

Exploring the Potential of Prison Tourism as a Form of Dark Tourism in Sri Lanka

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Abstract

Prison tourism (PT) is a form of dark tourism yet not been well established in the tourism sector in Sri Lanka. The aim of this study is to explore the potential of promoting PT as a novel trend for Sri Lanka's tourism industry from the perspectives of prison officials. The study was led by two specific objectives: (i) to examine the perceptions of prison officers on PT, (ii) to identify strategies and concerns in introducing PT in Sri Lanka from prison officers' perspectives. The study was a qualitative case study, in which Welikada Prison in Colombo and Bogambara Former Prison in Kandy, Sri Lanka, were selected as the cases. The data were collected through semi-structured interviews with 26 prison officials, selected via convenience sampling. The qualitative

data were analysed using thematic analysis with an inductive approach, in which key themes and sub-themes emerged from the data. Prison official perceptions were determined under three key themes: overall understanding of PT; expected benefits from PT; and the challenges and constraints in implementing PT in Sri Lanka. Findings reveal that most prison officials have a substantial understanding of PT, a positive attitude, and a strong interest in introducing it in Sri Lanka, while they expect most economic and socio-educational benefits from PT. Prison officials are highly concerned about the safety and security procedures in PT operations at the sites. Thus, the current study provides insights into prison and tourism authorities in developing PT as a form of dark tourism to diversify Sri Lanka's tourism product portfolio.

Keywords: Dark Tourism, Prison Officials' Perspectives, Prison Tourism, Tourism Promotion, Welikada Active Prison

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Received: 05 February 2026, Accepted revised version: 17 May 2026.

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1. Introduction

Dark tourism, a term coined by Foley and Lennon (1996) is the practice of visiting places associated with death, pain, or calamity. It has grown in popularity as a niche tourism sector, attracting visitors drawn to morbid curiosity, historical relevance, and a quest for unique experiences. Dark tourism, a niche within the broader tourism industry, revolves around the exploration of sites associated with death, tragedy, or suffering (Foley & Lennon, 1996; Pereira et al., 2022). Dark tourism entails visiting locations traditionally connected with death, tragedy, and suffering (Pereira et al., 2022). These sites may include war memorials, disaster zones, and locations of mass atrocities, and are often marked by historical significance or cultural resonance, attracting visitors seeking to engage with the darker aspects of human experience and history.

Considering the intensity of 'darkness' associated with the sites in dark tourism, Stone (2006) introduced the spectrum of dark tourism with 7 different types such as dark fun factories, dark exhibitions, dark dungeons, dark resting places, dark shrines, dark conflict sites and dark camps of genocide. These categories range from those at the 'lightest' end of the spectrum, which are normally purpose-built attractions, focused purely on the 'darkest' sites, which are actual locations of genocide and massacre (the purpose of which is primarily education and remembrance (Barton & Brown, 2012). Dark tourism provides guests with both real and

metaphorical interactions with death. These interactions could take the shape of guided tours, memorial services, or interactive exhibits designed to elicit emotional responses (Barton & Brown, 2012).

Dark tourism has been established as a term to designate those sites and locations of genocide, holocaust, assassination, crime or incarceration that have served to attract visitors (Lennon, 2017). Thus, 'dark' tourism is travel that is driven by a demand for 'actual or symbolic encounters with death' (Barton & Brown, 2012). While dark tourism sites might be emotionally unpleasant, they also offer an opportunity for learning and reflection. Visitors may learn about historical events, social challenges, and human fortitude in the face of hardship. Dark tourism raises ethical concerns about the marketing of tragedy and the depiction of sensitive historical moments. Further Lennon (2017) points out that dark tourism attractions demonstrate demand but also serve as commemorative sites, historical references, narrative legacies, and populist heritage attractions.

Researchers have explored dark tourism in different aspects, such as borders as dark tourism (Sharpley, 2022) domestic tourist gaze in a post-war context (Samarathunga et al., 2020), educational dark tourism (Cohen, 2011) and thanatopsis and thanatourism (Seaton, 1996). Prison tourism (PT), a subgenre of dark tourism, has grown in popularity in recent years as tourists seek out experiences that explore the darker sides of human history. PT is a specialised

form of tourism that involves visiting former or current prison institutions for educational, historical, or recreational purposes. This phenomenon reflects a larger trend in dark tourism, in which visitors are lured to sites linked with death, sorrow, and pain. Many prison tourist sites are historically significant because they helped shape society's norms and legal systems. Beyond their historical value, PT sites often feature distinctive architectural features and cultural relics. Visitors may be drawn to the jail's layout, the architecture of individual cells, and artwork created by inmates while incarcerated (Barton & Brown, 2012). Visitors frequently visit these locations to learn about renowned inmates, notable escapes, and significant events that occurred behind prison walls. PT provides tourists with the opportunity to learn about the criminal justice system, prison reform projects, and the social consequences of incarceration. Guided tours and exhibitions offer insight into convicts' daily lives and the issues they encounter (Aslan, 2015).

Ethical considerations emerge large in discussions surrounding dark tourism, particularly in the context of sites associated with trauma or human suffering (Cohen, 2011). The portrayal of sensitive topics such as incarceration and punishment must be approached with sensitivity and respect for the experiences of those affected by these issues. Thus, engaging in PT raises questions about prisoners' rights and dignity, highlighting the need for ethical guidelines and responsible tourism practices.

In the context of PT, visitors are drawn to correctional facilities for various reasons. Some seek to gain insight into the criminal justice system, while others are intrigued by the stories of notorious inmates or infamous events that occurred within prison walls. For many, PT offers an opportunity for reflection on issues such as crime, punishment, and rehabilitation, prompting critical engagement with societal norms and values (Foley and Lennon, 1996). Many PT attractions serve as tributes to those who suffered or died within their confines. Visitors can attend memorial services, place flowers on gravesites, or engage in other acts of remembrance to honour the lives of people affected by incarceration. Previous studies are focused on various prisons across the world, including Sinop Fortress Prison in Turkey (Aslan, 2015), prison museums in UK Britain (Barton & Brown, 2015), prison tourism in Australia (Wilson, 2011), galleries of Justice in Nottingham and Derby Gaol in England (Hodgkinson & Urquhart, 2016).

Dark tourism is an underexplored field in Sri Lanka, with only very limited attempts to examine the concept in contemporary tourism literature. In Sri Lanka, dark tourism emerges as a novel niche category (Madhuwanthi & Dassanayake, 2022). Interestingly Madhuwanthi and Dassanayake (2022) considering the war memorials in North, and the Tsunami disaster zone, and various cemeteries as dark tourism sites, explored the domestic desire for dark tourism in Sri Lanka. Nevertheless, the operational institutions of the

tourism industry in Sri Lanka have not identified the potential of dark tourism to utilise its relative contribution to the country's economy (Nisthar et al., 2016). Sivanandamoorthy (2026) reveal that there are 27 dark tourism destinations in the northern territory of Sri Lanka, which face various challenges in developing into sustainable dark tourism destinations. Exploring the domestic tourists' gaze on the post-war context in Sri Lanka, Samarathunga et al. (2020) identified three aspects such as dark tourist gaze, removal of war attractions, and environmental and cultural gaze. Nisthar et al., (2016) claim that conflict professionals have a professional interest in visiting certain post-conflict sites and can be considered a distinct tourist audience under the dark tourism domain, a subcategory of business tourism that is specific to post-conflict areas.

PT in Sri Lanka holds significant potential for the country's tourism industry, offering a unique lens through which to explore its history and culture. However, several challenges must be navigated to ensure the ethical and responsible development of this form of tourism. One such challenge is the preservation of historical integrity and the respectful treatment of sensitive sites (Sharpley & Stone, 2009). Balancing the commercialisation of suffering with the preservation of historical memory requires careful planning and stakeholder engagement.

Sri Lanka, with its rich cultural heritage, diversified landscapes, and turbulent history, makes an appealing setting for dark tourism. The country's

history is characterised by periods of conflict, political upheaval, and social unrest, leaving a legacy of jails that serve as gloomy memories of its volatile past. Among these, Welikada Active Prison and Bogambara Former Prison, Kandy, stand out as powerful emblems of confinement, revolt, and societal upheaval. Potential of prisons for promoting as a form of dark tourism in the Sri Lankan context has not been addressed by the researchers in tourism literature. With regard to the prison literature in the country, a limited number of studies are recorded such as rehabilitation policy for female prisoners in Sri Lanka, a case study of Welikada prison (Saranya, 2023). Other than that, the contemporary literature in PT in the Sri Lankan context has not been extensively addressed by the researchers.

A country's history of conflict, political turmoil, and human rights abuses shapes the narratives and meanings associated with its dark tourism sites (Sharpley & Stone, 2009). The socio-cultural and political context of Sri Lanka adds another layer of complexity to the introduction of PT. Understanding these complexities is essential for developing strategies that acknowledge and respect the diverse perspectives and experiences of stakeholders involved in PT initiatives. This study investigates the potential for PT in Sri Lanka, with a particular emphasis on Welikada Active Prison, and Bogambara former prison from the perspectives of prison officials and legislators on the possibility of establishing prisons as tourist attractions or destinations.

2. Research Problem

Dark tourism has garnered increasing attention from scholars and practitioners alike due to its complex intersections with history, memory, and tourism (Stone, 2006). The motivations driving visitors to dark tourism sites are diverse, ranging from a desire for education and historical understanding to morbid curiosity and voyeurism (Seaton, 1996). Understanding these motivations is crucial for conceptualising the appeal and implications of dark tourism experiences. While dark tourism has been thoroughly researched in a variety of worldwide contexts, its potential in Sri Lanka remains largely untapped, notably in the field of jail tourism. Among the various forms of dark tourism, PT has emerged as a prominent subset, encompassing visits to former or active correctional facilities.

Though there are a few iconic prisons in Sri Lanka that are significant in both historical and social terms, the potential of positioning PT as a novel concept has not received sufficient consideration by the country's tourism industry. There is a lack of specificity in discussions of PT in Sri Lanka, particularly regarding the country's distinctive cultural and historical backdrop. The available literature on dark tourism in Sri Lanka reveals a significant research gap, particularly regarding PT and does not adequately address the perspectives of key stakeholders, including government officials, jail administrators, residents, and cultural preservationists. This qualitative study tries to fill these gaps by seeking the potential of introducing PT in

the Sri Lankan context, considering the cultural, historical, social, perceptual, and ethical components of this new type of dark tourism.

3. Research Methodology

3.1 Cases of Research

Welikada Active Prison

Welikada Active Prison, located in the middle of Colombo, is one of Sri Lanka's oldest and largest penal establishments. It was established in 1844 during British colonial control. It has seen decades of political turmoil, including the infamous 1983 prison rebellion, which led to severe casualties and global criticism of human rights violations. Welikada jail is now the sole high-security closed jail for first-time offenders with a minimum sentence of one year. The jail is not integrated into the rest of its urban context, isolating its activities, functions, and prison sub-society from their surrounds. It is physically separated by a 5m-high wall and ringed by a private ring road. Despite its turbulent history, Welikada Active Prison is an important component of Sri Lanka's criminal justice system, housing a diverse inmate population and serving as a focal point for discussions about rehabilitation and reform.

The architectural formation of the prison demonstrates the marvel of colonial architecture. The cruciform building (Chapel Ward) and the L hall shown on this map reflect more than a hundred years of ancient British architecture. The chapel ward and the 'L' hall are two of the prison complex's oldest buildings,

with distinguishing cruciform and rectangular layouts, respectively. The chapel ward has three stories, including a basement in the western wing. The four wings are connected by a central double-height atrium space. Each wing has a triple-gable roof and consists of a central passage flanked by separate cell blocks.

Bogambara Prison

Bogambara Prison is the second-largest prison in Sri Lanka, situated in the city of Kandy in the Central Province, and was built in 1876 by the British rulers in Ceylon, copying the Plan of the Bastille Fort in Paris, France. Figure 1 presents the prison building, one of the oldest surviving structures in the world heritage city of Kandy and a rich archaeological landmark.

It was used to house serious offenders and death row prisoners. The complex comprises gallows, one of the two prisons in Sri Lanka where the death penalty was carried out. Already, 524 offenders were sentenced to the death penalty in this prison until it was stopped in 1975. Following the decision of expansion of the prison network in the country and to improve prison conditions to match the present global trend, the government of Sri Lanka had decided, in 2013, to permanently close the Bogambara Prison Complex, by transferring the serving inmates to a new prison complex built to present-day norms in Pallekele.

The Bogambara prison closed its operations on 1st January 2014, with its properties and belongings being handed

over to the President of Sri Lanka and vested in the Urban Development Authority (UDA) by the Presidential Secretariat on 30th October 2014.

Since the premises had been used as a prison for 138 years, no access to other authorities was possible during that period. It was observed that some buildings were built over time, lacked architectural value, and were not compatible with the existing historical buildings. It is a long-awaited requirement of the Heritage City of Kandy to renovate the buildings on these premises, preserving their ancient glory and opening them to public use, given their historical, architectural, and economic value.

Figure 1: Bogambara Prison Building



Source: Captured by authors

3.2 Research Design and Data Collection

This study uses a qualitative research approach to evaluate the feasibility of introducing PT as a form of dark tourism in Sri Lanka, focusing on the perspectives of prison officials at Welikada and Bogambara Prisons. The study is limited to prison officers' perspectives because they play a central role in the operation and management of prisons and possess expertise and

knowledge of the regulatory framework of the prison field, making them key stakeholders in any initiatives related to prison tourism.

Qualitative research is chosen as the best methodological approach because of its ability to investigate complex phenomena, collect rich, in-depth data, and provide insights into the viewpoints, experiences, and perceptions of key stakeholders in prison management. In this research, the chosen sample comprises 16 prison officials from Welikada Prison and 10 officials from Bogambara former prison, which is currently managed by the UDA in Kandy, Sri Lanka. Following rigorous ethical approval and the prison authorities' acknowledgement, a sample of 26 prison officials from both prisons was selected using convenience sampling, where their consent and willingness were prioritised. Semi-structured interviews served as the primary data collection method, being a flexible framework for investigating participants' perspectives, experiences, and attitudes concerning PT. The interview duration was limited to 30 minutes per participant.

The interview questions, aligned with the research objectives, will be tailored to elicit detailed insights from participants at both Welikada Prison and the former Bogambara Prison. Through these interviews, the researcher aims to gather thematic data that will contribute to a deeper understanding of prison officials' awareness, expected benefits, challenges, and constraints in introducing PT in Sri Lanka. Ethical considerations were critical in the

current study, given the study context. The process of obtaining permission for prison visits and conducting interviews involves submitting official letters to the respective authorities responsible for overseeing the prisons under study. The interview guide included recommendations for maintaining participants' confidentiality and anonymity, as well as for respecting their right to privacy. Participants are guaranteed that any information provided during the interviews will be kept strictly confidential and utilised only for academic purposes, and they were informed that the findings will be presented while protecting participants' anonymity.

3.3 Data analysis

Thematic analysis has been chosen as the methodological approach for analysing the qualitative data gathered through interviews. Thematic analysis is a flexible and widely used method for identifying, analysing, and reporting patterns or themes within qualitative data. It allows researchers to systematically organise and interpret data, uncovering underlying meanings and providing rich insights into the research topic. In this study, the interview was recorded with the participant's prior acknowledgement, and the gathered data were transcribed and analysed using an inductive thematic analysis approach, in which themes emerged from the data itself. The interviews were conducted in Sinhala, and the transcriptions were prepared in English. Afterwards, translated transcripts were manually reviewed

and refined to ensure their quality and integrity, enabling an understanding of the prison officials' perspectives. Initial observations and recurring ideas were recorded, and general initial codes were generated, where similar codes were combined, and themes were recognised. After reviewing the themes, overlapping themes were removed, and the themes were finalised. The themes were identified based on inductive analysis, where the themes emerged from the data itself. Key themes and sub-themes were identified following a systematic and rigorous examination of all the transcriptions, as presented in Table 1 below.

Table 1. Themes and sub-themes.

Theme	Sub Theme
Overall understanding	Awareness and familiarity of PT as a dark tourism Attitudes towards introducing PT in Sri Lanka Historical and cultural aspects
Expected benefits	Potential economic opportunities for local communities Revenue generation through tourism activities Employment opportunities
Challenge and constraints	Legal frameworks and regulations governing PT Ethical considerations regarding exploitation and voyeurism Ensuring respect for human rights and the dignity of inmates Logistical challenges

4. Results and Discussion

4.1 Prison officials' perception of prison tourism

One objective of the study is to examine prison officers' perceptions of PT and its application in Sri Lanka. Examining the prison officers' perceptions of PT, three key themes emerged: their overall understanding of PT, the expected benefits of PT, and the challenges of PT from their perspective. This section presents the key themes, sub-themes, and extracted statements along with their interpretations.

Theme 1: Prison officials' overall understanding of prison tourism

One of the central themes that emerged from the interviews was prison officials' awareness and understanding of PT. During the interviews, the participants expressed their familiarity with the concept of PT and their attitudes towards introducing it in Sri Lanka. Many officials expressed varying levels of familiarity with the concept, ranging from those well-versed in the idea to those less familiar or even sceptical of its feasibility in the Sri Lankan context. Attitudes towards introducing PT in Sri Lanka were mixed, with some expressing enthusiasm about the potential economic and cultural benefits it could bring, while others raised concerns about ethical considerations, safety, and security issues. Despite divergent viewpoints, participants agreed that careful planning and stakeholder engagement would be essential to the successful implementation of PT initiatives.

Awareness of prison tourism

The prison officials' familiarity with the concept of PT varied significantly among the interviewees, reflecting a spectrum of understanding and awareness regarding this form of tourism. Some interviewees exhibited a strong grasp of the concept, demonstrating nuanced insights into its potential implications and benefits. For instance, Interviewee 1, a senior jailor with 16 years of service, expressed a deep understanding of the concept, stating, "Prison tourism is an emerging trend in the global tourism

industry, where historical prisons are repurposed as tourist attractions, offering visitors insights into the penal system and the lives of inmates." Interviewee 3 identified PT as a form of 'gamechanger', stating, "Prison tourism could be a gamechanger for Sri Lanka's tourism industry, offering unique experiences to visitors while boosting local economies."

In contrast, other interviewees displayed a more limited understanding of prison tourism, with some expressing unfamiliarity or uncertainty regarding its scope and purpose. Interviewee 2, a junior jailor with 4 1/2 years of service, admitted, "I've heard of the term before, but I'm not entirely sure what it entails. It seems like a type of tourism, but I'm not sure how it would work in practice." The varying levels of familiarity with PT among prison officials who play a critical role as stakeholders in the prison sector highlight the need for education and awareness-building initiatives to ensure informed decision-making and effective implementation of prison tourism initiatives in Sri Lanka.

Attitudes towards introducing prison tourism in Sri Lanka

Interviewees' attitudes towards introducing PT in Sri Lanka reflected diverse perspectives, shaped by factors such as cultural norms, economic considerations, and ethical concerns. While some interviewees expressed enthusiasm and optimism about the potential benefits of prison tourism, others voiced scepticism and reservations. Those who supported

introducing PT in Sri Lanka often cited its potential to generate revenue, promote cultural heritage, and create employment opportunities. Conversely, sceptics raised concerns about the ethical implications, safety risks, and potential negative impact on inmates and communities. Interviewee 4, a 12 year of service jailor at Welikada Prison, expressed reservations, stating, "While prison tourism may seem like an innovative idea, we must consider the ethical implications and potential harm to inmates. It's crucial to prioritise their well-being above tourist interests." These contrasting attitudes underscore the complexity of introducing prison tourism in Sri Lanka and the importance of engaging stakeholders in meaningful dialogue to address concerns and build consensus.

Prison officials' attitudes toward PT emerged as a potential factor in selecting locations for implementing PT in Sri Lanka. A few prison officials offered diverse suggestions and opinions on suitable locations for prison tourism, considering historical significance, accessibility, and cultural relevance. According to officials, Bogambara Prison has significant potential for PT due to its rich history and architectural heritage. Interviewee 7, a development officer at the UDA in Kandy, highlighted Bogambara's potential, stating, "Bogambara Prison holds immense historical significance as one of the oldest and largest prisons in Sri Lanka. Its imposing structure and storied past make it an ideal candidate for prison tourism."

Additionally, several officials admitted that Welikada Prison is a potential site for tourism initiatives, though this should be considered alongside its operational status and security concerns. Interviewee 8, a jailor with 12 years of service at Welikada Prison, acknowledged the site's potential, stating, "Welikada Prison's central location and historical importance make it a compelling option for prison tourism. However, any tourism initiatives must be carefully managed to ensure the safety and security of both visitors and inmates."

Beyond these established sites, interviewees also identified lesser-known prisons with unique historical or cultural significance as potential candidates for tourism development. Interviewee 9, an officer with 6 years of service development emphasised the importance of exploring lesser-known sites, stating, "While Bogambara and Welikada are well-known, there are other prisons with equally compelling stories to tell. By diversifying our options, we can offer visitors a more comprehensive understanding of Sri Lanka's penal history." Prison officials admit that both prisons have high potential for introducing PT in Sri Lanka.

Historical and Cultural Aspects

The historical and cultural significance of prisons emerged as a central theme in discussions of potential PT sites. Interviewees emphasised the importance of preserving and promoting the heritage value of these

sites, viewing them as repositories of national history and identity. Bogambara Prison, in particular, was lauded for its architectural grandeur and historical importance. Interviewee 13, a jailor with 19 years of service at Welikada Prison, extolled Bogambara's cultural significance, stating, "Bogambara Prison stands as a testament to Sri Lanka's colonial past, with its imposing architecture and rich history. By showcasing its cultural heritage, we can attract visitors and foster appreciation for our nation's diverse heritage."

Additionally, interviewees highlighted the potential for cultural promotion and heritage conservation through prison tourism initiatives. Interviewee 14, a jailor with 12 years of service emphasised the role of tourism in preserving historical sites, stating, "Prison tourism offers a unique opportunity to preserve and promote our cultural heritage. By opening these sites to visitors, we can raise awareness about their historical significance and ensure their preservation for future generations."

Interviewees expressed a keen interest in preserving the historical architecture and artefacts within prison facilities as part of the prison tourism initiatives. There was a unanimous agreement among stakeholders on the importance of safeguarding these tangible elements of heritage for future generations. Interviewee 21, a jailor with 12 years of service at Welikada Prison, emphasised the significance of preservation efforts, stating, "Our prison facilities are rich in historical architecture and artefacts that

offer valuable insights into our past. It's imperative that we prioritise their preservation to ensure their integrity and authenticity."

Furthermore, interviewees discussed the challenges of heritage conservation in prison settings, including limited resources and maintenance costs. Interviewee 22, an officer with 6 years of service development at UDA, Kandy, highlighted the need for strategic planning and resource allocation, stating, "Preserving historical architecture and artefacts within prison facilities requires careful planning and investment. We must develop sustainable conservation strategies to ensure the long-term preservation of these heritage assets."

The potential to highlight cultural heritage and traditions through prison tourism initiatives was a recurring theme in the interviews. Stakeholders recognised the unique opportunity to showcase Sri Lanka's rich cultural heritage and traditions to domestic and international visitors. Interviewee 23, a Managing Director, with 7 years of service Development at UDA, Kandy, emphasised the importance of cultural programming, stating, "Prison tourism presents a platform for celebrating our cultural heritage and traditions. Through storytelling, performances, and interactive exhibits, we can engage visitors in immersive cultural experiences."

Moreover, interviewees underscored the role of interpretation and education in promoting a deeper understanding of cultural heritage among visitors.

Interviewee 24, an officer with 4 years of service development at UDA, Kandy, highlighted the value of interpretive signage and guided tours, stating, "By providing context and interpretation, we can enhance visitors' appreciation of our cultural heritage and traditions. Educational programs and workshops can also facilitate meaningful engagement with our shared heritage."

Overall, the exploration of potential sites for prison tourism underscored the importance of selecting sites with significant historical and cultural value, while also considering accessibility and community impact. By prioritising heritage preservation and community engagement, Sri Lanka can leverage its rich penal history to create immersive and educational tourism experiences.

Theme 2: Expected benefits

The exploration of expected benefits and concerns surrounding PT revealed a nuanced understanding of its potential impacts on various stakeholders. Interviewees identified a range of potential benefits, including economic opportunities, revenue generation through PT activities, and employment opportunities. Overall, the analysis of expected benefits within the context of PT highlighted multifaceted opportunities for economic growth, revenue generation, and socio-economic empowerment through employment. By leveraging tourism initiatives to create employment opportunities, stimulate economic activity, and support community development, Sri Lanka can harness the full potential of PT to foster inclusive and sustainable growth.

Potential economic opportunities for local communities

Interviewees provided valuable insights into the potential economic benefits of PT for local communities. There was a consensus among stakeholders regarding the transformative impact that tourism initiatives could have on the socio-economic landscape of the region surrounding prison sites. Interviewee 21, a with 12 years of service jailor at Welikada Prison, emphasised the economic potential, stating, "Prison tourism presents a unique opportunity for local communities to diversify their economic base and create new revenue streams. By leveraging existing infrastructure and resources, we can stimulate economic growth and job creation in the region."

Moreover, interviewees highlighted the role of tourism-related businesses in driving economic development and entrepreneurship. Interviewee 22, a senior jailor, with 16 years of service underscored the importance of fostering entrepreneurship, stating, "Prison tourism can catalyse the growth of small businesses and enterprises in the region. By providing opportunities for local entrepreneurs to offer services such as guided tours, accommodation, and culinary experiences, we can stimulate economic activity and create employment opportunities." Furthermore, interviewees discussed the potential for infrastructure development and investment in tourism-related amenities to enhance the visitor experience and attract a diverse range of tourists. Interviewee 26, a jailor,

with 7 years of service highlighted the importance of infrastructure development, stating, "Investing in infrastructure such as roads, transportation, and accommodation facilities is essential for attracting tourists and maximising the economic benefits of prison tourism. By improving accessibility and amenities, we can create a more welcoming environment for visitors and generate greater economic returns for the local community."

Revenue generation through tourism activities

The analysis revealed extensive discussions on the revenue-generating potential of tourism activities associated with prison sites. Interviewees highlighted a diverse range of revenue streams, including ticket sales, merchandise sales, and ancillary services. Interviewee 1, a senior jailor with 16 years of service, emphasised the importance of diversifying revenue sources, stating, "Prison tourism presents an opportunity to generate revenue through various channels, including ticket sales, inmates' souvenir shops, and food and beverage services. By diversifying our revenue streams, we can enhance financial sustainability and support ongoing operations."

Moreover, interviewees underscored the importance of pricing strategies and marketing efforts to maximise revenue while ensuring affordability and accessibility for visitors. Interviewee 8, a jailor with 12 years of service at Welikada Prison, highlighted the need

for strategic pricing, stating, "Setting competitive prices and offering value-added packages can help attract tourists and maximise revenue. By adopting innovative pricing strategies and leveraging digital marketing channels, we can effectively promote prison tourism and increase visitor spending."

Additionally, interviewees discussed the potential for partnerships and collaborations with private sector stakeholders to enhance revenue generation and service quality. Interviewee 26, a jailor with 19 years of service at Welikada Prison, emphasised the importance of public-private partnerships, stating, "Collaborating with private sector partners can help unlock new revenue streams and expand the range of tourism offerings. By forging strategic partnerships with tour operators, hospitality providers, and event organisers, we can enhance the overall visitor experience and drive revenue growth."

Employment opportunities for prison inmates and local residents

The analysis delved into interviewees' considerations regarding employment opportunities for prison inmates and local residents within the context of PT initiatives. Interviewees highlighted the potential for job creation, skills development, and socio-economic empowerment through tourism-related employment opportunities. Interviewee 27, a jailor with 12 years of service at Welikada Prison, emphasised the importance of vocational training, stating, "Providing vocational training

programs for inmates can help equip them with valuable skills that enhance their employability and facilitate their reintegration into society. By offering training in areas such as hospitality, customer service, and tour guiding, we can prepare inmates for employment opportunities within the tourism sector."

Moreover, interviewees discussed the potential for collaboration between prison authorities and local businesses to create job opportunities for both inmates and residents. Interviewee 6, a counsellor officer at Welikada Prison with 20 years of service, highlighted the importance of community engagement, stating, "Engaging local businesses and employers in the recruitment and training of inmates can help create pathways to employment and foster greater integration within the community. By partnering with employers who are willing to provide job opportunities for former inmates, we can support their successful reintegration and reduce recidivism rates."

Furthermore, interviewees underscored the broader socio-economic benefits of tourism-related employment opportunities for local communities. Interviewee 26, a jailor with 19 years of service at Welikada Prison, highlighted the potential for job creation beyond the prison walls, stating, "Prison tourism has the potential to create a ripple effect of economic opportunities, benefiting not only inmates but also local residents and businesses. By stimulating demand for goods and services, tourism-related employment can contribute to overall economic growth and prosperity in the region."

Educational benefits

Interviewees also discussed the importance of sensitising prison staff and tour guides to cultural heritage and visitor management practices. Considerations such as historical interpretation, site etiquette, and visitor engagement were examined. Interviewee 14, a jailor 12 years of service with service period, emphasised the role of historical interpretation, stating, "Prison staff and tour guides should be trained to interpret the historical significance of the prison sites, providing context and meaning to visitors." Additionally, Interviewee 26, a with 19 years of service jailor at Welikada Prison, highlighted the importance of site etiquette, stating, "Training should include guidelines on appropriate behaviour and conduct within the prison environment, ensuring that visitors respect the heritage and integrity of the sites."

Furthermore, interviewees discussed the need for visitor engagement techniques to enhance the visitor experience and foster a deeper understanding of the prison heritage. Interviewee 14, a jailor with 12 years of service, emphasised the value of interactive experiences, stating, "Prison staff and tour guides should be trained to engage visitors through interactive activities and storytelling techniques, encouraging active participation and learning." Additionally, Interviewee 23, a Managing Director, with 7 years of service UDA, Kandy, highlighted the importance of visitor management, stating, "Training should include

strategies for managing visitor flow, ensuring that tours are conducted smoothly and safely while maximising visitor satisfaction."

Theme 3: Challenges and constraints

However, alongside the expected benefits of initiating PT in the Sri Lankan context, interviewees also raised significant concerns about the 'challenges and constraints' involved, which have been recognised as another key theme. The findings reveal several sub-themes under challenges and constraints, including legal frameworks and regulations, ethical considerations, ensuring human rights, and logistical challenges.

Legal frameworks and regulations governing prison tourism

Interviewees provided valuable insights into the legal frameworks and regulations governing the operation of prison tourism initiatives. There was a consensus among stakeholders regarding the need for clear guidelines and regulations to ensure compliance and accountability in the management of tourism activities within prison facilities. Interviewee 15, a counsellor with 20 years of service at Welikada Prison, emphasised the importance of regulatory oversight, stating, "We need robust legal frameworks to govern prison tourism and ensure the safety and security of both visitors and inmates. By establishing clear guidelines and regulations, we can mitigate risks and protect the integrity of our prison facilities."

Moreover, interviewees highlighted the importance of licensing and accreditation processes to ensure quality standards and accountability in the delivery of tourism services. Interviewee 13, a jailor with 19 years of service at Welikada Prison, underscored the need for accreditation, stating, "Accrediting tour operators and service providers ensures that they meet established standards and adhere to ethical and safety guidelines. By requiring accreditation, we can safeguard the reputation of our prison tourism initiatives and enhance visitor confidence."

Furthermore, interviewees discussed the role of liability and risk management in mitigating potential legal challenges associated with prison tourism. Interviewee 21, a jailor with 12 years of service at Welikada Prison, highlighted the importance of risk assessment, stating, "We must conduct thorough risk assessments and implement appropriate risk management strategies to minimise liability and ensure visitor safety. By proactively identifying and addressing potential risks, we can protect both visitors and the reputation of our tourism initiatives."

Ethical considerations regarding exploitation and voyeurism

The analysis revealed extensive discussions on ethical considerations associated with prison tourism, particularly concerns about exploitation and voyeurism. Interviewees emphasised the importance of ethical tourism practices and the need to protect inmates' privacy and dignity.

Interviewee 26, a jailor with 19 years of service at Welikada Prison, highlighted the ethical implications, stating, "We must ensure that prison tourism initiatives are conducted ethically and with respect for the dignity of inmates. Exploitative practices such as voyeurism or sensationalism must be strictly prohibited to uphold ethical standards and protect vulnerable individuals."

Moreover, interviewees discussed the importance of informed consent and voluntary participation in tourism activities involving inmates. Interviewee 8, a jailor with 12 years of service at Welikada Prison, emphasised the need for transparency and consent, stating, "Inmates should have the right to provide informed consent for their participation in tourism activities. It's essential to ensure that inmates understand the nature of the activities and have the autonomy to make informed decisions about their involvement."

Additionally, interviewees highlighted the importance of community engagement and stakeholder consultation in addressing ethical concerns and ensuring accountability. Interviewee 12, a female jailor with 12 years of service at Welikada Prison, underscored the role of community oversight, stating, "Engaging the local community and civil society organisations in the oversight of prison tourism initiatives can help ensure transparency and accountability. By soliciting feedback and addressing concerns, we can build trust and confidence in the ethical conduct of tourism activities."

In summary, the discourse surrounding ethical considerations related to exploitation and voyeurism underscores the critical importance of upholding ethical standards and protecting the dignity of individuals within the framework of prison tourism. As stakeholders navigate the complexities of this burgeoning industry, it becomes increasingly evident that ethical principles must guide decision-making and operational practices. By prioritising respect for human rights, privacy, and cultural sensitivity, prison tourism initiatives can strive to achieve a delicate balance between providing immersive experiences for visitors and ensuring the well-being and dignity of those involved. Through robust ethical frameworks, transparent communication, and proactive stakeholder engagement, the potential pitfalls of exploitation and voyeurism can be mitigated, paving the way for responsible and sustainable development in this evolving sector.

Ensuring respect for human rights and the dignity of inmates

The analysis delved into interviewees' views on protecting human rights and the dignity of inmates in the context of prison tourism. Interviewees emphasised the importance of upholding fundamental rights and ensuring humane treatment of inmates throughout the tourism experience. Interviewee 18, a with 12 year of service junior jailor at Welikada Prison, highlighted the paramount importance of inmate welfare, stating, "Respecting the human rights and dignity of inmates

is non-negotiable. We must prioritise the well-being and welfare of inmates in all aspects of prison tourism, from planning and implementation to visitor interactions."

Moreover, interviewees discussed the role of representation and advocacy in safeguarding inmate rights and promoting dignity. Interviewee 13, a jailor with 19 years of service at Welikada Prison, emphasised the need for advocacy, stating, "We must advocate for the rights and dignity of inmates and ensure their voices are heard in the development of tourism initiatives. By empowering inmates to advocate for themselves and providing avenues for representation, we can ensure that their rights are respected and upheld."

Furthermore, interviewees highlighted the importance of sensitivity and cultural competence in promoting respect for human rights and dignity. Interviewee 16, a jailor with 12 years of service at Welikada Prison, underscored the need for cultural sensitivity, stating, "Cultural competence is essential for promoting respect for human rights and dignity in the context of prison tourism. By understanding and respecting cultural norms and practices, we can ensure that tourism activities are conducted in a manner that is sensitive to the needs and preferences of inmates." It's evident that cultural sensitivity is crucial to the ethical conduct of prison tourism. By understanding and respecting cultural norms and practices, stakeholders can ensure that tourism activities are conducted in a manner that is sensitive

to inmates' needs and preferences. This includes considerations such as religious practices, dietary requirements, and social customs, which may vary among different inmate populations.

Furthermore, Interviewee 17, a senior jailor with 16 years of service at Welikada Prison, emphasised the importance of fostering empathy and understanding towards inmates. "It's essential to recognise the humanity of inmates and treat them with dignity and respect," they stated. "Prison tourism initiatives should aim to educate visitors about the challenges faced by inmates and the importance of rehabilitation and reintegration into society."

In addition to cultural sensitivity and empathy, Interviewee 21, a jailor with 12 years of service at Welikada Prison, highlighted the need for transparency and accountability in prison tourism operations. "Transparency in communication and decision-making processes is crucial for building trust and credibility," they stated. "Stakeholders must be held accountable for upholding ethical standards and ensuring the protection of inmates' rights and welfare."

Overall, the analysis of legal and ethical challenges in PT emphasises the importance of comprehensive frameworks and practices that prioritise human rights, dignity, and cultural sensitivity. By proactively addressing these challenges and integrating ethical considerations into tourism planning and operations, Sri Lanka can position itself as a responsible and sustainable

destination for PT, benefiting both visitors and the incarcerated population.

Logistical Challenges

Interviewees provided insights into the infrastructure and logistical requirements for opening prison facilities to tourists. Considerations such as visitor amenities, accessibility, and capacity planning were discussed in detail. Interviewee 12, a female jailor with 7 years of service at Welikada Prison, highlighted the need for adequate facilities to accommodate visitors, stating, "We need to ensure that our prison facilities have the necessary amenities such as restrooms, seating areas, and informational signage to enhance the visitor experience." Additionally, Interviewee 8, a jailor with 12 years of service at Welikada Prison, emphasised the importance of accessibility for all visitors, stating, "We must ensure that our facilities are accessible to visitors with disabilities, including wheelchair ramps and accessible pathways."

Moreover, interviewees discussed the importance of capacity planning to manage visitor flow and prevent overcrowding. Interviewee 7, a development officer at UDA, Kandy, emphasised the need for effective crowd management strategies, stating, "We need to carefully plan visitor capacities and implement measures to regulate visitor flow to prevent overcrowding and ensure a safe and enjoyable experience for all."

Interviewees also discussed accessibility and transportation arrangements for

visitors to PT sites. Considerations such as parking, public transit, and visitor mobility were explored during the study. Interviewee 12, a female jailor with 7 years of service at Welikada Prison, highlighted the importance of convenient transportation options for visitors, stating, "We need to provide accessible transportation options for visitors, including prison shuttle services and public transit routes to facilitate easy access to prison tourism sites." Additionally, Interviewee 19, a development officer with 4 years of service at the Urban Development Authority Kandy, emphasised the need for adequate parking facilities, stating, "We must ensure that our prison tourism sites have sufficient parking spaces to accommodate visitor vehicles and prevent congestion." Furthermore, interviewees discussed the importance of considering visitor mobility and inclusivity in transportation arrangements. Interviewee 25, a female jailor with 7 years of service at Welikada Prison, highlighted the need for accessible transportation options for visitors with disabilities, stating, "We need to ensure that our transportation services are accessible to all visitors, including those with mobility impairments, to ensure equal access to prison tourism experiences."

Interviewees reflected on the capacity-building and training needs of staff involved in prison tourism initiatives. Discussions on customer service, cultural competence, and emergency preparedness were examined. Interviewee 26, a jailor with 19 years of service at Welikada Prison with a

19 years of service, emphasised the importance of training staff to provide excellent customer service, stating, "We need to invest in training programs to equip our staff with the necessary skills to provide informative and engaging tours for visitors." Additionally, Interviewee 16, a jailor with 12 years of service at Welikada Prison, highlighted the importance of cultural competence training for staff, stating, "Cultural sensitivity is essential for providing respectful and inclusive experiences for visitors from diverse backgrounds."

Moreover, interviewees discussed the importance of emergency preparedness training to ensure the safety and security of visitors and staff. Interviewee 19, a development officer with 4 years of service at UDA, Kandy, emphasised the need for staff to be trained in emergency response protocols, stating, "We must ensure that our staff are prepared to handle emergencies effectively and respond promptly to ensure the safety of visitors and staff." In conclusion, the analysis of logistical challenges highlighted the importance of infrastructure development, accessibility, and staff training in facilitating successful prison tourism initiatives. By addressing these challenges, Sri Lanka can enhance the visitor experience, promote inclusivity, and ensure the safety and security of all stakeholders involved in prison tourism.

4.2 Strategies and concerns

The study aimed to identify the strategies and concerns to focus on when introducing PT in Sri Lanka from prison officers' perspectives. Prison

officials were requested to express their concerns as they foresee, and to offer suggestions as strategies based on their field experience. Mostly, the officials are concerned about the impact of promoting PT on the safety and security of prison operations. Accordingly, this section presents the constructive suggestions revealed by prison officials.

Measures to mitigate risks and ensure visitors' safety

Prison officials identified several legal and regulatory challenges to promoting prison tourism in Sri Lanka. These challenges included the need for clear legal frameworks and regulatory guidelines to govern tourism initiatives, as well as the complexities of navigating legal requirements and ensuring compliance. Interviewees provided insights into their perceptions of how prison tourism might impact the safety and security of prison facilities. Many interviewees agreed that introducing tourism into prison environments could pose significant challenges for maintaining order and ensuring the integrity of the facilities. Interviewee 19, a development officer with 4 years of service at UDA, Kandy, expressed concerns about the potential disruption to daily operations, stating, "Bringing tourists into the prison could create chaos and compromise the security of the facility. We need to be cautious about how we manage visitor access to ensure that it doesn't compromise the safety of inmates and staff."

In response to the perceived risks associated with prison tourism,

interviewees discussed various measures to mitigate these risks and ensure visitor safety. Interviewee 12, a female jailor with 7 years of service at Welikada Prison, emphasised the importance of conducting thorough risk assessments and implementing appropriate safety measures. "Before opening prison facilities to tourists, we must conduct comprehensive risk assessments to identify potential hazards and vulnerabilities," they stated. "This will allow us to develop targeted safety protocols and procedures to minimise risks and ensure the safety of visitors."

Furthermore, Interviewee 21, a jailor with 12 years of service at Welikada Prison, highlighted the need for stringent security measures to prevent unauthorised access and ensure the safety of all parties involved. They emphasised the necessity of safety and security with these statements: "We must implement robust security protocols to monitor visitor movements and prevent any breaches," and "the safety of inmates, staff, and visitors must be our top priority."

Moreover, Interviewee 16, a jailor with 12 years of service at Welikada Prison, highlighted the need for clear visitor guidelines and orientation programs to educate visitors about safety protocols and emergency procedures. "Visitors must be made aware of the rules and regulations governing their conduct within the prison environment," they stated. "Orientation programs should be mandatory to ensure that visitors understand the potential risks and how to respond in case of emergencies."

Collaboration with law enforcement agencies

Interviewees underscored the importance of collaboration with law enforcement agencies to address safety and security concerns associated with prison tourism. Interviewee 24, a development officer with 4 years of service at UDA, Kandy, emphasised the need for inter-agency coordination and information sharing to enhance security measures. "Law enforcement agencies play a crucial role in ensuring the safety and security of prison facilities," they stated. "Close collaboration between prison authorities and law enforcement agencies is essential to effectively respond to security threats and emergencies."

Additionally, Interviewee 21, a jailor with 12 years of service at Welikada Prison, highlighted the importance of leveraging technology and surveillance systems to enhance security measures. "We must invest in state-of-the-art security systems to monitor visitor activities and detect any suspicious behaviour," they stated. "By leveraging technology and collaboration with law enforcement agencies, we can create a safe and secure environment for both visitors and inmates." In conclusion, the analysis of safety and security concerns in prison tourism underscores the importance of proactive measures and collaboration between stakeholders to mitigate risks and ensure visitor safety. By implementing robust security protocols, conducting thorough risk assessments, and fostering collaboration with law enforcement agencies, Sri

Lanka can create a safe and secure environment for prison tourism, enhancing the overall visitor experience while prioritizing the safety of all parties involved.

Enhancing the visit experience

Furthermore, the findings underscore the crucial role of capacity building and training for prison staff and tour guides involved in tourism initiatives. Sensitisation to cultural heritage, visitor management practices, and emergency response protocols is identified as an essential component of staff preparedness. Moreover, collaboration with relevant authorities and policy support are deemed necessary to create an enabling environment for the sustainable development of PT in Sri Lanka.

Many officials suggested the need for formal training and awareness programs for prison staff and tour guides before introducing PT in Sri Lanka. A few officials suggested implementing emergency response and crisis management protocols to ensure visitors' safety and the quality of the experience. Discussions highlighted the importance of training and capacity-building for prison staff and tour guides involved in tourism initiatives. Stakeholders emphasised the need to sensitise staff to cultural heritage and visitor management practices to enhance the quality of visitor experiences. Training programs focused on customer service, communication skills, and emergency response were identified as essential. The officials suggest

designing immersive, educational experiences for tourists while balancing authenticity with visitor safety and comfort. Incorporating interactive elements, guided tours, demonstrations and storytelling techniques are recommended by the prison officials as strategies for enhancing visitor experience.

5. Conclusion

Due to the rapid changes in the tourists' travel motivations due to the effect of globalisation, many tourists are interested in dark tourism, where the former places of war, punishment, and prison, etc. have become popular tourist attractions (Aslan, 2015). Researchers identified that prison museums have great potential to increase public understanding (Barton & Brown, 2015). Wilson (2011) argues that prevailing social attitudes and stakeholder influence limit the narratives inherent in former prison sites, with negative consequences for the historical and social integrity of these sites. Thus, it is necessary to analyse stakeholders' perspectives on promoting prisons for PT. Accordingly, this study examines the perspectives of prison officials, a prominent stakeholder group in PT, on promoting PT in Sri Lanka.

The study findings reveal that prison officials exhibited varying levels of familiarity with the concept of PT. While some demonstrated a strong understanding of the implications and potential benefits, others had limited knowledge. However, officials expressed interest in the potential of

PT in Sri Lanka. Many recognised the historical and cultural significance of certain prison sites, indicating the possibility for tourism development in these areas.

Discussions among prison officials highlighted the potential economic benefits associated with prison tourism. Revenue generation, job creation, and local economy stimulation were identified as key opportunities. They further emphasised the economic potential of tourism activities at prison sites and their potential to positively impact local communities through increased tourism-related revenue.

Furthermore, the research contributes to the growing body of literature on dark tourism by examining the specific context of PT in Sri Lanka. While previous studies have explored the motivations and impacts of dark tourism more broadly, there is limited research on the unique challenges and opportunities associated with promoting tourism in prison facilities.

Wilson (2008) reveal that managing a prison as a tourist attraction is a challenge where the prison staff face constraints in limited funding, maintaining old and damaged buildings, and attracting paying visitors. In contrast, prison officials identified several legal and regulatory challenges to promoting PT in Sri Lanka. These challenges included the need for clear legal frameworks and regulatory guidelines to govern tourism initiatives, as well as the complexities of navigating legal requirements and ensuring compliance.

Ethical considerations surrounding prison tourism, including exploitation, voyeurism, and the protection of human rights, were acknowledged by prison officials in the study. Concerns were raised about the ethical implications of promoting prison tourism and the need for ethical tourism practices. Stakeholders emphasised the importance of ensuring that tourism initiatives respect the dignity and rights of inmates while providing meaningful experiences for visitors. This aligns with the studies of dark tourism, which suggest that visits to institutions of punishment become the ultimate voyeuristic criminological experience, where introducing tourism into sites such as prisons is hugely controversial (Hodgkinson & Urquhart, 2016).

The studies reveal that dark tourism experiences are not merely created by the tourism sites or by the visitors' personal interests themselves, but also there should be a proper integration between visitors, the site, other people, and emotions etc. (Ironsides et al., 2026). Further Kurnaz & Aniktar (2025) highlight that there is a responsibility of the management in managing visual experiences to enhance visitor engagement and emotional connection, specifically in a setting like a prison museum. These findings are further reinforced by the current study, where prison officers emphasise the interactive experiences such as activities, storytelling techniques, and encouraging active participation and learning.

This study contributes theoretically to the growing body of dark tourism

literature by extending the concept of prison tourism into the context of Sri Lanka, where limited scholarly attention has been given to this niche tourism form. The study broadens existing understandings of dark tourism by examining how prison heritage can function as a site of historical interpretation, remembrance, and visitor experience.

Prison officials expressed a range of perspectives on introducing prisons as tourist attractions in Sri Lanka. Some officials recognised the potential benefits of prison tourism for generating revenue, promoting culture, and maintaining facilities. However, others expressed reservations about ethical considerations and safety concerns, emphasising the need for careful planning and implementation. Stakeholders exhibited varying levels of familiarity with the concept of prison tourism. While some demonstrated a strong understanding of the implications and potential benefits, others had limited knowledge. However, stakeholders shared an interest in the potential for prison tourism in Sri Lanka. Many recognised the historical and cultural significance of certain prison sites, indicating the possibility for tourism development in these areas. Discussions among stakeholders highlighted the potential economic benefits associated with prison tourism. Revenue generation, job creation, and local economy stimulation were identified as key opportunities. Prison officials emphasised the economic potential of tourism activities at prison sites and their capacity to positively impact local

communities by increasing tourism-related revenue.

6. Limitations and future study areas

In terms of future research directions, the findings suggest several avenues for further inquiry. The current study was limited to examining the potential for promoting PT in Sri Lanka from the perspectives of prison officials. Thus, the study excluded the other stakeholders in PT, such as tourists, local communities, or policymakers. Future studies could explore the motivations and experiences of visitors engaging in prison tourism, providing insights into visitors' behaviour and preferences. Additionally, longitudinal studies could assess the long-term impacts of prison tourism on local communities, cultural heritage, and socio-economic development. This limitation can be overcome by future researchers by integrating diverse stakeholder groups and employing both quantitative and qualitative data collection methods. This study employed a qualitative approach, with semi-structured interviews as the primary data collection method. Specifically, the study was limited to two cases (prisons) in Sri Lanka: Welikada and Bogambara prisons. Future researchers are encouraged to consider other potential prisons in Sri Lanka for introducing PT and to conduct comparative studies at the regional and international levels, examining similarities and differences in the development and management of prison tourism initiatives and exploring best practices across different countries and cultural contexts.

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