ABSTRACT

The Missouri State Penitentiary is a landmark in Jefferson City, Missouri, and is being utilized for various types of tours, however, the condition and aesthetic appearance of the prison has created concerns. This article documents aspects of dark tourism, service operations management, and sustainable tourism providing recommendations based on research and analytical techniques.

KEYWORDS: Dark Tourism, Service Operations Management, Tourism and Hospitality, Forecasting Application

INTRODUCTION

The Missouri State Penitentiary (MSP and “prison”) is a historic landmark in Jefferson City, Missouri. Operated until 2004, this now de-commissioned prison is owned by the State of Missouri and is being utilized for various types of tours by the Jefferson City Convention and Visitors Bureau. The condition and aesthetic appearance of the prison has historically caused some opposition to the prison’s previous in-mate and current tour-based operations. While much of the opposition seems to have subsided, some of the environmental and aesthetic concerns include structural stability, hazardous materials, and general appearance to the surrounding businesses and community. Therefore, it is imperative that the city of Jefferson continue to generate revenue to effectively operate, manage, maintain, and upgrade the MSP. This article documents the following:

- a literature review of aesthetic pollution and the dark tourism theoretical construct
- the lease/ownership history and arrangement between the city and state
- the challenges faced to sustainably operate the MSP
- a summary and analysis of the tours offered, visitor data, and revenue data
- an assessment of the MSP compared to benchmarked peer institutions
- conclusions and recommendations for the continued operation of the MSP

For the MSP to have a sustainable facilities and tour operations, additional revenues must be generated to pay for the necessary maintenance items and upgrades to make the prison a world-class tourist destination. Many recommendations are provided to generate additional revenue. Various analytical methods were used to provide recommendations for the MSP management team to consider including:

- Benefits analysis to prioritize the redevelopment projects
- Estimated revenues for offering events such as weddings
- Increasing the operating schedule to offer year round tours
• Offering audio guided tours
• Providing shuttle services from St. Louis and/or Kansas City metro areas
• Offering community days
• Joining or launching a professional association for historical prison tour operators
• Development of office space for state and local government employees
• Increasing the priority to develop on-site lodging facilities

LITERATURE REVIEW

Background and History: The Missouri State Penitentiary

The Missouri State Penitentiary (MSP) is located in downtown Jefferson City, Missouri and has had a major impact on the community economically and as it relates to visual or aesthetic pollution in downtown Jefferson City. Visual and aesthetic pollution have been studied from an ontological perspective (Douglas, 1966; Douglas 2003) and in numerous applications since such as water and beachfront photography (Tudor and Williams, 2003), empirically for an electrical power generation plant (Randall, Ives, and Eastman, 1974), and in general practice (Holden, 2008). Jefferson City is the state capitol of Missouri and is located in the center of Missouri between St. Louis, to the East, and Kansas City, to the West. The left-hand portion of Figure 1 shows an aerial skyline photo of Jefferson City; the MSP is situated just south of this photograph. The right-hand portion of Figure 1 shows an aerial photo of the MSP site (Missouri State Penitentiary Redevelopment Commission, 2002). Figure 2 shows the aerial layout of the prison including the cell blocks, chapel, factory, gas chamber, etc. with the prison grounds circled in red. The surrounding real estate and property have suffered over the years from the aesthetic pollution to the area.

Figure 1: Jefferson City, MO Skyline Photo (MSP located just South of this photo) and MSPRC (Missouri State Penitentiary Redevelopment Commission) Photo Reproduced with Permission
The MSP would be classified as a tourist attraction since it is a historic monument. A wide variety of tours are offered, as detailed in appendix 2, and the role of tour guides at historical sites has been considered by others (Reisinger & Steiner, 2006) as well as creating a typography for the types of tours offered, specifically for wildlife tours (Curtin & Wilkes, 2005). Poria, Butler, & Airey (2003) looked at the impact on tourism visiting religious historical sites and there are some commonalities between their work and that of historical sites such as MSP. The MSP was the first prison west of the Mississippi river and was deemed by Time Magazine as the “bloodiest 47 acres in America,” in 1967 (Missouri Department of Economic Development) and housed many famous inmates (e.g., Sonny Liston, ‘Pretty Boy’ Floyd, etc.) before it closed in 2004. Appendix 1 contains more information on MSP’s history. The prison has become a major tourist destination for the state of Missouri. However, there has historically been a faction of residents who have been interested in demolishing the prison because of its condition and aesthetic pollution to the downtown Jefferson City area. One of the primary research questions is whether renovating the prison in Jefferson City to prevent aesthetic pollution to the city would be a worthwhile investment based on forecasted tourist traffic and revenue generating potential.

It is important to note this work builds open prison re-development in terms of cultivating tourism rather than alternative or private management of prisons. Public-private development and re-development activities in Australia (Duffield, 2005), in-mate re-development (Salomone, 2004a; Salomone, 2004b), and the development of new correctional facilities and their impacts (Bonds, 2013) have been documented. It is noteworthy that there is a new prison that was constructed
in the surrounding area outside the city center. Theoretically, Lennon & Foley (2000; Cannon-Brookes, 2001; Smith, 2002; Tarlow, 2007) introduced the terminology “dark tourism,” which is studied more specifically for prisons by Strange & Kempa (2003) in the context of “dark tourism,” for the Alcatraz (California, USA) and Robben Island (South Africa) prison tourist sites. Stone & Shapley (2008) note the need for research related to the demand for dark tourism and Strange & Kempa (2003) note the need for more research on marketing, interviews with prison tour operators, and reviewing visitor expectations as conducted in this research on the MSP. Bumblauskas et al. (2016) describe demand chain management considerations in further detail. Yuill (2004) reviews dark tourism in more detail based on the work of Dunlap (2001) for the Sing Sing Prison (New York, USA) and drawing comparisons to the Pompeii (Italy) natural disaster tourist site.

METHODOLOGY

The theoretical foundation of dark tourism is relatively new (Lennon & Foley, 2000), so research such as this continues to build upon the dark tourism construct. In order to establish the visitor and revenue potential, a comparative analysis was conducted to compare the MSP to other prisons, such as Alcatraz in California. Alcatraz has become a major tourist destination for the San Francisco bay area and each location was visited by the author on multiple occasions. The MSP operated from 1836 to 2004 (Jefferson City Convention and Visitors Bureau) and is 100 years older than Alcatraz. In working with the Jefferson City convention and tourism bureau to investigate the current status of the prison, it was decided that benchmarking other peer institutions would be beneficial. One focus of this research, which includes interviews (n = 6) with numerous entities, was to determine whether there is still interest in demolishing the prison, determining the impact to tourism in the area by reviewing visitor data of the prison, comparing the data to the number of tourists and revenues generated by peer institutions, and forecasting the number of visitors and revenues the MSP could expect for 2016 and beyond. The goal of this analysis was to aid in justifying or refuting whether renovations at the MSP should be conducted to reduce aesthetic pollution by increasing the number of tours to support the needs and safety of guests and visitors.

Another consideration for this study is that the city of Jefferson has been reviewing plans to build a convention center at the MSP site. Some of these preliminary plans have called for the demolition or redevelopment of the prison and residential housing in the surrounding area (KOMU News, 2007; KOMU News, 2010). The primary challenge encountered in conducting this study was locating the data and the information needed from the states of Missouri and those from peer institutions. With the assistance of Diane Gillespie and Steve Picker, Executive Director and Former Executive Director of the Jefferson City Convention and Visitors Bureau, contact information was attained for peer sites and eventually public reports and resources were located which describe the impact on the ambient environment in terms of aesthetic pollution, tourist traffic, and revenues from each prison. The Jefferson City penitentiary has only been offering tours for a short period of time since 2009 (Uhlenbrock, 2009), so learning from the lessons of Alcatraz and others has been extremely beneficial to MSP’s operations.

In the case of the MSP, Jefferson City and the state of Missouri must be careful in considering the aesthetic pollution and revenue generation model. As noted by Holden (2008), “Often tourism development is based upon maximizing profits whilst ignoring aesthetic concerns (Holden, 2008).” In this case, the conundrum is that the city of Jefferson must generate revenue to help subsidize the restoration efforts. As such, the prioritization of restoration activities must be accounted for (e.g., a leaking roof was replaced to prevent more extensive damage). The
MSP facility is owned by the state of Missouri which limits the city of Jefferson’s ability to fully control operations and make such prioritization decisions at MSP. The city and the state have utilized lease agreements up to 2011 and had been evaluating longer term lease options, which led to a 15 year use agreement with two additional 5 year option agreements (Gillespie, 2016).

The state of Missouri established the Missouri State Penitentiary Redevelopment Commission (MSPRC) to plan for the sustainable operation of the MSP (Missouri State Penitentiary Redevelopment Commission). Figure 3 provides a sample map of one of the redevelopment guidelines issued by the State of Missouri (State of Missouri, Division of Facilities Management, 2006).

Figure 3: State of Missouri MSP Redevelopment District Design Guidelines (State of Missouri, Division of Facilities Management, 2006), Image Reproduced with Permission

The site itself is 137 acres, of which only 5 acres is considered to be the “historic district,” portion of the prison. Some of the environmental and aesthetic pollution concerns on the property included:

- Structural stability of buildings
- Hazardous materials such as asbestos and lead-based paints
- Boarded-up entrances and windows
- General maintenance and upkeep such as lawn care and snow removal

The MSPRC Master / Framework Plan (Missouri State Penitentiary Redevelopment Commission, 2002) outlines some of these topics by:

- Ranking the top 10 buildings based on historical value
- Analyzing the condition of each building
- Providing architectural summaries
• Reviewing engineering considerations and challenges
• Initiating environmental investigations such as:
  o Site investigations
  o Hazardous material reviews
  o Environmental assessments

Figure 4 provides a snapshot from the MSPRC Master / Framework Plan conceptual layout for the MSP property.

![Framework Plan Diagram]

Figure 4: MSPRC Master / Framework Plan (Missouri State Penitentiary Redevelopment Commission, 2002), Image Reproduced with Permission

The MSPRC studied the existing structures and analyzed some of the environmental impact. It is note-worthy that there are minimal hazardous material concerns at the site. Some of the challenges faced by the city of Jefferson in operating the MSP include (Picker, 2011):

• Funding to stabilize the structures (improve aesthetics)
  o E.g., new rooves, windows, etc.
• Redevelopment activities including the historic district and private/public partnerships
• Prioritization of ideas from various organizations such as the city, chamber of commerce, state of Missouri, and the MSPRC
• Staffing MSP during normal business hours (e.g., 9 AM – 5 PM) which seems to be cost prohibitive in terms of salaries, insurance, and utilities (e.g., lighting, trash, electric, water, etc.)

Rather than simply repeating the potential projects that would improve the aesthetic appearance of the MSP as reported by the redevelopment commission, this article focuses on re-development strategies to generate additional revenue to help subsidize the various projects
that should be prioritized and undertaken to improve the appearance and safety of the historically significant structures for generations to come. Before a comprehensive sustainability strategy can be deployed for the MSP, the state and city should get the current facilities up to acceptable condition levels. The primary historical revenue generation method is tours. Table 1 shows the various MSP tour options and appendices 2 (2011), 3 (2016) and 4 (2016) include additional details on each tour type.

Table 1: MSP Tour Options (Picker, 2011)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tour Type</th>
<th>Cost</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Other Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2-hour history tour</td>
<td>$12/per person</td>
<td>regular tour</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-hour in-depth tour</td>
<td>$25-35 per person</td>
<td>discover tour</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>twilight tour</td>
<td>$17 per person</td>
<td>6-11PM</td>
<td>Visitors are given a lantern to investigate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>specialty tour</td>
<td>$17 per person</td>
<td>focus on special events and people</td>
<td>&quot;pretty boy&quot; Floyd MSP escape attempts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ghost tour</td>
<td>$25 per person</td>
<td>unusual occurrences</td>
<td>use activity finding devices in two of housing units and gas chamber</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overnight</td>
<td>$95 per person</td>
<td>Up all night, no sleeping accommodations</td>
<td>‘A’ Hall and Gas Chamber Access</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group Paranormal</td>
<td>$100 per person</td>
<td>Minimum $1000</td>
<td>Serious searchers for paranormal activity</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Tables 2, Figure 5, and Figure 6 show the visitor and revenue data for MSP from 2009 to 2015. MSP experienced a 265 percent increase in the number of visitors and a 323 percent revenue increase from 2009 to 2010. Additional visitor and revenue growth of nearly 50 percent occurred from 2010 to 2011. The average annual visitor growth rate since 2009 to 2016 has been 61 percent and the average annual revenue growth has been 74 percent during that time period. Figure 7 shows the revenue per guest growth over that period which increased from $12.66 (2009) to $17.43 (2015). It is important to note that the projected revenue for 2013 was estimated from the actual revenue per guest from that year. Diane Gillespie (2016) noted that in 2013, MSP was forced to close early in September 2013 due to unexpected repair needs. This early closure impacted the number of visitors as they were not able to offer tours and services during their normal operating period of March 1 to November 30. Projects funded during this repair period included window replacements, mold eradication, and lead-based paint mitigation. In addition, MSP had to cancel 3,000 reservations which impacted local hotels, restaurants, etc. and had economic ripple effects throughout the community (Gillespie, 2016).


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Visitors</th>
<th>Revenues (Projected)</th>
<th>Revenues (Actual)</th>
<th>Revenue per Guest</th>
<th>Revenues (Projected)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>3290</td>
<td>$41,650</td>
<td>$41,650</td>
<td>$12.66</td>
<td>$41,650</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>12000</td>
<td>$176,000</td>
<td>$176,000</td>
<td>$14.67</td>
<td>$176,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>17203</td>
<td>$263,000</td>
<td>$263,000</td>
<td>$15.29</td>
<td>$263,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>19121</td>
<td>$275,471</td>
<td>$275,471</td>
<td>$14.41</td>
<td>$275,471</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>14581</td>
<td>$288,046</td>
<td>$210,000</td>
<td>$14.40</td>
<td>$288,046</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2014</td>
<td>22605</td>
<td>$301,409</td>
<td>$301,409</td>
<td>$13.33</td>
<td>$301,409</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2015</td>
<td>25945</td>
<td>$452,104</td>
<td>$452,104</td>
<td>$17.43</td>
<td>$452,104</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 5: MSP Visitor Counts from 2009 to 2015

Figure 6: MSP Revenue Growth from 2009 to 2015
BENCHMARKING

Jefferson City, Missouri’s population is approximately 41,297 (City-Data, 2010) and the number of visitors to the prison during the 2011 year, following closure for the season, was 17,203 (Picker, 2011) and at the end of 2015 was 25,945 (Gillespie, 2016). In 2004 when the MSP was opened to the public for the first time 20,000 visitors attended the grand opening event (Cabbage & Bureau, 2011). Alcatraz sees 1.4 million annual visitors (Golden Gate National Parks Conservancy, 2011) with a total population in San Francisco of 808,976 (U.S. Census Bureau and Google Data, 2008). That gives Alcatraz a visitor to resident ratio of 1.73 and MSP’s same ratio of 0.42 for 2011 as shown in table 3. Peer prisons include (Picker, 2011):

- The West Virginia Penitentiary (http://www.wvpentours.com/)
  - Moundsville, WV, Population – 9,054
- Ohio State Reformatory (http://www.mrps.org/)
  - Owned by the Mansfield Reformatory Preservation Society
  - Mansfield, OH, Population 49,346
- Eastern State Penitentiary (http://www.easternstate.org/)
  - Philadelphia, PA, Population 1,447,395

Eastern State Penitentiary in Philadelphia is currently attracting in excess of 250,000 visitors annually (Elk, 2011), but has a much smaller visitor-to-resident ratio of 0.17 given the large population of the greater Philadelphia metropolitan area. In addition, the city of Philadelphia also reports 37.4 million visitors annually (Greater Philadelphia Tourism Marketing Corporation, 2011). Other prisons used for comparison in table 3 included Alcatraz in San Francisco, CA. Data was not readily available from each peer institution; however, data for those with available information are shown on Table 3.
Table 3: Prison Comparisons by Population, Visitors per Year and Tourists per Year (2011)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>City Visitors per year</th>
<th>Prison Site Tourists per year (ratio)</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jefferson City, MO (MSP)</td>
<td>41,297</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>17,203 (0.42)</td>
<td>U.S. Census Picker, Steve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Francisco, CA (Alcatraz)</td>
<td>808,976</td>
<td>16 M</td>
<td>1.4 M (1.73)</td>
<td>U.S. Census Kiely, Tom Phelps, Nicki Phelps, California State Parks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philadelphia, PA (ESP)</td>
<td>1,447,395</td>
<td>37.4 M</td>
<td>250,000 (0.17)</td>
<td>Elk, Sally City of Philadelphia</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While perhaps not a direct comparison, Alcatraz has a fascinating history which closely aligns with the MSP. According to Tom Kiely, EVP of Tourism for San Francisco Travel, Alcatraz is used as an instrumental part of the marketing strategy for the San Francisco area. Tom said that “San Francisco received approximately 16M visitors in 2010, generating $8B in revenue for the city, supporting 70K jobs and contributing $500M in tax revenue to the city's general fund. It is our number one industry (Kiely, 2011).” One constraint on Alcatraz is that the U.S. Federal guidelines only allow 3,000 visitors per day during peak portions of the summer which limits the total number of guests allowed to visit the site. Nicki Phelps from the Parks Conservancy suggested that the number of visitors per year could double if it was allowed (Phelps, 2011). In addition, Nicki mentioned that one reoccurring topic that comes up at Alcatraz is development of a casino on site which would not be permissible on federal park land and would distract from the educational objectives of the Alcatraz site. A casino would not be feasible at the MSP either because the casino would need to be on the water as required by the state of Missouri, which could technically be overcome, and because the city of Jefferson has voted against casino development in multiple local elections. The site location for Alcatraz and MSP are both highly desirable with Alcatraz being located in the San Francisco Bay and the MSP located in downtown Jefferson City, situated between the major metro areas of St. Louis and Kansas City, along the Missouri River.

One challenge in attaining information from other peer institutions, e.g., West Virginia Penitentiary and Ohio State Reformatory, is the lack of resources at smaller historical sites and the seasonal closure of the facilities in the winter months. For example, the city of Jefferson and Marshall County (West Virginia Penitentiary) do not have the types of data collection resources which are available to the city of Philadelphia and San Francisco. Most of the facilities close entirely or have limited hours during the winter months. The data from peer institutions illustrates the market potential for the MSP. With hundreds of thousands and millions of visitors touring some of these facilities, there is potential to capture a larger market for prison tours.
FINDINGS AND RESULTS

In order to generate revenue and improve the visual appearance of MSP, the following criteria were considered:

- The constituents and stakeholders that will pressure the prioritization of their agenda(s) for MSP
- Industry trade organizations that share best practices and develop sustainability guidelines
- Marketing and outreach activities
- Forecasting to adequately plan for the visitor growth expected in the coming years

One of the primary decisions to be made is to what extent the prison should be restored and further developed for historical tours and/or commercial use. Because Jefferson City is not “land-locked,” and therefore not in need of land to be developed, this has alleviated much of the opposition to MSP continuing to offer tours with a facility in less than ideal aesthetic condition. Appendix 6 provides photographs of the internal cell block conditions and appendix 7 shows the new prison located in a more rural location within the city. It is noteworthy that there is a new $80M federal courthouse directly across the street from the MSP and the city of Jefferson anticipated some complaints about the exterior of the MSP once that facility is fully operational. As such, some of the exterior renovation items were expected to see an increased priority due to political and community pressures. It was also anticipated that redevelopment will add value to the surrounding property values which are primarily residential properties directly bordering the MSP. Many of the residential properties in the area have been abandoned, so there is the potential for indirect aesthetic improvements to surrounding neighborhoods and areas.

One observation about historic prisons in general is that the supply chain support by third parties seems to be more limited than other tourism industries. Many of the prison sites operate independently and the support network in the form of associations is less developed than what is observed in other sectors such as the American Hotel & Lodging Association (http://www.ahla.com/). One organization that does exist is the American Correctional Association (ACA, http://www.aca.org/), which generally seems to cater more to the needs of currently operating correction facilities rather than those licensed to operate historic tours. Special events and outreach activities will remain critical to MSP. For example, items such as the November 2011 airing of MSP on the Sy Fy Network’s Ghost Hunters (http://www.syfy.com/ghosthunters/) continue to be a wonderful promotional tool for marketing and advertising the prison.

Forecasting techniques were used to estimate the number of visitors based on the rapid growth rate currently being observed. A linear trend forecast equation for the historical data from 2009 to 2011 yielded a forecast equation of \( y = 6956.5 \times 3082 \) which projected the 2012 (\( X = 4 \)) visitors to be 24,744 (\( R^2 = 97.93 \) percent); the actual visitor count for 2012 was 19,121 leading to a large deviation. In addition, the 2013 unexpected shutdown event led to a similar large deviation (see table 4). This exemplifies the dangers of linear trend forecasting; despite a high R-square value for the early data, the forecast did not yield very accurate results. Similarly, the projected revenue based on a linear regression forecast was $381,567 for 2012 (actual was $275,471). Fortunately, it was noted in 2011 that this would be an unrealistic growth expectation biased by the large increase from 2009 to 2010, but with a coefficient of determination (\( R^2 \)) so close to 1 (\( R^2 = 98.5 \) percent), this was presumed to be a fairly accurate
forecast for 2012. Figure 8 shows this data plotted in a graphical format from 2011 and Figure 9 is the updated version through 2015.

![Figure 8: MSP Visitor and Revenue Data with Linear Trend Forecasts (2009 to 2011)](image1)

![Figure 9: MSP Visitor and Revenue Data with Linear Trend Forecasts (2009 to 2015)](image2)
Figures 8 & 9 and Table 4 provide a cautionary tale not to put too much weight behind forecasts using limited historical data, even with high R-square values. It also shows how much unexpected events or anomalies, such as the 2013 repair, can ‘wreak havoc,’ on forecasts. Table 4 shows the dramatic increase in forecast accuracy with more data, the error measured by the MAD decreased from 58,463 visitors to 7,941 visitors over the same time period. The forecast for 28,757 visitors seems to be in line with what should be expected based on more recent annual growth rates.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The recommendations for MSP to increase tourist traffic and revenues are as follows:

- Utilize a benefit analysis to prioritize the redevelopment projects (taxonomy provided)
- Estimate revenues for offering special events, such as weddings
- Increase the operating schedule to offer year round tours
- Offer audio guided tours
- Provide shuttle services from St. Louis and Kansas City (e.g., via Amtrak Line)
- Offer community days
- Join or launch a professional association for historical prison tour operators
- Development of office space for state and local government employees
- Increase the priority to develop on-site lodging facilities

A benefits analysis should be conducted for various scenarios. Here are five sample scenarios or taxonomy for the analysis: (1) complete demolition of the prison; (2) complete restoration of the prison; (3) partial restoration of the prison; (4) construction of a convention center; and (5) construction of a private commercial site integrated with a portion of the existing prison. A weighted-factor method should be used similar to Megan Epler Wood’s (2011) example for condominiums vs. hotel development in Belize (Wood, 2011) and those used by Heizer and Render (Heizer & Render, 2010). Some of the specific projects Executive Director Picker and others referenced in State of Missouri reports include:

- Development of offices for state and local government employees (The State of Missouri, Division of Design & Construction, 2002)
- Development of Building No. 5 into a hotel
  - One peer example is the Liberty Hotel in Boston (http://www.libertyhotel.com/) which is the former Charles Street Jail
- Relocating the gas chamber structure closer to the upper yard

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Actual</th>
<th>09-'11 Forecast</th>
<th>09-'11 MAD</th>
<th>09-15' Forecast</th>
<th>09-15' MAD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>19121</td>
<td>24744</td>
<td>5623</td>
<td>16392.2</td>
<td>2728.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>14581</td>
<td>31700.5</td>
<td>17119.5</td>
<td>19483.4</td>
<td>4902.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2014</td>
<td>22605</td>
<td>38657</td>
<td>16052</td>
<td>22574.6</td>
<td>30.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2015</td>
<td>25945</td>
<td>45613.5</td>
<td>19668.5</td>
<td>25665.8</td>
<td>279.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2016</td>
<td>52570</td>
<td>52570</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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  - One peer example is the Liberty Hotel in Boston (http://www.libertyhotel.com/) which is the former Charles Street Jail
- Relocating the gas chamber structure closer to the upper yard
• Ensuring that the old powerhouse structure does not have any hazardous materials present
• Building maintenance and upkeep for the historic buildings

Another prospective growth opportunity for MSP is the addition of wedding services. According to TheKnot.com and as reported by Forbes.com, the average U.S. wedding costs $28,000 with guests often spending over $300 on travel and lodging (Casserly, 2010). The average number of wedding guests that attend a wedding according to a 2011 TheKnot.com survey is 141 (XO Group, Inc. - The Knot, Inc., 2011). Assuming this number of guests would spend $300 each that would amount to over $42,000 per wedding. Assuming that there would be one wedding per weekend in the spring and fall, if we estimate that we would have 26 wedding weekends, this would amount to nearly $1.1M in additional revenue for the convention and visitor’s bureau and their partner businesses. Note that not all of the average 141 guests would be spending $300 and that Midwestern weddings often have larger guest lists, e.g., Iowa and Nebraska average over 200 guests per wedding event (XO Group, Inc. - The Knot, Inc., 2011). These figures also do not include a wedding venue charge which is often $300, $500, $1,000, etc. per event. In Missouri, weddings in caves and caverns across the state are very popular and there has been an interest expressed in having wedding ceremonies and receptions at the MSP. There also could be significant implications on regular tours and traffic if weddings become a dominant revenue stream, but this phenomenon is not unprecedented. For example, country clubs that operate banquet facilities and golf courses have shifted in the direction of weddings and special events as well.

It would also be beneficial if MSP were to be open year round, even if the number of tour options and services were to be greatly reduced during the winter months. One opportunity to take advantage of the winter tour season would be to offer audio tours during non-peak times to reduce the necessary staff level while still generating revenue from visitors. One of the issues inherent with this is the requirement to have snow removal (Picker, 2011). Another issue would be having restroom and heated facilities at the site. A final concern is losing some of the value added by having tour guides who have worked with in-mates at the MSP share their stories and experiences. This is also an opportunity to capture some of these stories in an audio format before the tour guides retire. Succession planning must be considered as well for current tour guides and staff.

Another opportunity to entice additional visitors would be to offer a shuttle service from St. Louis and/or Kansas City. This could be accomplished by offering a small tour in St. Louis, perhaps of a local jail, and providing an Amtrak train ticket for a day trip to Jefferson City to tour the MSP. A shuttle bus or van would need to transport guests the short distance from the Amtrak station to the MSP. This would be an expansion to the existing model which brings tours buses with visitors from St. Louis (Cabbage & Bureau, 2011).

Another recommendation is to offer “community days,” in which local residents of Jefferson City and the surrounding cities and counties could visit the MSP at a reduced rate or no charge to continue to promote the importance of the penitentiary as a historical landmark and critical tourism location for the city and state. By exposing residents and giving them a firsthand look at the potential of the site, they will begin to feel a stake in the success of the facility. This would also help convey the mission of the prison tour operations to any remaining skeptics that would like to cease operations or re-develop the site. This type of cultural change is critical to sustainable tourism management.
A final recommendation is the establishment of a national or international association of prison tour operators to help bolster marketing efforts and to ensure the establishment of sustainability guidelines for the industry. One of the associations covered in this course is the American Lodging Association (http://www.ahla.com/) and their sustainability guidelines. As operations continue to expand, additional peer benchmarking would be beneficial. One international peer for comparison would be the Kilmainham Gaol in Dublin, Ireland (http://www.heritageireland.ie/en/dublin/kilmainhamgaol/).

CONCLUSION AND FUTURE WORK

In an attempt to generate revenue to improve the infrastructure, an economic development tax referendum was on the local ballot in February 2012 to generate additional funds for upkeep and improvements. The economic development tax plan on the ballot for February 2012 was initiated to provide an invaluable resource in terms of funding to support the redevelopment commission’s strategic plans.

The data, marketing collateral & literature and services offered (such as a new museum which opened in 2013) create challenges in when looking to create stable forecast projections for visitors and revenues. Unexpected repairs, such as those observed in 2013, dynamic leasing agreements in the early years of this study, and varying expenses (e.g., labor, insurance, advertising, etc.) all create challenges for the MSP management team. MSP is a non-profit enterprise, so all the proceeds and profits go back into MSP renovations.

There is a great deal of opportunity and excitement surrounding the continued redevelopment, sustainability management practices, and “dark tourism,” revenue potential at the MSP. The recommendations provided herein will help generate additional revenue, adequately staff the operation, and continue the pursuit of unanimous community approval to reduce aesthetic pollution from the MSP. Further work includes verifying the actual results to the recommendations provided here post-implementation and tracking the performance of MSP’s operations.
APPENDIX 1

MSP History

In 1967, the Missouri State Penitentiary was called "Bloodiest 47 Acres in America" by Time magazine due to 550 serious assaults inside the walls.

Missouri State Penitentiary Tours

See the gas chamber where 40 executions took place.

Walk through Sonny Liston's cell and see the site where he learned to box and trained before becoming heavyweight champion in 1962.

Hear stories of escape attempts made by inmates such as trying to dig out under the wall and even a successful escape by James Earl Ray by storing himself in a bread box.

Tour the oldest continually operating prison west of the Mississippi. The Missouri State Penitentiary (MSP) was decommissioned in 2004 and now serves as a great historic landmark in downtown Jefferson City.
APPENDIX 2

MSP Tour Options (circa 2011)

Available Tours

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tour Type</th>
<th>Price</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>History Tour (2 hour)</td>
<td>$12</td>
<td>Learn about the 175-year history of the prison and about the history of penal arts. Tour housing units and the gas chamber.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History Tour (4 hour)</td>
<td>$35</td>
<td>An in-depth version of the 2 hour history tour. See additional areas of MSP and learn more interesting details.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Twilight History Tour</td>
<td>$17</td>
<td>Enjoy the history tour at night! Flashlights provided.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Twilight Ghost Tours</td>
<td>$25</td>
<td>Explore the history of MSP and hear about strange and unusual occurrences behind the walls.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghost Hunt Tours</td>
<td>$25</td>
<td>Hear about the history and strange occurrences, then check out any unusual MSP activity on your own.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open Paranormal Investigations</td>
<td>$100</td>
<td>Start out with a history tour then spend the night at MSP to investigate paranormal activity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private Paranormal</td>
<td>$1,600</td>
<td>Same as open paranormal investigation, only it's for organized paranormal investigation groups. (up to 16 people)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Advance reservations are required for all tours. There are no discounts. Every person on the tour must sign up in advance. Due to the content, children under the age of 10 are not permitted. Photographs can be taken, but no video is allowed.

Private tours for groups of 15 or more are available. Call (866) 998-6998 to make arrangements.
APPENDIX 3

MSP Tri-Fold (circa 2016)
### MSP Tri-Fold Tour Options and Pricing (circa 2016)

**History Tours**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tour Type</th>
<th>Duration</th>
<th>Price</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>History Tour (2 hours)</td>
<td></td>
<td>$15</td>
<td>Learn about the 110-year history of the prison and the history of penal sites. Tour includes the gas chamber.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In-depth History Tour (3 hours)</td>
<td></td>
<td>$25</td>
<td>An in-depth version of the 2-hour history tour. See additional areas of MSP and learn even more interesting details.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Photograph Sessions (3 or 5 hours)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Closed tours available. A guided tour open photography session.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Student Tours**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tour Type</th>
<th>Duration</th>
<th>Price</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Student History Tour (1 hour)</td>
<td></td>
<td>$5</td>
<td>An abbreviated history tour designed for younger students. It does not include the gas chamber, Tulane in-musical, or the gas chamber.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student Photography Tour (1 hour)</td>
<td></td>
<td>$5</td>
<td>While learning the history of MSP, you will also participate in taking photographs of the interesting architecture at the prison.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student Ghost Tour (1 hour)</td>
<td></td>
<td>$10</td>
<td>A very abbreviated ghost tour designed for younger students. It does not include the Haunted Hall, time for exploring cells, or time in the gas chamber. Content is age-appropriate</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Ghost Tours**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tour Type</th>
<th>Duration</th>
<th>Price</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ghost Tours (2 hours)</td>
<td></td>
<td>$26</td>
<td>Explore the history of MSP and hear about strange and unusual occurrences behind the walls.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghost Hunt (3 hours)</td>
<td></td>
<td>$36</td>
<td>Hear the history of the prison and the many strange occurrences. Participants will then investigate the prison on their own. Bring your own cameras, detectors, and other hand-held equipment.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghost Hunt Class (3 hours)</td>
<td></td>
<td>$36</td>
<td>Hear about history and paranormal occurrences at MSP. Explore the depth of the North Wing area while learning how to use specialized ghost hunting equipment on an actual ghost hunt. Our staff will teach you how to use equipment and techniques.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Open Paranormal**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Duration</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Investigations (Public)</td>
<td></td>
<td>$95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Investigations (Private)</td>
<td></td>
<td>$100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Price increases based on the number of people. There is a $5 extra charge per person (maximum 50). Some parapsychological investigations may require organizational paranormal investigations groups. Public investigations are by appointment only.
APPENDIX 5

MSP Cell Block Photos
APPENDIX 6

New Prison in Jefferson City, Missouri
REFERENCES


Picker, S., & [name removed for blind peer review] (Interviewed 2011, October 31). Executive Director, Jefferson City Convention and Visitors Bureau. (name removed for blind peer review, Interviewer)


