an effect that helps reduce the fear of the unknown. The motivation behind participating in walking tours or exploring a haunted house is to be scared but in a controlled environment. Most haunted house owners claim that people who visit them go there for the reason that these places give them relief from their real-life fears, and they want to prove to themselves that they are not weak. Even military personnel may visit these places, who can relax because in these places they do not have to fight against real enemies, only fictional monsters (Schnitzer, 2017).

Haunted houses are definitely not about the victims, they are not honored in any shape or form, but they are not really about the serial killers either. Having a real-life terror gives a big edge for the scares, but they are a creative way to entertain the visitors. "Light" dark tourism does not – or not only – educate: it engages people in an exciting and fun, but provocative way. It is a niche, for tourists who would like an alternative experience or holiday that meets their special interest.

As mentioned above, new research with a bigger sample size is proposed to have a better understanding on what is the attitude of different people from different backgrounds. In this research, general conclusions about consumer behavior towards serial killer attractions can be determined, which was not done before, but a more comprehensive study could help the tourism sector more. Based on the various types of research, it is clear, that there is a demand for these types of attractions, but it is also obvious, that many would not consider visiting places like this due to their questionable ethicality. Furthermore, a social media analysis and the examination of the local DMOs should be added to have a comprehensive overview of the topic.

To conclude the research, the name serial killer tourism is proposed to describe the phenomenon. While it does not have a big market like Holocaust tourism has, it is a specific part of dark tourism that has its unique, niche market that is big enough to have various offers in many cities. While sometimes it overlaps with ghost tourism or grave tourism, as dark tourism has many fields overlapping each other, serial killer tourism should have its own name as well.

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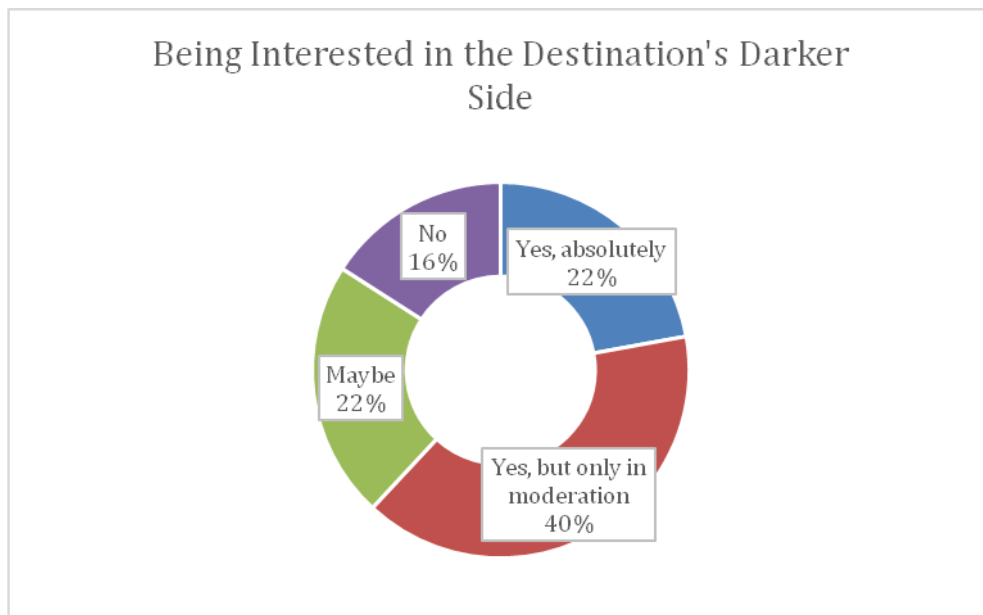
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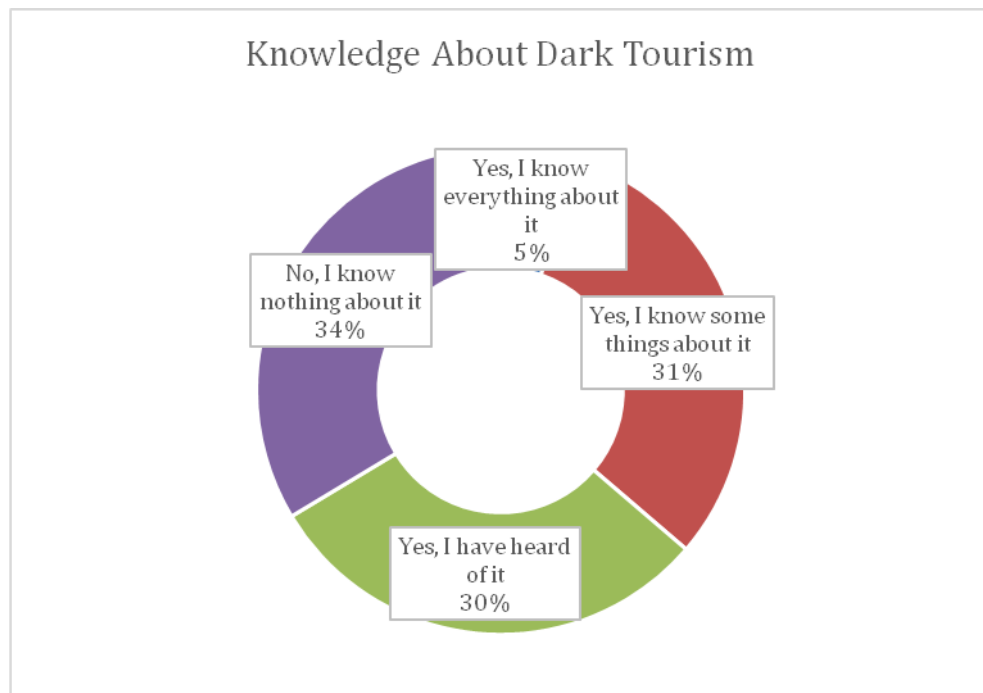
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ANNEXES

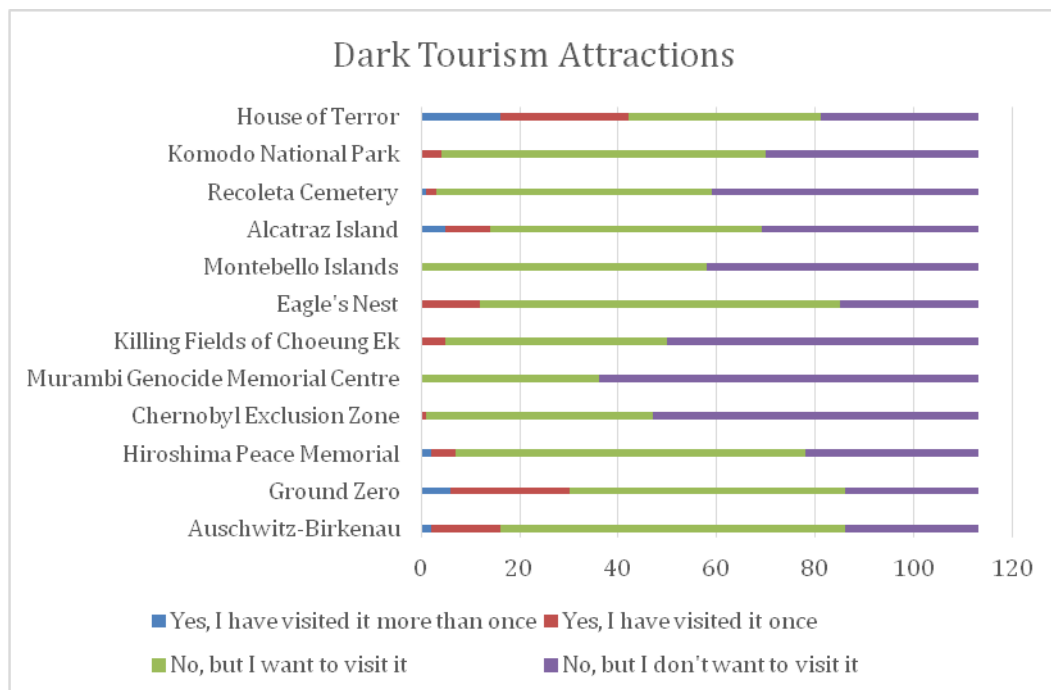
1. ANNEX: DARKER SIDE OF DESTINATION



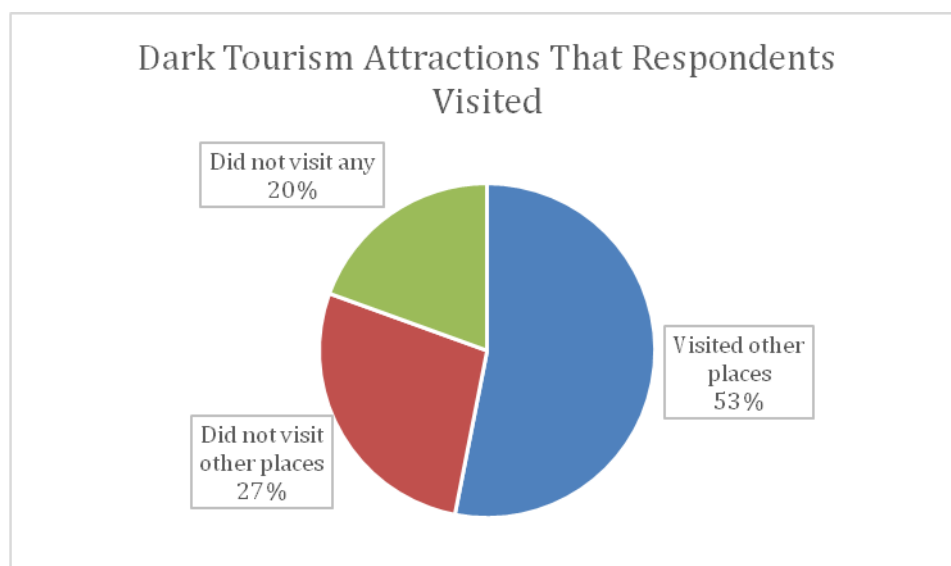
2. ANNEX: KNOWLEDGE ABOUT DARK TOURISM



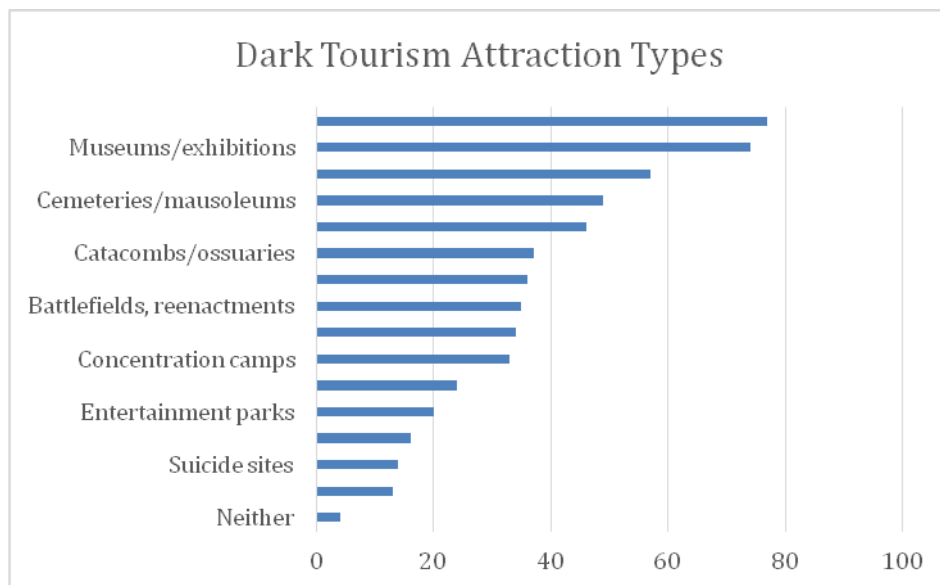
3. ANNEX: DARK TOURISM ATTRACTIONS



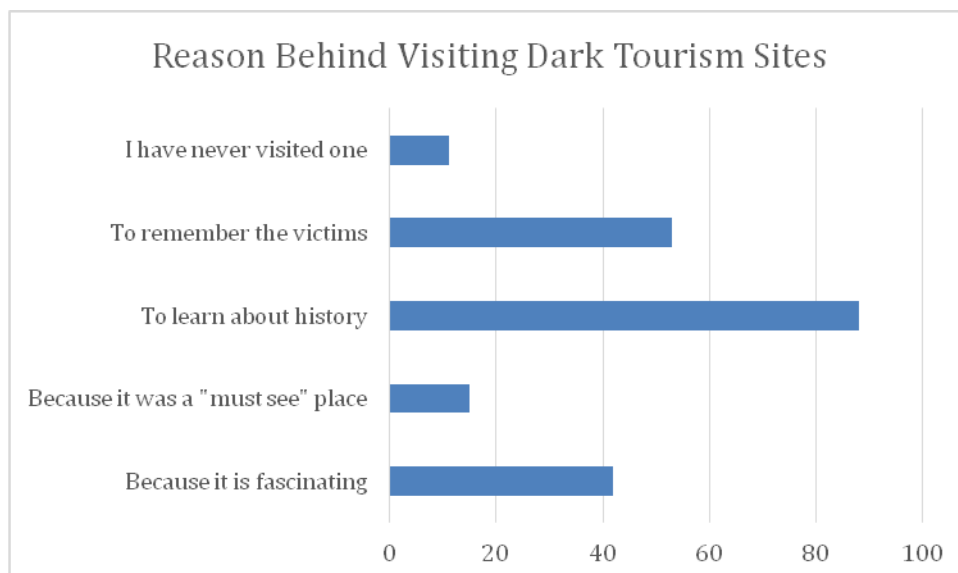
4. ANNEX: VISITED DARK TOURISM ATTRACTIONS



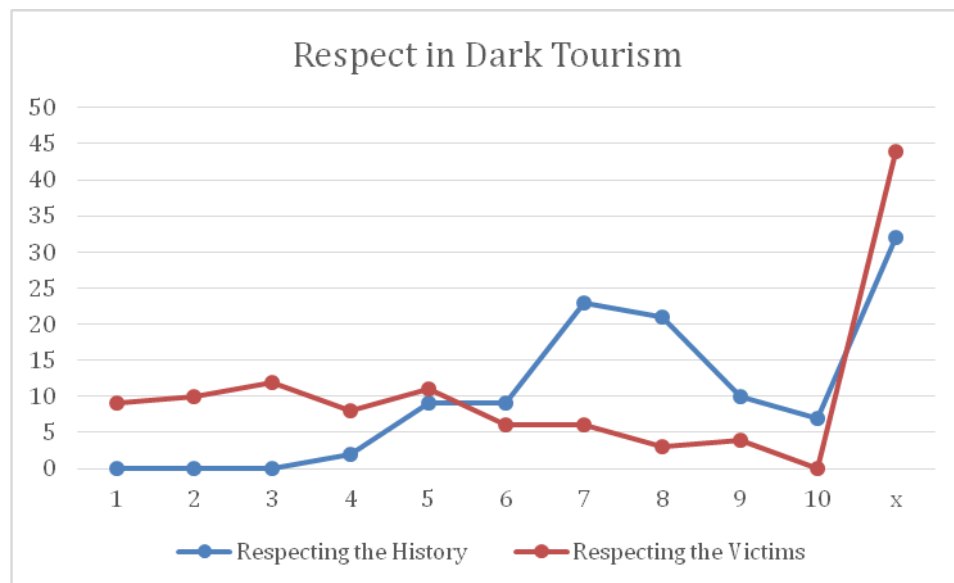
5. ANNEX: DARK TOURISM ATTRACTION TYPES



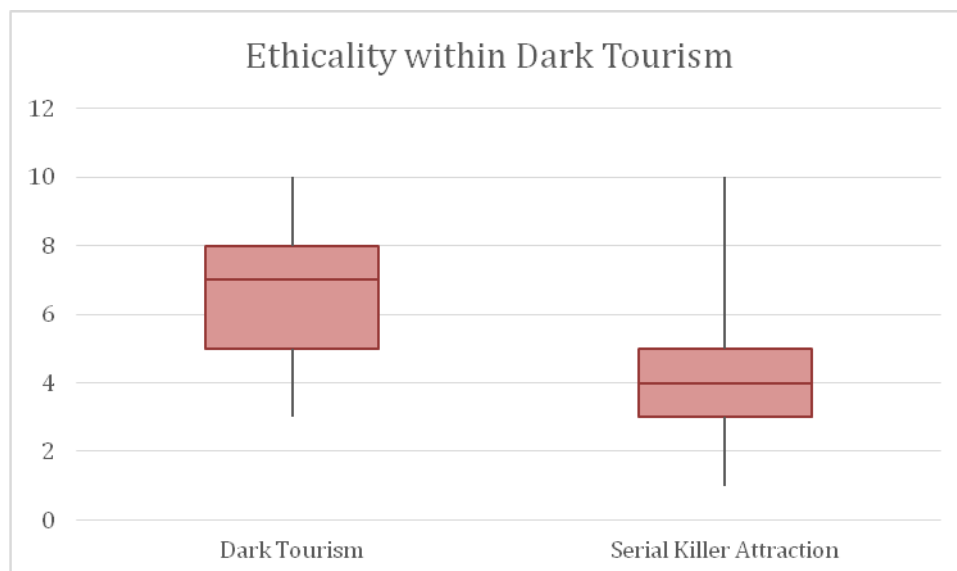
6. ANNEX: MOTIVATIONS



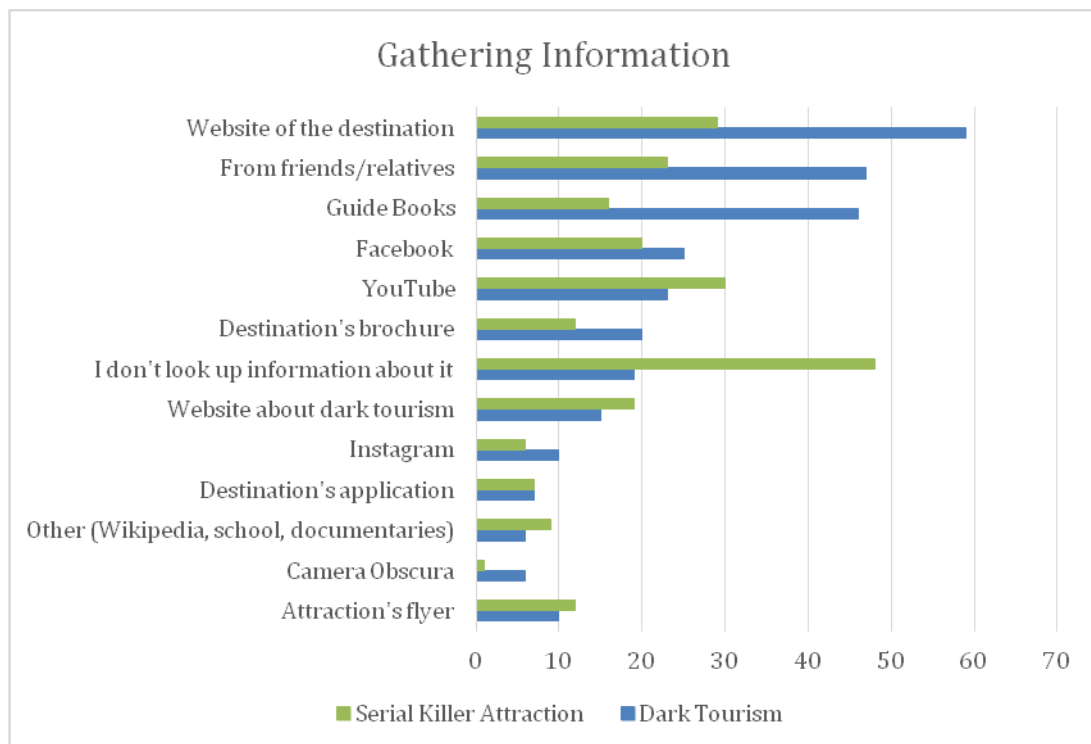
7. ANNEX: RESPECT IN DARK TOURISM



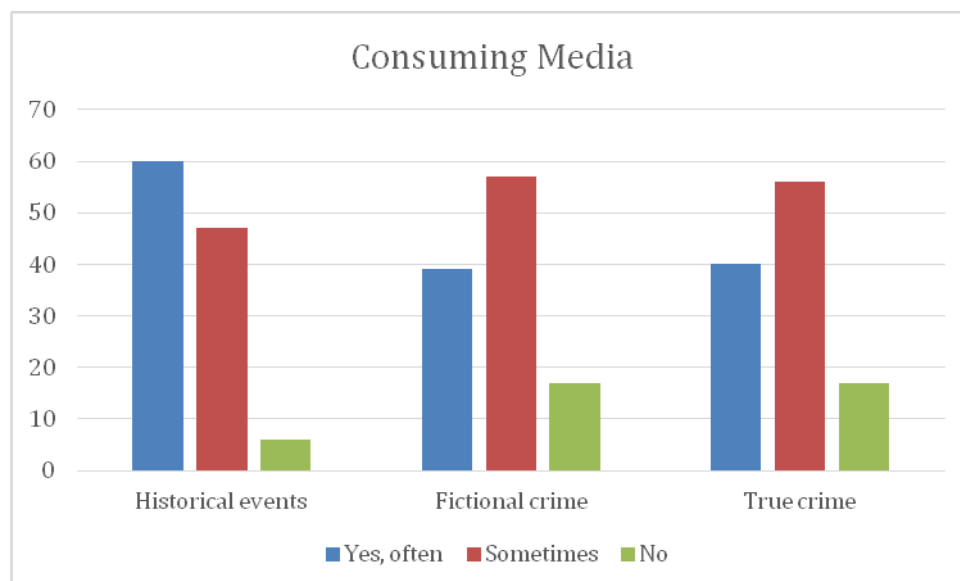
8. ANNEX: ETHICALITY IN DARK TOURISM



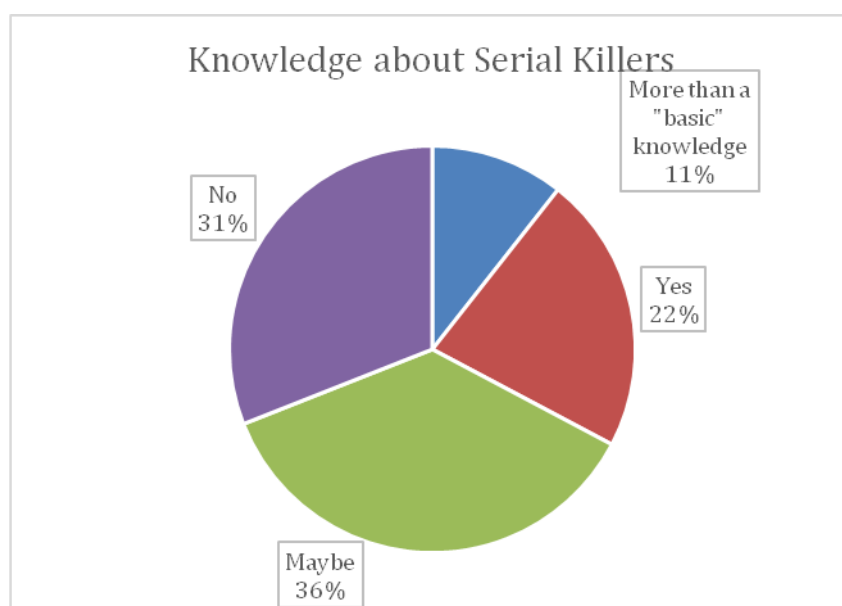
9. ANNEX: INFORMATION



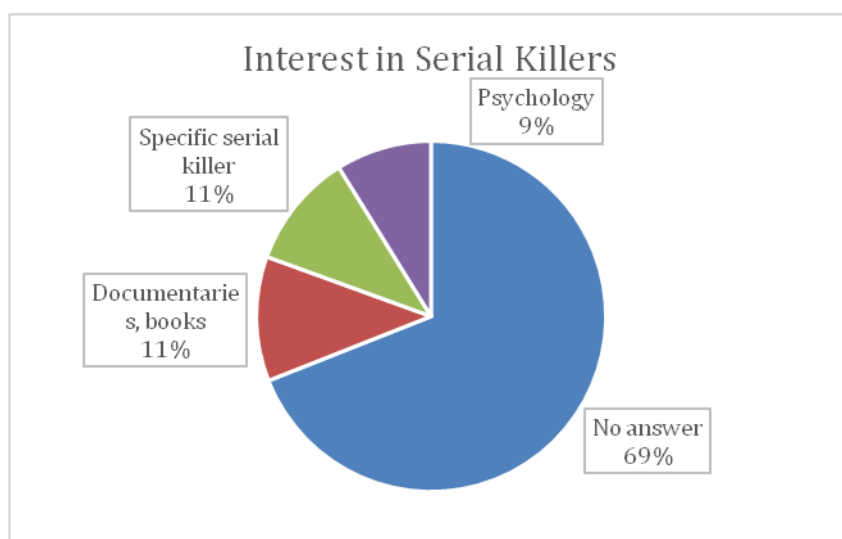
10. ANNEX: CONSUMING MEDIA



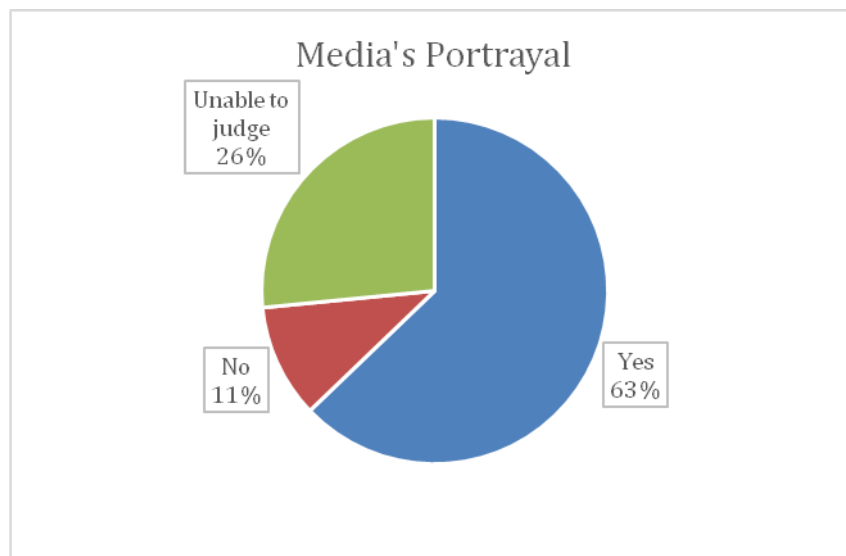
11. ANNEX: KNOWLEDGE ABOUT SERIAL KILLERS



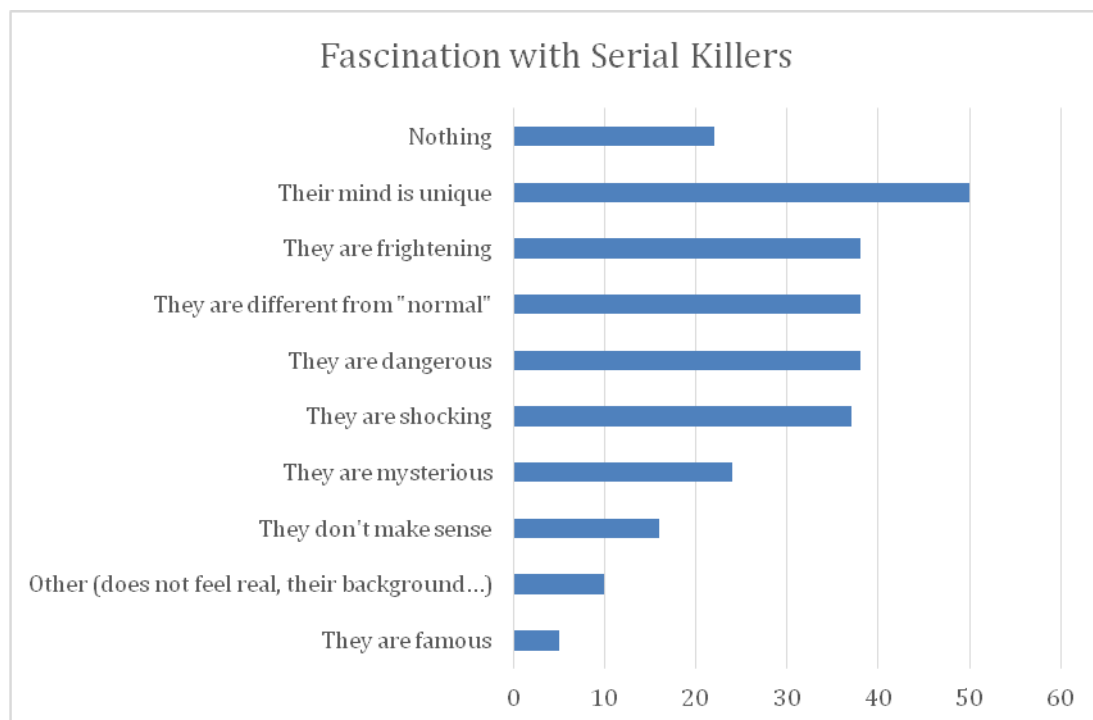
12. ANNEX: INTEREST IN SERIAL KILLERS



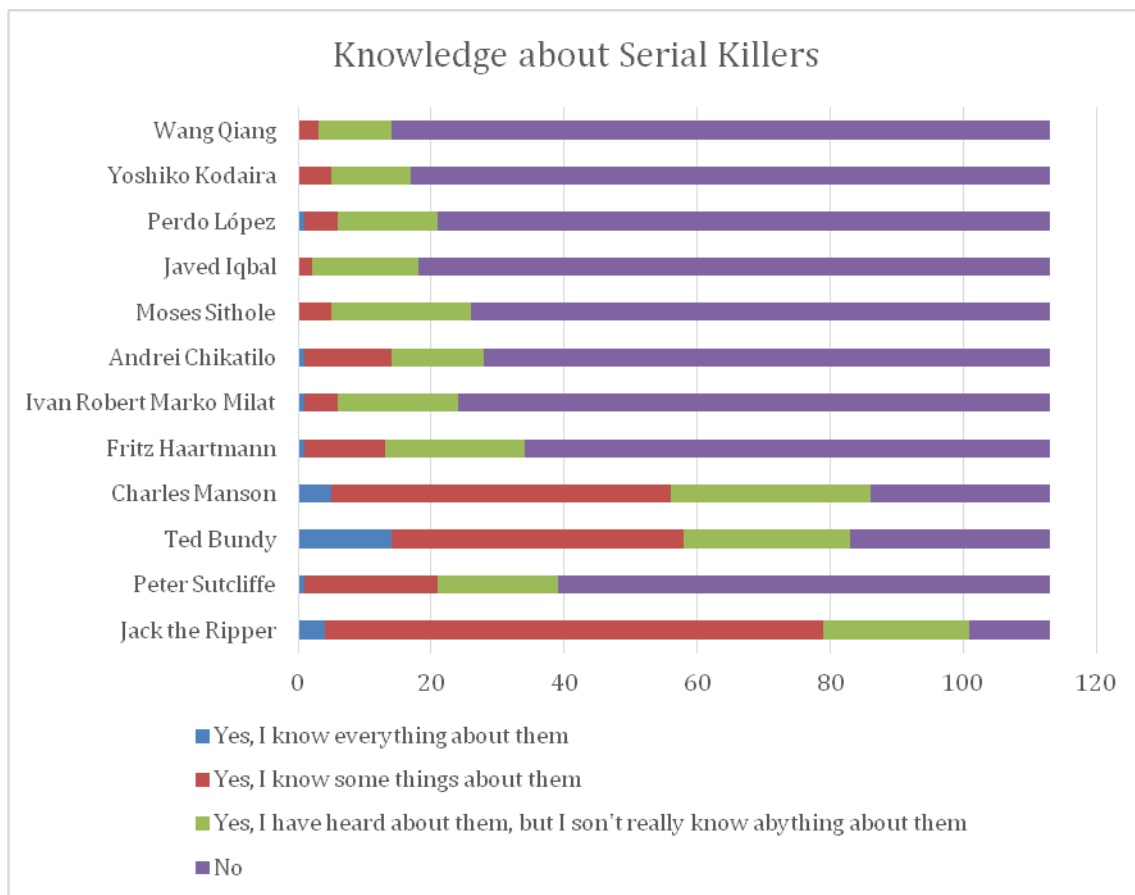
13. ANNEX: MEDIA'S PORTRAYAL OF SERIAL KILLERS



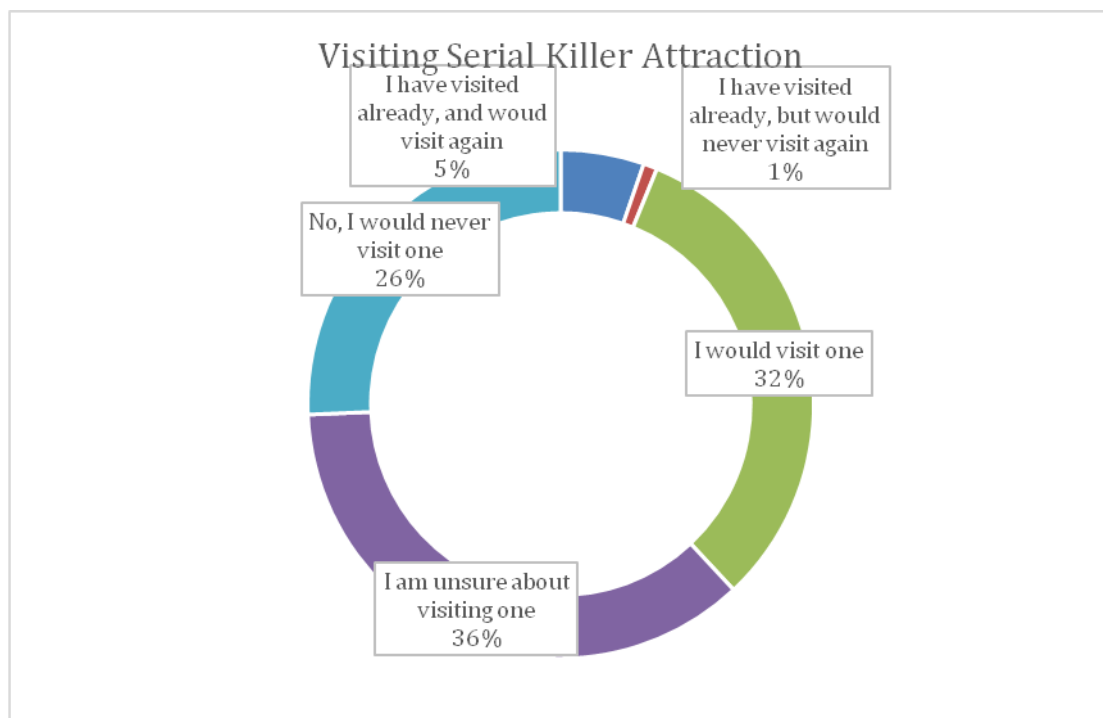
14. ANNEX: MEDIA'S FASCINATION WITH SERIAL KILLERS



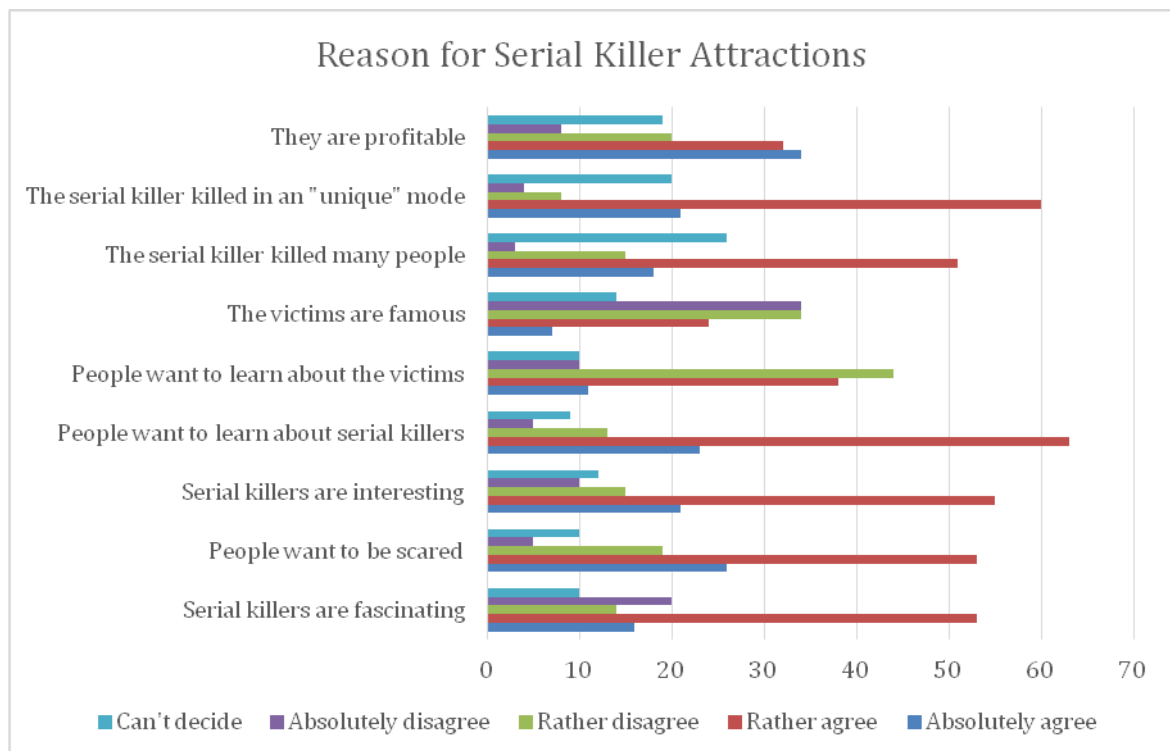
15. ANNEX: KNOWLEDGE ABOUT CERTAIN SERIAL KILLERS



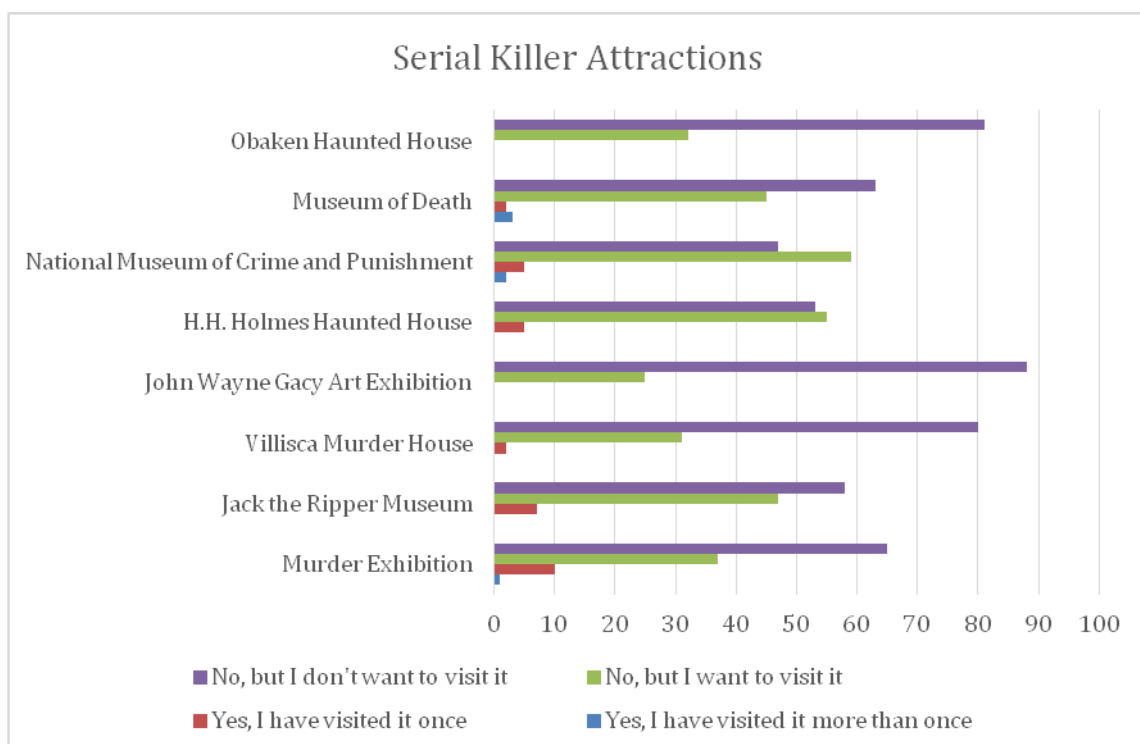
16. ANNEX: VISITATION OF ATTRACTIONS



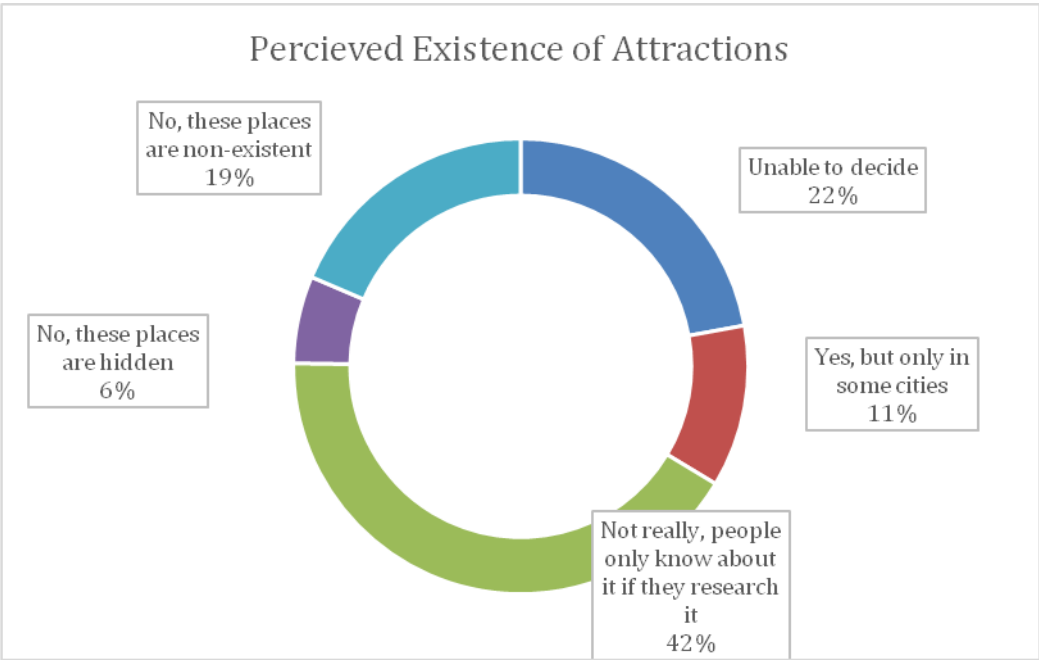
17. ANNEX: REASONS FOR ATTRACTIONS



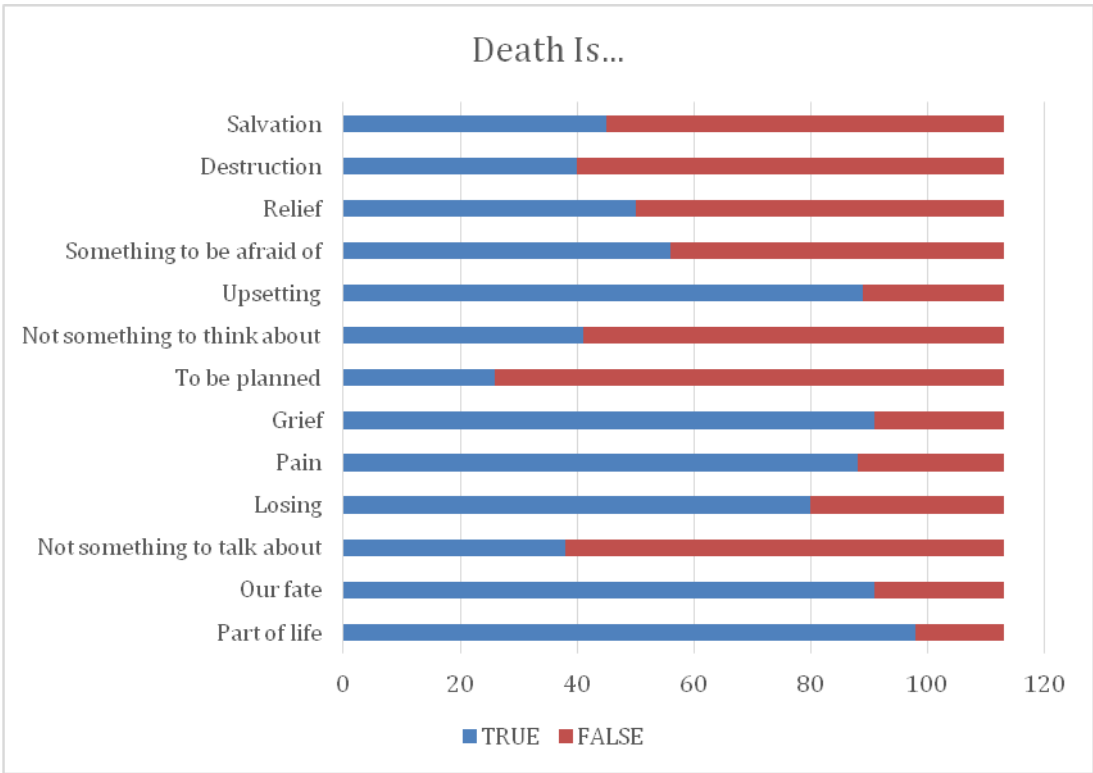
18. ANNEX: SERIAL KILLER ATTRACTIONS



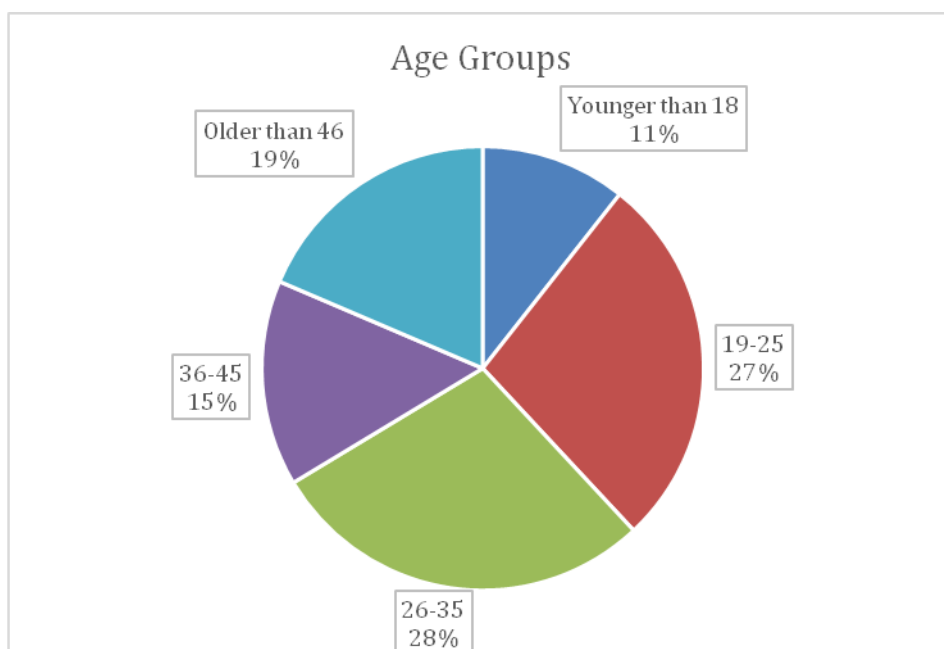
19. ANNEX: EXISTENCE OF ATTRACTIONS



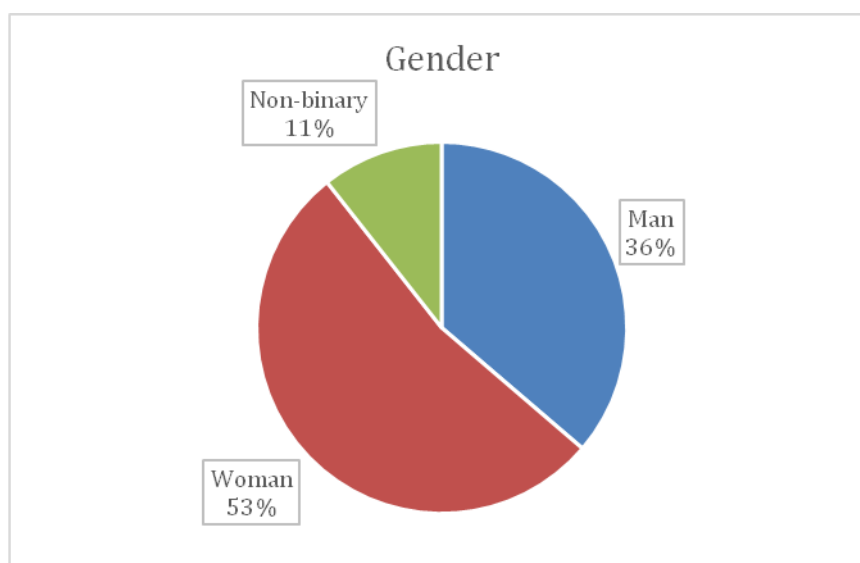
20. ANNEX: PERCEPTIONS ABOUT DEATH



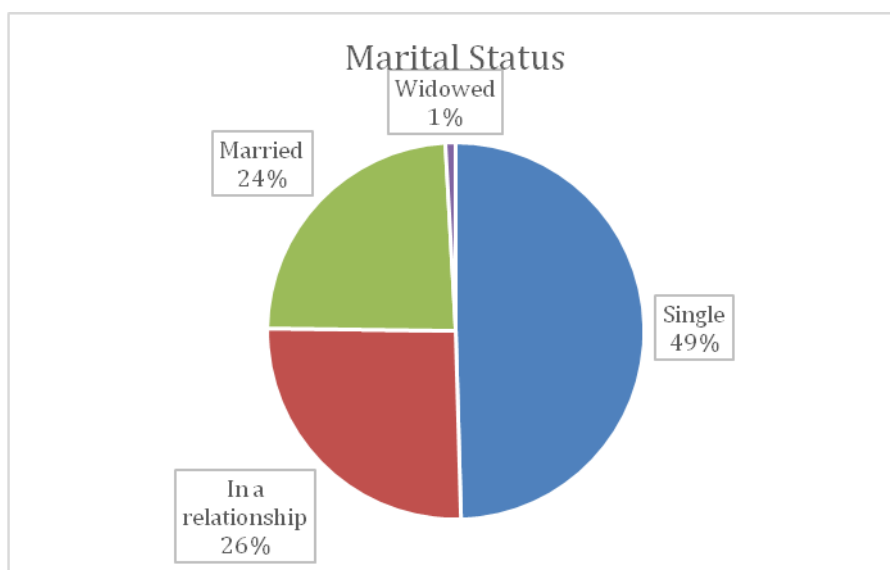
21. ANNEX: AGE



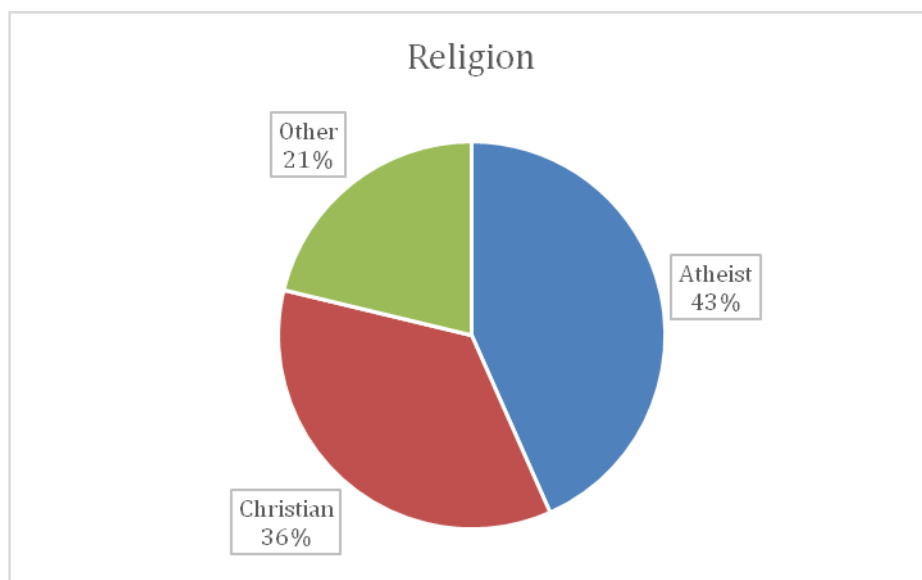
22. ANNEX: GENDER



23. ANNEX: MARITAL STATUS



24. ANNEX: RELIGION



25. ANNEX: COUNTRY OF ORIGIN

