

True-crime storytelling in walking tours: The case of Jack the Ripper

Núria Galí ^{1*} and Raquel Camprubi ²

^{1*} Faculty of Tourism, University of Girona, Girona, Spain; Email: nuria.gali@udg.edu

² Faculty of Tourism, University of Girona, Girona, Spain; Email: raquel.camprubi@udg.edu

*Corresponding author

Abstract

True-crime walking tours are a type of dark tourism product in which storytelling is an essential yet understudied element. This study addresses this gap by exploring storytelling in true-crime walking tours, using Jack the Ripper tours in London as a case study. Taking a qualitative approach based on participant observation and thematic analysis, it examines how narratives are constructed and delivered to visitors (method). The study highlights the role of storytelling in shaping visitors' emotional engagement and perceptions of crime history. Findings reveal significant differences between free and regular tours, with regular tours offering greater depth, authenticity, and structured itineraries. Ethical considerations and historical accuracy also play a crucial role in true-crime tour storytelling. Practical implications for the design and delivery of true-crime tours are outlined.

Keywords: dark tourism; true-crime; storytelling; guided tours; qualitative research; Jack the Ripper; London.

Citation: Galí, N., and Camprubi, R. (2026). True-crime storytelling in walking tours: The case of Jack the Ripper. *European Journal of Tourism Research*, 42, 4208. <https://doi.org/10.54055/ejtr.v42i.4286>.

Publication history:

Received: 07/05/2024; Revised: 03/09/2025; Accepted: 11/10/2025; Published online: 01/02/2026;

Volume date: 01/03/2026

Coordinating editor: Wenjie Cai



© 2026 The Author(s)

This work is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International (CC BY 4.0). To view a copy of this license, visit <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>

1. Introduction

Dark tourism goes far beyond the act of physically visiting specific dark attractions (Lin *et al.*, 2024); it is also the result of integrating various elements that contribute to a more comprehensive experience. In this context, dark tours serve to fulfil this purpose. Dark tours are a form of thematic guided tours that explore darker, macabre, or morbid themes (Hoffin, 2023), often focused on crimes, historical tragedies, hauntings, or other unsettling events associated with a specific destination. These tours are popular in cities with rich histories of crime, supernatural traditions, or historic events that involve violence or mystery.

In recent decades, dark tours have gained attention among visitors, who are drawn to mysteries, ghost stories, murders, serial killers, or tales of urban legends. Tours such as the *Ghosts of Gettysburg*, the *Voodoo tours in New Orleans*, *Tokyo's Haunted and Suicide Forest Tour*, *Pablo Escobar Tour in Medellín*, *Berlin's Third Reich Tour*, among others, are becoming increasingly popular. People are attracted to these tours due to a mix of curiosity, thrill-seeking, and a desire to confront darker aspects of human history and psychology (Hansen & Wilbert, 2006; Hoffin, 2003; Wilbert & Hansen, 2009). Despite their clear commercial purpose, these tours, much like dark tourism, sometimes serve educational commitments and contribute to the acquisition of knowledge (Biran *et al.*, 2011; Lennon, 2017; Stone, 2006; Tudoricu, Mareci & Velicu, 2025).

A specific typology within dark tours is the true-crime tours. These tours explore real-life criminal events and historical criminology, guiding visitors to locations tied to infamous crimes. This category includes tours such as the *Milwaukee Cannibal: Jeffrey Dahmer Tour*, the *Helter-Skelter Tour* related to Charles Manson and his crimes, and the *Jack the Ripper Tour in London*, one of the most renowned true-crime tours (Hansen & Wilbert, 2006). The rise in popularity of true-crime tours, in recent years, has been attributed to the appeal of true-crime documentaries, podcasts, and series on streaming platforms (Boling, 2023; Jarvis, 2007; Zerva, 2023).

True-crime tours can be controversial, especially if they involve recent tragedies or sensitive topics. These tours often raise ethical concerns, as they walk a fine line between providing value and potentially exploiting sensationalism and human suffering for entertainment or profit (Stone, 2009). So, respect for victims and historical accuracy are important ethical considerations (Foley & Lennon, 1996; Stone, 2009; Rubenhold, 2019). Moreover, it is important to critically assess the way these tours are presented, as the narratives constructed around true-crime tourism sites can significantly influence public perception and collective memory.

Storytelling is essential in true-crime tours. The way the story is told directly influences the entire experience, its ability to capture attention, how participants perceived the experience and interact with it, and how they reflect on the crimes, victims, and social context. In true-crime tours, storytelling is used to evoke strong emotional responses by focusing on dramatic, often macabre events. This narrative approach immerses visitors in the historical and emotional context of the events (Lin *et al.*, 2024), transforming a simple guided tour into an unforgettable, emotionally engaging experience.

Although, from a practical perspective these tours have been highly successful, academia has paid limited attention to them and how storytelling is constructed. Therefore, this study aims to explore storytelling dynamics in the context of true-crime tours, following the model proposed by Camprubi and Galí (2022), which identifies five key factors influencing storytelling in themed-guided tours: the story itself, the guide's background, the guide's storytelling skills, the use of support materials, and visitors' engagement.

In this study, four guided walking tours (two regular and two free) specializing in Jack the Ripper have been selected. Jack the Ripper is one of the most prominent true-crime case, having generated extensive literature, films, and television series and documentaries, and it is also the most frequently conducted themed tours worldwide (Hansen & Wilbert, 2006). Consequently, these tours serve as a key example of true-crime walking tours (Hoffin, 2023), providing valuable insights into the factors intended to be analyzed in this research.

2. Literature review

2.1. *Dark tourism, dark tours and true-crime tours*

Foley & Lennon (1996) were the first to define dark tourism. Since then, research on dark tourism has grown considerably. Although the term encompasses a wide range of experiences, some considered “soft” and others “hard”, this diversity has contributed to a lack of consensus among scholars (Light, 2017). However, the scope of dark tourism has increasingly expanded, and now, any association, regardless of how minor the connection to death or suffering may be classified as dark tourism (Light, 2017).

Dark tourism is primarily defined as a phenomenon linked to death, crime, violence, suffering, and disasters (Foley & Lennon, 1996; Lennon & Foley, 2000; Stone, 2006, 2009; Lin *et al.*, 2024). It emphasizes fascination with death as the main motive for visiting sites (Becker, 2024; Biran *et al.*, 2011; Gibson, 2006; Foley & Lennon, 1996; Lennon, 2017; Lennon & Foley, 2000; Stone, 2006, 2009). Scholars researching dark tourism consistently highlight its direct connection to crimes and criminal behavior (Lennon, 2017; Rubenhold, 2019).

Sharpley (2009, p. 19) categorizes dark tourism into four types: (1) *Black tourism*, where tourists seek a “pure” death-related experience at sites intentionally created for this purpose (e.g. Auschwitz-Birkenau in Poland); (2) *Pale tourism*, where visitors with minimal interest in death visit accidental dark sites not originally designed for tourism (e.g. Pompeia in Italy); (3) *Grey tourism demand*, where tourists motivated by a fascination with death visit unintended dark tourism sites (e.g. Catacombs of Paris); and (4) *Grey tourism supply*, where sites exploiting death attract tourists with little interest in death itself, often seeking cultural or natural experiences (e.g. Ground Zero – 9/11 Memorial in New York). In fact, media such as cinema, television documentaries, news, podcasts, and series on streaming platforms (Becker, 2024; Boling, 2023; Jarvis, 2007; Wilbert & Hansen, 2009; Zerva, 2023), as well as literature, have drawn significant attention to real-life crime stories, sparking curiosity about visiting locations associated with these cases (Hansen & Wilbert, 2006; Lennon & Foley, 2000; Wilbert & Hansen, 2009).

Dark tourism includes an experience shaped by multiple elements (Lin *et al.*, 2024), including dark products or dark sites (Gibson, 2006; Lennon & Foley, 2000; Roberts & Stone, 2014; Stone, 2006), where morality (Stone, 2009, 2012; Stone & Sharpley, 2013), and social, psychological, and cultural context (Biran & Hyde, 2013; Wang *et al.*, 2021) are relevant. Dark tours serve as a central component of this framework.

Dark tours are themed guided itineraries that explore darker or morbid topics, often focused on crimes, historical tragedies, hauntings, or other unsettling events associated with specific locations (Wilbert & Hansen, 2009). True-crime themes are especially prevalent in dark tours, particularly when infamous criminals or unresolved cases are linked to the area (Stone, 2006; Wilbert & Hansen, 2009). In fact, within the context of dark tourism, true-crime tours represent a specific typology that explores real-life criminal events and historical criminology, guiding visitors through locations associated with notorious crimes (Hoffin, 2023).

True-crime walking tours involve guided pedestrian visits to locations associated with notorious crimes, criminal activity, and the history of criminology (Hansen & Wilbert, 2006; Hoffin, 2023; Wilbert & Hansen, 2009). As a form of dark tourism, they frequently include visits to actual crime scenes, providing a tangible link between the physical location and the historical events. Stone (2006) characterizes such locations as sites of death and suffering. These tours deliver in-depth narratives of local criminal cases, highlighting their societal impact on the surrounding community (Dalton, 2014). Additionally, they often incorporate discussions of forensic methodologies and investigative techniques used in these cases, offering participants a multifaceted perspective of criminal history (Seltzer, 2013).

These tours have gained prominence in metropolitan areas with well-documented criminal histories, exemplified by the Hollywood crime tours in Los Angeles (Gibson, 2006) and the Jack the Ripper tours in London (Hansen & Wilbert, 2006; Rubenhold, 2019), among others. This unique form of tourism not only satisfies public fascination with criminal history but also serves as an unconventional medium for disseminating knowledge about urban history, criminology, and forensic science (Skinner, 2016).

True-crime walking tours combine urban exploration with storytelling centered on real-life criminal events. In the following section, it will be explored the role of storytelling in true-crime tours.

2.2. *Storytelling in true-crime tours*

Stories are central to human life, shaping how people perceive and engage with the world. From childhood, individuals encounter narratives through myths and tales that help them understand their environment and form social bonds (Camprubi & Galí, 2022). Humans naturally use stories to interpret experiences and connect with others (Woodside *et al.*, 2008). More than entertainment, storytelling allows the sharing of knowledge, emotions, and complex ideas, fostering causal links and meaningful associations (Keskin *et al.*, 2016). As an instinctive form of communication, it influences how individuals make sense of reality and perceive people, places, and brands.

In the context of tourism, storytelling plays a fundamental role in shaping visitors' experiences (Mathisen, 2019) and enriching them (Moscardo, 2020; Mossberg, 2008). The art of storytelling entails presenting a tale in an engaging and narrative way, capturing the audience's attention and evoking emotions to enhance understanding and retention (Pinzaru, 2012). This fact is precisely crucial during a guided tour (Bessiere & Ahn, 2021; Garrison & Wallace, 2025), as it has the power to create memorable and immersive experiences (Hansen & Mossberg 2013; Bessiere & Ahn, 2021). In a true-crime guided tour, as part of a dark tourism experience, storytelling enhances visitors' understanding of the broader social and cultural contexts that shape these encounters while preserving and interpreting their cultural and historical significance (Wang, *et al.*, 2021). In this sense, Lin, *et al.* (2024) found that storytelling in dark tourism plays a key role in shaping tourists' behavioural intentions and deepening their connection to dark tourism destinations.

Several studies have focused on identifying and analyzing the components of storytelling. Fog *et al.* (2010) propose that every story consists of four fundamental components: a message, which represents the purpose of the story and may include moral statements; a conflict, referring to the central action that unfolds throughout the narrative, from the emergence of a challenge to its resolution; characters, which encompass a compelling and engaging cast; and the plot, which is the structured sequence of events that shape the story. In this regard, the flow of the narrative and its events are essential to the audience's experience. All these elements must be effectively integrated to capture and maintain the audience's attention.

Similarly, Yavuz *et al.* (2016) also identify four key components of storytelling as important narrative elements for destination brand communication. In addition to "characters", as highlighted by Fog *et al.*

(2010), they emphasize “prominent places”, where the action of the story is developed; “meanings and experiences”, which is parallel the concept of conflict; and “objects”, as tangible elements within the narrative that hold symbolic or functional significance.

Additionally, Lin *et al.* (2024) define four pivotal attributes of dark tourism storytelling, which are: emotionality, uniqueness, descriptiveness and educability. According to the authors, these four attributes are key to the mediating effect of flow experience and its influence on behavioural intentions.

Table 1. *Dimensions of storytelling in guided tours*

Dimensions	Attributes	Description	Authors
The story	Message	The reason why the story is told, usually a moral statement that is reflected throughout the narrative.	Fog <i>et al.</i> (2010) Lin <i>et al.</i> (2024)
	Conflict (facts)	The main action that unfolds throughout the story, from the emergence of a conflict to its resolution.	Bessiere & Ahn (2021) Fog <i>et al.</i> (2010)
	Characters	The different characters that appear in the narrative.	Fog <i>et al.</i> (2010) Yavuz <i>et al.</i> (2016)
	Place	The itineraries. Physical space where the action takes place.	Camprubi & Galí (2022) Yavuz <i>et al.</i> (2016)
	Objects	In this case, they correspond to the objects that are part of the story.	Camprubi & Galí (2022) Yavuz <i>et al.</i> (2016)
	Context	Information related to the current place, or historical explanations to make easy the comprehension of the story.	Bessiere and Ahn (2021) Camprubi & Galí (2022)
Guides performance	Authenticity	Real and true content delivered of the narrative.	Bessiere and Ahn (2021) Camprubi & Galí (2022)
	Guide's background	Academic background, experience and training of each tour guide.	Bessiere and Ahn (2021) Camprubi & Galí (2022)
	Guide's skills and attitude	Information related to guides' communicative and interpretative skills, as well as their ability to offer entertaining and educational tours.	Bessiere and Ahn (2021) Camprubi & Galí (2022) Lin <i>et al.</i> (2024)
Support material	Tools and materials used (analogic or digital)	Description of the type of the material used during the visit to provide support to guides' narrative.	Bessiere and Ahn (2021) Camprubi & Galí (2022)
Visitors	Visitors' characteristics	Description of the visitors in terms of socio-demographics characteristics, interests, etc.	Camprubi & Galí (2022)

More specifically, some studies have focused on identifying the key elements of storytelling in the context of guided tours. In this vein, Bessiere and Ahn (2021) identified three primary categories of factors influencing storytelling in guided tours: the site itself, the tour guide, and the tourists. Furthermore, the authors outline the techniques employed by guides to create storytelling, which are composed by seven components: empathy, interactivity, personal stories, entertainment, authenticity, education, and authority. Similarly, Camprubi and Galí (2022) proposed a model comprising five factors that shape storytelling in thematic tours: the story, that is the coherence and order of the storyline

narration and the space arrangement; the guide's background, the positive influence of the guide's knowledge and professionalism, enabling them to craft unique routes, expand expertise, and provide insights beyond standard tours; the guide's skills, such as the use of voice techniques and body language to engage the audience; the support materials, the use of analogue or digital materials to enhance the guide's ability to involve participants, and the visitors, the fascination of members with real stories and characters.

As a summary, table 1 presents the dimensions of storytelling identified by Camprubi and Galí (2022), and attributes, definitions, and the authors who have contributed to each aspect (Bessiere and Ahn, 2021; Fog *et al.*, 2010; Lin *et al.*, 2024; and Yavuz *et al.*, 2016).

3. Methodology

This study aims to explore in-depth storytelling factors in true-crime walking tours, in the case of Jack the Ripper walking tours (East end London, Whitechapel). To achieve this aim, the research adopts a qualitative approach, considering that qualitative methods enable interpretation and comprehension of the context in which behaviours and phenomena occur (Altinay & Paraskevas, 2008) and it is not necessarily interested in assessing the magnitude and distribution of phenomena (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2011). Despite, traditional qualitative research is inductive, this study is based on previous academic literature (Bessiere and Ahn, 2021; Camprubi & Galí, 2022; Fog *et al.*, 2010; Lin *et al.* 2024; Yavuz *et al.*, 2016), taking a deductive approach (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006; Pearse, 2019).

3.1. Study context and tours selection

Jack the Ripper is the name given to the serial killer who committed five homicides in the neighbourhood of Whitechapel (East End) in London in 1888. After all those years, several researchers and scholars, known as Ripperologists, have tried to uncover the identity of this killer for more than 130 years (George *et al.*, n.d.).

Despite numerous theories and suspects ranging from local butchers to prominent figures like doctors and even royalty, the case remains unsolved. This persistent enigma has solidified Jack the Ripper as one of the most infamous figures in true-crime history, sparking endless fascination and debate across generations.

Five canonical victims are widely attributed to Jack the Ripper, known as the "canonical five": Mary Ann Nichols (August 31, 1888), Annie Chapman (September 8, 1888), Elizabeth Stride (September 30, 1888), Catherine Eddowes (September 30, 1888) and Mary Jane Kelly (November 9, 1888). Traditionally, these women have been portrayed as having reprehensible lives, and their deaths have been described in a sensationalist and dehumanized manner. Rubenhold (2019) challenges this narrative by highlighting their diverse backgrounds and restoring dignity to their lives. She dismantles long-standing stereotypes by arguing that only two of the victims were sex workers and that several may have been killed simply because they were vulnerable (Rubenhold, 2019).

The killer was known for his *modus operandi*, which included slitting throats, mutilating the abdomen, and removing organs. These details led to theories that the killer had some knowledge of anatomy, possibly being a doctor or a butcher. Several letters were sent to the police and newspapers during the time of the murders, some claiming to be from the killer.

The primary reason to choose Jack the Ripper story is that it is one of the most famous true-crime stories, receiving significant attention over time, especially because it is still an unsolved case, generating the publication of numerous books and the production of a significant number of films, documentaries, and series. From a tourism perspective, specialized guided tours have been developed

focusing on the crimes committed by this serial killer. These tours aim to explain the story to tourists and curious individuals who wish to visit the locations where the murders were committed. Jack the Ripper guided tours stated in the 1960s and 1970s as a result to focus on events related to London popular culture, and “are by far the most popular guided walks in London” (Hansen & Wilbert, 2006, p.3).

This study selected four Jack the Ripper guided tours based on their specialization, with tour type as a secondary criterion. Two were regular paid tours, and two were tip-based free tours (Galí, 2022). In qualitative research, the importance lies especially in the selection of cases that are relevant to the topic of study and the richness of the data they provide, rather than in the size of the sample (Jennings, 2012). The walking tours in this study are treated as cases with high potential to provide significant insights, allowing thematic saturation to be reached with a small number of cases. The context is relatively homogeneous, as all tours are located in London and involve similar participant experiences, which further supports the notion that four cases are sufficient to capture common patterns and ensure saturation. Table 2 depicts the main characteristics of the guided tours.

Table 2. *Study site and case studies selection*

Basic information	Tour 1	Tour 2	Tour 3	Tour 4
Type of guided tour	Free tour	Free tour	Regular tour	Regular tour
Time of visit	5:00 p.m.	7:00 p.m.	7:00 p.m.	7:00 p.m.
Visit's duration	2 hours	1.5 hours	2 hours	2 hours
Booking method	online	online	online	online
Fee per person	10 pounds	10 pounds	20 pounds	12 pounds
Type of guided tour	Free tour	Free tour	Regular tour	Regular tour
Number of Participants	9	8	10	34
Meeting point	Tower Hill	Tower Hill	Whitechapel High St	Aldgate Tower

3.2. Data collection

Participant observation was selected as the primary data collection method for this study due to its effectiveness in examining behaviours and interactions within natural settings (Atkinson & Hammersley, 1998). This approach was particularly appropriate given the need for active participation, engagement, and interaction during the guided tours, which took place on April 2024. “Participant observation is accepted almost universally as the central and defining method of research in cultural anthropology” and represents the starting point in ethnographic research (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2011, p. 2).

In participant observation the observation is carried out when the researcher is playing an established participant role in the scene studied (Atkinson & Hammersley, 1998). In this case, the two authors participated in the four guided tours as visitors, taking an orientation of insiders (Atkinson & Hammersley, 1998). To avoid influencing the tour, neither guides nor participants were informed of the study in advance, following Schwartz and Schwartz (1955). Researchers remained anonymous throughout. After the tour, the guide was informed that both they and the tour had been observed for the purposes of the study, and their consent was requested to use the information collected during the observation. Additionally, the researchers held an informal conversation with the guide to gather further details about their background and the development of the tour.

Empirical evidence is very relevant in observational inquiry, since “the method of participant observation includes the use of the information gained from participating and observing through explicit recording and analysis” (DeWalt and DeWalt, 2011, p2). It is for this reason that both authors collected several types of evidence during the guided tours, including voice recording notes and pictures. After the visits, both authors wrote a diary including an accurate description of the guided tour.

For ethical considerations, an explicit consent was requested to guides to record the informal conversations and the use of the rest of data collected during the tour mentioned above for transparency and integrity.

Building on a deductive approach derived from the dimensions and attributes identified in the literature review (Fog *et al.*, 2010; Yavuz *et al.*, 2016; Bessiere and Ahn, 2021; Camprubi and Galí, 2022; Lin *et al.*, 2024), as summarized in Table 1, this study examines four core dimensions and 17 key attributes.

3.3. Data analysis

This study adopted a qualitative deductive approach (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006; Pearse, 2019). This perspective uses and organizes a framework structured around key topics from established models and academic literature (Azungah, 2018). In this case, a thematic analysis was conducted considering the dimensions of storytelling in walking tours and dark tourism identified in the previous literature (table 1), and more particularly following the model from Camprubi & Galí (2022). Thematic analysis is “a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data” (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 79). In this regard, the starting point was to code data collected during observation (pictures, voice recordings, and diaries), in order to identify the dimensions and variables detected in literature review, as it is suggested by Azungah (2018).

A key challenge in qualitative research is the potential for excessive subjectivity (Altinay & Paraskevas, 2008). Therefore, this study employed investigator triangulation (Decrop, 1999) to enhance the credibility and consistency of the findings. This method involves multiple researchers independently analysing the same dataset to reduce individual biases (Decrop, 1999). In this study, all collected data were separately examined and interpreted by each one of the researchers involved in this study. The findings were then compared and discussed to identify areas of agreement and divergence in interpretation. While no discrepancies in interpretation emerged, differences were noted in the topics identified. Consequently, a second round of analysis was conducted to incorporate multiple perspectives into the interpretation. At this point, it was found that saturation had been reached, as recurring themes and patterns consistently emerged across the four participant-observed walking tours, ultimately obtaining comparative patterns. Finally, valuable insights were provided to describe and interpret dynamics in storytelling of true-crime walking tours by means of 4 dimensions (the story, guides performance, support and visitors) and 11 variables (message, conflict, characters, place, objects, context, authenticity, guide’s background, guide’s skills and attitude, tools and materials used, and visitors’ characteristics) identified in literature review.

4. Results

This section presents the results obtained from the thematic analysis of the four “Jack the Ripper” walking tours studied through participant observation. The data has been organized in four sections according to the factors identified by Camprubi and Galí (2022).

4.1. The story

Firstly, according to Fog *et al.* (2010) and Lin *et al.* (2024), all stories have a central message, which consists of “an ideological or moral statement that works as a central theme throughout the story” (Fog

et al., 2010, p. 34). The moral of the Jack the Ripper story centres on the death and atrocity of crimes committed against socially disadvantaged individuals; and more explicitly, the clear objectification and victimization of women who led a life deemed reprehensible. This is the result of a lack of protection by the security forces, who neglected the struggles of a marginalized community.

The moral is conveyed by guides during the Jack the Ripper walking tours, though the narrative approach varies. Tour 1 presents the message more frivolously, focusing on the victims' conditions and the killer's methods, while overlooking the objectification of women and police failures. In contrast, other tours handle the message with greater sensitivity. Tour 3 emphasizes the victims' poverty and harsh living conditions. Tour 4 offers the most comprehensive approach, explicitly addressing each aspect of the moral, as noted by Lin *et al.* (2024). Uniquely, this guide tells the story from the police's perspective, offering a complementary view that sheds light on Victorian-era police ideology. As Wilbert and Hansen (2009) observe, true-crime tour guides often take on a detective-like role, which is evident in this narrative approach.

Authenticity plays a crucial role in the narrative of any story (Bessiere & Ahn, 2021; Camprubi & Galí, 2022), requiring information be presented "as close as possible to the truth" (Bessiere & Ahn, 2021, p3). This is especially significant in the context of a true-crime story, where credibility and accuracy are essential to engaging the audience. According to Camprubi & Galí (2022), three key elements must work simultaneously to establish authenticity in a thematic tour: the story's script, its veracity, and the ambiance. Tour guides must incorporate clear indicators to reinforce the authenticity of the information presented. In all the walking tours analysed, this effort to establish credibility was evident from the start. However, Tours 3 and 4 stood out by offering more substantial evidence, which further supported the authenticity of the events being narrated.

Every story contains a central conflict or event that drives the plot (Fog *et al.*, 2010), and in this case, the murders and the investigation form the narrative's core. While most stories resolve the conflict (Fog *et al.*, 2010), this one is unique in that it remains unresolved. During the guided tours, particularly Tour 4, the mystery of identifying the murderer is gradually explored, with clues emerging through the investigation, controversies, and suspicions. In Tour 2, the guide clearly presents potential suspects and even offers their own hypotheses. Tour 1, however, presents the facts in a grotesque manner, with the guide adopting the persona of Jack the Ripper, which diverges from ethical storytelling standards (Stone, 2009, 2012; Stone & Sharpley, 2013). There is a clear contrast in how the facts are presented, despite the core elements of the story being the same. The unresolved nature of the case has contributed to the creation of a myth and legend surrounding the identity of the murderer (Camprubi & Galí, 2022).

The third key component of the story is the characters, who are essential for driving the conflict forward and provide sense to the plot (Fog, *et al.*, 2010; Yavuz *et al.*, 2026). According to Fog, *et al.*, (2010), each character fulfils a distinct role within the narrative, complementing one another and contributing actively to the story's progression. In this case, seven main types of characters can be identified: Jack the Ripper as the murderer; the victims, most notably the canonical 5; the police forces, including both Metropolitan Police and the City of London Police; the journalists; and the suspects.

Among the characters, (1) Jack the Ripper is the villain, responsible for brutal murders that terrorized London's East End in 1888. He opposes the hero forces (Fog *et al.*, 2010) represented by the security. (2) The victims are essential to the story, suffering from the villain's cruelty and serving as the "goal" of the narrative, as discovering the killer's identity is the ultimate aim (Fog *et al.*, 2010). (3) The press and journalists are portrayed as the main beneficiaries, profiting from the events by publishing sensationalized reports, illustrations, and letters attributed to the murderer. In fact, "Jack the Ripper" was likely coined by a journalist amid the media frenzy surrounding the 1888 murders (Walkowitz, 1992,

cited by Wilbert & Hansen, 2009, p. 205). The media frenzy not only fuelled public fear but also solidified Jack the Ripper's legend in popular culture. (4) The police are portrayed as both benefactors and heroes (Fog *et al.*, 2010), tasked with restoring order and bringing the killer to justice. However, their failure to capture him led to public distrust. Their struggles became a key part of the legend. (5) The suspects also play an important, though contradictory, role. Initially seen as adversaries, they later become significant figures as their innocence is questioned or proven, further complicating the narrative surrounding the case.

In analyzing the guides' approaches to the characters, Tour 1 has the guide impersonate Jack the Ripper, narrating events from the villain's point of view. In contrast, Tour 4 adopts the police perspective, portraying them as heroes and showing their efforts to solve the case without success. Tours 2 and 3 remain neutral, presenting the characters without favouring any side. However, in Tour 2, the guide shares personal theories about the murderer's identity, reflecting their background in investigative journalism and adding a unique, subjective element to the tour. None of the tours moves away from the morbid fascination with the victims; in contrast to what Rubenhold (2019) calls for in her work *The Five: The Untold Lives of the Women Killed by Jack the Ripper*, where she focuses on the humanity of these five murdered women, the marginalization they experienced, and the crisis of their rights as women (Rubenhold, 2019).

The narrative in the tours includes various objects (Yavuz *et al.*, 2016), such as the murder weapon, newspaper articles, photographs of the victims, and the infamous "From Hell Letter". All tours displayed photographs, newspaper articles, and the letter, except Tour 2, which only read the letter from a mobile phone. These letters, often believed to be hoaxes, added complexity to the story, influencing public perception and fuelling media hysteria. While no concrete evidence of the murder weapon exists, all tours mention a butcher knife. Tour 1 emphasizes the weapon's use, describing the inflicted wounds with gestures to highlight the brutality.

The historical context of the story is Victorian-era London. As established by Bessiere and Ahn (2021) and Camprubi and Galí (2022) defining the context in a thematic tour is crucial for connecting the narration of the present space with the events of the story being told. This aspect also ties into the educational dimension of the storytelling (Biran *et al.*, 2011; Lennon, 2017; Stone, 2006). All the tours analysed emphasize the historical context, highlighting the neighbourhood's degradation, poverty, and marginalized populations. It is particularly well executed in Tours 3 and 4. Furthermore, Tour 3 includes additional stops to showcase specific heritage elements preserved from that period.

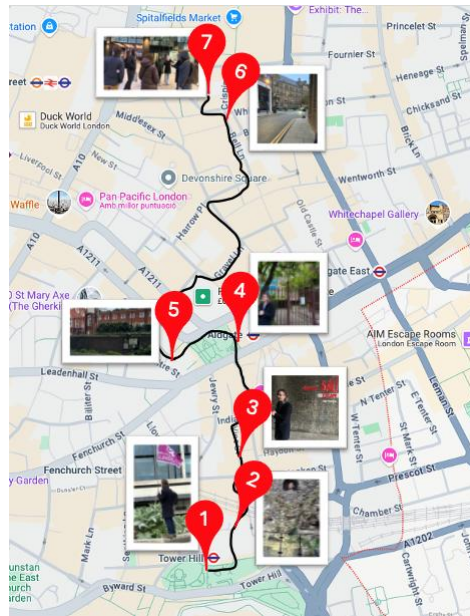
The final component of the story is the place, which refers to the route of each guided tour (Camprubi & Galí, 2022; Yavuz *et al.*, 2016). A key difference among the routes is that there is no standard itinerary followed by all tours (figure 1). Notably, free tours tend to be more superficial (Tours 1 and 2), with shorter, less structured routes, consisting of 5 to 7 stops without chronological order. This lack of structure is due to limitations in the areas available for these tours, as mentioned by the free tour guides, who are confined to specific parts of Whitechapel. In contrast, regular tours are longer (about 12 stops), more structured, and comprehensive, often following a chronological order. These tours provide a deeper explanation of the historical context and architectural elements. This approach aligns with Camprubi and Galí's (2022) findings that thematic tours should follow a structured narrative order.

Throughout the route, the space is shared with other tour groups and unrelated individuals, highlighting the need for the guide to find areas that minimize disturbances for both the tours and the public.

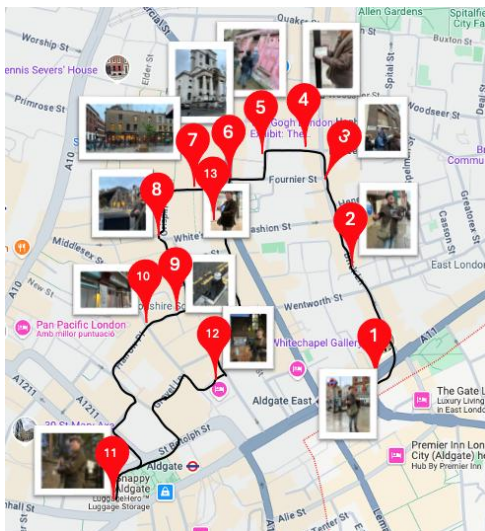
Tour 1



Tour 2



Tour 3



Tour 4

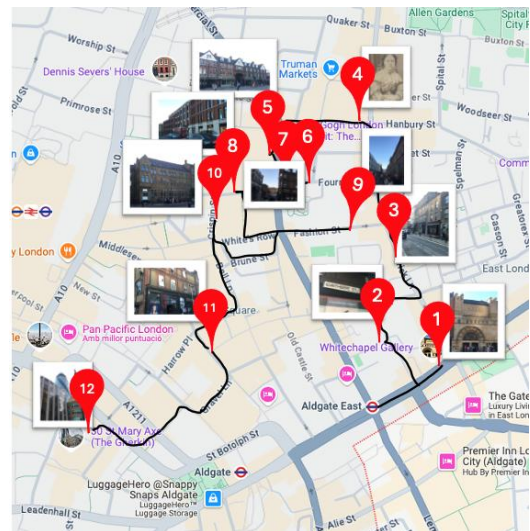


Figure 1. Jack the Ripper walking tours itineraries.

4.2. Guides' performance

The guide's background significantly influences a true-crime walking tour because it enhances the depth of knowledge, authority, and credibility of the narrative being shared. In line with Ababneh (2018), and Camprubi and Gali (2022), the guide's personal knowledge, experience, and interests can shape the narrative they provide, potentially highlighting different aspects of the site (Irimás *et al.*, 2017). A guide with expertise in history, criminology, or Ripperology, can provide context, explain intricate details, and connect the dots in ways that go beyond the surface-level facts. These types of tours require guides to have a thorough understanding of the murder sites while also being skilled at capturing the audience's attention and entertaining them with the story (Becker, 2024).

Following Camprubi and Galí (2022), an effective guide demonstrates strong communication and interpretation skills, enthusiasm, passion, and a willingness to establish a strong connection with participants. The two guides leading regular Jack the Ripper tours were skilled communicators, detail-oriented, enthusiastic, and adept at capturing the audience's attention, enhancing the overall experience. However, they differed significantly in terms of their backgrounds. On one hand, there is Guide 4 (tour 4), while on the other, there is Guide 3 (tour 3).

Guide 4 is a licensed freelance guide with a deep historical background in the Jack the Ripper case. Holding the official blue card, she has extensive research experience. She has contributed to books, articles, and TV documentaries. Her tours are enriched by personal stories and insights from her own research, uncovering lesser-known facts about the murders. Guide 4 often incorporates forensic methods and investigative techniques into her narrative, demonstrating exceptional communicative and interpretative skills, likely influenced by her interest in the subject (Woodside *et al.*, 2008; Bessiere & Ahn, 2021; Camprubi & Galí, 2022).

Guide 3, who does not hold the official guide license, is an actor who complements his work with Jack the Ripper tours. Although he is not a specialist, his years of study on the case have provided him with a broad understanding of London's most famous murderer and his victims. As an actor, he possesses good guide skills and shows an exceptional communication skill. Additionally, he demonstrates great stage presence and strong vocal control that allows him to project his voice with precision. His attitude was excellent with the group (Bessiere & Ahn 2021).

Regarding the two free tour guides, they also have very different backgrounds. On one hand, there is Guide 2, a journalist who works as a free tour guide in addition to his journalism career. He is a good communicator, but he does not display the same passion and enthusiasm as the two guides previously mentioned. As a guide, his approach was more passive, lacking the entertainment component, and consequently, they appeared less empathetic. As a result, at times, the audience's attention wanes.

Guide 1 focuses on leading free tours on various themes. He is a unique guide, often claiming to be "possessed" by the spirit of Jack the Ripper, as mentioned earlier. His performance has a very theatrical and exaggerated style, which at times may come across as a bit excessive. His interpretation is quite dramatic, which can make it challenging to follow, particularly due to his pronounced vocal delivery and partially obscured face. While intending to make the tour more dynamic, his approach often veers into the bizarre, which is inappropriate for the true-crime theme (Wilbert & Hansen, 2016). His over-the-top theatrics result in a lack of respect for the subject matter. This approach ultimately detracts from the tour's quality, causing some participants to leave before it finished. Consequently, Guide 1's walking tour was regarded as lower in quality compared to the other three guided tours analysed.

So, despite each guide has their own style of performing the tour and each level of melodrama as mentioned by Hoffin (2023), some differences were observed. That is, tour guides in regular tours were much more prepared compared to those leading free tours, who appeared less prepared. Moreover, the guides in tours 2, 3 and 4 demonstrated a restrained and contained approach to melodrama, in stark contrast to Guide 1, who exhibited a highly melodramatic style. This may be explained by their different backgrounds in terms of culture and training, as suggested by Bessiere and Ahn (2021).

Likewise, there is a certain difference among the four guides, especially between the licensed guide and the non-licensed ones. This difference is particularly evident in terms of historical knowledge. The level of knowledge and information demonstrated by the licensed guide (Tour 4) is significantly higher than that of the others. A possible explanation could be the background of each guide, as previously

mentioned, but also the fact of holding an official accreditation as a certified guide, as noted by Galí (2022) and Navalón-García & Mínguez (2021).

4.3. *Support material*

Despite differences in performing and storytelling, the majority of guides in the Jack the Ripper tours use support materials to interpret and preserve cultural history, where such materials enhance narratives and bring stories to life (Wang *et al.*, 2021). Incorporating materials helps guides illustrate and emphasize the importance of storytelling (Buchmann, 2010; Camprubi & Galí, 2022). Two types of support materials were identified: analogue and digital. Regardless of the type used, key materials included photos of the victims, illustrations, journal articles, and letters from Jack the Ripper or imitators.

Two guides used tablets to project images, while another relied on analogue materials, including original period newspapers, which added authenticity to the narrative. However, the guide from Tour 2 did not use any support materials, which diminished the depth of the tour. This lack of materials made it harder for participants to connect with the events, reducing the immersive experience.

As previously mentioned, the guide from Tour 1 not only used both digital materials and analogue documents but also incorporated distinctive props, such as a balaclava painted with red symbols, a top hat, and a Sherlock Holmes hat. However, his theatricalization occasionally verged on the bizarre, seemingly crossing the boundary between entertainment and ridicule, and disrespectful. It remains unclear whether the use of these paraphernalia was intended to dramatize the tour (albeit in an ineffective manner).

Theatricalization in guided tours involves incorporating dramatic elements to make the experience more immersive and memorable (Wilbert & Hansen, 2009). This can include costumes, dramatized dialogues, or voice changes. When done well, it enhances the narrative and creates a vivid atmosphere. However, if misapplied, it risks trivializing events or blurring the line between entertainment and historical respect. Unfortunately, the guide from Tour 1 overacted, disrupting the balance between drama and historical accuracy.

Ultimately, the findings underscore that effective true-crime tours experiences rely not only on the content of the stories told but also on the methods used to convey them, where thoughtful use of materials and balanced theatricalization enhance the historical narrative, while their absence or misapplication can detract from the tour's overall impact.

4.4. *Visitors*

As noted by several researchers, the primary motivations for participating in dark tourism are knowledge and entertainment for places associated with death a suffering, including morbid curiosity (Gibson, 2006; Lennon, 2017; Stone, 2006, 2009). However, as Biran *et al.* (2011) and Light (2017) point out, it is evident that many individuals visit dark sites for reasons unrelated to an interest in death or suffering, such as interest in history, to visit a “must see” place, a sense of conscience, curiosity, or understanding about a fact, among others.

In fact, Light (2017) states that while most tourists do not perceive themselves as dark tourists, many of them are more deeply engaged than they are often given credit for, and their visits provide opportunities for connection, understanding, and meaning-making (Light, 2017, p. 288). Therefore, their participation goes beyond mere curiosity or sensationalism. These visits offer moments for personal reflection, allowing visitors to connect with the past, empathize with the victims, and engage with the social and historical contexts and events.

Nevertheless, it seems evident that visitors to the Jack the Ripper tours in East End of London are fascinated by the crimes and the figure and myth of Jack the Ripper, derived from the observations and informal conversations. As noticed by Camprubi and Galí (2022), tours associated with real individuals who have transformed into myths and legends, along with significant and dramatic historical events, evoke both rejection and fascination at the same time, which continually attract visitors. Furthermore, as suggested by Camprubi and Galí (2022) visitors are not required to possess extensive knowledge of the subject matter, as their engagement is primarily driven by the attraction of the myth itself.

Nevertheless, as evidenced by the covert participation and the informal conversations, it was observed that the visitors on the tours showed varying levels of interest in the Jack the Ripper phenomenon. In accordance with Sharpley's (2009) classification, the authors concluded that the participants could be categorized as follows: (1) "Black tourists", individuals with a strong interest in death and the crimes of Jack the Ripper; (2) "Pale tourists", meaning tourists who had little or no interest in death itself, but participated in the Jack the Ripper tour motivated by curiosity, historical value, and even for a more general tourism experience; and (3) "Grey tourists", composed of individuals who took the Jack the Ripper tour without knowing much about the history, but as the tour progressed, they found themselves captivated by the sinister atmosphere and tragic history.

The profile of visitors across the different tour groups was highly diverse in terms of sociodemographic characteristics. However, given the nature of the product, a true-crime walking tour, the minimum age requirement is 16 years old according to tour guide 4, ensuring that all participants were adults or young-adults. It should be noted that numerous groups participating in this tour consisted of teenagers and youngers, aged between 16 and 25, often student groups on end-of-term trips, drawn by the macabre fascination with the historical events. These groups often responded with mockery to the explanations provided. It appeared they were more driven by a sense of voyeuristic curiosity.

Although the groups were not particularly large in terms of the number of participants, except for Tour 4 (34 participants), the tours took place during weekdays (Wednesday and Thursday) and outside peak tourist season. Despite this, all the guides consistently affirmed, in line with Wilbert and Hansen (2009) and Camprubi and Galí (2022), that the Jack the Ripper walking tour remains the most popular and appealing tour in the city.

5. Conclusion

By examining storytelling in true-crime tours for the first time, this study provides a meaningful theoretical contribution and addresses a previously unexplored gap in research. First, there were no studies that explicitly integrated storytelling and true-crime tours, providing a solid first insight to understand narrative in true-crime stories delivered on walking tours. Second, it provides a model that can be applied to analyse other types of activities and themed tours within dark tourism where storytelling plays a central role. Third, it confirms the five dimensions proposed by Camprubi and Galí (2022) for themed tours in general. In this regard, the analysis of Jack the Ripper walking tours supports this claim.

However, findings proof that these five dimensions are developed differently depending on whether the tour is regular or free, which is one of the most important practical contributions of this article. This is demonstrated by three main reasons:

Firstly, the narrative of Jack the Ripper in walking tours maintains essential elements of storytelling, such as the central message, characters, facts, context, objects, authenticity, and place, aligning with academic literature (Bessiere & Ahn, 2021; Camprubi & Galí, 2022; Fog *et al.*, 2010; Lin *et al.*, 2024; Yavuz, *et al.*, 2016). However, significant differences arise between regular and free tours in how the story is

conveyed. Regular tours provide a deeper, more structured narrative, following a chronological sequence that enhances storytelling coherence (Camprubi & Gali, 2022). Free tours, in contrast, offer a more superficial overview and lack a well-defined structure, which affects the immersive quality (Lin *et al.*, 2024). Authenticity is a key aspect in true-crime storytelling (Camprubi & Gali, 2022), and both tour types maintain credibility. However, ethical considerations are compromised in Tour 1, where the theatrical approach undermines historical sensitivity. Ethical storytelling that balances engagement with respect for history is crucial in dark tourism narratives (Stone, 2009). Additionally, regular tours feature more stops and a chronological layout, aiding in a better understanding of the events (Camprubi & Gali, 2022). Free tours are more restricted by location, leading to a less comprehensive and often fragmented narrative. These differences impact the level of detail and engagement in each type of tour.

Secondly, guides' backgrounds not only improve the accuracy of the information but also help create a more engaging and immersive experience for the participants, making them feel more connected to the story. A knowledgeable guide can also better handle complex or controversial aspects of the case, adding layers of insight that enrich the tour and encourage a thoughtful reflection on the events, which in turn increases the satisfaction and emotional involvement of the audience (Buchmann, 2010; Moscardo, 2020). This is especially important as guides in true-crime tours play a fundamental role in shaping the tourist experience, as their storytelling and performance contribute significantly to the construction of history. It is essential for tourists to engage with these narratives, fostering emotional connections, enhancing their experience, and contributing to overall satisfaction. Likewise, Camprubi and Gali (2022) demonstrated that visitor experiences are markedly enriched by guides who possess extensive knowledge and are deeply involved in the tour product. In this regard, one of the guides (Tour 4) went beyond the usual Jack the Ripper tours, demonstrating a much deeper knowledge. This fact made the tourists feel more engaged and satisfied with the tour, in line with Irimás *et al.* (2017). From the observations, different ways of acting were appreciated between guides in regular tours and guides in free tours. This suggests differences in presentation style, the type of information provided, and the way they interact with tourists. This result was supported by Bessiere and Ahn (2021) in their study of guides' storytelling in the Korean Demilitarized Zone. Free tour guides typically offer a more simplified and less dynamic discourse, which impacts the way they go deeper into the information. In contrast, guides in regular tours on Jack the Ripper provide a more comprehensive tour, more engaging discourse, and a more accurate and detailed narrative.

Thirdly, the use of support materials and theatrical elements plays an important role in enhancing the narratives of Jack the Ripper walking tours, contributing to both the interpretation and preservation of cultural and historical significance (Wang *et al.*, 2021). As highlighted by Buchmann (2010) and Camprubi and Gali (2022), the incorporation of visual supports, whether digital or analog, helps guides create more immersive experiences, encouraging a deeper connection between participants and the historical events being recounted. The varying approaches observed among the guides reveal the importance of striking a balance between dramatization and historical accuracy. While theatricalization has the potential to enrich storytelling by making it more engaging and memorable (Wilbert & Hansen, 2009), its misuse can undermine the authenticity and emotional impact of the narrative, as happened in Tour 1. Furthermore, the absence of support materials (free tour 2) risks diminishing the audience's engagement by weakening their ability to visualize and emotionally connect with the events.

Therefore, this study offers several practical implications for the design and delivery of true-crime tours. First, by illustrating how the five storytelling dimensions interact, the findings provide guidance for structuring tours that are more engaging and impactful. Second, the results highlight the importance of guide training, emphasizing the development of storytelling techniques, audience engagement strategies, and the effective use of props or multimedia. Finally, the differential development of these

dimensions in free versus regular tours suggests that tour operators can adapt content delivery, pacing, and interaction styles according to tour type to maximize engagement and learning outcomes.

This study also has some limitations that must be considered. Although this study takes the visitor into account, it does not achieve complete knowledge of their motivations, perception and satisfaction. Therefore, limited results are obtained in this aspect. Future research might consider the tourist perspective to understand storytelling construction in true-crime stories. Furthermore, although the study provides robust insights into storytelling in the context of true-crime tours, the findings are not fully generalizable due to the qualitative nature of the research. In this context, multiple qualitative studies employing a similar approach, as well as complementary quantitative research, could be beneficial to validate and extend these findings across different settings and populations.

References

- Ababneh, A. (2018). Tour guides and heritage interpretation: guides' interpretation of the past at the archaeological site of Jarash, Jordan. *Journal of Heritage Tourism*, 13(3), 257-272. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1743873X.2017.1321003>
- Aktinson, P., & Hammersley, M. (1998). Ethnography and participant observation. *Strategies of Qualitative Inquiry*. Thousand Oaks: Sage, 248-261.
- Altinay, L., & Paraskevas, A. (2009). *Planning research in hospitality & tourism*. Routledge. file:///Users/nuriagali/Downloads/10.4324_9781003405795_previewpdf.pdf
- Azungah, T. (2018). Qualitative research: deductive and inductive approaches to data analysis. *Qualitative research journal*, 18(4), 383-400. <https://doi.org/10.1108/ORJ-D-18-00035>
- Becker, H. (2024). Dark Tourism in New Orleans. In *Sensory Tourism: Senses and SenseScapes Encompassing Tourism Destinations* (pp. 273-282). GB: CABI. <https://doi.org/10.1079/9781800623606.0021>
- Bessiere, J., & Ahn, Y. J. (2021). Components of DMZ storytelling for international tourists: A tour guide perspective. *Sustainability*, 13(24), 13725. <https://doi.org/10.3390/sui32413725>
- Biran, A., & Hyde, K. F. (2013). New perspectives on dark tourism. *International Journal of Culture, Tourism and Hospitality Research*, 7(3), 191-198. <https://doi.org/10.1108/IJCTHR-05-2013-0032>
- Biran, A., Poria, Y., & Oren, G. (2011). Sought experiences at (dark) heritage sites. *Annals of tourism research*, 38(3), 820-841. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2010.12.001>
- Boling, K. S. (2023). "We can do better. We can be better": counter-narratives in true crime podcasts on domestic violence. *Critical Studies in Media Communication*, 40(5), 363-380. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15295036.2023.2265982>
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative research in psychology*, 3(2), 77-101. <https://doi.org/10.1191/1478088706qp0630a>
- Buchmann, A. (2010). Planning and development in film tourism: Insights into the experience of Lord of the Rings film guides. *Tourism and Hospitality Planning & Development*, 7(1), 77-84. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14790530903522648>
- Camprubi, R., & Galí, N. (2022). Tell Me the Story: Film-themed Guided Tours in London. *Tourism Review International*, 26(4), 353-371. <https://doi.org/10.3727/154427222X16438247292418>
- Dalton, D. (2014). *Dark tourism and crime*. Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203080153>
- Decrop, A. (1999). Triangulation in qualitative tourism research. *Tourism management*, 20(1), 157-161. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0261-5177\(98\)00102-2](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0261-5177(98)00102-2)
- DeWalt, K. M., & DeWalt, B. R. (2011). *Participant observation: A guide for fieldworkers*. Rowman Altamira.
- Fereday, J., & Muir-Cochrane, E. (2006). Demonstrating rigor using thematic analysis: A hybrid approach of inductive and deductive coding and theme development. *International journal of qualitative methods*, 5(1), 80-92. <https://doi.org/10.1177/160940690600500107>

- Fog, K., Budtz, C., Munch, P., Blanchette, S., Fog, K., Budtz, C., ... & Blanchette, S. (2010). The four elements of storytelling. *Storytelling: Branding in practice*, 31-46. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-540-88349-4_2
- Foley, M., & Lennon, J. J. (1996). JFK and dark tourism: A fascination with assassination. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 2(4), 198-211. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13527259608722175>
- Galí, N. (2022). Impacts of COVID-19 on local tour guides. *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change*, 20(6), 788-805. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14766825.2022.2046016>
- Garrison, S., & Wallace, C. (2025). Story-weaving: homo narrans, popular culture and the role of stories in tourism. *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, 28(3), 637-652. <https://doi.org/10.1177/13678779241300>
- George, R., Poade, D. and Longart, P. (n.d.). Tourists' perceptions of crime-safety whilst participating in a Jack the Ripper walking tour: Whitechapel, East London. *International Journal of Safety and Security in Tourism/Hospitality*. Retrieved from: https://www.palermo.edu/Archivos_content/2024/negocios/ijsssth/02-Richard-George.pdf
- Gibson, D. C. (2006). The relationship between serial murder and the American tourism industry. *Journal of Travel & Tourism Marketing*, 20(1), 45-60. https://doi.org/10.1300/J073v20n01_04
- Hansen, A. H., & Mossberg, L. (2013). 11. consumer immersion: a key to extraordinary experiences. In J. Sundbo and F. Sorensen (Eds.). *Handbook on the experience economy*, pp. 209-227.
- Hansen, R., & Wilbert, C. (2006). Setting the crime scene: Aspects of performance in Jack the Ripper guided tourist walks. *Merge Magazine: Sound Thought Image*, 17(1), 1-14.
- Hoffin, K. (2023). Jack the Ripper tour: Whitechapel, London, UK. 50 *Dark Destinations: Crime and Contemporary Tourism*, 35. doi.org/10.56687/9781447362210-009
- Hyde, K. F. (2000). Recognising deductive processes in qualitative research. *Qualitative market research: An international journal*, 3(2), 82-90. <https://doi.org/10.1108/13522750010322089>
- Irimiás, A., Mitev, A., & Michalkó, G. (2017). Thematic guided tours to co-create film tourism experiences: the case of the Game of Thrones. *Revista Turismo & Desenvolvimento*, 2(27/28), 451-453. [file:///Users/nuriagali/Downloads/20981-Manuscrito-41303-1-10-20200925%20\(4\).pdf](file:///Users/nuriagali/Downloads/20981-Manuscrito-41303-1-10-20200925%20(4).pdf)
- Jarvis, B. (2007). Monsters Inc.: Serial killers and consumer culture. *Crime, media, culture*, 3(3), 326-344. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1741659007082469>
- Jennings, G. R. (2012). Part II. Qualitative Research Methods. In L. Dwyer, A. Gill & N. Seetaram (Eds.). *Handbook of research methods in tourism: Quantitative and qualitative approaches* (pp. 309-323). Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Keskin, H., Akgun, A. E., Zehir, C., & Ayar, H. (2016). Tales of cities: City branding through storytelling. *Journal of Global Strategic Management*, 10(1), 31-41.: <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/309465697>
- Lennon, J. J. (2017). Dark tourism sites: visualization, evidence and visitation. *Worldwide Hospitality and Tourism Themes*, 9(2), 216-227. <https://doi.org/10.1108/WHATT-09-2016-0042>
- Lennon, J. J., & Foley, M. (2000). *Dark Tourism: The Attraction of Death and Disaster*. London: Continuum.
- Light, D. (2017). Progress in dark tourism and thanatourism research: An uneasy relationship with heritage tourism. *Tourism management*, 61, 275-301. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2017.01.011>
- Lin, Z., Zhang, S., & Yhang, W. J. (2024). Storytelling in Dark Tourism: The Role of Flow Experience and National Identity. *SAGE Open*, 14(2), 21582440241257159. <https://doi.org/10.1177/21582440241257159>
- Mathisen, L. (2019). Storytelling: A way for winter adventure guides to manage emotional labour. *Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism*, 19(1), 66-81. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15022250.2017.1411827>
- Moscardo, G. (2020). Stories and design in tourism. *Annals of tourism research*, 83, 102950. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2020.102950>
- Mossberg, L. (2008). Extraordinary experiences through storytelling. *Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism*, 8(3), 195-210. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15022250802532443>

- Navalón-García, R., & Mínguez, C. (2021). Tourist guides and free tours: A controversial relationship. *Tourist Studies*, 21(3), 486-506. <https://doi.org/10.1177/14687976211016073>
- Pearse, N. (2019). An illustration of deductive analysis in qualitative research. In *18th European conference on research methodology for business and management studies* (p. 264).
- Pînzaru, F. (2012). From conjunctural urban storytelling to city branding: An empirical model for Bucharest. *Management Research and Practice*, 4(2), 44-44. <https://mrp.ase.ro/no42/f3.pdf>
- Roberts, C., & Stone, P. R. (2014). Dark tourism and dark heritage: Emergent themes, issues and consequences. *Displaced heritage: Responses to disaster, trauma and loss*, 9-18. <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781782044109.003>
- Rubenhold, H. (2019). *The Five: The Untold Lives of the Women Killed by Jack the Ripper, the Bestselling True Crime Book*. Random House.
- Schwartz, M. S., & Schwartz, C. G. (1955). Problems in participant observation. *American journal of sociology*, 60(4), 343-353. <https://doi.org/10.1086/221566>
- Seltzer, M. (2013). *Serial killers: Death and life in America's wound culture*. Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203700143>
- Sharpley, R. (2009). Shedding light on dark tourism: An introduction. In R. Sharpley & P. Stone (Eds.), *The darker side of travel: The theory and practice of dark tourism* (pp. 3-22). Bristol: Channel View Publications.
- Skinner, J. (2016). Walking the Falls: Dark tourism and the significance of movement on the political tour of West Belfast. *Tourist Studies*, 16(1), 23-39. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1468797615588427>
- Stone, P. R. (2006). A dark tourism spectrum: Towards a typology of death and macabre related tourist sites, attractions and exhibitions. *Tourism: An International Interdisciplinary Journal*, 54(2), 145-160. <https://hrcak.srce.hr/161464>
- Stone, P. R. (2009). Dark tourism: Morality and new moral spaces. In R. Sharpley & P.R. Stone (Ed.) *The darker side of travel: The theory and practice of dark tourism* (pp. 56-72). Bristol: Channel View Publications.
- Stone, P. R. (2012). Dark tourism and significant other death: Towards a model of mortality mediation. *Annals of tourism research*, 39(3), 1565-1587. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2012.04.007>
- Stone, P. R., & Sharpley, R. (2013). Deviance, Dark Tourism and 'Dark Leisure': Towards a (re) configuration of morality and the taboo in secular society. In *Contemporary perspectives in leisure* (pp. 54-64). Routledge.
- Tudoricu, A., Mareci, A., & Velicu, A. (2025). Dark tourism and its bright future. Case study: Bellu Cemetery, Romania. In *Landscape-Tourism-Food: Contributions to European Touristscapes and Foodscapes* (pp. 205-244). Cham: Springer Nature Switzerland. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-81747-2_11
- Wang, J., Wang, G., Zhang, J., & Wang, X. (2021). Interpreting disaster: How interpretation types predict tourist satisfaction and loyalty to dark tourism sites. *Journal of Destination Marketing & Management*, 22, 100656. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jdmm.2021.100656>
- Weaver, D., Tang, C., Shi, F., Huang, M. F., Burns, K., & Sheng, A. (2018). Dark tourism, emotions, and postexperience visitor effects in a sensitive geopolitical context: A Chinese case study. *Journal of Travel Research*, 57(6), 824-838. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0047287517720119>
- Wilbert, C., & Hansen, R. (2009). Walks in spectral space: East London crime scene tourism. In *Strange spaces* (pp. 199-216). Routledge.
- Woodside, A. G., Sood, S., & Miller, K. E. (2008). When consumers and brands talk: Storytelling theory and research in psychology and marketing. *Psychology & Marketing*, 25(2), 97-145. <https://doi.org/10.1002/mar.20203>
- Yavuz, M. C., Sumbul, M., Ergec, N. E., & Derdiyok, C. I. (2016). Storytelling in destination brand communication: A qualitative analysis. *Journal of Global Business Insights*, 1(2), 63-72. <https://doi.org/10.5038/2640-6489.1.2.1008>

Zerva, K. (2023). How to be a dark tourist: Analysis of the tourist behavior through a documentary series. *Cuadernos de Turismo*, (51), 101-123. <https://doi.org/10.6018/turismo.571481>