

**Master's Thesis**

**Dark Tourism in Vietnam's Former DMZ: An Analysis of  
Characteristics and Structure**

by

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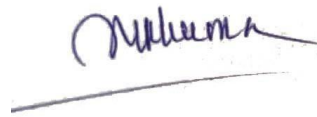
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## CERTIFICATE PAGE

I, NGO Thi Minh Phuong (Student ID 51218602) hereby declare that the contents of this Master's Thesis / Research Report are original and true, and have not been submitted at any other university or educational institution for the award of degree or diploma.

All the information derived from other published or unpublished sources has been cited and acknowledged appropriately.



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PHUONG, Ngo Thi Minh  
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## PUBLICATIONS IN RELATION TO THIS THESIS

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## ABSTRACT

Visitors to the site of death and sufferings stemmed from wars and conflicts, often known as dark tourism, constitutes one of the significant segments of the travel and tourism industry. Over the past two decades, dark tourism attracted the researchers' attention in a wide range of tourism studies by Western perspectives.

Research on death and suffering that happened in the past brings a powerful lens for interpretation of a broader relationship in contemporary society which is driven by demand and supply. While demand for dark tourism is a behavioral phenomenon, labeled by tourist's motives in the relationship with a particular characteristic of a site, supply is usually influenced by the social and political context of the country/region where the site is located. Accordingly, a universal theory applied to all dark tourism practices is ambiguous.

Vietnam, a Southeast Asian country involved in wars with French, American and Chinese in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, which left a humorous historical relic system, is an excellent case study to construct dark tourism in Asia. When war heritage sites often bring plenty of controversial views among parties, a special motivation to these places gives visitors multi-nuanced emotion and experience. Visitor engagement with war heritage sites reflects a multi-dimensional nature depending on how they perceive "their world" described by the places, the events and the people. Their connections to the site often through personal and family history shed different lights on their cognition, emotion and action. Therefore, visiting the heritage of war is a reciprocal process, in which visitors' experience is transformed by a psychological development during interactions with the site.

The mixed qualitative method approach is utilized to discover the structure and different characteristics of dark destinations in the Eastern context which is identified by



a form of secular pilgrimage and ancestor ritual practice. The researcher analyzes the data collected from the tour guide's interpretation and narrative, site observation, visitor's comments in guestbook and interview with stakeholders involved in dark tourism in Quang Tri. The findings of the study provide an insight into the structure and characteristics of dark tourism in an Asian country. The conventional bipolar of the dark-light spectrum is challenging in this research while the visitation to dark sites is more complex and diversified in its interpretation. The study also enhances our understanding of the dark tourism construct in general and under the context of Vietnam in particular, where dark tourism in war heritage has been ignored from the Vietnamese perspective.

*Key words: Dark tourism, the Vietnam War, war heritage, pilgrimage, demand and supply, tourist experience.*

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AU	Australia
DMZ	Demilitarized Zone
DoV	Democratic Republic of Vietnam
EWEC	East-West Economic Corridor
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HL	Hien Luong
QT	Quang Tri
RoV	Republic of Vietnam
TC	Ta Con
UK	The United Kingdom
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Culture
UNWTO	World Tourism Organization
US	The United States
VM	Vinh Moc
VN	Vietnam
VND	Vietnam Dong
WWI	World War I
WWII	World War II

## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

*Visitors to thanatourist site in Asia may mourn for the dead, pay homage to them, desire to assist them, and make merit for themselves by worshipping at the sites, or even supplicate the deceased for personal benefits. But I have not found any evidence of the thanatopic motivation or experience presumed by theoreticians to be the crucial mark of (Western) thanatourism: the contemplation of their own mortality. This may well be the basic difference between Western and Asian thanatourism, derived from differences between the secular Western “theology” of death and its Asian religious counterparts.*

Thanatourism: A comparative Approach (Cohen, 2018, p. 169)

### 1.1. Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of theoretical and historical context for the current research. The researcher identifies theoretical and practical shortcomings in the field of dark tourism research to justify the importance and significance of the work, followed by a statement of research objectives and questions. The chapter also offers the definitions of key terms adopted in this research. Then, it briefly outlines the qualitative research strategy implemented for the research before ending with an outline of the thesis.

### 1.2. Background of the Research

It can be said that the phenomenon of "dark tourism" has just emerged in more than two decades, but the characteristics of this type of travel seem to be expressed and named in distinct facets depending on its social context, for instance, holocaust tourism,

thanatourism, atrocity tourism, morbid tourism, mortality tourism, fright tourism, genocide tourism (Ashworth & Hartmann, 2005; Ashworth, 2002; Beech, 2000; Blom, 2000; Marson, 2016, Seaton & Lennon, 2004, Seaton, 1999, 2009b; Shirt, 2016). Among several terms associated with dark tourism, “holocaust tourism” might be one of the darkest phrases that remind human beings of death and extermination (Beech, 2000; Ashworth, 2002; Thomas, 2008). The “death camp” Auschwitz-Birkenau in Southern Poland is a famous destination that attracted more attention to not only geographers, sociologists, historians but also tourists after the Cold War as sites with “deep personal impacts on a tourist” (Johnston et al., 2016, p. 160). In a broader interpretation of heritage tourism, Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996) explore examples of heritage sites that embody discord or disagree in human history, named “heritage of atrocity” (see Smith, Macleod & Robertson, 2010, p. 37). In contrary, thanatourism, another label of traveling to death-related destinations (Seaton, 1996; Stone and Shapley, 2008) is considered be more positive and empathetic phenomenon because of including “an element of positivity, endowment and empathy” (Mandelartz & Johnston, 2016, p. v, vi).

Having appeared in literature since the mid-1990s, the term “dark tourism” (Lennon and Foley, 1996) has been widely accepted in tourism research. However, dark tourism study is considered as “theoretically fragile” (Light, 2017, p. 294; see also Sharpley, 2005; Stone, 2006) in which the researchers usually describe the case studies rather than deeply focusing on the psychological facet and analyzing its impact on tourist behaviors as well as their experiences. Indeed, production of dark tourism is not only driven by supply-side in the broader political and cultural climate (Seaton, 1999, see also Stone, 2006) but also by consumer tastes (Ashworth, 2004; Buntman, 2008; Dunkley, 2007, Hughes, 2008; Sharpley, 2005; Stone and Shapley, 2008). Each dark site requires

to be perceived by distinguishing lens in particular characteristics of a site and specific contexts of a society (Seaton, 1996) instead of applying for the entire spectrum of dark tourism practice. It is assumed that the personal connection creates a unique motivation to dark sites that colors tourist experience in a disparate way by the distinct lens of victims - perpetrators - bystanders. Dark tourism research in Western countries is available and multifaceted under several labels, whilst a fundamental study on the dark sites has been insufficiently presented in Asian nations.

Western literature shows that the fundamental assumption of tourist motivation is multi-facetedly interpreted. Stone (2009a) has explained the death is a necessary feature of human life, and that the narrative of death can be placed within popular culture. The argument is that confronting fear is a way to reduce it. The “absent death is made present” so that public awareness of death becomes a valuable source of education, memorial, and entertainment to some extent (Stone, 2009a, p. 36). The trip to the site of death might be a memorable experience. For instance, Albeit Body Worlds, the sites showing anatomical body exposures to numerous ethical critics, it is undeniable fact that these exhibitions still attract a lot of tourists in 47 cities across the world since 1996 (Stone, 2009a). The site is a magnet to tourists “is because it touches upon the taboo of death” (Stone, 2009a, p. 24).

A common approach to death in Asia is making death meaningful and holy to assist human beings; and life after death continues and needs to be worshiped in various ways (Cohen, 2018). For example, in Japan, Vietnam, and Thailand, dark tourism is affected by their customs and religious tradition, and tourists’ behavior mirrors a Confucian view of all the social relationships (Hsu, Cai & Wong, 2007). Furthermore, Asian societies reflect a different approach to the dark sites with “ancestor worship as

background” (Cohen, 2018, p. 159). Many consumptions also show an Asian pattern of traveling to dark sites related to not only death places but also to holy mountain and temple (Ryan, 2011) as a part of people’s spiritual life. Thanatourist seeks to access the spirit of sites by mythical and inspired stories rather than the interest in death (Foley and Lennon, 1996; Seaton, 1996; Stone, 2011a).

Despite experiencing dozens of small and large wars that have left a large war heritage system for dark tourism operation in Vietnam, Vietnamese researchers have neglected such studies on war-related sites in relation to the Vietnam War. Although the Vietnam War is considered as a tourist attraction (Gillen, 2014, 2018; Henderson, 2000; 2007, Schwenkel, 2006; Upton et al., 2018), very few Vietnamese researchers investigate this potential source in dark tourism context (Ho Tai, 2001; Le, 2014; Ngo & Bui, 2019). Thus, dark tourism should be examined from various perspectives in which the Vietnamese researchers need more academic attention to contribute to forming comprehensive literature in this field (Ngo & Bui, 2019).

### 1.3. Definitions of Key Terms

There are numerous key terms introduced in the thesis. The following selected list provides the used terms for this study.

#### **Dark tourism**

- “travel to a location wholly, or partially, motivated by the desire for actual or symbolic encounters with death” (Seaton, 1996, p. 240).
- “the presentation and consumption (by visitors) of real and commodified death and disaster sites” (Foley & Lennon, 1996, p. 198).



- “the social scientific study of tourism and tourists associated with sites of death, disaster or the seemingly macabre” (Stone, 2011a, p. 318).

**Battlefield tourism:** is “a significant focus area within the field of study of thanatourism/dark tourism and focuses specifically on famous war sites, battlefields, and cemeteries” (Chen & Tsai, 2017, p. 5).

**Thanatourism:** “describe(s) tourism to sites associated with death and disaster” (Johnston et al., 2016, p. 157).

**Secular pilgrimage:** “Nonreligious people may attach sacred meaning to a wide variety of nonreligious sites, and seek a journey to such sites” (Hyde & Harman, 2011, p. 1344).

**Stakeholders:** “are potentially engaged in the sector or are affected by it, directly and indirectly” (UNWTO, 2013, p. 19).

**Tour operator:** “is defined to be a company which negotiates with hotels, transportation companies, and other suppliers and combines these vacation components into a package tour” (Sheldon, 1986, p. 352).

**Travel agency:** “provide(s) important sales and information links between tourism service suppliers and the traveling public” (Cook et al., 2014, p. 88).

**Tour guide:** “the essential interface between the host destination and its visitors” (Ap & Wong, 2001, p. 551).

**On-site tour guide:** who “convey(s) meaningful messages to tourists by enhancing their cognitive and affective access to historical sites with their knowledge and interpretation” (Ngo & Bui, 2019, p. 77).

**Interpretation:** “an educational activity which aims to reveal meanings and relationships through the use of original objects, by first hand experience, and by illustrative media, rather than simply to communicate factual information” (Tilden, 1957, p. 8, cited in Leshem, 2018).

**Emotion:** “felt short-lived responses to external stimuli” (Reeve, 2008; in Asworth & Isaac, 2015, p. 4).

**Tourism demand:** “the relationship between individuals’ motivation to travel and their ability to do so” (Pearce, 1995, p. 18).

**Tourist motivation:** “demand for tourist at the individual level can be treated as a consumption process which is influenced by a number of factors. These may be a combination of needs and desires, availability of time and money, or images, perceptions and attitudes” (Cooper et al., 1993, p. 20).

**Tourism supply:** “productive activities that involve the provision of goods and services required to meet tourism demand and which are expressed in tourism consumption” (Sessa, 1983, p. 59).

### 1.3.1. The Vietnam War

Vietnam, a country in Southeast Asia has been known to more parts of the world by the Vietnam War in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century. The Vietnam War (also known as the Second

Indochina War) refers to the war between the North – the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DoV) and the South – the Republic of Vietnam (RoV) from 1954 to 1975 (Le, 2009). Being divided after 1954, the North and South Vietnam following different political ideologies embarked on a long war in twenty years. Being one of the most controversial wars in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, the Vietnam War was complicated with the involvement of American and alliances from 1965 to 1972. DMZ (Demilitarized Zone) does not only witness the division of the country, the showcase of military powers from different troops involved, but also the battlefield of the fiercest battles of the war with hundred thousands of lives lost, making the land to be a sacred destination in the national history. Being home of numerous historical relics left by the Vietnam War, war-related sites in Vietnam become a must-see destination for those who are interest in connecting to the past and those who want to satisfy “desired experience” by “actual experience”.

### **1.3.2. DMZ in Quang Tri**

Among the former battlefields, Quang Tri province, the former DMZ is known for some of the fiercest battles of the Vietnam War, such as Khe Sanh in 1968 and Quang Tri Ancient Citadel in 1972 (Ngo & Bui, 2019). Located on the borderline between the two fronts, the two different ideologies and the place of confrontation between Vietnamese and American armies, Quang Tri exhibits “counter-representations of the past” (Schwenkel, 2006). The DMZ was settled as a result of the Geneva Agreement ending the war between the League for Independence of Vietnam and the French in 1954. Hien Luong Bridge - Ben Hai River in the 17<sup>th</sup> parallel was recognized as the demarcation line (Le, 2009).

Having a highly significant status in the history of the revolution in Vietnam, Quang Tri becomes an iconic destination for many generations to learn about the war and the Vietnamese struggle for independence and unification.

### **1.3.3. DMZ sites as tourism destination**

War vestiges at DMZ reflect the complexity of the history and the war from various perspectives. For American troops, Khe Sanh Battlefield, Ta Con Airbase, and Camp Carroll are in the memory and history of the Vietnam War from the American angle. For both North Vietnamese and South Vietnamese, the sites of former battlefields such as Thach Han River, Quang Tri Citadel, and numerous cemeteries across the province are made sacred in contemporary national history.

The site of DMZ captures the complexity of war history and is an ideal destination for an examination of the multifaceted notion of the dark tourism experience. The famous historical destinations in Quang Tri attract numerous tourists every year, such as Legendary Ho Chi Minh Trail, the Ancient Quang Tri Citadel, and the Vinh Moc Tunnels, historical border of Hien Luong – Ben Hai riverbanks (see Figure 1.1). Owing to the significance of Quang Tri in national history, the province welcomes many tourists visiting to learn about the history and pay tribute to those who lost their lives in the War (Quang Tri Tourism Guidebook, 2016). The growth rate of the tourism portion is relatively high, added the value accounted for about 4.7% of the province's GDP in 2016 (Quang Tri People's Committee, 2017).



Figure 1.1. Some historical relics in Quang Tri, Vietnam (Source: Ngo & Bui, 2019, p. 67)

#### 1.4. Research Problems and Objectives

Dark tourism encompasses the broad and multi-layered design and purpose of travel to death and suffering (Stone, 2006) in which demand and supply are two important

linked dimensions to measure its structure in the tourism economy. Although dark tourism research in-demand motivator is available and multifaceted ([Ashworth, 2004](#); [Buntman, 2008](#); [Dunkley et al., 2007](#); [Sharpley, 2005](#); [Stone and Shapley, 2008](#)), a fundamental study on the supply-related issue has been separately and poorly understood. Naturally, the political stance provides a feasible narrative to understand what should be interpreted and what should be ignored ([Korstanje & Ivanov, 2012](#), see also [Korstanje & Baker, 2016](#)). The conceptualization of dark tourism requires the involvement of a supply factor that deepens the psychological consumption process to satisfy both “desired” and “actual” outcomes of tourist experience ([Yan et al., 2016](#), p. 110). Hence, the relationship between customer-demand and attraction-supply cannot be separately analyzed and perceived.

In over two decades, dark tourism has gained international academic attention, especially in Western countries ([Cohen, 2018](#)); however, this term is not frequently shown in Asian tourism literature. Among about 546 articles on this field, only 70 searching results were found in “dark tourism in Asia” ([Web of Science, retrieved on November 15, 2019](#)). Meanwhile, Asian societies reflect a different approach to the dark sites with “ancestor worship as background” ([Cohen, 2018](#), p. 159). Accordingly, in some Asian countries, for instance, Thailand, Vietnam, Cambodia, India, Japan, dark tourism can be dimensioned and effected by their customs and religious tradition: dead is so meaningful and holy assisting for human beings and the life after death still exists and need to be worshiped by various ways ([Cohen, 2018](#)). The study contributes to the body of knowledge in the field study of dark tourism in the context of Asia.

Although faced with some wars, leaving a war heritage system for dark tourism, studies of war-related/battlefield tourism have been ignored by the Vietnamese researchers (Ngo & Bui, 2019). By the international scholar's lens on the Vietnam War, majority of papers focus on particular events (Allison, 2008, Ford, 1995); critical analysis on strategy (Summers, 1995), veterans (Chamie et al., 2008; Laufer et al., 1984; Kashdan et al., 2006; Kishon-Barash et al., 1999), or different views of the War (Christopher, 1995; Hellmann, 1986; Ringnalda, 1994; Tucker, 1999). The wartime heritages were utilized as a potential resource to attract tourists in Vietnam (Gillen, 2014, 2018; Henderson, 2007, Schwenkel, 2006; Upton et al., 2018), yet, very few Vietnamese researchers explore these materials in dark tourism (Le, 2014; Ngo & Bui, 2019). Hence, dark tourism examined from various perspectives, especially by the Vietnamese researchers, will considerably contribute to the formation of comprehensive literature in this field.

Having known as the place making the modern history of Vietnam, however, Quang Tri, where the former DMZ locates, has been struggling to develop its tourism. There are many reasons behind the late implementation of a strategy to utilize war-related heritage from tourism development. One of the reasons is a lack of understanding of the mismatch between demand and supply of dark tourism. In other words, the production of dark tourism is entirely based on the political doctrine of the current government without consideration of the diverse interpretations of the war sites and associated experience from different parties/countries involved in the war. Thus, the products of dark tourism should reflect market demand research and a supply-driven that creates an opportunity to institutionalize dark tourism to be focused on development strategy. Therefore, a study delving into the relationship between customer-demand and attraction-supply will significantly contribute to improving the quality of dark tourism products.

Furthermore, among the tourist visiting Quang Tri as the spiritual journey, there are several veterans who indirectly and directly had served in the Vietnam War. The chance might be missed as veteran and those who had the first-hand experience of the Vietnam War have already been aged, and the second and third generation might only have secondary memory. When the first-hand generation would no longer tell the vivid stories about their times imprinted in their personal memories, there is a need to transfer these memories to the young generations. Hence, the research in Quang Tri is necessary to save the valuable memories and emotions that their connections to the sites either through personal and family history shed different lights on dark tourism that is usually perceived as death and suffering.

The study aims to accomplish the following objectives:

- (i) To examine the dark tourism characteristic in a context of Asian country;
- (ii) To explore the structure of dark tourism from demand side, i.e. tourists and supply side, i.e. policy makers, tourist agencies and tour guides;
- (iii) To highlight demand-supply gaps in regards to operation of dark tourism by triangulating findings from demand and supply analysis; and
- (iv) To recommend development strategy for dark tourism to local government.

The findings contribute to explaining why tourists engage with the war heritage and how much government-driven might affect tourist motivation and experience. The gap generated by tourist engagement and political role will provide a practical implication for dark tourism planning and implementation in Vietnam. According to the objectives of the study, the following research question and three sub-questions are proposed:



- (i) What are characteristics of dark tourism in Vietnam?
- (ii) How dark tourism products are structured and packaged?
- (iii) How dark tourism products are consumed and perceived?
- (iv) Are there any gaps in dark tourism structure evidence in the former DMZ?

### **1.5. Research Methodology**

This research is guided by the interpretivism paradigm and embraces a two-phase conjunctive mixed qualitative approach.

In the first phase, the researcher interacted and interviewed the tourists and other stakeholders including tour guides, on-site tour guides, tour agencies, and government officers. The questions were based on research reviewing the literature. The respondent's answer was transcribed and translated into English, then, its content was analyzed. Key terms were picked up and gathered in a similar informant's answer group. Continuously, in the second phase, the researcher took the comments left by visitors at some war-selected sites in Quang Tri: Hien Luong – Ben Hai Historical Relic, Vinh Moc Tunnels, Quang Tri Ancient Citadel, Ta Con Airbase, Quang Tri Museum. Interpretive content analysis was applied for obtaining the research result. This reflection and comparison between two phases contribute to launching an overall view of dark tourism in Vietnam.

### **1.6. The Significance of the Research**

The findings contribute to generating several theoretical and practical implications for dark tourism. For the theoretical aspect, this exploratory research highlights the notion of dark tourism in an Asian developing context, that has often been

shadowed by European and North American perspectives and approaches. Thus, it challenges the dominant view of Western-centric dark tourism as the contemplation of their own mortality by an Asian viewpoint of dark tourism is a dyadic presentation of living and death. Hence, dark tourism is a mediating agency between the two poles of human life. The current research shows the aspect of “theoretically fragile” (Light, 2017, p. 294; see also Sharpley, 2005; Stone, 2006,) in dark tourism, in which the researchers usually describe the case studies rather than developing implications for these sites. Each dark destination requires to be perceived by distinguishing lens in particular characteristics of a site and specific contexts of a society (Seaton, 1996) instead of applying for the entire spectrum of dark tourism practice.

For practitioners, the study highlights the identification of shortcomings for relevant policy adjustment and strategic supplementation. Any implications for dark tourism should be reflected by a multi-layered and reciprocal process with a powerful lens of broader relationships in contemporary society (Stone, 2013). Concerning destination management, the research provides appropriate assessments for destination development. It is beneficial for management agencies at the destination to clarify the construction of tourism products and to reshape tourism development strategy in Quang Tri built on problems identified. Therefore, this research contributes to the proposal of an effective product for Quang Tri tourism in the future.

## **1.7. Outline of the Thesis**

This thesis consists of six chapters. This chapter provides a holistic overview of the thesis. Chapter 2 reviews the literature on dark tourism in relation to demand and supply. Chapter 3 comes up with the methodological rationale, research paradigm, and

mixed qualitative approach. Chapter 4 outlines the findings from the interview data. Chapter 5 discusses the key results of the guestbook analysis. Chapter 6 provides an intensive discussion and overall conclusion to this thesis. Some theoretical and practical implications, limitations as well as recommendations are proposed for further research.

## CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

### 2.1. Introduction

This chapter provides a critical review of the extant literature on the topic of dark tourism shaping the theoretical background for the current research. Four sections of the chapter start with the first section lays the theoretical rationale of the study on dark tourism. The second part reviews the definition, types, and forms of dark tourism, and the comparison between Asian and Western approaches to the phenomenon is presented in the third section. The chapter ends with an analysis of the structure of the dark tourism industry through its demand and supply. Each section ends with synthesis and gap to be covered in the current research.

### 2.2. Theoretical Ground for the Research

#### 2.2.1. Conceptualizing dark tourism

##### *Definitions of dark tourism*

Having appeared for the first time in the *Journal of Heritage Tourism* in 1996, the term ‘dark tourism’ has attracted the interest of international researchers, and the first book on the topic published four years later quickly became one of the most cited basic work (Lennon and Foley, 2000). Dark tourism is defined as “*travel to a location wholly, or partially, motivated by the desire for actual or symbolic encounters with death*” (Seaton, 1996, p. 240). It is also understood as “*the presentation and consumption (by visitors) of real and commodified death and disaster sites*” (Foley & Lennon, 1996, p. 198). The study of dark tourism is “*the social scientific study of tourism and tourists*

associated with sites of death, disaster or the seemingly macabre” (Stone, 2011, p. 318).

Dark attractions are classified by Miles (2002) into the actual dark site, i.e., the “death camp” Auschwitz-Birkenau, and sites associated with dark tourism, for instance, the Holocaust museum in Washington (Lennon and Foley, 1999). Since the heyday of the terminology, dark tourism attracts increasing interest from researchers worldwide, in a “wide range of contexts and locations” (Light, 2017, p. 280) with various variations of terminology such as war/battlefield tourism, warfare tourism and thanatourism being frequently used (see Table 2.1).

Table 2.1. Variations of dark tourism terminology (1996 – 2016)

Type of site	Author
Dark tourism	Ashworth (2002a), Ashworth & Isaac (2015), Barton, & Brown (2012),
Dark heritage	Best (2013), Biran & Hyde (2013), Biran & Poria (2012), Biran, Poria
Battlefield	& Oren (2011), Bittner (2011), Brown, McDonagh & Shultz (2012), Buda, (2015), Buda & McIntosh (2013), Buda & Shim (2015), Busby & Devereux (2015), Carr (2010), Carrigan (2014), Casbeard & Booth (2012), Casella & Fennelly (2016), Chang (2014), Clarke, Dutton & Johnston (2014), Cohen (2011) Collins-Kreiner (2016a), Connell (2017), Dann (1998), Dann (2005), Dale & Robinson (2011), Dehoorne & Jolliffe (2013), Farmaki (2013), Foley & Lennon (1996), Foley & Lennon (1997), Frew (2013), Gonzalez-Tennant (2013), Gould (2014), Hartmann (2014), Heidelberg (2014), Hepburn (2012), Heuermann & Chhabra (2014), Horodnikova & Derco (2015), Isaac & Ashworth (2011), Jamal & Lelo (2011), Johnston (2016), Joly (2011), Kamber, Karafotias & Tsitoura (2016), Kang, Scott, Lee & Ballantyne (2012), Kerr & Price (2016), Kidron (2013), Kim & Butler (2015), Koletsh (2014), Korstanje (2011), Krisjanous (2016), Leevit (2012), Lelo & Jamal (2013), Lennon (2010), Lennon & Mitchell (2007), Magee & Gilmore (2015), Miles (2002), Miles (2014), Miller & Gonzalez (2013), Mowatt & Chancellor (2011), Murphy (2015), Muzaini, Teo & Yeoh (2007), Podoshen (2013), Podoshen, Andrzejewski, Venkatesh, & Wallin (2015), Podoshen, Venkatesh, Wallin, Andrzejewski & Jin (2015), Potts (2012), Powell & Kennell (2016), Preece & Price (2005), Raine (2013), Roberts & Stone (2014), Rofe (2013), Rojek (1993), Ryan & Kohli (2006), Schafer (2016), Seaton (1996), Sharpley (2005), Sharpley (2009a), Sharpley (2009b), Sharpley & Stone (2009), Simone- Charteris, Boyd & Burns (2013), Skinner (2012), Skinner (2016), Stone (2005), Stone (2006), Stone (2009a), Stone (2009b), Stone (2011a),

<b>Type of site</b>	<b>Author</b>
	Stone (2011b), Stone (2011c), Stone (2012a), Stone (2012b), Stone (2013a), Stone, (2013b). Stone (2016), Stone & Sharpley (2008), Stone & Sharpley (2014), Strange & Kempa (2003), Tarlow (2005), Thomas, Seitsonen, & Herva (2016), Tinson, Saren & Roth (2015), Toussaint & Decrop (2013), Walby & Piche (2011), Walter (2009), Wight (2006), Yan, Zhang, Zhang, Lu & Guo (2016), Yink, Seyitogu, & Çakar, (2016), Zhang, Yang, Zheng & Zhang (2016).
Battlefield tourism	Bagnall (2003), Bennett (1988), Bigley et al. (2010), Bird (2013), Bowman & Pezzullo (2010), Boyd (2013), Braithwaite & Leiper (2010), Brook (2009), Butler & Suntikul (2013), Causevic & Lynch (2011), Dunkley, Morgan, & Westwood (2011), Eades & Cooper (2013), Fallon & Robinson (2017), Frank (2016), Hyde & Harman (2011), Iles (2006), Iles (2012), Kang & Lee (2013), Kokkranikal, Yang, Powell & Booth (2016), Lemelin, Whyte, Johansen, Desbiolles, Wilson & Hemming (2013), Miles (2014), Murphy (2015), Ryan (2007a), Seaton (1999), Seaton (2000), Volcic, Erjavec & Peak (2014), Willard, Lade & Frost (2013), Winter (2007), Winter (2011).
Warfare tourism	
Museum	
War cemeteries	
Historical site	
Site of memory	
Post-violence	
Post-conflict	
Thanatourism	Best (2007), Clarke, & McAuley (2016), Dann & Seaton (2001), Dunkley (2007), Dunkley (2015), Dunkley, Morgan & Westwood (2007), Forsdick (2014), Friedrich, & Johnston (2013), Hartmann (2005), Johnston (2011), Johnston (2015), Knudsen (2011), Lee, Bendle, Yoon & Kim (2012), Seaton (1996), Seaton (1999), Seaton (2002), Seaton (2009a), Seaton (2009b), Seaton & Lennon (2004), Seaton, North & Gajda (2015), Slade (2003).

Source: Researcher's compilation

### *Variations of Definitions on Dark Tourism*

Research on dark tourism attractions and visitation to these sites has also exponentially grown, introducing numerous definitions of dark tourism, for instance: holocaust tourism, pilgrimage tourism, tourism on conflict/dangerous area, atrocity tourism, genocide tourism, morbid tourism, fright tourism, crime tourism, trauma tourism, grief tourism, disaster tourism, ghost tourism, etc. (see Table 2.2).

Table 2.2. Variations of Dark Tourism (from 1996 to 2016)

Type of site	Author
Holocaust tourism Genocide tourism	Allar (2013), Ashworth (1996), Ashworth (2002), Beech (2000), Cole (2000), Hartmann (2005), Krakover (2005), Lennon & Foley (1999), Nawijn, Isaac, Gridnevskiy & Van Liempt (2015), Oren & Shani (2012), Podoshen & Hunt (2011), Schulze (2014), Thurnell-Read (2009).
	Beech (2009) Hohenhaus (2013), Hughes (2008), Isaac & Çakmak (2016), McKinney (2014), Moffat (2012), Sharpley (2012), Shirt (2016), Sion (2014)
Pilgrimage tourism	Brown (2016), Cheal & Griffin (2013), Collins-Kreiner (2016a), Collins-Kreiner (2016b), Isaac & Ashworth (2011), Seaton (2002).
Disaster destination/tourism	Brian et al. (2014), Isaac & Çakmak (2014), Wright & Sharpley (2016)
Slavery heritage	Beech (2001), Dann & Seaton (2001), Essah (2001), Seaton (2001), Yankholmes & McKercher (2015).
Ghost tour	Brown, McDonagh & Shultz (2012), Casella & Fennelly (2016), Cooke (2012), Garcia (2012) Heidelberg (2014), Iles (2006)
Human tragedy	Ashworth & Harmann (2005), Buntman (2008), Lennon (2009)
Trauma tourism	Clark (2014), Clark (2009), Levey (2014), Nagle (2012)
Prison/Crime tourism	Dalton (2014), Wilson (2004), Wilson (2008)
Conflict/dangerous area	Mansfeld & Korman (2015)
Heritage of atrocity Atrocity tourism	Ashworth (2004), Isaac (2014)
Morbid tourism	Blom (2000)
Fright tourism	Bristow & Newman (2005)
Grief tourism	Lewis (2008).
Other types (sensitive heritage, difficult heritage)	Frew (2012), Logan & Reeves (2009), Nawijn, Isaac, Van Liempt & Gridnevskiy (2016), Tunbridge & Ashworth (1996).

Source: Researcher's compilation

### Thanatourism

Thanatourism originates from a Greet word – *Thanatos* in the meaning of personalization of death, is a derivative of thanatopsis; death-related tourist activity

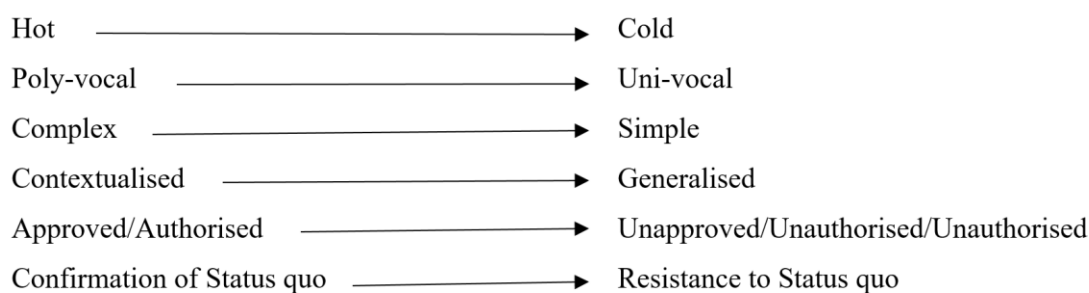
(Seaton, 1996). Thanatourism as “travel to locations wholly, or partially motivated by the desire for actual or symbolic encounters with death” (Seaton, 1996, p. 240). Thanatourism attracts visitors to visit death-related sites in the past (e.g., Titanic sinking, First World War, Second World War, etc.), as well as contemporary sites of “living memory” (i.e. pilgrimage in Jerusalem, tragedy 9/11, Hurricane Katrina, Fukushima disaster, etc.) where the temporal dimension of the dark event might deter the visitor’s motivation and perception while visiting the dark sites. Arguably, thanatourism refers to tourists’ motivation rather than their interest in dark history being commodified (Seaton, 2018a). Thanatourism does not only describe the reality of conflict, disaster, and death, but also engages with “an element of positivity, endowment, and empathy” through the act of visitation (Mandelartz & Johnston, 2016, p. v, vi). Thus, thanatourism shade of dark tourism “encounters with remembrance with death, rather than death itself” (Seaton, 2018b, p. 14). Differently, Poria and Biran (2012) argue that thanatourism is not a new form or under the umbrella of heritage tourism.

### **Battlefield tourism**

The term war/battlefield tourism (Smith, 1996; Dann, 1998) does not only describe the sites of war where conflicts occurred but also war-related places such as cemeteries, monuments, museums, and other infrastructure. The relationship between tourism and war that travel to the battlefield is “collectively embraced by the distinction between battlefield tourism and pilgrimage” (Baldwin and Sharpley, 2009, p. 189). Battlefield tourism sites have been used as venues to convey the official narrative of national history integrated into the “site sacralization... as a cultural process in its own right” (Miles, 2012, p. 8). Owing to the official historical narrative carried by the



battlefield sites, interpretations presented at the sites do only deal with psychological reactions, but also “multiple truths” shaped by personal stories and social ideologies for interpretation of the past, the present and the future (Ryan, 2007b, p. 4). Encountering difference in regions, social, cultural and political backgrounds among tourists, the “art of interpretation” (Miles, 2012, p. 1) is manifested in many war-related sites, and has been polarized into “hot & cold”, “poly-vocal & uni-vocal”, “complex and simple” and so on (Ryan, 2007b, p. 5) (see the Figure 2.1). Accordingly, conflict sites are opened for commemoration, entertainment, education, and pilgrimage (Dunkley, Morgan & Weswood, 2011).



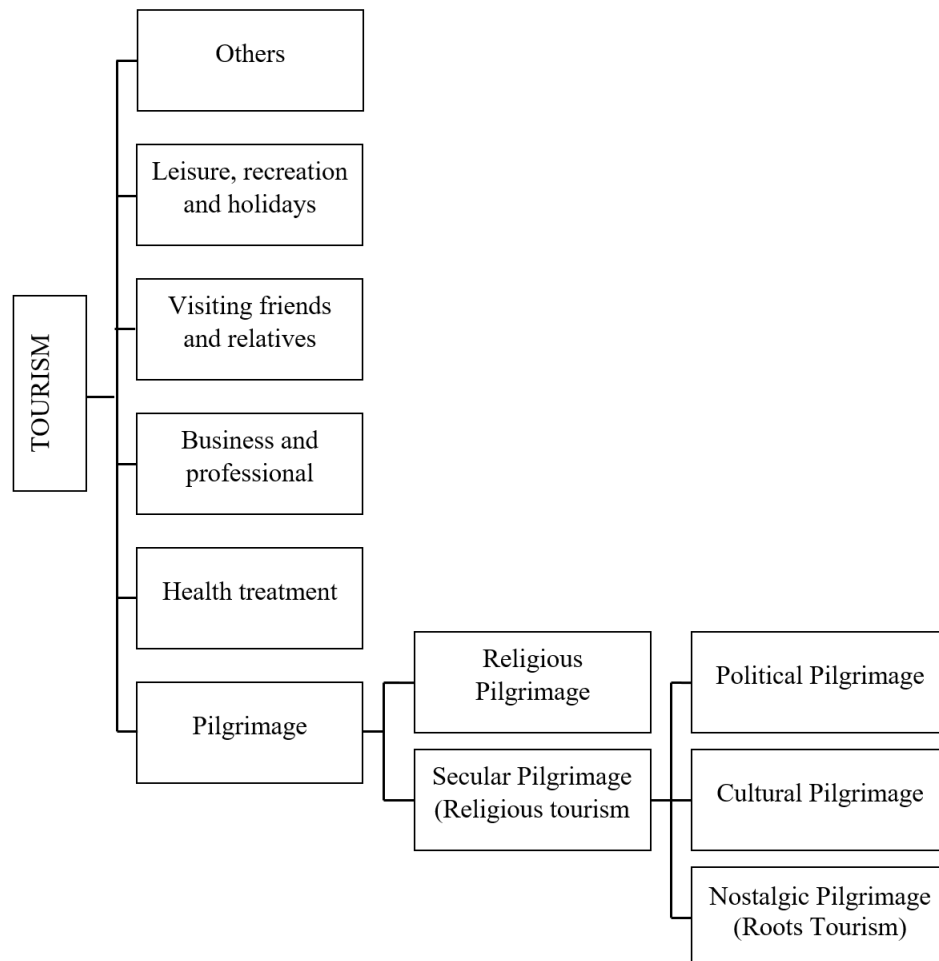
*Figure 2.1. Continuum of battlefield interpretation (Source: Ryan, 2007b, p. 5)*

### **Pilgrimage tourism**

The religious and spiritual travels have often been referred to as the forms of pilgrimage (Ebadi, 2015, p. 66). Pilgrimage performs in both patterns of secular (non-religious) and religious travel to sacred places. Respectively, non-secular and secular pilgrims “identify themselves as pilgrims have higher religious motivations, and those who identify themselves as tourists have higher recreational or cultural motivations” (Nyaupane, Timothy & Poudel, 2015, p. 343). Secular pilgrims are “spirit seeker” (Alderman, 2002; Nyaupane, Timothy & Poudel, 2015, p. 343) who “seek forgiveness

for wrongdoing, worship ancestors and nature gods, or petition deity for blessings” (Nyaupane et al., 2015, p. 343). They are “associated with the death of individuals or groups, mainly in circumstances which are associated with the violent and the untimely” (Lennon and Foley, 2000, p. 3). Numerous tourist pilgrims without personal connections to the destinations visit the death sites because they want to show their respect to the past and gratitude to those who sacrificed their lives for the nation (Ngo & Bui, 2019).

Figure 2.2 below presents these differences.



*Figure 2.2. Forms of pilgrimage in tourism studies*

(Source: World Tourism Organization, adapted from Ebadi, 2015, p. 70)

## **Genocide tourism or Holocaust tourism**

Holocaust tourism includes the visitation to places that occurred cruel historical events related to mass murders of Jewish in World War II (WWII) (Ashworth, 2002; Beech, 2000; Thomas, 2008), such as the “death camps” - Auschwitz-Birkenau in Southern Poland. The similar sites, e.g., Buchenwald, Dachau (Germany), Gross-Rosen (Poland), Mauthausen (Austria), Natzweiler/Struthof (France), has been referred to as Holocaust tourism. Visitation to the former genocide site, such as Toul Sleng (Cambodia) is another example of genocide tourism. In these destinations, the political context contributes to shaping the tourism development process (Beech, 2000; Lennon and Foley, 1999).

## **Disaster tourism**

Chris Rojeck (1993) defines disaster places as “black spots tourism” or “disaster tourism” with dual meaning associated with a darker side of attractions: a death site and a disaster site, e.g., the places where famous people have died. For instance, the great earthquake and accident in the Fukushima nuclear power plant, Japan accidentally makes this place as a tourist destination. “Fukuichi Kanko Project” proposed by Hiroki Azuma, latterly turned Fukushima into a tourist site and accepted by young people via the “Chernobyl Dark Tourism Guide” (Ide, 2014).

In summary, the concept of dark tourism is not new to the researchers of heritage tourism and battlefield tourism (Light, 2017). However, there is a difference between the two terms, dark tourism and battlefield tourism. The battlefield tourism is neither "human atrocity" (Foley and Lennon, 1996) nor "the heritage of atrocity" (Tunbridge & Ashworth,

1996) and it “stand(s) aside from these actions” (Ryan, 2007c, p. 251). Indeed, in all nineteen papers in the edited book “Battlefield tourism: History, place and interpretation” (Ryan, 2007a), dark tourism is not used as an explanatory framework. Also, most chapters presented tourism and war (Butler & Suntikul, 2013) stays away from dark tourism as a theoretical framework. Therefore, dark tourism might be a *possible framework* for understanding tourism at the places associated with death and tragedy, but other variations have to be considered. The concept of dark tourism should be widened and built on its characteristics, tourist motivation, experience, by demand and supply of the dark tourism industry, and by geographical/cultural elements of dark tourism (see Table 2.3).

Table 2.3. Dark tourism/thanatourism definition based on different concepts

<b>Dark tourism/thanatourism definition</b>	<b>Author</b>
<b>Definition based on dark site's characteristics</b>	
“travel to sites associated with death, disaster, acts of violence, tragedy, scenes of death and crimes against humanity”	Preece & Price (2005, p. 192)
"the act of travel to sites associated with death, suffering and the seemingly macabre”	Stone (2006, p. 146)
“a form of travel where tourists encounter places associated with death, disaster and the macabre”	Johnston (2015, p. 20)
“involves visiting destinations at which violence is the main attraction”	Robb (2009, p. 51)
“tourism associated with sites of death, disaster, and depravity”	Lennon & Foley (1999, p. 46)
"heritage staged around attractions and sites associated with death, acts of violence, scenes of disaster and crimes against humanity”	Dann & Seaton (2001, p. 24)
<b>Definition based on motivation</b>	
"the visitation to any site associated with death, disaster and tragedy in the twentieth century for remembrance, education or entertainment”	Foley & Lennon (1997, p. 155)

<b>Dark tourism/thanatourism definition</b>	<b>Author</b>
"refers to individuals who are motivated primarily to experience the death and suffering of others for the purpose of enjoyment, pleasure and satisfaction"	Best (2007, p. 38)
"travel to a location wholly, or partially, motivated by the desire for actual or symbolic encounters with death, particularly, but not exclusively, violent death"	Seaton (1996, p. 240)
"visit heritage sites such as war cemeteries because we feel morally obliged to do so"	Heap (2016, p. 86)
"seek to integrate themselves with death, either through witnessing violent or untimely deaths or, in the extreme perhaps, travelling in the knowledge or expectation of death"	Sharpley (2009a, p. 18)
"spirit-seekers visited hallowed places based on a desire to become closer to divinity, seek forgiveness for wrongdoing, worship ancestors and nature gods, or petition deity for blessings"	Nyaupane, Timothy, & Poudel (2015, p. 343).
<b>Definition based on tourist experience</b>	
"the presentation and consumption (by visitors) of real and commodified death and disaster sites"	Foley & Lennon (1996, p. 198)
"visits to sites of death can be exceptionally powerful experiences, which may have deep personal impacts on a tourist"	John, Tigre-Moura & Mandelartz (2016, p. 160)
"see it to believe it"	Biran, Poria, & Oren (2011, p. 836)
"is where the tourist's experience is essentially composed of 'dark' emotions such as pain, death, horror or sadness, many of which result from the infliction of violence that are not usually associated with a voluntary entertainment experience"	Ashworth (2008, p. 234)
"is concerned with encountering spaces of death or calamity that have political or historical significance, and that continue to impact upon the living"	Stone (2016, p. 23)
<b>Definition based on demand and supply relationship</b>	
"the extent to which an 'interest' in death – to witness the death of others, to dice with death in dangerous places, to learn about the death of famous people and so on – is the dominant reason for visiting dark attraction, and why and how dark sites/experiences are produced or supplied – for example, for political purposed, for education, for entertainment or for economic gain"	Sharpley (2009a, p. 14)
<b>Definition based on the region - Asian and Western country</b>	
"is primarily a Western phenomenon"	Stone (2006, p. 149)
"phenomenon exist in non-Western emergent world region"	Cohen (2018, p. 157)

<b>Dark tourism/thanatourism definition</b>	<b>Author</b>
“thanatourist sites in Asia emerged as an extension from prevailing traditions, particularly ancestor worship, and are not a novel phenomenon”	Cohen (2018, p. 169)

Source: Researcher’s compilation

### 2.2.2. Typology of Darkness

Matching darkness within the tourism industry frame, the “shades of darkness” (Sharpley, 2005) measures the elasticity of supply and demand impacted by tourist’s fascination based on accidental motivation or interest motivation and by dark location accidentally or purposefully consumed (Figure 2.3).

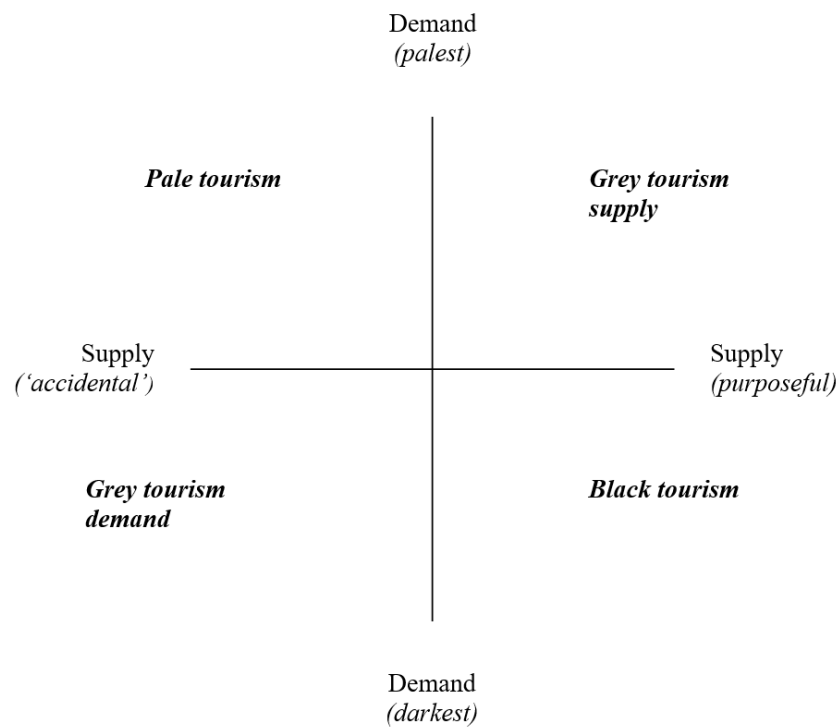
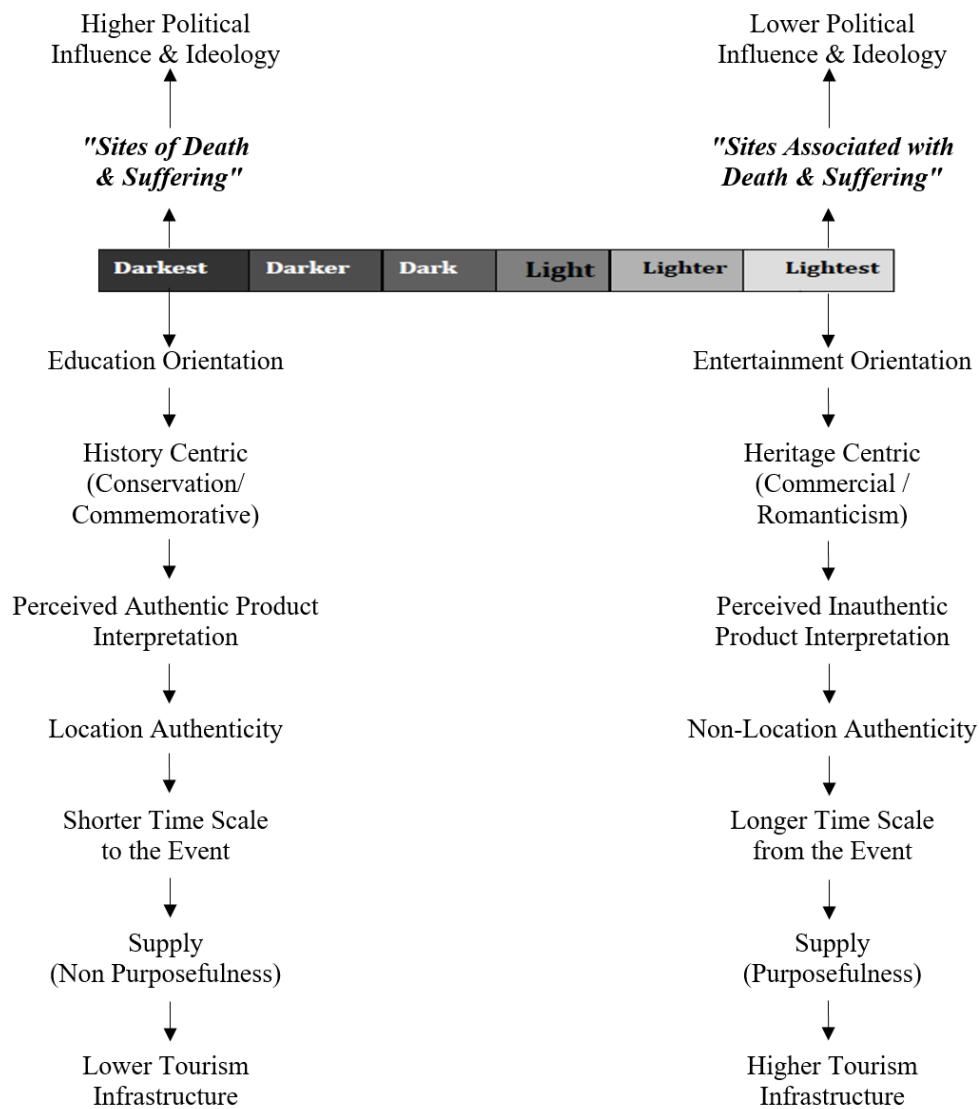


Figure 2.3: Matrix of dark tourism demand and supply (Source: Sharpley, 2005, p. 225)

The sites of death and suffering are taken from its historical perspective and placed in the contemporary context. The sites or events related to near and/or distant historical

occurrences are purposefully constructed or accidentally created for either tourist's interest in death, for political purposes, for education, for entertainment, or for economic gain (Sharpley, 2009a, p. 13-14). On the demand side, tourist's motivation creates different "shades of darkness". The first group (*palest*) engages themselves into the object consumption, while the second one (*darkest*) "seek(s) to integrate themselves with death, either through witnessing violent or untimely deaths or, in the extreme perhaps, traveling in the knowledge or expectation of death" (Sharpley, 2009a, p. 18). On the supply side, there are two different consumptions between *accidental* supply and *purposeful* supply that link the site to visitors' fascination with death. The theory was grounded on inductive research on the relationship between demand and supply in dark tourism.



*Figure 2.4: A dark spectrum: perceived product features of dark tourism within a “darkest-lightest” framework of supply (Source: Stone, 2006, p. 151)*

Another profound theory of the shade of darkness is the tourism spectrum (Stone, 2006) that classified visitation to sites of death and suffering as six levels of darkness and “seven dark suppliers” based on these darkness scales: dark-fun factories, dark exhibitions, dark dungeons, dark resting places, dark shrines, dark conflict sites, and dark camps of genocide (Stone, 2006, p. 152). The extent to which a dark site is identified, closer to the darkest, or the lightest determines how the dark destination operates. A dark



site should be considered between two poles of “complete privacy and complete publicist” areas (Grebenaar, 2018, p. 59) which offer an accepted border of death consumption within modern taste (Young & Light, 2016); and deal with some forbidden factors regarding the death in the society (Baldwin & Sharpley, 2009). Even though this typology might not apply to all dark tourism supply, it provides a broader conceptual framework for understanding the phenomenon of dark tourism in contemporary society (Stone, 2013).

Further critics of this model reveal that Sharpley’s theory (2005) is based on the level of visitors’ interest in the dark sites for classification. Nevertheless, how to classify the visitors who travel to a particular dark site repeatedly for different values and attachments, not determined by physical artifacts at the destination, but by their beliefs, faithfulness, and emotions. It is worthwhile to point out that Stone's scale (2006) only captures dualism in thinking, it's either a dark site with "education orientation" or "entertainment orientation". If not, the dark site could be between these two poles, either for mixing between entertainment purposes and educational purposes or somewhere on levels of darkness. In this context, how to classify visitors to the sites for neither educational nor entertainment purposes? Hence, this model cannot fully manifest a wide range of dark tourism product features. There is a need to revise the model to capture a multi-dimensional and multifunctional notion of the phenomenon.

The interrelations between different types of dark tourism is presented in the Figure 2.5 below.

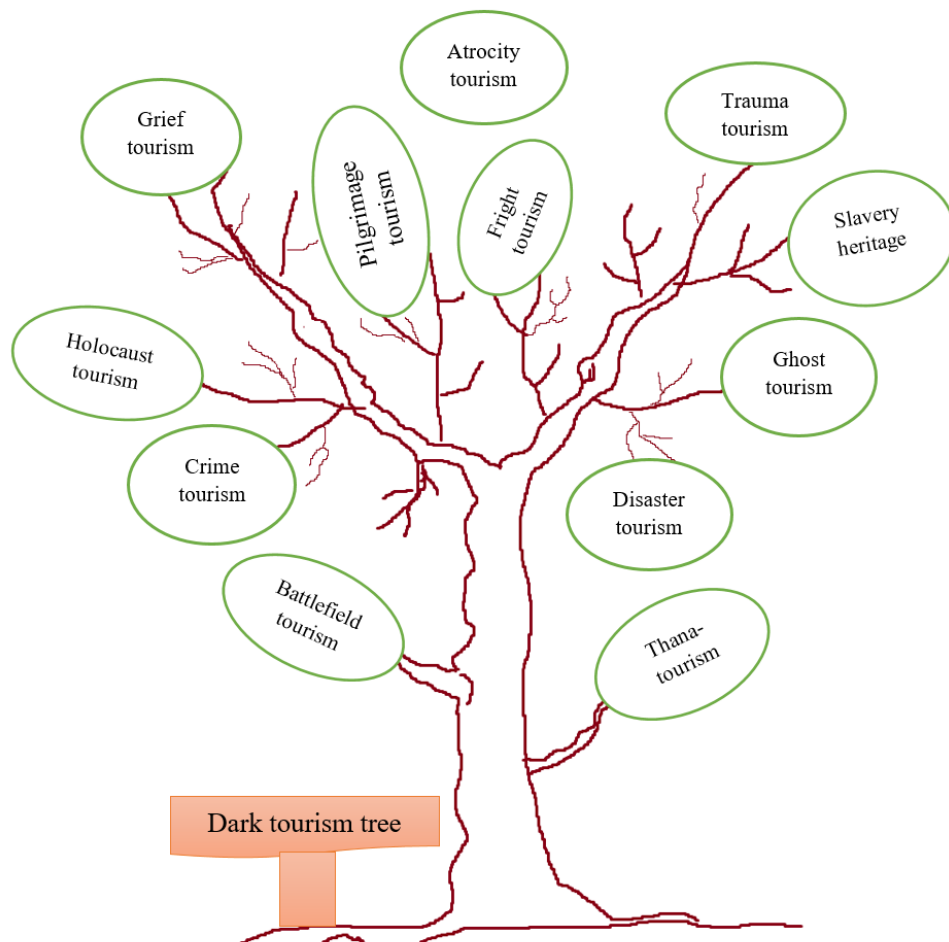


Figure 2.5. The Tree of Dark Tourism Terminology (Source: Researcher's compilation)

## 2.3. The Structure of the Dark Tourism Industry

### 2.3.1. Customer-demand in dark tourism

Tourists' visitation to the dark sites is driven by their motivation. Many motivational theories grounded on Maslow's hierarchy of needs (1943). Remarkably, pull and push theory of tourist motivation (Crompton, 1979) identified *psychological component* and *cultural influence* as destination-specific attributes; also, *outer motivation* and person-specific motivations or *inner motivation* (Heitmann, 2011). Seaton and

Lennon (2004) propose two main motives for traveling to dark sites, including the pleasure of seeing other's misfortune or "schadenfreude" and the contemplation of death or "thanatopsis". In a similar vein, Dann (1998) describes eight influences in death that are fear of phantoms, the research for novelty, nostalgia, the celebration of crime, basic bloodlust, dicing with death and holidays in hell. Different approaches to tourist motivation for dark tourism exemplifies the multi-faceted notion of this phenomenon.

The relationship between death and adventure activities in dark tourism contributes to education and awareness-raising better than fearing and standing off, as it is not simply "a by product of ineffective risk management or assessment procedures, or organizational or personal negligence" (Marson, 2016, p. 138), but it is a learning experience, unique opportunity and multi-faceted interpretation in term of death appeared in the society. For instance, at the same place, there might be two different types of tourists who indirectly or directly expose their empathy towards the pain undergone by the victims and who are eager to be photographed, putting their feelings on the camera (Mandelartz & Johnston, 2016, p. v, vi). Therefore, "dark tourism is a phenomenon that requires an association and application to a variety of different sectors and activities associated with more generic areas of tourism, be it events, sites, activities, behavior" (Marson, 2016, p. 138).

Although dark tourists are simply characterized by those "who visit sites associated with pain or shame as dark" (Stone, 2018, p. 509), the notion of demand for dark tourism is multifaceted. Tourists might seek *spiritual motivation* as a bystander who conveys a sympathetic message with victims and survivors; as a perpetrator and a victim involved in the event (Ashworth & Hartman, 2005; Ashworth & Tunbridge, 1996, Cohen,

2011); or as a person who has a personal connection to the dark site (Heap, 2016). The *educational motivation* aims “first and foremost at bringing individuals closer to the historic heritage” while the young people should be evolved and lived in the historical time (Cohen, 2008, p. 8-9). Naturally, the transmission from historical value to educational value requires a complex representation (Cohen, 2008) which reflects the meaning of sites and transfers the government's regime to tourists (Sharpley, 2009a; Yuill, 2003). The *pleasure motivation* (Chen & Tsai, 2019; Winter, 2012) is also a significant reason in which visitors seek unique features and inimitable elements that are “important differentiators and allow individual reflexivity and shared performance” (Wiltshier, 2016, p. 53).

### **2.3.2. Attraction-supply in dark tourism**

The supply side in dark tourism is defined as “commodities as industry produces” (Smith, 1998, p. 183). Human factors or stakeholders consist of governments, tourists, host communities, tourism business, and other sectors comprise the supply of tourism industry (Swarbrooke, 2001). The human factor is a major element in supplying dark tourism experience, as is “the key to success in managing dark tourism attractions is to engage the staff in storytelling” (Wiltshier, 2016, p. 44). As visitors seek unique features and inimitable elements that are “important differentiators” and allow individual reflexivity and shared performance. Thus, the cooperation between visitors and other stakeholders, especially staff at the site, “determines relevance and eventually satisfaction to all engaged in the supply chain” (Wiltshier, 2016, p. 53). However, the supply of tourism destinations has its capacity limitation, which might affect the visitor's experience. For example, Auschwitz, a “death camp” in WWII becomes one of Poland's

“must-see” tourist attractions, and with the increasing number of tourists in recent decades. This site is struggling with unbalanced capacity with increasing tourist numbers, unfulfilled maintenance, contested ownership, complex authenticity, restricted finance, Holocaust industry, and Holocaust denial/revisionism (Shirt, 2016).

Noticeably, the role of supply-side is also shown in the cooperation among stakeholders involved in the process of formation, operation and maintenance of tourism products; and the satisfaction between tourist-demand and destination-supply. Johnston et al. (2016) show some gaps among online promotional practices, offline operators’ services, and customers’ perceptions by analyzing 25 tour operators’ websites in terms of the company profiles, website design, and content, and website features focused on price, convenience and satisfactory (p. 163). There is a responsibility of supply-side managerial unit or tour operators that “should encourage an understanding of the moral and ethical values attached to a place to allow it to shape the minds of the tourist rather than the tourist shaping the identity of a place” (Johnston et al., 2016, p. 165). Therefore, the supply-side plays an important role in the delivery of dark experiences and connection from customer-demand to attraction-supply.

### **2.3.3. Synthesis and gap**

Supply side impacts significantly not only tourist experience which is in psychological consumption process - “offers tourists desired psychological outcomes and actual psychological outcomes to satisfy tourists' emotional demands”; but also deepens what is identified by an interactive relationship to the dark site; and supplies an emotional and cognitive experience to tourists (Yan, 2016, p. 110). Thus, the structure of dark

tourism requires the involvement of both supply and demand factors to deeply understand the multiple interpretations that it belongs to.

Dark tourism is driven by specific demand and supply (Allman, 2017; Farmaki, 2013; Niemelä, 2010; Podoshen, 2013). While the study of demand for dark tourism relates to tourist motivation to visit the dark sites (Dann, 1998; Dunkley et al., 2011; Foley and Lennon, 1996; Hyde & Harman, 2011), supply side is defined as “commodities as industry produces” (Smith, 1998, p. 183) or it should be noted by a wide-ranging context in which political factor generates a main influence on the attractions. Therefore, this relationship is complicatedly captured by not only tourist’s desire for education and/or entertainment; but also based on political orientation (Light, 2017). It is assumed that dark tourism is dark or light depending on how the tourism product is packaged and presented. The relationship between demand and supply in dark tourism is still a daunting question. Whether they are in a causal or reciprocal relationship, or which one is dominated and affects the other in each specific social setting.

#### **2.4. An Asian Context of Dark Tourism**

Until recently, dark tourism is “primarily a Western phenomenon” (Stone, 2006, p. 149), classifying dark sites along with the dualism of the dark-light axis (Stone, 2006). Accordingly, he divided seven types of dark tourism product under supply perspective: (1) Dark Fun Factories consist of attractions and tours have an entertainment focus and commercial ethic (e.g. London Dungeon or the Dracula Park); (2) Dark Exhibitions include the products to reflect education and potential learning opportunities (e.g. Smithsonian Museum of American History); (3) Dark Dungeons offer products that have

a combination of entertainment and education as a main commercial focus (e.g. Bodmin Jail Centre in Cornwall UK, the Old Melbourne Gaol in Australia); (4) Dark Resting Places focuses upon the cemetery or grave markers as potential products for dark tourism (e.g. Dearly Departed Tomb Buggy); (5) Dark Shrines are places for remembrance and respect of those who recently deceased (e.g. Althorp House, Soham in the UK); (6) Dark Conflict Sites offer tours or destinations associated with warfare as a major component of tourist attraction market (e.g. Western Front Battlefield Tours, Solomon Islands as Battle during the Second World War); (7) Dark Camps of Genocide suggests sites which have genocide, atrocity and catastrophe as the main thanatological theme (e.g. Auschwitz-Birkenau death-camp) (Stone, 2006, p. 151-157).

It is noted that tourist is motivated by “the contemplation of their own mortality” (Cohen, 2018, p. 169). Accordingly, a bundle of paradigmatic approach into life and death under Western perspective is applied: Human life performs in a once-only event without afterlife or rebirth; There is non-religious interfacing between the dead and the living; Massive death tends to be one of the imaginable thanatourist experiences; Mythical factor is less utilized (Cohen, 2018, p. 158).

Other factors such as ethics, politics, religion, society, culture, history, geography, demography, and psychology also place numerous share of interpretation (Askew, 1996). In term of politics, there is a bundle of studies discovering the relation to dark tourism (Ashworth & Hartmann, 2005; Smith, 2006; Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996). Light (2017) contents that dark tourism studies offered a different significance enclosed to “places of death and suffering by different ‘users’ and has highlighted issues of tension or dissonance among those users” (p. 284). While studying tour guide interpretation of “the

dark chapters of Berlin's history", [Leshem \(2019\)](#) proves the fact that tour guides may perform a challenging task in different countries, "mostly depending on the political sensitivity and the current political atmosphere (p. 114).

Nationalism is another argument that emerged from visitation to the sites of death and suffering. The traveling to dark sites generates a chance to negotiate the senses of nationhood ([Clarke & McAuley, 2016](#); [Light, 2017](#); [Seaton, 1999](#)). Indeed, these types of visitation usually have an overtly political orientation which can be utilized to explain how and why particular atrocities occurred, and to avoid such events in the future ([Friedrich & Johnston, 2013](#); see also [Light, 2017, p. 284](#)). Moreover, most of the war heritages in Western countries are related to the legacy left by WWI and WWII which are distant from the present time. Consequently, significant historical events and places have significant political roles as places of national memory ([Dunkley et al., 2011](#); [Stone, 2012](#); [Winter, 2009](#)). Besides, the experience created by dark tourism products seems to be less "living memories" as the generation who used to be involved in the event mostly passed.

The Western-centric perspective of dark tourism has been challenged as the number of studies on dark tourism/thanatourism in non-Western regions has increased significantly. Several places in Africa and South America are approached under dark tourism framework: The Hector Peterson Memorial and Museum in South Africa ([Mudzanani, 2014](#)); Alcatraz and Robben Island ([Strange and Kempa, 2003](#)); Pinochet Centre of Torture ([Wyndham & Read, 2012](#)); The Navy Mechanics School ([Levey, 2014](#)). In Asian countries, the existence of dark tourism/thanatourism seems to be manifested in various ways: The fate of history at Fort Siloso, Singapore ([Muzaini et al., 2007](#)); Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek ([Williams, 2004](#)), Tragedy and heritage in Cambodia



(Lennon, 2009); Sichuan, a post-disaster destination in China (Biran et al., 2014); The Pacific War battlefields (Cooper, 2006), Hiroshima and Nagasaki in Japan (Yoshida, Bui, & Lee, 2016); Con Dao archipelago (Hayward & Tran, 2014), Hoa Lo Museum in Vietnam (Logan, 2009).

Reflecting into the Asian society in general and Southeast Asian in particular, when the local people from ancient times rely on agriculture and the customs of worshipping their “spiritual world” (Kirsten & Lauser, 2011) including the ancestor (Horstmann, 2011), the sacred people, places and/or objects (Chauvet, 2011; Cohen, 2018) become part of their lives, dark tourism also has a very unique color. Travel to the dark site in Asia is a mixture of pilgrimage and secular journey, between religious tourism and "ritual process" (Turner and Turner, 1969, see Collins-Kreiner, 2010, p.158), placing between battlefield tourism and memorial tourism.

Dark tourism visiting the historical sites is often identified by Vietnamese tourists and researchers in the form of "Du lịch về nguồn" – trip to historical and cultural sites for educating the younger generation about their origin (Ngo & Bui, 2019); "Du lịch hoài niệm" – memorable tourism (An, 2017; Trung, 2020); “Du lịch chiến trường xưa” – Battlefield tourism/ DMZ tourism (Le, 2009); "Du lịch tâm linh" – Spiritual tourism (Ho, 2019; Nguyen & Nguyen, 2016). Meanwhile, dark tourism in Vietnam is reflected by international researchers through many different lenses of ideology and politics (Alneng, 2002); national building through tourism (Gillen, 2014); multifaceted practices of memory and knowledge production (Schwenkel, 2006); past warfare experiences (Upton et al., 2017); and wartime attractions (Gillen, 2018; Henderson, 2000, 2007; Logan, 2009, Logan & Nguyen, 2012). With several famous battlefield sites left over from the Vietnam

War, this country provides an ideal setting for a study of dark tourism. However, research on war-related sites/dark tourism in Vietnam is very limited and so far there is no comprehensive study on the characteristics and structure of dark tourism in Viet Nam (Ngo & Bui, 2019). Indeed, capturing dark tourism in a comprehensive context is challenging and is necessary.

In Vietnam, some studies show that visitors to dark sites are not only for the demand of learning experience (Marson, 2016), but also for the spiritual reason (Hayward & Tran, 2014; Ngo & Bui, 2019; Schwenkel, 2013), and heroism (Bloom, 2013; Schwenkel, 2013). This explains why, at the same place, visitors come back every year, to offer incense and remember the deceased persons, their relatives, family members, their teammates, or merely to commemorate those who are non-skin but have the merit of fighting and defending the national independence. In his research, Schwenkel clearly emphasizes this "spiritual process" in the Vietnamese tradition: they (visitors) offer "tea, fruit, money, incense, flowers, and candles, along with a banner that read, 'Vô Cùng Thương Tiếc Liệt Sĩ' (Eternal Grief for Martyrs), broke with state ideologies of collective moral heroism to also recognize individual loss and grief, as well as the important role that cultural beliefs and value play in commemorating and communing the war dead" (Schwenkel, 2013, p. 110).

Human factors are deemed to be important in tourism supply (Swarbrooke, 2001), especially in the context of dark tourism. Tour guides play a significant role in conveying meaningful messages to tourists by enhancing their cognitive and affective access to war heritage sites (Ngo & Bui, 2019). In this context, a tour guide is also a mirror reflecting a political role. For instance, the Indonesian government utilizes propaganda to illustrate

their political orientation and control both the narrative and tourist guide policy (Dahles, 2002, Ngo & Bui, 2019). In Vietnam, war heritages or war-related sites widely remain a highly political issue (Henderson, 2000). He explains that the government uses these sites as “a message of unity and solidarity, directed as much at the resident population as visitors” (p. 276).

#### 2.4.1. Synthesis and gap

Although dark tourism is performed by different aspects and labeled by several terms, its domain is underpinned by “a complicated matter of perspective” (Bowman & Pezzullo, 2010, p. 191). The influence of politics on dark tourism, especially, historical sites, is extremely strong (Farmaki & Antoniou, 2017; Timothy & Boyd, 2003). Usually, war-related sites create a contested emotion to visitors who come from different political frontiers. To what extent political factors influence dark sites is still a daunting question to be fully answered.

Dark tourism is a widespread phenomenon and growing existence and impacted by several elements. Is dark tourism a modern or long historical phenomenon? Lennon and Foley (2000), Ryan & Kohli (2006) tends to explain the former one or “within living memory” and tourists might not necessarily concern about latter-related stories of dark sites. While Seaton argues that dark tourism is a behavioral phenomenon in a long history (Seaton, 1996, p. 240), depending on “the motives for visiting a site and the extent to which the interest in death is general or person specific” (Sharpley, 2009a, p. 15). Even this phenomenon is impacted by modern or long history experiences, it is affected by not only “dark leisure” (Rojeck, 2000), but also “personal genealogy and family history”

(Buntman, 2008, Light, 2017). Hence, the special relationship between dark tourists and dark sites should be identified.

## **2.5. Chapter Summary**

The chapter provided a synthesis review of the literature under four main lines: dark tourism theories, conceptualization of dark tourism, a comparative review in Western and Eastern countries, and dark tourism structure. First, the principal construct in dark tourism is highlighted by two theories in dark tourism: shades of darkness typology and dark tourism spectrum. Then, dark tourism and several kinds of its forms are identified. There are some characteristics featured as a Western and Eastern phenomenon based on its social setting. Lastly, the researcher focuses on the characteristic of demand and supply in dark tourism. The relationship between these two economic factors is quite special because it reflects the influence of social context and bears a strong political factor. Based on the overview of the literature, the researcher develops an approximate design to address the research question. The next session will introduce the methods utilized in this thesis.

## CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

### 3.1. Introduction

The chapter justifies the researcher's decision for methodology employed for investigation. While research questions inform the selection of studied methods, the range of chosen methods is underpinned by philosophical principles of the research paradigm specified by respective ontology, epistemology, and methodology. The researcher employed a combination of different methods of qualitative inquiry tradition including interviews and content analysis. The chapter ends with a description of the data collection and analysis process.

### 3.2. Rationale for Qualitative Research in Study Dark Tourism

Qualitative methods utilize a plenty of skills, such as, detailed planning, intensive listening, careful note-taking, and sufficient preparation (Qu & Dumay, 2011; Ngo & Bui, 2019). Creswell (2013) defines qualitative research as follows:

*Qualitative research begins with assumptions and the use of interpretive/theoretical frameworks that inform the study of research problems addressing the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem. To study this problem, qualitative researchers use an emerging qualitative approach to inquiry, the collection of data in a natural setting sensitive to the people and places under study, and data analysis that is both inductive and deductive and establishes patterns or themes. The final written report or presentation includes the voices of participants, the reflexivity of the researcher,*

*a complex description and interpretation of the problem, and its contribution to the literature or a call for change. (Creswell, 2013, p. 44)*

Qualitative research in tourism usually conveys a form of local-emergent knowledge that contributes to understanding tourists' inner worlds (Coghlan & Filo, 2013; Jamal & Hollingshead, 2001). The target of qualitative research is aiming at understanding or clarifying behavior and beliefs, identifying the context of people's experiences (Hennink et al., 2011). Research in tourism that said, there are rationally well-created techniques for analyzing qualitative data that can be applied as a basic model or framework to provide help and structure the analytical process (Brotherton, 2015).

The qualitative approach has characteristics that are consistent with the researcher's research objectives to provide an optimal method and to be able to address the research questions most comprehensively. Table 3.1 describes the comparative viewpoint between characteristics suggested by Creweell and Roth (2018) and the researcher's justification for using this method.

*Table 3.1. Justification of using qualitative method for the study.*

<b>Characteristic of qualitative research</b>	<b>Creswell and Roth's description (Creswell &amp; Roth, 2018, p. 43-44)</b>	<b>The researcher's justification of using this method</b>
<i>Natural setting</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- "Often collect data in the field"</li> <li>- Talk "directly to people and see them behave within their context at the site"</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Collected the data in the dark sites in Quang Tri, Vietnam.</li> <li>- Interacted directly with informants and observed their behaviors in the context of dark site</li> </ul>
<i>Researcher as key instrument</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- "Collect data themselves through examining documents, observing behavior, and interviewing participants"</li> <li>- "Do not tend to use or rely on instruments developed by other researchers"</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Collected data by scanning the literature, observing tourist behavior, interviewing stakeholders and examining tourist's comments taken in visitors' book at dark site.</li> </ul>

<b>Characteristic of qualitative research</b>	<b>Creswell and Roth's description (Creswell &amp; Roth, 2018, p. 43-44)</b>	<b>The researcher's justification of using this method</b>
		- Self-developed research instrument for the study
<i>Multiple methods</i>	- Collect "multiple forms of data, i.e., interviews, observations, and documents, rather than rely on a single data source"	- Gathered the data from various sources from secondary data to primary data: by scanning the literature, observing tourist behavior, interviewing stakeholders and examining tourist's comments taken in visitors' book at dark site
<i>Complex reasoning through inductive and deductive logic</i>	- "Uses complex reasoning skills throughout the process of research"	- "Bottom up" pattern is used as a inductive thinking to establish a comprehensive instrument of data set
<i>Participants' multiple perspectives and meanings</i>	- "Keep a focus on learning the meaning that the participants hold about the problem or issue, not the meaning that the researchers bring to the research or writers from the literature"	- Focused on understanding the meaning that the participants hold about the phenomenon. - Developed the research on dark tourism based on several perspectives of both domestic tourist and international tourist.
<i>Context-dependent</i>	- Seek an understanding of contextual features and their influence on participants' experiences	- Sought a deep understanding of participant's society, history and culture to explain the structure and characteristic of dark tourism, especially in Eastern countries.
<i>Emergent design</i>	- "Initial plan for research cannot be tightly prescribed and that all phases of the process may change or shift after the researchers enter the field and begin to collect data"	- Visitor's book analysis is not prescribed in the initial plan, however, became an effective data resource, after the first trip of the researcher to research site.
<i>Reflexivity</i>	- "Convey (i.e., in a method section, in an introduction, or in other places in a study) their background (e.g., work experiences, cultural experiences, history)".	- This study also utilizes the researcher's working experience and cultural experience as a local people who involved in dark tourism activities for a couple of years.

Qualitative research based mostly on non-numeric data, e.g. interviews and observations, quantitative research conducted numeric data (Bhatacherjee, 2012). The next session outlined philosophical principles underlying the researcher approach to data collection and analysis.

### **3.3. Paradigm, Ontology, Epistemology and Methodology**

A research paradigm is defined as a “basic belief system or worldview that guides the investigator, not only in choice of method but in ontological and epistemological fundamental ways” (Guba & Lincoln, 2004, p. 105). This thesis is guided by the interpretivist paradigm and based on the philosophical stands of hermeneutic phenomenology.

The interpretivist or constructivist approach is to understand the deep relationship between the human beings and their environment and social fabric of which they are a part (Thanh & Thanh, 2015), and focuses on “participants’ view of the situation being studied (Creswell, 2003, p. 8), underpinning the phenomenology approach. In the meantime, the epistemological view of interpretivism also manifests that “texts do not simply contain meaning but are instead rendered meaningful by the perspective and understanding of the reader for specific purposes” (Drisko & Maschi, 2015, p. 67), that govern the hermeneutic phenomenology approach employed in this research.

The term phenomenology is associated with a research perspective in studies regarding human experience in society. A phenomenological study is defined as “the common meaning for several individuals of their lived experiences of a concept or a phenomenon” (Creswell, 2013, p. 76). In tourism study, phenomenology research is to



describe or understand “the experiential, and lived existence of tourists/guests, locals/hosts, service providers and any other stakeholders that take part in the tourism phenomenon” (Pernecky & Jamal, 2010, p. 1056). Among various traditions of phenomenological studies, hermeneutic phenomenology uses the perspective of meanings, understandings, and interpretations to describe the experience. The ontological, epistemological, and methodological issues related to phenomenological research are amplified in the following justification.

### *Ontology*

Ontology refers to a branch of philosophy in regard to the enunciating structure of the world and nature (Wand and Weber, 1993, p. 220). The ontological view of a researcher is formed somewhere along the continuum between realism and relativism (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009). Since the understanding of human beings is “perspectival and shaped by pre-understanding, historicity, culture, practice, background, language...” (Pernecky & Jamal, 2010, p. 1067) (see Table 3.2), visitor experience in the dark sites is generated by their interpretation of the sites, events, and people they visited and interacted with. The “truth” being released in visitation is, therefore, contextual, relative, and multiple “truths” are evidenced.

### *Epistemology*

Epistemology refers to the nature of the relationship between the researcher and research object (Neuman, 2011), and the method in which researchers locate themselves to solve their research issues (Saito, 2016). Epistemology is branched into two viewpoints of *relative objective* and *relative subjective* (Jennings, 2015). While the former offers the

notion that researchers should maintain distance from the research object and keep away any kind of researchers' emotion and physical involvement for minimizing bias, the latter is associated with the notion that researchers should position themselves in the same or similar setting as the research object (Neuman, 2011; Saito, 2016). In this study, the researcher endeavors to get close to the participants and objects being studied (Creswell & Poth, 2018), and asserts certain values and lenses from her cultural traditions to offer explanations for the phenomenon under investigation, i.e. subjective experience. By getting close to participants or research objects, the researcher has a better understanding of the social context from the firsthand experience (Creswell & Poth, 2018). This strategy was implemented in the interviews. However, in order to have an objective view of the phenomenon and describe it biased in the least, the researcher also tries to keep a certain distance from the object. In another word, "this turns on the lived experiences of individuals and how they have both subjective experiences of the phenomenon and objective experiences of something in common with other people" (Creswell, 2013, p. 78). Furthermore, respect the epistemology view of the hermeneutic phenomenon, language through interpretation and/or context plays an important role in which "both the researcher and the participant are self-interpreting beings who live in the 'real' world" (Pernecky & Jamal, 2010, p. 1067), the researcher kept objectiveness in the research by examining the writing of participants onsite in the visitor's guestbook.

### *Methodology*

Methodology refers to "the complementary set of guidelines for conducting research... and the methods are the specific tools of data and/or empirical material collection and analysis/interpretation/(re)construction that a researcher will use to gather

information on the world for building theory about the world” (Jennings, 2010, p. 35). Methodology performs as a guideline to direct the researcher on how to find out the approach to address the research issue. This study seeks to identify the structure and its characteristic dark tourism by searching and analyzing the “lived experience” of tourists. Pernecky & Jamal (2010) suggest the method of interview and participant observation to understand the rich description of the phenomenon (Table 3.2).

Table 3.2. *Hermeneutic phenomenology: preliminary guidelines for research in tourism studies* (Source: Pernecky & Jamal, 2010, p. 1067)

<b>REASON FOR RESEARCH</b>	To study lived experience and understand how experiences are interpreted and understood (the meanings of these experiences to the participants involved).
<b>ONTOLOGY</b>	<b>(Being-in-the-World) Realist:</b> The World and Nature can be accessed by means of our being-in-the-world: we make sense of our being and lifeworld (the world we live in) through reflective representation and analysis. All understanding of our being-in-the-world is perspectival and shaped by preunderstanding, historicity, culture, practice, background, language etc.). There is “realness” to the world and to our experiences; Da-sein’s ( <i>translated as ‘being there’</i> ) involvement plays a key role in constructing “truth”.
<b>EPISTEMOLOGY</b>	<b>Hermeneutic:</b> The main focus is on interpretation, context, and language; what counts as “truth” is based on interpretation, co-construction and reflexive participation. Both the researcher and the participant are self-interpreting beings who live in the “real” world and hence both play an important role in the process of arriving at understanding through dialogue and interpretation. Language plays a key role.
<b>METHODOLOGY</b>	<b>Interpretive and dialogic:</b> The researcher seeks to interpret and understand the lived experience; searches for meaning, analyses, critiques, and negotiates between theory and data, and is guided by hermeneutic phenomenology. The focus is on relationship between

	<p>self and other, rather than “subjective” or “objective” stance.</p> <p>Method: Interviews and participant observation, writing rich description aimed at understanding and meaning. Co-construction, reflexivity, and historicity are important guiding principles to this interpretive task (please note that there are no prescribed methods and these are only suggestions)</p>
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Although the study utilizes the theoretical background in dark tourism reflecting a perspective in the Western countries, the researcher aims at providing “multiple realities” and a dissimilar context in the Asian country in which dark tourism brings with it several different nuances. Hence, for this thesis, the selection of a mixed qualitative method might help to establish different views of phenomena (Brotherton, 2015). The researcher considered the accessibility of data resources to design this study that was consistent with the researcher's understanding and research objectives.

### 3.4. Mixed Qualitative Research Strategy

The researcher adopted a combination of the qualitative approach. Data for the research were collected from site observations; guide narratives; interviews with stakeholders; together with analysis of customer’s comments in the guestbook at the research field. Research strategy refers to an action plan that provides specific directions for conducting research. Based on Creswell & Roth’s procedure (2018) for conducting phenomenological research and the researcher’s critical review of literature, the research process is performed at the figure below.

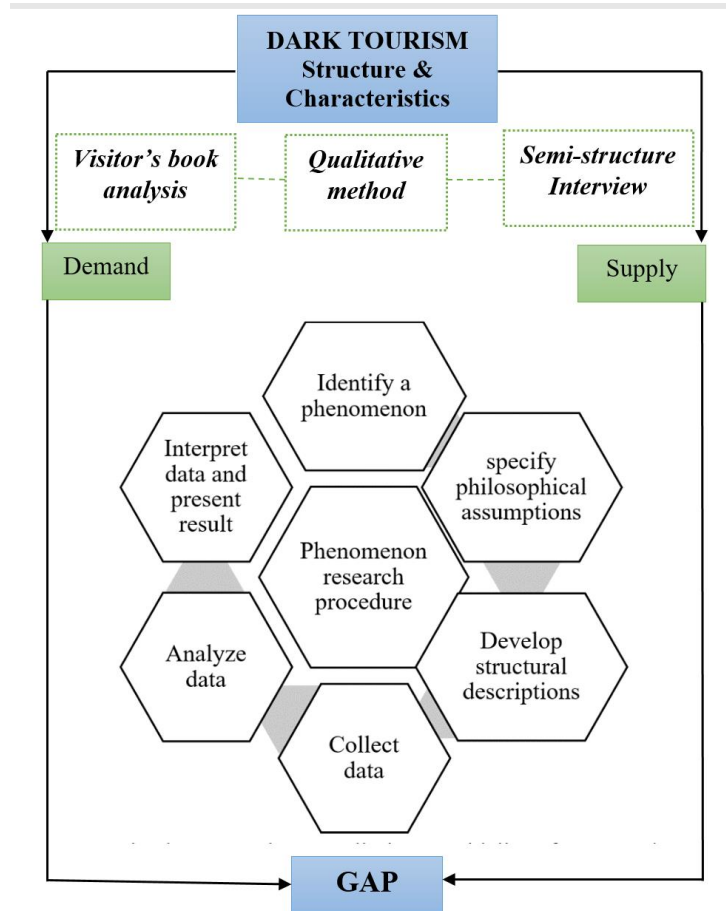


Figure 3.1. Research design for mixed qualitative approach

Two dimensions structured the dark tourism industry are outlined in the current research: demand side examined through tourist experience demonstrated in visitor’s guestbook data; supply side from the perspectives of policy-maker, tourist agency, and tour guide components which identified by interviews. Compare and contrast the supply and demand side of the dark tourism structure, the researcher could identify potential gaps existing in between demand and supply.

In the interview phase, the researcher used a list of exploratory questions to interview stakeholders related to dark tourism products, such as tourists, guides, or government officers on related issues regarding the characteristics and manner of operation of these products. As mentioned earlier, the term dark tourism emerged in the

1990s (Kunwar, 2019), has been exploited by several scholars so far. However, the most heavily explored topics still focused on dark sites in the Western world (Light, 2017). The researcher formed the questions by utilizing an initial qualitative research to measure dimensions for dark tourism construct in Vietnam together with the existing protocol of dark tourism study in extant literature.

In the phase of examining visitor comments, the researcher is able to scientifically generate ‘explanations’ in the concepts of tourist experiences which are value-laden social phenomena with multiple meanings and emotions. The researcher took the comments in visitors’ books at historical sites in the former DMZ. These books are put on the table at the museums where everyone can freely leave their feeling, experience, recommendation, and desire. Several comments have been collected with different types of visitors over a long time. This study seeks to go beyond such predefined labels and to emphasize the various meanings that tourists themselves bring to.

### **3.5. Studied Sites**

Quang Tri is well-known by DMZ tour with a lot of historical and revolutionary relics. The province is famous for several historical relics, for instance, Hien Luong Bridge – Ben Hai River Banks, Vinh Moc Tunnels, Quang Tri Ancient Citadel, Road No.9 – Khe Sanh, Ho Chi Minh Trail, Ta Con Airbase, Lao Bao Prison, Mc.Namara Electric Fence, etc., which formed a typical attraction system of the war heritage in Quang Tri. Looking back the history when a “temporary armistice” of Vietnam was set by the Northern government and the French colonial administration (1954). The Ben Hai River became the temporary border dividing the country into two halves. From then, Quang Tri

was one of the most purposefully bombed battlefields in military history ([Vietnam Beauty, 2008](#)).

Everywhere in Quang Tri, the visitor can witness a bulky and unique modern time war relic. Martyrs' Day in July, thousands of people visit this area to commemorate those who felt down their lives for national independence and freedom. Hence, the researcher conducted the semi-structured interview in the major dark tourism attractions in Quang Tri, including Vinh Moc Tunnel, Hien Luong Bridge, Quang Tri Ancient Citadel where attracts numerous visitors every year. That is because these sites are considered as the iconic destinations for battlefield tourism or dark tourism in Vietnam. Besides, the Vietnam War has only ended 45 years (1954-1975) when the researcher can record the authentic experiences of the first generations who have directly participated in this struggle. In other words, the researcher still had a chance to gain the "living experience" of "first-hand generation", which made a huge difference and generated an invisible link between dark sites and visitors.

The researcher conducted various trips to historic sites for observation in 2019. Furthermore, the researcher is a child who was born and grown up in the research field. The local background of culture and history might help to better understand and explain some contexts within research issues. The researcher also has some practical experience when involved in dark tourism activities for a couple of years. By on-site observing, the researcher joins daily activities, rituals, interaction, and being a member of a group to explicitly and tacitly recognize the routines in a particular culture ([Corbetta, 2003](#); [K. DeWalt and B. DeWalt, 2011](#)). Corbetta defines that participant observation is a strategy and the researcher is directly involved in a given social group for a long period, creating

a personal relationship with its members, describing their action and motivation by a process of identification (Corbetta, 2003). As a participant in a destination, the researcher records customers' thoughts and feelings by connecting to the population and being accepted as a member of the community. This methodology aims at producing a broad description of actual interaction with local settings at the dark site. The participant observer comes up with two purposes: "(1) to engage in activities appropriate to the situation and (2) to observe the activities, people and physical aspects of the situation" (Sharpley 2016, p. 54). Accordingly, the researcher involves visiting the dark site that is closer to characters than others.

### **3. 6. Phase 1: Semi-structured Interview**

The semi-structured interview with identified themes is used consistently to elicit more detailed responses. "Rather than asking respondents to read questionnaires and enter their own answers, researchers send interviews to ask the questions orally and to record respondents' answers" (Barbie, 2010, p. 267). On the one hand, the interviewee provides the answer in a way they think, in a concept they perceive, and in a language they use. On the other hand, it is important to process as much expertise in a relevant topic as possible so that the researcher can cover all the research fields. The semi-structured interview was employed during this research phase because this type of method admitted to collect a set of data on research-related topics, while also allowing a certain degree of flexibility of understanding participant behavior (Fontana & Frey, 2005).

The study adopted *purpose sampling* technique to capture a range of specific populations. Purpose sampling (also called judgment sampling) is a nonrandom technique



that does not need underlying theories (Etikan et al., 2016), and the researcher can determine what is necessary to explore and enumerates to find people who are willing to provide the information based on their knowledge or experience (Bernard, 2002). The selection of samples for this study reflects the relationship among stakeholders who are involved in tourism products and tourism activities at research sites.

The questions for the interview were formed for several objectives of both the public sector and the private sector. The interviewee could be visitors, tour operators, tour-guides, government officers. The government officers, tourist agencies, and tour guides were asked to clarify the elements within tourism products, for instance, accessibility, attraction, and human resource (Handbook on Tourism Product Development, 2011, p. 2). The visitors were kindly requested to provide the information about the site, tour route, tour guide, narrative, and interpretation at sites. The researcher conducts 17 interviews lasting about 15 to 30 minutes each.

The interview is conducted by the researcher within a week in early April 2019. The researcher desired to identify the tourist motivation at the site: who they go with, how often they choose the route at sites, do they practice rituals of worshipping and offering incense at the memorial places (Henderson, 2000). For tour guides and tour operators, the study focuses on how dark tourism product is packaged and performed. The researcher also aims attention at attraction-supply or government officers who provide information regarding policy and strategy for dark tourism.

Because the informants are from different positions, the researcher has arranged a reasonable time to get as much information as possible. Before conducting the interview, the researcher informed the informant about the research topic and committed

to keeping the relevant personal information confidential. Upon obtaining the consent of the informant, the researcher proceeded to ask questions and took note of the answers. Different question-sets were prepared to capture a perspective of dark tourism products, tourism activity, tour route, human resource, and government policy (see Appendixes A-E).

The researcher also remained at the historical relics of Quang Tri to reach visitors, on-site tour guides, and tour guides. Interviews with visitors took place quite briefly because most of them did not have much time. They had to complete the route timely, then promptly moved to another site. In addition to informal interviews, the researcher also conducted several informal conversations to collect a variety of information resources necessary for the research. On-site tour guides and tour guides were kindly required to provide some information, for instance, what kind of tourists they usually meet, why tourists visit the site, what type of questions or comments tourists often ask, or say during their visitation. Interview recordings were transcribed and analyzed along with observations and field notes. This process of data analysis is described hereunder.

### **Content analysis for Interview Data**

The researcher utilized the method of *qualitative content analysis* for pointing out several dimensions generated by tourist, tour guide, tour operator, and government officer, as it allows to embrace both “contextual information and latent content” (Drisko & Maschi, 2015, p. 85). Qualitative content analysis is defined as “a set of techniques for the systematic analysis of texts of many kinds addressing not only manifest content but also the themes and core ideas found in texts as primary content” (Mayring, 2010, adapted by Drisko & Maschi, 2015, p. 85). Moreover, qualitative approaches to content analysis

seem to cover some meaningful content, which might appear only once or twice in a text. In another word, it “expose(s) unique characteristics without regard for frequencies” (Kracauer, 1952, p. 635).

Based on the transcript and translation, the data was reduced through descriptive themes. The purpose is to highlight the most relevant and meaningful phrases or passages of text (Drisko & Maschi, 2015). These themes can present for a large data set and perform as an exploratory dimension for further expansion of the research. This coding is to develop new knowledge and to address the most relevant answers for research questions (Drisko & Maschi, 2015). These coding phrases were collected according to themes of what the informants mentioned regarding the dark site. First, the researcher analyzed discourses of groups related to tour guides, tourists, tour operators, and government officers separately. Then, the themes that emerged from various groups were corrected, linked, and formulated into dominant themes that arrived from several sides, which centered on the customer-demand and attraction-supply of dark tourism. Themes that emerged from phase 1 were triangulated with the data stemmed from textual analysis in phase 2 which presented the findings of the study.

### **3.7. Phase 2: Visitor Guestbook Analysis**

Visitor’s artifacts are a rich data source for tourism research (Miles, 2014; Stone, 2012). These artifacts can be artwork, comment cards, comment books, photographs, videos during their trip (Kerr & Price, 2018). Visitors often leave their tributes or create them on site (Sturken, 2007). The site of DMZ captures the complexity of the war history, involvement parties, and is an ideal site for the examination of the multifaceted notion of

dark tourism experience. Particularly, in a comparative context of war involvement experience and its aftermath of dark tourism visitation, the battlefield site will offer a laboratory to learn from different sides of the war. Especially, when the war was just over, and the generations participating in it still alive, what is left from there will become a “lived material” for visitor experience, especially for those who have a special connection to the war. Creating artifacts is a way to express their deep feeling to a dark site.

The researcher collected and examined tourist comments in the visitor’s guestbook from 1991 to 2019 at Vinh Moc Tunnel, Ta Con Airbase, Hien Luong – Ben Hai River, Quang Tri Museum, and Quang Tri Ancient Citadel. Visitors left their handwritten texts reflecting their first-hand emotion and evaluation after visiting the site. Although the information in the guestbook is scattered, the texts revealed their true feelings and perceptions in the real-time visiting these dark sites. The researcher recorded more than 400 visitor comments and organized 197 quotes from those to support themes. The filter used to screen the comments to be taken into the analysis is that the quality and content of the text should be adequate for analysis. Only the personal messages with strong and clear contents are randomly picked (see Figure 3.2, all the personal information is confidential). The researcher omitted comments which were short and brief, and did not show feelings, reflection of the visitation, such as “Thank you”, “I have been here...”, etc. In the visitor’s guestbooks, domestic tourists usually perform either their name, occupation, birthplace, or resident place onwards, the international tourists tend to identify themselves by nationality. The majority of domestic tourists are school students, college students, teachers, government officers, veterans, and martyr’s family and relatives.

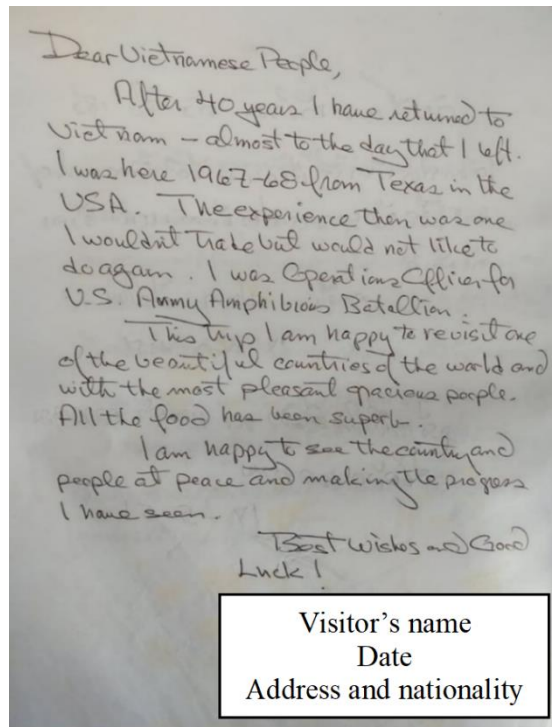


Figure 3.2: Sample of a selected tourist comment taken in 2018 visitor's book at Vinh Moc (Source: the researcher)

Furthermore, the researcher was born and raised locally which is deeply involved in local context and experience. For this reason, the researcher's personal experience may be useful for understanding the study content. One's own experiences and background knowledge is encouraged to utilize in the interpretive content analysis (Drisko & Maschi, 2015, p. 78). It is noteworthy that, the researcher refrained from having "self-awareness and self-reflection" as a filter to select the quotes to analyze as being aware of "personal biases or views that may affect conceptual, methodological, and analytic decisions made during the project" (Drisko & Maschi, 2015, p. 78).

## **Interpretive Content Analysis for Visitors' Guestbook Data**

The content analysis is an effective tool to explore printed text or communication which is indispensable in measuring tourism experience (Smith, 2010). “Content analysis is a research technique for making replicable and valid inference from texts (or other meaningful matter) to the contexts of their use” (Krippendorff, 2004, p. 18). Nevertheless, there is a line between original content analysis employed for analysing interview data and interpretive content analysis for textual data from the guestbook. The content analysis “tend(s) toward the use of deductively generated coding categories, use more literal or low inference in coding methods, and direct less attention to the contexts of communication and meaning making... address both the antecedents and the consequences of communication, allowing exploration of both the causes and effects of communication along with its explicit content” (Drisko & Maschi, 2015, p. 58). Neuendorf (2017) highlights that the interpretative analysis technique is to create a theory based on the observation of messages and the coding of these messages (p. 12). This technique is quite challenging than basic content analysis. Furthermore, from the epistemological view, “texts do not simply contain meaning but are instead rendered meaningful by the perspective and understanding of the reader for specific purposes” (Drisko & Maschi, 2015, p. 67). The interpretive content analysis intends to summarize the data without losing “divergent views and nuance” (Drisko & Maschi, 2015, p. 76). The researcher deployed the interpretive content analysis for the following reasons: (i) describing text and its meaning based on a large data source; (ii) inferring thoughts, feeling, behaviour generated by writing form of communication; and (iii) utilizing the researcher’s personal experience in explanation of some phenomenon in dark tourism.

This method allows the researcher to access and analyse limited information or data resource related to the events or people in the past.

Coding in interpretive content analysis seeks to identify the close “tag for future use content of relevance to the study question”; and is majorly “descriptive of content, processes, concepts, emotions, values, and even hypotheses” (Drisko & Maschi, 2015, p. 73-74). Coding might lead to several different elements generated by analysing the text (Miles, Huberman & Saldaña, 2014).

To develop a codebook, the analysis adopted with a *confirmatory approach* to analyse data grounded on conceptual categories determined before reviewing the text (Guest, MacQueen & Namey, 2012), that framed: tourist motivation and experience. Then, based on the transcript and translation, the researcher coded the important terms repeated frequently in the text. These coding phrases were collected according to several different groups of what the tourists mention about the event, the place and the people (external factors) and the cognition, the action and the emotion (internal factors). Finally, the themes that emerged from the mentioned groups were categorized into major themes that displayed the direct and indirect relationship among them.

### **3.8. Chapter summary**

This chapter has described the methodology and methods utilized in this study. Based on the philosophical assumptions of ontology, epistemology, and methodology of phenomenological research, the strategy for the thesis is identified under the guidance of interpretivism approach. The study adopts mixed qualitative research of analysing the data from interview and visitor’s guestbook to measure the dimension of demand – supply

and its gap in dark tourism. Grounded on this methodology and methods, the next chapters provide the result of a qualitative research process, followed by the discussion of findings and their implications.



## CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS ON DARK TOURISM RESOURCE AND SUPPLY

### 4.1. Introduction

The chapter systematizes the basic determinants of dark tourism supply, thereby pointing out some characteristics of a composite product involved by several associated services and stakeholders. The practical issues in dark tourism are analysed and assessed through the comments of tour operators, government officers, and a number of personnel engaged in tourism activities. Chapter 4 provides an overall view of the actual situation of dark tourism product development including (i) dark tourism resource; (ii) human resource; (iii) destination accessibility, service and facility, and (iv) government policy.

*Table 4.1. Interview respondent profiles*

<b>Respondents</b>	<b>Gender</b>	<b>Nationality</b>	<b>Occupation</b>	<b>Residence</b>
Tourist 1	Female	Vietnamese	Student	Phu Yen
Tourist 2	Male	Vietnamese	Veteran	Hanoi
Tourist 3	Female	Vietnamese	Unknown	Quang Binh
Tourist 4	Male	Vietnamese	Officer	Thanh Hoa
Tourist 5	Male	Vietnamese	Veteran	Ha Nam
Tourist 6	Female	Vietnamese	Unknown	Quang Binh
On-site guide 1	Female	Vietnamese	Tour guide at Vinh Moc Historical Relic	Quang Tri
On-site guide 2	Male	Vietnamese	Tour guide at Vinh Moc Historical Relic	Quang Tri
On-site guide 3	Female	Vietnamese	Tour guide at the Quang Tri Ancient Citadel	Quang Tri
On-site guide 4	Male	Vietnamese	Tour guide at the Quang Tri Ancient Citadel	Quang Tri
On-site guide 5	Male	Vietnamese	Tour guide at Hien Luong Historical Relic	Quang Tri
Tour guide 1	Male	Vietnamese	Independent tour guide	Hue
Tour guide 2	Male	Vietnamese	Tour guide	Hanoi
Tour guide 3	Female	Vietnamese	Independent tour guide	Quang Binh
Tour operator 1	Male	Vietnamese	Director	Quang Tri
Tour operator 2	Male	Vietnamese	Director	Quang Binh
Government officer 1	Female	Vietnamese	Deputy Head of Tourism Division	Quang Tri

For the investigation of tourism resources available in Quang Tri, 17 interviews with six visitors, five on-site guides, three tour guides from tourism agencies, two tour operators, and one government officer were interviewed in April 2019. Table 4.1 describes the respondents' profiles.

## **4.2. Characteristics of Dark Tourism in Quang Tri**

### **4.2.1. Itinerary Design**

The Vietnam War is controversial due to foreign forces' involvement. For the Vietnamese, the War reminded of a period of division along the 17<sup>th</sup> parallel in Ben Hai River, Quang Tri (Ngo & Bui, 2019; Tran, Le & Husum, 2012). The province is known for the fiercest battles of the Vietnam War, giving the land sacred status in the national history owing to the enormous sacrifice of lives (Ngo & Bui, 2019). A "DMZ Tour" designed for the international tourist is described by Schwenkel (2013, p. 119-120) as follows:

*Along Highway 9, the bus traveled to Camp Carroll... and then to the "Rockpile", a 230-meter-high limestone formation that served as a firebase and observation point... The next destination was an impoverished "Montagnard" community of Bru-Vân Kiều people... The last stop on Highway 9, close to the international border with Laos, was the Khe Sanh Combat Base, site of the infamous seventy-seven-day siege by PAVN force in 1968. After lunch... tourist made brief stops at the "skeleton cathedral" (the ruins of a bombed Catholic church) and the Hiền Lương Bridge, which spans the Bến Hải River and marked the "former border" at the Seventeenth Parallel. Tourist then brief traveled to "the other side", to visit*

*the Vĩnh Mốc tunnels, where they edged their way slowly through the narrow underground pathways built by villagers to escape U.S bombing.*

For the daily tours from Quang Tri, the international visitors usually have two options: (i) just visiting the DMZ sites in Quang Tri; and (ii) DMZ sites and adding to a natural beauty spot in neighbouring Quang Binh province, either Phong Nha cave or Thien Duong cave (see Appendix F). This tour is specially designed for the international tourists with sites of former battlefields, such as Khe Sanh, the Rockpile, The MacNamara Line, Con Tien Base (Camp Carroll) and Doc Mieu Base. Eventually, it has become standardised tours offered by many travel agencies.

For the daily tours from Hue city, the itinerary is shown bellows:

*There are two options for tourists: A one-day tour and a half-day tour. Option 1: Half-day tour usually starts around 8 AM to 9 AM from Hue City to the following sites: "Street without joy" - About 200 Quang Tri refugees moving to the South were ambushed at this site in summer of 1972; then, Long Hung church; La Vang Church; Doc Mieu Military Base; Hien Luong - Ben Hai; Vinh Moc Tunnel; Cua Tung Beach: formerly devastated by US forces. Option 2: One-day tour usually starts at 7 AM from Hue City, including sites in Option 1 and Rockpile Military Base; Ho Chi Minh Trail; Dakrong Bridge (connecting the west of Ho Chi Minh Trail); Khe Sanh Military Base. (Tour guide 1).*

There are two major flows of the domestic tourists, one is from Dong Hoi and Quang Binh, the other is from Hue: *"I often ask the tourists where they come from. They frequently come from Hue to Khe Sanh, Hien Luong. After finishing here, they often say they will return to Hue or go to Phong Nha. The tourists who come from the North will*

*go to Hue for the next destination. The tourists who come from the South will go to Phong Nha for the next destination”.* (On-site guide 1)

There are changes in tour routes, which are no longer depending on travel agencies to design standard tourists, but tourists’ demand, especially in the case of domestic tourists. DMZ tour has expanded to other sites outside the original routes.

*My group consists of 40 people; we are Truong Son soldiers visiting Quang Tri. This tour includes Dong Loc Junction, Yen Island – the grave of General Vo Nguyen Giap, Highway 9 Martyrs' Cemetery, Truong Son Martyrs' Cemetery, Quang Tri Ancient Citadel. Tomorrow, we will visit Hien Luong.* (Tourist 2)

Regarding tour booking, a tour guide in Quang Binh expressed that the international and domestic visitors choose different forms to book tours based on the level of tour information and convenience: *“International tourists often book through a company tour at their location. Then, these companies forward to ground handling agents for necessary preparation. Domestic tourists either choose a tour of travel companies or they travel on their own and then buy a tour at a travel agent in Quang Binh”.* (Tour guide 3).

The design for the DMZ tour is basically unchanged through the years, however, the travel agency has added beauty spots to increase the attractiveness for the journey. The design of the DMZ tour depends very much on the tourist’s demand. For instance, with veterans or elders, the DMZ tour is usually packaged to a number of historical destinations. It is because they have experienced and lived in a period of war, they wish to find themselves, rediscover the past, and recall old memories when returning to Quang

Tri. For students, young generations, or international visitors who desire to explore new things, the combination of natural tourism will create more interest in the trip.

#### 4.2.2. Visitation to Dark Tourism Sites

From 2005 to 2017, the total number of visitors to Quang Tri war sites reached more than 9,000,000 arrivals. Thereof, travel agencies in Quang Tri organized for 4,580,000 visitors with social revenue of 2,140 billion; Centre for Natural – Historical Landscape Conservation welcomed and served 1,800,000 visitors, the revenue from ticket sales and donation sources reached nearly 35 billion (Quang Tri Department of Culture, Sport and Tourism, 2018). This amount is quite modest for the tourism industry of a province, but is a remarkable figure for early tourism development and must overcome many difficulties after the war ended.

Pilgrims visit to Quang Tri war heritage sites often perform a kind of ritual practice and pray for those who sacrificed their lives. On-site tour guides noted various emotional moments when veterans and their family visited the dark site:

*They come here to visit their old battlefield. Someone used to fight here, someone used to live in this tunnel. Many people come here to find their memories and tell their stories in the past. They also admire the will and vitality of the local people*  
(On-site guide 1)

Several visitors did not hesitate to express their emotions when coming to this war heritage. It is worth mentioning that they not only come once, twice but repeat that trip with the same location many times: “*We occasionally organize back to the old battlefield*

*tour in case of guest demand. The veterans almost visit these sites every year. They mainly come here to offer incense to their teammates” (Tour guide 2).*

When being asked why Vinh Moc tunnel, Hien Luong bridge are indispensable destinations in the tour itinerary, a tour guide from Hue said, *“these are typical and significant places in the Vietnam War”* (Tour guide 1). Indeed, the historical sites in Quang Tri are the iconic destination for many visitors. It is as if coming to Quang Tri without visiting such a war site, will be an omission and regret.

Tourists usually do not take a lot of time for a dark site: *“Normally around 30 minutes to 40 minutes, depending on tourists’ inquiry and the local guide’s spending”* (Tour guide 1). A tour route at historical sites is mostly designed in a fixed format. On-site tour guides at war heritages emphasize that international tourists often watch documentary films; see the artifact and narrative in the museum; visit the remnants of the war, i.e., aircraft corpses at Ta Con, underground tunnels in Vinh Moc; and listen to the tour guide’s interpretation. For domestic visitors, the time spent on experiencing the relics is often shortened or skipped, as most they will practice the worshipping ritual of the deceased. This makes a distinctive feature compared to the usual tourism forms.

*Veteran groups almost come back to visit the old battlefield every year and offer incense to their comrades with their deep gratitude. (On-site guide 2)*

*International tourists don’t ordinarily perform any ritual at the memorial but come to the Museum for the tour guide’s interpretation of Quang Tri Citadel’s history and the 81day-long battle. (On-site guide 4)*

The behaviour of offering “incense” is one of the customs of Vietnam in commemorating ancestors and the deceased (Chauvet, 2011; Cohen, 2018). It is an intangible link that connects the two different worlds. Vietnamese people often offer incense on the ancestral altar, an indispensable cultural beauty on the important occasion in a year, i.e., New Year holiday, death day – the anniversary of someone’s death, etc. Incense now has become an indispensable spiritual product of the Vietnamese people.

Domestic and international visitors prefer to visit different sites as their interest in the dark sites is completely different. Even visiting the same place, they had different activities and behaviours.

*(Domestic tourists) consistently ask about the history of the 81-day battle. The tourists pay attention to the meaning behind the common grave/Memorial; The location of the 81-day battle and the value of Thach Han River. (On-site guide 4)*

*(American tourist) The most frequent question being asked is why American forces wanted to destroy Vinh Linh? How was life in the tunnel? Where did they find food? How did they light up the tunnel? What are Vietnamese attitudes towards Americans? Do Vietnamese hate Americans? (On-site guide 2)*

Almost half of a century has passed since the time of the Vietnam War, yet foreign veterans have kept their desire to come back to the former battlefields to recall for the past memories. They are fascinated in returning to Vietnam and finding out “what has not been told and what is missing in the Western narratives of the Vietnam War” (Ngo & Bui, 2019, p. 73) by asking several questions to the on-site tour guides.

With the mentioned analysis, the study provides a comprehensive description of the DMZ tour including tour design and tour operation in Quang Tri. The main characteristics of the domestic and international tourists are also figured out. The analysis of these distinct features contributes to creating a suitable development strategy for dark tourism in the future. Research and development of dark tourism products must be grounded on an understanding of tourists' market characteristics and their demands.

### **4.3. Site interpretation: The role of tour guide**

Having analyzed data collected from interviews and participant observation, the researcher gained a lot of information regarding the on-site tour guide as a distinctive feature that increases the attractiveness for dark tourism. Therefore, in this section, the researcher will deeply analyze the role of on-site tour guides who bring visitors a lot of memorable experiences and emotions.

#### **4.3.1. Political Role**

Quang Tri is a very significant site in the national history owing to the importance of the events happening in Quang Tri, and the magnitude of loss of lives in the battles, together with the significance of the town in the division of North and South Vietnam during the Vietnam War. Domestic and international tourists also hold very different viewpoints of what happened at dark sites given their background. How the historical story written or rewritten, told or retold is based on the current political regime (Sharpley, 2009b). While tour guides seldom involve in political debate with historical events, on-site guides often follow the official narrative.



*The DMZ tour is usually chosen for learning about the history... Tourists have often learned about these sites before arriving. Additional information was collected through the [on-site] guide's interpretation at the site. In my personal experience, I seldom express my political viewpoints as tourists might have a very different view on the related events I mention. I let the on-site guide explain the national narrative of the events as they are authorized to do so. (Tour guide 1)*

Interpretation of historical events presents one of the greatest challenges for tour guides who are without local and knowledgeable skills. The symbolic meaning can only be conveyed through the skillful guide. It is easy to be omitted from the tour itinerary if the tour guide is short of site information and personal experience. For example, being one of the most important sites for pilgrimage, Quang Tri Ancient Citadel sometimes is skipped because its symbolic meaning and narrative are not easy to present, especially when the tour guide is not experienced enough (Ngo & Bui, 2019).

*Quang Tri Ancient Citadel is officially included in the package tour but is often omitted from the itinerary for international travellers. Firstly, it is not easy to interpret as it requires deep and specialized historical knowledge. Secondly, the Citadel has a high symbolic meaning with very few tangible exhibits to show visitors. Apart from the common grave and museum, it is difficult to explain historical events that occurred in the past. (Tour guide 2)*

#### **4.3.2. Educational Role**

The political system cannot be separated from education in Vietnam. Visitation to historical relics is an essential curriculum applied to all levels of education (Ngo & Bui,

2019). Political education is embedded in the official narrative in the historic sites, and the on-site tour guides become teachers. Interaction with history by physical settings (the site) and symbolic interpretation (the guides) retains students more excited in historical lessons (Ngo & Bui, 2019).

*Students are from universities nationwide, mainly from Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City, from the departments of history and tourism. There are also students from the Da Nang University of Science and Technology. Local school and college students visit the site for the educational program on the occasions of Youth Day (March 26th) and National Reunification Day (April 30<sup>th</sup>). (On-site guide 1)*

The educational program targets young education to nurture the sense of pride and appreciation of the young generations, from preschool and kindergarten levels. The entire province has been covered with many historical sites, the tradition of paying tribute to national martyrs in war-related sites have mainly been carried out frequently by school kids from primary to high schools. Children from local schools also participated in various national commemorative events. These activities raise a sense of national pride and responsibility for future generations. Even tourists can recognise the educational functions of the sites as revealed in the interviews: “*Coming here, you will feel both the national pain and pride very clearly that become the best place for young generation education*” (Tourist 6).

#### **4.3.3. Peacemaker role**

Several veterans visit the former battlefield and their comrades with different moods. Some of them were sadly standing on this heroic land to remember a past time of

loss and sacrifice. Other veterans expected to be heard, to be experienced the life and meaning of aspiration. International tourists are among those who visit old battlefields, carry with them a different understanding of history, and consequently, different motivations and feelings. In the end, they all seek to emerge in moments of serenity and peace no matter how the war happened. At this time, the on-site tour guides play the peacemaker role, who acts as a mediator to connect the past to the present and relieves the physical and mental wounds caused by the war.

Tourists cried when listening to the heart-breaking story of decades ago. The story of a young soldier, Le Van Huynh, who can predict his destiny, has taken so many tears and mercy of visitors. Before the day of the final battle where he lost his life, he wrote a farewell letter to his mother and wife. He knew in advance where he would be buried and guided the family to find his remains. He left the faithful encouragement to his mother and wife as a message to the future that today's sacrifice was for the future's peace.

*I'm leaving, my mom please take care, as if I am always with you. Don't be sad, so my soul can be free. My father has gone so far to let you know how hard it is. Currently, I have grown up, then... Well, please don't be sad, I have lived my life for the future fatherland. (Guides' narrative from the Quang Tri Ancient Citadel).*

The people who convey these peace messages are none other than on-site tour guides. They are ones who bring spirits of the past alive and connect memory to present (Ngo & Bui, 2019).

#### 4.3.4. What is missing?

There are still some shortcomings related to human resources at dark sites in Quang Tri. First, on-site guides have professional knowledge but lack some professional skills to serve tourists.

*I found the guides' language and knowledge are fine, yet their style is not as professional as in Quang Binh. For example, the day I went to Hien Luong, no guide appeared there so that I had to find them. The off-peak period might cause this problem. (Tour guide 3)*

In particular, the number of English-speaking tour guides is limited. This restriction from the supply has not been able to meet the demand of international visitors yet, both for English and non-English speaking tourists.

*In fact, our agency has some training courses for the employees. However, in addition to specialized knowledge, foreign language is a major obstacle. Most employees do not study foreign languages. Although some foreign language classes are held, only a low level of English is offered. Some tourists require French and Italian speaking guides, which is impossible to be met. (On-site guide 1)*

Professional guides and skillful staff are important factors contributing to the quality of tourism products. Therefore, besides enhancing the tourism product's quality and diversifying tourism activities, it is essential to improve the knowledge and skills of tour guides and staff at destinations.

## 4.4. Destination Accessibility, Services and Facilities

### 4.4.1. Destination Accessibility

Quang Tri has an important economic-geopolitical location on important national traffic routes of the highway, the railway from the North to South, and the seaway on the East. Quang Tri is adjacent to Quang Binh and Thua Thien Hue, Da Nang, Quang Nam where there are several World Heritage sites recognized by UNESCO such as Phong Nha – Ke Bang National Park; Hue Ancient Capital; Hoi An Ancient Town; My Son Sanctuary. Besides, Quang Tri is also the starting point on the Trans-Asia route linking Vietnam with other countries in the East-West Economic Corridor (EWEC). Quang Tri has a lot of advantages to become a key point of national and international tourism movement (Quang Tri Tourism Guide Book, 2016).

Some tourists state that they easily access the war heritage in Quang Tri. Some places, for instance, Hien Luong are located on National Highway 1A connecting the North and the South, very easy for visitors to access. A female tourist in Hien Luong confirmed that the war site was not in her initial plan, because she came to Hue from Quang Binh for a health check-up. However, as Hien Luong historical relic was located on the way, she just changed her mind in a minute.

*I have gone across this road many times but have no chance to visit. Today I stop here on the way returning from a health check-up in Hue hospital. (Tourist 2)*

The researcher met a group of students visiting Quang Tri Citadel in the late afternoon. When being asked the reason for choosing this site, their answer was: “*Because it is near Dong Ha, it is easy to go by motorbike*” (Tourist 1). In this case, accessibility

becomes a fairly significant advantage to attract visitors. The dark sites in Quang Tri are located throughout the province with a dense density so that it is convenient to move from place to place: *“This site is quite close to Quang Binh. My guests are also quite old, want to learn about history and culture rather than entertainment activities”* (Tourist 6). For the elderly, the attraction’s accessibility and characteristics become important factors for visitors’ decision making. It is the fact that they will choose places that do not take too long to travel and fix their interest in experiencing the local history and culture.

Despite some advantages in reaching war heritages, the researcher still noted a complaint about destination accessibility in Vinh Moc Tunnels: *“The tourists request more signboard toward the tunnel, there is only one near the tunnel now”* (Tour guide 1). The management of these signboards is the responsibility of government agencies. If this problem is improved, it will create more favourable conditions for visitors to access the dark sites.

#### **4.4.2. Destination Services and Facilities**

DMZ tour is determined to be Quang Tri's most distinctive tourism product. The province is now focusing on calling for potential investors to invest in tourism facilities and annually prioritized funding for planning and embellishing some particular war sites; investing in infrastructure to meet tourists’ demands. The current tourism services and facilities of Quang Tri can meet the basic demands of visitors.

*The covered area is not too large, there was no problem with food and accommodation. Hotels have recently been renovated, there are even 3,4 star-hotels now. The food meets the tourists’ appetite. Although the services are not as*

*luxurious and high quality as those of other places, they meet our customers' basic demands.* (Tour operator 1)

In the period 2010-2017, the system of accommodation has considerably developed. In 2010, only 82 accommodations launched with 1,451 bedrooms. By 2017, there were 178 accommodations with a total of 3,017 bedrooms. The average growth rate for the period 2006-2017 was 13.8%/year (Quang Tri Department of Culture, Sport and Tourism, 2018), see table 4.2:

*Table 4.2. Accommodation in Quang Tri from 2010 to 2017*

	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	Average growth rate (%)
Accommodation	82	85	120	156	167	165	171	178	13,8
Room	1.451	1.680	2.020	2.423	2.450	2.746	2.821	3.017	13,0
Bed	2.586	2.771	3.227	4.382	4.403	4.808	4.925	5.260	12,6

(Source: Department of Culture, Sports and Tourism of Quang Tri Province, 2018)

However, a problem raised:

*They (visitors) still stay in Quang Tri but little to none.* (On-site tour guide 3)

*Rarely do they (visitors) remain at Quang Tri afterward.* (On-site tour guide 4)

Several researcher's informal talks with tour guides show the fact that most accommodations in the province are small scale (with less than 50 rooms) and belong to private small and medium enterprises. Its development is still limited in terms of operations, foreign languages, information, promotion, market building, and tourism products. The accommodation quality is generally poor and only meets the minimum

needs of tourists. The facility in some old hotels is out of date and needs upgrading. Additionally, the researcher recorded several informant's comments about other services and facilities, for instance, in Vinh Moc Tunnels:

*...Toilets are small not meeting the needs of tourists; The parking lot is also narrow and degraded, the big cars cannot turn around; Museum is now seriously degraded; Local products: The souvenirs are missing and poor; The promotion of tourism is limited, mainly promoting local agricultural products. (On-site tour guide 2)*

*I hope this site will attract more tourists and the facilities and services for food, beverage, accommodation will be upgraded. After visiting Vinh Moc Tunnels, there should be more interesting sites to attract the tourists to stay in Quang Tri. Currently, the quality of service is too poor. If it is improved, it can keep guests staying for more days. (On-site tour guide 1)*

Indeed, the limitations of the services and facilities, on the one hand, did not stimulate visitors' expenditures, on the other hand, limited their duration staying at the war heritage. This is a reason why visitors only spend one day for DMZ tour. Some visitors consider Quang Tri as a "transit" rather than a "destination".

Not only tour guides who directly interact with tourists realize this fact, but the tour operators also, who have noticed many shortcomings during their operation.

*A standardized tour includes the following services: meals, accommodation, destination, transportation, which are still limited. Currently, the Quang Tri Department of Industry and Trade is promoting several agricultural goods, which shows certain efforts, though not much. For example, Quang Tri Commerce*



*Company is developing a line of specialties and souvenirs including Vang tea<sup>1</sup>, Black pepper<sup>2</sup> and nature-derived medicinal products. The majority is agricultural goods, no breakthrough whatsoever. Souvenirs and delicacies of Quang Tri are for sale at several locations. The sales, nonetheless are underwhelming. The tourists do buy them, but not at impressive rates. (Tour operator 1)*

Although there have been many efforts in creating and developing the associated services, it seems that its effectiveness is not so high. The research does not go into depth analysis of the main cause of these shortcomings. The study aims at emphasizing that the unqualified services and facilities have significantly reduced the number of tourists to war heritages. This is also a huge concern for the local tourism managers, when year after year, the services and facilities have not been innovated and improved.

*The elderly group does not often have complaints. As mentioned above, this is the traditional type of tour with no risky alteration, and thus, fewer unexpected incidents. Yet, there are two issues: (1) Degradation of the facilities, due to the lack of investment and maintenance. They may sometimes be even dirty... In conclusion, the tourists only concern is the obsolete facilities which remain unchanged year after year. Some tourists have taken the tour for 10 years without seeing any change. This is a regrettable issue. (Tour operator 1)*

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<sup>1</sup> Vang tea is a product made from Vang tree, which grows well in the harsh climate of Quang Tri. Vang tea is often used with boiling water to drink daily with many health benefits.

<sup>2</sup> Black pepper is grown on the red basalt soil in Quang Tri, which is not only used as a typical spice in cuisine but also supports the treatment of a number of diseases such as respiratory disorders, coughs, colds, and so on.

Although most war-related sites are managed by the local government itself, the renovation and renewal of a part, or the whole of a monument need serious scientific and historical research which cannot rely on any individual or organization. And this process requires the coordination of several units, both private and public sectors. Therefore, the development of tourism, especially for cultural and historical sites, needs to be carefully researched to meet the changing needs of tourists and still retain the authenticable values of the sites.

#### **4.5. Tourism Policies and Development**

The Department of Culture, Sports, and Tourism is a specialized agency under the management of the prefectural People's Committee. Simultaneously, the Department is managed by the Ministry of Culture, Sports, and Tourism and National Administration of Tourism. Its functional divisions have responsibilities for performing the tasks and powers to state management functions in the fields of culture, sports, and tourism.

According to the Deputy Head of Tourism Division (under the umbrella of Quang Tri Department of Culture, Sports, and Tourism), Quang Tri has implemented several programs to promote tourism development at war sites. After the Politburo's Resolution No. 08-NQ/TW dated 1<sup>st</sup> January 2017, on developing tourism as a key economic sector, Quang Tri Provincial Party Committee immediately issued the Action Program No. 83-CTHD/TU dated 25<sup>th</sup> July 2017, on developing tourism as a spearhead economic sector; issued the Master Plan for the development of Quang Tri tourism vision 2025 to 2030.

*Strive to 2025, tourism becomes a key economic sector, accounting for over 10% of GDP; building the Quang Tri tourism brand: "War memories - The aspiration*

*for peace", "The gateway to the East-West Economic Corridor", "The Road of Heritage Sites in Central Vietnam", "The legendary Ho Chi Minh Trail". With its important geographical position and unique tourism resources, it is a significant advantage for Quang Tri to develop tourism. (Government officer 1)*

Furthermore, People's Committee has guided to focus on construction items for tourism infrastructure, namely, tourism road from Cua Tung beach to Vinh Moc tunnels, national defense road from Cua Viet to Cua Tung beaches, Cua Tung bridge, Cua Viet bridge, and legendary Ho Chi Minh trail (section of Khe Sanh - Sa Tram - Ta Long) (Quang Tri Department of Culture, Sport and Tourism, 2018).

*The province has given priority to renovate some important national sites based on the available budget. Besides, Quang Tri has actively implemented the socialization of investment support to embellish the relics. For instance, Vietnam Industrial and Commercial Bank donated VND 40 billion to build Bell Tower and Flower Dropping Dock at South bank; Vietnam Development Investment Bank donated VND 20 billion to construct Bell Tower at Thach Han river's North bank. (Government officer 1)*

Among four key-products: dark tourism for visiting former battlefields and memorial of teammates; sea and island tourism; religious and spiritual tourism; and East-West Economic Corridor tourism, the first one is given priority to invest in development. *"The DMZ tour is a top priority and leaves a strong impression on tourists, especially veterans who used to fight in Vietnam. Revenue from tourism is mainly due to this source of visitors". (Government officer 1)*

However, the government policy is still inadequate in utilizing and promoting the available advantages of dark sites. Many localities also share the same plight, leading to the fact that tourism is still struggling to attract more tourists. One of the reasons for this situation is mismatching between government offices and tourism enterprises.

*Governmental support for Quang Tri businesses is little to none. The latter independently operate and market themselves. One thing I do not understand is why the ticket price for tourists is the same as those for free independent travellers. Quang Tri is the only province across the country which practices such pricing. I have directly sent my inquiry to the Executive Management of Natural-Historical Landscape Conservation Center, the only response has been: "To be reconsidered later".*

*Governmental authorities have been fulfilling their roles. However, there has not been a more proactive environment, more progress, or any project to encourage firms. The stimulation of the tourism industry is still a paper-based plan. The current regime is also too restrictive. (Tour operator 1)*

War heritages are providing great opportunities to attract tourists due to its cultural, historical, and spiritual values. However, each war site needs to be designed and operated by a proper and appropriate policy. The promulgation of government policies must have relied on reality and specific circumstances. It is necessary to be consulted with tourists, travel agencies, as well as tour operators for further information before issuing the policy. This is an important action to make the policy most effective.

Dark tourism to DMZ sites was used to be an attractive tourism product, attracting both domestic and international markets. Nevertheless, it is no longer exploited

effectively in recent years, partly due to the generations of veterans getting old. Moreover, another main reason is that the product has not been invested and built into a continuous, unified experience with specific design and unique ideas. It should be an overall picture of the 17<sup>th</sup> parallel demilitarized zone, including places and events related to the Geneva Agreement, historical sites on Hien Luong River, electronic fences, typical battlefields, Ho Chi Minh Trail, etc.

#### **4.6. Chapter summary**

Chapter 4 provides an overview of the factors made up supply-side in dark tourism. DMZ tour in Quang Tri is associated with the Vietnam War and the reunification of the nation. As a locality with great potential to develop dark tourism, however, the exploitation of the war heritage in Quang Tri province has not been synchrony and sustainable yet. Tourism products are still poor; the infrastructure is underdeveloped; the quality of tourism services has not been focused on improving; and policies to support tourism development are not effective. Improving the quality of services and facilities is a prerequisite for improving dark tourism activities in particular and promoting the provincial tourism industry in general.

## **CHAPTER 5: FINDINGS ON THE NOTION OF TOURIST EXPERIENCE AT THE DARK SITE – A PSECTIVE OF TOURIST DEMAND**

### **5.1. Introduction**

Chapter 5 provides findings from the analysis of visitor's guestbook data collected at major attractions in the DMZ areas. Visitors to the dark sites bring with them very special motivations from external factors, namely, the place, the event, and the people. The visitor experience has been described and documented in detail by factors from the inside through educational, spiritual, memorial, and personal dimensions. The last part of the chapter describes visitors' psychological transformation resulted from site visitation by insight into their cognition, emotion to action.

### **5.2. Visitor's profile**

The researcher took the comments in visitors' guestbooks at war-related sites throughout Quang Tri. These guestbooks are placed on tables on the gates at museums, allowing visitors to leave comments about their feeling, experience, and recommendation. The guestbooks are opened and available for other visitors and who are interested to access and read. When the visitors write their comments they are aware that the information is being made public. Many visitors left their names and contact details as a sort of consent. For research purposes, the researcher was requested to obtain the approval from prefectural Historical Relic Management Boards. This permission is necessary for the researcher to record the archival data dated back from the early 1990s, which makes the data set richer in both temporal and spatial dimensions.

The researcher took photos of guestbooks placed at Vinh Moc Tunnel, Ta Con Airbase, Hien Luong – Ben Hai River, Quang Tri museum, and Quang Tri Ancient Citadel. 197 quotes in more than 400 visitors' comments were selected for organizing and analyzing. The domestic visitors include various range of ages and occupations, most of whom are veterans, martyrs' family members, pupils, students, government officials, and employees. The international visitors rarely left their personal information, mostly mentioned their nationality. The international visitors are mainly from the US, Canada, Australia, the UK, Japan, Thailand, Ireland, etc. In particular, the number of US visitors was pretty nominated compared to other nationalities (Figure 5.1).

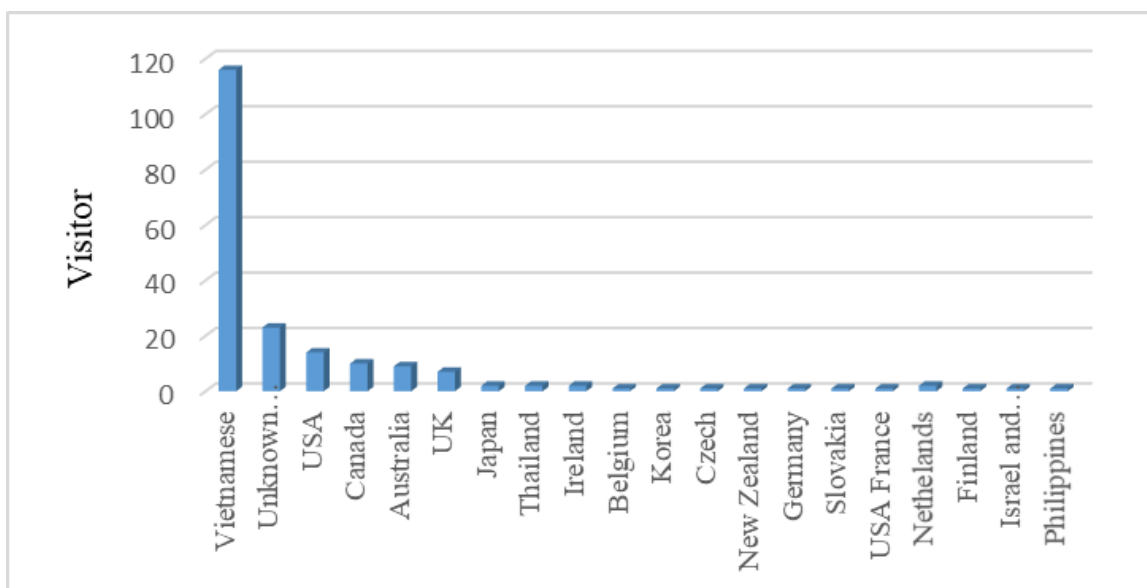


Figure 5.1: The selected visitor's nationality (Source: the researcher)

### 5.3. Framework for visitor experience interpretation

The complex of dark sites in the former DMZ can be listed as (i) Sites related to the Geneva Agreement dividing Vietnam into two mentioned political regimes include the Hien Luong Bridge cross over Ben Hai River; (ii) Complex of former battlefields

between American and RoV<sup>3</sup> and DoV<sup>4</sup> in 1968 and 1972 at Khe Sanh Base, Ta Con Airbase, Vay Village and Road 9, Quang Tri Ancient Citadel, banks of Thanh Han River; (iii) Local struggling sites such as Vinh Moc Underground Village System comprised of 144 tunnels and several fortifications for surviving and supporting to Con Co Island, and Truong Son Mountain Trail for keeping continued supply line to the front during 1959 to 1975 (McElwee, 2005).

Visitor interpretation of historical sites depends on prior knowledge they might have about the site, the event, and the people who fought there. This ‘memory’ either primary or secondary, is extremely diverse, and depending on where they came from, how they came to experience or to know of the historical events that happened at the sites. Having visited the same battlefield a veteran might recollect about suffered events, people, and circumstances that (s)he used to have gone through in the war as first-hand experience; while a young visitor might learn about these events through historical lessons and from their families, as the second-hand experience. International visitors have completely different prior knowledge and the version of history in favour of their own countries’ sacrifices or involvement in the war, or simply have a direct connection, and the pure interest remains being curious of what happened there in the past. In a short note, visitors develop a very different frame for interpretation in regards to *the place, the event and the people*.

Findings from interpretive content analysis sheds some light on the repetitions mentioned by visitors, which the place is described by “sacred, informative, interpreted,

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<sup>3</sup> In Vietnamese: Việt Nam Cộng hòa

<sup>4</sup> In Vietnamese: Việt Nam Dân chủ Cộng hòa



representative”; while the event is identified by “*fierce, atrocity, ideological and peaceful*”; and the people is featured by “*heroic, sacrificed, resilient, and brave*”. The place (the battlefield), the events (battles, separation), and the people (soldiers, citizen) come together inspiration, connecting, making the place to be a “*living war museum*” (David Lamb, 1999, cited by Schwenkel, 2013, p. 118) for the people who fought and died there and for the events happened in the past and are reminded in the present through tourist visitation.

### 5.3.1. The place

The place DMZ is attached to the war and suffering from both sides of the war, Vietnamese and American. To Vietnamese, the DMZ means 17<sup>th</sup> parallel Ben Hai River, Hien Luong Bridge, marking twenty years of division and separation of hundred thousand families and individuals. This separation is also a historic milestone that reminds generations of the nation’s aspiration for unification.

*As a child born and raised in the heroic land of Quang Tri, I have learned and heard a lot about the soldiers' revolutionary career to protect the country. On this land, the country was divided into **two South-North regions** during the war. Today, I cannot help but feel touched and proud of having the chance to come here and witness the remaining relics in the fierce wartime... (40HL, Vietnamese visitor, wrote in 2019)*

Quang Tri Citadel, reminds life, fights and death of citizens and soldiers, the battlefield of some of the fiercest battles in the Vietnam War in 1972 claiming hundreds of thousands of people’ lives (Ngo & Bui, 2019). Also, nine national army cemeteries,

particularly Truong Son Cemetery, the resting place of 20,000 soldiers and volunteers on Ho Chi Minh Trail in 15 years from 1960 to 1975, and Road 9 Cemetery for soldiers fought in Quang Tri mainly in 1972 battles.

*I have always dreamt of going back to the Quang Tri Citadel for so long, though only to be grieved and cried, but in a proud sense. Grandpa, I am back to the Citadel, visiting the **fierce battlefield** of the past. How much I miss you, my beloved! I also visited the Road 9 Cemetery and Truong Son Cemetery, your comrades stayed here so many that they made me oppressive with emotion. The trip on July 27, 2018, has been the most significant one in all my trips so far. I love you and the people who stayed here forever. Thank you! (28QT, Vietnamese tourists, wrote in 2018).*

To American, the name of McNamara Line, Vay Village, Camp Carroll, the Rockpile – Air control unit, Ta Con Airbase lives in the memory of the veteran and in the stories they tell to their next generations.

*We came to understand - all we hear from 1970's. We came to **remember** those who gave their lives in a war. **No one could win! Peace to all who fought** (51TC, American, wrote in 2019)*

“Vietnamese journeys were often motivated by a desire to alleviate suffering through the fulfilment of cultural obligations... Such domestic tours were... differed considerably from the more commercialized and sensationalized excursions to the DMZ” (Schwenkel, 2013, p. 118-119).

### 5.3.2. The Event

The domestic visitors coming to these sacred places usually practice a ritual performance for those who felt down in the wartime: taking some joss sticks, raising them above one's head with two hands, bowing three times, and standing in silence for a while (Schwenkel, 2013). This is a refined remembrance and spiritual ceremony to respect what happened in the past and pray for the present and the future. They believe that death is not the end, there is another sacred world co-existing with this real world.

For Vietnamese, the War Invalids' and Martyrs' Day, July 27<sup>th</sup> is an annual event of state commemoration. On that day, groups and individuals, veterans and children, government officers, and local citizens visit to pay homage through the incense, fruit, tea, flowers, candles...; and to commemorate the soldiers, the war volunteers, and the people who sacrificed valiantly during the War.

*There was encompassed by a very **sacred atmosphere**, silent space but covered the entire periods of Quang Tri. Each of the displayed statues, scenes, and relics totally attracted their curiosity... What the past left for the young generation was so valuable and meaningful (167MU, Teacher at nursery school, wrote in 2010).*

Offering the incense is an act to connect with the past and the dead. The veteran in the following comment returned to the old battlefield to memorize his teammates and pray for a better future. When he was praying, also the time he was recalling the events that happened in the past. The fierce battle at the Ancient Citadel in 1972 not only destroyed the land, the citadel, the people, but its power "forced" those who had gone through the war to memorize it as a piece of memories unforgettable by time.

*Being an essential informative soldier of E101 F325 I fought in **81-day battle** in Quang Tri Ancient Citadel, I was injured and arrested in Da Nang and Bien Hoa prisons... Fortunately, the Paris Agreement was signed ending the war in Vietnam, I was returned to Thach Han River on March 25, 1973. I am now retired. This second trip is also to express my gratitude to my comrades who had bravely sacrificed. **Praying for your souls in peace, the nation in stability, and my family in good health and happiness.** (07QT, Vietnamese veteran, wrote in 2018).*

### **5.3.3. The People**

The international tourist tends to be interested in how Vietnamese lived their life through the wartime. Knowing people in the past and present intrigues visitors' sense of sympathy and admiration.

*Dear friends. Thank you for showing me the victory that your citizens achieved. A very brave, **intelligent brave people** who had forward ideas move ahead of the time when the war was on. Just coming through the town, the **warmth and welcome** that I have been shown is a mark of the **goodness of your citizens** which can never be lost. My love and best wishes for all the citizens (very brave citizens) ... Love to all. (95VM, International tourist, wrote in 2000)*

*We are amazed at the skill and **resilience** of the Vietnamese people! Very **passionate and patriotic** people. (63VM, Australian visitor, wrote in 2019)*

## 5.4. Interpretation of Visitor Experience

In the landscape of war heritage, tourist visitation also links to personal experience in a sense of responsibility, as an obligation (Heap, 2016) with four different forms of educational, spiritual, memorable, and personal experience.

### 5.4.1. Educational Experience

Visitors' interest and background shade different lights on this educational experience. In the same site of DMZ, domestic visitors perceived education of nationalism, while foreign visitors found the authentic stories in the interpretation of the history of the others.

*We are from Cam Lo. Today, 19<sup>th</sup> May is our beloved Uncle Ho's birthday. I was so happy to be visited the Vinh Moc tunnels historical site. By the guide's interpretation, I got a **better understanding** of the painful and burden period in **national history**. I promise myself to study well. I love Vietnam. (80VM, Vietnamese student, wrote in 2019).*

*I am 17-year-old, but I find this war extremely interesting. I am lucky to have gotten a chance to witness and **learn about this history** today in Vietnam” (39HL, International student, wrote in 2019).*

***Experience is learning**, and I've come here to learn. Thank you for **sharing me a different view** on a very different world. I will take my lessons home. (94VM, U.S. Tourist, wrote in 2000).*

These effects contribute to enhancing not only their educational cognition but also spreading their authentic sense that generates a bridge between the past and the present (Ngo & Bui, 2019).

#### 5.4.2. Spiritual Experience

Spiritual experience is another shade of visitation to the sacred sites of the war. Mike (2012) emphasizes that “there is a certain element of spiritual about experience of walking across the battlefield” (p. 37) motivated by a “great moral and existential significance” (p. 41).

*We are the **veterans** from Chau Dinh - Quy Hop - Nghe An visiting our comrades who had contributed wholeheartedly and selflessly for the nation, whose bodies have permanently stayed in this land of Quang Tri. In the tour group, some were soldiers, now going back to **offer incense and paying tribute** to souls of the beloved comrades. (Tourist 17QT, Vietnamese, wrote in 2018).*

Vietnamese veterans who fought in Quang Tri are spherical types of visitors who return to find relief. The comments taken by the researcher show many stories of veterans and their relatives who cannot hold back their tears returning to the sacred place where their comrades and beloved lost their lives.

*I have come here many times, but every time I **cannot hold back the tears** of loving my comrades who have bravely sacrificed for the Fatherland's independence and people's happiness... (01QT, Vietnamese veteran, wrote in 2019).*

### 5.4.3. Memorable Experience

Experience is memorable. In an intangible landscape of dark tourism, war heritage becomes an agent connecting the past and the present, between death and the living that creates a lot of memorable experiences. Some researchers have challenged memory-work as a method to discover memorable experiences (Markula & Friend, 2005). This method utilizes “the underlying theory is that subjective significant events, events which are remembered, and the way they are subsequently constructed, play an important part in the construction of self” (Crawford et al., 1992, p. 37). Nevertheless, in this research, the researcher randomly recorded visitors’ memories without any barrier between researcher and participant. In this interpretation, the researcher emphasizes on the impact of visitation in the creation of a memorable experience, not in the sense of visitor ‘memory’.

*I would like to express my gratitude to the people of Vinh Moc for allowing me to see this incredible place which will live in my **memory for all time**. May you all prosper in the future. I am sure you will. I will watch with interest the future of Vietnam and its people. I thank you from the bottom of my heart... (109VM, U.K. tourist, wrote in 1992).*

The same site might create a distinct experience depending on to what extent the tourist is psychologically and emotionally engaged with the events recorded and memorialized (Cohen, 2011). Visiting the site with so much suffering from the loss of lives of many young soldiers, Vietnamese veterans recalled how they fought in the war and how they missed comrades who could not return from the fighting as well as the deep reflection on the matter of living and dead.

*It is 42 years from the day I left Quang Tri Ancient Citadel. That day I was in Squad 8, Company 2 occupied the Ancient Citadel. After more than 40 years - I **gratefully** wrote this message to my comrades who are now resting in peace. I just want to leave some messages but indeed don't know what to write now. How **lucky** I am to be returned to my motherland. I'm so **sorry** that some teammates' graves have not yet identified so far. Absolutely, your names will be recognized so that your family can find you soon. May the heroes forever be immortal in the heart of mine and Vietnamese people. (10QT, Vietnamese veteran, wrote in 2018).*

#### **5.4.4. Personal Experience**

Experience is personal. Wang (1999) stresses that tourist experience is based on the personal feeling involved in activities. International tourists are among those who visit old battlefields, carry with them a different understanding of history, and consequently, different personal experiences as a “personal heritage” (Timothy and Boyd, 2003). By emerging a personal relationship with the First World War Mark IV tank named Deborah D51 which used to be commanded by his grandfather, Heap (2016) explores the contrasting emotions between dark and light within a historical, physical and psychological context. The study of Dunkley, Morgan, & Westwood (2011) reports the individual experiences of an ex-territorial army soldier and his wife, former serviceman, and gardener and Napoleonic warfare enthusiast when they visited a number of war-related sites associated with WWI. Personal experience, however, is ambiguous to generalise due to an inner connection to the place, the event, or the people.



*After 40 years I have returned to Vietnam – almost to the day that I left. I was here 1967 – 1968 from Texas in the USA. The experience then was one I wouldn't trade but would not like to do again... This trip I am **happy** to revisit one of the beautiful countries of the world and with the **most pleasant gracious people** ... I am **happy** to see the country and people at peace and making the progress I have seen. (177QT, American veteran, wrote in 1997).*

For Vietnamese visitors, to some extent, the personal connection to the dark site is one of the important motivations encouraging the visitors to visit these destinations for many times. This type of motivation creates a special experience as “as complex, deeply meaningful and in some cases life-changing experiences” (Dunkley, Morgan & Westwood, 2011, p. 860).

*We are **relatives of martyr** Nguyen Van Loc, Trai Trang village, Yen My town, Hung Yen. Today we visited Quang Tri Ancient Citadel to commemorate the heroic martyrs who have devoted their youth to the country. My family is very honored to **have my brother in the Road 9 National Cemetery**. My family comes here to gratefully offer incense for the heroic martyrs every year. (06QT, Vietnamese visitor, wrote in 2018).*

In short, the experience of death and sacrifice is transformed by the values of educational, spiritual, memorable, and personal aspects. The performance of educational, spiritual, memorable, personal, and emotional experience is really “an attempt to package death in a sort of glory way without right and wrong” (Heap, 2016, p. 94). In this process, the dark site is a bridge to connect all the related stakeholders to a closer relationship and together spread such a deep-inner experience rather than pleasure motivation.

## 5.5. Psychological Patterns of Visitor Experience

### 5.5.1. Cognition

Visitor's understanding of the site, the event, and the people is shaped through their distinctive background and personal connection to the event. If cognitive knowledge is measured by "cool authenticity", the experience is named by "hot authenticity" (Selwyn, 1996, p. 24-25). Visitation to DMZ is an authentic experience for visitors. Common dimensions that emerged from analysis are pairs of contrast, including Win-Lost, Live-Death, and Peace-War. Underrating the history written by the winner, understanding why their nation lost the war is shown in the comments from young visitors: "*I am 17-year-old, but I find this war extremely interesting. I am lucky to have gotten a chance to witness and learn about this history today in Vietnam*" (39HL, International student, wrote in 2019).

They could not even understand why Americans were in a land far from half of Earth in distance and what they fought for. It seems that many of them have personally found the answer: "*Now I can understand why we **lost the war***" (Tourist 111VM, American, wrote in 1993). Another visitor shows the deep thought on contrasting life in war and peace and the suffering: "*May these people **live in peace** always as they have quite deeply **suffered enough!***" (108VM, the UK tourist, wrote in 1992).

During the visitation to these sites, what visitors witnessed and interpreted forms an overall perception of the site's relationship with its history. Owing to the difference in visitors' backgrounds, they have their own perception and interpretation of the site, the

event, or history. Nevertheless, in general, visitors seem to be multi-nuanced to the losses and crimes caused by the war.

- *Every war is very sad thing* (48HL, tourist from Czech Republic, wrote in 2019).
- *War, in the end, is a lose-lose game without having any winner* (15QT, Domestic tourist, wrote in 2018).
- *War is hell for all who engage! War is a senseless battle for control of land that should be free to all!* (85VM, The U.S. tourist, wrote in 2009).
- *Tell all world leaders to declare peace and stop all products of ammunition. Biggest Beast is MAN.* (65VM, tourist from UK, wrote in 2019).

### 5.5.2. Emotion

It is noted that traveling to the battlefield generates a deep emotional feeling (Prideaux, 2007) and other psychological discourse (Biran & Buda, 2018). Whether or not visitor's intention is decided by past experience and intrapersonal constraints (Zhang et al., 2016), by site participation, site innovation, site experiential memorability, site experiential satisfaction, site experiential trust, and site experiential (Wu & Cheng, 2018), by emotion (Nawijn & Fricke, 2013) or by satisfaction levels (Allman, 2017). Various colors of emotion emerged from the analysis, ranging from positive, neutral to negative ones. If "curious" emotion is neutral, the comment left by visitors indicates the opposite feeling between "happy", "honored", "appreciated", "admirable" and "sad", "regretful",

“wrong”, “shocked”. Even though the emotion is positive or negative, those experiences are correlated to a particular pattern of psychological activity. This is a short but so deep comment with the emotional expression of the former U.S. soldier’s wife after visiting Hien Luong historical site:

*Wife of former FAC - We thought we were coming to help Vietnam but - it all went so **terribly wrong**. I'm **sorry**”. (45HL, the U.S visitor, wrote in 2019)*

It is the fact that people can easily get the destination information by several ways but cannot be embedded in real emotion and open-eyes without being there.

*As I sit here surrounded by the curious smiles of bright eyed children, I am reminded of their innocence and purity. How **sad** that the ambitions of men must destroy such innocence through war. Let these tunnels stand as a testament not to the glory of persevering through a war, but rather to the ignominy of war itself. (98VM, U.S. tourist, wrote in 1991)*

On the other side of the War, the Vietnamese people are so proud of their achievements. Dozens of similar comments written at war-related sites indicate several positive emotions.

*We were very **happy, touched and proud** to be here to attend the 40th anniversary of the victory of Quang Tri and the liberation of Southern Vietnam... Several heroic martyrs, compatriots, local people and soldiers all over the country have sacrificed for decades to liberate the South and completely reunify the country. We were extremely **admired** of these contributions and **strived to learn** so as not*

*to make the predecessors disappointed...* (137MU, Vietnamese soldier, wrote in 2012).

From being “happy”, “touched”, “proud”, “admired” to striving “to learn so as not to make the predecessors disappointed” is a transformation between strong emotion and cognition and action.

### **5.5.3. Action**

The term “action” might be in correspondence with the “responsibility” which comes from the knowledge and experience gained during the trip. This means that a visitor tends to develop different "responsibility" or "action" or even "will to action" depending on their age, background, and position in society. For instance, for a student, vivid interpretation at site as a lesson helps them better understand the history of the country, they will be more aware of war and peace, and eventually, that cognition will spread a "will to action": study hard to be more worthy of what his ancestors did.

For domestic tourists, what the tour guide interprets is not only the political knowledge and national history, but a movement of “*self-reflection*” also: “...*We were really moved by the images built and preserved a proud period of national history. We would like to thank the Museum and its staff who have provided us with knowledge. Our generations will continuously pledge to contribute our efforts to build the country so as to deserve the predecessors' great sacrifices*” (141MU, Vietnamese tourist, wrote in 2019). This process of “*self-reflection*” takes place not by accidentally but as a long process of learning, observing and experiencing. Visitation to the dark site not only brings in various nuances of emotions and experiences, but also strongly impact on tourist’s

perceptions and actions, and each person should be aware of the responsibility to what the previous generation tried to achieve. Thus, historical lessons are not "taught" by any "teacher" or "school", but "absorbed" by the participants themselves. This is also an effective method of education.

However, the researcher's note from visitors' guestbooks in Quang Tri shows the fact that visitors themselves looked closely beyond the political barrier and reflected personal transformation by an open view. The following comment is written prior to Vietnam and American's relationship normalization in 1994 (Jansen-Verbeke and Go, 1995).

*What an experience it is to be an American tourist in Vietnam. I wish every American had the opportunity to feel the warmth of the countries people. I have been here for 2 months and will re-visit once the **U.S embargo is lifted**. These people deserve the right of man kind to climb out of poverty. My visit is a **real eye opener**. Giving my love to everyone in Vietnam. (104VM, American, wrote in 1992).*

The table hereto illustrates the relationship between "emotion", "cognition" and "action" of each visitor.

*Table 5.1: The relationship between emotion, cognition and action at the dark site*  
(Source: the researcher)

<b>Visitors</b>	<b>Emotion</b>	<b>Cognition</b>	<b>Action</b>
<b>Vietnamese Student:</b> <i>"We were very impressed by the underground tunnels which were built to serve the war, by the stories of mothers who</i>	impressed	learned a lot of things about Vietnamese	afford to study well

Visitors	Emotion	Cognition	Action
<p><i>have lost their children here. I have learned a lot of things about Vietnamese history and beloved Quang Tri history also. I should afford to study well to deserve the people who sacrificed for our peaceful life today". (140MU, Vietnamese Student, wrote in 2019)</i></p>		<p>history and beloved Quang Tri history also</p>	
<p><b>International Student:</b> <i>"I am 17-year-old, but I find this war extremely interesting. I am lucky to have gotten a chance to witness and learn about this history today in Vietnam."</i> (39HL, International student, wrote in 2019).</p>	<p>extremely interesting, lucky</p>	<p>gotten a chance to witness and learn about this history today in Vietnam</p>	
<p><b>Vietnamese Visitor:</b> <i>"Having a chance to come here, to witness and to listen to the stories, we just realized regretfully that we have lost something important, haven't we? We have never either been aware of or known the occasion of 81 days after many years of studying history. There are no specific names, no gravestones but every single narrative word seems to be permeated into my heart, my cells and then shed tears from the corners of my eyes. War, in the end, is a lose-lose game without having any winner."</i> (15QT, Domestic tourist, wrote in 2018).</p>	<p>regretfully</p>	<p>-have never either been aware of or known the occasion of 81 days after many years of studying history.  -War, in the end, is a lose-lose game without having any winner</p>	
<p><b>International Visitor:</b> <i>"Thank you for this well-done museum. May we no forget the horrible loss of life but may we now stand together as we build a better future. True happiness</i></p>	<p>satisfied with "well-done museum"</p>	<p>no forget the horrible loss of life</p>	<p>-May we now stand together as we build a better future.</p>

Visitors	Emotion	Cognition	Action
<i>together.” (52TC, International tourist, wrote in 2019).</i>			-True happiness together
<b>International Visitor:</b> <i>“Cu Chi and Vinh Moc have been a moving experience, it has showed me the hardships that the Vietnam people went through, may the truth be told about what happened here and may we learn from it.” (89VM, Canadian tourist, wrote in 2000)</i>	moving experience	showed me the hardships that the Vietnam people went through	may the truth be told about what happened here and may we learn from it
<b>Vietnamese Veteran:</b> <i>I was a soldier fighting in this battlefield in 1965 – 1975 period. Fortunately, thanks to protection from my heroic comrades, I am now having this precious opportunity to write my thoughts down, bow my head gratefully to the souls of martyrs and friends. I am also making a vow to tell the children and families to gain a better understanding of the past. For every person who is alive today and later, please try to do the duty as "a son of his country", to make the enemy understand more clearly the nature of our Vietnamese people both in the past and future. (13QT, Vietnamese veteran, wrote in 2018).</i>	feel lucky, grateful	making a vow to tell the children and families to gain a better understanding of the past	please try to do the duty as "a son of his country"
<b>American Veteran:</b> <i>“My group of five (5) veterans of the U.S Army's 101st Airborne Division toured the Museum in Dong Ha. We found it to be an outstanding exhibit of Vietnam's history and artifacts. The photos and exhibits from the</i>	Excellent, informative	sense the day-to-day struggles the village people went through just to survive	



Visitors	Emotion	Cognition	Action
<i>American War were excellent and informative. The Vien Moc (Vinh Moc) tunnel exhibit was superb and dramatically realistic. You could almost sense the day-to-day struggles the village people went through just to survive... ” (184MU, American Veteran, Wrote in 2000).</i>			

Several studies indicate the relationship between emotional experience and cognition (Dunkley et al., 2011; Gatewood & Cameron, 2004; Iles, 2008; Lee, 2015; Miles, 2014); emotional experience and behavioral intention (Koenig-Lewis & Palmer, 2008; Lee, 2015; Martin et al., 2008); cognition and behavioral intention (Lee, 2015; Winter, 2012). Other studies focus on cognition which influences the nature of motivation and decision making (Goldstein, 2011).

In summary, albeit to varying experiences, it can not be denied that dark tourism provides a chance to reflect the past and the present, the war and the peace, the win and the loss, the tangible and the intangible, the living and the death in the contemporary society. The contrast between emotion and cognition has obviously been one of the most unforgettable experiences for tourists. Dark tourism, finally, is a bridge to link all the dimensions belonging to the heritage landscapes, the people, and the history in one package of experiences. These experiences are different from other forms of tourism that provide tourists a various sense of the culture, history, religion, and custom, in which the personal connection to the site is the most important factor enhancing the experience in a

distinctive approach. Furthermore, the absent or present of death is a reminder for everyone to respect the living world and go forward.

## **5.6. Chapter summary**

Chapter 5 provides a profound analysis of tourist motivation and experience described by internal and external factors at the war heritages. These factors are linked to each other to generate a series of psychological development forms of cognition, emotion, and action, also very unique characteristics in dark tourism landscapes. In another word, the war heritage is a mirror that reflects the complex relationships between victims - perpetrators - bystanders, the past and the present, win and loss, and a lot of contrasting emotions made by visitors. It can be confirmed that the specific characteristics from demand-side will contribute to better insights into market segments and tourism product development accordingly. This will be discussed in the next chapter.

## **CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION**

### **6.1. Introduction**

This chapter presents the discussion and conclusions in line with the research questions. First, it clarifies the characteristics of dark tourism in Vietnam. Then the researcher discusses the extent to which dark tourism is packed (by supply-side) and consumed (by demand-side) against findings from the extant literature. The gap between supply and demand of dark tourism is also analyzed to ground the foundation for policies towards dark tourism development. The chapter also highlights theoretical and practical contributions drawn from this study, prior to outlining some limitations and direction for future research.

### **6.2. Response to research question 1: Characteristic of dark tourism in Vietnam**

#### **6.2.1. Dark tourism in Asian: a “spiritual world”**

Looking back to the definition and nature of dark tourism in two main regions - Western and Eastern countries, the literature shows the fundamental assumption in which the term can share different meanings according to geography, culture, and region. Cohen points out a comparative approach between Western and Asian dark tourism in which the former is motivated by “the contemplation of their own mortality” and the latter itself is a counterpart of local customs, culture, and religions (Cohen, 2018, p. 169). Accordingly, in case of Western thanatourism, these differences can be shortly measured by the following features: Human life performs in the once-only event without afterlife or rebirth; There is non-religious interfacing between the dead and the living; Massive death

tends to be one of imaginable thanatourist experiences; Mythical factor is less utilized (Cohen, 2018).

Dark tourism, in fact, demands revision of definition. Variation of the definition of dark tourism is contextualized to a particular location (Askew, 1996) which presents its ethics, politics, religion, society, culture, history, geography, demography, and psychology. Reflecting into the Asian society in general and Southeast Asian in particular, when the local people from ancient times rely on agriculture and the customs of worshipping their “spiritual world” (Kirsten & Lauser, 2011) including the ancestor (Horstmann, 2011), the sacred people, places and/or objects (Chauvet, 2011; Cohen, 2018), embedded in everyday lives, dark tourism has a very unique color. Then, the travel to the dark site in Asia is a mixture of pilgrimage and secular journey, between religious tourism and "ritual process" (Turner and Turner, 1969, see Collins-Kreiner, 2010, p. 158), located in between battlefield tourism and memorial tourism.

In her writing about living memory of the war in the book “Vietnam – A country of Memory - Remarking the past in late socialist Vietnam”, the historian Ho Tai Hue Tam mentioned various ways to which the living one remembers the death one in national, communal and familial scale. The dead one joins the altar with family ancestors. In Vietnam, almost every household maintains a ritual of worshipping their ancestors by “offering incense” that is described as the one consistent and non-negotiable aspect of worship” (Jellema, 2007, p. 467). They believe in an after-death life in an intangible power which can bring good fortune for the living people. In turn, the ancestor is worshipped by offering some objects, e.g., a dish of fruits, candies, wine, flower, votive paper in special occasions (for instance, the first, the middle and the last days in a month;

Tet Holiday; or anniversary of the ancestor's death, all in Lunar Calendar). While worshipping they burn about three sticks of incense and pray for good luck; and then burn votive paper (money, houses, motorbike, mobile phone, etc.) as a gratitude gift to their ancestors. Since they believe in two worlds of a person: a living moment with the body is a tangible world; and after-death life with the soul is an intangible world. Taking care of this type of spiritual life is related to a spiritual and secular practice rather than a religion. In another word, there is an interreligious encounter among Gods, Heroes, and Ancestors in Vietnam (Tran, 2018). The tradition shows the love of the ancestor, the country and educates young generation about the Vietnamese behavior through years: “Uống nước nhớ nguồn” (Whenever drinking water, thinking of its source). This performance can be seen in not only their houses but in the historical relics, monuments, cemeteries also.

### **6.2.2. Dark tourism: Is this really dark?**

Researchers argue that thanatopic perspectives evidenced in battlefield tourism are not always “dark” (Miles, 2014), despite the fact that the image of wars is often conveyed and described by the death and suffering. Indeed, tourist visitation to the dark sites is not motivated by “darker types of site or attraction that are associated with atrocity or tragic events” (Ivanova, & Light, 2017, p. 2). The dark events of the past have presented in the light of the present, and visitors often interpret the facts of the past from their present perception. The fluidity of the past and present in tourist experience intertwines between visitors' own interpretation and understanding of history and their engagement at the sites.

The sacred notion of pilgrimage at the dark site found in this study projects the paradox of dark and light related to war heritage pilgrimages, particularly in the Asian context (Ngo & Bui, 2019). Death caused by war does not necessarily represent the dark side of the story. The Vietnamese people memorialize the dead in tragic events of wartime as a way to honor death, cultivating the pride of national history. That death is a sacrifice for peace. This notion resonates Heap's (2016) contention "simply that dark tourism is really an attempt to package death in a sort of 'glory way' without right and wrong" (p. 94). Hence, dark tourism should be packaged by a "light" and positive experience among tourists.

### **6.2.3. Multifaceted notion of tourist experience**

The dark site turns into a place where people come to understand themselves (Uzzel, 1998). A person can get the information from various sources or from different views, nevertheless, the "real eye" experience shows its power to break all the geographical and political frontiers. War-related sites where should have been conveyed multi-political ideologies become an interfacing destination of healing thought. In Quang Tri historical sites, the interactions between visitors and dark sites express empathy and deep understanding among parties who involved in the traumatic history: "This recognition of history, and of the Other's humanity through his or her commemoration, suggests the possibility for a new politics of empathic reconciliation to take place" (Schwenkel, 2013, p. 105).

War heritage is a complex phenomenon "where history and heritage are contested between different groups of stakeholders" (Timothy and Boyd, 2006, p. 3). It cannot be

denied that each group will vary in view of history and past stories (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996). Personal connection with the sites complicates the multifaceted nature of tourist experience as it is contingent to how they are related to the dark sites and in what extent they perceive the past memory (Biran & Hype, 2013; Biran, Hype & Raine, 2013; Biran, Porita & Oren, 2011; Causevic and Lynch, 2011, Cohen, 2011; Winter, 2012). Tourist visitation to war heritages is often driven by their personal connection and interest, often cannot be framed under ideological and legitimate interpretation set by the authoritative agency. The alternative narration of historical events, in fact, is co-created when the visitors interact with facts, ‘truth’ and guides at the site. This transient approach to interpretation contributes to the attempt to close the painful past and promote reconciliation for peace and friendship, at least from the Vietnamese side (Ngo & Bui, 2019).

#### **6.2.4. Mediating roles of on-site tour guide in interpretations**

Tour guides are normally responsible for providing tourists with adequate tour service (Huang et al., 2009) and ensuring a safe journey according to a strict program and designated itinerary (Cohen, 1985). Differently, on-site tour guides perform their main role in the war heritage as a mediator. Based on mediating roles for visitors’ access, encounters, understanding, and empathy asserted by McGrath (2007), this study emphasizes that on-site tour guides complete the unique roles: being brokers for visitor cognitive and affective access (see also Ngo & Bui, 2019). In addition to these specified roles, on-site tour guides at war-related sites in Quang Tri also perform the role of political and educational mediators under the political management of interpretation. In the context of Vietnam, where political narratives and interpretation are ingrained in the educational

system, it is easy to understand that both educational and political directions turn into a priority task performed by on-site guides (Ngo & Bui, 2019).

In the context of dark tourism, on-site tour guides create a very valuable performance, not simply storytelling and meaning-making, but create “emotions” that “colour our memories and experience” (Uzzel & Ballantyne, 1988, p. 152). On-site tour guides in Vietnam have deep knowledge of the national history in general and local culture in particular, in which the local particular voice, facial expression, or outer performance of inner attitude generate an impressive effect on tourist experiences. It is the fact that visitors might easily get the destination information in various ways but cannot be embedded in real emotion and open-eyes without touching the interpretation at sites.

As a peace ambassador at the dark sites, on-site tour guides are important links to connect the present and the past, between visitors and sites, helping those who seem to be enemies in the past get closer. Experience of death and sacrifice should be replaced by peaceful values.

#### **6.2.5. Political influence in dark tourism**

War heritage is a complex phenomenon “where history and heritage are contested between different groups of stakeholders” (Timothy and Boyd, 2006, p. 3). It cannot be denied that each group will vary in view of history and past stories (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996). It is complicated by the influence of political factors in the process of heritage politicization: “a political construction of what is remembered” (Richter, 1989, p. 109).



The dark site interpretation requires the involvement of a supply factor that deepens the tourist experience. While discussing the way dark sites are guided by suppliers, [Farmaki and Antoniou](#) illustrate how dissonant heritage is usually the product of political direction, especially in a post-conflict context ([Farmaki & Antoniou, 2017](#)). The political stance provides a feasible narrative to understand what should be interpreted and what should be ignored ([Korstanje & Ivanov, 2012](#)). In Vietnam, the war heritages “remain a highly political issue and the influence of government policy... with recent history being used to promote a message of unity and solidarity, directed as much at the resident population as visitors” ([Henderson, 2000, p. 276](#)). Once again, the on-site tour guide is an important link in conveying the sense of nationalism and desire for happiness and peace at the war heritages. The academia has discovered how important the interpretation is ([Hopper & Lennon, 2016; Miles, 2002](#)), however, very little attention is paid to tour guide contribution in the mediated interpretation.

### **6.3. Response to Research question 2 & 3: How to package and consume dark tourism product**

#### **6.3.1. Packaging dark tourism product (supply side)**

[Sharpley \(2005\)](#) described a matrix to measure between "fascination with death" and supply in the correlation between two poles "accidentally" and "purposefully" (p. 225). In four "shades" of dark tourism: “pale tourism”, “grey tourism demand”, “grey tourism supply”, and “back tourism” ([Sharpley, 2005, p. 225-226](#)), the study in Vietnam poses a challenge to the location of DMZ tourism in this matrix. It is not exactly "battlefields that have, frequently, become tourist attractions by accident" ([Sharpley, 2005,](#)

p. 224-225), because war sites are packaged with a political orientation. It will be rigid if the war heritage is fixed to "black tourism" or to "grey tourism supply", it exists somewhere between these two poles.

The dark spectrum proposed by Stone (2006) only captures the duality of thinking between "educational orientation" and "entertainment orientation". The limitation of linear duality forces the dark sites to be located only in between entertainment purposes and educational purposes, or among several levels of darkness. Findings from the current study highlight a different pole associated with the visitation, and featured by the supply-side is "spiritual purpose" in addition to "educational purposes" with the absence of the 'entertainment purpose' in some sites.

### **6.3.2. Consuming dark tourism product (demand side)**

Research results show that the visitor motivation to dark sites is very little or not related to "entertainment" (Foley and Lennon, 1997, p. 155) or "pleasure" (Best, 2007, p. 38). Findings from the current study reveal that for Vietnamese visitors, a dark site is a place to learn, to remember the fallen soldiers, and to make a living in connection with death through rituals and offerings. For international visitors, dark tourism covers an alternative historical message, that might challenge their prior knowledge and understanding. Conventional motivation such as "entertainment" (Sharpley, 2009a, p. 14) seems to be overshadowed and replaced by the humanistic and historical values which the dark site brings to.

The interest in "death" also completely reflects an aspect of the local people's culture in this study. The literature shows that visitors "interest" in death and desire to

“witness the death of others” (Sharpley, 2009a, p.14). The Vietnam War is still quite a recent major historical event of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century and those who directly involved in the war are still survived and continued to tell their stories to their next generations. Therefore, both primary and secondary memory of the war come to existence. This special feature makes the visitor experience to be fueled by their living memory (both primary and secondary memory) that influences the way visitor percept and connects to the ‘death’ not as ‘death of others’ with little connection. The death in the case of the Vietnam War, is the death of friends and relatives, of comrades who fought together. Therefore, it is a much deep, emotional, and mournful experience. This is a refined remembrance and spiritual ceremony to respect what happened in the past and pray for the present and the future.

Furthermore, the study explores that visitation to the dark site is encouraged by the external factors, namely, "the place", "the event" and "the people". Sharpley has mentioned these factors in terms of "experience as products" that "a vast array of new places, attractions, events and people have become commoditized as tourism products" (Sharpley, 2011, p. 5). Accordingly, "the place, the event and the people" are the elements that shaped the relationship between "tourist and their world" in a diverse and complex experience (Sharpley, 2011, p. 7). In the war heritage, with the same meaning of visiting the former battlefield, a veteran can recall the places and events (s)he has experienced; while a young visitor must image the passed events as a historical lesson, and international visitors become convinced by the will and courage of the people who have made very admirable victory. These different interests lead to many types of tourist's consumptions in the frame of "the place, the event, and the people".

#### 6.4. Response to Research question 4: Gaps in dark tourism structure

From the analysis obtained in chapter 4 and chapter 5, the researcher has drawn some gaps in the relation to demand and supply, as shown in the following table.

*Table 6.1. Demand and supply gap of dark tourism in Quang Tri (Source: the researcher)*

<b>Measurement items</b>	<b>Visitor-demand</b>	<b>Attraction-supply</b>
DMZ tour	The tour operator has designed a one-day tour that includes some historical sites and combine with beauty spot (in Quang Binh province). In fact, Quang Tri still has great potential for developing other types of tourism, for instance, “sea and island tourism; religious and spiritual tourism; and East-West economic corridor tourism” (government officer 1), however, why did the tour operator choose a site out of the province?	This reflects the fact that Quang Tri has insufficiently facilities and infrastructure to attract the tourist and to make the tour more interesting.
Tour design	Design for the DMZ tour should be changed through years	A fixed design is provided
Language for tour guide	Multi-language speaker is required	Most employees do not study foreign languages
Accommodation	Visitors still stay in Quang Tri but little to none	Accommodation is ungraded and meets customers’ basic demands
Destination accessibility	More signboard is required	It insufficiently provided
Destination services and facility	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Services are not as luxurious and high quality as those of other places;</li> <li>-The parking lot is also small and degraded, the big cars cannot turn around;</li> <li>-Services are not as luxurious and high quality as those of other places;</li> <li>-Museum: It is now seriously degraded;</li> <li>-Local products: The souvenirs are missing and poor;</li> <li>-The promotion of tourism is limited, mainly promoting local agricultural products</li> </ul>	Lack of investment and maintenance

The table shows some shortcomings between visitor-demand and attraction-supply. This summary contributes to making some recommendations to improve the quality of dark tourism products, which will be mentioned later in the chapter.

## **6.5. Theoretical advancement: Reconceptualization of dark tourism in Asian context**

There is some theoretical contribution highlighted in this study. In the discussion of dark tourism in a socio-cultural context in an Asian country, the study conceptualizes dark tourism in Vietnam within the dyadic dimension of industry supply and demand. Then, the researcher questions the changing role of the on-site tour guide to be an intermediary agency between supply and demand. Finally, the study proposes a new framework to assess visitor experience at war heritage sites to enrich a demand-driven approach to develop dark tourism products.

### *Conceptualizing dark tourism in Asian context*

Dark tourism is defined by its characteristic as a form of travelling to violence, tragedy, macabre, disaster, and crime sites (Dann and Seaton, 2001; Johnston, 2015; Lennon and Foley, 1999; Preece and Price, 2005; Robb 2009; Stone, 2006). The study emphasizes that the visitation to the dark sites is not necessarily to witness the traumatic stories, it is also a journey to relieve and satisfy the needs of human's spiritual life. The motivation for "encounters with death" (Seaton, 1996) is not merely to "witness the death" (Sharpley, 2009a), but to respect the dead and those who have died with a noble cause. The study highlights an Asian notion of dark tourism generalized from the most controversial war in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century and widely involved by the international parties - the Vietnam War. With

a theoretical ankle docked in the DMZ – Vietnam, the research findings could be generalized to other wars elsewhere in the world.

### *Packing and consuming dark tourism products*

In the matrix of dark tourism demand and supply (Sharpley, 2005), the dark sites are measured by “the extent to which both a fascination with death is a dominant consumption factor and the supply is purposefully” (Sharpley, 2005, p. 225). War-related sites consumed by the cultural industries (Timothy, 2018), therefore, the dark tourism industry should address a combination of satisfying both demand and supply with various dimensions. The supply and demand of dark tourism move far beyond conventional concepts of supply and demand and embrace several diverse aspects brought from nationalism and spiritualism. The new dimensions of supply and demand cover *accidental creation* and *purposeful orientation*, both *national ethos* and *personal appeal*, both *living world* and *after-death world*, and both *material expression* and *spiritual manifestation* (see Figure 6.1). The dark tourism circle will slide from one pole to the other on the continuum and move according to the gravity of each pole. This is because dark tourism in war heritage is created by a series of internal and external factors, depending on the specific circumstances. For example, some dark sites are packaged based on tourist demand, but there are places governed by the local political regime. Some dark attractions are created accidentally, but some are intentionally formed. This interpretation occurs similarly to other pairs of a continuum, creating diversity in the formation and operation of dark tourism products.

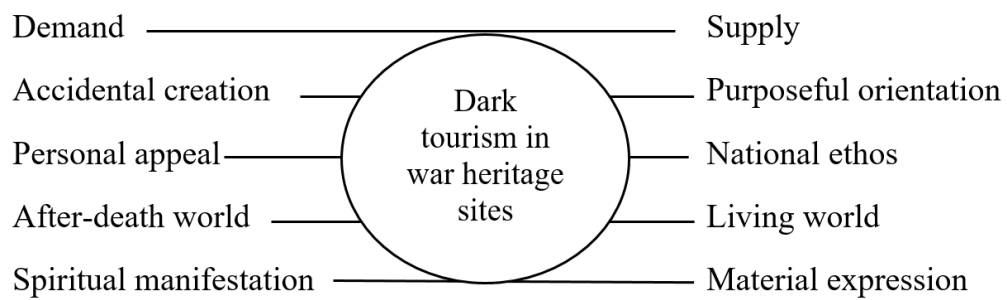


Figure 6.1. How dark tourism in war heritage sites is packaged and consumed  
(Source: the researcher)

*Revisiting the role of on-site tour guide*

Tour guides play a very important role as an experience broker (Jennings & Weiler, 2006) or a mediator (Weiler & Walker, 2014) in the tourism industry, contributing to conveying messages from the supply side, and adding various nuances of the tourist experience. Tour-guide has

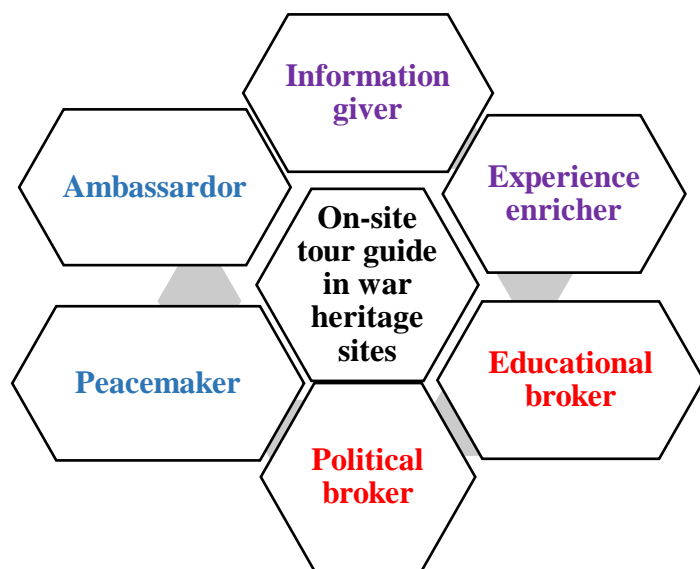


Figure 6.2. Roles of on-site tour guide in war heritage sites (Source: The researcher)

often been seen as a part of the tourism supply side. Findings from this study, however, have shown that on-site guides also hold a very special role in dark site interpretation. When war and conflict sites are the places causing a lot of controversial issues, and “contested between different groups of stakeholders” (Timothy and Boyd, 2006, p.3), on-site guides become ambassadors and peacemakers to reconcile the past and the present

among several visitors' backgrounds. Basically, the role of on-site tour guides is raised to a new level, from an information-giver to an experience-enricher (Figure 6.2), and act as an intermediary agency between the supply and demand sides.

### *Rethinking of multifaceted notion of tourist experience at dark sites*

With “a phenomenology of tourist experiences”, Cohen (1979) introduced seven modes of experiences, including recreational, diversionary, experiential, experimental, and existential mode. The modes of experience are influenced by external social fabrics (Ryan, 1997), and various internal elements driven by travelers' emotional learning practical and transformational experience (Aho, 2001). Moreover, the presence of the various beliefs from various countries throughout the world, significantly belief in the life after death (Flannelly et al., 2012) or 'present death' and 'absent death' (Jacobsen, 2016; Mellor & Shilling, 1993) created distinct tourist experiences at dark places. Findings from the current study project tourist experience in between two steps in cognitive processes, where the external factors contain what the people have learned or known (the place, the event, and the people) and the internal factors driven from an inner transformation process (cognition, emotion, and action) (Figure 6.3). Tourist experience in dark tourism, thus, has moved beyond theory and typology of tourist experience portrayed in tourism literature, often related to leisure-oriented tourists. Visitors to dark tourism sites are driven by different motivations, behave differently and also develop a very different cognitive process triggered by site interpretation, their own knowledge and experience. Tourist experience at the dark site, therefore, is not frivolous and superficial, it is deep, emotional, and transformational.



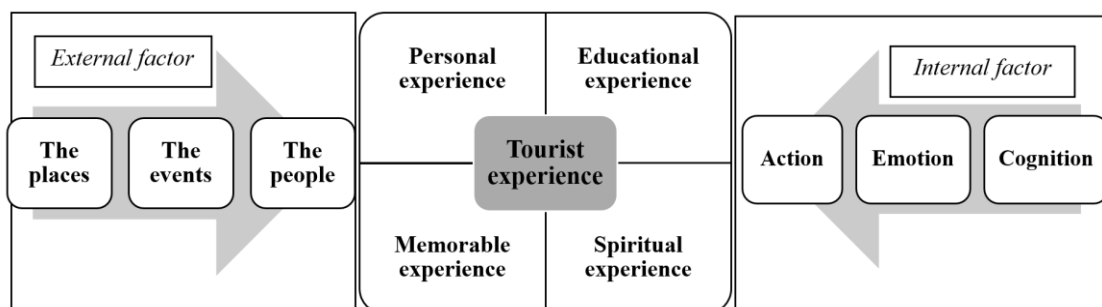


Figure 6.3. The notion of tourist experience at the dark site under demand-side perspective (Source: The researcher)

### 6.6. Practical implication

The findings from the study draws the important implications for tourism product development and managerial practices in dark tourism in the former DMZ in Quang Tri.

Firstly, a decisive factor in dark tourism development in Quang Tri is building a system of sufficient infrastructures and facilities to attract visitors, extending the time of staying. With the currently limited capital investment, the province can choose a few “focal point” for investment and reconstruction. Only when improving the quality of the tour, then keeping tourists stay longer, raising the revenue from tourism for the province. The following solutions are suggested: (i) Develop technical equipment at sites, for instance, video clips with English subtitles, projector system, audio system, etc... to support tourists with an overview of the destination. This investment will improve the quality of tour guide’s interpretation and site narrative; (ii) Replace and supplement synchronously the system of signs, signboards, and maps at the dark site to improve the ability of destination accessibility; (iii) Upgrade public toilets, waste treatment system in the dark site to ensure the cleanliness and create an impression on the landscape of those sites; (iv) Improve transport infrastructure, especially on the main routes which lead to

historical sites to meet the requirement for tourists' services; and (v) Pay attention to investment in accommodation system, especially focus on the projects nearby historical sites to promptly meet the needs of tourists.

Secondly, improving service quality and developing associated products require cooperation among stakeholders: investors, suppliers, tour operator, tour agency, and government. Here are some suggestions to improve the quality of tours and tourism products at the dark site in Quang Tri: (i) Pay more attention to improving service quality and customer service, especially personnel's attitude at historical sites, restaurants, hotels, etc...; (ii) Focus on developing associated products in terms of quality and quantity, for example, handicrafts, agriculture products, local specialties, craft village's products as souvenir items for tourists; (iii) Focus on investing in associated services in accommodations such as food and beverage, health care services, souvenir sale (especially typical souvenirs of the locality); (iv) Diverse entertainment activities and shopping services to stimulate costumers' expenditure and extend their stay; and (v) Provide leaflets or brochures described site or related information for easy engagement of visitors at sites. These leaflets or brochures must be translated into different languages so that visitors can capture sufficient information and understanding in case they have no guide for visiting or not enough time to take the full route of the site tour.

Thirdly, the human factor is the most important factor contributing to the quality of tourism products. It is necessary to improve the qualification of tour guides and staff at historical relics. Tour guides and staff should be trained frequently in both professional skill and language skill. Training can be conducted in place or linked to major training centers throughout the country. In addition, it is necessary to strengthen the capacity of

management staff by attracting high qualified human resources and by transferring technology policies.

### **6.7. Limitation and future research**

The outcomes of the study have many limitations. However, identification of these limitations serves as a starting point for researchers in the future to move further.

Firstly, the number of informants in the interview phase is limited and only captured domestic visitors. Expanding the interview to international visitors and other institutions under the various viewpoints (e.g., international tour operator, international travel agency, tourism manager, government official) will contribute to enhancing the understanding of dark sites. In addition, the study analyzes the data under the Vietnamese perspective and quite deeply focuses on domestic tourists, while the international tourist's viewpoints are still lackluster and incomplete. A comparative approach to the balance between domestic and international visitors is recommended.

Secondly, the two independent phases of the research explore two different poles by the demand and supply perspective, hence, there are many limitations in testing and verifying the achieved results. Furthermore, the data collected from the visitor's guestbook is random and depends on the researcher's access to the data. This data has not been able to fully perform the visitor's reflection on the dark site. Thus, it is suggested that future research might apply a different method to collect data, such as a mixed method combining both qualitative and quantitative approaches.

Thirdly, analysis from qualitative data collection cannot describe the forecast for the future while predicting the tourism market is necessary for practical applications related to tourism product development. A research market grounded on quantitative approach is suggested for better measurement of tourist demand in both domestic and international segments.

## **6.8. Conclusion**

The legacy of the Vietnam War makes the central region of Vietnam to be known for dark tourism. Among former battlefields of the Vietnam War, Quang Tri Province, the former Demilitarized Zone (DMZ) is well-known for fierce battles. The destination of DMZ is popular among both foreign and domestic tourists who visit Quang Tri for commemoration and pilgrimage. This special motivation to the historical site reflects a multi-nuances of the tourist experience. Visitor experience and engagement with war sites entail multidimensional nature depending on visitors' relations to the conversation they have with the site, the event, and the people at the destination. Their connections to the sites often through personal and family history shed different lights on their cognition, emotion, and action. Thus, the visitation to the war heritage sites is a reciprocal process in which visitors experience the psychological transformation through their interactions.

The current study emphasizes a unique perspective of Vietnamese interpretation of the heritage of the Vietnam War, where on-site guides perform multiple political and educational functions as well as mediating roles between the past and the present and being an ambassador for peace. It is argued that motivation, perception, and experience of visitation to the dark sites are more complicated than conventional bipolar dark-light

spectrum. The finding of the study provides insights into understanding the structure and characteristics of dark tourism in the Asian context. The study highlights the gap between demand and supply and implications for dark tourism product development in Quang Tri. The research also advances our understanding of dark tourism experience in general and in the context of Vietnam, where understanding the war from the Vietnamese perspective has been neglected in tourism literature.

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## APPENDIX A - INTERVIEW GUIDELINE FOR TOURIST

This is a research project by graduate student of Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University (Japan) to investigate about dark tourism. The question is to investigate the dark tourism resources and supply in Quang Tri. It takes 10 – 30 minutes to complete. Your participation to the survey is greatly appreciated. All information is strictly confidential and will only be used for research purpose.

### INTERVIEW GUIDELINE

#### (FOR TOURIST)

Name	Phone	Nationality	Date
Age	Gender	Occupation	Time
Question		Answer	Remark
How many times do you visit the site?			
Who do you travel with?			
Why do you choose this site?			
Are there other sites in Quang Tri include in your trip?			
What services or activities do you experience in the trip?			
What are good and bad aspects of Quang Tri?			
Do you want to suggest the site to other people? Do you want to return? Why and why not?			
Are there any special comments about Quang Tri?			

## APPENDIX B - INTERVIEW GUIDELINE FOR ON-SITE TOUR GUIDE

This is a research project by graduate student of Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University (Japan) to investigate about dark tourism. The question is to investigate the dark tourism resources and supply in Quang Tri. It takes 10 – 30 minutes to complete. Your participation to the survey is greatly appreciated. All information is strictly confidential and will only be used for research purpose.

### INTERVIEW GUIDELINE

#### (FOR ON-SITE TOUR GUIDE)

Name	Phone	Nationality	Date
Age	Gender	Occupation	Time
Question		Answer	Remark
How long did you work on this site?			
What kind of tourist do you usually meet (i.e. residence, age, tour structure...)?			
Why tourist come to visit the site? What time in a year is the peak season? Any difference between tourists who come in the peak season and off-peak season?			
Are there any educational tour groups from schools? Universities? What are attitudes of the young people towards the site?			
Are there any groups of veterans or relatives of the veteran? How are their attitude and perception about the site?			
Are there any international tourists, what they often do and ask?			
What type of questions or comments tourist often ask or say when visiting the site?			
Is there anything else you want to mention?			

### APPENDIX C - INTERVIEW GUIDELINE FOR TOUR GUIDE

This is a research project by graduate student of Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University (Japan) to investigate about dark tourism. The question is to investigate the dark tourism resources and supply in Quang Tri. It takes 10 – 30 minutes to complete. Your participation to the survey is greatly appreciated. All information is strictly confidential and will only be used for research purpose.

#### INTERVIEW GUIDELINE

#### (FOR TOUR GUIDE)

Name	Phone	Nationality	Date
Age	Gender	Occupation	Time
Question		Answer	Remark
How long did you work as a tour guide?			
What sites they often visit in Quang Tri? Why they visit those sites?			
Why these sites are included in the tours?			
What products or services so they usually use? How long do they stay in each site?			
Before and after Quang Tri, where do they go?			
Do you observe and difference between groups of tourists, i.e. student group, veteran groups, ordinary tourists?			
How do you evaluate the products and services in the dark site?			
Are there any additional opinions?			

## APPENDIX D - INTERVIEW GUIDELINE FOR TOUR OPERATOR

This is a research project by graduate student of Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University (Japan) to investigate about dark tourism. The question is to investigate the dark tourism resources and supply in Quang Tri. It takes 10 – 30 minutes to complete. Your participation to the survey is greatly appreciated. All information is strictly confidential and will only be used for research purpose.

### INTERVIEW GUIDELINE

#### (FOR TOUR OPERATOR)

Name	Phone	Nationality	Date
Age	Gender	Occupation	Time
Question		Answer	Remark
How long has your companied offer tours to war-related sites in Qang Tri?			
What are most popular sites for visitation?			
How war-related tours have been developed and operated?			
Why tourists buy this type of tour? When they often buy the tour? (i.e. peak season?) Who are the buyer of this tour?			
What products or services so tourist usually use in Quang Tri?			
What make tourist satisfy and not satisfy in Qunag Tri?			
Are there any problems associated with getting products from local suppliers?			
Are there any problems associated with getting products from local suppliers?			
Are there any further comments?			

## APPENDIX E - INTERVIEW GUIDELINE FOR GOVERNMENT OFFICER

This is a research project by graduate student of Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University (Japan) to investigate about dark tourism. The question is to investigate the dark tourism resources and supply in Quang Tri. It takes 10 – 30 minutes to complete. Your participation to the survey is greatly appreciated. All information is strictly confidential and will only be used for research purpose.

### INTERVIEW GUIDELINE

#### (FOR GOVERNMENT OFFICER)

Name	Phone	Nationality	Date
Age	Gender	Occupation	Time
Question		Answer	Remark
What is the role of tourism in the provincial economy?			
How do you evaluate potential and limitation of war-related tourism activities/products in Quang Tri?			
What are the most popular and significantly tourism products of Quang Tri? Why they are significant?			
What are most popular sites in Quang Tri to tourists and why?			
In your opinion, what is the main reason tourist visit the war sites (tourists' motivation)?			
What are advantage and disadvantage of utilization of war-related sites in Quang Tri?			
Is there any priority planning or policy for these war-related sites in Quang Tri?			
In order to create the tourism brand “War remembrance – desire on peace”, how has Quang Tri prepared for?			
Are there any investment in tourism structure/services in war-related sites in Quang Tri?			
How war-related tourism activities might be packaged with other tourism products?			
Does Quang Tri cooperate with other province in operation of war-related tourism?			
Is there any thing you want to share more?			


## APPENDIX F – A DESIGN OF DAILY DMZ TOUR IN QUANG TRI

(The information below is provided by a travel agency with many years of operating in the DMZ tour in Quang Tri)

### **DMZ TOUR**

*(Daily tour)*

**Morning . 08h30:** Pick you up at your hotel, then travelling along Route 9 to visit **Rockpile**- an American observation Post on top of the mountain, **Dakrong Bridge** – a beginning of **Ho Chi Minh Trail**, a minority village of Bru Van Kieu people, **Khe Sanh Combat Base**- site of the most contraversial battle in the Vietnam war. Back to Dong Ha for lunch.



**Afternoon :** Going along Highway I, go slowly **Hien Luong Bridge, Ben Hai River** at the 17<sup>th</sup> parallel used to divide Vietnam into the North and the South, visit **Vinh Moc Tunnel**, underground wonder expressing the will and ditermination of the local people staying there to keep the land under constant bombings. **Dốc Miếu Cemetery – Doc Mieu Fire Base – the “magic eye” of the Mc – Namara Line.**

**17h00:** Say goodbye DongHa City and Bus will drop you off at your hotel. Tour the end.!

**Warmly welcome and best wishes for you!**

**TOUR PRICE : 500.000vnd/ pax**

The included parts:

- A/c bus
- Entrance fees in the program
- English speaking guide fee
- Tourist insurance

\* The excluded parts: Your luch meals.

- Tips for guide and drivers.

A design of daily DMZ tour in Quang Tri



**ĐÔNG HÀ – PHONG NHA  
CAVE (Daily tour)**

**Morning:** 9.00 Am, pick up you at your hotel and depart for Phong Nha Cave .On the way, you pass DMZ of Quang Tri, the Macnamara line, 17<sup>th</sup> Paralle, Ben Hai River, Hien Luong Bridge. Have lunch at the restaurant at Xuan SonTown.



**Afternoon:** Take a boat trip along Son River to explore the **Phong Nha Cave**. Phong Nha, is the most beautiful cave which holds several records for the highest and longest cave, the longest underground river, finest beaches inside and the most splendid stalagmites and stalactites. These amazing natural art works have been given beautiful names such as the "**Lion**", the "**Fairy Caves**",



the "**Royal Court**", and the "**Buddha**"...

Walkback to the boat, we cruise back to the wharf then transfer to your hotel. Arrive in Dong Ha about 07:00 PM.

*Warmly welcome and best wishes for you!*

**TOUR PRICE :** 600.000 vnd/pax

**Including:** Transport,  
English speaking guide, boat, entrance fees,  
Travel insurance,  
Lunch.

**A design of daily DMZ tour in Quang Tri adding to a sightseeing in Quang Binh  
(Phong Nha Cave)**

**DONG HA- PARADISE CAVE (Daily tour)**



**Morning:** 9.00 Am, pick up you at your hotel and depart for Paradise Cave “the largest and most beautiful cave in the Phong Nha – Ke Bang area”. On the way, you pass DMZ of Quang Tri, the Macnamara line, 17<sup>th</sup> Paralle. Have lunch at the restaurant at Xuan SonTown.

**Afternoon:** The gofl cars will take you to Paradise case in the ecological tourist zone of Paradise cave.Entering a magical area of stalactites that look like temples, cranes and a pine tree with hundreds of branches are dotted throughout this underground world, the communal house of the Central Highlands people. Use your own imagination to discover more

formations. Arrive in Dong Ha about 07:00 PM.

*Warmly welcome and best wishes for you!*

**TOUR PRICE :** 750.000 vnd/ pax

Including: Transport,  
English speaking guide,  
Entrance fees, transfer from/to the station at Thien Duong cave.  
Travel insurance,  
Lunch.

**A design of daily DMZ tour in Quang Tri adding to a sightseeing in Quang Binh  
(Paradise Cave)**