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Using Dialectic Thematic Analysis in dark tourism: Combining deductive and inductive reasoning in a modular method

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ABSTRACT

This study combines the results of two antithetical research processes: induction and deduction. Using a prescribed dialectic method commemorative pilgrimage at two non-substitutable sites is explored. A metamodel, comprising an amalgam of published commemorative models and ideas is first constructed and used as the project's interpretive frame. Parsing the metamodel produces 17 constructs: four of which are motives (inputs) and 11 of which are typified behaviours (outputs). The combined data from two Australian memorials; one in Western Australia and one in France is then analysed using the metamodel as representative of existing theory. The constructs are then deduced whilst simultaneously informing the induction of three commemorative themes. The data supports the view that motives driving pilgrimage to commemorative destinations are a function of three push motives: Obligation, Association, Individuation, and one pull motive, Manipulation. Contradicting alternate notions of dark tourism, the findings point to death and suffering associated with memorial tourism as being incidental, and more instrumental than autotelic.

1. Introduction

Custodians of the Australian War Memorial have proposed the pre-eminent memorial and a site of significant pilgrimage be "a place of truth" (Curtis, 2020, para 2). In the wake of allegations contained in the Brereton Report into war crimes the proposal includes showcasing these crimes alongside stories of courage, sacrifice and [secular] caritas. Caritas implies a sense of mateship coupled with uncommon affinity observed between brothers and sisters in arms, most evident during times of shared risk, fear, and stress. Will the showcasing of a host nation's war crimes at a significant memorial influence travel to such a destination? Indeed, by changing what is ordinarily commemorated one notes the juxtaposition of emphasis. Two antithetical traits related to war are to be highlighted simultaneously: caritas and courage, alongside something akin to Buda's touristic *death drive* (2015). It makes one wonder, what are the motives encouraging visitation to a national war memorial?

Meanwhile, $25AUD is the 2021 price of adult entry into the National Anzac Centre, in Albany, Western Australia. This contrasts with the free entry experience of similar Australian memorial visitor centres; namely, the Sir John Monash Centre in Villers Bretonneux, France, and the Australian War Memorial in Canberra, Australia. While charging an entry fee to a commemorative site is not a new phenomenon the commodification of an Antipodean site of national significance is (Hohenhaus, 2013). Related to this is the notion of a meaningful place justifying the ability to raise revenue for profit, or to sustain the infrastructure that reflects it (Packer et al., 2019; Scates, 2009). Scates refers to this phenomenon as "commemorative frenzy" (p. 63), whilst bemoaning the "fierce [commercial] contestation" for the Gallipoli commemorative landscape. Stephens is more scathing, referring to such commemorative exploitation as the "greediness for war memory" (2014, p. 24; see also Çakar, 2018, 2019, 2020). Meanwhile, up and down the Normandy coastline families earn a living by charging access to their land and museums in memory of the D-Day landings (MacCarthy, 2017). The phenomenon of commodifying such places of sombre national significance justifies scrutiny. Do visitors care if an entry fee is charged to a commemorative site? Does commodification diminish sacredness, and if so, do visitors mind if a memorial is associated with battlefield tours, souvenirs and Segway rides?

When considering travel to non-substitutable, secular destinations questions such as these evolve from the premise that the content [Para 1] and commercialisation [Para 2] of commemoration is worthy of discussion. Allied here are notions of (1) exploiting commemoration and pilgrimage as a tool for shaping the national narrative, (2) managing

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commemorism as an opportunity for tourism, and (3) as a source of revenue. This, along with the emphasis and resources invested in using commemoration to shape the national narrative justifies this study (Kilmister et al., 2017; Smith, 2012).

The aim of the study is to: *explore the motives associated with commemorative tourism; vis-à-vis location, provenance and symbolism.* For the purposes of this study *commemorism* is defined as the portmanteau of commemoration with tourism and associated pilgrimage.

1.1. ANZAC vs. Anzac

The two sites used for this study: The National Anzac Centre (NAC), and the Sir John Monash Centre (SJMC) feature significantly in the Australian and New Zealand collective memory. This is evidenced by financial investment, respective media profiles and the numbers of visitors they attract. These places represent the birth of the Anzac spirit which in turn informs Antipodean ideals and identity. The term Anzac refers to two concepts. The acronym ANZAC initially referred to the combined Australian and New Zealand Army Corps, a military body formed in Cairo in 1915. It includes 41,265 troops who concentrated and travelled from the location where the NAC now stands. Such is the enduring national veneration of the original ANZAC that the proper noun Anzac has evolved. The concept of Anzac now applies to all Antipodean conflict, from WWI to the present. This includes the date April 25th as a prescribed public holiday in both Australia and New Zealand. On this day parades and church services are held, commemorating those who served, contributed, suffered and died in all wars since.

Such is the sacredness of the concept in Australia, the term Anzac is protected from public commodification by the *Protection of Word 'Anzac' Regulations 1921 (Cth)*. In New Zealand equivalent protection is afforded by Section 17 of the Flags, Emblems and Name Protection Act 1981. Such is the national veneration it is an offence in Australia under the Crimes Act 1914 to use the word Anzac for any product, lottery, entertainment, business, private residence, boat, vehicle, building or institution without the authority of the Minister for Veteran Affairs. While the acronym ANZAC refers to a body of soldiers the word Anzac embodies the communal traits of courage, endurance and "mateship" (Use-of-the-word -'Anzac'-Guidelines, 2020, para. 1).

1.2. Dark tourism

There are many facets to dark tourism. Specific studies include battlefield tourism (Winter, 2009, 2010, 2011; Gatewood & Cameron, 2004; Hyde & Harman, 2011; Iles, 2008; Lloyd, 1998; Scates, 2002, 2009; Seaton, 1999, 2000; Slade, 2003; Zhang, 2010), marketing (Austin, 2002; Beech, 2001; Brown et al., 2012; MacCarthy, 2017), management and interpretation (Ashworth & Hartmann, 2005), ethics (Clark, 2014), experiences ([name withheld]; Biran et al., 2011; Hyde & Harman, 2011), methods (Dunkley, 2007; Light, 2017) and concepts (Dunkley, 2015; Winter, 2010). Fascination for this niche facet of tourism is not confined to academia. Popular culture has embraced the concept also with the recent production of an eight-part Netflix documentary titled Dark Tourist (Farrier, 2019). Although there has been systematic exploration of this subject over two decades it would be fair to say this area of interest is still evolving.

Although heritage-based (Timothy, 1997), *commemorism* can be considered a form of dark tourism. Similarly, thanatourism, a term coined by Seaton in 1996 refers to excursions typified by a link between death and tourism and later honed to a motive advocated by authors such as Buda in what is termed, the *death drive* (2015). Interviewing visitors to Jordan and more generally a "conflict zone" Buda points to similarities with Freud's earlier observations of human interest in the juxtaposition of life and death. Purportedly, in psychoanalytic theory a human drive exists propelling us towards death and destruction along with associated negative behaviours. In a touristic context the *death drive* has been co-opted to explain visitor fascination with the macabre provenance of dark sites. The essence being we are drawn to death and disaster sites through varying degrees of interest and morbid fascination with conflict and death. Foley and Lennon (1996) allude to this when using the term *thanatourism*. Thanatourism being the portmanteau of the ancient Greek notion of death personified by the mythical immortal Thanatos to describe the human fascination with death. Thana and dark are largely interchangeable terms representing "the presentation and consumption of real and commodified death and disaster sites" (p. 198).

Even more focussed on the affective experience when considering death is Schondell-Miller and Gonzalez 2013 emphasis on confrontational grief and *mortality tourism*. The manifestation giving rise to the co-option of the terror management topic, *mortality salience* as it applies to tourism (Buda, 2015; Oren et al., 2019; Prayag et al., 2021). Mortality salience is the anxiousness one feels when considering the inevitability of one's death. Understandably prominent when surrounded by it; either literally or symbolically – as in commemoration. Oren et al., in considering visitor reactions to the 2010 New Zealand earthquakes suggest, "These thoughts and feelings [about death], together with their ascribed meanings, are [apparently] brought to the surface of consciousness when visiting dark tourism places connected to atrocities and disasters" (p. 1508). The authors further suggest, while invoking Skinner's (2012) advice that, "Visiting dark tourism sites, therefore, can provide a mechanism for people to cope with the awareness of death's inevitability" (p. 1508).

Death and our fascination with it are not the only definers of dark tourism, however. Scholars have sought to include sites beyond conflict, battlefields and associated memorials (Stone, 2006). One example is trauma tourism, such as Hohenhaus' collection of world sites rated on an entirely subjective scale of 0–10 for potential shock value and "emotional taxing". (Honenhaus, 2021; see also; Gross, 2006).

A further nuance is the notion of *hot interpretation* and emotional experiences. Hot interpretation emphasises and advocates engineered emotional responses when visiting such places (Uzzel, 1989). Emotional experiences, while still considering the product or outcome of visitation is a more holistic and subtle approach to stewardship of the discipline (Çakar, 2018, 2019; Falk & Dierking, 2000; Sigala & Steriopoulos, 2021). Meanwhile, others have focussed on input as opposed to output. Example of this are Bigley, Lee, Chon and Yoon's ten motivational domains (2010) and Yan et al., investigation of why tourists would want to visit the aftermath of an earthquake (2016; see also Buda, 2015). One perspective for exposing the cultural impacts of dark experience is to take Foo and Rossetto's (1998) approach to broader cultural sites and consider the motives and behaviour during attendance at these places. Other authors adopting a similar approach include Hall, Basarin & Lockstone-Binney (2010, 2018), and Hyde and Harman (2011).

Yet another way to explore dark tourism is to explicate the topic through operationalising experiences. For example, how sentimental nationalism is associated with a Gallipoli pilgrimage (McKenna & Ward, 2007), or the experience and consequences of attendance at a dark site (Çakar, 2018, 2019; Sigala & Steriopoulos, 2021). Exploring through operationalising the phenomenon includes defining and segmenting cohorts. An example here is Winter (2010), dividing commemorative visitors to the town of Ieper/Ypres in Belgium into clusters; labelled some *pilgrims* [typically few] while the remainder are simply referred to as *tourists* [typically many].

Regardless of definition engagement with the phenomenon is typified in the travel focus. As Winter coins, the most engaged are considered pilgrims. Pilgrimage to a non-substitutable site can take several forms, for example religious pilgrimage (Belhassen, 2009; Collins-Kreiner, 2016; Leppakari & Griffin, 2016; Raj & Griffin, 2015; Willson et al., 2013; Wu et al., 2019), heritage pilgrimage (Cheal & Griffin, 2012; Hall et al., 2018; Lloyd, 1998), and diaspora pilgrimage (Kelner, 2010; Lockstone-Binney, Hall & Atay, 2013). Returning to this study, the approach adopted here is that of Foo and Rossetto 1998, and Çakar's 2020 study, that being a holistic focus on visitor motives and behaviours, and from tourists to pilgrims.

It is appropriate to reference a caveat at this point. One should not automatically assume that commemorative tourism is the embodiment of dark tourism. It can be argued that *commemorism* is merely one type of dark tourism with its own unique motives and behaviours. Certainly, the act of commemoration is profoundly inconsistent with the way death is treated in other dark tourism settings. The nexus of dark, commemorative, and heritage tourism is still in a state of flux, or as Sharpley and Stone coin, "the academic literature remains eclectic and theoretically fragile and, consequently, understanding of the phenomenon of dark tourism remains limited" (2009, p. 6). A decade and many studies later, little has changed.

Regardless of a lack of consensus one cannot deny that a fascination with death and associated mortality salience are key concepts in dark tourism, but are they related to commemoration? From another perspective one can argue that commemoration is all about heritage. A fascination with it, a keenness to learn about it and an intention to validate one's nationality by it. Indeed, some authors note the overuse of the term dark tourism, arguing for a more contextual understanding so as to avoid labelling all heritage travel as dark (Biran& Poria, 2012), or to view all heritage tourism from the perspective of a business commodity (Smith, 2012; Stone, 2013).

1.3. Commemorism vs. thanatourism

While ghoulish interest, mortality salience and degrees of schadenfreude might be reason enough for some visitors to battle sites this does not adequately explain motives for engaging with key sites of national commemoration (Buda, 2015; Dunkley, Morgan, & Westwood, 2011; Logan & Reeve, 2014). One can argue that places representing death, suffering, and conflict, while superficially interesting (White & Frew, 2013) also facilitate immersion into all that is noble and gallant about the human spirit and national identity. On another level they can also represent national shame and efforts to promote reconciliation (Logan & Reeve, 2014). On a macro-marketing level, memorials and visitor centres not only permit validation of one's place in the national fabric they play an important role in defining our national identity (Fitzsimons, 2014; Frew & White, 2011; Hall et al., 2010; Packer et al., 2019; Winter 2009). From another perspective, visitation to a commemorative site in search of cultural validation (Hyde and Harman, 2011; Pretes, 2003), or even as an act of national responsibility can be considered a form of pilgrimage (Kelner, 2010; Leppakari & Griffin, 2016).

Often coupled with commemoration is an associated pilgrimage. Winter (2010) defines pilgrimage as the degree of engagement and commitment with the touristic activity. Pilgrimage also alludes to honed motives and a particular engaged mindset (Kelner, 2010; Leppakari & Griffin, 2016; Willson et al., 2013). As Hyde and Harman (2011) state, "Pilgrimage is the oldest form of tourism" (p. 1343). Slade, however, makes the point that visitation to Gallipoli, Turkey is not simply another example of dark tourism (2003). Commemorative pilgrimage certainly shares traits with tourism but perhaps less associated with dark tourism and more with cultural heritage.

This study, along with a similar study by Packer et al. (2019) extends the notion of Anzac provenance beyond the military exploits of the original ANZAC [ref 1.1 Anzac/ANZAC delineation]. While Packer's study affirms the hypothesis of cultural validation through visitation their study emphasises the positive outcomes of visitation, namely inclusivity, cultural identity and reconciliation. Paralleling the Packer study, this study's findings resonate with how the positive aspects of commemoration are valorised at equally significant sites. While Packer's study relies on metrics to determine visitation impact at a [an Anzac] "war heritage attraction" (p. 106) this study uses qualitative methodology to study experiential responses at similar sites. Therefore, the findings of both studies are considered complementary.

1.4. The research sites

In 2014 at a cost of $10.6M AUD the Australian State and Federal Government constructed a visitor centre atop Mt Clarence in the regional town of Albany (National Anzac Centre, 2021). The NAC is the jewel in the crown of the Albany Heritage Park, designed to commemorate the contribution of Australian and New Zealand citizens in WWI. The significance of the site is due to Albany being the place where troops assembled prior to boarding ships for Europe and the Middle East (Joll, 1968). From the Centre's five expansive windows one can see picturesque Princess Royal Harbour and King George Sound, where two convoys departed for Europe in October and December 1914 carrying 41, 265 soldiers and 6100 horses. As the convoys steamed to an uncertain destiny the NAC's significance as a place of logistical congregation also speaks to the last view of Australia many soldiers ever saw (Stephens, 2014; Turner, 2017; Wolfer, 2010). The City of Albany report 32,488 people visiting the NAC during the 2019–2020 financial year, 60 % of whom were locals (2019–2020 Annual Report, 2021).

More recently the Australian government opened the Sir John Monash Centre in Fouilloy, France 2018 (Sir John Monash Centre, 2021). Reportedly costing $104M AUD and $2.5M a year to run this represents a significant curatorial investment (Miller, 2018). All the more noteworthy given the sponsoring nation is not the host nation. One explanation for the hefty investment is the logistics of building below the existing Australian National Memorial (ANM) so as to not disturb the vista by its intrusion. The SJMC attracts mainly Antipodean pilgrims visiting the area of the Somme valley in commemoration of their nation's contribution to the Great War (personal communication, Deputy Director SJMC, July 11th, 2019).

While there are over 1500 Australian war memorials (Inglis & Brazier, 1998) the NAC and SJMC represent two of the four pre-eminent sites. The other two being Gallipoli, Turkey; and the Australian War Memorial, in Canberra. A review of the literature reveals the following (Table 1.).

On entering the NAC visitors are encouraged to adopt the persona of one of 32 servicemen and women. Their stories are then told through interactive displays, artefacts and memorabilia in a chronology from Albany, the voyage, destinations, and finally their experiences in the Middle East, Gallipoli and the Western Front. The SJMC adopts a slightly different approach, favouring interactive technology while relying on personal smartphone technology. Being a more recent addition than the NAC the SJMC has adopted emerging curatorial technologies to enhance visitor experience. As of the date of publication, apart from staffing and opening restrictions earlier during the Covid pandemic the city of Albany remains Covid free and the NAC open. Earlier the Centre closed for 10 weeks due to a state-wide lockdown – this affected visitation numbers (2019–2020 Annual Report, 2021). The Sir John Monash Centre in France has introduced social distancing, a one-way circulation plan, enhanced cleaning, and mask-wearing is compulsory (Sir John Monash Centre, 2021).

1.5. Theoretical frame

This study's commemorative model is an amalgam of previously published concepts. A priori concepts from past published ideas and theories are assembled into a combined transcendent model referred to as a metamodel. A metamodel is a model of models if you will; models are specifically chosen for their affinity with the research question and ability to fit together neatly to display a holistic process of the phenomenon (reflecting the maturity of the literature at the time). The activity of constructing metamodels is called metamodeling, as described by Noblit and Hare (1988). While used in design, languages and engineering is less popular in Tourism. Noblit and Hare's (1988) seven steps of meta-ethnographic synthesis are used to inform the process. The seven steps are, (1) Determining initial interest. (2) Deciding what is relevant to the initial interest. (3) Reading the studies. (4) Determining

Table 1
Four eminent ANZAC sites.

Key ANZAC Commemorative Centres (alphabetical order)	Location	Site Significance	Commodification	Visitor Studies (specific and inclusive)
Australian War Memorial	Canberra, Australia	Pre-eminent Memorial; Federal Government	No entry fee: café and online giftshop.	McKernan, 2017; Packer et al., 2019
Gallipoli	Gallipoli, Turkey	Place of conflict	No entry fee. Commercial products include transport; guides; battlefield tours; souvenir shops.	Çakar, 2018, 2019, 2020; Cheal & Griffin, 2012; Hall et al., 2010; Hyde & Harman, 2011; Lockstone-Binney et al., 2013. McKenna & Ward, 2007; Osbaldiston & Petray, 2011; Packer et al., 2019; Polonsky et al., 2013; Scates, 2002, 2008, 2009; Slade, 2003; West, 2010
National Anzac Centre	Albany, Australia	Place of vector	Compulsory entry fee; café (leased); souvenir shop; and conference facility. Commercial Segway tour frequents the Centre.	MacCarthy & Fanning, 2020; MacCarthy & Shan, 2021
Sir John Monash Centre	Villers Bretonneux, France	Place of conflict	No entry fee; café (leased) with souvenir books. Commercial battlefield tours frequent the Centre	Fathi, 2019

how the studies are related. (5) Translating the studies into one another. (6) Synthesizing the translations, and (7) Expressing the synthesis. Four suitable past-published theories were chosen from several contenders producing the commemorative metamodel in Fig. 1. The four were chosen due to their close fit with both commemorative inputs (motives) and outputs (behaviours). They are broadly related studies from different authors who have published ideas and concepts that fit neatly together to form a more holistic model. The four studies are Holt's 1995 ethnographic observations of communing and producing; Hyde and Harman's 2011 motives for secular pilgrimage, namely spiritual, nationalistic, family, friendship, and travel (see also "appropriate ceremonies" in Hall et al., 2010); the author's 2017 observations of affiliation, integration and personalising during commemoration; and Winter's 2010 dichotomy of commemorative visitors into pilgrims and tourists (Fig. 2).

The commemorative metamodel is an incorporated part of the method, Dialectic Thematic Analysis. DTA begins with a review of the literature and then moves to a metamodeling process.

Once the model is complete and the questions formed, validation begins. The ethnographic phase commences with the intention of priming the researcher with understanding. During this phase data is also being collected. From the metamodel constructs are identified, aggregated and operationalisation occurs. Data collected is then coded for a thematic analysis. Coincidentally, the iterative process of deduction referred to as the *constant comparative method* commences using the metamodel's constructs as benchmarks (Corbin & Strauss, 2015; Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). By performing both deduction and induction concurrently the two reasonings inform and rely on each other with and outcomes that is complementary.

For the avoidance of doubt DTA is not Mixed Methods. In Mixed Methods two studies are joined back-to-back to make one. While Mixed Methods advocates contemporaneous analysis, DTA prescribes simultaneous analysis. Contemporaneous refers to methods exercised in roughly the same time period, permitting one to occur before the other in almost mutual exclusivity. A simultaneous study is different however in that the studies occur at the same time and in this case are reliant on

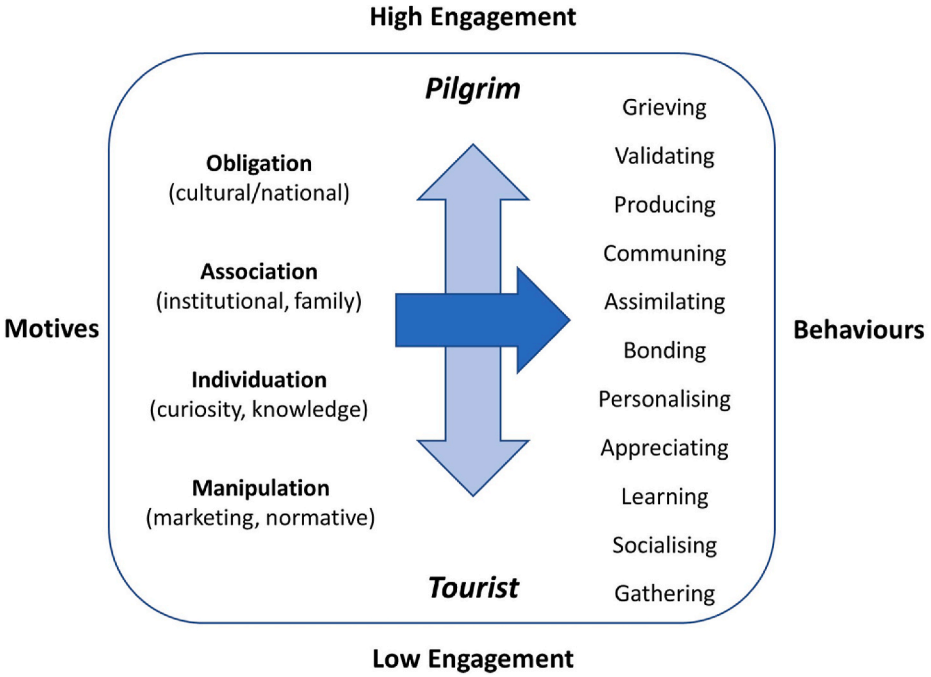

Fig. 1. Commemorative metamodel.

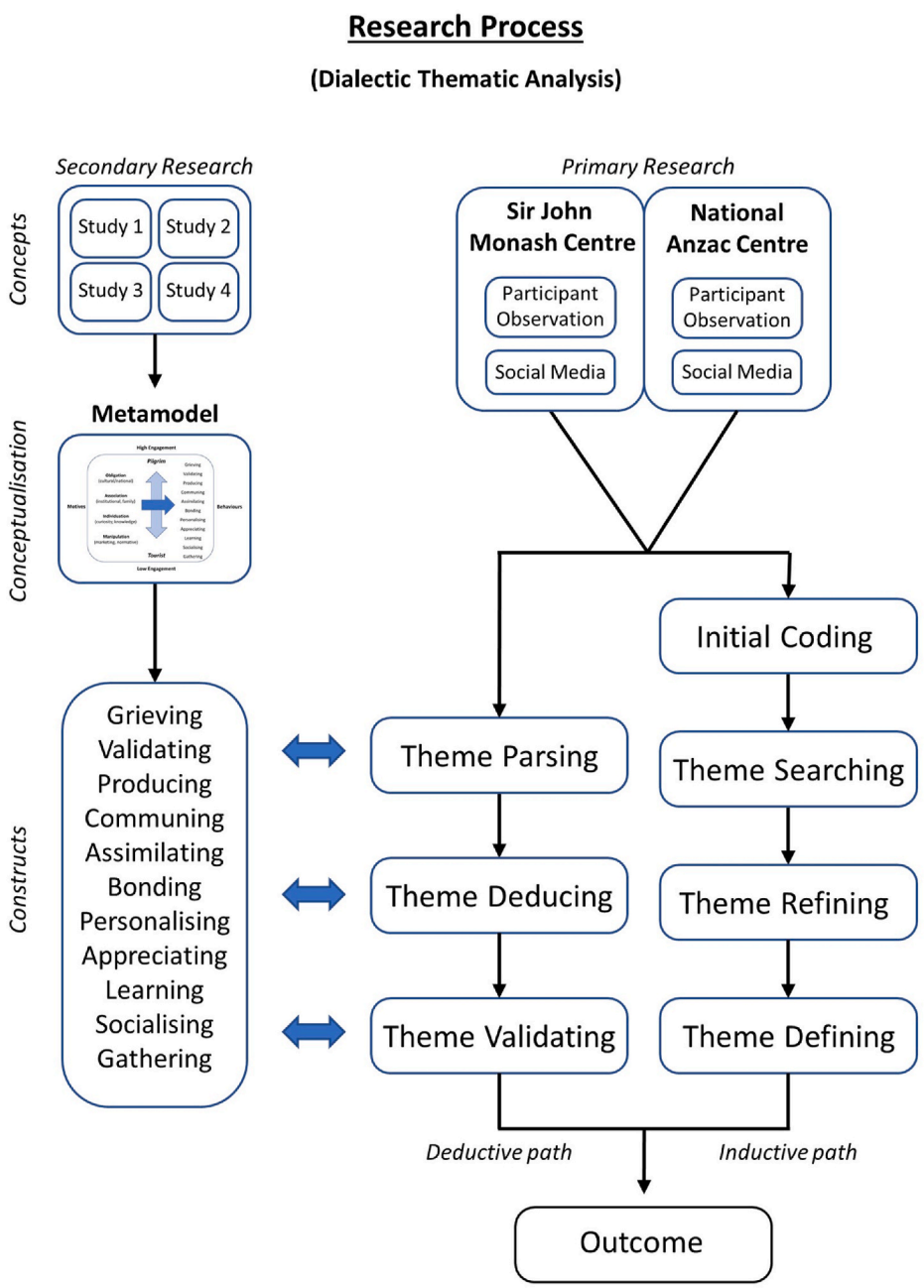

Fig. 2. Research process: Dialectic thematic analysis.

each other. DTA is further nuanced; while its two pathways occur simultaneously, they are not coetaneous. Coetaneous means starting at the same time. In DTA one path deliberately commences before the other. Both paths then run concurrently to a joint conclusion (Fig. 3.). The result is a synergistic outcome designed to validate past findings while also generating new knowledge. The downside is the reliance of DTA on the quality of the metamodel which harks to the quality of past published theory and the researcher's ability to conceptualise.

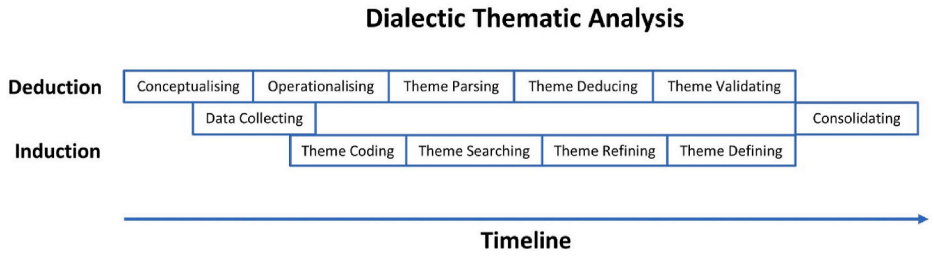

Fig. 3. Research timeline.

In this study, while some of the metamodel's constructs require contextual definition. *Validating* refers to the act of confirming one's cultural status as a bonifide citizen. *Producing* refers to the phenomenon where consumers seek to participate in the production process of what they are consuming (adapted from Holt, 1995). *Communing* refers to the phenomenon of synergistic affective appreciation that occurs when two or more visitors coincidentally consume the same experience (adapted from Holt, 1995). *Assimilating* refers to how visitors seek to assimilate the concepts of Anzac and commemoration into their lives. This is done to facilitate purpose and meaning in one's life. *Personalising* refers to the act of personalising oneself in order to perceive a richer experience, communicate affiliation, and to delineate oneself from others. Examples include wearing clothing, ties, badges and medals displaying unit or national affiliation (adapted from MacCarthy, 2017). *Appreciating* refers not only to understanding the acts and activities of the past but also "valuing", "respecting", "admiring" and "cherishing" the deeds and sacrifices related to those acts and activities (Winter, 2019). *Socialising* refers to a less focused form of *communing*, where the object of the interaction is either indirectly related to commemoration or entirely unrelated. Commemoration in this context is relegated to little more than a social catalyst.

2. Method

Given the essence of commemoration is discursive, experiential and often emotion-laden, qualitative techniques were used. These techniques are typified in Lincoln and Guba's 1985 *Naturalistic Inquiry,* and Denzin and Lincoln's 2018 *The Sage handbook of qualitative research* (see also Silverman 2010; 2011). The method chosen for this study is Dialectic Thematic Analysis. The data comes from two memorials: one in Australia and one in France. The combination of multiple methods and sources qualifies as triangulation, often used in qualitative research with the intention of fortifying trustworthiness (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; 2018; Wallendorf & Belk, 1989). The data comprises four primary sources: participant observation and social media commentary from the National Anzac Centre in Western Australia, and similarly from the Sir John Monash Centre near Villers Bretonneux, France.

Using the steps outlined in Noblit and Hare's (1988) meta-ethnographic synthesis a metamodel was constructed from the extant literature. Once constructed the model was then used in an adapted process of induction outlined in Framework Analysis (Ritchie et al., 2003; Ritchie & Spencer, 1994). Where this study differs from Framework Analysis is in the use of secondary as opposed to primary data to establish constructs, and establish the model from the literature, not the primary data. Four motives and 11 typified commemorative behaviours were then chosen to act as a thesaurus for DTA. In concert with this process the simultaneous use of Reflexive Thematic Analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Clarke, 2017) was begun using primary data from the sites (see also Grbich, 1999; Silverman, 2011, Chap 15).

The chronology involved constructing the metamodel followed by four days of participant observation at the NAC in August and November 2018, and 2 day at the SJMC in July 2019 – six days in total. Accompanying this was the manual scraping of online comments from the popular touristic site Trip Advisor by the web scraping tool, Octoparse. 2233 non-repeated comments, representing all available comments were scraped in mid-2020 (107,184 words). The six days of participant observation including interviews plus the social media commentary comprises the empirical data for this project.

During the participant observation phases the researchers took notes, still and video photography, while interacting with both the public and custodians. Dedicated conversations occurred at the NAC with 21 visitors and 8 staff using a semi-structured questionnaire. At the SJMC in-depth an interview was conducted with the deputy director followed by unstructured conversations with 12 visitors. More visitors were observed but not approached. These six days of in situ lived experience constitute a period of contextual priming (Braun et al., 2019, pp. 843–860).

The combined n = 2223 comments are considered to be random in the sense that none were excluded and all available at the time were used. The comments were saved onto an Excel spreadsheet where they were read multiple times. As each potential theme was explored and discussed individual cells of comments were highlighted with colour-codes (Stottok et al., 2011) and theme-specific worksheets added. This assisted in the organisation of data. Both the Sort, Search and formula functions of Excel assisted in locating themes (i.e. LOOKUP, SORT and COUNTIF) (Bree & Gallagher, 2016; Solveig, 2016). Supplementing thematic analysis was the use of Leximancer 4.51 in the Auto-code (unsupervised) mode (Haynes et al., 2019). Leximancer was used to produce a number of themes with which to assist human consideration of the data [only]. This automated analysis differed markedly from manual thematic analysis however, with the results considered too axiomatic to pursue. To be fair and by default a limitation to the study, only the digited comments were processed by Leximancer and not the participant observation. Also noteworthy is comparing the different types of analysis. Leximancer focusses on metric-based manipulation which is by default content analysis. Contrastingly, reflexive thematic analysis fortifies the identification, analysis and interpretation of data with preconception and context. The term *Reflexive* was added more recently by the original authors of RTA to emphasise the source of interpretation (Braun et al., 2019, pp. 843–860; see also; Gioia et al., 2013).

Given the sensitivities involved with the topic particular emphasis on respect was afforded to all respondents including staff. The principle adopted was that data collection be subordinated to visitor emotions while personal space be respected. Once past the foyer the mood is likened to a library, with hushed whispers, mooted lighting and the avoidance of eye contact. While the foyer was deemed respondent-permissible, further inside it was deemed inappropriate to approach visitors.

Undoubtedly the Author's provenance as a former serving member of the Australian Defence Force [Army] informed the analysis. By contrast, my colleague assisting with data collection at the NAC had no prior military service yet brought an equally relevant and rich civilian paradigm to the project. This triangulation of life experience had the effect of tempering institutional and vocational bias. In keeping with the tenet of enhancing qualitative credibility a member check was conducted with a draft forwarded to staff of the NAC, the City of Albany and the SJMC for comment. While the Director of the SJMC responded with feedback, the NAC did not.

3. Results

The findings are divided into two parts relating to the two pathways of dialectic analysis; deduction and induction.

3.1. Deductive path

By constantly comparing participant observations and social media commentary with the metamodel, all four of the motives and 11 typical behaviours in Fig. 1 were deduced at some point. Selected comments in Fig. 4. Represent evidence validating the metamodel's constructs. This list is not finite however and is representative of a larger corpus. It would be fair to say from the literature, data and researcher experience that commemorative pilgrimage, or even incidental visitation is more sobering than superficially enjoyable. For example, one NAC staff member working in the gift shop adjacent to the visitors centre reported that on average two to three visitors a week are emotionally affected to the point of being visibly upset. The same staff member recounted a female visitor being upset when recognising a soldier on the large video screen in the entrance. Reportedly, the soldier was a member of her family (fate unknown). These examples resonate with the majority of recorded NAC/SJMC experiences. Selected examples of profundity are included in

Construct	Evidence	Respondent
Profundity	*Very moved by the enormity of the graveyard. Demonstrates the futility of war.*	ANM58
	It is a very moving and harrowing experience.	NAC101
	Accurate, thought provoking and moving, the display brought me to tears on a couple of occasions.	NAC65
Grieving	*...It's a small cost to pay when so many paid with their lives, for us. Take tissues.*	NAC17
	This cemetery holds a very personal place in my heart as my great cousin was killed in action 6 days before the war ceased. He was 24 years old and is in an unmarked grave at this site.	ANM117
Validating	*If you have one drop od [of] Aussie blood in you then I'd definitely recommend a visit to the John Monash Centre*	SJMC27
	Something all Australians can be proud of as a legacy.	SJMC62
Producing	*When I was at Albany and looking out I could see where the ships had been and I was thinking if only I could turn back time and say, don't go.*	F60 PO
	Be prepared to feel sad and proud and grateful and many other emotions as you pass through. Take your own headphones for quick and easy audio guidance via the app.	SJMC75
Communing	*...took my wife 2 x daughters and there wasn't a dry eye in the house.*	NAC69
	...Dad was very emotional at the thought he had marched on the very street his uncle had, many years ago	NAC370
Assimilating	*...formally serving in The Royal Navy and active within the HMS Tiger C20 Association any form of remembrance activity for ALL people effected by wars throughout the world is of interest to me.*	NAC76
	My husband is an avid Anzac devotee. He will go and see anything that showcases this era.	NAC473
Bonding	*The family groups especially children had a good time.*	NAC79
	The French and Australian flags fly side by side in harmony. The local villagers recognize the Australian accent and make you welcome and feel a part of their family.	SJMC198
Personalising	No social media evidence. An associated body of visitors were observed at the NAC attending the anniversary of the Battle of Long Tan [18th Aug, 1966] wearing formal dress with medals and unit ties.	
Appreciating	*The view over the water is wonderful − I could have sat there all day watching the boats! Truly a fantastic place to visit.*	NAC352
	The team who have put this together deserve a huge wrap for the clever way it has been done and the sensitivity displayed	SJMC104
Learning	*Visit, learn and understand why it is so important to always remember.*	SJMC86
	This very interactive centre has been designed to teach and engage all ages on the history of our Anzacs.	NAC1102
Socialising	*The kids really loved playing on all of the old war relics out the front − and they also loved checking the bunkers out.*	NAC421
	...great to see some Aussie flags on particular stones. We sang "Waltzing Matilda!"	ANM217

Fig. 4. Deductive path: evidentiary examples validating the constructs.

Fig. 4.

3.2. Inductive path − transcendent themes

In addition to the validation of existing theory three new themes were induced. These themes represent one half of Braun and Clarke's dichotomy when defining a theme. Emerging from the data are three additional *storybook* or transcendent ideas which are grounded in the data but are not present in the literature or metamodel. They are as follows.

a. Co-opting the innocent and its effects on visitor sympathy.
b. The deliberate avoidance of hagiography and its effects on visitor empathy, and
c. The judicious use of physical and digital engineering and their combined effects on visitors' perceptions of space.

In distilling the data three stages occurred in increasing abstraction, as seen in Fig. 5. The initial coding was organized into four *sub-categories*: (1) Semantic data focussing on broad meanings, (2) Utilitarian commentary regarding the functional aspects of both sites, (3) Experiential responses to various sub elements and, (4) Episodic poignancy that is likely to result in lasting memories. The detail in this stage was combined and distilled in two more stages to produce the final list of themes. The three themes referred to as *Induced Categories* are (1) the experiential aspects of commemoration, (2) the opportunity commemoration represents to facilitate growth and knowledge, and (3) the interface between commemoration and the wider community. Many of the induced themes are unremarkable and so the discussion will focus on the new and unexpected.

4. Discussion

4.1. Co-opting the innocent

… all those poor horses too. (NAC457)

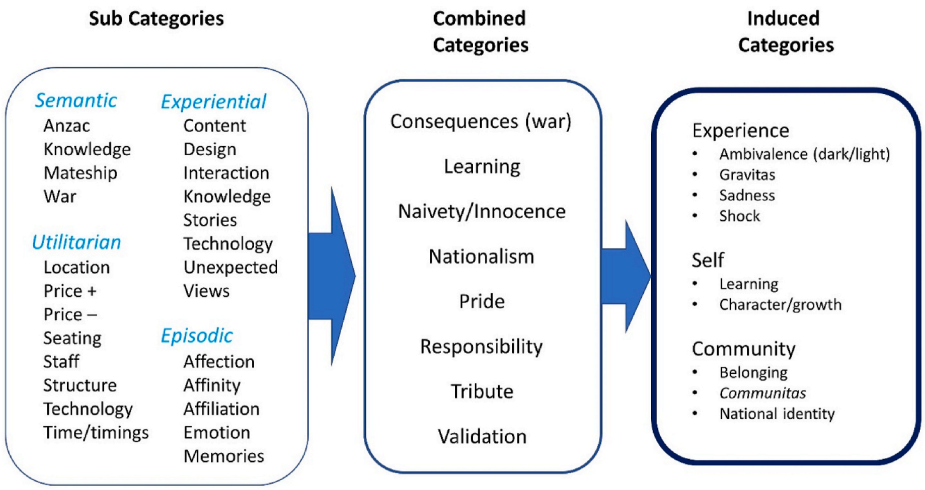

Fig. 5. Inductive path: stages of thematic evolution.

When considering the nature of the Australian commemorative experience two tenets are common to both venues; the experience is engineered to be personal, and curators do not opine the topic [unlike the Auschwitz/Birkenau Memorial and Museum]. To clarify, the NAC and SJMC do not either overtly promote or demote military conflict. Instead, values such a courage, mateship, honour, loyalty and naivety are highlighted. This appears to evoke visitor empathy. Punctuating the role of innocence in war is the percipient use of the loyal and endearing horse. Through multiple references, 6100 horses, mostly 'Walers' (originally from New South Wales) travelled with the two convoys leaving from Albany to war, Reportedly, only three returned to Australia. This imagery includes a copper life-size sculpture highlighting the bond between horse and rider at the NAC. The inscription reads, *Sharing the last of my water with my old mate. He deserves a drink as much as I before the charge*.

The use of animals by custodians to convey memory is notable. While not all writers agree, Hirsch suggests that if memories are traumatic enough that they can be passed on to the next generation in a form of *postmemory* (2008; 2012; see also *traumatic memory* in Onega, 2017). The French philosopher Derrida noted how the past permeates the present, referring to it as *hauntology*. At these sites, postmemories are being conveyed through the rhetorical technique of pathos. Emotions are being manipulated by showcasing our most endearing and trusting animals, leading one to believe visitation can be a form of 'cultural redemption' (Bersani, 2013). Perhaps even, "To salvage damaged experience and therefore to redeem life" (Bennett, 2005, p. 3). Or perhaps it is simply to convey information.

4.2. Hero worship

Both the NAC and SJMC have deliberately chosen to avoid hagiography, adopting instead a neutral or non-judgemental stance. Exactly how much reverence should commemorative custodians portray is of concern as this is fundamental to the visitation experience. The NAC makes clear their position on the matter, *The experience is known for commemorating the war through the stories of the ANZACs* [*sic*] *as opposed to telling its own story via pro-war or anti-war sentiments* (National ANZAC Centre, 2020; *About*, para. 2). This is unusual given the degree of hagiography that exists in both museums and the wider community. Hero worship of key community figures include royalty, celebrities, opinion leaders, politicians, sporting stars and religious leaders. Indeed, O'Guinn (1991) would have us believe that we need heroes. "Heroes and their associated myths help us make sense of our lives … When heroes and gods are reasoned away, a vacuum of anxiety remains" (p. 103).

Deliberately not elevating the status of key luminaries is therefore counter-intuitive and not without risk that some may take umbrage. The overwhelming respondent feedback however suggests otherwise. By showcasing luminaries as profane rather than sacred facilitates engagement. The payout is that visitors are more able to empathise with the characters if they see them as ordinary people caught up in a naïve adventure with tragic consequences. Sir John Monash GCMG, KCB, VD however is a limiting exception here. Several authors have written biographies of Monash suggesting he was anything but ordinary or naïve. Monash's hagiography is evident in the Australian psyche with a university named after him; a town called Monash, streets and tracks named after him in New South Wales, Victoria and Western Australia; three health clinics in Queensland; busts in Australian communities; a cargo ship christened in his name - the John Monash 1964–1985, and the SJMC which bears his name. Monash is also one of 32 chosen luminaries to appear on NAC interpretive cards handed to visitors on entry. In 1931 reportedly over 300,000 mourners attended Monash's funeral. The importance reserved for Monash in Australian culture implies a generous degree of *referent* status (French & Raven, 1959).

4.3. Expanding the physical space

The focus on cultural repositories has evolved over the years. While physical content is important (Falk & Dierking, 2000) the spatial aspect of a repository is also important (Forrest, 2013). The use of both symbolism and digital technology to extend the finite physical space is a recurring theme in the data. Social media comments include, "… it looks small, but there is A LOT of information!" (NAC192); and "… has a depth of information I wasn't expecting to find when I walked in." (NAC500).

One example of perceptual management is the use of smart devices as a source of engagement, information and marketing. The SJMC app includes a distance calculator between the phone and the site titled 'Not There Yet'. The app then conveys audio when the visitor is standing next to each exhibit. The NAC uses a different strategy, preferring to optimise their website instead. The current thinking is that smart phone technology is perceived as a "barrier," citing "older people being less comfortable with apps." (CMO, 2020). Observing the staff at the SJMC assisting the elderly and in discussion with respondents confirmed the NAC's perception of elderly visitors is outdated. Over two days mature-age respondents demonstrated they were comfortable using smart devices to access information as they walked around the SJMC.

Efforts to manipulate visitor spatial perceptions are not confined to digital world. One example of is the use of an infinity pool at the NAC to extend visitor perceptions beyond the immediate area. The Pool of Reflection points out a window across King George Sound to the horizon. At the bottom of the pool the names of those on the convoys

symbolically scroll out to sea. The roof is a distinct black driftwood slatted design, along with darkened walls. This design feature is intended to manage the mood while focussing the visitor's eyes outside and to the horizon. Other rooms in the NAC have lighter coloured ceilings, again designed with deliberate mood-management intentions by the architects.

4.4. Dialectical analysis

This study's research method has evolved from an earlier attempt to fortify digital online data with traditional ethnography. Specifically, combining social media commentary with participant observation. When comparing the content analysis from analytical software such as Leximancer and NVivo it appears there is a difference between insights from the lived experience and computer analysis of online data (MacCarthy et al., 2021). When processing large volumes of digitised data with computer programs the algorithmic emphasis on occurrence and co-occurrence is a poor cousin to the lived experience. One can further argue, a modicum of lived experience is required to meaningfully inform the software's findings. When combining both lived experience with non-dialogical Netnography for use as a method the term begs amendment. More emphasis is placed the lived experience and so Kozinet's original, pre-millennium term is revisited as *Nethnography* (Kozinets, 1997). For clarification, Nethnography is considered a partial method [only] as it is more a data collection and grooming technique than traditional Netnography. Netnography is typified by online persistent discourse between researcher and respondent and is considered a complete analytical method. Social media can be non-dialogical (implying no interaction with the researcher) however, yet it is still a valuable source of information. Nethnography taps into this underutilised resource and while can be considered an encompassing method is used here as a data collection mechanism only.

Without the lived experience the risk when using computer-assisted Content Analysis is the interpretation misses the mark and the results are typically bland. While convenient and logistically impressive the current efficacy of computer analytics is akin to limiting knowledge creation. While *Big Data* is a hallmark of modern research the analysis of it is fraught. Fraught with the trust researchers place in proprietary software doing the job traditionally reserved for human intelligence. While eminently convenient and with implied veracity the internal process lacks transparency. Computer-assisted analysis is biased towards metric-driven Content Analysis. Themes that might be obvious to a researcher can be missed due to the esoteric nature of meaning and overlooked connections across metaphorically distant and disparate data.

DTA is an attempt to combine existing theory with a manageable amount of digitised data to not only justify findings but also permit a degree of generalizability not normally associated with qualitative research. To what extent dialectical findings are generalizable is debatable. While not suggesting analytical software is corrupt it must be acknowledged it has its limits. Artificial Intelligence is not yet at the point where human insight is replaceable.

The downside of using DTA is the time and effort required to manually process the data. Compounding this is the prescribed compulsory access to the phenomenon which may not be possible. The time required to sift through the literature, conceptualise theoretical frames of reference, and then live the experience will not be suitable or possible in all situations. DTA is also less parsimonious than a single-path technique. Justifying its use however is a richer, more rigorous, and therefore more credible outcome. DTA is a systematic process which straddles the research topic by validating the past while simultaneously revealing (if any) new knowledge. In essence, DTA strengthens the fabric of a discipline by seamlessly connecting published theory with future emergent theory.

4.5. Site significance

Unlike the SJMC which is located on a battlefield the NAC is a limiting exception where site significance is concerned. The NAC is a paradox in that the site has enough meaning to draw pilgrims and enough convenience to draw tourists, yet there was no conflict at the site, no death. Stone and Sharpley have categorised dark tourism into five themes titled "Divisions of the dark" (Sharpley & Stone, 2009, p. 11). The NAC is a clumsy fit, however if pressed it would be closest to *Themed Thantos* [Collections/museums themed around death and suffering]. Without the place being directly associated with death, fear or infamy Albany therefore might be considered by some as inappropriate, or unworthy of Anzac commemoration (Joll, 1968; Stephens, 2014). Regardless, while it is not a site of conflict it is an important vector and does save Australians the cost and effort of travelling to Europe where the conflict did occur. It is also conveniently located in a picturesque town with other attractions. This is no doubt a consideration when visitors self-evaluate their level of commitment to commemoration. Should they travel to a destination where death occurred or is the port where they congregated and departed symbolic enough.

In the chronology of events Albany represents the start of the Antipodean journey to the First World War, while Gallipoli and the SJMC represent the end of life for many. According to Stone's continuum the NAC in Western Australia with no graves and no conflict represents a 'lighter' site. This no doubt influences visitor experience. Then again, perhaps *commemorism* is more about what, *when*, *who* and *why*, and less about *where* it happened. This quandary will apply to similar international sites when governments consider investing in commemorative infrastructure. When considering the limitations of the study one must be mindful that while these findings may apply in similar situations, it is specific to Australian visitors. Returning to the question of whether showcasing war crimes in the commemorative space is an appropriate place for it; the data makes no mention of this. To be fair, such a proposal is unprecedented, and the dialectical method does not lend itself to targeted questions related to specific attitudes. This represents a further limitation of the study. While the study addressed the research question, it did not answer the rhetorical questions posed when justifying its importance.

5. Conclusions

The results of this study support the validation of four motives and 11 typified commemorative behaviours. Combined with the weight of primary data four overarching motives are confirmed to be in play (Fig. 1.). These are divided into three push and one pull motive. Commemorative pilgrimage to a sacred destination is a result of proactive *Obligation*, *Association* and *Individuation*. The fourth pull factor comprises visitor reaction to external *Manipulation*. These motives are listed on a continuum of visitor engagement from the most dedicated *Pilgrim* ('This is the sole purpose of my travel'), to the incidental *Tourist* ('I am here so what is there to see?').

Included in the study are three revelations pertaining to t wo commemorative sites: (1) Co-opting the innocent and its apparent effect on visitor empathy; (2) The conservative use of hagiography and its apparent effect on visitor engagement, and (3) The synergistic combination of proximal architecture with both physical surroundings and digital technology and their effects on spatial perception. All three themes represent opportunities for custodians to hone the intended experience and associated narrative. This paper also makes a modest contribution to qualitative methodology through the introduction of a dialectical method and the discussion that surrounds it. In this case, given the emphasis on preconception Reflexive Thematic Analysis (Braun et al., 2019, pp. 843–860) was used for the inductive path. If, however reflection is considered a limitation a more grounded method can be used. The Gioia technique would be a suitable substitute (Gioia et al., 2013). The Gioia technique was specifically engineered to

improve the perception of rigour in qualitative induction, and it remains popular in organizational studies.

Limiting the application of this study is the focus on Australian and New Zealand commemoration only. The idea that the definition and act of commemoration varies internationally is reasonable. While the method includes deduction, the results are not considered generalizable. They may however apply to other international sites. Another limitation is the use of one social media site – Tripadvisor – for web data. Other sites such as Instagram and Twitter also have related commentary however Tripadvisor appears less poster-centric, more formal, and more touristic in nature.

One final thought concerns the current definitions of Dark tourism. Generic across early definitions is the assumption that death and suffering at the site is autotelic. This means the fundamental reason for visitor travel is an interest in death and suffering. In this study however the death and suffering associated with memorial pilgrimage is more instrumental, or in other words, a mediating catalyst to achieve something else. Then again, perhaps the historical value of a destination is reason enough to visit a dark place. If one is prepared to consider the existence of a complex web of motives and experiences in commemorative tourism, then the corollary is to question how all this relates to the *death drive* and mortality salience. Perhaps all the chaos, violence and death underpinning a memorial's importance is merely [paradoxically] instrumental. Perhaps a fascination with the darkness belies a means to an end and is merely there to facilitate something more meaningful – or precious.

Declaration of competing interest

I have no conflicts of interest where this project is concerned. There is no commission or funding.

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