



Multiplicity of moral emotions in educational dark tourism

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ABSTRACT

Tourism experiences are often mediated by morality and imbued with emotions. This study draws on worksheets associated with a field trip to the War Remnants Museum in Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam, to examine moral emotions in educational dark tourism. Thematic analysis of children's field trip narratives revealed a multiplicity of moral emotions in the positioning of 'self' and 'other'. Moral emotions are discussed in reference to acts of violating or upholding the moral standards of victims and transgressors. The War Remnants Museum as a dark tourism site provides a morally relevant context, evoking moral emotions, influencing moral judgments, and persuading moral actional tendencies which all have important implications for theorising emotion and ingroup/outgroup relations in educational dark tourism experiences.

1. Introduction

There has been a surge of interest in moral matters in tourism studies (Caton, 2012; Grimwood, Caton, & Cooke, 2018). Dark tourism refers to the visitation of sites associated with death, atrocities, and suffering (Cohen, 2011; Miles, 2002; Stone, 2006; Stone & Sharpley, 2008). As such, many dark tourism sites are recognised as communicative moral spaces with moral meanings, values, judgments, and behaviours (Biran, Poria, & Oren, 2011; Bolin, 2012; Stone, 2009). In framing morality in tourism experiences, some researchers have positioned dark tourism as a domain for examining how individuals construct narratives of self, other, and group. In morally relevant contexts, understanding of self and other is shaped by larger cultural, historical, and political realities, where heritage is seen as the central object of identification (Stone, 2009). Other researchers have connected dark tourism with emotions, highlighting the subjective meanings and experiences enmeshed in moral matters (Martini & Buda, 2020; Nawijn, Isaac, van Liempt, & Gridnevskiy, 2016; Tucker, 2016). In recognising these research formations, the surge of morality scholarship becomes necessary, as dark tourism is central for understanding the complex and dynamic relationship between identity, emotions, and tourism experiences.

The growth of interest in both morality and emotions in tourism studies has largely centred on adult experiences. Research on moral emotions in children, however, has been limited. The youth market is important in dark tourism since there are large numbers of school children who visit dark sites as part of educational field trips (Cowan & Maitles, 2011; Hartmann, 2014; Hodgkinson, 2013; Israfilova & Khoo-

Lattimore, 2018; Yoshida, Bui, & Lee, 2016). Dark tourism sites can provide invaluable educational resources for delivering different learning routes to complement traditional classroom learning, thus helping children to "make connections between museum artifacts and visitors' lives and memories" (Bedford, 2001, p. 30). Learning at dark sites is about multilayered experiences in which felt emotions may be of importance for the construction of identities and social relations between people. This research examines children's moral emotions at a dark tourism site. An increased understanding of children's emotional experiences has important implications for theorising emotion and management applications in the context of educational dark tourism.

2. Theoretical background

2.1. Moral emotions and intergroup relations

Dark tourism sites are often imbued with emotions (Martini & Buda, 2020; Nawijn & Biran, 2018; Nawijn et al., 2016), especially when individuals are negotiating difficult historical events, navigating political discourses on remembrance, and confronting ethical situations. Dark tourism can be framed as "an affective socio-spatial encounter" (Martini & Buda, 2020 p. 679). In morally relevant contexts, moral emotions can emerge in response to events and actions that uphold or violate moral standards (Haidt, 2003; Monin, Pizarro, & Beer, 2007). Moral emotions are critical as they can be valuable for understanding how individuals perceive emotional experiences of 'right/wrong', 'good/bad', 'should/should not', and 'approval/disapproval'. Equally critical are the ways in

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which individuals respond to their moral emotional experiences. From an educational dark tourism perspective, moral emotions perform a critical role in teaching programmes for children.

Moral emotions have been conceptualized as emotions that are triggered in contexts where behaviour is evaluated in response to moral standards (Haidt, 2003; Monin et al., 2007). According to Haidt (2003), moral emotions are defined as “those emotions that are linked to the interests or welfare either of society as a whole or at least of persons other than the judge or agent” (p. 276). Moral emotions have experiential, evaluative, and expressive functions for informing the self and others to uphold moral standards. These emotions can both inhibit transgressions and motivate individuals to do the ‘right thing’, for example, promoting prosocial behaviour (Bartlett & DeSteno, 2006; Tangney, Stuewig, & Mashek, 2007) and discouraging unethical conduct (Kroll & Egan, 2004; Treviño, den Nieuwenboer, & Kish-Gephart, 2014). There are four groups of moral emotions depending on their orientation (self or other) and direction (condemning or praising):

1. *Other-suffering emotions* involve feelings associated with the perception of real or potential suffering in others. These emotions arise from witnessing others as being the victims of a moral standard violation (Haidt, 2003; Hoffman, 2000). The suffering in others stimulates emotions of empathy, sympathy, compassion, and sadness for the other’s situation (Decety & Jackson, 2004; Eisenberg, Spinrad, & Sadovsky, 2006). Notably, empathy performs important functions in (a) perspective taking, which signifies the ability to take the other’s viewpoint; (b) affective sharing, which reflects that the affective states of the other are shared; and (c) empathic concern, which refers to the emotional response for the other in need (Decety, 2011; Decety & Cowell, 2014). These components of empathy interact with each other to care for others. The action tendency motivates individuals to offer caring responses to alleviate suffering (Batson, 2009; Goetz, Keltner, & Simon-Thomas, 2010) and generate solidarity (Davis, 2006; Tangney & Dearing, 2002).
2. *Other-condemning emotions* refer to “the negative feelings about the actions or character of others” (Haidt, 2003, p. 856). The main trigger for other-condemning emotions is moral transgression (Haidt, 2003; Rozin, Lowery, Imada, & Haidt, 1999). Actions that violate moral standards elicit negative emotional reactions of anger and disgust (Rozin et al., 1999). Anger emerges with moral concerns about unjustifiable acts of harm done to someone (Prinz, 2011; Quigley & Tedeschi, 1996). In many instances, the action tendency for anger is to aggress against the offending other (Shaver, Schwartz, Kirson, & O’Connor, 1987). Like anger, moral disgust occurs when individuals interpret the other’s actions as committing moral offences. Moral disgust is a negative evaluation of the others and their actions, with feelings of disapproval toward those who have violated moral standards. For moral disgust, the action tendency may lead to attributions relating to the perpetrator’s inherent moral character and intentions (Hutcherson & Gross, 2011).
3. *Other-praising emotions* relate to other-directed positive emotions associated with witnessing another person upholding moral standards (Algoe & Haidt, 2009; Haidt, 2003). Other-praising emotions arise from observing the other’s exemplary actions, including gratitude, elevation, and admiration. Gratitude is elicited by a favourable outcome leading to a person being the recipient of another’s good deeds (Tangney et al., 2007). Related to gratitude is elevation: positive feelings that arise in witnessing another person’s moral excellence (Algoe & Haidt, 2009; Haidt, 2003). The elevating of experiences evokes feelings of admiration, inspiration, and upliftment. Other-praising emotions encourage acts of kindness, helping, and charity (Algoe & Haidt, 2009; Algoe, Haidt, & Gable, 2008), and thus motivate individuals to become better people, encourage prosocial behaviours, and promote feelings of connectedness with others (Aquino, McFerran, & Laven, 2011; Stellar et al., 2017; Thomson & Siegel, 2013).

4. *Self-conscious emotions* are evoked by self-evaluation of moral standards in order to regulate moral behaviour (Tangney et al., 2007). Self-evaluation determines if a self-conscious emotion is to be experienced (Tangney & Dearing, 2002; Tracy & Robins, 2004). In experiencing self-conscious emotions of guilt, shame, embarrassment, and pride, an individual must make “an appraisal of whether their self-concept is currently meeting, exceeding, or failing to meet their goals for their identity, or the kind of person they want to be” (Tracy, Mercadante, Witkower, & Cheng, 2020, p. 53). Guilt, shame, and embarrassment are considered to be self-directed negative emotions associated with immoral or inappropriate behaviours that conflict with personal or social values (Sheikh & Janoff-Bulman, 2010; Tangney et al., 2007). Pride is a positive self-conscious emotion that occurs when individuals “appraise themselves as meeting or exceeding important identity goals” (Tracy et al., 2020, p. 53).

2.2. Social identification and intergroup emotions

The social identity approach incorporates social identity theory (Tajfel, 1981) and self-categorisation theory (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987) to enrich our understanding of group processes and intergroup relations. As there is already a large body of literature on social identity theory and self-categorisation theory, it is not necessary to replicate the reviews here (see Brown, 2000; Hogg & Williams, 2000; Hornsey, 2008). Instead, the focus will be on the social identity approach in collective emotional processes. Social identity theory focuses on the social-psychological processes that occur when individuals self-define as members of a particular social group, for example, nationality, gender, and political affiliation. According to self-categorisation theory, social identity salience is highly context-specific through the active process of categorisation, with the self to be redefined in the collective of the relevant category, influenced by the meaningfulness derived from group-based context (Turner et al., 1987; Turner & Reynolds, 2001). Dark tourism sites can provide the contexts for self-definition and shared group identities. These sites comprise an essential element of national heritage that allows for the construction, reconstruction, and maintenance of national identification. This in turn both strengthens the social identity and promotes ingroup/outgroup distinctions.

In accordance with social identity theory and self-categorisation theory (Tajfel, 1981; Turner et al., 1987), an individual’s emotions and behaviours are influenced by their group membership (Mackie, DeVos, & Smith, 2000; Mackie & Smith, 2018). Specifically, the level of group identification impacts on group-based emotions and the appraisal of morally relevant events (Kuppens, Yzerbyt, Dandache, Fischer, & van der Schalk, 2013; Mackie & Smith, 2018). For many dark tourism sites, specific appraisals of moral situations occur at an intergroup level. In experiencing group-level moral emotions, individuals behave in group-based terms that reflect on that group’s social identity. In these instances, individuals experience, express, and display moral emotions on behalf of their ingroup. Consequently, both the ingroup and outgroup become recipients of such emotions, leading to differentiated intergroup behaviour. Moral emotions may play an important role in acts of identification for developing a shared understanding of ‘who we are’ in narrating ‘our story’. Moral emotional experiences in dark tourism may motivate individuals to define the context, and their relationships within it, by expressing, displaying, and affirming their social identity.

2.3. Educational dark tourism

Dark tourism provides a wide range of tourism experiences with elements of heritage, pilgrimage, memorialisation, commemoration, entertainment, and education. Examples include genocide tourism (Friedrich, Stone, & Rukesh, 2018), holocaust tourism (Podoshen, 2017), war tourism (Upton, Schänzel, & Lück, 2018), disaster tourism

(Sharpley & Wright, 2018), prison tourism (Wilson, Hodgkinson, Piché, & Walby, 2017), slavery tourism (Boateng, Okoe, & Hinson, 2018), and cemetery tourism (Mionel, 2020). According to Light (2017), “dark tourism tends to be used as an umbrella term for any form of tourism that is somehow related to death, suffering, atrocity, tragedy or crime” (p. 277). There are many different typologies of dark tourism (Miles, 2002; Stone, 2006). Stone (2006) proposed a darker-lighter tourism spectrum in varying levels of darkness with darker sites having greater authenticity, where death and suffering have ‘occurred’. These sites are history-centric with shorter time scales to the historical events. Darker sites serve a commemorative function and deliver an education orientation, for example, Auschwitz. Lighter sites have less authenticity, ‘associated’ with death and suffering. These sites are heritage-centric with longer time scales to the historical events. These sites provide a cultural entertainment function and deliver a commercial orientation, for example, Dracula Park.

It is widely recognised that places associated with atrocity, death, and suffering have important informative and educative purposes (Biran et al., 2011; Cohen, 2011; Dunkley, Morgan, & Westwood, 2011; Kang, Scott, Lee, & Ballantyne, 2012; Light, 2017). Stone (2006) proposed a dark tourism spectrum with an educational orientation defined in its framework. Many tourists visit dark tourism sites for education, learning, and understanding about the historical events (Biran et al., 2011; Isaac & Çakmak, 2014; Kang et al., 2012; Light, 2017; Yan, Zhang, Zhang, Lu, & Guo, 2016). The dark sites not only facilitate visitors’ acquisition of knowledge but also evoke their emotional experiences (Biran et al., 2011; Nawijn et al., Podoshen, 2013; Yan et al., 2016). Studies indicated that some dark sites evoke negative emotional experiences like feelings of sadness, horror, fear, depression, anger, and hate (Brown, 2016; Kidron, 2013; Weaver et al., 2018; Zheng, Zhang, Zhang, & Qian, 2017), while other dark sites induce positive emotional experiences like love, hope, empathy, pride, and gratitude (Lisle, 2004; Nawijn & Fricke, 2015). Learning at dark tourism sites is a multilayered process involving cognitive and emotional experiences.

Many dark tourism sites provide educational services to meet a diverse range of learning objectives for children. However, the nexus of children and dark tourism studies remains largely underexplored despite the growing importance of dark sites as alternative teaching spaces (Israfilova & Khoo-Lattimore, 2018; Kerr & Price, 2016). In particular, the association between the moral contexts of dark sites and how moral emotions are experienced is not well understood. Moral emotions in children matter to us. Children are moral agents capable of recognising, articulating, and negotiating moral emotions relating to people, place, and event. Understanding how children negotiate moral emotions and the ways they act and react to moral contexts is of critical importance in creating meaningful learning experiences. Paying attention to the moral emotions and their functioning enhances our appreciation of the ways dark tourism sites can influence learning for young visitors. This study aims to examine how dark tourism contexts evoke moral emotions. Of particular importance is to identify (1) the multiplicity of moral emotions experienced at a dark site, (2) the formation of moral judgments and action tendencies, and (3) the complex patterns of social relations. The guiding question for the study is, “What are children’s moral emotional experiences at a dark tourism destination?” This study makes a novel and meaningful contribution to educational dark tourism and wider discourses on morality in tourism studies.

3. Methods

A school field trip to the War Remnants Museum in 2019 provided the context for this research. The War Remnants Museum presents the historical events of the US War in Vietnam from a perspective of the Vietnamese people. This museum is one of the most popular dark tourism destinations in Vietnam, attracting approximately half a million visitors every year (<http://warremnantsmuseum.com>). Furthermore, the museum hosts school field trips to educate young visitors on

Vietnam’s memoryscape. This museum is not an actual site of death, but it is well known for its highly politicised subject matter associated with death and suffering. The War Remnants Museum displays some of the most confronting and disturbing items retrieved from the war and tells stories of extreme violence and human suffering (Gillen, 2014). The War Remnants Museum indicates a short time scale to the historical event of the war with the long-lasting effects of Agent Orange on Vietnam’s environment and population (Martin, 2009; Stellman, Stellman, Christian, Weber, & Tomasallo, 2003). Millions of Vietnamese people are living with health problems as a consequence of the exposure to Agent Orange during the war (Martin, 2009; Ngo, Taylor, Roberts, & Nguyen, 2006). Hence, the site is positioned at the darker end of the dark tourism spectrum (Stone, 2006).

The aim of the field trip was to introduce Vietnamese children to the historical event of the US war in Vietnam. The field trip activities included the completion of a worksheet. The use of a worksheet is a common educational practice to support children learning in museums (Mortensen & Smart, 2007). Worksheet approach allows for a combination of child-centred activities and self-directed exploration of the museum (DeWitt & Storksdiack, 2008). The children’s emotional experiences were derived from six open-ended questions in the worksheet, for example, “Please could you tell us about your visit to the War Remnants Museum?” and “How did your visit affect you?” (Appendix A). These broad questions were designed for children to provide reflection about their emotional experiences. The worksheet questions were completed by the children in a classroom setting as being overly preoccupied with the worksheet during the museum visit may interfere with the children’s capacity to fully experience the museum. This approach also allowed children time to consider and construct their answers to the questions rather than trying to verbalise an immediate response to questions in an interview situation. The children were informed that these questions were not to be graded by their teacher and thus did not contribute to the assessments of the field trip. There were no interactions between the members of the research team and the children before, during, or after the field trip. Thus, the worksheet format was particularly useful for collecting data in a non-threatening manner.

The survey data were obtained from nine classes in a secondary school located in the southern part of Vietnam. A three-phased consent process was applied to gain access to the students’ worksheets. First, the school principal was contacted to obtain consent to collect data on the field trip. Second, the consent for the child’s participation was provided by the parents. The parents were informed that if they did not wish their child to participate in the study, their child’s worksheet would not be given to the research team for analysis. Third, the students were informed that they would not have to answer any questions and that they could withdraw at any stage of the research process. Taken together, there were 395 students aged 14 years old who participated in the field trip. There were 30 parents and/or children who declined the invitation to participate in the study. To maintain anonymity, a random letter with a number was assigned to each of the student’s direct quotes (for example, C117 indicated the student was in the C Class and was number 117 from the 365 students). Ethical approval for this study was obtained from the Massey University Human Ethics Committee.

The comments were analysed using inductive thematic analysis to identify patterns of emotions that the children attributed to the field trip experiences. Thematic analysis is a qualitative descriptive approach described as “a method for identifying, analysing, and reporting patterns (themes) within data” (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p.79). The analysis involved studying the data at a semantic level and identifying the meanings of what children reported. The analytic process involved familiarisation with the data, generating initial codes, searching for themes, reviewing themes, defining themes, and naming themes. To ensure rigour and trustworthiness, all the research members analysed the data and through group discussion reached consensus on emerging themes. In the event of any disagreements, the team re-evaluated and redefined the themes accordingly. Second, a review of the codes,

sub-themes, and labels was carried out by three colleagues to ensure that the contents were accurately represented. Notably, English is a second language for all the children, and to maintain the accuracy of their thoughts and feelings, no grammatical corrections were applied to their comments in the data analysis.

4. Findings

The findings revealed complexity of moral emotional experience, highlighting the dynamic interconnectedness of specific moral emotion structures with moral interpretations in the emergence of moral judgments. The moral experiences have been grouped thematically into four central themes: other-suffering emotions, other-condemning emotions, other-praising emotions, and self-conscious emotions.

Children emphasised the importance of the presentation of the exhibits and artifacts in the War Remnants Museum; H307 observed that the museum displayed, “pictures, documents, and artifacts of the war”. Children experienced a sense of realism with the exhibits and artifacts; C117 recounted, “I saw first-hand every single picture depicting the war, and I couldn’t believe it... it was so real”. Similarly, D130 elaborated, “the War Remnants Museum brought to life the true feelings of war. When visiting here, I feel like time has brought me into the struggle period of our nation fighting for independence and freedom of our homeland”. The exhibits have been used to create the specific narratives of the US war in Vietnam; as C115 related, “I saw horrible images of arrests, tortures, and murders of innocent people”. The exhibits were deeply moving and had a particular impact on the children; C107 claimed the exhibits “touched me”. Similarly, other children shared that it made them “a little bit upset because of what the war had done to our country” (C100) and “the tour affected me a lot because so many people had to be sacrificed” (D124).

Children’s reactions to visiting the War Remnants Museum were very emotional; C115 reported, “there were lots of exhibitions which trigger my emotions”. Similarly, H295 reflected that the “exhibits have affected me a lot. They bring so many emotions”. Children described a wide range of emotions during their visit to the War Remnants Museum, for example, ‘excitement’, ‘happy’, ‘shock’, ‘scared’, ‘afraid’, ‘sadness’, ‘anger’, ‘disgust’, ‘empathy’, ‘sympathy’, and ‘pride’. Notably, the shock of the exhibitions was widely shared by the children: C117 described that “after a few hours of visiting the artifacts and many pictures, I was shocked”. Similarly, C119 expressed, “I arrived at the museum. I was really happy. But after the visit I felt a little sad and shocked” and C118 reported, “I felt interested when I was first come to the museum, but I saw the pictures of war. I felt scared and shocked”.

Children’s emotional reactions were mediated by the morality displayed in the exhibits. Moral transgressions created moral context and engendered emotional reactions in children. Most frequently mentioned were images of ‘pain’ and ‘suffering’. For example, H304 described “the images of villages destroyed, and innocent people shot and tortured, images of people who got affected by Agent Orange. These exhibits really trigger my emotions”. The central concern was harmful actions involving both the victims and transgressors. The moral emotions were categorised into four groups, depending on their source (self or other) and direction (condemning or praising):

4.1. Other-suffering emotions

The other-suffering emotions are negative feelings associated with another person’s pain, sorrow, or suffering. At the War Remnants Museum, there were many photographs of the devastation to the natural environment and of human suffering; C92 reflected, “I learned and understood that the Vietnamese people suffered during the war”. Children described multiple forms of suffering, for instance, “the torture of the patriot people” (C99), “people suffering from Agent Orange” (C103), and “hardship of the Vietnamese people” (C119). Children interacted with the victims of Agent Orange in the souvenir shop; E162 observed, “I

saw people with Agent Orange in real life at the museum. I can feel how painful it is for them”. The perception of suffering in another person was particularly important for evoking empathy; thus, C99 shared, “I empathise with those who have participated and endured the pain of war”. Similarly, C86 revealed that the trip “stimulated my feelings, the sympathy for the Vietnamese people”. Many children reported empathic distress, experiencing sadness when they viewed images and read the descriptions of human suffering. They observed the suffering of others as inducing a specific type of empathic sadness; F204 related, “I felt very sad because of all the things that the US soldiers had done to us”. Meanwhile, other children experienced empathic fear: F211 asserted, “I was afraid of the Americans”; and H282 elaborated, “I felt scared about the war, scared about the photos shown the evil of the American soldiers”.

From the visit to the War Remnants Museum, children appreciated the peace that followed from the war; A22 described, “appreciating my life, ...growing up today, not disabled or affected by the war. We are grateful to those who gave their lives in return for peace today”. A22 further elaborated that “the many deadly sacrifices from people of young and old”. Similarly, B89 commented, “I have a free life so I think I need to keep it and be grateful for every soldier and leader that gave us independence”. Focusing on the notion of sacrifices, C103 declared, “I promise myself that I will try my best not to betray our fathers’ sacrifices”. In appreciation of the sacrifices made for peace, children were motivated to help the victims; C117 stated, “the trip made me feel sympathetic for those who were injured, and we must help them and their families”.

4.2. Other-condemning emotions

The other-condemning emotions are associated with the moral condemnation of others which involve an agent causing harm and violating some moral norm against another. Central to other-condemning emotions were the narratives surrounding the moral behaviours of the US military. Many children reported that the most striking aspects of their visit were ‘American war crimes’ and ‘victims of Agent Orange’. Children used descriptors like ‘cruelty’, ‘violent’, ‘brutal’, ‘cold-blooded’, ‘evil’, ‘abusive’, ‘inhumane’, ‘savage’, and ‘barbaric’. The acts of harm triggered moral other-condemning emotions of anger and disgust. Other-condemning emotions and their actions were elicited from the disapproval of wrongdoings. The US military was held responsible for the suffering of the Vietnamese people; A29 asserted, “I feel that the Americans soldiers were cruel and brutal. They have killed tens of thousands of innocent Vietnamese people”. They elaborated further, “I feel indignation that the Americans have committed crimes in our country”. Feelings of anger were widely shared by the children; A24 maintained, “I feel angry about the atrocities... and condemn those who invaded my country”. Some children experienced moral disgust in interpreting the US army’s actions as revolting and inhuman; B71 remarked, “I saw some pictures of the US army killing Vietnamese people. They cut off the heads of the Vietnamese people and they took pictures”. Moral disgust emerged specifically from intentional and immoral behaviour.

Other-condemning emotions triggered the action tendencies of accountability and blaming; B70 affirmed, “the pictures show me how the US army abused our people”; and H279 perceived, “what the Americans did to us was very brutal. That is unacceptable”. For some children, anger was commonly associated with feelings of patriotism and nationalistic attachments; D148 emphasised, “my visit made me really angry”. He went on to elaborate that “it made me love my country more”. Similarly, B70 conveyed, “I can feel my patriotism stronger and stronger”. For many children, their anger was associated with the appraisal that the self is powerful; B74 described “when I see the memorabilia, I feel heroic and strong”; and C92 stated simply, “I felt the magnificence of the Vietnamese people”. For some children, anger led to tendencies to aggress against the other group; B66, asserted, “I must

always be ready to fight"; and J306 expressed, "because it made me angry and I wanted to fight back to help the patriots".

4.3. Other-praising emotions

Children experienced other-praising emotions in response to the admirable quality and behaviour of the older generations; H319 remarked, "I admire the beloved Vietnamese soldiers". Children used descriptors of 'brave', 'strong', 'courage', 'committed', 'resilience', and 'heroic'. They spoke of the admirable qualities of the Vietnamese; A27 explained, "what surprise me the most was no matter how the soldiers of our country were beaten, they were still committed to the country". Following similar themes, B70 reported, "the most striking aspects about the visit was the bravery and resilience of the Vietnamese people". Children reported several other positive moral emotions of 'admiration', 'inspiration', and the morally relevant experience of 'pride'; B54 admitted, "I felt admiration for the patriots"; and D135 asserted, "I'm proud of the fighting spirit of the Vietnamese". Children acknowledged sacrifices made for their national freedom; E172 acknowledged, "all the things that I've seen there shown me how strong and brave our nation is; they have sacrificed so many things for us". Children experienced feelings of gratitude, such as B66, who reflected "the people who made sacrifices were really great and I really thank them very much".

The action tendencies for other-praising emotions were respect for the older generations, who A27 claimed, "deserve respect for bringing happiness and peace". Some children believed that they could learn from the older generations; this can be seen in C109's statement, "the tenacity and courage of our nation to fight is a valuable lesson for the descendants to follow"; and C97 commented, "after the tour of the museum, I learned a valuable lesson". Others expressed the desire to follow the moral exemplar, such as B72 who aimed to "live my life more meaningfully to show worth what they had done for us". Children were encouraged in the bettering of oneself; E161 thought "the trip taught me that I had to try to be as good as the people back then"; and D153 intended, after the visit, to "live a more optimistic life and learn to be a good example". Children came to appreciate the life bestowed on them; C107 indicated that the exhibits "let me know the value of life".

4.4. Self-conscious emotions

Pride was a widely felt self-conscious emotion characterised by self-categorisation with a group. Children provided descriptors of 'us', 'we', 'my', and 'our'. Pride, associated with national belonging, was experienced; I324 stated, "I am proud of my country". Similarly, I281 admitted, "I am proud of my people"; and H229 affirmed, "I felt very proud because I'm Vietnamese". Children associated admirable qualities with the older generations; A31 indicated, "it made me proud of our people; we were really brave and strong"; and D159 described, "through the visit, I feel very proud to look back at the images of the heroes of the past". Children viewed the older generations as socially valued people; as B72 explained, "I am proud because I live in a country where the people never give up"; and H289 said the "Vietnamese never gave up, they rose up for the independence of Vietnam, really emotional". Children identified the older generations as responsible for socially valued outcomes of the war; A25 declared, "I feel proud of the previous generation who suffered to gain independence"; and B81 explained, "I felt proud because the enemy had many dangerous weapons, but we could win".

The action tendencies elicited from self-conscious pride were related to children's identity goals, specifically for the repayment of national independence bestowed on them; as H305 disclosed, "I felt proud of my country. It made me change my lifestyle, because I have seen how the previous generations had to fight for independence, to protect the country, and millions of people had to be sacrificed. I think my generation needs to repay what they have done for us to have a free life". For some children, it was about engaging in admirable actions; C97

proposed, "I will strive to study well and become a good citizen, studying not only for myself but also for my community, for my country, and for those who have fallen for our independence we have today". For many children, pride activated a sense of responsibility to their country; C109 affirmed, "I feel proud of the history of the nation and will try to study well to contribute to building the country in the future". Likewise, F220 expressed, "it makes me realise how lucky I am and my responsibilities in the preservation and development of the country".

5. Discussion

It is well established that visitors are affected by tourism environments (Biran et al., 2011; Podoshen, 2013). With this perspective in mind, this study aims to understand the nature of children's moral emotion experiences in a context-specific dark tourism setting. Many dark tourism sites provide the social and political contexts to communicate specific moral situations. For the children, the visit to the War Remnants Museum evokes a multiplicity of moral emotions operative in the specific moral situations of the US war in Vietnam. Much of the visual representations at the War Remnants Museum relate to harmful events and actions (Gillen, 2014). Moral emotions are elicited by viewing photographic exhibits of the suffering others (Stellar, Cohen, Oveis, & Keltner, 2015). The exhibits allowed the children to evaluate moral behaviour and form judgments. Their judgments are concerned not just with the specific moral act against the victims themselves but with the transgressors committing the acts, thus causing both the victims and transgressors to become connected to each other. Children evaluated not only the rightness and wrongness of certain acts but the character of both the victims and transgressors. This study identifies a range of moral emotions and the patterns among the emotions which facilitate moral judgments and action tendencies as described in the children's field trip narratives.

Moral emotions can be charted in the dynamic structure of morality within the context of educational dark tourism. These moral emotions can be explained in terms of (1) elicitors, (2) subjective experience moral emotions, and (3) the action tendencies. The four groups of moral emotions are 'other-suffering emotions', 'other-condemning emotions', 'other-praising emotions', and 'self-conscious emotions'. The moral emotions differ in the focus on self or other and whether the act violates or upholds moral standards.

The 'other-suffering emotions' were elicited in response to observing people as victims of moral violations (Haidt, 2003). Gillen (2014) reports that there are numerous images of "Vietnamese people living today who were horribly disfigured by the war..." (p. 1311). The visual images narrate stories of human suffering, which is not confined to the historical past, but exists presently with the people born after the war, those affected by Agent Orange and consequently living with severe disabilities. Many children report empathy at viewing another's suffering. They have the capacity to understand the moral situation of the US war in Vietnam and take the perspective experienced by the Vietnamese people (the cognitive component). Children report being emotionally moved by the hardship experienced by the victims of Agent Orange (the affective component). They express empathic concern for the victims and prompt motivation to care for others (the behavioural component). Children express kindness toward the victims and convey the desire to help the victims and their families (Decety, 2011; Decety & Cowell, 2014; Goetz et al., 2010; Haidt, 2003).

Children experience 'other-condemning emotions' in response to viewing others' moral transgressions (Haidt, 2003; Rozin et al., 1999). Children express moral judgments of wrongness associated with behaviours that violate moral standards (Uhlmann, Pizarro, & Diermeier, 2015). Their disapproval focuses on the perceived wrongdoing, in particular to acts of injustice and intentional harm (Batson, Chao, & Givens, 2009; Sousa, Holbrook, & Piazza, 2009). The feelings of anger and disgust are associated with underlying moral judgments of wrongdoings involving both direct and indirect mistreatments of the

Vietnamese people (Hutcherson & Gross, 2011). The action tendencies of other-condemning emotions are accountability and blame derived from the wrongdoing. The War Remnants Museum presents blame-relevant information to those who have violated moral standards (Gillen, 2014). Children attribute blame to the US military for the suffering of the Vietnamese people (Quigley & Tedeschi, 1996). The *other-condemning* emotions promote aggression associated with patriotic and nationalistic attachments.

In witnessing the admirable deeds of the older generation, other-praising emotions are elicited (Haidt, 2003; Tangney et al., 2007). Children experience gratitude, admiration, and elevation with morally praiseworthy acts, as they observe images of perceived moral excellence. Children report perceived acts of generosity, loyalty, and self-sacrifice from the older generations in their struggles for national independence. They express gratitude to the older generations that bestowed on them the good fortune of peace. Gratitude facilitates a sense of social cohesion among the givers with the receivers (Algoe et al., 2008; McCullough, Kilpatrick, Emmons, & Larson, 2001). Feelings of other-praising emotions encourage children to build social bonds with the victims (Algoe et al., 2008; Algoe & Haidt, 2009). Other-praising emotions also evoke action tendencies in the expressions of thanks and reciprocation toward the benefactor. Children express kindness and love to the older generations. According to Haidt (2003), gratitude functions “both as a response to moral behavior and as a motivator of moral behavior” (p. 863). Children strive for the betterment of themselves (McCullough et al., 2001; Tangney et al., 2007) and adopt a positive attitude toward life (Emmons & Crumpler, 2000).

In the context of the War Remnants Museum, pride was the most mentioned of the self-conscious emotions. Pride is most commonly referenced as a positive self-conscious emotion revolving around the self (Tracy & Robins, 2004). However, pride can take other-oriented forms with interpersonal functions. Pride is about how one feels about oneself as a member of a social group and how one becomes imbued with the psychological significance of that group membership (van Osch, Zee-lenberg, & Breugelmanns, 2018; Williams & DeSteno, 2009). Children express feelings of pride on behalf of their social group. Belonging to their national group is the source for feelings of pride. They identify, alongside the older generations, with the socially valued outcomes in gaining national independence (Williams & DeSteno, 2009). Children refer to their group membership in relation to other-praising emotions such as gratitude, admiration, and respect, which are positive evaluations of the patriots’ actions, and in turn reinforce pride (Sullivan & Hollway, 2014). Group pride can evoke the action tendency of appraising the contexts of the US war in Vietnam in terms of the ingroup. Thus, identification with the ingroup can encourage specific appraisals of historical events to promote patriotism (Fischer, Manstead, & Zaal-berg, 2003).

This dynamic structure of morality is concerned with the interconnectedness of moral contexts, moral emotions, moral judgments, and action tendencies in dark tourism environments. With the visit to the War Remnants Museum, children were confronted with morally challenging situations. Their moral emotions emerged in response to being a secondary witness of social injustice. Moral emotions at this dark site have communicative values in providing information about one’s interpretations, feelings, judgments, and interpersonal relationships. The exhibits provide children with the opportunity to reflect on what constitutes moral behaviour. They felt the moral emotions and expressed various types of moral judgment guiding a sense of right/wrong, good/bad, and approval/disapproval. These moral judgments centred on the violated or upheld moral standards in association with accountability and blame, which connect the perceptions of morality to a sense of self and others (Aquino & Reed, 2002; Goodwin, Piazza, & Rozin, 2014). Viewed from the perspective of self and other, the structure of children’s moral emotions can be related to group-level emotional experiences, which have a particular significance in educational dark tourism (Cottrell & Neuberg, 2005; Iyer & Leach, 2008).

Children’s experiences of ‘other-condemning emotions’ are outgroup oriented. The experiences of anger and disgust serve outgroup functions to evoke a negative evaluation of the ‘other’ (Rozin et al., 1999). Children interpreted the US military’s actions as inhuman because they have committed moral offences in treating the Vietnamese people without respect and dignity. Children report empathic sadness for the victims of the ingroup who are harmed by the perpetrators of the outgroup. The outgroup orientation encourages the perception of the ‘other’ as separate, thus motivating the thinking of ‘us’ and ‘them’. The separateness encourages aggressive narratives toward the members of the outgroup. Specifically, the children report their readiness to fight to maintain their freedom. Concurrently, children’s experiences of ‘other-suffering’, ‘other-praising’, and the ‘self-conscious’ emotion of pride are ingroup oriented. The experiences of empathy, sympathy, gratitude, admiration, elevation, and pride serve to strengthen the adherence to the ingroup. Many children use first-person plural pronouns in referring to the patriots of the past, indicating an identification based on shared national identity. Subsequently, this creates a sense of belonging together and instils solidarity in their ‘Vietnameseness’. The ingroup moral emotional experiences promote patriotism and reinforce an official version of Vietnamese history. The experience of moral emotions at the dark site facilitates in creating, maintaining, and strengthening ingroup identity.

The War Remnants Museum can regulate the political context and encourage different types of moral emotions. Moral emotions are regarded as highly relevant for understanding children’s attitudes and behaviours toward others. Of particular interest is the role of empathy in learning and understanding about people, place, and event. Empathy is not just an emotion but the capacity to think and feel from the perspective of others. The findings from this study indicate that children did not display the same level of empathy for all people involved in the US war in Vietnam. Notably, they are more likely to express empathy toward members of a group with which they identify (Brown et al., 2006; Masten, Gillen-O’Neel, & Brown, 2010). Empathy displays a preference for the ingroup members and is associated with social identity (Decety & Cowell, 2015; Eisenberg et al., 2006). Thus, identification with the ingroup can encourage particular appraisals of people, place, and event. This dark site can shape the experience of moral emotions toward the ingroup, the outgroup, and the relationship between groups, affecting both intragroup and intergroup attitudes and behaviours. Why should this matter?

Dark tourism sites like the War Remnants Museum offer opportunities for understanding the historical past and negotiating moral perspectives. Shared moral emotions within the ingroup may be used to differentiate the ingroup from the outgroup. These dark sites have the capacity to encourage or discourage moral responses. The findings indicate that most of the children lack the ability to understand and contextualise the complexity of lived experiences of the outgroup. Thus, exhibits adopting the perspective of another social group face considerable challenges as perceptions of the outgroup can be exposed to biases, thus creating negative moral emotions. Understanding the morally relevant stances of the outgroup requires additional consideration and evaluative appraisal to experience positive moral emotions toward the outgroup, especially toward those who are responsible for wrongdoings to the ingroup. Perspective taking, affective sharing, and empathetic concern can foster more positive interactions with another social group to elicit intergroup empathic relations. Dark conflict sites have the capacity to shape intergroup and intragroup processes in integrating and segregating groups, influencing moral emotions, prompting moral judgments, and motivating action tendencies between self and others.

6. Implications and directions for further research

The inherent interconnectedness of moral contexts, moral emotions, and moral judgments has important implications for both dark tourism scholars and site managers. From a theoretical perspective, dark tourism

scholars need to examine the historical ‘context’ to gain an appreciation for the diverse and subjective emotional experiences of dark sites. The context of a dark site, as well as the larger social, cultural, and political climate, should be taken carefully into consideration to identify the complex emotional dynamics. Overlooking the dark tourism context may create a biased and incomplete description of the visitors’ emotional experiences. Equally important are the simultaneous experiences of multiple moral emotions within a single context of a dark site. The specific interactions of the emotions and their relations to each other may emerge in context-specific trajectories. It is essential to pay particular attention to such multiplicity to understand and explain the complexity of moral judgments and action tendencies. That is, moral emotions at dark sites do not function in the same manner; nor do they create the same action tendencies. For example, exhibits that might elicit other-praising emotions for an ingroup are different from those that elicit other-condemning emotions directed toward an outgroup. Context variability and moral emotion multiplicity need to be examined, explained, and understood in the application of the dark tourism sites as alternative teaching spaces.

From the management application perspective, the site managers need to understand why and how children engage emotionally with the dark sites. It is important for managers to appreciate that exhibits eliciting moral emotions may vary with the contexts, societal mission, and target audience. The social, cultural, and political context of the dark site contributes to the wider societal mission of education, remembrance, and commemoration. Site managers need to ask what do they want the exhibits to represent and how do they want the viewers to feel? Of particular importance are eliciting moral emotions which can be used to construct specific narratives about people, place, and event, and affect how the stories are understood and learned. As such, site managers need to think critically about how moral emotions can be evoked, how they function, and in what ways they affect the site’s educational objectives. Further research is needed to examine how site managers construct their exhibits to deliberately evoke emotional responses in promoting their educational objectives.

Equally critical are the emotional impacts the exhibits have on children since the moral emotion reactions can have a considerable cost for them. Witnessing the suffering of others can be extremely difficult for children, who may experience shock, sadness, anger, and empathic distress (Hoffman, 2000), yet relatively little is known about how children’s emotional engagement with sensitive exhibits affects their learning. More research with children at dark sites is needed to capture the emotional experiences of children facing atrocities, suffering, and death at dark sites to determine how emotion can be utilised to enhance learning. Some dark sites seek to promote themselves as sites supporting social justice. Ethical and moral objectives can be linked with the role of emotion in the exhibits in motivating children into action. More research is needed to examine how and why emotions aroused during a visit to the dark sites impacts children both in the short and long term. These lines of research will allow emotional experiences in children to be better understood in educational dark tourism.

This study has some limitations in that it has specifically focused on the context of the War Remnants Museum. The topology of the moral emotions was constructed within the specific contextual characteristics of the US war in Vietnam. The context of dark tourism sites can differ in the extent to which moral emotions and moral meanings are featured in the children’s experiences. Of particular interest is the variation in the levels of darkness within the dark tourism spectrum (Stone, 2006). Differing levels of darkness may shape the children’s moral encounters, eliciting different patterns of moral emotions, moral judgments, and action tendencies. More research on different types of dark tourism environments will make a significant contribution to further the theoretical understanding of moral emotions in educational dark tourism. Another significant variation is the demographic characteristics of the children. In this study, the sample diversity is situated among only Vietnamese children; thus, the findings cannot be representative or

generalisable to all young visitors. Further studies could explore how group differences impact on moral emotions, moral judgments, and action tendencies, as different group profiles may have differing understandings of the dark site and of evaluations of social ingroup/outgroup relations.

7. Conclusions

There is widespread recognition of the importance of moral emotions in dark tourism. This study explores how moral emotions are featured in the educational process of young visitors. The War Remnants Museum provides various moral encounters and reveals important information about how children construct their emotional experiences. Children have the capacity to construct a dynamic structure of moral knowledge that evokes moral emotions and action tendencies in their interaction with the exhibits at the dark site. Children can reflect on moral situations, express meanings for moral concerns, provide reasons for moral judgments, experience moral emotions, and engage in pro-social behaviours. Dark conflict sites, as an alternative teaching space, can be valuable for understanding how moral emotion dynamics may develop children’s moral selves. This study contributes to the understanding of the complex interplay between dark site contexts, moral emotions, and the identification processes in educational dark tourism.

Statement of credits

Dr. Emma Dresler Conceptualization, Data curation, Formal analysis, Methodology, Project administration, Writing original draft

Declaration of Competing Interest

None.

Appendix A. War Remnant Museum Worksheet

1. Please could you tell us about your visit to the War Remnants Museum?
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2. How did your visit affect you? Please could you tell us how you felt about your visit?
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3. What were the most striking aspects about the visit?
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4. What were the most surprising aspects about your experience?
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5. What kind of emotion did you experience during your visit to the War Remnants Museum?

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6. Were there any particular exhibits or displays that trigger these emotions?

Please list the exhibits. Why do you think that?

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Multiplicity of moral emotions in educational dark tourism

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