

Artigos - Gestão do Turismo

Dark tourism: analysis of the relationship between motivations, experiences, and benefits of visitors at Recoleta Cemetery, Argentina

Dark tourism: análise da relação entre motivações, experiências e benefícios dos visitantes do Cemitério da Recoleta, Argentina

Dark tourism: análisis de la relación entre motivaciones, vivencias y beneficios de los visitantes del Cementerio de la Recoleta, Argentina

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Keywords:

Dark tourism;
Motivation;
Experiences;
Benefits;
Dark resting places.

Abstract

Dark tourism is a form of niche tourism that is undergoing increasingly rapid development. The literature identifies the cemetery as a site for dark tourism, through its association with the ideas of death and mourning; these can cause unpleasant feelings for tourists, which is a fundamental characteristic of the 'dark tourism' concept. The objective of this paper is to analyse the relationship between the motivations, experiences, and benefits of visiting the Recoleta cemetery in Buenos Aires, Argentina. The study is characterised as exploratory, descriptive, and has used the quantitative approach. A total of 450 respondents claimed to have visited the Recoleta cemetery. The authors tested and validated five factors through exploratory and confirmatory factor analysis, including social and learning motivations, reflexive and empathetic experiences, and benefits. The result provides theoretical evidence that motivations to visit the Recoleta cemetery are related to knowledge seeking, leisure, and social activities with family and friends. The experiences obtained during the visit include the eliciting of a sense of escapism, through relaxation and peace. The study offers evidence that visiting the cemetery can provide moments of contemplation, and promote reflection about life. In addition, this study identifies practical modifications that can assist in decision-making processes.

Palavras-chave:

Dark tourism;
Motivação;
Experiências;
Benefícios;
Lugares de descanso escuros.

Resumo

O dark tourism é uma forma de turismo de nicho com desenvolvimento cada vez mais rápido. A literatura definiu o cemitério como dark tourism pois sugere a ideia de morte e luto, que pode causar sentimentos desagradáveis aos turistas, tornando-se uma característica fundamental deste conceito. O objetivo deste artigo é analisar a relação entre as motivações, experiências e benefícios de visitar o cemitério da Recoleta em Buenos Aires, Argentina. O estudo caracteriza-se como exploratório, descritivo e utilizou a abordagem quantitativa. Um total de 450 entrevistados afirmaram ter visitado o cemitério da Recoleta. Os autores testaram e validaram cinco fatores por meio de análise fatorial exploratória e confirmatória, incluindo motivações sociais e de aprendizagem, experiências reflexivas e empáticas e benefícios. O resultado fornece evidências teóricas de que as motivações estão relacionadas à busca de conhecimento, lazer e atividades sociais com a família e amigos. As experiências obtidas durante a visita estão relacionadas ao sentimento escapista através do relaxamento e paz. O estudo oferece evidências de que a visita ao cemitério pode ser um momento contemplativo, promovendo a reflexão sobre a vida. Por outro lado, contribuições práticas podem auxiliar nos processos de tomada de decisão.

Palabras clave:

Turismo oscuro;
Motivación;

Resumen

El dark tourism es una forma de turismo de nicho con un desarrollo cada vez más rápido. La literatura definió al cementerio como dark tourism ya que sugiere la idea de la muerte y el duelo, que puede

Experiencias;
Beneficios;
Lugares de descanso oscuros.

Peer reviewed.

Received in: 13/08/2021.

Approved in: 12/03/2022.

Editor:

Glauber Eduardo de Oliveira Santos.

provocar sentimientos desagradables en los turistas, convirtiéndose en una característica fundamental de este concepto. El objetivo de este trabajo es analizar la relación entre las motivaciones, vivencias y beneficios de visitar el cementerio de la Recoleta en Buenos Aires, Argentina. El estudio se caracteriza por ser exploratorio, descriptivo y utilizó el enfoque cuantitativo. Un total de 450 encuestados afirmaron haber visitado el cementerio de la Recoleta. Los autores probaron y validaron cinco factores a través de un análisis factorial exploratorio y confirmatorio, incluidas las motivaciones sociales y de aprendizaje, las experiencias reflexivas y empáticas y los beneficios. El resultado proporciona evidencia teórica de que las motivaciones están relacionadas con la búsqueda de conocimiento, el ocio y las actividades sociales con familiares y amigos. Las experiencias obtenidas durante la visita están relacionadas con el sentimiento escapista a través de la relajación y la paz. El estudio ofrece evidencia de que visitar el cementerio puede ser un momento contemplativo, que promueve la reflexión sobre la vida. Por otro lado, las contribuciones prácticas pueden ayudar en los procesos de toma de decisiones.



How to Cite: Pereira, T.; Pereira, M. L.; Limberger, P. F. (2022). Dark tourism: analysis of the relationship between motivations, experiences, and benefits of visitors at Recoleta Cemetery, Argentina. *Revista Brasileira de Pesquisa em Turismo*, São Paulo, 16, e-2493, 2022. <https://doi.org/10.7784/rbtur.v16.2493>

1 INTRODUCTION

The attractions counted among dark tourism include places associated with natural or human-made disasters or atrocities that have become more than sites of memory, and tourist attractions (Kang et al., 2012). Foley and Lennon (1996) employed the term dark tourism for the first time, when they analysed the media's fascination with the death of US President John F. Kennedy (JFK). Although they were the first to introduce the term 'dark tourism', other researchers had investigated the relationship between tourism and death.

Rojek (1993) introduced the concept of dark destinations called Black Spots: tourist developments in macabre locations and places where celebrities or large numbers of people died suddenly and violently. Seaton (1996) argues that dark tourism is the travel dimension of thanatopsis, which describes travel to a place that is totally or partially motivated by the desire for real or symbolic encounters with death – particularly, but not exclusively, violent death. Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996) presented the term dissonant heritage. Bloom (2000) treats morbid tourism as tourism that focuses on sudden death, and quickly attracts many people. Advancing on the thematic, dark tourism is defined by Stone (2006, p. 146) as "the act of travelling to places associated with death, suffering, and the seemingly dreadful". Kang et al. (2012) observe that such places encompass sites as varied as mass murder and death, battlefields, cemeteries, mausoleums, and the former homes of deceased celebrities.

These authors claim that dark tourism is a tourism phenomenon of contemporary relevance, and one that has attracted several researchers to commit more to the study of this phenomenon. Many of these studies highlight that dark tourism can provide a significant tourism experience. Simultaneously, it raises new anxieties and ethical dilemmas about travelling, even though paying visits to places associated with death is not a recent phenomenon. In this context, people have been attracted, purposefully or not, by websites, attractions, or events linked in some way to death, suffering, violence, or disaster (Stone, 2005).

Cemeteries were categorised by Stone (2006) as places where dark tourism takes place. Mionel (2020) notes that cemeteries can cause unpleasant sensations for some people. The author links the macabre aspect of the cemetery to its associations with death and mourning, which can inspire a feeling of fear. Levitt (2012) defines the main characteristics of these places as commemoration and solemnity. As for Pereira (2020), in addition to being a place used to respect and celebrate deceased loved ones, cemeteries have been used to study nature and local history. The author also mentions that tourism has appropriated some of these spaces, thus transforming them into commercial places to provide entertainment. This approach is in line with the concept of dark resting places proposed by Stone (2006), that is, a resting place that is being reused to produce entertainment for tourists. Thus, for a better understanding of tourist behaviour and, consequently, better service delivery, there is a need to identify the factors that motivate tourists to go to these places, and to investigate their reactions when visiting.

Despite being a controversial topic, there has been a growing number of investigations into places of dark tourism. Yet the relationship between the motivation to visit these places, and the dark tourism experience itself, is still poorly understood (Stone & Sharpley, 2008). The authors claim there are doubts about the factors that influence motivation to seek the experience – such as whether it is basic fascination with death, or whether other factors could be at play. Another little explored theme is the benefits obtained from dark tourism (Kang et al., 2012). According to

Ashworth and Hartmann (2005), dark tourism can provide a profound experience, but can also raise anxieties and ethical dilemmas due to the peculiar significance placed on it.

Understanding the gains that the tourist has when visiting these places can help improve the understanding between the destination/enterprise and the consumer/tourist. Due to the lack of studies on the subject, several investigations have repeated requests for research to better pinpoint which factors influence the motivation of dark tourism (Seaton & Lennon, 2004; Stone, 2005, 2006; Stone & Sharpley, 2008; Biran, Poria & Oren, 2011), in the search for a consensus on the experience of dark tourism and the possible benefits obtained by tourists (Kang et al., 2012).

Therefore, this article aims to analyse the relationship between the motivations, experiences, and benefits of visiting the Recoleta Cemetery in Buenos Aires, Argentina. First, we adapted the scale to the context of cemeteries. To fulfill the objectives, we used the following constructs: motivations (Yan et al., 2016), experiences (Otto & Ritchie, 1996), and benefits (Kang, 2010). We then tested the relationship between the constructs using structural equation modelling. This article, therefore, attempts to develop a greater understanding of consumer behaviour when visiting cemeteries. In developing this analysis, this article addresses a critical research gap that contributes to advancing the literature and will assist tourism management in developing and implementing market-oriented service strategies to enhance dark tourism experiences.

2 THEORETICAL BASIS

2.1 Dark tourism

According to Babic and Bingula (2015), the cemeteries are places to honour the deceased, in their role as the final resting place where numerous remembrance practices occur. Remembering and celebrating the past is an essential part of the present, while memory and celebration are inextricably linked to heritage processes. According to Assunção (2019), the term 'cemetery tourism' appeared for the first time at the International Congress of Contemporary Cemeteries (ASCE, 2001). At the time, this type of tourism was associated with cultural and heritage tourism. For the author, death is part of life, and although neglected for a long time, it is emerging as an opportunity to discover new sensations in postmodern society. For Pereira and Limberger (2020), the cemetery can be considered a manifestation of popular culture, which allows visitors to observe expressions of thought, values and culture across eras.

Despite this, however, Foley and Lennon (2000, p. 14-16) maintain that cemeteries do not fit within the scope of dark tourism because "visits, whether by friends and relatives of the dead or for other reasons, can be widely considered in categories similar to a pilgrimage". In opposition, Stone (2006) proposed the development of seven categories for the study of the different attractions related to dark tourism: Dark Fun Factories, Dark Exhibitions, Dark Dungeons, Dark Resting Places, Dark Shrines, Dark Conflict Sites, and finally, Dark Camps of Genocide. Pereira (2020) claims that cemeteries have become a space in which the living are dazzled by the dead and that this type of tourism can fit within dark tourism, as the concept of dark tourism runs along a spectrum of darker and lighter elements. Assunção (2019) claims that this tourist typology can be given several names, depending on the tourist's objectives.

Foley and Lennon's (2000) statement simplifies the implications of cemeteries and their role in society. For example, Walter (2009) describes several relationships with the dead available to the community in public and private spaces. McDowell (2008) argues that one of the modern societies' characteristics is the desire to represent memory through the marking of 'place', usually affiliated with places to which people have a physical or emotional connection. Pereira (2020) argues that tourism in cemeteries is related to the duality between death and celebration of life, which visitors can gain through being physically close to the monuments or graves of well-known personalities. For Millán (2019), cemetery tourism is a subsection of dark tourism. According to the researcher, the increase in popularity of these places is related to discovering various attributes such as artistic, architectural, historical, and landscape heritage – as well as the fascination with violent deaths, whether belonging to history or macabre legends. As visiting cemeteries can provide these points of interest, they should be considered when exploring people's motivations for visiting.

Tourism in cemeteries demonstrates the search for cultural information and understanding the social practices in the destination one is visiting (Leoti et al., 2019). The tourist visit to the necropolis can be framed through objectivity-subjectivity dualism (Moesch, 2002). Objectivity is present in the tangible aspects – lime, concrete, marble, iron,

copper – and subjectivity is present in the symbolisms in funeral art, in the relationships between the living and the dead, and more. According to Del Puerto (2016), the materiality present in historical cemeteries can at first glance seem fixed and unmoving. However, the meaning and uses of these sites are imbued by subjectivity, which by its nature changes over time. When looked at from the perspective of the cultural space of a city, the author says that cemeteries allow us to glimpse the human relationship with death.

2.2 Motivation

Although tourist motivation is a well-established subject and is widely discussed in tourism studies, research on dark tourism was slow to address why people visit places associated with death (Light, 2017). Despite this, some studies have been conducted to determine what motivates people to visit dark sites (Isaac & Çakmak, 2016). Wight (2006) states that most research on motivation for dark tourism is conceptual, and lacks empirical research. The lack of empirical research may explain why knowledge about the demand for dark tourism remains limited. Yan et al. (2016) state that motivation has emerged as a key academic field in dark tourism studies in recent years. However, it remains a subject that has not been thoroughly and systematically researched. The authors observe that, so far, most of the research on this theme is primarily sourced from theoretical and non-empirical studies. The authors claim that a range of dark tourism motivations have been proposed and examined, based on several places of death and disaster, and different perspectives in previous literature.

An empirical study by Biran et al. (2011) indicates that the reasons for visiting the Auschwitz-Birkenau concentration camp can be categorised into four main types: "seeing is believing," "learning and understanding," "famous tourist attractions," and "experience of emotional heritage". For Bloom (2000), the motivations are related to the desire for inner purification. Other motivations identified related to *schadenfreude* (Seaton & Lennon, 2004); a childhood curiosity about mortality (Dann, 2005); a search for the otherness of death (Seaton, 2009); concern with personal genealogy and family history (Buntman, 2008); nostalgia (Tarlow, 2005); a search for 'authentic' places in a commodified world (Johnston, 2010); a fascination with evil (Lennon, 2010); and a desire to find the pure/impure sacred (Osbaldiston & Petray, 2011). For Pereira and Limberger (2020), factors that influence the motivation to visit a cemetery are related to sociability and learning. Likewise, Kang et al. (2012) point out that the motivation for dark tourism is summarised in three constructs: learning and obligation, educational programs, and social reasons. According to the authors, the educational function has been considered the most relevant factor when visiting these spaces. Our first general hypothesis emerges based on this construction, relating motivation to tourist experiences.

2.3 Dark tourism experience

Dark sites, primarily cemeteries, cause unpleasant feelings for many people. Dark tourism suggests the ideas of death, mourning, and sadness, making it a fundamental feature of cemeteries and leading them to inspire fear (Mionel, 2020). More broadly, experience as a concept has been discussed in several academic studies (Brown, 2015; Lee, 2016; Zhang et al., 2016; Sharma & Rickly, 2018). Exploring tourists' perception of their destinations' experiences is a frequent topic due to the indispensable relationship with the destination attributes (Cetin & Bilgihan, 2016).

The investigation of visitors' experiences in places for dark tourism has differed in its approaches, both in focus and context (Light, 2017). According to the author, these places' experiences are complex, with several layers, and that is far from superficial, a visit to these places can be profound and highly significant. However, there is no unique type of experience, as visitors can engage with (and respond to) dark locations or attractions in several ways (Yankholes & McKercher, 2015), depending on their motivations and cultural background (Zhang et al., 2016); the extent of their connection to the site (Cohen, 2011); and the social context of their visit (MacCarthy & Willson, 2015).

These interpretations focus on the emotional or affective dimension of the human experience and can be interpreted subjectively or emotionally (Uzzell, 1989). As a result, dark tourism can offer tourists a meaningful experience. Thus, our general hypothesis is that the experience in dark tourism is related to different types of benefits obtained.

2.4 Benefits

The benefits are the rewards associated with certain behaviours, while motivation encourages and directs these behaviours (Mykletun & Mazza, 2016). A benefit can be conceived as a change seen as an advantageous improvement on a condition, or gains for an individual or a group (Driver et al., 1991). Motivation and benefits are not

mutually exclusive, and they operate in a continuous cycle in which the obtained benefits motivate people to continue vacationing (Pomfret, 2006). According to Mykletun and Mazza (2016), both motivation and benefits are related to needs, but it is argued that the two are not the same. For the authors, motivation acts as a driving force that guides the behaviour, and benefits result from such behaviour. They function as rewards and are related to the experiences and satisfaction of individuals. As a result variable, the benefits are likely to influence customers' future decisions (Frochot & Morrison, 2000).

Many benefits are associated with holidaymaking, including improvements in well-being, functioning, cohesion, unity, bonding, communication, solidarity, and relationships (Obrador, 2012). For Mykletun and Mazza (2016), the benefits obtained from an activity usually make up the essence of the stories people tell friends and family after attending an event; thus, they are a central component of word-of-mouth. The probability of an activity being repeated should be influenced by the benefits obtained in similar activities in the past, as it is assumed that the benefits directly influence visitors' future behavioural intentions (Cole & Illum, 2006). The concept of benefit can be shortened to psychosocial benefits (Meretse et al., 2015), defined here as the final values that people believe they have gained participating in a specific (leisure) activity. For Kang et al. (2012), a benefit-based approach is a useful tool to facilitate understanding the psychological experiences of visitors in tourism and leisure environments, particularly in dark tourism environments that do not offer hedonic experiences.

According to Kang (2010), the scientific research on benefits began in leisure and recreation research in the early 1980s, driven by concerns about the effective management of amenities resources of recreation sites (Driver et al., 1987; Manning, 1999). These studies identified various benefits in a recreational context, particularly in North America (Driver et al., 1987), based on a behavioural approach directed to objectives and aims at some need or satisfaction (Manning, 1999). Kang (2010) argues that these studies were based on the expectation theory developed in social psychology, which suggested that people engage in activities in specific contexts to obtain known, expected, and valued psychological results (Manning, 1999).

There are several benefits that a tourist can obtain when visiting a place classified as dark. For Hartmann (2014), Holocaust tourism honours the victims of Nazi Germany. According to the researcher, participating in this tourism is not related to satisfying only the curiosity to visit a famous place, but to learn in a more focused way about the losses of the Jewish community. This tourism is more related to a form of educational tourism. The author adds that tourism related to war and conflicts attracts several tourists to enjoy the landscapes and monuments. For Fajardo (2020), tourists get personalised, genuine, and sensory experiences in dark places.

Regarding tourism in cemeteries, Millán (2019) mentions that tourists, in general, are satisfied to contemplate funerary monuments, architectural beauty, and landscaping. In addition to these, Pereira and Limberger (2020) found that the tourist experience includes escapist, educational and political dimensions. Assunção (2019) states that tourism in cemeteries offers benefits for tourists and the community as it places value on local history and characters, irrespective of any political values assigned to their identities. It creates effective citizenship and the possibility of education and humanism.

Some studies have explored these benefits. Pereira (2020) states that the contemporary context of tourism can influence their interpretations and has suggested more research focusing on perceived benefits. Therefore, to better understand, this study explores the perceived benefits of visiting cemeteries. The correlation between three dimensions will be used for this research: motivation, experience, and benefits. The benefits-based approach was used to understand the experiences of dark tourists at Parque Paz de Jeju on April 3 by Kang et al. (2012). For the development of the study, the authors used the literature on recreational leisure (Driver et al., 1987; Manning, 1999). Given the above, our last general hypothesis arises, relating motivation and tourist experiences to the benefits obtained. From theory, we create a general model (Fig.1).

Figure 1 - Conceptual research model



3 Research methods

The theoretical foundation reviewed the relevant theories to build a conceptual framework and, finally, the theoretical basis for this investigation of visitors' motivations, experiences, and benefits in a dark tourism location. In turn, this part describes the research methodology of the study. We tested the model and the eight hypotheses using a questionnaire applied to tourists and visitors to the Recoleta cemetery.

3.1 Study location

The Recoleta Cemetery in Buenos Aires is a symbolic reduction of this metropolis. In this gallery, the community preserved its outstanding personalities (such as Eva Peron, Silvina Ocampo, Adolfo Bioy Casares, Carlos Saavedra Lamas, and Luis Federico Leloir). It showcases the artistic styles favoured in each era (Magaz & Arevalo, 1993). Poetic invocations, farewell speeches, funeral announcements, and posthumous tributes were put at the service of the recurrent posthumous celebrations held in Buenos Aires at the beginning of the 20th century. Along with these written expressions, majestic material expressions and beautiful iconographic reproductions were combined to attest to death's social and political importance. In speeches, mausoleums, paintings, photographs, funerals, or visits to the cemetery, it is possible to detect how death encroaches on the public space; and how its ceremonies denote, on the one hand, social hierarchies, and on the other, its close connection with art (Gayol, 2009). The cemetery is becoming a garden cemetery, continuing its stylistic evolution according to the current mentality (Magaz & Arevalo, 1993). Despite being an almost mandatory stop when visiting the city of Buenos Aires, there is no specific number of how many tourists visit this place. However, in a survey carried out in 2021 on the TripAdvisor platform, there were 26,650 reviews. The average rate given the assessment was 4.5, attesting to the fascination and appeal of this place.

3.2 Methodology

In this study, the research hypotheses were empirically tested based on data collected from a survey of visitors from the Recoleta cemetery in Buenos Aires, Argentina. They were non-probabilistic selected for the researchers' convenience tourists from different countries on an online platform. To validate the questionnaire for cemeteries, exploratory factor analysis (EFA) and Cronbach's Alpha test were applied to assess the reliability and internal consistency of the factors. In the end, we analysed the formative model with mediation, using partial least squares structural equation modelling (PLS-SEM). Two software packages were employed in the analysis: IBM-SPSS 24, descriptive statistics and frequency analysis, and Smart PLS 3.0 for the structural equation modelling.

Initially, we conducted a pre-test survey in October 2019 involving 35 respondents who had visited the Recoleta cemetery. The data obtained in this first stage provided several benefits. First, they helped to better indicate the relevance of the questions in the questionnaire. Using feedback from the pilot survey, we were able to identify variables in the questionnaire that had ambiguities or prompted difficulty in interpretation. Second, it was possible to do some initial tests, to test the scale and make changes regarding the questioning of demographic data, and thus produce final adjustments to the construct. Therefore, the pre-test allowed the researcher to improve the questionnaire's design, measurement, and administration, thus reducing bias and possible errors and allowing them to continue applying the research.

3.3 Data collection

The data collection method consisted of a questionnaire structured on the Google Forms platform and applied online on the social network Facebook, through sponsored media aimed at people from the Recoleta cemetery region, using the platform's geolocation tool. We chose the social media platform Facebook because it is the most used social network in Latin America (Wearesocial, 2019). A filter question was asked to confirm whether profile owners had recently visited the Recoleta Cemetery to be included in the study. We included only those in the analysis.

Constructs were measured using scales tested and validated in previous studies. The motivations dimension (12 items) proposed by Yan et al. (2016) includes learning and obligation, educational programs, social reasons, and curiosity. Variables relating to experience (10 items) were proposed by Otto and Ritchie (1996), including hedonic experiences, peace of mind, involvement, and escapism. The scale of benefits (12 items) was proposed by Kang

(2010) and contains learning, comfort in fulfilling the obligation, family bond, and meaning. All variables were measured on a five-point Likert scale (ranging from 1 = strongly disagree, to 5 = strongly agree) and are presented in annex 1.

We collected data between November 2019 and February 2020. We obtained a total of 487 responses, and 450 questionnaires were considered valid after analysing Mahalanobis to remove outliers. To establish the minimum sample, we use G*Power. Regarding the parameter values, the following were used: the size of the effect size f^2 (0.15), α err prob (0.05), power (1- β err prob) (0.95), and the number of predictors (5). The recommended sample size was 74. Therefore, our sample is adequate.

3.4 Sample description

First, compliance with the assumptions to ensure the validity of the proposed model was verified. Among the main assumptions, it is worth noting that the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test suggests the non-normality of the variables. With this in mind, we chose to use non-parametric test software (Smart-PLS). There were no null associations between the observable variables and their respective latent factors in the estimation, nor were there values greater than 1.0 and less than -1.0 in the estimated standardised coefficients, which would indicate multicollinearity (Marôco, 2010).

Regarding gender, women were predominant, making up 73.8% of respondents; 24.4% were males, and 1.8% chose not to say their gender. Regarding civil status, 62.4% said they were single, 23.1% were married, 10.2% were divorced, and 4.2% were widowed. Most of the sample were aged between 19-29 years (37.3%), 16.4% between 30-39 years, 12.2% were between 50-59, and 12.2% between 60-69 years. Regarding the respondents' educational level, 44.4% have a college degree, 28.67% have an MBA or Master's degree, and 16.9% have a high school degree. There were 12 nationalities identified among the respondents, the most representative being Argentines with 89.1%, followed by Brazilians with 6.4% and Venezuelans with 1.6%. Only 1.11% of the respondents were not residents of any Latin American country. The data instrument was made available in Spanish and Portuguese as most visitors speak these two languages. The table with detailed information is in annex 2.

Table 1 - Demographic profile

(Continue)

DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE		
	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Gender		
Feminine	332	73.8
Masculine	110	24.4
Prefer not to say	8	1.8
Total	450	100
Marital status		
Married	104	23.1
Divorced	46	10.2
Single	281	62.4
Widower	19	4.2
Total	450	100
Age group		
0-18	28	6.2
19-29	168	37.3
30-39	74	16.4
40-49	32	7.1
50-59	55	12.2
60-69	55	12.2
70 years or more	37	8.2
Total	450	100
Education level		
Elementary School	14	3.1
High school	76	16.9
University graduate	200	44.4
Specialisation (MBA)	78	17.3
Master's degree	51	11.3
Doctorate degree	18	4
Post doctoral	13	2.9
Total	450	100
Nationality		
Argentina	401	89.1
Brazil	29	6.4

Table 1 - Demographic profile

(conclusion)

DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE		
Nationality	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Chile	1	0,2
Colombia	2	0,4
Ecuador	2	0,4
Spain	2	0,4
United States	1	0,2
Italy	1	0,2
Mexico	1	0,2
Portugal	1	0,2
Uruguay	2	0,4
Venezuela	7	1,6
Total	450	100

4 DATA ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

4.1 Reliability of the measurement scale

The exploratory factor analysis (EFA) was conducted to reduce the number of dimensions and identify construct structures, as this analysis can efficiently decrease the error variance of the indicator correlations before obtaining a measurement model for further analysis (Bollen, 1998). As stated by Qi, Yang, and Zhang (2013), EFA can be applied to measure factorial structures in cases where analytical and empirical data provided by the literature are limited. Principal Component Analysis was used to extract the factors. As shown in Table 2, all factors presented an Alpha Cronbach value higher than 0.6. Five factors were identified: Engaging Experiences, Contagious Experiences, Physical Experiences, Learning Motivations, Social Motivations, and Benefits.

Table 2 - Exploratory factor analysis

Factor and items	F.L.	Eig.	Cr.	V.E.	C.V.E
Reflective benefits		6.691	0.811	27.880	27.880
Understood the importance of family	0.782				
I was grateful to be living now and not before	0.747				
I was grateful that there were no people in my family buried	0.701				
Realised the importance of peace in the cemetery	0.606				
Reflected on the life my ancestors used to have	0.551				
Experiences		2.580	0.841	10.748	38.629
I was relaxed	0.857				
I was physically comfortable	0.800				
I felt like I was having fun	0.734				
I felt like I was doing something I really like to do	0.651				
I felt I was involved in the process	0.589				
I had a feeling of escape	0.558				
I felt I could forget the problems of everyday life	0.530				
Learning motivations		2.218	0.845	9.240	47.868
Interested in the contemporary history of Argentina	-0.837				
To learn something about La Recoleta Cemetery	-0.740				
Learned about Argentina's contemporary history	-0.738				
Interested in ideological conflicts in general	-0.661				
Understood the issues of ideological conflict and/or human rights	-0.626				
Social motivations		1.526	0.738	6.359	54.227
Brought friends or relatives	0.754				
Recommended by friends or relatives	0.749				
To have a meaningful day with family or friends	0.578				
Empathic benefits		1.172	0.783	4.883	59.110
To celebrate personalities buried in the Recoleta cemetery	-0.848				
Fulfilled the obligation to celebrate the personalities buried there	-0.743				
Comfort in sharing pain and sadness with others	-0.599				
Wanted to teach my kids about history	-0.544				

Note¹: Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis. Oblique Rotation Method. KMO (Kaiser- Meyer-Olkin): 0.955. Bartlett's Test of Sphericity: $\chi^2 = 7986.700$; $df = 28$; $p < 0.001$.

Note²: F.L. = Factor loading; Eig = eigenvalue; Cr = Cronbach's alpha; V.E. = Variance explained (%); C.V.E = Cumulative variance explained (%).

The first factor has four indicators. This set of constructs is related to interaction experiences, so was named Reflective Benefits. In the second factor, five constructs were framed that refer to physical sensations during the experiences. They are related to relaxation, being comfortable, and doing something they like; therefore, factor 2 was named Experiences. The third factor had four indicators, grouped together due to their interest in history, conflict, and human rights. Therefore, factor 3 was named Learning Motivations. The fourth factor also represented another type of motivation, one which concerns the relationship between visitors and other people, such as friends and relatives. Thus, we named factor 4 as Social Motivations. The last factor is concerned with reflections after the visit, and includes five indicators that refer to feelings of family importance, gratitude, and comfort. This factor was named as Empathic Benefits. All factors were named by the researchers according to the elements proposed by Yan et al. (2016), Otto and Ritchie (1996), and Kang (2010), who also performed exploratory research to verify the dimensionality of the proposed scale.

After the exploratory factor analysis, we reformulated our hypotheses according to the unfolding of the dimensions. Therefore, following what was previously proposed in the theoretical foundation, our hypotheses are:

H1a: Learning motivations positively influence the reflective benefits obtained in dark tourism.

H1b: Learning motivations positively influence the experiences gained in dark tourism.

H1c: Learning motivations positively influence the empathic benefits obtained in dark tourism.

H2a: Social motivations positively influence the reflective benefits obtained in dark tourism.

H2b: Social motivations positively influence the experiences gained in dark tourism.

H2c: Social motivations positively influence the empathic benefits obtained in dark tourism.

H3a: Experiences positively influence the reflective benefits obtained in dark tourism.

H3b: Experiences positively influence the empathic benefits obtained in dark tourism.

4.2 Analysis of the relationships of the theoretical model

The structural equation modelling (SEM) was performed through the Smart PLS 3 software to analyse the measurement and structural models. The factors identified in EFA (Table 2) were used as dimensions to identify the causes and effects and test the hypotheses. The 24 observable variables included in the proposed model were validated in five dimensions in the EFA (Table 2). The dimension reflective benefits (5 items), experiences (7 items), empathic benefits (4 items), learning motivations (5 items), and social motivations (3 items). According to the model (Figure 2), the subsequent analysis stage aims to measure the causes and effects among five different dimensions generated by EFA (Table 2).

The present study's constructs were tested according to the guidelines pre-established by Hair et al. (2014). The reliability (Cronbach's Alpha), the internal consistency, the convergent validity, and the measurement scale's discriminant validity were examined. The internal consistency in each construct was acceptable; all items in the model exceeded the minimum of 0.40 (Hair et al., 2014). In terms of convergent validity, composite reliability (CR) estimates were above the minimum of 0.70 (Fornell and Larcker, 1981). All average variance extracted (AVE) exceeded the recommended 0.50 threshold (Fornell & Larcker, 1981). Cronbach's Alpha (shown in Table 1) was also tested, and in accordance with Hair et al. (2014), reliability was observed since all Cronbach's Alpha estimates exceeded 0.60. The bootstrapping method with individual signal alteration was used to obtain inferential statistics with 500 cases and 5000 subsamples (Hair, Ringle, & Sarstedt, 2011; Usakli & Kucukergin, 2018). Subsequently, the Harman single factor test was performed to assess common method bias (CMB) (Podsakoff et al., 2003). The coefficient of determination (R^2), predictive relevance (Q^2), effect sizes (f^2), and mediation effects was estimated. The results indicated that the constructs examined in this study were acceptable in reliability, convergent validity, and discriminant validity.

Table 3 - Assumptions

	Be	Br	Exp.	Ms	Ma
Cronbach's Alpha	0.722	0.804	0.848	0.613	0.824
Composite Reliability	0.826	0.864	0.882	0.784	0.877
Average Variance Extracted (AVE)	0.547	0.561	0.518	0.552	0.589

RB= reflective benefits; Exp= experiences; EB= empathic benefits; LM= learning motivations; SM= social motivations.

The AVE result confirms that the 24 observable variables identified in the literature to measure motivations, experiences, and benefits accurately measure the three constructs when relating to the practice of dark tourism. Discriminant validity (Table 4) suggests that the factors are divergent and represent distinct constructs in concept and way of measuring. Thus, the motivations, experiences, and benefits measures proved adequate to continue with the structural model's empirical validation.

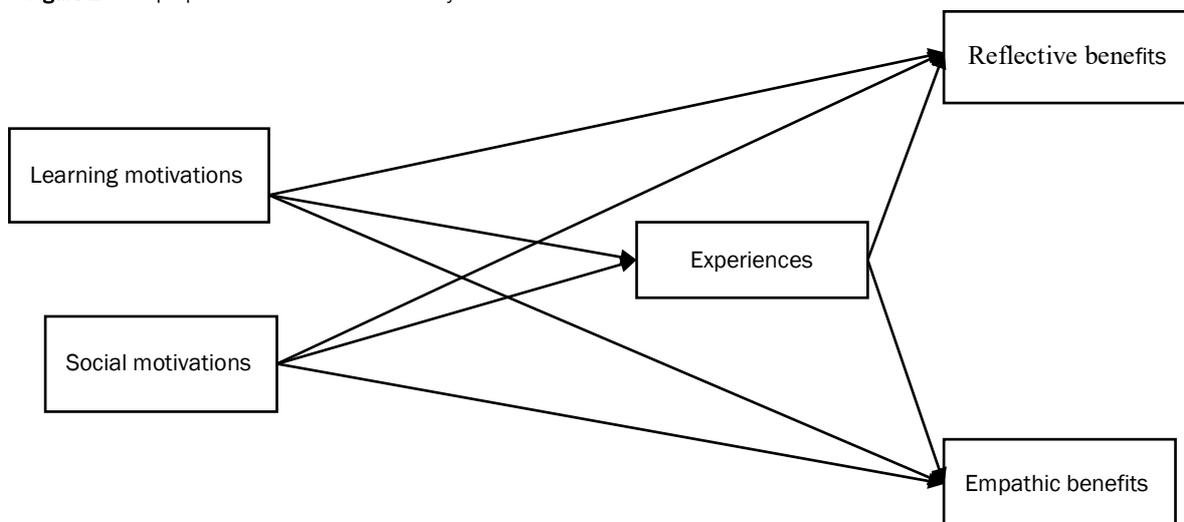
Table 4 - Discriminant validity

	Be	Br	Exp.	Ms	Ma
Empathic benefits	0.739				
Reflective benefits	0.459	0.749			
Experiences	0.317	0.462	0.720		
Social Motivations	0.250	0.282	0.338	0.743	
Learning motivations	0.502	0.365	0.399	0.154	0.767

RB= reflective benefits; Exp= experiences; EB= empathic benefits; LM= learning motivations; SM= social motivations.

Subsequently, model relationships were tested. The significance of the proposed relationships was determined by examining the t-values of the path coefficients, estimated by the bootstrapping technique (5000 samples). The structural model's overall explanatory power was evaluated by the value of R^2 , predictive power through the values Q^2 and f^2 , and path coefficient (β value).

Figure 2 - The proposed model for the cemetery



The model supported all relationships. The results indicated that the proposed model has an explanatory power of 28.9% for empathic benefits, 26.9% explanatory power for reflective benefits, and 23.7% explanatory power for experiments (Figure 2). These values represent an average explanatory power (Chin, 1998). One of the reasons for this result may be the existence of mediating and moderating variables to add to the proposed model. However, these results advance the scientific knowledge presented by Yan et al. (2016) and Otto and Ritchie (1996), reinforcing the relationship between learning and social motivation with experiences, as well as advancing the study by Kang (2010) relating these dimensions to benefits.

The Stone-Geisser Q^2 values obtained through the blindfolding technique (see Table 3) for empathic benefits, reflective benefits, and experiences were higher than zero, supporting the model's predictive validity (Hair et al., 2014). Chin (1998) suggests that a good model demonstrates relevance when Q^2 is higher than zero. Hence, as all Q^2 coefficients are considerably higher than zero (SSE / SSO), it is concluded that the model's predictive relevance exists about the endogenous latent variables. The Q^2 coefficients estimated by the blindfolding procedure represent how well the path model can predict the initially observed values. Similar to the approach of the f^2 effect to assess R^2 coefficients, the relative impact of the predictive relevance (Q^2) can be obtained employing a procedure analogous to the calculation of f^2 (Hair et al., 2014).

Table 5 - Blindfolding Test

	SSO	SSE	Q ² (=1-SSE/SSO)
Empathic benefits	1,800,000	1,531,567	0.149
Reflective benefits	2,250,000	1,930,179	0.142
Experiences	3,150,000	2,785,690	0.116
Social Motivations	1,350,000	1,350,000	
Learning motivations	2,250,000	2,250,000	

Then, the analyses were done in the Bootstrapping configuration for 5,000 samples, with no signal change. This statistical resource was used to identify the factor loadings values of the relationships between latent variables (β) and verify their effect and significance. Table 6 presents the values related to the structural model analysis, with the results of the hypotheses tests.

Table 6 - Relationship test

	Original Sample	Sample Mean	Standard Deviation	T Statistics	P Values	Hip.	Results
Experiences → Empathic benefits	0.089	0.090	0.044	2.051	0.040	H3b	Supported
Experiences → Reflective benefits	0.331	0.333	0.049	6.783	0.000	H3a	Supported
Social Motivations → Empathic Benefits	0.152	0.153	0.045	3.346	0.001	H2c	Supported
Social Motivations → Reflective benefits	0.137	0.139	0.047	2.917	0.004	H2a	Supported
Social Motivations → Experiences	0.283	0.286	0.042	6.700	0.000	H2b	Supported
Learning motivations → Empathic benefits	0.443	0.444	0.040	11.103	0.000	H1c	Supported
Learning motivations → Reflective benefits	0.212	0.212	0.046	4.596	0.000	H1a	Supported
Learning motivations → Experiences	0.355	0.357	0.042	8.399	0.000	H1b	Supported

The results indicated that the Cohen f^2 values (see Table 7) presented loads lower than 0.02, which indicates unsatisfactory effects for endogenous latent constructs (Henseler, Ringle, & Sinkovics, 2009). Learning motivations impacted empathic benefits ($f^2 = 0.232$), experiences ($f^2 = 0.162$) and reflective benefits ($f^2 = 0.051$). Social motivations impacted empathic benefits ($f^2 = 0.029$), reflexive benefits ($f^2 = 0.023$) and experiences ($f^2 = 0.103$). Finally, the experiences impacted the empathic benefits ($f^2 = 0.009$) and reflective benefits ($f^2 = 0.115$).

Table 7 - Cohen Effect

	Empathic benefits	Reflective benefits	Experiences	Social Motivations	Learning motivations
Empathic benefits					
Reflective benefits					
Experiences	0.009	0.115			
Social Motivations	0.029	0.023	0.103		
Learning motivations	0.232	0.051	0.162		

The results suggest that the relationship between learning motivation and empathic benefits has more effect than social motivations. The findings show that the reasons for visiting the Recoleta Cemetery are more about learning the history of the city, country, and families than they are about seeking out a 'dark' experience. The same is true of reflective benefits and experiences. These findings accord with Biran et al.'s (2011) findings, indicating that tourists are motivated by an interest in learning about the place they are visiting. Regarding social motivations, the findings are in line with those of Kang et al. (2012), since it does not have a substantial effect on the empathic and reflective benefits – indicating that the atmosphere of the place, despite making an impression on tourists, was not superior to the interest in learning something. Another factor reflecting this relationship is the effect of more significant experiences in reflexive benefits than in empathic ones.

5 DISCUSSION

Although research in dark tourism has evolved, Podoshen (2013) claims that it is still in an embryonic stage and will require further exploration before it is possible to produce a generalisable theory. This investigation seeks to advance on three fronts: motivations, experiences, and perceived benefits. In recent years, motivation has emerged as a critical academic field in black tourism studies. With the exploratory factor analysis result, the motivation dimension was subdivided into two categories, called learning and social. Regarding the first, our study identified that tourists are motivated to visit a cemetery in search of acquiring knowledge, out of interest in the contemporary

history of the country, and even to understand issues that are related to ideological conflicts or human rights; the cemetery hosts several personalities who lived in, and were party to, defining moments and eras of Argentinean history.

Yan et al. (2016) studied the earthquake in Beichuan, China, and identified that the motivation to visit this location was related to learning. The authors found that the motivations for a visit are related to learning about the Sichuan earthquake and its effects in Beichuan, teaching children about the earthquake, and receiving a patriotic education. These findings follow the motivational factors found in this investigation. The relationship between dark tourism and learning is also identified in the research by Connell (2017). The author investigated tourism in North Korea and found the motivation related to political-moral tourism, as a form and place of learning. The second motivational factor is linked to sociability, concerning those who visited the site in the company of friends or relatives, or because friends or relatives had recommended it for a day of leisure.

Structural equation modelling found that hypotheses H1a, H1b, H1c, H2a, H2b, H2c were supported. Both motivations are related and were supported during the visit to the cemetery. To begin with, the data gathered on motivation for learning suggested that it was the main reason for visiting the cemetery, as it was shown to have a more significant effect on experiences, reflective and empathetic benefits. Furthermore, it is clear that social motivations positively affected experiences, reflective and empathetic benefits. As noted in this investigation and mentioned above, there is a duality between death/life, and mourning/celebration. We realise that, in fact, the dead who dwell therein memory are alive in history. Recent protests across the world concerning the statues of former slaveowners make clear that these personalities still have a dynamic history, despite having died long ago. This finding partially agrees with Kang et al. (2012), who identified the motivation to learn as the main factor for a visit to the Jeju April 3rd Peace Park, in South Korea. Both this study and Kang et al. (2012) focus on ideological conflicts and history. They were identified as the second main reason for the visit regarding social motivations. The same finding was identified by Kang et al. (2012).

Concerning H3a and H3b, both were supported in the confirmatory analysis. The model represented 23.7% of the explanatory power and had good effects on empathic and reflexive benefits. The experience dimension also indirectly affected social and learning motivations, and reflective and empathic benefits. Data analysis revealed that the benefits could be derived from their experiences in visiting the cemetery.

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These findings were partially different from Kang et al. (2012), where visitors were reluctant to use enjoyment or pleasure to describe the reason for the visit and the benefits derived from their experiences. However, the authors' study suggests that visitors agree that they had a pleasant day. The relationship between the experience and benefits of 'sharing time with family or friends or a good day off' was supported. As an analysis, it is suggested that a cemetery is a place of learning that allows for more profound reflections on its own existence. According to Pereira and Limberger (2020), the cemetery allows the visitor moments of self-reflection. The reflective benefit is, to some extent, similar to the feeling of pleasure derived from escaping from everyday life through leisure or recreation (Driver et al., 1991).

The results found in this investigation partially reflect those of Kang et al. (2012), in confirming one of the most distinctive characteristics of dark tourism experiences: a therapeutic effect or a sense of psychological healing experienced by visitors. In addition, although both reflective and empathic benefits were shown to have a relationship with experiences, they are also shown to be directly related to social and learning motivations.

The variable with the highest load was "to celebrate personalities buried in the Recoleta cemetery", followed by the variable "fulfilled the obligation to celebrate the personalities buried there". Celebrating personalities is not something new in studies in cemeteries, especially heritage ones. According to Levitt (2012), tourist cemeteries attract visitors who wish to experience a sense of closeness with the famous, even if only because of the star's remains. This leads the author to describe a cemetery as a place of personal and cultural memory. The two are often intertwined: tourists looking for a favourite celebrity's grave, crossing paths with people in mourning who are paying tribute to a loved one.

6 CONCLUSIONS

From a theoretical perspective, this study contributes to dark tourism literature by testing the proposed relationships in the cemeterial tourism context, resulting in a new evaluation model. The present study provides a new integrated structure, valid and reliable, that can be replicated in tourist cemeteries in other destinations.

First, this study seeks to understand the factors that motivate tourists to visit the Recoleta cemetery. The research results prove that motivations are related to the search for knowledge. The results suggest a second motivational factor is related to leisure, and social activities with family and friends. It is worth remembering that the cemetery is a keeper of heritage and contains several personalities, whether in the political, social, economic, or artistic sphere.

Second, the research seeks to identify the experiences had during the visit to the cemetery. It was found that two dimensions motivated tourists to visit the cemetery, namely learning and sociability. We realised that the cemetery met the expectations of tourists, so much so that in the experience dimension, we found variables related to escapism; that is, the involvement in the experience was so great that people stopped thinking of their daily lives for at least part of their day, and immersed themselves in the experience. Another variable we identified is that tourists had a momentous day and felt good overall. The study provides evidence that, despite being in a location that falls into the dark tourism category, the visitor experiences feelings of relaxation and peace rather than an experience of fear.

The third theoretical contribution is related to the benefits of the visit. The study provides evidence that the visit to the cemetery can be contemplative, in promoting reflection on life – to understand the importance of living today, valuing family, and remembering ancestors. In addition, the result suggests that the visitor ends up having empathic benefits by sharing pain and sadness with other people; but that it also has the benefit of celebrating a feeling of closeness to personalities who, for whatever reason, were well-known during their lives.

Regarding the practical implications, this study suggests that urban cemeteries, such as the Recoleta cemetery, can attract people from different parts of the world and have a high educational function. Thus, the cemetery can be a tourist product that can provide tourists with a different experience. First, our research presented factors related to motivation to visit a cemetery. We show that the social motivation is going to visit, either because it was recommended or to take someone, is a determinative factor. The second motivation is related to wanting to learn about something. As a potential tourist product, cemetery managers should focus on providing this content to the tourist. One way for cemeteries to encourage greater tourist flow is to provide a tour guide, and a second way is to include QR Codes to provide information. One way for those who are not adept at technology, or do not have access to the internet, is to display signs with brief explanations about the person or grave being visited.

A second point is related to experiences during the visit. Factors related to fun, relaxation, and even forgetting about everyday problems were identified. In other words, the cemetery is not just a place of mourning but also a form of leisure for escapist purposes. This multifunctionality of cemeteries should be taken into account when considering cemetery infrastructure, with landscaping and mobility as factors to consider in providing a good experience. Managers of these sites can make cemeteries green urban spaces.

Moreover, despite not charging the entrance, the cemetery has become a famous tourist attraction in Buenos Aires; it is almost a must-stop for tourists. The present study provides evidence that the five dimensions identified are statistically supported, advancing the studies by Yan et al. (2016), Otto and Ritchie (1996), and Kang (2010). Therefore, it is worth paying particular attention to the dissemination and promotion of the history of the “celebrities” buried there. A social media that disseminates these curiosities is suggested as an example of a management initiative. Several people obtain income from the cemetery, such as tour guides, and the weekend street fair which surrounds the cemetery. In addition to publicising the curiosities and stories of this open-air museum, an advertisement suggests that a visit to the Recoleta cemetery is a trip for everyone, regardless of age – a finding in accord with this study, which found that parents take their children to teach them about history, and to have a meaningful day. Furthermore, we identified the need for a visit counter, as the cemetery does not have this control.

7 LIMITATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

This research had limitations when it came to managing data collection. First, the questionnaires of this study were written only in Portuguese and Spanish. The results in terms of motivation, experiences, and benefits were obtained only from visitors who can communicate in either of these two languages. Second, the results may be affected by

the Facebook Business geolocation tool. The Recoleta cemetery usually receives many visitors from different nationalities, particularly from Brazil – but the research may not have portrayed this reality. Therefore, it is suggested that the study be replicated in different places. There are a small number of responses from male visitors regarding the sample size, causing gender disparity. The study results may be helpful to have a basic understanding of the three dimensions studied. Thus, new research is suggested which would aim for more parity in the sample size between the sexes.

Moreover, we suggest new research using tumular art as a motivating factor, a guided tour as a moderating factor, and new indicators such as cleanliness and safety. We suggest that researchers investigate the role of the guide in the experience through a multigroup analysis (MGA). Lastly, we identified that some cemeteries have QR Codes to provide information to their tourists; therefore, we suggest research exploring the adoption of technologies that can be utilised for the tourist experience in sites of dark tourism.

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ANNEX 1

(continue)

DIMENSIONS	ANALYSIS VARIABLES	AUTHORS / YEAR
MOTIVATIONS		
Learning and obligation	To learn something about La Recoleta Cemetery	Yan et al. (2016)
Learning and obligation	Interested in contemporary Argentine history	Yan et al. (2016)
Learning and obligation	Interested in ideological conflicts in general	Yan et al. (2016)
Learning and obligation	He felt the obligation to visit the Recoleta Cemetery	Yan et al. (2016)
Learning and obligation	To celebrate personalities buried in the Recoleta cemetery	Yan et al. (2016)
Educational programs	To satisfy curiosity about the Recoleta Cemetery	Yan et al. (2016)
Educational programs	Participate in an educational program offered by a community group, school or organization	Yan et al. (2016)
Educational programs	I wanted to teach my children about history	Yan et al. (2016)
Social reasons and curiosity	Personal or family involvement in the Recoleta cemetery	Yan et al. (2016)
Social reasons and curiosity	Brought by friends and relatives	Yan et al. (2016)
Social reasons and curiosity	To bring friends and relatives.	Yan et al. (2016)
Social reasons and curiosity	To have a meaningful day with family or friends	Yan et al. (2016)
EXPERIENCES		
Hedonic	I felt that I was doing something that I really enjoy doing.	Otto and Ritchie (1996)
Hedonic	I felt that I was doing something memorable.	Otto and Ritchie (1996)
Peace of mind	I felt like I was enjoying myself.	Otto and Ritchie (1996)
Peace of mind	He was physically comfortable.	Otto and Ritchie (1996)
Peace of mind	I was relaxed.	Otto and Ritchie (1996)
Involvement	I felt I was involved in the experience	Otto and Ritchie (1996)
Involvement	I felt that there were options for choices on the tour	Otto and Ritchie (1996)
Involvement	I felt that I had some control over the outcome of the experiment.	Otto and Ritchie (1996)
Escapism	I felt I had escaped from everyday life	Otto and Ritchie (1996)
Escapism	I felt that I could forget the daily problems.	Otto and Ritchie (1996)

ANNEX 1

(conclusion)

DIMENSIONS	ANALYSIS VARIABLES	AUTHORS / YEAR
BENEFITS		
Learning	Learned about contemporary Argentine history.	Kang (2010)
Learning	Understands the issues of ideological conflict and / or human rights	Kang (2010)
Comfort in fulfilling the obligation	Fulfilled the obligation to celebrate the personalities buried there	Kang (2010)
Comfort in fulfilling the obligation	Comfort when sharing pain and sadness with others	Kang (2010)
Family bond	I was grateful that there were no people in my family buried	Kang (2010)
Family bond	Understood the importance of the family	Kang (2010)
Family bond	I reflected on the life that my ancestors used to have	Kang (2010)
Family bond	I was grateful that you were living now and not before	Kang (2010)
Significance	Realized the importance of peace in the cemetery	Kang (2010)
Significance	We had a significant day	Kang (2010)
Significance	Spent good times with family, relatives or friends	Kang (2010)
Significance	This place is clean and tidy	Kang (2010)

ANNEX 2

DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE		
Genre	Frequency	Percent (%)
Feminine	332	73.8
Male	110	24.4
Prefer not to say	8	1.8
Total	450	100
Marital status	Frequency	Percent (%)
Married	104	23.1
Divorced	46	10.2
Not married	281	62.4
Widower	19	4.2
Total	450	100
Age Range	Frequency	Percent (%)
0 to 18 years	28	6.2
19 to 29 years	168	37.3
30 to 39 years	74	16.4
40 to 49 years	32	7.1
50 to 59 years	55	12.2
60 to 69 years	55	12.2
70 years or more	37	8.2
Total	450	100
Degree of education	Frequency	Percent (%)
Elementary School	14	3.1
High school	76	16.9
University graduate	200	44.4
Specialization (MBA)	78	17.3
Master's	51	11.3
Doctorate degree	18	4
Post doctoral	13	2.9
Total	450	100
Nationality	Frequency	Percent (%)
Argentina	401	89.1
Brazil	29	6.4
Chile	1	0.2
Colombia	2	0.4
Ecuador	2	0.4
Spain	2	0.4
U.S	1	0.2
Italy	1	0.2
Mexico	1	0.2
Portugal	1	0.2
Uruguay	2	0.4
Venezuela	7	1.6
Total	450	100