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Prison Museums: Learning Punishment

James Rodgers

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology, the University of Auckland, 2016.

Abstract:

Penal tourism is a way for the public to learn about punishment. Decommissioned prisons transformed into museums allow visitors to view for themselves the size of cells, forbidding architecture, and artefacts of incarceration. This study's contribution to the scholarship of prison museums is a layered international account of visitors, staff, experiences, and narratives at three prison museums: Fremantle Prison (Western Australia), Robben Island Museum (South Africa), and Eastern State Penitentiary (United States of America). Data was collected at each of these sites through a pre- and post-exposure survey administered to visitors, interviews with prison museum employees, and observation of the presented exhibits and tours. The findings from this study include: visitor demographics, changes in attitude expressed among visitors, the prison museum experience and issues surrounding the accuracy and authenticity of these prison museum sites, present and absent narratives within tours and exhibits, and the contrasts between presenting penal heritage and current issues in corrections. Prison museums offer an excellent opportunity for visitors to be educated about incarceration, however issues of interpretation and directed narratives may result in visitors being presented with a shallow representation.

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1.0 Introduction

Prisons have become a normalised and integral part of most criminal justice systems. They remain a central part of these criminal justice systems despite high incarceration rates and populations, costs, and recidivism rates. In the United States of America the incarceration rate sits at 698 per 100,000 adult population (International Centre for Prison Studies, 2015b). With a prison population of over 2.2million, it is an exceptional example of mass incarceration. The cost of America's prison system follows a similar trend, with one estimate in 2012 indicating a cost (including federal, state, and local) of over NZD\$59billion per year (Santonra, 2013). The recidivism rate is also high. The National Institute of Justice highlighted that after five years post-release, 76.6% of their sampled inmates had been re-arrested (Durose, Cooper, & Snyder, 2014).

South Africa follows a similar trend, with an incarceration rate of 292 per 100,000 adults and a prison population of 159, 241 (International Centre for Prison Studies, 2015a). The annual cost of South African prisons is estimated to be over NZD\$1.6billion per year (Jules-Macquet, 2014). The recidivism rates of South Africa are unclear, however multiple studies have indicated a rate of over 66%, but fail to include a time period with this figure (Jules-Macquet, 2014; Pelsler, 2008).

Finally, Australia also has a high incarceration rate (151 per 100,000 adult population) and prison population (35, 804) (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2014). The cost of incarcerating these prisoners in Australia is similarly high at over NZD\$2.8billion per year (ABC News, 2015; Thomas, 2015). A report by the Australian Institute of Criminology found that within a sample of released prisoners, 38.4% had returned to prison within two years. The report also states that over two-thirds of Australian prisoners had previously been imprisoned (Payne, 2007).

In many cases the extreme cost, over-use, overcrowding, and poor recidivism statistics are used to underscore the ineffective nature of these prisons (M. Alexander, 2012; Baldry, 2008; D. Brown, 2014; M. Brown, 2009; Chesney-Lind & Mauer, 2003; Christianson, 2000; Krieg, 2006; Sloth-Nielsen, 2007; Smit, 1992; Steinberg, 2005; Wacquant, 2001). The issue of mass incarceration and prison overcrowding has become so problematic that court-ordered decarceration has occurred in the United States of America with the *Brown v. Plata* Supreme Court case ("*Brown v. Plata*," 2011; Newman & Scott, 2012). South Africa has also recognised the issue of overcrowding, with the Minister of Justice and Correctional Services, Michael Masutha, stating that South Africa's international profile was harmed by their use of minimum sentencing legislation and broadening of sentencing jurisdiction (Masutha, 2014). In Australia, the prison officers union rejected the South Australian state government's message that the state is experiencing a "prisoner surge": "We've known for at least a decade that we were going to have overcrowding, this not a surge, it's the new norm." (ABC News, 2015).

The prevalence of prisons in the criminal justice system is complemented by the high frequency of reporting on crime and prisons within the media (Bulck & Vandebosch, 2003; C. Carter, 2003; Reiner, 2007; D. Wilson & O'Sullivan, 2004). Popular fictional depictions of prisons and inmate life include movies such as *The Shawshank Redemption* or *The Rock*. Episodic television dramas such as *Orange is the New Black* and *Prison Break* also include prisons in their content. Similarly, high rates of news coverage relating to crime and prisons also add to the collective consciousness of the general population. Prisons are popular. They are popular tools for the state, judiciary, and media producers. They are also popular among the public. Prisons have captured the imagination of the public through film and television, works of fictional literature, and folk-lore. Tales of daring escape attempts such as Moondyne Joe, fictional turned-celebrity inmates such as Hannibal Lecter, and imagined close encounters with dangerous individuals excite and scare at the same time. Public demand for crime and prison related content drives content creators, and whose fear empowers “tough on crime” legislators to fill an ever-increasing prison system.

Perhaps correspondingly, prison museums are some of the most famous attractions in many cities, such as San Francisco (Alcatraz Island) or Cape Town (Robben Island Museum). These are institutions of learning and education, where visitors can see for themselves carefully curated exhibits and life-like recreations. It is the blending of these two institutions (prisons and museums) which appears compelling for visitors, who may believe they have an opportunity to see what it was *really* like for those who were incarcerated there. *To be educated about small cells, strip searches, solitary confinement, hard labour, and escapes*: these are topics that the public has read about in books, seen on screen, or discussed with their peers. While the phenomenon of mass incarceration is undeniable, for large portions of the population prison is a mystery. It exists as a place of banishment, where “bad people” are sent to keep “good people” safe. This very simplistic explanation sits in contrast with the aforementioned popularity of prisons. In this case, prison museums act as sites where visitors can engage in a voyeuristic experience. This phenomenon of prison voyeurism detailed by Ross (2015, pg 400) illustrates the way in which the public educates themselves about prisons “without intimately engaging in the subject matter”. Travelling to a prison museum is often as close as many will get to seeing for themselves the size of cells, how tall the stone walls are, and the gravity of the gallows. By visiting these sites and participating in the voyeuristic experience visitors “may believe that they are sufficiently educated on the topic and can engage in meaningful discussions about it” (Ross, 2015, pg 400). This is one of the primary justifications for this study. Prison museums are excellent opportunities for the public to learn about penal heritage, punishment, and the effects of incarceration in a time when prisons have been described as a “moral and fiscal failure” (One News, 2011). However they may also serve to further reinforce negative stereotypes and prejudices that exist within visitors (Ross, 2015). The experience a visitor takes away from a prison museum could humanise the prisoner, increasing empathy and calling into question the continued use of incarceration as a form of punishment. Conversely, the re-telling of grisly stories featuring notorious inmates may further reinforce the use of prison, as well as numbing the public to the pains of imprisonment (Sontag, 2004). While there has been a proliferation of prison museums not enough is known about these sites, the visitors who travel to them, the employees who work there, or the effect that prison

museums have. Therefore, the purpose of this study is to investigate the role of three prison museums: Fremantle Prison, Robben Island Museum, and Eastern State Penitentiary.

1.1 Research Justification and contribution to existing literature

The inspiration for this study stemmed from three main areas: the popularity and problems associated with incarceration, the contemporary representations of prisons, and the phenomenon of dark tourism. As mentioned previously, prisons and imprisonment have become a routine part of the criminal justice system, which has resulted in a range of significant issues such as: overcrowding, high costs, and recidivism. The public are informed of these issues through the accounts of former and present inmates, politicians and activists, literature (both fiction and non-fiction), the media, and physical locations associated with imprisonment. It was the intersection of these physical spaces (in this instance the prison museum) and the phenomenon of dark tourism that was the starting point for this research. It also informs the title of this work: *Prison Museums: Learning Punishment*. This title captures the essence of this study: a layered view of prison museums, what people learn (and experience) at these sites, and by extension who is directing this education.

The phenomenon of penal tourism prompted the question: “why do tourists make a conscious and deliberate decision to visit historic prisons?” This was combined with an interest into how these prisons represent their penal heritage, incarceration and punishment, and the contemporary issues associated with corrections. These broader questions were the impetus for producing a set of refined questions building on existing scholarly literature and filling in the gaps that were present. Briefly, these questions are:

- Who are visitors to these sites and what are their motivations for visiting?
- What attitudes do visitors to these prison museums hold about prisons, punishment, prisoners, and prison museums?
 - Do these attitudes change after experiencing the museum?
- What are the thoughts of prison museum employees about their work, the site, visitors, and the potential influence of the prison museum?
- What role do prison museums have in the presentation of incapacitation as a punishment, historical imprisonment, and current issues in corrections?
 - How does the architecture, narratives, and museum curatorship relate to this role?

This study’s contribution to knowledge is primarily a layered account of three note-worthy prison museums that expands upon existing scholarly literature, as well as adding new findings related to methodology, visitors, staff, and the prison museum experience. These contributions include findings from a combined view of the data collected from all three sites, as well as more focussed items that were specific to individual locations. The novel approach of using pre- and post-exposure surveys to

investigate whether the prison museum experience changes attitudes among visitors is a central part of this study, and will provide an insight into whether the technique is useful for future studies at prison museums or other tourism locations. The data from interviews with employees of these sites is a valuable aspect because this is an area which, at present, has not been investigated thoroughly. A series of interviews discussing an employee's experiences and perspectives will describe working at a site of former incarceration, as well as possible alternatives or substantiation for findings that emerge from the survey data. Finally, based on the observation of artefacts, tours, and features, the narratives presented at each of the prison museums and the different curatorial perspectives employed will contribute to an understanding of the role that prison museums play in the relationship between penal heritage and education.

1.2 Aims and Objectives

Prison museums fall within the area of dark tourism – a phenomenon where tourists seek out sites or attractions that deal with death, disaster, the macabre, or suffering (Lennon & Foley, 2004; Stone, 2005; Stone & Sharpley, 2008). The study of dark tourism has expanded over the last 20 years with scholars examining a variety of topics including the motivations for visitors (Bittner, 2011; Yuill, 2003), the narratives presented at the sites (Lennon & Foley, 1999; Stone & Sharpley, 2008), management of these sites (Sharpley & Stone, 2009), and the applied practices of these tourism destinations (Ryan & Kohli, 2006; Stone, 2009; Stone & Sharpley, 2008). The prominent literature relating to prison museums has focussed heavily on the narratives presented at each site and the experiences of visitors to the museum (Garton-Smith, 2000; Shackley, 2001; Strange & Kempa, 2003; Walby & Piché, 2011; J. Wilson, 2008a). There have been fewer studies that have directly investigated visitors to prison museums on a wider scale. Furthermore, there has been little interaction with the employees of prison museums who are tasked with either presenting the information to the public, or determining which information is relevant or appropriate for that presentation.

In order to address these particular gaps, this study administered pre- and post-exposure visitor surveys, a series of semi-structured interviews with employees of the prison museums, and observation of the prison museum experience and presented narratives at Fremantle Prison, Robben Island Museum, and Eastern State Penitentiary. The scope of this study involves three areas. Based on the sequence of research design and the methods of data collection, the format of the thesis uses the following structure. First, the demographics, motivations, and attitudes of visitors to each of these prison museums. Second, the different experiences and perspectives of prison museum employees. Third, the architecture, narratives, and experiences presented at each of the three prison museums.

These primary areas of study are informed by a smaller subset of questions that are related to the study of prison museums as a whole, as well as each of the sites individually. The first is an investigation into the demographics of visitors to these sites, and what motivated them to experience

a prison museum. Related to this are the attitudes of visitors, and whether the act of touring a prison museum can have any effect on a visitor's attitudes relating to prisons, punishment, or their ideas about prison museums. This change in attitude may be related to the messages, exhibits, or narratives encountered by visitors on their tour. The architecture and presentation of a prison as an exhibit for visitors to view is also featured within this area. Additionally, it is important to explore the visual elements that are presented (and those that are not) to visitors. These items may also be different at each site, and understanding the role that they play in the prison museum experience is important when discussing the potential for these sites to act as educators and representations of the penal past.

In order to provide a richer and more layered account of these prison museums, the perspectives and experiences of prison museum staff are to be explored. The responses from those who spend their working day at each site are important as they formulate and administer the presentation of these sites, and are the ones who spend the most time interacting with visitors. The views of the prison museum staff themselves are also important as they may be reflected in the museum programming, exhibits, or in visitor experiences. Furthermore, these employees may have years, sometimes decades, of experiences to share and can provide further insight into the ways that these prison museums have evolved during their operation.

Finally, an investigation into the role of these sites as educators may have further implications for prison museum management and curatorship. From observational data, the types of messages that are presented at these sites, and those that are not, may serve to highlight a larger rhetoric regarding the view of prisons and punishment. This includes the presentation of modern inmate stories, indigenous histories, and whether the prison museum acknowledges current issues in corrections.

1.2.1 Method Outline:

Each method of data collection employed has been chosen in order to contribute towards answering multiple areas outlined previously, as well as contributing to the layered outcome intended for this study. The goal of this approach is to enhance the collected data through triangulation, and to provide a more comprehensive understanding of collected narratives and data. Table 1 provides an overview of the primary areas of study and their related questions.

Table 1
Aims and Objectives

Primary Areas	Questions
Visitors to prison museums	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What are the demographics of visitors to prison museums? • What were their motivations for visiting the site? • What are their attitudes about prisons, prison museums, and punishment?
The prison museum experience	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What knowledge do visitors take away from their tour of the prison? • Does the prison museum experience have any effect on the attitudes of visitors? • How is the space and exhibits presented to visitors?
Narratives presented to visitors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Which narratives are strongly represented at the site? Which are absent? • Are there any differences or similarities in the narratives between each of the three sites?
Prison museum employees	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What are their experiences working at a site of former incarceration? • Do they have any moral issues related to the new purpose of the site? • Has working at a prison museum affected them or their thoughts regarding punishment, incarceration or the criminal justice system?
Prison museums as a site of dark tourism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What are the implications of the study for the management of prison museums? • How does the architecture of the prison museums feature and relate to visitors/staff/exhibits? • Do these sites focus on education, entertainment, remembrance, or a blend of all three?

Observational data collection will contribute towards understanding which stories or narratives are presented to tourists when they tour the museum, while interviews with staff members will provide an understanding of why these particular stories or narratives were chosen to be exhibited. Visual data collection will also provide insight into the way that space and architecture is used and what experiences tourists receive when they visit a prison museum.

In order to discover the demographics, motivations, potential attitude change of visitors, data from pre- and post-exposure surveys administered to visitors at each museum will be used. Additionally, interviews with museum staff members and observational data will also be used to substantiate these

findings and potentially discover other aspects that tourists may not be aware of or may not wish to articulate on a survey.

Finally, interviews with prison museum staff will illustrate the experiences of those individuals who spend each day at a site of former incarceration, and how this affects them and what their views are concerning contemporary criminal justice systems, as well as the site in which they work. These interviews will be coupled with archival data present at each site to investigate the transition from site of incarceration to tourism destination, as well as the role that the prison museum plays in the wider community as a site of employment, and institution of education, entertainment, and heritage.

1.3 Thesis structure outline

Chapter Two details the literature review undertaken in order to explore fully the background of prison museums. This begins with an overview of the sociology of tourism, the background of dark tourism, and where prison museums fit within these areas. The literature review will also offer a background on the study of dark tourism and prison museums, as well as framing the definitions to be used throughout the rest of the study. In order to provide additional context and substantiate the relevance of this study, the history of incarceration, the social and political contexts of each site studied are discussed. These include the differences in penal philosophies, the significance of each site to their respective countries, and characteristics that may influence visitation choice and experience. Finally, media representations of prisons and the roles that they play in influencing the public about imprisonment are highlighted.

Chapter Three will explain the methodology of this study in more detail. This includes the justification for the pre- and post-exposure survey approach, and the method of analysis. The interview protocol will be detailed, along with a justification for the use of thematic analysis in presenting the results from these interviews. Finally, the method of tour participation and archival data collection will be outlined. This chapter also includes a discussion of the logistics of data collection at the three unique locations, and the limitations that arose.

Chapter Four will present the results of the collected data. This chapter begins with a qualitative account of the prison museum experience from the perspective of the researcher. This allows for a better understanding and context for comments made by visitors in the survey data, as well as themes and statements expressed during the interviews. Presented next are the results from the surveys administered to visitors. This survey data is broken into two sections. The first presents the quantitative demographic data, visitor attitudes, and statistical tests (including tests for association and change in attitude). The second related section details the qualitative answers given by visitors after their tour. Following the survey data, the results from the interviews are presented. Once again these are broken into two sections; however in this instance the sections are related to the structured

results from questions asked to all participants, and then discussing the spontaneous themes that emerged during the unstructured portions of the interviews.

The implications of these results will be discussed in Chapter Five. Following a similar format as the results chapter, the discussion chapter begins with findings related to the visitors. This includes the changes in attitudes experienced by visitors, and whether any particular variables can be linked to visitor's changing their mind after touring a prison museum. Following this is a discussion regarding the presentation of exhibits and how this may affect a visitor's experience of the prison museum. Within the interview data, the main focus relates to the accuracy and authenticity of the sites, as well as the visual interpretation of state-sanctioned suffering. Finally, there is a discussion related to the narratives that are present at each prison museum, and how these fit within the wider contemporary penal environment. These narratives, along with the visitor survey data and staff interviews come together to form a layered account of these sites that play a significant role in the presentation of punishment and penal heritage to thousands of visitors each year.

Finally, Chapter Six offers a summary of these key findings. It also goes into more detail regarding the specific limitations of the research, and offers some thoughts regarding ways to combat the issues of participant attrition rates, interview data interpretation, and the logistical issues of being a solo-researcher. These recommendations also serve to highlight areas of future study. This thesis ends with these recommendations, and reinforces the important contribution that the investigation of prison museums can make to the related bodies of scholarly literature.

2.0 Literature Review & Background

This chapter will begin with a discussion of the sociology of tourism and a review of the literature concerning the study of tourists, what they gaze upon, their motivations to travel, and the sites that they visit as this lays the foundation for the next section detailing dark tourism. The section on dark tourism includes the history of the area, a definition used for this study, memory and memorials, famous examples of dark tourism, what motivates tourists to visit dark tourism locations in particular, and the limitations concerning definitions and the study of dark tourism sites. Under the utilised definition of dark tourism, a review of the literature concerning prison museums in general will be discussed. This will also cover operational prisons as tourist attractions, as well as a discussion of studies into prison museums not covered in this research. In order to provide context to the importance of prison museums, and the role that they have, modern trends of incarceration and the problems associated with this will be reviewed. The next section discusses the literature concerning each of the three sites studied here. This includes a background on the history of the prison, its transition to museum, and related studies on each respective site. This section also includes a discussion of the indigenous relationships to each prison, as well as any implications this has for the presentation of history at each site. Following this are two sections concerning the architecture of prisons and the relevance this has to the sites as tourist attractions, and a review of literature detailing the transformation of a prison from a place of incarceration to a museum. Finally, the chapter concludes with a section outlining the impact media representations of prisons can have.

2.1 The Sociology of Tourism

The sociology of tourism is an area which contributes to the foundation of this study and wider dark tourism research. The sociology of tourism has investigated the concept of the tourist, the interactions that tourists have with the host population of their destinations, the destinations themselves, the views and motivations that tourists have, and many other avenues which concern the phenomenon of tourism. This introductory section will cover the major concepts introduced by scholars such as Erik Cohen, Graham Dann, Adrian Franklin, and Dean MacCannell and their relevance to this current study.

The phenomenon of tourism dates back to early Egyptians who visited the Sphinx and other monuments for leisure or experience, and to Greeks who viewed and participated in the early Olympic Games (Gyr, 2010). Gyr (2010) moves on to show that the development of roads by the Roman Empire allowed for a greater movement of people, from soldiers, to merchants, to those participating in private travel. Tourism and private travel often remained limited to the elite and powerful, especially those who travelled as part of The Grand Tour or to holiday in exotic locations (Gyr, 2010; Towner, 1985, 1995). Many of the eminent studies regarding the sociology of tourism (e.g. Cohen, 1984, 1988;

or MacCannell, 1976, 2001) focus on cases of modern travel, a result of the upsurge in middle-class travel and the industrialisation processes that allowed for a greater number of individuals to travel at cheaper costs (Gyr, 2010). This resulted from the post-World War II economic and technological growth, greater communications infrastructure, and refinements of airline travel that brought tourism to a larger section of society (Gyr, 2010). It also included the introduction of trip itineraries, travellers cheques, and charter flights (Towner, 1995).

Franklin (2009) notes that over time the literature surrounding the sociology of tourism has shifted in its perspective. From the 1970s, there was interest in the production of tourism; such as Cohen's (1972, 1979) investigations into tourism destinations and their production, and presentation of tourism products. Sociology in the 1970s itself had a strong emphasis on investigating the means of production and the exploitation of labour, as well as a rise in the study of art and culture as important parts of social growth and understanding (S. Cohen & Taylor, 1992; Holborn, Burrage, & Langley, 2009; Jacobs & Spillman, 2005; Ritzer, 2007). Included within this period was an increased investigation into the commodification of objects as status symbols, and their use as means of identity, social status, and power (Barker, 2003). This focus on production and commodification continued through the 1990s, alongside the dominance of positivist research and functionalist theorists (Gartrell & Gartrell, 2002; Ritzer, 2007). This period also featured a shift in the sociology of tourism, with an increased focus on the consumption of tourism products, such as the work by Welch (2015), Urry (2011), Cohen and Taylor (1992), or MacCannell (2001).

G. Dann and Cohen (1991) have proposed typologies of tourists: the organised mass tourist, the individual mass tourist, the explorer, and the drifter (pg 167-168). The organised mass tourist is characterised by the consumption of pre-packaged experiences and an itinerary that has been laid out in advance. This is similar to the individual mass tourist, although G. Dann and Cohen (1991) indicate that the individual mass tourist is more likely to venture out of their "environmental bubble" – albeit only occasionally (pg 168). The explorer on the other hand arranges his or her trip alone, and attempts to associate more directly with the people of the country he or she is visiting (G. Dann & Cohen, 1991). However according to G. Dann and Cohen (1991) the explorer does not immerse completely in the host society, and will withdraw back to their familiar settings or routines if the going gets too tough. Finally, the drifter is described as a tourist who moves away from the comforts or routines of his or her native home, and instead attempts to venture off the beaten track as much as possible (G. Dann & Cohen, 1991). The drifter attempts to immerse in the host society, and live as the people there do, with no fixed itinerary or goal. G. Dann and Cohen (1991) describe the first two typologies as institutionalised tourist roles that associate and deal with the tourism industry (travel agents, hotel chains, etc.) while the latter two typologies are described as non-institutionalised tourists, who are very loosely attached to the tourism industry (G. Dann & Cohen, 1991).

MacCannell (1976), on the other hand, suggests that the tourist is instead a pilgrim on a quest, intent on finding an experience that is fulfilling or out of the ordinary. This idea moves away from placing tourists into categories and instead looks at each tourist as an individual making up a larger collective phenomenon. This idea has been critiqued by Cohen (1984) who stated that the quest for authenticity

is often subverted by hosts who stage what appears to be an authentic experience, a “false-back” (pg 378) while denying the tourist access to the genuine experience. The concept of tourism as a pilgrimage can also be linked to dark tourism. Destinations such as former concentration camps or battlefields are often treated with reverence and are sites to which tourists specifically travel to. In the Australian and New Zealand context, Gallipoli is often seen as a pilgrimage that citizens should travel to on ANZAC day to pay their respects. However these destinations may also fall under Cohen’s (1984) critique, especially with increasing concern that the events and settings have become monetised and aimed towards a commercial endeavour (Mannix, 2015; Matthews & Grimm, 2015). This also includes the introduction of tourism companies offering package deals to tour Gallipoli (e.g. <http://www.anzacgallipolitours.com/> or <http://gallipolitour2015.com.au/>). In this instance the ideas of pilgrimage expressed by visitors can be contrasted with the commercialisation of the experience and the introduction of “false-backs” that visitors may witness. Tourism to a location such as Gallipoli also serves to acknowledge the history of the site, and to satisfy a personal quest or to reinforce a sense of national identity (Slade, 2003).

2.1.1 Anomie and Tourism:

Within the sociology of tourism, the Durkheimian concept of anomie is raised in relation to the phenomenon of being a tourist (E. Cohen, 1984; G. Dann, 1977; Sharpley & Sundaram, 2005). It is claimed that there is a lack of norms in being a tourist, and that normlessness fulfils part of the escapism that is so enticing about travel and tourism (G. Dann, 1977). Cohen (1984) expands on this by stating that one of the primary reasons for people to become tourists is to escape the norms that are prevalent in their ‘ordinary’ life. However as Sharpley and Sundaram (2005) note, it is unlikely that all tourists experience anomie to the same degree. Because of this, it would be unwise to “classify all tourism as a response to modernity’s collective uncertainties” (pg 163). Tourism as a result of anomie may also be linked to dark tourism, where tourists’ experiencing normlessness is coupled with the addition of themes commonly associated with anomie, such as death, disaster, or the macabre.

2.1.2 The Tourist Gaze:

Urry and Larson (2011) also contribute to the understanding of the tourist by investigating the ‘tourist gaze’. They claim that the ultimate goal of a tourist is to gaze at different and unusual objects, towns, or landscapes (Urry & Larsen, 2011). The concept of the tourist gaze, along with the typologies of tourists by G. Dann and Cohen (1991), and the tourist as a pilgrim (MacCannell, 1976), represent three of the most well-known discussions regarding the phenomenon of the tourist. Urry and Larson (2011) also show that the ‘tourist gaze’ is different for different people. That is, tourists of a lower socio-economic level will look at, and for, different things than those from a higher socio-economic

level. This can be expanded to gender, ethnicity, culture, or any other number of variables. The difference in items gazed upon could include sites where the location also serves as an object or exhibit – for example prison museums such as Eastern State Penitentiary. In this case, different demographics may be more likely to look at, and subsequently visit, different locations that are architecturally significant.

Urry and Larson (2011) go on to indicate that the gaze can also change historically, and that the progression of time can alter what tourists are looking to gaze upon. For example, the Grand Tour through continental Europe saw a change from the 16th and 17th centuries where only the elite and wealthy could afford to travel, to the 19th century where greater opportunities to participate in the Grand Tour were afforded to women and those with less wealth and status. This caused a change in the type of tourists who participate, the spaces that those tourists wished to view, and the rise in recognisable companies facilitating travel associated with the Grand Tour, for example Thomas Cook (E. Cohen, 1985; Towner, 1985).

A Foucauldian view of the tourist gaze is presented by MacCannell (2001), and further elaborated by Bennett (2013). It is claimed that the 'gaze' is held by the powerful, in that the tourists are the actors with the power of 'the gaze' and that attractions, destinations, and locals are defined by their status as the object of the gaze. This can take the form of attractions altering their appearance to fit within the expectations of the tourists. MacCannell (2001) goes on to discuss what he terms as the Stendhalian Perspective on tourism. The premise of this perspective is that the motivation for people to travel is to have something new to say (MacCannell, 2001). MacCannell (2001) expands on this by discussing the presentation of exhibits and 'scenes' at tourist destinations. That there is a conflict between what is presented versus what is not presented and what is not presentable. This also relates to the concept of authenticity at tourism destinations, and which scenes or exhibits are presented as authentic and genuine, and which are not (T. Bennett, 2013).

2.1.3 Authenticity and tourism destinations:

The sociology of tourism is also concerned with areas that experience a sudden increase in tourist activity, and the impact that tourism can have on these locations. It is noted that once a destination becomes a popular tourism location it is commercialised in order to accommodate the influx of new visitors, however when this occurs in developing countries it does little to improve the lives of those who were already living there (E. Cohen, 1988a). Tourism has also been shown to change a destination, and to influence the population – either towards presenting experiences, authentic or otherwise, to tourists, or changing their behaviour or presentation based on what the tourist is looking to experience (E. Cohen, 1988a; MacCannell, 1976). Tourism can also have an effect on other parties, such as policing, hospitality, or the local environment. This includes the relationships between the tourists and locals. These relationships are often fleeting and based on instant gratification rather

than any attempt to form a lasting and mutual connection (E. Cohen, 1988b). This often results in the relationships being open to deceit and mistrust, or being viewed as superficial (E. Cohen, 1988b; G. Dann & Cohen, 1991; MacCannell, 2001). This relationship becomes strained further as the number of tourists increase and a larger focus is placed on remuneration for practices that might have previously been customary (Pi-Sunyer, 1977). However this is contrasted by the acknowledgement that tourism can also be beneficial for many locations, and that for some areas being a tourism destination is an extremely important source of income (Gyr, 2010). The impact that tourism can have, both negative and positive, is an integral part of the sociology of tourism and this extends past the locals that tourist interact with, to the underlying social structures of the destination that is being visited.

The concept of authenticity and commoditisation has been raised by Cohen (1988b) and is relevant to how sites of tourism, including prison museums, are presented. Cohen (1988b, pg 380-382) states that the sociology of tourism has the following assumptions:

- That tourism leads to local customs, rituals, and art, becoming services or commodities to sell to an increasing tourism market.
- This process damages the authenticity of local cultural products and human relations by altering their intended purpose to that of marketable commodities to sell. This gives rise to the concept of “staged authenticity”.
- Staged authenticity stops the tourist’s genuine desire for authentic experiences. This often occurs by passing off staged experiences as authentic, or when a tourist attempts to participate in truly authentic experiences “behind the curtain”: these too are staged.

Cohen (1988b) also asserts that there are different concepts of authentic. While some argue that the authentic can be made only by traditional tools and materials; others state that authentic items can be produced by modern or alternative techniques, for example the production of soapstone carvings by the Inuit of Canada (Graburn, 1967). Cohen (1988b) goes on to state that experiences or objects that are manufactured for certain markets are not authentic in their nature. However, he tempers this by summarising that many areas and disciplines, both inside and outside academia, have differing concepts of what is considered authentic. Furthermore, tourists and tour operators use the word authenticity differently to social scientists, with an emphasis on the meaning behind the object or experience, rather than the technique or method used to create it (E. Cohen, 1988a). Finally, Cohen (1988a) argues that tourists seek varying degrees of authenticity in their travels, with some being happy to experience an unauthentic or commoditised experience, while others will strive to experience true authenticity. Cohen (1988a) attributes this search for different degrees of authenticity to the typology of tourist that has been described previously. He states that the mass tourist is often satisfied with a less authentic experience, while the drifter is searching for a deeper and more authentic experience from their travels.

MacCannell (1973) discusses the related concept of staged authenticity. This is the phenomenon of tourist destinations creating spaces that appear to be authentic to an unsuspecting tourist

(MacCannell, 1973). This is done in an attempt to appease the prospective tourists who may not necessarily be looking for a truly authentic experience, but are rather looking for the vision they have been sold by travel agencies or posters in their home country. The expectation they have is what promotes the communities of the destination to present experiences that are not truly authentic.

MacCannell (2001) also states that many tourist attractions were actually built to serve other purposes than entertaining or enticing visitors. One example of this is architectural attractions, such as the Golden Gate Bridge or the Empire State Building. Operational prisons are rarely seen as tourism destinations; however the repurposing of decommissioned prisons as museums, hostels, or office blocks aligns with MacCannell's (2001) view of tourist spaces. Furthermore some decommissioned prisons, such as Fremantle Prison, provide a variety of different roles; hostel, office block, and museum. Fremantle Prison itself has also been used as a wedding venue due to its picturesque grounds. In this case, the architecture of the prison – rather than its former role as a site of incarceration – is the attractive feature.

2.1.4 Destination Image:

The concept of a destination's image lacks a complete definition, yet it often appears in the literature as an example of what a site "should look like" or what "the perceptions of tourists are" before or after they visit a site (Echtner & Ritchie, 1991). The creation and management of a destination's image has come under increasing focus as the popularity of tourism and travel increases. Echtner and Ritchie (1991) indicate that several studies have shown a link between a destination's positive imagery and the likelihood of a tourist to make the decision to visit that site. Once at a destination, the authors state that satisfaction with the experience depends on how the previously held images compare with the reality of the location itself (Echtner & Ritchie, 1991). The image of a destination is "based upon a few impressions chosen from a flood of information" (Echtner & Ritchie, 1991, pg 38). The authors go on to state that this information can come from a number of sources, including promotional material for the site, from conversations with other people, or from the general media – including news media, print media, or film and television. Echtner and Ritchie (1991, pg 38) show that according to Gunn (1988) the sources of information and their role in the formation of images for a destination occur during the time when a tourist is forming mental images of a site based on second hand information, and when a tourist actually visits the location their image of the destination is altered once more to reflect the reality of the destination. The authors state that the multiple phases offered by Gunn (1988) mean that the formation of an image can be broken down accurately – and that the image of a destination can be formed without a person actually visiting the site.

While it is accepted that each person will have a different image of a destination, it is raised by Echtner and Ritchie (1991) that some areas have a collectively held image – or stereotype, that would be familiar to the majority of tourists; for example, geographical links such as the Taj Mahal and India,

the Great Pyramids and Egypt, and the Empire State Building and New York City. The authors go on to state that unique sites (or markers) and defining characteristics (such as “friendliness”) can also be important factors in the formation of images surrounding a destination. There is an acknowledgement that the concept of characteristics or attributes are hard to define or may be incomplete (Echtner & Ritchie, 1991). However the “aura of the Vatican” or the notion that Paris is “romantic” are argued to be compelling factors in the formation of an image, and should not be discounted simply because they are subjective or hard to define in an adequate manner.

Beerlie and Martin (2004) state that while the concept of destination image has risen in popularity, the theoretical framework is still lacking. Their study investigated how destination images were influenced by primary and secondary information sources (e.g. previous experience), as well as personal factors (e.g. motivations, or vacation experiences). They administered surveys to tourists leaving a destination in order to understand the ways that the image of that destination was formed. The primary source of data collection within this survey was the use of Likert scale questions to tourists. Interviews were also conducted with academic and professional experts to ensure validity. The findings indicated that travel agents and guidebooks had a statistically significant influence on the formation of an image regarding a destination. Items such as the internet or brochures did not have a similar impact. Word of mouth was also seen to be the most truthful or believable source of information that affects the formation of an image. The authors also found that repeat visitors were more likely to have their image altered by their own previous experiences and knowledge of the location. As such the authors recommend that agents promoting particular destinations deliberately provide information to tourists about a variety of activities or recommended locations.

2.1.5 The Decision to Travel:

The travel decision process is important to include when analysing the motivations tourists may have when planning their itineraries. Jeng and Fesenmaier (2002) provide an analysis of the decision making process a tourist employs. The authors stated that the previous research equated travel decision making with the choice of destination. In response to this, their study illustrated that the decisions travellers make are complex and have multiple stages ranging from primary - important or rigid decisions, to secondary decisions that are more flexible. The primary decisions, such as travel group and budget, set the conditions for the other, secondary, decisions that are made during the planning process, or after travel has commenced (Jeng & Fesenmaier, 2002). An important aspect of this paper was to highlight how flexible or peripheral decisions are made during the process of travel itself (Jeng & Fesenmaier, 2002). This provides a theoretical concept for the possibility of travellers making decisions or engaging in activities that they might not have planned for originally. Finally, the authors also state that marketing strategies for people who are not flexible to change should be targeted at those people prior to the commencement of the trip. In contrast, those travellers who are

considered more flexible can be susceptible to marketing information throughout the duration of their travel (Jeng & Fesenmaier, 2002).

Gitelson and Kerstetter (1995) analysed the influence that friends and family have on the travel decision process. This is a subset of the model that Jeng and Fesenmaier (2002) developed, and falls under the secondary sources of information that inform the travel decision process as well as the image formation of a destination discussed previously. The study by Gitelson and Kerstetter (1995) involved interviewing tourists to examine who within their travelling party was responsible for making the travel decisions. The results indicated that friends and family were very influential in the travel decisions process. The reason for travelling among non-local tourists was to visit friends and/or family in that area, who then subsequently exerted a significant influence over the decisions that the initial travellers would make (Gitelson & Kerstetter, 1995). However, the authors also note that additional research needs to be conducted into this area. For example they suggest one area could be to investigate precisely when friends and/or family members exert their influence in the decision making process. The paper provides valuable evidence to show that friends and family members influence a person's reason to travel, as well as their decisions once they have arrived at their destination. This influence can also be related to the image formation of a particular destination, and the empirical evidence provided by Gitelson and Kerstetter (1995) provides support for the notion that "word of mouth" from friends and family alter a tourist's decision to visit, and perception of particular destinations.

Leiper (1990) proposed a model to explain the way that tourists are attracted to different sites. He states that tourists are not a homogenous group and that each 'tourist' often has a different motivation for travelling, and different expectations. He goes on to show that this model of tourist attraction systems is based on three components: the tourist, a nucleus, and at least one marker (Leiper, 1990). A nucleus is summarised as a feature or characteristic of a place a tourist might visit. A marker is defined as information about the nucleus presented to the tourist. Leiper (1990) shows that an attraction is a combination of these elements and their effect on a person throughout the decision making process. The model Leiper produces shows that tourists are not "attracted" in the literal sense of the word to a site, rather they are motivated to experience a nucleus and its markers when a "marker reacts positively with the needs and wants" of a tourist (1990, pg 381).

Complementing Leiper's (1990) ideas of tourist attraction are the notions of push and pull factors (Richards 2002). In the context of a tourists decision to travel, Richards (2002) states that tourists are "pushed" towards attractions by their own motivations, attraction markers at the sites, media, and touristic characteristics (pg 1048). Alternatively, pull factors are introduced by the tourism destination in the form of marketing, operation, and design of the site. The introduction of pull factors was a product of the commoditisation of the tourist space and the growth of the tourism industry (Gyr, 2010; Richards, 2002; Towner, 1995). The study by Richards (2002) indicated that the majority of tourists, including over half of international tourists, make decisions about what attractions they are going to visit before they leave home. He goes on to state that his study confirmed the model proposed by Leiper (1990), that tourists who visit the attractions studied had a wide variety of motivations,

organised their travel in different ways, and gathered information on the attraction and destination from differing sources.

Lew (1987) discusses the ways that tourist attraction research has attempted to classify different attractions into a set of typologies. He states that tourist attraction research can fit into three perspectives: ideographic, organisational, or tourist cognition of attractions (Lew, 1987). Ideographic studies are those which describe the “concrete uniqueness of a site, rather than an abstract universal characteristic” (Lew, 1987, pg 555). This can then be divided further into nature or human attractions, or attractions which feature a nature-human interface (e.g. mountain activities). Organisational approaches on the other hand focus on the spatial, capacity, and temporal nature of different attractions (Lew, 1987, pg 558). For example, studies which examine how tourist destinations use their space or integrate different activities into a set amount of space would fall under this perspective. Finally, the cognitive perspective consists of studies that examine tourist perceptions and experiences of attractions. The paper by MacCannell (1976) and his concept of authenticity and its relationship to the tourist would fall under this perspective. Lew (1987) also notes that there is often overlap between the cognitive and the ideographic perspectives.

Getz (1992) discusses the concept of destination life cycles, and the role that this model can play in the management of tourist destinations. The model supplied contains seven phases that are supposed to represent the life cycle of a tourist destination. Although as Getz (1992) found, the model itself is not easily applied to existing sites, nor is it able to forecast future growth or decline. However, the phases within the model can be used to identify and explain the current stage of a location. The case study used within the paper, Niagara Falls, was identified within a new phase called ‘maturity’ (Getz, 1992). This phase was introduced because it incorporated the three different phases of consolidation, decline, and rejuvenation that were present at the site. The introduction of the term maturity as an addition to the life cycle of tourist attractions is the primary message of the article; and can be utilised in a number of other areas of tourism research.

2.2 Dark Tourism

Dark tourism is a relatively new area of study that draws from a variety of other disciplinary areas including sociology, criminology, and tourism studies. It is the study of tourism sites around the globe that deal with death, destruction, the macabre, punishment, incarceration, or other similar qualities (Lennon & Foley, 2004). It attempts to understand why tourists visit these sites, the role that these sites play in the communities where they are located, and the relationship between themselves and the history that caused the sites notoriety or popularity. The term dark tourism was originally coined by J. John Lennon and Malcolm Foley (2004) to describe “the presentation and consumption (by visitors) of real and commodified death and disaster sites” (pg 198). However this presents a problem in terms of its application to prison museums – as they are (for the most part) sites where people were

detained, rather than killed. This detention could be viewed as a disaster for the incarcerated person; however this strains the definition unacceptably. A more useful approach is to include the term “suffering” in the definition. In this regard it is the deprivation of freedom, isolation, and violence that contribute towards a prison museum being seen as dark. Ross (2012) in his piece on the review of scholarly literature surrounding prison museums uses the definition outlined by Lennon and Foley (2004) without any addendum. Strange and Kempa (2003) include a similar definition, but go on to note that prison museums include “depravity” and the state-sanctioned infliction of pain and punishment. With this in mind there appears to be a consensus that prison museums do fall under the umbrella of dark tourism: however the reasons for doing so range from the notion that they are simply bad or morbid places, to institutions representing state-sanctioned harm against the human body. This study will utilise the definition of dark tourism outlined by Lennon and Foley (2004) with the addition of suffering as the framework for this study moving forward. It is acknowledged that there may be some contention about including prison museums under this, however the combination of previous studies utilising the same definition and a lack of established alternatives indicates that this is the best path to take. Furthermore, Foley and Lennon (1996, pg 196) add that the reason “these visitors may have been motivated to undertake a visit is a desire to experience the reality behind the media images and/or by personal association with inhumanity.” This adds the influence of external push factors, as well as personal pull factors, to the utilised framework on the consumption of dark tourism.

Dark tourism exists because there is both demand and supply. The research that has been conducted into the origins of dark tourism has found that there have always been places and people willing to specifically witness death, destruction, or the macabre. It is only recently, however, that this has been fully legitimised by society’s increased fascination with the extreme (Stone & Sharpley, 2008). This can be partially attributed to the rise of modern audio-visual media where experiences can be shared almost instantaneously, and the world becoming much smaller due to urbanisation and globalisation (Silverstone, 2007). This increase in popularity could also be attributed to the change in perspectives regarding death (Gorer, 1955; Stone, 2009; Stone & Sharpley, 2008; Tercier, 2005). Stone and Sharpley (2008) explain that death was once a very familial and community oriented occurrence that held religious significance; while this view has not been totally diminished in many societies, the rise of violence and death within both fictional and news media (Reiner, 2007) and a move away in many societies from religion (Stone, 2009) has seen violent, sensationalised, death and the macabre become topics that can be openly discussed or viewed as entertainment. Gorer (1955) elaborates on this by stating “violent death has played an ever-growing part in the fantasies offered to mass audiences-detective stories, thrillers, Westerns, war stories, spy stories, science fiction, and eventually horror comics” (pg 51). Gorer (1955) goes on to describe the pornography of death, and the intent behind this pornography to hallucinate the reader or viewer with an unrealistic or fantastical version of the phenomenon. Gorer (1955) concludes that the natural death should be readmitted to the public consciousness, otherwise “horror comics” (pg 52) will continue to fill the void left behind. This link between the “absent death” and dark tourism was discussed by Stone and Sharpley (2008) who state that dark tourism practices allow visitors a chance to “indulge their curiosity and fascination

with thanatological concerns in a socially acceptable and, indeed, often sanctioned environment” (pg 587).

Stone (2009) reinforces this idea by identifying the way in which death as a process has evolved within contemporary society. He notes that death is sequestered in hospitals and funeral homes, presided over by doctors and nurses; as opposed to previously where death was a more familial affair (Stone, 2009). It is this sequestering of death that has prompted the public to view sites of dark or thanatourism as a means of satisfying their curiosity or confronting their own mortality. This mortality may not induce a fear of dying, rather the consumption of dark tourism could encourage thoughts of survival when confronted with portrayals of death (Bauman, 1992a, 1992b; Stone & Sharpley, 2008). Stone (2009) goes on to say that one of the reasons for the consumption of dark tourism resides in the fact that the individual has been removed from the world of death. Society itself has become adept at dealing with the process of a person dying, with an entire industry revolving around the passing of a person (Parsons, 1999; Saunders, 1991). Yet individually we have removed ourselves from this process. As such Stone (2009) asserts that viewing these exhibits or sites is a way to explore the concept of death and mortality in contemporary Western society.

The concept of *schadenfreude* is also raised as a motivation or origin for dark tourism visitors. *Schadenfreude* refers to the pleasure, secret or otherwise, of witnessing the misfortune of others (Seaton & Lennon, 2004; Stone, 2005). *Thanatopsis* on the other hand refers to the contemplation of death, and has also been suggested as a motivator for tourists to visit sites of dark tourism (Rittichainuwat, 2007). While these two concepts are raised quite often, they are rarely expanded upon throughout the early literature of dark tourism. Often the concept of *schadenfreude* is used to highlight one reason amongst many that visitors may engage in the dark tourism phenomenon.

Demand for dark tourism may also be attributed to the desire of visitors to gaze upon something new or more extreme than what traditional tourism destinations offer (Urry & Larsen, 2011). Tourism studies are finding that visitors want something out of the ordinary, to make their trip special (Inglis & Holmes, 2003; Lennon & Foley, 2004; Rojek, 1993; Seaton & Lennon, 2004; Sharpley & Stone, 2009). As such, visiting locations that might previously have been considered too scary or uncomfortable has become an option for those wishing to push the boundaries of their trip (Stone, 2009). Additionally, the demand for dark tourism has prompted the establishment of more sites, which in turn allows for greater accessibility, and prompts further visitation by tourists.

Stone (2006) contributes one model of differentiating between the light and dark manifestations of dark tourism. This model highlights that not all sites are equal in terms of their expression of death and disaster. Stone (2006) describes this spectrum as being “dependent on both the degree of interest or fascination in death on the part of the tourist and on the extent to which an attraction or exhibition is developed in order to exploit that interest or fascination, different sites / experiences may be either ‘paler’ or ‘darker’” (pg 152). Thus, sites that capitalise on death explicitly (and exist to illustrate that) fall towards the darker end of the dark tourism spectrum. An example of this would be Ground Zero in New York City which represents a high level of political influence or ideology, a

shorter time scale to the event, and exists as a site of mourning for the extreme loss of life. Conversely, sites such as the London Dungeon or the Clink portray death with a focus on entertainment and aim to be accessible to a wider audience (Welch, 2013). Sites such as this hold different connotations than other darker sites, such as a concentration camp or site of genocide. As illustrated by Stone's (2006) spectrum, these connotations can be based off time elapsed since the event, the size and scale of the event, as well as perceived authenticity and educative value. What makes a site popular has yet to be adequately defined, or more realistically, is a combination of a variety of different factors. As noted by Stone and Sharpley (2008) the popularity of a site may be due to an individual's attempts to confront their own fear of death, whilst Foley and Lennon (1996) state that visitor numbers to the John F Kennedy museum increased any time there was a significant amount of media attention to the Kennedy family or regarding the late President himself. The growing body of research into dark tourism also appears to address the reasons of popularity as a response to that very factor.

Being able to differentiate sites of dark tourism has become important to the overall study of tourism locations dealing with death, disaster, and the macabre. The ability to differentiate and categorise the sites from each other allows for a better analysis of visitor motivations. However, this spectrum is unsatisfactory in the sense that it cannot account for all cases or variations of tourism destinations (Stone, 2006). For example, sites may serve multiple roles that fall under different areas of the spectrum. One such instance is the difference at Eastern State Penitentiary between their regular tours of the prison, focussing on the history of the site and those incarcerated there, and the operation of Terror Behind The Walls – a six-week haunted house or fright-factory event run during the evenings inside the grounds of Eastern State Penitentiary from September 18 to November 7 (Eastern State Penitentiary, 2015b). This presents an issue with determining where the site falls along the spectrum presented by Stone (2006). The regular programming and tours have an educative purpose and focus on history, whereas the Terror Behind The Walls event has a focus on entertainment, yet still involves depictions of death or suffering in the form of monsters, zombies, and ghouls. The spectrum of differences between light and dark sites offers some utility in indicating the different demographics and markets dark tourism sites are trying to engage. However closer inspection of individual sites reveals that the spectrum may be less useful as the different presentations or tours result in changing categorisation. Additionally, different people perceive these sites in different ways, and as will be discussed later, the messages portrayed by sites of dark tourism can be influenced by those in positions of power (Strange & Kempa, 2003). Therefore, it is important to critically engage with the schema and to use the notion of lighter or darker shades of dark tourism as guides that allow for differentiation amongst sites where previously none existed.

Stone and Sharpley (2008) look at society's demand for dark tourism rather than the supply. This is in line with the increasing fascination (Kastenbaum, 2007; Kears, 2009; McIntosh, 2001) that society has with death and mortality, which can be seen within the internet, news, television shows, fictional books, or Hollywood movies (Seaton & Lennon, 2004; Walter, 1991; Walter, Littlewood, & Pickering, 1995). The research by Stone and Sharpley (2008) suggests that modern society has a desire to

confront death or the macabre and this drives tourists to visit these sites. They note that demand as a driving force of dark tourism has yet to be thoroughly explored, and the lack of extensive research adds to the problems of classification and the skeletal theoretical frameworks (e.g. Stone, 2006) that exist within the field of dark tourism (Stone & Sharpley, 2008). They suggest that dark tourism further fragments the meaning of death within society by overexposing the public to an absent mortality rather than their own. Instead of people experiencing death in a personal manner, they are looking at it with morbid curiosity, a desire to learn something, or as a spectacle intended for visual consumption. This often leads to people trying to avoid death, rather than appreciating their own mortality. On the other hand, Stone and Sharpley (2008) point out that bringing death into the public spotlight once more through dark tourism may give death more meaning within contemporary society, in a similar vein that religion played during pre-modern times. This may result in death being acknowledged and “its precariousness appreciated” (Stone & Sharpley, 2008, pg 588). Finally, it can be seen that dark tourism will allow people to confront the idea of death from a “safe distance” which might be beneficial to a society that is starting to become enamoured with the idea of the glorified or atypical death (Stone & Sharpley, 2008).

2.2.1 History:

As noted previously, “dark tourism” as a term found in tourism studies and criminology was first coined in 1996 by Lennon and Foley, with Stone, and Seaton contributing during that year as well. However tourists visiting sites of death, destruction, or punishment is a much older phenomenon and Seaton and Lennon (2004) contend that dark tourism has always existed in some form or another, in shrines and memorials to the dead, and images of the dead from war or gladiatorial combat. Death, punishment, disaster, or the macabre as entertainment are not new concepts, and we can see that humans have always held a fascination with death and a desire to understand the end of life.

Pre-modern punishment was characterised by executions and spectacle (Foucault, 1995). During this period it was accepted, and even encouraged, for members of the village, township, or city to attend public executions (Spierenburg, 1984). There was a festival atmosphere with a significant amount of ritual imbedded in the process of punishing an offender. Indeed, there are also accounts of early authors attending a significant amount of executions in order to write about their experiences and to satisfy their own curiosity (Seaton & Lennon, 2004). In concurrence with the spectacle of punishment, events such as the gladiatorial combat at the Coliseum of Rome can be classed as an early form of dark tourism – both in the pre-modern context as well as those who visit its ruins today.

The enlightenment and societal movement informed in part by classical criminological theories of punishment removed public executions and instead sequestered punishment in prisons behind high walls, gated entrances, and barred windows (M. Brown, 2009; Christianson, 2000; A. J. Hirsch, 1992). However, even the earliest modern prisons offered tours to those members of the public willing to pay

(Bruggeman, 2012; Strange & Kempa, 2003; J. Wilson, 2008a). As punishment and society continued to advance, the notion of offering tours to the public of prisons became less appealing to those who managed the facilities and eventually it was very rare for members of the public to view the interiors of prisons first-hand (Sharpley & Stone, 2009; J. Wilson, 2008a).

What the public lacked in the spectacle of punishment was made up for by the rise in death and thanatourism as forms of entertainment. One example is that of an exhibition called Body Worlds in London's East End which was produced by German academic Professor Gunther von Hagens (Seaton & Lennon, 2004). This exhibition boasted genuine cadavers of people who had donated their bodies, and tourists paid 10 pounds each to see these bodies arranged in a variety of poses. According to Seaton and Lennon (2004) the exhibit attracted over 720,000 people over the course of its nine month stay.

It is noted that the advent of cheap forms of communication and advertising helped those supplying dark tourism by creating a demand amongst the population to learn of the untimely deaths or "horrible murders" that had occurred recently (Seaton & Lennon, 2004). This prompted some enterprising members of society to set up dark museums that featured relics or scene re-enactments of murders that people had read about in the local newspaper. This supply and demand increased again with the advent of televisions and furthermore with the surge of crime related programming featured across a broad range of different media outlets.

During the 1990s the popularity of visiting locations and sites that dealt with death, destruction, or incarceration rose. This ranged from websites offering the locations of graves belonging to celebrities or public figures, to tours of battlefields, or more institutional advances such as the Lonely Planet guide to dark tourism (Sharpley & Stone, 2009). There are a multitude of reasons for this increase in demand and supply of dark tourism, ranging from the demystification of death to the prevalence of violence, death, and crime as entertainment. It can also be seen that sites of dark tourism are becoming increasingly popular as primary destinations, rather than incidental detours (Sharpley & Stone, 2009; Stone, 2006, 2009).

This increasing popularity of dark tourism has allowed for a diversification of typologies and classifications. This has resulted in different forms of dark tourism emerging, from light hearted "fear factories" or haunted houses, to the most extreme forms of dark tourism such as "genocide tourism" or "poverty tourism" where visitors travel to locations of recent genocide such as the killing fields of Cambodia or to places of extreme poverty, such as the slums of India (Stone, 2006, 2009). Historically there have been instances of media or public outrage at the notion of dark or thanatourism, however the last decade has seen the phenomenon of tourists visiting sites of death and destruction become more accepted (Seaton & Lennon, 2004; Sharpley & Stone, 2009). This could be due in part to the legitimisation brought on by guides such as the Lonely Planet series, or by society's progression towards being more accepting and forward thinking. Previously however Seaton and Lennon (2004) illustrated that there was considerable moral outrage over the fact that a British man was going to conduct tours of London that featured sites of grisly murders, especially after it

became known that he would be exhibiting the location of a recent shooting of schoolchildren. The authors note that there is little evidence to show that the man succeeded in conducting his tours, but the premise itself was enough to cause a stir amongst the population. They go on to note that in countries that are particularly 'politically correct' such as the United Kingdom or the United States of America, certain presentations of dark tourism can be controversial (Seaton & Lennon, 2004). This potential for controversy increases when the presentation is perceived to be inauthentic, insensitive, or 'too soon' after an event (Kendle, 2008). The authors attribute this potential for controversy to a cultural attitude towards death, punishment, and the macabre - such cultures tend to collectively shun such attractions. It should be noted however that within such cultures there is a certain dissonance present, and that dark tourism attractions within the UK or USA have high visitor numbers. Alcatraz Island for example is one of the major tourist destinations in the San Francisco area, attracting over 1.3 million visitors per year (Manning, Wang, Valliere, Lawson, & Newman, 2002), and the 9/11 Memorial Museum in New York City has seen more than two million visitors since opening in May 2014 (9/11 Memorial, 2015).

The expansion of dark tourism has meant that the literature surrounding the area has become fragmented. Studies often focus on one or two specific sites, or do not take into account a range of factors that might draw visitors to that site or the implications of the site itself. Historically, questions such as visitor motivations to sites of dark tourism were not conducted in an adequate sense, nor were they strictly reliable (e.g. Phaswana-Mafuya & Haydam, 2005). As the field has progressed additional research has meant that this has become less of an issue, but comparative studies are still few and far between. Additionally, the divergence of dark tourism sites has meant that research into visitor motivations of a haunted house designed for entertainment cannot readily be compared to visitor motivations of those people who visit the scene of an actual murder. Whilst problems such as this have not yet been addressed in the research, the historical overview of dark tourism is relatively concise. The increase in academic research and media representations of dark tourism has meant that other examples of dark tourism sites and/or experiences are beginning to be discussed. This has been captured to a certain extent by the current literature (e.g. Rittichainuwat, 2007), but many of the sites have only been explored by a small number of authors leading to a fragmented literature.

2.2.2 The Pain of Others, and Memory:

In her book *On Photography*, Sontag (1977) details the history of the photograph and photographers. She outlines the way that photographs have been used to capture beauty and to impart an idea of reality. In the context of this study, photographs or images of the traumatic (for example gallows, or spaces of confinement) have the potential to impart their own form of reality: "Instead of just recording reality, photographs have become the norm for the way things appear to us, thereby changing the very idea of reality, and of realism" (Sontag, 1977, pg 87). Sontag (1977, pg 96) adds that "Photographers claimed to be performing the Blakean task of cleansing the sense, 'revealing to others

the living world around them,' as Weston described his own work, 'showing to them what their own unseeing eyes had missed.'" This can also be applied to the experience of a prison museum, where visitors are presented with captioned images of the historic prison. These images present a reality to the visitor that they cannot otherwise experience (Sontag, 1977). Coupled with the opportunity to explore the prison depicted in the images (including open cells); visitors can attempt to re-create the scene, imitating what the photographer has captured, and what the curators have deemed important for visitors to view. The positioning of these images is also important. Including images of prison life or events within a decommissioned prison as part of the museum experience will have a different impact on the viewer than if the image was viewed elsewhere. As Sontag (1977, pg 105-106) explains: "Because each photograph is only a fragment, its moral and emotional weight depends on where it is inserted. A photograph changes according to the context in which it is seen". This context can also include the depiction of pain among those within an image. A second book by Sontag (2004), *Regarding the Pain of Others*, adds further details to the claim that "Cameras miniaturize experience, transform history into spectacle. As much as they create sympathy, photographs cut sympathy, distance the emotions." (Sontag, 1977, pg 109-110).

Within this book Sontag (2004) details the way that images of war and atrocity are presented and the way that the viewer regards the pain of others. One consequence of this viewership is that "the understanding of war among people who have not experienced war is now chiefly a product of the impact of these images" (Sontag, 2004, pg 21). The images inform the viewer of the horrors of war – however referring to the previous statements made in *On Photography*, photographs present the view of the photographer, and the use of framing also ensures the exclusion of content outside of that field of view. Sontag (2004, pg 41) continues by stating that there is a demand for these images, a demand that is voyeuristic: "It seems that the appetite for pictures showing bodies in pain is as keen, almost, as the desire for ones that show bodies naked". Indeed this can also be applied to prison museums, sites of state sanctioned suffering, that allow the visitor to see where bodies were disciplined (Foucault, 1995). Sontag (2004) summarises that the high quantity of these traumatic images presented to the view may have a numbing, or blunting (pg 107), effect on the mind. However, to ration or drip-feed horrific images is also counter-productive. The closing thoughts are that the viewer, safe from harm, of these images do not understand the true meaning behind them. They are only shown an image, an example, which cannot truly capture the reality of the tragedy of war or atrocity.

Sontag (2004) and Innes (2004a) suggest that certain crimes or events can act as signals which can influence the collective memory (or in Sontag's (2004) case: collective instruction) of society. Collective memory is a concept which suggests that society collectively remembers certain unique or extraordinary events and that this memory is malleable and can be reconfigured according to future concerns (Innes, 2004a). This is important because it allows for certain events to resonate for a greater period of time than others due to the attention given to them by the media. The longevity of these signals as collective memories means that future events can trigger the recurrence of a past emotional response, or influence the understanding of these previous signals which were so strong as to be embedded in the collective memory of society (Innes, 2004b). This relates to dark tourism by

partly explaining the popularity or interest in certain sites, particularly those with widespread media attention. This is particularly prevalent in cases such as the September 11 terrorist attacks in New York City which resulted in a political and ideological shift within American politics that has effects occurring both domestically and internationally (Hetherington & Suhay, 2011; Hirst, 2007; Huddy & Feldman, 2011). The events of September 11th have been catalogued and viewed through a variety of different mediums, from books to movies, as well as the extensive news coverage that surrounds the event and subsequent anniversaries. This has resulted in the event and its consequences becoming firmly entrenched within the collective memory of American society. The concept of collective memory can also be seen in prison museums such as Alcatraz, where folk-tales of criminals such as Al Capone have become situated within the collective memory of society, and raise the level of interest in such a site. In contrast, sites which do not feature in the collective memory may find it harder to attract visitors or become a point of interest at all. Therefore the concept of collective memory plays an important role in attracting visitors and also portraying messages.

One consequence of collective memory is that the media or governments often use the fluid memory of society to their advantage by referencing certain past signals, or attempting to evoke similar emotions by comparing a current event with a previous one (Innes, 2004a). This can also be seen in governments attempting to use the collective memory of a site to influence the interpretations of visitors, such as Robben Island and the collective memory of Nelson Mandela and the struggle for human rights and democracy (Nanda, 2004). This accounts for certain events eliciting stronger reactions than one would normally assume. This fluid nature also shows how certain groups can shift their own positions or perspectives while still appealing to the previous emotions of what could be an entirely different series of events.

Memory also plays a part in the visitor experience of a museum. Landsberg (1997) has stated that particularly experiential museums, such as the Holocaust Museum in Washington, D.C., play a role in the transferral of memory regarding particular events. Landsberg (1997) focuses on the Holocaust and the experience that museum visitors undergo when they visit the museum: the claustrophobic spaces, darkness, uneven footing, and striking exhibits (e.g. the room of shoes). It is stated that the experience of museums such as this can have the effect of transferring the memory, a curated memory constructed by the museum, to the visitor. This can elicit an increase in empathy among visitors, or a sense that they have gained a greater understanding of what has transpired (Landsberg, 1997; Sather-Wagstaff, 2008). Landsberg (1997 pg 66) terms this transferral as “prosthetic memories”, which are “worn by the body” and informed by material that is off-site and then further reinforced (or challenged) during the experience of a museum. Sather-Wagstaff (2008) also includes the creation of memory through heteropathic association in her account of visitors to the 9/11 memorial in New York City (M. Hirsch, 1997). This heteropathic association involves “imagining themselves or a loved one as the person in a photograph or participating in the event represented, feeling that ‘it could have been me’ or someone else near and dear to the photograph viewer” (Sather-Wagstaff, 2008, pg 82). These forms of memory creation have been discussed at sites of remembrance, rather than prison museums where the atmosphere and emotional narratives are

different. However, these ideas are useful in understanding the creation of memory or a conveyed sense of feeling that occurs in similar, albeit less dark, experiences. With this in mind, experiencing an experiential (prison) museum can have an effect on the memory, and therefore the feelings and emotions of visitors towards incarceration or the inmates who were held there (Falk & Dierking, 2000; Kirchberg & Tröndle, 2012; Landsberg, 1997).

Finally, memory can be constructed surrounding a certain space. Hoelscher and Alderman (2004) explored this significant point regarding Robben Island. Robben Island can be considered one of the most emotionally charged sites in South Africa, and there are many different factors that play a role in this. However it was illustrated by Hoelscher and Alderman (2004) that the construction of memory tied to a specific place was purposefully constructed by both the apartheid and post-apartheid governments. They contend that “social memory is inherently instrumental: individuals and groups recall the past not for its own sake, but as a tool to bolster different aims and agendas” (Hoelscher & Alderman, 2004, pg 349). This was one of the primary reasons for Robben Island holding such symbolic significance within South Africa, as the state recognised the ability to tie memories and narratives to a geographical location (Hoelscher & Alderman, 2004). In an effort to change the memory associated with the physical location of Robben Island, the apartheid government of the 1980s attempted to shift the focus of the island back to the wild-life by repopulating the island with springbok, ostriches, and re-establishing the penguin colony that once lived there (Hoelscher & Alderman, 2004, pg 347). This succeeded to a certain extent as visitors began eschewing the darker side of Robben Island in favour of viewing the wildlife. However, the newly elected post-apartheid government sought to shift the memory associated with Robben Island once again towards the history of incarceration and the political growth and triumph of human rights that occurred there (Hoelscher & Alderman, 2004). This has been successful due to the way that the tours of the island are run, with former prisoners serving as guides and telling their own first-hand accounts of their incarceration. It is important to note that this deliberate association of memory and space can be achieved because people are responsive to physical sites that have memory embedded within them (Hoelscher & Alderman, 2004). This can be seen throughout the world at locations like Ground Zero in New York City, Gallipoli in Turkey, or the Somme in France. The memory associated with these sites is often constructed in order to convey a message to the public who visit those locations. Robben Island is no different in that it promotes a message of triumph over adversity as well as the damage that the prison caused to its inmates. The collective memory of the island is not limited to that specific physical location, but the representations observed there shape the memory of those who visit. Thus we can see that physical locations play an integral role in shaping the collective memory of those who visit them by the influence of those who manage and dictate how these sites represent their histories.

2.2.3 Famous Examples:

In order to further explore the concept of dark tourism, famous examples will be discussed and accompanying literature or research will be highlighted. Much of the original research conducted by Lennon and Foley (2004) centred on sites dealing with death as their primary attraction for visitors. Sites such as the death camps of Poland, the location of President Kennedy's assassination, and war sites of the first and second world wars were all examined in their book *Dark Tourism: The Attraction of Death and Disaster* (2004). These sites could all be considered classic examples of dark tourism, however there is also research conducted into locations that have varying representations. For example, Robben Island has been labelled as a site of dark tourism, as well as a site of eco-tourism or a positive site of human triumph (Deacon, 2004; Phaswana-Mafuya & Haydam, 2005; Shearing & Kempa, 2004; Strange & Kempa, 2003). Nanda (2004) argues that these labels can also be deliberately implemented, and Robben Island specifically has a history of intervention in order to change the messages or connotations that tourists receive when they visit. A site such as the Coliseum of Rome holds a dark history, yet is often marvelled upon by tourists who travel to see the architectural wonder rather than evidence of its gruesome past. Very little dark tourism research has been conducted into sites such as this, however the trend of research into sites of dark tourism is heading towards exploring sites that have not been documented extensively, rather than re-examining sites which have already been studied.

Two popular examples of dark tourism are the Alcatraz and Robben Island prison museums, both featuring as one of their respective cities 'must visit' attractions (Cape Town Big 7, 2015; San Francisco Travel, 2014). A study conducted by Strange and Kempa (2003) highlights the change in direction of these museums and the interpretations that visitors take away from their visits. It also highlights the link between dark tourism and prison museums, where the 'thrill' of visiting such a site is used to attract tourists, as well as the educational aspects. It is the combination of these two elements which has driven the popularity of these sites, and is being mirrored by other locations that are wishing to capitalise on the dark tourism phenomenon. For example, Pentridge Prison in Melbourne, Australia, has recently revised its approach to visitors and how they approach a site such as a prison museum (J. Wilson, 2008a). Careful attention needs to be placed on ensuring the representation of the historical pain and suffering that occurred there, but in a manner that provides entertainment and attracts a range of demographics (J. Wilson, 2008a). This is often apparent in the messages and stories told by the guides and exhibits located at these prisons. At Robben Island, one can experience a guided tour by a former inmate of the prison, who details the pains of incarceration as well as the triumph of human rights for which Robben Island now stands. Alcatraz also offers self-guided audio tours that include details of famous inmates such as Al Capone or Robert "the Birdman" Stroud (Strange & Kempa, 2003). A common connection between Alcatraz and Robben Island is that both destinations temper the brutalities that occurred there with unrelated topics. Tours of Robben Island are often shown the springbok or penguin colony located on the island, and tours of Alcatraz include the bird colonies that inhabit the island. These contrasting topics are often deliberate attempts by the managers of the location to show visitors that the location is 'not all bad' and as J. Wilson (2008a) notes, one key element of some successful dark tourism locations is that it is fun and entertaining. However sites such as concentration camps, which place a firm emphasis on remembrance and

education, are not striving for success in these terms. Instead they bear witness to atrocity and genocide, remember the past and endeavour to ensure, through the visitor experience, that it is not repeated.

Strange and Kempa (2003) investigated how both Alcatraz and Robben Island, when viewed together, highlight the many shades of dark tourism. Of note is the way that Alcatraz attempts to inform visitors of its history – yet is struggling in this area due to Hollywood’s representations of the prison in movies. Whilst media representations of dark tourism locations such as Alcatraz may boost popularity, they also sensationalise and sometimes misinform the viewers about the site. Additionally, the sensationalist nature of prison movies, which often focus on violence or sexual assaults (P. Mason, 2006b), cannibalises the messages and interpretations offered by the location itself. Robben Island is also suffering a similar problem in that the fight against apartheid overshadows other stories or historical sites on the island (for example the leper colony or WWII battlements) (Robben Island Museum, 2007). There have been attempts by both museums to offer multiple interpretations, yet according to Strange and Kempa (2003), it is an uphill battle as the popularity of both sites continues to grow. This is an issue that has arisen out of the increasing popularity of dark tourism (Stone, 2013), and indeed death and the macabre itself. It is recognised that popular media has a significant influence on the way in which they are represented and interpreted in society. One such area is the increasing frequency of television programs related to crime, violence, and death being shown, both as fictional entertainment and via the news media (C. Carter, 2003; Durkin, 2003; Reiner, 2007). This increase as an area of entertainment may lead to an increase in acceptance and de-sensitivity towards these phenomena, which may prompt visitors to frequent sites of dark tourism (Durkin, 2003; Sontag, 2004; Stone, 2009; Stone & Sharpley, 2008). This is also true for frequent news coverage of the death of a prominent public figure which leads to the site of their death, or another significant associated location, becoming a memorial and subsequent site of dark tourism (Stone, 2006). An example of this would be the locations of a memorial for Princess Diana above the tunnel where she died, or the yearly pilgrimage by James Dean fans to the site of his death in California. The literature surrounding the transformation of Alcatraz highlights that prominent inmates such as “The Birdman” drew the attention and imagination of visitors at the time (Loo & Strange, 2000). However as noted by Loo and Strange (2000) different factors, such as the occupation by Native American protesters and deliberate government intervention, conspired to keep Alcatraz becoming a significant tourist attraction during the time period when those particular inmates were still ingrained within the collective memory of the public. As Strange and Kempa (2003) note, the Hollywood myth-factory ensures that visitors are continually encouraged to visit Alcatraz for themselves, to satisfy their own curiosity and to view the prison which has seen continued notoriety in film long after its decommission.

2.2.4 Visitor Motivations:

Remembrance, Education, and Entertainment

Visitor motivations to sites of dark tourism often fall under one of three categories: remembrance, education, or entertainment. Within dark tourism research on visitor motivations there is often a merging of these factors and, more often than not, participants do not precisely articulate what brought them to that particular site. However within the research these categories have been identified as the three principal reasons for visitor motivation to sites of dark tourism. It has been previously described that the increase in dark tourism supply and demand on a wider scale can be attributed to factors such as death and crime as entertainment or the demystification of death. Research into individual motivations of visitors either substantiates these wider trends in dark tourism, or sheds light on more qualitative aspects of dark tourism consumption. It should be noted that both explanations for why people visit sites of dark tourism are utilised concurrently within the majority of research into specific sites or locations.

A study by Rittichainuwat (2007) posits that some visitors may not be entirely truthful when revealing their motivation to visit a location. He believed that this is due to a significant amount of stigma still being attached to those who would visit a site of destruction or death out of curiosity. This stigma is slowly being dissolved within contemporary society, yet it can still be considered a major limitation to accurately investigating motivations to visit sites which appear on the 'darker' spectrum of dark tourism. This was mentioned specifically by Rittichainuwat (2007) in relation to disaster-tourism, but could also be considered a factor into research of phenomenon such as genocide-tourism.

When discussing visitor motivations and popularity of dark tourism sites it should be noted that visitation numbers do not indicate acceptance or quality (Foley & Lennon, 1996). Acceptance of a site can involve a range of factors: such as visitors objecting to the site, content, or the symbolism of a location to visitors. Additionally, visitors may be "shocked" at content that is explicitly designed to produce that reaction, yet still remain curious to the messages portrayed by that exhibit or wider location. An example of this is torture museums (e.g. The Torture Museum in Amsterdam), where it can be seen that visitors are appalled by what happened, yet still frequent the site. The extreme nature of sites such as this could be a motivating factor, where tourists search for something that is unusual or extreme and far from their everyday lives (Seaton & Lennon, 2004). This is in contrast to locations such as prison museums where there is often a theme of visitors accepting that the inmates "got what they deserved", or were not troubled by the brutalities that occurred within the prison (J. Wilson, 2008a). It should be noted that the context of a location plays a large role in the reactions of tourists and the motivations that they could possess. For example, visitors to concentration camps do not express notions that the victims "got what they deserved", however as J. Wilson (2008a) notes this has become a common theme expressed by visitors to prison museums in Australia.

Seaton and Lennon (2004) note that within their review of studies into visitor behaviour at sites of dark tourism, females were less reserved about their motivations for visiting dark tourism locations (Canter, 1996). This gendered distinction between willingness to express motivations regarding dark tourism has yet to be fully explored. It appears to be contradictory to state that the demystification of death or the progression of society has motivated tourists to visit sites of death or destruction, but the stigma of openly admitting their motivations for these visits prohibits concrete analysis. The current literature

has yet to adequately address this problem, and the issue may always exist within this topic. At the present time it is best to acknowledge the issue within the research and attempt to construct methodological tools in order to limit the apparent contradictions. This could be achieved through the use of multiple sources of data collection: surveys, interviews, or focus groups, or through the use of different sites, domestically or internationally. This issue of stigma and sensitivity may also be treated similarly to that of crime reporting, where anonymous phone surveys elicit higher rates of reporting. Following this though, there should be an acknowledgement that some people may never want to fully disclose why they visited a site – leading to a similar situation as the “dark figure of crime” (Biderman & Reiss, 1967; MacDonald, 2002).

Remembrance

Remembrance and bearing witness is one of the key motivating factors for visitors to travel to dark tourism sites (Foley & Lennon, 1996; Seaton & Lennon, 2004; Stone & Sharpley, 2008; Yuill, 2003). Sites that often provoke attitudes of remembrance are Holocaust memorials, grave sites, and wartime museums or battlefields. These sites often eschew the notion of entertainment as it would be disrespectful to those that perished or suffered, and also feature an emphasis on education and preventing similar harm being caused in the future. Duffy (2001) notes that this occurs within the Palestinian Remembrance Museums that educate to ensure the rights of the oppressed are represented and acknowledged. Remembrance as a visitor motivation can also be seen surrounding the assassination of United States President John F. Kennedy. The article by Foley and Lennon (1996) discusses the concept of dark tourism and remembrance in relation to the memorials and tourism destinations surrounding the assassination. The authors note that the museums and memorials that have been constructed project their own interpretations of the Kennedy assassination and replace reality with “omnipresent simulation and commodification” (Foley & Lennon, 1996, pg 200). This visitor motivation can be linked with the burgeoning news media at the time of the assassination and the ability for information to be quickly spread around the globe (Foley & Lennon, 1996). At the time, news media was beginning to flourish and the public were able to connect with public figures in a manner that was not previously possible (Black, 2001; Foley & Lennon, 1996; Seaton & Lennon, 2004). As such they are given additional motivations to attend sites of death or memorials when notable individuals pass away. Foley and Lennon (1996) note that the dramatic use of media depictions has shaped how the public view the Kennedy presidency and assassination. This media use has been transferred to the sites of tourism that associate with the life and death of John F. Kennedy, where these depictions often mirror those resounding images displayed on television, for example the girl kneeling with one hand on the coffin (Foley & Lennon, 1996). It should be noted that sites of dark tourism and remembrance are not always appreciated. Foley and Lennon (1996) note that the Kennedy family has distanced themselves from the sites related to his assassination. The stated reason is that the family wishes for the public to remember the President's life and achievements rather than his death (Foley & Lennon, 1996).

Remembrance features as an example of motivation for disaster tourism. Whilst the visitors may not be remembering a specific person, their motivations are more aligned with remembering the suffering of many unknown people. A study by Rittichainuwat (2007) investigated the motivations of domestic and international tourists' motivations to visit Phuket, Thailand, in the wake of the Boxing Day Tsunami of 2004. The curiosity surrounding death and the macabre compelled tourists to visit, however this was contrasted with the motivation of tourists to help rebuild the area in whatever way they could (Rittichainuwat, 2007). The desire to witness and aid in the rebuilding process was exhibited more by domestic Thai tourists' than international visitors. Supplementing the motivations of remembrance and curiosity was a deliberate effort by the people of Phuket to attract tourists back to their city. Additionally, the increase in tourist visitation resulted from the rebuilding of tourist infrastructure. This was supplemented by significant marketing and promotions describing how Phuket was still one of the most beautiful islands in the world and an appealing tourist destination (Rittichainuwat, 2007).

Sites associated with the death of an individual, often victims or those who died in accidents, draw visitors with motivations of remembrance. This often overlaps with entertainment as well, for example visitors to the house where Elvis Presley lived and died listen to his music. The death of Michael Jackson also shows that the funerals and memorials of public figures can include both entertainment and remembrance. The death of public figures often inspires spontaneous memorials to be erected near the site of their death or at their home, and increasingly media sensationalism has become more apparent with the passing of people such as Heath Ledger or Amy Winehouse (Best, 2013; Stone, 2006). The media involvement often focuses on the legacy of these high profile individuals and brings images or representations of their death to millions of people worldwide. The infamous pictures of Princess Diana's car in the Paris tunnel have created a site of dark tourism where people visit to remember the Princess or to see for themselves where she died. This increase in media coverage of death creates further motivation for visitors to these sites through knowledge of their existence and through a sense of shared popularity (Best, 2013).

Education

Education has been identified as one of the main reasons for visitors to frequent sites of dark tourism; particularly museums dedicated to wars, prisons, tragic events, or death (Bigley, Lee, Chon, & Yoon, 2010; Bittner, 2011; Lennon & Foley, 1999; Sharpley & Stone, 2009). While sites such as prison or war museums may focus on education, they may also couple this with remembrance or entertainment. For example the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum features characteristics of both education and remembrance (Lennon & Foley, 1999; Yuill, 2003). As Bigley and colleagues (2010), and Yuill (2003) point out, the overlap of education and remembrance is quite common – often when visitors are interested in learning about a relative who passed away at a certain site. Education as a visitor motivation derives from tourists wishing to know more about a topic or setting they may be unable or unwilling to experience first-hand (e.g. prison). In this regard, dark tourism sites focussed on

education offer tourists an opportunity to satisfy their own curiosity. While there may be different levels of educative need expressed by visitors, the overarching desire to learn more about a dark tourism site has been shown to be a compelling reason to travel (Bigley et al., 2010; Yuill, 2003).

Foley and Lennon (1996) elaborate on the fact that an overreliance of multi-media items reduces the educational quality of certain sites. This is in part because the modern media sensationalism surrounding the death of public figures is pervasive and often unrelenting. In the eyes of Foley and Lennon, the use of multi-media items detracts from the educational aspect of sites, such as The Sixth Floor – John F Kennedy and the Memory of a Nation, because they only appear to add to a sense of sensationalist spectacle. They state that “education quality, critical insight and an academic credibility” were the main principles of The Sixth Floor site (Foley & Lennon, 1996, pg 210). Yet what appears to have transpired is that the use of newsreel and media items has moved the site towards conveying “a tourism/leisure orientation” (Foley & Lennon, 1996, pg 210). The authors explain that this is because the way that the media items are being used leads to a merging of the educative directive of the museum and the entertainment created by the media items. This example however only adds to the fact that ideologies or visions associated with sites, either by those who construct them or the visitors, overlap to some degree. The subjective nature of motivations such as education or entertainment means that there will be sites that cater to different audiences, be it consciously or unconsciously.

Entertainment

Entertainment as a visitor motivation appears more often towards the lighter end of the dark tourism spectrum (Stone, 2006). This is often due to the types of exhibits or sites in which tourists visit, such as haunted houses, and the interpretations provided. For example, sites which deal explicitly with death and destruction do not often have visitors with motivations of fun or entertainment. Holocaust museums or memorials do not utilise entertainment as a pull factor and rarely have visitors mentioned entertainment as a motivation for attending (see Yuill, 2003). On the other hand, the direction of sites which explore fictional events detailing death, such as the CSI tour in Las Vegas, have a heavy emphasis on entertainment as a motivation and pull factor.

Strange (2000) has noted that Port Arthur in Tasmania, Australia, has focused on entertaining visitors and exploring the narrative of former inmates in a style that is more accessible to a wider range of visitors. This includes multi-media exhibits and visitors assuming the role of a new inmate throughout their tour of the former prison (Strange, 2000). Of note is the fact that Port Arthur has a dark past: formerly the site of one of the more notorious prison colonies in Australia, it was also the location of one of the most deadly mass shootings in the world. On April 28, 1996, Martin Bryant went on a killing spree where 35 people were killed and 21 were wounded (Strange, 2000; Tumarkin, 2001). According to Strange (2000), the murders at Port Arthur are not the focus of the site. This is due to the close proximity of the event, with memories still fresh, and the emotional and intimate connection between the event and the employees who work there. Indeed the Port Arthur website indicates staff often find

it difficult to discuss the events, and directs visitors to instead visit a dedicated plaque on the grounds or read a provided brochure (Port Arthur Historic Site Management Authority, 2015). While the site has a recent history of death, the focus is more concerned with the history of the prison itself, who was incarcerated, and the conditions that inmates had to endure. The prison museum at Port Arthur was “re-imagined” to focus more on entertainment as an incentive to draw more tourists to the site. This is due to the desire for the directors of the prison museum to generate revenue at a site which is designed to turn a profit (Strange, 2000). As J. Wilson (2008a) has noted, there is an increasing trend amongst prison museums in Australia to generate visitor growth and to cement the penal history of Australia in the national psyche in a more “tasteful” manner. As such, the focus on entertainment is a result of governments and museum directors attempting to entice people to visit their sites by appealing to a broader range of potential visitors and motivations. Visitor numbers to prison museums across Australia have been increasing with the change in direction. However, historical data suggests that places that deal with death in an explicit manner, such as exhibitions of cadavers or Holocaust memorial museums, have also attracted a vast number of visitors (Lennon & Foley, 2004; Seaton & Lennon, 2004). As such, the notion that entertainment provides a better “pull” factor is debated, yet it can be seen as a distinct motivation for tourists to visit sites that place less emphasis on death or mortality.

2.2.5 Hauntings:

Hauntings refer to tourism locations that offer a chance for the visitor to explore a haunted location and/or potentially see a ghost or other paranormal activity (Davies, 2007; Goldstein, Grider, & Thomas, 2007; Holloway, 2010; Inglis & Holmes, 2003). Hauntings often take the form of ghost walks, haunted houses, or paranormal investigation tourism. According to Davies (2007) and Holloway (2010) ghost or paranormal tourism has become more widespread and commercialised in the 20th century, with many cities offering ghost tours or sites where the public could wait to potentially witness paranormal activity themselves. Indeed Davies (2007, pg 64) notes that this commercialisation of the paranormal and the unique element of a building being haunted has meant “the ghost is a desirable lodger rather than an unwelcome guest”. Holloway (2010, pg 619) describes three key elements of contemporary ghost tourism: hotels that seek to draw visitors by claiming to be haunted, companies offering tourists a chance to go ghost hunting, and finally organised ghost walks or tours. These elements all depend on the visitors’ belief that ghosts are real and not contrived by the hosts. Prison museums also utilise the premise of ghosts and hauntings in order to attract visitors. M. Brown (2009) details accounts of visitors travelling across the United States in order to spend a night in West Virginia Penitentiary where they may witness for themselves proof of the afterlife.

However as Inglis and Holmes (2003) point out, the pursuit of consistency and providing customers with the best experience possible has resulted in some companies employing actors or “the living” to act as ghosts or other supernatural creatures. In this regard, two of the prison museums in this study

are directly related: Fremantle Prison and Eastern State Penitentiary. Both of these prison museums offer a tour that is related to being haunted or involving the paranormal, with Fremantle Prisons Torchlight Tour offering visitors a chance to “[c]ringe at the ghastly, the rotten, the wretched and the inhumane experiences and events in the prison's history.” (Fremantle Prison, 2015). At Eastern State Penitentiary, curators generate much needed revenue for conservation from their haunted house attraction. Importantly, the Torchlight Tour and Eastern State Penitentiaries Terror Behind The Walls primarily feature actors rather than visitors attempting to witness ghosts for themselves. In this regard they appear more as dark fun factories than actual haunted buildings.

2.2.6 Limitations:

One of the primary issues within the literature of dark tourism is the issue of defining whether a site could be considered “dark”. While some locations plainly fit within the realm of dark tourism, others could be considered shades of grey (Stone, 2006). Sites such as fictional haunted homes, where actors dress up as stylised-murderers or zombies, could be considered dark tourism. Yet they could also be excluded from the dark tourism paradigm due to the location not having any real relationship to real death or the real macabre.

The main issue that Stone (2006) raises is that the typology for defining a site or business as being part of dark tourism is unclear. He proposes instead that there are “shades of darkness” and that guidelines ought to be established in order to properly identify and categorise dark tourism locations or businesses. The author notes that dark tourism as a phenomenon is driven by both demand and supply; that is, the demand of consumers to see something different or darker. This is often seen by motorists slowing down when passing a car accident. Morbid curiosity is a powerful force within society and that demand has to be met with supply. The supply side has also started to be utilized by attracting visitors to sites which they might not normally experience due to either clever marketing or a sense of danger, death, destruction, or a combination of all three. Examples could be a prison museum marketing itself as a historical attraction to ‘see what it was like to live as a prisoner’ or sites of destruction being visited by tourists in order to pay respects or to form their own interpretations of what occurred there. Some of the variables offered by Stone (2006) include whether the site being visited is spontaneous, in the case of sudden deaths of celebrities, or whether it has been constructed with a purpose – traditional memorials or refurbished locations. However the primary categories of classification the author uses are:

- i. Dark Fun Factories – which are predominately there for entertainment and might present real or fictitious death or macabre events i.e. Dungeons, Haunted Houses.
- ii. Dark Exhibitions – these are designed to promote potential education or learning opportunities. This might be museum exhibits of terrorist attacks (Sept 11 exhibit at the

- Smithsonian) or educational exhibits with a darker edge (an anatomy exhibit using real corpses)
- iii. Dark Dungeons – present bygone penal and justice codes to the consumer and revolve around former prisons and courthouses. Noted that these sites may be in the middle ground of light and dark tourism, as they offer both educational elements as well as a darker notion of death and suffering.
 - iv. Dark Resting Places – Focus on cemetery or grave markers. The central themes are historical observation, commemoration and conservation.
 - v. Dark Shrines – Those sites which essentially trade on the remembrance and respect for the recently deceased. Thus they are constructed either formally or informally very quickly and within close proximity to the site of death.
 - vi. Dark Conflict Sites – sites that revolve around war or battle and their commodification as potential tourism sites.
 - vii. Dark Camps of Genocide – represents those sites and places which have genocide, atrocity, and catastrophe as the main thanatological theme. They “exist to provide the ultimate emotional experience whereby visitors ‘sightsee in the mansions of the dead’” (Stone, 2006, pg 157). They have a product design revolving around education and commemoration and, uniquely, are situated at the sites of these events.

This typology can be used when attempting to identify and differentiate dark tourism locations and how they could fit into the broader range of sites that exist throughout the world. This study is primarily concerned with prison museums that fall under the typology of Dark Exhibition. However as outlined previously, there can be some blending between different typologies, and prison museums could also be considered part of the dark fun factory or dark dungeon typologies dependent on the direction that the programs and tours take. Nevertheless, prison museums represent a significant portion of the dark tourism industry (Ross, 2012) and are important sites for tourists to satisfy their curiosity about an institution that is often hidden in the modern context.

2.3 Prison Museums

Prison museums as sites of dark tourism are increasing as penal institutions have slowly been decommissioned, or previously decommissioned sites have been transformed into museums. There is some contention regarding what counts as a prison museum. Walby and Piché (2015a) indicate that some smaller sites of penal heritage go unnoticed as they do not have the presence (marketing, websites) of larger examples, or are part of a “hybrid” arrangement such as museum style exhibits featuring in prisons renovated for use as hostels (e.g. Addington Jail, aka “Jailhouse Accommodation” in Christchurch, New Zealand). They also include smaller, local, exhibits and heritage sites intended for local consumption (rather than attracting tourists) as important representations of penal history that are sometimes overlooked (Morin, 2013; Walby & Piché, 2015a, 2015b). Moving forward, Walby and

Piché (2015a) offer four categories of prison museums encountered in Canada. While the context is Canadian, the categories may be applied to other locations. The first is the “fully dedicated museum” which are prison museums often housed within a “decommissioned carceral location” (pg 484). The sites chosen for this study would fall under this definition, especially as “their architecture and spatial organization remain largely the same as when they were decommissioned” (Walby and Piché, 2015a, pg 486). The second category is that of a “hybrid site”, mentioned previously, which contains exhibits of penal heritage in a conjunction with another purpose. The third category is the “peer-in site” which “refers to one- or two-cell lock-ups that only housed a few prisoners, at most, at a given time, typically on an overnight basis similar to that of police lock-ups today. As a result, the information about penal history and the relics on display are minimal when compared to decommissioned provincial jails and prisons and the FPM” (Walby and Piché, 2015a, pg 489). Finally, the fourth typology used by Walby and Piché (2015a) is the “rare-use site”. This refers to decommissioned prison sites that have not yet been repurposed and may sit idle, or are in use as government office blocks or storage, and occasionally see visitors are part of an organised or speciality tour (pg 490). These categories offer a foundation to build upon in the study of prison museums, and shed further insight into the types of penal heritage that the public are likely to encounter.

The concept of tourists visiting prisons however is as old as Eastern State Penitentiary where members of the public could tour the prison for a nominal price (Lennon & Foley, 2004). The number of operational prisons open to public tours has declined though. One notable example was San Pedro Prison in Bolivia, where curious visitors would tour a unique prison environment where the inmates managed the daily operation of the prison (Skarbek, 2010). San Pedro prison is currently facing closure after a controversy surrounding the assault of a young girl within its walls (BBC, 2013).

Decommissioned prisons have risen in popularity as tourist destinations for remembrance, education, or entertainment. Locations such as Alcatraz in San Francisco, California, or Robben Island in Cape Town, South Africa, are internationally known and draw thousands of visitors each year. However smaller prison museums such as Fremantle Prison in Western Australia also serve as tourist locations for international visitors despite their lack of international renown. The majority of literature regarding prison museums relates to visitor motivations, the reasons why these prisons were transformed into museums, and the social value these museums add. It is noted within the literature that sometimes there are conflicting elements present within the museums that influence visitors; either to entice them to visit (Strange, 2000), or to change the messages presented once they are there (Nanda, 2004). There is also a lack of literature combining different elements of prison museums. For instance, a paper might discuss visitor motivations but not the messages portrayed or the problems associated with that. However, what literature has been written often provides an extensive historical review of the prison being investigated which allows for greater understanding of the social and historical context pertinent to the research.

2.3.1 History:

In-depth histories of prison museums as a phenomenon are limited. The current literature is somewhat fragmented, and often focuses on either one particular prison, or only briefly touches on prison museums as sites of dark tourism – instead favouring other sites which may be more recognisable. For example, there is a range of literature concerning Alcatraz (Loo & Strange, 2000; Strange & Kempa, 2003; Strange & Loo, 2001), Robben Island (Buntman, 2003; Marback, 2004; Nanda, 2004; Shearing & Kempa, 2004; Strange & Kempa, 2003), and Port Arthur (Strange, 2000; J. Wilson, 2008a, 2011a). However this research often limits the historical analysis to the specific site itself, rather than looking more broadly at the history of prison museums. Although this is beginning to change and recent additions to the literature, such as Welch (2013; 2015), M. Brown (2009), J. Wilson (2008a), Walby and Piché (2011), and Ross (2012) include a more thorough examination of multiple locations. These new works attempt to overcome the previous general focus on single sites which resulted in a lack of comparative analysis between prison museums. Study objectives, methodologies, and interpretations vary between each of the previously mentioned studies, and while these studies have yielded valuable knowledge and insight, the differences present in each study frustrates the issue of comparative analysis.

Prison museums have often focused on presenting historical accounts of both the inmates, their daily routine, and the site itself to visitors through day tours focussing on these areas. This can be seen in Robben Island which attempts to preserve the heritage of the site by constructing narratives that revolve around inmates such as Nelson Mandela or the symbolism and representation of a democratic struggle and triumph that Robben Island itself provides. There is also a concern that the celebrity element of individual inmates or the extraordinary stories of escape or violence can overshadow the reality of life within the prison. As M. Brown (2009, pg 106) states “...the analysis of penal regimes on these day tours is intensely bound up with the navigation of both the spectacular and the mundane. Prison tours are about the practical concrete details as well as the most sensational aspects of incarceration”.

It can be seen in the current research that because the academic interest in dark tourism is a relatively modern occurrence the research itself is still growing. The majority of this current literature regarding prison museums focuses mainly on the messages that are portrayed by the exhibits or the site itself. This can be seen when viewing literature regarding Robben Island, where many studies focus on the interpretations visitors make of the museum (Buntman, 2003; Marback, 2004; Nanda, 2004; Phaswana-Mafuya & Haydam, 2005; Shearing & Kempa, 2004). There is a definite trend towards detailing the interpretations of visitors and/or the messages portrayed by the government and directors of the museum. Staying with Robben Island as an example, accounts of the prison's history and transformation can be found in more detail in site-specific historically focussed pieces, such as Deacons *The Island* (1996). When combined, historically specific sources and those dedicated to the study of prison museums allow for a clearer picture to be found of the history of a prison, its transformation to museum (or heritage site), and the interpretations and narratives utilised. This is

also true for the other two sites within this study, where conservation plans, histories of architecture, and official state tourism documents were used in conjunction with academic articles to detail the history of the site (discussed in section 2.5).

2.3.2 Prison Museums and the Tourist Gaze:

One addition to the concept of the tourist gaze is the power relationship between the visitor and the institution of the prison. In this case the tourist is the powerful actor holding the gaze in a place where the original intended visitor or guest (i.e. the inmate) was not in a position of power and was usually not there in a voluntary capacity. The concept of the tourist, as well as their gaze, and disciplinary power has been discussed by Edensor (2000). It is noted that external factors, such as the presence of guards or guides, often deters actions that would be inappropriate at the tourist site – for example playing loud music (Edensor, 2000, pg 328). However there are also elements of self-discipline, with features of the technologies of the self, that play a role in the actions of tourists, as well as what they gaze upon. In this instance, internalised behaviours and concepts of what is appropriate for each space play a part in how tourists act (Edensor, 2000). Furthermore, these norms can also play a role in what is deemed appropriate to gaze upon by the tourist, when to avoid eye-contact, or which areas or scenes may be photographed.

A recent addition to the scholarship of prison museums is a book by Welch (2015) titled *Escape to Prison: Penal Tourism and the Pull of Punishment*. This book provides a rich description of ten prison museums: Alcatraz, the Argentine Penitentiary Museum, the Clink, Constitution Hill, Eastern State Penitentiary, the Hong Kong Correctional Services Museum, Hyde Park Barracks, the Melbourne Gaol, Robben Island, and the Seodaemun Prison History Hall. Welch (2015) describes in detail the exhibits and experiences visitors receive when they tour these prison museums, and offers sound theoretical explanations that link the museum experience to ideas put forth by Foucault, Durkheim, and others. Welch (2015) includes an in-depth look at how prison museums exercise their cultural power through “The Museum Effect” (pg 26-53), including the importance of symbols and messages to the relationship between visitors, their gaze, and the museums mission. Discussion of prisons as tools is included within the chapters “Dream of Order” (pg 53-79) and “Architecture Parlante” (pg 79-109). The chapter Dream of Order highlights the presentation of the historical penitentiary, as well as the use of prison museums as tools of social and political control (e.g. Robben Island). Following this, the Architecture Parlante (“speaking architecture”) describes the “communicative capacity of prison design” (Welch, 2015, pg 23). This includes the relevant use of Neo-Gothic architecture and panoptic inspired prison designs – both of which feature in this current study. “Work and Economics” (pg 140-167) discusses the presentation of penal history as it relates to punishing the poor, as well as the introduction of prison labour. This also includes a detailed discussion of Australian convict labour, as well as what it was like to work (as either guard or inmate) within these sites. Next, there is a discussion regarding the presentation of science and penal technology at prison museums. Pertinent

to this study is the attention paid to the science behind executions – particularly those carried out at Australian prisons, and the use of incarceration to further colonial missions in Australia and South Africa (Welch, 2015). Welch (2015) also includes a chapter on “Memorialisation” (pg 223-249) detailing the inclusion of notable inmates within prison museums, as well as the possibility for prison museums memorialising significant individuals (e.g. Nelson Mandela) to promote introspection, empathy, and civility. The book ends with a discussion of penal tourism and its relationship to the power of culture. Here, descriptions are given of the items a tourist may encounter as they exit through the gift shop, and the power of “organised touching” through “hands-on” exhibits (Welch, 2015). Welch (2015) also includes elements relating to visitor motivations, and that the allure of prison museums is related to their perceived authenticity by the public. This very brief account of relevant sections is intended to give an overview to a text that has informed many pieces of this research. Significant to the study of prison museums, this book provides well-informed comparative analysis of the experiences that visitors receive at multiple prison museums. As mentioned previously, this is an area somewhat lacking in the current literature, and this recent publication is a positive addition.

MacCannells (2001) previous discussion of the Stendhalian Perspective is also applicable to the presentation of exhibits at prison museums, in that there is a conflict between what is presented versus what is not presented and what is not presentable. For example, disproportionate minority incarceration is difficult to present in a physical way. However, items such as flogging posts are easy to present and easy to consume as a tourist. They are not abstract concepts that require extensive thought while visiting a site. Instead they offer the tourist a chance for a photograph and something interesting to discuss. The relationship of power and surveillance, or gaze, has also been discussed by Casey (2003) who detailed the tourist as gazing at objects, as well as being “gazed upon” by the objects and other tourists. This relationship between objects and tourists is discussed in more detail at a later stage; however the concept of being under a form of surveillance at museums is important. Visitors may choose different responses to exhibits (objects) depending on whether another visitor is there or how the object is presented by those with the power to determine its representation (Casey, 2003; MacCannell, 2001).

T. Bennett (1994) highlights in his article a Foucauldian perspective of the role that museums play in conveying the power of the elite when the scaffold and spectacle of public punishment was removed. Originally, museums were limited to the elite and powerful of society; however in the 19th century there was a move to open their doors to the general public. It was illustrated that the powerful could use museums as tools to assert their authority over those who viewed their exhibits (T. Bennett, 1994; Penney, 2000). This was because those who organised and controlled the exhibits also happened to be those in positions of authority or power. Thus Bennett claims that exhibitions of power and the elite could be used to influence and maintain control.

With criminal justice in mind, the evolution of punishment meant that the spectacle of punishment was removed from general society, the scaffold taken down, and punishment sequestered behind high walls and barred windows (T. Bennett, 1994). Prisons as institutions of punishment can be seen as machines where inmates are transported, corrected, and then returned to society. Prison museums

allow for a look at the inner workings of that machine. Yet those who are allowed to view them are given a guided tour, where exhibitions and sights are narrated by those employed by people in a position to dictate the messages and narratives portrayed. We can therefore see that prison museums serve to impart the expressions of the powerful, to show the public what punishment was like for those incarcerated, and what the state was capable of administering to those it had identified as transgressors. This can be seen as a transfer of objects and bodies from a formerly enclosed place, the prison, to an open public arena (T. Bennett, 1994). These exhibitions or objects can be inscribed with the messages of those in power, for example the way that South African governments attempted to dictate the narratives or interpretations presented at Robben Island (Hoelscher & Alderman, 2004). Whilst T. Bennett's chapter looked at museums in general, it can be inferred that prison museums fall into line with his analysis. The use of prison museums as vehicles for the powerful to exert their own messages has been highlighted by other authors (Nanda, 2004; Welch, 2015; J. Wilson, 2011a), but could use further examination in other settings. Whilst this particular research does not necessarily investigate this issue, the concepts raised by T. Bennett may help to explain the relationship between the media, the state, and visitors to prison museums – and what impact that relationship could have.

2.3.3 Touring Operational Prisons:

Visiting operational prisons is not a new phenomenon: historic prisons such as Eastern State Penitentiary and Fremantle Prison offered the public a chance to tour the institution to see for themselves inmates and the conditions of incarceration (Ayriss, 1995; Edgar, 2012; Johnston, Finkel, & Cohen, 1994). In the case of Eastern State Penitentiary, the novel system of solitary confinement and the introduction of newer technologies such as flushing toilets and central heating were unique features to include alongside the ability for visitors to peer at those who were behind bars. This phenomenon of touring operational prisons has continued to this day, and is often used as an educative tool where academics, students, or inspectors can participate in a "carceral tour" of a prison (Piché & Walby, 2010). However there is some contention as to the effectiveness of these carceral tours. Piché and Walby (2010) outline that the tours themselves are often highly scripted and regulated and do not give an accurate insight into the true nature of the prison, or the inmates who are incarcerated there. However some scholars were critical of this assertion and countered that carceral tours are positive pedagogical additions; providing experiential learning for groups such as undergraduate university students, and have produced a range of quality research outputs from those situated in academia (H. P. Smith, 2013; D. Wilson, Spina, & Canaan, 2011). The link between carceral tours and prison museums is that both offer a chance to view the unseen, for an outsider to see for themselves what a prison is really like (Piché & Walby, 2012). The opportunity to view the "back-space" of an institution is important – whether it is to learn experientially about the true realities of incarceration (H. P. Smith, 2013; D. Wilson et al., 2011), or to critique the staged experience as an example of the use of power by those in control of corrections institutions (Piché & Walby, 2010, 2012).

Angola Prison in Louisiana is a blended example of the carceral tour (Garbus, Rideau, & Stack, 1998). This prison is a maximum security facility located in the state of Louisiana in the United States of America and incarcerates approximately 5000 inmates, including some on death row (Schrift, 2004; Soffer, 1999). The entertainment provided by the inmates at Angola is in the form of an annual rodeo. Inmates may participate in the rodeo itself, or sell their wares to the side as part of the Arts and Crafts Festival (Bergner, 1998; Schrift, 2004). This entertainment is sanctioned and indeed organised by the authorities that run the prison. Not only does this provide inmates with a reward for good behaviour and an interruption to the daily regimen of prison life, but it also capitalises upon the revenue that tourists provide. The events that occur at the Angola Prison Rodeo draw significant crowds, many hoping to witness one of the inmates suffer an injury at the hands of an angry bull (Bergner, 1998). It is this attraction to the possibility of pain, injury, or even the chance of death, which is remarkable. Traditional prison museums present pain and suffering as incidents of a bygone era. Yet at Angola Prison the pain is real, and the spectacle of punishment is once again brought to the fore.

It is this spectacle of punishment which becomes a motivating factor for running the rodeo and for those members of the public who wish to attend. The sentence length of the prisoners is regularly read out over the loudspeaker during the event in which they are participating, and the inmates are also included in events or routines that regular bull riders would not dare to participate (Bergner, 1998; Schrift, 2004). The most dangerous would be the "Guts and Glory" event, where a frenzied and agitated bull is released into the arena with a red \$100 chip fixed to its head between its horns. The prisoners then try to remove the chip in order to win the event. The risk versus reward element of this event would rarely be seen outside of a prison, and it is the exploitation of the prisoners desire for extra liberties the \$100 would afford that adds to the spectacle. Whilst participation in the rodeo is voluntary for the inmates, this does not entitle them to the luxury of participating in proper safety equipment found at most formal events (Schrift, 2004). In addition to the tangible rewards, the status or pride gained by winning an event such as this is just as important to inmates living in an environment where machismo is paramount (Bottoms, 1999; Toch, 1977). The rodeo itself has become a major tourist attraction for the area and the both Schrift (2004) and Bergner (1998) note that there is an odd feeling of visiting an event inside a functioning prison, and then being able to leave at the end. Schrift (2004) did not interview other visitors, but instead provided a phenomenological account of what it was like to visit this event. The overriding message was that the inmates worked hard either within the rodeo or crafting their wares to sell, and that the public who visited enjoyed their time. Yet there was a morally ambiguous undercurrent for Schrift (2004) as she was aware that the spectacle of punishment was being revived for a profit at this location.

Finally, the prison itself has an exhibit where people could have their picture taken within a mock cell or next to Louisiana's first electric chair. These exhibits again drew together the punitive and the entertaining, and provided for the public a chance to satisfy their curiosity of what it may be like within an institution that is separated from society so distinctly. This type of entertainment being provided at prison museums is becoming increasingly common; however it is still a rarity for a functioning prison to offer these kinds of exhibits. Indeed it can be seen that visiting a functioning prison would fall

towards the darker spectrum of tourism, yet the context and atmosphere of the Angola Prison Arts and Crafts Festival falls on the lighter spectrum of dark tourism (Stone, 2006). This is interesting because much of the current literature would suggest prisons containing inmates would attempt to capitalise on the more extreme or darker spectrum of tourism, yet Angola Prison serves to highlight that the context in which the sites are visited can have an impact on visitor interpretations and the overall atmosphere of a tourism destination. Whilst Schrift (2004) did not extensively document visitor motivations, she did note that visitors hoped to see injury or pain throughout the rodeo. It could be this undercurrent of witnessing pain that brings the Angola Prison Rodeo specifically towards a darker spectrum of tourism than its atmosphere would initially suggest. However, Schrift (2004) does not investigate tourist motivations towards purchasing craft goods at the rodeo. This could be a more benevolent or humanistic action by the tourists, as opposed to being there solely to “gawk at the underbelly of society” (Schrift, 2004, pg 342). Arguing this however would require further research into the motivations of visitors to the site. This, as mentioned previously, could be problematic due to the stigma or embarrassment of admitting to a researcher the true reasons for visiting a site such as Angola Prison.

2.3.4 Visitor Motivations, Experiences, and Interpretations:

M. Brown (2009) noted that visitors to prison museums are there through serendipity rather than a planned itinerary. However the immense popularity of sites such as Alcatraz and Robben Island suggests that there are other factors accounting for visitor motivation. One avenue is the influence of push and pull factors on tourists (Richards, 2002). This can be in the form of collective memory and national identity, such as Robben Island or Australian prison museums, or it could be based on media representations of prisons and crime. The museums themselves can also have an effect on visitors through interpretations or educational messages portrayed, which could be constructed or accidental. However as M. Brown (2009, pg 120) notes, the attempt to challenge visitors with the historical and current issues in corrections and punishment is often “struggled for at every point, with consumers more often choosing their prison experience through pre-existing, highly sensational discourses about crime and punishment, refusing the frames and tours that might undercut or challenge such assumptions.”

Dewar and Fredrickson (2003) describe the history of Fannie Bay Gaol, the reasons why it was closed (proximity to an urban development project), as well as the problems that were associated with a defunct prison that held significant heritage and importance to the local community. Dewar and Fredrickson (2003) comment on the different visitor numbers and perspectives across a range of Australian criminal justice museums. The number of tourists visiting Fannie Bay Gaol, approximately 75,000 per year, did not differ largely from that of other similar locations (e.g. Fremantle Gaol) (Dwar & Fredericksen, 2003). However, it was highlighted by the authors that prisons with significant numbers of convicts or notable convicts, such as Ned Kelly, received higher numbers of visitors than

other prisons. Additionally, they found that the visitor perspectives of Fannie Bay Gaol were often retributive in nature and marvelled at the conditions that prisoners had to endure during their incarceration. This can be seen across other prison museums such as Alcatraz or Robben Island where visitors are entertained by, curious about, or shocked by the conditions which prisoners had to endure (Dewar & Fredericksen, 2003; Strange & Kempa, 2003). The motivation of visitors to these sites was not to challenge the models of incarceration, instead they were retributive in nature and often agreed with the treatment of prisoners, or came to the conclusion that “things like this don’t happen today” or similar sentiments (Dewar & Fredericksen, 2003; J. Wilson, 2008a).

Walby and Piché (2011) highlight the different meanings and interpretations that prison museums offer visitors and the context in which these perspectives are based. The location for their study was Ontario, Canada, where the authors participated in tours in order to observe tourists visiting decommissioned prisons. The authors begin by noting that most people discern what they know about prisons from cultural representations, with prisons becoming a mainstay of fictional and non-fiction based media entertainment. These representations portrayed in television and films have become commodified cultural representations for the masses (Walby & Piché, 2011). Prison museums today emphasise punishment and imprisonment as relics of the past which promotes a “social distance” between the visitor and those who were punished. In some cases there is acknowledgement that the type of incarceration represented within the museum still exists today (Walby & Piché, 2011), however other museums do not contrast the trends and methods of punishment today with the content of the museum (J. Wilson, 2008a). Walby and Piché (2011) state that their focus was not on how visitors interpret history, but rather how the museums represented that history for interpretation. They found that the presentation of famous prison museums, and the relics that they housed, could inspire hope – especially when they were connected to famous inmates who struggled for civil rights or freedoms, such as Nelson Mandela in Robben Island. However they also suggest that those prison museums in Ontario promote the idea that imprisonment and punishment could be extended by fostering an “us and them” relationship between previous inmates and visitors. They contend that the nature of prison museums, to commodify history and sanitise the brutalities that occurred, leads to a misleading view of prison reform where longer sentences and increased restrictions are supported by the interpretations provided. This further compounds the aspects of intolerance or indifference present within certain narratives presented by the museums (Walby & Piché, 2011). The authors conclude that prison museums provide a space for tourists to envision past forms of punishment and incarceration, yet ironically create a “social distance between the penal spectator and contemporary carceral spaces” (Walby & Piché, 2011, pg 466).

Nanda (2004) examined the role that museums play in transforming a country’s national identity. This plays a part in visitor motivation as sites such as Robben Island draw visitors to see where the struggle for human rights triumphed (Nanda, 2004). However this notion of triumph and inspiration is partially constructed by the government in order to instil a sense of reconciliation and inspiration in the population (Nanda, 2004; Shackley, 2001). Nanda (2004) discusses the role that museums play in post-apartheid South Africa and how the government has used them to shift the collective memory

and identity of South African society towards being more inclusive, without dismissing the past events that occurred during apartheid. Nanda (2004) notes that the stance of the South African government is that Robben Island Museum is meant to attract international tourists and “to contribute to the transformation of South African society and the enrichment of humanity” (pg 380). This is achieved by highlighting the fact that the political prisoners who were sent there resisted their captor’s attempts at crushing their morale and instead transformed the prison “into an international symbol of personal freedom and liberation” (pg 381). Nanda (2004) points out that both the prison and its inmates played an important role in elevating the status and notoriety of the prison, for better and for worse, and that without the unique combination of the two, the prison could not be shown as the symbolic site that it is today.

Deacon (2004) explores the process and problems of transforming Robben Island Prison into a museum and a World Heritage Site, and adds to the concept of governments influencing visitor motivations. Deacon (2004) introduces the idea that Robben Island holds symbolic significance due to both its portrayal as a “hellhole” and as the location for political and personal growth of its inmates. However this heritage is often promoted through the stories of those prisoners who were there, rather than by personal interpretation of visitors (Deacon, 2004). This was a calculated move by the South African government to promote the journey of a former inmate of Robben Island becoming the first democratically elected president of South Africa (Deacon, 2004; Nanda, 2004). The ideas of personal and political growth, as told through oral stories, were seen by Deacon (2004) as forms of “intangible heritage” which counterbalanced the repressive nature of the physical monuments that remain on the island (the prison) (pg 2). It was noted that the colonial governments of South Africa often emphasised tangible heritage, monuments or physical sites, over the intangible: oral histories or rituals (Deacon, 2004). However in emphasising South Africa’s reconciliation, the post-apartheid governments were quick to recognise the importance of intangible heritage to the history of South Africa and the anti-apartheid movement. This was especially true of Robben Island where the intangible messages were just as important as the tangible locations (Deacon, 2004). Furthermore, Deacon (2004) notes that the stories of Robben Island and its symbolism as a “triumph of the human spirit over adversity” (pg 4) were conveyed by ex-prisoners who would have been denied the chance to tell their stories under the apartheid regime. Indeed, these stories and the intangible heritage of Robben Island were promoted to the world during the early 1990s as an example of a peaceful and democratic transition and a triumph for human rights. This was the beginning of Robben Island being touted as an international tourist destination where the focus was on both the dark aspect of incarceration as well as the uplifting triumph of the anti-apartheid movement. Finally, Deacon (2004) states that there are always going to be alternate views and interpretations of a heritage site, especially one that is steeped in recent political significance. As such, in order for Robben Island to remain a true heritage site, it must also acknowledge the views or messages that may rally against its intended message. In this case the history of Robben Island as a site of incarceration for “terrorists” under the colonial and apartheid governments should be included to not only provide context for the current messages of triumph, but to also highlight a piece of history that is part of South Africa and the site itself (Deacon, 2004).

Finally, it is also important to note that within the current research visitors may change the motivation for their visit to a prison museum based on the type of exhibits that are presented. Generally, if the museum is focused on entertainment, visitors may note that they had fun and were inclined to visit because it would be a pleasant experience. On the other hand, museums focused on education may result in visitors stating that their visit was educationally motivated. Unfortunately there has been little research conducted into whether visitor motivations to prison museums are different to that of other sites of dark tourism, and whether the type of museum influences the expressed motivations for visiting. The current range of motivations that has been investigated does point towards a similarity with other sites of dark tourism to a certain extent, however aspects such as architecture or national identity and heritage are often unique to the prison museums discussed. In summary, the current research into visitor motivations illustrates that prison museums can be used to not only educate or inspire fear in visitors, but also to provide inspiration to those who wish to change a society for the better (Nanda, 2004).

2.3.5 Limitations:

Garton-Smith (2000) examines the problems associated with Australian prison museums in a setting where museums focus on the ideals of community involvement, dialogue, and prioritisation of ideas over what was termed in the article as “fabric”. “Fabric” refers to the physical elements of a museum (Garton-Smith, 2000). In the case of prison museums, this is what visitors experience the most; seeing, touching, and immersing oneself in a former prison environment. Garton-Smith (2000) raises the point that this provides problems in interpretation for visitors. The author argues that the significance of the prison wall and its objective to exclude certain people from society is at odds with the principles of the New Museology. She goes on to list issues with transforming prisons, such as the fear that prisons are meant to inspire in the community, which hampers their ability to actively pass on thoughtful interpretations to visitors, or the ambiguity regarding the purpose of a prison museum; whether it is to show off the architecture of the prison, or to house items which belonged to prisoners or were relevant to the history of both the prison and the inmates, or a combination of these (Garton-Smith, 2000). This highlights an issue of direction and identity with prison museums. The growth of the prison museum industry has allowed for a diverse range of locations, yet the research conducted has not touched on what the purpose of these museums, as a collective, is. For example, Robben Island Museum can be seen as a symbol of hope within South Africa, but this does not translate to Fremantle Prison or the Tower of London which have different meanings to their immediate communities, and to the wider audience of visitors. On an individual level, prison museums can be seen as having an “identity crisis” when visitor numbers are down. This is especially true if the site is attempting to generate revenue. Subsequently, this leads to those prisons attempting to appear more modern and entertaining in order to attract visitors, such as Port Arthur (Strange, 2000). However, this can conflict with the original intentions of the museum – as a site which exhibits the heritage of the surrounding community or a national identity.

Garton-Smith (2000) expresses concern that these issues are not being addressed and may lead to museums that are disconnected from issues which may be pertinent to that specific museum or the penal history of their country in a larger context. The author concludes that if prison museum curators are able to move past the physical nature of the prison, and towards the links that prisons played with the community, then better interpretation may occur among visitors to these museums.

2.4 Modernisation of Incarceration and Prison Museums

Incarceration as a form of punishment has undergone a cycle of change since its introduction in the late 18th century. From incapacitating debtors in prison hulks (Garneray, 2003), to the introduction of solitary confinement and an emphasis on reformation (Johnston, 2000), incarceration, particularly in the United States of America, has now left behind its goals of rehabilitation in favour of warehousing inmates in a style that is similar to early prison hulks – complete with overcrowded cells and rampant disease (Pettit & Western, 2004; Wright & Herivel, 2013). Particularly noteworthy are the types of people being incarcerated, the dramatic increase in rates of incarceration, and the length of sentences these offenders are receiving (Brown, 2009; J. Wilson, 2008a). For example, the War on Drugs within the United States of America has seen a dramatic rise in the incarceration of African-Americans (M. Alexander, 2012; A. Davis, 1998, 2007; Pettit & Western, 2004; Wacquant, 2001, 2002). This is coupled with the lengthening of prison sentences in the United States, most notably resulting from mandatory minimum sentencing and habitual felon laws (Zimring, 1996) that have since spread internationally (Oleson, 2015a; Pratt & Clark, 2005). Colonisation has also had a profound impact on the rates of incarceration for indigenous peoples within countries such as New Zealand and Australia (Krieg, 2006; Tauri & Webb, 2012). This is important to the study of prison museums as the preconceptions of visitors to prison museums, their ideas regarding incarceration as punishment, and the motivations for their visit relate to the aforementioned factors. Indeed, prison museums serve as one of the few ways for the public to physically inform themselves of what it is like within prisons. This raises a number of issues as prison museums are often decommissioned prisons of a bygone era, and the messages portrayed by them often do not serve to address the societal issues associated with current trends of incarceration. Rather, they serve to educate visitors about what it was like for those past inmates, whether any famous criminals were incarcerated within that prison, to highlight architectural features, or to entertain visitors and provide an “attraction”. As such it is important to explore the current trends of incarceration, advances that have been made in prisons, the modernisation of punishment, and how these relate to prison museums. It should be noted that many of these factors will relate to media representations of prisons and punishment as they are the main source of knowledge for the public about the criminal justice system.

2.4.1 Trends of Modern Incarceration:

Incarceration as a mode of punishment took root with the Quaker reform between 1750 and 1850 (Christianson, 2000; Johnston et al., 1994). Part of the changes from prison as a holding pen to a form of punishment was an emphasis on reforming an offender through solemn penitence and solitary confinement (Adamson, 2001; Johnston et al., 1994). This also signalled a shift in punishment, from the corporal punishments of the body, to punishing the mind through the deprivation of freedom (Akers & Sellers, 1999; Walker, 1991). Before prisons were the ubiquitous form of punishment for offenders, transgression was often met with physical retribution (Foucault, 1995). The establishment of early prisons allowed for offenders to be punished, removed from society, but remain whole and free of torture or death at the hands of the state. These early prisons often featured single cells and were characterised by forced labour of inmates and strict rules surrounding speech (Foucault, 1995).

Part of this punishment of the mind was the knowledge that a prisoner was under constant surveillance – with the classic example being Bentham’s (1791) panopticon. The architecture of this prison called for inmates to be housed in a circular ring around a central guard tower. The design allowed for the guards in the tower to view all prisoners easily; however, the inmates would be unable to tell if they were being observed by the guard. This caused them to police their own behaviour, as the inmates could never be sure the guards were not observing them at that point in time (Bentham, 1791; Bentham & Bozovic, 1995). The panopticon was used by Foucault (1995, pg 298) as an example of power through surveillance and punitive disciplinary techniques, which were utilised in prisons, then transferred to other hierarchical institutions (e.g. schools) throughout society: “We have seen that, in penal justice, the prison transformed the punitive procedure into a penitentiary technique; the carceral archipelago transported this technique from the penal institutions to the entire social body”. The prison was one part of a larger carceral network that had far reaching implications. The carceral network expanded throughout society, and linked the punitive with the abnormal, and contributed towards the creation of further delinquents and “others”: “Although it is true that prison punishes delinquency, delinquency is for the most part produced in and by an incarceration which, ultimately, prison perpetuates in its turn” (Foucault, 1995, pg 301). The prison acts as only one piece of this larger network which assures the production of delinquent. Foucault (1995) argues that increasing surveillance and disciplinary coercion present in a continuum of institutions – from the school, to the army, to the prison – contribute towards the creation of delinquents and further legitimise the punitive steps taken to perpetuate this cycle. Foucault (1995, pg 306) summarises that “...it is not even whether we should have prison or something other than prison. At present, the problem lies rather in the steep rise in the use of these mechanisms of normalization and the wide-ranging powers which, through the proliferation of new disciplines, they bring with them.”

As outlined previously, prisons have been transformed from sites of detention, to reformation and rehabilitation, to warehouses similar to their original use as holding pens. There is also evidence that

trends within the justice system of many western countries has suggested a more punitive approach is being taken to offenders, resulting in longer prison sentences aimed at retribution and incapacitation, rather than rehabilitation (Nygaard, 1997). While there have been modern technological advancements of the prison, such as the replacement of stone walls with razor-wire fences, the introduction of electronic doors and locks, and the use of CCTV equipment to monitor inmates, the most significant change in incarceration is the amount of people being incarcerated around the world (Mauer, 1991).

From the 1970s onwards there has been a “ratcheting up” of the punitive attitude towards crime and justice within many countries including the United States of America, Australia, and South Africa (D. Garland, 1996, 2000; Morgan, 2002; Scheingold, 1995; Steinberg, 2005). This has been the result of a link between politics and crime, where being seen as “tough on crime” is a positive attribute for many politicians (Reiman & Leighton, 1979). Invariably this has led to harsher and more punitive punishments, which in turn has contributed to an expanding prison population. A classic example of this phenomenon is the War on Drugs within the United States of America.

From 1971 when then President Nixon declared that drugs were public enemy number one, a raft of law changes and sentencing policies have been implemented in the United States (Epstein, 1990). Most notable of these were the Rockefeller Drug Laws which, among other things, introduced felony convictions and mandatory minimum sentences for drug possession (Baum, 1996). This resulted in many offenders who would have previously been sentenced to probation or shorter sentences receiving lengthy sentences of years, rather than months, in prison. The consequence of this was a dramatic rise in the prison population within America, from 139 inmates per 100,000 in 1980 to 481 per 100,000 in 2000 (Maguire & Pastore, 2001). This issue compounded upon itself with prison being linked to a high recidivism rate for those who had been incarcerated for drug offences. Spohn and Holleran (2002) found that offenders who were sentenced to probation were less likely than those incarcerated to: be charged with a new offence, be convicted of a new offence, or be sentenced to prison for a new offence, following their release. The result was more offenders being incarcerated for longer periods of time, and then re-offending and returning to prison once they had been released (Spohn & Holleran, 2002).

The tendency of sentencing non-violent offenders to prison, mandatory prison sentences, and “get tough” approaches employed within the United States has also been found within other countries experiencing high rates of incarceration. The trend towards increasing rates of incarceration has been observed in countries such as the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and Russia (Hartney, 2006; Mauer, 2003; Newbold, 2007). While the policies and identified enemies of a peaceful and safe society are different in their respective countries, the methods employed to administer justice are similar. This results in a widespread movement towards mass incarceration across multiple countries.

One of the consequences of this attitude towards sentencing and incarceration is the poor living conditions for inmates. Whilst early prisons were not models of hygiene or health standards, the use

of single cells for example reduced the chances for physical or sexual assaults and allowed for acceptable living conditions. However, the modern trend of increasingly punitive sentences and the rapidly rising incarceration rate and prison population has resulted in the phenomenon of warehousing inmates (Beckett & Sasson, 2003; Wright & Herivel, 2013). This is typically exemplified by prison gymnasiums being transformed into enormous cells housing hundreds of inmates on bunk beds. Traditional cells have suffered overcrowding, and a cell which may have been designed for two inmates now sleeps four, six, or sometimes eight (Wright & Herivel, 2013). This has resulted in a raft of issues including increased violent assaults against other inmates, increased contraband and drug use, and hygiene related health issues (Beckett & Sasson, 2003; Christianson, 2000; Wright & Herivel, 2013).

In contrast with the warehousing approach, the use of Secure Housing Units (SHUs) and “supermax” prisons have also had adverse effects on prisoner welfare (Kurki & Morris, 2001; Pizarro & Stenius, 2004). Supermax prisons and SHUs separate the most serious and dangerous prisoners from the rest of the general prison population by isolating them in concrete cells for 23 hours per day. Where prisoner warehousing carries a range of issues, so too does the incarceration of inmates in supermax facilities. Prolonged periods of isolation have been linked to psychological distress and damage, as well as increasing chances of self-harm and suicide (Kurki & Morris, 2001; Pizarro & Stenius, 2004). The idea of a jail within a jail (SHUs) or extremely restrictive facilities (supermax prisons) has seen their use increase, sometimes to the point of double-celling inmates – where two inmates would share a supermax prison cell (Oleson, 2002). In these instances prisoner violence, the control over which is a purported benefit of supermax prisons and SHUs, becomes a problem where inmates who are forced to share a cell continuously for 23 hours a day, as well as their one hour of exercise, come to resent one another and lash out (Oleson, 2002). The benefits of these extreme forms of control have come under increasing scrutiny, and have yet to show any tangible benefits beyond allowing another form of punishment within prison or administering control over particularly high-risk inmates (Kurki & Morris, 2001; Oleson, 2002; Pizarro & Stenius, 2004; P. S. Smith, 2006). Finally, Kurki and Morris (2001) state that prison disorder, which supermax and SHUs intend to control, is produced in part by those very regimes intended to curb that disorder. For example the authors argue that “[r]espectful and fair treatment of the “worst of the worst” sounds like an oxy-moron” (Kurki & Morris, 2001, pg 417). Indeed, like many other problems associated with incarceration, a cycle becomes apparent of increasingly punitive actions taken against individuals who are responding to a system where they are treated anything but fairly or respectfully.

As a counter to the worrying issues associated with prisoner overcrowding in California the United States Supreme Court in *Brown v Plata* instructed the state to reduce its overall prison population by approximately 40,000 over two years (“*Brown v. Plata*,” 2011). The idea of decarceration has also been undertaken as result of budgetary concerns in Texas as well as Alberta, Canada (Moblely, 2011; Staples, 2007; Webster & Doob, 2014). The release of prisoners due to overcrowding or the rampant cost of mass incarceration may also lead to greater thought given to prisoner re-entry or alternative punishments to prison. Mobley (2011) states that a new phase of “penal downsizing” (pg 10) could be

used as an opportunity to provide greater support for prisoner re-entry in order to break the cycle of incarceration, or to use restorative practices as an alternative to prison. These contributions may offer a more positive choice to policy-makers and judges in their sentencing than to continue the experiment of mass incarceration.

Prison museums are often situated at sites of decommissioned prisons that no longer suit the needs of the local correctional department. Many prison museums do little to highlight the issues of overcrowding of inmates, or the racial disparity amongst who is being given prison sentences. Nor do they show the extraordinarily high rate of incarceration. This may not necessarily be the goal of the prison museum; however it does provide an antiquated and outdated representation of incarceration. Prison museums attempt to inform visitors about the history of the site and its inmates, and in some cases the proceedings of an inmate (Strange, 2000). This is similar to some films and television shows featuring prisons (P. Mason, 2006b; D. Wilson & O'Sullivan, 2004). There is a distinct contrast between what is shown and the realities of modern incarceration. The literature surrounding the issue of prison museums influencing the preconceptions or views of the public regarding incarceration has not truly been documented. In a society where prisons and incarceration has become increasingly less visible, the public will instead inform themselves from sites such as prison museums or from media outlets.

2.4.2 Removing the Spectacle of Punishment and Prison Museums:

The spectacle of punishment originally referred to public executions or torture which occurred in pre-modern societies. There was an almost festive atmosphere surrounding the execution of an offender, and it would often draw crowds who were entertained by witnessing "divine justice" (M. Brown, 2009; Foucault, 1995; McGowen, 1987). The evolution of punishment however has removed that spectacle of punishment. Public executions have been replaced by prisons where offenders are hidden behind high walls and barred windows. Indeed even the prisons themselves, which were once prominent buildings in the urban centre of cities, have shifted towards more rural locations. "Out of sight, out of mind" has become a catch-phrase to describe modern forms of punishment.

As Oleson (2015b) describes, the spectacle of corporal punishment has been replaced by the spectacle of the trial. Here, the media encourage the public to view high-profile trials and then listen as broadcast commentators present their own views on the progress of the trial (Bailey & Chermak, 2007; Oleson, 2015b). In these instances, it is the trial and determination of guilt which take priority over punishment. However media depictions of capital punishment and incarceration are also popular viewing, and offer the spectacle of degrading strip-searches or clinical executions to the public in the comfort of their own home (Bulck & Vandebosch, 2003; C. Carter, 2003; Oleson, 2015b; D. Wilson & O'Sullivan, 2004, 2005). While the media acts as one mode in which punishment as a spectacle can be seen in contemporary society, prison museums also serve to highlight this phenomenon. Prison

museums often place an emphasis on the conditions that prisoners faced, famous inmates, or in more extreme cases – the tools and methods used to execute those who had been sentenced to death (M. Brown, 2009). These exhibitions serve to promote the spectacle of punishment as an historical act. Unlike viewing prison on a screen, museums offer a more realistic perspective of the prison architecture and potential conditions of incarceration. The museum experience does lack many features of an actual prison (e.g. smell, noise, and inmates), however there are fewer opportunities for camera angles to deceive or sensationalised action to distract. Visiting a museum allows the visitor to see for themselves the confined nature of the cells and imagine their own incarceration. It should be noted however that prison museums also offer their own narratives, and like media depictions of punishment, they can also offer their own notion of spectacle and shape the way that visitors perceive the punishment of incarceration (M. Brown, 2009; Walby & Piché, 2011; J. Wilson, 2008a).

Visitors are often fascinated by the methods used to punish offenders and as J. Wilson (2008a) notes, there is often a theme of ‘they [the inmates] got what they deserved’ expressed by visitors to prison museums. As a form of entertainment, prison museums do well to highlight the spectacle of punishment. Yet they often represent historical methods of punishment. Current prison museums are often decades decommissioned and serve to show ‘what was’ rather than ‘what is’. This presents a distorted picture of punishment to a public that is often lacking in realistic depictions of the criminal justice system and specifically prisons. The change in direction for the ‘spectacle of punishment’ from actual punishment to representations has been covered to a certain extent, and this study intends to expand on the role that prison museums play in this phenomenon, or what effect they have on visitors and representation of incarceration as a punishment today.

Summary:

Prisons have evolved to become a ubiquitous part of the criminal justice system in many countries. Despite the problems associated with overcrowding or solitary confinement, the use of incarceration has become ingrained as a sentence as well as part of popular culture. As part of this, prison museums serve as a representation of the carceral, sites where visitors are presented with an opportunity to view penal heritage that may appear as outdated models of those still used to this day. The prisons selected for this study are a small portion of the total operational prison museums; however they are each distinctive in their historic significance to the communities in which they are located, as well as the penal heritage that they represent.

2.5 Eastern State Penitentiary, Robben Island Prison Museum, and Fremantle Prison

Introduction:

The prisons selected for this study are Fremantle Prison in Western Australia, Robben Island Museum in Cape Town, South Africa, and Eastern State Penitentiary, in Philadelphia, United States of America. All three sites represent significant historical ties to their community as well as penal heritage. All three sites contain unique and significant features, as well as sharing the commonality of being located in countries that experience high rates of incarceration – particularly the United States of America (Baldry, 2008; D. Brown, 2014; Hartney, 2006; Mauer, 2003; Steinberg, 2005). For these countries, prisons are popular tools of the criminal justice system and these museums represent opportunities for the public to educate themselves about a form of punishment that is used with increasing regularity.

Fremantle Prison is an Australian convict-era prison built by transported convicts from England and Ireland (Ayris, 1995; Robert Hughes, 1988; Kerr, 1998; Welch, 2016). It was a significant construction project during the settlement of Fremantle and Perth in Western Australia, and was operational until 1991. The longevity of the prison, constructed primarily of sandstone, and its significant historical value as a site of convict incarceration in Fremantle and Western Australia resulted in a UNESCO World Heritage Listing in 2010 (UNESCO, 2015).

Robben Island Museum sits as part of the wider Robben Island that has also featured on the UNESCO World Heritage List since 1999 (Deacon, 2004). Robben Island Prison is a younger facility than Fremantle Prison or Eastern State Penitentiary, but the island itself has been associated with banishment or incarceration since the arrival of the Dutch in Table Bay in 1652 (Deacon, 1996). Robben Island Prison is most famous for housing political prisoners during the apartheid regime – most notably Nelson Mandela who would go on to become South Africa's first democratically elected president in 1994 (Marback, 2004). However, as with Fremantle Prison and Eastern State Penitentiary, care has been taken to also include the conditions of incarceration for 'ordinary' inmates, as well as presenting the history of those who were more notable.

Finally, Eastern State Penitentiary represents a significant point in the history of the prison: the choice to incarcerate inmates in solitary confinement, and the hub-and-spoke design (Johnston et al., 1994). Eastern State Penitentiary is also unique in that the site is presented as a stabilised ruin after it sat abandoned for 25 years following decommission (Kelley, 2011).

2.5.1 Eastern State Penitentiary:

Prison History in America:

Eastern State Penitentiary was built as a culmination of Quaker reforms and 17th century English penal philosophies, moving punishment away from the holding cells and dungeons towards reformation and penitence (Adamson, 2001; Johnston, 1954; Johnston et al., 1994; Kahan, 2008). During this period of reforms and reflection, punishment in England, which spread to the colonies in America, was characterised by physical pain, monetary reparation, and incarceration (Johnston, 1954, 2004; Kahan, 2008). Those who were incarcerated were often held within dungeons or workhouses where they would produce goods as penance for their transgressions. There were various schools of thought regarding prisons and the best method to reform offenders. A popular approach was the workhouse system, characterised by hard labour and strict control of inmates (Adamson, 2001). The English Philanthropist vision of penology included a focus on inmate classification and the use of solitary confinement in order to promote reflection by those incarcerated (Adamson, 2001). Finally, there were Rationalists who advocated for human logic and reasoning as the reasons for offending, and therefore utilised hard labour within their prisons hoping to deter as well as provide some useful skills upon re-entry to society (Christianson, 2000; Kahan, 2008).

With the colonisation of the New World, a demand for facilities to incarcerate convicts rose. The majority of convicts within the newly discovered America were those sent from England and Europe to be sold as convict labour (Johnston et al., 1994; Kahan, 2008). The first institutions to house these people were often small jails or dungeons below houses. However after the revolutionary war and America's independence, the concept of convict labour fell out of favour (Christianson, 2000). Coupled with the philosophies regarding execution that emerged from England and Europe during the Enlightenment, America needed a new way to house those that had transgressed against the state. Incarceration as a means of punishment gained popularity, and prisons began to be built in order to accommodate the growing population of inmates.

These prisons however failed to produce the desired results. Instead of deterrence and reform, they became known for corruption and debauchery (Kahan, 2008), with inmates escaping, obtaining contraband, and re-offending when they were released. The poor quality of construction coupled with the poor standards of living within these prisons, resulted in the formation of a group led by Benjamin Franklin in Philadelphia which attempted to rectify the situation and create an institution whose primary goal was penitence (Johnston, 1954, 2004; Johnston et al., 1994; Kahan, 2008).

The need for prison reform:

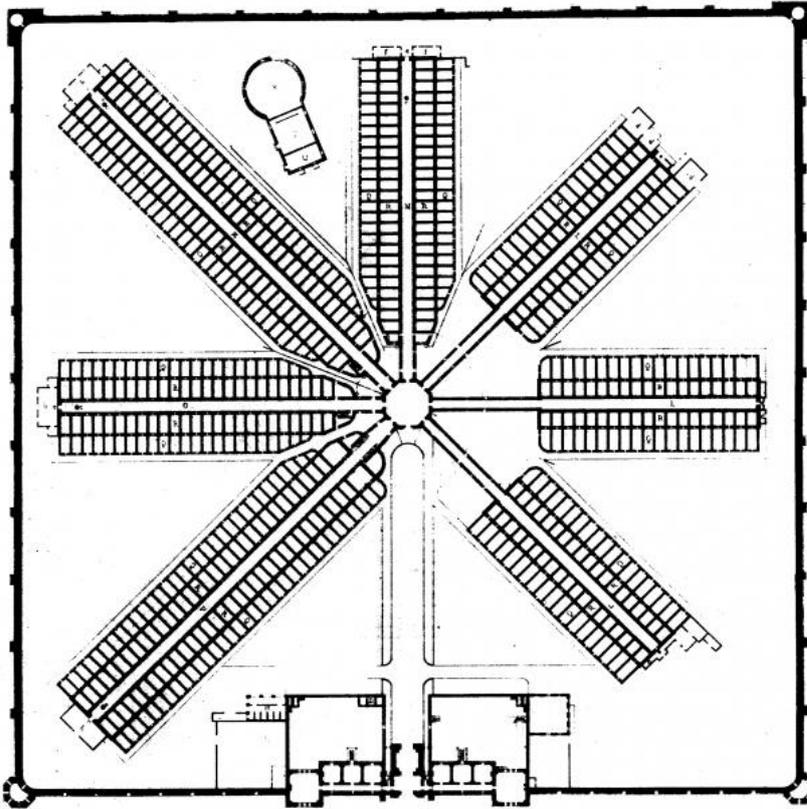
Eastern State Penitentiary was a result of mounting pressure by the prison reform group - the Philadelphia Society for Alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisons (later renamed the Pennsylvania

Prison Society) - to counter the ills that had plagued the operation of the current prisons and jails (Johnston et al., 1994). The desire of prison reformers to test their theories of penitence and solitary confinement was met when the overcrowding and unruly behaviour of Philadelphia's Old Stone Prison reached critical levels (Johnston et al., 1994). This prompted the construction of the Walnut Street Jail in 1773 which was opened in 1776. The Walnut Street Jail initially suffered the same ills that its predecessors did; overcrowding, unruly behaviour, and the new additions of alcohol being sold by the prison warden, the smuggling of contraband, and the mingling of sexes between inmates and guards alike (Johnston et al., 1994; Kahan, 2008). In 1790 the Walnut Street Jail became a state penitentiary after legislation was passed that called for the construction of a cellblock that allowed for solitary confinement of particularly egregious offenders (Johnston et al., 1994). Johnston et al (1994, pg 27) stated that "the Penitentiary House was supposed to demonstrate the philanthropist-reformer's evolving strategy for treating criminals, but the evidence suggests that the cells were used primarily for the punishment of those who committed prison infractions rather than for offenders sentenced by the courts to solitary confinement".

Those who advocated for the reform of prisons and implementation of solitary confinement spent many years lobbying the governor of Philadelphia to build a prison with reform at the forefront, rather than incapacitation. Their goal was to reform prisoners by implementing a system that promoted penitence and reflection. The primary way of achieving this was by utilising solitary confinement for inmates, and for religious sermons and teachings to be administered to inmates in order to promote reform (Johnston, 2004; Johnston et al., 1994; Kahan, 2008; Schmid, 2003). These ideals are inspired by the Quaker beliefs of reform, and it has been noted that many of those within the group advocating for Eastern States construction were affiliated with the Quaker religion (Kahan, 2008; Schmid, 2003).

The misuse of the small solitary confinement cellblock at the Walnut Street Jail and the rapid growth of Philadelphia meant that the jail soon became overcrowded, and members of the penal reform society were not convinced that the method of solitary confinement had been given a chance to prove its worth. Thus the call was made for a larger prison to be constructed: Eastern State Penitentiary (Johnston et al., 1994; Kahan, 2008).

The Construction of Eastern State Penitentiary:



(Figure 1: Hub and Spoke design of Eastern State Penitentiary. Retrieved from Easternstate.org (2015b). Reprinted with permission.)

John Haviland was the designer for Eastern State Penitentiary (Johnston, 1954). He was chosen in part due to his writings on architectural design at the time, and was commissioned to one of the most important projects in Philadelphia's early history. The design of Eastern State Penitentiary was significant because it was developed from the ground up with the purpose of reform and penitence in mind for the inmates. This included cells where inmates were kept in solitary confinement, and a hub-and-spoke architectural design (see Figure 1) that was loosely based on Jeremy Bentham's ideas surrounding the Panopticon and the surveillance of inmates while they were incarcerated (Johnston et al., 1994; Kahan, 2008). While the cells themselves were small and designed for a single inmate, the halls and areas outside the cells themselves were designed to give the impression of being in a church (see Figure 2). This included vaulted ceilings and tall arched windows.



(Figure 2: Vaulted halls in Eastern State Penitentiary. Authors photograph)

Overall, Haviland was noted for giving the prison a neo-Gothic design to instil fear or foreboding within those who saw the prison, or thought about committing a crime (see Figure 3). This further reinforced the idea of penitence, reform, and deterrence within the prison and wider population (Johnston et al., 1994; Kahan, 2008). At the time, Eastern State Penitentiary was a significant project and one of the largest buildings in America. It also featured new technologies that were unavailable elsewhere, including the White House, such as fresh running water, a flushing toilet, and heated water pipes (Kahan, 2008).



(Figure 3: The neo-gothic design of Eastern State Penitentiaries walls. Retrieved from Easternstate.org (2015b). Reprinted with permission)

The Significance of Eastern State Penitentiary:

The construction of Eastern State Penitentiary was significant because it marked a shift in thinking regarding penology, prisoner welfare, and the purpose of prisons. It was also significant because it was the largest construction in Philadelphia at the time and remained one of the largest buildings within the area. Finally, the construction of Eastern State Penitentiary allowed for a contrast with the Auburn system of incarceration that was developed in the state of New York. The Auburn system advocated for prisoners working together in silence and physical punishment for inmates who transgressed. While the Auburn system became the popular model for incarceration within the United States, the architectural design and penological thought of Eastern State Penitentiary was used by over 300 prisons worldwide (Johnston, 2004).

For all the good intentions placed on Eastern State Penitentiary, the reality was that the experiment of solitary confinement failed. In an investigation conducted five years after the prison opened, it was found that there were numerous incidents of inmates conversing with each other, being out of their cells unsupervised, and carrying contraband (Johnston et al., 1994; Kahan, 2008). One of the biggest

concerns was that the lauded “separate system” had been shelved due to the overcrowding of Eastern State Penitentiary. The rapidly increasing prison population necessitated the use of double celling – where there would be two inmates per cell. This practice was at direct odds with the purpose of the prison, yet there was little choice left to those governing the prison. While the intentions of the prison’s architect and supporters was to promote quiet reflection, penitence, and remorseful thinking, outside observers noted that solitary confinement was a cruel and hopeless situation (Dickens, 2004; Johnston, 2004; Johnston et al., 1994).

Whether Eastern States experiment with solitary confinement was successful or not is debateable. The proposed method of separate confinement seemed reasonable at the time of construction, and the use of careful regulations and provisions for inmates was an attempt to correct the errors of previously failed ventures in separate confinement. However there is little evidence to support the notion that the method of incarceration at Eastern State reformed inmates or produced any noticeable drop in offending (Johnston et al., 1994; P. S. Smith, 2006). In part, this is due to the lack of research and records kept that would allow for recidivism rates to be constructed. Additionally, the reality of overcrowded cells and correctional staff ambivalence towards the proposed goals of the prison means that the consequences of incarceration in Eastern State (for better or for worse) are hard to attribute to the method of solitary confinement. Eastern State Penitentiary can be seen as successful as a turning point for prison reform. Conscious effort was given to the concepts of rehabilitation and reform, where previously these had not been given much consideration at all within the penal system of the newly colonised United States or the aging European prison systems.

Famous Inmates and Events:

Eastern State Penitentiary has housed numerous notable inmates. These are often the focus of tours and exhibits due to the extreme or outrageous crimes committed, or their celebrity status. The most recognised inmate of Eastern State Penitentiary would have to be Alphonse “Scarface” Capone who spent eight months incarcerated between 1929 and 1930 (Kahan, 2008). The celebrity nature of “Al Capone” also appears at Alcatraz Island where he was also incarcerated. Al Capone’s face appears in marketing for Eastern State Penitentiary as well as on numerous souvenirs and mementos. His cell, arranged to be a representation of his luxurious prison stay, is one of the most popular attractions at Eastern State Penitentiary. Indeed, the notoriety of Al Capone overshadows other notable inmates such as Morris “the Rabbi” Bolber, Leo Callahan, or William Francis Sutton.

During its operation Eastern State Penitentiary saw numerous notable events occur within its walls. The first was a visit by Charles Dickens in 1842. On a tour of North America, Dickens visited Eastern State Penitentiary as it was, at the time, a leading innovator in correctional reform. What he saw dismayed him, and Dickens wrote one of the earliest and most poignant critiques of Eastern State Penitentiaries solitary system: "The System is rigid, strict and hopeless solitary confinement, and I believe it, in its effects, to be cruel and wrong..." (Dickens, 2004).

Between 1862 and 1872 over 100,000 tourists visited Eastern State Penitentiary (Kahan, 2008). The novelty of the solitary system, coupled with the size of the building and advanced technology of the time, made the prison a popular tourist destination. Furthermore, Kahan (2008, pg 37) notes that the opportunity to converse with inmates was seen to be a positive element for both visitors and inmates alike, with a quote stating: “though styles the separate system, the discipline admits of the freest intercourse with respectable visitors. The best people in Philadelphia call upon, and hold converse with, the convicts, who doubtless receive no small benefit through such agencies.” (Chambers, 1854). In this case, visitation to an operational Eastern State Penitentiary offers a different experience than visitors to the currently decommissioned version. The intention of helping inmates with conversation and the appearance of law-abiding visitors is lost. Instead, the intention of Eastern State Penitentiary today is to help, or educate, the visitor – to teach them about the history of the site, the inmates that were confined there, and the issues resulting from incarceration (Kahan, 2008; Kelley, 2011). The inmate is removed from the equation and is replaced with presented exhibits, re-telling of their stories, or forgotten entirely. The experience of Eastern State Penitentiary for tourists today is about the relationship between the visitor and museum curators, rather than an experience of living inmates and those tasked to guard them.

In 1913 the Pennsylvania system of solitary confinement was officially abandoned, however its demise was apparent for years beforehand with the breakdown of control of inmates and numerous legislative proceedings stifling the use of prison labour – a key element of the Pennsylvania system. This also resulted in a move by the wardens of Eastern State to declare rehabilitation a joke and transform Eastern State Penitentiary from a site of reform and rehabilitation to a “holding pen” (Kahan, 2008, pg 75).

Eastern State was the site of many riots, however between 1933 and 1934 were some of the most frequent and notable including a hunger strike, a mass escape attempt, rioting over war rations, and rioting over stiff sentences handed down to inmates (Johnston et al., 1994; Kahan, 2008). The largest riot in the prison’s history was in 1961 when three inmates managed to overpower a guard and went on to release many other inmates in an attempt to flee the prison (Kahan, 2008). While the inmates were not successful and the riot quickly suppressed, Kahan (2008) notes that it was one of the final blows to Eastern State as an operational prison inside a residential area. There had been many critiques of the prison, its antiquated features and poor location, and in 1970 the prison was closed and inmates transferred to other nearby correctional facilities (Kahan, 2008).

From its closure in 1970, Eastern State sat practically abandoned for nearly 20 years (Eastern State Penitentiary, 2015c; Kahan, 2008). During the 1980s, charitable trusts and preservationists made the successful bid to transform Eastern State into a museum and reopen it to the public (Eastern State Penitentiary, 2015c). In 1994, Eastern State reopened and began offering daily tours for visitors through what was then called a stabilised ruin. From then on, the popularity of the site has grown tremendously and it has promoted numerous art installations related to current issues in corrections, and been the location of movie and television sets – for example *12 Monkeys* (1995) or *Crazy* (2010) (Eastern State Penitentiary, 2015a). “*Terror Behind the Walls*” also runs during the Halloween period

and has become a major tourist attraction and one of the most visited haunted house attractions in the United States of America (Eastern State Penitentiary, 2015c).

2.5.2 Robben Island:

A history of imprisonment in South Africa:

With the arrival of the Dutch in South Africa in 1652, punishments initially consisted of corporal punishments and banishment to Robben Island as well as their colonies in the East Indies (Oswald, 2007; Singh, 2005). The British occupation of South Africa (1795-1803) brought about the use of incarceration as a form of punishment (Oswald, 2007). From this point onwards, imprisonment was often used as a way to supply labour for infrastructure projects, and indigenous people such as the Xhosa, were imprisoned for their part in resisting the colonisers (Oswald, 2007). The mining of diamonds and gold in South Africa also called for large numbers of cheap labour – again sourced from prisons. As Smit (1992, pg 15) intones: “the role of the state as the provider of unskilled black labour for the mines through the penal system had become manifest”. The use of prison labour continued until The Prisons and Reformatories Act 13 of 1911. Under this provision inmates could request that the courts intervene when their treatment within the prisons seemed unfair (Oswald, 2007; Singh, 2005; Smit, 1992). Conditions within South African prisons, even after the passing of Act 13 of 1911, continued to be harsh and the use of prison labour continued unabated. In another attempt to transition South African prisons towards rehabilitation, the Landsdowne Commission of 1945 recommended a series of changes to be made. However none of these practices were put into place, and the use of prison labour “actually worsened when farmers were given permission to construct prison outstations on their farms to house prison labourers” (Oswald, 2007, pg 4). In 1959 new prison legislation based on the apartheid regime came into effect, which further solidified the segregation between black and white prisoners, as well as ethnically segregated black prisoners from one another (Oswald, 2007). Oswald (2007) continues to note that prisons during this time became closed institutions, efficiently limiting the amount of literature that could be written on the conditions inside. They were also used in greater frequency as tools to incarcerate individuals deemed to be political dissidents by the South African government. The fall of the apartheid government and the election of Nelson Mandela as president did little to curb the rate of incarceration in South Africa, but it did go some way towards addressing the issues of segregation, race-based policies, and the imprisonment of political activists (Africa Watch, 1994; Oswald, 2007; Singh, 2005; Steinberg, 2005). Inmates still suffered the consequences of overcrowding however, leading to a situation that has seen prison life in South Africa “remain depressingly unchanged from the years of official apartheid” (Africa Watch, 1994, pg 1).

Changes continued within South Africa, and in 1995 the death penalty was repealed, and in 1996 the correctional system was demilitarised – a step, according to Singh (2005, pg 32), that was needed in

order to properly institute prison reforms aimed at rehabilitation for inmates. Furthermore in 1998 legislation was passed that established a correctional oversight committee, tasked with the reporting of conditions inside prisons and the treatment of inmates (Singh, 2005). The issues illustrated by this oversight committee, as well as other state agencies, recommended the reduction in prison population as the best course of action instead of the construction of new prisons (Singh, 2005; Sloth-Nielsen, 2007). While the prison population has decreased from 171,462 in 2000 to 158,165 in 2012 (International Centre for Prison Studies, 2015a), it is still significantly higher than the target of 120,000 inmates that Judge Fagan called for in 2003 (news24, 2003).

The history of Robben Island:

From 1652 to 1806 Afrikaner-controlled Robben Island was used primarily as a pantry to feed sailors on passing ships, a post-box for their letters, and occasionally as a prison for transgressors (Deacon, 1996). Eventually, the prison function became more important for both black and white Cape area residents, as well as political prisoners from the East Indies. In 1846, under British rule, the prison was closed and Robben Island prisoners sent to do hard labour in the mainland convict stations (Deacon, 1996; Penn, Deacon, & Alexander, 1992). The old stone prison buildings were converted for use as a hospital. This hospital was divided into three sections housing the chronic sick, lunatics, and lepers (Deacon, 1996). These sections were closed between 1891 and 1931 as legislation and medical treatment progressed.

After the departure of Lepers in 1931 Robben Island was abandoned. However, with the outbreak of the Second World War, troops were sent to Robben Island in 1939 (De Villiers, 1971; Deacon, 1996; Penn et al., 1992). During the war, gun placements were constructed and the infrastructure of the island was built up to accommodate the requirements of military service. Following the end of WWII, between 1946 and 1959, the island was controlled by the Coastal Artillery School, South African Marine Corps, and then by the South African Navy. The island was intended to become the central military base for Cape Town, and provided valuable space and service to the military that were stationed there. However, the small community that had resulted from military use was shifted from Robben Island to Simon's Town when the House Assembly stated that Robben Island would be taken over by the Prisons Department for use as a maximum security prison (Deacon, 1996).



(Figure 4: WWII gun placement on Robben Island. Authors photograph)

Between 1961 and 1991 the island was managed by the South African Prisons Department as a maximum security prison, holding the political prisoners who were considered most threatening to the stability of the apartheid government (N. Alexander, 1994; Buntman, 2003; Deacon, 1996; Mandela, 2008; Penn et al., 1992). It was during this period that inmates, such as Nelson Mandela, Zephania Mothopeng, and Govan Mbeki, further educated themselves and persevered until their release (Buntman, 2003; Deacon, 1996). From 1991 until 1996, Robben Island Prison's security level was downgraded from maximum to medium, however it continued to be a prison primarily for political prisoners (Buntman, 2003; Deacon, 1996). While incarcerated, inmates would be forced to dig in the quarry as a form of hard labour, and were often subjected to meagre rations of food and water (Deacon, 1996; Robben Island Museum, 2015). A prison on an island served not only to physically separate the inmates from the public, but also to symbolically isolate them and instil a sense of hopelessness and despair (Deacon, 1996; Phaswana-Mafuya & Haydam, 2005).



(Figure 5: Quarry at Robben Island. Authors photograph)

When the African National Congress won the democratic elections of 1994, inmates were removed from Robben Island Prison and the site was decommissioned until it reopened as a museum in 1997 (Buntman, 2003; Deacon, 1996; Robben Island Museum, 2007).

Since becoming a museum and World Heritage site, Robben Island Museum has been the focus of a number of academic pieces relating to prison museums. Many of these have focussed on the narratives presented at Robben Island and the symbolism of the site to visitors, as well as the wider social context of South Africa (Marback, 2004; Nanda, 2004; Shearing & Kempa, 2004). Shackley (2001) discussed the potential future for Robben Island Museum, highlighting its position as a site of pilgrimage. However as Shackley (2001) notes, unlike other shrines or pilgrimage sites, Robben Island Museum fails to encourage repeat visitors.

Symbolically, Robben Island has always been regarded as a place of banishment. It was seen as a place where the ruling colonialists exercised their power by removing people and placing them on an inhospitable island (Buntman, 2003; Deacon, 1996; Strange & Kempa, 2003). This was compounded with the island's use as a leper colony and hospital for "lunatics" (Deacon, 1996). Conversely, Robben

Island also represents the “indestructability of the spirit of resistance against colonialism, injustice and oppression” (Deacon, 1996, p. 5). Rarely are prisons associated with human triumph: they are often aligned more with the incarceration and detention of societies’ misfits or transgressors. It is this duality of banishment and trepidation contrasted with the narratives of hope and human resistance that makes Robben Island a truly unique and important site for visitors to, and residents of, South Africa alike.

Presented Narratives:

Shearing and Kempa (2004) explore the way in which the South African Government and the Robben Island Museum have worked together in order to inspire South Africans who visit the island. Robben Island holds great significance to South Africans because it was formerly a prison that housed many political inmates during the apartheid era (Shearing & Kempa, 2004). Today the prison has been transformed into a museum that contributes to the prospering city of Cape Town. The authors state that while Robben Island Museum preserves items or aspects of the past, it also serves to promote a “hope sensibility” within those who visit. Shearing and Kempa (2004) term this as being a “governance museum” (pg 6) where the site promotes sensibilities or ideologies as well as exhibiting objects.

The history of Robben Island is explained in the context of its place as a site of despair during the apartheid era, and of its eventual transformation to museum and site of inspiration today. Robben Island was a particularly harsh prison in that it was separated from the mainland and architecturally instilled a sense of despair within inmates who were incarcerated there (Shearing & Kempa, 2004). It must be noted that while Robben Island housed many political prisoners, the incarceration of Nelson Mandela serves as one of the primary reasons tourists visit the site (Shearing & Kempa, 2004; Strange & Kempa, 2003). It can be seen that by separating the leaders of the apartheid resistance from their followers, and society, the apartheid government were attempting to “crush the spirit of the people” by “crushing the struggle itself” (Shearing & Kempa, 2004, pg 8). This attempt to stifle the resistance was unsuccessful as there was considerable political activity and growth on the island during the years it served as a prison during the apartheid regime.

Sharing and Kempa (2004) contend that the museum serves as both a celebration of human rights and the new direction that South Africa is headed, and a reminder of the attempt to instil hopelessness and despair amongst inmates. It also serves to highlight the refined style of governance and political debate that occurred within its walls by those who were incarcerated due to their political beliefs or actions. The transformation from prison to museum was swift and in 1996 the Future of Robben Island Committee wasted little time in submitting a proposal for the island’s prison to be transformed into a museum (Shearing & Kempa, 2004). Additionally, it was proposed that the island serve as a cultural pillar in the efforts towards reconciliation that were occurring in South African during that time period.

Shearing and Kempa (2004) conclude that the nature of Robben Island and its place within South African culture has enabled it to thrive as a site that promotes hope and inspiration whilst at the same time acknowledging the brutalities that occurred there. They go on to state that even if this is a deliberate intervention by a government agency to promote a certain sensibility or ideology, the nature of the museum staff, exhibits, and the island's history allow for the promotion of sensibilities to be organic rather than manufactured by a government agency. In this regard Shearing and Kempa (2004) acknowledge the success of the Robben Island Prison Museum as having a positive impact on the efforts of reconciliation amongst South Africans.

2.5.3 Fremantle Prison:

Construction and History:

Much of the literature regarding the early history of Fremantle Prison is scattered and challenging to piece together in an appropriate way. The literature that does exist is often not peer reviewed, and is instead covered in books published regarding the wider history of Western Australian convict history, such as *'Lags': A history of the Western Australian convict phenomenon*, by Bill Edgar (2012) or within policy documents, such as Kerrs (1998) Policy for Conservation. This results in a literature review that often covers pieces of writing not strictly concerned with Fremantle Prison itself.

Fremantle Prison was not the first site of incarceration in Fremantle. The current prison was built as a response to the overcrowded Roundhouse that was constructed on a headland overlooking the beaches of Fremantle (Ayriss, 1995). The settlements of Western Australia were not built by convicts as was common with many of the settlements on the eastern coast of Australia. However a need for cheap labour meant that convicts were eventually sent to Western Australia at the request of the settlements themselves (Ayriss, 1995; Kerr, 1998). These convicts required suitable housing, and with the Fremantle Roundhouse full to capacity, construction of Fremantle Prison began. The construction of Fremantle Prison began in late 1852 and the first convicts moved in three years later (Ayriss, 1995, pg 22). The primary prison buildings and walls were built from limestone quarried from the site by the newly arrived convicts. Ayriss (1995) noted that the design of Fremantle Prison draws heavily from the architecture of Britain's Pentonville prison, and the philosophy behind the separate system of Eastern State Penitentiary and the silent system of Auburn prison (Christianson, 2000; Johnston et al., 1994), where inmates were confined to separate cells in silence to reflect on their crimes. In addition to the high walls and small cells of Fremantle Prison, the convicts were also tasked with digging a vast subterranean tunnel system to tap into the water table below the prison. This source of fresh water would be used for the Fremantle settlement for some time until the water turned saline (Ayriss, 1995).



(Figure 6: Fremantle Prison's Chapel and example of construction. Authors photograph)

Fremantle Prison was also the site of incarceration for numerous Aboriginal inmates throughout its colonial and modern periods of operation (Fremantle Prison, 2013). An educational supplement intended for Year 10 high school students, distributed by Fremantle Prison, outlines some of the history of Aboriginal incarceration within Fremantle Prison. Unfortunately, the reports that this document cites are difficult to access; with only one copy of the 1994 *Report on Fremantle Prison: Significance to Aboriginal People* being available at the Western Australian State Library. However, even this copy does not appear on the actual library databases, and is only shown on third party websites linked to the library. Issues such as this mean that documents, such as the one produced by Fremantle Prison (2013), contain a more robust collection of historical information that is easily accessible. With this in mind, the education document indicates that Aboriginal men were present at Fremantle Prison throughout its early history (Fremantle Prison, 2013). In 1906, a table was published by the Western Australian that indicated there were three Aboriginal inmates held within Fremantle Prison on 31 December 1893 (Fremantle Prison, 2013, pg 28).

In the modern era of confinement, the number of Aboriginal men incarcerated within Fremantle Prison increased (Fremantle Prison, 2013). This increase in Aboriginal incarceration was a result of colonial

legislation, segregation, and dislocation from ancestral lands, communities, and families. Fremantle Prison (2013) indicates that legislation such as the Aborigines Act (1905) and Native Citizen Rights Act (1944) created barriers and structural impediments for Aboriginal people and resulted in an increase in Aboriginal inmates being incarcerated in Fremantle Prison. Prior to 1952, Aboriginal offenders comprised approximately 10% of offenders sentenced to prison, however following 1952 this rose to 30 – 40% of inmates (Fremantle Prison, 2013).

This increase in Aboriginal inmates and shift in policies regarding Aboriginal people resulted in the segregation of Aboriginal men at Fremantle Prison into what would be known as Nyungar Division throughout the 1950s and until 1965 (Fremantle Prison, 2013, pg 30). This was not an official policy held by the prison; instead it was an unofficial administrative practice. This practice was abolished in 1965 (Fremantle Prison, 2013). However, an oral history quoted within the educational document from an Aboriginal inmate expresses the notion that the segregation was not entirely a negative experience. It is explained that there was a sense of community, identity, and safety within the “Aboriginal yard” (Fremantle Prison, 2013, pg 30-31).

Within the women’s section of Fremantle Prison, Aboriginal inmates did not feature prominently until the change in government policy towards assimilation in the 1950s (Fremantle Prison, 2013). Prior to that time, Aboriginal women made up a small minority of inmates within Fremantle Prison. However, after the change in government policy towards assimilation, and the increase in policing of Aboriginal people (D. Brown, 2014; Krieg, 2006; Megahey, 2000), the number of Aboriginal women in Fremantle Prison increased dramatically, to the point where there were 20 Aboriginal women and five non-Aboriginal women at Fremantle Prison in 1954. By 1963 there were 63 Aboriginal women incarcerated in Fremantle Prison (Fremantle Prison, 2013, pg 31).

Fremantle Prison Site:

The prison is situated on 15 acres of land and is one of 11 former Australian Convict Sites that are designated UNESCO World Heritage sites. The other sites included are: Kingston and Arthur’s Vale Historic Area, Old Government House and Domain, Hyde Park Barracks, Brickendon and Woolmers Estate, Darlington Probation Station, Old Great North Road, Cascades Female Factory, Port Arthur Historic Site, Coal Mines Historic Site, and Cockatoo Island Convict Site (UNESCO, 2015). The prison was utilised by the colonial government of Western Australia from 1886 (Kerr, 1998). It was decommissioned on 8 November 1991 and reopened as a historic site and prison museum (Kerr, 1998). Remaining prisoners were transferred to Casuarina Prison south of Perth. Fremantle Prison has since been run successfully by Fremantle Guardians, and then after 2001, the State Government of Western Australia. In 2005, the network of tunnels underneath the prison was opened to the public and generates significant interest as one of the tours visitors can take of the prison and prison grounds. The prison has operated successfully since 1992, and by 2005 was attracting more than

130,000 visitors a year. Heritage and conservation policy dictates that the prison is used for the benefit of the community without damaging the fabric of the site (Kerr, 1998).

Australian Convict and Prison History:

Fremantle Prison is part of a wider historical context that involves the transportation of convicts from the United Kingdom and Ireland to Australia. "Convict History" is a term that appears frequently within the literature surrounding Fremantle Prison, and is a large area of study within Australian academia (Edgar, 2012; Finnane, 1991; Gibbs, 2001).

Australian rates of incarceration have risen steadily in line with other western countries, following the rise of neo-liberal politics, "tough on crime" rhetoric, and increasing sentences and rates of incarceration for minority groups (D. Brown, 2014; Monterosso, 2009; Quilty, 2005). Particularly concerning is the incarceration of indigenous Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people at a disproportionate rate (Baldry, 2008; Krieg, 2006). According to the Australian Bureau of Statistics (2014) the overall proportion of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people in Australian prisons in 2014 is 27.4%. However state by state this varies dramatically. The Australian Capital Territory (16.1%), Tasmania (16.1%), and Victoria (7.8%) all sit near the lower end of indigenous incarceration in Australia. South Australia (22.6%), New South Wales (23.6%), Queensland (31.8%), Western Australia (39.7%) and the Northern Territory (85.6%) show a dramatic increase in the number of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people incarcerated as a proportion of the total inmate population (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2014). This is particularly striking when the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander population comprises approximately 3% of the total Australian population (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2013). This does vary by state however, with the total Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander population for each state being: New South Wales (2.9%), Victoria (0.9%), Queensland (4.2%), South Australia (2.3%), Western Australia (3.8%), Tasmania (4.7%), Northern Territory (29.8%), and the Australian Capital Territory (1.7%) (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2013). In all instances, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people are incarcerated at a disproportionate rate.

Discussion of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander incarceration would not be complete without acknowledgement of the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody (RCADIC) which began in 1984 and was completed in 1991 (Cunneen, 2006; Williams, 2001). The Commission was initiated due to the concern regarding a number of Aboriginal deaths in police custody (Cunneen, 2006). The RCADIC found that the deaths were directly associated with the high levels of Aboriginal people in police custody, as well as "little understanding of the duty of care owed by custodial authorities, along with many system defects in relation to exercising care" (Cunneen, 2006, pg 38). The deaths were labelled as avoidable and in some cases custody was judged as not even necessary (Wootten, 1991). The Royal Commission found that in order to combat the issue of Aboriginal deaths in custody, steps should be taken to address the factors that contributed towards disproportionate

rates of contact with the criminal justice system. These included the elimination of indigenous disadvantage, repeat arrest, and unemployment. Specific recommendations also included items such as the removal of hanging points in cells and increasing awareness and training for staff within the criminal justice system (Cunneen, 2006). The key recommendation of the Royal Commission to reduce indigenous incarceration has not been met. As mentioned previously, and by Cunneen (2006) rates of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander incarceration have increased since the 1991 Royal Commission. Similarly, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander deaths in custody have also continued. Cunneen (2006, pg 39) summarises:

Rather than a reform of the criminal justice system, we have seen the development of more punitive approaches to law and order, giving rise to expanding reliance on penal sanctions. Beyond an increased reliance on penal sanctions, there has been an inability to effectively generate a greater sense of obligation and responsibility among custodial authorities toward those who are incarcerated.

Architecture of imprisonment:

The architectural style of imprisonment has changed from the convict era to modern facilities. Finnane (1991) gives an account of the different methods of imprisonment utilised within Australia, focussing on time periods and phenomena that have not received significant academic scrutiny. He noted that at the time, histories of imprisonment in Australia, after the convict era and before modern political discussions surrounding imprisonment, are few and far between. Finnane's (1991) first observation concerns the diversity of imprisonment, with many different regimes and institutions falling under the "umbrella of imprisonment" (pg 107). He went on to state that the majority of prisoners in Australian prisons are young, white, and male: however there was no discussion relating to disproportionate rates of incarceration experienced by other groups, for example Aboriginal Australians. While the design of prisons often follows the "single-cell maximum security prison" style of the 19th century (Finnane, 1991, pg 108) some different architectural designs for prisons have been utilised within Australia. For example, female cells were often designed to be smaller than those of their male counterparts, and sites such as Rottnest Island were also specifically designed for Aboriginal inmates (Finnane, 1991). Finnane (1991) follows this by highlighting that there was a State movement towards acknowledging that confinement was actively harmful for Aboriginal Australians. This was evidenced by the development of "native cells" which could accommodate more inmates and had larger windows to reduce a sense of enclosure (Finnane, 1991, pg 109). On the other hand, Finnane (1991) also notes that there is a sixty year period between 1900 and 1960 where the experiences and administration of Aboriginal inmates is largely unknown. These examples of potential methods to reduce the pains of imprisonment seem to have been largely forgotten in Australia, and the disproportionate rates of incarceration experienced by Aboriginal Australians have continued to this day (Baldry, 2008; Krieg, 2006).

A second example of a differing form of imprisonment is highlighted with the practices and regimes that youth or juvenile inmates experienced (Finnane, 1991). The difference is the use of educational reforms or military style interventions that are more frequently experienced by juvenile inmates than adults (Finnane, 1991). Finally, Finnane (1991) notes that different styles of Australian prisons, such as those centred on a farming lifestyle eventually faded out of use and were replaced by the institutions that are common today.

Finnane (1991) moves on to highlight how knowledge of prisons and inmate experience was made available in Australia. He shows how a poet and social commentator described a flogging he witnessed, and the impression it left on him. This is linked to the representations of power exhibited by society by the use of corporal punishment, and how the punishment was an act of ceremony which society accepted (Finnane, 1991). Following this, Finnane (1991) highlights the differences between expressions of prison life by former inmates and by former prison guards or warders. The poetry written by an Aboriginal inmate offers insight into the distrust of prison authorities exhibited by many inmates. Furthering this are the messages presented by female inmates who expressed that they were “not advanced enough” to be held in a female-operated prison (Finnane, 1991, pg 113). This is accompanied by accounts of female inmates suffering from poor food quality and quantity, as well as deficient medical services. This is contrasted with an account of a former prison superintendent which makes light of the inmate discipline process and illustrates how he [the superintendent] manipulated the system to punish Aboriginal inmates (Finnane, 1991, pg 115).

The descriptions and accounts presented by Finnane (1991) show that there is a significant portion of penal history in Australia that is undocumented and under-studied. He highlights that the history of imprisonment in Australia is not limited to the convict era, and that there are many accounts of prison life to be shared with the public. However Finnane (1991) also notes that these accounts are not “innocent” in nature and should be read and understood for what they are: experiences of imprisonment in Australia.

Famous Inmates:

Fremantle Prison, like Robben Island and Eastern State, had its own share of famous inmates. These however are often from the convict era, rather than more modern inmates. The two examples that received the most attention in the current literature are the escape of six Irish Fenians, and Moondyne Joe.

The escape of the Fenians is documented in the book *The Fenian Wild Geese: From the last convict ship to the Catalpa Rescue*, by Ormonde D. P. G. Waters (2011). From 1865 to 1867 British authorities arrested supporters of the Irish Republican Brotherhood and arranged to have 62 of them transported to Western Australia (Waters, 2011). The Irish convicts were transported to Fremantle on board the convict ship Hougoumont and landed at Fremantle in January 1868. Between 1869 and 1871, two of those incarcerated Irish convicts, John Boyle O'Reilly and John Devoy escaped and

made their way to Boston and London respectively (Waters, 2011). Over the next few years they formulated a plan to use a cargo ship headed for Australia as a means of smuggling the remaining Irish convicts out of Fremantle Prison and to the United States of America. Their escape plan was successful and celebrated widely in America and Ireland (Waters, 2011). The story of their escape is popular in Western Australia and different portions of this story are represented during tours of Fremantle Prison. Additionally, from 22 September 2006 to 3 December 2006, Fremantle Prison held an exhibition dedicated to the escape of the Irish Fenians called "Escape: Fremantle to Freedom".

Moondyne Joe was a bushranger that escaped from numerous prisons in Western Australia, including Fremantle Prison. Tales of his exploits, escapes, and life in the bush of Western Australia are enshrined in stories and folklore of the Perth region (O'Reilly, 2010). Relevant to Fremantle Prison however is Moondyne Joe's escape, and the writings of John Boyle O'Reilly (of the Fenians). In 1865 Moondyne Joe escaped from Perth Gaol and in September of that year committed the biggest robbery of his career by robbing the store of James Everett (Elliot, 1978). When he was finally captured for this crime, he was sentenced to be incarcerated at Fremantle Prison, where they had built an "escape-proof" cell for him (Elliot, 1978; O'Reilly, 2010). By obscuring the view of the guards into his cell with crushed rocks he was able to dig a hole through the wall of his cell and escaped in March 1867. Today the "escape-proof" cell and tales of Moondyne Joe feature prominently at Fremantle Prison. The former Irish political prisoner, John Boyle O'Reilly, also wrote of Moondyne Joe in a fictional book called *Moondyne: A Story of Convict Life in Western Australia* (2010). The book covers convict life in Western Australia and draws upon the experiences of O'Reilly, as well as the folklore surrounding the exploits of Moondyne Joe.

Another notable inmate is described within a document for high school students visiting Fremantle Prison. It is written and produced by Fremantle Prison itself and contains a surprising amount of information that is not readily available elsewhere. The inmate is Robert Walker, an Aboriginal man who was sentenced to six years at Fremantle Prison for rape (Fremantle Prison, 2013). It is reported that he was regarded as a well behaved inmate, until the night of 27 August 1984 when he was discovered in his cell with cut wrists. The Fremantle Prison historical material (2013) goes on to state that he became agitated as he was removed from his cell for medical treatment, kicking at guards and trying to free himself. On the parade grounds outside the main block of cells another altercation occurred and Walker was pinned to the ground by the guards. The document outlines that it is contentious whether the guards acted with necessary force, or administered a beating to Walker. However the end result was that Walker was given a sedative, then moved to an observation cell where he stopped breathing and passed away (Fremantle Prison, 2013).

The document notes that his death was contentious for a number of reasons. Firstly that witness statements differ greatly between prisoner and guard accounts. Second, the death was considered avoidable – even in light of the events that occurred. Thirdly, that the media misreported the cause of Walker's death, from suicide to "mysterious illness" (Fremantle Prison, 2013, pg 13). Finally, the fact that Walker was Aboriginal meant that his death fell under the 1991 Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody. Furthermore, the local Aboriginal community felt alienated from the process due

to proceedings being held in the Anglican Chapel in Fremantle Prison, and the fact that four of the five prison guards involved were not called to give evidence (Fremantle Prison, 2013).

The Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody identified numerous shortcomings relating to the incident. Firstly, that neither of the two post-mortem examinations correctly identified the cause of death. Secondly, that the police investigation into his death was incomplete and marred by inefficiency. Thirdly, the Royal Commission indicates that the Coronial Inquiry into the death had no issue identifying that asphyxiation was the cause of death. However, the manner in which it occurred was difficult to identify due to a lack of information and evidence provided to the pathologists. The document also notes that the Royal Commission was the first to argue that the cause of asphyxiation was due to the guards' pressure on Walker's body as he lay face down in the grass. Again, this was only because there was a significant lack of information given to the coroners at the time of their investigation. Finally, the Royal Commission notes that there was no investigation into the event or the guards by the Prison Authorities (Fremantle Prison, 2013). It goes on to state that there was no investigation into who had compressed Walker's neck at the time he was injected with the sedative. It is also shown that a staff bulletin was issued in the name of the Director applauding the officers involved (Fremantle Prison, 2013, pg 14).

The summary issued by the Royal Commission is that Walker's death was a result of asphyxiation which occurred because of compression to his chest. This was caused by the weight and pressure that officers used to pin Walker to the ground. The report goes on to state that underlying the "mechanical and pathological causes of his death are the poor training, lack of leadership and misguided use of force by the prison officers" (Fremantle Prison, 2013, pg 14). This brief account of the death of Robert Walker by Fremantle Prison (2013) illustrates the darker side of the prisons history, and represents a notable inmate from the modern era of its operation – of which very few are represented.

Fremantle Riot:

The riot at Fremantle Prison is often mentioned in the literature in passing, and is noted within the tours and exhibits at the Prison itself. It serves as a significant incident in the modern history of Fremantle Prison. At approximately 4pm January 4 1988 prisoners in Fremantle Prison rioted and set fire to 3 Division (one of the four main buildings in Fremantle Prison) (Ayriss, 1995). They took 15 prison officers hostage and made demands relating to the conditions of their incarceration. Ayriss (1995) stated that the reason for this riot was the inescapable heat within the prison that "...had turned the exercise yards into ovens, the cells into saunas" (pg 59). A day later order was restored, however the officers held hostage had suffered injuries and serious damage had been done to part of the Main Cell block. Upon the release of the hostages, the prison chaplain Father Robert McGregor attacked the conditions inside the prison, stating that "[t]he public is totally unaware of the conditions these men have to endure. If they kept animals in conditions like these, the RSPCA would have been

up in arms years ago” (Ayriss, 1995, pg 61). Thirty three prisoners were charged for their part in the riot and their trial was the biggest in Western Australian history at that point and cost more than three million dollars (Ayriss, 1995, p61). Ayriss (1995) remarked that the trial was a circus with prisoners appearing naked in the dock or singing Danny Boy. However this was to be the last major publicised event within the prison before its decommission in 1991.

Prison Art:

Fremantle Prison has become known for its prisoner art – a mix of traditional mural pieces and graffiti, some of which date back to the convict era (J. Wilson, 2008b, 2011a). Most however is from the modern era of the prison, particularly the six month period immediately prior to the prisons decommission in 1991. The artwork of James Walsh, a 19th century forger, is the oldest on display within the prison. It was hidden for many years beneath whitewash until it was discovered in the process of conservation efforts. There are also examples of Aboriginal art within the cells.

J. Wilson (2008b) is one of the few authors to have written on prisoner art in Australian prisons. In her article, *Transgressive décor: Narrative glimpses in Australian prisons, 1970s-1990s*, she examines prisoner graffiti in a variety of Australian prisons, including Fremantle Prison (J. Wilson, 2008b). J. Wilson (2008b) posits that themes of incarceration and prison life are represented through the graffiti she views. These include “...power relationships, sexuality, revenge, violence, boredom and the simple desire for some form of entertainment, however fleeting” (J. Wilson, 2008b, pg 331). J. Wilson (2008b) argued that the attitude of visitors towards the previous inmates of these prisons differs depending on the period in which they were incarcerated. She states that tourists to prisons such as Port Arthur in Tasmania feel compassion for the inmates which were convicts from the United Kingdom incarcerated in the mid-19th century. Conversely, she states that attitudes towards inmates incarcerated in 1990s at sites such as Fremantle Prison are “markedly harsh” (J. Wilson, 2008b, pg 333). The conclusion of this is that the othering of inmates at these prisons is limited to those of the modern era rather than the convict era (J. Wilson, 2008b). J. Wilson (2008b) goes on to show that the stories and experiences of the modern prisoner at these sites are told from the point of view of the prison’s dominant authority. This in turn encourages visitors to identify with the jailors and continue the othering of former inmates (J. Wilson, 2008b, pg 333). Wilson moves on to show that the stories of the prison and its inmates are captured by the prison itself, the architecture and physical features, as well as the “...inmates knowing and deliberate impact upon the fabric of his or her world, in the form of graphic and/or textual self-expression – graffiti” (J. Wilson, 2008b, pg 334). She also notes that most of the graffiti present in these prisons is removed from the public eye, painted over, or “otherwise ‘sanitized’” (J. Wilson, 2008b, pg 334).

J. Wilson (2008b) notes that the graffiti in these prisons covers a range of different topics, from the routine and regimen present in an inmate’s life, to racism, to sexual violence. J. Wilson (2008b) then

highlights a range of different examples of graffiti present at the prisons, and the messages or interpretations presented within each piece. These range from imaginary guns as a symbol of power, to depictions of sexuality and sexual coercion, to depictions of how time is perceived within prison. All of J. Wilson's (2008b) examples are accompanied by detailed explanations as to the messages presented, and what the artist may have been attempting to convey. A critique of this is that the meaning behind art is often open to interpretation and the true meaning or messages of each piece may not be as detailed as the author states. However, with this in mind, it is an excellent collection of art that highlights a different side of the prison museums that attract vast numbers of visitors every year. To this end J. Wilson's (2008b) article provides a sound illustration as to what it is like to be incarcerated in these types of prisons, and what experiences modern inmates had during their incarceration.

Fremantle Prison's (2013) educational document aimed at Year 10 high school students provides background information regarding some of the pieces of artwork present within Fremantle Prison. The document notes that the large contingent of Aboriginal Prisoners incarcerated within Fremantle Prison left behind numerous pieces of art, some of which blended Aboriginal and European styles in their presentation (Fremantle Prison, 2013). A mural painted by three inmates on the wall of an exercise yard is highlighted. Its purpose was to commemorate Aboriginal culture within Fremantle Prison. The mural:

[m]aps the journey across Aboriginal Australia from the east coast to the west, with animals and spirits of the air, earth and water suspended across the aqueous surface. At the bottom the Wagyl [a snakelike dreamtime creature] travels the length of the continent beneath the earth burying its head somewhere near Esperance (Fremantle Prison, 2013, pg 17).



(Figure 7: Photo courtesy of Fremantle Prison Mural (detail), 4 Division yard – 1990. Peter Cameron, Eric Merritt, Shane Finn. Reprinted with permission)

It is stated that the mural contains imagery from at least three different areas including the “south-west and the east Kimberly” (Fremantle Prison, 2013, pg 17). It is also highlighted that inter group collaborative work such as this is relatively unusual and represents an important part of the prison’s art collection (Fremantle Prison, 2013). The Wondjina are depicted to the top left of the mural, and are representations of the creator spirit for the Aboriginal people located within the east Kimberly region. The document goes on to state that the Wondjina created the landscapes and inhabitants during the Dream time, and the Kimberly groups believed that they were responsible for bringing the rains and storms to the region (Fremantle Prison, 2013). The Rainbow Serpent is described by Fremantle Prison (2013) as being “a common motif in the art and mythology of Aboriginal Australia” (pg 17). It is said that the Serpent came from beneath the ground and created the mountains, ridges, and gorges as it pushed upwards. Furthermore, the Wagyl is described as:

...the local manifestation of the Rainbow Serpent for the Noongar people of South West Australia. According to Noongar culture, the Wagyl was a snakelike dreamtime creature responsible for the creation of the Swan and Canning Rivers and other waterways and landforms around present day Perth and the south west. (Fremantle Prison, 2013, pg 17).

The second piece of artwork documented by the Fremantle Prison (2013) Year 10 educational document is a mural of landscape art influenced by the Carrolup School art program. Carrolup operated from 1915 to 1952 with a variety of closures and transfers of Aboriginal residents throughout that time. During the time period of 1940 to 1952 the headmaster, Noel White, took Aboriginal students for bush walks and then asked them to draw what they had seen (Fremantle Prison, 2013). Most of the artists were aged between seven and thirteen, and eventually the art they produced grew a large following and was presented at galleries within Australia and in England. In 1952, Carrolup was closed due to the government policy of assimilation (Fremantle Prison, 2013). Boys who were older than 14 were given a “new set of clothes and shoes and left to their own devices” (Fremantle Prison, 2013, pg 19). Many of these boys ended up in Fremantle Prison, and brought the art style they had developed at Carrolup with them. The art style is often of landscapes with a sun setting in the background. The artworks are not direct observations: instead they reflect the memories and experiences of the artists during their bush walks (Fremantle Prison, 2013). It is noted that the art style has a “dream-like imaginative quality, evoking the artist’s love or longing for their country” (Fremantle Prison, 2013, pg 19). The mural below, painted in Fremantle Prison, is an example of the Carrolup style.



(Figure 8: Carrolup style mural at Fremantle Prison. Authors photograph.)

Convict Heritage Tourism:

The history and heritage associated with the transportation and incarceration of convicts in during Australia's colonisation has become a significant factor within the national psyche (Carroll, 1992; Dwar & Fredericksen, 2003). This has seen sites associated with convict heritage – particularly prisons such as Port Arthur or Fremantle Prison – become important features for Australians to educate themselves about a group of people who have come to be seen “as a metaphor for the Australian national character as free thinking, egalitarian and lawless” (Dwar & Fredericksen, 2003, pg 45). This was not always the case however, as many Australians preferred to look back on their ancestral (colonising) identity as the rugged rural pioneer (Carroll, 1992). Short (1991, pg 205) notes that times have changed; “[n]ow Australians are disappointed if there is not a convict in their family”. Jackson (2009, pg 103) goes further, stating that the Australian Bicentenary of 1988 led to Australians searching their history for trace of convict ancestry; “[t]o find a convict was to be grounded in the national travail, to find a brutalized Port Arthur convict was to be doubly blessed. If one could not be found, then invention was no impediment”.

The convict history of Australia has come to represent a phenomenon uniquely Australian: a forced migration with the sole intent of establishing a self-sustaining colonial presence (Casella & Fredericksen, 2004, pg 105). Casella and Fredericksen (2004) go on to state that it is the self-sustaining intent, and the inclusion of women and children to accompany male convicts or as convicts themselves, that sets Australia apart and ensures its unique convict-colonising history. This history was not always so well received, with some sites of convict incarceration being destroyed or left deserted for decades (Kerr & Torrance, 1988). It was not until the 1950s that convict heritage sites (e.g. Port Arthur) were officially protected and the public began to express a positive appreciation of this history (Casella & Fredericksen, 2004). K. Kumar (2009, pg 201) highlights how it is within this context of a cultural shift towards preserving the convict heritage of Australia that Fremantle Prison was converted into a heritage site with the aim of attracting visitors. Jackman (2009) notes that the interest in convict heritage, as well as the ability to trace one's family tree with ease through various websites, has seen the concept of convict heritage and tourism to places that serve as beacons of that heritage increase steadily. Fremantle Prison is one such site that has seen an increase in visitation, with over 150,000 visitors annually (K. Kumar, 2009). Interestingly, K. Kumar (2009), in his study of Fremantle Prison, claims that it does not fall under the umbrella of dark tourism because the tourism product and showcase is on the life and struggles of the commoner and forced migration instead of the suffering of inmates within the walls of the prison. This aligns with the narratives introduced above indicating a transition in view of the convict – from ambivalence and distancing to that of misunderstood and downtrodden (Carroll, 1992; Casella & Fredericksen, 2004; Dwar & Fredericksen, 2003; Jackman, 2009; J. Wilson, 2008a).

K. Kumar (2009, pg 212) moves on to reporting the results of a question he posed to visitors: whether after their tour of Fremantle Prison they would be “prison officer, convict, or human rights activist”. He

found that the majority of teenagers wanted to be prison officers, while adults wished to be human rights activists (K. Kumar, 2009). No one wanted to be a convict. This serves to illustrate that while there may be romanticised recollections of the convict experience, touring Fremantle Prison may show that the convict life was particularly harsh and uninviting. Of note is the finding that teenage visitors would wish to be prison officers. This could point to the tour illustrating the power of the prison officers over their inmates and the glorification of this power. However neither this, nor elaboration of the adult association with human rights activist, is elaborated upon further in the study. The final result from K. Kumar's (2009) study is his claim that that children below the age of 14 should be kept away from sites such as these because their "...mind is not mature enough to grasp the realities of convict heritage in a real sense" (pg 212). As pointed out by J. Wilson (2008a) the presentation of exhibits and the narratives used by Fremantle Prison mean that any realities received are from the point of view of the guards and that the realities are shaped by their (contested) recollections and biases.

Convict heritage tourism stands as an important part of Fremantle Prison's operation as a tourism destination. The prison benefits from an increased interest that some Australians are taking in their history, but has led to this era becoming prioritised above others, especially the histories of modern and indigenous prisoners of Fremantle Prison. The conservation policies and plans of management highlight this greater sense of importance and may provide additional context for discussions relating to contested histories or the dominance of specific narratives at Fremantle Prison.

2.5.4 Indigenous Relationships:

Indigenous peoples in New Zealand, America, Canada, and Australia all have disproportionately high contact with the criminal justice system, as well as experiencing disproportionately high rates of incarceration. In regard to the prison museum literature, there is a lack of direct focus on these issues. There are no scholarly articles addressing Native American incarceration at Eastern State Penitentiary, and indeed when looking into the material produced by the site itself there appears to be no mention of whether Native Americans were even incarcerated at Eastern State.

As Deacon (2004) notes, the post-apartheid South African government has focussed on the histories of racism and slavery at the expense of indigenous heritage. Deacon (2004) goes on to show that Robben Island in particular embodies the narratives of a hellish prison, a crucible of leadership, and the triumph of the human spirit. This focus has centred the narratives of the island on the political prisoners and their experiences and has displaced indigenous heritage and experiences with incarceration, for example the Khoisan people of South Africa (Deacon, 2004). Other pieces of literature related to Robben Island rarely feature indigenous narratives, and indeed Deacon's (2004) argument that the political prisoner rhetoric overshadows other aspects of Robben Islands history is a compelling one. Finally, Fremantle Prison is the site, of those studied here, that has the greatest amount of literature relating to Indigenous peoples. It may also be the site that has seen the greatest

number of indigenous inmates, with research indicating that at least 45% of the total inmate population in 1982 were Aboriginal Australians (Megahey, 2000). The harsh and punitive policies of Western Australia resulted in many Aboriginal Australians being incarcerated in Fremantle Prison. Indeed Aboriginal Australians continue to be disproportionately incarcerated in Australian, and especially Western Australian, prisons to this day. Scholars such as J. Wilson (2008b, 2011) have discussed the lack of Indigenous heritage and narratives at Fremantle Prison before, with a particular emphasis on the guard-centric perspective used and the lack of acknowledgement towards indigenous overrepresentation. Other articles, such as Bosworth and Jean (1999), identify an issue of neglect, but fail to offer any real recommendations past conversing with local indigenous groups as to the best way to represent their heritage. This coincides with claims in the literature that Aboriginal Australians often suffer from prejudice and racism, which may have permeated through to the academic literature regarding their experiences in prisons and the subsequent representation in prison museums (Bosworth & Jean, 1999; Mellor, 2003; J. Wilson, 2008b, 2011a). The issues identified here, and the lack of appropriate literature, speak to wider problems associated with the silencing of indigenous peoples and the lack of representation in academic literature (Deckert, 2014).

2.6 Prison Architecture

Prison architecture also plays a role in the tourism aspect of prison museums. Dewar and Fredrickson (2003) suggest that the architecture of the prison itself is one of the inherent problems with transforming sites of incarceration into museums. This occurs practically, as these places were designed with security in mind - including forbidding fences and gates. Similarly the architecture of the prison is seen as one of the most significant manifestations of state power, intended to inspire fear and create docile bodies (Foucault, 1995; Grant & Jewkes, 2015). The mystery, anxiety, and negative connotations of prison architecture may also act as reasons for visitor attraction. This act of peeking behind the curtain falls in line with the ideas of authenticity outlined by Cohen (1988). The notion of authenticity is also enhanced as the prison itself represents an exhibit, and it is difficult to present staged (or fake) authenticity in the case of prison walls or gate houses.

Dewar and Fredrickson (2003) go on to state that some of the anxiety or barriers presented by prison architecture is often rectified by removing these obstacles, and if that is not feasible, by focusing the tours and the visitor's thoughts towards the detailed lives of the inmates rather than the overarching setting which they are visiting. This can also help when structures have been removed due to old age or safety reasons. Sometimes however the architectural style is the main element of visitor attraction. J. Wilson (2011) noted that in Australia, where prison museums are a popular destination for both domestic and international tourists, the gothic style architecture is often a draw-card. In a relatively new country it was often the prisons that feature gothic or medieval styled architecture. This also served to remind the colonialists of the countries from which they emigrated. Not only were these prisons designed to keep offenders incapacitated, but the architecture was also meant inspire a sense

of dread in the public with regard to the consequences of possible offending. Today however these prisons are no longer deemed to be forbidding reminders of what happens to criminals, but rather take on a romantic connotation where the architectural beauty of a bygone era can be admired without having to dwell on those who are suffering inside its walls. For Australians, this link to medieval Britain is not dismissed so readily. Such links to the colonial “motherland” are often admired as a novelty, and prisons displayed the closest architectural links to gothic British architecture. Thus the attraction for domestic and international tourists to visit these prisons after they had been decommissioned is due to the prison itself, as well as those criminals that it held.

Fiddler (2007) highlights the shift in prison representation within current society. Previously, the architecture of prisons had been used to instil a sense of foreboding within the populace – a looming castle which represents the consequences of crime. However in contemporary society, prisons have been moved from the centre of urban living to the outskirts of cities and towns (Fiddler, 2007). The public now associate prison more with their representations through the media than from personal experience. Fiddler’s (2007) article explores how the movie *The Shawshank Redemption* portrays prisons and the way that prison architecture is utilised in film. The author notes that traditional Gothic style prisons have blank walls which obscure the rest of the prison from the public, or the film viewers, creating an air of mystery as to what occurs inside those walls. A parallel can be drawn to operational supermax prisons which confine inmates for 23 hours a day to contemplate their own blank concrete walls – often leading to psychological distress (Kurki & Morris, 2001; Pizarro & Stenius, 2004; P. S. Smith, 2006).

This unknown only serves to enhance the darkness as it is left to the imagination of the public to deduce what it is like within prisons. He goes on to say that this gothic architectural style and the unknown of what occurs inside those walls ensure that the “soul” of the building is particularly dark (Fiddler, 2007).

The prison has evolved in contemporary society to be more invisible, to blend in with other buildings as societies distaste for explicit punishment has grown (Fiddler, 2007). This has been coupled with the rise of gated communities who take on some of the architectural features of prisons in order to protect those who dwell inside them from undesirables or outsiders (Fiddler, 2007). This combination has seen the rise of prison representations in the form of movies and media entertainment, rather than physical sites of incarceration. *The Shawshank Redemption* is often lauded as a film which is defined by its acting prowess and triumphant plot; however Fiddler (2007) notes that one character is often overlooked: the prison itself. The looming walls, vaulted ceilings, and barred windows show the viewer what it is like to be inside a site of punishment and incarceration. Fiddler (2007) goes on to focus on the incredibly small cells and compares them with the view of the outside of the prison which he describes as being similar to that of a cathedral – an acknowledgement to the success of architects attempting to create monastic cells with the virtuous goal of penitence (Johnston, 1954, 2000). He notes that these two visuals are important to the representation of prisons in modern society and compares the cells with the cellar of a house – dark, quiet, small and eerie. In contrast, the exercise yard is expansive and well-groomed. This duality is a central part in the representation of

prisons in current media depictions. Fiddler (2007) concludes that the prison architecture shown in films now is a relic of a bygone penal philosophy. The gothic prisons that are shown in the media cease to be used as often as we are led to believe.

While the Anglesea Barracks in Hobart, Australia, are not decommissioned (it is in fact still an operational military site) they do serve to highlight some of the different architectural features of prisons within Australia. The literature surrounding prison architecture in Australia is sparse, as such it is important to review sites that may not be explicitly relevant, but which can still provide context and additional information regarding the role of architecture in Australian prisons. The Military Museum of Tasmania is housed within the old jail that used to incarcerate military persons from 1846 to 1870 (Morrison, 2001). Notably, this prison was not designed to incarcerate civilians; instead it was a site of military confinement. As such some architectural differences can be seen. This is similar to Alcatraz which was originally a site of built for military purposes and contained a military jail, as well as holding prisoners of war (e.g.: Civil War, Indian Wars) before being adopted by the Bureau of Prisons (Loo & Strange, 2000).

One of the primary differences noted by Morrison (2001) in his study of the Anglesea Barracks was an increase in the number of cells built to house long term prisoners. This was due to the fact that the act of corporal punishment was slowly being phased out amongst civilian and military convicts during the period of construction (Morrison, 2001). The architectural decision to have the cell wing face the Parade Grounds was determined by Morrison to promote a dominating and sobering sense in those soldiers who were assembling on the grounds during their routines. This notion of dominance or foreboding, as noted by J. Wilson (2011) is also used amongst traditional prisons in order to instil a sense of fear amongst the general populace. J. Wilson (2011) continued that the architectural features that inspire this fear often draw visitors when the prison is decommissioned, however Morrison does not highlight whether the architecture of the barracks affects visitor motivations to the site.

Unique to the military gaol of Anglesea was the ventilation system that was designed to be particularly complex so as to hinder prisoners attempting to communicate through it (Morrison, 2001). This had not been adopted by civilian prisons at the time and Morrison notes that no other prison during that time period in Australia contained a heating system. This can be attributed to the fact that Hobart had a climate most similar to that of the United Kingdom and as such they had adopted measures to moderate the temperatures in a prisoner's cell similar to those used within the United Kingdom. Whilst these are not major differences, they do add some historical background to the development of prisons within Australia and the architectural differences that existed during those early days of incarceration.

The architecture and technology of Eastern State Penitentiary also features heavily as one of the key characteristics for visitors, as well as a major contribution to penal philosophy during the early period of its operation. Beginning with the architectural design, Eastern State employed a unique and novel approach to incarceration, focussing on the separation of inmates, solitary confinement, and a hub

and spoke approach to cell-block arrangement, thanks to architect John Haviland (Johnston, 1954, 2000). The emphasis on solitary confinement and prison labour was a well-intentioned method of encouraging penitence and reform among inmates. Yet in practice the idea never fully came to fruition and resulted in eventual abandonment. The hub and spoke design of Eastern State however became a popular feature of prison architecture, and influenced the design of over 300 prisons worldwide (Johnston, 2000). With its panoptic styling, the ability to see down each spoke from the central hub proved to be a positive innovation among prison architects. Eastern State was also known for its advanced technology of the time, including a running faucet, flushing toilet, and central heating (Johnston, 1954). The architecture of Eastern State Penitentiary as a museum is also a key element of the tourist experience. The abandonment of Eastern State and the choice by museum operators to leave the urban decay has become a selling point of the prison museum, as well as promoting the site as a haunted house attraction and film set. This aligns somewhat with the previous examples of prison architecture being a motivating factor for visitors, as well as adding a certain mystique and unique experience to the tour. The architecture of Eastern States walls and gatehouse are styled after gothic castles, similar to those discussed by J. Wilson (2008a) in Australia.

2.7 Transforming a prison from a place of incarceration to a museum

The transformation from site of pain, suffering, death, or incarceration to museum or location of dark tourism is often overlooked in the literature surrounding both dark tourism and prison museums. Whilst the histories and processes of transformation are documented in famous cases such as Alcatraz or Robben Island (Loo & Strange, 2000; Shearing & Kempa, 2004; Strange & Kempa, 2003), there is a lack of overarching concepts or structure that could be applied retroactively or to future sites.

J. Wilson (2008a) highlights the transformation of Pentridge Prison from a site of incarceration to a location for tourists and business. The prison, located in northern Melbourne, was sold to a private group as part of a State resolution. This alone generated concern as the public felt there had been little consultation regarding what would happen to the prison, which some members felt was of historical significance. Their fears were eventually justified when it was revealed that sections of the prison would be demolished or changed in order to transform the prison into a business hub that also served as a site of entertainment or of value to tourists (J. Wilson, 2008a). One of the proposals was to turn a section of the prison into a backpacker hostel where tourists could stay overnight in a unique setting. J. Wilson (2008a, pg 56) quotes Penney (2000, pg 28) that one of the problems arising with this transformation is that the history portrayed is compromised to ensure that visitors like what they see: "A sanitized [sic], neat and clean sort of history that did not threaten, that presented a good story..." This contrasts with the fact that the location once housed criminals convicted of a wide variety of crimes and that within prisons gruesome and heinous acts often occur. It is this sanitisation of history which is often a feature of contemporary dark tourism locations, including prison museums.

Stone (2006) discusses the sparseness of a September 11 exhibit at the Smithsonian Museum of American History, where exhibits are purposefully sanitised and particularly emotional images sequestered from view. He explains the museum's reasoning as a response to visitors bringing their own set of powerful emotions related to that event, and that the exhibits are intended to provoke rather than narrate (Stone, 2006). This practice also applies to prison museums, where the fabric and history of state-sanctioned punishment, violence, sexual assault, or suicide are altered, given only cursory thought, or hidden from the visiting public (M. Brown, 2009; J. Wilson, 2011a).

In order to attract a wider audience and move away from the darker spectrum of tourism (Stone, 2006) these sites are limiting the interpretations available to visitors and obscuring the heritage associated with the site. In contrast however, an argument can be made that sites which do not attract visitors may not remain open and available. As such a balance must be found during the process of transforming a site from prison to museum.

Central to the role of this transformation are the factors that McKercher and du Cros (2002, pg 128) identify as being pivotal in the success of transforming a cultural asset into a consumable tourism product:

- Mythologize the asset
- Build a story around the asset
- Emphasize its otherness
- Make it fun, light, and entertaining

This relates to Stone's (2006) typology of dark tourism sites within a framework of supply. The differences here relate to the different types of site (lighter or darker) and the factors identified by McKercher and du Cros (2002). The factors identified above as being influential for success may not apply to darker sites illustrated by Stone (2006). For instance, it would be inappropriate to make a Holocaust museum fun, light, and entertaining. Furthermore, emphasising otherness may not be appropriate at sites dedicated to remembrance (e.g. battlefield memorials). In this case, the model presented by McKercher and du Cros (2002) would seem to apply best to sites that are lighter on Stone's (2006) scale, or have less emotional significance to the wider population. This does run the risk of disregarding important fabric or history, and in turn losing valuable pieces of heritage to transformative efforts. These possibilities need to be weighed carefully and the transformation of heritage sites should be done with thought and care as to the type of history the site represents as well as the possibility of losing important historical fabric in the process.

The factors presented by McKercher and du Cros (2002) were illustrated in the transformation of Pentridge prison (McKercher, Cros, & McKercher, 2002), but are also identifiable in a number of other locations such as Alcatraz Island or the Clink. J. Wilson (2008a) observes that mythologising the asset, in the case of prisons, often revolves around famous inmates where a story can be told that tourists might recognise. These famous inmates also serve to build a story surrounding the prison as if they were the characters in a script. The urban myths and stories surrounding the prison also serve

to further enhance its value as a site of tourism. Coupled with the ability to build a story around a site is the chance to emphasize its otherness. J. Wilson (2008a) notes in her book that Pentridge Prison utilises former guards as guides for visitors. This allowed for them to build further upon the story of the prison, as well as to highlight the otherness of the inmates and of the site itself. This otherness can relate to a variety of factors such as inmates, guards, or prison architecture. Finally, J. Wilson (2008a) shows that it was the local media that helped make the Pentridge site “fun, light, and entertaining”. They achieved this by running a story about retired prison officer Colin Nash and his penchant for making puns relating to the prison, but avoided the more serious or gloomy aspects of the prison’s history and instead focused on the wit of the prison officer who was involved in the tours of the prison. J. Wilson (2008a) asserts that the media was partly responsible for transforming the prison into a successful site of dark tourism because they fulfilled the factors of mythologising the asset, building a story, emphasizing its otherness, whilst still making sure the representation was fun, light, and entertaining (J. Wilson, 2008a). This was then broadcast to the local community where those aspects could be consumed by people who may not have been aware of the prison’s past, or even its existence. It is these factors that contribute to the successful transformation of a prison from site of incarceration to a site of entertaining dark tourism.

Shackley (2001) details the transition of Robben Island from prison to tourist location. She highlights the different perspectives held by the people who visit the island, and those who were held prisoner there, some of whom are now guides for tourists on the island. There are interesting points raised about the conflicting ideologies present in turning such a historical site into a tourism destination. This can be seen with the balance that must be struck between the increased revenue from tourism in Cape Town with the cultural significance of the prison and its inmates. The author specifically mentions that Nelson Mandela is open to his cell being visited by tourists, but asks that they be aware of the many others that were held within that same prison for similar reasons. A major theme regarding the transition from prison to tourism location is that prisons with a (in)famous inmate can sometimes neglect to tell the story of the other inmates who may not have become famous for their incarceration – but were subject to equal treatment (Shackley, 2001). Thus looking at the museums presentation of the entire prison population, rather than specific inmates, may garner additional insight into the cultural reasons that the prison is unique and popular.

2.8 Media Representations of Prisons

The popularity of prison films and television shows ensures that people visiting prison museums may be bringing with them expectations and perspectives based on sensationalised fictional accounts of prison life. Non-fiction representations may also include exaggerated or sensationalised elements in order to boost their appeal, further confusing viewers as to the realities of prison life (Rafter, 2006). One part of this study attempts to ascertain whether visitors feel that television and film paints a

realistic picture of prison, and compare this to the same visitors' attitude after their prison museum tour.

D. Wilson and O'Sullivan (2004) detailed some of the ways that prison films affect their viewers, as well as the roles that they can fulfil past simple entertainment. The authors stated that prison films can be used to critique current practices and act as benchmarks to which real accounts of incarceration can be compared (D. Wilson & O'Sullivan, 2004). The consequence of this is that prison films can have a role to play in prison reform, especially when they are so widely consumed by the public.

P. Mason (2006b) examines the representation of prisons in modern films. The author notes that prison or incarceration is often used tangibly in a wide range of films, so he chose a small subset of films where prison was the central location, or the main theme (P. Mason, 2006b). Because of the wide ranging use of prisons or incarceration, research into media representations of prisons can sometimes focus on differing genres of film or representations of prisons. This creates a problem for researchers investigating the representation of prisons in films as the context of prison in those films is portrayed differently to both viewers and researchers. Therefore P. Mason (2006b) and other authors' chose to limit the scope of their research in order to provide a more detailed investigation. This can however ignore films which represent prisons to viewers and alter their perceptions of what it is like within prison, or the role that prisons play within society. This is unfortunately an unavoidable problem with researching media portrayals of a specific topic due to the sheer volume of material that exists on prisons, and the rate in which it is still being produced. This is only compounded by the popularity and demand by the public for films that feature prisons or prisoners.

P. Mason (2006) claims that since prisons have removed the spectacle of punishment from society by hiding punishment behind high walls and razor wire, the public obtains their knowledge of the justice system through the media; news, newspapers, television, and film. He contends that modern representations of prison in film only sensationalise the violence and sexual predation of prison, rather than the inhumanity or its place within our society as a means of punishment (P. Mason, 2006b). The primary examples are prison films which often depict the main protagonist as a new inmate who must defend himself from the violent and sexual assaults of hardened inmates, for example *Watchmen* or *Mean Machine*. Whilst violence in prison is not disputed, it is noted that its role in prison films is to entertain the viewers rather than enlighten them to the plight of modern trends of incarceration, such as inmate warehousing which is responsible for a wide range of issues from health issues to increased levels of violence amongst inmates. This also furthers the notion that the people inside prison are worthy of being there, that they are inhuman others and need to be incapacitated for their deeds (P. Mason, 2006b). There is little mention of the homeless, mentally ill, or non-violent offenders who are incarcerated and adding to the problems of modern prisons. Furthermore, there is no mention of those non-violent offenders becoming violent when they are released due to a change in identity through a process of prisonisation. The popular depictions of prison in film serve to reinforce the currency of penal populism; it reinforces the notion that it is necessary for society to incarcerate offenders because of how dangerous and violent they are (P. Mason, 2006b). The representations of prisons in fictional films as the houses of violent and dangerous offenders does not entice the viewer

to think about the ramifications of mass-incarceration or the warehousing of non-violent offenders in harsh conditions. Instead it serves to justify the political rhetoric of being “tough on crime” and reinforces the idea that the representations of prisons in film are realistic (P. Mason, 2006b). It should be noted that there is no disputing the fact that violence and sexual assaults occur in prison, or that prisons have moved society away from the pre-modern method of mass executions. However, the use of prisons in film as entertainment which is driven by profit does not provide the viewers with insightful questions about the use of prisons in society; instead the viewers are shown sensationalised violence in order to entertain.

2.9 Summary

This literature review has provided context and background to the study of three international prison museums, as well as evaluating the applicable literature. Beginning broadly, a discussion of the sociology of tourism included the notable concepts of authenticity (E. Cohen, 1988a) and visitor motivation (Gitelson & Kerstetter, 1995; MacCannell, 1976; Richards, 2002) that are particularly pertinent to this research. Prison museums fall under the umbrella of dark tourism, and a background is provided on the recent literature produced regarding tourist sites associated with death, disaster, suffering, and the macabre (Lennon & Foley, 2004; Rojek, 1993; Seaton, 1996; Sharpley & Stone, 2009). This also includes the construction and transferral of memory at these sites (Casey, 2003; Landsberg, 1997), as well as the changing role that death and mortality have in the motivations for visitors to frequent these sites (Stone, 2012, 2013). Following this is a more specific discussion of prison museums and an overview of the current work regarding penal tourism. Included within this are carceral tours (touring operational prisons) (Piché & Walby, 2010), and more traditional prison museum visitor motivations and experiences (Ross, 2012; Strange & Kempa, 2003; Walby & Piché, 2011; Welch, 2013, 2015; J. Wilson, 2008a). This section also serves to introduce some key articles related to the narratives presented to visitors at prison museums (Garton-Smith, 2000; Nanda, 2004; J. Wilson, 2008a), and the issues that museum management are facing (e.g. Hollywood myths and Alcatraz) (Strange & Kempa, 2003).

Part of this research is interested in the way that prison museums convey current penal trends and issues, as well as historical ones. To that end, a review of the literature regarding the modern evolution of incarceration was undertaken. This includes the overreliance of prisons as punishment (Feeley & Simon, 1992; D. Garland, 1996; Pratt & Clark, 2005), disproportionate rates of incarceration (M. Alexander, 2012; M. Brown, 2009; Wacquant, 2001, 2002; Wright & Herivel, 2013), and the issues associated with mass incarceration and solitary confinement (Chesney-Lind & Mauer, 2003; Pettit & Western, 2004; Pizarro & Stenius, 2004). This section also provides some context into the removal of prisons from the public eye, and a link between museums, prisons, and state power (T. Bennett, 1994; M. Brown, 2009; Foucault, 1995).

A more specific look at the background and literature of each site was conducted. This serves to highlight the history associated with each prison museum studied – especially as it is this historical significance which is promoted through marketing to visitors. Within this section is a more detailed look at indigenous relationships with the prison museums as Fremantle Prison in particular (as part of the Western Australia prison system) incarcerated Aboriginal Australians at a disproportionate rate (D. Brown, 2014; Cunneen, 2006).

The final three sections of this chapter detail the role of prison architecture, the transformation of a decommissioned prison to museum, and media representations of prisons. The architecture of a prison allows for further insight into the impact the architecture may have on those who view it, and the role that it specifically has in the power of prisons as an institution (Gill, 1962; Johnston, 2000; J. Wilson, 2011b). This is especially relevant as the architecture of a prison museum (e.g. Eastern State) is an important selling point to visitors. Moving forward, there is a review of the literature regarding the transformation of decommissioned prisons into museums, and some of the issues that other authors or sites have identified – including alternate uses for prisons and ways to increase market presence (McKercher et al., 2002; J. Wilson, 2008b, 2011a). Finally, a discussion of the media representations of prisons is important as the media has become a primary way that the public learn about an institution that has been largely removed from the public eye. In this regard, prison films and television shows have been seen to promote a more humanising view of those incarcerated (D. Wilson & O'Sullivan, 2004), but it is also important to highlight the potential for more punitive or sensational representations to also be included (J. Bennett, 2006; C. Carter, 2003; P. Mason, 2006a).

3.0 Methodology

3.1 Introduction

Epistemological Considerations:

This study utilises a mixed-methods approach to examine the study's key research questions (see Tables 1 and 2). Mixed methods is defined by Johnson, Onwuegbuzie, and Turner (2007, pg 113) as "an approach to knowledge (theory and practice) that attempts to consider multiple viewpoints, perspectives, positions, and standpoints (always including the standpoints of qualitative and quantitative research)". This approach is underpinned by a pragmatic view of the ontological and epistemological tensions that may surface when utilising both qualitative and quantitative data (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004; Johnson, Onwuegbuzie, & Turner, 2007).

These tensions arise from the perspectives employed by quantitative and qualitative approaches. Quantitative approaches are often associated with positivism, that is primarily concerned with variables, numeric values, and studying the social world in the same way as the natural world (Kura & Sulaiman, 2012). This is often characterised by the use of statistical analysis and modelling in order to answer research questions. Qualitative research on the other hand tends to assume a social reality that cannot be quantified (Jones, 2004; J. Mason, 2006). There is an emphasis on observation, interviews, and ethnographic forms of data collection. Qualitative researchers also "emphasise the examination of text to discover embedded meanings, how people use language and symbols to define and construct social practices in order to understand people's actions and behaviours" (Kura & Sulaiman, 2012, pg 6).

Quantitative research can be problematic as it reduces complex social phenomenon to single units of analysis. This may produce results that are misleading, omitting certain factors that contribute to the phenomenon being studied (Kura & Sulaiman, 2012; Weber, 2004). As J. Mason (2006, pg 10) notes: "social experience and lived realities are multi-dimensional and that our understandings are impoverished and may be inadequate if we view these phenomena only along a single dimension". With this in mind, the inclusion of qualitative approaches may ensure that alternative explanations are included, or that the results from quantitative analysis are reinforced by a deeper examination of data related to the same research question. There are issues too with qualitative research, such as difficulty in re-testing or replicating the study, and improper interpretation of data. It should also be acknowledged that some qualitative methods bare resemblance to the quantitative approach of classification and categorisation (Jones, 2004). Following this, Jones (2004) contends that the divide between the two approaches may not be as significant as many claim.

The purpose of this study is to contribute a piece of original knowledge to the area of prison museums and penal tourism. Knowledge involves a systematic understanding of the phenomenon being studied

(Horowitz, 2005). Part of this knowledge is informed by sense perception – looking, touching, hearing, tasting, and smelling. However this by itself does not constitute knowledge. Philosophers such as Plato and Descartes argue that reason is the source of knowledge, while empiricists such as Locke and Hume counter that experience is the source of legitimate knowledge (Horowitz, 2005). This study takes a largely empirical approach, drawing on the experiences of visitors, prison museum staff, and the researcher to answer the outlined questions.

The use of surveys imposes the researcher's frame of reference, language, and internal categorisation of the world onto the subjects who are asked to provide their answers within this context (i.e. Likert scales, closed questions). This use of surveys and quantitative analysis to test attitude change among visitors is positivist. There is an assumption that a change in particular attitudes can be examined through the use of statistical analysis. However the reasons for this change, and in what context it was produced, require an interpretative approach to be utilised. As Neuman (2005, pg 88) describes: "... true meaning is rarely obvious on the surface; one reaches it only through detailed study of the text, contemplating its many messages, and seeking the connections among its parts". However, the interpretative approach of the interviews facilitate the study of meaning. The interpretative approach is appropriate in this instance because of the meanings attributed to prisons and prison museums vary, and it is the context that a visitor experiences the museum and its exhibits that are a fundamental part of this research. The contexts exist between the different groups and phenomena in relation to prison museums (e.g. presentations of solitary confinement raise questions of why it was presented in that particular way, and what interpretation and meaning visitors and staff take away from this presentation). Similarly, passive observation of the prison museum experience assists the researcher in data analysis and interpretation by providing context and an "inside-view" of what it means to be a tourist at these sites.

The epistemological tensions that exist in mixed-method design must be acknowledged, but are not fatal to the integrity of the research design. Indeed, the choice to use a mixed methods approach allows for different perspectives of knowledge to be used in complimentary ways. The pragmatic approach allows the "the combination of methods and ideas that helps one best frame, address, and provide tentative answers to one's research question[s]" (Johnson, et al, 2007, pg 125). The choice to use a combination of methods in this study is a result of the research questions chosen. The surveys were primarily used to measure visitor demographics, motivations, and potential for attitude change. These were quantifiable variables, and the choice to use surveys was also logistically appropriate in order to reach as many visitors as possible within the time limit. In contrast, examining the experiences of prison museum employees necessitated a qualitative approach that allowed for flexibility and the opportunity to explore themes spontaneously. The social realities of prison museum employees, and visitors, are also different as they are at the site in different capacities. Staff as a form of employment, and visitors as a form of leisure. Finally, the observation conducted by the researcher took a qualitative view of experiencing the prison museum, focussing on the embedded meanings in the experience to better understand the social realities, and collected data, from both the prison museum employees, and the visitors to the site.

Under a pragmatic approach, the qualitative data collected from interviews and the researchers experience is from an interpretative approach to understanding society and meaning. The interpretative approach is appropriate in this instance because of the meanings attributed to prisons and prison museums vary, and it is the context that a visitor experiences the museum and its exhibits that are a fundamental part of this research. Additionally, it is important to acknowledge the contexts and understandings that exist between the different groups and phenomenon in relation to a prison museum, for example the presentations of solitary confinement, why it was presented in that particular way, and what interpretation and meaning visitors and staff take away from this presentation.

Social scientists must be aware of the assumptions they make at each stage of their research (Becker, 1998). One in particular is important to this research: the imagery used for research. Imagery in this context describes how researchers view and imagine the settings, phenomenon, or people that they are investigating. Becker (1998) details how social scientists can construct imaginary realities of the people, settings, or situations that they are studying from data. For example a researcher can extrapolate the types of people residing in a neighbourhood based on the median income of that location. Becker (1998) goes on to illustrate that a researcher might even imagine the types of conversations held at the dinner table in such a neighbourhood. The concluding thought is that a researcher should be mindful of exactly what the data, or even previous literature, constructs in their mind.

Social scientists are especially aware that stereotypes, such as tourist demographics, are as likely to be false as they are true, and therefore strive to highlight this (Becker, 1998). Similarly this study must acknowledge that the assumptions made about visitor behaviour, exhibits, or prison museums have influenced the methodology of this research. However this can be countered by the researcher physically being present at the site of the research in order to experience and see exactly how the participants behave, what the museum actually looks like, and messages portrayed by tourists that are not given as answers on survey questionnaires. Becker (1998) summarises this thought as: "Without knowledge based on first-hand experience to correct our imagery, we not only don't know where to look for interesting stuff, we also don't know what doesn't need extensive investigation and proof" (pg 16). This describes one aspect of a larger theme within this study that is subscribed to: that, if possible, research should be carried out in person at the location or with the people to be studied.

The research questions selected have influenced the epistemologies, which have in turn influenced the methodologies adopted and methods of data collection. This study did not take one singular view of the issue, and instead looked at a source of data contributing to others in order to substantiate findings, or to highlight that some conclusions have multiple explanations (Babbie, 2010; Wight, 2006). Indeed the choice of surveys highlights a positivist approach to creating new knowledge and focuses on participants providing quantifiable information that can be tested for reliability and validity, and forming correlations between attitudes expressed and their demographics (Fink, 2002; Wight, 2006). However it is accepted that participants might not want to divulge the true reason they are at a site of dark tourism (Rittichainuwat, 2007), may not be able to articulate that reason, or may not even

be aware of it. In these cases, it is sometimes unavoidable to have answers that are not truthful – despite the use of anonymous and non-threatening questionnaires (G. M. Dann, 1981). These issues are hard to address, with G. M. Dann (1981) recommending that it is up to the skills of the researcher to overcome these obstacles. However it is not appropriate for the researcher to question the truthfulness of each survey answer, nor would it be practical in any real sense. The consequence of this is an acknowledgement that some respondents may not be truthful in their answers, and that steps taken to alleviate these concerns (anonymous surveys) are the best course of action.

By experiencing the prison museum first hand, the researcher examined whether the answers given by tourists match the realities that a visitor might experience (Seaton, 2002). This takes on an ethnographic view of data collection and seeks to view the tourists as a quasi-community for the duration of their tour of each museum (Bowen, 2002; DeWalt & DeWalt, 2010; Hartmann, 1988; Seaton, 2002; J. Wilson, 2008a). Their interactions with exhibits and discussions about which aspect of each museum was most or least interesting allowed for a deeper and more meaningful interpretation of data obtained through survey questionnaires. Finally, interview data from prison museum staff helped to support data obtained through surveys and observations, as well as providing more contextual information regarding how tourists behave and where prison museums sit as sites of penal heritage (Golafshani, 2003). Additionally, interviews allowed for a more dynamic approach to collecting data than surveys with fixed questions or anonymous participant observation (Babbie, 2010; Creswell, 2009; R. Kumar, 1996). It is intended that the interviews would serve not only to supplement and support the other sources of data, but also to provide their own insights and findings from the individuals who spend the most time at each of these prison museums. It is understood that a single survey, observation period, or interview can serve to create knowledge and answer the questions posed by a study. However for this particular piece of research, a more holistic approach was taken to provide a more meaningful answer to questions surrounding visitor motivations and attitudes, exhibit interpretations, or the role of prison museums.

Research Aims:

This study analyses visitor demographics, motivations, behaviour, attitude changes, and the role of prison museums as sites of entertainment and education from a variety of perspectives. The aims of this research, and the methods of data collection that inform the answers to them, are detailed in Table 2 below.

Table 2
Primary Questions and Method of Data Collection

Questions	Method of Data Collection
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What are the demographics of visitors to prison museums? • What were their motivations for visiting the site? • What are their attitudes about prisons, prison museums, and punishment? 	<p>Visitor Pre-Exposure Surveys</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What knowledge do visitors take away from their tour of the prison? • Does the prison museum experience have any effect on the attitudes of visitors? • How is the space and exhibits presented to visitors? 	<p>Visitor Post-Exposure Surveys Interviews Observational Data</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Which narratives are strongly represented at the site? Which are absent? • Are there any differences or similarities in the narratives between each of the three sites? 	<p>Observational Data Interviews</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What are the experiences of employees working at a site of former incarceration? • Do employees have any moral issues related to the new purpose of the site? • Has working at a prison museum affected the employees or their thoughts regarding punishment, incarceration or the criminal justice system? 	<p>Interviews</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What are the implications of the study for the management of prison museums? • How does the architecture of the prison museums feature and relate to visitors/staff/exhibits? • Do these sites focus on education, entertainment, remembrance, or a blend of all three? 	<p>Interviews Observational Data</p>

In order to answer the aims of this research in a comprehensive manner, data was collected from different sources using a mixed methods approach. The current literature on prison museums was used as a foundation and justification for combining the multiple sources of data, as well as selecting which sources of data to use in the first instance. These were: surveys, interviews, site visits, and archival data. These different sources of data overlap in their use and each contributed to the study in an important way. However the surveys and interviews can be seen as the primary sources of data to

answer the main questions surrounding prison museums, which is supplemented by archival and observational data.

The survey data collection method adopted a pre- and post-exposure technique to collecting responses from tourists (Pizam, Jafari, & Milman, 1991; R. Riley, Baker, & Doren, 1998). This was developed to provide an opportunity to test attitude changes as a response to completing the prison museum tours, as well as splitting the time taken to complete the surveys. The survey questions were designed with visitor motivation and attitudes towards prisons and punishment as a primary focus; however media representations and general questions regarding the prison museums were also included to gather data on the secondary research questions present in this study. The use of qualitative open-ended questions complimented the quantitative questions intended to measure attitude change or to list visitor demographics. This was intended to provide a more complete picture of the answers provided by visitors, and in the case of the qualitative answers, give respondents a chance to add meaning and/or context to their answers, allowing for a greater understanding of their experience at the museum (Neuman, 2005).

In order to provide additional contextual and background information to the survey data, semi-structured interviews were conducted with prison museum staff and tour operators. These interviews were conducted at a time that suited the participant, with all interviews being conducted either during the participant's lunch break or after work hours. The interview protocol, developed to guide the interviews, was a reflection of the research questions present in the study, as well as complimenting the questions that appeared on the surveys administered to the prison museum visitors. This resulted in data being collected about how those who are employed in the dark tourism and prison museum industry view themselves and their industry. Additionally it allowed for another perspective on how these sites of dark tourism sit within the communities and the transition from a former site of incarceration to one of education, remembrance, and/or entertainment. The interviews were conducted with employees of the prison museum who volunteered their time while the researcher was visiting the sites.

On-site fieldwork was an important aspect of this research. While visiting each site and conducting surveys and interviews, site and exhibit observations took place. The observation portion of this research drew heavily from Seaton's (2002) article in which he discussed the nuances of participant and site observation as a member of a tour group. As he termed it: "The researcher, as one of the travelling party, is initially an outsider amongst outsiders who later becomes an insider, through membership of the package tour and participation within it." (p 312). This method allowed for contextual qualitative data to be gathered, helping investigate messages portrayed and what visitors to these sites were likely to encounter (Seaton, 2002). As an observer, the researcher passively participated in the tours of the prisons as a visitor would, where notes were collected regarding exhibit and architectural features, as well as observations of how exhibits and the fabric of the sites were designed to be interacted with. This data was used as a supplement to the survey data in order to add context and additional qualitative information regarding visitor behaviour, architectural features of the museum, and exhibit interpretations and presentations.

3.2 Methods Justification

The questions that this research lays out are posed in such a way that empirical methodology is a useful method of answering them. Visitors to these sites were the primary areas of focus for this study and surveys have been shown by previous authors such as Seaton (1996) and Bittner (2011) to be a valid and reliable approach to ascertaining reasons why tourists frequent locations of dark tourism, and their thoughts about the experience. Surveys have been shown to be a reliable method of collecting data relating to visitor motivations and attitudes, and can be completed in a timely manner while the researcher is on location at the prison museum (Creswell, 2009; Fink, 2002; Sieber, 1973). Internet surveys have also been shown to be effective at reaching a large number of participants at a lower cost than traditional physical surveys or questionnaires, but suffer from a lower response rate than those traditional methods (Kaplowitz, Hadlock, & Levine, 2004). This study utilised an internet based post-exposure survey as a method of data collection due to its lower cost, ease of management, and most importantly because tourist participants may not be at their postal address for some time. In this instance, access to an internet based survey was considered a more logistically appropriate and time-sensitive option than mailing physical follow up surveys to a participant's postal address. It is acknowledged however that studies have shown internet based surveys to have a lower response rate, which has an effect on the data and findings (Cook, Heath, & Thompson, 2000; Kaplowitz et al., 2004).

An argument can be made for the use of interviews with tourists in favour of surveys. However there are problems of administering interviews to tourists: primarily that tourists are on holiday and will not wish to commit to long periods of time for interviews. This also compounds the difficulty in measuring the enduring effects of the visit, and the potential impact that had on attitude change, among tourists. There are also logistical difficulties identified in requesting respondents to complete two sets of interviews to test for attitude change, a particularly time consuming task. Finally, access to private rooms, or to the residences of participants, may be problematic. In the first instance, conducting an interview on the museum grounds may be inappropriate for visitors – especially if they have negative responses after their tour. It would also be time consuming to interview each participant, and would mean the researcher was unable to administer pre-exposure interviews with tourists as one cannot be in two places at once. An alternative would be to conduct post-exposure interviews with tourists off-site, away from the museum. However this would involve significant travel time, as well as issues of access to sites such as hotels. The idea of conducting pre- and post-exposure interviews with visitors to the prison museums could be advantageous in terms of depth of answers as well as the ability to ask additional questions in a semi-structured interview. However the logistical barriers and time-consuming nature of this were too burdensome to overcome. As such, surveys were identified as the best method for collecting the required data from visitors within the limitations of this particular study.

On a more practical level, by being at each location, numerous methods of data collection can be employed in a short period of time. Collecting data through multiple avenues allows for triangulation of results, as well as different forms of analysis to be used in providing answers for the main questions of this research (Creswell, 2009; Golafshani, 2003; R. Kumar, 1996). Additionally, physically being at each location allows the researcher to rectify any problems that may arise in survey or interview design and administration. Finally, significant portions of this research relied on observation and visual data collection; such as tourist behaviour or important architectural features present at each location.

In order to properly answer the questions posed by this study, a global approach must be taken to gathering data related to the practices of tourists at each location. It is acknowledged that a single method of data collection would not be defensible given the multi-faceted nature of the questions that are posed by this study. Thus the decision was made to utilise multiple sources of data in order to provide a richer and more complete perspective of how prison museums fit within the dark tourism industry and represent the penal heritage of their respective countries.

Being present at each site allowed for multiple sources of data to be collected in a short period of time with increased accuracy and safeguards in the event that something went wrong. Indeed there is intrinsic value added to having the researcher present at each site (Becker, 1998). Not only can the administration of surveys be conducted in a consistent manner, but interviews can be held with a person who is knowledgeable about the subject area and can gauge the reactions of participants while the interview is being conducted in order to discover additional avenues of questions. This is preferential to telephone interviews or email correspondence as face to face interviews have been shown to increase both response rate and participant satisfaction (Hox & De Leeuw, 1994; Rogers, 1976). Finally, in relation to tourist experiences and phenomenological methodologies, having the researcher be treated as a tourist and to experience the same exhibits that “regular” visitors do provides a valuable insight into what subjective interpretations or feelings that visitors go through when visiting each site.

Interviews were chosen as a source of data because of their ability to explore themes and topics in a deeper and more meaningful manner than surveys alone (Babbie, 2010). The choice to use a semi-structured approach meant that any interesting information that was introduced by the participants could be explored fully by the researcher and the participant to provide complete and reliable information pertaining to the participants experiences of working at the prison museums (Babbie, 2010; Barriball & While, 2006).

3.3 Survey Methodology

Survey Justification:

The choice to administer surveys to visitors was dictated by the research questions. It is accepted that research questions influence methodology which in turn influences the choice of data collection method (S. M. Carter & Little, 2007). In this case, it was imperative to collect data from tourists as it was their demographics, motivations, and attitudes which were being studied. Data relating to visitors has been collected before using both interviews and surveys (Bigley et al., 2010; Bittner, 2011; Phaswana-Mafuya & Haydam, 2005; Yuill, 2003). Thus an argument can be made for either surveys or interviews, or a combination of both, to collect the data required for this study from tourists (Babbie, 2010; S. M. Carter & Little, 2007; Golafshani, 2003). While interviews may have provided more in-depth qualitative data and a greater understanding behind tourists' motivations (Babbie, 2010; Silverman, 2006), the practicalities of interviewing tourists would mean that the sample size at each site would be quite low. It has already been seen by previous authors that it can be challenging to convince tourists to participate in research while they are on holiday (Bigley et al., 2010; Bittner, 2011; Phaswana-Mafuya & Haydam, 2005; R. W. Riley & Doren, 1991), and this factor influenced the choice of surveys over interviews. Filling out a ten minute survey and then possibly a secondary survey online at one's own leisure was seen to be more conducive towards obtaining a larger sample size. Sample size was an important consideration in this research as other studies had suffered from having a limited amount of data from which to draw conclusions (Phaswana-Mafuya & Haydam, 2005). Additionally, a larger sample size allowed for increased reliability of results and the chance for this study to be replicated using a similar set of survey questions at different locations (Golafshani, 2003). Finally, it is acknowledged that other studies have used only interviews or surveys to obtain data from tourists, and that both forms have their own limitations. It is hoped that by employing a variety of data collection methods that the limitations of small sample sizes or lack of context or understanding that sometimes occurs with interviews or surveys can be avoided.

Survey Question Selection:

The design of the pre-exposure survey was meant to gather basic demographic data, attitude scales, and nominal data relating to respondents' thoughts about prison museums, prison films and television, and the criminal justice system. The questions asked of respondents were developed in part by previous studies of a similar nature (Rachel Hughes, 2008; Manning et al., 2002; Phaswana-Mafuya & Haydam, 2005; Rittichainuwat, 2007; Yuill, 2003). However, these studies were either smaller in scale, investigated visitor motivations at a different site of dark tourism, or were investigating traditional forms of tourism. The surveys employed by these studies, however, were useful in developing a structure and a foundation of questions that could then be altered to be more suitable for the current study. For example the sources of information about Robben Island Museum

used by Phaswana-Mafuya and Haydam (2005) were adapted and refined for this study. Similarly, the format for the surveys was influenced by the success of Yuill (2003) in her investigation of visitor motivations to the Holocaust Museum Houston. While this approach often reduces repeatability, the previous studies were different enough to warrant altering their approach while still using the basic premise of their survey. One aspect that is original is the inclusion of attitude scales on both the pre- and post-exposure surveys. This novel approach had not been utilised before in investigating prison museums and seeks to provide original data that reflects the impact that a museum tour has upon a participant. The use of attitude scales has been adopted before within dark tourism studies, for example Hall, Basarin, and Lockstone-Binney's (2011) exploration of visitor motivations to Gallipoli. This study used an amalgamation of their work and similar dark tourism studies conducted at Robben Island and the South Korean Demilitarised Zone (DMZ) to develop the pre- and post-exposure surveys using attitude scales to test for attitude change and visitor motivations at the same time (Bigley et al., 2010; Hall, Basarin, & Lockstone-Binney, 2011; Phaswana-Mafuya & Haydam, 2005). The theory and justification for this inclusion will be explained in more detail below. Each of the questions, or group of questions, included in the pre and post-exposure surveys was written to help answer some of the questions posed by this study. The sections below will illustrate which survey questions were intended to answer which areas of the research questions for the pre-exposure survey.

Demographic Questions:

- Which city and country do you currently reside in?
- How old are you?
- Which gender do you most identify with?
- Which ethnicity do you identify with?

These questions were written to provide demographic data relating to each respondent. This can then provide correlations between age group, ethnicity, location, or gender and more detailed questions.

Ethnicity was self-identified as this was considered the most practical way to ensure that people had the opportunity to indicate their ethnicity – as opposed to a selection of categories that may leave out different options. However this proved problematic and is discussed in more depth at a later stage (see page 98).

Visitor Motivation questions:

- What was your primary reason for visiting Perth/ Philadelphia/ Cape Town?
- Have you previously visited the museum?

- Have you previously visited any tourism sites that dealt with death or disaster?
- Are you personally related to or connected with anyone who was held in or affected by Fremantle Gaol/ Robben Island/ Eastern State?
- Have you attended any educational events related to Fremantle Gaol/ Robben Island/ Eastern State in the past six months?
- What attracted you to Fremantle Gaol Prison Museum/ Robben Island/ Eastern State? (Circle all that apply)
 - For any of the above reasons please explain how they influenced your decision to visit the museum?
- How did you find out about the museum?

Each question was intended to have participants identify their motivation for visiting the museum. It is acknowledged that previous visits to the site could also act as motivators, and returning visitors could possess unique or different attitudes or response. As such questions relating to the respondents past visits were also included.

Attitude Scale Questions:

- Do you think that imprisonment is a good form of punishment?
- Do you think that older prisons worked better than modern prisons?
- Do you think that ancient forms of punishment (e.g. stockades or public hangings) should be used today?
- Do you think that prisoners of Fremantle Prison/Robben Island/Eastern State deserved the conditions they were held in?
- Do you think that prison museums are educational?
- Do you think that television and film paints a realistic picture of prison?

These questions were designed to give an indication of the respondents' attitudes before they entered the museum. This was captured using a Likert scale technique which gauges a respondent's intensity of their feelings for a given item (Likert, 1932). Participants were given choices of Strongly Disagree, Disagree, Neutral, Agree, and Strongly Agree for each question. These questions were included to test if there is any connection between a respondent's attitude towards criminal justice and their motivations for visiting a prison museum – as well as whether the prison museum had any, and if so how much, influence on a person after they have taken a tour. This test also indicated whether media representations and/or current penal populism had shaped respondent's attitudes towards prisons or the criminal justice system.

Media Representation Questions:

- How much television do you watch per day? (Please circle)
 - Under an hour, 1 – 2 hours, 2 – 3 hours, 3 – 4 hours, 4 – 5 hours, 5+ hours.
- What types of programs do you watch the most (choose as many as applicable)?
 - News, Sports, Crime, Drama, Cooking, Living, Documentaries, Comedies, Other (please specify).
- In the past 12 months, have you seen any films or television shows about prisons?

These were included in the survey to test whether viewing habits of respondents had any influence on their motivations or attitudes before and after their tour. It could also answer questions relating to a respondent's views of the criminal justice system and the types of crime related (if any) television or film they watch.

Post-Exposure Survey:

The post-exposure survey contained more open ended questions designed to give respondents greater freedom in expressing their thoughts about the museum and why they were motivated to visit. The questions and intended purpose are illustrated below:

Administration Question:

- How long ago was the tour?

This was included to test within this sample whether responses differed depending on how long ago the respondent visited the museum. Additionally it could also be a factor in the reliability of the answers provided.

Attitude Scale Questions:

- Do you think that imprisonment is a good form of punishment?
- Do you think that older prisons worked better than modern prisons?
- Do you think that ancient forms of punishment should be used today?

- Do you think that prisoners of Fremantle Prison/Robben Island/Eastern State deserved the conditions they were held in?
- Do you think that prison museums are educational?
- Do you think that television and film paints a realistic picture of prison?

As with the pre-exposure survey, the post-exposure survey included identical attitude scale questions in order to measure the respondents change in attitudes after being exposed to the museum tour.

Prison Museum Tour:

- What did you like most about the tour?
- What did you like least about the tour?
- (Open ended questions with a text box for respondents to fill in their own answer).

These questions were included to allow the respondent to identify which aspects had the biggest impact on them – either negatively or positively. This helped to answer questions about motivations to visit the site, and provide further data to compare and contrast with participant observations, i.e. whether the responses on the survey matched the behaviour of the visitors.

Prison Museums as an Industry Question:

- Do you think prison museums should make a profit? Why?

This was designed to investigate the thoughts of tourists about the place of prison museums as an industry. This was then contrasted with archival data, interview data from prison museum employees, and media representation data.

Visitor Motivation Questions:

- What could be done to make prison museums more appealing to tourists?
- Can you explain your reason for visiting the museum?
- Did you learn anything interesting from your visit?
- What do you remember from the tour?

These questions were designed to allow respondents to provide a more thoughtful response to their motivations for visiting the museum. This was then compared with their own previous answers, and the larger sample of respondents from the pre-exposure survey. Additionally, these open ended questions provided a different perspective of what a tourist remembers most about their visit to the museum and the reasons for that visit.

Pilot Test:

Previous studies and methodological guides have suggested utilising pilot tests primarily to ascertain whether the questions used in the survey are appropriate (Bigley et al., 2010; Creswell, 2009; Fink, 2002). As such, a pilot test was conducted at the Napier Prison Museum in Napier, New Zealand in April 2013. This pilot test mimicked the process used to administer the surveys in other locations as much as possible. The purpose of this pilot test was to ensure that the survey instructions were reasonable, that the questions were posed in a reasonable manner, and to gather an indication of expected response rates amongst tourists.

The pilot test was administered to nine out of eleven visitors during the time at Napier Prison Museum. This represented a positive response rate, and casual feedback from participants indicated that they were happy to participate and found the research to be interesting. Another positive result was that the employees and manager of the site were excited to be part of the research and made every effort to accommodate the researcher. Again, observation and feedback showed that there was a general sense of excitement regarding the research by all involved which led to the pilot test as a whole operating without issue.

Two changes were made to the pre-exposure survey based on the responses by participants. This was the removal of the questions: "Are you personally related to or connected with anyone who was held in or affected by Napier Prison?" and "Have you attended any educational events related to Napier Prison in the past six months?" The first question was removed because feedback from participants indicated that it could be answered in the reasons for visiting the prison museum, as a specified 'other' response or a qualitative response that space is dedicated to. Similarly, attending educational events was seen as unnecessary and potentially confusing due to the educative nature of prison museums. Out of the nine original participants, six completed the post-exposure online survey. After consideration of their responses, no changes were made to the post-exposure survey.

Two interviews were conducted with employees of Napier Prison Museum. The interviews followed the proposed outlines and were completed without incident. The responses to prescribed questions, and informal spontaneous discussion were more than adequate. Due to the success of the interviews, no changes were made to the interview protocol or process for future sites.

One limitation with the pilot test was the small sample size. Unfortunately, Napier Prison Museum attracts more visitors during the summer months, but even then does not attract as many visitors as

the other proposed sites. This resulted in a relatively small sample size for the pilot test for both surveys and interviews. With this in mind, the pilot test's purpose of correcting issues with survey questions or interview protocol was successful.

Pre- and Post-Exposure Survey Justification:

The choice to utilise a pre- and post-exposure survey method was primarily to test whether touring the museum had an effect on a tourists' attitudes about prison museums, the inmates incarcerated, or modern criminal justice themes. It also allowed for data with more meaning and depth to be collected through the open ended questions included in the post-exposure survey (Fink, 2002). Another positive result of using two surveys was that the pre-exposure survey could be shorter, making it more appealing and easier for respondents to fill out. One concern was that visitors to the sites would not want to sit for extended periods of time filling out long questionnaires. This made a shorter and more concise first survey a better option to attract greater number of respondents, while the post-exposure survey allowed respondents to contemplate the open ended questions at their own pace in a more comfortable setting.

The pre- and post-exposure method had not been utilised in prison museum research before, however it had been used with success in other sociological studies where measuring the attitude change of respondents was important (Pizam et al., 1991; R. Riley et al., 1998). The study by Riley, Baker, and Doren (1998) is especially relevant as they measured the attitude change amongst respondents with regard to visiting tourism sites that appeared in movies. For example: visiting the battlefield of Gettysburg after watching the movie of the same name (R. Riley et al., 1998). The method of pre- and post-exposure surveys used in this study differs slightly from the aforementioned studies as it allowed respondents to fill out the post-exposure survey online within two months of filling out the pre-exposure survey. This is a matter of convenience for this study as an emphasis was placed on securing a large sample of respondents for the pre-exposure survey and then emailing them a link to the post-exposure survey. The alternative of waiting for respondents to finish their tour and then administering the post-exposure survey was deemed to be unwise as attrition rates would be high and the sample size would drop due to the researcher having to wait over an hour for each group to finish their tour. In summation, the choice to measure the impact that a tour of a prison museum had on visitors attitudes meant that a pre- and post-exposure survey method of data collection was the best course of action, and this method is not without precedent when measuring attitude change at tourism sites or in a sociological setting.

Survey Administration:

The survey questionnaires given to tourists visiting each prison museum were broken into two different parts: a pre-exposure survey designed to be completed quickly before entering the museum,

and a longer post-exposure survey that tourists could complete at their leisure. This was to provide comparative attitude scales between before and after the tourist was exposed to the exhibits and discourses present at the museum.

The pre-exposure survey was designed to be completed quickly by tourists before they entered the prison museum. Therefore it contained mostly multiple choice questions or short answer closed questions. At Robben Island this often meant that respondents were completing the survey before they embarked upon the ferry. At Fremantle Prison and Eastern State Penitentiary, respondents were approached before they entered the prison museum grounds. Potential respondents were identified by their purchasing of tickets or entering the waiting area for the ferry to Robben Island. Those tourists were then approached by the researcher who introduced himself as a PhD candidate from The University of Auckland studying visitor experiences at prison museums. An effort was made to approach as many potential respondents as possible, with the only criteria for selection being that they were clearly visiting the prison museum and appeared above the age of 18. Respondents were then advised of: a) their status as volunteers; b) their right to refuse to answer any question; c) the legal liabilities of their participation; d) confidentiality; and e) limitations of anonymity due to the nature of the study. This approach was utilised by Mafuya and Haydam (2005) and ensures that potential respondents do not feel pressured to participate in the research, and are aware of what exactly the research entails.

Each respondent was presented with a Participant Information Sheet (PIS), survey questionnaire and consent form (CF). If the respondent chose not to fill out their email address, the questionnaire was considered anonymous and they did not need to fill out a consent form. Participants were then directed to drop their survey, completed or not, in a drop box located at the ticket counter or at the ferry terminal. The pre-exposure survey was administered over a consecutive seven day period at Fremantle Gaol, Eastern State Penitentiary, and Robben Island Prison Museum. At each location, the pre-exposure survey was given to tourists at multiple times during the day, with an effort to administer the survey at least once in the morning and once in the afternoon. This was to provide a greater variance within the sample, as administering the survey only in the morning for example would exclude those who had traditional working hours, or had significant travel time to reach the location. However the time that the survey was completed was not recorded. As such, a limitation exists where the differences in time of day cannot be taken into account regarding the answers given by, or demographics of, visitors.

The pre-exposure survey was designed to capture demographic data such as age, gender, and location of residence as well as more specific data such as television and film viewing habits, purpose of visit and visitor's identified motivations and attitudes. After completing the pre-exposure survey, respondents had the option of leaving their email address on the completed form. This email address was used to send them a link to the post-exposure survey, which asked open-ended questions regarding their experiences at the museum, as well as identical attitude scale questions to the pre-exposure questionnaire. This email was sent at the end of each day to the email addresses collected from the respondents that day. The email informed the respondents that they had received this

invitation to fill out the post-exposure survey because they had filled out the pre-exposure survey earlier in the day. They were then provided a link to the online survey hosted on [surveymonkey.com](https://www.surveymonkey.com).

The online post-exposure survey was active for two months after each site was visited. One reminder was sent after one month had elapsed. There is some evidence to suggest a reminder improves response rates, however this is seen in situations where there was advance notice of the reminder email occurring (Kaplowitz et al., 2004) which was not utilised in this study as participants were not under any obligation to leave their email address on the first survey. This may have contributed to the low response rate from the reminder email, which only resulted in the addition of six new responses. One factor that affected this was undeliverable emails – either due to illegible email addresses, or that they simply did not exist. In this case, many of the initial emails and subsequent reminders were not able to be delivered to recipients.

The email addresses of respondents were used to pair the pre- and post-exposure survey data. Any post-exposure surveys that were completed that did not have a matching email address available from the pre-exposure survey were excluded. The email address collected from the pre-exposure survey was also used to contact the winner of their choice of iPod Touch or Kindle that was used as an incentive for respondents to fill out the secondary survey (Church, 1993). Incentives have been shown by Church (1993) to have a positive effect on participants responding to follow up surveys or mail return surveys. There was concern that attrition would be a significant issue with this research, so an incentive was used to attract participants to complete the secondary survey. Those respondents who had completed both the pre- and post-exposure surveys were eligible to win their choice of iPod Touch or Kindle and were contacted through the email address provided. The winner was drawn based on a random number generation of those who had completed both surveys. The winner was from New York, USA, and had visited Eastern State Penitentiary.

Both the pre- and post-exposure survey were administered in English as the sites researched attracted tourists of a predominately English speaking background (Bigley et al., 2010; Bittner, 2011; Manning et al., 2002; Phaswana-Mafuya & Haydam, 2005). Although it would be better to have the survey administered in multiple languages, the researcher would have no way of quickly informing participants who did not speak English of what the survey was about and would have difficulty in approaching potential respondents. Additionally, the inclusion of multiple languages would dramatically increase the amount of time taken for translation and transcription. This limitation will be taken into account for future research and hopefully rectified with a more detailed investigation of a single site that can utilise the extra time saved from travelling to survey tourists who do not speak English.

Survey Collection:

After the pre-exposure survey was administered and then collected each copy was scanned and saved to an encrypted hard drive. Those completed questionnaires that had valid email addresses

were sent a link to the post-exposure survey. All completed surveys were then filed with a date and location information. Once all seven days of survey collection had been completed, the surveys from each location were shipped back to The University of Auckland where they were stored in a secure cabinet awaiting transcription and analysis.

Survey Data Analysis:

Both pre- and post-exposure survey data was collated and entered into multiple SPSS files for analysis. These different files consisted of individual sites (Fremantle, Robben Island, and Eastern State), as well as combinations of each site (e.g. Fremantle + Robben Island, Fremantle + Eastern State, etc) and finally the last file was the total sum of all pre- and post-exposure data collected.

Pre-exposure responses were analysed for demographic data, attitude-scale frequencies, and associations between different variables. Pre- and post-exposure data was analysed separately and consisted of paired samples t-tests to indicate whether there was any change in attitude as a result of visiting the prison museum.

3.4 Interview Methodology

Interview Justification:

As has been mentioned previously, interviews were chosen as a source of data to explore the experiences of those who spend a significant amount of their time at prison museums, add contextual meaning to the results of other sources of data used, and to provide insight into where prison museums sit within the industry of dark tourism and the wider city in which they reside. Interviews have been shown to provide more detailed information than surveys, with a semi-structured interview technique highlighting the ability to explore different themes or avenues of information as they arise during the interview process (Babbie, 2010; Barriball & While, 2006; Creswell, 2009; Longhurst, 2003; Steinke, von Kardoff, & Flick, 2004). It was decided that the museum staff would be ideal candidates for interviews as they had the most experience and knowledge about tourist behaviour at each site, as well as illustrating the purpose behind exhibits and the interpretations or messages that might be portrayed. They are also the people who are on the ground each day interacting with tourists and can elaborate on some of the behaviours exhibited by tourists at each site, comment on possible motivations and reasons for visitor attitudes, as well as providing their own theories or ideas about what drives visitation to sites of dark tourism. Interview technique took a pseudo grounded-theory approach; where discovering new ideas or perspectives took priority over repeatability of interview structure (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). While each interview contained a set of questions that were developed, the semi-structured nature promoted discussion of different topics and the interview

participant sharing as much knowledge as possible, instead of adhering to strict guidelines or questions. This is framed in the understanding that each museum promotes different discourses, and each participant will have had different experiences and knowledge to share. Additionally, there have been few previous studies where prison museum employees have been interviewed to any great extent (Stone & Sharpley, 2008; Strange & Kempa, 2003; J. Wilson, 2008a). As such, taking this approach was suitable in order to gather as much relevant data as possible. This is substantiated by previous studies where interview participants responded more favourably to the semi-structured format of interviews, and felt positive about their knowledge being used in conjunction with the researchers to create knowledge, rather than be seen as subjects whose data was impersonal and lacked narrative or meaning (Barriball & While, 2006; S. M. Carter & Little, 2007; Rogers, 1976).

Interview design was purposefully kept simple to avoid complicating the process or confusing participants, and to allow for undiscovered avenues to be explored if required. The questions were developed as a reflection of the topics that were to be researched. The full list of questions can be found in Appendix C. The interview protocol used for the study can be found in Appendix D. This protocol was influenced by Marvasti (2003) and an essay written by Spickard (2004). The primary concern was to engage the participant, rather than deliver long-winded questions that might result in a poorer quality of answers. This falls in line with the epistemology of this research which notes that interview subjects should be a part of the process of passing on knowledge that they have gained through their experiences and work (S. M. Carter & Little, 2007; Marvasti, 2003; Spickard, 2004). The majority of questions revolved around the employees' role at the prison museum, their thoughts on working there, and their experiences with tourists. The questions chosen reflected the notion that the employees of the prison museums had their own personal opinions about the museum at which they worked, the criminal justice system, and the people they worked with. It was not assumed however that the respondents were experts in the areas of criminology, criminal justice, or tourism research. Instead, participants were assumed to have varying degrees of knowledge about each of the aforementioned topics, and others, dependent on their background and length of employment. As such, generic and basic questions were more favourable than complicated or specific questions in order for a greater number of respondents to contribute.

Each interview was conducted while the researcher was on location at the museum. Participants were interviewed in their official capacity as museum staff or tour operator and the theme of questions related to working at the museum, visitors, and prison museums as an industry. The participants were recruited by sending an invitation to the administration staff of the museum or tourism company managing the site. The administrators then sent this invitation to those networks, email lists, or individuals who were currently working at the site. This was to avoid any possible coercion or pressure by the researcher. The invitation included an email address for participants interested to contact the researcher and arrange a time that was suitable for them, within or outside of work hours. Sample questions have been attached in Appendix C: however utilising grounded theory (Crotty, 1998; Glaser & Strauss, 1967) other avenues of information or themes were explored as they were

discovered. The interviews were recorded and then transcribed at a later date by the researcher. All interview participants were given code-names as identifiers and their answers kept confidential.

Interview Analysis:

Interviews were transcribed and then analysed using thematic analysis (Aronson, 1994; Braun & Clarke, 2006; Leininger, 1985; Taylor & Bogdan, 1984). This avenue of analysis was chosen due to ability for thematic analysis to cover a range of different topics discussed within a semi-structured interview and is informed heavily by the works of Aronson (1994), and Braun and Clark (2006). While the concept of a 'theme' within this research is a flexible term, a foundation for what could be considered a theme has been taken from Taylor and Bogdan (1984, pg 131) as "conversation topics, vocabulary, recurring activities, meanings, feelings, or folk sayings and proverbs". Themes that emerge during analysis do not need to be present within each individual interview; however identified themes should capture important aspects of working at a prison museum, or the experiences of employees (Braun & Clarke, 2006). This is summarised succinctly by Aronson (1994) who states that "[t]hemes that emerge from the informants' stories are pieced together to form a comprehensive picture of their collective experience". Identified themes should appear across a number of different participants, and ideally across different sites. The intention with this analysis is to produce a rich thematic description of the entire data set. An inductive approach is taken to analysing the data, where the themes are strongly linked to the data itself, and the coding of the data is undertaken without an attempt to fit it into a pre-existing coding framework (Braun & Clarke, 2006). This inductive approach was considered suitable because there are very few published studies relating to employees of prison museums, therefore there is a lack of pre-existing themes or discourses in which to place identified themes. Moving forward, the level at which themes would be identified is using a semantic approach. Themes were identified within the explicit meanings of the data, without attempting to look for anything beyond what the participant has said. Once the data has been organised to show the patterns in semantic content, the significance of those themes and patterns will be presented in order to fully understand their meaning and implications.

Based on the procedure outlined by Aronson (1994), and Braun and Clark (2006), the thematic analysis of interview data was conducted using the following steps:

1. An initial read through of interview transcripts in order to become familiar with the data. This process was active, where initial readings were used to search for the first patterns or experiences.

2. All data related to these first patterns were identified and then expounded upon. They were then grouped under the first set of patterns for the identification of potential codes, markers, or labels.

3. Generation of initial codes. These codes identify a feature of the data that is of interest to the researcher, and begins to organise the data into meaningful groups.

4. Searching for themes. After the initial codes have been identified, they are then sorted into potential themes and collated with their relevant data extracts. This section of analysis also allows for thought to be given to the way potential themes interact with each other, and the relationships between different levels of themes.

5. Reviewing themes. Revision of themes to check if they are relevant occurs at this stage, or whether certain themes could be combined. It is important to note that separate themes should have clear and identifiable distinctions at this stage.

6. Defining and naming themes. This stage involves ensuring that themes collected are appropriate and match the data set, and that the essence of the theme is relevant and appropriately identified. It is also vital to identify what is important about each theme within the larger context of the study itself.

7. Producing the results. The goal is to tell the narrative of the data, in a concise and logical way, across the different themes that have been identified. These themes should be supported by evidence from the data.

The themes that emerge are based in the interpretations of the researcher and compared with other data from the same study, as well as the available literature that relates to the ideas put forth. As Leininger (1985, pg 60) notes the “coherence of ideas rests with the analyst who has rigorously studied how different ideas or components fit together in a meaningful way when linked together”. However care should be taken to acknowledge potential bias, and limitations within the conclusions drawn from the interview data, especially since this is an area without a substantial background of literature or previous studies to draw upon.

3.5 Tourist Experience

Tour Experience Justification:

One aim of this study is to investigate tourist behaviour and the presentation of museum exhibits and tour narratives. Experiencing a visit to the prison museum as a tourist would be one method that contributed to understanding what visitors see and do once they are inside the museum. The reason that this experience is important in this study is the acknowledgement that tourists might not be aware of their own behaviour during the tour, or not feel comfortable filling this out during the survey. Because of this, experiencing the visit to a prison museum as a tourist can help to triangulate the answers given on surveys by visitors. Additionally, the observation allows for further context and background to be present in the qualitative descriptions of the experience.

The intended presentation of this method is to describe the first-hand experience of the researcher participating in the tours. This was not a covert participant observation of tourists. Rather, it was the researcher joining other tourists as “an outsider among outsiders” (Seaton, 2002, pg 312), to experience and see what they do and recount the experience. In this regard, the participation also acts to inform the researcher – to aid in the analysis of data and to make sense of responses and results from the visitor surveys and staff interviews (Altheide & Johnson, 1998). The use of observational data also assumes that the accounts are “partial, incomplete and inextricably bound to the contexts and rationales of the researcher” (Athiede & Johnson, 1998, pg 288). It is acknowledged that some bias may be present with the researcher having investigated the literature surrounding prison museums, mass incarceration, and the issues associated with penal tourism. As mentioned previously, it may be impossible to fully remove the biases imbedded in the researcher that may shape how the tours are perceived; however care was taken to collect accurate notes of the presentation of experiences, narratives, and exhibits present during the tours.

This technique has been utilised before in both traditional and dark tourism research to illustrate the behaviours of tourists that may not be discernible from data collected using other methods such as surveys or interviews (Bowen, 2002; Seaton, 2002). It has also been used in sociological and criminological phenomenological, and anthropological research to add a narrative and deeper understanding of a certain phenomenon or behaviour that may not be clear at first (Atkinson & Hammersley, 1994; DeWalt & DeWalt, 2010; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007; Seaton, 2002; Sieber, 1973; Tedlock, 1991; Wight, 2006). Finally, with the researcher being on location at each site for a significant period of time, it would be careless to let the opportunity for tour participation to pass by.

Method of participation:

Participation in the prison tours were made at each location when the researcher was at each site to administer surveys and interviews. Tour participation was conducted prior to, during, and after, the seven day period where surveys were distributed to tourists. The tours and opportunities to participate in them varied between each site however. This was due to the logistics of handing out surveys and conducting interviews at the same time as trying to participate in tours. An aim of attending every tour, with different guides, on different days of the week, multiple times a day, was logistically impossible. Ultimately, the decision was made to attend as many as possible, while trying to repeat tours with different guides or different times of the day if possible. One issue that presented itself was the lack of opportunities to tour Robben Island. This was due to surveys being administered at the ferry terminal, and the tour being conducted on Robben Island. The tour round-trip is approximately two hours (including ferry travel time), and the fact that there were only three tours per day meant that survey distribution took priority. However when tour observation was conducted on Robben Island, two different tours were undertaken back-to-back in order to make the most of the time spent on the Island. Tours at Eastern State Penitentiary and Fremantle Prison were much more flexible, and were able to be conducted sporadically throughout the site visit.

It is acknowledged that this haphazard method of collecting experiential data from the tours leaves much to be desired in terms of reliability and validity. However this data is intended to provide a descriptor of the experiences, context, and support for the more interview and survey data. For example, visitor responses on the post-exposure survey may claim that the Doing Time tour at Fremantle Prison was too gruesome. However without a descriptor of Doing Times tour of the gallows, flogging post, and solitary confinement cells, the statement by the visitor is less useful.

To collect observational data, the researcher joined a tour group, took notes of exhibits, experiences, and what it was like to be a visitor to that particular prison museum. Additionally, photography was used to collect visual data of sites, exhibits, or architectural features that the researcher found particularly interesting (Banks, 2008; Harper, 1988). Observations at each site were conducted during tours that took place during the following periods:

- Fremantle Gaol: 7 June – 18 June, 2013. 9am, 12noon, 2pm, and 4pm tours.
- Robben Island: 22 June – 2 July 2013. 9am, 11am, and 1pm tours.
- Eastern State: 2 September – 9 September 2014. 9am, 12noon, and 2pm tours.

Not all tours during these periods were observed – however these times give an indication as to the range of dates and variance in tour starting times.

Notes were collected in writing in a plain notebook in a chronological order as they occurred. Notes and photographs were collated by location, date, and approximate time of occurrence.

There was some concern that taking notes cause unease among other visitors. However, this was not covert participation observation of tourists, and it was not unusual to see many other visitors also taking notes or photographs. The tour guides had prior knowledge of the researcher attending the tour – and no identifiable notes were made of tour guides or other tour group members. Both written notes and photographs were collected with anonymity for all parties in mind. At the end of each day, they were scanned and uploaded to an encrypted hard drive. When taking photographs it was attempted to exclude faces of tourists, however this is not always practical or achievable. As such, any photographs with tour group members or tour guide faces included were blurred, cropped, or excluded in order to protect the anonymity of other visitors or museum employees (Gold, 1989).

Field notes were analysed by highlighting relevant sections of text or notes that were related to the research questions of this study, or were relevant to situations or phenomena that had occurred during the collection of other data. For example, field notes related to particular responses discussed spontaneously during interviews were also included. These sections of text and notes were then analysed for themes and patterns that may emerge, or for ideas that could contribute to the layered understanding of the studied prison museums. The usefulness of combining field notes with other data has been acknowledged by Hammersley and Atkinson (2007, pg 130) stating that “the data from each can be used to illuminate the other”.

The intention of this portion of data collection was to understand what a visitor would see and experience at each site, and to provide a qualitative description of this in order to provide context and substantiation for other sources of data.

3.6 Archival Data Collection

Archival data collection and justification:

Archival data collection is used as a method of data collection to gather material that might not be available in New Zealand or online that is relevant to each location (Axinn & Pearce, 2006; Marshall & Rossman, 1999; Steinke et al., 2004). The data collected is not necessarily academic literature, but is focused more on first-hand material that is present at each location. For example, guestbook comments and public visitor responses to an art installation were collected from Eastern State Penitentiary. Pictures of text comprising an art installation on indigenous experiences of incarceration were collected from Fremantle Prison. Finally items such as the dining schedule were photographed at Robben Island Museum. These items are not normally made available in their entirety on the internet and can provide valuable insights into the running of the prison when it was operational, the thoughts of the inmates, and later the thoughts of tourists who visited each location. Access to this data was requested prior to arrival at each museum. Additional requests were made in person once the type of data and nature of requests were made clearer to curatorial staff.

Archival data collection falls alongside participant observation in its justification and method of collection. Any pieces that are of interest while the researcher is on location were documented via photograph or scanned via computer if possible. If this is not possible, and museum staff cannot help digitise the material, notes will be made detailing the purpose and content of each item. This data served as a supplement to both the literature review carried out on each location, as well as providing deeper meaning and understanding to interview, survey, and discourse analysis data and a historical narrative that is not normally found in academic literature.

3.7 Ethical Considerations

Within this research there are a number of ethical considerations to take into account. Primarily these are concerned with participant privacy and anonymity. It is noted that while prison museums are not the most 'dark' sites that tourists frequent (for example, mass graves in Cambodia), participants could still feel a sense of stigma regarding the answers they give. Therefore it was deemed important to preserve as much anonymity and confidentiality as possible when collecting data. This assurance was made clear to participants in the Participant Information Sheet (PIS). This is also true for the interviews conducted with prison museum staff. While the questions were not directed towards commenting on their employment, the nature of semi-structured interviews means that answers could be given by an employee that are critical of their employer. Finally, the privacy of tourists while they are on holiday is important to preserve when being observed as part of participant observation.

Addressing Ethical Concerns:

In order to alleviate these concerns, participant privacy and anonymity was protected in a number of ways. For survey participants, the initial pre-exposure survey was anonymous unless the participant opted to include their email address to be sent a link for the post-exposure survey. This email address was only used to pair the pre- and post-exposure survey data together. Once that was complete it was removed as an identifier for the data, with each particular set of data receiving a unique coded identifier. Additionally, when administering the survey the researcher set up boxes at the entrance to the prison museum for participants to drop off their surveys. This was to ensure that if a participant did not want to complete a survey, they could return a blank one, and that the researcher was not standing over or seen to be pressuring a participant while they were completing the pre-exposure survey. A consequence of the drop-box method may have lessened response rates as the collection of completed surveys was more impersonal, however it was necessary to ensure the process was as ethical as possible. The post-exposure survey required only the email address of the respondent as identification, however it was not considered anonymous and participants were required to agree that they had read a consent form before completing the survey.

Interview participants had their answers recorded digitally and then later transcribed by the researcher. Each participant was given a random code name in order to protect their identity being linked to their answers. However, because organisations such as museums or tour companies are quite small, it was acknowledged that the fact that a participant was involved with the interview process could not be totally anonymous. However, the answers given were not attributed by name. This was clearly indicated to participants before the interview began. During the interview process, adverse consequences could have arisen (e.g. traumatic memories, anxiety). While this did not occur, had there been any indication that the interview participant was experiencing anything beyond mild discomfort, the interview would have been stopped and appropriate support offered.

Finally, all research conducted at each site was done with the express permission of the manager/CEO/director of each location's governing body. This included the provision that the answers given by employees would not affect their employment status in any way, and that the manager/CEO/director would not have any access to such data. All data collected digitally was stored on an encrypted external hard drive, and all physical data was stored in a locked cabinet at The University of Auckland. The University of Auckland Human Participant Ethics Committee approved this study on the 30th of November 2012 with the reference: 8719.

3.8 Triangulation, validity, and reliability

This study has utilised a variety of data collection methods in order to substantiate findings through triangulation (Jick, 1979). The focus of this study rests primarily on the visitors to prison museums, however the multiple methods of data collection also allowed for secondary areas to be explored. In this case, the approach to triangulation through the different methods chosen is a more flexible and holistic approach, especially as this research has focused on the wider phenomenon of prison museums and benefits from the "between methods" approach that Jick (1979, pg 603) highlights. The different methods chosen allow for another avenue for validity, as well as an opportunity for further investigation of particular areas that appear across data sets. One example of improving validity of results is the relationship between interview data and participant post-exposure qualitative responses. In this instance, areas that participants identify as being particularly memorable have been explained in more depth during employee interviews (e.g. Big Graph at Eastern State Penitentiary). The opportunity to have further discussion of the initiatives undertaken by museum staff provides more insight into why visitors found them appealing, and similarly confirms their intention – ensuring that such initiatives are not just 'happy mistakes'. The examination of narratives at prison museums is a second example, which highlights the relationship between tour observation/participation, visitor surveys, and staff interviews. The narratives presented may influence the post-exposure attitude results and qualitative responses, however insight from staff interviews as to the extent of their knowledge around the narratives and their purpose will allow for a more robust discussion of the

phenomena. Additionally, by observing the tours the researcher has first-hand experience as to how the presentation and visitor reaction of these narratives.

3.9 Method Limitations

One of the main limitations of this research is that the methods of data collection have not been utilised in conjunction before to investigate prison museums. Each method has been used individually, but their combination in this manner is a new approach. As such there is a limitation in the triangulation of results against previous studies. However this is offset by the understanding that a greater amount of data from a variety of sources will give a more comprehensive view of the phenomena and behaviours occurring at the prison museums. There is no single way to counteract this limitation; rather care must be taken to ensure proper collection of data and suitable analysis of each set of data.

A second limitation is the high rates of attrition in the survey responses between the pre- and post-exposure surveys. Generally, the response rates for the pre-exposure survey were in line (and sometimes exceed) usual levels (Baruch & Holtom, 2008). However the decline in response rates in the post-exposure survey is more problematic. Tourists may not have had the motivation to complete an in-depth survey online while they are on holiday, or they might not have had access to the internet while they are travelling. Being aware that there might already be issues in low response rates, an incentive was given to respondents to fill out the post-exposure survey. This was the chance for one person who had completed both surveys to win an iPod Touch or Kindle. To give respondents time to access the internet, a period of two months was established for respondents to complete the post-exposure survey. These measures were intended to help reduce attrition amongst survey respondents; however this did not have a very significant effect. This represents a significant issue in the form of a non-response bias being present in conclusions drawn from the pre- and post-exposure surveys comparisons. The use of alternative data sources (i.e. interviews) represents an attempt to provide further substantiation to the findings arising from these comparisons. Repeating the administration of pre- and post-exposure surveys at different time periods and sites may alleviate non-response biases relating to generalisations of prison museum visitors, but may encounter similar issues of attrition between pre- and post-exposure survey administration. To that end, the large number of non-responses may be symptomatic of research design, and alternate approaches (such as interviews or focus groups) could be a more suitable method of data collection.

4.0 Results

The following results section begins with observational data collected from the prison museums visited. This includes the exhibits, tours, and other areas of the prison museum experience that were recorded by the researcher conducting site visits. The next section presents the results from the pre- and post-exposure visitor surveys. This will be broken into two sections, firstly the pre-exposure results which highlight visitor demographics and attitudes prior to their tour of the museum. This is followed by the post-exposure data which discusses any change in attitudes amongst the visitors based on their experience, as well as the open-ended qualitative responses from visitors to different areas of the prison museum experience. The final section is the interviews with museum employees, those tasked with designing, implementing, and presenting the exhibits. They are also the individuals most familiar with the day to day operation of the prison museums, and have the most contact with visitors.

4.1 Observational Data

This section presents the qualitative first-hand experience of the researcher at each prison museum: participating in the tours; and detailing important impressions or narratives that were present at each site.

Upon arrival at each city the marketing for the prison museums becomes apparent. This ranged from bus advertisements in Philadelphia for Eastern State Penitentiary and its haunted house attraction *Terror Behind the Walls*, to numerous pamphlets and brochures in Cape Town positioning Robben Island Museum as one of the “Big 7” must-see attractions. Fremantle Prison also utilised similar advertising campaigns; however it was more understated than Eastern State Penitentiary or Robben Island’s efforts. The distinct impression was that these sites are important tourist destinations within their respective cities, and the number of visitors to each site further confirmed this.

The arrival at each site informs the visitor that they are indeed at a prison, a place of suffering and banishment. For Robben Island Museum visitors, the ferry terminal provides large posters describing the history of the island and those who were incarcerated. Once upon the ferry, visitors are given another overview of the island’s history and its place as a symbol of triumph for South Africa. The ferry ride is often rough and arriving at the island visitors are greeted by a small processing building and a very wind-swept and cold island. Fremantle Prison and Eastern State Penitentiary are in similar positions: both sit within residential areas of a large city. The historic walls are tall and imposing, and the gate-house does a poor job at being welcoming. There is a member of the tour staff assigned the gate house in order to welcome and direct visitors to the ticket counter, and to act as a welcoming and

friendly face. All three sites presented themselves as historic prison museums, but also appeared aware of the uneasiness that the initial entry could have on some visitors.

4.1.1 Prison Tours:

The prison museum tour is the primary way that visitors experience these sites and interact with the exhibits and museum programming. While there are differences in the execution of the tours, each site offers visitors a chance to see for themselves the inside of an institution that has become so embedded within their country's criminal justice system and popular culture.

Robben Island Museum is a very structured tour; a visitor buys their ticket at the ferry terminal in Victoria and Alfred Waterfront before waiting for the ferry which takes them to Robben Island. Once on the island visitors are asked to board a bus where they are given a driving tour of the island. This is often surprising as visitors expected to be taken directly to the prison or allowed to roam freely on the island. As the driver explains however, the foot traffic and disruption caused by this freedom would disturb the wildlife. The bus tour took roughly 30 minutes to cover all the stops which included the quarry where prisoners were forced to labour, the graveyard where the residents of the former leper colony were buried, other cell-blocks outside of the main primary prison, and WWII gun placements intended to protect Cape Town from invading forces. The bus tour finishes at the prison where the tourists are met by a former political prisoner who was incarcerated on Robben Island. They are then led by their new tour guide around the prison, shown the cells and exercise yard, as well as the kitchen and told of the regimented life that prisoners led.

The focus of this tour is on the hardship experienced by the political prisoners who were incarcerated there, as well as the sites of famous photographs or anecdotes. This includes the former cell of Nelson Mandela, arranged to show the meagre possessions he was allowed in the very small space. Here, a reverential tone takes hold and much of the group stops to take a photograph – or simply stand quietly and reflect. The prison itself is very clean and presentable. There is very little graffiti, rust, peeling paint, or signs that it was inhabited for decades. Indeed it felt as though it was sanitised for the visiting masses. The tour of Robben Island Museum is very brief, and a typical tour lasts approximately one hour (30 minutes on the bus tour, 30 minutes at the prison). This brevity was remarked upon by visitors as one of the negative aspects of their experience.

After the tour of the prison concluded, visitors were asked to make their way down the road from the prison to the wharf and wait for the next ferry back to Cape Town. The tour lasted approximately one hour, and was the only option for visitors to Robben Island Museum.



(Figure 9: Visitors looking at the former cell of Nelson Mandela, and the inside of that cell. Authors photographs)

Fremantle Prison followed Robben Island Museum's structure to a certain extent. There were only guided tours, however there were multiple options for tours. These include the Doing Time tour that explored the day to day lives of inmates, the Great Escapes tour which took visitors to sites where inmates had made attempts at escapes, and the Tunnels Tour which was an exploration of the tunnels dug beneath the prison by convict labour in order to supply Fremantle with fresh water. There were also two other, more specialised, tours available: a Torchlight tour which was conducted during the evening at Fremantle Prison and was a mixture of the Doing Time tour and a haunted house attraction – complete with jump scares; and the second was a specialty tour called the Art Tour which was held once a month and took visitors to see prisoner artwork in areas that would otherwise be unavailable. The focus of this tour was, as the name suggests, prisoner art inside Fremantle Prison. This included graffiti inside cells, murals on the prison walls, and artwork ranging from convict era pieces to paintings completed just prior to the prison's 1991 decommission. The Doing Time, Great Escapes, and Torchlight tours all followed a similar structure. Visitors would meet their tour guide in the gatehouse courtyard after purchasing their tickets. As a group they would be led around the prison by the guide who would stop and discuss the various features specific to their tour.

On the Doing Time tour visitors are introduced to prison life by being shown the routine that new inmates were subjected to upon arrival at Fremantle Prison. This included a description of being strip searched, accompanied by the expected giggles and smirks, the uniform that new inmates had to wear, and the rules and regulations of the prison. The presentation by the guide was concise, and the rules of the prison that inmates were subjected to flows smoothly to the rules of the tour that included no talking on cell-phones or leaving the group. The group is then led on a tour similar to that of Robben Island, stopping at key locations such as the kitchens to discuss the logistics of cooking for the entire prison. The main cell blocks are presented to visitors, who often remarked at how large the buildings were – and how small the cells were. Included within this section was the revelation by the

tour guide of the “bucket system” that was a feature of Fremantle Prison. This was due to the lack of central plumbing in the prison, and resulted in inmates having to use one bucket for waste and one for drinking water in their cell. The punch line was to “not mix up your buckets in the night”. Visitors were also told of the suicide nets which had to be installed, however there was little further explanation and the guide let the visitors’ imagination fill in the blanks. The final stages of the Doing Time tour were reserved for the particularly punitive aspects of Fremantle Prison. This included the flogging post where inmates were subjected to harsh whippings for their transgressions while incarcerated, the solitary confinement cells complete with one small window and bare concrete floors, and the gallows. The gallows were given particular importance by the guide, who noted that if people felt uncomfortable they could wait outside for the tour to complete. Very few did. Indeed the impression was that a concern for sensitivity and the gravity of the site was translated by visitors to be a challenge or to build up the finality of the room. Inside the gallows the tour guide described the process of the execution. The room was dimly lit with a red light underneath the trap door through which the condemned would drop. This gloom and darkness was interrupted frequently by bright flashes from cameras as visitors took photographs of the room. Stepping out of the gallows, visitors were then directed to the gatehouse courtyard where they would finish their tour and relax at the on-site café or browse the gift shop.



(Figure 10: The gallows, flogging post, and solitary confinement cell of Fremantle Prison. Authors photographs)

The Great Escapes tour at Fremantle Prison details the daring escapes and escape attempts during the operation of the prison. The tour group is led to various points around the prison where the guide explained how they fit into the escape attempts. Of particular note for this tour was the focus on Moondyne Joe – a convict that became notorious for escaping from Fremantle Prison and attempting to escape from a purpose built “escape-proof” cell. The emphasis on Moondyne Joe by the guide introduces him as one of Fremantle Prison’s celebrity inmates, and he was presented as a rugged pioneering individual rather than a man who had been sentenced to prison for robbery. The Great Escapes tour consists of a similar format to the Doing Time tour. It was noted that the prison was not

a particularly pleasant place to be incarcerated; however the justifications for wanting to be free were rarely mentioned. Instead the excitement of escape and the ingenuity of inmates, for example attempting to make a key for their cell in the carpenter's workshop, was the focus of the tour.

Beneath Fremantle Prison is a network of tunnels dug by convict labourers in search of fresh water for the settlement. Visitors to Fremantle Prison can participate in a tour of these tunnels during the Tunnels Tour. This is a speciality tour offered by Fremantle Prison, and is separate from the Doing Time, Great Escapes, Torchlight, or Art Tours. Visitors are led in small groups to specially designed staging areas where they are briefed on the potential hazards of descending below the earth into the tunnels, and the history of their construction. The link to incarceration is made with the acknowledgement that the tunnels were constructed by convict labour transported from England to Australia. The conditions were described as brutal and unforgiving, and were contrasted with a sense of pride and accomplishment by the tour guide that the convicts could do so much with so little. After a thorough safety briefing, visitors are asked to don protective white jumpsuits, a hard-hat, and gumboots before climbing down a series of ladders to the tunnels 20 meters below. Once assembled at the bottom of the entry and exit shaft, the tour guide takes the visitors through a series of tunnels that are partially flooded. During this period the guide describes the reasons why the tunnels were abandoned (increasing pollution and toxicity) as well as pointing out various landmarks above them (for example being outside of the prison walls). Visitors are then led to a series of special canoes where they float along fully flooded tunnels that are too deep to wade through. Similar statements about the architecture, construction, and history of the tunnels are made throughout this portion of the tour. Once the group has made its circuit of the tunnel systems, they are led back to the entry/exit shaft and ascend to the surface.

The Torchlight tour offered by Fremantle Prison is an entertainment focussed tour designed to scare and provoke feelings of unease. The descriptor written by Fremantle Prison reads:

Are you feeling brave? Explore the darker side of the Fremantle Prison story at night on an eerie tour by torchlight. Cringe at the ghastly, the rotten, the wretched and the inhumane experiences and events in the prison's history. Featuring the Main Cell Block, solitary confinement, whipping post, the gallows and the morgue, these tours are not for the faint hearted. Be warned – there are a few surprises along the way!

Visitors participating are welcomed to the tour and again told that there may be surprises or frightening events along the way. The prison itself is dimly lit and the content of the tour draws pieces from the Doing Time and Great Escapes tours, as well as adding in new material consisting mostly of stories relating to ghosts and paranormal experiences. The intention is clear from the beginning that visitors are to be on edge. The first "jump-scare" occurs after entering the main cell block. While the guide is discussing the small cells, cramped conditions, and bucket system of the prison a scream is heard from a terrace two stories above the tour group. A moment later a figure crashes into the suicide net above, causing screams and gasps. The figure turns out to be a mannequin and sheepish laughs are shared by the group. The tour moves on without any further explanation. The emphasis on

the “spooky” and paranormal is repeated as the tour progresses. This is combined with another jump-scare at the solitary confinement cells, where an actor lurches at the tour group from behind a closed door. The actor then goes on to explain, as an imagined inmate, the pains of solitary confinement and the uses of those cells. The final stages of the tour are reserved for the gallows and the morgue. While there are no actors or simulated suicides, the rhetoric around death, morbidity, and the paranormal is sustained. Visitors are invited to explore the morgue and are reminded of the death that had occurred in that room. The tour concludes after an exploration of the gallows and the morgue, and visitors are directed to exit the grounds but to be careful of ghosts while doing so.

The final tour offered at Fremantle Prison is the Art Tour. A specialty tour conducted once a month to highlight the different pieces of art located throughout Fremantle Prison. Some of these pieces are located in areas normally unavailable for visitors, following section 14.4 in the Fremantle Prison Conservation Policy that states work considered too offensive by Western Australian standards should not be opened to the public, or concealed if it is unavoidable (Kerr, 1998, pg 17). The pieces shown on the tour vary from graffiti and tattoo artwork, to large murals, and “hidden artwork” uncovered by preservation efforts. Similar in nature to other tours offered by Fremantle Prison, the guide collects the tour group from the gatehouse courtyard and provides a brief explanation as to the purpose of the tour. It is explained that some prisoners had special permission to draw or paint throughout their incarceration, and prior to the decommission of the prison in 1991, these privileges were extended to other inmates as well. The tour progresses by visiting pieces of artwork and the guide explaining their history and significance. It is noted that many of the pieces located on the prison walls are slowly deteriorating, having not been properly protected from the elements after the prison’s closure. The artwork goes some way to explaining the pains of imprisonment – many pictures feature sublime landscapes and a sense of freedom, while others depict resentment towards the guards, other inmates, of the passing of time. The tour itself is limited to 12 people, and in this case it is an intimate experience. There is a distinct difference between the Art Tour and the Torchlight Tour or Doing Time. There are no mentions of being strip searched or jokes about the bucket system. Instead the history of artwork and the possible meanings it has are explained, and then visitors are invited to view for themselves. In this regard, the Art Tour offers more opportunities for discussion about incarceration and a higher level of empathy for the inmates of Fremantle Prison than the other offered tour selections.

Eastern State Penitentiary offers a more flexible approach to tours. There is a self-guided audio tour narrated by Steve Buscemi, famous for his role in *Reservoir Dogs*, or a guided tour that runs daily at 2pm. The self-guided audio tour directs the visitor to different areas and exhibits within the prison, and explains their significance to the listener. The main audio tour consists of ten different stops. These recount a chronological history of imprisonment at Eastern State Penitentiary. The first stop serves as an introduction to the visitor, before moving onwards to the second stop which details the state of prisons before Eastern State. Stop three explains the significance of the first modern building, including the technology and architecture for which Eastern State was famous. Stop four provides details of a prisoner’s life, including the regimen they were under in order to give the listener a sense

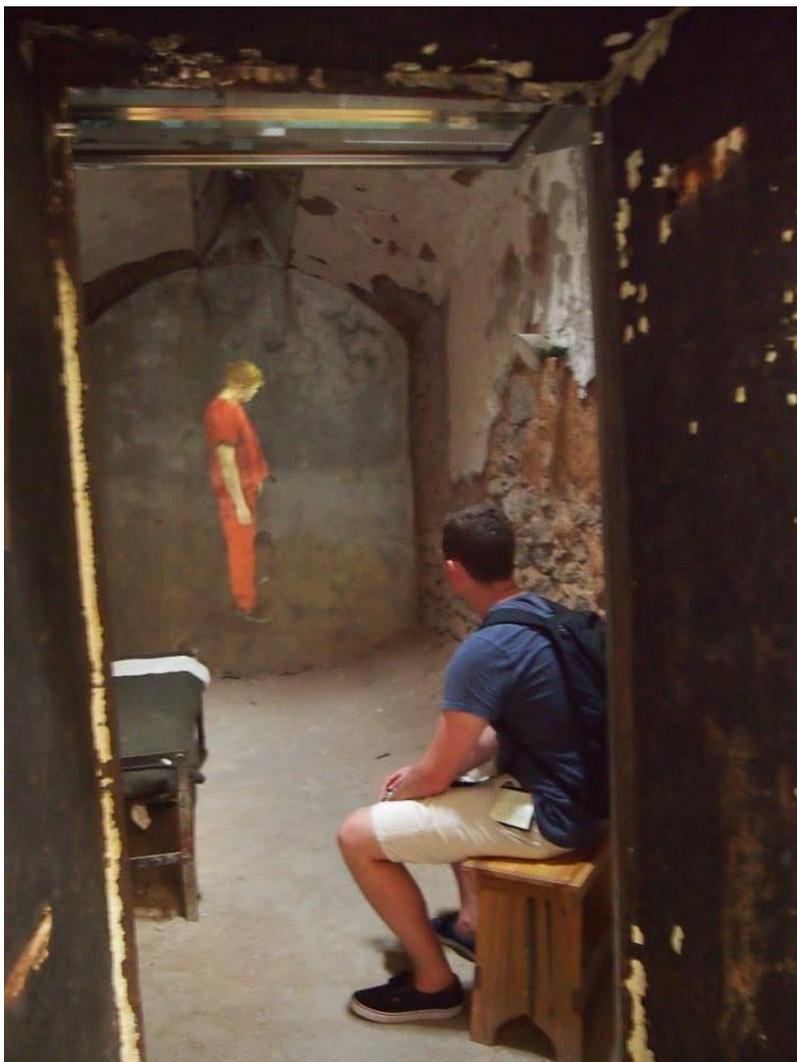
of what it was like to be controlled by the rules and regulations of the institution. The next stops (five and six) for the audio tour follow from the prisoner's life and discuss the effects of isolation. Eastern State was notable for its use of solitary confinement, and the audio tour explains the intention of this system, as well as the effects that it caused among inmates. Stop seven features the reactions to Eastern State Penitentiary and its system of isolation, reinforced by Charles Dickens and his reactions to visiting Eastern State. The end of isolation due to the issues of overcrowding, failure to enforce the system, and the lack of effectiveness are detailed in stop eight – ending the focus on the early history of Eastern State Penitentiary. A notable jump occurs in stops nine and ten. These two points on the audio tour explain the role of prisons in the 20th century and onwards. They discuss the effects of mass incarceration and the disproportionate rates of incarceration experienced by African-American and Hispanics in the United States. The audio tour ends with the visitor standing next to The Big Graph, detailing visually the description of mass incarceration provided by the audio tour.



(Figure 11: A cell at Eastern State Penitentiary. Authors photograph)

After the first ten stops on the audio tour, visitors are able to explore sections of the prison further – with a range of additional audio stops being provided. These include artist installations such as GTMO

by William Cromar, a recreation of the chain-link cages of Guantanamo Bay, or Michelle Handelmans Beware the Lily Law that illustrates the effects of transgender inmates in prisons today. The additional audio tour stops also include further information about the architecture of Eastern State Penitentiary, daily life of inmates, notable inmates, and a discussion of Eastern State in its current form. The notable inmates is focussed on Al Capone and Pep the Dog – who both feature heavily in the gift shop – as well as “Slick Willie” Sutton and Sydney Ware, among others. The audio tour points focussing on Eastern State Today discuss the potential paranormal activity at Eastern State, movies that have been filmed there, race in United States Prisons, and the abandonment of Eastern State and why it is left as a ruin.



(Figure 12: Michelle Handelmans exhibit: Beware the Lily Law. Authors photograph)

The other option available to visitors is the guided tour run daily at 2pm. This tour mimics the first ten stops of the audio tour, but in a format that is similar to Fremantle Prison or Robben Island, with a guide leading a tour group through the prison. One of the notable differences is the introduction of the group dynamic. The audio tours are solitary, individual exercises, and visitors are isolated from each other by headphones. The guided tour on the other hand allows visitors to voice their own opinions

and ask questions of the guide – phenomena that occurred at all three sites during guided tours. This can lead to insightful questions being asked, curiosities satisfied, as well as opinions being asserted.

Eastern State Penitentiary also offers a unique chance to participate in what they termed “Hands on History”. This was a chance for visitors, accompanied by a tour guide, to open and close the main gates to the prison, to unlock and lock cells, or to visit the “soup alley” (kitchens). Out of all three sites studied, this was a unique opportunity for visitors to feel the weight of cell doors, to hear the clunk of the lock turning, and the finality of cell doors closing. In this regard, actions and experiences that may have been visible only through movies and television shows are explored physically by visitors to experience for themselves an action or event they had only seen on the screen or read from a book.

4.1.2 Tour Exhibits:

For all three sites studied, the prison itself served as an exhibit. Visitors would come to see the prison: the walls, the cells, the gallows, and so forth. Housed within this larger object were smaller exhibits: depictions of prison life; crude weapons constructed by inmates; and artefacts of the prisoner’s daily life – such as meal schedules or inmate regulations.

The types of exhibits visitors would encounter on their tour varied at each site. All three sites contained the more traditional prison artefact presentation: weapons crafted by inmates displayed in a glass cabinet, or mannequins dressed in prisoner uniforms – each accompanied by a small descriptor. The use of the prison as an exhibit was consistent as well; however there were differences in the presentation and narratives. All three sites had cells arranged with props to represent the usual living conditions of inmates. Robben Island and Eastern State also paid particular attention to the cells of their most notable inmates: Nelson Mandela and Al Capone respectively. These cells were incredibly popular with visitors, who would crowd around and take pictures of themselves and the cell. Al Capone’s cell was a testament to the luxury and status he held within the prison, with reading lights, a desk, and comfortable chairs positioned neatly within his cell. It was clear that the narrative surrounding Al Capone and his status was represented here.



(Figure 13: Al Capone's cell at Eastern State Penitentiary. Authors photograph)

In contrast, Nelson Mandela's cell was sparse and devoid of those luxuries – and attracted a similar amount of attention. The narrative presented by the guide at Nelson Mandela's cell was to see what he had to overcome, the amount of adversity placed against those who were incarcerated in Robben Island Prison. While Fremantle Prison had similar cells arranged to show life as an inmate, the notable inmate and associated cell was Moondyne Joe. Notorious for his escape attempts, Moondyne Joe was locked in an “unescapable cell”. This follows a similar trend of identifying a notable former inmate and presenting a cell or site closely associated with them for visitors to see and discuss.

The prisons themselves also acted as exhibits. At all three sites, visitors were seen taking photographs of the cells, walls, barbed wire, and watch towers. While care had been taken by staff to produce traditional museum exhibits, an important element of these sites was the prison itself acting as an exhibit. Fremantle Prison and Eastern State Penitentiary were particularly poignant examples of this. At Fremantle Prison, the chapel, sandstone walls, and multiple terraces of the main cell blocks were all features that drew the gaze of visitors. The chapel was of particular interest, and many visitors commented that they could not believe such a beautiful place existed within a prison. The architectural draw of Eastern State is for another reason entirely. The ruinous nature of the site acts as one of the key selling points. The rusting metal, peeling paint, and collapsed ceilings add to the mystique of the site and provide a unique experience for many. In contrast, Robben Island Prison is a solid, grey, building. The sense of awe and intrigue experienced at Fremantle Prison or Eastern State is replaced by a humbling sense of isolation and sadness for those who were held there.

Fremantle Prison was the only site to have a distinct focus on the particularly punitive, and corporal, punishments of imprisonment. Most notable was the flogging post, the solitary confinement cells, and

the gallows. The flogging post was presented to visitors as a method of punishment, meted out to those who transgressed or tried to escape. When the tour arrived at this section, the guide recounted that floggings were not always completed in their first attempt. In instances where the condemned was rendered unconscious by the pain of the ordeal, he was taken to the infirmary and given medical treatment so that he may survive in order for the remaining lashes be carried out at a later date. Following this gruesome revelation, visitors can then pose on the flogging post, pretending to be the victim of a particularly painful lashing, or the one doling out the punishment. To view the solitary confinement cells, the tour group is led down claustrophobic hallways to painfully small cells. There is often a sense of discomfort and quiet when viewing the cellblock and the relief is palpable upon exiting. A similar feeling is achieved upon exiting the gallows, and the sombre tone of the tour guide and the setting is of stark difference to the flogging post experienced earlier in the tour. In this regard, there appears to be a strong difference in the presentation of corporal punishments. An execution and solitary confinement is regarded as sombre and depressing, whereas the flogging of an inmate is grotesque and prone to jokes.

4.1.3 Tour Narratives:

One of the key features of this observational data was to experience some of the narratives presented to visitors during their tours. Narratives in this case refer to the general themes and perspectives adopted by tour guides, those who write or design the tour program, and their presentation to visitors.

The most easily identifiable narrative experienced during the tours of prison museums was at Robben Island Museum. This was the narrative of triumph and overcoming adversity. The tour of Robben Island prison was the primary source for this narrative, where the tour guide would detail the impossible odds that were overcome by the political prisoners incarcerated there. However, the theme of triumph and the island serving as a symbol of hope was also presented by the tour guide on the bus tour as visitors are driven around the island. This narrative is so strong that the phrase is repeated during tours, numerous times in academic literature, and as a state sanctioned direction for Robben Island Museum to incorporate (Deacon, 1996; Marback, 2004; Nanda, 2004; Shearing & Kempa, 2004; Soudien, 2015).

Aligned with this was the concept that visiting Robben Island is a pilgrimage for visitors. This emerged from the post-tour responses as well as the interviews with staff members. This idea of a pilgrimage is most recognizable when the tour passes the former cell of Nelson Mandela. There is an especially reverent atmosphere when visitors see this cell, and as other authors have noted (Welch, 2015), the jostling and crowding appears to calm as the gravity and realities of the site hit home. The notion of spiritual pilgrimage and the narrative of triumph work in concert and appear to elicit very powerful emotional reactions when visitors are given the opportunity to view Nelson Mandela's former cell. This was supported by visitor post-exposure responses, where the main response from visitors when

asked what they liked the most about their tour was seeing the conditions that the political prisoners were held in, and Nelson Mandela's former cell.

The main narratives presented to visitors at Fremantle Prison are of corporal punishments and convict heritage, from the perspective of prison guards. This narrative perspective is further reinforced by having former guards present as tour guides or employees of the site. The narrative of corporal punishment was illustrated previously. However the focus on convict heritage over modern inmates of Fremantle Prison was expressed during the interviews with staff rather than tour responses from visitors. The emphasis on convict heritage appeared to trouble some interview participants, however the popularity of the site and its UNESCO World Heritage Listing are derived from its presentation of convict history in Western Australia. To that end the focus on convict heritage appears to continue.

At Eastern State Penitentiary, one of the primary narratives is the focus on current issues in corrections. The tours often come to a close with the visitor standing next to The Big Graph, detailing visually the description of mass incarceration provided by the audio tour. The Big Graph represents a conscious shift by Eastern State Penitentiary to discuss issues surrounding mass incarceration in the 20th century, and was often described by employees as one of the most important parts of the tours. The importance placed on the Big Graph, and subsequent messages of mass incarceration and current issues in corrections, were apparent in the visitor responses. While this is not the only narrative featured at the site, it is important as a unique example of a site of penal heritage attempting to promote conversations regarding the issues around mass incarceration in America. In terms of educating the public about penal heritage, Eastern State is also moving to educate the public about the current consequences that this penal history has produced (Kelley, 2011).

4.2 Visitor Data

4.2.1 Pre-exposure Survey Results:

This section presents the combined survey results from all visitors who participated in a pre-exposure survey at Fremantle Prison, Robben Island Museum, or Eastern State Penitentiary. A total of 413 surveys were administered between 28 June 2013 and 08 September 2014 with 374 visitors returning completed surveys. The response rate percentage is the number of surveys that were returned and used for data analysis. The dates and response rates for the pre-exposure surveys at each site are listed below:

- Fremantle Prison: 20 June 2013 to 04 July 2013, 155 pre-exposure surveys administered, 146 surveys received (94% response rate).
- Robben Island Museum: 10 July 2013 to 17 July 2013, 122 pre-exposure surveys administered, 101 surveys received (83% response rate).

- Eastern State Penitentiary: 02 September 2014 to 08 September 2014, 136 surveys administered, 127 surveys received (93% response rate).

Table 3
Pre-exposure Sample Size, Age, and Gender

	Fremantle Prison	Robben Island Museum	Eastern State Penitentiary	Aggregate
Pre-Exposure Sample Size	146	101	127	374
Age (average)	37	33.55	34	35.08
Gender – Male %	43.2%	37%	44.9%	42.1%
Gender – Female %	56.8%	63%	55.1%	57.9%

Participants were asked to identify their ethnicity as part of the pre-exposure survey, however this resulted in problematic answers. The answers included a mixture of nationality, ethnicity, and race. The collated data, while note-worthy, did not yield any significant results and was difficult to utilise in terms of validity. For example, there were responses that included “white”, “Caucasian”, and “Australian” which do not add much information past a simple label for the respondent. With this in mind, the data for ethnicity (or nationality/race) was removed due to the previously mentioned issues of validity, coding, and a lack of any meaningful results when run through statistical tests.

Visitor Location:

Visitors to all three sites had an approximate age of 35 years old, with a majority being female (57.9%) over male (42.1%). Of note is the larger difference in gender make-up in visitors to Robben Island Museum, however the small sample size and increased difficulty in survey administration may mean that this result is not particularly reliable.

Table 4
Visitor location data

	Fremantle Prison	Robben Island Museum	Eastern State Penitentiary	Aggregate
Local	26.7%	6.9%	8.7%	15.3%
Domestic	52.1%	27.7%	48.8%	44.5%
International	21.2%	65.3%	41.7%	40.2%

Participants were asked to indicate their city of residence, which was then coded to represent local, domestic, or international visitors. Local refers to prison museum visitors whose residence is located in the same city as the prison museum. Domestic visitors normally reside in the same country, but not the same city, and international visitors resided in a different country from the prison museum.

The majority of visitors to the prisons were domestic (44.5%) or international (40.2%), with local visitors comprising of 15.3% of the aggregate sample. However when viewing each of the sites

individually some significant differences appear. Fremantle Prison had the largest portion of local visitors to the site and the lowest number of international visitors. In total, 78.8% of visitors to Fremantle Prison were from within Australia, compared with local and domestic visitors making up 34.6% of visitors for Robben Island Museum and 57.5% for Eastern State Penitentiary. One possible explanation for this is the increasing popularity of convict heritage within Australia – with Australians taking a greater interest in the colonisation of their country, and the possibility of convict ancestry within their family. A second difference of note is the large number of international visitors to Robben Island Museum. This could signify a lack of opportunity for local and domestic visitors to participate in tourism activities, or the result could be a testament to the international scope of Robben Island Museum and its prominence as a tourism destination for international visitors.

Reasons for visiting Fremantle, Cape Town, and Philadelphia:

Table 5
Participant reasons for visiting each city

	Fremantle Prison	Robben Island Museum	Eastern State Penitentiary	Aggregate
To visit the prison museum	2.6%	7.8%	14.0%	7.9%
Shopping	1.3%	1.7%	0.0%	1.0%
Visiting family or friends	23.5%	5.2%	11.8%	14.4%
Business	5.2%	6.1%	5.1%	5.4%
Holiday	30.7%	49.6%	47.1%	41.6%
I live here	28.1%	7.8%	5.9%	14.9%
Other	8.5%	21.7%	16.1%	14.9%

A large portion of the combined sample (41.6%) of respondents indicated that their reason to visit the city of the prison museum was for a holiday. Visiting family or friends (14.4%), and respondents who lived in the city (14.9%) were the next largest segments. Individual results of note include the differences between cities for responses to “Visiting Family or Friends” and “I live here”. The large section of local visitors to Fremantle Prison influenced the number of respondents indicating that they lived in Fremantle or Perth. On the other hand, very few respondents from Robben Island Museum indicated that they were visiting family or friends. This may be a result of the high number of international travellers visiting Cape Town and Robben Island Museum, than local or domestic visitors seeing their family or friends.

Previously visiting the prison museum, and visiting a dark tourism site:

Table 6
Previous visitation to each site, and dark tourism locations

	Fremantle Prison	Robben Island Museum	Eastern State Penitentiary	Aggregate
Have previously visited the prison museum	29.5%	9%	15.7%	19.3%
Have previously visited a dark tourism site	72.6%	55.4%	73.2%	68.4%

Following this, the majority of participants (80.7%) had not visited the prison museum site before. The trend of less local visitation to Robben Island Museum continues here, and has possibly influenced the previous visitation to Robben Island Museum.

In contrast, 68.4% of total respondents had previously visited a site of dark tourism before. The sites of dark tourism that participants listed were categorised according to Stones (2006) typologies of dark tourism locations. The results are presented in Table 7 below. The majority of respondents had visited a site that could be classified as a Dark Exhibition; however Dark Camps of Genocide also featured prominently.

Table 7
Dark tourism locations visited by pre-exposure respondents

	Fremantle Prison	Robben Island Museum	Eastern State Penitentiary	Aggregate
Dark Exhibition	58.5%	47.4%	52.3%	53.7%
Dark Dungeon	11.3%	5.3%	5.3%	7.7%
Dark Resting Place	4.2%	13.2%	2.3%	5.4%
Dark Conflict Site	4.9%	2.6%	3.8%	4.0%
Dark Shrine	9.9%	7.9%	15.9%	11.7%
Dark Camps of Genocide	11.3%	23.7%	20.5%	17.4%

The majority of visitors had been to a Dark Exhibition before, which features a blend of education and entertainment, e.g. prison museums or war museums. A significant portion of visitors within the aggregate sample (17.4%) also indicated that they had been to a Dark Camp of Genocide (e.g. concentration camp). However, not a single visitor indicated that they had been to a haunted house or what Stone (2006) would categorise as a Dark Fun Factory. This indicates that tourists may separate them from other sites of death and disaster, and that fictional representations of death or the macabre for entertainment are not within the same concept of dark tourism as war museums, prison museums, or concentration camps. It also highlights that visitors to prison museums have often experienced other forms of dark tourism, and that the phenomenon of visiting such sites is not a 'one-time' action.

The withdrawal of phenomena such as death or imprisonment from the public eye results in people pursuing opportunities to educate themselves on these topics. Stone's (2010) thesis on this concept argued that dark tourism sites allow visitors to reflect on their mortality and on the concepts of life and death. It can also be argued that prison museums follow a similar theme allowing for visitors to contemplate freedom and incarceration. An alternative explanation for this might be that the survey question itself meant that respondents were not aware that sites such as haunted houses would be an appropriate answer, and subsequently preferred to note more "serious" or "dark" sites. Closed responses, or a checklist, may have produced different results. However the intention with this question was to discover what types of responses visitors would include when asked if they had visited sites of "death and disaster" – a typical definition for dark tourism locations. In this case haunted houses and dark fun factories were not considered by respondents to fall under the, admittedly, broad definition provided.

Reasons for visiting the prison museum:

Respondents were asked to give their reasons for visiting the prison museum site, and there were three main answers from the aggregate sample: Education (16.6%), Interest in History (31.2%), and Curiosity (24.6%). This trend continued generally for each individual prison museum. However there were two noteworthy differences. The first is the high response rate for Education among visitors to Robben Island Museum. This may indicate that tourists were visiting to be further educated about the island's history, apartheid, or the individuals who were incarcerated there. Conversely, visitors to Fremantle Prison and Eastern State Penitentiary may have less knowledge about what the experience will entail. The second distinction is the high response rate of visitors stating that the architecture was the reason for visiting Eastern State Penitentiary. This is a less ambiguous response as the ruinous nature of the site is one of the primary marketing aspects.

This gives a clearer picture of the motivations of visitors to these sites. This also continues with the idea that prison museums serve as sites of education and historical significance, but also fulfil the curiosity of people in regards to the mystique of prisons. With the rise of imprisonment as a punishment, and the increased frequency and prevalence of prisons in contemporary culture, being able to view a prison becomes a more compelling reason to visit sites such as these. All three sites had important elements of heritage, with Robben Island's high national and international profile tied to apartheid, Fremantle and its relationship with convict heritage in Western Australia, and Eastern States role as an architectural model for other prisons world-wide. The responses illustrate that the historical elements of these sites are attractive to visitors who wish to learn more about their history. This is coupled with curiosity about an institution (prisons) with which visitors may not have much experience.

Table 8
Reasons given for visiting the prison museum

	Fremantle Prison	Robben Island Museum	Eastern State Penitentiary	Aggregate
Education	11.7%	28.0%	13.2%	16.6%
Family Ties	3.3%	0.9%	0.3%	1.6%
Exhibits	4.0%	3.7%	6.8%	4.9%
Interest in History	33.1%	34.4%	26.8%	31.2%
Architecture	6.0%	1.8%	11.2%	6.8%
Curiosity	26.8%	17.4%	27.8%	24.6%
Film or TV	1.0%	2.3%	3.1%	2.1%
Inmate Stories	9.7%	6.4%	6.1%	7.5%
Other	4.3%	5.0%	4.7%	4.7%

Site discovery:

When asked how they had learnt about the prison museum, respondents primarily indicated that it was friends or family (36.9%) who had told them about the prison. However travel guides (20.7%), and other means (13.9%) also featured prominently.

Table 9
How visitors learnt about the site

	Fremantle Prison	Robben Island Museum	Eastern State Penitentiary	Aggregate
Friends/Family	46.5%	30.4%	31.2%	36.9%
Newspaper	0.5%	2.2%	1.9%	1.4%
Magazine	2.2%	0.7%	1.9%	1.7%
Travel Guide	15.1%	18.8%	28.8%	20.7%
Travel Brochure	9.7%	5.8%	10.6%	8.9%
Prison Website	11.4%	7.2%	6.9%	8.7%
TV Program	2.2%	12.3%	3.1%	5.4%
Radio Program	0.5%	2.2%	1.2%	1.2%
Road Sign	2.2%	2.3%	1.2%	1.2%
Other	9.7%	30.4%	13.1%	13.9%

Television and Film viewing:

The final element of demographic data for visitors sampled in the pre-exposure survey is the television and film viewing habits (Table 10). On average, visitors to the prison museum site watched 2.044 hours of television per day and indicated that they watched a range of different genres. Similarly, 46.5% of the aggregate sample stated that they had watched a prison film in the last twelve months. This level was similar across the individual site samples.

Table 10
Television and Film viewing habits

	Fremantle Prison	Robben Island Museum	Eastern State Penitentiary	Aggregate
Average Hours Per Day	2.10	1.99	2.01	2.04
Categories				
News	16.6%	21.9%	16.9%	18.1%
Sports	13.0%	13.5%	7.9%	11.5%
Crime	12.4%	6.6%	10.9%	10.4%
Drama	14.4%	11.8%	17.2%	14.6%
Cooking	5.2%	5.6%	4.9%	5.2%
Living	5.6%	3.8%	1.9%	3.9%
Documentaries	16.4%	17.4%	18.0%	17.2%
Comedies	16.0%	17.0%	18.5%	17.1%
Other	0.4%	2.4%	3.8%	2.1%
Watched a prison film in last 12 months (% yes)	45.2%	39.6%	53.5%	46.5%

Pre-exposure attitudes:

As part of the pre- and post-exposure design, participants were asked to rank their responses to a series of questions on a Likert scale ranging from strongly disagree to strongly agree. The pre-exposure results are presented in Table 11. These are the average response to each question and the standard deviation present. As noted by Jamieson (2004, pg 1217), using the mean of ordinal Likert scales can be problematic as “the response categories have a rank order, but the intervals between values cannot be presumed equal”. However in this case, there is less emphasis on measuring satisfaction and attempting to quantify the difference between categories. Instead the pre-exposure attitudes (and later pre- and post-exposure comparison) are meant to provide an illustration of the visitor’s general attitudes. This is then compared within the sites themselves, rather than against other studies that have utilised Likert scales.

Each response has been given the following numeric value:

1 – Strongly Disagree, 2 – Disagree, 3 – Neutral, 4 – Agree, 5 – Strongly Agree

Table 11
Pre-exposure attitude scores

Code	Question	Fremantle Prison	Robben Island Museum	Eastern State Penitentiary	Aggregate
		Mean ± SD	Mean ± SD	Mean ± SD	Mean ± SD
PreM	Do you think that imprisonment is an effective form of punishment?	3.95 ± .93	3.63 ± .97	3.67 ± .99	3.77 ± .97
PreN	Do you think that older prisons reduced crime better than modern prisons?	3.37 ± 1.07	2.99 ± 1.14	2.98 ± .92	3.13 ± 1.05
PreO	Do you think that corporal punishment (e.g. stockades or whippings) should be used today?	2.56 ± 1.25	2.11 ± 1.22	1.98 ± 1.17	2.24 ± 1.24
PreP	Do you think that prisoners of [prison museum] deserved the conditions in which they were held?	2.89 ± 1.01	1.79 ± .89	2.73 ± .99	2.54 ± 1.07
PreQ	Do you think that prison museums are educational?	4.36 ± .73	4.20 ± .80	4.25 ± .62	4.28 ± .72
PreR	Do you think that television and film paint a realistic picture of prison?	2.82 ± .96	2.77 ± 1.01	2.72 ± .91	2.77 ± .96

While the mean scores of the Likert tests are tentatively useful in this instance, the more appropriate method of reporting group percentages is also provided. The responses to each question will be explained briefly:

PreM: Do you think that imprisonment is an effective form of punishment?

All three sites and the aggregate sample indicated that they either strongly agreed or agreed with this statement. Fremantle Prison: 63.4% SA/A, Robben Island: 64.3% SA/A, Eastern State: 63.8% SA/A, and Aggregate: 68.5%.

PreN: Do you think that older prisons reduced crime better than modern prisons?

Here, most responses indicated a neutral response, with Fremantle Prison (34.1% N), Eastern State (47.6% N), and the Aggregate (40.6% N) being relatively similar, with the remaining responses falling evenly either side. Robben Island on the other hand reported 31.7% of responses being Neutral, but 38.6% being Strongly Disagree or Disagree.

PreO: Do you think that corporal punishment should be used today?

By a large margin, all three sites reported that respondents either disagreed or strongly disagreed with this statement. Fremantle Prison: 63.4% SD/D, Robben Island: 71.3% SD/D, Eastern State: 74% SD/D, and Aggregate: 66%.

PreP: Do you think that prisoners of [prison museum] deserved the conditions in which they were held?

Responses to this statement were either neutral, disagreed, or strongly disagreed. For Fremantle Prison the split was: 43.9% N, 34.2% SD/D. Eastern State: 42.5% N, 33.1% SD/D. Aggregate: 38.5% N, 42.2% SD/D. At Robben Island, the split was much more significant, with 20.8% of respondents returning a neutral responses, and 72.2% either strongly disagreeing or disagreeing.

PreQ: Do you think that prison museums are educational?

Responses to this question were often Strongly Agree or Agree, with the following breakdown. Fremantle Prison: 92.7% SA/A, Robben Island: 85.1% SA/A, Eastern State: 90.6% SA/A, and Aggregate: 89.8% SA/A.

PreR: Do you think that television and film paint a realistic picture of prison?

Here the answers were often split between Neutral, and Strongly Disagree and Disagree. Each site reported the following. Fremantle Prison: 39% N, 34.1% SD/D. Robben Island: 40.6% N, 37.6% SD/D. Eastern State: 32.3% N, 42.5% SD/D. Aggregate: 35.8% N, 39.3% SD/D.

4.2.2 Statistical Tests:

A series of Pearson Chi-square tests for association were conducted between variables from the pre-exposure survey. Tables 12 through 16 give brief outlines of the variables tested and the result for each. The alpha level for a significant result was $p < .05$

Table 12
Pearson Chi-Square tests for association

Association	Chi-Square Result			
	Fremantle Prison	Robben Island Museum	Eastern State Penitentiary	Aggregate
Gender				
vs. Previously visiting the prison museum	P = .596	P = .209	P = .991	P = .311
vs. Previously visiting dark tourism	P = .379	P = .907	P = .483	P = .507
vs. Prison as a good punishment	P = .872	P = .008*	P = .653	P = .174
vs. Were older prisons effective	P = .840	P = .682	P = .409	P = .874
vs. Use of corporal punishment	P = .070	P = .024*	P = .791	P = .181
vs. Whether prisoners deserved conditions	P = .466	P = .052	P = .759	P = .670
vs. Are prison museums educational	P = .238	P = .848	P = .304	P = .531
vs. TV painting a realistic picture of prison	P = .156	P = .031*	P = .288	P = .857

Gender:

The only significant associations to occur were from the data gathered at Robben Island Museum. The first significant result was the association between gender, and whether the respondent thought that prison was a good form of punishment ($\chi^2(1, N = 101) = 13.674, p = .008$), with 70.2% of males agreeing that prisons are a good form of punishment (either strongly agree or agree), whereas females were more likely to answer neutral or only agree that prison was a good form of punishment. There was also a significant association between gender and whether the respondent thought that corporal punishment should be utilised ($\chi^2(1, N = 101) = 11.195, p = .024$). Here, 73% of female respondents disagreed with the notion of using corporal punishment, whereas 27% of males agreed with this statement. Finally, there was a significant association between the gender of a respondent and whether they thought that television painted a realistic picture of prisons ($\chi^2(1, N = 101) = 10.656, p = .031$). Only 15.9% of females indicated that they believe television painted a realistic picture of prisons, whereas 30.5% of males did so.

Location:

Table 13
Pearson Chi-Square tests for association

Association	Chi-Square Result			
	Fremantle Prison	Robben Island Museum	Eastern State Penitentiary	Aggregate
vs. Previously visiting the prison museum	P = .000*	P = .000*	P = .006*	P = .000*
vs. Previously visiting dark tourism	P = .144	P = .000*	P = .602	P = .146
vs. Prison as a good punishment	P = .173	P = .001*	P = .042*	P = .069
vs. Were older prisons effective	P = .119	P = .002*	P = .917	P = .002*
vs. Use of corporal punishment	P = .003*	P = .050*	P = .948	P = .000*
vs. Whether prisoners deserved conditions	P = .027*	P = .574	P = .400	P = .000*
vs. Are prison museums educational	P = .645	P = .787	P = .613	P = .240
vs. TV painting a realistic picture of prison	P = .600	P = .021*	P = .496	P = .840

At all three sites, and within the combined sample, there was a significant association between a respondent's relative location and whether they had previously visited the prison museum. There was a significant association between returning visitors being local, while domestic and international tourists were unlikely to have previously visited the prison museum before.

Robben Island featured the only association between a respondents relative location and whether they had visited a site of dark tourism before ($\chi^2(1, N = 101) = 16.382, p = .000$). In this case 82.1% of international visitors had previously visited a site of dark tourism, compared with 12.5% of domestic visitors and 5.4% of local visitors.

A respondent's location also had an association with their attitude towards prison as a good form of punishment. This association was significant at Robben Island ($\chi^2(1, N = 101) = 27.152, p = .001$) and Eastern State Penitentiary ($X^2(8, N = 127) = 16.049, p = .042$). At Robben Island Museum, 42.6% of those who agreed or strongly agreed with prison being a good form of punishment were international tourists. At Eastern State, 54.1% of domestic and 81.1% of international visitors either agreed or strongly agreed that prison was a good form of punishment. This is compared with 11.9% of local visitors.

At Robben Island, there was a significant association between a respondents relative location and whether they thought that older prisons were more effective than their modern counterparts ($\chi^2(1, N = 101) = 24.347, p = .002$). From the total sample, 54.5% were international tourists indicating either a neutral view or disagreeing with the statement. Domestic tourists on the other hand showed equal responses in four out of five categories, with strongly disagreeing having the largest drop in responses. Within this sample 71.4% of local visitors stated that they agree or strongly agree that older prisons were more effective than modern ones. This association was also significant in the aggregate sample ($\chi^2(8, N = 370) = 24.310, p = .002$), with 50% of local visitors agreeing or strongly

agreeing with this statement compared with 33.6% for domestic visitors and 25.3% for international visitors.

At Fremantle Prison, the location of visitors was also significantly associated with their views regarding corporal punishment ($\chi^2(4, N = 146) = 23.518, p = .003$). The test for association found that those tourists who agreed with the use of corporal punishment, 66.7%, were local. In contrast, those tourists who were domestic or international tended to disagree with the use of corporal punishment. This was also found at Robben Island ($\chi^2(1, N = 101) = 15.486, p = .050$). International visitors to Robben Island Museum were more likely to disagree that corporal punishment should be used. However, of those that indicated they agree or strongly agree 35.7% were domestic visitors. Local visitors showed a relatively even mix of responses. Finally, the aggregate sample also showed a significant association between a respondent's relative location and whether they thought that corporal punishment should be utilised ($\chi^2(8, N = 370) = 30.340, p = .000$). Within this sample, 66.4% of domestic and 76.6% of international visitors disagreed with corporal punishment, compared with 41.2% of local visitors.

A respondent's location was significantly associated with their attitude regarding whether inmates deserved the conditions in which they were held within Fremantle Prison ($\chi^2(4, N = 146) = 17.307, p = .027$). In this case, 40% of local visitors agreed that the inmates deserved the conditions in which they were held, compared with only 10% of domestic and 11.1% of international visitors. International and domestic visitors were far more likely to disagree with this statement. Similarly, domestic and international visitors in the combined data sample were more likely to disagree with this attitude than local visitors ($\chi^2(8, N = 356) = 30.224, p = .000$).

Finally, an association between a respondent's relative location and whether they thought that television paints a realistic picture of prison was identified from the data collected at Robben Island Museum ($\chi^2(1, N = 101) = 18.009, p = .021$). International visitors had a higher percentage of respondents disagreeing or neutral (56%) about the thought that television paints a realistic picture of prison. On the other hand, 11% of domestic tourists either agreed or strongly agreed with this statement. All respondents who stated that they strongly agreed were domestic visitors. Local tourists once again exhibited an even spread of responses.

Previous prison museum visitation:

Table 14
Pearson Chi-Square tests for association

Association	Chi-Square Result			
	Fremantle Prison	Robben Island Museum	Eastern State Penitentiary	Aggregate
Previously visited Prison Museum				
vs. Previously visiting dark tourism	P = .771	P = .151	P = .065	P = .508
vs. Prison as a good punishment	P = .151	P = .014*	P = .342	P = .180
vs. Were older prisons effective	P = .217	P = .040*	P = .975	P = .011*
vs. Use of corporal punishment	P = .004*	P = .114	P = .621	P = .001*
vs. Whether prisoners deserved conditions	P = .006*	P = .930	P = .444	P = .001*
vs. Are prison museums educational	P = .694	P = .145	P = .531	P = .243
vs. TV painting a realistic picture of prison	P = .189	P = .055	P = .398	P = .037*

The first significant result from this set illustrated in Table 14 was from Robben Island Museum. There was a significant association between whether a respondent had previously visited the prison museum and whether they thought that prison was an effective form of punishment ($\chi^2(1, N = 101) = 12.561, p = .014$). Of those that had not previously visited the museum 58% agreed that prison was an effective form of punishment. Following this, there was also an association between whether a respondent had previously visited Robben Island Museum ($\chi^2(1, N = 101) = 10.052, p = .040$) and whether they thought that older prisons were better than modern prisons. Those respondents who had not previously visited the prison museum had a higher percentage (37%) of responses stating that they disagreed with the statement. Those that had previously been to the museum had a higher percentage of respondents (66.6%) agreeing that older prisons were more effective than modern prisons. This same association was also found in the aggregate sample ($\chi^2(4, N = 370) = 13.161, p = .011$). In this instance, 42.2% of those visitors who had previously visited the prison museum indicated that they agree or strongly agree that older prisons were more effective, compared with 30.4% of those that had not previously visited that particular prison museum.

There was a statistically significant association between whether the respondent had previously visited Fremantle Prison and whether they thought that corporal punishment should be utilised ($\chi^2(4, N = 146) = 15.582, p = .004$). Among first time visitors, 76.6% disagreed or strongly disagreed with the idea of corporal punishment compared with 27.3% of returning visitors. Within the aggregate sample there was a similar significant association between whether a respondent had previously visited the prison museum and whether they thought that corporal punishment should be utilised ($\chi^2(4, N = 370) = 18.130, p = .001$). Following this, 71.6% of respondents who had not previously visited the prison museum disagreed or strongly disagreed that corporal punishment should be utilised. Conversely, returning visitors had a much more spread set of attitudes, with similar numbers of visitors disagreeing or strongly disagreeing, and a similar amount either agreeing or strongly agreeing that corporal punishment should be used.

There was also a significant association between whether a visitor had been to Fremantle Prison before and if they thought that the inmates deserved the conditions in which they were held ($\chi^2(4, N = 146) = 14.275, p = .006$). First time visitors to Fremantle Prison made up 28.2% of those who disagreed with the statement, whereas of those who agreed, 27.3% were return visitors. The majority of respondents (46.2%) were neutral. Once again this appeared in the aggregate sample ($\chi^2(4, N = 356) = 18.667, p = .001$). In this instance, 45.3% of respondents who had not previously visited the prison museum either disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement that the inmates deserved the conditions in which they were held, while 31% of returning visitors agreed that inmates were deserving of those conditions.

Finally, there was one association that only appeared in the combined sample of collected data. This was a significant association between whether a respondent had previously visited the prison museum and whether they thought that television or film painted a realistic picture of prison ($\chi^2(4, N = 363) = 10.189, p = .037$). The majority of respondents who had not previously visited the prison museum (79.2%) disagreed or were neutral about the statement that television or film paints a realistic picture of prison. Returning visitors were much less one sided in their responses, offering a more even distribution of attitudes.

Previous dark tourism visitation:

Table 15
Pearson Chi-Square tests for association

Association	Chi-Square Result			
	Fremantle Prison	Robben Island Museum	Eastern State Penitentiary	Aggregate
Previously visited Dark Tourism vs. Prison as a good punishment	P = .200	P = .064	P = .319	P = .094
vs. Were older prisons effective	P = .257	P = .947	P = .842	P = .819
vs. Use of corporal punishment	P = .012*	P = .312	P = .724	P = .168
vs. Whether prisoners deserved conditions	P = .911	P = .300	P = .541	P = .503
vs. Are prison museums educational	P = .366	P = .778	P = .881	P = .835
vs. TV painting a realistic picture of prison	P = .695	P = .547	P = .401	P = .261

The only significant result from this section was from the sample of data collected at Fremantle Prison. This result indicated an association between whether a respondent had previously visited a site of dark tourism and whether they thought that corporal punishment should be utilised ($\chi^2(4, N = 146) = 12.856, p = .012$). From the total sample, 52.5% disagreed or strongly disagreed with the idea of corporal punishment had previously visited a dark tourism location.

Prison films:

Table 16
Pearson Chi-Square tests for association

Association	Chi-Square Result			
	Fremantle Prison	Robben Island Museum	Eastern State Penitentiary	Aggregate
Recently watched a Prison Film				
vs. Previously visiting dark tourism	P = .083	P = .599	P = .031*	P = .029*
vs. Previously visited prison museum	P = .211	P = .330	P = .383	P = .299
vs. Prison as a good punishment	P = .542	P = .086	P = .057	P = .011*
vs. Were older prisons effective	P = .285	P = .598	P = .172	P = .155
vs. Use of corporal punishment	P = .836	P = .622	P = .048*	P = .561
vs. Whether prisoners deserved conditions	P = .318	P = .455	P = .889	P = .868
vs. Are prison museums educational	P = .640	P = .043*	P = .409	P = .020*
vs. TV painting a realistic picture of prison	P = .875	P = .006*	P = .151	P = .335

At Eastern State Penitentiary, the first significant association was between respondents who had previously watched a prison film or television show in the last twelve months and whether they had visited sites of dark tourism. Of those who had previously watched a prison film 43.7% had also visited a site of dark tourism, compared with 29.4% of those who had not watched a prison film recently ($\chi^2(1, N = 127) = 4.640, p = .031$). This association was also found in the aggregate sample ($\chi^2(1, N = 367) = 4.741, p = .029$), with 61.2% of those who had not previously watched a prison film also having not visited a site of dark tourism before.

Within the aggregate sample, watching a prison film or television show in the last twelve months also had a significant association with whether the respondent thought that prison was an effective form of punishment ($\chi^2(4, N = 367) = 13.085, p = .011$). Of those who had previously watched a prison film, 73.6% indicated that they strongly agree or agree that prison is a good form of punishment, whereas those who had not were more likely to be neutral or only agree.

The final significant result at Eastern State Penitentiary was the association between respondents who had watched a prison film or show in the last twelve months and their attitudes regarding corporal punishment. Of those who had watched a prison film recently, 50% strongly disagreed with the use of corporal punishment. Those who had not watched a prison film recently were more likely to remain neutral, however the general sentiment was to still disagree ($\chi^2(4, N = 127) = 9.572, p = .048$).

From the Robben Island Museum sample, there was a significant association between whether a respondent had watched a prison film in the last twelve months and if they thought that prison museums were educational ($\chi^2(1, N = 101) = 8.172, p = .043$). Of those that had previously watched a prison film 97.5% agreed that prison museums were educational. Whereas within the sample of those that had not watched a prison film 23.2% indicated that they disagreed with prison museums were educational. This was also apparent in the aggregate sample ($\chi^2(4, N = 364) = 11.659, p = .020$).

where respondents who had not watched a prison film tended to be more neutral or just agree, whereas of those that had watched a film 94.8% indicated that they agree or strongly agree.

Finally, there was an association between whether a respondent from Robben Island Museum had watched a prison film in the last twelve months and if they thought that television painted a realistic picture of prison ($\chi^2(1, N = 101) = 14.320, p = .006$). Here, 48.2% of those who had not watched a prison film in the last twelve months disagreed with the concept of television painting a realistic picture of prison, compared with 27.5% of those who had watched a prison film recently agreeing with that statement.

Post-Exposure Attitudes:

1 – Strongly Disagree, 2 – Disagree, 3 – Neutral, 4 – Agree, 5 – Strongly Agree

Includes post-exposure mean, standard deviation, and difference (Δ) from pre-exposure means. The delta result is the post-exposure subtracted from pre-exposure mean. A negative difference (eg -.20) indicates a downward movement on the Likert scale, whereas a positive difference (eg 0.20) indicates an upward movement. As noted previously, the mean is not normally an appropriate measure for Likert scales (Jamieson, 2004). However in this case it is the differences between the scores, and between the sites themselves, that is the area of focus.

Table 17

Post-exposure attitude scores with pre-exposure difference

Code	Question	Fremantle Prison		Robben Island Museum		Eastern State Penitentiary		Aggregate	
		Mean \pm SD	Δ	Mean \pm SD	Δ	Mean \pm SD	Δ	Mean \pm SD	Δ
PostM	Do you think that imprisonment is an effective form of punishment?	3.67 \pm 1.03	-0.28	3.14 \pm 1.01	-0.49	3.13 \pm .88	-0.54	3.42 \pm 1.02	-0.35
PostN	Do you think that older prisons reduced crime better than modern prisons?	3.14 \pm 1.24	-0.23	2.57 \pm 1.08	-0.42	2.50 \pm .82	-0.48	2.86 \pm 1.15	-0.27
PostO	Do you think that corporal punishment (e.g. stockades or whippings) should be used today?	2.24 \pm 1.25	-0.32	1.76 \pm 1.09	-0.35	1.62 \pm .88	-0.36	1.99 \pm 1.16	-0.25
PostP	Do you think that prisoners of [prison museum] deserved the conditions in which they were held?	2.39 \pm 1.07	-0.5	1.47 \pm .68	-0.32	2.25 \pm 1.12	-0.48	2.12 \pm 1.06	-0.42
PostQ	Do you think that prison museums are educational?	4.33 \pm .75	-0.03	4.09 \pm .70	-0.11	4.56 \pm .63	0.31	4.32 \pm .73	0.04
PostR	Do you think that television and film paint a realistic picture of prison?	2.57 \pm .83	-0.25	2.60 \pm 1.14	-0.17	2.63 \pm .88	-0.09	2.59 \pm .92	-0.18

Testing for significance between pre- and post-exposure attitude scores:

Table 18
2-tailed significance for the difference between pre- and post-exposure attitude scores

	Fremantle Prison	Robben Island Museum	Eastern State Penitentiary	Aggregate
PostM - PreM	.660	.208	.104	.251
PostN - PreN	.323	.107	.069	.272
PostO - PreO	.822	.493	.718	.496
PostP - PreP	.036*	1.000	.264	.028*
PostQ - PreQ	.838	.030*	.497	.427
PostR - PreR	.071	.749	.582	.077

The alpha level for a significant result was $p < .05$

Participants who completed the pre-exposure survey were asked to fill out an online post-exposure survey after they had completed their visit to each site. This online survey contained identical attitude-scale questions to the pre-exposure survey.

In order to assess whether there were any changes in attitudes of visitors to the prison museums, a paired samples t-test was conducted to determine any change in scores of the attitude-scale questions. Because data for each test contained outliers and was not normally distributed according to a Shapiro-Wilk's test for normality, and that the Likert scales used are not usually appropriate for testing the differences between means, a Wilcoxon signed test was conducted as well as the t-tests to determine whether similar results were produced. The hypothesis for this test is: H_0 : the mean difference between the paired values is equal to zero.

There were two significant results at the individual sites (Fremantle Prison and Robben Island Museum) and one significant result for the aggregate data.

The significant result at Fremantle Prison was the change in attitude between PostP and PreP (Do you think that prisoners of Fremantle Prison deserved the conditions in which they were held?). The exposure to Fremantle prison resulted in a change of attitude for visitors regarding their thoughts about the conditions in which prisoners were held, $M = -.34$, 95% CI [-.66, -.02], $t(37) = -2.18$, $p = .036$, $d = -.35$. This change reflects a downward movement on the Likert scale from a mean of 2.7 for PreP to 2.4 for PostP, where 1 is Strongly Disagree and 5 is Strongly Agree.

A Wilcoxon Signed Rank test was conducted between PreP and PostP to see if a similar result was produced using a non-parametric test. Of the 38 respondents who completed both the pre- and post-exposure surveys, six experienced a positive shift in attitude (towards agreeing that the prisoners deserved the conditions in which they were held), while sixteen experienced a negative shift in attitude to disagreeing that the prisoners did not deserve the conditions they were held in, and sixteen respondents experienced no change in attitude. The Wilcoxon Signed Rank test determined that the effect of Fremantle prison on respondents' median attitudes towards prisoner conditions was statistically significant $z = 2.051$, $p = .040$.

At Robben Island Museum, the only significant result was the change in attitude between PostQ and PreQ (Do you think that prison museums are educational?). The exposure to Robben Island Prison Museum resulted in a change of attitude for visitors regarding their thoughts about the educational value of prison museums, $M = -.3$, 95% CI [-.57, -.03], $t(19) = -2.35$, $p = .030$, $d = -.53$. This change reflects a downward movement on the Likert scale from a mean of 4.4 for PreQ to 4.1 for PostQ, where 1 is Strongly Disagree and 5 is Strongly Agree.

A Wilcoxon Signed Rank test was conducted between PreQ and PostQ to see if a similar result was produced using a non-parametric test. Of the 20 respondents who completed both the pre- and post-exposure surveys, zero experienced a positive shift in attitude (towards agreeing that prison museums are educational), while five experienced a negative shift in attitude to disagreeing that prison museums were educational, and fifteen respondents experienced no change in attitude. The Wilcoxon Signed Rank test determined that the effect of Robben Island Prison Museum on respondents median attitudes towards prisoner conditions was statistically significant $z = -2.121$, $p = .034$.

From the aggregate pre- and post-exposure data, the only significant result was the change in attitude between PostP and PreP (Do you think that prisoners of [Prison] deserved the conditions in which they were held?). The exposure to the prison museum resulted in a change of attitude for visitors regarding their thoughts about whether prisoners deserved the conditions in which they were held, $M = -.25$, 95% CI [-.47, -.03], $t(72) = -2.24$, $p = .028$, $d = -.26$. This change reflects a downward movement on the Likert scale from a mean of 2.38 for PreP to 2.11 for PostP, where 1 is Strongly Disagree and 5 is Strongly Agree.

A Wilcoxon Signed Rank test was conducted between PreP and PostP to see if a similar result was produced using a non-parametric test. Of the 73 respondents who completed both the pre- and post-exposure surveys, twelve experienced a positive shift in attitude (towards agreeing that prisoners deserved the conditions they were held in), while 25 experienced a negative shift in attitude to disagreeing that prisoners deserved the conditions they were held in. Finally, 36 respondents experienced no change in attitude. The Wilcoxon Signed Rank test determined that the effect of the combined prison museum data on respondents median attitudes towards prisoner conditions was statistically significant $z = -2.109$, $p = .035$.

Regression Analysis:

A series of ordinal regression tests were conducted on the paired sample of visitors who completed both the pre- and post-exposure surveys. A cumulative odds ordinal logistic regression with proportional odds was run to determine the effect of gender, age, and relative location, whether a visitor had previously been to each specific prison museum or site of dark tourism before, and whether they had watched a prison film recently, on a series of attitude scales relating to prisons and punishment. There were no issues with collinearity identified.

Only three variables returned significant results for having an effect on the attitude scales. They are as follows:

Test 6: Does television paint a realistic picture of prison?

The assumption of proportional odds was not met, as assessed by a full likelihood ratio test comparing the residual of the fitted location model to a model with varying location parameters, $\chi^2(21) = 33.285$, $p = .043$. Due to this assumption not being met, significant results should be treated cautiously.

Both the Pearson ($\chi^2(261) = 251.168$, $p = .658$) and the deviance ($\chi^2(261) = 190.350$, $p = 1.000$) indicated that the model was a good fit for the data. The final model however predicted the independent variables do not add to the prediction of the dependent variable, $\chi^2(7) = 7.820$, $p = .349$.

The odds of males agreeing television paints a realistic picture of prison was .349 (95% CI, .128 to .952) times that females, a statistically significant effect, $\chi^2(1) = 4.228$, $p = .040$.

Test 7: Post-Exposure Attitude – Are prisons an effective form of punishment?

The assumption of proportional odds was met, as assessed by a full likelihood ratio test comparing the residual of the fitted location model to a model with varying location parameters, $\chi^2(21) = 19.170$, $p = .574$.

Both the Pearson ($\chi^2(273) = 265.345$, $p = .619$) and the deviance ($\chi^2(273) = 185.876$, $p = 1.000$) indicated that the model was a good fit for the data. The final model however predicted the independent variables do not add to the prediction of the dependent variable, $\chi^2(7) = 6.508$, $p = .482$.

The odds of visitors who had previously visited a site of dark tourism agreeing that prisons were an effective form of punishment was .292 (95% CI, .093 to .925) times that of those who had not previously visited a site of dark tourism, a statistically significant effect $\chi^2(1) = 4.383$, $p = .036$.

Test 10: Post-Exposure – Did the prisoners deserve the conditions that they were held in?

The assumption of proportional odds was not met, as assessed by a full likelihood ratio test comparing the residual of the fitted location model to a model with varying location parameters, $\chi^2(21) = 100.559$, $p = .000$.

Both the Pearson ($\chi^2(269) = 268.881$, $p = .491$) and the deviance ($\chi^2(269) = 180.513$, $p = 1.000$) indicated that the model was a good fit for the data. The final model however predicted the independent variables do not add to the prediction of the dependent variable, $\chi^2(7) = 10.617$, $p = .156$.

After experiencing the prison museum, an increase in age (expressed in years) among participants was associated with an increase in the odds of considering that prisoners deserved the conditions in which they were held, with an odds ratio of .962 (95% CI, .929 to .996), Wald $\chi^2(1) = 4.762$, $p = .029$.

Limitations:

Due to the fact that the proportional odds for this model in Test 6 did not fit, the conclusion in this case is tenuous at best. Similarly, the fact that the final model predicted that the independent variables did not add significantly to the prediction of the dependent variables in Tests 7 and 10 indicates that the results should be treated cautiously. While these results indicate a certain level of influence, the failure of the tests to pass specific assumptions means that the variables of age, gender, and dark tourism visitation are not reliable. The presence of these significant variables could point towards relevant future research investigating whether there is any influence of gender on the views of media depictions of prison, age and the thought that prisoners deserved the conditions in which they were held, or previous visitation to dark tourism influencing the attitudes surrounding the efficacy of prison.

4.2.3 Collated themes from post-exposure qualitative responses:

The primary themes presented here emerged from the post-exposure qualitative responses of visitors to all three prison museums. The following seven questions were included in the post-exposure survey to allow visitors to express which areas of the prison they did or did not like in a more flexible manner. They also included some opportunities for thoughts regarding prisons museums and their operation.

Q1: What did you like most about the tour?

Fremantle Prison (n=37)	Robben Island (n=20)	Eastern State Penitentiary (n=13)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tunnels (6) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Location/Setting: (4) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Seeing prison life (4)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Informative (6) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Guide: (10) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hospital (2)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Change in cells/ time lapse (4) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stories about inmates/escapes: (1) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Exploring the cells/ruins (3)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Guide (10) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Education or informative: (3) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Al Capone's Cell (1)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • History (10) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Other: (2) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Audio tour (3)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cell Artwork (1) 		

Main themes: The visual, the gaze, of the prison and surrounding areas. Conditions of imprisonment, the guide, education.

Across all three prisons visitors remarked that one of the most liked aspects was seeing the change in cells, being able to visualise the conditions in which prisoners were held, and gazing upon the different spaces offered. For example a 54 year old male from the United States of America visiting Eastern State Penitentiary stated: "The representation of the ruins in their actual state, not totally "restored". Very effective in communicating the conditions in which the inmates lived." Similarly, a 28 year old female from the United Kingdom visiting Fremantle Prison responded that: "Our guide was excellent, very engaging and enthusiastic and provided a real sense of how tough life was for prisoners. I especially enjoyed the display of the changes of the cells through time." Respondents who visited Robben Island also remarked that the island itself, the unique tour guides, as well as the prison itself, were the most enjoyable elements of the tour. "I liked that the guides for the prison tour were previously political prisoners on Robben Island and could give insights into their life there and the reasons they were imprisoned there" (A 61 year old Australian female visiting Robben Island Museum). The role of the tour guide was especially prominent at Fremantle Prison and Robben

Island Museum where many visitors remarked upon the positive effect that the tour guide had on their experience. For example a 52 year old female from Australia visiting Fremantle Prison commented: “The tour guide was really informative & detailed & it made me think about what it would really be like to have your freedom taken away from you”. The relationship between the guide and the visitor featured heavily in visitor feedback. Eastern State, where the majority of visitors undertake a self-guided audio tour, saw visitors respond more frequently to the physical space, and the freedom to explore. A 23 year old male from Canada summarised this feeling: “The jail cells seemed untouched and there was a lot of informative things in the audio tour. When we went on this tour it was like we were the only people in some of the cell blocks”.

Q2: What did you like least about the tour?

Fremantle Prison (n=29)	Robben Island (n=19)	Eastern State Penitentiary (n=14)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gallows (6) • Corporal punishment area, floggings (3) • Too many people in the group, kids being noisy (4) • Time constraints, hurried (2) • Too short (2) • Payment needed (1) • Nothing (11) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Group Size (2) • Nothing (2) • Tour Speed (8) • Payment (1) • Other (6) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No air conditioning (1) • Closed off areas (7) • The Audio tour – prefer a real guide (2) • Nothing (4)

Main themes: Tour management

The main theme from respondents was in regards to the tours themselves. Respondents often found the tour to be too short, with too many people, and interruptions from other group members. “There were too many people in a group, it makes it too difficult to hear the guide and ask questions” (22 year old female from Australia visiting Fremantle Prison). Similarly, a 38 year old male from the United States of America visiting Robben Island Museum commented that:

We like everything, except the tour was rather hurried! Despite a very brisk tour through the cell block, the boat was honking and preparing for departure causing many of us (~25 people) to run. Unbeknownst to us, the first part of our tour evidently ran longer than it should. Extending the tour 30 minutes seems reasonable to avoid the rush.

One interesting element was that respondents from Fremantle Prison found the gallows and flogging area to be their least enjoyable aspect. “That would have to be the corporal punishment. I don't think anyone deserves that kind of treatment. And to think that they would whip them until they couldn't stand it any longer and then when they recovered they continued the punishment. That is unthinkable” (58 year old American female visiting Fremantle Prison). Similarly, the punitive conditions of Fremantle Prison prompted a 21 year old female from New Zealand to state:

It was quite depressing imagining someone existing in those conditions. I could not call it living as it did not seem like they had a life. The tiny spaces, the squalor, lock up for up to 6 months in solitary confinement, and the corporal punishments; no one no matter how heinous their crime deserves to be treated as less than human.

In this regard, the punishments inflicted upon inmates at Fremantle Prison stood out as a particularly prominent theme specific to that site in particular. This however was tempered by the fact that respondents often acknowledged that they were important areas, and some included ideas about intruding upon an area that was supposed to be private. “The gallows. It just felt wrong being in there. Like I was invading someone's last moments” (18 year old Australian female visiting Fremantle Prison).

Visitors to Eastern State also expressed frustration at the closed off areas. As illustrated previously the ability to explore the site was considered a positive part of the experience. Encountering barriers to that exploration prompted visitors to respond negatively. For example: “Some cells were closed and other rooms were unavailable to visit” (26 year old male from Chile). A second interesting response limited to Eastern State Penitentiary was the negative attitude towards the audio tours. In this case some respondents indicated that the best way to experience a site such as Eastern State is with a physical guide (which is available – but only once daily). “As I've said above, audio guides is the only thing that makes the experience bad. When a real person tells everything it is way better to understand and remember the information” (25 year old male from Russia).

Q3: What could be done to make the prison museum more appealing to tourists?

Fremantle Prison (n=18)	Robben Island (n=17)	Eastern State Penitentiary (n=9)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • More variety of tours (7) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • More freedom to roam (1) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Access to more areas (3)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • More interaction (7) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • More interaction/stories (6) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Special tours/more tours (4)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Input from actual prisoners (3) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Advertise more widely (2) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interactive video (2)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Comparisons to current prisons (1) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It is fine at the moment (7) 	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lower cost (1) 	

Main themes: Interactive aspects, input from different sources.

Two main themes were present from the responses to this question. The first was to include more interactive experiences or elements to the tours. This included more “hands-on” interaction with exhibits (such as unlocking the main gate or cells), to more audio-visual interaction (such as short film clips). “More interactive for those on tour maybe, though this may be inappropriate in reality” (30 year old Irish male visiting Fremantle Prison). A 54 year old male from the United States visiting Eastern State Penitentiary added: “Tough one. The subject isn't a happy one. Interactive video is usually well used at other museums”.

The second theme, particularly prominent at Fremantle Prison, resulted from responses indicating a desire to see former inmates and/or guards involved in presenting the history of the site. For example, a 21 year old Australian female visiting Fremantle Prison stated: “More personal information about the prisoners. Where they were from cause if we have a connection about the prisoner you want to learn more”. This was reinforced further by an 18 year old Australian female: “Have actual prisoners telling us about their experiences in the prison (I understand that this would be rather irrational)”. The irrationality was not explained further, however the thought to have “actual prisoners” detailing their experience is particularly poignant at Fremantle Prison where the narrative is from a distinctly guard-orientated perspective.

As a subset of this, some respondents also indicates they would like to see more details about the consequences of incarceration or more positive elements included in the tours. “Prison Museums are essentially known for their notoriety. We often labour too much on the suffering and spend too little time trying to bring the positivity of the story across. It should always be uplifting for the soul” (38 year old South African male visiting Robben Island Museum). Similarly, a 58 year old American female

visiting Fremantle Prison commented that “comparing them to the current prison system would be nice. I think a lot of people think today's prisons are semi spas with inmates getting every luxury except freedom”. In this regard there appears to be a view that prison museums should do more to discuss contemporary prisons, an aspect that was well received at Eastern State Penitentiary.

Q4: Do you think prison museums should make a profit, why or why not?

Fremantle Prison (n=30)	Robben Island (n=14)	Eastern State Penitentiary (n=11)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • For a better experience (4) • Yes for maintenance (16) • Yes to pay for staff (6) • No to avoid profiteering from others suffering (4) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No (4) • Maintenance and improvement (9) • Using profit for education (1) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Yes, improve the facility or experience (5) • No, museums should be non-profit and aim to educate (4) • No, prison museums depict human suffering, which should not be monetised (2)

Main themes:

- Yes, to maintain and improve the experience
- No, to avoid profiting from the suffering of others

There were two main themes present in the responses. It should be noted that the majority of responses to this question were indicating that they think prison museums should make a profit, only a small minority said that they should not. Those who stated that prison museums should make a profit indicated that the central reason was to maintain and/or improve upon the experience for visitors to the site. For example an 18 year old British female from the United Kingdom visiting Robben Island Museum stated: “Yes in order to help the museums maintain the buildings and prison as it would have been previously when it was used but no at the same time because it should be a useful educational tool and not adapted into purely a business. This detracts from the purpose of the museum.” There were a variety of other responses that included paying staff a reasonable wage, preserving the site physically, and to provide a better educative experience. Those who were opposed to prison museums making a profit often did so on the grounds that these sites should avoid making a profit from the suffering of others.

I think that people should be made aware of what happened back then. If that means the museum should make a profit so they can stay open and be available to more people then

yes I think they should make a profit. Do I think people should profit from others suffering, no (58 year old American female visiting Fremantle Prison).

No. Prison museums should not be profit oriented. They depict the human suffering and agony. It should not be monetized (52 year old Asian male from the USA visiting Eastern State Penitentiary).

Q5: Would you recommend the prison to others, why?

Fremantle Prison (n=30)	Robben Island (n=13)	Eastern State Penitentiary (n=11)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Yes, more than just history (6) • Need to learn from our history (1) • Different perspective from television (1) • Informative, interesting, and educational tour (19) • Tunnels (3) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Educational (1) • Informative (11) • No (1) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Educational and informative (2) • Conditions of imprisonment (5) • Interesting for a variety of different groups (2) • Something different (2)

Main themes: Visually illustrating history and the place of prisons. Educative and informative.

The responses to this question often centred on the idea that the prison represented something unusual or different for visitors, and allowed those visitors to learn from the history that the site represents. For example:

Yes! I think it's important for the public to learn about some of the deplorable conditions & see the inmates as human beings (43 year old female from the USA visiting Eastern State Penitentiary).

Yes I think it's really interesting and gives you an insight into the convict lifestyle and then the prison lifestyle after. Television isn't very realistic so I think this gives a good perspective. Plus I like history (22 year old female from Australia visiting Fremantle Prison).

Included within this were the ideas of learning about confinement, and the reality of the prison system. This was often paired with the idea of visually seeing these concepts, such as solitary confinement, and the poor conditions in which inmates were held. A 51 year old British male from the United Kingdom visiting Robben Island Museum stated: "Yes - the focus on Mandela inevitably makes

Robben Island unique, and the presentation, more like a pilgrimage to a shrine than a visit to a prison, was highly effective.” A 38 year old male from the United States of America visiting Robben Island Museum added:

Definitely. Sometimes seeing is understanding. I received a brief insight to an ugly period of SA history. As a citizen of the US, I am familiar with apartheid but one can't begin to appreciate what that meant, what impacts and ramifications it caused, without experiencing this museum.

There was also some thought given by visitors to the wider effects of these sites. Responding to the question of whether they would recommend Eastern State Penitentiary to others a 52 year old male from San Francisco stated: “Maybe. The museum is something that shows the cruel and harsh punishment of solitary confinement. The more people understand this, the more will be societal outrage at this type of punishment”. This link to modern prisons was echoed at Fremantle Prison: “Yes I would recommend it. Again, I think we need to learn from our history. I am probably one of those that thinks today's prison system is not a deterrent to crime” (58 year old American female).

The single respondent who stated that they would not recommend the prison to others replied: “No. I think Robben Island Museum is in an exceptionally bad condition” (23 year old South African female from Cape Town). There was no elaboration of what areas of the museum were in bad condition or other factors that may have influenced their response.

Q6: Did you learn anything interesting from your visit?

Fremantle Prison (n=24)	Robben Island (n=13)	Eastern State Penitentiary (n=13)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tunnels (7) • Religious services (2) • Conditions of inmates (10) • History of the prison, region (5) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conditions of incarceration (8) • History (4) • Inmate stories (1) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conditions of imprisonment (5) • Yes, the hospital and synagogue (2) • Yes, US incarceration rates being so much higher than the rest of the world (1) • History of the prison (5)

Main themes: The conditions prisoners were held in, history of the prison.

The main response to this question was the conditions in which prisoners were held. Many respondents indicated that the experience was positive, however they were surprised or shocked at

the conditions inmates had to endure. This was reflected across all three prisons which were operational at different times and presented different time periods in their exhibits. "In general, it was all very interesting. Both the exhibits and the tour guides provided enough insight to help me gain some understanding of the conditions and experiences of those imprisoned on this island" (38 year old male from the USA visiting Robben Island Museum). Some respondents from Fremantle Prison and Eastern State Penitentiary commented on the fact that prisons today might not be much better than what they saw during their tour:

Conditions of the first prisoners were much better than conditions of some prisoners today, despite we are supposed to be much more reasonable (26 year old male from Chile visiting Eastern State Penitentiary).

I didn't realise that corporal punishment was only stopped relatively recently in WA and that the conditions in this prison were atrocious for such a long time, and so recently (54 year old Australian female visiting Fremantle Prison).

Some responses specific to individual sites are also worthwhile discussing. Visitors to Eastern State Penitentiary found that "Pep" the prison dog to be one of the more interesting aspects of the site. For example a 19 year old female from Philadelphia remarked: "I learned about Pep - the dog that was a cat killer". A 31 year old female from Brooklyn added: "That the prison once had a dog as a prisoner!"

Fremantle Prison prompted some visitors to reflect upon the difference between Fremantle Prison and operational prisons today, as well as the revelation that the conditions of imprisonment at Fremantle Prison were quite recent.

Yes, I had no idea how bad the conditions were and I didn't realise the convicts actually built the prison. I also didn't know that it only shut down like 20 years ago (18 year old Australian female)

I knew that the treatment in prisons in older times were bad but I didn't realise the extent to this. I was surprised at how slowly changes in the prisons were implemented. As my tour guide said, "The world went more slowly in here." (18 year old Australian female)

The long lasting effects of imprisonment were also commented upon specifically at Robben Island.

Yes, many things, in particular about the harsh conditions in the quarry, the permanent damage to the men and the amazing monument they created years later (39 year old American female)

The fact that past prisoners are still suffering health wise today from the effects of the conditions in which they worked (50 year old British female)

I didn't realise that some prisoners were taken there without any reason at all. Some were moved there purely to get them away. Also the health issues that have been a result of the

prisoners working in conditions which did not protect them for example, Mandela regularly suffers from lung infections because of how much dust from the quarry he breathed and the damage to the tear ducts, resulting in failure to cry (18 year old British Female).

Q7: Was there any point in the tour that stood out for you, why did this stand out?

Fremantle Prison (n=28)	Robben Island (n=19)	Eastern State Penitentiary (n=14)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The tunnel experience (7) • The chapel (3) • The gallows (7) • The artwork (3) • Escapee stories (1) • Prisoner conditions (7) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mandela's Cell (7) • The Quarry (3) • The Island (1) • Conditions (4) • Stories (1) • Graveyard (1) • Guide (3) • Nothing (1) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hospital/Medical Facility (3) • Synagogue (3) • Al Capone's Cell (1) • Nothing (2)

Main themes:

- The conditions in which the prisoners were held
- The stories of specific inmates
- The architecture of the prison

This question served as an opportunity for visitors to indicate which point of the tour stood out for them, either positively or negatively. Once again, the conditions in which prisoners were held was a theme present across all three prisons and the comments were similar to the previous question – with respondents shocked that inmates had to endure such conditions. “The riot and conditions. I wouldn't go back, although interesting, it is depressing. The whole topic is pretty depressing with no answer about rehabilitation or punishment” (51 year old Australian female visiting Fremantle Prison).

Specific inmate stories also stood out, with many visitors from Robben Island and Eastern State Penitentiary indicating that the stories of Nelson Mandela and Al Capone were the highlights of the tour for them. Visitors to Robben Island also commented on the effect that the tour had on them, and the experience of having a former political prisoner as their guide:

The end of the tour, where the guide was asked why he chose to come back. The response, that he had been incarcerated whilst he was meant to be getting an education and when he

was freed, he didn't have any skills he could rely on to gain employment. As such, he had to swallow his pride and return to run these tours in order to support his family. He hadn't chosen to return he was forced. Almost meaning he was still a prisoner under Apartheid (30 year old Australian female visiting Robben Island Museum).

Our logistics and the entire rushed experience does not speak into the characteristics of a spiritual pilgrimage, which should be what a visit to Robben Island should represent. The politics of Apartheid and blatant racism are not always very clear to foreigners; and even less so to our youth in South Africa. We can do more to educate young people about the impacts of imprisonment on our socio-economic landscape (38 year old South African male visiting Robben Island).

Finally, one of the most common responses was the architecture of the prison. This included elements such as the chapel and gallows at Fremantle Prison, to the graveyard and quarry at Robben Island, and the medical facility and synagogue at Eastern State Penitentiary. Respondents also found the general size and scale of the prisons, as well as the ruinous nature of Eastern State in particular, to be the highlights of their tour of the prison.

The Christian murals because a prisoner did them and for some reason I did not expect that. I especially liked the one of St. Martin de Porres - saint of misfits and outcasts (19 year old female from the USA visiting Eastern State Penitentiary).

I found the Chapel the most interesting in particular the plaques on the walls and the serenity of the area, light and bright, it must have been a great source of peace to those prisoners who were there for small crimes (22 year old female from Australia visiting Fremantle Prison).

4.3 Interview Analysis

In total, 24 interviews were conducted with prison museum employees at each site while field work was being conducted (Eastern State Penitentiary: 12, Fremantle Prison: 9, Robben Island Museum: 3). These interviews were semi-structured in nature and covered a variety of topics, including the participants' thoughts on working at the site, their views on visitors, and what the prison means to the public as a heritage institution. Interviews lasted between fifteen minutes and one hour, with the average being approximately 40 minutes. Due to the small size of the museums, employee anonymity was important. As such, the demographics of the employees is kept deliberately general. Table 19 breaks down the general job role of the employees into two categories: visitor services (tour guides, gift shop etc) and museum services (administration, heritage, management). The following results are broken into two sections. First the collated responses to structured questions will be presented. Then the results of thematic analysis on the unstructured responses and broader themes of the interviews will be presented.

Table 19
Descriptor of Interviewee Role and Gender

Site	Visitor Services	Museum Services	Male	Female
Fremantle Prison	6	3	3	6
Eastern State Penitentiary	7	5	1	11
Robben Island Museum	2	1	2	1
Total	15	9	6	18

4.3.1 Structured Interview Question Results:

Three sets of interviews were conducted between June and July 2013, and September 2014 at Fremantle Prison, Robben Island Museum, and Eastern State Penitentiary. The interviews were semi-structured in nature and the initial questions covered a range of different topics. An advertisement was distributed from the administration of the prison to staff email addresses, and participants could respond to the provided email address, or approach the researcher when he was present at the site. In total, nine interviews were conducted with a variety of staff in different positions. This analysis will feature two sections of thematic analysis. Firstly, the responses to the written questions will be analysed, followed by a separate analysis of the themes that emerged from the spontaneous discussion with participants during each interview.

Question 1: What is your role within the prison museum?

Fremantle Prison	Robben Island Museum	Eastern State Penitentiary
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Tour Guide• Multiple visitor service role (gift shop, tour guide, greeter)• Heritage/Interpretation – Museum services	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Tour Guide• Multiple visitor service role (nurse, mechanic, transportation)• Education Department	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Tour Guide• Visitor Services• Management• Researcher

Participants responded with three fairly distinct categories, a tour guide or visitor services role, management or researcher, and then a role which included multiple visitor services (e.g. tour guide and gift shop operator). For example a participant from Fremantle Prison stated: “I do kind of like a jack-of-all-trades, so I do ticket selling, I do the gift shop, I do tour guiding, I supervise and I do occupational safety and health”. Within all three sites the differences in positions was distinct, and roles were often divided between visitor services or tour guides, and management or interpretation/research. At Eastern State Penitentiary, the visitor service role was described by one employee as “I’m a visitor services representative. That’s my title. And the job of the visitor services person, I think, more than anything is to prepare the visitor for the experience. At the same time, not to give away too much. Give them basic information about what they need in order to walk through successfully”. At Robben Island there are two sets of tour guides, those who guide visitors on the bus tour and those who take tours through the prison. One participant from Robben Island Museum explained:

I am what they call a general tour guide. You see, when the museum opened up in '97 the idea was always to give ex-prisoners the opportunity to share their experiences and there was also the other part of Robben Island's history that had to be shared and that is where we came in.

...

We were trained to share that part of the island's history hence they call us a general tour guide. Obviously having to know more about prison and so on, or should I rather say I'm a bus guide, I'm not a prison guide.

Question 2: Do you enjoy what you do?

- | Fremantle Prison | Robben Island Museum | Eastern State Penitentiary |
|--|---|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Yes - Environment/Colleagues• Yes - Enjoy visitor interaction• Yes - Enjoy historic places | <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Yes – enough overlap with previous experience• Yes – meet different people• Yes – enjoyable to do the tour and interact with visitors | <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Yes - Interacting with visitors• Yes - Interesting job & site |

From those interviewed, all expressed enjoyment in the work that they do. While the reasons varied from participant to participant, ideas such as enjoying working at the site itself, the varied and engaging nature of the job, and interacting with visitors were all very pronounced. Participant 3 from Robben Island explained: "...if my group enjoy it [the tour], it must mean that I enjoy it and if I enjoy it, I'll make sure that you enjoy the tour. I'm passionate so it's a platform where I know I can change a mindset". A second participant from Fremantle Prison reinforced this idea by stating: "Yes, I do but I don't do it full-time. So I enjoy coming here a shift or two a week. Its fun, it's energetic, it's interesting, and I go and do other stuff. But yes, I do enjoy it. It's a fun place to come".

Of note is a response from a visitor who asked a guide at Robben Island Museum why they chose to return. In this account, the guide detailed blocked educational aspirations and employment opportunities as reasons for their return to Robben Island. While this did not feature in the sampled interview data, it is important to acknowledge the possibility that former political prisoners of Robben Island returned as guides due to the effects of their incarceration, rather than a strong desire to show visitors around the prison.

Question 3: What are some of the challenges present within your role?

- | Fremantle Prison | Robben Island Museum | Eastern State Penitentiary |
|--|---|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Challenging visitors• Divide between visitor services and management• Construction• Telling the 'right' history | <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Complying with legislation and managing state interest• Logistics• Management | <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Physical issues (temperature control, ruinous state of the building)• Visitor interaction (punitive visitors)• Staff turnover• Balancing visitor expectations with current corrections issues |

The challenges that respondents faced were varied across all three sites. Respondents from Fremantle Prison were concerned with an in-house divide between visitor services and management, as well as the construction process of preserving the prison. There were also challenges related to visitors being especially punitive, and a concern with telling the correct or complete version of history. As one participant from Fremantle Prison explained: "Sometimes I'm concerned there's a little too

much emphasis on convict without really retaining that prison history. There's parts of the prison which have been changed quite dramatically, which I feel it's lost that prison story. It's gone too much convict". Participants from Robben Island on the other hand found complying with legislation, logistics, and the museum management to be the challenging aspects of their role. For example:

I don't think it's just a question of what is hard or whatever. Just that Robben Island is in a unique position that sometimes ... Even from government side there's sometimes is a feeling that they won't allow certain things to go through, just because it's Robben Island. Besides the point sometimes difficult to make sure that we comply with legislation if there's a feeling of, you know, we can always go back to a friend that someone has to exclude us from that (Robben Island Participant 3).

Finally, participants from Eastern State again found visitor interaction to be challenging, especially with particular visitors who held especially punitive views. One example included the issue of removing a guide's own voice from the conversation:

Sometimes it's really challenging when people say things that are things that I really disagree with. That I have ... On site there's a limited way in which I can respond that's different from the way that I would respond as me not on site. And that's occasionally challenging and sometimes I feel like there are missed opportunities to talk about prisons how I want to talk about prisons. (Eastern State Participant 6)

This continues with:

So when people talk about how prisons are like hotels and they're so nice and people ... Nobody wants to leave or people want to go there. Challenging that assumption is sometimes difficult within the framework of Eastern State Penitentiary. Because there's also a customer service framework because it is a museum, it's not an organization that just seeks to change everyone's minds about prisons. It's a museum. So that's occasionally challenging (Eastern State Participant 6).

There were also physical issues such as a lack of air conditions, for example one employee from Eastern State (Participant 2) stated "If it's really crowded then admissions ... When we have a lot of traffic ... They're just tight spaces, tiny spaces, the doorways are low. Things that most visitors aren't used to. So I think those are our biggest challenges". Additionally, participants from Eastern State sometimes found it challenging to find a balance between discussing current correctional issues, often a controversial topic, and providing visitors with the experience they expected when they paid for their entry:

I think one of the bigger challenges is talking about contemporary corrections, because it feels very sort of loaded in terms of how Americans punish people based on their race and their class. Those are issues that are very dear to me and important to me, and I think important for all Americans to talk about. I think that there aren't a lot of precedents for other museums

or historic sites that are doing this really well. I feel like we are flying blind a little bit (Eastern State Participant 11).

This is contrasted with another Eastern State participant's statement:

I think one of the most challenging things is just going into history and working at a site like this, you really want to help people actually understand what they're walking into and the significance of it, but you balance that with that we do sell things, we are purchasing your admission, and so people want to see certain things (Eastern State Participant 3).

Question 4: What role do you think the prison museum serves, if any?

Fremantle Prison

- To show history
- Entertainment
- Education

Robben Island Museum

- Guide us from not making the same mistakes again
- Teaches the history of SA and apartheid
- A pilgrimage

Eastern State Penitentiary

- Representing history
- Connect with visitors about historical and contemporary prisons
- A unique landmark and cultural institution

Participant responses to this question were similar in that they discussed the site's importance in terms of heritage and history. Each site had a unique aspect though. Participants identified that Fremantle Prison serves as an illustration of the convict heritage of Western Australia as well as Australia as a whole:

The prison, as a site of outstanding heritage significance to ... I mean it has a very, very strong significance to Western Australians because it talks directly about our early history of Europeans in WA. It was central to the survival of the colony, the early colony, so without it the colony would've folded. The social structure of early Western Australia was determined by the people who came through here. It was this sort of huge, almost like a huge social engineering experiment, you know, colonising a land with criminals basically, and saying "OK, we want you to build this colony and then we want you to live in it as upstanding citizens." So there were issues like, I mean ... because at one point the colony was 90% men and these guys wanted to marry and have families, and there were no women here. There were huge issues. The prison is essential to Western Australians, it's highly significant to Australia as a whole because it tells the story of the end of transportation to Australia. It's sort of a wrap-up of that whole system, and through our Support Heritage listing it has international significance, because it speaks about the forced transportation of people around the world, and what that meant in the late 19th century. Ultimately, it's our job to preserve this building that tells that story and to communicate it to the community and to make the community value this site and know about its significance (Fremantle Prison Participant 4).

The symbolic nature of Robben Island as a pilgrimage to view a part of the history of apartheid was also evident, with one participant (3) stating: “I think it's a pilgrimage. Apartheid wasn't just fought here, it was fought all over the world. A lot of people that I interact with is coming here to see, what did I support?” Finally, the architecture and history of Eastern State as an architecturally important prison that spawned approximately 300 imitators was a primary theme. This was detailed by Eastern State Participant 6:

So Eastern State Penitentiary is important because it represents a shift in how the United States look at punishment and a shift in how Pennsylvania treated crime and responded to crime. So in terms of understanding the reality that prisons are a strategy for dealing with crime, Eastern State was really important in that sense yes. It also, obviously, is a museum. It serves a function as part of an educational framework. The city has a ton of museums, museums are pretty important in Philadelphia. Benjamin Franklin was a big fan of public museums. So it's part of that framework as well. And it also needs to run itself. So it also functions to get people in the door. And those ... Yeah.

Eastern State however was the only site to truly discuss contemporary issues in corrections in any detail, compared with Robben Island and Fremantle Prison being more focused on historical elements.

Well, I think it has a lot of different roles. One that has been interesting to me, and has been interesting to me from the beginning, is the stuff with the contemporary corrections and how they have the monthly lecture series. In that way, it's serving this role, it's like a community centre almost where people can expect to hear about these topics here and know to come every Tuesday, first Tuesday every month. I think that's really cool, that they're trying to fill that hole in the area. I think that's one role. (Eastern State Participant 10)

Question 5: How do you feel about the current state of the criminal justice system?

Fremantle Prison	Robben Island Museum	Eastern State Penitentiary
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ineffectual • Reform Needed • Unbalanced • Long waits for trial • Overcrowded Prisons 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Not great – prisons and courts overcrowded • Lots of people awaiting trial, overcrowded prisons • Police need to be paid more 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Negative • Broken, embarrassing, shameful • Applied unequally

Responses to this question were overwhelmingly negative. The particulars of each respondent varied, but all participants felt that the criminal justice system in their country was in a poor state. An Eastern State employee (7) stated:

It's a really hard, unhappy puzzle. I think it's not just ... I don't even like talking about the criminal justice system, because I think that that suggests it's an issue that's limited to

incarceration. Really, I think it's an issue that's about society understanding the process from sensationalism and media, sensationalism and politics, how wittingly or unwittingly we let laws go in that ultimately will shape who's incarcerated.

Similar sentiments were expressed by a participant from Fremantle Prison (2):

I think Fremantle Prison is perfectly positioned to get people to ask questions about the current criminal justice system. I don't think that it's making use of that opportunity. I think and other academics have written about these [inaudible 00:16:16] by highlighting the convict past. It's just putting it in the past. It's drawing a line between what's happening now and what happened then, but I mean this place closed in 1991 and let me tell you things have not changed. People have this idea sometimes I've heard it from contractors and from visitors that have come on site "They should have kept this place open. It would've been a deterrent to crime." It never was a deterrent. It still isn't a deterrent; making people shit in a bucket is not a deterrent to crime.

It's about incarceration, it's about removing people from society. It's not about putting them in degrading and humiliating situations and in fact from talking to people that have worked at Fremantle Prison, those who worked here in the 70s were doing a lot more ground-breaking and innovative work than what's actually happening in contemporary prisons in Western Australia, yes, yes. It's really bad, yeah.

The negative attitude towards the South African criminal justice system was echoed by a Robben Island Museum employee (2), however it was also tempered with the idea that prisoners should not be able to vote.

I don't know how effective our justice system is. I don't know, I'm not very familiar with it, but the little bit I know is that there are just too many, our prisons are bursting it seems and it's just overcrowded. The one thing that I disagree with is that prisoners have the right to vote in South Africa, which I find is a challenge for me. I don't see how, if they've broken the law they've been found guilty of breaking the law they can have a say in what happens in the country (Robben Island Museum Participant 2).

Question 6: Do you think the prison serves as an accurate representation of the prison environment it was once a part of?

Fremantle Prison

- Physical environment
- Accuracy
- Symbolic
- Preserving history means its inauthentic
- Whose history is being presented?
- Only one version of history is presented

Robben Island Museum

- Yes – shares exactly what happened at certain times
- Not completely, but tried to be as accurate as possible
- To an extent – only have prisoners stories, not guards

Eastern State Penitentiary

- As accurate as it can be.
- Some aspects cannot be as accurate as we would like.

In terms of accuracy, respondents were divided. Some felt that the site was as accurate as it could be given the period of time since it was used, while others felt that even the action of preservation harmed the authenticity. One feature from Fremantle Prison and Robben Island was that the history being presented was lop-sided, and more could be done to present a more complete version of history. For example Robben Island participant (2) stated:

It's bit of a challenge, because prison climate, prison feel has changed over the period so what the prison looked like in the 60s may not be the prison at 70s and 80s. With our prison reference group we've had we've discovered that prisoners in the same period didn't necessarily agree on the colour of the paint of what was in the cells, so it's a bit of a challenge.

What we've done is as much as possible we've kept or we've tried to recreate the feel of what it was like in particular periods, but I think a lot more can be done we just need to hone on a particular period and the natural conversation management plan is about keeping the recent history of the island forefront in its display.

Participant (5) from Fremantle Prison added:

Yeah, I do [think it is accurate]. It's difficult because the span it was open, it was so long, 136 years. So, however, I need to say that I'm only talking about my tour because we don't have a script here. We have a basis of information that's presented. But, one thing also, there is no linear history to this prison. Because we're talking about such a span, things changed. At one stage, it may have been operating in this way, and in the next decade, it's operating in that way. So, again, difficult to address that in an hour and 15. For my tour, I'd be pretty confident.

Question 7: Why was the prison turned into a museum?

Fremantle Prison

- Preserve history
- Show people what happened

Robben Island Museum

- An opportunity to show the apartheid era
- Deliberate decision – stories came out of Robben Island were good to share
- Prisoners wanted to show the world what happened there. It's an icon

Eastern State Penitentiary

- Monumental in terms of both intention and reality.
- Tells a unique story. Historic for both PA, and USA

Responses to this question revolved around presenting history to the public. Participants felt that the site was intended to illustrate the pains of incarceration, as well as showing off an architecturally significant building. Participant 7 from Fremantle Prison describes their thoughts:

It survived the calls to demolish it and then I think it became old enough to be appreciated for the era that it was constructed, and when it was no longer required as a prison, it was vested in the minister for works for heritage ... I can't think of the exact vesting terminology, but it was for to keep it for the people of Western Australia, so to protect it...

In relation to the museum, by keeping the buildings intact, it's then present. That's sort of the museum type of things, but obviously, there's some objects that we have in collection that are convict related, prison related, and they come out on display from time to time just to show people what was done here, what equipment was used, and possibly how it was used, and that will become more valuable as time goes by, because people will look at the barber's chair or the sewing machines or whatever, and 'what the hell's that?'

We can show them, but at the moment, there is sort of just old versions of things that are around, so as technology changes into the future, there'll probably be old radios in there, but younger people today will look at that today and say, "What is that?" Because it's not music coming out of their iPhone or iPod or whatever, so yeah.

In the instances of Robben Island and Eastern State – the prison also serves as an iconic landmark, of the triumph over apartheid, and as the first prison to utilise solitary confinement as a means of penitence or reformation. Participant 2 from Robben Island Museum states:

I think it was a deliberate decision made by the post-apartheid government who was led by Nelson Mandela, that because Robben Island had been a prison of harsh prison, but they also realized that many good things came out of Robben Island as a prison. We know the story of Mandela. We know other success stories of prisoners having studied and all those kinds of things. They want to just use Robben Island as a symbol of not only being a place of banishment and hardship, but also a symbol of resistance and the triumph of human spirit of a harshness of adversity so a beacon of hope in other words.

Participant 3 from Eastern State adds to this theme: "I think Eastern State was just the first place that really made you think about why you were in prison is you wanted to be penitent. You want people to think of what they've done and you want them to stay out of prison, become better. I think that's why this place was turned into a museum. [Inaudible 08:12]".

Question 8: How do you think the local community feels about this transformation?

Fremantle Prison

- Feelings of attachment
- Protective
- Proud

Robben Island Museum

- Some calls to reopen. Mostly reminds people it was there.
- Most see it as a good move. A few think it could have been used better.
- It's a significant connection to them and their history.

Eastern State Penitentiary

- Some like it, some do not
- Proud
- Locals may not like increased traffic and pedestrians with Terror Behind the Walls

Respondents felt that the local community was proud and protective of the prison museum. However in contrast to this, some participants stated that there were calls from the community to demolish the site – especially in Fremantle and Eastern State, as the prisons were situated on pieces of prime real estate, or people were uneasy about a prison museum operating in the vicinity. Participant 8 from Eastern State explains:

It's weird. I don't understand why, but there are certain neighbours who just are just kind of awful and really hate the idea of it being a museum. I don't think they really care that it's a prison. I think it's the fact that it's an actual organization that creates issues for them. I really don't think it has anything to do with the fact that it's actually a prison. I'm not sure that really pertains to anything. Then I meet other people out in the street who are just ... they love Eastern State and they're thrilled that it's here. I think it's really divided, the neighbourhood's very divided.

Participant 7 from Fremantle Prison adds:

I think the people of Fremantle would be, particularly at the time it was done, were possibly divided, but I think as time has gone, they're very, very protective. There are some groups that we're in regular contact with over what's happening here. They take a very, very strong interest. They celebrate any award that we get. They're quite proud of Fremantle Prison being funnily enough located in Fremantle and just another part of their rich heritage, which there is quite a strong sentiment.

In terms of Robben Island, some participants stated that there were calls to reopen the site as a prison, or utilise the island in a better way. As Participant 1 from Robben Island Museum states:

I think from some backgrounds we quite often they say that the prisons or so overflow on the mainland and there's two prisons on the island standing empty. That it might be seen as almost like a waste from one section of the community and that I think a lot of people know now that it stands for something. To remind us about something. Something of our past.

However the participants countered this by indicating that the majority of the community felt the island was a symbolically significant location and a connection with recent history:

The entire history of South Africa is here. When the British was here, the further away they moved, whatever wars we fought, they brought the prisoners to Robben Island. Whatever lepers they found, wherever in South Africa was brought here. Whatever prisoners that fought against Apartheid was brought here no matter from where in South Africa and as far as Namibia, they were brought here (Robben Island Museum Participant 3).

Question 9: What do you imagine visitors think when they enter the prison?

Fremantle Prison	Robben Island Museum	Eastern State Penitentiary
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Amazement• Curiosity• Cold• Barren• Architecture	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Not what they expected.• That the island and prison are quite big• Cold, barren, that the island is big	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Confused• Excited

Responses to this question often related to the emotions that visitors would feel. For Fremantle Prison, participants indicated that the architecture (size of the prison, colour, etc) were the main thoughts of visitors.

Wow. Particularly the scale of the place. Most people, probably most people who have lived for some time in Perth and around Fremantle have maybe driven past the walls, and they have no concept of what is behind the walls. When they come in the gatehouse and they see the scale of the main cell block, they are just like, "Wow." You regularly hear, "I've driven past this place for years, and I've never come in. This is unreal." It's quite a wow factor. (Fremantle Prison Participant 7)

In contrast, participants at Eastern State felt that visitors were often confused by the entry to the prison and the process of going through a small hallway beside the main gate to enter the prison grounds. Participant 8 from Eastern State elaborates:

They don't know, unless they really do their research, they really don't understand what a ruin is. They don't understand what a stabilized ruin is for sure. They're not quite sure where the cells are so when they walk in, they immediately think they're going to go into a cell. Then we send them down a long hallway so they're confused.

They're not quite sure, is this a welcoming experience, or is this an intimidating experience. There's a state of confusion for them. Our process is also one where we push them through. We're not really giving them time to explore on their own and then make decisions. There's a state of confusion all the way up until they push one on their audio tour.

Both Robben Island and Fremantle Prison participants indicated that visitors were often surprised by the cold and barren nature of the prison, and in Robben Island's case, the actual island itself.

Participant 3 from Robben Island explains the nature of Robben Island's barren landscape, and the impression that may have on visitors:

Cold, I must be honest, one thing that we workshop quite a bit is interpretation and the question I'm going to ask you is the first thing that you saw when you came into Robben Island, I'm sure besides now the houses and that all, you saw this barren land, you say sand, when you came into the harbour, it is dull, it is no flashing signs and that is what it is about that coldness, impression that people find. It's about the expectation of seeing a jail. Funnily enough a lot of people expect that the prison is the museum.

I've been asked where is the museum, that's the other expectation that they expect to see glass cabinets and that type of thing, prisoners behind bars, dummies behind bars and those types of things. A lot of people say it's very clean in the prison. A lot of people say it's not that bad but I guess they came from Gorey Island where it was 20 times worse but that is just a few comments that I've experienced with some people. One is, when you get off you see nothing, there's nothing that would say this is the museum or anything like that and the reason for that is that when prisoners came up from the bottom of the boat, that is what they saw.

This stone walk, that is what they saw, this long road up. There's nothing, when you see the houses, you see, they didn't see that and that is what people say too, it's big, they will say it's actually big, much bigger than what we thought it would be because they all thought it's just a little jail and that's it.

Question 10: Do visitor attitudes or feelings change when they leave the prison?

Fremantle Prison	Robben Island Museum	Eastern State Penitentiary
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Some do• Depends on the person• Increased empathy• Reaffirms opinions (good and bad)• Changes perceptions (size, conditions)	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Not really, they just see it as a political prison.• Maybe, they get to see the sites they have read about.• Yes – changes their perceptions. People are more critical, questioning	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Hard to tell• It takes more than a museum visit for people to change their views.• Different people take away different views

Respondents felt that that some visitors had changed their feelings or attitudes after visiting the prison, while some did not. Participant 3 from Eastern State noted that:

I think a lot of people do. Yeah, because I think most people, when they come in, they see us on "Ghost Hunters" or they've read "Orange is The New Black. They come in with certain ideas and concepts and then they learn about the prison itself. Some people take away more than others do.

Participant 6 from Eastern State reiterated this idea:

I don't know. The dialogues that we have with people are often very brief and they're shaped by where we are on the property and so sometimes it's really hard to tell where people are at and what people are thinking. And as tempted as I am to be like "what are you thinking right now", it's not really something that I'm able to do. It's hard to say, I don't know how to gauge that.

Participants acknowledged that visitors can sometimes hold strong views about crime, justice, and the prisoners that were incarcerated at these sites. Participant 3 from Robben Island explains their thoughts on whether attitudes change:

I think people see the island more as a political prison. Thinking that there is no such thing as political prisoners anymore. So they do not see it really in the sense of criminals. Not thinking that there were even criminal prisoners on the island. You see they just see it from a political side. And I think a lot of the South African tourists go to Robben Island more to see where Nelson Mandela was and where the political prisoners were, not seeing it as prison but seeing it as where political prisoners were.

However, according to participants, physically seeing the cells and the site helps to paint a clearer picture of incarceration for visitors who can then make up their own mind on the subject.

Yeah, I think the majority of time they leave feeling reflective and they gain a lot of things to think about, facts, knowledge. If anything, they just had a good time. It was fun and it was creepy and, "Wow, that place was cool." It definitely changes them. Sometimes they don't walk out feeling the way we want them to feel, but 90% of the time they've had a really good time (Eastern State Penitentiary Participant 8).

Question 11: Why did you want to work at the prison?

Fremantle Prison

- Like history
- Needed a job

Robben Island Museum

- Wanted to be part of what the island stands for.
- It was a job offer.
- At first it was just a job – but that changed when I realised I had an impact on people

Eastern State Penitentiary

- Wanted to work with history/museums.
- Wanted to work within education
- Something different/cool

A unifying response was that working at the prison was ‘just a job’ for some, and for others it was because of their love of history or the site. Some respondents indicated that they wanted to have an impact on people, or to work somewhere unique – however these were a minority amongst many who were simply looking for work. Participant 5 from Fremantle Prison summarises this theme:

I wanted to work at the prison, I think I just thought it would be a really good job, but it way exceeded my expectations, I think, in that way. Yeah, yeah. I just love telling people about this prison, and I think it’s really important to do that. It’s really important to know, for people to know what goes on on the other side of walls like these ones. Yeah, for me, I just hope that people do leave with some sort of ... it doesn’t even have to be empathy, but just awareness of what may happen in someone else’s life who may spend their life in a place like this.

Question 12: How do you feel about working at a former prison site?

Fremantle Prison

- Had not thought about it
- No objections
- Its respectful

Robben Island Museum

- No problem, it doesn’t feel like a prison anymore
- No, it’s a job and I need to put food on the table
- Pays the bills – I do it because I enjoy it

Eastern State Penitentiary

- Don’t think about it.
- Occasionally conflicted, sometimes the weight of the site can impact

Respondents were often surprised by this question, and their initial response was that they simply considered their employment as a means to an end or that they did not think about it.

Yeah. I don’t ever think about it. I don’t ever feel like I’m doing something weird or something that’s immoral. Honestly, I look at Eastern State more as an architectural marvel than anything else. I just love the architecture. I think of that first before I think of the fact that it was a prison. Which might be a little bit backwards (Eastern State Penitentiary Participant 8).

Participant 2 from Robben Island adds:

Pays the bills at the end of the day. You look at people at work, they get a salary at the end of the month, not bad, could be better but then again anyone will say you're not being paid enough but it pays my bills but at the end of the day there's always the ad-ons, the gratuities, the tips that we get. I don't do it for tips, I do it because I enjoy it. You'll find people doing it to make that extra buck.

However, some also reflected upon the question and felt that the organisation they were working for was respectful and they had no objections to working at a site of former incarceration. Participant 10 from Eastern State Penitentiary states:

I feel okay about it. I feel like the role that tour guides play here is really crucial and that other museums or historic spaces don't do as good a job as telling the story and respecting the past and the history, so they make sure to train tour guides really well. They want everyone to be smart and educated about the topics. I feel good about it because I think that the work that the tour guides are doing is respectful.

Following this, many respondents stated that they had not thought about their employment in such depth and stated that it was something for them to reflect upon further. For example, when asked the question, Participant 5 from Fremantle Prison replied: "No, because I don't feel ... Yeah, I don't ... I feel that I'm, to the absolute best of my ability ... Yeah, that's a really interesting question, isn't it? That's a really good question".

Question 13: Do you have any moral objections to the prison selling souvenirs?

Fremantle Prison

- Good for revenue
- Good for inmates (who make some)
- Tourists want a reminder

Robben Island Museum

- Its good, self-sustainability
- Economic sustainability
- Certain issues around that and how the money is spent. Issues with wine glasses

Eastern State Penitentiary

- Not really, most are tasteful
- Some objections to Al Capone stuff
- Sensationalisation of a convicted killer

Related to the previous question, participants felt that the prison selling souvenirs was fine as long as they were done tastefully. Participant 6 from Eastern State Penitentiary explains:

I think that it's done pretty tastefully here. It's a lot of books about current issues in incarceration and a lot of the souvenirs are geared towards particular inmates. The only thing that I found in there that I didn't know how I felt about was the Bureau of Prisons inmate handbook which I actually only just saw on display so I wasn't even sure if that was something ... It seems like if there's a display it's something that's for sale but I didn't really inquire about it. But I do feel a little weird about that one because those are a lot of arbitrary standards by which inmates are forced to live that they are punished for often in sometimes

awful ways with solitary confinement and stuff that I don't feel great about that one as a souvenir. But everything else I felt pretty good about, I felt was pretty respectful.

Elaborating on this, Participant 7 from Eastern State Penitentiary discussed the novelty of the site:

I think it's great. I think, again, this comes back to a respect for the familiarity of the visitor. To them, it is a novelty. They should not be made to feel ashamed when they come in here because they came in walking thinking that Eastern State is a novelty. That doesn't mean that you sell crude souvenirs. They need to be tasteful souvenirs, and I think that Eastern State does a fantastic job in that. They wanted to sell some handcuffs. I don't know that that would be terrible, but I don't think that I would buy them, but I don't think that would be unethical. Somewhat unrelated, but related. To illustrate my point, we had a group tour come in the other day who their leader arrived in an orange jumpsuit. That was distasteful of that person, but how bad did I feel for that person to be here at a site of social consciousness? Eventually, he would feel like a jackass, I would think, to be here in that orange jumpsuit. I think that that attitude is how I feel about souvenirs.

An oft-cited reason was that visitors wanted a reminder of their trip, and that the economic sustainability was helpful to the operation of the prison. Participant 4 from Fremantle Prison explains their reasoning in relation to the café that was built inside the grounds of Fremantle Prison:

I don't have a problem with it, because I don't have a problem with any of the commercial aspects of the business operations. For example I know that when we were first installing the cafe down there into the site, there were some people in the community that were ... that didn't want the cafe, didn't want a cafe there with the site because you know, the real prison didn't have a cafe in there and so on. This is a reasonable argument, but the flip side of it is that we are also a ... we are a tourism organisation and we cater for a lot of businesses, you know? 180,000 people come through here each year and we have a responsibility to provide for their safety and provide for their needs. We need people to come through, because if people don't come and visit the site, if they don't have a good visit here, then we're just not doing our job. Our job is to make people appreciate the site. So that kind of thing, those kind of services and stuff for tourists are relevant and necessary.

Participants from Robben Island and Eastern State felt that the selling of shot and wine glasses was borderline inappropriate, and the sensationalisation and monetisation of the celebrity criminal Al Capone was deemed distasteful by many respondents from Eastern State. Participant 3 from Robben Island explains their view on souvenirs:

One thing I can say which I'm rather proud of about the museum is that we don't associate the name Robben Island with alcohol brands or any substance abuse brands.

But then you go into the shop and they sell wine glasses with Robben Island on and that's the issues I would have.

For you to take a piece of history with you as a remembrance, I think, it's important. We don't allow you to pick up stones, it's not because we don't want you to pick up because you need to buy, it's because of the impact, the environmental impact you're going to have if you do that. The fact we sell replica keys and that, it's just part of that remembrance.

But I have issues with things like wine glasses or certain slogans being used like there was one slogan they were selling a t-shirt that was selling that I had a big issue with, it was more than 300 bars but no cocktails served.

And I know it's a clever line to use but it's a little bit touchy.

The fact that one thing that they won't sell, which I'm proud of is replica prison clothes and those type of things, they don't sell those things but I think there are certain things they can do better in terms of curios but also not too bad. There are a few things but not all.

A similar theme emerged when discussing Al Capone and his appearance on souvenirs at Eastern State Penitentiary. "Maybe focusing more on the actual history of the building itself rather than putting Capone on a shot glass, for instance. I'm not thrilled with the Pep plush. Again, here's an example of we're kid friendly, we're trying to be fun, so we put Pep in plush form and then he sells like mad" (Eastern State Penitentiary Participant 8).

Question 14: What portions of the tours are most important to visitors?

- | Fremantle Prison | Robben Island Museum | Eastern State Penitentiary |
|--|--|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Historical side – education• The prison itself• Showing the conditions | <ul style="list-style-type: none">• The prison tour, the bus tour• The prison itself• Prison, quarry | <ul style="list-style-type: none">• The original Haviland blocks. Shows the design that inspired over 300 over prisons world-wide.• Hospital• Big Graph |

Respondents felt that the prison itself and examples of state sanctioned punishment were important elements for visitors. Participant 4 from Fremantle Prison discusses the corporal examples presented at Fremantle Prison:

Well certainly the main cell block. Going through the main cell block and ... but ultimately for me I think it's the refectory, solitary confinement area, out the back and the gallows, out there.

They are extremely significant sites, because they talk about ... they sort of show ... they are examples of the justice system in its extremities, you know, of how bad people can imagine punishment to be. Society comes up with all sorts of ways to punish people. Those two examples are two of the most extreme examples on how we've institutionalised extreme

forms of punishment. They're rare to see those sites, and then you know, the refectory is one of a kind in Australia. So they're very important I think; they told important stories.

Respondents from Eastern State also added that their focus on current issues in corrections meant that their Big Graph exhibit was also one of the most important elements for visitors to see.

I think most visitors ... I think the most important one [inaudible 15:36] see after the tour is the big graph, just to ... You go through the tour and learn about the history and then that brings it home. I think that's a really important one for them to see. We always go through the thing with the first ten stops, go through the history, [inaudible 15:54], so that's always important.

I think there are a lot of the audio stops that you go through after the first ten, where it talks about race issues and gender issues and things like that, and equality within the prisons and how they were treated. That that should be important to the prisoners, but that aren't necessarily always the most important ones that they check out.

Al Capone's cell is definitely one of the most important ones to them. (Eastern State Penitentiary Participant 3)

Question 15: Do you have any particularly interesting stories or experiences you wish to share?

- | Fremantle Prison | Robben Island Museum | Eastern State Penitentiary |
|--|---|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Visitors being challenging• Stories of former inmates• Ghosts• Meeting important people | <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Done lots of different jobs to work on the island• Meeting Nelson Mandela• Reach for a dream tour | <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Visitor interactions, salacious questions• Ghost stories• Positive stories from visitors• ESP having a positive and profound impact on ones life |

Finally, respondents were asked if they wished to share any particularly interesting story. These were generally varied, but often involved meeting important or interesting visitors. Respondents from Fremantle Prison and Eastern State also included ghost-hunters and supernatural encounters among their interesting experiences from their employment.

One example is from Eastern State Penitentiary Participant 6:

Interesting stuff happens here all the time. The operating room tour ... It's a five to ten minute tour and we take people back into the operating room and talk about the hospital and health care at Eastern State Penitentiary. People respond to that ... In some ways it's predictable but it's also still ... So the most interesting experiences that I've had, or questions that I've had back there, are people asking about experimentation on inmates. And sometimes that's just ... The first time it ever happened I was surprised by how gleeful the question was and I

was like wow you're really looking for some gruesome stuff in a way that's ... That didn't happen here that we know of but had it happened those would have been human beings that you now want to use for your entertainment purposes. I feel really uncomfortable with that. That angle, people wanting to know about the really bad things that happened here in ways that are just for entertainment purposes I feel really uncomfortable with. I don't know what it says about them as people. But it's really interesting when it happens and it's very uncomfortable.

And then sometimes ... Also another experience that I had was, it was a really big group it was probably 32 people in the operating room, and this one guy, when I opened it up for questions his question was, why don't we just let them rot? Exactly like that. And it was like, alright we're going to go there. I have to answer that question now in this group of 32 people. And it was interesting because I was stumbling over my words and trying to figure out how to respond to him without shaming him. Because if you shame people about those sorts of opinions they're never going to keep thinking about it, they're just going to feel like either their question was really stupid or there's something wrong ... Those feelings of shame don't open people up for dialogue or new experiences. So I was trying really hard not to shame him and figure out how to say because you can't. Because you can't do that because that's wrong. So that was a struggle but as I was doing that I was looking around at everybody else and seeing all these faces that were just like what, why would you think that. And I was like that's really encouraging, okay that's really encouraging. I'm going to keep saying what I'm saying. So that sort of stuff is interesting.

It's interesting how much people really want to just put people somewhere and not think about them anymore. It's sad. That's hard. Because why do you ... What if ... I think that people have this impression of prisons that everybody who's in them is a murderer and a rapist and these really vile human beings. And trying to get people to realize that some people are in there for marijuana possession, I bet you've smoked pot. Imagine if you were in prison because you smoked pot, because you were the one who got caught. Do you still think that this kind of stuff is okay? Do you still really want to just be put away somewhere? Getting people to imagine situations in which they would do ... And even murder. Getting people to imagine situations wherein they would do something awful in the moment and then still wouldn't necessarily deserve to be put into some sort of horrible place is ... I mean that's not really part of my job description but it's something that I think about because I think really prisons should be used for really serial killers. People who ... Really there's no way to rehabilitate this person in any way whatsoever. Which is rare, in my opinion. So yeah. Watching people ... Just seeing the blinders that people have on about that and seeing what misconceptions people come in with about prisons is interesting.

A second example is from Fremantle Prison Participant 8:

I mean, I've seen ghosts or hallucinations or whatever you want to call it. But I had a baby on a tour. She was eight months old. Big, blue eyes. Goo-ing, gah-ing. Beautiful. A happy, cheery thing. We're in the reception area to start, and I said to the mother, "You wait. She'll be crying when we get to the gallows." Because kids do. Babies do. We got to the Anglican Chapel, and as she's going through the door, I said, "Has your baby been baptised?" She said, "No." I usually do a joke. I say, "Oh, I'll get a slop bucket. We can do it in here." We laughed and she went and sat down.

There was about twenty or 30 other people in the room. I'm standing at the front doing my bit. [inaudible 25:12], this baby, at this pitch and at this timbre, saying, "[Blaaaarrrrrrrrgh 25:15]!" I stop. Everybody else is looking over. The mother's there going, "She hasn't done this before!" I stopped. Everyone quiets down. I start doing my bit again. It starts up again: "[Blaaaarrrrrrrrgh 25:34]!" The mother is freaking out. Everybody is standing up going, "Oh my God, what's going on?" The mother's crying. I think, "Oh God, I've got to defuse this." This came out of my mouth: "Lady, if that baby starts spewing green, I'm not cleaning it up." I said, "Let's get out of here." We came out of the chapel, go down and the baby's back to how it was.

The mother's like, "What the hell's going on?" I said, "I don't know." The end of the tour, we came back here and I told the guides what happened. They got, "Wow! Haven't you seen the photo?" I said, "What photo?" They said, "The one in the chapel." "No." "The photo of the chapel empty, but there's this ghostly little figure sitting in one of the pews." And that's exactly where that woman was sitting.

I was going, "Oh, shit, that's freaky." They all say, "He's a mischief-making person," but they said we've never had anything like that happen before. That really freaked me out.

I was here six months, and I'll do the bit outside in the parade ground outside the showers. I'm doing my bit, and I see this figure in the doorway over at Division One. He's wearing the convict thing. It's like I'm seeing you now. I can see you quite well. I can see this guy, and he's checking me out. It's only six months since I started, and I'm thinking, "It's about time! They're accepting me. They're showing themselves to me. Everyone else has got stories. Now they're showing them to me. Cool!" I didn't stop talking. I just kept talking and I laughed.

Then about a month later I'm doing the same thing in the same spot. I don't know if it was the same guy, but this time he's crawling on the ground towards me with blood dripping out of him. That time I stopped. I look at the people. People are looking; they're not saying anything. I'm seeing him there. As soon as I look right at it, it's gone. I stopped there. My heart was racing. I'm going, "Oh, shit." Then I knew that this is a living place. It's got a living history, it's got a dead history in there.

It is there. You see things occasionally and things like that. I've never had anything thrown at me like some of the others have. It still freaks me out. There's another one. I'm seeing a new

one that [removed] and [removed] see a lot. He's above [inaudible 28:17] cell in Division Three there. He's leaning on the ground, and he watches the tours. He's popped up a few times.

I'm not someone that was going all, "Ghosts ..." I didn't know whether I believed it. I had to believe there was something there. Even if they're not ghosts, there's an energy in there. There's no doubt about it.

These responses illustrate just some of the many detailed and interesting stories participants had. It was clear that employment at a prison museum offered an experience, and that all participants valued their role and their employment there.

4.3.2 Thematic Analysis:

The following sections present the results from the thematic analysis of interview data. These are divided by site for ease of readability. A section covering themes that are present across all sites, and those which are notable absent, is provided at the end of this section.

Fremantle Prison Thematic Analysis

Table 20

Main and sub themes from Fremantle Prison thematic analysis

Main Theme	Sub Themes
Prison Museums Represent One Version of History	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Museums represent history and its lessons • The Prison helps educate about the Criminal Justice System • The current model presents only one version of history • Only relevant history is presented • Convict history takes priority • Prison reflects the extremes of the Criminal Justice System
Managing Visitor Expectations and Views	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vocal visitors are often punitive in their views/opinions • Visitors can be quite morbid • Humour can help address serious topics • Empathy from the tours may be short lived
Tour guides as theatre	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • More than just sitting at a desk • Need to strike a balance between attracting and entertaining visitors, and remaining authentic • Humour can help to address serious topics • Employees not respected
The Prison and the Community	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • More than just prime real estate • Locals are protective, but rarely visit
A focus on convict heritage at the expense of other histories	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Indigenous history is important • Convict history resulted in World Heritage Status • Modern penal history often ignored
The Architecture of the Prison	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Visitors often awed by the size • Conditions become more tactile/real • Preserving history makes it inauthentic

The first and strongest theme from the interviews at Fremantle prison was that the prison represents only one version of history. This also included a secondary theme which revolved around the idea that there was a significant focus on convict heritage at the expense of other histories. There were multiple perspectives on which history, but many respondents felt that priority was given to convict era history with a heavy reliance on the guards' recounts of this history. Included in this was the lack of acknowledgement towards modern inmates, and indigenous inmates. Participants felt that the prison was a good vehicle for education and information, but the lack of historical diversity meant that this was not fully utilised. As Participant 5 explains:

While visitors might think that they're receiving a really authoritative version of events because they're talking to an ex-prison officer, they're only saying one side of the story and I think Fremantle Prison could do a better, and should do better in showing other sides of the story.

Participant 3 adds to this by stating:

Sometimes I'm concerned there's a little too much emphasis on convict without really retaining that prison history. There's parts of the prison which have been changed quite dramatically, which I feel its lost that prison story. It's gone too much convict.

In contrast to this, participants generally felt that the convict history was important and that decisions based on logistics and timing had to be made, which resulted in some historical elements being removed from the tours.

The second primary theme was managing visitor expectations and views. This often resulted from tour guide's interactions with visitors, but also extended to the structure of the tour and the preservation of the prison itself. Participants who interacted with the public sometimes found themselves in situations where particularly punitive views were expressed. An example from Participant 7: "So, my most... my most made comment is, "They should open this ... reopen it as a detention centre for boat people"". Participants acknowledged that while these situations were rare, they were often noteworthy. Responses to these situations ranged from avoiding the topic, to using it as a vehicle to discuss issues relating to incarceration. From a more fundamental perspective, some participants felt that the move away from theatrical elements of tours towards a more educational and informative experience was beneficial to visitors and was more in line with their understandings of what visitors to Fremantle Prison expected.

Following this theme was the concept that tour guides, and the role of being a tour guide, is similar to theatre. Participants enjoyed being employed in a role that was more than just sitting behind a desk, where they can interact with people on a daily basis and inform them of a site that they themselves are interested in. Within this, participants recognised that they needed to strike a balance between entertaining visitors and remaining authentic to the heritage and history of the site. While this theme is primarily concerned with how tour guides act and present themselves to the public, some participants also stated that they were not respected by the management of the prison. Responses included within

this subset dealt with an environment of cliques and a division between upper management and the tour guides who were presenting history to the public.

When discussing Fremantle Prison and its place within the local community, many respondents stated that the site was more than just prime real estate. It held historical significance and survived calls to demolish. However in contrast to this, respondents also acknowledged that locals are protective of the site but rarely visit.

Finally, a theme that emerged from the interviews was that the architecture of the prison plays an important part of the Fremantle Prison experience. For employees, they were often excited about the opportunity to work at an historical site, and enjoyed the architecture of the prison. They also felt that visitors were most often awed by the size of the prison, not realising just how big the site was that resided in the middle of their town. "When they come in the gatehouse and they see the scale of the main cell block, they are just like, "Wow". You regularly hear, "I've driven past this place for years, and I've never come in. This is unreal." It's quite a wow factor." – Participant 7. Conversely, Participant 4 made an interesting point that preserving the history of Fremantle Prison makes it inauthentic.

That's the... The challenge is that as the years go by and the buildings start degrading and you fix them up, you're making what was once a new building that has then become an old building look like a new building again. So, it automatically loses a lot of authenticity when you're trying to represent it as it was. The other choice is to let it fall apart, which is not really a choice. So there's a paradox there (Participant 4).

While only one employee posited this, it was an interesting view of the paradoxes encountered when attempting to preserve historical spaces.

Robben Island Interview Thematic Analysis

Table 21
Main and sub themes from Robben Island thematic analysis

Main Theme	Sub-Themes
Robben Island is an iconic symbol	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A symbol of hope • A pilgrimage for South Africans
One version of history is presented	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • State involvement in which history is presented, tour guides must receive state training and registration • Ex-prisoners as guides, no history from guards/warders • Historical accounts are sometimes challenged
Robben Island is more than just a prison	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Other areas of the island offer important value • The prison is vital to the survival of Robben Island and its World Heritage listing
Negative Perceptions of the Criminal Justice System	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • An overcrowded criminal justice system • Crime is normalised

The first main theme from the interviews with Robben Island Museum staff was that Robben Island serves as an iconic symbol. Respondents discussed how Robben Island sits as a visible symbol for people to visualise the fight against Apartheid – for South Africans and international visitors alike. Participant 2 summarised this by stating that “...Robben Island as a symbol of not only being a place of banishment and hardship, but also a symbol of resistance and the triumph of the human spirit...”. The concept of Robben Island as a symbol has been discussed before, and these responses further affirm that. Included within this theme were comments about Robben Island acting as a place of pilgrimage to visit, to see the conditions in which prisoners were kept, some of whom went on to be prominent politicians.

While Robben Island was said to be a symbol for South Africa, respondents also identified issues in which versions of history were presented. While it was acknowledged that ex-prisoners leading the tours was an important aspect of Robben Island Museum, the lack of history from the guards or warders was a point of contention. One respondent stated that the stories from guards were important as well, and should be told alongside those of the prisoners. Testimony from the guards is utilised in the Truth and Reconciliation process, however the narratives presented at Robben Island Prison are

firmly from the perspective of the former inmates. Interview Participant 3 explains their thoughts regarding the use of guard (warder) stories:

I think to an extent and I say to an extent because currently what you hear is the prisoner's story and not the prison guards' story.

It's very difficult to bring that in because of emotion, I think but I think it needs to be investigated, it has been investigated by the museum to be honest, it has been recorded. They've tried in connection to one, you can see that there are signs of them trying to bring that in but maybe the prison might not be the space. When I talk prison I talk the entire space, warden's families and prisoners.

I think that represents just what the prisoners went through and not what the warders went through. Maybe we should find a space for that. Where I don't know and how I don't know.

When asked whether they thought there would be public resistance to the inclusion of guard stories or perspectives at Robben Island Museum, Participant 3 acknowledged the potential for mixed responses:

I think if you, many, who read Long Walk to Freedom, ask about what's happening to those guys that guarded Nelson Mandela, what happened to Christo Brandt and Blackie Swart and so on. Many have watched the movie, Goodbye Bafana and they want to know how true is that story and so on. I think you will get resistance more from the activists.

But in the same breath, you find a lot of white South Africans coming here and saying that these guys are talking nonsense.

'They're lying, you know, it never happened like that' but that's based on the unknowns, the unknowns of the activist not realizing that they also had a role to play, they were also victims of the Apartheid system and they were also prisoners within a prison but in a different context. The same where that white Afrikaner comes, goes through that jail and comes out saying that they're talking shit in that prison is because of the unknowns of what they were taught, what they saw on the news, what they read in the newspapers.

Because for them everything was okay. You'll hear people saying it was better in Apartheid.

Following this, state involvement in the museum was raised. It was intimated by respondents that the state prefers certain perspectives to be told over others – however no concrete examples were given. Participant 1 explains "...Even from the government side there's sometimes a feeling that they won't allow certain things to go through, just because it's Robben Island." It was also raised that tour guides are required to be trained and registered by the state, adding weight to the suggestion of state involvement in the tours offered. Finally, respondents acknowledged that historical accounts were

often challenged by visitors. In some cases these objections were simply untrue and based on propaganda, word of mouth, or simply gossip. In other cases, respondents stated that the objections might have some credence and that historical accounts can sometimes be viewed differently by different people. For example Participant 3 states "...where that white Afrikaner comes, goes through the jail and comes out saying that they're talking shit in that prison. It's because of the unknowns of what they were taught, what they saw on the news, what they read in the newspapers".

The third main theme was that Robben Island is more than just the prison. This was the idea that the island itself has more to offer than simply the prison. While the prison is a vital and important element, and responsible for the museum's World Heritage listing, respondents felt that other elements were just as important; "...it's also necessary to show that there's also an environment on the island that needs to be preserved and not just the prison" – Participant 1. These environments and sites included the graveyard where lepers were buried when the island was a leper colony, the quarry where prisoners were made to toil, and the native wild life that exists on the island.

Finally, when asked about their views on the criminal justice system in South Africa, responses were negative or vague. The main concern for respondents was that the court systems and prisons were overcrowded, and that crime was glorified or commoditised. "The little bit I know, we have more waiting trial prisoners than prisoners who are charged, which is really sad. I don't know how we manage to do that..." and "I don't know, I'm not very familiar with it, but the little bit I know is that there are just too...our prisons are bursting it seems and it's just overcrowded." – Participant 2. When asked if working at the prison museum had changed or impacted their views, respondents stated that working at the prison did not have much of an effect. The main response was that their views were informed by sources or experiences outside of their job, and that working at the prison museum was simply "a job".

Eastern State Penitentiary Thematic Analysis

Table 22
Main and sub themes from Eastern State Penitentiary thematic analysis

Main Theme	Sub-Themes
Staff Fulfilment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Happy to work there • Fell in love with the site • Somewhere different to work • Creepy and cool
Working at ESP educates and influences staff	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Learnt a lot from working at ESP • Thoughts on CJS influenced by working there
Current corrections a focus for ESP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Big Graph • ESP and its mission • Challenging to discuss current corrections with visitors
Staff have a negative view towards Al Capone	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Media sensationalisation of criminals • Al Capone shouldn't be the main focus • Souvenirs featuring Al Capone distasteful
Different people take away different experiences	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A variety of people visit ESP – ghost hunters, historians, children, etc • Visitors enjoy themselves • Visitors can be punitive in their views/comments

The first theme from the staff interviews was discussing staff fulfilment. Many of the participants stated that they enjoyed working at the site, there was a collegial atmosphere, and that they generally enjoyed coming into work each day. While the reasons may have ranged from the architecture/visual aspect of the site, to staff camaraderie, and to visitor interactions, there was a unifying theme of staff enjoying their employment. “Came here [to Eastern State] as a visitor after that and just fell in love with the site. I love it” Participant 12. There were some contrasting statements to this, with some respondents indicating that the site can become overwhelming at times, and that a lack of amenities, such as air conditioning, did wear on them.

Following this, participants indicated that working at Eastern State Penitentiary was educational and influential. Many staff, from tour guides to management, stated that they had learnt a great deal about the significance of Eastern State and the history of its operation. In parallel to this, staff also indicated

that this knowledge and learning influenced their thoughts regarding the criminal justice system, and the issues facing America with regard to its justice system. Participant 11 contributes to this theme by stating:

...so I think that working here has made me question the motivation of having prisons and makes me wonder if we can get back to a place ... And I might be romanticising the past. It has had plenty of problems, but I wonder if we can get back to a place where reform can truly be at the forefront of corrections or criminal justice. Yeah, so it's definitely made me think a lot about how we punish people and who we choose to punish, and it seems like there is a certain legacy of punishing poor people in this country (Participant 11).

The third theme to emerge from the interviews was that Eastern State has recently started discussing issues within current corrections as part of its mission statement. One element of this is the inclusion of the Big Graph which illustrates America's incarceration rate compared to the rest of the world. Participants stated that it was sometimes challenging to discuss contemporary issues with visitors as they may be confronting or inflammatory, for example Participant 10 states:

It's challenging to get people to talk about their opinions about the current state of corrections in the United States, and that's something that they try to focus on here a lot, to bring that into the programming. I think it can make people uncomfortable when people don't always come expecting to get into that sort of stuff.

However the focus on current issues within corrections was well regarded by participants who felt it was important for a site such as Eastern State to be discussing issues that are relevant.

The fourth theme was related to the celebrity element of Al Capone. Many respondents felt that the amount of exposure and focus on Al Capone was distasteful. Participants also acknowledged that this coincided with the sensationalisation of crime and criminals by the media, as well as the increasing popularity of prisons within popular culture (i.e. Orange is the New Black). Participant 5 explains:

I think that people just really love the exceptional, the exceptionally bad and the exceptionally good, and that's what sticks in their minds in a lot of ways. I think that ... I don't know whether it's right or wrong, I can't say, but I think that it is, no matter whether ... If we were selling them or not, Al Capone would still be famous (Participant 5).

The sale of Al Capone focused souvenirs was also deemed distasteful by many of the participants. However, respondents were also aware that many visitors came to Eastern State to see Al Capone's cell, and to learn about his stay at the prison. Participants stated that there was a balancing act between giving the visitors what they wanted in a customer service sense, and not monetising certain individual inmates.

Finally, the last theme to emerge was regarding the different visitors to Eastern State and what they take away from the experience. Participants stated that they were often amazed at the variety of visitors to Eastern State and their reasons for visiting. This included ghost hunters, historians, and families, to more unusual examples such as “punk aerobic video shoots”. Following this, participants stated that many of these different visitors take away a different element of the experience at Eastern State, and that there is no unifying model or motivation of a visitor to Eastern State. Participant 5 summarises this:

There are a lot of different types of visitors who come here. There are the people who are interested in the dark tourism aspects, so they just like being here because it's creepy. Then we have the photographers who take away just the beauty and the ambiance of the place. Then there are the history buffs who really want to know about that aspect. I think it really depends on the personalities of the people who come here, and I think we fulfil a wide genre of information to cover all those different types of people (Participant 5).

It was also indicated that visitors generally enjoyed themselves at the site, and while there were a few instances of salacious or punitive comments made by visitors in regards to the inmates or conditions, these were often viewed as an opportunity to comment on prisons and discuss their place within society. For example:

So the most interesting experiences that I've had, or questions that I've had back there, are people asking about experimentation on inmates. And sometimes that's just ... The first time it ever happened I was surprised by how gleeful the question was and I was like wow you're really looking for some gruesome stuff in a way that's ... That didn't happen here that we know of but had it happened those would have been human beings that you now want to use for your entertainment purposes (Participant 6).

Unified and absent themes from all three sites:

Across all three sets of interviews, there were three main themes that appeared in each set of interviews. The first was that participants at each site often had a negative perception of the criminal justice system in their country. Often this was in regard to incarceration, inequalities in the application of punishment, or the overcrowded nature of the current system. Furthermore it was often acknowledged, although not as widespread as the negative perception, that working at the prison museum influenced the thoughts of participants on their respective criminal justice systems.

The second theme that was present across all three sites was participant (employee) experience with visitors. Participants often stated that some visitors offered punitive or salacious comments, and they found it challenging to discuss this with paying customers. In a most positive light, participants also acknowledged that some visitors were genuinely moved by their experiences at the site.

Finally, the last theme was that participants felt that each site acted as a historical monument. This revolved around the idea that the prison was a site of great historical significance and was an important destination for the public to visit. While the specifics of each site varied (e.g. Robben Island's significance to human rights, Eastern State's significance to architecture and early attempts at the principles of reform, and Fremantle's significance to convict history), there was a unified theme of participants understanding and promoting the site as a worthwhile heritage destination.

One stark contrast was the focus on current corrections by Eastern State Penitentiary, and the lack of that theme emerging from interviews at Robben Island Museum and Fremantle Prison. Participants at Eastern State were focused on the organisation's mission to promote conversations about current issues in corrections, whereas this theme (or intention) was absent from participant interviews at the other two sites.

4.4 Summary of Results

The results presented here represent an important, layered account of the prison museum experience at three unique sites. This short summary discusses the main results from each mode of data collection before an in-depth discussion of these key findings in the next chapter.

The observational data collected provided a rich description of the sites, tours, and narratives presented. It also allowed for visitor and interview qualitative responses to be put into context, especially when discussing items such as the gallows of Fremantle Prison or the ruinous nature of Eastern State Penitentiary.

The pre-exposure visitor data identified that visitors were often in their 30s, relatively even between male and female, domestic or international travellers, who decided to visit the site because of their interest in history or general curiosity. It also showed that visitors to these prison museums were no strangers to other dark tourism sites, with many engaging in dark tourism museums or exhibits and sites of historical genocide. Building on this, it was shown that the mystique and educative value of these prison museums proved to act as 'pull factors', enticing tourists to visit. In terms of their pre-exposure attitudes, visitors generally disagreed with corporal punishments and the conditions in which the inmates were held. For other attitudes the general trend was to reply neutrally. However when looking at the samples of each individual site, and coupling these attitudes with certain variables (eg visitor location), more specific results emerged highlighting significant differences in attitudes based on these specific refinements.

From the post-exposure statistical results, while there were some changes, they were generally only weak or non-significant effects. The modest sample size is problematic, as well as other factors – such as the non-response bias, limited the ability to draw strong conclusions. But the qualitative responses from the post-exposure visitor data was much more revealing. Generally, visitors were

positive about their experience at the prison museum and particularly enjoyed seeing for themselves the inside of an institution that is often hidden. Respondents felt that the experience was informative and educational, as well as being important for people to see in order to fully understand the conditions of imprisonment. However these conditions of imprisonment were often limited to the time-periods shown by the museum, and the responses discussing the impacts of incarceration today were much less frequent.

Finally, the interview data collected was broken into two sections: structured results and thematic results derived from the semi-structured nature of the interviews themselves. Participants who were interviewed were from a variety of different areas within the prison museums – which was distilled to visitor services (tour guides) and museum management. Generally, participants enjoyed working at the prison museums and had positive thoughts regarding the direction that the museum was taking and their role within that direction. Many believed that the sites do a reasonable job of presenting the penal history. However the issues identified in this regard related to the concept of ‘which history’ was being presented. This was a significant theme and respondents also felt that it has an impact on the accuracy of the presentations at the site. Finally, some participants believed that the museum experience has an effect on visitors, while others felt that it takes more than just a visit to a prison museum to effect change in attitudes regarding crime, criminal justice, and prisons.

Overall, the collected data represents a note-worthy effort to understand the types of experiences visitors receive as well as the how the employees of these sites work towards presenting this penal heritage. The main discussion points draw upon these results and delve deeper into the consequences that they may have, as well as the wider implications when compared with previous studies and literature on penal tourism and heritage, dark tourism, and the contemporary culture of punishment.

5.0 Discussion

5.1 Discussion Introduction

The main points discussed within this chapter relate to:

- Visitor demographics
- Changes in attitude expressed among visitors
- The prison museum experience
- Issues surrounding the accuracy and authenticity of these prison museum sites
- Present and absent narratives
- The contrasts between presenting penal heritage and current issues in corrections

The first section discusses the change in attitude among visitors at specific sites. This includes Fremantle Prison being a site which may encounter visitors with more punitive views than others. In contrast, there is also the notion of increasing visitor empathy as a result of the prison museum experience. This empathy may be linked to the experiential nature of these prison museums, and the ability for visitors to see for themselves the size of the cells and the forbidding prison architecture that inmates endured daily for the length of their sentence. This was reflected among visitor attitude data at Eastern State Penitentiary, however visitors to Robben Island Museum indicated that the tour did not meet their expectations, which may have negatively influenced their reception to other important elements of the tour.

Visitor data also indicated a link between a respondent's location, previous visitation to the prison museum, and their attitudes towards punishment. This section explores the effect that certain variables have on a visitor's attitude, and whether these attitudes may change after being exposed to the prison museum. Definitive conclusions are hard to draw in this instance; however the foundation for further study is laid with the support of interview data suggesting that the prison museum experience varies from person to person depending on their own preconceived notions of imprisonment and punishment.

An important area of discussion is the curation of prison museum exhibits and the development of tours. In this instance, the exploration of accuracy among exhibits may affect what a visitor takes away from their experience. The opportunity for visitors to view for themselves each prison site is important – especially when coupled with interview data indicating that the prison itself acts as an exhibit. However the influence of curators and museum management, as well as the tour atmosphere, may not offer sufficiently provoking thoughts on imprisonment or punishment. Instead, they may further reinforce previously held stereotypes or perceptions of the prison system and who is incarcerated within it. Finally, data related to prison museums generating a profit proved to be a controversial area for both visitors and staff, with some questioning whether a profit should be derived

from the suffering of others. This also linked with staff interview data discussing the role of souvenirs at these sites, and the role that mementos may have within the prison museum industry.

Following this, key elements from the interview data are discussed. One of the most important areas within this is the concept of telling the “right” history and building upon the notions of accuracy and authenticity at prison museums. This includes from what perspective the history is told, to “filling in the blanks”, and the involvement of guards and prisoners in the retelling of complicated histories. This notion of historical accuracy also extends to whether the museums, and by extension their visitors, should discuss the modern effects of incarceration – especially as these sites are situated in countries that rely heavily on prison as a means of punishment. The popularity of prisons was also seen in interview data regarding the first impressions visitors receive, as seen from the perspective of prison museum staff. In this case, the visual gaze and reactions to an institution of state sanctioned punishment, and architecturally forbidding design, were key features.

Finally, the narratives presented to visitors at these prison museum sites proved to be a key component of this research. There is a discussion of the narratives presented to visitors and the importance they have in representing the tone of the site, as well as the perspectives of those who curate it. These narratives, along with the visitor survey data and staff interviews come together to form a layered account of these sites that plays a significant role in the presentation of punishment and penal heritage to thousands of visitors each year.

5.2 Visitor related findings

General Observations:

While using the mean score of a Likert scale is often not appropriate, a view of the percentage of responses in each category (Strongly Disagree, Disagree, etc) and a general view of the average responses provides some insight into the attitudes of visitors. When asked if visitors thought imprisonment was an effective form of punishment the majority of respondents across all three sites either agreed or strongly agreed with this statement. This alludes to a favourable view of imprisonment – although not necessarily particularly punitive as there is no distinction between short or long sentences, solitary confinement, and so forth. In this regard, the use of prison as a corrective tool by the state may have influenced the result, encouraging visitors to believe that prison is an effective institution. Additionally, the absence of an alternative (e.g. “is prison more effective than home detention”) may have limited the responses. This may have also been a limitation of the next question which resulted in the majority of responses indicating that they were neutral to the idea that older prisons reduced crime better than modern prisons. These responses also link to the motivations of visitors, who were often at the site to learn about the historic prison, and by extension, evaluate for themselves whether the “older” prison they were about to view was more effective than their idea of modern prison systems.

When asked about corporal punishment and the conditions in which prisoners were held at the site, visitors often expressed disagreeing attitudes. This indicates that overall, visitors felt that corporal punishment and the conditions of imprisonment for prisoners were negative elements of the prison system before they had experienced the tour. The particularly punitive corporal punishment example given (i.e. “whipping”) may have influenced this result – evoking striking and emotive connotations. The link between a general approval of prison, and disapproval of corporal punishment may hint at a wider disconnect regarding the views of imprisonment by visitors to these sites. There may be agreement with the idea of imprisonment, but the physical punishment of current trends in incarceration (e.g. inmate violence, warehousing, solitary confinement) are not acknowledged. This may be a more general direction of study, not limited to prison museum visitors, that investigates the public perceptions of imprisonment and the issues associated with the modern prison systems of countries such as Australia, The United States, or South Africa. These perceptions of prison systems may also be further informed by the responses given to the question “Do you think that television and film paint a realistic picture of prison?” Most visitors were either neutral in their responses or disagreed with that statement. The neutral responses to this, and other questions, may indicate that visitors had either not given the topic much thought prior to entering the prison or that they wished to remain neutral to what they might have perceived to be a sensitive topic (R. Garland, 1991). The disagreeing sample is noteworthy as it indicates that visitors are aware media representations of prisons are not entirely realistic – which again, may reinforce their decision to travel to a decommissioned prison to “see for themselves”.

5.2.1 Fremantle Prison:

The majority of visitors to Fremantle Prison agreed with the idea that imprisonment is an effective form of punishment. Visitors who were local to Fremantle or Perth, or had previously visited the prison, were also more inclined to agree with the idea that prisoners at Fremantle Prison deserved the conditions in which they were held, and agreed with the use of corporal punishment more than first-time, domestic and international visitors. This implies that those who were local and repeat visitors, or have become accustomed to the prison being part of their community and collective consciousness have differing, and apparently more punitive, views than those who are visiting from another country or another part of Australia. Western Australia also has a history of particularly punitive legislation against Indigenous Aboriginals (Edney, 2002; Midford, 1988), as well as a generally punitive public (Indermaur, 1987; Roberts, Spiranovic, & Indermaur, 2011; Spiranovic, Roberts, & Indermaur, 2012). However it has been shown that Western Australia cannot be singled out as significantly more punitive than the rest of Australia (Roberts et al., 2011). The punitive tendency among Australians in general seems to be pervasive and is an additional variable contributing to the attitudes expressed by local and domestic visitors to Fremantle Prison.

The idea of local visitors being more likely to agree with the statement regarding corporal punishment and that the prisoners of Fremantle Prison deserved the conditions in which they were held is a new concept not well supported by previous literature. However, when combined with returning visitors expressing the same associations, the finding could be attributed to locals having more opportunities to tour the site multiple times. Those repeat, local, visitors could be particularly interested in the history of the site or enthused by the idea of incarceration and corporal punishment, which is a popular element of the tours at Fremantle Prison. This finding that returning local visitors have different and possibly more punitive views than others is worthy of further examination at Fremantle Prison and other prison museums.

Visitors to Fremantle Prison who completed both the pre- and post-exposure surveys produced only one significant attitude change. This was related to their thoughts regarding the conditions in which prisoners were held. The change reflected a downward movement on the Likert scale. This indicated that upon experiencing the tour at Fremantle Prison, visitors were more likely to disagree that the prisoners deserved the conditions in which they were held. This finding shows that upon seeing the prison conditions, the cells, and hearing about the lack of plumbing or the punishments that were handed out, visitors were more likely to believe that the prisoners did not deserve the conditions in which they were held. This falls in line with the idea that experiencing the prison museum first hand may help the public to understand what it was like for those previous prisoners to be incarcerated at that particular site. This phenomenon has been discussed by Landsberg (1997) where the idea of the Holocaust museum can transfer memories and a feeling of empathy to the visitor. Part of the museum experience is about learning and the transferral of knowledge (Falk & Dierking, 2000; Kirchberg & Tröndle, 2012), but as Landsberg (1997) observes, sites that contain artefacts and emotional experiences (for example standing inside a box-car used to transport Jews at the Washington Holocaust Museum) have powerful effects of transferring constructed memories. This idea can be applied to Fremantle Prison, where the visitor is shown the darkness of solitary confinement cells, the weapons constructed by inmates, the forbidding prison walls, or the gallows. By viewing these, sometimes deliberately placed scenes, a memory or understanding of that experience – aided by previous understandings, such as from the media – is constructed by the visitor (Landsberg, 1997). This is not comparing imprisonment to the Holocaust; rather that the concept of a sense of understanding being transferred to visitors is not without precedent. Sontag (2004, pg 105) reflects that in *On Photography* she thought repeated exposure to traumatic images may shrivel sympathy, but has come to be uncertain about this statement. Could the findings of this study contribute? The viewing of traumatic images and scenes at prison museums, where individuals were incarcerated and executed, appeared to have little effect on the individuals – especially when viewing the comments made in post-exposure surveys. It is possible that they were unwilling to reveal their true emotions on a survey, however it is equally possible that these traumatic images fell on minds that were numb to the pains of imprisonment. Visitors are safe, they understand they can leave at any time, and as Sontag (2004, pg 100) notes “wherever people feel safe...they will be indifferent”.

Furthermore, Sontag (2004, pg 88) highlights that often the suffering depicted is remote:

To have a museum chronicling the great crime that was African slavery in the United States of America would be to acknowledge that the evil was *here*. Americans prefer to picture the evil that was *there*, and from which the United States – a unique nation, one without any certifiably wicked leaders throughout its entire history – is exempt.

This presents an interesting contrast with the studied prison museums (and in particular Fremantle Prison) that often depict a time-locked version of incarceration. At Fremantle Prison the suffering presented is removed by time, rather than location. It was the past, historic, inmates who suffered through dangerously hot summers, lacked adequate hygiene, and suffered solitary confinement. The presence of these issues in modern prisons is not acknowledged – one exception being the efforts by Eastern State, although even then the images and art exhibits are sanitised and controlled. This presents a dishonest version of suffering, which confines the trauma experienced by the inmates to historical records, framed through images and tour programming, while ignoring their modern continuation.

5.2.2 Robben Island:

One result from the pre-exposure data was that many visitors to Robben Island Museum identified themselves as South African (24.8%), despite international visitors making up the majority (65.3%) of visitors. This could be seen as a success for the post-apartheid South African governments' attempts to promote Robben Island Museum as a site of education, remembrance, and inspiration for South Africans. Following the ideas outlined by MacCannell (1976), this could also reinforce the idea that visiting Robben Island acts as a pilgrimage for South Africans to see for themselves the conditions under which inmates such as Nelson Mandela or Ahmed Kathrada were held. This is further echoed by the large number of respondents in the post-exposure survey stating that the highlight of their visit was seeing Nelson Mandela's cell.

When looking at the initial comparison between pre- and post-exposure attitude scales, we can see that while there were some shifts in attitudes, the majority of respondents held similar views after their exposure to the tour of Robben Island. The only statistically significant change was a shift in respondents' attitudes regarding the educational value of prison museums. The result was an overall movement down the five point Likert scale, representing less agreement with the statement that prison museums are educational. This could be a response to the quality or nature of the tour, or that the expectations or markers of what the tour was supposed to be like were not met (J. Wilson, 2008a). When combined with the qualitative post-exposure data from visitors to Robben Island Museum, we can see that other group members and the tour guide of the prison museum were featured as responses to the negative elements of the tour. In this regard, the tour guide and atmosphere of the tour affected by fellow tourists can have a significant (and damaging) effect on a visitor's view towards the educative quality of the experience.

5.2.3 Eastern State Penitentiary:

Similarly to Fremantle Prison, local visitors to Eastern State Penitentiary were more likely to agree that prisons were an effective form of punishment than those visitors from other parts of the United States or internationally. The data appears to suggest that those who live within close proximity to the prison museum have differing views of incarceration. However this is speculative at best. The possibility here is that the difference is a result of a variety of variables, rather than geographic location. Alternatively, those who are visiting from other locations on holiday may be more relaxed or less inclined to think seriously about the merits of incarceration as a response to crime. This may prompt an investigation into opposing motivations for visiting prison museums, or sites of dark tourism, while travelling. There is a possibility that prison museums, and other sites of dark tourism, are not appealing to a variety of tourists. Speculatively, the reasons for this could be sensitivity to suffering, personal distaste at visiting a particular site, emotionally unstimulating (“boring”), or that tourists simply do not know that the site exists for visitation. These areas tie into the limitation present within this study that there was no sample of tourists who did not visit the site.

Respondents to the pre-exposure survey at Eastern State Penitentiary who had previously watched a film or television show involving prisons were more likely to disagree with the idea of corporal punishment than those who had not watched a prison film. This is not a strong link, however the sensationalised depictions of punishment in prison media, as well as the sympathetic portrayals of some inmates may have influenced visitors’ responses in this regard. According to D. Wilson and O’Sullivan (2004) fictional representations of prisons can help inform the viewers about institutions they are not familiar with, even if the viewer understands that these are fictional representations. This study highlights this relationship, as respondents from Eastern State Penitentiary who had watched a prison film or television show recently also, generally, disagreed with the idea that prison films paint a realistic picture of the prison environment. In this instance, exposure to films and television shows about prisons and incarceration could promote a sense of empathy among the viewer with those who are incarcerated, and the pains of imprisonment that they suffer. This could then translate to a disagreement with the concept of corporal punishment, especially given the tendency of fictional prison films and television shows to sensationalise the prison environment (Bulck & Vandebosch, 2003; O’Sullivan, 2001; D. Wilson & O’Sullivan, 2004). An issue present with this finding is that it is difficult to judge which films in particular are causing this change in attitude, or whether it is an outside variable that exists alongside a respondent who viewed a prison film or television show. While this may be difficult to address, the result does add to the literature on media representations of prisons and their effect on the public.

5.3 Aggregate sample findings

Repeat visitors to prison museums were more likely to be locals, with the logical reasoning for this being ease (or proximity) of access. Interestingly, local respondents also felt that older prisons were more effective than their modern counterparts. This could suggest a relationship between living in an area with an historical prison and visitor's attitudes about modern forms of imprisonment.

Alternatively, the social and political histories of the cities and countries that the sites exist in could also play a role in the attitudes of local respondents. The punitive views of Australian residents has been mentioned previously, but this could also extend to South Africa's increased use of incarceration and longer sentences by the post-apartheid state (Steinberg, 2005) and the United States' use of mass incarceration (Christianson, 2000; Hartney, 2006; Mauer, 2003). The combination of punitive public attitudes, the states liberal use of incarceration, and interview statements from prison staff regarding the imposing walls of Eastern State or Fremantle Prison, or the notoriety that Robben Island has, provides substance to this finding.

Visitors often identified as being domestic or international tourists, with only 15.3% of all respondents stating that they were locals visiting the prison museum. This finding of locals visiting prison museums less frequently is also reinforced by interview responses from the prison museum employees who would remark that locals tended to avoid coming to the prison, or only visited when showing friends or family from out of town. This suggests that the prison museums become routine and normal to locals, with the sites fading into the background of everyday life only to be visited again when accompanied by friends and family who would appreciate the novelty. This was especially prevalent in interviews from Eastern State and Fremantle Prison. Another possible explanation could be tied to income level and that international travel is a luxury good and an activity in which those with higher disposable incomes are more likely to engage (Crouch, 1994). Those who have larger disposable incomes tend to be more educated (Krueger & Lindahl, 2000; Mincer, 1974), and have the opportunity to visit foreign countries and cultures. Conversely, those who lack the disposable income to travel internationally may opt to visit prison museums that are closer to home (if they visit at all) due to a lack of other options, rather than a premeditated choice (Jeng & Fesenmaier, 2002).

Returning visitors were found to agree more with the idea that older prisons were more effective than modern prisons, that inmates at each site deserved the conditions in which they were held, and that corporal punishment should be utilised. This suggests a punitive trend of those who have experienced the prison museum before. One explanation for this might be that those who are repeat or returning visitors enjoyed the experience and agreed with the site's principles. In the case of Eastern State this could be solitary confinement. For Robben Island this could be isolation on an island and political imprisonment, or for Fremantle the conditions of imprisonment and physical punishments characterised during the convict era might have aligned with the visitor's sense of "justice" or punishment.

Respondents who had watched a prison film recently were more likely to have visited a site of dark tourism before, and were more likely to think that prison was an effective form of punishment. This adds further credence to the idea that visitors who enjoy dark tourism also engage in “dark” or prison related popular culture or film and television shows. It is hard to say definitively if one leads to the other as the popularity of prison film and television is so widespread it accounts for a variety of demographics and audiences. This adds to the findings from Stone and Sharpley (2008) relating to the consumption of dark tourism sites by visitors who find death becoming increasingly absent or atypical (Kastenbaum, 2007; Kears, 2009) and visit dark tourism sites in order to educate themselves or satisfy their curiosity. With the increased use of incarceration, the removal of punishment from the public’s view, and the high frequency of crime and prison related media, visitors to prison museums may be wishing to educate and inform themselves in the same way of a phenomenon that has become enshrined in television and film and used to garner political power.

Visitors watching a prison film or television show and then indicating that prison is an effective form of punishment are relevant because they appear to contradict, in part, the idea that prison films result in increased empathy for inmates and the humanisation of those incarcerated (D. Wilson & O’Sullivan, 2004). In this case, the link is not substantial, but does raise an interesting question regarding the differentiation of viewers between the plight of prisoners and the effectiveness of the institutions that house them. This one association may give credence to the idea that despite issues in corrections being presented in these films and television shows, the general consensus is that prison is still effective at punishing criminals. This is also supported by the agreement among visitors to all three sites that prison is an effective form of punishment. However, this is contrasted with a result indicating that visitors often disagreed that television and film painted a realistic picture of prison. In this case visitors may be aware that television is not realistic, but have little else on which to base their opinions. Contributing to this is the routine use of imprisonment by the state, and a disconnection between the prisoners who were incarcerated historically at the studied prisons, and a lack of knowledge regarding the plight of those incarcerated currently.

5.3.1 Aggregate Pre- and Post-Exposure Attitude Change:

When the results of respondents’ attitude scale scores across all three sites were compared there was only one significant result. Visitors to the sites experienced a change in attitude regarding the idea of whether inmates at each prison deserved the conditions in which they were held. The direction of the change was downwards, indicating that the experience of the prison museums causes visitors to think that the prisoners did not deserve the conditions in which they were held. It should be noted that the original trend was, on average, to disagree with this statement. However, the post-exposure result was a further move downwards, indicating stronger disagreement with this statement. This finding suggests that the prison museum experience has an effect on visitors, and that once they physically witness the conditions in which prisoners were held, they are more empathetic and

opposed to those conditions. This concept is also supported by interview data from employees who commented that visitors are often surprised at the conditions of the prison, at how small the cells were, or the lack of basic features such as plumbing.

As mentioned above, the concept of experiencing a museum or site of remembrance can pass on a greater sense of empathy, or even a form of prosthetic or heteropathic memory (M. Hirsch, 1997; Landsberg, 1997; Sather-Wagstaff, 2008). In this instance, the experiential nature of all three prison museums – with a focus on framing and illustrating the harsh conditions of incarceration, could have elicited a greater sense of empathy for inmates. This is supported somewhat by the significant statistical result as well as the interview data; however the very nature of prison means that this is a difficult idea to follow completely. There is no doubt that the events of the Holocaust or the September 11th attacks were tragic, and visitors to those sites are often remembering the victims. However, rarely are visitors to prison museums prompted to remember former inmates in a similar way. Notable exceptions to this are the inmates of Robben Island, where a strong narrative of unjust incarceration is presented to visitors. In this instance, some parallels could possibly be drawn. Prison, as an institution of punishment, is still a “good” tool used by the state. With this in mind, the prosthetic memories that Landsberg (1997) discusses, where visitors bring with them memories informed by second- or third-hand sources, are different to those when visiting sites of remembrance. To that end, visitors may have come away from the experience with a greater understanding of what it was like for inmates to be incarcerated at that particular prison, but this increased sense of understanding or empathy may not extend to current inmates of correctional facilities.

The framing and presentation of the exhibits and the narratives presented in the audio and guided tours could also play a part in visitor empathy. For example a focus on particularly violent inmates could elicit different responses than a focus on non-violent inmates subjected to harsh conditions of imprisonment. This also relates to the decisions behind which narratives are presented by the museums, and who is making these decisions. As J. Wilson (2008a) has noted, there is a tendency for a small group of individuals to control the narrative of historical interpretations. Within prison museums, these interpretations are often from the viewpoint of the guards and former prison management, rather than the inmates (J. Wilson, 2008a). This phenomenon is reinforced by interviews with prison museum staff, and especially those at Fremantle Prison, acknowledging that inmate narratives are less favoured than those of the guards – some of whom still work at the site.

Attitude decay may also play a role in this finding. Briefly, it is acknowledged that visitors may initially leave the prison museum feeling a powerful sense of empathy for those incarcerated or shock at the conditions in which prisoners were held. However, as time progresses (note: the post-exposure survey was available for completion for two months following administration of pre-exposure surveys) the feelings, and potential for attitude change, may dampen. In a study following a similar method of pre- and post-exposure surveys measuring attitude change at wildlife parks it was found that long-term changes in environmental advocacy occurred in those who already possessed high levels of engagement with that factor (Ballantyne, Packer, & Falk, 2011). The authors noted “In some ways this is disappointing, as it gives credence to the criticism that such experiences are only “preaching to the

converted” (Ballantyne, et al, 2011, pg 13). A similar criticism could be directed towards the outcomes of this study where changes in attitude regarding the conditions that prisoners were held in were towards “disagreeing more” than a reversal of agreement to disagreement. More positively though, Ballantyne and colleagues (2011, pg 13) also showed that visitors “engaging in a reflective or contemplative experience made a significant contribution to short-term learning, which in turn was a significant but weak predictor of long-term impact”. In this instance, the experiential and reflective nature of some elements contained within these prison museums (the Big Graph at Eastern State, former political prisoner guide at Robben Island, or the gallows at Fremantle Prison) may result in longer-lasting impressions. Finally, Ballantyne and colleagues (2011, pg 14) suggest that tourism managers can optimise long-term impact by encouraging emotional connections, reflection, and thought regarding potential consequences of wildlife. Similar sentiments could also be utilised by prison museum operators to thoughtfully engage with visitors regarding the issues faced by historical inmates, as well as those incarcerated today.

The pre- and post-exposure data showed that the experience of visiting a prison museum does not conclusively have an effect on visitors’ attitudes and feelings surrounding imprisonment, punishment, and prison museums. Disjointed, and mostly random, significant results at the different sites as well as in the combined analysis indicates that visiting a prison museum *can* have an effect, but does not provide for meaningful measurement. Looking to the interview data lends support to the notion that the museum experience can have an effect on visitors, with multiple interviewees across different sites responding in this way. Whether this effect is reliable, significant, or a result of some other variable (such as the specific tour guide, other tourists, or even the weather) should be acknowledged. The presence of significant results however gives some merit to the approach used, and confirms the notion that prison museums can potentially influence visitors based on the presentation of the tour or their experience.

5.3.2 Post-exposure visitor responses:

When asked what they enjoyed most about their experience at the prison museum, visitors often responded that it was the visual element of the prison and its surrounding areas. This included viewing the cells, as well as other unique spaces, such as the quarry at Robben Island. This finding is interesting because it complements the idea of the tourist gaze and that visual elements are identified as important by visitors. This also speaks to the gaze of objects and exhibits by visitors, and the meaning inscribed upon them by the museum’s curators or guides (Bryson, 1988; Casey, 2003; Welch, 2015). Casey (2003, pg 2) argues that “the museum is able to produce cultural knowledge by organising how the materials it authorises are seen...” Within the prison museums studied, this includes the cells that are open to visitors, the route tour guides take visitors on, and the collections and exhibits presented. For example, visitors are rarely afforded the opportunity to gaze upon the graffiti produced by inmates on their cells in Fremantle Prison. Special tours are run once a month for

visitors who wish to see these cells, and the tour itself contains a disclaimer that some of the graffiti is obscene. Ordinary visitors to Fremantle Prison who participate in the general tours are shielded from these obscene depictions. While visitors stated that they enjoyed seeing the cells of former inmates, the layout and items included in that cell have been selected and authorised by the museum curators. These curators control the context in which an item of scene is viewed via the screens they employ and what items are included and excluded (Casey, 2003). Casey (2003, pg 6) goes on to state that the objects found in museums have shifted from speaking for themselves to having “museum professionals interpret cultural significance for visitors by structuring art and artifacts around easily identifiable chronologies, geographies, formal themes, and narratives”. In relation to this study, the exhibits, art, and artifacts at each site align with the general narratives presented at each site. For example Fremantle Prison’s focus on convict heritage is exemplified through the display of convict-era artifacts and the focus of the tours, whereas the spiritual pilgrimage narrative of Robben Island corresponds with the emphasis on the story of Nelson Mandela, Ahmed Kathrada, and other political inmates. Similarly, the structure of the tour at Eastern State and inclusion of art exhibitions related to current issues in corrections relates to the identified narratives.

In terms of prison museums, viewing the cells being memorable to visitors is important as it further reinforces the idea that these sites have an effect on visitors and that one of the most striking elements is the reality of confinement inside these sites. While incarceration as a punishment may be popular, the general public rarely experience prison. Indeed, with the move of modern prisons to be located in rural or sparsely populated areas, prisons are rarely even viewed. As such, prison museums play an important role in allowing visitors to see for themselves the structure and an approximation of the conditions within these decommissioned institutions. The visual element is an important finding from this study, as both visitors and employees alike responded that seeing, and in some cases touching or interacting with the prisons was the most memorable experience. This finding illustrates that the visual space and the opportunity to visit a decommissioned prison in person is a valuable experience and can have an effect on visitors.

Conversely, when asked what visitors liked least about the tour the main theme related to the tours themselves. This included the tours being too short, with too many people, or with interruptions from the group. While this may not appear to be a particularly striking finding, it does suggest that prison museums (and indeed other sites of dark tourism) should focus on the size of the tours in order for visitors to have the most satisfying experience possible. Furthermore, visitors also said that in particular areas, such as the gallows at Fremantle Prison, some other tourists were intrusive or rude in what should be a solemn area. This shows an understanding of the significance that areas such as the gallows have. It also introduces the idea of the “other” tourist who is noisy and rude, and was often referred to in visitor post-exposure surveys as one of the elements of the tours visitors least enjoyed. Furthermore, employees of the prison museums stated that they were often confronted by certain visitors who challenge and argue with them. Some similarities can be drawn here between an operational prison as the home for the others of society (J. Wilson, 2008a), and the identification of certain visitors who are then othered within their own tour group – disrupting the tour or acting in a

way that is not appropriate for the museum atmosphere. This notion of appropriate behaviour has been mentioned previously, with a set of museum norms that govern how one should act within that institution. In this case, visitors confronting tour guides were seen to be breaking these norms or challenging the status quo of museum etiquette, which left a lasting impression on many tour guides.

Casey's (2003) analysis of the relationship between the gaze of subjects, objects, and the reversibility of this gaze also plays a role here. Casey (2003) stated that visitors to museums are also being watched as part of their gaze upon the exhibits or objects presented in the museum. In this instance, it is the viewers of the gallows at Fremantle Prison, the Synagogue of Eastern State Penitentiary, or Nelson Mandela's cell at Robben Island Museum who come under scrutiny. The gallows at Fremantle Prison prompted the most significant and clear messages that visitors who acted in inappropriate ways lessened the experience of gazing upon the gallows. In this instance, the results from this study further affirm the notion that the museum visitor is mindful of how others view objects, and in turn are mindful of how they are viewed themselves in an institution where surveillance is a key characteristic (Casey, 2003).

When asked what could be done to make the prison museum more appealing to tourists, the majority of respondents indicated one of two things: increased interaction, or further input from different sources. The first finding indicates that the tactile approach used in some areas of the sites was well received and could be utilised further. It also compliments the finding that visitors appreciate being able to see, touch or interact with prison cells or facilities, although this can also be seen as another instance for narratives and messages to be portrayed through the "organised touching" of pre-determined items or situations (Welch, 2015 pg 171-172). The second major response was the inclusion of history from different sources, often indicated as a desire to see more input from former guards and/or inmates. This finding illustrates that visitors may be aware that there could be other versions of history to present, or their desire to hear 'the other side of the story'. Alternatively, in the case of wishing to hear stories from former inmates, it suggests a desire to interact or learn from members of society who were deviants or *others* – those who they would not normally interact with. While this may come from a place where visitors wish to hear a well-rounded version of events, it may also indicate a salacious desire to hear stories that may align more with their idea of what prison is like, for example stories of prison violence or sexual assault. Finally, a subset of responses regarding input from different sources expressed a desire to see more details about the consequences of incarceration and further comparisons to modern prisons. This indicates a willingness of visitors to engage in issues related to contemporary corrections or to learn further about the consequences imprisonment has on individuals and communities. This finding suggests that prison museums have an opportunity to expand their exhibits or narratives to include more emphasis on these types of issues.

The next post-exposure qualitative question asked visitors whether they believe that prison museums should make a profit. The majority of respondents indicated that they think prison museums should make a profit, and that this profit should be used to maintain and improve the experience. On the other hand, those who rejected this idea often did so on the grounds that the sites should avoid

profiting from the suffering of others. This follows the theme of increased empathy visitors may experience from visiting the site, and introduces the idea that these decommissioned prisons were sites of considerable suffering and that there should be a sense of reverence towards this. It is also interesting to note that this group were the minority, and that the idea of avoiding profiting from the suffering of others was seen to be less of a concern than preserving the site for future use. With this in mind, the “dark” aspect of the site can be seen as a product of the site’s continued operation. This is supported by comments made throughout the interviews, especially relating to an employee’s perspective of their role, where interview respondents would comment that their focus was on preservation and a satisfactory visitor experience. The focus on these two factors would result in the production and continuation of exhibits and narratives directly associated with the site (e.g. suffering, or the pains of incarceration). Related to this topic are the expectations of major stakeholders in these prison museums. While only mentioned by a small minority of interview respondents, those that did made it clear they felt strongly about the allocation of resources and the exploitation of tour guides. In terms of the allocation of resources, interviewees stated that marketing often received the largest portion of funds, sometimes to the detriment of the prison itself – with artefacts and prison fabric being damaged due to a lack of resources. Conversely, the marketing of these sites appears to be an important element in attracting visitors, with this study illustrating that the website, brochures, signage, and being featured in tour guides accounting for 42.6% of responses from visitors when asked how they learned of the site. This further reinforces the problems that are certainly striking museum operators as they seek a balance between marketing and museum preservation.

Following this, the topic of unpaid labour among tour guides was raised, albeit infrequently, at Eastern State Penitentiary and Fremantle Prison. Within these responses, interviewees indicated that they were expected to conduct readings and educate themselves about the prison outside of their scheduled working hours. It should also be noted that other respondents stated that they were given opportunities to study the historical material on their own time, but did not elaborate on this any further in the interview. In terms of data collection, this appeared to be a sensitive topic among respondents, especially those employed as tour guides. A reluctance to discuss this could be attributed to potential repercussions from management, although assurances were made that their responses were anonymous and would not affect their employment status. In terms of unpaid labour among museum employees, this is not a new phenomenon (Holmes, 2006; Pollert & Charlwood, 2009). This again raises issues about the balance between resource allocation (in terms of giving tour guides paid time to study) and the marketing and preservation of the site which allows for the employment of tour guides in the first place. While there are no simple solutions to these issues, it is important that those managing sites of penal heritage are aware of potential frustrations among tour guides, as well as the potential for damage to occur to the fabric of the site if proper resources are not allocated.

When asked whether they would recommend the prison to others, and why, visitors responded that they would because of the visual way that history was presented. The responses also included that the prison represented something unusual or different for visitors, and that seeing visual representations of concepts such as solitary confinement were important. This response indicates that

visitors acknowledge the usefulness of being able to visualise the cells and conditions in which prisoners were kept, which may promote more empathy or understanding among those who visit prison museums. This also aligns further with the importance of the tourist gaze, and that visitors use this gaze to inform themselves of phenomena, situations, or events that are presented within these prison museums.

The last question respondents were asked in the post-exposure survey was whether there was any part of the tour that stood out to them and why. There were three main responses: the conditions in which prisoners were held, the stories of specific inmates, and the architecture of the prison. The condition of prisoners again reinforces the idea of increased empathy, or at least knowledge, about the conditions inmates had to endure, and what that may mean for modern inmates who are currently incarcerated. The stories of specific inmates begins to illustrate the effect that celebrity inmates have, and the interest of the public in these notable figures. These stories show that some visitors do come to hear the story, or visualise where a notable public figure was incarcerated – be that Nelson Mandela or Al Capone. Finally, the architecture of the prison or the tour was a common response. This indicates that the visual gaze was an important part of the experience, and that visitors responded well to seeing not only the cells, but also important sites such as the quarry at Robben Island or the hospital at Eastern State. Responses also included that the size of the prison, or the size of the walls and their forbidding nature, were stand out elements as well. This shows that even to visitors the architecture of a prison is a powerful tool that can elicit emotions of dread or confinement. It also emphasises the role of the prison itself, and associated areas or exhibits (e.g. the quarry at Robben Island) as exhibits presented to visitors. The prison walls, cells, or gallows become objects that visitors view – and in turn are subject to narrative presentations influenced by curators. While museum management may not directly alter prison walls, the information told by the guide or audio tour, or the layout of a “sample cell” can be seen to be particularly memorable elements to visitors. Therefore care should be taken in order to be accurate, as well as critical of the historical fabric and narratives presented.

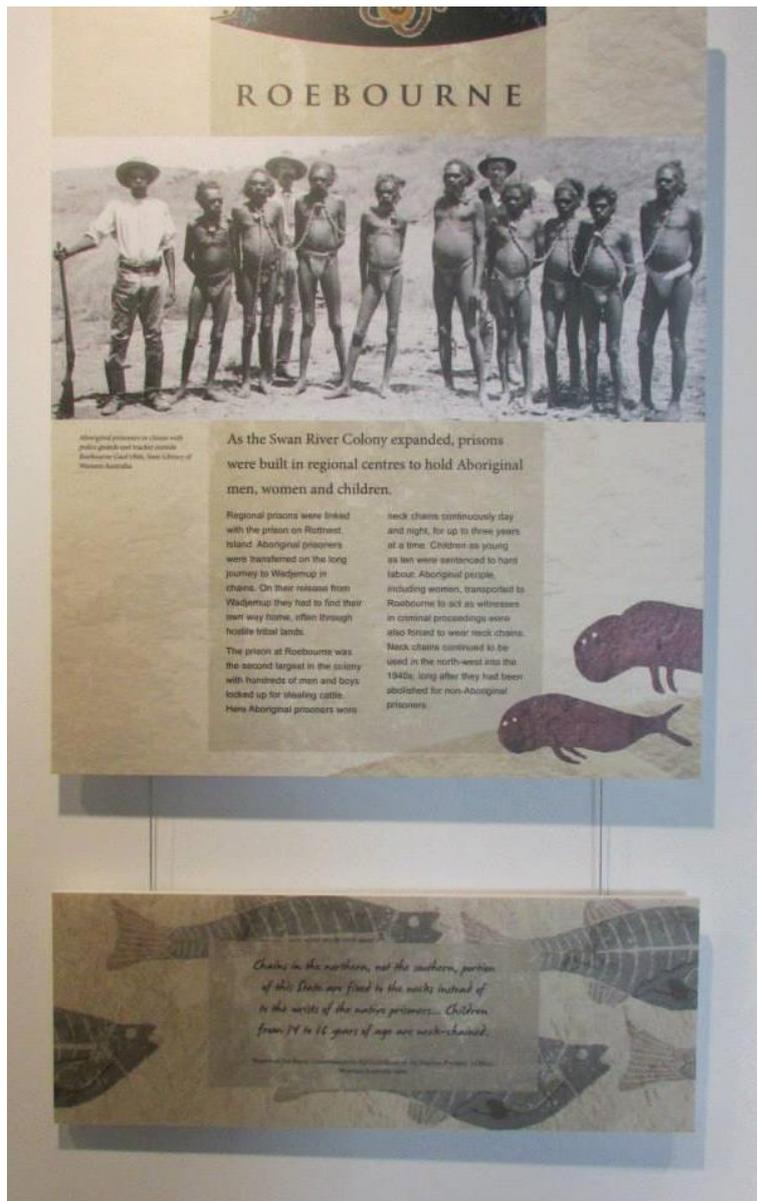
5.4 Employee Interviews: Major themes from structured responses

The data collected and subsequent findings from employee interviews are important in their own right due to the lack of academic research into this area. The interviews with prison museum employees provided valuable insights into the experiences, stories, and feelings of those who worked at sites of penal heritage every day. Furthermore, behind the scenes processes and insights are valuable in providing additional context for visitor experiences and perceptions. A limitation with this approach was that the interview questions could have been more rigorously developed. Due to the novel nature of the research, previous studies employing a similar methodology were difficult to find, and those that were similar had a variety of different questions for each of their own research aims. For future research, further refinement of the interview questions and protocol would be a useful endeavour.

The first finding to emerge from the structured responses was the similarity of employee roles at each site. Across all three sites there were tour guides, those involved in miscellaneous (or as multiple respondents termed it: “jack-of-all-trades”) roles, and then administration or heritage roles. There is a divide between those who present the history – the tour guides, and the administration who choose the information to be presented. Tour guide respondents across all three sites noted that there was some freedom to discuss stories or facts that they had researched themselves, however respondents were also quick to state that upon being hired they were given material to learn for their tours. This was often combined with shadowing senior tour guides to learn technique, as well as the script they were to present as a tour guide. As mentioned previously, this falls in line with J. Wilson’s (2008a) statement that the messages and interpretations of history are held by a small group of people and often reflect their views. J. Wilson (2008a) continued that for Australian prison museums this view was from the perspective of the guards and rarely of the inmates. However, Robben Island Museum interview respondents pointed out that the main narrative of Robben Island Museum is the political prisoners, rather than the guards. The structure however, of museum management directing the material to be presented by tour guides, was consistent. While this is not necessarily a negative point, it is noteworthy that all three sites employed a similar structure, and that those who present history to the public have little input into the content that is presented.

Following this were remarks from respondents about the challenge of telling the “right” history – which was especially prevalent among employees of Fremantle Prison in Western Australia, but also appeared among interviews at Eastern State as well. For employees at Fremantle Prison, the history they were presenting was centred on convict, Eurocentric, and male stories, often told from the perspective of the guards (who were also European males). Interview respondents stated that the stories of Indigenous Australians, females, and modern inmates at Fremantle Prison were neglected and featured far less frequently within the museums tours and exhibits. This focus on convict heritage is also directed within the Fremantle prison Conservation Policy (Kerr, 1998). It is stated in Policy 8.1 (pg 10) that the primary significance of Fremantle Prison is that of the imperial convict period and the Prisons use as a site of incarceration for both male and female convicts. Following this it is also highlighted that adaptations from the 1920s made to the prison are also significant and illustrate how the prison worked in recent years. While it is summarised that conservation efforts should attempt to retain and, if appropriate, reveal all evidence equally and to not remove modern prison additions, a final note is made that “...in general, the convict and colonial periods take precedence over later works” (Kerr, 1998, pg 10).

Presenting one side of history was mentioned by respondents at Eastern State Penitentiary, but much less frequently, and none of the respondents from Robben Island Museum discussed this directly. This raises issues around the representation of different groups in the narrative of a prison museum. For example, the Australian criminal justice system has a history of disproportionately sentencing Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders to prison (Cunneen, 2006; Krieg, 2006). However this is not reflected significantly in the tours of Fremantle Prison. There was however a recently installed exhibit presenting material related to Aboriginal conflict with colonisers, and incarceration (see Figure 14).

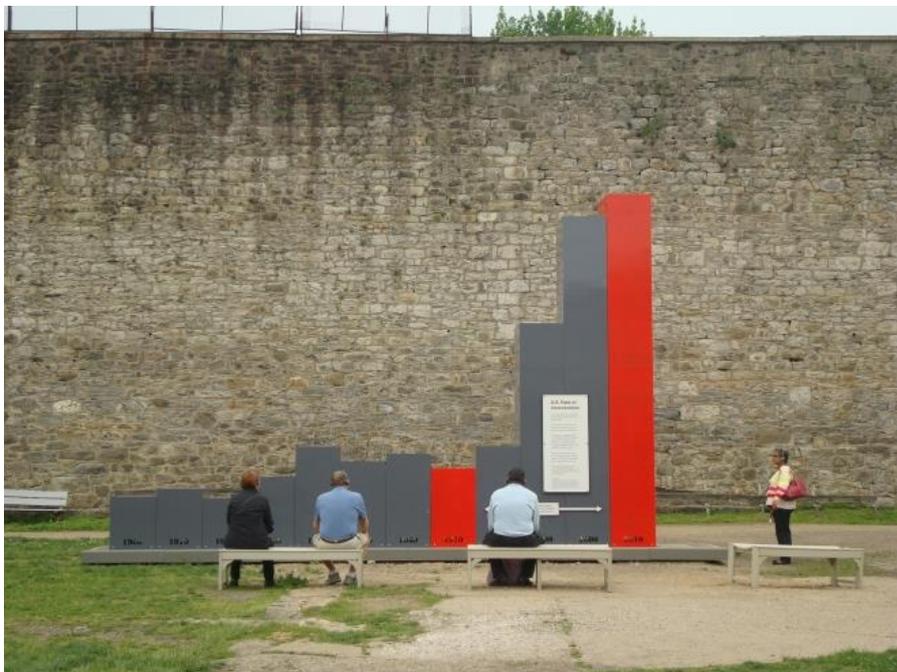


(Figure 14: A selected poster from Fremantle Prison discussing Aboriginal conflict and incarceration. One of several within an exhibit. Authors photograph)

The Doing Time tour only briefly mentioned indigenous incarceration, and that was within the explanation that indigenous inmates were often segregated from the European inmates for safety and for them to receive a 'greater sense of community'. There was no further information added. This lack of engagement with Aboriginal histories within Fremantle Prison's tours may be a reflection of Kerr's (1998) conservation policy. Within section 10 of this policy, Kerr (1998) highlights the increasing number of Aboriginal inmates held in Fremantle Prison from the 1950s, and that further research was needed to determine appropriate policies for the conservation of Aboriginal significance. The current lack of research has justified the inclusion of policies 10.1 and 10.2 (Kerr, 1998). These indicate that research into the significance of Fremantle Prison to Aboriginal groups should be undertaken "largely from oral sources" and in a "leisurely" and informal manner (Kerr, 1998, pg 13). Policy 10.2 also indicates that official files and archives are to be investigated in order to set the information uncovered

from oral sources in context. This is the only mention of uncovering or preserving Aboriginal significance within the policy document. An exhibit dedicated to Aboriginal suffering at the hands of colonisers highlights that steps are being taken to include a greater range of material within Fremantle Prison. However this has not extended to the tours themselves – which is where the majority of visitors receive their information.

When discussing modern inmates the narratives presented were often about how they were to suffer conditions of imprisonment from a bygone era. For example, tours of Fremantle Prison were told of the lack of proper plumbing in the cells, a feature of the convict era architecture, and included a story from the guide about inmates who had to avoid mixing up their bucket containing drinking water with the other bucket containing their excrement. Interview respondents noted that this story was often shocking to visitors, as well as being a humorous anecdote. At Robben Island Museum, the narrative was often on modern political prisoners such as Nelson Mandela or Ahmed Kathrada. However, stories of less well-known inmates incarcerated during the island's history as a prison were also represented. The issues that both sets of inmates faced were described in detail, with former political prisoners giving first-hand accounts of their conditions of imprisonment. Yet there was no link to current issues in corrections in South Africa. Eastern State Penitentiary was the only site to make a strong effort to discuss the issues facing modern inmates, as well as those who were incarcerated at Eastern State Penitentiary just before its closure. The most striking example of this was The Big Graph. This is a large art installation that depicts the United States' incarceration rate over time, and on the reverse side, the disparities in incarceration populations between African-American, Hispanic, and White inmates.



(Figure 15: The Big Graph at Eastern State Penitentiary. Retrieved from Easternstate.org (2015). Reprinted with permission)

Similar smaller exhibits are also included within the museum in partnership with local artists or developed by Eastern State employees. These include installations discussing transgender inmates and prison rape. These efforts illustrate a strong desire to discuss contemporary issues in incarceration in America, and this mission was reflected strongly in interview responses. All interview respondents from Eastern State Penitentiary mentioned the Big Graph, and many went on to explain how it was a compelling part of their work.

Within this topic of the “right” history is the reliance on one group’s version of events, and errors in history. It has been mentioned previously that the narratives presented at the three sites were often from the perspective of one group; Fremantle Prison mostly from the guards, Robben Island Museum from the inmates, and Eastern State Penitentiary sitting somewhere in between. It is difficult to convey properly the stories of inmates and their experiences through the words and recollection of the guards that were tasked with imprisoning them. Similar criticisms could also be raised about the accuracy of inmate narratives, or indeed most first-hand accounts of what transpired during the prison’s time of operation, though at Robben Island Museum, a counter-narrative (from the perspective of the guards) would be politically untenable and morally reprehensible. The guards acted as soldiers for the apartheid regime, and the focus of Robben Island Museum is on the incarceration of political prisoners. With that in mind, any presentation of guard narratives becomes extremely problematic.

Interview participants acknowledged that sometimes visitors would question the museum’s version of events, with returning guards or inmates offering first hand critiques. Particularly punitive or salacious comments by visitors were also brought up by interviewees at each site, and were often accompanied by stories of situations where visitors had spoken out to the tour guides with their opinions. It is acknowledged that this could be seen as similar to visitors questioning the ‘official line’ and historical accuracy of the museum. However, the interviews illustrated that these types of comments held more negative connotations, and (from the tour guides perspective) intended to cause offence. Interviewees who interacted with visitors would recount situations where the comments by tourists were often provocative or controversial (for example re-opening Fremantle Prison as a detention centre for asylum seekers). These situations were often not elaborated on by interview participants, and the result of a visitor questioning the official narrative was largely unanswered during interviews. This could speak further to the norms of a museum, as well as a prison, where those in positions of power (tour guides, or prison guards) are not to be questioned. In response to this, the tour guides who did mention that they had been challenged by visitors added that sometimes it was a good opportunity to discuss further the opinion or critique – highlighting that they were not opposed to engaging with visitors about these issues. Interview respondents were also quick to note that this may not have always been for the better, and rarely did visitors who engaged in these types of conversations seem to change their minds. However this may have been a result of the expectations of visitors to be dutiful “minds on legs” (Welch, 2013, pg 485), as well as the group dynamic within the tourist group, which may hinder authentic discussion between those critiquing the museum programming and those presenting it.

The potential for conflicting versions of history, and possible errors of official statistics and histories should highlight the limitations of conveying the experiences of inmates and incarceration through audio or guided tours and art installations. This was raised at Eastern State Penitentiary during an interview where the participant commented that visitors will never truly understand what it was like to be incarcerated and has been discussed by other studies (see J. Wilson, 2008a and Walby & Piché, 2011) where the experience of a prison museum lacks the noise, smell, fear, isolation, and other pains of imprisonment that an actual inmate would experience. As Berkeley (1998, pg 130) presents: “[t]ake away the sensations of softness, moisture, redness, tartness, and you take away the cherry. Since it is not a being distinct from sensations; a cherry, I say, is nothing but a congeries of sensible impressions”. In contrast, the experience of a prison museum may be “better than nothing” – despite the lack of sensory and emotional authenticity.

A similar finding was some respondents indicating that preservation harmed authenticity, and the balance that must be struck when working with a heritage site. Some interviewees felt that there was a paradox when working at heritage sites, and that their efforts to preserve the fabric that made the site appealing to begin with would harm its authenticity. For example, in order to preserve the deteriorating walls of Fremantle Prison, some of the murals and graffiti from its time as an operational prison had to be removed or destroyed. The choice to return the walls of Fremantle Prison to be close to their state during the convict period, as well as ensuring they are not damaged any further, means that the layer of fabric from later periods of operation is lost. Interview respondents discussed this issue as a paradox, and did not offer any solutions that would please all parties, but did state that the purpose of the museum is to represent the convict era incarceration. As such, the work done to restore or maintain fabric from this period took priority.

A different method is employed by Eastern State Penitentiary, where the prison lay abandoned for over 20 years. Much of the prison naturally decayed, and the site has been described as a “stable ruin”. At Eastern State Penitentiary, interview respondents stated that the decay and deterioration were part of the sites character and appeal for visitors (as well as themselves), and that their role in preservation was to make the site stable and safe for visitors. There has been some movement towards restoring parts of the museum to be representations of earlier time periods, but the majority of the site remains as an accurate representation from the time it was abandoned. The abandonment and minimal restoration could affect the accuracy of past inmate experiences, especially those from the beginning of Eastern State Penitentiary’s operations. However this is mediated with a focus by the museum on the architectural significance of the site, and recounting oral and written histories of inmates and guards, rather than attempting to convey inmate experiences.

Finally, Robben Island Museum’s approach to this issue of preservation was to present a vision of the prison as it was during the apartheid regime. However in an effort to ensure that the prison was visitor-friendly for tourists, this presentation was clean and sanitised. The site itself was not suffering from the same deterioration as Eastern State Penitentiary or Fremantle Prison, and the conservation work that has gone into the prison appears to be for the benefit of the visitor. For example, adjacent cells lay bare while the cell that held Nelson Mandela was sparsely decorated in an attempt to convey

to visitors what his incarceration was like. The rest of the prison was sparse, clean, and gave little sign that it had housed a significant number of inmates. The prison itself was in very good condition and appeared to suffer none of the deterioration that was found Fremantle Prison or Eastern State Penitentiary. A possible consequence of this was that the issues of preservation and accuracy were not discussed at any great length by interview participants. However as Robben Island Prison ages the problems faced by staff at Fremantle Prison and Eastern State Penitentiary may well extend to Robben Island as well.

Continuing from the topic of preservation, the concept of staged authenticity should be discussed. This was an important topic discussed by MacCannell (1973), and more recently Walby and Piché (2015b), that extends to the presentation of prison museum exhibits – including the prison itself. Here we can see that the tourist is searching for an authentic prison experience, to see for themselves the size of the cells, where notable inmates were held, and what kind of daily lifestyle they had. However the preservation efforts, purposeful narratives, and exhibit objects result in a sense of staged authenticity. This is especially true when examining a popular prison museum exhibit: the replica (or staged) cell. These exhibits represent what a typical, or in the case of Al Capone – a-typical, cell would have been like. However these are curated and deliberately placed by museum operators: they are clean and unmoving, and (short of having someone living in the cell) un-lived in. They are replicas, and while this may be clear, some visitors are searching for an educative experience, to satisfy their own curiosity, to see an authentic prison cell. Following the work of MacCannell (1973, pg 597-598), visitors are searching for the authentic but are instead presented with a “false back”, carefully arranged by a small group of individuals who may have their own motivations, mission, or biases (see J. Wilson, 2008a). With this in mind, the issues of authenticity, preservation, and tour programming should be viewed carefully – especially as this study has highlighted that these areas are central to visitor motivation and have been identified by visitors as important parts of their experience. The comments by interview participants indicated an awareness among employees that there were issues about the validity of the history they were presenting, and that errors do occur – or that the narratives presented were only from one “side” of history (e.g. from a guards perspective). As such, care should be taken to be mindful of these issues by visitors partaking in penal tourism, and by museum operators planning exhibits and tour material.

Employee perspectives of what role the prison museum serves were varied across the different sites based on their historical background. For Fremantle Prison, employees stated that the site’s role was to present convict heritage to the public. At Robben Island, the role was more of a pilgrimage to view part of the history of apartheid. At Eastern State Penitentiary, the unique design, solitary confinement, and structural decay formed central roles. As mentioned previously however, Eastern State was the only site where employees stated that the site’s role was also to connect with visitors about contemporary issues in corrections – including mass incarceration in America. This finding is important because it shows employees are engaged in presenting a contemporary element within a very historical site. This discussion about issues in modern corrections is highlighted by respondents when discussing the Big Graph at Eastern State. This large art installation was a focal point for

respondents in their discussion about the direction that Eastern State is taking, and the intention to highlight the issues within current corrections in a robust manner. Discussing these issues is particularly relevant because respondents at all three sites held overwhelmingly negative views of their country's criminal justice system. The specifics often involved overcrowded court systems and prisons, and unequal application of punishments. What makes this particularly relevant is that employees across the different levels (tour guides to management) thought that the criminal justice system in each country was broken to some degree, and yet the only prison museum studied to try and connect with visitors about these issues in a meaningful way was Eastern State. While it may not be the purpose of Fremantle Prison or Robben Island to discuss current issues in corrections, it is nonetheless interesting that sites of former incarceration, where appalling conditions or injustices occurred, do not discuss modern day equivalents – even when employees are keenly aware of those issues.

Employees' views of why the prison was turned into a museum revolved around the idea of presenting history to the public. This includes the idea that the site was historically significant and should be available for the public to learn from. Additionally, each site's significance was again highlighted due to the unique historical background. This reaffirms that the sites are unique monuments or iconic landmarks and should be treated as such. When discussing the communities' reaction to this transformation, responses often had two main avenues.

The first was that local community members feel attached to and proud of their local prison museum – especially when looking at Eastern State and Fremantle. These two sites specifically are also placed in desired locations – within affluent neighbourhoods and often on what would be considered prime real estate. The sites of both Fremantle Prison and Eastern State Penitentiary were originally removed from the main population centres. While not as rural as modern prisons, or as physically isolated as Robben Island, they were still separated. With population increase and urban sprawl, these two prisons became surrounded by housing. Interview participants acknowledged that the decommission of the prisons was the catalyst for discussions about historical significance and landmarks within the community. Since then, both Fremantle Prison and Eastern State Penitentiary have become notable tourist attractions and significant landmarks within their specific neighbourhoods, with community gatherings and events located within or around each. Interview participants at Fremantle Prison and Eastern State Penitentiary went on to state that the presence of a tall and forbidding wall meant that residents living near to the prison often become desensitised to the idea of living near a correctional institution. In contrast, one interview participant went on to tell of the stories that circulated during the summer months when poor ventilation, extreme heat, and inadequate water supplies at Fremantle Prison resulted in the moans and cries of inmates being heard by nearby residents. The general consensus though, was that the nature of a prison, to isolate those inside its walls from the outside world, meant that those living on the outside paid little attention to the institution or to the punishments inflicted upon those incarcerated within (Chesney-Lind & Mauer, 2003; A. Y. Davis, 1998; A. Y. Davis & Shaylor, 2001). The barriers of separation only served

to reinforce a sense of “out of sight, out of mind” and perpetuate an environment of invisible punishments.

On the other hand Robben Island's isolation means that community involvement manifests in different ways. One example is a greater emphasis of conservation on the island, with bird and penguin colonies being key features. Another is the symbolic nature of Robben Island and the notion that some visitors treat the experience as a pilgrimage to a site that is significant to the struggle against the apartheid regime. This symbolism is unique to Robben Island and the comments made by interview participants about community interaction with the island focussed on the elements of preservation of the whole island and not just the prison, and the meaningfulness of the island to the people of South Africa.

A further finding from the interviews and from each site's respective literature was the engagement of the prison museum with the local community. At each site there was a conscious effort to engage with local groups and the wider community to run events at the site, or to utilise the space for education or community services. At Fremantle Prison this involved art exhibitions, school trips for primary (5-10 year old) school children, and wedding ceremonies at the prison's chapel. Robben Island Museum has a department dedicated to education and learning, and covers a range of avenues from school trips, to primary research on the island – including the diverse wildlife found there. Finally, Eastern State engages in a variety of community projects; including presenting local art installations and engaging with community groups about how the site could better serve them. This interaction and the interview responses that the community feels protective and proud of the sites is a testament to the idea that historical locations are valued by the community and that even those sites with negative histories are viewed as worthy of preservation. In this regard, the role of the prison museum in the community is to educate, entertain, as well as to serve as a site for community engagement – both oriented towards correctional issues, or not.

The second primary response from interview participants about community views of the site was that local communities often tried (unsuccessfully) to demolish each site after the prison's decommission. There were a variety of reasons for this according to respondents, but most involved the idea that each site sat upon prime real estate or generated too much foot traffic or noise. In the case of Robben Island, the painful history of the site, and the opportunity for use as an island resort, were the main reasons put forth for redevelopment. However this was rejected and an emphasis by Mandela's post-apartheid government on reconciliation and preserving the historical pains of the apartheid regime resulted in Robben Island's transformation to museum (Deacon, 1996; Nanda, 2004; Nwafor, 2014; Shearing & Kempa, 2004). Respondents at Fremantle Prison and Eastern State Penitentiary did not include thoughts regarding the site's history or architectural “menace” as reasons for demolition. Instead responses revolved around the idea that the land itself could be put to better use. Employees often concluded that these efforts to demolish the sites failed because of the historical significance that each had, coupled with the extremely high cost of demolition and lack of community approval for alternative uses.

Employees offered some insight into what visitors think or imagine when they first enter the prison. Respondents felt that visitors were often awed by the size of the prison itself, not imagining that it was really that big, and the “coldness” of the site. These emotions were often echoed by the interview respondents themselves, stating that they felt similarly when they first arrived. This strengthens the concept that the architecture employed when building these prisons, to be forbidding and intimidating, still has an effect on people even after their decommission. As Foucault (1995, pg 116) states:

The high wall, no longer the wall that surrounds and protects, no longer the wall that stands for power and wealth, but the meticulously sealed wall, uncrossable in either direction, closed in upon the now mysterious work of punishment, will become, near at hand, sometimes even at the very centre of the cities of the nineteenth century, the monotonous figure, at once material and symbolic, of the power to punish.

These emotional reactions persist even when visitors to the, now decommissioned, prisons know that they will be leaving afterwards. In this case, Foucault’s (1995, pg 172) ideas of discipline can be transferred to the prison museum:

...an architecture that is no longer built simply to be seen (as with the ostentation of palaces), or to observe the external space (cf. the geometry of fortresses), but to permit an internal, articulated and detailed control - to render visible those who are inside it; in more general terms, an architecture that would operate to transform individuals: to act on those it shelters, to provide a hold on their conduct, to carry the effects of power right to them, to make it possible to know them, to alter them. Stones can make people docile and knowable.

Within the prison museum, the stones of the walls and the isolation of an island (in the case of Robben Island) serves to transfer the effects of power to those individuals who are enclosed, for a time, within its walls. Referring back to the narratives presented through exhibits, and combined with the emotional reactions from visitors and employees alike, it can be stated that prison museums encourage visitors to ‘know’ about incarceration – through education via objects, as well as emotionally through the forbidding walls (see also: Welch, 2015).

Following this, employees were asked whether the experience visitors have at the site changes their attitudes or feelings regarding prisons or imprisonment after they leave. Responses were varied, and there was no unanimous answer. Some respondents felt that it depended on the person, and that some left with increased empathy or a more critical outlook. Others felt that it reaffirmed opinions – both positive and negative, and that it would take more than a single visit for people to change their beliefs. When compared with the survey data, this further reinforces that the experience can have an effect on people, increasing empathy - or at least further reaffirming a negative perception towards the conditions in which prisoners were held. However, the survey results were not entirely conclusive and suggest that the experience was different for each individual – as was the likelihood of a change in attitude. As a follow-up question, respondents were asked which portion of the tour or experience is the most important to the visitors. The primary response was that the prison itself and the ability to

visualise the conditions in which inmates were held was extremely important. This adds to the idea that the conditions of imprisonment and the visual gaze are important elements for visitors to experience when undertaking one of these tours.

Interview respondents were asked if they had any moral objections or feelings about working at a former prison site. Many had not thought about it before, and often reflected that after being asked the question that the site and their employment was respectful and that they had no problems with it. It was often “just a job” for many and that the idea of working at a former prison was not something that they thought about too much. Following this, respondents were asked if they had any moral objections to the site selling souvenirs. In this instance, many respondents felt that it was sensible for the site to sell mementos as visitors often liked a reminder of their experience. Wine or shot glasses were seen to be pushing the limits however, and the link between alcohol and prison was seen by respondents to be testing the limits of tastefulness when it came to selling them as souvenirs. Eastern State respondents also discussed the sensationalisation of Al Capone and the use of his image on souvenirs. Many felt that it was unnecessary, and that he was not someone that should be glorified or immortalised in memorabilia. What is interesting is the disjoint between employees and their acceptance of working at a prison site, and their distaste (or at least more vigorous discussion) about the idea of selling souvenirs. This adds to the discussion regarding the set of balances that must be struck by operators of prison museums. In this instance it is the balance between providing souvenirs that visitors want to buy versus the ethical principles of museum operators. It has been mentioned by interview participants and visitors during post-exposure surveys that there should be an effort to avoid the exploitation of human suffering. However the popularity of the gift shops and the demand of other visitors who would like a memento of their visit often take priority. An interesting element of the gift shops at all three sites was the different types of souvenirs available. While most had small mementos such as key chains, fridge magnets, or mouse pads, they also included relevant books on incarceration or pieces of artwork crafted by current inmates as part of a prison program. For example, Eastern State Penitentiary prominently displayed the book *The New Jim Crow* by Michelle Alexander (2011), Fremantle Prison sold wooden platters carved by inmates held in operational Western Australian prisons, and Robben Island Museum displayed *The Long Walk to Freedom* by Nelson Mandela (1995). In this regard, prison museum gift shops can balance the sale of less meaningful items with those that could promote education about current issues in corrections or sustain prisoner rehabilitation or educational programs. Interview participants responded positively to these items, and often remarked that there should be a greater emphasis on selling them over shot glasses. From this museum operators may choose to pay more attention to the items stocked in gift shops, and use the sale of mementos as an opportunity to further the goals of each of their respective sites. Furthermore it is interesting to hear the thoughts and feelings of those who work at such sites and why they feel selling certain souvenirs may be crossing a line.

Finally, respondents were asked if they had any particularly interesting stories or experiences that they wished to share. These were often unique and heartfelt stories that added context to each respondent’s answers. They ranged from challenging visitors who were particularly punitive or

combative, to visitors who were famous or meaningful. Ghost stories were relevant, and an interesting distinction was the difference between respondents and their thoughts on ghosts. There were two camps, with some having experienced “spooky” occurrences at the site, and others who were steadfast in their belief that ghosts did not exist. The primary finding from this question was the variety of experiences employees had at the site, and how profound the effect of their employment had been. Respondents were sometimes critical of the site or the management or the lack of air conditioning, but consistently stated that their closing thoughts were how grateful they were to have been employed at a unique and interesting site.

5.5 Narratives presented at the prison museums:

Discussing the narratives presented to visitors through museums is important because it can shape public perception of prisons. These findings also encourage further discussion on the role of prison museums as sites of education, entertainment, or a blend of the two. The current findings show that the sites studied focus mainly on education as their purpose, but the nature of running the museum as a business ensures that visitors are entertained as well in order to encourage return visits or positive word of mouth – especially since this was shown to be a significant factor in visitor motivation or discovery. Entertainment of visitors appears to correlate more with paranormal activity or ghosts – especially at Fremantle Prison and Eastern State. Robben Island’s primary focus on education also appears to align with the intended purpose of the site, as having ghost tours on the island could be seen as inappropriate. The Torchlight Tour at Fremantle Prison, and Terror Behind the Walls at Eastern State represent a more direct approach to entertaining visitors at prison museums. Eastern State makes a note to not associate its entertainment programming with the prison – opting to instead use the site “as just a setting” in order to avoid being labelled as insensitive to those who were incarcerated there. Fremantle Prison on the other hand focuses on a blend of entertainment and education with its nocturnal tour, building upon the paranormal associations of the prison as well as the deaths and morbid events that occurred within its walls. Unfortunately the period of study at Eastern State was outside the normal operating dates of Terror Behind the Walls, and visitors to Fremantle Prison who completed the Torchlight Tour appeared to have not included their thoughts on the post-exposure surveys. The relationship between entertainment programming and prison museums is an area that could be explored in more depth, however timing of data collection methods should be an important factor. The use of entertainment programming however speaks once again to the balance between historical authenticity and education, and entertaining visitors who hope to get “the most bang for their buck”.

The narratives that are presented to visitors at each site fall along the lines of what that site was “famous” or known for, which act as identities for each site. These identities are reiterated in employee interviews and appear frequently in the museum programming. At Fremantle Prison, the primary identity or focus is convict heritage. Robben Island Museum’s main identity is as an historical

monument for the struggles against apartheid. Lastly, Eastern State Penitentiary's focus is the architecture of the prison (including solitary confinement) and contemporary issues in corrections. While these identities are quite distilled, they were reflected in the interview data from employees and each site's programming. From these identities, narratives are presented to visitors in the form of exhibitions and tour guide information. The effect of these narratives has been detailed previously above, but here it is important to note that modern influences have also been included to shape the direction of the narratives presented to visitors. The first instance is Robben Island Museum where the both the pre- and post-apartheid governments have influenced the narratives presented to visitors on the island. This is through the museum programming, and through the required registration of tour guides to a state operated association. In this current instance, Robben Island's message is influenced by the state to focus on the triumph of the human spirit over apartheid and for the island to act as a monument to the struggles against apartheid. The other two sites did not appear to have state influence on their narratives, and instead it is possible that the historical identity of the space and conscious directives from museum management influenced the narratives presented to visitors. However the collective consciousness of imprisonment – for example Western Australia's high levels of indigenous incarceration – may influence those who are in positions to dictate presented narratives. As Smith (2008, pg 37) notes there are "efforts to construct a narrative for an on-looking audience, to tell a story, to offer a commentary on events and statuses, to channel meanings in one direction or another, to open up worlds of significance, or to close off unwanted interpretive possibilities". In the case of the studied prison museums, there are clear instances of narrative directions being taken, which in turn leads to some stories or narratives remaining absent.

This does not always need to be negative, and in the case of Eastern State, the issues associated with mass incarceration in the United States prompted a greater focus on issues in contemporary corrections (Kelley, 2011). According to some interview respondents, the focus by Fremantle Prison on convict heritage at the expense of modern narratives could also be attributed to the popularity of convict-era tourism (Edgar, 2012; Gibbs, 2001; Jackman, 2009; K. Kumar, 2009). This public fascination is seen as important by interview respondents, and contributes to the focus by Fremantle Prison on the convict. It also influences the visitors to the site, who gaze upon objects that are intended to satisfy their desire for convict-era material. In this regard a supply and demand equilibrium is introduced that potentially plays upon the narratives, objects, and exhibits that are presented to visitors. For example the focus by Fremantle Prison on corporal punishment, and convict-era histories removes the on-going issues associated with incarceration in Australia from the experience, hiding these issues further. Similarly at Robben Island Museum there is little discussion of the on-going racism and prejudice within South Africa, and the issues associated with crime and prisons are also absent. It is acknowledged that tour programming should focus on what a site is primarily known for, but not including narratives (or exhibits) related to modern issues presents a significant critique of the utilised model. This is especially true when many visitors cite education as one of their reasons for visiting Robben Island Museum, Eastern State Penitentiary, or Fremantle Prison, and according to Ross (2015, pg 400) also consider themselves "sufficiently educated on the topic and can engage in meaningful discussions about it" after participating in the prison tourism experience. These concerns

are reflected within the visitor post-exposure responses, as well as the interview data, and suggest that a broader range of information at these prison museums could be useful.

5.6 Responses to Similar Studies

A response to a selection of similar studies in chronological order:

Garton-Smith (2000) discussed the relationship between the fabric and presentation (or re-presentation) of the historical stories of prison museums in Australia. This is coupled with issues surrounding engagement with the community and new museology ideals, and the failure of prison museums to properly address this (Garton-Smith, 2000). Furthermore, Garton-Smith's (2000) discussion on the movement of prison museums from sites with negative connotations (as operational prisons) to positive (with cafes, souvenir shops, and "fun tours") is further reinforced by this study. While there may not be total agreement with the conclusions raised by the author, the transformation of prison museums from the negative side of the spectrum to the positive can be seen throughout all three sites studied within this piece of research. While all three sites have made efforts to be more accommodating of visitors as members of the (non-incarcerated) public, the movement towards being a positive or "fun" tourist location is still distant. With flogging posts, discussions of murder and hate crimes, and the emphasis on the pains of imprisonment and conditions, the negative connotations and narratives are still very prominent. The ambiguous nature of prison museums discussed by Garton-Smith (2000) has again been shown in this study, particularly in relation to the discussion regarding a lack of dialogue about issues related to imprisonment – but not directly associated with the prison, or prisoners. For example, Garton-Smith (2000) discusses the absence of dialogue about the drug trade, car theft, or the growing home security industry at Port Arthur. This issue is mirrored at Fremantle Prison and Robben Island Museum, where discussions about the consequences of incarceration or the societal issues that lead to imprisonment are absent. Eastern State Penitentiary on the other hand does include some art installations depicting the social drivers of mass incarceration, as well as their effort to foster discussion about the consequences of mass incarceration (e.g. The Big Graph).

Shackley (2001) discussed the potential future for Robben Island Museum. Thirteen years after the article was published, many of the issues that were raised still exist and are represented in this current study (Shackley, 2001). The idea that Robben Island is a pilgrimage is presented both in the tourism literature and advertising about the site, and in primary data obtained from this study. However as Shackley (2001) notes, unlike other shrines or pilgrimage sites, Robben Island Museum fails to encourage repeat visitors. This is reinforced by the quantitative pre-exposure survey data from visitors to the site that shows only 9% of surveyed visitors had been to the site before. Shackley's (2001) questions about the future for Robben Island still remain unanswered. Indeed the site has changed very little in the intervening years since his article was published, and the findings of this

study suggest that the future of Robben Island is unlikely to change significantly – despite individual employees hoping for change.

An important piece of prison museum literature by Strange and Kempa (2003) investigated the narratives and presentation of Robben Island and Alcatraz. Their discussion of ethical dilemmas among museum operators and dominating narratives at prison museums are reflected in this study. For example their discussion of Hollywood myths contrasting with the realities of Alcatraz is similar to populist ideas of prisons being accounted for at Eastern State and Fremantle Prison. The site-specific observations of tourists are also noted at Eastern State Penitentiary and Fremantle Prison (Strange & Kempa, 2003). The actions of tourists at these prison museums to “pose comically inside open cells” is often repeated, however the idea that tourists overlook the historical complexities of these sites is less apparent. While the conditions and visual gaze of the prison museums is an important finding of this study, the qualitative responses from visitors suggested that there were other areas that appealed to them. Furthermore, these visitors often appreciated elements directly outside the prison. For example at Robben Island many visitors expressed an interest in the quarry where prisoners were forced to labour. However this is tempered by the inability for visitors to Eastern State or Fremantle Prison to see anything other than the prison. The author’s note regarding Robben Island’s message of triumph over adversity still continues and is reinforced by the findings of this study. The concern regarding the stories of famous inmates dominating the tours or narratives appears to have been addressed somewhat, with further emphasis on a variety of different political prisoners and stories. This was observed on the tour, as well as appearing in post-tour visitor surveys. The ethical issues noted by Strange and Kempa (2003) regarding the pressure on these sites to boost ticket sales through “ghoulish voyeurism” appears to have manifested itself at Fremantle Prison, and Eastern State – although the latter has taken steps to introduce this in a more sensitive manner. Fremantle Prison offers night tours where visitors are scared by actors and told “spooky” stories of ghosts or former inmates who died at the prison – with the most troubling point being a mannequin tossed from the upper mezzanine onto the suicide nets above unsuspecting visitors. The links between incarceration, prison, and suicide are not discussed in this instance. Eastern State Penitentiary also offers a haunted house attraction during the Halloween period; however the organisation has made an effort to direct the imagery towards monsters and zombies, rather than ex-prisoners scaring tourists. While the grim conclusions of Strange and Kempa are not entirely addressed, this study shows that the work done by Eastern State in particular around contemporary issues in corrections goes some way towards alleviating the concerns raised by the authors, and utilising prison museums as a site of historical and contemporary education.

The article by Phaswana-Mafuya and Haydam (2005) provided some guidance for the pre- and post-exposure methods used when surveying visitors. Some of the results presented by Phaswana-Mafuya and Haydam (2005) were replicated in this current study. Of particular note is that visitors would likely return for a repeat visit and the propensity for visitors to recommend the tour to others. This further aligns with the findings of this study that word of mouth has a significant part to play in motivating visitors to seek out specific sites of penal tourism.

A study by K. Kumar (2009) analysed the marketing strategies and master plan put in place by Fremantle Prison. The author discussed whether visitors enjoyed their experience at Fremantle Prison, and how the implementation of different strategies has resulted in an increase in visitor numbers (K. Kumar, 2009). There are some similarities between K. Kumar's (2009) study and this research, however the article presented was much narrower in scope and did little to investigate the underlying reasons for visitor satisfaction or increasing numbers. While the scope may be lacking depth, it is still encouraging to see similar results, with visitors generally enjoying the experience at Fremantle Prison, as in previous studies.

Walby and Piché (2011) reflected on the way that Canadian, and specifically Ontarian, prison museums represent the narratives and memorialisation of incarceration. The authors state that the prison museums they toured presented a sanitised version of the pains of imprisonment and the on-going issues associated with incarceration (Walby & Piché, 2011). This current study recognises this view, and it is supported when looking critically at the three sites studied. However, after viewing the responses given by tourists after their experiences at each site, the pains of imprisonment and the consequences of incarceration – especially the conditions in which inmates were held, appeared to be taken on board. With Eastern State moving towards focusing on current correctional issues, it appears as though a shift is occurring where visitors will be given more information and a clearer picture of the on-going issues with imprisonment. It should be noted though that the conditions visitors were shocked to learn of at Fremantle, Eastern State, and Robben Island, were when those prisons were operational. There is less emphasis on current conditions of imprisonment. However it might be a case of “some is better than none” when investigating the presentation of penal issues.

Kelley (2011) is the current Senior Vice President, Director of Public Programming, at Eastern State Penitentiary and wrote an article on their attempts to promote dialogue about the current issues in corrections at the museum. His article focussed on the different mediums they employed and the issues that arose from each (Kelley, 2011). While their intentions were good, and the emphasis on current issues in corrections relevant, the article highlighted that there are many barriers to encouraging debate about such topics. The use of artist exhibitions to tell different narratives and to foster debate was well planned and thoughtful, yet the author also indicates that they were not always met with the same enthusiasm by visitors. Following the publication of this article, Eastern State Penitentiary introduced a new exhibit at the end of the audio tour called The Big Graph. The findings of this study indicate that the Big Graph has a profound effect on the staff working at the site, and is definitely noteworthy for visitors as well. While the effect that the exhibit has on visitors is difficult to quantify specifically, the post-exposure qualitative responses from visitors in this study shows that its inclusion prompted some thought about modern issues in corrections. It is hoped that this provides encouragement for the staff at Eastern State and their interpretative goal of encouraging discussion about current corrections as well as educating the public about the historical side of the site.

5.7 Alternative explanations of the findings

The findings presented may have some alternative explanations that should be considered. Firstly, the attitude changes among visitors to the sites could have been a result of human interaction, the specific tour guide they had, or even taking the pre-exposure survey, rather than the actual prison experience. Secondly, the framing or presentation of information, exhibits, or narratives could have had an effect on visitors and their attitudes. This limitation extends to the different sites, as well as the way that historical accounts or narratives are presented. For example, the majority of historical accounts told to visitors at Fremantle Prison is from the perspective of prison guards. The framing of these interpretations should be taken into account when assessing a possible change in attitude. Finally, a reinforcement in attitudes may be worthy of further discussion. As Wilson (2008a) has noted, visitors to Australian prison museums often have negative perceptions of prison inmates. With that in mind some visitors may have had their attitudes reinforced by a one-sided narrative presented during the prison tour. These issues make a firm conclusion that prison museums cause visitors to be more empathetic to inmates problematic. However, multiple instances of attitude change at different sites supports the idea that the experience of visiting a prison museum does have some effect on visitors, even if this is for different attitudes, due to different variables, or the length of effect is uncertain.

The sites themselves are worthy of discussion, as they are not representative of all international prison museums. The three sites were Anglophone museums situated near (or within) urban centres. Different museums, such as those in Europe, South America, or Asia, might have produced different results. While deliberate efforts were made to select appropriate sites for data collection, funding, time constraints, and practicality constrained the site selection. Future researchers would be encouraged to select less popular prison museums, or those that differentiate themselves from the ones investigated by this study. Furthermore, the sampling of visitors for survey data could be improved by a longer time period, different seasons, and the collection of responses from those that have not (and did not plan to) visit the museum. Finally, repeated interviews with employees could have further triangulated the results, or provided alternative findings to the ones presented here. The possibility of follow-up surveys or interviews with participants who responded to the post-exposure survey could determine whether their thoughts or attitudes changed over a longer period of time, or what their memories of the museum were after a significant amount of time had lapsed.

5.8 Relevance of the findings

The findings of this study are relevant to the sites themselves, prison museums, and dark tourism literature. For each of the selected sites, this research allows for a new perspective on the experiences visitors receive and the perspectives of the staff who work there. It also allows for insight

into whether the mission of the museum is being achieved, and how their goals compare to other sites serving similar purposes. Furthermore the findings allow for practical steps to be taken by each of the prison museums to further evaluate the tours and exhibits, and whether they need to adapt based on this research. Finally, the findings presented in this study have relevance to the areas of museum and heritage studies, dark tourism, the local histories of Philadelphia, Cape Town, and Fremantle, as well as relevance to the study of penology and corrections.

As has been discussed previously, prison museum and dark tourism academic literature is increasing with a corresponding rise of original field-work being conducted. This study adds to the existing literature, and also provides a novel approach to collecting data related to visitors to tourist locations. While the methodological tools are amenable to further improvement, subsequent refinement and replication could result in an approach that yields empirical insights into the effect that prison museums, and other sites of dark tourism, have on visitors. This is especially relevant as prisons are becoming further ingrained into contemporary culture, through media representations as well as their abundant use in the criminal justice systems of many countries. By discussing the effects that these sites of penal heritage have on visitors, and the relationship prison museums have with the public, the purposes of these sites can be further refined or expanded to best serve in their primary capacity as educators.

6.0 Conclusion

6.1 Study Evaluation

The strengths of this study were its approach to data collection, use of multiple sites, and variety of data sources that allowed for a triangulation of methods. The study design allowed for comparisons to be drawn between three different penal histories and their institutions, the three different sets of pre- and post-exposure data and interviews. This has been referred to before as utilising a 'layered' account of these prison museums. The choice of three sites, and the wealth of data collected, means that this study is positioned to offer a deeper understanding of the place these prison museums have as sites of education, and penal heritage. In this regard, the study is unique in its breadth and depth and offers insight upon which future studies can build to present a more robust understanding of the prison museum phenomenon.

The use of pre- and post-exposure surveys to visitors is novel among prison museum research due to the difficulty of persuading visitors to complete the initial and subsequent surveys. While this researcher found significant attrition between the two surveys, there were enough responses to produce valuable and insightful results. This method of data collection has proven to be time consuming, but effective, and should be strongly considered by other scholars wishing to study the effects that experiencing prison museums may have on visitors. The choice to collect data from multiple sites came with its own problems (i.e. logistics, funding, time variations), but ultimately provided an excellent opportunity to compare and contrast results, as well as triangulate findings that may have been present across all three locations. This method further substantiates findings uncovered from the combined data, but also allows the findings from individual sites to be analysed and discussed on their own. Finally, the choice to utilise multiple sources of data (i.e. surveys and interviews) allowed for a broader understanding of the prison museums studied, how they present their messages, and the role that they play as experiences for individual visitors and as sites of penal history within their respective communities. The different sources of data also allowed for further substantiation with regard to certain findings - namely an increase in empathy in visitors. The choice to include these sources of data resulted in increased workload and pressure during data collection; however the results have proved to be valuable on their own and particularly meaningful when combined. Again, this approach was a worthwhile investment in resources and is recommended for future work.

This study was a unique approach to investigating international prison tourism; as such it is important to acknowledge the limitations present and their possible impact on the findings. If the research was to be planned again, greater thought would be given to the development of survey and interview questions, a strategy for combating participant attrition between pre- and post-exposure surveys, and obtaining additional resources for additional sites.

A significant limitation exists in the sampling of visitors who were administered the pre-exposure survey. While the non-response count (10%) was low for the pre-exposure survey, the attrition rate from pre- to post-exposure survey was considerably higher with only 21% of the original pre-exposure sample completing the post-exposure survey. Unfortunately visitors were not as inclined to complete a follow-up survey, even if incentives were offered alongside the convenience of an online survey. Future research should take this into account, and consider the possibility of conducting post-exposure surveys or interviews on site where the experiences of visitors are fresh and the motivation to participate in the research is at a (potentially) higher level.

The responses of those who completed a post-exposure survey can be attributed only to those that completed the pre-exposure survey, rather than being representative of all visitors who experienced the prison museum. This response bias is a consequence of the high attrition rate between pre- and post-exposure survey respondents, which weakens the validity of the findings presented here. Similarly, the seasonality of the study may limit the scope of the conclusions. Visitor demographics to the sites may change during the summer seasons, or vice versa. The short time-period for data collection could be overcome by additional samples being taken during other time periods throughout the year. Logistically however, short of having surveys administered year-round, some seasonality will always be present. Following this, the possibility of having museum staff administer the surveys could be a useful method of future data collection. On the other hand, the researcher being present at each site and administering surveys did allow for questions from survey and interview participants to be easily answered and removed the need for more complicated processes of data handling in order to preserve anonymity and comply with ethical standards for human participants.

Finally, a problem that occurred with the survey data collection involved the question regarding ethnicity. The inclusion of ethnicity as a question was often problematic, as check-boxes may be too limiting, and self-identification may produce incomplete or ambiguous results. The problems associated with self-identification were realised when the choice was made to opt for self-identification on the pre-exposure surveys. The term ethnicity was misunderstood by some, and conflated with nationality by others. The term ethnicity may also have different meanings for different people within their country of origin, and the high proportion of international visitors meant that the answers received were extremely fragmented. While coding and interpretation was conducted, there were no results of significance when the data was analysed. In this case, the inclusion of ethnicity might have produced some viable and unique findings; however the problematic nature of obtaining this data, and the misunderstanding that some have between ethnicity, race, and nationality, ensures that future studies may need to adopt a different route to collecting this data.

Limitations also emerged from the use of a single researcher for this study. While it was financially necessary to only use a single researcher for this study, it may have resulted in issues regarding the interpretation of qualitative results and issues in collecting observational data. Thematic interpretation was conducted on the visitor post-exposure responses and interviews with staff members. There was a reliance on just one person conducting this analysis, and while every effort was made to ensure reliability of the results, it must be acknowledged that the possibility for biases to influence this

interpretation may occur. Traditionally, this is countered by including multiple researchers to assist in the interpretation of results – however time constraints and the lack of research assistants prevented this approach. The intention to collect observational data from the tours, and general day-to-day operation of each site, was also hampered by having only a single researcher. In this case, having to administer surveys, conduct interviews, and try to find time for tour participation proved problematic. The number of pre-exposure surveys and interviews conducted was reasonable, and within expectations, however a more robust analysis of the tours could have been undertaken had there been extra assistance. These issues should be highlighted moving forward, and future studies could be less ambitious in their planning regarding timing and different methods of data collection.

6.2 Concluding Thoughts

This study explored the role of prison museums as sites of education, entertainment, and penal heritage. The first aspect from this exploration was the demographics and motivations of visitors to these sites. The mystique, and popularity of prison based entertainment, appears to act as significant motivating factors for tourists who wish to educate themselves regarding an institution that for many is hidden behind high walls and forbidding connotations. From this study it has been shown that visitors are no strangers to the idea of dark tourism. Indeed many visitors to the sites had often been to war museums, other prison museums, or sites of historical genocide. Prison museums specifically however are devoid of a primary component of a prison: the prisoners themselves. In this regard, touring a prison museum becomes similar to touring an empty zoo. Visitors walk through a pre-determined route examining the empty cages where people were once confined. This recaptures MacCannell's (1973) false-back, with visitors receiving a supposedly authoritative experience that is missing the key features of authenticity. As an educative exercise, this observation is lacking substance. However this is as close as many people will come to a prison, and viewing for themselves the size of the cells and allowing their imagination to fill in the blanks of incarceration is preferable to the common alternatives of television, film, and literature.

The experience of visiting a prison museum fits within the wider carceral network and acts in ways that further perpetuate issues found within; such as “us versus them” discourses, the use of power, and control – in the case of prison museums: control over visiting “minds on legs” (Foucault, 1995; Welch, 2015). The museums are carefully curated by a small group; showing imprisonment to the public through *their* lens. The museums have rules (“do not touch”, “no cell-phones”, “no flash photography”) and areas that are off-limits to visitors. There is surveillance by museum employees to ensure that visitors consume the experience in the way that it was designed. These are significant critiques of the prison museum model; however they should be tempered by the fact that these sites are situated within this system – representations of the carceral network. To break from this system may in fact make the prison museums less authentic.

The prison museums chosen for this study are important historical sites. Each site holds its own unique identity, and represents an important location in terms of social history related to the surrounding area, as well as penal heritage. In the case of Robben Island, the emotions associated with the site and the struggle against apartheid form the primary experience. The importance of the site to the people of South Africa cannot be overstated, and was reflected consistently within the data collected from visitors and staff members alike. Fremantle Prison and Eastern State Penitentiary had less spiritual or emotional significance to many of the visitors and staff. Instead the sites represented a history that was generally more concerned with the prison itself than those who were incarcerated there. The focus at these two prisons was on convict heritage and penal history rather than a spiritual pilgrimage.

Tourists are shown curated versions of penal heritage and state-sanctioned punishment at these prison museums. In the countries that these sites are situated, prison as a punishment is still seen as a useful tool by the state. Here, tourists are visiting prisons that are still viewed as 'good' or 'necessary' in order to separate the good from the bad. With this in mind, the differences in narratives presented, and those which are not, is a significant element of this research. Visitors are told or shown who was held in these sites, what their crimes were, what they looked like, and how they spent their days. There are also inmates whose stories are absent: those who were not interesting enough, not relevant historically, were imprisoned only for a short time, or whose story did not align with the intended narrative of the museum. The absent narratives, stories, and representations are just as important as those which are present. In this regard the findings associated with Fremantle Prison and the emphasis on convict heritage, as well as the different approaches employed by Robben Island Museum and Eastern State Penitentiary are important due to the fact that many visitors arrive at the prison museums with neutral or undecided attitudes regarding prisons as punishment, the conditions of incarceration, and their views regarding prisoners. While this may be a generalised view of visitors, it has been shown that throughout this research the educative value of these sites is important to visitors. This is especially true when these sites have an opportunity to challenge a visitors previously held notions of imprisonment yet fail to do so in a substantive way.

The issue of mass incarceration was part of the inspiration for this study. Prison populations have been growing steadily in many countries (Walmsley, 2013), yet the consequences of this are rarely presented to the public. It was hoped that those visiting prison museums would receive an authoritative account of the issues stemming from incarcerating large numbers of people. Where better to learn about this than a historic prison? While Eastern State Penitentiary has started down this route and acknowledged the role that they, as a site of penal heritage, should play in educating visitors of these issues – Fremantle Prison and Robben Island Museum opted for different approaches. On the other hand, there is only so much that one site can present, and it is understood that that the management of these prison museums may not feel that is appropriate for their sites to present current issues in corrections. For example, a tour of a Victorian era house may not explore current issues in labour or housing. However the opportunities to be presented with issues relating to modern corrections is limited, and prison museums that do not present these issues may run the risk

of minimisation, showing that issues of overcrowding and poor hygiene are historical problems, rather than immediate and present. The scope of this research is not to evaluate which approach is best; however upon reflection the lack of critical engagement by Fremantle Prison and Robben Island Museum with these issues is disappointing.

A secondary motivation for this research was an interest in prison museums as sites of dark tourism. Why are sites such as Robben Island, Eastern State, and Fremantle Prison (among others such as Alcatraz) such popular tourist destinations? The response from visitors centred on education, and interest in history, and curiosity. Generally people visited these sites because they wanted to know more about an institution or particular site that of which they only had a general understanding. Some in-depth responses from visitors added that part of this education was to learn about the history associated with the prison in order to avoid the same mistakes that were made there – for example political imprisonment at Robben Island or solitary confinement at Eastern State Penitentiary. The data from this study suggests that the messages visitors take away from their experience differs depending on the individual; some found that inmates were more humanised, which was coupled with a greater sense of empathy, while others commented on their fascination with the architecture and physical spaces. In both instances the museum experience could be seen to have a significant effect on visitors.

The transferral of knowledge was a key element of this study, and tested whether the experience of the prison museum had any effect on the attitudes of visitors. Some visitors experienced changes in attitudes between these surveys, however the results differed from site to site and when analysing the combined data from all three samples. From a statistical viewpoint, the net result is that the prison museum experience cannot be said to have an effect on visitors. In contrast, the interview data from employees suggests that they think the museums have an effect on the visitors – humanising the inmates, possibly resulting in an increase in empathy. The statistical limitations of this study are acknowledged, and further development of the survey instruments may reveal statistical attitude change. However there is also the possibility that museum employees are presenting a history that is not truly resonating with the public. The thoughts of Sontag (1977, 2004) are applicable here, and it may be that the exhibits and images presented are falling on minds already blunted from the high frequency of traumatic images seen daily. On the other hand, visitors being effected by the museum may not experience enlightenment and empathy, rather the tour and images viewed may serve to reinforce previously held stereotypes or prejudices. The notion of visitors leaving the prison museum with greater empathy for inmates is a romantic idea, however precisely which inmates this empathy is for is another matter entirely. The emphasis on historical conditions and historical inmates, who may be mythologised or “too old to worry about”, ensures that visitors are rarely asked to consider modern inmates, some of whom may have been incarcerated in the last 20 years in the very prison they are touring. With this in mind, museum operators may find that their efforts to effect a change in visitors are not ideal and could use further refinement.

For museum operators, a significant finding from this study came from the visitor post-exposure qualitative responses. This was the importance of the visual element to the tourist experience. Here,

seeing the cells and conditions of imprisonment were identified as areas that visitors appreciate, or remember, the most. Expanding upon this: the entire prison museum becomes an exhibit in this regard. Tourists visit these sites to gaze upon these exhibits, and care should be taken to ensure that the history told through these exhibits – including the prison itself – is accurate and representative of those who may have spent considerable portions of their lives at the site.

Finally, a question emerged after this research was conducted: whether prison museums are still considered dark tourism. The sites studied did not focus primarily on death, nor were the deaths primarily atypical or extreme. For example Fremantle Prisons depiction of the gallows falls more in line with an exposition of the technology of execution (see Welch, 2015, pg 175-181). From the results of this study, it is hard to argue that prison museums are not part of the dark tourism spectrum. They sit as sites dedicated to presenting state-sanctioned punishment and most importantly; suffering. Recall the comments made that residents of nearby suburbs could hear the groans and cries of pain from inmates at Fremantle Prison during the summer months. It is acknowledged that the sites act as more museum than prison; however the largest (and often most important) exhibit at each site was the prison itself. The prison exhibit presents to visitors a sense of unease and foreboding, as well as highlighting the inescapable realities of prison life. While these sites can never truly replicate the experience of incarceration, the characteristics that define “dark tourism” are certainly present.

6.3 Directions for future research

This study has documented some important findings with avenues for further exploration of the original sites, different prison museums, or other sites of dark tourism. This could include additional prison museum sites, or return visits to the sites already discussed to document any changes in the findings over time. Future studies could also include more specific exit or post-exposure surveys discussing the effects of the tour on visitors and their reactions to the different ways that penal history is presented. The motivations and experiences of the visitors could also be investigated in more detail, especially areas such as the educative value of the museum and whether visitors actually consider prison museums to be “dark tourism”.

The technique of using pre- and post-exposure surveys to assess attitude change among visitors was successful (to a point). The administration of the surveys themselves made it clear that future studies involving the technique have merit. However the findings resulting from the data and the significant attrition rate of respondents means that similar studies should pay close attention to the scope of the attitude scale questions, and employ different sampling techniques to hopefully alleviate the attrition rate. Furthermore, sampling of tourists or the general public of the cities in which the prison museums reside could be useful to test whether visitors to these sites hold views different from the general population. This may also extend to tourists to these cities as well as local residents. However sampling issues may still be prevalent.

There is a need for further documentation of the experiences of visitors at different prison museums. There is a lack of academic literature about what one may expect from a tour at prison museums outside of the “major attractions” (i.e. Alcatraz, Port Arthur, and Robben Island). The differences in the presentation of incarceration and the narratives associated with prisons would allow for comparisons to be drawn between countries with differing penal philosophies, for example Anglophone and Nordic penal systems (Pratt & Eriksson, 2014). Furthermore, it would allow for researchers planning international (or domestic) fieldwork to have a greater understanding of what kind of prison museum they are potentially researching – be they fully dedicated museums hybrid sites peer-in sites, or rare use sites (Walby & Piché, 2015a), ensuring that the research design process is as well-informed as possible. While this current study did not explore the less frequented prison museums, it did identify some areas, such as differing versions of history or current issues in corrections, where further research could be undertaken for comparison.

The interviews with staff members provided some of the most interesting and valuable data in this study. While some of the results may have been predictable, others opened up wider avenues for research, in particular were the thoughts of prison museum employees regarding the moral issues of working at a decommissioned prison, as well as the presentation of different historical narratives.

Research into contemporary issues in corrections and their relationship to prison museums is the final recommendation for future research, especially given the efforts presented here by Eastern State Penitentiary to engage with these issues. Research into this area could include an investigation into which medium or form exhibits discussing these issues should take, as Eastern State Penitentiary has focussed primarily on artist installations. The political and social contexts of punishment within the country of the prison museum to be studied are also worthy of discussion, and whether the narratives of imprisonment have any effect on the types of exhibits displayed in countries outside of Australia, The United States, or South Africa would be exciting. The current attitudes towards imprisonment and the high incarceration rates experienced by many countries ensure that these issues will only become more pronounced in the future. As such, prison museums and sites of penal heritage will become important opportunities for these issues to be presented to, and discussed with, the public in a unique, memorable, and appropriate environment.

7.0 Appendices

Appendix A: Sample Pre-Exposure Survey



THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND
NEW ZEALAND

**Department of
Sociology**
Level 9
Human Sciences Building
10 Symonds Street,
Auckland

Email: sociology@auckland.ac.nz
Phone: +64 9 373 7599 ext
88614
The University of Auckland
Private Bag 92019
Auckland, New Zealand

CONSENT FORM

([Prison Museum] Visitor)

THIS FORM WILL BE HELD FOR A PERIOD OF 6 YEARS

Prison Museums: Learning Punishment

Principle Investigator: Dr. James C. Oleson

Researcher: James Rodgers

I have read the Participant Information Sheet, have understood the nature of the research and why I have been selected. I have had the opportunity to ask questions and have them answered to my satisfaction.

- I agree to take part in this research.
- I understand that I am free to withdraw participation at any time, and to withdraw any data traceable to me up to 2 months following the completion of the second survey.
- I understand that if I provide my email address it will only be used to send me a link for a follow-up survey.
- I wish / do not wish to receive the summary of findings.
 - If yes, please enter an email address:
- I understand that data will be kept for 6 years, after which they will be destroyed.

I understand that the answers I give today will be kept confidential and not linked to me personally in any way.

Name _____

Signature _____

Date _____

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE ON 25 January 2013 FOR (3) YEARS. REFERENCE NUMBER 8719

[Prison Museum] Survey

The University of Auckland, New Zealand.

Please return this survey to the marked drop box at the ticket counter or museum entrance.

Please circle the number that corresponds to your answer, or print clearly your answer in the space provided.

Tell us about yourself...

A. How old are you?

B. Which gender are you?

C. Which ethnicity do you identify with?

D. Which city and country do you currently reside in?

E. What was your primary reason for visiting [city]?

1. To visit the prison museum

2. Shopping

3. Visiting family or friends

4. Business

5. Holiday

6. I live here

7. Other (please describe) _____

F. Have you previously visited the museum?

1. Yes (if so: how many times?)

2. No

G. Have you previously visited any tourism sites that dealt with death or disaster?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No

If yes, which ones? (Brief names/descriptions will suffice)

H. What attracted you to [prison museum]? (Circle all that apply)

- 1. Education
- 2. Family ties
- 3. Exhibits
- 4. Interest in history
- 5. Architecture
- 6. Curiosity
- 7. Film/TV shows
- 8. Inmate Stories
- 9. Other (please specify)

For any of the above reasons please explain how they influenced your decision to visit the museum?

I. How did you find out about the museum?

- 1. Friends/family
- 2. Newspaper
- 3. Magazine
- 4. Travel Guide
- 5. Travel Brochure
- 6. [prison museum] website
- 7. TV Program
- 8. Radio Program
- 9. Road Sign
- 10. Other (please specify)

J. Approximately how many hours of television do you watch per day?

K. What types of programs do you watch the most (choose as many as applicable)?

1. News
2. Sports
3. Crime
4. Drama
5. Cooking
6. Living
7. Documentaries
8. Comedies
9. Other (please specify):

L. In the past 12 months, have you seen any films or television shows about prisons?

1. Yes
2. No

If so, please specify:

Please circle the answer that most corresponds to your feelings about the statement.

SD: Strongly Disagree, D: Disagree, N: Neutral, A: Agree, SA: Strongly Agree

M. Do you think that imprisonment is an effective form of punishment?

SD D N A SA

N. Do you think that older prisons reduced crime better than modern prisons?

SD D N A SA

O. Do you think that corporal punishment (eg: stockades or whippings) should be used today?

SD D N A SA

P. Do you think that prisoners of [prison museum] deserved the conditions in which they were held?

SD D N A SA

Q. Do you think that prison museums are educational?

SD D N A SA

R. Do you think that television and film paint a realistic picture of prison?

SD D N A SA

Thank you for filling out this survey. If you would like to participate in a follow-up survey with a chance to win a new iPod Touch or Kindle, please leave your email here:

This survey is not an official product of the museum; however it is being distributed with their knowledge and consent.

If you choose to complete the following survey your answers will be anonymous unless you choose to supply your email for a follow-up survey. If you do this only your email address will be collected in order to send you a link to a follow-up survey, where one respondent will be chosen randomly to win either an iPod Touch or a Kindle. This email address will be used to link the results of your two surveys if you complete them. Further information regarding your privacy and how this will be protected can be found on the Participant Information Sheet.

If you would like to volunteer to participate in the follow-up survey, your email address will be collected and I will send you a link to a follow-up survey (administered by surveymonkey.com) about today's experience in the museum. If you choose to fill out this survey, your involvement will end with its completion unless you volunteer your email address for a follow-up survey. If you do supply your email address you are under no obligation to complete the secondary survey, and you may withdraw from the study at any time. If you do withdraw, your email information will be immediately destroyed. There is no obligation to complete either survey.

Contact Details:

Researcher:

James Rodgers

Phone: +64 21 888 010

Email: j.rodgers@auckland.ac.nz

Supervisor:

Dr. James C. Oleson

Phone: +64 9 373 7599, extension: 84522

Email: j.oleson@auckland.ac.nz

Appendix B: Online Post-Exposure Survey

Post Exposure Survey The University of Auckland

How long ago was the tour?

Please circle the answer that most corresponds to your feelings about the statement.

SD: Strongly Disagree, D: Disagree, N: Neutral, A: Agree, SA: Strongly Agree

Do you think that imprisonment is a good form of punishment?

SD D N A SA

Do you think that older prisons worked better than modern prisons?

SD D N A SA

Do you think that ancient forms of punishment should be used today?

SD D N A SA

Do you think that prisoners of [prison] deserved the conditions they were held in?

SD D N A SA

Do you think that prison museums are educational?

SD D N A SA

Do you think that television and film paints a realistic picture of prison?

SD D N A SA

What did you like most about the tour?

What did you like least about the tour?

Do you think prison museums should make a profit? Why?

What could be done to make prison museums more appealing to tourists?

Would you recommend the prison to others, why??

Did you learn anything interesting from your visit?

Was there any point in the tour that stood out for you, why did this stand out?

Appendix C: Sample Interview Questions

- What is your role or occupation?
- Do you enjoy what you do?
- What are some of the challenges present in your role?
- What role do you think the prison museum serves (if any)?
- How do you feel about the current state of the criminal justice system?
- Do you think that the prison museum serves as an accurate representation of the prison environment it was once a part of?
- Why was [prison museum] turned into a museum?
- How do you think the community of [local city] feels about the prison being turned into a museum?
- What do you think visitors think when they enter the museum?
- Do you their attitudes or feelings change when they leave the museum?
- Why did you want to work at the museum?
- How do you feel about making a living working at a former prison site?
- What about selling souvenirs?
- Which portions of the tours are most important? Why?

Appendix D: Interview Protocol



THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND
NEW ZEALAND

**Department of
Sociology**
Level 9
Human Sciences Building
10 Symonds Street,
Auckland

Email: sociology@auckland.ac.nz
Phone: +64 9 373 7599 ext
88614
The University of Auckland
Private Bag 92019
Auckland, New Zealand

Interview Questions

([Prison Museum] Staff Interview)

Title _____

Name _____

Date _____

Group/ Department _____ Years of Service _____

Email Address _____

A. Interviewee Background

How long have you been ...

_____ in your present position?

_____ at this museum?

Interesting background information on interviewee:

What is your highest degree? _____

What is your field of study? _____

1. Briefly describe your role (curatorial, guide, etc.) as it relates to the operation of the museum (if appropriate).

How did you get involved?

2. Do you enjoy what you do?

Why, or why not?

3. What are some of the challenges present in your role?

B. The Museum

4. What role do you think the prison museum serves (if any)?

5. How do you feel about the current state of the criminal justice system?

Did working at the prison museum influence this?

6. Do you think that the prison museum serves as an accurate representation of the prison environment it was once a part of?

7. Why was [prison museum] turned into a museum?

Do you think anything should have been done differently?

8. How do you think the community of [prison's city] feels about the prison being turned into a museum?

C. Visitors

9. What do you imagine visitors think when they enter the museum?

What were your first impressions upon entering the museum?

10. Do you think their attitudes or feelings change when they leave the museum?

D. Personal Perspectives

11. Why did you want to work at the museum?
12. How do you feel about making a living working at a former prison site?
13. What about selling souvenirs?

Do you think its 'right'?

14. Which portions of the tours are most important? Why?

E. Final Thoughts

15. Do you have any particularly interesting stories or experiences from working at the museum you wish to share?
16. Do you have any final thoughts or comments?

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THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND
NEW ZEALAND

Department of Sociology

Level 9
Human Sciences Building
10 Symonds Street,
Auckland

Email: sociology@auckland.ac.nz
Phone: +64 9 373 7599 ext 88614

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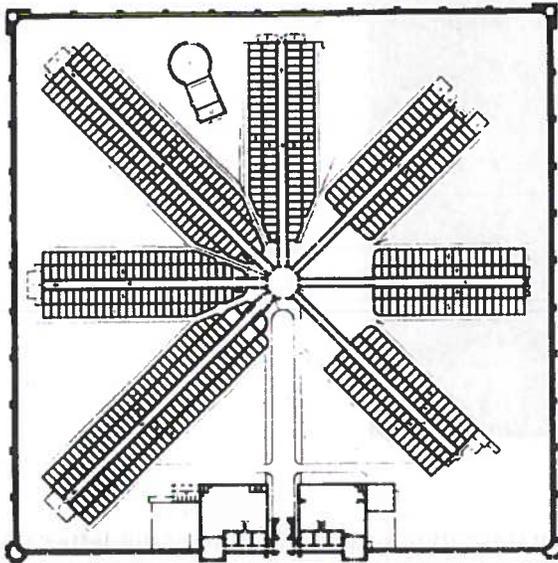
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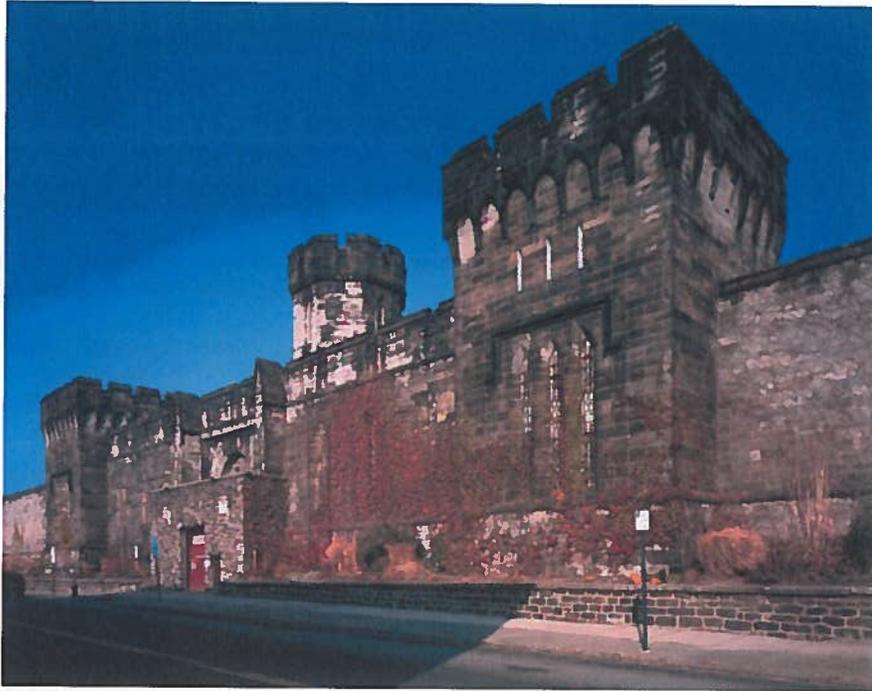
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