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Sustainable Reuse of Dark Archaeological Heritage Sites to Promote Ghost Tourism in Egypt: The Case of the Baron Palace

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Abstract: Egypt is one of the few countries with significant archaeological sites in every region. Some of these sites have been identified as dark archaeological sites that have not been used in a long time. The study proposes a strategy for the long-term reuse of these sites through niche tourism, i.e., dark or ghost tourism, which has received little attention from decision-makers or tourism planners. Furthermore, they have received little attention from Egyptian scholars. The current study fills knowledge gaps and contributes to the preservation of archaeological sites through sustainable reuse, ultimately helping Egypt's sustainable tourism development. Using the case of the Baron Palace, the study investigates the potential for dark and ghost tourism in Egypt, as well as the barriers and development recommendations. To achieve the study's goal, the research adopted a qualitative approach that relied on in-depth interviews with various stakeholders. The discussions revealed that, while Egypt has many types of tourism, both dark and ghost tourism have significant potential and opportunities through the reuse of dark archaeological sites. However, there are numerous impediments to proper implementation. Recommendations were made to overcome these obstacles, achieve positive economic, social, and environmental outcomes, and ensure the long-term viability of archaeological heritage.

Keywords: dark archaeological sites; ghost tourism; Baron Palace; dark heritage; paranormal tours; sustainable reuse; Egypt



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1. Introduction

In recent years, changing tourism patterns have led people to switch from traditional tourism to niche tourism such as dark tourism. Dark tourism typically attracts people who seek out challenging and extraordinary experiences. It is regarded as a niche type of tourism that appeals to those who want to visit sites or attractions associated with the dark side of human nature. In recent years, dark tourism has been regarded as a new and distinct tourism phenomenon in many countries, such as Egypt, with many new dark tourist attractions and products emerging, one of which is ghost tourism [1]. Dark, sometimes called Black, tourism is defined as the attraction of visitors to tourism destinations associated with current and past incidents of death and tragedy [2]. It refers to the act of travelling to places and seeing exhibitions where actual death or suffering is the main theme [2]. Stone [3] argued that dark tourism includes a wide range of sites or exhibitions that are related either to death or the macabre.

Ghost tourism, also called paranormal tourism, is a niche type of tourism in which visitors are drawn to metaphysical beliefs and phenomena [4]. Visitors are drawn to locations associated with supernatural occurrences; hence, they become interested in visiting ghost destinations. Ghost tourism is defined as travel to locations historically associated with death, disaster, and tragedy [5]. Ghost tourism is defined as a travel industry niche in which tourists attend paranormal-themed conventions and festivals, visit famously haunted locations, and participate in ghost tours or haunted pub crawls

through cities [6,7]. This encompasses any site's paranormal events or stories, whether for recreation, investigation, services, or conventions.

Ghost tourism includes travelers' visits to places of supernatural sightings and occurrences to experience similar paranormal happenings themselves. Recently, locations with supernatural elements have attracted numerous tourists, thereby generating business opportunities [8]. The term ghost refers to a being who lived and died in the past but emerges in the present with the capacity to communicate with live people in various ways, with certain people using terms such as soul or spirit to define a ghost [9]. The touristic practice seeks out knowledge of people's ideas about the past, their cognition of the mechanisms underlying the appearance of ghosts, and their motivations for pursuing such experiences. Ghost tourism includes three aspects: Experience, knowledge, and heritage. Usually, ghost tourism can take the form of stories of either distant historical figures or people from the recent past who experienced a haunting [10]. Haunted heritage is considered a fascinating and attractive tourism aspect related to ghosts or paranormal tourism. The phenomenon allows for the re-articulation of and re-configuring of the ideas of heritage, epistemic authority, nation, and belonging [11]. Therefore, many communities and cities have learned to capitalize on their mysteries to attract visitors and stimulate the local economy. Furthermore, Obradović et al. [12] argued, "the paranormal or ghost tourism has become another tourist stop, another source of entertainment available in that vast consumerist marketplace". It is argued that more theoretical studies on consumer behavior concerning ghost tourism are essential to identify factors encouraging tourists to visit haunted places [13]. However, understanding tourist experience in ghost tourism and analyzing its potential are understudied in many countries, such as Egypt.

Egypt, with its great history and heritage, has many types of tourism, such as archaeological, historical, religious, and cultural tourism, not to mention conferences, international exhibitions, and rural tourism, as well as tourist festivals and activities. It also has several sites that are considered major dark and ghost attraction sites, such as Baron Palace [14]. Therefore, these attractions could be reused as either dark or ghost sites through storytelling and interpretation. Consequently, this could highlight the potential of ghost tourism as a new trend in the Egyptian tourism industry by focusing on how to place dark heritage sites on the Egyptian tourism map. Since there is a lack of research studies on ghost tourism in Egypt to the best of the researcher's knowledge, the three aspects of sustainable reuse, namely, economic, social, and environmental, have to be considered with the introduction of this new type of tourism in Egypt. The social aspect could consider, for instance, community acceptance, engagement, and the need for new scenarios in these historical sites. The economic aspect could consider, for instance, new job creation and the involvement of investors, whereas the environmental aspect could consider, for instance, the conservation of resources and meeting environmental needs [15].

The current study adopts Baron Palace, publicly known as the most haunted tourist site in Egypt, as the case study to introduce dark tourism, particularly ghost tourism, ghost tours, ghost hunts, and paranormal experiences to the national agenda of tourism in Egypt. The palace was closed for a long time despite its great archaeological design and special image as a dark site; hence, it is more appropriate for adaptive reuse. The results of the current research are expected to be of interest to scholars interested in haunted tourism, supernatural heritage stories, and popular heritage that is full of unusual events. Ghost tours purport to attract visitors to an adventure where they may encounter paranormal situations and experience fascination with the spirit world [16,17]. The central theme of the research presents the concept of ghost tourism and how it could be implemented in Egyptian tourist sites. Moreover, the research introduces a new scenario for historical sites to support the Egyptian tourism industry, increase its competitiveness, and contribute to the marketing of these destinations. The research aims to (a) present the importance of reusing archaeological buildings related to dark/ghost stories and (b) introduce new scenarios in Egyptian cultural sites to promote these new dark and/or ghost sites. The research builds on a collaboration between various stakeholders, e.g., local authorities, the

community, investors, and site creators, to ensure sustainable reuse. Moreover, challenges and opportunities for reusing ghost archaeological sites are explored and discussed.

2. Review of Literature

2.1. The Development of Dark Tourism

Dark tourism, also known as Thana tourism, was founded in 1996 as a specialized field of study in tourism. The connections between death, misery, visiting, and tourism were first recognized by Lennon and Foley [2], who classified the phenomenon as dark tourism in 1996. Dark tourism studies include issues of interpretation, limited acts of remembrance and performance including criminology, analyzing crime scenes, paranormal phenomena, and ghosts, and the sociology of death studies. Ghost sites have been identified as pull factors to visitors; dark sites encourage visitors to adopt memories of death, trauma, or suffering and face their fears. It can occur at either authentic sites or locations where it is memorialized, in some cases for commemorative purposes or education and in others for crude commercial exploitation. Stones [3] suggested a spectrum for a better understanding of dark tourism (Figure 1). Additionally, seven dark suppliers were identified [3]. These seven suppliers are dark fun factories, dark exhibitions, dark dungeons, dark resting places, dark shrines, dark conflict sites, and dark camps of genocide. Understanding the spectrum of dark tourism and the types of suppliers will not only contribute to dark tourism supply but also to travelers' motivation and experience.

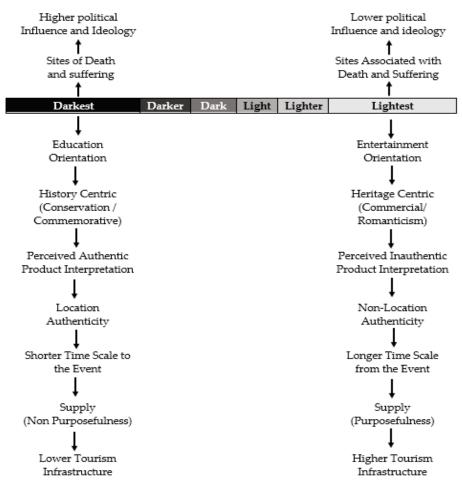


Figure 1. Dark Tourism Spectrum. Source: Stone ([3], p. 151).

Egypt is considered a unique case where the mix of Pharaonic, Greco-Roman, Coptic, and Islamic history has formed a culture. It enjoys a geographical location with a moderate climate year-round, along with its smooth vast coastlines and beaches with unique treasures

of coral reefs, providing Egypt with a competitive edge. In addition to its various types of tourism, Egypt has several destinations that are considered major dark attraction sites such as battle and war sites, soldiers' and celebrities' tombs, memorials, leaders' homes, places of killing and assassinations, cemeteries, mausoleums, and others [18], as mentioned in Appendix A. Therefore, such attractions can be promoted as dark sites through acts of re-using, storytelling, and interpretation. Consequently, dark tourism should highlight as a new trend in the tourism industry, in addition to focusing on how to place dark heritage sites in Egypt on the tourism map [19].

2.2. The Promotion of Ghost Tourism

Ghost tourism is a growing area of the global tourism market and many companies are keen to take the opportunity to present ghost hunts in their programs for visitors [17]. Ghost stories are interesting to share because they have a "mysterious veil" with many unanswered questions about them; however, people often search for such stories and new tourism experiences [20]. The practices of ghost tourism may seem to be an unusual topic for academic research in some countries, such as Egypt. However, what does the move toward haunted heritage reveal? How does ghost tourism support and reconfigure the understanding of history, national belonging, and knowledge itself? Engaging haunted heritage in the tourism industry is a creative means of refashioning the past. Ghost tourism attracts visitors to authentic haunted experiences, which hold cultural and historical value for visitors. Individuals taking ghost tours may be interested in understanding and learning about history, events, and heritage. Although some stories may be entertainment-oriented, ghost tourism offers educational accounts of history or events, enabling visitors to engage with stories in a deeper manner through storytelling, which is considered one of the vital tools used in ghost tourism [3].

Ghost tourism as paranormal tourism is relatively new in its modern incarnation but has existed since the beginning of humanity in different guises [21]. Paranormal tourism is stimulated by the media, word of mouth, historical folklore, and a plethora of websites and articles listing allegedly haunted sites, hotels, attractions, and tours that cater to paranormal tourists. Many communities and cities have learned to capitalize on their mysteries to attract tourists and stimulate the local economy. Furthermore, the paranormal has become another tourist stop, another source of entertainment available in that vast consumerist marketplace; what was once considered fringe and underground is now out in the open, generally more accepted, and part of popular culture [22]. Tourist attractions have many attributes, such as cultural, heritage, social, environmental, service, and economic attributes that make visitors want to stay longer. According to studies on ghost tourism, destinations fall into two categories: Authentic historical environments and haunted spots. Authenticity is the core of ghost tourism, and the attractions offer a set of activities that are a combination of historical authenticity, horror, and entertainment. Likewise, it emphasizes the features and cultural significance of haunted tours [23]. Haunted locations draw upon unique histories and particular ghost stories to generate special interest. Locations such as cemeteries, dark alleys, and mansions have distinguished characteristics that build a haunted environment for visitors.

Ghosts are unusual attributes of a heritage site that attract the curiosity of visitors from around the globe. Haunted locations also hold cultural and historical value for tourists, and several studies have reported that individuals taking ghost tours may be interested in understanding and learning about history, events, and heritage [24]. Although some stories may be entertainment-oriented, ghost tourism offers educational narratives of history or events to enable visitors to engage with stories in a deeper method in terms of sensation seeking. The context of tourism affects tourists' senses, thoughts, feelings, and behaviors, and it provides opportunities for tourists to experience novel spectral sensations and explore historical paranormal stories after their visits. Haunted Heritage is a fascinating scholarly examination of the dynamics of ghost or paranormal tourism [25].

Ghost or horror tourism includes any form of travel or leisure that involves encounters with or learning about ghosts or hauntings. It is simply a tour of places believed to be haunted—ghost sightings, haunted rooms, or any other type of adventure. In addition, whether it is called ghost tourism, paranormal tourism, or even haunted tourism, this type of travel takes you to places that are in some way thought to be unusual. In the last quarter of the twentieth century, there has been an increase in the organization of trips to horror tourist sites such as Dracula's castle or Vampire legend [26].

2.3. Ghost Sites

Ghost sites particularly focus on the commercialization of ghostly legends. There are many examples worldwide including the beginning of Dracula in Romania and the attractions created around the Salem Witch trials in the United States. In both cases, destinations have capitalized on the historical legends and stories attached to the place to present dark events compellingly and acceptably, at least for the tourist [27]. Local ghostly legends can promote the Egyptian tourism market and make it remarkable in the world tourism industry, while also providing visitors with a chance to engage in the ghost histories that are exciting, experiential, and educational to the participant in ghost hunts and tours, and the activities are unique tools to explore the heritage sites [28].

Ghost legends allow travelers to confront complex and potentially troubling questions about life and death [29]. Ghosts and their places are a means through which we can engage in this reality as though witnessing it through a veil. Ghost tourism destinations have many attributes, such as the environmental atmosphere and service features that make visitors want to stay longer [30]. According to Chahal and Devi [31], destination attributes are cultural or heritage, social, environmental, and economic characteristics. Similarly, the Baron Palace, also known as the Hindu Palace, is the most spectacular in Heliopolis, Cairo, Egypt [32]. Krisjanous and Carruthers [33] indicated that authenticity is the core of ghost tourism, the central characters are ghosts, and there are specific landscapes or built environments with a distinct atmosphere. These attractions also offer a set of activities that are a mix of historical authenticity, horror, and entertainment.

Kolk [34] argued that historical characteristics and heritage sites, ghost history and stories, and supernatural sounds and ghost images are the main attributes of ghost tourism. Haunted locations draw upon unique histories and particular ghost stories to generate special interest and tourist demand. Therefore, the perception of ghost attractions occurs through a process of understanding the haunted environment with the senses, organizing, identifying, and recognizing external stimuli. Drinkwater et al. [35] proposed that the fetishization of ghost tourism attracts visitors to authentic haunted experiences; haunted locations also hold cultural and historical value for tourists. Some studies have reported that individuals taking ghost tours may be interested in understanding and learning about history, events, and heritage.

Although some stories may be entertainment-oriented, ghost tourism offers educational accounts of history or events, enabling visitors to engage with stories in a deeper manner. In terms of entertainment, tourists may visit ghost destinations to terrify themselves for pleasure [36]. Ghost tourism entertains by introducing visitors to the paranormal. Furthermore, ghost tours and dungeon tours involve more components of fun than dark tourism. This enables haunted communities to establish their reputation as a source of entertainment for the consumerist market. The fun-centric attributes appeal to visitors who are fascinated with ghost stories and wish to enjoy harmless paranormal experiences on ghost tours [37]. In terms of sensation seeking, the context of tourism affects tourists' senses, thoughts, feelings, behavior, and connections to the setting when they are travelling to paranormal destinations [38,39], such as the Baron Palace, which remained uninhabited for a long time.

2.4. Storytelling and Dark/Ghost Tourism

Ghost tourism utilizes stories to create an authentic experience for visitors. Ghost tourism is relevant to history as the ghosts are evoking the past; nevertheless, the past is narrated through stories [40]. The ghost tourism experience is exciting albeit scary. While the level of scariness varies, the excitement is constant. The narrative helps to build a feeling of unease where the visitor's nerves are tested. The excitement lies in the element of the unexpected, as the visitor may have an idea of what a ghost tour contains but they cannot know what will happen. The prospective fright keeps the visitor excited and nervous. Stories are used to build up expectations and play off the excitement. The stories talk about different times and different places in different locations, and an authentic but unexpected experience is created through these stories [41].

A haunted place is a term that entails the geographical location as a process rather than a static space inhabiting an intangible quality. Haunting is not simply an act of experiencing ghosts but rather an atmosphere within which memories and imagination are evoked to be perceived with different senses [7]. These definitions show that storytelling is the key to constructing our understanding of place. The creation of a haunted place is a collaboration of various storytelling methods, which, when combined, ultimately become fused with the story. The haunted place is not free from context, which may even predate the person's experience of the location. The imagination of the haunted place is a sum of ideas and images of a place, which suggest that some supernatural occurrence has taken place there [42]; one might not see a ghost, but a place may still be haunted. The haunting is a narration of the place, which is created by the providers, often based on pre-existing lore and imaginaries of places. The haunting provokes varied reactions, from fear to excitement and, at times, even amusement. The haunting is not merely a play on the mind but rather an embodied experience that can be evoked and emphasized through various narrative tools [43].

2.5. Ghost Tours

Ghost tourism includes any form of leisure or travel that involves encounters with or the pursuit of knowledge of the ghostly or haunted. Identifying paranormal or ghost believers and asking why they are heedful is the first step to understanding ghost tourism as an economic and tourist path [44]. Some groups believe in the paranormal and thus travel to paranormal hotspots. Visitors should have some measure of interest or belief in the paranormal; however, skeptics and the mildly curious also partake in supernatural tours out of curiosity or entertainment [45]. Thus, paranormal tourism has several roles, e.g., as a serious activity and as entertainment for believers, skeptics, and those who are just curious.

Paranormal tours are perhaps the most obvious economic activity relating to paranormal tourism. Across the world, cities and communities have developed ghost tours as part of their tourism industry. Furthermore, the hotel and hospitality sector has also joined the fray in marketing the paranormal for economic gain. Throughout the world, famous, large hotels and small, local inns are taking advantage of alleged paranormal activity at their establishments to attract tourists [37]. Ghost tours are a part of ghost tourism. Ghost tours focus on the narrative and leave the decision regarding the existence of ghosts to the visitor. Holloway [46] stated that one of the principal contexts of ghost tourism is dark tourism. Ulrike and Schimanski [47] underlined how ghost walks or ghost tours are a way for the visitor to learn about the past. Ghosts in this path are also a means to relate to the past and, in some cases, even a way to bring the past into the present through re-enactment and storytelling. The tour is considered a marketing tactic that allows addressing folklore, storytelling, and alternative imaginaries of place [48].

Egypt has places that are thought to be haunted; those places have become spooky since their stories are related to death, accidents, and myths. Generally, stakeholders need to draw the attention of people to visit past events but ideally at night. The current study explores how potential ghost tours are produced, performed, and consumed [49]. As the lightest form of dark tourism, this type of tour provides a different experience for enter-

tainment since the operator tries to present real ghosts to tourists by using technology and storytelling. The myth and human tragedy at these sites support the creation of a spooky atmosphere [50]. Haunted heritage and ghost tourism sustain multiple interpretations of the past while enabling the formation of new modes of historical expertise. The ghost tour is a part of dark fun factories that focus on entertainment and commercials and present real and fictional death, as well as macabre events [3]. Garcia [51] concluded that ghost tourism refers to the desire to encounter ghosts and interest in the supernatural and visiting places associated with the world of spirits such as cemeteries, haunted houses, castles, and historic towns.

Ghosts provide a metaphysical interpretation of a real human tragedy and thus turn the experience of visitation to dark tourism sites into a "thrilling" experience. People seem to have various motivations for visiting places where macabre events took place. In addition, Bristow and Newman [52] cited the term "fright tourism" as a variation of dark tourism where individuals may seek a thrill or shock from the experience; the fright element of a tourism experience may not necessarily be death related. A ghost tour provides an experience different from other tourism such as culinary, nature, and shopping tourism. Haunted places have become a pull factor because they have drawn people to visit, and curiosity has become the push factor that has made people visit those sites, such as the Baron Palace, and the expectation that a ghost tour could activate more varied tourism activity. Cultures from different countries may influence the types of ghost tours [53].

Ghost tours should provide an educative side and entertainment. The tours should be planned and managed professionally to be more attractive and frightening so that they can be sold to travel agents as a tour package. A ghost tour is an unforgettable and impressive experience. Furthermore, promotion is necessary to draw the attention of more tourists [54]. Hence, the motivations of visitants have received scrutiny, and it has been discovered that they are a mixture of interest in death, curiosity, desire for learning, remembrance of victims, and understanding of tragic events. As a result, it may be appropriate to describe visitors to places of death or suffering as dark tourists. However, attempts to explain why tourists visit such places usually rely on speculations or assumptions [9]. Overall, visitors or tourists visit dark spots for a wide variety of purposes. These purposes include:

- A thrill- and risk-seeking drive that lures visitors who like adventure and excitement.
- Self-discovery and learning about such sites to understand more.
- A need for being acquainted with the knowledge of places that had experienced tragedies such as mysterious murders.
- The urge to visit sites that have immortal memories linked with people or even stories about haunted mansions.

People usually attempt to visit sites associated with mysteries, unusual stories, or paranormal instances. Thus, ghastly characters and locations have a factual history behind them; for example, Dracula's myth became an international brand in Transylvania, Romania, and used myth to powerfully present its heritage as a horror tourist site [54]. Other examples include Pengersick Castle in Cornwall, UK. Many ghosts are claimed to haunt this castle, including murder victims who died in the tower, a monk who was murdered, and even children who are said to have perished there (www.ghost-hunting.org.UK; accessed on 1 September 2022). The ghost tours provided access to locations that would have been off-limits. Individuals taking ghost tours are interested in understanding and learning about history, events, and heritage [55]. Ghost tourism offers educational retellings of history and events, allowing visitors to engage more deeply in the stories [56].

3. Research Methods

3.1. Data Collection Methods and Procedures

The current research revolves around ghost tourism and ghost sites in Egypt. Studies about ghost tourism in general are limited, and those conducted in the Egyptian context in particular are very few. The current study is among the first attempts to provide empirical evidence of the potential of ghost tourism in the Egyptian tourism industry.

We adopted a case study approach to achieve the purpose of this research. We chose the Baron Palace as the research case study for several reasons. First, there are dark stories and horrors associated with the palace, especially in relation to ghosts. The palace has a well-known image as a dark site, and it is identified among the community as a place for devil worshippers due to common beliefs that ghosts live inside. Second, the design of the palace is unique, which can attract many visitors and those interested in the style of Indian architecture. Third, it is a suitable site for developing ghost tours by adopting technology inside the palace with different interpretations and myths related to the site. Fourth, the location of the palace is easily accessible; it is near the airport and is a landmark of Heliopolis, Cairo. Fifth, the front yard and area around the palace are huge and can be used for various events and activities. The palace is located in an area of 12,500 square meters. Sixth, as a ghost heritage site, the Baron Palace is suitable for adaptive reuse as it has been completely or partially closed for many years despite its uniqueness as a heritage site. More details about the case study will be discussed in the next section.

We adopted a qualitative research approach to explore ghost tourism in Egypt. We chose a qualitative approach to gain a deeper understanding of the potential and barriers of ghost tourism in Egypt through the case of the Baron Palace. The research draws on 54 in-depth interviews with various stakeholders. These stakeholders include 28 government officials from the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities (16 from the Tourism department and 12 from Antiquities), 14 tourism planners, and 10 experts in heritage conservation and site management in Egypt. The purpose of the interviews was to explore the perceptions of stakeholders in relation to the adoption of ghost tourism in Egypt, especially the adaptive reuse of the Baron Palace as a ghost house and its promotion as a ghost tourist site. The interviews also aimed at understanding the opportunities as well as the barriers to ghost tourism in Egypt, especially in relation to the Baron Palace. Support for data collection was provided by a well-known data collection company. The company facilitated the access of participants and the data collection process. We received consent from the interviewees to participate voluntarily in our study. We discussed the purpose of the study with interviewees and informed them that the data collected are for research purposes. With the consent of participants, most interviews were recorded. Notwithstanding, some interviewees refused the recording; thus, we took notes and developed the scripts directly after the interviews. We assured participants of confidentiality, hence we did not collect nor publish any personal information. We analyzed the collected data manually using qualitative content analysis.

3.2. The Case of Baron Palace

Baron Empain's Palace was built in 1911 as a unique architectural masterpiece in Heliopolis, Cairo. Baron Empain chose a distinctive style for his palace that is not related to any traditional local architecture [57]. He commissioned two famous French artists to design the palace—Alexandre Marcel for the exterior design and his partner, Georges Louis, for the interior layout [57] (see Figure 2). The Hindu architecture of Angkor Wat in Cambodia inspired Marcel [58]. Edward Empain's palace has received many prestigious guests such as the Belgian King Albert I. The Palace is surrounded by a large garden on all sides. It consists of a basement, a ground floor, a roof deck, two floors above ground, and two other underground levels, in addition to a distinct tower. There are marble statues of Indian dancers and wonderful elephants encrusted with small pieces of Belgian glass [59].

Several unusual stories connected to the Baron Palace can be used to create unique tours inside it. The Baron's wife's head was found in the food elevator and his sister fell from the top of the tower and died [17]. It was argued that the Baron himself was interested in magic; hence, he would call up spirits and seek protection from evil spirits [60]. There are diverse fairytales that people weave around this terrifying site such as the magic room or the pink room. Edward Empain's sister was killed in the palace and the surrounding neighbors heard screaming voices coming from inside, in addition to fire flames extending out, but when someone approached the location, the fire went out automatically.

Another story concerns the restricted room or pink room where the Baron invoked his sister's spirit to ask for her forgiveness for not saving her. Moreover, there is a very unusual story about Empain's daughter, Ann. She tried to call up her mother's soul in the basement through the Ouija board and what makes the story more exciting is the unusual deaths of the six house cleaners who died consecutively in mysterious accidents related to Ann's practicing in the basement. The mystery of the Baron's brother who was killed in the basement is no less exciting. Hence, the stories and sites are associated with ghosts' loci through narratives and storytelling [61], which requires rebuilding an attractive image by merging fiction and reality to increase guests' interest and attraction to ghost tourism.



Figure 2. Layout of the Baron Palace, Source: Elyamani (2018) [62].

The Baron Palace contains several unusual stories that can be used to create horror tours inside it [57]. Among these stories are the following:

- The Palace design is related to Indian mythology, namely, the conflict between evil and goodness.
- The body of the Baron's wife was found in the Palace's food elevator without logical reason or justification.
- His sister fell from the top of the tower and died. It was argued that the Baron was
 interested in magic related to life after death or calling upon spirits and seeking
 protection from evil spirits.
- Rumors said Empain was interested in magic because of the construction and elements
 of decoration inspired by Indian Gods and related to ritual magic in India.
- Rumors spread that the pink room was the place where the Baron practiced black magic (invoking souls of the dead), so both family and servants were prohibited from entering it.
- There is a strong rumor that Empain's daughter, Ann, believed in Satanism; she completely changed and spent all her nights in the basement where she burnt incense [57].
- Mystery surrounds the death of the six housemaids, one after the other, in accidents related to Ann's basement practices. In addition, there is the tragic story of the death of Madame de Maurier, the head of the palace servants. Her head was found in the elevator separated from her body. Surprisingly, Ann tried to commit suicide after each incident, which might indicate that there was a link between her and the mysterious crimes. Two years later, Ann died, and every year in March, a sad song was heard from Ann's room, which is the month of her death [57].

• There is a story about the Baron's brother who was also killed in the basement. The basement is the secret of the Baron Palace where the Baron's daughter and her servants were buried [57].

Indeed, the stories and landmarks associated with horror places are a means to rebuild an attractive image by merging fiction and reality to increase visitors' interest and attraction to horror tourism, which adds to the symbolic value of places [63,64]. Moreover, tour operators can emphasize unique destination features by creating horror tours and using stories related to the sites.

4. The Results

The results of interviews with various stakeholders are grouped under four key themes. The first theme shows various stakeholders' perceptions of the potential of ghost tourism in Egypt in general and the reuse of the Baron Palace as a ghost tourist site in particular. The second theme discusses the major opportunities of reusing the Baron Palace as a ghost tourism site. The third theme presents the main barriers to implementing ghost tourism in the Baron Palace. The fourth theme presents an example of a ghost tour to reuse the Baron Palace as a site for ghost tourism.

4.1. The Potential of Ghost Tourism in Egypt

Due to the lack of studies dealing with ghost tourism in Egypt, it was important to explore the perceptions of various stakeholders regarding dark and ghost tourism. These stakeholders included the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities, tourism planners, and experts in heritage conservation and site management in Egypt. The purpose of this was to explore their perceptions of ghost tourism and the possibility of its implementation in Egypt, especially in the Baron Palace. Most interviewees (45 out of 54) agreed with the idea of implementing ghost tourism in Egypt. They argued that several tourist authorities around the world are implementing ghost tourism, e.g., in the USA and several parts of Europe. The interviewees elaborated that this involves travelling to places that have witnessed various human sufferings and tragedies in addition to sites of rumors and paranormal events, murders, and haunted houses. The interviewees also noted that adopting ghost tourism in Egypt has opportunities and benefits, which are discussed in the next section.

On the other hand, some interviewees, mainly government officials, did not fully support the idea of ghost tourism in Egypt, at least at the current time. Their reasons vary; however, most reasons reflect misconceptions about ghost tourism. Among their comments that reflect this misconception, one of the government officials commented, do you want to promote such norms about ghosts in our society? It is against our beliefs I am" afraid". The reason for this assumption is that while the Baron Palace was closed, some people were entering it secretly and practicing ghost worship. They believed it is a house of ghosts. Such interviewees were concerned that the implementation of ghost tourism at the Baron Palace will have a negative effect on the site's safety and spread negative behavior against their religious beliefs, which will affect the community's acceptance of this type of tourism. Discussion with interviewees showed that if these misconceptions or challenges can be overcome, then ghost tourism could be successfully implemented at different sites in Egypt. Egypt has various sites that can be used for ghost tourism, such as the massacre of Mohamed Aly and the house of Ria and Sakina, where many people were killed and buried. Likewise, the Baron Palace has all the horror elements and stories that can effectively promote it as a ghost tourism site. Interestingly, the term "ghost tourism" was not identifiable by all interviewees. Some of them had an erroneous assumption that linked "ghost worship". They believed that ghost tourism is a form of ghost worship and that tourists travel to such destinations to worship ghosts. However, others believed that Egyptian dark heritage sites, especially those related to death, are important and should be placed on the Egyptian tourist map to attract more visitors, [57]. In addition, they argued that various stakeholders should cooperate to ensure that the programs of travel agencies

include dark heritage sites, e.g., sites of wars and battles, cemeteries, houses of famous or locations of memorials, and ghost sites.

4.2. Opportunities of Ghost Tourism in Egypt

After an in-depth discussion with the interviewees about the opportunities for ghost tourism in Egypt, there was a consensus on five main opportunities. The first raised by the interviewees was the contribution to the tourism agenda by adding a new type of tourism. There was a consensus among the different stakeholders that ghost tourism, as niche tourism, will contribute to the Egyptian tourism market. A few interviewees (only seven interviewees) argued that Egypt has many other kinds of tourism, such as cultural and recreational tourism, which should be prioritized by the government. They argued that the government and tourism planners should not invest in new types of tourism in Egypt. However, ghost tourism could be a tool for the sustainable reuse of these neglected sites, which ultimately contributes to sustainable tourism development [2,3].

The second opportunity is the attraction of a new segment of visitors within the Egyptian tourism industry. This segment includes visitors who would like to experience sites of rumors and paranormal events, murders, and haunted places such as the Baron's Palace. This segment of visitors is expected to include Egyptians and foreigners. Interviewees confirmed that tour guides should provide a proper experience for visitors during ghost tours and various events at a site. It is expected that ghost tourism will attract different segments of visitors such as young people seeking exciting experiences and visitors looking for adventures and thrills; hence, ghost tourism could be a unique experience for them [16,17].

The third opportunity is fundraising and self-financial support for public heritage sites. Interviewees commented that ghost tourism will possibly raise funds for running the site, which is one of the main challenges in Egypt since most historical sites, including ghost sites, are part of public heritage sites; hence, the funds allocated to these sites are limited. This supports the argument of Stones [3] that darker sites often have less-developed infrastructure. Thus, there was a consensus among all interviewees that promoting ghost tours and reusing the site would raise funds for running these sites. The reuse of the palace can be enhanced by creative activities and events held on international occasions. Interviewees suggested that the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities should seek to attract investors for this new type of tourism in Egyptian sites, which can increase the quality of services related to ghost sites and prepare new scenarios and interpretations linked to international events such as Halloween. The role of the private sector in developing these sites may be a good opportunity for sustainable reuse.

The fourth opportunity is the development of heritage sites and quality service improvement around the sites, which will be a vital part of the tourism strategy for achieving the sustainable development plan of 2030 in Egypt. Many dark archaeological heritage sites in Egypt are either completely or temporarily closed. The consensus among the interviewees was that reusing these sites would contribute to the development of the area, as well as the local community. Thus, there is a need for preparing new regulations, which can help accommodate ghost tourism in Egypt, while mitigating routines and obstacles associated with implementation. Hence, investors should be given a chance to be a part of tourism development regarding a variety of tourist activities and merge with the Egyptian economic plans of 2030.

The fifth opportunity of ghost tourism is related to the creation of new job opportunities, especially for the local community, which also directly and indirectly supports the national economy. The results of interviews confirmed that investing in ghost tourism would definitely contribute to the improvement of economic and social conditions within society. Economically, ghost tourism is of great importance to society as it revitalizes the local economy through job creation, the revival of handicrafts, and different activities related to visitors, which increases national income and employment opportunities and creates a state of economic prosperity. Again, such economic advantages contribute to sustainable tourism development in Egypt.

4.3. Barriers to Implementing Ghost Tourism in Egypt

The interviewees were asked about the barriers and/or challenges that hinder the proper implementation of ghost tourism in Egypt, particularly in the Baron Palace. Seven main barriers were identified (see Table 1). We noted that the seven barriers raised by interviewees are all interrelated and connected to each other. The first barrier is the lack of a strategic framework and legislation on ghost tourism in Egypt. The legislation should cover two main aspects, namely, antiquities and investment. Dark sites are under the supervision and control of the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities, whereas the investment is external (i.e., from outside the Ministry). There is a demand to re-assess the current antiquities/tourism law for implementing and promoting ghost tourism and adding it to an Egyptian tourism master plan. Building on the experience of other developed sites in the USA and Europe, the new law should protect Egyptian heritage, although it should rebuild a relationship between the national authority and investors to facilitate investment in ghost tourism. In addition, it should also consider the safety of both visitors and historical sites.

Table 1. Main barriers and recommendations for reusing the Baron Palace as a ghost tourism site.

Barrier	Recommendation
Lack of strategic framework as well as legislation on ghost tourism in Egypt	 Add ghost tourism to a tourism master plan and develop a strategic plan for ghost tourism in Egypt Develop new regulations that support the implementation of ghost tourism in heritage sites
Negligence of horror sites	 Focus on opportunities and benefits of horror tourism when raising stakeholders' awareness Provide similar successful cases in several countries such as USA.
Misconceptions about ghost tourism and lack of awareness about it	 Undertake campaigns to raise awareness about ghost tourism and its social, economic, and environmental impacts
Lack of collaboration between stakeholders	Eliminate the obstacles between various stakeholders, especially between the government and investors, to develop ghost heritage sites
Community engagement and support of ghost tourism	Raise the awareness about positive benefits of ghost tourism such as job creation and area development.
Lack of services near the site	Redesign the huge outer area around the palace to provide diverse activities and services
The site is next to crowded suburbs	Schedule the visit time and adopt flexible working hours

Source: Developed by the authors based on interviews with stakeholders.

The second barrier is the negligence of policymakers regarding horror sites, as have been left for extended periods with no actual use. Interviewees confirmed that one of the biggest obstacles facing ghost sites is the lack of a clear plan for reuse. Interviewees agreed that there is a notion of "fear" or "anxiety" among decision-makers about implementing this so-called "weird" type of tourism. Interviewees argued that the main reason for this fear is that other types of existing tourism still require more attention before thinking about implementing ghost tourism. Another reason is the shortage of experts in this sort of tourism and the lack of trained curators and ghost tour guides. This barrier is related to the third barrier, which consists of misconceptions about ghost tourism and the lack of awareness thereof. Most policy makers and governmental authorities see no need to adopt this type of tourism pattern, especially since Egypt has many other well-known and

successful tourism patterns. Government officials often have misconceptions about dark and ghost tourism and believe that the reuse of such related sites could have more negative than positive impacts. However, this erroneous assumption about ghost tourism needs to change in order to stimulate better tourism planning in Egypt.

The fourth barrier relates to community engagement and support of ghost tourism. There is an erroneous assumption that the local community has a high resistance to this type of tourism due to many religious beliefs. It was argued by some interviewees that the Baron Palace is known in society as a place for devil worshippers. Hence, the idea of ghost tourism may not be supported by the local community. However, community engagement in tourism development is crucial for ensuring a positive social impact and, hence, sustainable tourism development. Therefore, there is a need for campaigns to raise the awareness of local community members about the principal role of ghost tourism and the development opportunities that increase the social and economic benefits, thus, harvesting the advantages of sustainable tourism development.

The fifth barrier relates to the lack of collaboration between stakeholders. This includes the absence of proper coordination between the local administration and central authorities concerning land allocation, local fees, and supervisory rights, which could obstruct private investment in such sites. There is a need for the issuance of ministerial decrees with stakeholders' consultation, i.e., the Ministry of Investment or other ministries that provide tourism-related services, which may be a serious impediment. The interviewees agreed that the private sector and non-governmental organizations are not involved in the development of the heritage sector, and the need for huge budgets to implement ghost tourism pushes policymakers to involve these stakeholders. Additionally, involving various stakeholders in the reuse of these sites supports sustainable tourism development. The sixth barrier relates to the lack of services near the site. The Baron Palace is located near military areas, which causes a shortage in services surrounding it for safety issues, and there is no parking area. Heliopolis is considered one of the most important suburbs of Cairo. However, these services can be provided within the Baron Palace for visitors through diverse service areas in the palace garden, which is spacious, as discussed earlier. The seventh barrier is also connected to the location of the site as it is in a crowded area, which raises concerns about security issues. Therefore, flexible working hours can be adopted to facilitate visits by the public and avoid traffic jams. A summary of the barriers and their possible solutions is provided in Table 1.

4.4. A Proposal for Ghost Tour in Baron Palace

This part proposes a ghost tour of the palace using the framework and spectrum suggested by Stones [3]. A ghost tour inside the Baron Palace provides a metaphysical interpretation of a real human tragedy and thus turns the experience of visiting the ghost tourism site into a thrilling experience. Visitors are escorted by one of the palace's "ghosts" in an adventure to explain and discover the site in relation to the rumors or mysteries spread by people to explore reality through fiction. Visitors could experience this adventure inside the palace to discover the actual events and the places where they took place. The narrative should play an important role in the promotion of the Baron Palace myths. To this end, a new scenario related to ghost tourism has been suggested to display different information and stories about the location and attractions, (e.g., name, location, product, year, type, darkness, and a brief description of how to promote it). As the first Egyptian ghost location using dark stories, the Baron Palace presents unique adventures for ghost hunting through entertainment. This could be achieved through different methods such as live tours with real adventures inside the place or through virtual tours and augmented reality exhibitions. The following is an example of the tour:

- Sites Name: The Baron Palace (Hindu Palace).
- Type of Location: Dark/Horror.
- Implementation: Ghost tourism (First Haunted Palace in Egypt).
- Address: Heliopolis, Cairo, Egypt.

- Typologies: Dark Fun Factories.
- Tourism Nature: Entertainment to market the dark cultural context and events.
- Product: Haunted Palace, in which the site possesses several fairy tales and people weave around the terrifying Baron Empain Palace.

The Baron Palace has all the horror elements and stories that can be used effectively. Furthermore, events such as murders, disasters, and supernatural occurrences that draw hordes of tourists from all over the world are present. Such sites are surrounded by an aura of mystery, [65]. An example promo of a tour of the Baron Palace can be seen in Figure 3.



Figure 3. Example of a Promo for a Baron Dark Tour (developed by the authors).

5. Conclusions

This research explored the sustainable reuse of dark archaeological sites to promote ghost tourism in Egypt through the case of the Baron Palace. Drawing on in-depth interviews with various stakeholders, the results of the research confirmed that ghost tourism has great potential and provides several opportunities in Egypt, despite the barriers to its implementation. Ghost tourism has many economic, social, and environmental impacts, such as job creation, increased revenue, saving resources, community engagement, sustaining activities, and fostering entrepreneurship at these ghost sites. Therefore, mutual collaboration between policymakers, local authorities, the local community, tourism planners, and site creators should be maintained to ensure the sustainable reuse of these sites for ghost tourism. Community engagement is essential for implementing ghost tourism and building niche tourism relying on relative stories of unusual phenomena. This is crucial for ensuring positive social impacts and, hence, sustainable tourism development. Therefore, the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities should launch a campaign to raise the awareness of the local community regarding this new tourism type and its environmental, social, and economic benefits.

There is a need for a strategic framework, including new regulations that advance the implementation of ghost tourism in heritage sites. The current regulation cannot ensure the proper implementation of ghost tourism. It is crucial that policymakers add ghost tourism to the Egyptian tourism master plan. There should also be a plan for developing horror heritage sites such as the Baron Palace as a ghostly or haunted location to be added to the tourism map by creating scenarios for ghost tours in the palace.

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Appendix A

Table A1. Examples of Dark Tourism and their Sites in Egypt.

Tourism	Governorate	Sites
1- Horror Tourism	Cairo	Al-Baron and El-Sakakini Palaces, Zuwayla Gate
	Alexandria	Re-simulation of Raya and Sakina stories
	Luxor	Re-simulation of the Pharaohs' curse Myth
	South of Sinai	Jabal El-Banat (the Girls' Mount) in Saint Catherine
2- War Tourism	Cairo	October War Panorama, Fortress of Babylon, Military Museum in Salah al-Din (Saladin) Castle Graves of President Gamal Abdel Nasser, President Mohamed Anwar Sadat, and the leader Saad Zaghloul The platform where President Anwar El-Sadat was assassinated
	Alexandria	El-Sadat Museum at Bibliotic Alexandrina Latin cemetery, the Catacomb and Commonwealth military graves
	Northern Sinai	Military Museum, Horus Route, El-Arish Castle, Tina Castle, Castle of Tel Kawthar (A military shelter of Israeli forces in 1967–1973)
	Southern Sinai	Soldier Castle at Ras Sidr

Table A1. Cont.

	Port Said	Port Said Military Museum
	Suez	Metla Path and Suez Museum The Martyrs' Tombs of October 6
	Ismailia	Police Museum, Abu Atwa Museum (the sniper of Tanks), Tree Area (martyrdom area of Abdel Moneim Riyad)
	Matrouh	Rommel Museum
	El-Alamein	El-Alamein Military Museum Commonwealth, German and Italian graves
	Luxor	Ramesseum and Habu Temples
	Aswan	The anonymous Soldier's grave
	Alexandria	Kaitbay Citadel
3- Forts Tourism	Damietta	Orabi Citadel
	Beheira	Orabi Castle at Edco, Qaitbay Fort at Rasheed
	Aswan	Philae Island
4- Massacres Tourism	Cairo	Mamelukes massacre at Bab El Azab Route
	Menoufia	Denshway Massacre
	Sharqiya	Bahr Al Baqar Massacre
	Northern Sinai	Massacres of El Arish, Rafah & Sheikh Zuweid
	Cairo	Gamal Abdel Nasser house
5- Tourism of Leaders Houses/Palaces	laces Alexandria	El Montazah Palace, Gamal Abdel Nasser summer house, Kaffafis Museum, Villa of Princess Faiza, sister of King Farouk, Kurdahi Palace, Baron Palace at Menasha, Antoniades Palace
	Giza	Revolution Leaders' Museum, Museums of Gamal Abdel Nasser and Anwar Sadat
	Beheira	King Farouk Palace at Edfina
	Ismailia	De Lesseps Museum
	Sharqiya	Ahmed Orabi Museum
6- Monument Tourism	Cairo	Unknown Soldier Memorial
	Alexandria	Naval Forces Memorial at the Manshaya
	Ismailia	Six of October Victory Memorial of the Armed Forces
	Suez	October Martyrs' Memorial
	Al Alamein	Military Museum of El-Alamein

Source: Adapted from Naguib (2021) [57].

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