Don't Mention Dark Tourism: An Irish Perspective

Emilie-Kate O'Mahony
Cork Institute of Technology

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DON'T MENTION DARK TOURISM:
AN IRISH PERSPECTIVE

EMILIE-KATE O'MAHONY
Don’t Mention Dark Tourism: An Irish Perspective

Name: Emilie-Kate O’Mahony

Student Number: [Redacted]

Lecturer: Dr Angela Wright

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I Emilie-Kate O’Mahony declare that this dissertation is the result of my own work. Nothing is included that is not my own work except where specifically referenced. This dissertation includes collaborative work with interviewees who gave their written consent to be involved. This work has not been previously published or submitted, in part or whole, to any university or institute for the purpose of obtaining a diploma, degree or other formal qualifications.

Signed: 

Date: 31/10/19
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I have been truly happy here.
Dedication

I would like to dedicate this dissertation to:

Mum, Dad, Ray, Lorna, Daire and Richard for always being there.

Ciara, for being the best friend anyone could ask for.

Odhran and Alex for reminding me what is important in life.

Alanna, for proof reading this document and ensuring I actually achieve my Master’s qualification.

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Abstract

This study investigates dark tourism in the Irish context with international supporting research. Dark tourism is connected to sites of death, the macabre and suffering and there are many sites in Ireland that fit this description. Examples include prisons, famine sites, graveyards, sites of terrorist attacks and many more. In this document the term dark tourism is thoroughly researched via secondary sources to provide a foundation of understanding. By including this academic research from journals and books, the researcher is provided with the background information necessary to understand the importance of dark tourism and to identify gaps in knowledge suitable for further research.

This research informed the formation of a qualitative analysis through the medium of semi-structured interviews. These interviews were carried out with industry professionals and an academic working within the dark tourism field. The combination of academic and industry sources gave the research a depth of knowledge due to differing experiences with the dark tourism term. This blend of interviewees threw up interesting findings which advanced the current understanding of the relationship between the academic term dark tourism and the industry led perception of the term. This observation formed the basis of recommendations, informed by the culmination of all research sources.

This study showcases Ireland’s place within the dark tourism phenomenon and the potential future progression of Irish sites in this regard. If the rich history of this country is properly respected and utilised to bring international attention, the potential economic benefit could be significant, as supported by this document.
1.0 Introduction

According to Stone (2006), "Dark tourism can be referred to as the act of travel to sites associated with death, suffering and the seemingly macabre".

The aim of this study was originally to investigate the level to which dark tourism sites in Ireland employ ethical marketing practices. The literature review and interview questions were created based on this research question. When the primary data was collated via interviews with industry professionals, the research question evolved based on unforeseen empirical findings. As a result, the new research question is focused on the industry wide distaste for the term 'dark tourism' and what recommendations can be determined to alleviate the issue.

Dark tourism is becoming more prevalent within the tourism market and, as a result, it is essential for Irish dark tourism sites to dedicate resources to capturing this target market to prevent a loss of visitors to competitor sites. Dark tourists represent a growing market value that is gaining international and academic interest (Childs, 2016), (National Geographic, 2016), (Millan, et al., 2019). In 2014, nearly 7,000 Western tourists travelled to North Korea, which is double the number that visited in 2012, which indicates a growing phenomenon (Kamin, 2014). As a result of this growing interest, dark tourism sites are uniquely positioned to capture a unique market that cannot be leveraged by other tourism attractions (Amirtha, 2015).
Mass tourism can trace its principal origins to the first Industrial Revolution in the 1700's (Dann & Seaton, 2001). According to Sharpley, the global importance of tourism; with the scale and scope of tourism as production and consumption, along with the complexity of its interaction with environments, societies and cultures; justifies academic attention (Sharpley, 2011). “In 2016, tourism was responsible for overseas earnings of €4.577 billion” in Ireland (Dttas). This significant contribution resulted in the establishment of Fáilte Ireland which was developed with the principal function of the development of a quality tourism product (Dttas).

In order to support tourism activities throughout Ireland, a number of government organisations have been established. Tourism Ireland was established in 2002 as part of the Good Friday Agreement to promote Ireland as a holiday destination abroad and focuses primarily on Great Britain, Germany and France as main markets (TourismIreland). Fáilte Ireland was formed in 2003 under the ‘National Tourism Development Act’ to focus on domestic national tourism development. This body was developed to ensure Ireland’s ability to stay competitive as a tourism destination (FáilteIreland). The Department of Transport, Tourism and Sport’s purpose is to develop tourism strategies throughout Ireland and it established both Tourism Ireland and Fáilte Ireland and has focused on the development of the overall tourism of Ireland (dttas).

From an academic perspective, tourism has been examined through a number of disparate lenses, due to the developing and specific interests of tourist sectors. Dwyer and Wickens (2013) refer to the development of event and cultural tourism as it affects the economy; the socio-cultural fabric of society; and tourist motivations. Sustainable tourism helped to develop a tourism sector which does not unduly harm a destination’s environment or culture (Weaver, 2006), while business tourism has proven to be a significant development in the Irish economy contributing €724 million in 2016 (Itic, 2017). While tourism can be determined as essential to
the growth of the Irish economy, the specific targeting of dark tourists can be linked to the growth of dark tourism sites. This research study will focus on the development of this dark tourism segment in an effort to create a profitable target market from an already lucrative area in general tourism.

The risk of not developing this area of the market is that Irish sites will not meet competitive standards set by international sites. A potential negative effect of not developing these product offerings, in conjunction with the growing dark tourism market, is a reduction in visitor numbers in favour of more focused destinations. The Irish economy depends upon tourist expenditure as tourist expenditure reached €1,831 million in 2018 (CSO, 2019). Due to this significant expenditure, Irish sites and cannot afford to lose out to other destinations.

1.2 Research Justification

The researcher has a significant interest in the area of dark tourism through personal tourism activities, but also the potential it has to provide Irish sites with a differentiating factor in relation to revenue and brand development. The effective use of ethical marketing practices to create a profitable market segment, i.e. dark tourists, will require an organisation wide focus in order to capture an accurate representation of the challenges dark tourism sites are facing. It is also imperative to research Irish dark tourism sites in order to determine the potential within the market in an Irish context. Dark tourism is a growing phenomenon with visitor numbers to sites such as Auschwitz, Rwanda and even radioactive Chernobyl growing year on year (Usborne, 2019), (Minic, 2012), (Childs, 2016) (Livingston, 2006). Furthermore, it is also imperative that dark tourism sites respect the memories of the people associated with the site.
This requires research and careful consideration of the target market, but also other visitors to the site that may have a personal connection to the events that took place there. These points make up the main issues justifying this study, but more aspects will become apparent throughout the document as findings and research inform development potential in Irish dark tourism sites.

1.3 Research Aims and Objectives

This section of Chapter 1 elaborates on the research challenges within the study as well as the research method selected for the study. The research objectives are also outlined, along with the expected outcomes and the inherit significance of the research being carried out.

1.3.1 The Research Challenge

According to academic sources outlined in Chapter 2, it can be determined that there are numerous dark tourism sites in Ireland. The development potential of these sites is significant, considering the return on investment possible from the unique dark tourism market. The challenge is in determining if this lucrative market segment is being actively targeted by Irish dark tourism sites. If it is determined that these sites are not targeting this segment, it must also be asked why this is not a priority and if researched recommendations can be made to solve this issue for the benefit of the site.
In order to meet this challenge, a series of interviews will be conducted with specific industry experts as well as an external academic. These interviewees will be selected based on their experience and position within the dark tourism sector, which affords them an informed point of view on the marketing, tourist perspectives and branding of the site. The external academic interview will be carried out in order to give an informed perspective on the studied potential within dark tourism sites and their opinion on improvements possible within the Irish dark tourism offering. International dark tourism site interviews will also be carried out to determine comparable marketing activities abroad and if any information can be used for the successful development of Irish dark tourism sites.

1.3.2 Research Objectives

Through the preliminary study of academic sources in dark tourism the following research objectives have been chosen:

- To determine the level of knowledge present among management and tour guides of dark tourism sites about the dark tourism concept.
- To determine if Irish dark tourism sites are actively targeting the dark tourist segment.
- To determine the attitude and recommendations of the personnel to dark tourism sites in Ireland.
- To determine gaps in Irish dark tourism sites’ current product offering.
- To determine if ethical managerial practices are being discussed and adhered to in Irish dark tourism sites.
1.3.3 Expected Outcomes

The expected outcomes of this study are outlined with the focus of meeting the research objectives previously outlined. To that end the expected outcomes of the research include:

- A full evaluation of the level of knowledge present among management and tour guides of dark tourism sites about the dark tourism concept.
- A clear understanding of whether or not Irish dark tourism sites are actively targeting the dark tourist segment and why they are, or are not, doing so.
- An understanding of the attitude of management and staff in dark tourism sites in Ireland and why these attitudes or beliefs are present.
- An analysis of profitable gaps in Irish dark tourism sites current product offering.
- A comprehensive analysis of ethical managerial practices in Irish dark tourism sites.

1.3.4 Significance of the Research

Findings from this research can be used to inform the development of strategic ethical dark tourism marketing plans for Irish dark tourism sites. The qualitative findings of this research are grounded in industry professional interviews, giving this study an informed perspective of the current gaps in the dark tourism market offering. These gaps, once identified, can be addressed by dark tourism sites to ensure a higher level of compatibility with similar dark tourism sites. The study of academic sources, along with an academic interview, gives this research another dimension for the recommendations of future practice in dark tourism sites.
1.4 Conclusion

In this chapter the research question being investigated in this study was stated; interestingly it changed throughout the course of the study due to findings made through empirical data. This shows the active effect of research and the unexpected change of direction when true observations and findings are occurring. This chapter also outlined the challenges ahead for the research as well as the research objectives. It is essential to be aware of these objectives, and the outcomes the research is attempting to achieve, in order to remain on topic and create a successful study. The significance of this study was outlined in this chapter, but it will be clearer to the reader upon completion of this document as an in-depth study of dark tourism is carried out along with fascinating findings to inform further research. Chapter 2 will fully outline all secondary sources researched throughout this study, as well as background on the term dark tourism.
2. Literature Review

2.0 Introduction

This chapter outlines the literature reviewed for this study around the area of dark tourism. “Dark tourism encompasses the visitation of sites and events of the last hundred years which have either been locations of death and disaster or sites of interpretations of such events by visitors for remembrance, education or entertainment” (Foley & Lennon, 1996, p. 195). Specifically, it is suggested that dark tourism is one’s purposeful movement to spaces displaying acts and sights that are commonly absent from the social realm, which involves a sense of unease in seeing or participating in them (Ashworth, 2004).

Travel to, and the experience of, places associated with death is not a new phenomenon (Sharpley & Stone, 2008). Light (2016) agrees that visiting places associated with death is nothing new, and that academics have produced a substantial body of research into tourism at battlefields and sites associated with war. According to Carrigan (2014), dark tourism evolved from religious journeys and pilgrimages, and can trace its roots back two centuries. It is argued, however, that dark tourism has always been present, as can be seen from the popularity of, for example, the Colosseum and public executions (Paris, 2016; Sharpley, 2009; Yan, et al., 2016). Interestingly, it is still seen as a relatively recent phenomenon in the tourism industry and has grown in popularity in recent years (Coldwell, 2013; Ward & Stessel, 2012).

Thanatourism is a term used interchangeably with dark tourism and refers to travel motivated by the desire for actual or symbolic encounters with death (Lelo & Jamal, 2013) (Sharpley &
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, while 'Thanatourism', is a more specific concept and is about long-standing practices of travel motivated by a specific desire for an encounter with death (Light, 2016). It is suggested that dark tourism is one's purposeful movement to spaces displaying acts and sights that are commonly absent from the social realm, which involves a sense of unease in seeing or participating in them (Biran, et al., 2011).

2.1 Categories of Dark Tourism

"Is it actually possible or justifiable to categorise collectively the experience of sites or attractions that are associated with death or suffering as dark tourism?" (Sharpley & Stone, 2008, p. 575). Light (2016) proposes that sub-forms of dark tourism, which may have been intended to bring clarity, have had the effect of diluting the core concept itself (Light, 2016). Some examples of sub-form terms include penal tourism, fright tourism, grief tourism, disaster tourism, pagan tourism, atomic tourism, morbid tourism, trauma tourism and death tourism (Light, 2016). Such is the variety of sites, attractions and experiences now falling under the collective umbrella of dark tourism that the meaning of the term has become increasingly diluted and fuzzy (Sharpley & Stone, 2009). The study of dark tourism may be considered an academic endeavour, equally, it may be seen as a manifestation of a wider social interest or fascination in death due to the tourist's pilgrimage to certain sites associated with wide scale death such as Auschwitz (Sharpley & Stone, 2009). The relationship between tourism and death has now become a mainstream research topic within tourism studies and tourism management, and as a result, an institute for Dark Tourism Research has been established at the University of Central Lancashire (Light, 2016).
2.2 Acceptance of the Term Dark Tourism

Light (2016) comments that although academically the term is gaining widespread use, the term ‘dark’ has been frequently challenged, with some commentators objecting to its pejorative overtones and assumption that visiting places of death and suffering constitutes morbid behaviour.

According to Carrigan (2014), dark tourism has come into existence without the consent or collaboration of the tourism sector, which is interesting as this statement conflicts with arguments from Podoshen et al., (2015) who stated that the field of dark tourism has recently gained academic interest due to its growing popularity in the tourism industry. “In terms of supply, there has been a rapid growth in the provision of such attractions and experiences; indeed, there appears to be an increasing number of people keen to promote or profit from ‘dark’ events at tourist attractions” (Sharpley & Stone, 2009, p. 5). Examples would include tour operators at Chernobyl who took the popularity of the recent HBO series to increase dark tourist visitor numbers (Alabaster, 2019). “There is evidence of a greater willingness or desire on the part of tourists to visit dark attractions and the sites of dark events” (Sharpley & Stone, 2009, p. 5).

Carrigan (2014) comments that the tourism industry in many postcolonial states, is not only a major engine of income generation but also an agent of social, cultural and environmental change which gives an idea of its importance in the economy. The development of dark tourism in relation to slavery sites is an example of how the dark tourism phenomenon has reached heritage tourism, as well as all other aspects of tourism based in the macabre (Dann & Seaton, 2001). Carrigan (2014) believes that dark tourism is approaching a boom phase. According to
Bitran and Buda (2018) the relative simplicity of the term dark tourism, which has achieved a broad if not contested acceptance within academia and industry alike, is in contrast to the multifaceted nature of the phenomenon.

2.3 Dark Tourism Sites

"The past is so full of acts of collective physical violence imposed on others by governments, ideologies and social groups that it is possible to interpret not only every battlefield and war museum but also every castle, ruler’s palace, cathedral, merchant’s house, country house, plantation or factory as an atrocity site" (Ashworth, 2004, p. 96).

2.3.1 Geographic Scope of Dark Tourism Sites

According to Lelo and Jamal (2013) the geographic scope of this phenomenon is extensive, and includes the Caribbean, Europe, North and South America with dark sites ranging from plantations, castles and forts, to burial grounds and museums. In some cultures, such as in Asia, there is a belief that sites relating to death are morbid, freakish or alternative due to their connection to the macabre, which could cost society a wealth of knowledge in spaces associated with the fundamentals of life (Young & Light, 2016). Dark tourism sites are numerous and varied (Sharpley, 2009). Maddrell and Sidaway (2010) mention that ‘Deathscapes’ can be defined as places associated with the dead and for the dead, and how these are imbued with meanings and associations: the site of a funeral, and the places of final disposition and of remembrance, and representations of all these. Stone (2013) outlines that ‘heterotopias’ is another term used in dark tourism academia which describes dark sites as ‘other places’
alongside existing spaces that do not have a connection to death. Toussaint and Decrop's (2013) definition of a black spot is that it "generally refers to the marker of a death site or a disaster or memorable death site". According to Lelo and Jamal (2013), dark tourism is broad and diffusive, encompassing travel to sites associated with death and disaster, such as assassinations and environmental catastrophes, as well as places of atrocity and suffering, like genocides, ghettos and slums.

2.3.2 Examples of Dark Tourism Sites

"Dark tourism sites and attractions are not only numerous but also vary enormously, from 'playful' houses of horror, to places of pilgrimage such as graves or death sites of famous people, to the Holocaust death camps or sites of major disasters or atrocities" (Sharpley & Stone, 2009, p. 7).

Dark tourism includes serial killer murder sites such as Dorothea Puente’s house which has recently been opened for tours with the spot where the victims' bodies were buried pointed out in the garden (Coldwell, 2013). Sites of disaster, such as hurricane devastated areas, have also been singled out as a dark tourism category with tours taking place in New Orleans after Hurricane Katrina (Orleans, 2018). Battlefields have proven popular such as the D-Day Normandy beaches of France which boasted over five million visitors at the 70-year memorial in 2014 (Olton, 2014). The D-Day beaches can also be claimed as sites of the national heritage landscape which can result in the attraction of a specific group of tourists from one country to another (Bird, 2013). For example, Canadians travel to the Normandy beaches of France in their droves to commemorate a moment of pride when they took Juno beach from the Germans during the D-Day attacks in June 1944 (Bird, 2013).
The Auschwitz-Birkenau concentration camp in Poland is a unique example of a dark tourism site, as the death camp was the site of mass executions of people during World War 2 (Ward & Stessel, 2012). By the 2010s more than 1.3 million people annually visited the Auschwitz-Birkenau State Memorial and Museum (Hartmann, 2018). The Pere-Lachaise Cemetery in contrast is a major tourist attraction due to its famous residents of La Fontaine, Moliere, Chopin, Edith Piaf and Jim Morrison (Toussaint & Decrop, 2013). Another popular dark tourism site is the African Burial Ground National Monument in New York which holds seven mounds of earth to signify the thousands of bodies buried beneath the city (Lelo & Jamal, 2013). Several American plantations, complete with slave quarters of yesteryear, have become tourism heritage sites of today (Dann & Seaton, 2001).

Each type of dark tourism attraction or site can be seen to possess distinctive characteristics, and leading academic investigators tend to focus their research on one or another type in turn (JungKang, et al., 2012). For example, “the SS Morro Castle which was shipwrecked on the New Jersey shore in 1934 following a fire which devasted the ship and killed 137 passengers and crew, became a spectacle attracting visitors from miles around and generating a carnival atmosphere in the midst of the disaster” (Sharpley & Stone, 2009, p. 2). The old viewing platforms from which tourists in East Berlin viewed West Berlin are kept to this day as relics of the past and are another resource for the academic requirement for specific site research (Timothy, et al., 2004). In the case of the Attila Line in Nicosia, and the border between North and South Korea, vehicles visiting these demilitarised zones are escorted by military vehicles carrying armed soldiers thus adding to the experience for tourists and creating another unique site experience. (Timothy, et al., 2004) (Alabaster, 2019). War memorials, battlefields, military cemeteries, and even sites of genocide which commemorate and memorialize those who have
defended, fought for, or died in the name of a cultural worldview are still popular (Bitran & Buda, 2018). Showcasing this is the Berlin Wall which still appeals to the curious nature of tourists even three decades since its fall (Timothy, et al., 2004). Sites of dark tourism can be spaces which provide and communicate moral meaning; enabling visitors to engage with, and negotiate, issues of moral concern (Light, 2016). People at dark tourism sites such as Auschwitz value on site interpretation as a tool to enrich their emotional involvement (Biran, et al., 2011).

2.4 Management of Dark Tourism Sites

“All such sites or attractions require effective and appropriate development, management, interpretation and promotion” (Sharpley & Stone, 2009, p. 7).

Light (2016) states that sites can leverage their associations with atrocity or suffering to create or enhance place products in order to attract visitors. JungKang et al (2012) poses the question, how can managers of dark tourism sites effectively communicate the message of their site? Bird et al (2012) comments that a brand can allow the consumer to understand what is offered or at least what is promised. In this way, the brand can help visitors decide to purchase an experience or to visit a site (Kotler & Gertner, 2002, p. 249). In their application to a dark tourism site, the baggage associated with marketing terms can confine the marketer (Bird, et al., 2018). Bird et al (2018) notes that local tour operators in Chernobyl, employ symbols on their websites as part of their brand positioning that evoke the Soviet era during the Cold War and the resultant nuclear age; including five-point stars, gas masks, the traditional trefoil nuclear warning symbol and Geiger counters (Coffey, 2019). Dissonant heritage tourism rarely receives support from governing bodies or official tourism associations (Simone-Charteris, et
But in the case of the Ukraine, the authorities allow access to the Chernobyl ‘dead zone’ with a book guide from the ‘Stalker’ film and dinner in the Chernobyl canteen (Coffey, 2019). There is also a guided tour of Pripyat, other nearby villages, interactions with residents living there illegally as well an opportunity to feed the mutated cat fish in the cooling pool of the Chernobyl reactor (Stone, 2013).

2.4.1 Design of Dark Tourism Sites

Chernobyl employs brand themes associated with catastrophe and contamination (Bird, et al., 2018). These brand symbols are used to market the exclusion zone in its current, transforming state: one where animals are thriving in the absence of humans (Bird, et al., 2018) (Alabaster, 2019). Another example of the development of tours at a dark tourism site comes from Young and Light (2016) who mention the development of the landscaped ‘national cemeteries’ with famous national figures such as politicians, poets and actors purposely buried in one site to encourage public attendance of burial sites. Over 100 cemeteries in Britain alone offer private tours of the grounds catering to the dark tourist market showing the successful commercialisation of a site of death (Young & Light, 2016). Hiroshima has also adopted marketing approaches to bolster its tourism industry, such as the ‘Aquapolish Hiroshima’ branding project to rebrand from ‘bomb memory’ to ‘cheerful peace’ while still including the macabre past of the site (Wu, et al., 2014). The ‘Toro-Nagashi-Floating of Paper Lantern’ memorial started in 1958 to remember the victims of the A-Bomb has now become a tourist event with the names changing from victims to visitors wishes as a direct result of the rebranding project (Wu, et al., 2014).
Indeed, marketing and branding clearly play central roles in both making and mediating myths, but tourism does not dominate the politics of heritage. It is important to be aware of the culture present to ensure respect is given and received from the local community while marketing a dark tourism site (Bird, et al., 2018). The Pere-Lachaise Cemetery launched a marketing campaign in 1817 to gain public interest, this campaign focused on the new garden-like appearance created by architect ‘Alexandre Theodore Brongniart’ (Toussaint & Decrop, 2013). As the central role of tourism marketing is to create a unique image that sets a given destination apart from other places (Simone-Charteris, et al., 2013) (Gilbert, 1990). It took the moving in of Moliere and La Fontaines remains to gain the interest of the public due to their celebrity status (Toussaint & Decrop, 2013).

Wax replicas of slaves along with an educational and entertaining film in the African Burial Ground National Monument were created to help tourists to imagine life in New York during slavery (Lelo & Jamal, 2013). Likewise, the strategic placement of the ‘Museum of Free Derry’ in Northern Ireland, in the run-down area of Glenfada Park near many of the locations of significant events covered in its displays helped to immerse the tourist in the history of the area (Simone-Charteris, et al., 2013).
2.5 Ethical Management Practices of Dark Tourism Sites

“What do you think the survivors of Auschwitz would have felt had someone approached them in their displaced persons camp to tell them that one day people were going to pay money to go to that hell on earth?” (Podoshen & Hunt, 2011).

Atrocities contain many elements of extremes, which can be used to create marketable products from human cruelty and trauma (Ashworth, 2004). Dann and Seaton (2001) mention that most countries have committed atrocities in their history, when is it acceptable to sell tickets to see the site of an atrocity and what responsibility is on the manager of these sites? According to Ashworth (2004) heritage managers may have agendas which can be broadly and vaguely philanthropic, anti-racist, anti-militarist and multi-ethnic.

Atrocity heritage introduces a tone of seriousness into entertainment, while tourism threatens to trivialise the serious (Ashworth, 2004). Death is becoming more commercialised in modern society from the extremes of organ harvesting to the more palatable packaging and selling of dark tourism sites for entertainment (Young & Light, 2016). Schecter & Everitt’s (1997) note that Bunny Gibbons’ sideshow exhibit, displaying the “Death Car” of serial killer ‘Ed Gein’ at county fairs throughout the Midwest during the 20th century, highlights the interest in the macabre. Forts built specifically to implement imperial occupation through the trafficking and trading of forced slavery are today, heritage tourism sites and arenas of commemorative festival for the black diaspora which could be seen as sites of death instead of celebration (Dann & Seaton, 2001). In relation to commercialisation, Merrin (1999) notes that the “Diana Grief Industry” has resulted in the sale of dolls, books, plates, videos, stuffed animals which resulted in Tony Blair publicly condemning the sale of these items as a distasteful exploitation of Diana
The Princess of Wales memory. Overall, the debates about the ethics of dark tourism have been inconclusive and have raised more questions than they have provided answers (Light, 2016).

2.5.1 Authenticity of Dark Tourism Sites

According to Dann and Seaton (2001), there is an issue with site authenticity. “In North America, sites of southern plantations use structured tours focused on ignoring black slavery atrocities and highlight the selective presentation of heritage that appeals to a predominantly white audience which is for the purpose of visitor entertainment and at the cost of the true portrayal of history” (Dann & Seaton, 2001, p. 17). Another example of a lack of authentic visitor experience is the event of ‘The March of the Living’ which is an annual march carried out by the Jewish community through concentration camps when at the time of the Holocaust would have been an entirely different experience and is impossible to duplicate today (Podoshen & Hunt, 2011). Through the use of architecture, technology, and the promotion of educational programmes, dark tourism site can sacrifice authenticity and provide a falsely positive view of the site, thusly avoiding focusing attention on the ‘darkness’ and providing a more enjoyable experience for the tourist (Honglei Zhang et al, 2016).

Cemeteries in some cases have been developed and incorporated into society as recreation spaces which dilutes the dark tourism aspect of the site and normalises the location (Young & Light, 2016). “With the bottom line of the tourism industry being for profit and that of history seemingly being the documentation of truth, authenticity has to be kept in order to keep the unique selling point of the destination, if this truth is lost the site will not survive” (Dann & Seaton, 2001, p. 15). Lelo and Jamal (2013) mention that one must be mindful of this, while also ensuring ethical management practices of sites such as former plantation homes in the
south of North America. Lelo and Jamal (2013) comment that these popular sites are visited mostly by Anglo-Americans indicating a lack of response from the African-American community which could be management’s responsibility to investigate.

2.5.2 The Perpetrator’s Profit?

“Tourists can avoid a destination located within an area controlled by those who have committed the dark act due to unethical management practices of the site” (Podoshen & Hunt, 2011, p. 1340). Simone-Charteris et al (2013) mentions that the physical remains of the past offer up an identity that many of those in the present wish to distance themselves from, even while, at the same time recognising it as part of their history. “The controllability concept relates to attributions of both the past and present in relation to the tourism decision process” (Podoshen & Hunt, 2011, p. 1340). Due to the immediate occupation of Poland by the Soviet Union after the conclusion of the Second World War, visitors to Auschwitz-Birkenau were widely Polish or from eastern bloc countries and as a result there are exhibits focused on the emancipation of the Polish people and the strength they showed to overcome such adversity without much focus on the Jewish peoples loss (Allar, 2013). “Originally the first memorials in Majdanek then in Auschwitz as well as at other camps, were largely set up for the purpose of designing and dedicating sites commemorating the ‘martyrdom’ of the Polish nation” (Hartmann, 2018, p. 470). Subsequently, the redesigned memorial site and museum addressed the Jewish community’s involvement in the Holocaust (Hartmann, 2018). “In direct correlation with this fact, Jewish tourists place a significant amount of blame directly on the Polish people and have carried this blame over to current Polish society, and this retaliatory mind-set provided their basis for rethinking the tourism decision” (Podoshen & Hunt, 2011, p. 1340).
"As such a tourism decision process may reflect a group's collective quest for justice" (Podoshen & Hunt, 2011, p. 1340).

"Stop paying your enemies to display our horror" (Podoshen & Hunt, 2011, p. 1336).

2.5.3 Managing Respect at Dark Tourism Site

The ‘Yolocaust’ website was set up to allow inappropriate posting of images taken at Holocaust sites by taking these images from social media pages and replacing the background with what it would of looked like in the 1940s (Yolocaust). This act brought to light the insensitivity that can be shown by visitors to dark tourism sites and cause distress to survivors and their families (Amondson, 2017). Further evidence can be seen in Toussaint and Decrop’s (2013) example of the Pere-Lachaise Cemetery where “The mausoleum of Oscar Wilde is covered with pink/red lipstick marks left by visitors’ kisses, whereas Kardec’s tomb is polished by visitors’ strokes” showing admiration and respect from tourists.

A tour guide at Gore Bay Museum - “People like to get themselves into the cell and have a picture taken. I stopped all that, I locked it. This is not a place for ‘amusement’. I try to show them these are not correct ways of seeing” (Ferguson, 2015)

Some visitors of the Pere-Lachaise Cemetery in France have left inscriptions, graffiti and damaged the area and as a result rules are enforced within the area of the hierophany to maintain its sacred status (Toussaint & Decrop, 2013). “If the site is damaged, would it lose its authenticity and thus its unique selling point?” (Allar, 2013, p. 197).
There is an argument that promoting atrocity sites may legitimise the atrocity or those who committed the atrocities and thus encourage more in the future (Ashworth, 2004). Atrocity tourism may anaesthetise rather than sensitisise visitors, making horror and suffering more normal or acceptable, rather than shocking and unacceptable (Ashworth, 2004). This sentiment is echoed by Morales, (2013) who states that people have become desensitised to grim images and as a result they are used on newspapers and as promotional materials to attract the interest of the public. Bryant and Peck (2003) mention that during times of disaster, public safety officials often experience major problems in controlling curiosity seekers, authorities have labelled this phenomenon ‘convergent behaviour’. “Newspaper accounts of violent or accidental deaths may engender some voyeuristic, albeit convoluted, pleasure or some macabre enjoyment in the misfortunes of others” (Walter, et al., 1995, p. 582).

2.5.4 Stakeholder’s Interests

Another facet of ethical management of a dark tourism site is to ensure that members of the public with a connection to the site are satisfied with memorial sites such as the Canadian Memorial sites in Normandy (Bird, 2013). These sites must reflect the wishes of residents, Canadian veterans, tourists and the management attempting to make a profit from the site (Bird, 2013). Keeping the stakeholders in mind is necessary for the smooth running of any tourism site (Bird, 2013). With the memory of World War II events fading with the passing of the previous generation, there is a responsibility placed on tourism management staff to do justice to the memories of these people justice (Cowell, 2011). Similarly, in the Nanjing Massacre site, political, historical, social and cultural issues create a place identity which to many stakeholders resembles a battlefield (Du, et al., 2013, p. 49). Another example of the responsibility to accurately depict history is that of the wax figures at the African Burial Ground National
Monument in New York which are as portrayed well fed, clean clothed slaves which Lelo and Jamal (2013) write is inaccurate and promotes misinformation. The rights of those whose death is commoditised or commercialised through dark tourism represent an important ethical dimension deserving consideration (Sharpley & Stone, 2009). There is a need to manage such places appropriately based upon an understanding of, and respect for, the manner of the victim’s death, the integrity of the site and, where relevant, the rights of the local community in the context of the meaning or significance of the individuals concerned and the place of their death to those wishing to visit (Sharpley & Stone, 2009) (Wu, et al., 2014). Liberation dates for concentration camps in Europe have become major annual event to bring prisoners together and these early anniversaries served as a forum for how to establish first memorial markers and exhibits on the grounds with the stakeholders in direct control (Hartmann, 2018).

2.5.5 Host Communities

"Thanatourism sites have been criticised for prohibiting host communities to move beyond dark pasts” (Dunkley, 2015, p. 2). Objectives mutate from memorialisation to providing memorable tourist experiences (Dunkley, 2015). Due to a tourism promotion project in 2004, “visitors to Hiroshima increased by 12% to 9.9 million by 2010” (Wu, et al., 2014, p. 549). Peace Memorial Park was a public space where the local community could easily get permission from the park management for activities though that has now become very difficult with the growth of tourism (Wu, et al., 2014). Another example of the need to consider the effect on the host community is the government decision to demolish the serial killers Rose and Fred Wests' house in 1996 and make it into an alley to prevent it from becoming a shrine to help the local community to return to normality (Sharpley & Stone, 2009).
There have also been instances of sites having to be protected from demolition (Allar, 2013). Plans to demolish a Holocaust crematorium in the 1950s which was prevented by the Paris Treaty that West Germany had signed with France in 1954. Several clauses in the treaty protected the burial sites of the concentration camp prisoners and the access to the camp (Hartmann, 2018) (European Union, 2016). Anne Frank’s hiding place in the centre of Amsterdam is an example of a site of dissonance heritage that was scheduled to be demolished to make way for offices (annefrank.org, 2019). This was opposed by Otto Frank the father of Anne, in collaboration with the local population, who worked together to open a permanent museum which boasts over 1 million visitors a year (Allar, 2013).

Dachau, one of the locations of the concentration camps during World War 2, set up a new memorial site on the north-eastern edge of the town which was considered an annoying ‘black spot’ by the local community on the town’s distinguished 1,200 years’ of history (Hartmann, 2018), even though the memorial site saw a growing number of visitors reaching close to one million per year in the mid/late 1980s (Hartmann, 2018).

2.5.6 Children Visiting Dark Tourism Sites

While adults can be assumed to possess the maturity to manage reminders of human suffering, younger tourists may experience more distress (Kerr & Price, 2018). “PTSD seems like a dire consequence of a tourist jaunt, and we simply do not yet know whether dark sites might affect children in this way” (Kerr & Price, 2018, p. 556). In the past, tall monuments such as obelisks were chosen for the memorials at concentration camp sites during the 1940s and 1950s to avoid the depiction of graphic themes (Hartmann, 2018). Indeed, the visitor centre team at the Flight 93 National Monument worked hard to accommodate young children’s needs while still
conveying the complicated and grim narrative of the day (Kerr & Price, 2018). “Despite their number, young tourists receive only anecdotal mentions in the dark tourism literature, because of its exclusive focus on adult experience” (Kerr & Price, 2018, p. 554)

2.6 Managing Dark Tourism Sites with Cultural Differences

Stone (2012) notes that social and cultural groups have great differences in their views of, and attitudes towards, death. It has been frequently suggested that the United States is a death-denying culture (Durkin, 2003). Similarly, Chinese Feng Shui philosophical system of harmonising with the surrounding environment indicates that one will receive bad luck if they get too close to burial grounds (Honglei Zhang et al, 2016) (Light, 2016). Death and the dead body are becoming more visible in society which can be related to changing socio-cultural attitudes towards death (Young & Light, 2016).

Asian motivations were investigated perhaps for the first time by Litteljohn, Du and Lennon (2013) in the Nanjing Massacre Memorial in China. It was found that Asian reactions to the massacre were that of humiliation rather than sadness or anger. The Nanjing Massacre which took place in 1937 was not commemorated through the trials of the perpetrators, it was largely forgotten due to the ensuing civil war and thus a memorial was not built until 1983. The Nanjing Massacre memorial is a burial ground and, as a result, Chinese culture indicates that this is an unlucky place. Therefore, the memorial facilitators had to overcome cultural constraints by using exhibits such as letters, newspapers, video, pictures, testimonies etc. to distract from the morbid undertones (Honglei Zhang et al, 2016). Annual visits of the Nanjing Massacre Memorial in China have exceeded three million which highlights the presence of dark tourism heritage in a non-Western context and the sense of overcoming cultural issues (Du, et al.,
2013). In contrast Seaton (2010), indicates that visiting sites associated with death evolved through profound shifts of European culture and was influenced by the religious development of Christianity. In the West, graveyards have migrated from being in the centre of villages to the outskirts of cities, as cities have grown the fear of death has grown with them (Young & Light, 2016).

With the passing of veterans and local witnesses of the war, Normandy as a landscape of war has been transitioning from those who come primarily to commemorate the Second World War to those interested in learning about the region’s centuries of history (Bird, et al., 2018). Brand symbols on promotional websites and brochures for the area employ terms such as ‘devoir de la memoire’ (the obligation to remember), education, and peace (Bird, et al., 2018).

2.6.1 Dark Tourism in Recent Memory

Dark tourism can be a problem for a country that has not yet come to terms with its own history (Simone-Charteris, et al., 2013). It can also be positive for communities; dark heritage tourism is attracting increasing numbers of visitors to Northern Ireland especially in cities such as Belfast and Londonderry/Derry (Simone-Charteris, et al., 2013). Rwanda, similarly, is dealing with a violent recent history rooted in two events (Hohenhaus, 2013), the murder of Dian Fossey who worked with the Gorillas of Rwanda and the Rwandan genocide. Both of these events have been exploited in terms of dark tourism, which have transformed Rwanda from one of the poorest countries in Africa to one of its economic powerhouses (Hohenhaus, 2013). Dark tourism is allowing the Republican and Loyalist communities in Northern Ireland to overcome many years of mistrust, suspicion, prejudice and hatred by means of cooperative projects such as tours that provide visitors with a comprehensive picture of the conflict, which
in turn, enhance their acceptance of their shared identity and this might be a factor in Rwanda’s healing journey (Simone-Charteris, et al., 2013).

In China, since ancient times, the places of the dead are related to ‘huiqi’ or bad luck (Yan, et al., 2016). Thus, relevant departments or managers may consider that bearing witness to national mourning for Chinese people should not be advertised too much (Yan, et al., 2016). Similarly, there is an argument is that in modern society, death is sequestrated or hidden away behind medical and professional facades, with people growing detached from the process and consequences of death and dying (Bitran & Buda, 2018). “The presence of death within popular culture is a way of bringing back death into the social consciousness and making it less threatening” (Bitran & Buda, 2018, p. 517). Dark tourism products can be packaged together with peripheral mass tourism products to improve their popularity and promote local economic development after a disaster (Yan, et al., 2016). Dark tourism can potentially transform the seemingly meaningless into the meaningful through the commodification, explanations and representations of darkness that have impacted upon the collective self (Sharpley & Stone, 2008).

2.7 Management Dark Tourism: Tour Guides

“To protect Williamsburg visitors from a deranged fondness for the past, the costumed guides should be toothless, and ready to admit that ‘If I were really colonial people, most of us would be dead on account of the short life span’” (Lowenthal, 1993).

Tour guides have the ability to bring historical sites to life through authentic narratives and experience (Ferguson, 2015). A former penal prisoner showing tourists around a prison that
has been transformed into a museum enables them to share their unique views (Ferguson, 2015). Skinner (2016) outlined while participating in a walking tour of the Nationalist Falls Road of Belfast, led by a former IRA prisoner that the addition of a tour guide with experience within the specific environment which the dark tourist is viewing has been noted to give an extra level of authenticity. The tour guide of the Melbourne ‘Go West’ tour wore orange prison overalls and used to work at the Melbourne morgue and as such has carried out numerous autopsies including on some of the prisoners mentioned in the tour (White, 2013). At certain plantations living descendants of slave families act as a tour guides and are able to give insights and stories about the plantation (Dann & Seaton, 2001). Tour guides can however also be under pressure not to mention unseemly details depending on the owners of the site which can affect the authentic (Ferguson, 2015).

There are four types of guides official, alternative, entrepreneurial or relational (Ferguson, 2015). Official tour guides are granted government approved certificates and will often deliver tours in a class like format, alternative guides tend to be volunteers in non-profit groups with a passion for history, entrepreneurial guides are entertainers and design tours with less concern for history and more for the enjoyment and relational guides are typically independent guides that incorporate anecdotes and build relationships with guests (Ferguson, 2015). “In Hiroshima, an interpretation system named kataribe (storyteller) has been developed after the Second World War, where the hibakusha relate their tragic experiences of the bombing to both visitors and students” (Wu, et al., 2014, p. 546). This in order to build a community which can communicate their stories to visitors (Wu, et al., 2014). Tour guides tailor performances to the group of tourists present to ensure enjoyment (Ferguson, 2015).
2.8 Dark Tourism: Motivations

"The phenomena of dark tourism is not going away, in fact, it is gaining momentum" (Podoshen et al., 2015). Horror tourism is not new, from Roman gladiatorial spectacles to Madame Tussaud’s ‘Chamber of Horrors’ suffering and death has always been used as public entertainment (Ashworth, 2004). Ward and Stessel (2012) note that the study of tourism motivations has become a prominent area of discovery over the last few decades with the necessity to understand the reasons why people travel and what influences their tourism decision making process. While in contrast there has been little emphasis on the analysis of why people visit dark tourism sites in particular and the motivations of these individuals (Ward & Stessel, 2012). There have been very few empirical studies examining tourists’ constraints, experiences, and revisit intentions to dark tourism sites (Honglei Zhang et al., 2016). Additionally, motivation studies are founded on stereotypes of tourists that are rarely supported by empirical research with visitors (Light, 2016).

According to Allar (2013), determining why people visit dark places results in impossibly numerous options and motivations that are impossible to isolate. Ward and Stessel’s (2012) main motivations for dark tourists includes curiosity, empathy identification, entertainment through horrific occurrences and the seeking of self-identification and self-understanding. These motivations are supported by arguments from Ashworth (2004) on the topic of dark tourist motivations along with the addition of pilgrimage to ‘pay respects’ to others with whom the visitor feels a personal link. In dark tourism sites, such as battlefields and graveyards, family members visit to pay their respects (Normandy American Cemetery). Key motivations according to Ferguson (2015) include history, remembrance, education, curiosity, guilt, emotional and experience. The motivations of dark tourists put forward by Honglei Zhang (2016) are of interpersonal constraints in dark tourism sites, namely culture, emotion, escape
and incuriousness indicating cross over between the findings of academics. Visiting dark tourism sites can also trigger positive experiences, such as an appreciation for one’s present life (Honglei Zhang et al., 2016).

There is also the value of dark tourism from an educational perspective where the study of the past helps to inform the future (Bitran, 2017). Education has been identified as a significant and important motivation in dark tourism (Honglei Zhang et al., 2016) (JungKang, et al., 2012), (Yan, et al., 2016). There is a stimulus to learn about mortality through gaining knowledge about death and murder and that this can be a factor in tourists visiting dark tourism sites (Podoshen et al., 2015). Where tourists do not identify with a site as their personal heritage, the interpretation should facilitate emotional involvement, yet emphasise the educational experience (Biran, et al., 2011). Tourists visiting the African Burial Ground National Monument note that they wish to relate to the past, have spiritual engagement, pay homage to ancestors and learn about their lives (Lelo & Jamal, 2013). The results of research carried out by Simone-Charteris, Boyd and Burns (2013) in Northern Ireland supports educational interest, curiosity and empathy with victims as the motivators for visiting dark tourism sites. Those who perceive the site as part of their personal heritage display greater interest in an emotional experience and feeling connected to their own heritage, the two other groups mainly seek an educational experience (Biran, et al., 2011). A compulsory fieldtrip may not stimulate a visitor’s interest in the incident, and thus cannot necessarily generate effective visitor learning and emotional experiences (JungKang, et al., 2012).

Does the popularity of ‘dark’ sites result from a basic, voyeuristic interest or fascination with death, or are there more powerful motivating factors? (Sharpley & Stone, 2009). Visits to dangerous places can involve confronting personal fears of death and can also be a way to
negotiate personal memories and past traumas (Light, 2016). An interest or an association with death may be minimal or non-existent or of little relevance for some tourists (Sharpley & Stone, 2009). A fascination not with the manner, but rather with the meaning or implication of individual/mass death can be fundamental to the experience of a site (Sharpley & Stone, 2009).

Stepping into a forbidden country or being able to say one has visited a place that is off limits to many people around the world may also be another motivation for visiting borders of conflict and demilitarisation (Timothy, et al., 2004). Experiencing radioactive danger such as in Chernobyl may inject a sense of both thrill and anxiety for the contemporary tourist; even if they cannot sense the danger and it can only be mediated through specialised technology, such as Geiger counters and dosimeters (Stone, 2013). Tourists are confronted with more extreme danger and more direct exposure to violence and death as it becomes ever more present and accessible in global society (Podoshen, et al., 2018). "There is little doubt that new armistice lines and frontiers of (de)militarisation will continue to fascinate and intrigue amid the tourist gaze" (Timothy, et al., 2004, p. 84). Motives for visiting Auschwitz relate to a participant's interest in seeing the site out of a need to believe that such atrocities really happened (Hartmann, 2018). Learning and understanding, 'famous death tourist attractions 'are composed of motives relating to the site being a famous site and finally 'emotional heritage'. (Biran, et al., 2011)

Death is clearly one such issue that raises uncertainties and anxieties and hence, becomes a major issue in the human consciousness (Sharpley & Stone, 2008). Visitors can find it therapeutic or experience a sense of psychological healing from visiting dark tourism sites (JungKang, et al., 2012). Consuming dark tourism can help individuals address issues of personal meaningfulness; a key to reality, thus to life and sustaining social order and overall
wellbeing (Sharpley & Stone, 2008). Thus, dark tourism may be more to do with life and living than death and dying (Sharpley & Stone, 2008). ‘Terror Management Theory’ postulates humans cope with the feeling of terror that death induces by striving for literal immortality e.g. afterlife or symbolic immortality and being part of something greater (Bitran & Buda, 2018). There is also a surprising unawareness with regard to the role of fear of death and how it shapes and influences people’s engagement with dark sites (Bitran & Buda, 2018). Buda argues that some tourists seek to be confronted with their own death fears while engaging in danger-zone tourism (Bitran & Buda, 2018).

Tragedy may be attractive and enjoyable since it allows people to approach their death fears and reflect on their own mortality in a safe, culturally acceptable and relevant manner (Bitran & Buda, 2018). “Indeed individuals can derive a sense of self-worth from visiting dark sites which are of relative importance and possess symbolic identity to their in-group” (Bitran & Buda, 2018, p. 525).

Shades of Dark Tourism

- Pale tourism: tourists with a minimal or limited interest in death visiting sites unintended to be tourist attractions.
- Grey tourism demand: tourists with a fascination with death visiting unintended dark tourism sites.
- Grey tourism supply: sites intentionally established to exploit death but attracting visitors with some, but not dominant, interest in death.
- Black tourism: in effect, ‘pure’ dark tourism, where a fascination with death is satisfied by purposeful supply of experiences intended to satisfy this fascination.

(Sharpley & Stone, 2009, p. 20).
2.9 Conclusion

"Dark tourism has so far been under-theorized" (Carrigan, 2014, p. 237).

This chapter focused on the collection and analysis of academic materials based on the term dark tourism. This chapter includes numerous sources including journals, articles, books and websites. Interesting gaps were discovered throughout the process of this literature review for example “There remains a deficiency of empirical research efforts, as a rigorous academic field, dark tourism research remains in its infancy” (Honglei Zhang et al, 2016, p. 119). This statement encouraged the research topic and furthered the research in order to discover gaps of knowledge within the literature. “Limited attention has been paid to exploring why tourists may be drawn towards sites or experiences associated with death and suffering” (Sharpley & Stone, 2009, p. 17). This interesting statement will form the basis of interview questions within the qualitative research findings as it has identified a gap within the present literature. Furthermore Light (2016) mentions that academic researchers have rarely engaged with the perspectives of the professionals responsible for managing such attractions. This is also corroborated by Bird et al (2018) who mentions that despite the growing amount of dark tourism literature, we are presented with a notable gap in terms of how marketing, branding and destination marketing link with dark tourism sites. Another gap discovered which will inform the creation of the research findings questions is that “Researchers are yet to study children’s distress at Dark sites” (Kerr & Price, 2018, p. 556). This is a new area of research for dark tourism and will be investigated with management in dark tourism sites.
3. Methodology

3.1 Introduction

Chapter 3 focuses on the research processes employed in this thesis by giving an outline of the methods involved. The methodology affects the research question asked, the research carried out, analysis used and the findings from the data collected (Wisker, 2008). As such, it is extremely important to correctly analyse the opportunities present in using different forms of research methods. “Methods are the vehicles and processes used to gather data” (Wisker, 2008, p. 67). Upon completion of this chapter the reader should be fully aware of the research methods involved and why they were chosen for this piece of research. Limitations of research are also outlined in order to give the reader a full understanding of the parameters included within the research document and the scope of focus of the researcher.

3.2 Overview of the Research Process

The sources examined in Chapter 2 informed the development of the research process as well as the research question. Sources were gathered via online search engines such as Google Scholar and academic.oup.com. Through the Cork Institute of Technology library physical books, journals and search engines such as Ebsco-Host, Science Direct and JSTOR were used. Two inter-library loans were issued in order to gain access to books that were inaccessible online. Finally, online searches of websites and newspaper articles were also employed. These sources, in addition to the interviews carried out, provide the basis of all research findings within this document. Primary sources are first-hand accounts of the area of
study, within a research study primary sources can be quantitative or qualitative depending on
the research being undertaken (Library, 2019). The primary sources utilised within this
research process were semi-structured interviews carried out with ten interviewees.

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<tr>
<td>Original documents created or experienced concurrently with the event being researched</td>
<td>Works that analyze, assess, or interpret a historical event, an era, or a phenomenon. Generally uses primary sources</td>
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<td>First hand observations, contemporary accounts of the event. Viewpoint of the time</td>
<td>Interpretation of information, usually written well after an event. Offers reviews or critiques</td>
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<td>Interviews, news footage, data sets, original research, speeches, diaries, letters, creative works, photographs</td>
<td>Research studies, literary criticism, book reviews, biographies, textbooks</td>
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Figure 1.1 https://libguides.lmu.edu/c.php?g=323261&p=2166228

3.3 Research Strategy

There are two types of research process, qualitative and quantitative; both are used in
different forms of research (Wacker, 1998). Both methods of research need to be analysed
before the correct method can be chosen. The method selected will form the basis of data
collection throughout the study and allow for the formation of findings. The selected method
will generate the primary sources that will create empirical data to inform this research
document.
3.3.1 Quantitative

Quantitative data is creating meaning from numbers; as a result, this data can be collected via surveys resulting in statistics eligible for analysis and can be utilised in graphs and diagrams. The quantitative method is based off the idea of positivism (Sale, et al., 2002). Positivism is dependent on the beliefs of society such as the belief that there are fixed laws within nature and that there is little room for misinterpretation (Wisker, 2008). This method focuses on the scientific approach creating measurable outcomes via statistics and percentages. Quantitative methods require large sample groups in order to gain accurate results though it can create generalised results for a population group. Quantitative methods have not been employed for this study due to the ontological position of quantitative sources which constitute a lack of human perception and the belief in only one truth (Sale, et al., 2002). The researcher is interested in gaining a variety of human insights into the term dark tourism in order to determine previously unobserved areas of findings and this cannot be achieved through quantitative means.

3.3.2 Qualitative

Qualitative data explores meaning expressed through verbal ques and as a result is determined via interviews and focus groups (Saunders, et al., 2009). “Qualitative research is carried out when we wish to understand meanings, interpretations, and/or to look at, describe and understand experience, ideas, beliefs and values” (Wisker, 2008, p. 75). Qualitative data holds meaning but does not use numbers or measures, for example interviews, focus groups, email, video recordings or diaries (Gibbs, 2007). Qualitative research methods focus on experiences and case studies in their natural context which provides the researchers with a
unique set of findings that cannot be replicated with another group or in another location (Flick, 2007). Qualitative data is based on constructivism which infers that human beings construct knowledge and meaning from experience and therefore qualitative processes via interviews were selected for this research process due to the need for the in-depth experience and knowledge analysis of management and tour guides of a variety of dark tourism sites.

Semi-structured interviews are a verbal exchange between the interviewee and the researcher in an attempt to elicit information from the interviewee. While a set list of questions is created a head of time, the interviewer leaves scope for the interviewee to elaborate (Clifford, et al., 2010). This form of data research allows the researcher to obtain important information determined as necessary ahead of the interview but also allows for the gathering of secondary information to contribute to research findings. Induction, which is the generation of an explanation from a collection of similar circumstances, and deductive, which moves in the opposite direction by creating an explanation from a general statement, are common methods used within qualitative practices. Due to the potential for additional findings, semi-structured interviews will be carried out within this study with carefully selected interviewees.

3.3.3 Sample Group

Sampling pertains to the idea of selecting the correct group for data collection both in quantitative and qualitative methods. Quantitative methods might focus on a particular demographic for a survey while qualitative methods could refer to the selection of a group of experienced interviewees.
As a qualitative approach has been selected for this piece of research, this section focuses on the sampling of a qualitative interviewee group. Selecting a sample group starts with an infinite range of possibilities. In order to reduce the number of possible candidates, logic must be applied to the sampling process to narrow the field. The sample group can be defined by age, gender, profession or personal experience (Flick, 2007). The three main sampling strategies that are used within the qualitative method are: convenience sample, judgement sample and theoretical sample (Marshall, 1996). Convenience sampling pertains to samples that are easily accessible, judgement sampling, which can also be called purposeful sampling, focuses on the finding the most productive sample group that has direct experience with the study area and theoretical sampling focuses on the theory based selection of sample groups (Robinson, 2013). The sampling process has been informed by the literature review as well as the selection of a qualitative method of research.

Therefore, site selection has become an aspect of the sampling process. According to Flick (2007), it is essential to select a site in which the practices you are studying, in this case dark tourism, are present. As a result, sites will be selected based on their association with dark tourism. The sampling group within the sites was determined through work in the literature review indicating a need for feedback from management and tour guides.

The next section will clearly outline all factors that were taken into account in the site selection process. All sites contacted are outlined within the appendix along with the reasons that they were or were not included.
3.3.3 Sites Selected

In order to carry out the qualitative interviews for the primary research necessary, sites both in Ireland and internationally were selected for interview. International sites were included as a comparative model to Irish dark tourism sites. Each site was selected carefully to ensure that the highest quality information was collected. Each site fell into the category of dark tourism as defined: “dark tourism can be referred to as the act of travel to sites associated with death, suffering and the seemingly macabre” (Stone, 2006). All academic resources researched during the literature review supported the selection of these sites based upon an association with death or suffering, as well as these sites profiting from visiting tourists with an interest in the macabre (Ashworth, 2004), (Sharpley & Stone, 2008) and (Light, 2016).

When deciding on sites for this study emphasis was put on determining comparable factors that apply to each site. The physical size of the dark tourism sites was selected as a determining factor, but each site varies dramatically in size, prohibiting the accurate comparison of sites based on size. Visitor numbers proved difficult to find, as some sites are not owned by the government and do not publish visitor numbers. Additionally, years of operation was investigated but this proved a difficult comparable factor as some sites have only recently opened. The product offerings of each site were also researched in order to determine grounds for comparison at each site.

Due to these difficulties, the focus shifted to a site’s association with death. Each site has a different association with death or the macabre creating a unique point of view for study. It was determined, through the literature review and the comparative factors outlined above, that sites which focused on different forms of death and suffering should be selected. For example,
a prison, internment camp, battlefield, cemetery, terrorist attack site and other such sites were found both in Ireland abroad and invited to take part in the study by means of an interview. The categories outlined by Sharpley and Stone (2009), Toussaint and Decrop (2013), Timothy et al (2004) and JungKang et al (2012) within the literature review are used to determine differences and the basis of sampling of dark tourism sites for this study.

3.4 Limitations

"A main feature of any good research design is its potential of limiting the focus of the planned study" (Flick, 2007, p. 44)

Limitations are put in place on this research project in order to prevent a dilution of findings and a distraction from key research.

Within this study gaps have been identified within the academic text, of which there are too many to be addressed within this study. As a result, specific sections that have been outlined in the research objectives of Chapter 1 are going to be explored within this research piece. All aspects of the research that fall outside of the research question will not be included within the research findings or recommendations. Some of these auxiliary gaps in knowledge may be recommendations for further study within the field of dark tourism.

Another limiting factor in this study was the number of sites that responded with an interest to participate. A full list of all sites contacted and reasons for acceptance or refusal are included in the appendix. It is a common occurrence within research processes to have a lack of response from potential primary sources, as occurred in this instance (Flick, 2007).
3.10 Conclusion

Throughout this chapter the research strategies were outlined within the selected research method. Both quantitative and qualitative research methods were outlined and the reasons for qualitative selection clearly stated. Different schools of thought were covered within the sampling process along with the selection of the process utilised within this study. Finally, limitations of the study were outlined to clearly define the research parameters that the researcher is working within. Only upon the completion of this chapter could the researcher fully comprehend the research process and the necessary steps to be taken in order to obtain the correct and informative research necessary for this study. The section of processes within this chapter have formed the basis of Chapter 4 which contains all of the research findings from the qualitative interviews carried out from the sample group specified in this chapter.
4. Research Findings

4.0 Introduction

This chapter will outline the main empirical findings from interviews carried out with tour guides and management of Irish and international dark tourism sites. These interviews were conducted in a semi-structured format to allow additional information to be gathered from different individuals’ unique experiences through elaboration and additional questioning. The nine interviews carried out with different members of staff in each site put forth different opinions on dark tourism.

An academic called Dr. Gillian O’Brien of Liverpool John Moores University was also interviewed as an alternative point of view to the industry sources. This interview with an academic was carried out with a separate set of questions in order to gain additional knowledge unrelated to site specific questions. As a result, this academic source’s answers are applicable to some of the questions below, the rest of the answers can be found in chapter five.

Interesting findings were gathered from these sites both corroborating and disagreeing with the original proposed research question. This allowed a greater degree of comparison resulting in alternative findings in some instances than originally outlined upon completion of the literature review research. Each site has a different connection to death and the macabre which was reflected within the responses in each interview. An interesting finding became apparent across all sources in that the term dark tourism is not accepted as an industry wide term even if the academic definition applies to all the sites within this study. These answers will be analysed and compared to encourage comparisons and correlation.
Through interview questions focused on the categorisation of dark tourism sites, it has become apparent that many sites do not believe they are associated with dark tourism, or wish to not be, as it can be considered ghoulish or disrespectful.

4.1 ‘Dark Tourism Outlined’

These participants were questioned on what dark tourism means to them, this first participant is an academic who outlined their working definition of the term dark tourism.

*I don’t use a specific definition, I generally stick with Philip Stone’s idea of there being shades of dark tourism where you go from the lighter side of entertainment to the darkest type which is much more about education. The usual example for the darkest sites would be places like Auschwitz and Dachau. My general rule of thumb is it is any site that deals with suffering, death, incarceration or anything that would be deemed a miserable tale. I am keenly interested in site specific places where the place is associated with the event.*

**Dr Gillian O’Brien, Reader in Modern Irish History at Liverpool John Moores University**

Next participant:

As stated in the introduction, this study has found that in relation to the term dark tourism it is often misunderstood or perceived as not applicable to the site in question:

*Yes, I’ve heard about it and yes it has been used in my line of work. Although we wouldn’t consider ourselves a dark tourism site. Other students have come to us with research associated with that. Although it’s a cemetery, it is still a working cemetery, it’s Ireland’s National Cemetery. We’re very cognisant of the fact that so many important people are buried here and of the links to our heritage and our culture. We*
as an organisation would not want to be associated with an activity that is in any way looked upon as being ghoulish or creepy.

**Brendan Kavanagh, Operations Manager at Glasnevin Cemetery**

Next participant:

The term 'dark tourism' has also been highlighted as a negative term that sites do not wish to be associated with, as mentioned at the end of the previous statement:

> I have heard it and I would never use it directly. Actually, it is one I would be countering as a concept and as a term. Any time I've heard of it being used, it has generally been used in a negative context. The implication being that the political tourism that people like us do, somehow or other is bad i.e. dark, and therefore it's a negative concept as far as I would be concerned. In my view it also implies that somehow or other we are glorifying all the negative aspects, the killings, the deaths of the conflict when in actual fact we do our tours despite the fact that we are political Republican ex-prisoners. We believe that what we're doing is giving people a more rounded view of the conflict and therefore we would see it in a positive light.

**Peadar Whelan, Tour Guide Facilitator of the Falls Road Mural Tour**

Next participant:

This is corroborated by the below statement that focuses primarily on remembrance rather than the term dark tourism:

> You see in Flemish we do not really talk about dark tourism in the same way we speak about remembering. Remembrance places and that kind of thing we do not associate the word dark with that kind of tourism.

**Philippe Mingels, Tour Guide of the World War 1 Battlefields of Belgium**
Next participant:

Another aspect of this term that became apparent was a resistance to the term being used in sites of remembrance as touched on in the previous statement:

*I've heard it, mainly I've come across it from other researchers who are doing research projects on the topic. It is not a term that we use here internally. It is one that when people reach out and consider our site within that dark tourism category, it's one that I don't necessarily agree with. I see our site as a site of hope and resilience. I think there's a little bit of disconnect between the term and what this place really is and how it resonates with people.*

**Anthony Gardiner, Senior Vice President of Government and Community Affairs at the 9/11 Memorial**

Next participant:

This is also corroborated in the lack of elaboration on the discussion of the term:

*I have heard of it and it is not used in my line of work.*

**John Scanlon, Tour Guide at Glasnevin Cemetery**

Next participant:

In direct contrast to the above statements some sites utilise dark tourism within their offering through a connection to the supernatural which is mentioned below:

*Yes, I have heard of dark tourism. It is tourism focused on the more macabre side of history. Especially with the night-time tours we do here, it is definitely applicable with the ghost stories that we tell.*

**John Goulding, Tour Guide at Spike Island**
Next participant:

This is also supported and highlighted as an aspect not fully explored by sites in the below statement:

*It's not a new term and it hasn't really been introduced to where I'm working at the moment. But a lot of the elements of dark tourism are part of what we do here. The whole point of Cork City Gaol is it's a historic jail, and we talk about the people who were interned there, including children and political prisoners and there's also a ghost story of the Gaol. I mean that all feeds into the whole concept of dark tourism.*

_Julie Anne Young, Tour Guide at Cork City Gaol_

Next participant:

The use of this term in the tourism industry is supported by the following statement:

*Yes, it certainly has, it's something that in the last couple of years has become much more prevalent and we're aware of our place in the dark tourism spectrum. It is definitely something that we are aware of and applying. We are very aware that in particular our famine era and the prison story is one that falls into that category. We have a number of different stories on Spike and a number of different trends like military and social history. For us, absolutely the famine history of our prison and the very difficult conditions and the reality that a lot of people didn't make it off the island and passed away during that time here and are now buried in mass graves and locations on the island falls into that kind of setting.*

_John Crotty, Manager of Spike Island_
Next participant:

While the following statement agrees that dark tourism is an applicable term for the site, they also highlight the lack of knowledge of the term outlined in previous statements:

I have heard of it, not a lot but it has been used but not much has been said. I haven't really thought about, but I just apply it to the darker side of this place where I work. I think that there is a darker side of this place and I assume that that's what dark tourism is.

Felicity Philpott, Tour Guide at Spike Island

4.2 Dark Tourism Sites

This question focuses on determining if the sites these people work at are dark tourism sites in the interviewee’s opinion. This first statement highlights the general negative feeling towards the term within sites:

I haven’t worked with any in the past and I would not categorise Glasnevin as being a dark tourism site. I think frankly even the phrase dark tourism settles it into a niche that a lot of people might find very uncomfortable. I mean, there’s a particular group of people that would hear dark tourism and they would think of the ghoulish and the grotesque. Where is what we’re doing here in Glasnevin, because it’s still a working cemetery, we do still have to maintain an air of respect about the place. We can’t just go “welcome into the dark and terrible netherworld” because while you are saying that someone is burying their granny three spots over. We have remained as open and respectful as possible, especially as there are a lot of government events here. There’s a lot of commemorations and remembrance ceremonies and so we can’t stalk about the place looking like Jekyll and Hyde while we do that.

John Scanlon, Tour Guide at Glasnevin Cemetery
Next participant:

A further corroboration that the dark tourism term is not accepted by some sites can be seen below:

*I don’t believe this site is a dark tourism site. I believe that while 9/11 is a tragic history, a brutal attack against the United States and citizens all over the world. 90 people from 19 nations were killed on that day, but despite the horror that people like my brother faced, there was an overwhelming amount of compassion that was shown that day. People like my brother, when we reached him by phone, we could hear him comforting people who in the background were beginning to panic and I don’t think his story is unique. We hear countless stories of people who were in their darkest hours facing their own mortality and they thought of other people. Those are the stories that we really highlight and hold up here and they are, I believe, a source of inspiration for our visitors who come to pay tribute whether they’re on the memorial and don’t go inside the museum or if they go inside the museum and really delve further into 9/11 history. I’ve brought many people through from all walks of life and I’ve seen how moved they have been by the experience and time and time again, I hear from people how energised they feel, how inspired they feel from what this place is, the hope and resilience that is conveyed here.*

*Anthony Gardiner, Senior Vice President of Government and Community Affairs at the 9/11 Memorial*
Next participant:

This next statement also agrees with the previous interviewee's response, although they indicate that this site would be placed within the lighter shades of the dark tourism scale:

No, we wouldn't consider ourselves a dark tourism site. As a visitor attraction we would be an unusual visitor attraction, but we will be on the lightest shade of a scale of dark tourism attractions in so far as that, it's a cemetery with dead people buried here. But that would be the only place I put it on a scale with that is a cemetery with dead people here and I haven't worked at other dark tourism sites.

Brendan Kavanagh, Operations Manager at Glasnevin Cemetery

Next participant:

The next statement focuses on the term having negative connotations and a connection to political views due to the unique situation in Northern Ireland:

We don't actually work at a site, we do a political tour, we call it the Falls Road Mural Tour. It embraces a lot more ideas and a lot more experience than just the murals on the Falls Road. But, as I say, when we do the political tour, we like to think that what we're talking about, what we're telling people and what we're showing people is a side of the conflict that, generally speaking, is ignored. We believe that what we're doing is giving people a broader sense of how the conflict came about. From that point of view, I think we would look on our tours as being enlightening for people and informing people. For example Milltown Cemetery where the Republican dead of the conflict from Belfast are buried, including hunger strikers Bobby Sands, Joe McDonald and Kieran Doherty. I mean the imagery around all those people but particularly Bobby Sands would seem to be a history and a story of resistance in the human spirit of really rising to the top in the most extreme of conditions.

Peadar Whelan, Tour Guide Facilitator of the Falls Road Mural Tour
Next participant:

Alternatively, the next statement indicates a belief that it is a dark tourism site without any alternative views:

*I haven't personally worked at other dark tourism sites. Absolutely it is a dark tourism site due to the reality of it being where a lot of people were captured in the famine prison and in the Island prison. Overall that is the main motivators to come to the site. There is no doubt that it does fall under into the dark tourism spectrum.*

**John Crotty, Manager of Spike Island**

Next participant:

This supporting statement agrees that it is a dark tourism site but also showcases the confusion present in relation to the term:

*Probably it is, what I do is try and keep the remembrance alive if that is dark tourism then it is a dark tourist site. We tell the stories of people who were at the frontline of the battlefields and we're keeping the remembrance of that era alive.*

**Philippe Mingels, Tour Guide in the World War 1 Battlefields of Belgium**

Next participant:

The next statement clearly outlines the site's connection to dark tourism and how it is an eligible term for historical sites connected to death or the macabre:

*I 100% believe that this is a dark tourism site. The fort is over 200 years old but since it has been here 1,300 people have died here and thousands more have suffered here*
so with all the very recent suffering and death here on the island I think if anywhere is connected to dark tourism, Spike Island definitely is for Ireland anyway. I did work in a fort up in Cork City called Elizabeth Fort where people were also imprisoned but maybe not as many deaths as here on Spike Island but still heads were put on spikes so people definitely go there for the dark side of history there as well.

John Goulding, Tour Guide at Spike Island

Next participant:

Similarly, this next statement agrees that it is a dark tourism site but also indicates confusion at the degree of applicability a dark tourism site has to the term based on its connection to the tragic events of the past:

Yes. Obviously like I said, it's a historic Gaol so there's a lot tied up with that. I've also worked in other museums where it wouldn't be dark tourism as such but there would be elements. I worked in the Industrial Heritage Museum, but one of the exhibitions we put on was to do with slavery and that particular area of Scotland. When you introduce something like slavery into an area that didn't believe that they had a part in that, it forces people to kind of adjust what they believed they were as slavery is a dark part of Scottish history.

Julie Anne Young, Tour Guide at Cork City Gaol

Next participant:

This interviewee also indicates confusion at the term dark tourism as they equate the term dark tourism to be associated with site specific activities as appose to sites in their entirety:

I've never worked anywhere else besides here. I believe that it is partly a dark tourism site but not entirely, there is a dark aspect to the history of this place. We decided that
during the day we would give a general history of the place and that we wouldn't really mentioned the worst aspects of the life here for the prisoners or the guards or even the soldiers we tend to keep that for later on. They go into the more horrendous conditions that were here on the night tour. Also, they tell a lot about the fears of the people who lived here and in fact, you know a lot of them did see spectres so they would tell a bit about that as well.

Felicity Philpott, Tour Guide at Spike Island

Next participant:

The final interviewee is academic Dr Gillian O’Brien who gave her point of view on dark tourism sites and their knowledge of the term dark tourism. Interestingly they highlight Spike island as not knowing or understanding the term when the study found they were the only site knowledgeable about the term. This could be due in some part to the below academic’s work with the site at the beginning of its development and thus indicates the positive attributes that can abound with academic input to a site:

In my experience they are mostly not aware of the term, although a lot of the sites I go to I go to blind as I want to get the visitor experience. I tend not to deal with management or tell them why I am there, but obviously I was the historian for the development of Spike Island and nobody that I dealt with on that had heard the term dark tourism when I was working on the project.

Dr Gillian O’Brien, Reader of Irish Modern History at Liverpool John Moores University
4.3. Dark Tourists

This question pertains to the belief that dark tourists exist as a subset of tourists in general, the below statement concurs with this academic hypothesis:

*I think there are, I mean, there's books published of people going around to abandoned houses and taking photos of them and part of that is the kind of the decay and the dark side of ascendancy Ireland, that would be one example in Ireland anyway. I've also lived in Edinburgh before and they have a huge dark tourism industry. Especially when it comes to ghost tours and tours of underneath the city that's a huge part of their commerce. As well, you have dungeons in the UK, again Edinburgh dungeon, London dungeon and York dungeon. I think again that all fits into the dark tourism kind of industry.*

*Julie Anne Young, Tour Guide at Cork City Goal*

Next participant:

Similarly, the below statement echoes the sentiment of the previous piece in direct contrast to the previous answer of this participant indicating a believe that Glasnevin Cemetery is not a dark tourism site thus indicating the confusion the term holds:

*Absolutely, I've been questioned about it. An awful lot of time there would be people who've been asking me questions out there would ask me to direct me to stops on the tour that would play into that whole aspect. You get a lot of people asking about grave-robbing and whether it actually went on in the cemetery that sort of thing. It's inextricable really, you think cemetery and you think somewhere that's ghoulish and*
terrible, whereas we think a cemetery and where we think is where all our national heroes are buried.

John Scanlon, Tour Guide at Glasnevin Cemetery

Next participant:

This respondent indicates a belief in the existence of dark tourists:

Absolutely I do. because people are very interested in coming on our after dark tour.

So yes, definitely.

Felicity Philpott, Tour Guide at Spike Island

Next participant:

The next statement agrees dark tourists exist but connects this to an overall interest in history:

In the region that I work in, these two things go together, there are always people who are not interested in the history during the war but that is really a very small minority very often they rent me as a guide to give them the history of the region. There are very important periods for this region and the main period is WWI. I have never come across someone who was not interested at all. Mostly they will say we don't know what happened here and we would like to know but we do not need to know in every detail. That is not what I do I try to explain in general what happened, and I like to try and make the landscape speak and to explain that WWI really happened on that spot. Then it is not really a mystery for them anymore.

Philippe Mingels, Tour Guide in the World War 1 Battlefields of Belgium
Next participant:

This piece firmly supports the argument for dark tourists being a subset of tourists in general:

Yes definitely, obviously in a smaller percentage compared to people looking to get out in the sun and family outings or couples. There are definitely people that seek out the darker side in places like the killing fields in Cambodia or Auschwitz to see the dark side of people and what evil people can produce.

John Goulding, Tour Guide at Spike Island

Next participant:

Similarly, the below statement further supports the previous opinions:

I'm sure they do, there are even documentaries now on Netflix about dark tourism. To a certain extent, if I as a visitor was going somewhere there is a bit of a market for dark tourism sites.

Brendan Kavanagh, Operations Manager at Glasnevin Cemetery

Next participant:

While the statement below supports the theory that there are dark tourists as a subset of tourists in general it also alludes to a small number of actual dark tourists:

Yes, I do think there is definitely a proportion out there but it is probably a small percentage of the overall general population. I think there is a certain number out there that would seek out whatever location they go to the specific sites that was kind of satisfy that need. I don't think they class themselves as that but absolutely they are.

John Crotty, Manager at Spike Island
Next participant:

This statement is given by an academic who highlights the issue in not accepting the dark tourist demographic:

*I don’t think there is anyone who only goes to sites that are miserable, but I do think that an awful lot of people do enjoy those sorts of sites. Also, it is not a new thing, this sort of Madame Tussauds set up with the Chamber of Horrors exists because people wish to see those sorts of things. People buy newspapers that emphasise that sort of idea. They want to be scared or thrilled or horrified, it is I think for good or ill part of human nature. Look at the sales of crime thrillers and all of those sorts of things. Pretending that people don’t chose to go to see those things I think is a mistake whether or not people chose to brand it as such. I don’t think there is anyone that just sets out to see those but I do think there are many people interested in those stories. Another thing about it is, find me a happy museum and I will happily go to it but those don’t tend to be the stories we tell about the past.*

**Dr Gillian O’Brien, Reader of Modern Irish History at Liverpool John Moores University**

Next participant:

The below piece indicates that there has been interest from dark tourists but that as an organisation that is not the message they are trying to convey:

*Well, we certainly hear people, although I’d never experienced it myself, people talking about terror tours. Talking about people and bringing people to places where people have been killed, shot dead, blowing up etc. and to me, whilst I haven’t experienced it and therefore it would be difficult for me to comment, the imagery that conjures up for me is that people are exploiting very serious and clearly sad*
situations for the families of people who were killed in those circumstances those situations. It's difficult to answer the question directly, however, that's the image I get, that's the kind of impact, that it's almost like this glorification or voyeurism. We are all Republican activists and I think most people are more taken aback by the fact that we give a fairly broad view, even though it comes from a Republican perspective or a Republican position and has a Republican analysis. I think people are more taken by the breadth of knowledge and information that we have, and we obviously look at a lot of the instances and situations that arose in the conflict. I'm sure Joe talked about collusion and the killings of Pat Finnegan. It isn't the talk about the killings or the deaths but it's to give it that political context and people are very conscious when they do the tour that that's the kind of experience they have, talking about the actual situations.

Peadar Whelan, Tour Guide Facilitator of the Falls Road Mural Tour

Next participant:

The below statement is an interesting response and indicates this site’s lack of engagement with the concept of dark tourists:

No, I don't. I don't really have an opinion on that.

Anthony Gardiner, Senior Vice President of Government and Community Affairs at the 9/11 Memorial
4.4. Operational Practices

This interview question focuses on the change of the tour, or operational practices, based on the tourist demographic present at the site. The following statement indicates the different experience associated with the level of training afforded to tour guides and management:

*It is not just dark tourism sites, unless the guides at a site are very well trained you can get a very different experience, so in certain places you get a particular story as the guide has chosen to emphasise that particular story which is something I don’t necessarily agree with as it can go completely off message and is not regulated. I think there is a lot of work in it, you don’t want the same tour irrespective of the guide as you do want some personality in it, but I think there certainly needs to be guidelines. A site needs to decide what its persona is and the stories it wants to tell and those stories probably should be told by whoever is telling the story with some leeway and not to have it scripted.*

**Dr Gillian O’Brien, Reader of Irish Modern History at Liverpool John Moores University**

Next participant:

The next statement highlights the need to change tour content to ensure it is appropriate for the audience present:

*In my experience when I have a tour of children as opposed to a tour of adults. You're going to change how your approach is, you're going to change what you talk about and it especially depends on the age of the children, you have to tailor the tour towards them. In Cork City Gaol we have is a story about a boy who is imprisoned because in the 1830’s-1840s, the age that you could be jailed at was nine. You could be tried as an adult at the age of 9. So that's something we really push towards kids*
because kids like hearing about gore. Horrible Histories is successful because of this kind of interest and then with adults you might kind of have a bit more political and social history.

Julie-Anne Young, Tour Guide at Cork City Goal

Next participant:

This answer touches on the need to tailor tours based on the interests of the group such as specific connections to the nationality of the tourists:

Safety aspects will always be adhered to, but we do tweak it a little depending on if we had a group of Germans, for instance, we would definitely mention the Aud exhibition because the that was a German ship. We definitely tailor the tours; we tell the main bits but we can tweak it depending on the group in front of us.

Felicity Philpott, Tour Guide at Spike Island

Next participant:

This argument agrees with the previous but also includes being cognisant of the condition of the tourists such as jetlagged or at the end of a long day of tours:

Very much, you would have different approaches to different groups of people because they have different expectations. Let's say for example, we have a group of people coming in from a company called Trafalgar. They would be here for a quick tour of the cemetery and then dinner and because they are tourist, generally American tourists, you would want to keep the whole thing light-hearted. This is mostly because they've just stepped off a plane and they are not really in the mood for a deep academic study. Absolutely you kind of want to play up a bit to the stereotype a little
bit because they want it to be light-hearted. You want to tell them jokes, you want to
tell them funny anecdotes. You want to go into a bit of what makes the Irish the Irish
but on the other hand if you have a school group, they would be more about the
outright information and would be more about the actual events in the actual history,
it's tailoring the experience.

John Scanlon, Tour Guide at Glasnevin Cemetery

Next participant:

This interviewee also agrees that tours can be tailored to the group of visitors:

I think we do tailor, depending on the group. We have a very robust educational
program here where we do student tours with educators who are professional
facilitators. They do classroom exercises and that runs from, grade 3 on up through,
so primary and secondary school here in the United States. Personally, as somebody
who's brought people through from world leaders to everyday people like me, I think
this story is universal. I think it's timeless in the commonality of the victims that we
honour here. These were people going about their everyday lives caught up in this
history and are now part of that history. They were moms and dads, brothers and
sisters and husbands and wives. I think whether it's fifty years from now, a hundred
years from now when people come here, they'll be able to connect on some human
level with the 9/11 narrative.

Anthony Gardiner, Senior Vice President of Government and Community Affairs at the

9/11 Memorial
Next participant:

Similarly, the below statement also stipulates that tours are changed based on the tourists present but more specifically based on their interests due to their age group:

Of course, depending on the age of the group, or the group in general, I change the story depending on what really interests them. For example, if it is a group of women then I try to explain to them the role of women during warfare. If it’s a group of engineers who are very technically skilled, I tried to give them the story of the engineering part of the war and depending on their background I try to share stories of people who shared that background many years ago. They get a better idea of what happened there before.

Philippe Mingels, Tour Guide in the World War 1 Battlefields of Belgium

Next participant:

This interview in Spike Island also stipulates that changes to the delivery of tours must be implemented to ensure the enjoyment of the group of tourists but also the safe keeping of the site:

Yes, we do setup differently for different kinds of groups. A normal public tour such as today would be different to a school tour where you have to do a lot more management of the students to make sure they’re taking it seriously and not damaging any old artefacts or buildings. Then with foreign language tours you have to be different again such as slowing down the old Cork accent and leave out some bits that would be of no interest to someone not from Ireland. Yeah depending on the types of
groups we get we do approach it from a different sense both health and safety wise and content wise.

John Goulding, Tour Guide at Spike Island

Next participant:

The below statement, while agreeing there should be a different delivery of tours for different groups, has addressed this need by creating different tour options rather than changing the delivery of one tour:

They do. You see our core offering is the general history tour which highlights 22 of the most notable individuals of Irish history. O'Connell, Casement, Maud Gonne, Patrick Pierce and Michael Collins etc. That is our main offering and that would be I suppose what we're most closely associated with however, we also have another tour called the dead interesting tour. This one would stray away and it may go slightly onto a scale of dark tourism because this tour was created for those people who may have gone on the general history before and want to experience another side of the cemetery or would have maybe no connection or interest in Irish history. No Irish heritage our background for example, and to that end the dead interesting tour is the same length, same price but we stay away from the main historical figures and we focus on the quirkier side of the stories of the individuals who would be buried here. Unusual stories you may not know about such as this person was a lion tamer etc. and that would be one of our offerings. Then of course we've got school offerings where we have to go into the general history aspect, but it may not be as in-depth or pitched at a different level for the students and then we have kids tours as well. Funny you are talking about dark tourism when we are so sensitive here and my predecessors were
so sensitive that once we used to call kids tour Spooky tales then it became Hallowe’en tales and now it’s midterm tales because we didn’t want the connotations between creepiness, darkness, ghoulish activities and witches and so on.

Brendan Kavanagh, Operations Manager at Glasnevin Cemetery

Next participant:

In comparison the following statement addresses cultural differences that may result in a normal tour changing its content in order to cater for a specific group:

Yes, they do absolutely. The reality is that dark tourism does not appeal to the Chinese market and we massively play that down. If we have a Chinese group in front of us, we briefly mention the fact that the site was a prison and we elaborate much more on the other elements that would appeal to them. On the flip side of that if you have a younger group like an Irish interest group, you can probably get into a lot more detail and other elements. So definitely we do tailor it.

John Crotty, Manager at Spike Island

Next participant:

The below statement is unique when compared to all other answers as it insists on no changes to the content of the tour based on the group of tourists:

No, we do the tour. We don’t sort of tailor it to suit, the tour’s the tour. I’ll give you an example, I was convicted of trying to kill an RUC man and I have done tours with people who actually are RUC, I actually have done a tour with PSNA and guards one time as well and I tell them why I was in prison. I was doing a tour one day with a woman and we do a lot of different tours, we do community groups, education groups, college groups students etc. but the woman leading this community group, her son
was a serving member or had been a serving member of the RUC and of course I said why I was in prison. She asked me about it, and I said you see in the end of the day, your son was in the RUC on his side and I was on the Republican side. But as Jerry Adams says we make peace with our enemies not with our friends. So, the war’s over, this is where we are now. So that’s the kind of experience I have.

Peadar Whelan, Tour Guide Facilitator of the Falls Road Mural Tour

4.5 Ethical Managerial Behaviour in Dark Tourism Sites

This question focuses on the specific need for ethical managerial practices in relation to dark tourism sites due to the memories of the people connected with the site being affected.

This first statement alludes to the unethical managerial practices of the neighbouring convent which as a result has caused affected parties to visit the Gaol searching for answers throughout the years:

Cork City Gaol backs onto the Good Shepherd Convent, which was an orphanage and there are graves in the back of the gaol. That is where all the prisoners were buried, there is no real marker from what I remember. There is that and people have asked about them but more importantly because we’re backed on to the convent which was an orphanage and also a Magdalene laundry. It has come up that there are bodies buried of women who were in the laundry there and unmarked and there have been references to children. This isn’t part of us, but people come into the gaol to ask about next door and as well Little Nellie was buried there, in the back at the convent. Her grave is marked, and the nun’s graves are marked and that’s the problem. The nun’s graves are marked, Little Nellies grave is marked but nobody else’s graves are
marked. I have also worked as admin in a former Magdalene laundry, which is now a residential centre. It's not dark tourism as such but the memory of that is very present.

Interviewer: Do you find people in your experience at the Magdalene laundry would show up and want to have a look around?

Yes. In the Cork City gaol, we didn't have the permission because it was blocked off, but they would ask us about it. I mean, we only had certain information and you would have people who would have been children in that orphanage who would come in and ask if we had anything and we didn't because it's been sold off by the Good Shepherd Convent now, but I mean that information is with the Good Shepherd nuns, and I don't know good they are at giving it out. Similarly, now this wasn't a tourism site where I worked in the former Magdalene laundry at the residential centre you would have people coming up, but we have to tell them to go to the head nun who is based in Dublin.

Julie Anne Young, Tour Guide at Cork City Goal

Next participant:

This next statement clearly stipulates the ethical considerations of the cemetery which is outlined through managerial practices:

*I am very clear at the start of the tour that Glasnevin is still a working cemetery and that in the event of us encountering a funeral or cremation we will be staying very well out of their way and I would always look up the tour sheet beforehand to see if there is a funeral going on near any stops on the tour and tailor it around that, even to the point of avoiding people. But if there was say a funeral next to the grave of Eamon de Valera, I would explain this to people at the start of the tour and say it is*
very possibly we will be disturbed, or we will not be visiting this for fear of disturbing people because like I say, we want to maintain respectability.

John Scanlon, Tour Guide at Glasnevin Cemetery

Next participant:

This statement interestingly gives insight into how some sites do not believe ethical managerial practices are necessarily applicable to their site:

_I don't think that one's applicable._

Anthony Gardiner, Senior Vice President of Government and Community Affairs at the 911 Memorial

Next participant:

This next answer focuses on ethical behaviour when it focuses on the memories of the people in question. This interviewee puts emphasis on the time period that the people in question lived in to ensure the perception of these people is not unflattering or unfeeling when their decisions are based on very different social circumstances:

_A lot of people try to put themselves in the footsteps of the people that were there and explain what life was many years ago. It is important to explain the ideas of that time. Many people try to push their own mind set on what happened many years ago, the idea on religion has changed, the idea of life has changed, the ideas from the military point of view have changed, everything has changed. I try to push the tourist’s mindset 100 years back not by reliving the situation but by knowing how people used to think in those days because that is important. You can't look at that situation with the eyes of today, you can’t know what happened or how people thought in those days. If you do not remember this aspect, a lot of the decisions people made in the past may make them look very stupid. It is quite easy to say what they did there_
on that very spot at that very moment wasn’t the smartest idea for example but the knowledge they had at that point made it one of the better ideas. That doesn’t mean that things work out as they meant them to work out. In an ethical way, it is important to find out how people thought and lived. The importance of religion and those kinds of things you have to put in your story. You cannot leave that out of the story, for example a priest 100 years ago would have said “We are fighting for God” and everyone believed that, but if a priest today said “We are fighting for God” everyone would laugh at them and “Say you got us already once or twice, we do not believe you anymore”. The impact of religious and political leaders was very different 100 years ago then today and even today the impact is very big but it is different. For example, the Brexit history how did that start? It started with one politician saying vote for me and make me prime minister and I will make sure we go ahead with Brexit. That politician played the game and now we are still playing it. The impacts of politicians today it’s too big but it is nothing compared to the impact of politicians 100 years ago.

Philippe Mingels, Tour Guide in the World War 1 Battlefields of Belgium

Next participant:

This statement clearly links ethical managerial practices to honouring the memory of the people involved which also connects to the previous statement:

When we’re talking amongst ourselves, we always say you must honour the people that we talk about, we are very aware of that. We actually are always saying we don’t want to dumb this place down and turn it into Tayto Park or something. We want to retain its integrity and authenticity.

Felicity Philpott, Tour Guide at Spike Island
This answer clearly highlights the site's cognizant awareness of the need for ethical managerial practices:

*Definitely yes, we have to be aware that since we are such a modern fort and the history we are talking about is not 1,000 years ago it could be just 20 years ago. We have to be aware that when we are talking about someone their family could be on the tour for example their grandchildren. When we are talking about some of the notorious modern criminals such as Martin Cahill or especially Brendan O'Donnell who murdered 3 people in County Clare in the 90s, he was down here 5 years before. We don't want to be seen as trying to profit off their crimes, but their stories are good for our tours. Yeah just to be aware and to be respectful of the families we are connected to and also try not to glorify what happened either.*

**John Goulding, Tour Guide at Spike Island**

Next participant:

Like the previous statement this answer further highlights the need for ethical practices with the cavate that this site is still an active cemetery:

*If there are tours going out when there are burials or cremation services we remind people that it is still a working cemetery. Different guides use different words, but the emphasis were getting across is just to be aware that there are people and we may need to halt part of the tour or we may need to give way and so on and that kind of reinstates the fact that they maybe need to be a little quieter and maybe not so giddy. Although there can be a lot of giddiness on the tours and obviously with school kids that is said before they even leave the front door. They're told then and there to*
remember this is a working cemetery and as such you need to keep your voices down
and you need to keep your giddiness under control and when you're back on the bus,
you can be as giddy as you like but remember this is the working cemetery. Not much
else besides, be careful of your step and those kinds of things.

Brendan Kavanagh, Operations Manager at Glasnevin Cemetery

Next participant:

This next statement clearly shows a managerial mantra with which employees of a site can keep the ethical priorities of the site in mind:

Yeah, we use the phrase 'never sensational never sanitary'. What we're trying to do is not to over emphasise or make it sensational, we just tell the history exactly as we understand it. Of course we try to make it colourful and interesting and even entertaining because you don't want to give a boring history tour, but we are always very careful not to over-elaborate and not to play on something just because it might be of interest to somebody, we always try to keep a respectful.

John Crotty, Manager at Spike Island

Next participant:

This statement hails from a site of recent history and thus stipulates that memory and legacy have a part to play. Relatives of the people killed would be on the tour or nearby and this consideration is reflected in the answer below:

Well, memory and legacy in my view are two sides of the one coin and clearly the whole issue of memory and how people remember things. The whole issue of legacy and what happened to the people is very important to it. We would be very conscious on the tours that we meet people who have had relatives killed in the conflict. I'm very
conscious particularly when we go to Milltown Cemetery that the families of the people who are buried there would visit the graves of the volunteers and the people who are in the graves and the Republican plot on their anniversaries and on their birthdays or Christmas. I think I can speak for all the guides and all the people who work for Coiste that we are very conscious of the fact that we're doing a tour in streets that have witnessed some very bad things. Clearly the families of the people who've been killed still walk these streets, they're still on the streets. They still live in those houses and so we're very conscious as I say of the fact that we're telling a story that we hope is illuminating and that we hope is informing and therefore isn't impinging on people's grief or experience.

Peadar Whelan, Tour Guide Facilitator of the Falls Road Mural Tour

Next participant:

This academic response focuses on the entertainment aspect of sites which can trivialise the meaning and history of a site:

 Well I think sites that are being done in a very light-hearted fashion attracting hen parties and escape rooms in prison cells can trivialise others that are further down the scale so using it as a broad catch all does have huge problems because there is no comparison between Auschwitz and an escape room in a former prison cell where as there are comparisons you can make between Auschwitz and the 9/11 site in terms of the type of people that might go. Everywhere I go I am amazed at the selfie culture; it doesn’t matter how horrendous things are people will make victory signs and take a selfie in a place where people have died and died horrific deaths. You can’t manage what a visitor takes from an experience but certainly it is managed very well in Kilmainham where I think because of its association with 1916 and its association
with the Irish Republic it has a very different feeling to any other prison site that you could visit. They somehow also manage a balance, also you can't get married in Kilmainham, you can't have your hen party. It is a serious experience. There is no opportunity for you to go and dress up in feathers like there would be in other sites.

Dr Gillian O’Brien, Lecturer at Liverpool John Moores University

4.6 Tourist Motivations

This section focuses on the motivations of the tourists for visiting each site and if these motivations can be perceived by the facilitators as being connected to the macabre connotations of the site.

This statement connects this interest to an overall interest in violence in popular culture:

People are attracted to gore; they always have been. I mean there’s a reason why people used to go to hangings, they were popular. They were a form of entertainment and when you take away something like that people are still interested in that kind of stuff it’s just nowadays, we have computer games and films that would kind of hit the same spot when it comes to violence and gore. I think people like to see what has happened, because it hasn’t happened to them it’s okay. It's like going to a horror movie, it's really scary but you know at the end you're going to walk out and it's going to be fine and it's kind of the same. I think you just want to feel fear for a moment but know that you're safe. People really like finding out what happened like a hundred years ago and how bad it was.

Julie Anne Young, Tour Guide at Cork City Goal
Next participant:

In contrast this statement equates the interest in the site to be due to the standard of the tours and its location within the area:

*People from abroad wouldn’t know an awful lot about Irish history. I would say an awful lot of it goes down to say the reputation of the people who work here, the fact that we do have a very high-quality product in the form of the tours. Local people for example have people buried here. It’s a bit of a hub frankly for the local area, especially for tour buses and that sort of thing.*

(*John Scanlon, Tour Guide at Glasnevin Cemetery*)

Next participant:

This statement focuses primarily on a need to honour the memories of the victims rather than an interest in the macabre:

*9/11 was unprecedented not only in the scale of the attacks, the nature of them, but also the fact that they were globally witnessed by an estimated third of the world’s population because of technology. We were watching the events unfold so we were bearing witness to the event. I think people like me who are old enough to have a lived memory of the day, I think some of those people come here to kind of reconnect to honour the victims to pay respects because they in a sense were affected on a more personal level. I think some people come with that sort of motivation, but I think regardless of whether our visitors have a living memory or not. I think they’re motivation to come here is to honour the victims but also to learn about the events which are now history for these generations that weren’t alive at the time of the attacks.*

(*Anthony Gardiner, Senior Vice President of Government and Community Affairs at the 9/11 Memorial*)
Next participant:

This tour guide equates the interest in the battlefields of Belgium to an interest in discovering family history:

*Depending on their nationality it is normally them trying to find out about their own history. For the English it is very simple they are trying to trace the path of their grandparents, for the Irish it is trying to find out what happened. I remember different families about 10 or 15 years ago with a box or a tin can that they found in the attic of their grandfather's house and they had no idea what happened or who was in the photos. This time period in Ireland was dominated by a different story, the 1916 revolution in Dublin was very dominant even in the school curriculum so even though 20,000 or 30,000 Irish soldiers were involved in WWI most of their family members did not know about what happened. When I talk to Irish people I even say, you know the colour of the pants of De Velera when he was behind the barricades at the GPO, you know every detail about 1916 when only 1,000 or so men were involved but none of you know what happened throughout four or five years of war that your family members were involved in here. As a result the people of Ireland wish to rewrite history in a way, from the little bit of history I can find out from the families I start to figure out where their family members were and even take that family to that place and I try to do this in a respectful way. And because of what I know of that time. I know that most of the people in Ireland were not thinking about a revolution at that time they were just trying to do what needed to be done. I am talking about surviving and part of surviving was being in the British Army, they did not know what was in Europe or where they were going. I call it the industrial war, they believed their leaders and politicians and listened to their family members who told them to join because then they would earn some money. Some people had political reasons
for joining up, but this was in the minority, for most of the Irish families I have met this part of history is very new. The first good book I've ever read about the Irish involvement in WWI was published in 2008 called 'Our War', the first good book is only 10 years old. I know this is why so many Irish people come to me, also because of the BBC new programme of WWI where they mention Irish involvement but also the RTE new documentary. I have met with journalists and programme coordinators. For the Irish this is very new as at school there was only one story about the Revolution.

Philippe Mingels, Tour Guide in the World War 1 Battlefields of Belgium

Next participant:

This answer accepts that many different motivators attribute to interest in the site focusing specifically on the marketing of the site online:

Motivations would differ at a lot of sites. TripAdvisor is a great one for people outside of Europe especially. Americans would not really know what the difference is between Blarney Castle and Spike Island so TripAdvisor reviews help with that. Irish people come here because it is a relatively new site, people from the Cork area only ever heard about Spike as a prison and you were sent there if you were arrested. People from around Ireland have probably never heard of it. If you tell them that there is an island in Cork harbour which we call Ireland's Alcatraz and they haven't heard of it I'd say they would like to have a look at that. For British visitors there is as much British history in the fort as there is Irish history so those connections for them as well would draw them. For the rest of the world such as mainland Europeans and Australians it is a day out that includes a boat trip with plenty of Irish history. We
do talk about specific island history but then as well we link it into broader Irish
history for people that like to learn about Ireland while they are here as well.

John Goulding, Tour Guide at Spike Island

Next participant:

This statement connects an interest in this site to a curiosity about its history due to its
isolated nature:

They see a film about it and they think 'Goodness I was never there' or 'is that what's
over there?' I mean even I came over and I knew that there were prisoners here in the
modern times, but that's all I knew. People come here for all sorts of reasons, lots of
people know that there's a great history. A lot of it is curiosity and they've read the
promotional material and they want to see for themselves. This place actually has
kind of an added bit of excitement with getting in the boat and having a guide.

Felicity Philpott, Tour Guide at Spike Island

Next participant:

This statement equates a few different reasons for the interest in the site but above all others
an interest in history encourages visitors to visit the site:

A love and appreciation of history would be number one. Number two is a unique
environment. Number three is reviews of people who have experienced what we have
to offer. Number four is the quality of our tour guides and the knowledge of our tour
guides it's amazing and number five I suppose would probably be our location as part
of here and the botanic gardens which you can see there in the distance. Also, people
who appreciate structural beauty as you can't ask for a more unique environment
than here and with the trees and the planting. People look at the cemetery and say it's a cemetery, but you don't realise until you work here the amount of love, tolerance and care that people give to that from the horticulturalists to the grounds keepers.

Interviewer: Can I ask you to elaborate on the tour guides qualifications and training in relation to the site.

We've got a mixed bag in ages from a 21-year-old girl up until probably early 70s guy. The range of their experience is from no formal education but a love and appreciation of history and an ability to learn, right up to people who have studied history and Irish history in particular. They come from all walks of life, we have early retirees to students to teachers and one thing that they all have is a love of Irish history.

Brendan Kavanagh, Operations Manager at Glasnevin Cemetery

Next participant:

This statement reflects on the unique nature of the site being a main contributor to the interest in the site:

Definitely the dark tourism elements and the fact that there are very few island prisons out there. I think Alcatraz has done a great job for us by generating interest in an island prison. Being able to actually go see one here in Ireland is definitely a huge appeal and there is no other really significant one in Europe. I think the fact that it is an escape from the mainland and a lot of people are craving nature, we've got a hundred and four acres. So not just a historical element, but the reality is no cars, no dogs, no cats and nothing loud going on, you can escape the mainland. I think you've got two very diverse things there. I think for a lot of the European market it's
probably the Island escape that appeals and certainly for the Americans the British and the Australian I think they're more focused on the historical aspect.

John Crotty, Manager of Spike Island

Next participant:

Like other answers, this statement also points out many reasons for the interest in the site, but the uniqueness of this site is the focus on an interest in political history:

*Needless to say, there would be a variety of reasons. A lot of people come because they have some sense of the conflict. They may be people who come from a kind of a political activist background themselves and therefore they want to get a broader sense of it. Quite a lot of English people will come and they will be quite up front and I think fair play them, it's really brilliant for them they come over and they all say to us 'I only know about the conflict from what I heard in the news ad what the BBC said etc and I would like to hear what you have to say about it.' We've had ex British soldiers who have served here who have done tours and they just want to come over and again in fairness them, they're up front. They say, 'We were in the British army, we served here, we want to know what you have to say about it' and so people come from different places. They at least want to hear what we have to say, and I know that education groups, student groups, community groups, you know people who are involved in the peace processes want to know. We get a lot of tourists from people who are involved in reconciliation, peace, politics and people of Turkey or Syria, you know, we have the lot coming over here and a lot of them just want to hear of our experience and kind of take our experience and use it positively. In terms of the ordinary kind of tourist, I think they're just curious and they want to know. They've heard about the murals and they want to know about it and they come over to hear*
about it, there are just so many reasons. One time for example, we got a phone call to the office and it was somebody asking if they could talk to Jack who is one of our guides, but he wouldn’t work in the office with me. We would bring the guides in, they wouldn’t necessarily be based in the office and this woman wanted to do a tour with Jack. She was a Brazilian air hostess who had met somebody in a pub in Tralee who had just done the tour in Belfast with Jack. This Brazilian air hostess was coming to Belfast and wanted to do a tour with Jack. So brilliant to see all the motivations.

Peadar Whelan, Tour Guide Facilitator of the Falls Road Mural Tour

4.7 Dark Tourist Cultural Background Reactions

This question pertains to the reaction of different tourists from different cultural backgrounds such as an aversion to the macabre or more of an interest in the history.

This first statement focuses on the backgrounds of the tourists affecting their reaction to the site:

*Depends why they are there, if they’re school kids then they don’t really care, you know, there is a “ghost” that is part of it. I remember working in the industrial Heritage Museum in Scotland, because the exhibition was on slavery it was very at odds with what the rest of the site was which was to do with coal mining. I think some people didn’t expect it and didn’t know what to expect and it is really interesting actually how people came away with a whole new understanding. I suppose it all feeds into where did the coal go, where did the money go in Edinburgh? Edinburgh and Glasgow are built on slavery and you can see it in the buildings, of course slavery played a part in all of that. One tour I do remember in Cork City Gaol was this group of kids, they had come over to Ireland as part of a charity on holidays.*
They were from Scarborough, which is like a Seaside town in North England. Very poor kids, this charity brings them on holidays. I realised halfway through bringing them around that actually half their parents were in prison. You know, they were very poor kids so to be bringing them around a historic jail, I mean they were fine, but you know, sometimes you just have to know how to manage something like that.

Julie Anne Young, Tour Guide at Cork City Goal

Next participant:

This statement focuses on the personal history connected to the culture of the tourists visiting the site:

Absolutely, yes. People would have different approaches to death and burial and even different approaches to history.

Interviewer: Can you give an example of maybe two different cultures that you have come across that have different reactions.

Yeah, well. Especially in recent years what with the current economic climate people from Britain would be incredibly inquisitive as to the background of Irish history from my experience anyway because they want to know what all the fuss is about. It's my experience that a lot of people from Britain are not really taught an awful lot about what went on here in Ireland while they were running the place. They want to try to break that open, they want to try to examine what all the fuss is about. People from America are following up on family links or they would be going back to visit the old country so they would be all about asking about particular lines of history basically.

So why did the Irish leave to come to America? Why did my family settle here?

John Scanlon, Tour Guide at Glasnevin Cemetery
Next participant:

This answer indicates a lack of interest in the history of the site which is an alternative view to previous statements:

_The foreign tourists wouldn't be as interested in the history, it's kind of difficult to deal with them. I haven't dealt with that many, but the others have because they've started increasing in numbers but as long as you can give them a part of the history, they are okay and if they have a better command of English, we have audio guides. I think it's just generally to tick a box as people coming from other countries hear about this place and I suppose the marketing is quite good. We do have a lot of people who have lived here, and they want to come back and we have a lot of military people who would have served bit a time here they come back too._

_Felicity Philpott, Tour Guide at Spike Island_

Next participant:

This statement indicates no difference in reaction based on cultural background which is a unique view among interviewees:

_Not that I've noticed. I've toured people from all walks of life and I've only experienced people being profoundly moved by the experience of being here._

_Anthony Gardiner, Senior Vice President of Government and Community Affairs at the 9/11 Memorial_
This statement also agrees that there are differences in tourist reactions based on cultural backgrounds focusing mainly on English and German tourists of the Belgium World War I Battlefields:

Yes, there are differences. The English bring their own guides over for their school groups. They do not bring in Belgium tour guides as they give their tours in a very military way, it is very different. They really focus on the military point of view and we are trying to tell a story about men and sometimes they were heroes and sometimes they were cowards and often you cannot tell the difference. If a man gets a medal, is he mad or is he a hero for doing what he did?

Interviewer: In your opinion Belgian tour guides focus more on this story whereas English tour guides focus on the military history?

Yes, very victorious in a way. The whole idea of the English voting for Brexit, I was not surprised because a lot of people still think that they are a nation of worldwide importance. You can see it in the way they are dealing with the stories of WWI even though in my opinion that was the end of the grand nation and I do not like to speak of winners and losers but one thing I’m sure of is that the British system collapsed in a way. We know that the German system collapsed but the British system collapsed too but this is not the story that the British are talking about. When you look at the British cemetery, they are very beautiful in a way, very glorious. They are white as that is the most important colour, white and bright and the walls of the cemeteries make it look almost like castles. That is the way the architect made or presented them and if you look at the German side it is a totally different feeling and it is not because they lost
because they both lost, it is a very different way of looking at the people that were there and gave their lives.

Interviewer: Do German tourists come on the tour and do they have a different reaction than English tourists?

Philip: They do have a different reaction but if I go with an English group or an English-speaking group then I try to bring them to the German cemeteries to get that side of it as well so as not to miss that part of the story. I do know that the Commonwealth graveyard commission are doing a great job in keeping the graves very neat and tidy and that's a good thing, but it is very different with the German way of keeping the past alive.

Philippe Mingels, Tour Guide in the World War 1 Battlefields of Belgium

Next participant:

This statement while indicating that there is no general difference there is still a reaction difference between Eastern and Western tourists:

More no, than yes, most tourists are very respectful of the island and the history, people have died here and suffered here. The only general differences in how cultures would act, maybe for example and not to stereotype anyone but maybe Asians might act a different way to Americans while the British might act a different way to the French. But no difference in how they actually act to the site as most people are very respectful.

John Goulding, Tour Guide at Spike Island
Next participant:

This statement focuses in on the Asian cultural aversion to cemeteries and sites of the macabre:

Yeah, we don't get many Asian visitors here. We rarely see a Chinese person because cemeteries in China are not something they would ever consider visiting and so we have very few Asian visitors’ number one. We have a lot of overseas visitors from Britain and America who would have an Irish heritage and they may have an appreciation or a yearning to learn more about Ireland’s independence, the rising, Ireland as a state and the foundation of the state and then other people will literally get off the bus and say why am I being brought to a cemetery? But invariably they go back on the bus saying well, I wasn't expecting that. Our TripAdvisor reviews, for example, we had one poor one two days ago about the museum and I have a feeling I know why that was because they couldn't access the full museum. But if you go back for months what comes across is ‘I didn’t know what to expect’ or ‘I had heard that it was a place to visit’ or ‘I was brought along to a cemetery, I didn’t know why and boy was I wrong’ or ‘boy was I surprised’ or ‘boy what an experience’. A lot of people come here and as part of our check-in procedures, we ask a survey of why people are visiting and a lot of them say ‘we heard it was so good’. Which is fantastic and before I came, I'm local to here, I heard that they had a museum, but I never heard how good the tours were and I never appreciated how beautiful the cemetery was.

Brendan Kavanagh, Operations Manager at Glasnevin Cemetery
Next participant:

This answer concludes that ancestry and background determine the areas of interest at this site:

Definitely, we find a lot of people come to Ireland for different reasons and for the American markets and perhaps the Australian there's a little bit of ancestry going on. There's an interest in the people who might have gone before them. As a result, they are very interested in hearing the history to a certain degree. The French and Germans are very interested in history, but they would not let the opportunity pass without a nature excursion and getting that element. They want to be outdoors, and they don't want to stand in a museum all day. They are very much in and out, they'll take their one hour guided tour and take 30 minutes to look around, but they've got to walk that outer island as part of their visit. Definitely, I think each subset, not just any groups but nationalities too have their own way of enjoying the island.

John Crotty, Manager at Spike Island

Next participant:

This respondent elaborates on the overall tourist reaction being different to other sites due to a perceived different story when compared to the story the tourists have before arriving at the site:

I think the way I would answer that question would be that, a lot of people come over here thinking because of the propaganda and the way the British and the unionists and indeed the Dublin government and the political establishment in the South have presented the conflict that this was a sectarian conflict. The Protestants were killing Catholics and Catholic were killing Protestants because they hate each other completely ignoring all the politics. The difficulty I would find is the way in which you would be trying to get people to move away from the idea that this was a kind of a
simple sectarian, 'we hit you because you're a Catholic' and 'they hit us because we are Protestant'. We try to get them to see it in the context of British colonialism, imperialism, you know occupation of Ireland over centuries, the Rising, the Tan War, the Civil War and partition. And you're trying to move into that area to give people a broader sense of it and they're kind of dealing with information that didn't exist for them before. The only information that existed for them was that Catholics and Protestants hated each other and then after '98 we started loving each other and embracing each other. That would probably be the big thing that I would pick up on and it's very frustrating because when you do a tour with somebody like when you're doing it with your group, you have to stop and explain and talk with many questions. I have done tours that have lasted three and a half or four hours and I remember one time in particular and it always sticks in my head that this guy kept talking to me and asking me about anything to do with the tour and he was actually from the Netherlands and at the end of tour he says to me, “Do you have any Protestant friends?” And actually, it's just occurred to me that I never told him I was a Catholic for a start because I don't use religious terms, but I said him I don't know, I don't ask people what their religion is. None of my business. You know, I like to know where they are coming from politically, but whatever they do on a Sunday night or a Saturday night or whatever night they worship is nothing to do with me. That has never occurred to me until right now that I never say to anybody, I'm Catholic because just for the record, I'm not.

Interviewer: Do you find that people from a certain country would be more emotional or would sympathise more or would be more standoffish?

No, I think all of those things are actually very true. I mean there are people who have a sense or people who have some kind of idea or some kind of a notion of what
was going on and would buy into it a lot more. People who would have a broader understanding of the politics, would buy into it. You would get those different levels of reaction and of engagement as well. You know people genuinely want to know and people also are a bit curious because they're hearing something for the first time. It's like any kind of a situation, sometimes know it from your experience from what you know from the media or what you hear in the media or what you're reading the newspapers or whatever. But then you talk to somebody who's actually living in it and they tell you a completely different story and you have to engage with that, and you have to kind of try and understand.

Peadar Whelan, Tour Guide Facilitator of the Falls Road Mural Tour

Next participant:

This academic response is from a visitor perspective but does focus on the presence of more American visitors at famine sites rather than native Irish:

Possibly, I don't know I haven’t really been looking at the visitors and a lot of the work I have done especially last year was in the off-tourist season and quite often I was the only person there. I have noticed that in the famine sites where there have been people it has been primarily Americans who have been there. That was maybe just the day I was there, but they were certainly all Americans in Skibbereen similarly when I tagged along with a bus tour in Dunbrody. In Strokestown there was one Irish person there and the rest were American, I wouldn’t say that is scientific. The book I’m writing doesn’t have much to do with it as the visitors are kind of incidental, but I just noticed Americans visiting the famine sites more than anybody anywhere else.

Dr Gillian O’Brien, Reader of Modern Irish History at Liverpool John Moores University
4.8 Dark Tourist Marketing Campaigns

This question was asked in order to determine if specific marketing campaigns for dark tourists are being carried out at these sites and what products have been developed as a result. This first statement indicates that while they have not consciously targeted dark tourists' other offerings have been developed to expand the target market of the site:

No yet but I think it's definitely something that can be done. We targeted people for weddings and it does seem a bit strange, but you can get married in Cork City Gaol. I think there's a similar market there that you could market the site as. I think though that Cork City Gaol is too social history, too rich to be really targeted as dark history as it is currently laid out. It's too much about the social history, there are models around how you would have to change the tour or you would have to change some elements to make it really attractive for people who are in dark tourism and you'd have to provide extra access because I think dark tourists are all about the better access. Places where no other people are allowed to go but I think that's part of it as well. We were running yearly ghost night tours, they weren't really ghost tours, but they were kind of a similar tour but at night. You could look at maybe increasing the amount of those tours. You could change the information in the night tour so that it is not just the day tour at night, but it would include a lot of extra research. You would also have to look at health and safety when it comes to access, especially around the site because a lot of the areas are just not safe, which would include investment from the site.

Julie Anne Young, Tour Guide at Cork City Goal
Next participant:

This answer indicates some site’s disinterest in dark tourist marketing campaigns:

*Definitely not applicable.*

**Anthony Gardiner, Senior Vice President of Government and Community Affairs at the 9/11 Memorial**

Next participant:

This answer focuses on the active targeting of a particular nationality to come to a site:

*Well I'm not the owner of a site, but while I was working for a local community I started different projects to ensure we got the Irish people whether they are from the North or the South to come to the spot that was related to their ancestors. I know a lot of owners of sites like for example the museum of Passchendaele they opened the new monument for New Zealand yesterday for the Maori people. It is important to make sure specific nationalities come over to find out what happened to their people.*

**Philippe Mingels, Tour Guide in the World War 1 Battlefields of Belgium**

Next participant:

This statement focuses on the paranormal target market as a specific market as opposed to the general or dark tourist market:

*That's a good question. I think that would be a good idea. I'm not sure management have been discussing that. Saying that though, we do attract and try to attract paranormal investigators which wouldn't be necessarily dark tourism, they're more here for adventure and to find something out but we do market towards them. The after dark tours we market especially around Hallowe'en time to get people to come*
over for a bit of a fright. I think as part of an actual dark tourism site with
collections to other sites around Europe, I don't believe we have done that yet. It
would be good to look at so that people will come from around Europe and around
the world just to visit the dark tourism here rather than just being in the area or
looking for something just to do on Hallowe’en.

John Goulding, Tour Guide at Spike Island

Next participant:
Like the previous comment this site does not entertain the idea of specific targeting of dark
tourists as a subset of tourists in general:

No, we don’t see ourselves as dark tourism and we don’t want to go down that road.

Brendan Kavanagh, Manager at Glasnevin Cemetery

Next participant:
In conjunction with the response from the previous participant:

I would refer to Brendan on that, but I do not believe so.

John Scanlon, Tour Guide at Glasnevin Cemetery

Next participant:
In direct contrast to the previous statement this participant is actively attempting to attract
dark tourists to the site through specific products and services:

We have inadvertently with the after dark tours that we do. We offer a late night after
dark tour that goes into more detail on the gruesome elements of the island, the kind
of details that when you might have children on a group in the daytime, you can’t
really be sharing and as a result it’s an adults-only tour. Without even thinking about
that subset, we just wanted to offer an alternative way to experience the island but in
reality, we were hitting that after dark market. We are probably looking at it more into the future, it is something that has been inadvertent and organic up to now, but we will look at doing more in the future. I think what we will probably do is have a general way of appealing to the masses, but I think going forward as we get more and more focused on our targeted marketing via social media and those kind of channels, I do think we will be putting out specific ads that we wouldn't necessarily put out to the general public.

**John Crotty, Manager at Spike Island**

Next participant:

This answer indicates a specific demographic of dark tourists at this site:

*I don't know, we wouldn't know about that so much as John, I think he does target people for the after dark tours and it is definitely a demographic. There are young people like your age, I've never seen older people here on the after dark is it's definitely the 20's demographic.*

**Felicity Philpott, Tour Guide at Spike Island**

Next participant:

This statement also reflects the resistance to the promotion of the site to specific dark tourists:

*No. I mean, we obviously promote our tours and we promote our tours on the basis of everything I've said here, but we would never sort of buy into this idea that what we're doing is something like voyeurism.*

**Peadar Whelan, Tour Guide Facilitator of the Falls Road Mural Tour**
This academic response addresses the prevailing negative reaction to the term dark tourism from these sites and the lack of dark tourist targeted marketing campaigns:

I don’t know why they have all decided that dark tourism is a negative term. I am not quite sure why that is the case. I do not know if you have come across the Routledge handbook of dark tourism that came out this year which has maybe 30 chapters in it. Not one of them written by a historian, not one, they are mostly written by people coming from marketing or tourism background and I think that is problematic in that they are not historians working in this field. I think with marketing you are trying to sell a product and if showing a photograph of a noose gets people in then that is what you do. There should be an understanding that if something bad happens then it is in itself dark and if people go to visit it then they are tourists then you have a dark tourism experience whether or not you like it, or you don’t. I think some historical context about how dark tourism isn’t necessarily a bad thing or necessarily trivialising the story. Shane MacThomas who was the first person to do the tours in Glasnevin who sadly died a couple of years ago, if there was ever a showman for tours, Shane was that showman. I spoke to him before he died about it and he would of absolutely said that ‘yeah, it doesn’t get darker than this’. It is interesting that they are now doing a much more corporate line.

Dr Gillian O’Brien, Reader of Modern Irish History at Liverpool John Moores University
4.9 Dark Tourist’s Fascination with Death

This question was asked to determine the ability of managers and tour guides to identify dark tourists at a site based on their behaviour.

This statement indicates a fascination with the paranormal as an indicator of the presence of dark tourists:

*I think it's when they ask if I have seen ghosts, that comes up an awful lot. I don't believe in ghosts, but it's hard not to get a bit creeped out. Your mind plays tricks on you, especially when you're opening or closing and when you turn off the lights because it's very dark. I think when you talk about the famine as well people kind of have questions about how they died and how they ended up there. But again, we don't always have the answers to how they died, where they died and where they're buried, and I think a lot of people have questions about that.*

*Julie Anne Young, Tour Guide at Cork City Goal*

Next participant:

This statement is similar to the previous one but also indicates the connection to personal stories of famous figures that relate to the macabre:

*It's the people that ask questions like 'How did this person die?' and 'When did they die? Of course, you play into that a little bit because people kind of do want the ghoulish but you kind of tone it down, you'd say that this person died in a particular way. You draw in links, you say Daniel O'Connell's heart was sent to Rome to the Irish College where it was stolen in 1920 and then maybe draw in other links like Percy Shelley. For example, Percy Shelley's heart allegedly survived its cremation and it was given to his wife and she kept it in her desk drawer for 30 years. Her name*
was Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley the woman who wrote Frankenstein. People adore that, they love that. They love horror, people love to be scared.

John Scanlon, Tour Guide at Glasnevin Cemetery

Next participant:

This answer in comparison indicates a lack of observation of dark tourists with a specific interest in the macabre:

I don't think that's applicable. I don't know anyone in my experience that has identified themselves as a dark tourist.

Interviewer: They wouldn't normally identify themselves, they would be kind of more interested, more involved, go up to tour guides and ask more questions that's the general feedback, I'm getting from sites in general.

Anthony: Yeah. I couldn't I could speak to that question.

Anthony Gardiner, Senior Vice President of Government and Community Affairs at the 9/11 Memorial

Next participant:

This answer relates to the importance of immersing yourself in the story of the area:

Well when we are walking the landscape you do not see death, there are some cemeteries in that landscape that we walk through, but I mostly talked about why these hills were so important. When people are on the bus, they cannot see what's important, the differences in height are very important so I get them to get out of the bus to feel the difference. These are not mountains these are small hills you cannot see it really and I want them to feel the difference and I want them to get the importance of the area, so they can understand why war stayed in this area. If you go
to a cemetery then it's about death of course and talking about their lives. For example, I asked 'How does a young New Zealander get here?' He was living in Donegal being one of those young immigrants who left Ireland and went to New Zealand at 16 and became part of that community and then decided to fight. We are talking about migration and nationalism in a way and all these things are part of the story and he is part of the story because he is buried here.

Philippe Mingels, Tour Guide in the World War 1 Battlefields of Belgium

Next participant:

This statement connects the dark tourists to this site in numerous examples such as an interest in gravesites:

Good question, somewhat not 100%. We do get lots of questions about where the convicts are buried on the island, so we tell them about the mass graves on the other side of the island that we don't know much about yet. People are interested to hear about the murders on the island and the suicides. I think the people that come over here for the night-time tours and even the daytime tours will have an interest and it will be the death and suffering that they're interested in. I think that's what dark tourism is, it's not that you're interested in it for a weird reason, you just want to see the good parts of people's actions and the bad parts and obviously try to find the motivations behind that kind of death and suffering. I do think that death would be a big factor in dark tourism tours.

John Goulding, Tour Guide at Spike Island
Next participant:

The tangible aspect of the connection to death is indicated here as an important aspect to the interest in this site:

*It's not accepted that it is a cemetery. But the only thing and is you visit O'Connells crypt and as well as O'Connell being there, ten members of his family are also there so that would be the only part of the tour where you or kids might ask "are they really in there" etcetera. Coffins that you can touch and are encouraged to touch.*

Brendan Kavanagh, Manager at Glasnevin Cemetery

Next participant:

This answer indicates that the dark tourist visitors look for more information when compared to other tourists:

*Definitely, the interest levels when we discuss anything to do with the prison. Every tour is ended with an element of please do come and see me if you'd like any more information on any elements. You can see the 10% or 15% making a bee line to the guide to get more information on that and they want if possible, to be escorted through the different areas and told the different history of different spots and cells. I supposed they're quite verbal with it, I guess. They're not afraid to come up ask or say, 'I'd love to hear a bit more about this, can you please tell me?'. They might often compare it to other sites they've been to that might have stuck with them. They're really building up their own experiences in their head of what their interest in those kinds of sites is.*

Interviewer: What aspects of the site are they generally more focused on more on the history of it being a prison or a famine site?
Probably more the prison, yeah. I think the fact that it was a prison as a result of the famine. It's interesting but it's definitely more the prison island elements, as if it's not bad enough that you're locked away in prison but being locked away in a prison an island where your family can't necessarily even come to visit you with that next level of detachment and the only thing beyond that would have been transportation. Which a lot of the people here would have suffered of course. Again, depending on the different markets the Americans, British and Australians would certainly be interested in the transportation element where a lot of those people would have actually gone to where they are from. For the Europeans it's more about on-site, seeing the cells the physical nature of it and less actually experiencing the site less so than hear the history of the site.

**John Crotty, Manager at Spike Island**

Next participant:

This statement simply connects dark tourists to an interest in the macabre through a fascination with death:

*I have never done the after dark tour but during the day people would ask you things about how many people have died here and where's the graveyard? They are interested.*

**Felicity, Tour Guide at Spike Island**
Next participant:

In contrast, this statement indicates a lack of interest in the suffering of people and more of an interest in the history of the event:

Well again, I would probably say that wouldn't apply to our tours because I mean I don't have any real experience of people wanting to know the gory details of who was killed where. Nobody has ever sort of said to me 'what was it like when Bobby Sands was dying on hunger strike'. I've never experienced that to be honest with you, as I say most people are more clued in and willing to pick up on the story and what we're telling them as opposed to kind of focusing on the negative stuff. The idea that death is such a big thing doesn't come across, although in saying that it's interesting for me that sometimes we do bus tours and we would go up through the different areas of West Belfast and one of the most deprived areas of West Belfast is Ballymurphy and people are shocked to hear of the fact that Ballymurphy is one of the most deprived areas in terms of social deprivation, unemployment and ill health as a result of poverty. The fact that over a hundred people from the conflict were killed in that area alone, it's obviously a real negative story, but Ballymurphy is one of the strongest most resilient communities that you'll ever come across. I know it’s not a direct answer to your question but nonetheless, I think there's different sort of ways in which you talk about the experience of nationalists and the North and that would be part of it.

Peadar Whelan, Tour Guide Facilitator of the Falls Road Mural Tour
4.10 Products Management Created Within the Site

This question focuses on specific products created by management to specifically attract dark tourists to the site. An interesting observation from the research is that sites create these products but in some cases are not aware of them being a specifically targeted product for the dark tourism market.

This answer indicates a connection to ghosts as a dark tourist product:

*I think it's something that's been worked on. I do think they should change the tours, that needs to happen. I once went on this Cork City Tour ghost tour around Cork City and that was really good, but it wasn't really a ghost tour as such it was like a history tour, but I really enjoyed that. Dark social, again the Magdalene laundry stuff was really to the fore when you look at Cork City like you look at anywhere, for example there was a big Hulk big ship in Cork Harbour that held prisoners. That's horrible when you think about it, but nobody knows much about it. It's pretty horrible when you think about this ship in Cork Harbour holding prisoners because they didn't know what to do with them. Some of them were sent to Australia, but it was just basically a floating prison. My favourite things are old maps and I love finding out about where old gallows greens are, it is really interesting. You get them all over the place in most towns, off Barracks Street there's a street at the start of Pouladuff Road and off that again is Gould Street. This forms a triangle and this triangle was the Gallows green. If you think about where it is, it's near the barracks and it's also high on a hill which means when you hang people it's going to be seen. I suppose that is dark tourism and I suppose I'm interested in that kind of stuff. It's more about how a city shifts and how its people move on and how they approach things like death.*

*Interviewer: Can I ask specifically: do you find yourself having an interest in the macabre?*
Yes, I mean, I studied archaeology and history so it's hard not to and one of the modules I studied in archaeology was osteoarchaeology, which is the archaeology of bones. You have to become very familiar with skulls and things like that very quickly.

The other thing about dark history is I think sometimes people bring their own current view of the world into how they view the world. We might be squeamish about gallows greens, but for everybody who lived in the 16th, 17th and 18th Century, it was a very common everyday thing to see, to happen and to know. The sounds and the smells we can't understand that, but those people then did, and they lived their lives.

Julie Anne Young, Tour Guide at Cork City Goal

Next participant:

This answer indicates no connection to dark tourists in relation to products at the site:

*None, the only thing that could possibly go on to that scale would be the midterm tales, which would have a few harmless scares or jumps.*

Interviewer: I saw downstairs that you have a ‘City of the Dead’ area. Would you consider that something that’s kind of geared towards the dark tourist?

Yeah, possibly I suppose it’s to engage maybe younger people about grave-robbing and that we used to have guards here with dogs to guard against grave robbing

Brendan Kavanagh, Operations Manager at Glasnevin Cemetery
Next participant:

Like the above answer for the same site this respondent does not believe they have any dark tourism products despite the example given of a specific tour linked to the darker side of the site:

I can really go with Brendan for the rest of the questions in that they really are not. I mean things like the dead interesting tour which apart from its puny name is very much on to the more kind of eerie sort of end of things. There’re assassins, there are priests, there was a priest out there called Michael Morrison who was involved in the liberation of Bergen-Belsen, thieves and con-women.

John Scanlon, Tour Guide at Glasnevin Cemetery

Next participant:

This statement indicates that there are specific products but more for the purpose of education rather than the specific targeting of dark tourists:

Yes, we have guided tours by reservation. We have tours of both the memorial and the museum spaces. We also have audio guides that are available for people who don’t want to do the guided tours. We have two primary exhibitions, a historical exhibit that in a very in-depth way examines the events of the day, the events leading up to 9/11, the ongoing consequences of the attacks and the nine-month recovery operation. Then our second primary exhibit is our memorial exhibit which honours the individuals and gives people a sense of the lives lived. People in the memorial exhibit will see a portrait of my brother they’ll be able to look through a touchscreen table and see pictures of him from throughout his life. They can hear a recorded remembrance of him actually done by me just reflecting on the kind of person he was. It gives people an insight into who these individuals were. We have some changing exhibitions that
range in topics and a very robust educational programming for students and younger visitors as well.

Anthony Gardiner, Senior Vice President of Government and Community Affairs at the 911 Memorial

Next participant:

This respondent doesn’t elaborate on products developed as the tour is the core product offered:

Most of the things I do are walks, these walks are written down on leaflets that people can take, or I can take them on the tour and impart what I know about war. I generally do guided walks but part of it I have already written down and it is part of the many products there are here.

Philippe Mingels, Tour Guide in the World War 1 Battlefields of Belgium

Next participant:

In direct contrast to the above statements this respondent is aware of the dark tourist market and has developed product offerings in conjunction with these tourists’ interests:

We do two or three versions of our night-time tours, we also do a cinema night where we show a horror film with a tour before or afterwards of the creepier buildings. We do a straight up after dark tour which includes the history of the island along with the dark side of the history with the paranormal stories. We do get some requests for straight up paranormal tours just literally talking about ghost sightings on the island, we show them photos of the ghosts taken on the island and we talk just strictly about that. Concerning stuff that has been created, there is one area of the fort which is closed for the daytime tour, it’s the abandoned jail which is probably the creepiest building. It is not the safest during the daytime so that’s why we supervise people
there at night-time but they have extra interpretive photos and paintings to link with the dark tourism story which were put in specifically just for that.

John Goulding, Tour Guide at Spike Island

Next participant:
This answer corroborates the above statement and further indicates the history of the famine on the island as another developing product:

*Definitely the after dark tour again inadvertently not deliberately, but the recreation of the famine era prison has certainly appealed to that side of the market although it was obviously created for the general population to experience and it is a highlight for anybody on the tour because it is the original authentic building. We do have plans to put a monument on the convicts' graveyard as we are conscious of the fact that a lot of these individuals were buried without headstones and without names. We would like to try to rectify that with a ceremony and then something to mark their names out. I do think again those kinds of things will appeal to a subset that don't necessarily know why but it does absolutely appeal to them.*

Interviewer: That's tying into the ethical management as well. You have to preserve the memories the people.

Exactly that is the reality of it, when you're doing your job day-to-day you don't always think about that exactly, you don't get that impact or reality, but it is there. We are conscious of an injustice done many years ago with the extent of the famine in the mainland it was just forgotten about as when a million people die on the mainland you are not necessarily going to think about a couple of thousand on an island. They did get left and passed by, so we definitely like to try and mark that and rectify that as
best we can and have them thought about in the future. We want to go through that on our guided tours and the plan is that when it is launched to mention one prisoner who died every day from each tour guide. They would say, today we ask you to think for a moment of the prisoner ‘such and such’ who arrived at this age and actually died at this age and is buried on the island and never made it off. That is the reality of this site and how difficult it was.

John Crotty, Manager at Spike Island

Next participant:

The previous two statements are corroborated by this one indicating an organisation wide understanding of the targeting of dark tourists:

There's the after dark tour. They also have Cinema Club and they show scary movies on Saturdays in one of the worst places on site in the punishing block.

Felicity Philpott, Tour Guide at Spike Island

Next participant:

This respondent indicates a need to develop specific targeted dark tourism products but not stray into unauthentic practices:

Well, I mean probably one of the things we should do is look at some way of producing material that gives more of a sense of what we do and promote what we do in a way that we don't do. But no, we don't buy into that idea that this is a terror tour and who did what to who. It's not that kind of experience and we don't sell it in that context at all and certainly we don't do gimmicky things around that idea.

Peadar Whelan, Tour Guide Facilitator of the Falls Road Mural Tour
4.11 Personal Interest in Dark Tourism

This question asked each interviewee if they would consider themselves a dark tourist or would they go to dark tourism sites on their time off. This question was to determine the interest in these sites of management and tour guides of dark tourism sites in general.

This respondent indicated an interest in dark tourism sites as it was very prevalent in the city they lived in:

Yeah, I do. It would depend where I go because I lived in Edinburgh it’s hard not to because it’s everywhere. It’s a city that’s been built on a lot of dark tourism, but I know I’ve been hearing about stuff like people visiting Chernobyl and things like that and I don’t think that’s for me because I used to do history and archaeology it comes from that side of things. I don’t mind old graveyards, I find them really interesting. I’ve also been involved in a community project called ‘Historic Graves’ where you would basically audit a local old community graveyard and take down all the names and it’s really good.

Interviewer: I suppose from what you just said there you would look at dark tourism as being multi-faceted.

Definitely true because you can come at it from a social side, historical side or you can like the architecture, there are people who just enjoy visiting prisons. I’ve been actually to a couple of historic prisons, so it happens that way. I worked in Cork City Gaol, but I’ve also been to Freeman Perth Prison, which is where a lot of people were sent to in Fremantle and to Port Arthur which was via Van Diemon’s Land which is in Tasmania. I have kind of been at the start and the end point of a lot of people’s journeys.

Julie Anne Young, Tour Guide in Cork City Goal
Next participant:

This interviewee shows an interest in dark tourism sites but would not describe themselves as a dark tourist as they have more of an interest in the history than the macabre:

Not particularly. my big passion is military history but I would like to go to a few places. I'd love to visit Bran Castle for example which is in Romania, it's Vlad Tepes castle the inspiration for Dracula.

John Scanlon, Tour Guide at Glasnevin Cemetery

Next participant:

This respondent does not recognise dark tourism sites:

Well again. I wouldn't characterize those sites as places of dark tourism in my opinion. I mean again tragic history is recorded there. I consider myself a historian. I was part of the efforts to preserve the World Trade Centre site, the foundations of the towers the footprints of the towers and authenticity of place which has always been something that's resonated with me personally. I would be interested in visiting Auschwitz for example to learn more about that part of our history and to pay respects to the people who were killed on that site. That would be my motivation for going to those kinds of places.

Interviewer: Hitting on something you were saying there about dark tourism. You were saying that Auschwitz and those places wouldn't be dark tourism. Can I ask how you would define dark tourism?

I just fundamentally disagree with that as a way to describe these sites of memory. I know a lot of the places, a couple of the places you mentioned are like international sites of conscious, but I would more frame it that way.

Anthony Gardiner, Senior Vice President of Government and Community Affairs at the 9/11 Memorial
Next participant:

This respondent in direct contrast to the previous statement is aware of dark tourism sites and indicates that they are a dark tourist:

Yes, I do. I am very interested by the First World War. I often visit places I have never been before to find out what happened there and with the help of the internet, I try to find out about the men that were there and about the Irish connection.

**Philippe Mingels, Tour Guide in the World War 1 Battlefields of Belgium**

Next participant:

This interviewee gives examples of sites they have visited due to their interest in the macabre:

I don't actively seek them out, but I don't shy away from them either for example when I was in Cambodia I did go to the Killing Fields. We also went to the Tuol Sleng the torture museum which was a very depressing day, but I didn't go there specifically to see that, but I was definitely interested in going to see it when I was there. It does make you think about how in such recent decades people were able to do these things to each other and it does give you a different perspective on other areas of the world and even stuff going on now that is linked to back then. Other areas, prisons, I enjoy going to those sites as well. I was never at this site as a tourist before, I started working here but if I had been or even if I came here today with fresh eyes, I would definitely love the place and be interested in what they're offering as well. I wouldn't say that I actively seek them out, but I definitely would not cross them off the list and I would actually go and see them.

**John Goulding, Tour Guide at Spike Island**
Next participant

This answer indicates an interest in the dark side of a site:

*I wouldn't seek out thrills and activities necessarily, if I went to London I would seek out the London dungeon and I'm sure I'd enjoy the visitor experience of going there. For example, another dark tourism site which shows something away from the kind of general history, but into more ghoulish our medieval aspects of it would be interesting.*

**Brendan Kavanagh, Operations Manager at Glasnevin Cemetery**

Next participant:

This respondent acknowledges that they are a dark tourist and as a result have an avid interest in dark tourism sites:

*I do, yes. I can enjoy it, before I even came here, I would have been interested. When I travelled the world in 2007, I would have gone to the killing fields in Cambodia and various other sites like that, Alcatraz that would fall into that category. I'd be like the general population who would veer towards a bit of interest in that. I think it's hard to put your finger on exactly what it is or why, but I guess it's so extraordinary and it's our own obsession, fear and feeling of death that we are interested to hear how the lives of others have been affected. There's nothing more extreme than a lot of dark tourism sites when it comes to how people's lives were affected. I think it's just a human story really and the human elements and the extremes that end up happening in these sites is what draws you in and those stories tend to stick with you.*

**John Crotty, Manager at Spike Island**
Next participant:

In comparison this respondent avidly indicates no interest in dark tourism due to a uniquely political perspective on the term:

 Well no, the only interest I have in going anywhere or doing anything is to find out what the story or politics or the meaning of things are. I had a kind of a ‘one off’ unique experience a number of years ago when a friend of mine who is a management consultant in Sweden was organising a whole series of events. He was coming here a couple of years ago and he wanted me, because he knows me, to do all the political tour in Belfast, but because there are management consultants, really upper-class people they were happy to pay to go everywhere. I mean up to the Game of Thrones sites, Giants causeway and he asked me to do the tour right up along the coast. I couldn’t do it, but I ended up writing up the script for someone to do it. I was looking at a lot of the stuff that you would look at when you go up along the coast and one of the funny things to come out of it was an island called Magee along the coast which was the last place in Ireland to have a witch trial. Now I don’t think there is much darker than a witch trial, I mean you throw somebody into the water and if they survive, they are a witch, so you execute them anyway. If they drown, they weren’t witches but too bad, is that ‘dark tourism’ or is it just a story from history? The more I talk about it the more I come to the conclusion that some smart-ass academic come up with a term that to me is very politically loaded. And that’s why I would really react to it, because I think it is a very politically loaded concept.

Interviewer: Would you mind delving into that a little bit more, why you think it is politically loaded?

Yeah, when I first heard the concept. I woke up one morning and there was a programme on BBC radio Ulster and they were talking about tourism along the
Northern coast. If you do the North Antrim tour you just follow the North road out of Belfast to Carrickfergus, Larne, Isle of Magee and do all the glens up by Glenarm and all the rest of it. Murlock Bay. North Lower Dyke, it is actually the most amazing scenery, it is absolutely brilliant and its fantastic, but you end up in Ballycastle and every August you have the ‘Ould Lammas Fair’ up in Ballycastle. Ballycastle was a Nationalist town up along the North coast and they have this fair. When I woke up this morning this programme was on and I was sick, so I wasn’t going to work. They were talking about tourism in the North and they were up at Dunluce castle, the Giant’s Causeway and they were talking about all the big sites and I think Game of Thrones would have been part of the programme as well but in the period of the time I was listening to the programme now I could of dosed off but I didn’t hear them talking about the ‘Ould Lammas Fair’ which would be associated with Nationalism because it is in Ballycastle which is a Nationalist town and they didn’t mention it. But they then interviewed this academic that was talking about ‘dark tourism’ and he talked about bringing people to visit sites where ‘evil’ was done. Now evil for me is a massively loaded word, it is so loaded as to clearly be making a point that anybody who brings anybody to any place where they talk about death or whatever is talking about evil. But it was being talked about it in the context of political tourism that was going on in the North and that juxtaposition of evil and political tourism and that is why I made the point I made.

Peadar Whelan, Tour Guide Facilitator of the Falls Road Mural Tour
4.12 Are there Policies Surrounding the Admittance of Children to the Site?

This question arose from research in the literature review which indicated an issue with children visiting dark tourism sites as it can result in psychological trauma.

This respondent recounts a personal example to indicate the risk to children’s mental health at dark tourism sites:

*I remember once going to I think it was Madame Tussauds when I was 15 or 16 and there was a kind of a walk through and my mother and my sister got lost and I had to walk through the scary thing on my own. I was terrified afterwards but it depends I think it should be like a cinema warning, if you think your kid can handle it.*

*Interviewer: It should be left up to the personal opinion of the parent?*

*Yeah, the cinema has a minimum so like 12a, but it depends what you're doing or what you're talking about. I do think you should be mindful around it, but we have to be aware that kids have seen a lot of things at a young age that we wouldn't have seen at a young age.*

*Interviewer: Would you say there be a significant difference between bringing your child to Auschwitz and bringing your child to Cork City Gaol?*

*A huge difference. I've never been to Auschwitz, I have been to Berlin, my cousin lives in Berlin. I've been there a couple times and there is a place that I've never wanted to go on my own. It's far more recent and actually in relation to dark tourism, Hitler's Bunker, is unmarked in Berlin for the simple reason that they didn't want dark tourists, real dark tourists. They didn't want it to become a shrine especially coming up to the 2006 World Cup, which I think was held in Germany because they were doing some works around the building but that's really interesting. It's the way the story is told in Cork City Gaol it is a social story, a historical story as opposed to you know, Auschwitz which is tough, and it is recent. It's a recent example of genocide.*
Interviewer: Just in the point that you made about Hitler’s bunker. You had come across a documented case that the government did not want to mark the site? I think it was out there and coming up to the 2006 Football World Cup there were some building works and it came up because of the work being done. It had been discovered so they didn’t want to mark it. I know where it is because people kind of know where it is, but they didn’t want to mark it for people who wouldn’t be told, because my cousin is there, he knows stuff. Basically, you don’t want white supremacist and Nazis coming to a shrine to somebody and that’s another part of dark tourism, which I think is really interesting about people like Hitler people like well look at Bin Laden. They threw his body into the ocean because of the whole idea of shrines as well, which I think is interesting.

Interviewer: I suppose that is a whole side of the management of Dark Tourism sites. Exactly and I think that’s the difference between Cork City Gaol and Auschwitz. Auschwitz is very recent, and the families are still alive and remember that. With Cork City Gaol, too many people came through the doors for it to be, one person’s story or one particular group of people story.

Julie Anne Young, Cork City Goal

Next participant:

This respondent indicates the need for an age limit for some aspects of the dark tourism site:

It is definitely over 18 and they wouldn’t really ever mention the darker side of this place during the day.

Felicity Philpott, Tour Guide at Spike Island
Next participant:

Interestingly this respondent has the opposite point of view and puts no age restrictions in place:

*Absolutely not, there are none on either end. Basically, we want to get kids in here, we want to get them learning about what made this country what it is.*

*John Scanlon, Tour Guide at Glasnevin Cemetery*

Next participant:

Similarly, this site also imposes no restrictions for children visitors:

*No, I mean we don't have any age requirement or restriction on the site.*

*Anthony Gardiner, Senior Vice President of Government and Community Affairs at the 9/11 Memorial*

Next participant:

This respondent presents alternative reasoning for the exclusion of children from tours:

*I do not believe it is a good idea to bring children on these kinds of tours, not because they shouldn't be confronted with the facts but because it is difficult for youngsters of 15 to understand what happened so for anyone younger than 12 it is even more difficult. You cannot tell the story of the first World War by neglecting the politics or neglecting religion or human rights and these kinds of stories. For children these things are not known, and you need to know far more than they often know, I think it is important for the quality of the tour to have a certain knowledge about these things so that you don’t start from zero. I do not have time to tell you about everything, you need to have some luggage, that luggage may not be complete or entirely correct but you need to have something. It helps them and you to tell the story and to find out*
about the story and they have to make their own conclusions, but you need to have some information beforehand. For example, if you go to a site with German trenches with children of 12 years old you already know what is going to happen, they will start to play war which is normal for that age and that is normal behaviour, but the idea of going to somewhere of death or that kind of historical site and playing war is not a good idea. Because if you do, you are in a way saying it is all a game it is not. Especially in a younger group such as a school group, I do not understand people who are specialised in giving lessons to youngsters and take children to that kind of place knowing that they will start to play and shoot each other and that should not be the idea of that kind of site.

Interviewer: That goes back to what we’re talking about earlier in relation to ethical managerial practices.

It is not really ethical to do a tour with children and even with youngsters depending on their mental state. Sometimes you have guys of 18 who are very responsible, or you can have youngsters of 20 who are not. As a guide you have to make sure that they do not see war as a game.

Philippe Mingels, Tour Guide in the World War 1 Battlefields of Belgium

Next participant:

In direct contrast this site has no restrictions for children except for the night time tours:

There isn’t for the daytime tours, even babies, young children and teenagers are allowed here and welcome here. We have stuff for let’s say children under the age of 5 or 6 because we were told a few years ago there was not much for them as at an age
like that it is hard to pay attention for an hour when someone is talking about history
so we added in stuff like the fairy trail maps and fairy houses around the fort for them
to have a look at. For the Night-Time tours we would say over 16 is what we would
advise, one because we do talk about dark history, which is death, suicide and
suffering but also because people under 16 are sometimes harder to control. We do
allow them, but they have to be supervised by a parent or a guardian because if it was
just a group of 14 year olds together there will be an impact on the tour for other
people due to messing and stuff like that. Other than that health and safety wise it's
very controlled and strict over here for everyone, children and adults because with all
the banging gates and all the old buildings and walls I don't think there's anything
that would be less safe here for a child than there would be for an adult but just for
everyone we have to keep an eye out.

John Goulding, Tour Guide at Spike Island

Next participant:

This site has a significant percentage of its market made up of school children and thus
restrictions are only based on a physical safety point of view:

No, except that young people can't climb the O'Connell tower under health and safety.

We encourage education as a huge aspect as 37% of our visitors are primary,
secondary or third level education establishments. We encourage more and more and
it's great to see when they do come.

Brendan Kavanagh, Manager at Glasnevin Cemetery
Next participant:

Similarly, this site has limited restrictions except for the night time tours:

We don't have specific policies, they are welcome to access all areas of tours except for the after dark tour but we do alter the tour based on the group in front of us. All the tour guides are extensively trained, and they know what age is appropriate for the group in front of them and we wouldn't invite children under 16 and our after dark tours because we do feel that content is too heavy for them and too much of a focus on death and it might be upsetting. We do apply that generally, but we don't restrict children to the tours.

John Crotty, Manager at Spike Island

Next participant:

This respondent focuses on delivering difficult issues are presented in a format that should not be difficult for children to cope with:

Well, for me it wouldn't be an issue because as I say and you know from all my previous answers we would like to think that the stuff that we would be talking about in the context of the history and the story and even if it involved imprisonment and death and it does involve those types of stories we would like to think that it would be presented in a way that it shouldn't be difficult for children. Saying that the other side of the coin for us is when we maybe get phone calls from people who are saying we are a family from here, there or wherever and we are visiting Belfast, we would like to do the tour. We are X adults and X children under the age of blah blah blah and my point of view would be if the parents are happy for the children to go along, then they are ultimately responsible. They have the duty of care to their children as opposed to us have the duty of care to their children and having said that we would like to think
that we weren't going to be saying anything on the tour that would have a bad impact on the children. The only thing we do also say to people on tours is that there is no problem taking photographs but be aware that you shouldn't be taking photographs of children without permission.

Peadar Whelan, Tour Guide Facilitator of the Falls Road Mural Tour

Next participant:

This academic respondent gives her opinion on the need to change tours based on the demographic:

Presumably if they don't think they are telling dark tales then they shouldn't see any reason why they would change a tour. If they are agreeing that they should moderate their tours, then they are acknowledging that there is a darkness to some of their tours.

Interviewer: Nearly every site has said that they would change the tour in some way, even slightly, due to the dark aspects of them.

Well that is interesting because if they are telling you it is not dark then why on earth are, they changing it? I think tours ought to be changed based on the demographic anyway. If I was giving a tour of the National Art Gallery, I would change my tour for seven years olds as I would for University students as I would for people off the street or a group of foreigners. I think tours ought to be changed based on the demographic of the tour and not particularly on wither it is dark or not, but I think it is interesting that they were willing to change the contents of their 'not dark' offering if it's too dark.

Dr Gillian O'Brien, Reader of Modern Irish History at Liverpool John Moores University
4.13 What Key Resources Set this Site Apart from Other Dark Tourism Sites

This question was asked in order to determine the unique selling point of each site in the opinion of the management and tour guides of the site. This respondent does connect the uniqueness of this site to the dark aspects of the site:

Well I think Cork City Gaol is an old gaol and people get freaked out by it, so you are onto a winner there. And again, I think it comes down to more research, different tours, opening up access.

Julie Anne Young, Tour Guide at Cork City Goal

Next participant:

This answer focuses on the fact that inmates came from all over Ireland and thus connect the entire country to this one island:

I think this is a very unique site, I don’t think that there is any other tourist attraction like it really. There are some prisons, I know there is Cork prison that would be dark, but I think this site was specifically bad because of the convicts and the amount of them that were here. They suffered terribly because of the sheer numbers and there was disease and punishment. Because it was a depo, they were all gathered here from all over the south of Ireland and brought here. I think this was unique.

Felicity Philpott, Tour Guide at Spike Island

Next participant:

This respondent doesn’t believe this site has unique selling points from the point of view of dark tourism and in fact poses health and safety issues:
I honestly don’t think so. Walking around here in the dead of night for example would cause massive insurance issues.

John Scanlon, Tour Guide at Glasnevin Cemetery

Next participant:

The fact that this is the site of the historic event is cited by this respondent as a unique factor:

*I think the authenticity of our site really imbues it with a great power and uniqueness.

I mean when our visitors come here, they are standing where this history happened. I do think that is an asset of this place, a feature of it that really imbues it with a tremendous amount of meaning for people.*

Anthony Gardiner, Senior Vice President of Government and Community Affairs at the 9/11 Memorial

Next participant:

The transient nature of this tour over a large area gives it a unique position over other sites:

*I think the fact that I use the landscape and I am not sitting in a bus and driving from one cemetery to another. I am walking with people and explaining what they are seeing. They are looking around, but they do not really understand what they're seeing and I'm trying to explain that and that makes it very different to other organised tours. When people just get on a bus and get out of that bus at the cemetery and get back to the bus because they've seen one, so they have to see the next one. I do not visit 10 cemeteries in an afternoon, I take three sites and I believe they see far more and learn far more about the whole situation by just walking in the landscape while I tell them the stories of 100 years ago and today. I explain why farmers are still working this land and what happens when they do and what happens today. I tell*
them that these farmers still find things today and that kind of thing. 100 years later
war is still continuing.

Interviewer: I know mines were part of WWII, I did not know if they were part of
WWI much but are dangerous materials such as that still around today?

There are still thousands of kilos every year, a special organisation which is part of
the Belgian army called DOVO they are specialised in finding shells and a lot of these
shells did not explode before and they are specialised in making them safe. I know the
places where a farmer one day found a shell. When they find a shell, they ring the
police and DOVO, I go to these places with tourists in the fields and show people and
explain the whole idea of farming in this area and how dangerous it is. I tell them we
are walking in a living landscape part of WWI and part of life today and that WWI
still continues today, because there are still dangerous situations for farmers.

Philippe Mingels, Tour Guide in the World War I Battlefields of Belgium

Next participant:

This respondent indicates the unique eras of history that have taken place within the buildings
on this island as a differentiation factor when compared to other dark tourism sites:

Yes definitely, some that we have opened and others that we have not opened yet
because we do have a lot of old prison buildings which have history that goes back to
20 years ago with a newer jail, 100 years ago for the Irish War of Independence
internment camp and 150 years ago to the British convict system. I do believe the
buildings we have do have a unique connection to different parts of history for Britain
and Ireland. We have lots of underground tunnels, some we have opened but a lot
more still to be opened as well. If we ever get them opened which we are planning to.
I think this will be a really unique site as it will be a mixture of an old prison, historical fort and underground tunnels like you get in Vietnam. I think the product we have at the moment is pretty unique for Ireland and Europe but the stuff we still have to open could make us a UNESCO World Heritage site standard of uniqueness.

John Goulding, Tour Guide at Spike Island

Next participant:

This response was interesting as it indicates the further disinterest in researching the dark tourism aspects of this site and correlates with the other respondent from this site:

No again, because we're not in that market.

Brendan Kavanagh, Manager at Glasnevin Cemetery

Next participant:

This respondent focuses on the in-depth history of the site setting it apart from other sites:

Certainly, the famine era prison already does that to a certain extent. I mentioned the convict cemetery and the reality that it is a mass grave and it is moderately marked but we do feel it should be more significantly highlighted. I do think that it is something that will appeal to everybody and certainly to a dark tourist. Outside of those two sites I can't think of too many else. We're probably going to go more the social history element, which is under looked at the moment on the island which is a much more cheerful experience of the people who lived outside the fort. I think that the famine era prison that is currently there and the future convict cemetery would cover that.

John Crotty, Manager at Spike Island
This respondent connects the fact that the tour guides are ex Republican prisoners as a unique aspect that can encourage tourists to choose the tour over others:

*Well the unique position that we have is about the fact that our guides are ex-Republican prisoners. We are obviously doing a tour from the point of view of our experiences. Now we obviously didn’t experience everything individually but collectively we have that experience. I mean I think that at the very least anybody involved in any kind of tourism should be aware that what their saying reflects what they are talking about. I will tell you what I am trying to deal with, the mural to Bobby Sands on Sevastopol Street with the Sinn Fein centre. We have heard some of the guides from other companies come in there and talking about Bobby Sands having committed suicide and I think that at the very least people should even if they don’t disagree at least acknowledge that if you are on the Falls Road and you are talking about Bobby Sands nobody is going to ever forgive you for saying Bobby Sands committed suicide. Sometimes I do tours with family friends or friends of friends that would ask me to do tours with them and I have brought them over to the Shankill and we have seen murals that are dedicated to loyalists that have been killed there and I would tell their story as objectively as I can and I would say ‘this is so and so’ ‘this is such and such’ this is what happened to them, I wouldn’t go into the detail and I wouldn’t make any kind of commentary on who he was or what he was or what I believe and that’s because I don’t believe it should happen the other way and I think it’s important that when people are doing tours that they try and ensure that people get a real sense of what the subject or site is about as opposed to any kind of prejudice.*

*Peadar Whelan, Tour Guide Facilitator of the Falls Road Mural Tour*
4.14 How do you Prevent Tourists from Damaging the Site?

This question was asked to determine the level of care expected from a site responsible for the preservation of the history of a site and the memories of the people who lived there.

This respondent indicates that access control is the key to prevent damage to a site:

> This is where access comes into it that's why access is limited at the moment because you don't want people accessing places where it's unsafe. Luckily, there are some drawings and things in some of the cells but there is plexiglass in front of it, so the drawings and the scratches are maintained. Everybody gets to enjoy it, but you will get some people scratching their names into other cells. I don't it like [sic] Cork City Gaol, it is the kind of place where people would take away bits of it, which is another problem with dark tourism. But yeah, it comes down to health and safety and managing access.

Interviewer: So, in Cork City Gaol are people only allowed around with tour guides to kind of prevent damage or are they allowed walk through it themselves.

They can walk through it themselves with like audio guides, but they are limited in where they can go.

**Julie Anne Young, Cork City Goal**

Next participant:

This site put a ridged procedure in place to ensure no damage takes place:

We have a daily operational and maintenance plan, protocol and staff in place. That is an ongoing effort of conservation of the historical assets. Within the museum facility as well are cared for, the maintenance of the memorial pools is a daily effort. The cleaning of the pool is a daily effort. We have staff on the Memorial Plaza to
maintain visitor rules and regulations around decorum and conduct. That's it, a daily operation if you will.

Anthony Gardiner, Senior Vice President of Government and Community Affairs at the 9/11 Memorial

Next participant:

This statement focuses on the site being set up in such a way that it is difficult to damage:

I think it's very people friendly, anything that could be damaged they're not free to access and it wasn't always like that. We've had to kind of block things off and I think that there isn't really much that people could damage here. Everything is very strong, you know, like the guns are made of cast iron. There were a few things we had like torches to look into the cells here as they actually have no windows. They're called 'The Dark Cells' and we used to have torches and people just took them.

Felicity Philpott, Tour Guide on Spike Island

Next participant:

This respondent does not have issues with tourists damaging sites but gives another example of damage to historical sites:

I have never had the experience of tourists damaging sites. I have not had that experience, what I do have is experiences of different sites that are not always official sites, but the communities do not see the importance of these sites and issue building permits. Then the person who gets the permit gets in trouble, last summer for example someone got a building permit for a bunch of houses in one hectare and I knew that with what he wanted to do, he would have trouble because he would certainly find a lot of remains of the First World War. No one explained to him that
he shouldn't build over there and at a certain point the community rang me to tell me that they had a problem and I said of course you have one because you gave a permit to build on a site where I know and everyone who is an expert in that field knows that you should not build over there because it is what we call a pasture of 100 years. It means it has not really been cleaned up and when you try and change the pasture into a building you will find probably more than 100 remains from that small spot. Last year they found 150 remains on a very small area and I knew if you touched that place, they would get in trouble. It is not the tourists that are doing damage to certain sites, it is more probably the communities themselves because they do not know what happened there and on different sites and they need that expertise and quite often the people that are responsible for these permits do not read these books. They do not connect with historians because they are afraid of the answer.

Interviewer: Can I ask if the area that he wanted to build on was part of no man's land?

No, it was part of a height occupied by Germans in October and November 1914 but because of that height they were surrounded by British artillery and that shelled them out of there. They stayed there for 2 or 3 days but they could not keep their position, so they left and then it became no man's land and then during the cleaning up the people that took care of that place just put a thin layer of earth on top of that hill and it was left for more than 100 years. Then the ground was sold and then you have the problem of being part of a building project on a site where there's been a hell of a fight and it has not been cleaned up in a proper way.

Philippe Mingels, Tour Guide in the World War 1 Battlefields of Belgium
Next participant:

This answer focuses on the damage that can be caused by children’s games and how to prevent it:

That’s a great point as well because it’s hard to remember sometimes that we are offering tours to kids and school tours with people having a laugh, but this is a historic site and lots of important history is still contained in these buildings and in the walls in the difference of the architecture. We try to make sure that there are no games in play as people sometimes try to bring over balls, so no banging balls off walls. Also, sometimes in museums people are inspecting stuff with their hands so we try to keep perishable items such as books and manuscripts behind glass cases. We actually have a brilliant team of archaeologists and conservationists who look after all that kind of stuff and so far, since I’ve been here we’ve never had any major instances of any damage being done.

Interviewer: In a previous interview I was doing earlier it was mentioned that on the Night-Time tours some people come in under the influence, do you find you have to try and control them?

100%, one good thing I suppose is that being on an island everyone is checked onto the boat before they leave the mainland so we do have one member of staff that checks them on who is looking for people under the influence of drink or drugs, even though it’s very hard to spot drugs sometimes rather than drink. We have had an instance very recently of someone on the tour being absolutely annihilated drunk but the person that checked them on at the pier said that they look grand but I presume that you know when people are trying to get the drunk friend into a club they say just keep your head down and just get on the boat and then they got here and all hell broke
loose. It is something we look at a lot because it’s not only for their safety because it’s not that safe during the daytime in a place like this not to mind night-time when it’s dark but it’s also for the enjoyment of other people because if someone like that is on your tour making noise and messing it distracts the tour guide and also takes away from the tour as people maybe can’t hear and that kind of thing so it is something that we take a look at for safety number one, but also for just the actual enjoyment of the tour for other people.

John Goulding, Tour Guide at Spike Island

Next participant:

This site indicates the impossibility of controlling tourists and prevent damage:

I don’t suppose we can really stop them; the place is so enormous we can’t possibly keep an eye on every gravestone at once. We probably don’t.

Brendan Kavanagh, Manager at Glasnevin Cemetery

Next participant:

This respondent indicates to refer to Brendan Kavanaghs answer from Glasnevin:

Yeah again, refer to Brendan’s answer.

John Scanlon, Tour Guide at Glasnevin Cemetery

Next participant:

This respondent indicates the difficulty in keeping a site safe while also keeping the interactive element of a site experience:

As much as possible we are putting artefacts behind glass away from prying hands. It is difficult because you want to have as much interactivity as possible for a visitor. A
lot of people learn by experience, touching and holding. We try and create opportunities for all different visitor and learning types. For the valuable items that shouldn't be on show as much as possible we try to keep it at arm's length.

John Crotty, Manager at Spike Island

Next participant:

This answer reflects the need for an awareness of bias in relation to sites and that awareness preserves the site from damage:

*I suppose again it would be very basic in terms of how we deal with people and how we want people to be with us, it is on the basis of understanding and respect. For example, as it is connected to my previous answer. If I am working in Belfast city centre as a taxi driver on tours and you came to me and say I would like to go to Milltown Cemetery to visit the grave of Bobby Sands and I might come from a loyalist background, I might be Unionist in terms of my politics. I would like to think that I would bring you to Milltown Cemetery, bring you to the Republican plot and say 'There you are'. I don't have to comment. I can say 'There's the graves of the hunger strikers, there is Bobby Sands grave that's what you wanted to see'. Now I might say from a Unionist point of view I think Bobby Sands was a terrorist and I don't think he should have been treated as a political prisoner and therefore his ultimate responsibility for his death lies with himself. I could say that and think it's a fair comment as that's how the Unionists see it but to turn around and say 'He committed suicide completely ignores the politics and I think that's where you need to be balancing these things out.*

Peadar Whelan, Tour Guide Facilitator of the Falls Road Mural Tour
4.15 Recommendations for the Future of Dark Tourism Sites.

This question was asked of the respondents in order to gain their additional understanding and advice for management and tour guides of other sites and recommendations for academic research.

This answer pertains to the focus on balancing the image of a site in order to remain interesting without promoting wrong doing:

*I think it's trying to balance the line between making it accessible and interesting and not making it a shrine for the wrong reasons. I think it's about education like everything, it's about education and having the right information up there. You kind of want to maintain a bit of mystery because people like that part of the allure of dark tourism, that they get to go places or their interest in places that nobody else gets to go or find out about so there is something about that.*

*Julie Anne Young, Tour Guide in Cork City Goal*

Next participant:

This respondent puts emphasis on respect being imperative to the maintenance of a dark tourism site:

*I'm not sure myself to be honest. It's something I'd have to read a bit more into, but I believe firmly that if you are going to do this sort of thing there would have to be kind of an air of respect. You could be talking about horrible death practices; you could be talking about horrific mistakes and burials and all that but at the end of the day you have to really keep in mind that there was a person behind it all. Then you can talk about say Elizabeth Bathory in her bath full of blood and talk about all these things in life, but you have to still remember that there were people behind it all and they deserve to be remembered and what they suffered deserves to be remembered.*
John Scanlon, Tour Guide at Glasnevin Cemetery

Next participant:

This answer clearly reflects the opinion of this site on the dark tourism term, respect is also mentioned in this response like the previous participant:

I suppose one of them would be not referring to them as dark tourism sites. I mean, I think that's exactly my point, I wouldn't frame it as a place of dark tourism. It's a place of inspiration and of learning, why would we want to frame it in that context?

Interviewer: You be more thinking that it should be more about remembrance and respect rather than focusing on the dark side.

Anthony: Right remember to respect and heed the lessons of that history to make the world better.

Anthony Gardiner, Senior Vice President of Government and Community Affairs at the 9/11 Memorial

Next participant:

This response focuses on the need for authenticity rather than entertainment:

One of the main things here is there's nobody jumping out at you. I think if you have a site that speaks for itself, I wouldn't go adding to it, the main thing that scares you is yourself. Your own mind works and the eerie kind of atmosphere, that's enough.

Felicity Philpott, Tour Guide at Spike Island

Next participant:

This answer puts emphasis on education about dark tourism sites within local communities in order to be able to maintain them:
I think it is important to continue doing research because it was not a battlefield it was a whole area and more of a battle zone in fact. I think the sites are not the problem it is the knowledge about WWI even in that region and perhaps more people than before know about it, but the knowledge can be lost especially in small communities. To be able to continue living in their communities they need to learn because these building projects keep coming so there should be a kind of help for these communities to make sure that they can continue living and so they continue to know what happened.

Philippe Mingels, Tour Guide in the World War I Battlefields of Belgium

Next participant:

Remembering dark tourism sites and opening more sites is outlined as a recommendation within this answer:

*What I would recommend is that number one it should definitely continue because it is a very small subset, but I think it is growing. It definitely won't be for everyone obviously, but I think there is a broader appeal. Maybe people don't think that they might be interested in it but actually I think maybe with some more marketing and explanation on why dark tourism is important and why this side of history is also worth remembering along with the more fun things to remember maybe museums and churches and things like that. Definitely getting across to people why dark tourism is important and remembering these kinds of things. I think also getting more places open as well because there are so many dark tourism sites all around Ireland and the world which the people in charge of the site maybe don't realise that they are a dark tourism site. They just think that's an old building where something bad happened or*
maybe they don't know. I think more research as well into that history because lots of historians and governments maybe in structural historians have told them to forget, saying we are not going to teach this, we don't want the books to hold this and things like that. But more people should take it upon themselves to keep it alive because all history is important to maintain.

John Goulding, Tour Guide at Spike Island

Next participant:

This respondent found it difficult to give recommendations as they do not believe they are a dark tourism site, but they do indicate that a dark tourism market exists:

*I wouldn't be best placed to answer that because I wouldn't consider that myself and my colleagues work in a dark tourism site. I think there is probably a market out there for it and the vault is opened in Dublin and it's about ghoulish stories. There's not much advice I can give you because I'm not best place in that kind of market.*

Interviewer: Just from speaking with you today. I find it very interesting that you're saying that this isn't a dark tourism site because obviously as I mentioned before I've done a lot of academic reading and academically, it's any site that's connected with death or the macabre which we could argue Glasnevin is. I just want to ask you a bit more just about how you feel it isn't connected to dark tourism.

Sure. Well, because we're Ireland's National Cemetery and the importance of the historical links, people are welcome to visit the beauty of our cemetery. However, our offerings are tours where we would never go down the road of being viewed as dark tourism as we wouldn't want to be viewed as glorifying death or glorifying the market. Instead we're celebrating the people who are buried here.

Brendan Kavanagh, Manager at Glasnevin Cemetery
Next participant:

This respondent encourages the continued success and development of Irish dark tourism sites in a historically accurate manor:

*I think to just continue what's been done and most of the sites certainly I've been to and what we're doing here with the theme of 'never sensational never sanitary'. Just because the history is difficult, it doesn't mean it shouldn't be told and with a lot of those examples they are more deserving to be told than a lot of the history out there. That is because people did potentially suffer and to not tell their story would be a disservice and an injustice to them but at the same time it has to be done in a context of keeping it spot-on historically accurate with the research. Well delivered, delivered with compassion and understanding and never taken lightly for a second. Obviously, we entertain them and lighten the tours in other areas because you don't want to heavily focus on that but absolutely never sanitising it either. I think as long as dark sites continue to do that, I think people will always be interested in those kinds of stories and if they are property managed and properly told, I see no issues going forward.*

Interviewer: Can I just ask you what your definition of dark tourism is and what kind of sites in Ireland you considered to be dark tourism.

I wouldn't like to use the word death exclusively because it's not always just about death and punishment. It can come into it quite often, but I think it is generally a location where people may not have been treated in a way that we would expect or want them to be treated. That doesn't necessarily always translate into violence and it can be in many different forms. But we all have a fascination with that, we all want the comforts, we all want to live a nice relaxed, non-stressed simple life. And when we hear that other people may not have done, that's inherently of interest to us and it
does trigger a very powerful emotion in us. We go to a comedy show to laughs and we
go to other place to do different things. I think dark tourists are looking for a different
experience and it's a moving experience it can sometimes be a very spiritual
experience for some people. I think really that's what dark tourism is focused on, it's
definitely focused on those darker elements of a visit and a place to be. In terms of
locations, I certainly think the other prisons in Ireland like Kilmainham Jail would be
very close, I do think the famine workhouses and prisons in Ireland. I guess burial
sites in general and even the massive burial sites up in Dublin, they get massive
numbers of visitors and as much as it's interest to hear the character stories, there's
definitely a dark element going on inside in that as well. Those are the key ones for
me really, but going forward I suspect the workhouses, the poorhouses, we will see
more of them and I also think the nuns and priests and what's happened, obviously
that kind of thing, I suspect you've got to see those kind of work houses come up in the
future as well.

Interviewer: Finally, just something you're saying there about having a tour where
you're mentioning one prisoner that lived and then died here. Would it be kind of
similar to the Titanic exhibition in Cobh where you get the ticket at the start and in
the end, you find out if they made it.

Yeah, I know what you mean. Eventually we may go down the ticketed route where it
does give a specific personal journey. We do see a personal story at every stop but
once we get that convict memorial up and running what we want to do there is a talk
about that Victorian era prison and a talk about a specific prisoner each day. If we do
that every day and we have 1,3000 names of prisoners in mass graves here it is going
to take three or four years, but we're not going to mention them all once. The point of
it is to say that we don't want them to be forgotten, we don't want their story to be
forgotten and talking about them one day at a time, such as 'today I'm going to tell you about so and so', you know, it gives them that little bit of history. Quite often, the crimes and the ages can be quite shocking as well, so it really does hit home to them the reality and hopefully make them go away and feel a little bit more grateful for their own lives and their own understanding of the site.

Interviewer: It is from the point of view of ethical site management and memory preservation, but also trying to give a unique position and a personal attachment?

Exactly, actually it does both doesn't it? It does give them the reality of our own site specific to our own site and I think it does help them take away something a bit of a learning for themselves and hope as well in the wider context.

John Crotty, Manager at Spike Island

Next participant:

This response focuses on the political issues that can arise within dark tourism and the necessity to be aware of them:

Well as I say, I kind of will go without saying that dark tourism sites for me are a 'no, no'. That dark tourism for me is a negative concept and dark tourism for me again is a politically loaded concept that tries to ignore the politics of what happened here in the North as far as the conflict is concerned. We as Republican activists were all in jail as I keep saying so we come from a political perspective, we come from a political kind of experience and so we want that to be the corner stone and the foundation of what we do and I think for anybody to therefore present the conflict here in a way that ignores the dynamic, colonialism, imperialism and partition then they are ignoring to me loses a lot of history and a lot of reality. The reason why I say that is because, going back to what I was saying to you earlier on about 'Glasnevin', Patrick Whelan
was a volunteer with 4th battalion and served under De Velera. He was shot dead at Baggot Street bridge in 1916 and is buried at Glasnevin yet his name is on that plaque alongside RIC people. A RIC man called Patrick Whelan, I don’t think we should be equivalent. I think the volunteers, the people that fought for the Republic should be looked at in their own right and the RIC and the RUC and the guards want to remember all the other people they are entitled to do so but there shouldn’t be that equivalent. I think the reason why I am making that point and saying that point is because everybody is now.

Peadar Whelan, Tour Guide Facilitator of the Falls Road Mural Tour

Next participant:

This academic response focuses on the need to tell history within an authentic site and how this should be developed in more sites:

I think some sites that deal with tragic stories tend to try to do broad brush strokes to try to get everything in and I think no matter where the site is it is actually the individual and local stories that stick with you. Having been to a hundred sites it is the small things you take away from it. There is no point in a site saying, ‘we will tell you all about the famine’, tell me about the famine in the place that I am currently. Particularly in site specific places in the built environment is really important. Tell me the stories of the building I am in, why am I here? who built them? All of that. I think we don’t in a broad sense emphasis those things efficiently. For example, a site that could be a dark tourism site is Elisabeth Fort. That’s an amazing piece of architecture but you don’t learn very much about it on a visit there. It was also a women’s prison and you are lucky if you are told that, it was used for the holding of women getting ready to be transported. There is an amazing story to be told in
Elisabeth Fort and it is right in the middle of Cork and you know that the tourist office in Cork is small and there isn’t that many things to do in the city despite what the Cork tourist board with tell you and there is a great story that is not being told in Elisabeth Fort.

Interviewer: I think it is being used for offices I think at the moment for OPW and the Cork Convention Centre so it is interesting that is a site not being utilised sitting right there.

Even those houses inside in the parade ground you can rent them as a holiday let. Irish Landmark trust have recently developed two of them and you stay in them by paying an absolute fortune. I think the Gardai still have one of the buildings and I think the rest of the buildings are Cork County Council I think, I can’t remember.

Interviewer: I think Cork Convention Centre has one as part of the Cork County Council but that is very interesting to think that they are all just sitting there and two of them have been developed as holiday lets so obviously someone sees that there is an interesting aspect to them that can be sold to tourists.

It is the Irish Landmark Trust, I don’t know how they have marketed it on their website I haven’t looked. I think maybe this year they did them, I don’t know a huge amount about it, it is just that the interior designer is a friend of a friend and that is the only way I know that they were developed and that they were going to charge €150 a night to stay in them.

Interviewer: I will have to look that up as it is an interesting aspect to see being developed.

I don’t know if the grounds and the fort itself are under the same ownership I’m not sure about any of that, but it is probably online.
Interviewer: I will have to look it up as it is interesting. When I was speaking with John Crotty of Spike Island, he mentioned the development of a product that focused on remembering one specific person everyday what do you think of that idea?

I think it is a good idea, I think one of the problems they are going to have in Spike is that there aren’t enough prisoners that they will know enough about to do more than that ‘they arrived on this date and left on this date’. In principle I like it as an idea.

Did you go to the shop while you were there?

Interviewer: I did.

Were they still selling unicorns?

Interviewer: Yes, I believe so.

I regretted not taking a photo as I thought it was such a strange thing to have at this site.

Interviewer: I have come across that before particularly in relation to Titanic sites and their gift shops.

It is interesting the site in Belfast was developed and that out of all the successful ships that the company made and had many safe voyages the one that they made so badly it didn’t survive its maiden voyage is the one they celebrate.

The Lusitania also sank and isn’t really focused on as much, it must be something to do with the maiden voyage of the Titanic that it is focused upon.

Dr Gillian O’Brien, Lecturer at Liverpool John Moores University
4:16 Conclusion

This chapter showcases all qualitative data gathered throughout the process of this study. This can be seen in each interview answer outlined above. Each one of the ten participants were asked the same fifteen questions in order to ensure consistency and comparable results. Six sites were interviewed both in Ireland and abroad in order to provide International comparisons to the Irish context. Throughout the reading of this chapter it is clear there are different points of view throughout the sites on the dark tourism and the sites belief in their place within the spectrum. This observation will be outlined further in chapter 5 in order to full understand the findings gathered throughout the study and the ramifications of these findings on the recommendations of this research.
5 Main Findings, Recommendations and Conclusions

5:1 Introduction

In this chapter, all qualitative and quantitative research is analysed, and recommendations are made. A qualitative research method was used in the form of semi-structured interviews with 10 separate participants; nine of which are industry professionals working within academically categorised dark tourism sites as tour guides or in management positions. The final interviewee is Dr Gillian O'Brien, who is an academic in the field of dark tourism in the Irish context, and some site-specific questions do not have an answer from her as she is not associated with any individual site. This chapter analyses the responses gathered in Chapter 4, along with supporting citations from the literature review in Chapter 2, in order to reach conclusions and put forth recommendations.

5:2 Review of Main Findings

5.2.1 Dark Tourism Outlined

“Dark tourism encompasses the visitation of sites and events of the last hundred years which have either been locations of death and disaster or sites of interpretations of such events by visitors for remembrance, education or entertainment” (Foley & Lennon, 1996).

This is the working definition used in this study and is supported by numerous academics as shown in the literature review in Chapter 2. Interviewees were asked to personally define the term “dark tourism”, and the questions prompted many different responses; to the surprise of
the researcher. 50% of respondents did not associate the term with their sites or consider it applicable to their industry:

“I have heard it and I would never use it directly. Actually, it is one I would be countering as a concept and as a term”, (Chapter 4: pg 43).

40% of respondents gave variants of the academic definitions presented in Chapter 2.

“...it is tourism focused on the more macabre side of history”, (Chapter 4, pg 44).

This indicates that there is an awareness of the term, but it is less than half of the respondent group. There is a lack of understanding of the term, as academically every site visited within this study is a dark tourism site. One respondent mentioned the growing popularity of dark tourism:

“...it is something that in the last couple of years has become much more prevalent and we’re aware of our place in the dark tourism spectrum” (Chapter 4: pg 45).

This shows that only one site is aware of the growth present within the dark tourism sphere and its potential (Chapter 1: pg 4).

5.2.2 Dark Tourism Sites

This question directly asked the respondents if they believe the site, they work at is a dark tourism site. 40% of respondents do not believe they work at a dark tourism site, which almost directly correlates with the lack of knowledge of the term displayed in the previous question’s responses.

“I haven’t worked with any in the past and I would not categorise Glasnevin as being a dark tourism site”, (Chapter 4: pg 46).

This statement is interesting as Glasnevin has the highest number of dead bodies of any site in the study: 1.5 million. According to the academic definition of dark tourism:
“dark tourism encompasses the visitation of sites and events of the last hundred years which have either been locations of death and disaster or sites of interpretations of such events by visitors for remembrance, education or entertainment” (Foley & Lennon, 1996, p. 195).

According to this definition, Glasnevin would be on the darkest end of spectrum and yet management do not believe they are a dark tourism site.

There is an increase in the number of respondents that believe they do work on dark tourism site when compared to the previous question, with an increase to 50%.

“Probably it is, what I do is try and keep remembrance alive if that is dark tourism then it is a dark tourist site”. (Chapter 4: pg 49).

The above indicates a general understanding of dark tourism to the point of awareness of them being a dark tourism site, but it also hints at the uncertainty that can be seen in the lack of responses stating that they are dark tourism sites.

An interesting finding was in the response of Dr Gillian O’Brien to this question about dark tourism sites accepting that they are, in fact, dark tourism sites.

“...I was a historian for the development of Spike Island and nobody that I dealt with on that had heard the term dark tourism when I was working on the project” (Chapter 4: pg 51).

This statement is fascinating as the responses from all three interviews in Spike Island clearly stated that they believe they are a dark tourism site:

“I 100% believe that this a dark tourism site” (Chapter 4: pg 49).

An academic’s involvement in the development of a dark tourism site has been cited as helping the integration of a positive dark tourism mentality within a site (Chapter 2: pg 15).
With the direct correlation between Dr Gillian O’Brien’s work with Spike Island and the fact that Spike Island is the most positive towards the term dark tourism, it can be surmised that academic involvement can have a positive effect on dark tourism site development.

5.2.3 Dark Tourists

In direct contrast to the previous two questions, 90% of respondents believe there are dark tourists in the tourism market; as a subset of tourists in general.

“I think there are, I mean there’s books published of people going around to abandoned house and taking photos of them and part of that is the kind of the decay and the dark side of ascendancy Ireland”, (Chapter 4:pg 52).

This quote clearly shows widespread knowledge of dark tourists. Only one respondent refused to comment on the question. While Peadar Whelan of the Falls Road Mural Tour responded mentioning the presence of dark tourists, he also went on to state that

“the imagery that conjures up for me is that people are exploiting very serious and clearly sad situations for the families of people who were killed in those circumstances...” (Chapter 4:pg 55).

This demonstrates some negative feelings towards the term dark tourism. Which is echoed in this statement:

“No, I don’t. I don’t really have an opinion on that” (Chapter 4:pg 56)

Anthony Gardiner of the 9/11 memorial refused to comment on dark tourism. The fact that all but one respondent stated that dark tourists exist, indicates that it is a market segment that is real and present, and as such can be targeted for profitable gain.
5.2.4 Operational Practices

This question was asked based on the literature covered in Chapter 2, in which the importance of tour guides was indicated (Chapter 2: pg 26). 90% of respondents stated that they would change the tour content based on the group of tourists on the tour. This clearly indicates there is recognised need for operational practices to be flexible and adaptable to different groups:

“Very much, you would have different approaches to different groups of people because they have different expectations”, (Chapter 4: pg 58).

The below highlights adapting the central message to take the cultural background of tourists into account:

“Yes, they do absolutely. The reality is that dark tourism does not appeal to the Chinese market and we massively play that down”, (Chapter 4: pg 62).

The Chinese market’s distaste for death sites is present and highlighted within the research (Chapter 2: pg 24). That this was highlighted by a member of industry supports the theory that different cultural tourists need to be marketed to, and engaged with, differently in order to create the best experience for them, and thus improving the success of the site.

The next respondent agrees with tour adaptability, but they also highlight the issues in not having well trained staff:

“It is not just dark tourism sites, unless the guides at a site are very well trained you can get a very different experience, so in certain places you get a particular story as the guide has chosen to emphasise that particular story which is something I don’t necessarily agree with as it can go completely off message and is not regulated”, (Chapter 4: pg 57).
5.2.5 Ethical Managerial Practices in Dark Tourism Sites

90% of respondents provided examples of ethical practices and procedures being carried out at their sites. Ethical practices are essential to respect the memories of those who were involved with the site (Chapter 2: pg 17). Appropriate ethical behaviour has the potential to have ramifications for years to come and affect different people and sites inadvertently.

"...because we're backed on to the convent which was an orphanage and also a Magdalene laundry. It has come up that there are bodies buried of women who were in the laundry there and unmarked and there have been references to children...people who would have been children in that orphanage who would come in and ask if we had anything and we didn't", (Chapter 4: pg 63).

Another interesting angle on the preservation of people's memories is given in this statement which focuses on explaining the time in which these people lived to give the tourists context and thus offset negative judgement.

"I try to push the tourist's mindset 100 years back, not by reliving the situation but by knowing how people used to think in those days because that is important. You can't look at that situation with the eyes of today, you can't know what happened or how people thought in those days", (Chapter 4: pg 65).

The issues with dark tourism sites straying from remembrance into entertainment are explored in this comment:

"Well I think sites that are being done in a very light-hearted fashion attracting hen parties and escape rooms in prison cells can trivialise others that are further down the scale so using it as a broad catch all does have huge problems because there is no comparison between Auschwitz and an escape room in a former prison cell where as

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there are comparisons you can make between Auschwitz and the 9/11 site in terms of the type of people that might go”, (Chapter 4:pg 69).

This statement is interesting as different respondents indicate that their interpretation of dark tourism, i.e. The inclusion of hen parties and ghoulish entertainment, is not the main academic definition of the term. This mentality has appeared frequently through the research and has shown, through respondent’s answers, a lack of engagement with the term dark tourism.

There was only one respondent who refused to comment:

“I don’t think that one’s applicable”, (Chapter 4:pg 65).

This is an interesting response as it would indicate that this site does not believe ethical practices are necessary at dark tourism sites, but when you take the rest of this respondent’s answers into consideration, the answer becomes a glaring indicator of the general lack of engagement with the term dark tourism.

5.2.6 Tourist’s Motivations

90% of respondents cited history as one of the main attractions of tourists to their sites, only one respondent cited motivations in line with dark tourists

“People are attracted to gore; they always have been. I mean there's a reason why people used to go to hangings, they were popular”, (Chapter 4:pg 70).

This further highlights a lack of understanding of the specific motivations of the dark tourist segment (Chapter 2:pg 28).
This statement is interesting as it shows the unique aspect of this site:

"Quite a lot of English people will come and they will be quite up front and I think fair play them, it's really brilliant for them they come over and they all say to us 'I only know about the conflict from what I heard in the news and what the BBC said etc. and I would like to hear what you have to say about it.'"(Chapter 4:pg 76).

The tourism situation in Northern Ireland is turbulent with political unrest in recent years and, with that in mind, it is interesting to see the interaction outlined above. It indicates a lack of barriers in dark tourism and an opportunity to expand expected market segments as the need for experience and knowledge overrules historical unrest in this situation.

5.2.7 Dark Tourist Cultural Background Reactions

This was touched on in a previous question with the comment that the Chinese culture is not interested in showcasing death. 78% of respondents provided examples of differences between cultural groups at these sites. This example shows the need to be aware of your audience in a dark tourism site as opposed to a general tourist site:

"One tour I do remember in Cork City Gaol was this group of kids, they had come over to Ireland as part of a charity on holidays....very poor kids, this charity brings them on holidays. I realised halfway through bringing them around that actually half their parents were in prison", (Chapter 4:pg 77).

This shows that broader cultural attitudes that can affect the delivery of tours

"Yes, there are differences. The English bring their own guides over for their school groups. They do not bring in Belgium tour guides as they give their tours in a very military way, it is very different", (Chapter 4:pg 80).
This study has also discovered a direct correlation between the active change in tourist behaviour from Asian markets at sites, which was also cited within the literature

"Yeah, we don't get many Asian visitors here" (Chapter 4: pg 82).

This could indicate a need to create unique product offerings or specific tour training dependent on the most prominent cultural backgrounds of tourists at the site.

5.2.8 Dark Tourist Marketing Campaigns

Due to the analysis of previous answers to questions on dark tourism definitions and sites it can be surmised that there will be sites unlikely to create specific dark tourism marketing campaigns. 40% of respondents indicated that dark tourism specific marketing campaigns would not be used.

"No. I mean, we obviously promote our tours and we promote our tours on the basis of everything I've said here, but we would never sort of buy into this idea that what we're doing is something like voyeurism", (Chapter 4:pg 89).

This statement clearly shows the link between dark tourism and a negative perception which can be seen in the percentage negative reaction to the prospect of a marketing campaign for dark tourists.

"I think that would be a good idea. I'm not sure management have been discussing that. Saying that though we do attract and try to attract paranormal investigators", (Chapter 4:pg 87).

This site is looking specifically at paranormal investigators showing selective market positioning based on the macabre aspects of the site. However, 50% of respondents did indicate that it is something they would consider in the future, but this figure is made up of three respondents from the same site. While this indicates a clear position within the site, which is
essential for a clear marketing campaign, it also highlights that only three separate sites show an interest in this campaign strategy.

"I don’t know why they have all decided that dark tourism is a negative term...the Routledge handbook of dark tourism that came out this year which has maybe 30 chapters in it. Not one of them written by a historian, not one, they are mostly written by people coming from marketing or tourism background and I think that is problematic in that they are not historians working in this field. I think with marketing you are trying to sell a product and if showing a photograph of a noose gets people in then that is what you do. There should be an understanding that if something bad happens then it is in itself dark and if people go to visit it then they are tourists then you have a dark tourism experience wither or not you like it, or you don’t", (Chapter 4:pg 90).

This is interesting as it shows that academic historians should be involved in the preservation of dark tourism sites and their development. It also says that dark tourism sites have a negative reputation, which has been showcased throughout this study (Chapter 2:pg 18).

5.2.9 Dark Tourist’s Fascination with Death

This study found that 67% of respondents have seen evidence of dark tourists’ interest in death at their sites. As a result, it can be concluded that not only is there a market for dark tourist, but that they are visiting these sites. This leads to the possible conclusion that these sites have a dark side that is attracting this market segment, and as such it is a possible revenue stream that can be marketed. Similar to a comment in a previous question, the supernatural connection is mentioned within this respondent’s answer.
“I think it is when they ask if I have seen ghosts, that comes up an awful lot”, (Chapter 4:pg 91).

“I don’t think that’s applicable. I don’t know anyone in my experience that has identified themselves as a dark tourist” (Chapter 4:pg 92).

This answer highlights a misperception of dark tourists, it is seen in the literature that dark tourists often are not aware that they are part of an identifiable segment when they display an interest in the sites they visit and the questions they ask.

“You can see the 10% or 15% making a bee line to the guide to get more information”, (Chapter 4:pg 94).

The above indicates the presence of dark tourists and how they are identifiable; and as such can be targeted for marketing purposes.

5.2.10 Products Created with a site

For the first time in this study 100% of respondents mentioned applicable dark tourism products in the form of tours and exhibits. Only one respondent indicated that they did not believe their tour was applicable to dark tourists.

“None, the only thing that could possibly go on to that scale would be the midterm tales, which would have a few harmless scares or jumps” (Chapter 4:pg 98).

This statement once again shows the lack of connection between industry professionals and academically defined dark tourism. It shows the perceived connection of dark tourism to ‘jumps and scares’ whereas in reality this is not the market approach true dark tourists
appreciate (Chapter 2:pg 8). Only one site developed a specific tour with the purpose of capturing the dark tourist market segment.

“We do two or three versions of our night-time tours, we also do a cinema night where we show a horror film with a tour before or afterwards of the creepier buildings”, (Chapter 4:pg 100).

While this site has actively been targeting the dark tourism segment there is still a perception of dark tourists being interested in horror, when in actuality it is more of an interest in the macabre and the transience of life.

“Well, I mean probably one of the things we should do is look at some way of producing material that gives more of a sense of what we do and promote what we do in a way that we don't do”, (Chapter 4:pg 102).

This indicates the need to develop marketing campaigns to promote a site; which gives further credence to the need for specific dark tourism research.

5.2.11 Personal Interest in Dark Tourism

67% of respondents indicated that they would seek out dark tourism sites or would not be opposed to visiting them.

“I don't actively seek them out, but I don't shy away from them either for example when I was in Cambodia I did go to the Killing Fields” (Chapter 4:pg 105).

In direct contrast this statement showcases the opposite opinion:

“Well again, I wouldn't characterise those sites as places of dark tourism in my opinion. I mean again tragic history is recorded there, I consider myself a historian, I was part of the efforts to preserve the World Trade Centre site.... I just fundamentally disagree with that as a way to describe these sites of memory”, (Chapter 4:pg 104).
This encapsulates the negative sentiment present throughout this study towards the term dark tourism. While academically these sites may be referred to as dark tourist sites, industry professionals working at these sites may have a negative reaction to the term, which affects their ability to develop effective marketing strategies.

5.2.12 Policies on the Admittance of Children to Dark Tourism Sites

This question was introduced after the researcher discovered a journal focusing on children suffering from post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) after visiting dark tourism sites (Chapter 2: pg 23)

“I remember once going to I think it was Madame Tussauds when I was 15 or 16 and there was a kind of a walk through and my mother and my sister got lost and I had to walk through the scary thing on my own. I was terrified afterwards...”, (Chapter 4: pg 109).

This is a personal example from a respondent of a traumatic experience at a dark tourism site. 50% of respondents stated that the tours are changed when children are present or that there are restrictions on children being present on certain tours.

“I do not believe it is a good idea to bring children on these kinds of tours, not because they shouldn’t be confronted with the facts but because it is difficult for youngsters of 15 to understand what happened so for anyone younger than 12 it is even more difficult”, (Chapter 4:pg 111).

This respondent approaches this issue from a different angle than the concern for the mental wellbeing of the children and instead focuses on respect. This concern ties into the previous question on ethics and respecting the memory of those connected to the site; which has been
an overarching theme of the interviews. The answer is unique, which perhaps identifies a gap in knowledge of dark tourism sites when it comes to ethical management.

An alternative statement

"Absolutely not, there are none on either end. Basically, we want to get kids in here, we want to get them learning about what made this country what it is", (Chapter 4: pg 111)

This indicates the point of view that children need to be educated in order to prevent the same mistakes being repeated by future generations.

5.2.13 Key Resources in Dark Tourism Sites

77% of respondents mentioned unique selling points (USPs) that can be exploited to attract the dark tourist segment.

"I think this is a very unique site, I don't think that there is any other tourist attraction like it really. There are some prisons, I know there is Cork prison that would be dark, but I think this site was specifically bad because of the convicts and the amount of them that were here", (Chapter 4: pg 116).

This answer shows this site's awareness of their particularly dark history and how it sets them apart from competitors.

"...a lot of these shells did not explode before and they are specialised in making them safe. I know the places where a farmer one day found a shell. When they find a shell, they ring the police and DOVO...", (Chapter 4: pg 117).

The above focuses on a unique aspect of this site, insofar as that history is still unfolding today with unexploded shells present in the landscape.
Alternatively, this statement provides an alternative unique selling point

“Well the unique position that we have is about the fact that our guides are ex Republican prisoners, we are obviously doing a tour from the point of view of our experiences”, (Chapter 4:pg 120).

This USP refers to the literature which indicated cases of experienced tour guides providing a specific draw for dark tourists (Chapter 2:pg 26).

The next response shows the negative attitude that can lead sites to not consider their unique aspects which could be exploited for more effective market gain

“No again, because we’re not in that market”, (Chapter 4:pg 119).

5.2.14 Preventing Tourists from Damaging Dark Tourism Sites

This question was asked in conjunction with the ethical management question in order to determine the level of responsibility sites take in the preservation of the memory of those connected to the site. 77% of respondents cited examples of protecting the site from visitors

“We have a daily operational and maintenance plan, protocol and staff in place. That is an ongoing effort of conservation of the historical assets. Within the museum facility as well are cared for, the maintenance of the memorial pools is a daily effort. The cleaning of the pool is a daily effort”, (Chapter 4:pg 121).

A particularly interesting quote focuses not on how tourists damage sites but local communities.

“the communities do not see the importance of these sites and issue building permits. Then the person who gets the permit gets in trouble, last summer for example
someone got a building permit for a bunch of houses in one.....No one explained to him that he shouldn't build over there and at a certain point the community rang me to tell me that they had a problem and I said of course you have one because you gave a permit to build on a site where I know and everyone who is an expert in that field knows that you should not build over there because it is what we call a pasture of 100 years. It means it has not really been cleaned up and when you try and change the pasture into a building you will find probably more than 100 remains from that small spot”, (Chapter 4:pg 122).

This quote ties into an earlier theory that an academic’s involvement in site development and preservation benefits the longevity of the site and the preservation of the memories of those involved.

5.2.15 Recommendations for the Future of Dark Tourism Sites

This last question was asked in order to surmise industry professionals’ recommendations to other professionals and researchers on the issue of dark tourism. The question was answered in numerous ways, but one theme did emerge; do not use the term “dark tourism”

“I suppose one of them would be not referring to them as dark tourism sites. I mean, I think that's exactly my point, I wouldn’t frame it as a place of dark tourism. It's a place of inspiration and of learning, why would we want to frame it in that context?”

(Chapter 4:pg 128).

This encapsulates the negative connotations referred to throughout this piece.

Respect is also a central theme throughout the feedback

“that if you are going to do this sort of thing there would have to be kind of an air of respect”, (Chapter 4:pg 127).
This further promotes the need for ethical management of sites as well as the education and training of industry professionals.

The below further indicates the misconception of the term and the negative feeling towards it being used:

“I wouldn't be best placed to answer that because I wouldn't consider that myself and my colleagues work in a dark tourism site. I think there is probably a market out there for it and the vault is opened in Dublin and it's about ghoulish stories”, (Chapter 4:pg 130).

The academic interviewed for this study focuses on the quality of the product:

“I think some sites that deal with tragic stories tend to try to do broad brush strokes to try to get everything in and I think no matter where the site is it is actually the individual and local stories that stick with you”, (Chapter 4:pg 134).

This shows that a site’s history and unique story needs to be preserved and showcased for the site to thrive.

5:4 Recommendations for Future Practices in Dark Tourism Sites

This section considers all the research gathered both from primary and secondary sources. The secondary sources have been analysed in Chapter 2 and the primary sources earlier in Chapter 5. From this informed research recommendations can be drawn. The recommendations are focused on the preservation and development of the dark tourism industry in Ireland and the healthy growth of the Irish tourism economy. Dark tourism sites that take on board the recommendations of this research are in a superior position when compared to less informed competitor sites within Ireland.
5.4.1 Education on the Term “Dark Tourism”

Throughout the research, many sites that are academically categorised as being dark tourism sites have refuted this title. In many cases the researcher persisted to use the term in later questions for the sake of consistency across all of the interviews, but frequently respondents reiterated that they are not dark tourism sites. The realisation that some dark tourism sites do not know or understand the term dark tourism leads to the first recommendation.

All sites with a connection to death, macabre, or suffering ought to educate all members of staff at the site on the term dark tourism. Even if a site does not believe they are a dark tourism site, they can understand the true definition of the term and thus inform their own branding position. These sites are, at their core, a business which has to generate visitor numbers and a profitable income in order to continue providing a service. While the purpose of the site might be for remembrance or as a memorial, which is commendable, in order to carry out that function the site needs to generate a profit. As a result, education in dark tourism may generate income by providing a greater understanding of the customer base visiting these sites.

Currently there is no academic course provider specifically in dark tourism. It is a further recommendation for a course to be developed, including academic input, outlining the phenomenon of dark tourism and the need for awareness of same within Ireland for economic growth. There is an Institute for Dark Tourism Research at the University of Central Lancashire which further promotes the need for dark tourism research and education (uclan, 2019).
5.4.2 Employ an Academic on Dark Tourism Sites

This recommendation was drawn from the primary research qualitative interviews. Dr Gillian O’Brien worked with Spike Island on their development before opening. She mentioned in her interview that no one in Spike island was aware of the term dark tourism. This was an interesting statement as the three interviews with Spike Island showed a consistent knowledge and active engagement with the term. In fact, Spike Island was the only respondent that embraced the term and actively used it as a central theme when planning marketing strategies. From the research, it can be surmised that the only site in the study to receive input from an academic working within the dark tourism sphere is the most successful at exploiting the academic definition of the term and developing a suitable brand. Proof of Spike Island’s success can be found in it being named Best Leading Tourist Attraction in Europe, overtaking the Colosseum and Auschwitz (Kelleher & McAuliffe, 2017).

To this end, it is this researcher’s recommendation to invite academics in the dark tourism field to come to sites in Ireland to assist in their development, in conjunction with tourists needs, ethical considerations and historical parameters.

5.4.3 Create Tour Templates for Different Groups, Including Ethical Practice

This recommendation came from the majority responses of interviewees who change their tour based on the group demographic present. Through research of secondary sources there were a few specific examples of demographics which ought to trigger tour adjustments. Children were highlighted in the literature as a vulnerable group and this was supported in primary sources with an example of a traumatic experience from a tour. Asian culture was also mentioned within the primary and secondary research as a group that do not respond favourably to the dark tourism product. This is down to a fundamental cultural difference in
the response to death and dead bodies. The recommendation to change the tour based on the
group present is supported by Dr Gillian O’Brien, but with the further recommendation to
ensure consistency is present, as well as an element of uniqueness and entertainment.

It must be kept in mind that this is an attraction which tourists are visiting on their time off
and as such it must be engaging. In order to achieve this, particular parameters must be met
by tour guides to ensure a consistent product is supplied, while not having it scripted to the
point of losing personal stories or influences.

It is also essential to create an organisation wide ethical management focus to ensure all tour
guides and members of staff that interact with the public are aware of the impact that
unethical practices could have. This was frequently mentioned within the primary research as
being present in the organisation’s minds; which is essential for best practice. Another
observation however was that some sites believe that being respectful and conscious of
ethical practices is what makes them not a dark tourism site, when in fact it is one of the
fundamental aspects of responsible dark tourism site management.

5.4.4 Adapt the Term “Dark Tourism”

This is the main recommendation from this study and was extrapolated from the research
carried out in Ireland and internationally. It is derived from the culminated data of secondary
and primary sources outlined in this document. It is recommended that a new term is used to
increase the likelihood that sites in Ireland will accept the concept of dark tourism and its
associated benefits.
This recommendation was informed by the high percentage of respondents that had a negative reaction to the term. It was unexpected as the research carried out up to the point of conducting primary interviews clearly stated that these sites fall within the parameters of a dark tourism site. From the primary research it is clear that there is a misconception about the credibility of the term, as it is has been quoted within the text as being linked to ghoulish and voyeuristic tendencies. This surprising finding was a constant theme in the interviews and was reflected in numerous responses.

A key recommendation from one of the sites was to not use the term to describe these sites as it is perceived as being about entertainment and not memorialising the site. In the interview with Anthony Gardiner in particular the term was met with frequent distaste and he was adamant that the term was incompatible with the site’s message. The perception is that sites of memorial and remembrance are not dark tourism sites, when academically it fits into the term. This was reinforced by interview with Glasnevin which refused to acknowledge themselves as a dark tourism site based on the connection to the idea of dark tourism being ghoulish or connected to the paranormal. In Spike Island the misconception was that dark tourism was only present on the night-time tour. Another example was the Falls Road Mural Tour which frequently connected dark tourism to political tourism or voyeurism and as such refused to acknowledge their place within the dark tourism sphere.

This researcher’s suggestion is to use the information contained in this study to inform the progression towards a universally accepted term.
1. Further research is needed in order to determine a new term for dark tourism in order to gain the support of Irish tourism sites. This will develop the Irish tourism offering, along with specific sites in Ireland, thus benefiting the overall Irish economy. It was not possible to develop alternative terms within the scope of this study. A new study is necessary for the creation of a new term and as such it is recommended for future research.

2. An education guideline for dark tourism sites is also recommended for further research. There was not scope within the study to develop a credible and sufficient course for industry professionals. It is recommended that this would greatly benefit sites that take part in the course from a competitive perspective, as the dark tourism market grows and gains mainstream attention.

5.5.1 Gaps Found Within the Literature

1. Further research is needed to provide a better understanding of individuals’ motivations to visit slavery-related sites such as plantations, museums or burial grounds, and to understand the diverse experiences and benefits African Americans seek when they engage in slavery tourism (Lelo & Jamal, 2013).

2. Academia has not been focusing on the study of the dead or death leaving a gap in potential research (Young & Light, 2016).
3. Few researchers have noticed the effects on the host community and less attention has been paid to the issue of dark destination rebranding (Ashworth, 2004).

4. There have been very few empirical studies examining tourists’ constraints, experiences, and revisit intentions to dark tourism sites (Honglei Zhang et al., 2016).

5. One group of stakeholders that has received conspicuously little attention is visitors themselves (Light, 2016). Similarly, non-visitors (people that may not want to visit dark sites)

6. Further research is needed to understand whether experiences of interpretation are predominantly cognitive or emotional, in the extent to which a more intense emotional response can reinforce educational messages (Light, 2016).

7. Given the complex and multidimensional nature of dark tourism, there is a need to consider both demand and supply, and the relationship between the two in more detail (Sharpley & Stone, 2009).

8. A knowledge gap exists concerning how, and to what extent, this activity contributes to a moral mission (Dunkley, 2015).

9. The promotion or marketing of places associated with death and suffering is addressed in passing but rarely the centre of focus (Light, 2016).
10. The ways in which websites influence the decision to visit or not visit a dark site has, to date, received little attention (Light, 2016).

11. Two decades of research have contributed almost nothing to the understanding of the economic dimensions of the contemporary tourism industry (Light, 2016).

12. Less attention has been paid to the issue of dark destination rebranding (Wu, et al., 2014).

13. There is a lack of study in the tourism of transferring war memories to the next generations (Wu, et al., 2014).

14. Local groups' participation at different dark tourism attractions is a topic for further research (Wu, et al., 2014).

15. To date, the notion of internal obligation has not been fully examined when it comes to dark tourism experiences and is thus a key recommendation for future research (JungKang, et al., 2012).

16. The literature remains eclectic and theoretically fragile. That is, a number of fundamental issues remain, not least whether it is actually possible or justifiable to categorise collectively the experience of sites or attractions that are associated with death or suffering as 'dark tourism' (Sharpley & Stone, 2008).
17. Despite increasing academic attention paid to subject, the analysis of dark tourism has, to date, adopted a largely descriptive, parochial perspective whilst questions surrounding the consumption of dark touristic experiences have, for the most part, been avoided (Sharpley & Stone, 2008).

18. Despite their numbers, young tourists receive only anecdotal mentions in the dark tourism literature, because of its exclusive focus on adult experiences (Kerr & Price, 2018).


20. There is limited investigation into the psychological mechanisms that lead people to engage with dark sites and specifically, the role of fear of death in this (Bitran & Buda, 2018).

21. The potential contribution of psychology and, specifically, a psychology of death to this subject field have been largely overlooked thus far (Bitran & Buda, 2018).
5:6 Conclusion

This chapter included a full review of all findings in Chapter 4, which allowed the researcher to gain a clearer understanding of the issues within dark tourism sites in Ireland. These findings unexpected and as a result broke new ground within the field of dark tourism. The unprecedented disdain for the term shows the need for communication between sites and academic experts in the field. This finding, along with interesting insights gained throughout the study from multiple sources, shows the need for research within the area of dark tourism and the development possibilities in the Irish economy. As such, it was essential that this study was carried out as it highlights an issue within dark tourism sites that needs addressing and would have gone unnoticed without the research gathered.
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List of Figures


Appendix

A - Sites Selected

This section showcases every site selected and contacted throughout this study for the purpose of qualitative interviews in order to obtain empirical data.

B - Irish Sites Selected

Cork City Gaol – Heritage Centre

This site is located in Sunday’s Well on the North side of Cork City and acted as a prison for the City of Cork from when it was built in 1824 to 1923 when the last prisoners were removed (Cork City Gaol, 2019). This site holds architectural prowess with the exterior of the prison resembling a castle like structure. This prison was opened as a visitor attraction 1993 with tours of the prisoner’s cells as well as the courtyard and prisoner graveyard. Many of the inmates of the prison were committed and executed for crimes that are not punishable today (Cork City Gaol, 2019). Many children were placed in the prison during an impoverished time of Irish history including the Irish Famine. Public executions used to take place outside the front of the prison. Sightings of ghosts have earned the site a reputation for being haunted with many sightings throughout the years including members of staff claiming to of seen ghosts. (Mann, 2011).
Glasnevin Cemetery

Glasnevin Cemetery is part of the Glasnevin Trust who operate five different burial grounds and are all still in operation today (Glasnevin Trust, 2019). Glasnevin Cemetery is 124 acres in size and holds 1.5 million dead bodies including the Irish nation’s founding fathers Michael Collins, Patrick Pearse and Eamonn De Valera. This cemetery opened in 1828 as a cemetery and began operating tours in the mid 1900’s and still operates as a working cemetery on a daily basis. (Glasnevin Cemetery Museum, 2019). There are three tours on offer in Glasnevin cemetery including the ‘Dead Interesting Tour’ which includes a visit to the O’Connell crypt. There is also a museum and ‘City of the Dead’ exhibit focused primarily on grave robbing (Glasnevin Cemetery Museum, 2019).

Spike Island Fortress

The fortress on spike island was built in 1770 as a defensive position in the strategically important harbour of Cork. The island has 103 acres of buildings, ruins and fields. During the famine the fortress was used as a prison and a deportation site. Manual labour was enforced upon the inmates to build roads and buildings on the island as well as fruitless tasks to ensure they were occupied. This period is said to account for 1,500 bodies buried on the island in mass graves that have still not been found to this day. The island was used as a prison up until 1985. After the full evacuation of the island it was left abandoned until it was rejuvenated and made into a visitor attraction that opened its doors in 2010 (Spike Island, 2019). Spike island offers tours during the day of the island and the fort but also a night time tour focused on the many paranormal sightings reported on the island including in the punishment block of the fort which saw some of the most brutal treatment of prisoners on the island.
The Falls Road Mural Tour

The Falls Road Mural Tour takes place along the Falls road in Belfast City in Northern Ireland. This stretch of road is 1,600 metres in length (Google Maps, 2019). This tour visits monuments, shrines, murals and the Mill town graveyard where citizens of Northern Ireland were killed during the ‘Troubles’ (Coiste, 2019). Coiste is the organisation organising and facilitating these tours and it is comprised of ex-Republican political prisoners of the conflict (Coiste, 2019).

Stroketown Park House, Gardens and National Famine Memorial

The site of Stroketown Park is 300 acres in size as it includes gardens and fields in it’s grounds. During the Great Irish Famine the landlord of Stroketown Park Major Denis Mahon was assassinated and subsequent documents discovered during the restoration of the building support that this site was significant for the survival of the local people during the famine through soup kitchens. This house was opened in 1994 as the National Famine Memorial and is run through a philanthropist called Jim Callery and the Westward Group (Stroketown Park, 2019).

Loftus Hall

Loftus Hall is 6 acres in size and sites by the ocean on the Hook peninsula in County Wexford. Loftus Hall is said to be the site of the appearance of the devil who arrived as a falk figure on horseback during a storm. He was invite to stay with the Tottenham family that lived there at the time and their daughter Anne, became infatuated with the stranger. When it was discovered he was the devil on account of his cloven hooves, Anne went to shock and died a few years
later but has been reportedly seen around the house still to this day. This is said to the most haunted house in Ireland and the only site marketed solely as a haunted house explored in this section. Loftus Hall opened in 2012 after it went through years of dereliction after it was utilised as a nunnery when it was purchased from the family. (Loftus Hall, 2019).

**Newgrange Tomb**

The Newgrange Tomb site in County Meath is 1 acre in size, it holds the bodies of who are thought to be significant members of society upon the time of its establishment. The bodies were placed within the walls of the tomb. It opened as an attraction to the general public in 1997 and was named a Word Heritage site. It is a site that is principally marketed as a site to see the solstice light enter the central passageway illuminating the centre of the tomb on only one day a year which is an impressive feat considering the technology available to the people of time. Despite word tomb being in the title of the site, the solstice is focused upon and not its association with death (World Heritage Ireland, 2019).

**Titanic Experience Cobh**

The Titanic Experience in Cob, County Cork is 2,500sq ft in size. It is located on the final pier that passengers upon the Titanic departed from. The Titanic disaster resulted in 1,503 deaths, a significant number of which were Irish people in 3rd class that departed from the shore of Cobh in Cork. The Titanic Experience opened in 2012 as a visitor centre to explain the disaster but also as a memorial to the people that died in 1912 (Titanic Experience Cobh, 2019).
C - Contact with Irish Sites

**Cork City Gaol – Heritage Centre**

Julie Anne Young is a co-worker of mine in CIT, she works in the International office but worked in Cork City Gaol. She agreed to carry out the pilot interview with me concerning her experience of working within the Cork City Gaol. The interview was carried out in the Rubicon Centre Seminar Room on the ? of April.

**Glasnevin Cemetery**

On Wednesday the 27th of March, an email requesting an interview with a operations manager and a tour guide was requested of Glasnevin Cemetery. This site was determined as an interview site due to the high number of bodies as well as its historical significance. Brendan Kavanagh of Glasnevin Cemetery contacted the researcher on Thursday the 28th of March indicating that though the site does not determine itself to be within the Dark Tourism spectrum that they would meet with the researcher for an interview. The interview took place in Glasnevin Cemetery in Dublin on Friday the 12th of April with Brendan Kavanagh Operations Manager and John Scanlon a Tour Guide of the site.

**Spike Island Fortress**

Spike island was contacted by the researcher on Wednesday the 27th of March through email outlining the purpose of the study and that an interview with a member of management and a tour guide would be ideal. The researcher received no reply to this email and subsequently placed a phone call the administration office of Spike Island on Tuesday the 9th of April, the researcher was asked to send on the information again via email. The researcher emailed the administrative office of Spike island on Wednesday the 10th of April following the phone call.
from the previous day. The researcher received a reply on the same day and organised the interview for Wednesday the 17th of April on Spike island with John Crotty Operations Manager and John Goulding Tour Guide.

The Falls Road Mural Tour

The Falls Road Mural Tour is run by an organisation called Coiste. Coiste were emailed on the Wednesday the 27th of March. The researcher received a reply to this email on Wednesday the 27th of March requesting an form submission with an outline of the study as well as the guarantee of accreditation rights to Coiste in the event of publication. The form was filled out and sent back to Coiste on Thursday the 28th of March. The researcher received a response from Coiste on Tuesday the 2nd of April. The interview was carried out with Peadar Whelan of Coiste on Saturday the 14th of April in Belfast.

Strokestown Park House, Gardens and National Famine Memorial

The researcher contacted Strokestown Park House, Gardens and National Famine Memorial on the Monday April 1st outlining the study and that interviews with an operations Manager and Tour Guide would be beneficial to the study. The researcher received no response to this email and subsequently placed a phone call to the administration’s office of Strokestown Park on Monday the 8th of April. The date of Sunday the 14th of April was selected as an appropriate date for an interview with one of the tour guides. On Saturday the 13th of April the researcher received a phone call cancelling the interview citing the availability of the tour guides to be an issue. The researcher was requested to send on the questions and email appropriate times for a phone interview. The researcher emailed these questions and alternative times on Tuesday the 16th of April, the researcher did not receive a response. The researcher and thus no interview was carried out with Strokestown Park.
Loftus Hall

Loftus Hall was selected as a site late in the process of interviews due to the cancellation of Strokestown Park as well as the paranormal connotations with Dark Tourism outlined during previous interviews with other Dark Tourism sites. Loftus Hall was contacted via email on Tuesday the 23rd of April requesting an interview during the bank holiday weekend of the 3rd to the 6th of May. The researcher received a reply from Loftus Hall on Tuesday the 30th of April indicating that Loftus Hall would not be available for interview during the weekend of the 3rd to the 6th of April due to other bookings and commitments. The researcher emailed a reply to Loftus Hall on the 4th of May requesting an interview via phone call during the following week of the 7th to the 12th of May.

Newgrange Tomb

The researcher contacted Newgrange Tomb on Saturday the 6th of April to request and interview with a member of Management and a tour guide. The researcher received a response to this email on Saturday the 6th of April indicating that they have received similar requests in the past but they are not interested in carrying out an interview as they do not see themselves as a Dark Tourism site, as a result no interview was carried out.

Titanic Experience Cobh

The Titanic Experience in Cobh was contacted on Wednesday the 27th of March via email indicating the purpose of the study and the interest in interviewing a member of management and a tour guide. The researcher never received a reply to this email and as a result no interview took place.
D - International Sites Selected

Belgium World War 1 Battlefield Tour

The site in question is a vast area within Belgium that consists of famous battlegrounds as well as stretches of 'No Mans Land'. These tours are carried out by numerous tour guides focusing on different areas of the conflict as well as incorporating war cemeteries into the tour. By the end of the war in 1918 over 16 million people were dead throughout Europe with heavy military and civilian losses in Belgium alone as one of the Western fronts of the conflict (History.co.uk, 2019). Many battles took place in Belgium during the first world war creating a unique position as a historic site as it can claim to have some of the highest numbers of casualties that most other sites in the world (History.co.uk, 2019).

911 Memorial

The 911 Memorial occupies half of the full site which is 16 acres in size, this site includes the memorial building, museum, memorial tree glade and the footprint of the twin towers (911memorial.org, 2019). This site is the most recent in terms of the events that took place when compared to every other site in both the Irish and International context. This site is a memorial to those who died in the terrorist attacks on September 11th 2001 in New York City when two planes crashed into the World Trade Centre. 2,753 people died in New York at the World Trade Centre site including 19 hijackers, each person is memorialised within the memorial site (Rowney, 2018).
Auschwitz-Birkenau

The Auschwitz-Birkenau site I and II are 472 acres combined, these camps are located in Poland. Over 1,200,000 people died in the Auschwitz-Birkenau site alone (Auschwitz.org, 2019). This death camps were set up to address the ‘Jewish Question’ and enacted the final solution to exterminate the Jewish race. It is a site of significant death and suffering in the central history of Europe and the World and as a result is a significant site for this study.

Robben Island Museum

Is a prison located in South Africa made famous by the fact that it held Nelson Mandela who was imprisoned for fighting against the apartheid regime in place at the time (Island.org, 2019). This site was chosen as it was an international comparison site to Spike island here in Cork along with its political prisoner history of suffering rather than an inherent link to death.

Nanjing Massacre Memorial

The Nanjing Massacre took place in 1937 by the Japanese to the Chinese city of Nanjing. This event was also known as the rape of Nanjing as between 20,000 and 80,000 Chinese women were raped during this six-week period (History.com, 2018). Countless Chinese soldiers and civilians were murdered, and the area is still recovering to this day. As the Chinese culture stipulates that proximity to sites of death as unlucky the Memorial had to be erected without graphic imagery in an attempt to relay the information but not deter Chinese citizens from visiting the site.
The African Burial Ground National Monument

This monument was created when building works discovered an African American mass grave dating back to the 1800’s in New York City. This monument was created to remember all of the African slaves brought to America and those that died and suffered in terrible conditions. This monument is located on this mass grave site and has incorporated this into it’s exhibit in the form of seven mounds of earth in the centre of the exhibit showing the death that lies beneath (National Park Service, 2019).

Edinburgh Ghost Tours

This is the second site in the list of both Irish and International sites that focuses solely on the paranormal. This tour brings tourists into the underground passages of Edinburgh reciting stories of murder and sightings of spectres throughout the city. This site is an interesting marketing comparison to more historically focused sites (Civitatis, 2019).

Normandy American Cemetery and Memorial

This site is located in Colleville-sur-Mer in France, it was first established as a burial site on June 9, 1994 during the fall out of the D-Day invasion of World War 2. This site covers 17.2 acres and is residence to 9,380 military dead from World War 2. This cemetery also has a garden memorial including the wall of the missing highlighting the bodies of soldiers never found following the conflict (abmc.gov, 2019).

In this section the means of selecting and contacting each site discussed above will be outlined culminating in the final list of interviewed sites and sites that were not interested in being part of this primary research study
Belgium World War 1 Battlefield Tour

The researcher received the contact information for Ingrid Tiersen from Dr Angela Wright of CIT. Ingrid Tiersen who is the visitor coordinator of Toerisme Heuvelland who was contacted by the researcher on Wednesday the 27th of February outlining the research topic and the need for managers or tour guides in an international context for interview. The researcher received a reply on Friday March 1st indicating that the initial email from the researcher had been forwarded to relevant personnel within this field in central Europe. Ingrid also enquired after the term 'Dark Tourism' as she had not heard of it before. Once the researcher had explained the term in an email on Sunday the 3rd of March, Ingrid replied on Tuesday the 5th of March with the name and contact information of Philippe Mingels a tour guide of central battlefields in Belgium.

The researcher contacted Philippe Mingels on Tuesday the 19th of March indicating the purpose of the study. The researcher received a reply from Philippe Mingels on Tuesday the 19th of March indicating that he is an independent tour guide of the Belgium battlefields of World War 1. The researcher received an email on Thursday the 19th of March indicating the different battlefields Philippe Mingels visited. Through subsequent emails the date of Thursday the 25th of April was selected for a recorded phone interview. Marnick Dehoucks information is a similar international tour guide of the battlefields of Belgium. His information was sent onto the researcher from Ingrid Tiersen and the researcher contacted Marnick on Tuesday the 19th of March indicating the purpose of the interview and the area of study. The researcher received an email on Wednesday the 20th of March with times that Marnick Dehoucks was available for
an interview, from this email the date of Monday the 29th of April was selected. Unfortunately due to work commitments for the researcher this interview had to be cancelled. The researcher tried to reschedule the interview with Marnick Dehoucks who upon the cancellation requested a written response to the questions instead. When this was explained by the researcher as being an academic study requiring a recorded interview, the researcher did not receive any further correspondents resulting in no interview.
911 Memorial

The researcher contacted the 911 memorial with an email outlining the research study on Wednesday the 27th of February. The researcher received a reply on Tuesday the 5th of March requesting the filling out and submission of a legal form for the confidentiality of the site. This form was sent to the researcher on Monday the 1st of April, the researcher filled out and sent this form on Tuesday the 19th of March for evaluation. The researcher received a reply to this submission on the 23rd of April and organised an interview with Anthony Gardiner the Senior Vice President for Government and Community Affairs for the 911 Memorial. This interview was organised and carried out on Friday the 26th of April.

Auschwitz-Birkenau

The researcher contacted Auschwitz-Birkenau via an email outlining the research study on Wednesday the 27th of March. The researcher received a reply to this email on Thursday the 28th of March referring the query to Ms Adelina Hetnar-Michaldo of the educational projects of Auschwitz. On Monday the 11th of March the researcher received an email indicating that Auschwitz does no engage in these forms of study and only work with formal educators thus resulting in no interview with Auschwitz-Birkenau.

Robben Island Museum

The researcher contact the Robben Island Museum outlining the research purpose on Tuesday the 26th of March. The researcher received a reply on Tuesday the 26th of March requesting a specification into the relevant managers and departments, once this query was answered by the researcher they received a reply on Friday the 29th of March indicating a need for the questions to be sent to the manager in advance. The researcher replied that the questions were at that time
being formulated but would be sent on when completed, the researcher did not receive a reply once the questions were sent thus resulting in no interview with the Robben Island Museum.

**Nanjing Massacre Memorial**

The Nanjing Massacre Memorial was emailed on Tuesday the 26th of March outlining the research purpose and the need for an interview with a member of management and a tour guide. The researcher received no reply to this email and as a consequence no interview with the Nanjing Massacre Memorial took place.

**The African Burial Ground National Monument**

The researcher emailed the African Burial Ground National Monument on Saturday the 6th of April outlining the research purpose and the need to interview a member of management and a tour guide from Dark Tourism sites. The researcher received no reply from this site thus resulting in no research interview.

**Edinburgh Ghost Tours**

The researcher emailed the Edinburgh Ghost Tours on Wednesday the 26th of March outlining the research purpose and the need to interview a member of management and a tour guide from Dark Tourism sites. The researcher received no reply from this site thus resulting in no research interview.

**Normandy American Cemetery and Memorial**

The researcher emailed the American Battle Commission in charge of the preservation and maintenance of the Normandy American Cemetery and Memorial on Thursday the 21st of March. This email outlined the research purpose and the need to interview a member of
management and a tour guide from Dark Tourism sites. The researcher received a reply on Thursday the 21\textsuperscript{st} of March indicating that there would be a delay in the response to the request. The researcher received no further reply from this site thus resulting in no research interview.

F - Interview Participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date of Interview</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Profession</th>
<th>Site/Sector</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10/06/2019</td>
<td>Dr Gillian O'Brien</td>
<td>Reader in Modern History at Liverpool</td>
<td>Academic</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>John Moores</td>
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<td>University</td>
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<tr>
<td>12/04/2019</td>
<td>Brendan Kavanagh</td>
<td>Operations Manager</td>
<td>Glasnevin Cemetery in Dublin City</td>
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<tr>
<td>13/04/2019</td>
<td>Peadar Whelan</td>
<td>Tour Guide Facilitator</td>
<td>The Falls Road Mural Tour in Belfast City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25/04/2019</td>
<td>Philippe Mingels</td>
<td>Tour Guide</td>
<td>World War 1 Battlefield Sites in Belgium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26/04/2019</td>
<td>Anthony Gardiner</td>
<td>Senior Vice President of Government and Community Affairs</td>
<td>9/11 Memorial in New York City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12/04/2019</td>
<td>John Scanlon</td>
<td>Tour Guide</td>
<td>Glasnevin Cemetery in Dublin City</td>
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<tr>
<td>17/04/2019</td>
<td>John Goulding</td>
<td>Tour Guide</td>
<td>Spike Island in County Cork</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Position</td>
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<tr>
<td>10/04/2019</td>
<td>Julie Anne Young</td>
<td>Tour Guide</td>
<td>Cork City Goal in Cork City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17/04/2019</td>
<td>John Crotty</td>
<td>Island Manager</td>
<td>Spike Island in County Cork</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17/04/2019</td>
<td>Felicity Philpott</td>
<td>Tour Guide</td>
<td>Spike Island in County Cork</td>
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</tbody>
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I........................................................................................... agree to participate in Emilie-Kate O'Mahony's research study on 'Dark Tourism' management and promotion in relation to Irish sites.

I have read the information provided about this research study and the researcher has explained it to me.

I have had the opportunity to ask questions and as such understand the purpose and nature of this research study.

I understand I will not benefit directly from participating in this research but can request a published copy of the research upon completion.

I agree with my interview being audio-recorded and having my data collected.

I understand that all the information I have provided for this study will be treated confidentially.

I consent to voluntarily be a participant in this research study and understand my rights to withdraw at any time and to deny the use of my information at any time throughout the research process.

I understand that the purpose of this research is to fulfil the requirements for the CIT MBus Thesis. I consent for the data being collected to be used in future academic publications.

I consent for my name and title to be used

Yes ☐ No ☐

Signed............................................................... ..........................................................

Date ........../......./........
H - Interview Questions

Q1. Have you heard of the term ‘Dark Tourism’ and has it been used in your line of work?

Q2. Do you believe the site you work at is a ‘Dark Tourism’ site and have you worked on other ‘Dark Tourism’ sites in the past?

Q3. Do you think from your experience that ‘Dark Tourists’ exists as a subset of tourists in general?

Q4. Do operational practices change based upon the group of people visiting the site?

Q5. Can you give some examples of ethical managerial behaviour in relation to the memory of ‘Dark Tourism’ sites?

Q6. In your view, what key motivations in general cause tourists to visit your site?

Q7. Do you see different behaviours in tourists from different cultural backgrounds to the site?

Q8. Do you or have you considered utilising a targeted marketing campaign to attract identified ‘Dark Tourists’ to your site?

Q9. To what extent is the ‘Dark Tourists’ fascination with death evident when they are at the site?

Q10. What different products have management created within this site? For example - specific tours, events and exhibits geared towards Dark Tourists?
Q11. Do you actively seek out 'Dark Tourism' attractions yourself and why?

Q12. Are there any specific policies surrounding the admittance of children to the site and should there be?

Q13. Do you believe there are key resources in this site that can be utilised to create a unique position among competitors for this 'Dark Tourism' destination?

Q14. How do you manage the integrity of the site in terms of any possible damage that may be caused by visiting tourists?

Q15. From our conversation today, what can you now recommend for the future of 'Dark Tourism' sites.
1. What would be your definition of a dark tourism site?

I don’t use a specific definition, I generally stick with Philip Stone’s idea of there being shades of dark tourism where you go from the lighter side of entertainment to the darkest type which is much more about education. The usual example for the darkest sites would be places like Auschwitz and Dachau. My general rule of thumb is it is any site that deals with suffering, death, incarceration or anything that would be deemed a miserable tale. I am keenly interested in site specific places where the place is associated with the event.

2. In your experience have you found operators of dark tourism sites resistant to using the term to describe their attraction?

In my experience they are mostly not aware of the term, although a lot of the sites I go to, I go to blind as I want to get the visitor experience, so I tend not to deal with management or tell them why I am there. But obviously I was the historian for the development of Spike Island and nobody that I dealt with on that had heard the term ‘dark tourism’ when I was working on the project.

Interviewer: That is fascinating as Spike island was the one site that knew what it was and had educated themselves from the top down on the term so that must have been in relation to your work with them at the beginning.

Yes possibly, most of the staff that work on the Island were not employed at the site when I was doing my work so John Crotty who is the manager in Spike Island was not there when I was working there. Tom O’Neill was and some of the guides, but I have spoken with him.
many times since working there and he has embraced dark tourism but not necessarily in a way that I would have to have seen it being done. They have gone for a more casual approach to it which would not have necessarily been my approach but that development has nothing to do with me.

Interviewer: What would you have done with the site?

I would have focused on the more historic aspects of it though I have not been out there for a quite a while now and so I am not entirely sure what they have done. I think a bit like Crumlin Road Goal it is emphasising the ghoulish and gory atrocities at the expense of the actual history.

3. Have you come across specific sites that are more comfortable with the term than others e.g prisons vs cemeteries?

I haven’t come across any site apart from Spike who have actually used the term to promote anything. Possibly they do in Crumlin road, but I can’t remember as I wouldn’t be looking for the term for any particular reason, but Crumlin Road and Spike are the two that have gone for the more populist version. With more entertainment while they both do still have an educational aspect to it, but I know a friend of mine was recently in Crumlin road Gaol and they were doing hen parties. They have embraced the ghost tour, but I think it is run by a third party. They certainly embraced the ghoulish and ghost elements of it up in Belfast in a way that I don’t think any other site does to quite that extent. Places like Cork City Gaol they have Weddings there which I think is quite odd. A Gaol fits every possible description or possible definition as it was not only a site of incarceration but also of executions.
Interviewer: From an academic point of view it is interesting when you sit down with these sites and they don’t think they are dark tourism when they fit every definition.

It’s interesting and in my experience, I don’t think from my assumption and my experience in going around places it’s not something that Failte Ireland are remotely interested in pursuing which I think is a mistake. I think there is a public interest and I think you could market it in a sensitive way and I think you would get visitors and I know that there is a group who are a volunteer group up in Sligo that want to develop Sligo Gaol as a tourist amenity and they were certainly open to the idea of dark tourism and thinking that would be the way that in which they would be interested in marketing it if they were to get the finances together. But that is the only group that I have had any dealings with, that is not to say that there are not plenty of other groups out there but I have not come across them.

Interviewer: I was listening to a radio interview you had with Ryan Tubridy on the RTE and in it you mentioned you are going on a road trip around to these dark tourism sites in Ireland. I don’t know how many you have been to but it is a significant amount I imagine to be able to draw this conclusion that there are not many of these groups out there.

Yes I have been to over 100 sites at this point and most of this month and July I will be on the road again looking at some other sites.

Interviewer: Have you been to any international sites?

Yes but not in the systematic way I have been doing the Irish ones. I have been to the concentration camps, I’ve been to Dachau, I’ve been to Alcatraz so if there is a site near
where I am going, I will go to that so I have been to prison sites in Britain. If an opportunity presents itself I will be off to a workhouse or a prison or whatever to see how they tell their stories.

Interviewer: Have you found there is a difference in how the international sites approach it to the Irish sites.

I think because these places are site specific each site is very different like somewhere like Dachau is a place of great reverence or at least it ought to be and it is a very much educational place and it is a place of almost pilgrimage, so it isn't commercialised whereas somewhere like Alcatraz play on the Hollywood version. That said when you actually go it is a bit more nuance then what you are led to believe with the hype of selling it as an experience and it is the same with Robbin Island where they actually tell more of the story of Nelson Mandela. Most people will go because of the story of Nelson Mandela but the actual story that they tell on the island is more than just that story.

Interviewer: I was also lucky enough to of gotten two international interviews one with a tour guide of world war 1 sites in Belgium and another with the 9/11 Memorial in New York and it was very interesting to hear their takes on it. The Belgium tour guide felt it was dark tourism, but he felt it was much more about memorialism which was the same for the 9/11 site. The 9/11 site was actually almost offended at the term being used because they said it was a memorial. This is why I asked you about International sites due to the vehement response that these sites are not dark tourism they are memorial sites.
It’s interesting what they perceive it as and I wonder how that matches up with the demographic of their visitors. How many of the people that are going to the 9/11 site have gone there as part of a pilgrimage, how many are tourists in New York that have added it onto Ellis Island as something you do which makes them tourists. It is a place where thousands of people died which is dark and so wither, they like it or not they are dark tourism sites.

Interviewer: Exactly, I think it is something they don’t think is relevant and as an academic you know it is, so it is very interesting from that point of view.

I could see why they wouldn’t necessarily have it as part of their marketing package in the way that you see but a lot of that is to do with sites that offer to lock you inside a prison cell and they market it as such to put yourself in shoes of those people whereas you can’t ever market something like 9/11. The way they don’t market it in anyway is very much a memorial so I think of an academic to look at it and see it as a dark tourism site is one thing, but I can see why they wouldn’t use the term.

Interviewer: Exactly and I think it needs to specify within the research that difference between the normal dark tourism site of a prison or something like that.

Well I think sites that are being done in a very light-hearted fashion attracting hen parties and escape rooms in prison cells that then can trivialise others that are further down the scale so using it as a broad catch all does have huge problems because there is no comparison between Auschwitz and an escape room in a former prison cell where as there are comparisons you can make between Auschwitz and the 911 site in terms in the type of people that might go.
But everywhere I go I am amazed at the selfie culture, it doesn’t matter how horrendous things are people will make victory signs and take a selfie in a place where people have died and died horrific deaths.

Interviewer: That is one of the questions I ask in my interview with sites which is ‘what ethical...’ would you think that is an important thing to limit the amount of laughing and selfies within a site.

You can’t manage what a visitor takes from an experience but certainly it is managed very well in Kilmainham where I think because of its association with 1916 and its association with the Irish Republic has a very different feeling to any other prison sites that you could visit. They somehow also managed a balance but also you can’t get married in Kilmainham you can’t have your hen party it is a serious experience. There is no opportunity for you to go and dress up in feathers like there would be in other sites.

4. **Do you believe dark tourists exist as a subset of tourists in general and should they be focused on specifically?**

I don’t think there is anyone who only goes to sites that are miserable, but I do think that an awful lot of people do enjoy those sorts of sites also it is not a new thing. This sort of Madame Tussauds set up with the Chamber of Horrors exists because people wish to see those sorts of things. People buy newspapers that emphasise that sort of idea. They want to be scared or thrilled or horrified, it is I think for good or ill part of human nature. Look at the sales of crime thrillers and all of those sorts of things. Pretending that people don’t chose to go to see those things I think is a mistake wither or not people chose to brand it as such I don’t think there is anyone that just sets out to see those, but I do think there are many people
interested in those stories. Another thing about it is find me a happy museum and I will happily go to it but those don’t tend to be the stories we tell about the past.

Interviewer: Have you noticed a shift in recent years into the more extreme such as Nuclear dark tourism for example with visiting Chernobyl. Do you think that is a new element to the dark tourism tourist?

Yeah, probably. Chernobyl is the obvious example I guess with the television series recently, but I think mostly people aren’t going to go to places where you might get radiated. I mean that is the most extreme as you put yourself at possibly a limited degree of risk, but people do it all the time in the I must get to the edge of that cliff for that photograph that I must get on Instagram. You regularly hear about people falling off cliffs doing just that, so I think there is that one up man ship going on which is partly fuelled by Instagram and social media. In Ireland we tend to look back at things that happened in the 20th century with the exception of the Troubles.

Interviewer: Newgrange is a tomb it has dead bodies which means that academically it fits into the criteria but when I contacted them they were very clear that they are not dark tourism in any form and when I asked dark tourists about it they never event knew there were bodies there even though the name of it is Newgrange Tomb so I am looking for your two cents on that.

I am not remotely surprised that they said that to you, I don’t think sites get to self-define. If a place is a tomb. My critique of Newgrange is kind of out of date as they are re doing the visitor experience there, the current experience is very beholden to the archaeological
evidence. The have a massive display about the Archaeologist that discovered it and put it in the form that it now is which is not necessarily how it ever was before. It is one man’s interpretation of what he thinks it would of looked like before it collapsed. It is a very old-fashioned interpretation as it is very focused on these archaeologists and their particular vision. It is true that I recently went again, I have been loads of times and I really don’t think they emphasise the whole tomb element side of this and it is all about the people that built it and the archaeological evidence. They certainly say there are bones there and bodies there, but it is certainly not the biggest side of the story, but I think if you are inside a tomb then that is dark. Wither you like it or not you are in a graveyard, but I think it also true that very few people that go are thinking I am going to see a graveyard.

Interviewer: Yes, exactly and I suppose that comes back to the message that the site is getting across which is the solstice and the light rather than the fact that there are bodies in the walls.

Yes, it is also the fact that it is an OPW site. For example, if you go to Sligo Abbey which an OPW site you can hear about all the mazes here and this carving is this they don’t tell you about the massacre of the monks. They are very much concerned with the built environment and not the human stories now in Newgrange we don’t have the human stories. You can say ‘Fred’ was here because that information isn’t there. This is at some OPW sites and not all as Kilmainham is an OPW site and St Enda’s also, it all depends on how these individual sites are being managed. I was in Sligo and asking people in Sligo where should I go, and they said go to the Carrowmore Tombs which is similar to Newgrange and older than Newgrange but it was interesting that was the first place they said to go and also to go to Sligo Abbey. When I went to Sligo Abbey if not only for people telling me that this had happened, I mean there may have been a line somewhere mentioning it. But then you go to the Rock of Cashel
and depending on the guide you get they will tell you about the massacre you get there. Part of it is dependent on who you get on the day, you get one guide you get one story, get another guide another story.

Interviewer: That is an aspect that came up in my literature review there were a fair few journals on the effect of the tour guides on the visitor experience and the message given through to the tourist. It is interesting how you connected into that as it seems to be a big factor in the message of dark tourism sites.

It is not just dark tourism sites unless the guides at a site are very well trained you can get a very different experience so in certain places you get a particular story as the guide has chosen to emphasise that particular story which is something I don’t necessarily agree with as it can go completely of message and is not regulated. I think there is a lot of work in it, you don’t want the same tour in respective of the guide as you do want some personality in it but I think there certainly needs to be guidelines. A site needs to decide what it’s a persona is and the stories it wants to tell, and those stories probably should be told by whoever is telling the story with some leeway and not have it scripted.

Interviewer: When I went to the Falls Road Mural tour which I am not sure if you have been to on the Falls Road in Belfast?

I have done a number of tours there but it depends there are quite a lot of people that do them.

Interviewer: This tour is run by Coiste, IRA ex-prisoners were doing the actual tour. I am interested in getting your two cents on that idea of people who have lived through the
experience because obviously each one of them has a different story to tell about being imprisoned or the different people that they lost on that road. It’s a very personal experience as you imagine and the day, I was there I was the only one as it was raining and windy, so it was a real personal experience. Do you think it is a good idea to have that personal experience or does it run the risk of being off message?

I quite like it as an idea, one of the things a site has is authenticity in the sense that you are somewhere that cannot be replicated elsewhere. I think having the personal experience is a good thing generally with one very heavy proviso that they are very clear that they are coming from a bias. That someone who has been in the IRA and has served time in the IRA is not going to tell the story of the Loyalist struggle in a particularly unbiased way but I think if they are up front and are like ‘Listen this where I am coming from and if you go a mile down the road you could get a talk from a bloke that will give you a totally different story which is his prerogative’. If they are up front about where they come from it is very much their story.

Another option they can do is give a hand out with the timeline of what happened to give you some undisputed facts and figures mind you with the Troubles that is hard to come by, but I don’t have a problem with anyone coming at it from a bias perspective once they are open about what their perspective is.

Interviewer: To be fair they made it fairly clear during the tour that was where they were coming from which was a fairly good way of going about it.

Well if you do too much ‘on the other hand, on the other hand’ which as an academic is sort of what you have to do it can make it very dull. This is a tourist thing and it is not somewhere like Auschwitz or something like that you do have to have people come out and say ‘I
enjoyed that experience or it was invigorating or I learned a lot’ you don’t want them to come out saying ‘I was bored to tears I might as well of been sitting in a lecture room’.

Interviewer: Exactly and that gives that aspect of it.

It is what they choose to do in their spare time and they should not be bored while doing it.

Interviewer: Something else that came to mind while doing the early on research for my literature review was when thinking about the Irish context, I was trying to think of a famine memorial and it was only when I research it I came across Strokestown Park. I did try to visit them, but they were not interested as they themselves did not think they were dark tourism from my interactions.

None of them do, I have actually spoken to them. I don’t normally speak to the people running it but a friend of mine used to work there so I couldn’t really go unannounced. I think they know they are not dealing in cheeriness, again like Newgrange they are about to revamp their museum. At the moment it is very informative, very educational and very boring. I would be interested to see what they do it with because it really feels like you are reading a text book when you are there.

Interviewer: I think it would be an interesting case study in that it is our national famine memorial and though I have asked many people nobody seems to know about it or have any interest in it which is a shame when you compare it International sites such as Auschwitz and 9/11 memorial where it is part of the National identity which the Famine is as it was such an
impactful event in our history. I am thinking of it as something that can be developed from a
dark tourism point of view.

I think that one of the problems is that it is such a contentious subject. Up by the Falls Road
there is a mural, I am not sure if it is still there, but it is about Ireland's genocide and Ireland's
holocaust and it was the famine they were talking about. No academic feels that at all but it is
in the popular consciousness. The other famine place that is actually not very far from where
you are is the heritage centre in Skibbereen where they deal with the famine. Again, it could
do with a revamp as it opened 20 years ago and it's a little dated and cluttered. In Waterford
there is the Danbrody Famine ship which of the famine offerings is the best of them by far.

Interviewer: I just think it is interesting when you ask people in general, they don't seem to
have a site in mind.

It is good, I went with a friend of mine from Cork. We weren't expecting it to be any good as
she works in museums but really it is very well done.

Interviewer: I would like to get out it, I tried to get out to Loftus Hall but they were too busy
to meet with me. That seems like another lighter shade in the spectrum.

I haven't been for geographic reasons, it was on my list for the book I'm writing but I think I
might not include it largely because as far as I understand it is largely about ghosts which is
all well and good, but it doesn't really fit my remit currently.
Interviewer: That is how I felt also and I didn’t include it for most of my study as an option as I was focusing on the prisons and cemetery’s but as I got the research back from the interviews and they were saying ‘we are not the ghoulish type or about ghosts’ and that was their understanding of dark tourism so I tried to research out to Loftus Hall to see their side of dark tourism and see if they thought they were. It was just and interesting comparison.

It is not something that has been emphasised by Failte Ireland and it is not something that I think any of the sites have particularly tapped into and I think maybe there is an issue with hierarchy of ‘we don’t want to be associated with a site that is dubbing down and we are a very serious site’. I think they don’t get to choose whether or not they are perceived as a dark tourism site because that is for the observer and not for the site to decide.

5. Do different groups of tourists have a different reaction to dark tourism sites based on their cultural background?
Possibly, I don’t know I haven’t really been looking at the visitors and a lot of the work I have done especially last year was in the off-tourist season and quite often I was the only person there. I have noticed that in the famine sites where there have been people it has been primarily Americans who have been there. That was maybe just the day I was there, but they were certainly all Americans in Skibbereen similarly when I tagged along with a bus tour in Dunbrody. In Strokestown there was one Irish person there and the rest were American, I wouldn’t say that is scientific. The book I’m writing doesn’t have much to do with it as the visitors are kind of incidental, but I just noticed Americans visiting the famine sites more than anybody anywhere else.
6. Should dark tourism sites put resources into developing specific dark tourism marketing campaigns and products? E.G Glasnevin has Dead Interesting tour and does not think it is a dark tourism product.

I don’t know why they have all decided that dark tourism is a negative term, I am not quite sure why that is the case. I do not know if you have come across the Routledge handbook of dark tourism that came out this year which has maybe 30 chapters in it. Not one of them written by a historian

Interviewer: I didn’t actually realise that.

Not one, they are mostly written by people coming from marketing or tourism background and I think that is problematic in that there are not historians working in this field.

Interviewer: Do you think that more historians should be working with marketers or that is should be more of a historian point of view on the term.

Well I think with marketing you are trying to sell a product and if showing a photograph of a noose gets people in that is what you do. I think that may be why some places feel it has been trivialised and I think if there was an understanding that if something bad happens then it is in itself dark and if people go to visit it they are tourists then you have a dark tourism experience wither or not you like it or you don’t. I think some historical context about how dark tourism isn’t necessarily a bad thing or necessarily is trivialising the story. Shane MacThomas who was the first person to do the tours in Glasnevin who sadly died a couple of years ago, if there was ever a show man for tours, Shane was that showman. I spoke to him before he died about it and he would have absolutely said that ‘yeah, it doesn’t get darker than this’. It is interesting that they are now doing a much more corporate line.
Interviewer: I actually interviewed a tour guide as well when I was there and he also corroborated the idea that this was not a ghoulish site that is all about respect and memorialism and then I did the tour with him afterwards and it was a fantastic tour really entertaining and historical but there was a showmanship about it such as jokes thrown in and that kind of thing. As a result, I found it quite interesting the approach they took in an interview and then when you actually saw it in practice you think of that is the showmanship of it coming through.

Well when you go into the museum and they have the model of a body and the tunnel dug that you would dig. Yeah, I mean I would disagree. I think what they are saying to you is that their opposition to the term is based on the understanding that is trivial. I think it is based on an incorrect understanding of what the term means because they cannot deny that what they talk about is something that is certainly not light is it?

7. Do you think there should be parental controls in place at certain sites for children visiting?

Presumably if they don’t think they are telling dark tales then they shouldn’t see any reason why they would change a tour. If they are agreeing that they should moderate their tours, then they are acknowledging that there is a darkness to some of their tours. If they are telling you it is not dark, then why on earth are they changing it? I think tours ought to be changed based on the demographic anyway. If I was giving a tour of the National Art Gallery, I would change my tour for seven years olds as I would for University students as I would for people off the street or a group of foreigners. I think tours ought to be changed based on the demographic of the tour and not particularly on wither it is dark or not, but I think it is
interesting that they were willing to change the contents of their ‘not dark’ offering if it’s too dark.

8. Do you have any further recommendations for this study on Dark Tourism sites?
I think some sites that deal with tragic stories or I think some sites tend to try to do broad brush strokes to try to get everything in and I think no matter where the site is it is actually the individual and local stories that stick with you. Having been to a hundred sites it is the small things you take away from it. There is no point in a site saying, ‘we will tell you all about the famine’, tell me about the famine in the place that I am currently. Particularly in site specific places is the built environment is really important. Tell me the stories of the building I am in, why am I here? who built them? All of that. I think we don’t in a broad sense emphasis those things efficiently. For example, a site that could be a dark tourism site is Elisabeth Fort. That’s an amazing piece of architecture but you don’t learn very much about it on a visit there. It was also a women’s prison and you are lucky if you are told that, it was used for the holding of women getting ready to be transported. There is an amazing story to be told in Elisabeth Fort and it is right in the middle of Cork and you’ll know that the tourist office in Cork is small there isn’t that many things to do in the city despite what the Cork tourist board with tell you and there is a great story that is not being told in Elisabeth fort.

Interviewer: I think it is being used for offices I think at the moment for OPW and the Cork Convention Centre so it is interesting that is a site not being utilised sitting right there.

Even those houses inside in the parade ground you can rent them as a holiday let. Irish Landmark trust have recently developed two of them and you stay in them by paying an
absolute fortune. I think the Gardai still have one of the buildings and I think the rest of the buildings are Cork County Council I think, I can’t remember.

Interviewer: I think Cork Convention Centre has one as part of the Cork County Council but that is very interesting to think that they are all just sitting there and two of them have been developed as holiday lets so obviously someone sees that there is an interesting aspect to them that can be sold to tourists.

It is the Irish Landmark Trust, I don’t know how they have marketed it on their website I haven’t looked. I think maybe this year they did them, I don’t know a huge amount about it it is just that the interior designer is a friend of a friend and that is the only way I know that they were developed and that they were going to charge €150 a night to stay in them.

Interviewer: I will have to look that up as it is an interesting aspect to see being developed.

I don’t know if the grounds and the fort itself are under the same ownership I’m not sure about any of that but it probably online.

Interviewer: I will have to look it up as it is interesting. When I was speaking with John Crotty of Spike island, he mentioned the development of a product that focused on remembering one specific person everyday what do you think of that idea?

I think it is a good idea, I think one of the problems they are going to have in Spike is that there aren’t enough prisoners that they will know enough about to do more than that they
arrived on this date and left on this date. In principle I like it as an idea. Did you go to the shop while you were there?

Interviewer: I did.

Were they still selling unicorns?

Interviewer: Yes, I believe so.

I regretted not taking a photo as I thought it was such a strange thing to have at this site.

Interviewer: I have come across that before particularly in relation to Titanic sites and their gift shops.

It is interesting the site in Belfast was developed and that out of all the successful ships that the company made and had many safe voyages the one that they made so badly it didn’t survive its maiden voyage is the one they celebrate.

Interviewer: The Lusitania also sank and isn’t really focused on as much, it must be something to do with the maiden voyage of the Titanic that it is focused upon.