



University of  
**Salford**  
MANCHESTER

# Wanted man: a conceptual review of the role of dark tourism, in facilitating the exploration of unsolved cold case murders

Robinson, N and Dale, C

<b>Title</b>	Wanted man: a conceptual review of the role of dark tourism, in facilitating the exploration of unsolved cold case murders
<b>Authors</b>	Robinson, N and Dale, C
<b>Type</b>	Conference or Workshop Item
<b>URL</b>	This version is available at: <a href="http://usir.salford.ac.uk/id/eprint/1934/">http://usir.salford.ac.uk/id/eprint/1934/</a>
<b>Published Date</b>	2009

USIR is a digital collection of the research output of the University of Salford. Where copyright permits, full text material held in the repository is made freely available online and can be read, downloaded and copied for non-commercial private study or research purposes. Please check the manuscript for any further copyright restrictions.

For more information, including our policy and submission procedure, please contact the Repository Team at: [usir@salford.ac.uk](mailto:usir@salford.ac.uk).

## **Wanted Man**

A conceptual review of the role of dark tourism, in facilitating the exploration of unsolved cold case murders.

Mr Neil Robinson BA (Hons), PGCE, MA, ILTM, FHEA.  
Lecturer  
University of Salford  
Faculty of Law, Built Environment and Business  
Salford Business School  
Salford  
Manchester  
M6 6PU

Tel 0044 (0) 161 295 2065  
e-mail: [n.robinson@salford.ac.uk](mailto:n.robinson@salford.ac.uk)

Dr Crispin Dale BA(Hons), PGCE, MA.  
Principal Lecturer in Tourism  
University of Wolverhampton  
School of Sport, Performing Arts and Leisure  
Gorway Road  
Walsall  
West Midlands  
WS12 4TB

Tel: 0044 (0) 1902 323278  
e-mail: [c.dale@wlv.ac.uk](mailto:c.dale@wlv.ac.uk)

## **Abstract**

Dark Tourism is by definition the consumption of tourism related to the macabre and horrific (Robinson & Dale 2007). Over recent years with the evolution of the global media village, news events have become far more accessible than ever before and with this, consumer interest has increased greatly around such events. The increased propensity to travel and higher disposable incomes has meant that individuals can now visit locations, which have often been televised and associated with a particular event or atrocity.

Nowhere is this more apparent when visiting places where murders have taken place. This includes, for example, 25 Cromwell Street (Fred and Rose West Murders), 10 Rillington Place (John Reginald Christie) & Cranleigh Gardens (Dennis Nielson). Some murders can remain unsolved over a period of time and become forgotten, with the perpetrator still at large. Dark tourism offers a way to rekindle societies memory of such events and possibly lead to the apprehension and prosecution of an individual. The authors propose a model that uses the environmental ergonomics of the location (such as location of murder, significance of environment to the offenders knowledge of the location) and offers an organic predicting tool / environmental check list that can be used by investigators to better understand the possible motivations of the offender, his / her knowledge of the environment and possible links that the offender might have with the infrastructure of the location where the murder was committed (e.g. railway station, car park, public toilets etc). The proposed model is then applied to an unsolved North West murder, (Joan Harrison, Preston (UK) 1975) a quasi cold case review approach is applied to the murder, with the model being employed to identify the offenders profile and possible knowledge of the location

This paper aims to appraise the phenomenon of cold case murders by members of the community. This type of dark tourism activity acts as a post-modern form of murder mystery where the act of murder itself becomes commodified and the public themselves attempt to solve the cold case murder and engage in offender profiling

**Keywords:** Dark tourism, Cold case murders, North West, review systems.

## Dark Tourism, an introduction

Dark tourism has a long history and has been described as a 'thanatopic' tradition dating back to the visitation of sites such as the battlefield of Waterloo and the natural disaster of Pompeii (Seaton 1998). Whilst often appearing to grow out of the morbid curiosity of death and disasters of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century, dark tourism has its origins much further back than this. Indeed as early as the 11<sup>th</sup> century, individuals were visiting locations associated with the darker side of travel, with geographical entities such as Jerusalem in the Middle East and more specifically the location of Christ's crucifixion proving to be popular venues for travellers visiting the Holy Land during the crusades. In more recent years the Grand Tour proved to be an opportunity for the wealthy and curious to experience Europe. Sites such as the classical ruins of the Coliseum (a death chamber) proved to be a must see location on the Grand Tour. The fascination with death and indeed mental instability proved to be a curious subject matter and one that was studied at great length by the Victorians, visits to St. Mary Bethlehem Hospital (AKA Bethlem Hospital, Bethlehem Hospital and Bedlam), were common as were visits to view the clinically insane, this form of dark voyeurism was popular with the wealthy middle class of the Victorian period, tapping into their mental psyche and reinforcing antiquated beliefs associated with punishment, retribution and death.

From a contemporary perspective, Rojek (1993) talks about blackspots, where there is a fascination for visiting places where death has occurred. Rojek (1993) "introduces his analysis by making reference to sightseers visiting disaster sites such as the shores of the Zeebrugge disaster in 1987 and Lockerbie in 1988". Others, such as Blom (2000) have referred to this kind of fascination as "morbid tourism". However, the term dark tourism was first coined by Lennon and Foley in 1996 to describe the relationship between tourism attractions and an interest in death and the macabre. Indeed whilst many in recent years have been critical of these ghoulish practices of visitations to sites of death and destruction and the eventual commercial backlash often observed with the appearance of guides, experts witnesses and related merchandising / tourist paraphernalia. Such actions themselves have often acted as a blue print for large multinationals to develop dark / fantasy products along similar lines. Organisations such as Merlin Entertainment are at the forefront of developing dark tourism products with their portfolio of '*dartainment*' products (*dartainment* a term developed by the authors to describe dark attractions, that attempt to entertain). Products such as the 'Dungeon' concept located in York, London and Edinburgh attempt to commodify fear into almost a ghost train like package, whereby the visitor is directed through a series of interconnecting rooms to experience and bear witness to hangings, floggings, public executions, the plague and finally having a picture taken of ones head being chopped off. Such attempts at creating commercially acceptable forms of dark tourism, are themselves in poor taste and one might argue are the darkest, most poorly conceived and ill informed forms of *dartainment*. The magnitude of such atrocities or human disaster are often under emphasised or over commercialised and animated, resulting in the historical context of the loss of life being missed.

Take for example the Great Fire of London and the Plague, one might argue that whilst the presentation format for such historical events are themselves often interactive and colourful, one might question the historical relevance of such presentations and the level of contextualisation that takes place in the mind of the visitor. Such a case is born out in exhibitions relating to The Plague, where such expositions often dine out at great length on the ghoulish element of the historical event, with manikins made up to look like the dying, or A-level drama students staggering around with fake blood dripping from their mouths, in an attempt to mimic the symptoms of the plague. This is all very interesting, but issues associated with authenticity,

educational value and the placing in situ of those events and living practices, that led to the migration of rats carrying the bacillus plague, is surely lost.

From a typological perspective dark attractions themselves can be classified into a number of different types, ranging from death sites such as the assassination of JFK to the re-enactment of staged events such as the sealed knot battles (Seaton 1998, Blom 2000). Most recently Stone (2006) has presented a spectrum based upon the perceived product features of dark tourism within a 'darkest-lightest' framework of supply. However, these classifications fail to embrace a type of dark tourism which has yet to be fully discussed in the literature. This type of dark tourism known commonly as "cold case review" exploits a popular fascination for people to explore the circumstances surrounding unsolved murders. So a greater understanding of this form of dark tourism can be had, it is therefore important to address some of the motivations for dark site visitation.

### **Visitation of dark sites**

Motivations for visitation to dark locations / shrines are themselves complex and disparate, resulting in a multitude of reasons for engagement with the macabre. This attempt in many cases sees the *darsumer* (a term developed by the authors to describe users / consumers of dark tourism products) attempting to tangibilise, better understand and recreate the circumstances in which the tragic events happened. This form of dark voyeurism is itself often sadly lacking in those commercialised '*dartainment*' like products and might go some way in explaining why, the search for authenticity is ever consuming, with the '*darsumer*' continually striving to better each dark experience.

Issues of authenticity within the dark tourism literature are discussed at great length (see Lennon and Foley 2000) indeed a key component of the tourism product is the consumption of the authentic, with visitors often remarking on how good or bad each experience has been in light of the experience received at each venue. The manifestation of dark sites is itself a common, key component of commercial tourist centres. Indeed we have already discussed organisations like Merlin Entertainments and their attempts to scare us with their deliberate attempts at commercialising the dark, but this in itself is in no way uncommon. Take for example the tourist location of Las Vegas (USA), with its glitzy and some might say seedy environment, that actively advocates excess. Add to this melting pot the provision of intentionally designed lodgings based around dark themes and one is instantly transported to the enjoyable, and one might say commercially acceptable side of dark provision.

Accommodation providers such as Caesars Palace, Neros Restaurant (at Caesars Palace), Treasure Island Hotel, Excalibur Hotel / Casino & Luxor Hotel with its King Tut Museum and Tomb have all played a fundamental role in the Disneyfication of the dark. Take for example the theme of Caesars Palace, that on the surface delivers a product based around the splendour of the Roman Empire, with hospitality second to none and accompanying food and beverage provision. Upon deeper investigation one can start to identify the origins of this themed lodging product based around the Roman General and Dictator of the Roman Republic Julius Caesar, who had responsibility for creating civil war and who was later assassinated, by a frenzied knife attack. If as consumers we were more selective or knowledgeable of dark history and certain tourism product, we may choose not to be so blasé, when it comes to product selection / purchase, of mock murder or death zones. This itself is often justified due to the chronological distance with the past, in the same way that we might be happy to stay in a themed lodging location associated with a frenzied knife attack (Caesars Palace), or partake in a Jack The Ripper Tour, the same could not be said regarding a Yorkshire Ripper Tour, a Moors Murder Tour or come to that a nights bed and breakfast at 9 Rillington Place or 25 Cromwell street (no withstanding the fact that

the latter both properties mentioned have been demolished). This itself would be defined as sick, macabre or even distasteful and rightly so, but at what point do we happily engage with a visit to a location associated or themed around death that is several thousand years old, but are unhappy to engage with more contemporary manifestations of death, I am not convinced that there is a difference and both should be respected accordingly.

### **The cold case review concept**

The concept of a cold case review file is in itself nothing particularly new, such as term (the cold case) relates to any murder case that has remained unsolved for a number of years and are then re-investigated, examples include , Suzy Lamplugh in 1986 , Penny Bell, from Bakers Wood, Denham in 1991 the 1992 murder of seven year old Nikki Allan and Rachel Nickell in 1992. Many UK local Police Authorities have units responsible for the reinvestigation of unsolved murders and it is these such units, that have had some partial success in identifying and apprehending the assailant, often years after the attack or murder. Such success is often reliant upon DNA that was found at the location and with the development of technology can inform appropriate agencies of the genetic makeup of an individual and this can be used to eliminate individuals from the investigation and even trap the killer.

Over recent years the media has been responsible for creating interest in areas related to detection and crime solving which would normally have fallen under the media radar. Take for example the recent resurgence in interest relating to hospitality environments often viewed in commodities such as BBC's fictional portrayal of leisure excess in Hotel Babylon. Such media representations are themselves responsible for creating interest and making accessible subject matter that would normally not be as readily available or perceived as being culturally cool. The constant appeal of detective programmes on television demonstrates the interest that everyday people have in understanding the mystery of crime. The cold case phenomena / crime investigation has not been immune from this trend, indeed the success of shows such as Cold Case (Sky one), Cracker (ITV), Sensing Murder (Sky channel, Living 2), CSI (Crime Scene Investigation) Miami (Sky channel, Living +1), Criminal Minds (Sky channel, Living), Medical Detectives (Zone Reality), Profiler (Sci-Fi) and Bones (Sky 3) has fuelled the already insatiable appetite of the public for this kind of fictional based subject matter.

Programmes such as the BBCs "Crimewatch" have tapped into people's motivation to solve crime. However, it could be argued that the portrayal of crime in such programmes is increasingly sensationalised and has blurred the reality between fantasy and reality.

### **Net detection**

With the increased growth of the internet, with it comes an opportunity for individuals with common interest to communicate and swap ideas on a multitude of related and non related subject matter. In the United States for instance where tens of thousands of individuals are defined as missing and where law enforcement agencies struggle to keep up with increasing number of unidentified bodies that appear each year, help has come from an unusual collective of net detecting enthusiasts. This group of on-line cold case investigators are using the technological medium of the internet as a means to explore unsolved cases dating back to the 1960s. The evolution of the internet has made murder investigation and cold case review, increasingly more accessible to the amateur sleuth, not only alleviating the feeling of isolation and frustration felt by all individual investigators, but also the creation of kinship whereby which individuals with common interests could meet and share ideas and theories on cold cases.

One such case is that of Tent Girl, that has come to symbolise the struggle for law enforcement agencies and up hill battle that they face with the ever increasing number of individuals who go missing each year in the states. Tent Girl (so called because her body was found wrapped in a canvas tent bag) was found in a field in Kentucky (USA) in the 1960s, nothing was known about this individual and therefore without a name to identify her, the murder victim became known as 'Tent Girl'.

The internet gave individuals in the states the opportunity to swap information on the possible identity of Tent Girl, in 1998 some 30 years after her murder, Tent Girls real identity became known, as a direct result of the investigative actions of the cold case investigators. The case of Barbara Taylor (aka Tent Girl), whilst her murderer is still at large, potentially offers us some insight to her whereabouts pre the murder, her family background, individuals she was last observed with and possible psyche of her murderer. In this case the utilisation of the canvas tent bag might lead us to a connection with other unsolved murders in the States that share similar modus operandi.

**Cold case internet sites include:-**

[www.courttv.com](http://www.courttv.com)  
[www.coldcasesgroup.com](http://www.coldcasesgroup.com)  
[www.thedoenetwork.com](http://www.thedoenetwork.com)  
[www.unidentifiedremains.Net](http://www.unidentifiedremains.Net)  
[www.technicriminology.info](http://www.technicriminology.info)

**The cold case vacation**

To a large extent dark tourism is an activity that is engaged in passively by tourists. However, it could be argued that the fascination of tourists to experience the extreme coupled with the desire for more authentic experiences offers an opportunity for the dark tourism industry to present more extreme experiences of dertainment. As mentioned previously the continued popularity of programmes such as Crimewatch and the Cold Case series raises an untapped market for exploiting a further dimension that could be added to the dark tourism industry. That is, the "cold case vacation". This type of vacation has, to some extent, manifested itself in the numerous Jack the Ripper tours and themed weekends that are prevalent in London. This type of dark tourism activity acts as a post-modern form of murder mystery where the act of murder itself becomes commodified and the public themselves attempt to solve the cold case murder. The popularity of murder mystery experiences is evident from the vast number of operators advertising these products on the internet. However, these experiences are often based upon fictitious scenarios where costumed characters recreate a simulated murder which participants have to solve. The cold case vacation enables darsumers to engage in a actual event that has happened giving a closer sense of the real, whilst also offering a fresh perspective to the investigation which may possibly have run dry. The motivation for seeking out an experience of this kind can be based upon the desire for validation of the event (Dunkley 2005) and to confirm facts as they might have happened at the time. In this instance dark tourism becomes a methodological tool for solving cold case murders with the tourist retracing the steps of the crime scene in an effort to reveal any new clues as to what might have happened. The model presented in appendix 4 outlines the process. Though the ethics of commodifying serious crimes for the tasteful

delectation of tourists may be bought into question, this exploits a market niche in the spectrum of dark tourism activities.

### **Offender profiling**

Offender profiling has become an influential method used by the investigative forces for determining the profile of a dangerous criminal. Whilst Mokros and Alison (2002) suggest that “offender profiling involves the process of predicting the characteristics of an offender based on information available at the crime scene” it is based primarily upon creating a psychological profile of the criminals mind. As an investigative tool it has grown rapidly since its incarnation during the 1960s and 70s when as a consequence of a growing spat of serial crimes the FBI developed offender profiling as a means of identifying new lines of enquiry into an investigation (Alison et al 2003). Offender profiling has since evolved into a scientific field of study where a range of taxonomies have been devised that attempt to identify the profiles of criminals. This is based upon the assumption that similar crimes are done by people who have similar characteristics (Beech 1995). However, Beech (1995) acknowledges a number of problems with these taxonomies not least that they lack flexibility to random events. Offender profiling can therefore be useful for narrowing down, but not actually identifying the individual (Beech 1995). Furthermore, Alison et al (2004) observe that whilst it is useful to create a profile as an investigative tool, it should not form the focus of the investigation itself as the outcome of this may be counterproductive. The profiling of the offender in the Rachel Nickell murder of 1992 led to the eventual arrest of Colin Stagg.

However, the evidence provided was found to be inadmissible in court (Alison et al 2002) and to a large extent was argued that the actions employed by the Police were tantamount to entrapment. In this respect Alison et al (2002) note the dangers of relying wholeheartedly on a naïve trait approach to identifying an offender until there is a body of evidence that suggests its predicative validity. Though offender profiling primarily takes a psychological perspective to understanding the criminal, it could be argued that the geographical situation offers a useful mechanism for determining the behaviour of the perpetrator. Emphasis upon the geographical nature of the crime offers a useful mechanism for ascertaining the mind and motives of the criminal. In this context, dark tourism and the “cold case vacation” play a crucial role in exploring new ways of explaining unresolved crimes.

### **Offender profiling using geographical forensics**

The Environmental Analysis Model (v1) (see appendix 4) as developed by the authors attempts to employ external environmental and ergonomic factors associated with a murder location, in an attempt to infer characteristic of the offender. For example the case of the Whitechapel Murders (more commonly referred to as the case of Jack the Ripper, JTR), itself shows how the modus operandi of the attacker and his knowledge of the infrastructure of the Whitechapel and East End area, might itself direct us to individual characteristics of the perpetrator and therefore aid identification and ultimately apprehension. In the unsolved case of JTR, the commonality of location aligned next to profile of the victims and speed at which the perpetrator was able to flee the scene of crime, might itself shed light on the identity of the attacker (see table 1).

**Table 1.**

<u><b>Murder case</b></u>	<u><b>Location</b></u>	<u><b>Victims</b></u>	<u><b>Modus operandi</b></u>	<u><b>Time</b></u>	<u><b>Gender of attacker</b></u>	<u><b>Other observations</b></u>
<b>Jack The Ripper.</b>  <b>Serial killer</b>  <b>London (UK, East End)</b>  <b>Latter part of the 1800s.</b>	Whitechapel / East End of London.  -----  Prior knowledge of street locations might infer that the attacker was a local / local to the area.	All female, commonalities associated with employment type and life style.  -----  -  Did the victims know one another on a social basis / share any social commonalities.	Befriending females for acts of pleasure.	Evening / night time.	Male (inferred by strength, ferocity of crime and eye witness testimony).	Possible minor knowledge of anatomical subject matter (observed in removal of certain body parts and vial organs).  The role of ritualisation in the placing of the victims body organs, around the body, might infer something regarding the murders knowledge or affiliation with certain practices / sects.

**Environmental Analysis Model (v1)**

In the same way that one might infer things about an individual based upon their appearance, mannerisms and actions, the same could also be said in relation to a random act of violence, and the environment / location in which the events were carried out. In the case of Shirley Leach (see appendix 3, Case review 2), the ergonomics of the environment in which the crime took place should not be overlooked, indeed whilst one might initially disregard the location of crime as being merely an opportunistic location and nothing more than a chance location for a heinous crime to take place. By taking a more holistic view of the potential relationship that exists between the murder location and attacker, one might further establish a relationship between the location and attacker and their geographical propensity to that location. In the JTR case (see table 1) a higher than average association can be made between the offender and their knowledge, or one time relationship with the East End of London and therefore ruling out a non native to the location (not in terms of being a white, working class East Ender, but an individual who has worked or lived in that area, irrespective of ethnicity and social class). An analogy can be drawn here with the recent evolution in environmental awareness of the travelling public. The Carbon footprint is often held up as an indicator, showing the travel patterns of the general public and the

same can possibly be said of the environmental and ergonomic footprint that an offender may leave at a location during his or her murderous activities.

Whilst traditional methods of investigation may choose to concentrate on the tangible elements of the crime scene, such as hair fibre, body fluids, finger prints and items of clothing, an environmental approach would attempt to concentrate on more intangible elements of the murder, with a view to building up a better picture of the attacker. In the case of Shirley Leach (see appendix 3, Case review 2) it was only as a result of a traffic offence over 12 years later, committed by the offender that led to a routine DNA sample being taken (it is now normal practice for UK Constabularies to take DNA samples at minor traffic offences) and the individual being matched to the events 12 years earlier. One might argue the offender would never have come to the attention of the Law enforcement agencies if he had not committed a crime that has a mandatory requirement of DNA sampling. Therefore without the luxury of DNA sampling, one needs to develop alternative profiling techniques that can aid investigation, the Environmental Analysis Model (v1), might be on such approach.

If we are to further this debate, one can look at the environment in which Shirley Leach was murdered (Bus Station / Interchange, Bury NW England) this has the potential to give us an insight to the psyche of the murderer, in this case the individual later charged for the murder of Shirley Leach had links with this location and had been employed at one time as a bus driver, had visited this location on numerous occasions and had the opportunity to view the surrounding infrastructure, as a possible murder location and assess escape routes.

In the case of the Environmental Analysis Model (v1), the relationship between location of the crime and employment type of the offender is best detailed in the association between E1 and F3 with the overlap indicating an increased or reduced percentage of relationship (e.g. does the possible employment characteristics of the offender share any relationship with the location of where the murder was committed). Indeed whilst the *Locus Caedes* (place of murder) (in this case identified as E1) is often central to traditional methods of investigation, and possibly offender profiling process, we the authors encourage investigators, when applying the model and identifying possible relationships between E1 and F3 to think beyond this traditional line of investigation. Such a relationship is best exemplified in the case of the Peter Sutcliffe (aka The Yorkshire Ripper) and his frequency of travel within Yorkshire and the North West of England, often made easier by his day job as a lorry driver. In this case a higher than average propensity exists between murder location (E1) and forensic employment (employment of the offender) (F3). In this scenario Peter Sutcliffe (AKA, The Yorkshire Ripper) was able to utilise his employment status as lorry driver as a justifiable means for visits around Yorkshire and the North West on possible reconnaissance missions. In the case of JTR, one can speculate that the F3 cell (forensic employment) tell us much about the offenders possible association with medicine and the medical fraternity and his basic anatomical knowledge of the human body, displayed in his ability to remove certain body parts, therefore possibly inferring something regarding the one time employment status of the offender (medical student, Mortuary employee or Abattoir worker) . It is also worth noting at this stage, that the role of R1 (residence of offender), should also be considered, in the case of Shirley Leach (appendix 3, case review 2) the relationship between E1, F3 and R1 is fundamental, it was later shown that the offender had strong links with the murder scene and lived locally (Ian O'Callaghan had worked as a bus driver and lived near Bury).

In addition to the aforementioned points, an abridged version of the key components of the model can be seen below:-

1. T1 = Transport infrastructure. This relates to the high or low relevance of transportation networks, as a possible facilitator or component of the crime. Normal lines of enquiry would assess the means at which the perpetrator has attempted to employ a component of the transport infrastructure as a possible escape route, murder location or selection of victim. In many cases the T1 cell may be impacted upon by other variables and should not be viewed as an inert, non active cell. In the case of Shirley Leach (appendix 3, case review 2) the importance of transport infrastructure and its relevance to the murderer is high.

2. E2 = Environmental ergonomics. Those areas on the periphery of the crime may hold valuable clues as to the offenders profile. Ergonomics relates to the applied scientific study of products or environments designed in such a way so as to reduce user weariness and to aid interaction. Within this cell one is looking to establish any links between the environment in which the crime was committed and its ergonomic design in facilitating murder. For example ergonomic design of a public toilet is one such environment which is designed to be private, free from public gaze and in some cases geographically remote from the general thoroughfare of public traffic. Such ergonomic data may hold clues as to the perpetrators knowledge of an environment.

In the case of Joan Harrison (see Appendix 1 & 2) one can speculate that the garage in which the murder was committed was selected more by choice than by random, as the environmental ergonomics of the location lends itself greatly to the act of murder and the assailant not being disturbed. This could therefore rule out 'chance' and lend weight to a premeditated act of murder, with a level of thought going into the selection of the murder location.

3. MCP 1 = Minor crime propensity (ability of offender to commit, similar crimes in nature, but minor in origin, e.g. common assault, exposure, etc) An example of this is given in the case of Shirley Leach (appendix 3, case review 2), whereby which her attacker already had a string of charges for exposure and assault all directed at females, A possible line of investigation for the Police in this case (back in 1994), would have been to review the known number of individuals living in the vicinity of the murder scene with convictions related to assault / sexually motivated crimes against women (O'Callaghan had both). One other such example is that of the Salisbury Sex Attacker (see <http://www.bbc.co.uk/crimewatch/solved.shtml>).

4. CCP1 = Chronological crime propensity (ability of the offender not to commit a serious crime over a period of time), this can be graded as high, low or medium. In many cases murders may be opportunistic in nature, with the perpetrator, remaining at large within the community and not committing any additional similar crimes. If the level of crime propensity can be identified early on, it may facilitate crime investigators in terms of the type of offender they are searching for and his or her propensity to have committed only one or several murders. In the case of Jack The Ripper, the CCP level would have been high (a numeric equivalent to 95>%).

5. FM1 = Forensic material. This cell would draw direct reference to traditional sources of material including, hair, fibre, clothing materials, bodily fluids etc.

As a rule of thumb the model attempts to identify possible environmental factors which themselves might indicate certain physiological traits associated with the attacker and thus enable a clearer profile of the attacker to be developed. The greater the overlap of individual squares at pre arrest or investigation stage, an increased chance exists that a possible relationship, between the two sectors is highly probable. For example in this model T1 and E2 sector relationship is very low (< approx 15%), where as the overlap between E1 and F3 is higher, indicating a higher

than average relationship. It is worth noting that the model displayed has been loaded with descriptive data (post murder) specifically related to the case of Shirley Leach (see appendix 3, Case review 2), other cases may contain data that does not apply to each of differing cells and therefore it is not a requirement for all sectors within the model to be filled. Whilst the model is more descriptive than predictive, it can be argued that a better offender profile can be built up using this model, based upon environmental factors.

### **The case study of Joan Harrison (remember Preston `75)**

The case review for the murder of Joan Harrison is in Appendix 1 and pictorial evidence of the location of murder in 1975 and the present (2006) can be seen in Appendix 2. Whilst a long period of time has elapsed since Joans murder, her memory has not been forgotten, indeed as late as last year (2006) and with the arrest of John Humble, Joans murder was highlighted once again.

During the years associated with the Yorkshire Ripper (mid 1970s onwards), a tape recording was sent to Yorkshire Police in which the sender claims to have prior knowledge of Joan Harrisons murder and in a menacing tone states 'up to number 8 now, you say 7 but remember Preston 75', a direct reference to the murder of Joan Harrison, Preston 1975.

In 2006, the individual who sent the tape was located (saliva under the postage stamp that was licked, to attach the stamp, was tested for DNA against samples already held on the UK DNA database) this was later matched to an individual living in the North East of England (John Humble), who had a DNA sample taken for a non related action (breach of the peace).

Humble's DNA did not match the DNA found at the murder scene of Joan Harrison and therefore he can be ruled out of Joans murder (Humble later admitted to sending the tape, after reading a newspaper article in 1978 about the Preston murder and thought it would be interesting to plant this red herring, implying that the author of the tape (himself), was the Yorkshire Ripper, this was not the case).

Humble was give an eight year sentence in 2006, at his trial it was successfully argued by the prosecuting Council, that a number of the Yorkshire Rippers victims could have been prevented, as Humbles tape convinced the Ripper Squad Detectives that the man they were looking for was an individual with a strong Sunderland / North-Eastern accent and possibly from the surrounding area. This diverted much effort from hunting Sutcliffe and sent Police officers on the wrong trail (Peter Sutcliffe, AKA The Yorkshire Ripper originated from Bradford and not the North East)

The application of the authors model might go some way in shedding new light on the murder of Joan Harrison.

### **Conclusion**

The use of dark tourism as a potential methodological tool for the investigation of cold case files needs to be concluded in a two fold manner. Firstly we will conclude on the unsolved case file of Joan Harrison (Preston 1975) using the Environmental analysis model developed by the authors and offer the reader a potential profile of the offender and there possible links with the location. Secondly the authors will conclude on the merits of using dark tourism as a public interest and discussion forum resolving cold case files.

In the case of Joan Harrison one can speculate that the murderer was native to the location and has at some time had a strong link with the North West / Preston area, the individual (a male) is also knowledgeable of the Avenham area of Preston and this is evidenced in the location chosen for the hiding / disposal of Joans purse (purse stolen ,later located in Avenham Park, several months after murder & handbag stolen, later located at nearby tip, nearly 7 months after the murder). One can speculate that the location for murder (the garage) was previously known to the murderer and was not necessarily an opportunistic location as has previously thought (did the murderer have prior knowledge of the garage, its empty unused state and high probability of not being disturbed) (the garage was owned by the council and was unused, increasing the chances of not being disturbed, would an opportunist known of this fact).

One can further speculate that such an individual would have possibly been known to Joan Harrison and whilst not a direct acquaintance would have moved in similar circles (possible heavy drinking culture orientated, social security based dependency and drifter like lifestyle), this kind of potential relationship is possibly best described in the Environmental Analysis Model (v1) between R1 (residence of offender) and E1 (event scene).

Further Police investigations may want to consider the whereabouts of known sex offenders living in the vicinity of Preston during the mid to late 1970s.

In conclusion, by tapping into the tourists motivation for experiencing more authentic and real situations coupled with the continued fascination for solving crime, the cold case vacation offers an opportunity for the dark tourism industry. In this context, dark tourism has the potential to reinvigour and create opportunities for solving cold case crimes. It is accepted that the concept of the cold case vacation raises a number of ethical issues, not least the sensationalism that such an experience may offer. Indeed, due to the sensitivity of the various crimes, issues of interpretation would have to be uppermost in the minds of dark tourism providers when developing a product of this nature.

Nevertheless, if new light can be thrown on a crime by a group of amateur sleuths on a cold case vacation, then this offers an enlightening dimension to the spectrum of dark tourism that is little, if ever discussed or analysed.

## **Acknowledgments**

The authors acknowledge the assistance given by Mr Patrick Lavelle (Sunderland University, Centre for Research In Media and Cultural Studies), in the researching of this article.

The authors wish to dedicate this article to the memory of those individuals who lives have been so cruelly taken away and contribute to the large number of unsolved cold cases. The authors also wish to dedicate this article to the memory of Joan Harrison and Shirley Leach (you are not forgotten).

## **Appendix 1**

## Case review 1

<b>Name:</b>	<b>Age:</b>	<b>Date of murder:</b>	<b>Location:</b>	<b>Outcome:</b>
<b>Joan Harrison</b> 	<b>26</b>	<b>20.11.75</b>	<b>Preston</b>	<b>Murder (unsolved)</b>

### Information

Joan Harrison originated from Chorley and had been living in Preston for several years, from a health perspective Joan had a number of related ailments which were themselves exacerbated by her reliance upon alcohol. During mid 1975 Joan began renting a room in the Avenham area of Preston and was often observed frequenting the local hostelrys of Preston with friends and associates.

During the month of November 1975 Joan managed to secure a part time voluntary job at the St Mary's Hostel for homeless men where she helped out with related domestic activities. During the lunch time period Joan would often visit the local St Mary's public house with work colleagues from the hostel, for a lunch time drink. On the 20<sup>th</sup> of November Joan returned from a lunch time session, much the worse for ware and was allowed by the hostel staff to rest and sober up in one of the adjoining hostel rooms.

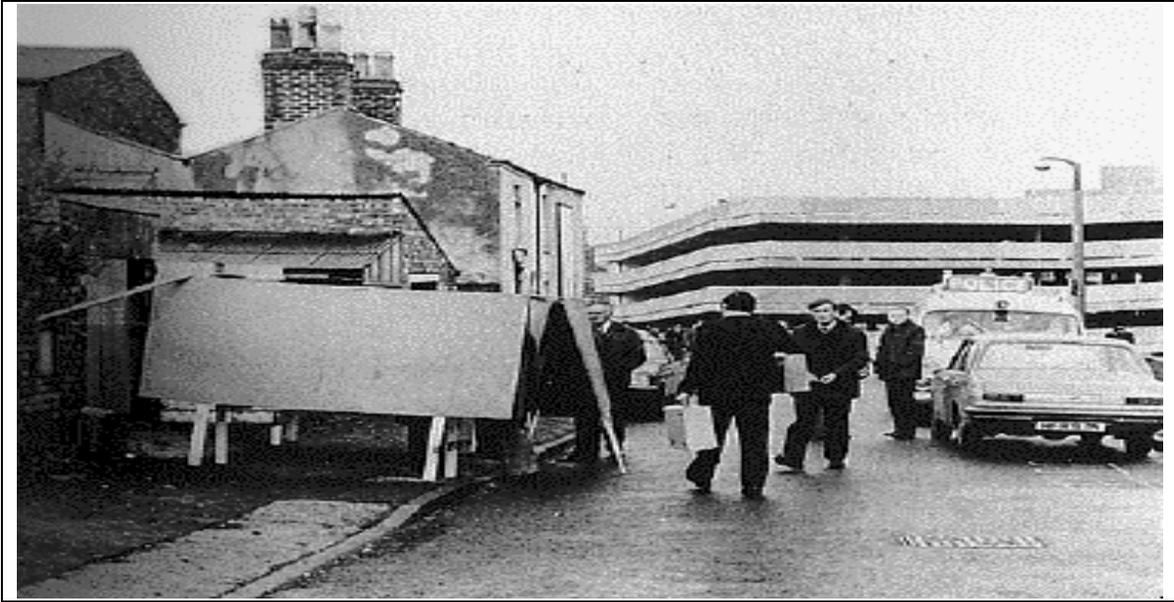
At approximately 10pm Joan had sufficiently recovered to return to her Avenham address, having returned home she then decided to return to Preston town centre, Joan was last seen walking into town, along Church Street at 10.25pm.

## **Modus Operandi**

The body of Joan Harrison was discovered on the morning of Sunday the 23<sup>rd</sup> of November 1975 in a disused garage near Frenchwood Street. Joans body was in a state of disarray, with items of clothing lying close to her body. The post-mortem was inconclusive with both time of death and precise cause of death being uncertain. No knife wounds were found on the body, but the pathologist did make mention of the fact that several marks were found on the body which were possible caused by frenzied and intense kicking. It is also worth noting that a cut on the back of the head was likened to that of a hammer blow. In addition to the aforementioned points a bite mark was located on the upper part of the chest with characteristic signs of a gap being displayed in the upper front teeth of the assailant. Not only had the attacker / attackers left incriminating physical evidence, DNA evidence was also found on the body of Joan Harrison.

<b>Physical evidence</b>	<b>DNA related</b>	<b>Additional points</b>
Laceration on back of head	DNA deposits found	Purse stolen (later located in Avehnam park, several months after murder)
Positioning of clothing around body (ritualistic in origin)	DNA product fashioned by male, from about six percent of male population belonging to blood group B (secretor)	Handbag stolen (later located at nearby tip, nearly 7 months after the murder)
Bite mark on upper torso (bite mark displayed gap in upper teeth area)		Mass screening of males in the Preston area (saliva samples taken)

## Appendix 2



Murder scene (November 1975) (source Anon)



Murder scene (December 2006)



Positioning of individuals and infrastructure from the November 1975 picture, on the December 2006 picture.

## Appendix 3

## Case review 2

<b>Name:</b>	<b>Age:</b>	<b>Date of murder:</b>	<b>Location:</b>	<b>Outcome:</b>
<b>Shirley Leach</b> 	<b>66</b>	<b>6.1.94</b>	<b>Bury</b>	<b>Murder</b>  <b>(solved, individual found guilty 30.11.06)</b>

### Information

Shirley Leach was visiting her daughter in Fairfield Hospital (nr Bury, Greater Manchester) during the January period of 1994. Upon returning from the hospital visit Shirley had a short wait at Bury Interchange (bus & rail station) for her connecting bus that would take her home. Shirley was last seen at 9.15pm near the station kiosk and it believed that Shirley met her killer between 9.15pm and 9.30pm, possibly during a visit to the ladies public toilets.

In the morning of Friday the 7<sup>th</sup> of January 1994 at 4.15am, Shirleys body was found by a female who had been returning from a night out and who by chance decided to visit the ladies toilets. Upon entering the toilet cubicle she found the body of Shirley Leach.

### Modus Operandi

The body of Shirley Leach was discovered on the morning of Friday the 7<sup>th</sup> of January 1994 at 4.15am, by a passer by returning from a night out. The post-mortem revealed that strangulation had taken place and a level of interference with the body had taken place. Located at the scene of crime were two pieces of evidence left by the attacker, one a sample of blood and the other a deposit of saliva, both of which were sufficient to provide a DNA profile of the killer.

<b>Physical evidence</b>	<b>DNA related</b>	<b>Additional points</b>
Physical damage to individuals upper torso.	DNA found at murder location (blood deposit of offender, found on toilet cubicle door).	Location of murder = Ladies public toilets at Bury bus station.
	Offenders saliva found on body of victim (DNA matched that of blood deposit found on toilet cubicle door).	Mass screening of males in the North West and abroad.

## **The arrest**

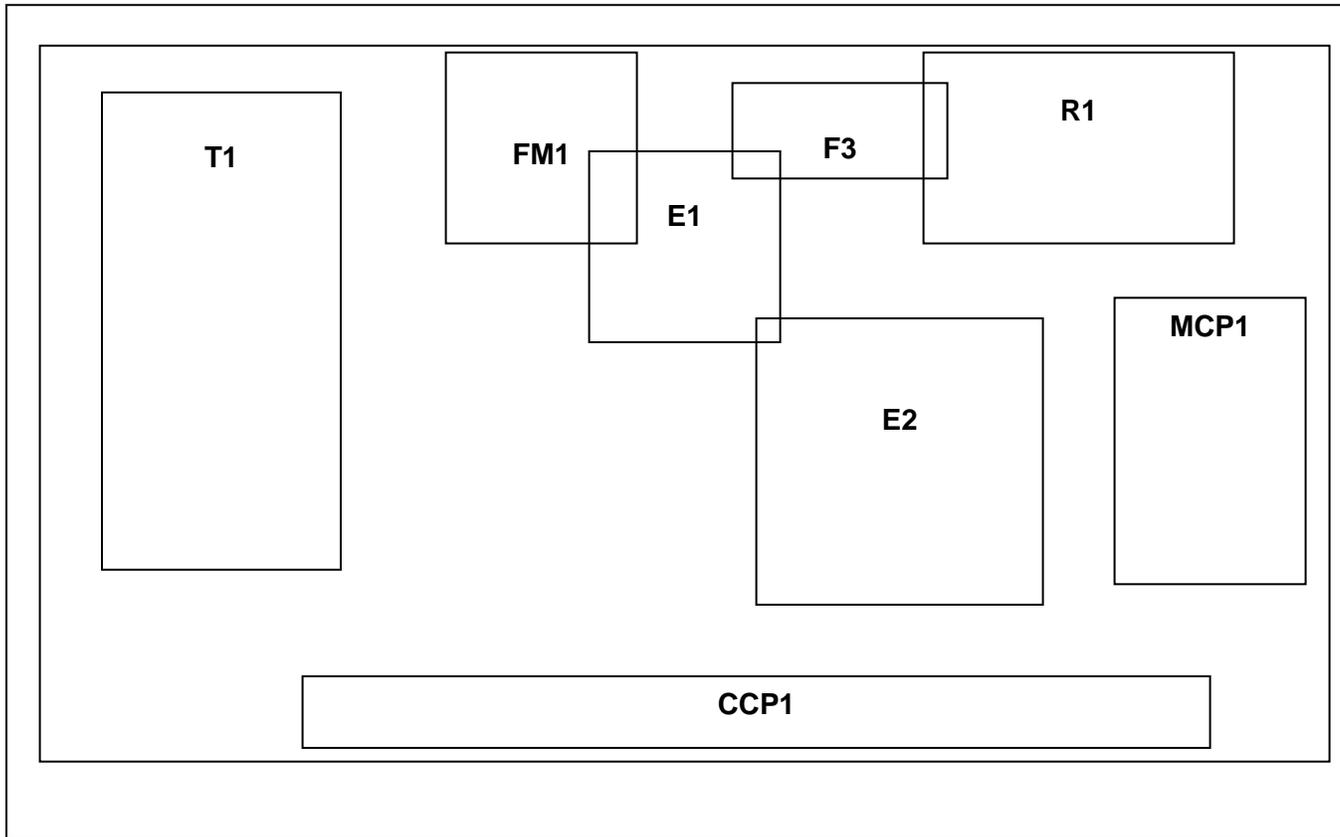
Ian O'Callaghan (born 23/06/1968) of Wragby Close in Bury was found guilty of Shirley Leachs murder at Manchester Crown Court after a four-day trial and was sentenced to life imprisonment with a recommendation to serve a minimum of 28 years.

O'Callaghan was charged with the murder after being stopped on 18 February 2006 in Moston. He gave a positive breath test and was arrested on suspicion of driving whilst under the influence of excess alcohol. In line with normal procedure, O'Callaghan was required to provide a DNA mouth swab and fingerprints to police. When O'Callaghan's DNA was loaded onto the National DNA database it matched the DNA found at the murder scene twelve years earlier.

[http://www.forensic.gov.uk/forensic\\_t/inside/news/list\\_press\\_release.php?case=62&y=2006](http://www.forensic.gov.uk/forensic_t/inside/news/list_press_release.php?case=62&y=2006)

## Appendix 4

## Environmental Analysis Model (v 1)



### Environmental Analysis Model (v1) Key

E1 = Event scene (AKA murder location)

E2 = Environmental ergonomics

F3 = Forensic employment

FM1 = Forensic material

T1 = Transport infrastructure (Role of Transport Infrastructure, in the event / proximity of transport infrastructure to event)

MCP1 = Minor crime propensity (ability of offender to commit, similar crimes in nature, but minor in origin, e.g. common assault, exposure, etc)

CCP 1 = Chronological crime propensity (ability of offender not to commit a serious crime over a period of time), this can be graded as high, low or medium.

R1 = Residence of offender

## References

- Alison, L., Bennell, C., Mokros, A., Ormerod, D. (2002). The Personality Paradox In Offender Profiling: A Theoretical Review of The Processes Involved In Deriving Background Characteristics From Crime Scene Actions. *Psychology, Public Policy & Law*, 8, 115-135.
- Alison, L.J., Smith, M.D., & Morgan, K. (2003). Interpreting The Accuracy of Offender Profiles. *Psychology, Crime And Law*, 9(2), 185-195. Lison, L.J., Smith, M.D., & Morgan, K. (2003). Interpreting The Accuracy Of Offender Profiles. *Psychology, Crime And Law*, 9(2), 185-195.
- Alison, L., West, A., & Goodwill, A. (2004). The Academic And The Practitioner: Pragmatists' Views Of Offender Profiling. *Psychology, Public Policy & Law*, 10, 71-101.
- BBC (2007). *Crimewatch Solved*. [Online] London: BBC Corporation. Available At <http://www.bbc.co.uk/crimewatch/solved.shtml> [Accessed 27.7.07].
- Beech, A. (1995) Offender Profiling, *Journal of Mental Health* , 4, 5-7
- Blom, T. (2000) Morbid Tourism – A Postmodern Market Niche With An Example From Althorp. *Norwegian Journal of Geography* 54, 29–36.
- Dunkley, R. (2005) Tourism Society Seminar Event 'Dark Tourism - Cashing In On Tragedy?' Kensington Close Hotel, London On 17th October 2005.
- Foley M & Lennon J (1997) Dark Tourism – An Ethical Dilemma In M Foley, J Lennon & G Maxwell (Eds) *Strategic Issues For The Hospitality, Tourism And Leisure Industries*, Cassell.
- Lavelle, P. (2003) *Shadow of The Ripper, The Secret Story of The Man Who Helped The Yorkshire Ripper To Kill And Kill Again*. Blake Publishing. London.
- Lennon J & Foley M (2000) *Dark Tourism – The Attraction of Death & Disaster*. Continuum.
- Lennon, J. & Foley, M. (1996) JFK And Dark Tourism: A Fascination With Assassination. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*. 2 (4). 198-211.
- Mokros, A., & Alison, L. (2002). Is Profiling Possible? Testing The Predicted Homology Of Crime Scene Actions And Background Characteristics In A Sample of Rapists. *Legal And Criminological Psychology*, 7, 25-43.
- Robinson, N & Dale, C.(2007) 'Investigating The Dark'. The University of Salford. *Dark Tourism Lecture*. February 2007.
- Rojeck, C. (1993) *Ways Of Escape*. Macmillian
- Seaton, A.V.(1998). Guided By The Dark: From Thanatopsis To Thanatourism. *International Journal Of Heritage Studies*. 2 (4), 234-244.
- Selwyn, T. (Ed) (1996) *The Tourist Image*. Wiley

Stone, P. R. (2006) A Dark Tourism Spectrum: Towards A Typology Of Death And Macabre Related Tourist Sites, Attractions And Exhibitions. *Tourism: An International Interdisciplinary Journal*. Volume 54, No. 2: 445-160.