# HERITAGE INTERPRETATION OF THE DEAD AS A TOOL FOR PEACE AND RECONCILIATION: THE CASE OF VISITOR DEVELOPMENT AT RWANDA'S POST-CONFLICT MEMORIALSCAPE

by

Mona Friedrich

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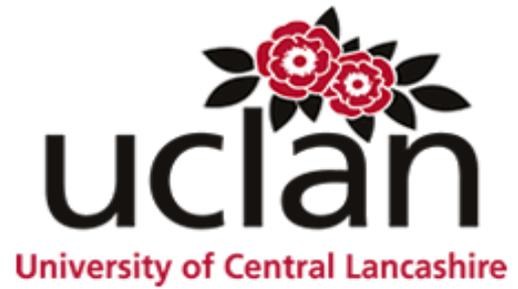
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ABSTRACT

Since the end of the 1994 Genocide, Rwanda has been carrying out an experiment of reconciliation; an enduring process both enabled and complicated by the arrival and increase of local and international tourism to the national genocide memorials. Focusing on a less Western-centric approach towards memory, peace, heritage and (dark) tourism theory this study seeks to establish how the production and consumption of Rwanda's memorialscape is negotiated and contested. The aim of the research is to reveal wider impacts of such visits by exploring tourists' motivations, their site encounters and personal contemplations. In addition, memorial location, design and structure will be critically examined. The study embraces a qualitative research approach with complementing methods of participant observation, semi-structured interviews and the distribution of diversity surveys, as well as a diarist account. Fieldwork was carried out over a period of nine months and incorporates elements of ethnographic methodology conducted during Rwanda's 20th annual commemoration period. The latter puts focus on local remembrance culture presented by Rwandans living in the country today, as those directly affected by present-day memorialisation practices. In essence, the thesis demonstrates that the development of national and international tourism at difficult heritage sites can potentially serve as a positive contributor to the symbolic reparations needed by societies recovering from conflict. However, in order for these spaces to fulfil wider educational purposes, graphic sites in particular need to enhance visitor experiences by reassessing site features in terms of contextual change, self-reflexivity, awareness raising and civic engagement.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF PLATES

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ABBREVIATIONS

AMI	Association Modeste et Innocent
AUHRM	African Union Human Rights Memorial Project
CNLG	National Commission for the Fight against Genocide
CPPCG	Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide
DMZ	Korean Demilitarised Zone
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
EFTGA	European Federation of Tourist Guide Associations
ETO	École Technique Officielle
FAR	Forces Armées Rwandaises
GDR	German Democratic Republic
GTM	Grounded Theory Method
IATM	International Association of Tour Managers
ICTR	International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IRDP	Institute of Research and Dialogue for Peace
KGM	Kigali Genocide Memorial
MDG	United Nations Millennium Development Goals
MRND	National Republican Movement for Democracy and Development
NRA	National Rifle Association
NDA	New Dawn Associates
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
PRK	People's Republic of Kampuchea
RANU	Rwandese Alliance for National Unity
RCS	Rwanda Correctional Service
RDB	Rwanda Development Board
RPEP	Rwanda Peace Education Program
RPF	Rwandan Patriotic Front
RTLM	Radio Télévision Libre des Milles Collines
SIDA	Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency
SPECS	Synthetic Perceptive, Emotive and Cognitive Systems Groups
TIG	Travaux d'intérêt général
UCLan	University of Central Lancashire

UNAMIR	United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda
UNESCO	United Nations Organisation for Education, Science and Culture
UNWTO	United Nations World Tourism Organisation
WFP	United Nations World Food Programme
WTO	World Tourism Organisation

A PERSONAL PREFACE

Before starting the write-up process of this thesis, I deliberated back and forth whether to write in first or third person. While from professional scholarly practice this question should surely not arise, since the ultimate aim is to remain objective – to narrate authentic and neutral outcomes from the research conducted – recent developments illustrate a trend towards 1st person reflective writing in certain discourse. Nevertheless, I have decided to write in 3rd person throughout so as not to be overly influenced by emotional personal judgements towards the highly emotive subjects at hand. Although, I certainly believe that my personal background and character will influence my interpretations within the field, I consider that writing in the 3rd person will make my arguments clearer and less subjective. However, I would like to emphasise at this point that given the sensitive themes of the thesis, particularly the empirical part of this study, I am aware of the fact that writing as a detached academic is difficult to follow through in practice. First of all, as I am a European female researcher going into a foreign and politically delicate environment, various power structures, socio-cultural norms, as well as perceptions of myself towards others and vice versa have influenced my work. Since I cannot completely remove myself from the study, the reader should consider my role and position as a researcher throughout the following chapters. The data analysis in particular emphasises my own observations by painting a richer picture of the field through including several extracts of my research diary. These reflexive notes describe what I have seen and encountered in the here and now, as well as personal interpretations and thoughts on continuing bias. Indeed, my own experiences in Rwanda shaped my research outcomes and permitted a deeper personal understanding of the wider meanings of memorialisation, commemoration and remembrance. In this context, I would like to add that the examination of death, particularly with regards to genocide, has become more than a journey taken solely for my Ph.D: in fact, it has encouraged reflections on several aspects of my life that have been inaccessible to me before. A majority of my respondents are direct survivors of incomprehensible situations, who have lost family and friends to horrific atrocities committed for no other purpose than to secure power for a handful of individuals. Going to these 'sacred' sites for so many of them, as a tourist, as a researcher or simply as a friend, undoubtedly made me contemplate my own mortality and that of the ones closest to me.

CHAPTER 1

DARK TOURISM, RECONCILIATION AND A CULTURE OF PEACE

1.0   Introduction

> Certainly, the educational facilities of many genocide memorials are of great value. But can they really attract hundreds of thousands of tourists every year? I do not think so. It is, not least, the entertainment value of tons of hair shorn from the heads of the victims of the gas chambers, rotting bodies and pyramids of skulls that make people flock to death sites. I am not sure if the sight of these sad relics really does have an educational value. Rather, former killing fields and concentration camps have degenerated into the ghost trains of the twenty-first century that meet the voyeuristic needs of tourists.

> (Schaller, 2007: 515)

Schaller refers here to the increasingly deliberated tourism phenomenon that symbolies travel to and experiences of places associated with death, suffering, violence or disaster (Stone & Sharpley, 2008). This recently coined tourism niche is frequently designated as 'dark tourism' (Foley & Lennon, 1996), 'thanatourism' (Seaton,1996), 'atrocity heritage' (Ashworth, 2002) or 'morbid tourism' (Blom, 2000) and embraces an enormous spectrum of places and experiences reaching from houses of horror, such as the London Dudgeon, to authentic genocide memorials, like the Killing Fields in Cambodia (Sharpley, 2009a).

Certainly, some may find this very concept an unexpected juxtaposition of conflicting and even contradictory values, since "atrocity heritage introduces [certain] seriousness into fun while tourism may introduce a trivialisation of the serious" (Ashworth & Hartmann, 2005: 1). Since tourism is typically characterised as an unrestricted leisure time activity, with mutual expectations of providing joy, relaxation and fulfilment (Butcher, 2003), the travel to atrocity heritage on the other hand accomplishes quite the opposite. It is to say the least unpleasant, most evidently so for victims or those who can associate themselves with the violence and brutal past on display, but also for others, such as bystanders or observers, who were not directly involved in the events at hand (Ashworth & Hartmann, 2005). Providing the visitor with shocking images and horror scenarios of painful

histories, this controversial practice is often portrayed as a macabre, voyeuristic and immoral activity regarded by some as peculiar and by others as simply distasteful (Coldwell, 2003). Such negative attributes are strengthened by the increasingly popular opportunity for tourists interested in the darker side of travel to not only gaze upon human tragedy, but to engross themselves fully in horrid occurrences of the past. In Vietnam, for example, visitors to the Cu Chi tunnels, used during the Vietnam war, can crawl underground, while above a firing range offers the chance to use an AK47; or the 'reality experience' at the bunker museum in Germany, where tourists can spend an exhausting 16 hours dressed as and being treated like former DDR soldiers (Coldwell, 2003).

The interesting question here remains to be why do so many people voluntarily expose themselves to sites of death and despair? It is, after all, the "great demand for trips to former massacre sites that makes dark tourism possible in the first place" (Schaller, 2007: 514). While some have personal links to memorials, for example, survivors or the relatives and friends of victims, who want to remember and commemorate at such spots, maybe as part of a personal grieving and reconciliation journey, most tourists do not have personal associations with the events portrayed and it is broadly accepted that their visits serve wider educational purposes (Schaller, 2007). Overall, research findings and visitor analysis commonly show that tourists come from a variety of backgrounds and that visits hold divergent expectations, as well as intentions for the site in question. It is, therefore, difficult to generalise universal motivations in such politically, culturally and socially sensitive spaces. The hopeful claim, however, holds that "at places like Auschwitz and the Rwandan Genocide Memorial, people … [visit] to really understand what happened and are genuinely moved by it" (Coldwell, 2013: 1). The expectation here is that such trips go beyond the obligatory photograph and tick off the bucket list, offering educational insights into local sensitivities and aspects of violence prevention in future.

In this regard, Schaller (2007) warns that 'atrocity tourism' is far from being an eventually harmless morbid phenomenon and accentuates that in the case of genocide memorialisation in Rwanda for instance, visitors, even though emotionally overwhelmed by what they see, are not able to understand the roots of the politically complex concept of genocide and its aftermath. Rather, they adopt

simplistic black and white views on perpetrator victim binaries, which lead to a victimisation and demonisation of the groups at hand. Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996) further stress the contentiousness of 'genocide tourism' and the difficulties within heritage interpretation in their book *Dissonant Heritage – The Management of the Past as a Resource in Conflict* by emphasising that physical memory can exert enormous power that can be exploited for social, cultural and political interests of immense constructive or destructive potential (Beech, 2009).

Nonetheless, heritage sites do not only vary in their visitor base but even more so in their design and the form of philosophies portrayed. Whereas sacred or patriotic war memorials for example do not encourage critical engagement with the ethics involved in the events commemorated, many recently established memorial museums, however, rather underline the horrors and futility, than the honour and glory previously associated with war (Kelly & Nkabahona, 2010). These spaces are frequently referred to as peace parks or peace museums. While Holocaust Centres teach the dangers of intolerance, others recognise the contributions to non-violence of individuals such as Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King, or focus on the struggle of freedom after colonialism and slavery (Kelly & Nkabahona, 2010). Also, there are recent developments giving attention to the objectives of reconciliation in general, such as the Mexico City 1999 Museo, Memoria y Tolerancia that purposefully emphasises the importance of tolerance, as well as stressing diversity through the historical memory of past atrocities (Museo, Memoria y Tolerancia, 1999).

This contested association of tourism with peace and reconciliation is not a new notion. While some believe that tourism has little influence on peace and security issues, at least at the macro level, and that "tourism is far more dependent on peace than peace is on tourism" (Hall *et al.*, 2004: 3), others argue a different case. Already in the 1980s, tourism consultant Louis D'Amore (1988a: 154) claimed that "through tourism we can come to appreciate the rich human, cultural and ecological diversity that our world mosaic offers, and to evolve a mutual trust and respect for one another and the dignity of all life on earth". His paper *Tourism – a vital force for peace* (1988) accentuates that through travel and international communication people, regardless of their political, religious or socioeconomic

status can discover mutual goals that increase cooperation between nations, as well as their common understanding (Kelly & Nkabahona, 2010).

The International Handbook on Tourism and Peace, a more recent publication, for example, begins with an evenly optimistic foreword, describing the tourism industry as

> A worldwide social and cultural phenomenon that engages people of all nations as both hosts and guests, [generating] … connections, [which] spur dialogue and exchange, break down cultural barriers and promote values of tolerance, mutual understanding and respect. In a world constantly struggling for harmonious coexistence, these values espoused by tourism could be integral to building a more peaceful future.

(Rifai 2004: 11)

While eco-tourism is frequently identified as a helpful instrument in aiding such peace building purposes, the effectiveness of difficult heritage in this regard, remains to be unclear. The positive impacts of the former, for example, become visible in the Virunga-Bwindi region crossing Rwanda, Uganda and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), where collaborative gorilla tourism management efforts have assisted in meeting peace building goals and development initiatives through revenue sharing agreements and the implementation of higher security measures (Strong-Cvetich, 2007). Within the heritage industry, however, impact assessments concerning overall contributions to peace and reconciliation have been more difficult to measure. This is owed to the overall complexity of such highly sensitive spaces, where presentations of the past will naturally demonstrate conflicting expectations, priorities and diverging realities for all stakeholders involved. Ashworth and Hartmann (2005: 253) refer to this manifestation as dissonant heritage, a "lack of congruence at a particular time or place between people and the heritage with which they identify"; a continuous circumstance that can provide damaging or beneficial outcomes for those populations affected by the displayed atrocities.

Even though some form of explanation is typically provided at heritage sites, through exhibits or guided tours, using a variety of presentation media, it is yet to be determined whether such spaces actually involve higher educational elements (Kelly & Nkabahona, 2010) and how these are then interpreted or acted upon by

the visitor. Moreover, space and visitor time limitations, as well as power relations, naturally impose a degree of selectivity in the displayed narratives, images and artefacts, and while ideally they should be truly representative, this is more feasible in theory than in practice (Kelly & Nkabahona, 2010). Indeed, conflicting priorities can be located among those consuming memory, such as victims, perpetrators and their relatives, the new generation, or national and international tourists, and those producing memory, for example, government ministries, memorial managers, or external organisations (Friedrich & Johnston, 2013).

1.1 Research Rationale – Dark Tourism and Rwanda in Context

In general, the full potential of tourism as a peace building tool remains to be realised with insufficient data, analysis and policy recommendations preventing the development of urgently needed dialogue among influential key actors of the industry. This becomes particularly evident in under-researched post-conflict regions of the Global South[1], where guided tours, museums and memorials have encouraged tourism growth. While extensive research has been undertaken on the geography of difficult heritage (Graham *et al.*, 2000), the memorialisation of atrocity (Ashworth, 2002) and dissonant heritage (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996), tourism development at former sites of genocide in particular, as well as its commodification and consumption in lower-income countries has received comparatively little attention, with the majority of research focusing on the memorialisation of the Holocaust (Friedrich & Johnston, 2013). Calling for a less Western-centric analysis of such phenomena (Carrigan, 2014), as well as a more comprehensive insight into the impacts of memorial visits, the thesis will address this gap in the literature by exploring Rwanda's contemporary memorialisation landscape. Since limited research has been undertaken into the motivations for international and particularly local tourists wishing to visit Rwanda's genocide sites, nor into their reactions or responses to the overall memorial design and narrative implementations (Beech, 2009), focus will be put on Rwandans living in the country today, as those directly affected by present commemoration and memorialisation practices.

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[1] The term 'Global South' refers to developing countries which are located primarily in the Southern Hemisphere, including the nations of Africa, Central and Latin America, and most of Asia (Odeh, 2010).

Previous fieldwork in Rwanda not only revealed that the 1994 genocide is becoming increasingly incorporated into the national tourism product, but that dark tourism practice in this case can include wider reaching implications for societies recovering from conflict and should, therefore, not be dismissed as an overall unethical voyeuristic consumption of death and tragedy (Friedrich & Johnston, 2012). Definitely, individual experiences depend on complex cultural, social, political and personal factors related to individual visitor involvement. It is thus essential to analyse visitor patterns, such as tourists' personal relations to the site in question, their reactions, experiences, personal thoughts and long-term contemplations of such visits, in addition to the critical examination of memorial location, design and structure, in order to formulate the far-reaching impacts of these tourism practices. Conclusions can then be drawn with regards to the general correlation between tourism and peace, a research area, which unfortunately to the current date is mostly hypothetical and opinion-based.

Preliminary fieldwork evaluation exemplified that clear tensions exist between memorial stakeholders as to how the genocide should be interpreted and presented with conflict between victims, perpetrators, governance, private enterprise and international development organisations, among others. Therefore, memorialisation in Rwanda is a process, which is frustrated by practical issues on the one hand, such as bone conservation, and political and interpretive issues on the other, such as establishing – and subsequently presenting to visitors – a comprehensible genocide narrative (Friedrich & Johnston, 2013). However, it should be acknowledged at this point that such dissonance is not an unanticipated and unfortunate by product of the heritage process that can be removed by improving the creation process itself. Rather, the meaning of inheritance naturally implies the existence of disinheritance and by extension this means that any formation of heritage from the past disinherits someone completely, partially, actively or potentially (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996). The purpose of this thesis is, therefore, not to develop a formula for an all-embracing memorial design, but to emphasise the importance of evaluating the consequences of such disinheritance in order to find appropriate ways to tackle potential harmful effects and to establish a more critical dialogue surrounding commemoration practices in Rwanda and in general.

Reasons for choosing Rwanda are varied. The Rwandan Genocide was a mass slaughter that took place over the course of 100 days in 1994, an event very much in living memory. The death toll from the massacre was estimated at in excess of 1,000,000 people, a figure which includes some 85% of the country's Tutsi population (Kigali Memorial Centre, n.d.). The enormity and speed of the massacre, coupled with its relative temporal proximity makes it particularly relevant from an authenticity perspective (Friedrich & Johnston, 2013). Tourists at these raw scars experience shock, horror, confusion and hope provoked by challenging encounters with graphic physical artefacts illustrated by intimate personal testimonies (Sharpley, 2012).

Although the country today has been referred to as 'the Switzerland of Africa' (Briggs & Booth, 2009: 10), a 'safe and stable island in the Great Lakes ocean of carnage and political insecurity' (Zorbas, 2004: 51), its name still evokes negative connotations of insecurity and violence. Whereas it will possibly take decades for the reputation as a war torn devastated country to fade, there is an increasing national and international effort to inform the world about Rwanda's innovative developments, appealing tourist attractions and stunning landscape (Plate 1). The Lonely Planet website (2015a: 1), for example, describes recent advances as

> A miraculous transformation ... today Rwanda is one of tribal unity, political stability and a promising future. Tourism is once again a key contributor to the economy [Figure 1] and the industry's brightest star is the chance to track rare mountain gorillas through bamboo forests in the shadow of the Virunga volcanoes. These conical mountains are shrouded in equatorial jungles and helped earn Rwanda the well-deserved moniker of 'Le Pays des Mille Collines' [the land of a thousand hills].

Image
redacted

Figure 1: *Rwanda's tourism development 2000-2013.* (Source: IndexMundi, 2015)

Image
redacted

Plate 1: *Volcanoes National Park, north-western Rwanda.* (Source: Author)

Nonetheless, the imprint of conflict remains highly visible and twenty-two years after the genocide, the nation remains confronted with the complexity of an enduring reconciliation process; a process both enabled and complicated by the arrival and increase of international, as well as local tourism to the genocide memorials (Friedrich & Johnston, 2013). Indeed, every town and village accommodates a commemorative site paying respect to those massacred; highlighting survivors' determination that such atrocities should neither be forgotten nor be repeated (Briggs and Booth, 2009). Following a recent demand for a wider volume and variety of empirical data on dark tourism (Seaton, 2009a), this study proposes that particularly local tourism development at memorial sites in Rwanda represents an ideal location to further develop knowledge of this sensitive and emotionally complex phenomenon. Moreover, the study supports the argument that although the terminology itself might be 'unhelpful', it certainly does suggest a valid context for exploring how places associated with death and suffering can mediate between the living and the dead (Sharpley & Friedrich, Forthcoming).

Whereas overall, memorialisation has been considered as an underdeveloped, or unevenly developed field, maybe because memorials are frequently understood as being located outside the political process, "relegated to the 'soft' cultural sphere as art objects, to the private sphere of personal mourning, or to the margins of power and politics" (Meierhenrich, 2011: 285), these spaces have progressively become part of a global institutional development (Williams, 2007:7). Memorial and heritage sites, therefore, increasingly adhere to a set of universal conventions and funding conditions in respect to which subjects and images are to be displayed and how. In this context, a small group of heritage leaders and human rights activists came together in 1999 to combine their experience into a new model of 'conscience heritage' founding the *International Coalition of Sites of Conscience* which aim at playing a more integral role in larger efforts of social reform (Ševčenko, 2011). These include interpreting history in a way which stimulates dialogue on pressing social issues, promoting democratic and humanitarian values and creating opportunities for public involvement in such societal processes (Ševčenko, 2011). The importance of the establishment of such heritage, particularly in Africa, is further stressed by the *African Union Human Rights Memorial Project* (AUHRM). An initiative, which through the establishment of a

common memorial recognises that shared sufferings, such as the slave trade, genocide, ethnic cleansing, indignities of disenfranchisement, racial violence and destitution under white supremacist rule, as well as the struggles to overcome them, is the "driving spirit of pan-Africanism" (Esheté, In-Country Consultations Report, 2014: 2).

1.2   Aims and Objectives

The overall research aim of this thesis is **to explore how the production and consumption of memorial landscapes in Rwanda is negotiated and contested, in order to determine whether difficult heritage can add to the restoration of post-conflict cultural, social and political identities.** Hereby, dissonant production and consumption patterns are considered to place memorialisation within wider peace, security and reconciliation discourses at a local, national and international level. Conclusions can then be drawn in regards to the relationship between (dark) tourism and the creation of sustainable peace in post-conflict spaces. The research question consequently reads: **How and why is Rwanda's memorialscape created and negotiated and, consequently, how does the development of local and international tourism contribute to wider societal processes, including peace-building development and the formation of social cohesion?**

At large, the study comprises the following five research objectives:

1) to provide an overview of Rwanda's commemorative landscape by comparing several national and district memorial sites according to history, development, contemporary status and educational value in cultural, social and economic contexts;

2) to deliberate whether memorial visits assist in post-traumatic growth and foster an individual sense of responsibility or humanitarian activism to counter violence and discrimination in future;

3) to explicate different site experiences and motivations to visit painful heritage in Rwanda, particularly with regards to site narratives, exhibits and (graphic) displays;

4) to explore spatial multiplicity and dissonance arising within Rwanda's memorialscape and its impact on social cohesion, particularly with regards to

the selective national narrative;

5) to critically outline the general challenges inherent in recognising and promoting memorial landscapes as part of a growing national (dark) tourism product within an increasingly global framework of international remembrance.

1.3   Thesis Structure

The thesis will be divided into two main sections. First a theoretical analysis of interdisciplinary themes drawing on a wide range of dark tourism, dissonant heritage and memorialisation discourse. This will include a detailed exploration of tourism development at sites dealing with death, atrocity and genocide, and its current stance within reconciliation and peace studies (Chapter 1 & 2). While Chapter 3 delivers a comprehensive insight into the complexities and political implications of constructing shared heritage in 'unagreed societies' (Graham & Whelan, 2007), Chapter 4 will then deliver a critical analysis of predominant memorialisation and commemoration trends, including the challenges inherent in shaping post-conflict identities in regions going through stages of transition. Moreover, this chapter will discuss the sensitivities of communicating traumatic memories within a collective national commemorative culture that increasingly adheres to international norms of genocide prevention through memorialisation. Whereas Chapter 5 will provide a comprehensive historical overview of Rwanda as the case study at hand, focusing on the darkest part of the country's history, Chapter 6 will concentrate on the interpretation of the conflict through the hundreds of memorial sites scattered around the countryside today. This chapter will further discuss (re)education and unification efforts and the role of local and national memorialscapes within post-conflict political and social transformations.

The second part of the study will centre on the empirical research conducted and its findings, commencing with a critical discussion on the methodology applied, as well as outlining the overall research approach and analytical techniques utilised throughout the data collection process in Chapter 7. Chapter 8 and 9 will subsequently illustrate, analyse, allocate and discuss the collected data in relation to the theoretical concepts highlighted throughout the first part of the study, while Chapter 10 will then deliver concluding remarks with regards to the aims set out at

the beginning of the thesis, including research limitations, as well as future research directions.

Theoretical Analysis	Chapter 1	**Introduction** Dark Tourism, Reconciliation and a Culture of Peace
	Chapter 2	**Dark Tourism** Atrocity Heritage, Genocide Tourism and the Contentious 'Darker' Side of Travel
	Chapter 3	**Spatial Politics and Dissonant Heritage** Landscapes of Remembrance
	Chapter 4	**Memorialisation and Commemoration** Remembrance in Times of Transition
	Chapter 5	**Rwanda's Memory in Context**
	Chapter 6	**Rwanda's Memorialscape Today**
Empirical Analysis	Chapter 7	**Methodology**
	Chapter 8	**Findings and Discussion** Collective Memory – Creating a Shared History for a Common Future
	Chapter 9	**Findings and Discussion** Memory and Tourism – The Understanding of Space, Site and Self
	Chapter 10	**Conclusion**

Table 1: Chapter overview

CHAPTER 2

DARK TOURISM: ATROCITY HERITAGE, GENOCIDE TOURISM AND THE CONTENTIOUS 'DARKER' SIDE OF TRAVEL

2.0   Dark Tourism: Context, Definitions and Controversies

Since the end of World War 2, tourism has been thriving, increasingly reaching to the most hidden parts of the word. This can partly be ascribed to "higher levels of affluence, record advancements in transportation and telecommunications technology, and enhanced international relations" (Timothy & Boyd, 2006: 1). Undeniably, tourism has become one of the most powerful economic, socio-cultural, ecological and political players in the present day, directly or indirectly touching every nation and community, as well as influencing decision making at the uppermost national and global levels (Timothy & Boyd, 2006). While the leisure industry is a unique phenomenon, characterised by space, mobility, agency, embodied experience and encounter, it is increasingly inflected with deeper meanings than simply the pursuit of 'hedonistic pleasure' (Caton, 2015). This development is what Butcher (2003) refers to as the 'new moral tourism', which implies that such practices might have a wider reaching effect on "individuals' sense of personhood, their sense of ontological security and faith, and their conceptions of the responsibilities they bear in living relationally with their fellow human beings" (Caton, 2015: 5).

As part of this trend, the industry itself and those studying it, have started to classify tourism into subsections, recognising that travel and tourists are not "homogeneous, undifferentiated phenomena. Rather, tourism is a complex system of supply and demand wherein destinations provide different products and the traveling public desires diverse experiences" (Timothy & Boyd, 2006: 1). Clearly, tourism can no longer be understood as a solid whole with easily definable markets and mainstream tourists, rather they are segmented expressions of individual market niches (Robinson & Novelli, 2005), such as ecotourism, adventure tourism, sport tourism, religious tourism, culture tourism and heritage tourism, amongst others (Timothy & Boyd, 2006). The United Nations World Tourism Organisation (UNTWO, 2007: 1) defines tourism as

> A social, cultural and economic phenomenon which entails the movement of people to countries or places outside their usual environment for personal or business/professional purposes. These people are called visitors (which may be either tourist or excursionists; residents or non-residents) and tourism has to do with their activities, some of which imply tourism expenditure.

Similarly, John Urry (2002: 2) in his prominent book *The Tourist Gaze* (1st edition published in 1999) coins the term as "one manifestation of how work and leisure are organised as separate and regulated spheres of social practice in 'modern' societies". Urry (2002) specifically focuses on the manner of which places are created to be gazed upon by visitors through several, mostly pleasurable, expectations directed towards features and landscapes that set them apart from the mundane everyday.

This thesis however, aims to include tourism as a practice that can be assumed as part of the everyday, rather than a separate field of study (Edensor, 2001). Tourism then is developed through the process and not through the product, and its consumption becomes an activity of 'reflective mobility' through the understanding of certain spaces (Crouch, 2002). As a result, the tourism product is not the tourist destination, but "the experience of that place and what happens there: [which is] a series of internal and external interactions" (Ryan, cited in Burns, 1999: 31). This dynamic development involves the continuous (re)construction of practice and space in common contexts (Edensor, 2001). Such struggles over the symbolic creation of space to portray certain meanings naturally exemplifies contestation and appropriation through which specific interests are sustained and legitimised (Meethan, 2001). This becomes particularly evident within the heritage sector, where certain values or events of the past that make a social group distinctive are highlighted and displayed to others for consumption (Potter & Modlin, 2015).

2.1   The Travel to Sites of Death and Disaster

Heritage tourism, typically classified under the heading of cultural tourism, is one of the oldest forms of travel in history (Timothy & Boyd, 2006), with some of its roots tracing back as far as early Christianity during the medieval times (Hartmann, 2012; Seaton, 1996). While records reveal that the ancient Egyptian and Romans travelled to experience historic places of cultural importance

(Towner, 1996), Roman gladiatorial games, pilgrimages, or the attendance of medieval public executions, further underline examples of first tourism experience related to death (Stone & Sharpley, 2008). Whereas numerous interpretations of heritage exist, the most commonly accepted finds its origin in "the contemporary use of the past" (Graham et al., 2000: 2). It involves visits to sites of historical importance:

> ... built environments and urban areas, ancient monuments and dwellings, rural and agricultural landscapes, locations where historic events occurred and places where interesting and significant cultures stand out, including places associated with past atrocities, and pain and shame.

> (Timothy & Boyd, 2006: 2)

The thousands of visitors exploring prisons, death chambers or the grave sites of celebrities testify to the growing significance of this 'darker' side of the heritage tourism niche, increasingly referred to as dark tourism (Foley & Lennon, 1996) or thanatourism (Seaton, 1996). Both terms were coined for a special edition of the *International Journal of Heritage Studies* in 1996 and broadly propose the same phenomenon, which currently stands as the "interpretation and representation of deaths, disasters and atrocities for remembrance, education or entertainment" (Foley & Lennon, 1996: 195), or the "act of travel to sites associated with death, suffering and the seemingly macabre" (Stone, 2006: 146).

In this context, Stone (2006) notes that dark tourism is a progressively pervasive feature of the contemporary tourism landscape (Stone, 2006) with much older origins (Seaton, 1996), and despite Lennon & Foley's (2000:11) reference to an 'intimation of postmodernity'[2], it is now widely recognised that travel to 'dark sites' is by no means a new occurrence (Sharpley & Gahigana, 2014). Lennon and Foley (1999, 2000) relate dark tourism to features of postmodernity due to three reasons: (i) the rise in global communication technologies plays a major part in creating initial visitor interests; (ii) the objects of dark tourism themselves appear

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[2] The editors of the architectural journal *PRECIS 6* (cited in Harvey, 1990: 8-9) view postmodernism as a legitimate reaction to the universal modernism's vision of the world. "Generally perceived as positivistic, technocentric, and rationalistic, universal modernism has been identified with the belief in linear progress, absolute truths, the rational planning of ideal social orders, and the standardisation of knowledge and production". Postmodernism, by way of contrast, privileges "heterogeneity and difference as liberative forces in the redefinition of cultural discourse" (Smart, cited in Bertens, 1995: 236).

to present anxiety and doubt about the project of modernity (e.g. the use of rational planning and technological innovation to undertake the Jewish Holocaust, or the industrial scale of death in several wars); and (iii), several dark sites that should adopt an educative approach of rationality, progress, and historicism, are in actual fact being offered as tourism products with an orientation towards income generation, commodification and entertainment.

Nonetheless, several authors have been careful to place dark tourism within such concepts, arguing that death related travel in 19th century Europe, or sites associated with the slave trade, for example, already provide sufficient historical verification to render the postmodern perspective redundant (Casbeard & Booth, 2012). Seaton (1996), in support of the latter argument, consequently derives thanatourism from the word thanatopsis[3], which from the middle ages until well into the 19th century was stimulated and encouraged. Back then, it was a political and religious matter, kept vastly visible in everyday life that was later intensified under the impact of romanticism[4] (Seaton, 1996). Thanatopsis involved travel, including pilgrimages to sites of martyrdom where pilgrims viewed shrines to the dead and brought back mementos and relics (Seaton, 1996). In this context, Collins-Kreiner (2015) regards pilgrimage and dark tourism as one long-existent practice, stemming from individual desires for an experience that will ultimately change certain aspects of life, or at least make a valuable addition to it. Accordingly, Seaton (1996: 240) defines dark tourism or thanatourism as the travel dimension of thanatopsis:

> Travel to a location wholly or partially, motivated by the desire to actual or symbolic encounters with death. Particularly, but not exclusively violent death, which may, to a varying degree be activated by the person-specific features of those whose deaths are its focal objects.

He categorises five possible dark travel activities: (i) the travel to witness public enactments of death (e.g. gladiatorial combats to the death, public hangings in

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[3] Thanatopsis refers to all the "forms of representation, symbolisation and material evidence by which ideas of death are communicated to an individual in time and space within a given society" (Seaton, 1996: 235).

[4] Romanticism refers to an artistic, literary, and intellectual movement that originated in Europe towards the end of the 18th century, characterised by its emphasis on emotion and individualism as well as the glorification of nature and the past (Porter, 1997).

Britain or in modern Europe, the sightseers who rush to disaster scenes); (ii) travel to see the sites of mass or individual deaths (e.g. Jack the Ripper tours); (iii) travel to internment sites and memorials to the dead (e.g. Kigali Genocide Memorial, Rwanda or the Killing Fields, Cambodia); (iv) travel to view the material evidence, or symbolic representations of death (e.g. the Kremlin used to exhibit the embalmed body of Lenin as a political tourist attraction); and (v) travel for re-enactments or simulation of death (e.g. present day battle re-enactments) (Seaton, 1996).

Just as the practice itself, the academic study of dark tourism can also no longer be considered a new notion (Sharpley & Gahigana, 2014). Uzzell, for example, already focused on the interpretation of war sites in 1989, followed by Rojek's (1993) conception of dark attractions as 'Black Spots' in relation to the commercial developments of celebrity grave sites, or places where large numbers of people died sudden deaths. While Dann (1994: 61) spoke of "milking the macabre", Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996) focused on the interpretation and management of atrocity sites through exploring wider themes of dissonance present in the heritage creation and commodification process.

2.2   The Ethics of Gazing Upon Death

Today, the morality and ethics of gazing upon death and its touristification, have become an increasing subject of academic discourse and media commentary (Stone & Sharpley, 2013). This becomes particularly evident in Ruth Stokes' (2013: 1) contribution in the *New Internationalist*:

> A man spotted holidaying in the Syrian war zone was recently dubbed the world's most extreme tourist ... [he] isn't the first to be attracted to a war zone and won't be the last. But, personal risks aside, this type of story raises questions about the ethics involved in so-called 'dark tourism'. Many of us are drawn to places of poverty, death and destruction, but the impact we are having on the communities involved and the site itself can often be forgotten. Can dark tourism ever really be a good thing?

Relatedly, Gemma Blackwood (2014: 2), a lecturer in Communication Studies, argues in relation to a widely criticised photograph ('selfie') taken by a visitor in Auschwitz (Plate 2) that the existence of death tourism implicates gruesome travel zones that bring pleasure to the visitor through the "indulgence of a morbid and

taboo sense of curiosity". Yet, Blackwood (2014: 3) also states that however inappropriate such incidents might seem at first glance, they can be considered as acts of personal reflection, "as a way of converting remembrance into an object that one can return to and cherish". While it is common to dismiss tourist photography at traumatic locations as disrespectful, it can bring the site closer to the visitor, by marking certain scenes for further consideration, as well as indicating to revisit, contemplate and share the image in future (Clark, 2009). Still, for many, social networking spaces, like Twitter or Instagram, have become the modern photo album, underlining the dilemma of disseminating personal memories in the form of online souvenirs to the general public (Blackwood, 2014). The challenge for museums and educators working in such settings is then to preserve a site's impact and educational role, while at the same time taking its reputation as a 'legendary tourist attraction' into account (Graham-Harrison, 2015).

Image
redacted

Plate 2: *'Selfie' at Auschwitz Concentration Camp.* (Source: Blackwood, 2014: 1)

Stone & Sharpley (2013: 3) argue that taboos, such as the talk of death and presenting the dead within public places is becoming increasingly translucent, and accordingly, there is a new willingness to tackle inherently confusing, sensitive and problematic interpretations. As a result, dark tourism could be seen as a "mediating institution of morality", especially so in Western secular society, where ordinary death is often isolated behind medical barriers, yet extraordinary death is recreated to fulfil public demands (Stone, 2013: 314). Indeed, while the media are generating a very public discourse of mortality, far more public and accessible than that of medicine (Walter *et al.*, 1995), this does imply that although death might not be challenging for modern society at large, it has remained highly problematic for the individual (Walter, 1991).

Such public spaces addressing sensitive themes of human loss and dying, therefore, hold the potential to serve as a "complex and relative social filter between life and death" (Stone, 2013: 314), which supports the "social neutralisation of death" for individuals and decreases the possible sense of dread that mortality commonly conveys (Stone, 2009a: 37). For emotionally engaged tourists such experiences offer opportunities for reassessment and self-reflexivity that allow for a reconfiguration of outlooks and interpretative strategies (Stone, 2012). Thus, visits to sites of death can provide new unrestrained encounters through which immorality and taboos are communicated and negotiated (Stone & Sharpley, 2013), either through honourable narratives of hope, tolerance and peace, or through shock, which may provide a deeper alert awareness of the tragic consequences of violence (Stone, 2012). Surely, such contemplations must not be regarded as deviant immoral behaviours, but should be encouraged as a platform to reflect and discuss boundaries between fun and fear and death and life (Buda, 2015).

Despite the larger scope and depth of research conducted, as well as numerous attempts to identify different forms of this marketing niche, the understanding of dark tourism remains somewhat incomplete and theoretically fragile (Biran & Hyde, 2013). This might be owed to the fact that the 'umbrella' concept comprises an endless variety of sites, attractions and experiences (Sharply & Gahigana, 2014). While Butcher (2003) asserts that modern tourism has emerged and grown with modern industrial society in the 19th century, so too has the demand for and

supply of dark tourism. However, it still remains unclear whether there has been a considerable growth in tourist interest in recent death, disaster and atrocity, or if there simply has been a continuously increasing supply of dark sites and attractions (Lennon & Foley, 2000). In this context, Sharpley (2005) questions the motivations behind the attractiveness of visiting dark sites by highlighting different intensities of darkness that can be related to either the nature of the attraction, or to the intensity of interest in death and the macabre of the visitor (Sharpley, 2005). Recent studies hereby emphasise the diversity and variety of dark sites, focusing on defining and classifying dark tourism manifestations based on site characteristics (Biran & Hyde, 2013), as well as on visitor motivations.

2.3 The Consumption (Demand) and Production (Supply) of Death

Biran *et al.* (2011) highlight three different, and at times opposing approaches in this regard, namely the supply, the demand and the integrated supply-demand perspective.

2.3.1 Dark tourism supply perspective

A majority of studies focus on the prevailing methodology of dark tourism supply, defining it as the visitation to sites associated with death, disaster, depravity, suffering and the seemingly macabre (Lennon & Foley, 2000; Stone 2006). This has led to a collection of analyses investigating a wide range of death related sites, including Miles' (2002) comparison of dark and darker sites in relation to the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum and the former concentration camp Auschwitz-Birkenau. For him darker tourism, the latter of the two, enjoys a locational authenticity that its counterpart does not (Miles, 2002). At Auschwitz, the mere presence at the site reveals to the tourist an empowering commemorative potential, inducing incomparable emotion simply through name and location (Miles, 2002). Miles (2002) asserts that such darker sites show a greater political influence and tend to be historic centric. Moreover, time plays a significant factor, as the shorter the time period passed from the moment the event took place to the moment it is consumed, the higher the level of empathy shown by tourists towards the victims of the tragedy (Farmaki, 2013).

Since the overall motivation in visitors is usually the quest for genuineness and the sacred, making tourists present-day pilgrims who search for 'reality' in other 'times' and other 'places' away from their ordinary everyday life (Urry, 2002), it is important to define what is meant by this pursuit for authenticity. While pilgrims visit places of religious importance, tourists are in search of places of authentic cultural, historical and social importance (MacCannell, 1973). Since such 'real lives' can only be found backstage and are not immediately evident, the gaze of visitors will involve a clear intrusion into people's lives that would generally be unacceptable (MacCannell, 1973). Therefore, artificial backstages are constructed by tourism stakeholders, structured around what MacCannell (1973) refers to as 'staged authenticity'. Such attractions "result from how those who are subject to the tourists gaze respond, both to protect themselves from intrusions into their lives backstage, and to take advantage of the opportunities it presents for profitable investment" (Urry, 2002: 9). While some are in search of "fun and frolics, or just rest and relaxation" (Butcher, 2003: 33) through standardized holiday package itineraries, or adventurous new endeavours off the beaten track, others look for historical verification at the former Berlin Wall (MacCannell, 1999), or want to gaze upon the horrors of genocide at numerous memorial sites located around the globe today. Apparent is that tourists' perceptions of authenticity will vary, depending on their social identity and on the degree to which the visitor is psychologically and emotionally involved in the experience at hand (Cohen, 2011). Visits to former sites of violence, for example, will differ for those directly related to the events portrayed and those who feel no personal connection (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996).

Generally, this interest of gazing upon 'the Other' can be traced back to first contacts of European travellers with foreigners from other countries. "These travellers returned from remote places with talks of societies where they had witnessed bizarre physical differences, extraordinary customs, strange judicial and religious practices" (Seaton, 2009b: 76). This romanticised thought of the Other was later critically debated by cultural observers and post-colonial analysts, including Edward Said (1978: 7), who presented it as

> A hegemonic indispensable concept for any understanding of cultural life in the industrial West ... Orientalism is never far from the idea of Europe, a collective notion identifying "us" Europeans against all those non-Europeans ... [It is] the idea of European identity as a superior one in comparison with all the non-European peoples and cultures.

In sum, cultures of the Global North established dominance over those of the Global South through creating certain representations and discourse communicated by the media, education, academia and law (Seaton, 2009b). Relentlessly, the Other was hereby often portrayed as "unreliable, dishonest, untrustworthy, infantile and passive" (Seaton, 2009b: 77). In this regard, the thesis partly responds to Carrigan's (2014: 247) call for a postcolonial approach towards dark tourism research, through shedding light on the implications of travelling to places where "the ghosts of colonial as well as national conflicts continue to stalk the land, and where the political subtext of mass tourism is marked by dark histories of oppression and injustice."

This kind of 'Othering' has become a dominant focus of academics studying the interactions between tourists and indigenous populations, since tourism has often been seen as "a motivation for temporary encounters with other cultures, stimulated consciously or unconsciously, by attributing to them extremes of imagined difference from their own" (Seaton, 2009b: 77). However, such processes do not essentially have to be motivated by racist stigmatisations of minorities, as they may be based on the simple, yet strong desire to experience anything that distinguishes itself positively or negatively from the ordinary everyday life, including the act of thanatourism, which through its association with death, confronts "the greatest and only universal Other" (Seaton, 2009b: 83).

While general concerns about the inauthenticity of extremely commercialised and steadily growing 'theme park history' condemns tourism as an inappropriate or immoral medium to present human suffering and disconcerting events (Strange & Kempa, 2003), "it is difficult to attach an all-embracing label to the enormous diversity of dark sites, attractions and experiences" (Stone & Sharpley, 2008: 578). 'Dark history sites', for example, have a conservational, educative and commemorative ethic and, hence, are more authentic than what has been referred to as 'dark fun factories', which embrace a commercial orientation and a tendency

to romanticise, as well as distort tragic past events (Stone, 2006). In this regard, Stone (2006: 152) developed a 'dark tourism spectrum', a conceptual framework (Figure 2 demonstrates an adapted version of the model) that takes into account possible shades of darkness, that is, "a perceived level of macabreness", ranging from the darkest through to the lightest products. He outlines seven different 'dark tourism product suppliers' that can be placed at different positions on the dark tourism scale, characterised by dominating design features, such as spatial affinity, time span to the event, or political influence within the product's interpretation (Stone, 2006). At the lightest end of the spectrum Stone (2006) places the earlier mentioned 'dark fun factories', those sites offering a less authentic practice, portraying horrifying and exceedingly visual but family friendly exhibits. This 'dark but fun factor' is frequently emphasised through advertisements, such as the London Dungeon experience depicted as

> ... a fully themed experience. That means 360° sets, full on authenticity and theatrical storytelling. On your journey you'll pass through the Whitechapel Labyrinth of misty East London streets, plague-ravaged houses, the fearsome torture chamber ... and see (and feel!) what could have been if Guy Fawkes had succeeded. Believe us, it's better than a sightseeing or boring museum tour of London.

> (London Dungeon, n.d.)

More significant for this study, however, are the 'dark camps of genocide' that are located at the darkest, opposite end of the spectrum (Stone, 2006). Representing those places that have extreme atrocity and disaster as their pre-eminent thanatological themes, with a shorter time scale from the tragedy, a high degree of political ideology and a perceived authentic product interpretation, such sites frequently revolve around education and commemoration (Stone, 2006). Even so, it is unrealistic to suggest that the multi-layered visitor encounters present at diverging site designs can allow such locations to be arranged precisely on such a spectrum, and Macdonald (1997), therefore, calls for more in depth research looking at not only intentions, but also resulting impacts of certain heritage developments.

2.3.2 Dark tourism demand perspective

Such emphasis on supply questions whether it is justifiable to collectively categorise visitor experiences at theme parks alongside challenging confrontations at genocide camps as dark tourism (Biran & Hyde, 2013), highlighting the overall demand for further research into tourists' motivations for visiting these locations in the first place. In order to recognise the need to go beyond the mere classification and typology of sites and attractions, some authors (Blom, 2000; Sharpley, 2005; Ashworth & Hartmann, 2005; Dunkley 2006; Walter 2009; Raine; 2013) have focused on grouping and analysing visitors' incentives through a demand driven approach (Figure 2). Dark tourism is then defined in terms of the visitor motivation, as "travel to a location wholly or partially motivated by the desire for actual or symbolic encounters with death" (Seaton, 1996: 240). Yet, this approach assumes that tourists require, at least to some degree, a thanatopic motive (Slade, 2003) and thus overlooks the possibility that the purpose for visiting might be completely lacking an interest in death (Biran *et. al.*, 2011).

25

DEMAND

Dann (1998)	Blom (2000)	Seaton & Lennon (2004)	Ashworth & Hartmann (2005)	Dunkley (2006)	Walter (2009)	Raine (2013), in relation to cemetaries
Fear of phantoms	Different encounter to the mundane everyday	Schadenfreude (pleasure of seeing others' misfortune)	Empathy with those portrayed	Contemplation	Research (archeaologists/ pathologists)	Interest in local history
Search for novelty	Media creates awareness and generates interest		Human curiosity	Special interest	Intercession (prayers)	Personal connection
Nostalgia				Thrill seeking	Guidance (shrines)	Enjoying nature
Celebration of crime	Search for unique attractions			Validation	Communicating with the dead	Educative purposes
Basic bloodlust		Thanatopsis/ contemplation of death	Attraction to horrific occurences (thrill/ voyeurism)	Authenticity	Education	Meditations of the dead
Experience mortality	Search for catharsis, relief of emotional tension			Self-discovery	Entertainment	Religious significance
				Iconic sites	Contemplating mortality	Experience mortality
				Convenience	Haunting (collective traumas)	Escape stress/find peace
				Morbid curiosity		Passive recreation
				Pilgrimage		
				Remembrance		
				Empathy		

Dark tourist spectrum

Demand & Consumption

Supply & Production

Dark tourism spectrum

Devotion		Experience		Discover		Incidental		

Mourners	Pilgrims	Morbidly Curious	Thrill Seekers	Information Seekers	Hobbyists	Sightseers	Retreaters	Passive Recreationalists
Darkest	Darker	Dark	Darkish	Dark/Light	Lightish	Light	Lighter	Lightest
Dark Camps of Genocide Dark Exhibitions Dark Shrines			Dark Dungeons Dark Resting Places			Dark Conflict Sites (battles beyond living memory)		Dark Fun Factories

Demand & Consumption bullets:

Left:
- Pre-planned visit
- Deep engagement with the site as a burial ground
- More spiritual experience
- Interest in a specific aspect of the site
- Visit of one specific site for one reason

Right:
- Visitation more spontaneous
- Little or no engagement with the site as a burial ground
- Detached experience
- No specific interest in the site
- May visit several burial sites for the same purpose

Supply & Production bullets:

Left:
- Higher political influence and ideology
- 'Sites of death and suffering' (Miles, 2002)
- Educational orientation
- Historic centric (commemorative)
- Perceived authentic product interpretation
- Locational authenticity
- Short time scale to the event
- Supply (non-purposefulness)
- Lower tourism infrastructure

Right:
- Lower political influence and ideology
- 'Sites associated with death and suffering' (Miles, 2002)
- Entertainment orientation
- Heritage centric (commercial)
- Perceived inauthentic product interpretation
- Non-locational authenticity
- Longer time scale from the event
- Supply (purposefulness)
- Higher tourism infrastructure

Figure 2: *The dark tourism spectrum (supply) and dark tourist scale (demand).* (Source: Adapted from Stone, 2006; Raine, 2013)

SUPPLY

While Stone and Sharpley (2008) argue that tourists are seen to be driven by different intensities of interest or fascination in death, Bowman and Pezzullo (2009: 199) alternatively "illuminate the artistic, scientific and political values of a culture's past, present and future" inherent in such visits. Relatedly, Dunkley (2006), for example, identifies several visitor motivations, including contemplation, special interest, thrill and risk seeking, validation, self-discovery, convenience, pilgrimage, remembrance and empathy. Whereas Blom (2000) further suggests it is the desire to experience catharsis in conjunction with the increasing media exposure that generates interest for such visits, Raine (2013) mentions that some visitors simply admire the natural environment of cemeteries and visit to experience moments of peace, as a source of renewing energy, or to contemplate mortality through symbols of death. She summarises her analysis in a dark tourist spectrum (Figure 2), highlighting the different groups of visitors identified at burial sites by classifying motivations from darkest to lightest in a similar structure to Stone's (2006) dark tourism typology (Raine, 2013). The categories along the spectrum are graded in relation to the level of engagement with the visitor's experience in terms of the site as a burial ground and a place associated with death, as well as whether motivations to visit are specific and predetermined or non-specific and spontaneous (Raine, 2013).

Figure 2 illustrates an adaption of Stone's (2006) dark tourism spectrum focusing on supply and Raine's (2013) dark tourist scale concentrating on demand. It also displays a summary of various tourist motivators collected from studies in relation to their visits at sites associated with death. While it is problematic to categorise individual notions into diagrams and blueprints, since any dark tourism site will be consumed in different ways by different tourists, such methods do serve to demonstrate that a fascination with or interest in sites associated with violence and tragedy is complex and death itself may often not be the principal factor driving the consumption of such an experience (Sharpley, 2005). The central objective of this research, therefore, is to highlight individuality and multiplicity through distinct stakeholder contemplations from an integrated supply and demand perspective.

2.3.3 The integrated supply-demand perspective

In view of the above, the thesis emphasises the need to study the nature of both supply and demand within the dark tourism experience and its socio-cultural context, particularly so since limited attention to the personal meaning and subjective nature of this phenomenon has been given in the literature (Biran *et al.*, 2011). The integrated supply-demand perspective, therefore, underlines that different visitors have distinct involvements and motivations for visiting a wide range of sites, which themselves hold different intentions and are designed to fulfil a variety of purposes (Biran *et al.*, 2011). As a result, the empirical analysis of this study focuses on supply and demand perspectives encountered in the field, to shed light on the complexity of individual and collective visitor contemplations at genocide memorials throughout Rwanda.

In this regard, Sharpley (2005: 224) demands for a clarification of the links between site features and experience sought based on a 'continuum of purpose' by recognising four shades of dark tourism (Figure 3). First, black tourism, representing a pure dark tourism experience in which fascination with death is satisfied by purposeful supply; second, pale tourism, representing tourists with minimal interests in death who visit accidental dark sites (sites not originally created for profit tourist attractions); third, grey tourism demand, representing tourists motivated by a fascination with death, visiting unintended dark tourism sites; and fourth, grey tourism supply, representing sites that are initially established to exploit death and attract tourists with little interest in death (Sharpley, 2005). Ryan and Kohli (2006) support this framework in their study of the buried village of Te Wairoa in New Zealand, which they propose falls into the category of grey tourism supply. While it is promoted as a site of death and atrocity, the tourist experience is one of bright and hopeful "peaceful natural scenery and cultural heritage" (Biran *et al.*, 2011: 822). However, research should be equally concerned with the actual impacts of consuming death and what the tourist does with this experience, considering that the encounter may not have been pre-motivated in the first place (Johnston, 2013). This is not to claim that motivations are not important, as they do shape the experience (Johnston, 2013), but analysing outcomes will be helpful in increasing the potential of dark tourism to fulfil wider societal purposes.

Demand
(palest)

**Pale
tourism**

*Grey tourism
supply*

Supply
(accidental)

Supply
(purposeful)

*Grey tourism
demand*

Black tourism

Demand
(darkest)
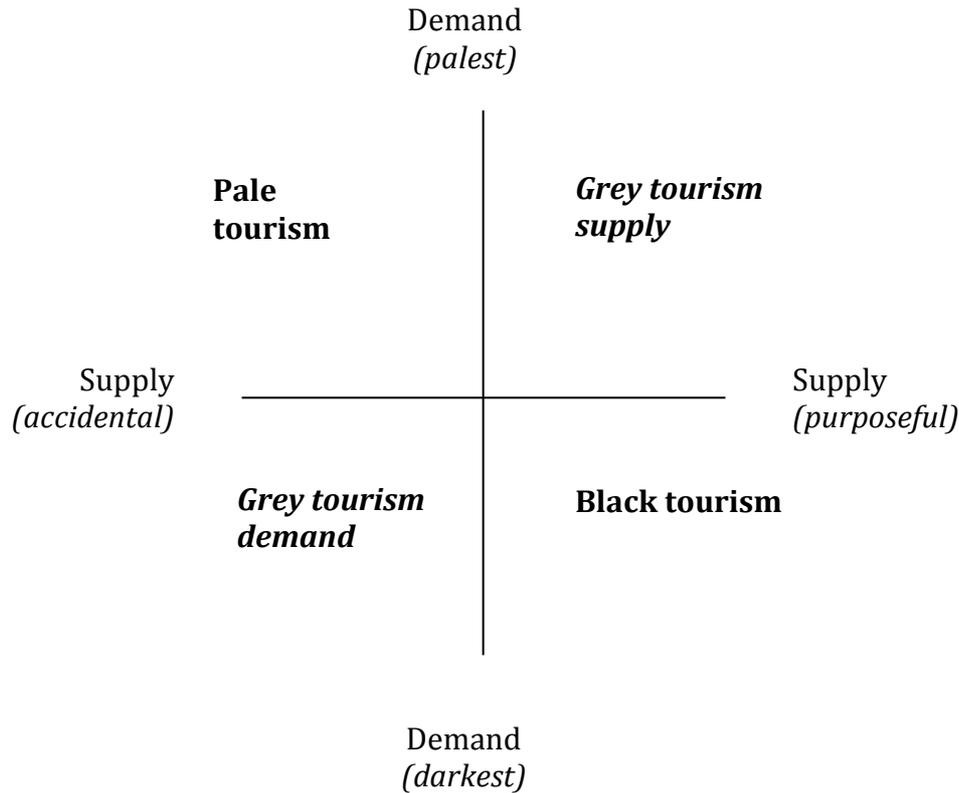
Figure 3: *The dark tourism matrix.* (Source: Sharpley, 2005)

As the literature demonstrates, dark tourism has sparked a vast amount of constructive and destructive discussions, more so, it proves to be far from being a unified concept (Nawjin & Fricke, 2013). In effect, the terminology itself has increasingly been criticised as unhelpful (Sharpley & Stone, 2009). While it has not only become a product brand (Stone, 2013) exploited by the tourism industry and the media alike, from a consumption or behavioural perspective, it may be considered as subjective and derogatory, generalising dark tourists as possessing a morbid fascination or curiosity in death or engaging in voyeurism or Schadenfreude (Farmaki, 2013; Sharpley & Gahigana, 2014). As a result, Bowman and Pezzullo (2009: 199) have gone so far as to suggest that it may be time to "abandon the term dark tourism insofar as it may present an impediment to detailed and circumstantial analyses of tourist sites and performances in all their mundane or spectacular particularity and ambiguity". To generalise visitors to such places as dark tourists may ignore positive motives and personal meaningful experiences, as well as perhaps dishonouring those commemorated (Sharpley & Friedrich, Forthcoming). While this appears to be a somewhat semantic debate, it

could be argued that misuse of the label dark tourism by the media has helped to create an obstructive misunderstanding among stakeholders as to the conceptual underpinnings of such tourism (Friedrich & Johnston, 2013). Nevertheless, the notion itself certainly provides a valid context of exploring how places of, or associated with death, suffering and atrocity can mediate between the living and those represented or commemorated by particular sites (Sharpley & Friedrich, Forthcoming).

2.4   Dark Tourism and Genocide

This chapter now turns to what can perhaps be considered as the darkest side of dark tourism. Speaking from both, a supply and demand perspective, it is controversially discussed under the label of 'genocide tourism' (Beech, 2009: 207). Such sites represent those places which have extreme atrocity, disaster and tragedy as their pre-eminent thanatological theme (Stone, 2006).

First, it is important to give a brief definition of what is meant by genocide, particularly as the term has been subject to misuse in the past. Raphaël Lemkin (1944: 79), a Polish lawyer, created the expression by combining the ancient Greek word "genos (race/tribe), with the Latin cide (killing)", defining it as a "coordinated plan of different actions aiming at the destruction of essential foundations of the life of national groups, with the aim of annihilating the groups themselves"; that is to say, a collaboration against any person selected as a victim, solely because they are a member of the targeted group. Originally, Lemkin's aim was to create a word to define the crime as "a bridge of sympathetic understanding", not to set limits to it, as has sadly occurred through international law (Smith, 2015: 1). The *Convention on the Punishment and Prevention of the Crime of Genocide* founded four years later in 1948 was the first human rights treaty representing one central principle: whenever genocide, namely the plan to exterminate "any group or nation or people, it is a matter of concern not only for that group, but for the whole of humanity" (Melvern, 2009: 251). The convention was established as a response to the Nazi Holocaust in Europe and comprised a 'never-again' promise to the world (Melvern, 2009).

However, although Lemkin's initial use of genocide constituted the basis of a draft for a new international law, it has been widely criticized. Not least because it is not applied to the mass killing of people on either social or political grounds (Beech, 2009). Perhaps as a consequence, the agreement has only been applied in very few cases and competing concepts, such as those of politicide, ethnocide, ecocide and genocidal massacre, exist (Beech, 2009). In fact it is difficult to find coherent information on which mass atrocities committed in the past constitute genocide and opinions are varied. While some argue that there was only one genocide in the last century, that is the Holocaust, others state that there have been at least three mass atrocities committed that fall under the convention (BBC World, 2010). The lack of a general accepted definition as well as the vagueness of the term results in heated debates over which cases of mass murder should be classified as 'genocide' (Schaller, 2011).

As often the case, while definitions are supposed to simplify and help to clarify, the search for an adequate categorisation can often lead to greater confusion and can be severely divisive at times (Huttenbach, 2002). Consequently, when a new unnamed phenomenon appears, the first problem begins with the selection of an appropriate and if possible "value free designation ... Grappling with genocide is fundamentally no different [and it is up to now] unclear how and what to compare and, thereby, determine distinctive singularities and commonalities separating and linking [this phenomenon]" (Huttenbach, 2002: 167). Moreover, different victim groups contest with each other in an arena of memory politics and the degree of international and national recognition depends to some extent on the power of respective interest groups and their ability to mobilise public opinion and raise global pressure through media or academic attention (Schaller, 2011).

In general, the most cited definition is Article 2 of the *UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide* (1948), which declares that genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such:

a) Killing members of the group
b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group

c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part

d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group

e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group

The production and consumption of genocide landscapes has previously featured in dark tourism literature, particularly so with regards to Holocaust memory (Cole, 2013; Virilio, 2006). Although interpretation at such sites should be more heavily focused on educational and commemorative aims than on negotiating tourism, many post genocide sites, both authentic and synthetic, must face the reality of being popular international tourist attractions (Friedrich & Johnston, 2013). Rising visitor numbers are reported at many prominent memorials, which have gradually turned into popular tourist attractions. Auschwitz-Birkenau, for example, attracted 1.43 million visitors in 2011, almost treble the number of visitors in 2001 (Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial State Museum, 2015).

The origins of the study of genocide tourism practice can be traced back to the work of Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996) and their definition of dissonant heritage, which will be central to the themes discussed throughout Chapter 3. Lennon and Foley (2000) later focused on this framework in relation to the representational difficulties encountered at former Nazi concentration camps that include the creation of a truthful account of the reality of Nazi rule, as well as concurrently paying tribute to, and understanding the predicament of the victims in the context of genocide. Although, there has been some interest in genocide tourism development in Cambodia (Hughes, 2008; Williams, 2004), as well as sites related to the Balkan conflict (Johnston, 2011; Simic, 2008), other literature on this subject has somehow been sporadic (Beech, 2009). While Ashworth and Hartmann (2005) devote a significant amount of attention to Holocaust tourism and its management in their book *Horror and Human Tragedy Revisited*, relatively little research looks into tourism development at more recent genocide commemorations, as well as into the consumption and wider reaching impacts of such sites (Sharpley & Gahigana, 2014). Whereas Ashworth and Hartmann's (2005) main concern surrounds the dissonance that results when specific sites are developed into attractions (Beech, 2009), they also deliver a short exploration of visitor motives (Figure 2), which they summarize as the desire to experience the unique, to please

human curiosity, to empathise with those portrayed, and to gratify the voyeuristic thrill of being attracted to horrific occurrences.

Schaller (2007) in particular, refers to the latter by questioning whether the sight of sad relics really does add any educational value, or if former killing fields merely satisfy the human urge for morbid curiosity. Most certainly, this highly contested concept reveals a cultural institution and practice that blurs the lines between remembrance of the dead and commodification of death (Stone, 2013). In doing so, those stakeholders working in the production of memories are faced with complex challenges, such as the management of commemoration for victims and the interpretation of the tragedy for a national and international visitor base. Likewise, "tourist encounters of places of tragedy and death … and the consequences of those encounters for broader society remain a crux of dark tourism research" (Stone, 2013: 315) and, therefore, form a vital aspect for future research directions within difficult heritage discourse.

2.5   Dark Tourism – A Valid Contributor to Peace?

Since the study of dark tourism often tells us more about life and the living, than death and dying (Stone, 2013), Tarlow's (2005: 48) definition of this practice as "visitations of places where tragedies or historically noteworthy death has occurred … that continue to impact our lives" is utilized here to express that such visitor experiences and their subsequent implications offer insights into present-day social and political interrelationships within societies recovering from conflict. It is, therefore, not surprising to consider the role of tourism in wider reaching peace-building developments in post-conflict regions. In 1999, the World Tourism Organisation (WTO: 1) declared that travel and tourism, even though holding characteristics of a profit orientated industry, offers the potential to add positively to the general human good in various ways (Higgins-Desbiolles & Blanchard, 2010):

> [Through] economic development, international understanding, peace, prosperity and universal respect for, and observance of, human rights fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion … through the direct, spontaneous and non-mediatized contacts it engenders between men and women of different cultures and lifestyles.

In addition, the Manila Declaration on World Tourism had already concluded in 1980 that "tourism can be a vital force for world peace and provide the moral and intellectual basis for international understanding and interdependence". D'Amore (1988a: 154) further underlines this in his paper on tourism, as a contributor to peace, in which he argues that "properly designed and developed, [tourism] has the potential to help bridge the psychological and cultural distances that separate people of diverse races, colours, religions and stages of social and economic development."

While peace is commonly defined as the "absence of war" (D'amore, 1988b: 36), it has to be acknowledged that there are many different types and meanings of peace. Isaac (2014: 92), for example, defines such a state as "peaceful relationships not only between nations, but also between groups or communities, between individuals and between people and cultures". Further distinctions are made between negative peace and positive peace. The more dominant concept of negative peace is usually described as a situation of non-war, mutual deterrence, one-sided dominance and a truce or ceasefire (Galtung, 1988). It can also be a state of readiness within and between countries not currently engaged in armed conflict but continually armed for battle (Haessly, 2010). Positive peace is more complex and can be explained as an "absence of structural violence, such as corporate or state sponsored social, political and economic systems and policies that result in an inequitable distribution of resources or cause damage to the environment" (Haessly, 2010: 3). Such developments aim at improving a population's general quality of life by reducing poverty and hunger, homelessness, lack of health care and environmental pollution, as well as eliminating policies and practices that limit the freedom to organise, practice religion, access education and employment opportunities, or to engage in free speech or travel (Haessly, 2010).

In relation to peace tourism, one can distinguish between sites underlining the absence of violence through 'negative' subjects of peace, for example, some memorial museums depict war, genocide, colonialism, racism, or any of the many other human tragedies, by condemning the past and disseminating powerful messages of 'never again' (Lollis, 2014). And there are those promoting tolerance and human rights through 'positive' themes of peace, such as museums highlighting reconciliation and the acts of individual peacemakers (Lollis, 2014). In

accordance with Lollies' (2014: 295) definition of peace tourism as "… [travel] to experience the places and activities that authentically represent peace stories and peacemakers of the past and present", one can then identify various locations where this phenomenon is establishing itself. The website Discover Peace, for instance, lists numerous cities with corresponding peace trails, including site location and biography, historical value, and the role they play in peace-building initiatives. The map presented below (Plate 3), for example, depicts part of a peace trail in Berlin. The tour leads through the Rosenstraße and its memorial, which remembers the only public demonstration of resistance against German National Socialism, organised by the wives of Jewish men who were imprisoned there, waiting to be deported. The location is now a symbolic site for the power of civil disobedience (Discover Peace, n.d.).

Image
redacted

Plate 3: *Peace trail in Berlin, leading through the Rosenstraße Memorial.*
(Source: Discover Peace, n.d.)

Causevic & Lynch (2011: 796) form a connection between peace and tourism through what they define as 'phoenix tourism', "… the role which tourism has in the process of social renewal through the transformation between the emotions of sorrow and codification of heritage". The origins of this concept are grounded in research conducted among Bosnians, Croats and Serbs, who worked jointly on the production of a heritage marketing strategy of conflicting pasts (Causevic & Lynch, 2011). During this process nationalistic thoughts were put on hold and meaningful encounters, aimed at achieving a common goal were pursued (Causevic & Lynch, 2011).

At large, Moufakkir, Kelly (2014: 275) and Haessly (2010: 14) identify the following points on how stakeholders can add to the formation of peace through their association with tourism:

- respect and work for the development, protection and support of traditions, cultural heritage and sacred places
- acknowledge and protect cultural diversity, encourage travel for all (including those with disabilities)
- reduce poverty by favouring local communities in employment and business development
- plan carefully and adopt sustainable practices with respect to the environment, educate people about fragile ecosystems
- eliminate conditions that lead to acts of armed conflict, violence, terrorism and warfare through providing training in conflict resolution and non-violence, and work with government and community groups to restore areas damaged by warfare
- promote and preserve a culture of peace by involving local people in decision making processes
- support businesses whose leaders engage in socially, economically, politically and environmentally responsible business practices
- install peace parks and peace gardens as visual expressions of peace in the world

Moreover, relevant literature suggests four aspects on how tourism can contribute to peace:
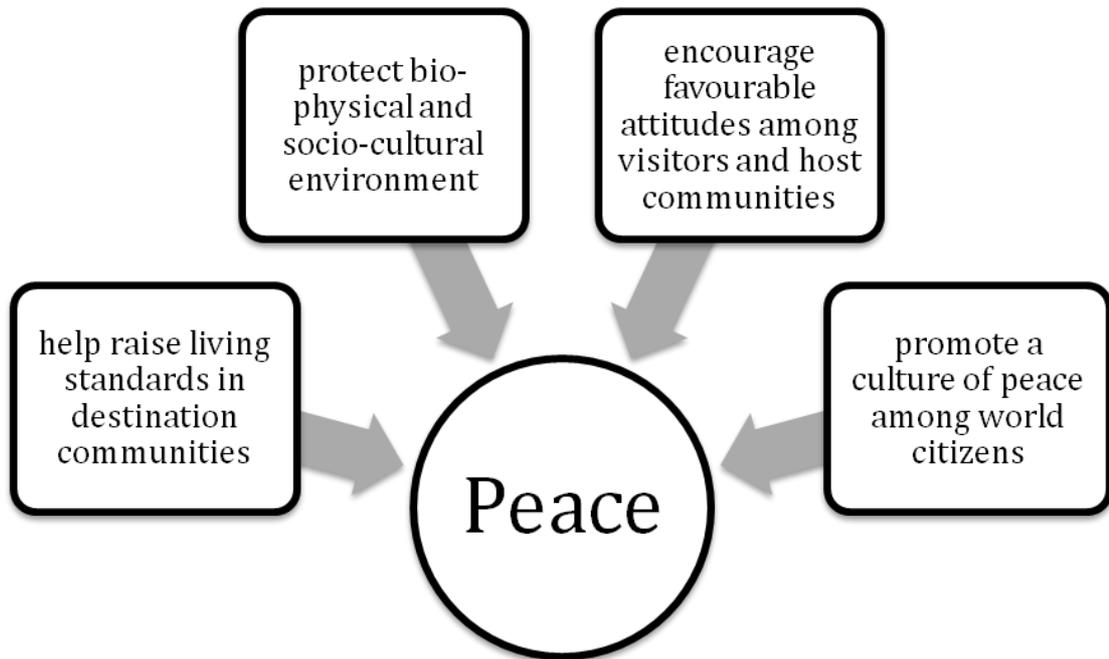
Figure 4: *Tourism as a contributor to peace.* (Source: Adapted from Moufakkir & Kelly, 2010; Higgins-Desbiolles, 2006; Mowforth & Munt, 1998)

Unfortunately, research has exemplified that many commemorative visitor sites do not contribute to the objectives mentioned above, particularly in the heritage industry (Kelly & Nkabahona, 2010). The experience of Northern Ireland, for example, has shown that community division remains along cease fire lines, rather than returning to former patterns of social coexistence (Anson, 1999). Relatedly, Anson (1999: 58-59) states that heritage identification in Northern Ireland has actually provided the "strongest flash points for sectarian violence, most notably the Marching Season, where each side marches, denying the other side temporary access to, or freedom of, movement on or near the sites of a contested heritage". This instance of dissonant heritage (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996) demonstrates the importance of different communities' full participation in the peace building and reconciliation process, as well as the creation of an overarching compromise in the interpretation of the contested heritage that has been the catalyst for former conflict or civil war (Anson, 1999).

2.6 Dark Tourism as a Step towards Reconciliation

If it is argued that tourism can contribute to reconciliation in broken communities, it is significant to define what this term entails. Where truth and justice have traditionally been the common focus of post-conflict associations, reconciliation has recently become a central theme, largely as a result of the global importance of the *South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission* (Clark, 2007). It is somewhat surprising that the transitional justice discourse has rarely encouraged a clear understanding of what reconciliation is and how it may be achieved, in particular within wider concepts of memorialisation and commemoration practices. In its simplest form, "reconciliation means restoring friendship and harmony between rival sides after conflict resolution, or transforming relations of hostility and resentment to friendly and harmonious ones" (Bar-Siman-Tov, 2004: 4). It is this process in itself that builds permanent peace through shifting motivations, goals, beliefs, attitudes and emotions of the vast majority of the community concerning the conflict, while establishing new notions of cooperative and friendly intergroup relations (Bar-Tal & Bennink, 2004). Reconciliation is necessary when "societies involved in a conflict develop widely shared beliefs, attitudes, motivations and emotions that support adherence to the conflictive goals, maintain the conflict, de-legitimise the opponent, and thus negate the possibility of peaceful resolution and prevent the development of peaceful relations" (Bar-Tal & Bennink, 2004: 13).

While non-violence can simply mean that the parties concerned avoid each other, seeking division, rather than mending relationships, reconciliation requires individuals and groups to interact and cooperate under often difficult circumstances to discover solutions to their problems and build stronger relationships (Clark, 2007). "Reconciliation is both backward and forward looking", pursuing to address the root causes of past conflict and the overwhelming feeling of grievance and anger, to produce a more positive and less divisive dynamic in future (Clark, 2007: 6). In general, it is a development that can lead to social cohesion, which in its ideal form is a state of society characterised by a set of attitudes and norms that include trust, a sense of belonging, and the willingness to participate and contribute towards a peaceful coexistence (Chan *et al.*, 2006).

The core of reconciliation can be found in certain traditional African approaches, such as the one pursued by the Rwandan government to settle conflicts between the Hutu majority and Tutsi minority in the aftermath of the 1994 genocide through traditional gacaca courts (Kelly & Nkabahona, 2010). Gacaca, which literally translates to "justice on the grass" is the name for Rwanda's traditional form of justice that stresses reparations and community restoration (Reyntjens, 1990). While some speak highly of the gacaca trials, a local, participatory, legal process where entire communities come together to give witness and dispute individual cases in front of panels of elected lay judges known as Inyangamugayo[5], others emphasise its frustrating and deceptive impact on the population (Rettig, 2008). Certainly, these interactions are not always helpful or secure, since it is risky to encourage completely shattered communities to engage so closely with one another (Clark, 2007). Accordingly, cases of hostility are unavoidable given the deep rooted tensions prevalent in the population after the genocide (Clark, 2007). Nevertheless, while such practices can ensure that guilty parties are identified and immediately reintegrated into society, as well as establishing where victims of genocide were buried for recovery and reburial (Clark, 2007), Rettig (2008) highlights that various kinds of silences, omissions, lies and half-truths, as well as the selective justice applied to certain crimes over others, have provoked mistrust between the members of all parties involved.

Even so, one widely agreed participatory process important for restorative justice is the confession, as represented in gacaca's plea-bargaining system (Clark, 2007). In a country where 65% of the population is supposedly Catholic, and around 10% Protestant, it is not surprising that a majority of Rwandans incorporate religious principles into gacaca and view confessions as explicitly grounded within their Christian beliefs (Clark, 2007) that teach to cherish love and mercy and to express these feelings through forgiveness (Auerbach, 2004). The discourse that studies the role of forgiveness in Christianity emphasises its significance for true believers, as it is one of the cornerstones of Christian theology and should, therefore, be given "unconditionally to friends and enemies alike, independently of the size of the crime or the behaviour of the perpetrator" (Auerbach, 2004: 158). Many genocide suspects, as well as survivors claim that forgiveness is one of gacaca's

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[5] "Those who detest dishonesty" in Kinyarwanda (Rettig, 2008: 25).

main objectives, although the Gacaca Law makes no mention of victims seeking or granting forgiveness, stating only that detainees who wish to benefit from this scheme must publicly confess to, and apologise for their crimes (Clark, 2008).

On the whole, the search for reconciliation through tourism may be regarded as a niche of the broader peace through tourism goal that underlines the importance of intercultural exchange in the creation of harmonious relationships (Kelly & Nkabahona, 2010). One more or less positive example is highlighted in the introduction of the thesis, which illustrates how ecotourism can encourage cooperation among the populations of conservation areas that cross national boundaries (Kelly & Nkabahona, 2010). Hereby, Strong-Cvetich and Scorse (2007) stress the success of a so-called peace park in the Virunga-Bwindi region of Uganda, Rwanda and the DRC, where hostile groups started collaborating towards protecting the endangered mountain gorillas.

With regards to heritage tourism, Kelly and Nkabahona (2010: 237) highlight four conditions, which need to be in place if tourism is to contribute to reconciliation in the area:

Location
- A site to which visitors can be attracted to with direct spatial links to the events or persons commemorated

Presentation
- Appropriate atmosphere, created and maintained through signage, landscape and building design. Preservation and conservation efforts might be required to restore events of the past. Seperate spaces created for reflection and activities such as shopping, dining and socialising

Development
- Visitors may be invited to make a donation. Souveniers might be available for purchase, these should include material to reinforce and extend visitor understanding

Collaboration
- Links with art bodies, exhibitions with anti-war or reconciliation themes should be encouraged

Figure 5: *Reconciliation contributors.* (Source: Kelly & Nkabahona, 2010)

Undoubtedly, there are several limitations to this process, which will be discussed in detail throughout the following chapters. Not only do such sites also hold the potential to reinforce division among groups, there is a danger that an emphasis on atrocities may contribute to compassion fatigue and desensitisation between visitors (Kelly & Nkabahona, 2010). It is, therefore, necessary to expose the circumstance in which conflicts occur and to identify practices of making difficult heritage more effective in its contribution to overall peace building and reconciliation efforts (Kelly & Nkabahona, 2010). In this context, the *International Coalition of Sites of Conscience* seeks to explicate what kind of heritage site should be preserved, as well as how and to what end (Ševčenko, 2011):

> More than 185 institutions across the globe form the International Coalition of Sites of Conscience. Our members are diverse in every sense: they range from long-standing historic sites to emerging memory initiatives, remember a wide variety of histories, and address an equally wide range of issues. But they are united by their common commitment to connect past to present, memory to action.
>
> (International Coalition of Sites of Conscience, 2015)

The three main objectives of the coalition are to interpret history through site-preservation, to stimulate dialogue on significant social issues through the promotion of democratic and humanitarian values, and to share opportunities for public involvement in those social issues (Ševčenko, 2011). A comprehensive study conducted by Hamber *et al*. (2010) evaluated youth experiences at three of these sites of conscience, determining that these spaces show a number of impacts on young people, including a change in opinion, a rise in awareness, an improvement in relationships, general encouragement of civic engagement and an increase in emotional understanding of the human consequences of atrocity. It is hereafter substantial to further study how such impacts can relate to wider social processes, such as long-term human rights reform, violence prevention and transitional justice. In this regard, Hamber *et al.* (2010: 405) further highlight four identifying key indicators that should be considered when creating the visitor experience. Specifically, (i) the presentation of multiple perspectives throughout the visit, (ii) an encouragement of critical thinking, (iii) the formation of new understandings of civic agency and personal responsibility, and (iv) the integration of such sites into other communal peace-building activities and institutions, such as as tolerance development initiatives. These indicators will be utilised, amongst others, to

analyse impacts of Rwanda's diverse memorialscape on international and local visitors, in order to evaluate the effectiveness of such sites with regards to post-traumatic growth and social reconstruction.

2.7 Summary

This chapter has demonstrated that dark tourism offers a multi-disciplinary academic lens through which to examine a broad range of fundamental social, cultural, geographical, anthropological, political, managerial and historical concerns. Furthermore, it offers a space to discuss sites, practices and visitor experiences that mediate between the present production and consumption of death, dying and the dead (Stone, 2013). Despite its long tradition and focus on historic events, dark tourism is not only about history, but stands as a powerful practice through which moral aspects of life and death may be observed and negotiated, and where relationships within broader society and culture can be determined (Stone, 2013). Overall, this chapter has included themes from a wide spectrum of disciplines, particularly demonstrating that the dark tourism framework can certainly be placed within the extensive field of peace and conflict studies. Rather, than excluding it as a morbid marketing niche within the wider tourism industry, it has been established that visits to former sites of violence and death carry the potential to contribute to peace building and reconciliation efforts in post-conflict communities. However, actual analysis of such visits on individuals and on wider societal impacts is yet to be established.

Moreover, the concept remains fragmented and the term itself has proven to be unhelpful. Dark tourism analysis in the past has oversimplified and generalised the complex and multi-dimensional processes involved between an extremely diverse visitor base and the essentially distinct experiences encountered among the two extremes of the dark tourism spectrum, the 'dark fun factories' and the 'dark camps of genocide'. This study, therefore, favours an integrated demand-supply approach to highlight that production and consumption of atrocity sites are continuous and interrelated. In essence, the different purposes of dark tourism and the socio-cultural factors influencing tourists' interpretation of dark sites together produce distinctive forms of involvement that can be grounded within leisure, education, politics or commemoration (Farmaki, 2013). As the literature verifies

numerous motivations for visiting dark sites exist and an interest in death may not be the primary objective. Similarly, the supply of dark tourism may also be driven by factors other than those related to death (Farmaki, 2013).

While some of the themes discussed above might add to the argument that dark tourism should no longer be conceptualised as a specific tourist market, or a form of tourist consumption, the framework itself, particularly in relation to genocide memorialisation, does shine an important light on how societies deal with commemorating and presenting their dead and how this has wider reaching implications for national, but also international aspects of social and political transformation. Therefore, it is essential to acknowledge that heritage is never outside politics and practitioners must carefully consider what impact they are looking to make. While memorials can be utilised for social healing and civic engagement, as a way of using the past to address the demanding concerns of the present (Ševčenko, 2011), they also hold the potential to, intentionally or accidentally, encourage and (re)produce divisive former ideologies and to foster new waves of conflict and violence; a powerful effect that will be deliberated throughout the next chapter.

CHAPTER 3

SPATIAL POLITICS AND DISSONANT HERITAGE: LANDSCAPES OF REMEMBRANCE

3.0 What is Heritage?

While until recently, the expression was commonly used as a legal term in relation to the will of a deceased relative, the wide range of implications attached to the word 'heritage' has now undergone an expansion to include almost "any sort of intergenerational exchange or relationship, welcome or not, between societies as well as individuals" (Graham *et al.*, 2000: 1). Numerous agencies, as well as governments and ministries have taken responsibility for a wide range of present-day global and local cultural activities regarded as constituting a certain national heritage. As a result, an emergent commercial industry is increasingly turning pasts into commoditised heritage products and experiences "for sale as part of a modern consumption of entertainment" (Graham *et. al.* 2000: 1). This trend could partially be explained by the general movement away from the post-war notion that considered "the shrinking world as an opportunity to enjoy snow-capped mountains and sun-soaked beaches" (Butcher, 2003: 6) to travel experiences that are constructed more around the culture and history within destinations.

The World Tourism Organisation (WTO), for example, has noted that nearly 40% of all international tourist trips involve an element of the past and unsurprisingly, the tourist industry is increasingly promoting heritage sites within popular, but also more remote travel destinations (Boyd, 2000). While this is done in numerous different shapes and forms, the common aim and key feature is to highlight the importance and personal enrichment of understanding and reliving certain aspects of the past (Boyd, 2000). In its physical form heritage in relation to tourism can encompass a variety of components, including historical (castles, monuments, memorials), industrial (pottery, whiskey, crystal), cultural (early settlements, kingdoms), natural (forests, parks) and educational (museums, libraries) elements (Boyd, 2000).

Whereas heritage then can simply be defined as a region's past, including its culture, buildings, artefacts and landscapes, the factor that makes it noteworthy is the value that society places on it in the present, which will change over time and space (Boyd, 2000). For that reason, the thesis acknowledges Graham, Tunbridge and Ashworth's definition of heritage "as the contemporary use of the past" (2000: 2), which appoints the present-day needs of people as the defining incentive of creating such spaces in the first place. In other words, society is not just a passive receiver or transmitter of this process, "since the present creates the heritage it requires and manages it for a range of on-going purposes" (Graham *et al.*, 2000: 2). Just as countless other features of international and national politics, this can be a productive, but also highly destructive process, exploited to profit, or at the cost of few or many (Graham *et al.*, 2000).

Although the deeper connections between memory and identity formation will be further discussed in the course of Chapter 4, heritage can be seen as a ritual of social memory that explicitly draws identification through concepts of memory ownership, mainly by teaching members within and outside of a certain heritage group that a specific history should not be forgotten (Potter & Modlin, 2015). Definitely, such narratives are dynamic, changing across generations with specific memories only continuing to circulate where the memory is socially, culturally and politically relevant to the present (Eyeman, 2001). Such heritage landscapes take up essential and significant roles in the execution of power relations, in both real and symbolic terms and, therefore, support the exercise of dominance, authority, as well as resistance (Winchester *et al.,* 2003).

3.1   Illusions of Landscape, Place, Space and Authenticity

At this point the matter of 'scape'-based forms should be briefly exemplified given the frequent use of such terminology throughout the study. Urry (2009: 648) describes 'scapes' as being "complex, enduring, predictable networks of machines, technologies, organisations, texts and actors that constitute various interconnected nodes, along which flows can be enjoyed". While the most fundamental and common of the scape conceptualisations is the landscape, which has been characterised by Smith (2006) to include formal and physical characteristics, symbolism and evidence of economic, political and social activity with embedded stories and meanings, such concepts in the study of tourism have been scrutinised

as revealing an absence of consistency (Fagence, 2014). Nevertheless, such forms highlight the interconnectivities inherent in several tourism-related activities, particularly so within the heritage sector. The need for a formalised framework of the memorialscape for instance has gradually come into focus through the growing density of memorials and monuments worldwide. This has also been the case in Rwanda, where in response to the 1994 genocide, the landscape has become dotted with commemorative sites. In this case, the term memorialscape refers to a collection of memorials within a landscape that are inter-related in terms of space, time or event (Carr, 2012). The study of the memorialscape considers various features, including the centrality or marginality of the memorial within the town or landscape, the geographical, spatial or historical relationship to other sites of the same event or group, the creation date, the site biography, the condition of the site (as a sign of care or abandonment), as well as implemented designs, the visitation frequency and the site instigator (implicating issues of power and agency) (Carr, 2012).

The last point in particular implies how landscapes accept the ideological systems that underlie their creation, they are "shaped by the power of the state, of capital, racial and religious ideologies and often the intersection of some combination of these" (Winchester *et al.,* 2003: 98). However, they can also be utilised as spaces fostering conflict and resistance, by challenging the actions of authorities. While some forms of resistance might be explicitly displayed through open spaces, they can also be defined through continued covert struggles between groups for influence or independence (Winchester *et al*., 2003). Whereas such acts of resistance can be manifested through the creation of extraordinary landscapes, others are retained through ordinary places, or take up the form of open defiance, direct action, legal negotiation, or collaboration to foster change from within (Winchester *et al.,* 2003). Like landscapes of power, landscapes of conflict and resistance are evident everywhere, particularly so in Northern Ireland, where cultural sites serve as major sources of contemporary contested political and national identities (Whelan, 2003). Irish urban and rural landscapes, for instance, are scattered with memorials gradually created since the beginning of the Troubles in 1969 (Graham & Whelan, 2007). The commemorative landscape displays a range of heritage sites, located both in the public and private sphere that are organised and managed by political divisions, illustrated through wall murals,

posters, flags, and other emblems portraying political purposes and shifting political messages (Graham & Whelan, 2007). Unfortunately, these places contribute little to reconciliation through shared loss, but instead "form part of competing claims for hegemonic victimhood by opposed identities and specialities proclaiming their irreconcilable differences" (Graham & Whelan, 2007: 480). Such conflicting narratives are incorporated into landscapes of resistance for opposing groups, increasing the tendency of "local, small scale communities [to construct] public landmarks, with the explicit objective of adding to or modifying existing versions of history" (Kelleher, 2004: 270). This so called 'new constructed history' provides evidence of the (re)creation of events over time and their disappearance and (re)emergence can be considered as a persistent active process (Kelleher, 2004). Such critical analysis of 'space', as one of the most powerful symbols of explaining what goes on in the present, became one of the central concepts in geography during the early 1980s (Rustin, 2013), in accordance with the understanding that studying the spatial forms of memory in relation to tourism sites contributes significantly to the understanding of the past's role in contemporary society (DeLyser, 1999).

DeLyser (1999), for example, illustrates with regard to Californian ghost towns that meaning is produced through artefacts and landscapes, which are linked to images of progress and Anglo-American virtues of the mythic West. She highlights the implication of the concept of authenticity which allows visitors and staff at *Bodie State Historic Park*[6] (Plate 4 & 5) to imagine the narratives the landscape presents, and to

> indulge in popularly held notions of the mythic West evoked by the false fronted main street and dilapidated minders' cabins ... [which] allow visitors to make a jump from the visible and the tangible, to the invisible and the experiential, from a buckled boardwalk to a horse and buggy ... and ultimately to resourceful and courageous pioneering forebears.

(DeLyser, 1999: 626)

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[6] Bodie is an original mining town from the late 1800's. What is left today stands in a state of 'arrested decay', maintained by the California State Parks System that took over the town in 1962 (Bodie State Historic Park Website, 2015a).

As discussed in Chapter 2, such approaches have relied heavily on MacCannell's (1976) initial and revised analysis of authenticity in relation to tourism, which regards tourist experiences as a search for completeness, for the "authenticity of 'primal' social and cultural relations, a pilgrim's progress of the alienated" (Meethan, 2001: 91). At Bodie, DeLyser (1999: 612-613) refers to five types of authenticity outlined by the anthropologist Edward Bruner (1994) in his fieldwork at *New Salem*, the reconstructed village where Abraham Lincoln lived:

1) the landscape/space is an original and not a copy (Bodie was once a real mining town)
2) authoritative or legally valid (Bodie is authorised by the state)
3) a currently credible version of the past (Bodie appears credible to today's visitors as authentic versions of what they represent)
4) a person from that period represented would recognise the place as authentic (does not apply to Bodie, since in order for staff and visitors to feel that Bodie looks more like it was 'back then', it must look worn, rundown, and free of commercial operations, quite the opposite to its heyday, when it was well-maintained and extremely commercial)
5) holds the intention of not being deliberately misleading

Image
redacted

Plate 4: *Bodie in the 1980s.* (Source: Bodie State Historic Website, 2015b)

Image
redacted

Plate 5: *Wheaton & Hollies and Green Street in Bodie today.*
(Source: Bodie StateHistoric Website, 2015c)

At large, there are numerous expressions of authenticity presented in different settings and at different times, a few of which will be discussed in relation to tourism development at Rwanda's memorialscape throughout the empirical part of the thesis.

3.2   Spatial Politics

In some instances, certain alterations of space for authentic value are concealed in the details of material culture and in the illusion it creates in order to further ideological goals and to defend a particular reality (Low & Lawrence-Zúñiga, 2003). Material culture in this case refers to the discourse of the "generality of materiality that is any attempt to construct general theories of the material quality of artefacts, commodities, aesthetic forms and so on" (Miller, 1998: 6). This can also include the materiality of heritage, as exemplified by Winter (2004) in his study on New Year celebrations at the World Heritage Site of Angkor, Cambodia[7], which as a form of 'living heritage' illustrates the powerful contribution of ancient

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[7] Angkor is an area of 400 km² of flat plains located in the northwest of Cambodia. The region comprises four elements: a tropical rain forest, cultivated land, a number of isolated villages and the architectural legacy of the Angkorean period (Winter, 2004). Pol Pot's extreme socialist ideology was partly inspired by the once glorious agrarian civilisation of Angkor (Winter, 2004).

monumental landscapes to the on-going creation of national, cultural and ethnic identities. Since recent traumatic historical events are re(approached) and contested and made meaningful for a population recovering from decades of national turbulence (Winter, 2004), such sites are ideal places for conveying contemporary apprehensions about what has been 'lost' and what should be preserved and conserved (Gable & Handler, 1996). As such they become negotiators of authenticity and of the past, and their demonstration always entails some amount of 'artful fakery', since the overall aim is to further an illusion in order to advance ideological ambitions to defend a particular reality (Gable & Handler, 1996). This implies that there is clearly more to heritage and authenticity than the need to conserve, or the need to commodify the past for tourist consumption (Meethan, 2001). For instance, sites can serve a purpose in educating or fostering a sense of nationhood and belonging for both insiders and outsiders, in addition to providing some form of leisure or entertainment (Meethan, 2001).

The increasing commodification of the heritage sector does not lessen the widespread impacts of such features, nor does it render it inauthentic, it does suggest, however, that the production and consumption of such spaces is linked to broader concerns of "politics, the economy and other forms of cultural distinction, which can serve more than one purpose" (Meethan, 2001: 102). In this context, heritage can also stress diversity by emphasizing distinctiveness in several aspects of cultural, natural and socio-historicalscapes; a line of thought that can be traced back to Massey's definition of space as "a sphere of the possibility of the existence of multiplicity in the sense of contemporaneous plurality; as the sphere in which distinct trajectories coexist; as the sphere therefore of coexisting heterogeneity" (Massey, 2005: 9). Central to Massey's philosophy is her consideration of the 'multiple present', which recognises that the past is never singular but somewhat exists in the contemporary via numerous intersecting courses that merge in a particular place and time (Bond & Kindon, 2013) through interrelations and interactions, continuously in process and never complete (Massey, 2005). Accordingly, space is permanently negotiated and can invite opportunities for radical politics "sometimes riven with antagonism [and] always contoured through the playing out of unequal social relations" (Massey, 2005: 153). The challenge heritage landscapes face today is thus to recognise the necessity of analysing the social relations which construct them, "instead of trying to erase the traces of

power and exclusion. Democratic politics require that they be brought to the fore, making them visible so that they can enter the terrain of contestation" (Mouffe, 1993: 149).

This means that landscape interpretation can serve as a critical resource and important tool when researching the past and its role in the present (Post, 2015). While landscapes are often simply defined as all human-built and modified structures charged with social, political, cultural and personal meaning, a more encompassing notion identifies places as a process, whereby "society produces the [cultural] landscape via discourse and as a force of will that directs spatial behaviour" (Schein, cited in Post, 2015: 195-196). This represents the holistic idea that the environment is formed by both natural and social developments, and that "surroundings represent a variety of different types of value" (Jones & Daugstad, 1997). Surely, such interpretations cannot be undertaken once and for all and then be simultaneously applied as blue prints to numerous locations, since the cultural landscape will inevitability change physically in accordance with shifting ideas and beliefs (Jones & Daugstad, 1997). While on the one hand such reflections are valuable in their understanding of processes of change in our physical surroundings and the part people play in these, on the other, they offer limited insight into the complexities of selection and management processes of landscape conservation and preservation, since the concept is broad and highly subjective and the conditions of dialogue are always affected by individual or collective power relations with the distinct groups involved (Jones & Daugstad, 1997). Nevertheless, no matter how abstract and theoretical the idea of cultural landscape might be, it does encourage significant discussion on how such spaces have come to matter and how they are received and lived in (Schein, 2009).

3.3   Landscapes of Pain, Shame and Tragedy

Looking at past conflicts and their role in present-day landscapes is a particular complex undertaking since memorialised landscapes can only "intend to display an unquestioned identity and collective memory towards their respective audiences, [since] anything 'collective' will always have its detractors; multiple experiences and voices narrate the past" (Post, 2015: 196). However, the argument here is not to dismiss the landscape, but to question how to deconstruct, analyse or

understand these sites produced through conflicting priorities of memory and heritage interpretation. Although it is difficult to codify the complexities fundamental to such significantly diverse and historically sensitive places, the following points can deliver helpful suggestions to analyse commemorative landscapes in a more effective way.

Two typologies can assist in evaluating community reaction to tragedy through commemoration. The first is Foote's (2003) identification of memorialised events ranging from sanctification to obliteration. Foote's (2003) coding system of responses to tragedies, places them along a four tiered classification continuum (Figure 6), whereby a site is either sanctified by way of reconstruction and designation, deliberately covered up through obliteration, mostly to erase the shame, blame and guilt attached to certain events, left to decay due to insignificance, or rectified to be reintegrated into the activities of everyday life. The latter can be applied to the example of the Batwa, which will be further discussed throughout the analysis. The Batwa are Rwanda's indigenous minority population and have been exposed to decades of marginalisation and discrimination (Beswick, 2011). During the genocide, they were both perpetrators and victims of violence, and it is estimated that 30% were killed throughout that period being targeted by both Hutu and Tutsi within and without the political context of the genocidal killing spree (Beswick, 2011).

Foote's model is creditable for several reasons. It demonstrates the multiple factors inherent in societies' conscious decision on which memorials to develop and how they interact and communicate a symbolically collective narrative about national values and identity. Additionally, it addresses the relationship between public memorials and private grief, such as the fact that sanctification can assist individuals in coping with their pain, while the lack of public acknowledgment causes further sorrow and resentment (Donofrio, 2007). However, by calling for a greater inclusiveness at such sites and predominantly focusing on the influence of public space on private grief, Foote has been criticised for undermining his argument about the greater obligation of these spaces to construct collective civic identities (Donofrio, 2007). The overall objective and impact of such sites within America's complex memorialscape and what role they essentially play in individual contexts, therefore needs to be further clarified.

Sanctification
- Site's ritual dedication to the memory of an event or to a martyr, hero, or a group of victims

Designation
- Site is marked for its significance, but lacks the heroic or sacrificial qualities associated with sanctified places
- Little long-term attention and rarely the focus of regular commemorative rituals

Rectification
- Site gains only temporary notoriety in the aftermath of the tragedy (if at all), then is reintegrated into the activities of everyday life. Fails to gain significance

Obliteration
- Effacing all evidence of a shameful tragedy to cover it up or remove it from view, guided by the desire to forget

Figure 6: *Continuum of tragic commemoration.*
(Source: Adapted from Foote, 2003)

A second valuable source is Erika Doss' *Memorial Mania* (2010), a study looking at emotional responses to the past through illustrations of how commemorative landscapes, most of them also popular tourism sites, reinforce particular emotions, such as fear, anger, grief and gratitude (Post, 2015). Her work will be further examined throughout Chapter 4 in the context of grief and post-traumatic growth at commemorative spaces.

Moreover, the time of when the memorial landscape was produced should be considered in its interpretation. Several examples confirm that it takes years for a country to dedicate a site to commemorating the most violent events of its past and to officially remember the victims (Post, 2015). Therefore, heritage landscapes illustrate present political transformations in addition to the temporal advances of how a nation has come to terms and is publicly dealing with upsetting occurrences

of its history (Foote, 2003). Whilst societies often place memorials at the actual site of the tragedy, drawing attention to the location of the event, sometimes opposing memorials of the same event might also be juxtaposed a few feet from each other in an adverse setting, demonstrating competing narratives (Dawyer, 2004).

In addition, it is significant to identify the site instigator, since those supporting a memorial do so with a specific purpose. The monument becomes a form of investment and certain stakeholders are permitted to structure the information and perspective of the landscape (Post, 2015). Those authorities agree on spatial narratives, such as form and purpose, location, text and implementation periods: "In the end, the created landscape is moulded into the particular shape and identity selected for it by a highly based group of politicians, public servants, or citizens" (Post, 2015: 198). Such displays can then re-establish the power of particular individuals and groups to shape public perception through redirecting blame or ascribing honour to diverge the event into 'us-versus-them' binaries (Post, 2015). Nonetheless, there is a substantial middle ground and some memorials are shaped by combined efforts and the agency between several members of society (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996). As previously illustrated atrocity heritage fulfils several inherently opposing purposes and carries conflicting meanings simultaneously. It is this intrinsic dissonance, or lack of agreement that constitutes heritage in the first place (Graham *et al.*, 2000), which will be the focus of the second part of this chapter.

3.4 Heritage as a Cultural, Political and Economic Resource

> … we cannot understand ourselves and build a secure and confident identity without acknowledging where we came from and how we got to where we are today … Before we plunge into yet another ocean of blood, it behoves us to reflect on the causes and consequences of previous atrocities and to finally understand that the origins of collective violence invariably lie in repressing memory and misconstruing the past.

> (Bartov, 2007: 201)

With this statement, Bartov refers to the field of Holocaust studies, where historians often separately reconstruct either the Nazi regime perpetrators and their policies, or the lives and deaths of the Jewish victims in their ghettos and

concentration or death camps (Cichopek-Gajraj, 2009). In his view "genocide, even one organized by a sophisticated bureaucratic state, is ultimately about some people killing other people" (Bartov, 2007: 12) and it is therefore important to highlight that perpetrators can become victims and vice versa. Emma Graham-Harrison (2015: 1) picks up on this debate in her article in *The Guardian Weekly,* where she refers to a conversation with the memorial director of Auschwitz, Piotr Cywinsky, who had been advised by several survivors that the "exhibition's creators did not want to be reminded of their tormentors and … that they only want to remember the victims". However, for visitors today, who are trying to grasp how the horrors of Auschwitz unfolded, this remains to be a gap in the exhibition narrative (Graham-Harrison, 2015) and the significant question of how ordinary people began committing murder on such an industrial scale remains unanswered (Cywinsky, cited in Graham-Harrison, 2015).

Thusfar this chapter has established that "heritage is that part of the past which we select in the present for contemporary purposes, be they economic, cultural, political or social" and its value rests in a complex collection of present-day beliefs, demands and moralities (Graham *et al.* 2000: 17). Graham *et al.* (2000) hereby also envision heritage as an economic resource, exploited as a strategy to promote tourism, economic development and rural, as well as urban regeneration in addition to its socio-political function. As a result, heritage creation is accompanied by an often bewildering range of "identifications and potential conflicts, not least when … places and objects are involved in issues of legitimisation of power structures" (Graham *et al.*, 2000: 17). This foreseeable, political contestation of heritage in any multicultural society has become a significant, yet controversial debate within wider heritage discourse (Hartmann, 2013).

Certainly, tourists who are predominantly motivated by curiosity and the pursuit of pleasure and fun might disregard the mandatory respect necessary for such sanctified spaces, since they are commonly cultural outsiders who lack the knowledge, as well as contextual background and sensitivity towards the heritage being visited (Ashworth, *et. al.*, 2007). In response, and in order to attract a larger visitor base, the complexity at such sites is commonly "reduced to simplicity in a sanitised past lacking depth and context" (Ashworth, 2009: 79). This statement is

supported by Schaller (2007: 515), who refers to the deliberate emotional exploitation of tourists at Rwanda's genocide memorialscape and suggests:

> … visitors of [such] killing fields are emotionally overwhelmed by what they see … the current Rwandan government does not shrink away from exploiting the strong empathy of genocide tourists … [who] adapt a simplistic black and white view and generalise the Hutu as evil perpetrators and the Tutsi as eternal victims. Consequently, these tourists are not able to understand the roots of the conflict.

Surely, it should then be deliberated whether or not the reiteration of shameful memories can form part of the solution, or if they cause further tension and division between societies tormented by former conflict (Hartmann, 2013).

3.5   Atrocity Heritage and the Memorialisation of Genocide

With regards to Holocaust tourism development at Kraków-Kazimierz[8], for example, Ashworth (2002) illustrates that atrocity heritage for numerous reasons is particularly prone to many types of dissonance, such as the interpretation for those who associate with victims, perpetrators and observers. While victims, for instance, may use certain established narratives of violent pasts for a deliberate fostering of group cohesion, place identification or ideological legitimisation, perpetrating individuals or states would seem to have an obvious interest in avoiding the creation of heritage likely to be highly dissonant to them, since it might lead to internal problems and external disadvantages (Ashworth, 2002). Here Foote's (2003) categorisation of obliteration comes into play, implemented through victimisation or demonisation strategies, like 'collective amnesia' or 'blame shift' among certain interest groups.

An example of such continuous landscape struggles between obliteration and sanctification can be demonstrated on the basis of the Srebrenica-Potocari Memorial Centre, located outside of the small town of Srebrenica in eastern Bosnia-Herzegovina (Plate 6) (Selimovic, 2012). This greatly contested site plays a central role for the on-going struggles around victim's hegemony in the region at

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[8] The Kazimierz district of Kraków is one of the largest and oldest areas of legalised continuous Jewish settlement in Poland, where Jews achieved some legal recognition and self-governance in an isolated autonomous enclave in the 15th/16th century (Kraków City Internet Platform, n.d.).

large, where the post-conflict order of Bosnia-Herzegovina is played out together with the international organisations' desire for building enduring peace (Selimovic, 2012). While the regional and national notion to accept or deny the massacre committed at Srebrenica in 1995 has been misused by local stakeholders as a tactic for gaining support among many Bosnian Serbs, Selimovic (2012) further revealed that hardly any Bosnian Serbs in the area had visited the genocide memorial due to fears of ostracism or public shaming. Rohde (2015) underlines these findings by maintaining that despite 93 mass-grave exhumations and 6,827 DNA identifications, it is still widely argued that the number of killings have been completely exaggerated. While such biased historical narratives always exist, the possibility of identifying the dead in Srebrenica should demonstrate the ability of technological advances to produce factual information that might contribute to the construction of a more truthful narrative. Unfortunately, in this case, such "statistics have only given those willing to manipulate the numbers more arrows in their quiver", adding fuel to the widespread dismissal of the annual commemoration as a provocation, supported by interfering outsiders (Rohde, 2015).

Image
redacted

Plate 6: *Areal view of the Srebrenica-Potocari Memorial Centre.*
(Source: Emric, 2015)

As numerously underlined earlier, atrocity is memorialised as a lesson for the present and utilised as a tool for future political direction, as much as it is an account of the past. Many stakeholders, therefore, argue that they are educating visitors on genocide prevention in the hope for a more peaceful living together, rather than entertaining consumers with the less acceptable aspects of humanity (Ševčenko, 2011). Unfortunately, the global rush of commemorating atrocity, as well as the general increase in knowledge dissemination, including messages of 'never again', have not led to a decrease in violent conflicts, suggesting that intentions projected by the site and those received by the visitors or surrounding populations may differ (Williams, 2007). Ashworth (2002) illustrates this by means of the Kazimierz landscape, where although local authorities have welcomed the economic gains of increasing visitor numbers, amplified through Spielberg's 1993 film on Schindler's factory, the polish middle class are mostly unable to relate to the Jewish heritage and the tourism it generates. Such developments thus offer little contribution to unification, integration or reconciliation in the area. This concern of the unhelpful increase in commodification of the region is mirrored by Graham-Harrison (2015), who opens her article in *The Guardian Weekly* with the alarming observation of Auschwitz visits advertised as part of a commercial day-trip package before an afternoon at historic salt mines, as well as commenting on the disturbing increase in local advertisements displayed in the close vicinity of the former concentration camp.

Lehrer (2010) explores a different angle, by arguing that a central aspect of long-term peace among members of divided societies is the continuous encounter and confrontation with what has been written on the successes and the failures of official or legal structures and governments. Since developments of social cohesion are "organised processes that unfold in daily life, within and between aggrieved communities" (Lehrer, 2010: 272), the courtroom is only one highly formalised site for such exchanges and alternative sites and other potential means of truth-telling should be considered (Borneman, 2002). Kazimierz in that sense proves to be a rewarding sphere for such interactions. Rather than being confronted with static narratives and texts, the landscape offers a unique opening in which Jews and Poles regularly cross paths, offering a rare opportunity for geographically dissociated groups to experience communication and exchange (Lehrer, 2010). Certainly, it is problematic to verify whether such spaces are actually contributing

to peaceful cross-cultural interactions in the long run, but Kazimierz still offers a unique area in which collective memories and national identities can be confronted, questioned and expanded and where dialogue is created. Because of the rushed condemnation of the quarter as a 'Jewish Disneyland' (Kuenz, 1993), a space characterised as constraining social interactions and discouraging critical reflections of the past, it is important to illustrate how this "heritage site embodies counter hegemonic political and moral concerns as well" (Lehrer, 2010: 272). Such examples demonstrate how site interpretations can differ across visitors and stakeholders, as well as academic researchers. Table 2 presents several instances of dissonance encountered at 'difficult' post-conflict memorialscapes and highlights individual strategies implemented to counter such disagreements.

3.5.1 Dealing with dissonance: tragic memoryscapes today

Site:	Dissonance and design drawbacks:	Implementations/suggestions to counter disparity and discord:
Slave castles in Ghana (Richards, 2005)	• Asymmetrical power relations: funding, technical advice, training originates from white officials who are more focused on technical demands of displays than larger, symbolic dimensions of the project • Ghanaians exhibit ambivalent responses to slavery: some local, coastal residents are the descendants of people who benefited from the trans-Atlantic slave trade, others benefited from Western style education in postcolonial Ghana	
Holocaust Memorial Berlin, Germany (Jansen, 2005)	• Failure to make historical memories concrete (abstractness of the monument might render the dead anonymous)	• Information centre was added providing an exhibition area of 800 m² • Centre documents the Shoah in Europe and provides the visitor with additional information on authentic sites of memory in Germany and abroad • Additional information offered on other categories of victims
Neue Wache – memorial expressing the grief of two world wars and the remorse of the Holocaust, Berlin, Germany (Roowaan, 2005; Till, 1999)	• Commemoration of war victims and those of the Holocaust • Commemoration of German and non-German victims • Remembrance of soldiers who were forced and reluctant but also those initially keen to fight	• Visualisation of the recent German attitudes towards totalitarian regimes and war in general • Memorial incorporates multiple narratives – the remains of the Unknown Soldier and the Unknown Concentration Camp Prisoner, earth from the battle fields and concentration camps, as well as a small symbolic statue by Kaethe Kollwitz called Pieta – a mother mourning over

		her dead son

Dachau Concentration Camp, Germany (Marcuse, 2005)	• Never responded to educational needs of visitors
	• When the memorial was established in 1968, there were objections to homosexuals being represented at the site. The pink triangle they were forced to wear was removed from the memorial and has never been replaced, even though 6,000 homosexuals were imprisoned here and subjected to harsh treatment
	• Redesigned according to the changing representational desires of those in charge:
	  1. US used the camp to punish former Nazis
	  2. 1950 to 1960s given to survivors, still Bavarian authorities were able to shape the site and represented events in an abstract, minimalist 'clean' way, removing traces from everyday life in the camp
	  3. 1990s appearance of the site was reconsidered, since the political will at that time was to confront the complexities and ambiguities in the concentration camp's history
		• During the 1990s guidelines were developed to restore greater historical authenticity at the site, focusing on preservation of the few authentic relics that survived the destructive impulses of the past, however:
		• Reluctance to recreate important but incongruous features of the camp
		• Guidelines risk shaping visitor experiences in accordance with the views that the site designers wish to convey

Yad Vashem – central site of remembrance for the victims and heroes of the Holocaust in Israel (Krakover, 2005)		• Exhibits and publications tend to blend most awful horrors of mankind with more neutral and even optimistic messages • Due to its financial backing it is not actively involved in attracting tourists • Survivors, second generation offspring and those with no holocaust background regard the site as an important educational facility, exhibiting a chapter in Jewish history that must

		be visited

Buchenwald Concentration Camp, Germany (Hartmann, 2005; Frommer Media, 2015)	• Buchenwald:
	   o rigid administrative rules in place
	   o spatial constraints of how to enter and behave at the campgrounds, which some visitors find disturbing
	   o architecturally guided and prescribed experience
	   o representation of controversial narratives controlled through authorities who determine which books are allowed to be offered at the bookstores and who is entitled to direct changes at the memorial landscape
	   o focus on black and white exhibition designs
		• Planting of trees has significantly influenced visitor experiences, given the memorial a park like feeling
		• Recommendation to introduce colour combinations into historic displays

Andersonville – national memorial dedicated to all war prisoners in American history (Boyles, 2005)	• Dissonance based on old rivalries between North and South • Some aspects of history have been left out, some individual prison camps are not included • Some histories do not receive enough attention – e.g. Native Americans complained that their story was not recognised	• Park has developed a programme so that plaques can be placed outside the museum to remember individual stories
Sand Creek Massacre site, where 700 soldiers attacked a Cheyenne and Arapaho village in 1864, Colorado, USA (Whitacre & Greene, 2005)	• Conflicting interests of national memorial site accessible to the American public, while at the same time addressing the concerns of rural residents living in the surrounding community • Local landowners fear they might lose property rights, receive less than what they believe is a fair price for their property • Tribal representatives raise questions about Native	• Multidisciplinary approach is adopted to locate the massacre site combining efforts of historians, archaeologists, geomorphologists, ethnographers, aerial reconnaissance experts, and tribal members • Opportunities for the tribes and the state to be involved in the formulation of general management plans and educational programs

	American rights to gain special access to the site for ceremonial and religious purposes, as well as repatriating human remains of massacre victims at the site • Issues of landowner rights if it was to be designated as a national historic site (tribes or the government) • Diverging interpretations of evidence • Conflicting information of tribal knowledge, historical documentation and archaeological survey work	for the site • Creation of the Sand Creek Massacre National Historic Site Establishment Act that includes special access rights for Native American tribes, highlighting that all land within the historic site is to be solely purchased from willing sellers
Genocide memorials in Rwanda (Friedrich & Johnston, 2013)	• Dissonance among interests of victims, perpetrators, governance, private enterprise and international development organisations • Incorporation of practical issues, e.g. bone conservation and political interpretive issues, such as establishing and subsequently presenting to tourists a comprehensible collective genocide narrative • Ethics of allowing outsiders to gaze upon the victims of a horrific national tragedy (Beech, 2009) • Dilemma of portraying the genocide appropriately by mentioning ethnicity, which is avoided in public dialogue in Rwanda today. Friction between documentation needs and national reconciliation policies • Ethical concern of displaying human remains and corpses • Tourist visits coincide with commemorative services (Plate 7) held at memorial sites from April-July (Hohenhaus, 2013) • Discourse on post-genocide period and present-day	• Tour guides present at various national memorials to put artefacts and sites into historical context (however, limited information available, language barrier) • Future plans include long-term preservation of artefacts and human remains at national and local memorial sites, as well as burials of some remains currently on display • Kigali Genocide Memorial (KGM) has integrated panels on the post-genocide period and is feeding elements of peace education into the visitor experience • Some panel narratives at the Murambi Genocide Memorial and at the KGM speak of genocidaire and victim, avoiding the ethnic distinctions Hutu and Tutsi, in order to prevent the demonisation and victimisation of certain groups

	peace building initiatives missing from several sites	
Korean Demilitarized Zone (DMZ) Exhibition at the Korean War Memorial (Kim, 2011)	• The North is portrayed as a doomed land that can only be saved by the South's humanitarianism. Moreover, it is a strategic target that must be destroyed by the South's superiority and advanced military technology • Ideologically charged images and installations are designed to embody South Korea's role as a liberator and the North as an oppressor and prison warden	
Nanjing Massacre Memorial, China (Fengqi, 2009)	• Built amidst disputes between China and Japan regarding various controversial historical events • The interpretation at the massacre site remains single minded/important communication vehicle of the government's position on certain political issues (intended to counteract the right-wing voices in Japan, who claimed that the Nanjing Massacre was an illusion)	
Auschwitz-Birkenau (Young, 2009)	• Current exhibition is outdated, particularly regional Polish experiences need revision engaging both local and international visitors • Post-war history of the camp should also be included in narratives • Birkenau is undeniably the primary site of the Holocaust, but the landscape is overlooked by the visitor who has been through the Auschwitz experience before reaching the death camp • Untangling the presentation of the camp's histories should allow stakeholders to more clearly identify places of significance for them personally, as well as their communities: relocate museum exhibitions to a	

	space separate from the camp, or move the Birkenau exhibition to Birkenau, in order for the landscape to be experienced in its entirety	
Tuol Sleng, Phnom Penh and Anlong Veng memorials commemorating the deaths as a result of the Khmer Rouge regime in Cambodia (Logan & Reeves, 2009)	• Lack of clarity about the development and execution of the genocide, as well as lack of expertise and funding for commemorative sites • Temporal proximity of the Khmer Rouge period makes it difficult to interpret sites in an objective, non-politicized or constructive capacity – has resulted in selective amnesia about certain events of the recent past • Tragic past being exploited with little thought or care by uneducated former Khmer Rouge who share their own highly distorted understanding of Cambodian history • Places like Anlong Veng have lack of control over messages being portrayed, since the guides often do not stick to official narratives and there is no alternative source of interpretation: no signage, no leaflets, no guidebooks	• In more recent years the interpretation has become more nuanced in Tuol Slang at least, where new exhibits explore thoughts and motivations of low level perpetrators as well as victims. Therefore, the earlier simplistic message about the culpability of a small clique of leaders has been opened up to some degree and the full tragedy of the Cambodian trauma has been exposed • Focus needs to be on such education, since this part of history is not taught in schools

Table 2: Dissonance surrounding the commemoration of atrocity

Image
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Plate 7: *Burial service taking place at Nyamata Church Memorial in Rwanda while tourists visit on-site human remains in underground tombs.*
(Source: Author)

3.6   Dissonant Heritage and Disinheritance

The examples above exemplify that heritage creation can be disagreeing in a variety of aspects. To clarify, Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996) define such a manifestation of tension as 'dissonant heritage', the present use of the past and its establishment through contemporary circumstances, which are not agreed. While it has become evident that former places of pain and shame can be exploited and are prone to manipulation in accordance with dominant political agendas, this cannot be avoided. A certain level of dissonance is inherent to the nature of

heritage as this thesis has defined it, and therefore conflicting interests between stakeholders should not be regarded as a problematic outcome of mismanagement, rather diversity should be utilised as an incentives for further management and interpretation considerations (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996; Sharpley, 2009b). "At its simplest, all heritage is someone's heritage and therefore logically not someone else's and the original meaning of an inheritance implies the existence of disinheritance" (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996: 21). Accordingly, a 'universal heritage', or one with which all stakeholders may identify with is impossible to produce, particularly at sensitive and politically charged landscapes (Ashworth & Hartmann, 2005). However, while some degree of selection is unavoidable, unintentional or only temporary, such choices of representation should not be underestimated, since they carry the potential to generate future divisions and conflicts.

Still, it is possible that in a diverse society in which various groups have no visible dependencies and in a broader sense are social equals that the affirmation of one heritage identity group does not negatively affect any other (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996). Regions, however, where social or economic relations between groups are experienced as unequal and where competing social, cultural, political or ethnic divergence exists, disinheritance can lead to further conflict (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996). And while such confrontations may provide new communicative encounters in which moral boundaries and ethical principles are renegotiated (Stone & Sharpley, 2013), they can in some cases cause more destruction than restoration. This becomes particularly evident in Northern Ireland, where the process of remembering and forgetting the dead points at best to a democracy shaped by a 'conflictual consensus' in which the contested heritage of victimhood creates an important narrative in present politics whereby tour guides promote 'us and them' storylines that undermine the attempt to suppress burdens of the past in this still 'unagreed society' (Graham & Whelan, 2007). A further example is the Korean Demilitarised Zone (DMZ) exhibition at the Korean War Memorial, where exhibits are focusing on diverging histories to highlight division as opposed to repairing relations (Kim, 2011). In any case, it should be recognised that the implications for successful tourism planning in the aftermath of violence means an acknowledgment of the importance of the different communities' full participation in the peace building process and an agreement in

the interpretation of the contested heritage that has been the catalyst for conflict (Anson, 1999).

In this context, Sharpley (2009) locates the interpretation of 'dark' sites within a governance framework. In order to do so he utilises Seaton's (2001) model of the 'heritage force field' to illustrate how conflicts of dissonance may occur between four groups with varying interests and needs in a certain heritage development. These groups incorporate the owners or controllers of the development, the subject groups, who are the focus of the heritage narratives, the host communities or residents located in the area of the development, and the visitors (Seaton, 2001). Certainly, the size, influence and relationship between these groups will vary or change over time and are highly dependent on the nature of the heritage development itself (Seaton 2001). Also, while certain groups will have acquired more power to influence national thinking than others, their interests are dynamic, just as the power balance among the parties involved (Seaton 2001). Heritage development can therefore be constructed on the basis of this 'force field', in which four distinct groups theoretically function within an interrelationship of power over time.

Poria (2001) offers an important contribution to the framework by highlighting that the reinterpretation of any dark site should be based upon the formation of a new narrative or conceptual framework that links a particular event or occurrence to all stakeholders' thoughts associated with the event (shame or pride) and the degree of involvement (good or bad). Combining these permits four groups of histories (Figure 7). Moreover, he suggests that bad active histories are usually not included in heritage interpretation (Poria, 2007) and such events might then formally be managed through authorised collective amnesia (Timothy & Boyd, 2003) or obliteration (Foote, 2003). In order to address such potential dissonance or to moderate political influence, new history should be created, "embracing all four histories within a more cooperative approach to interpretation" (Sharpley, 2009b: 163b). Bar-Tal and Bennink (2004) give emphasis to this creation of 'a new narrative' – a shared perception of the past, which entails major societal transformation and the evolvement of a new reality.

Sharpley (2009b) then combines Seaton's model of a heritage force field and Poria's concept of stakeholder accounts and develops a general model of governance for dark heritage sites. This is centred upon a "continual, sequential process of stakeholder identification, the determination of the histories of each stakeholder, and the negotiated or cooperative writing or re-writing of the heritage narrative for the site" (Figure 7) (Sharpley, 2009b: 163). Since such places are dynamic and exposed to change as political and cultural contexts (re)develop, so should the constructed narratives be under continuous (re)evaluation (Sharpley, 2009b). This does not mean that all narratives are of equal significance, rather it proposes that recognition should be given to all relevant histories of the stakeholders involved (active or passive, good or bad), as a basis for a more cooperative and inclusive approach to heritage clarification (Sharpley, 2009b). While the extent of which this is possible in the field is highly dependent on the nature of the site or event it is commemorating, as well as the power or political ideology of the controllers group, the model does offer a foundation for "encouraging harmony, reconciliation, understanding or learning through a more inclusive memorialisation and interpretation of dark or tragic pasts" (Sharpley, 2009b: 163).
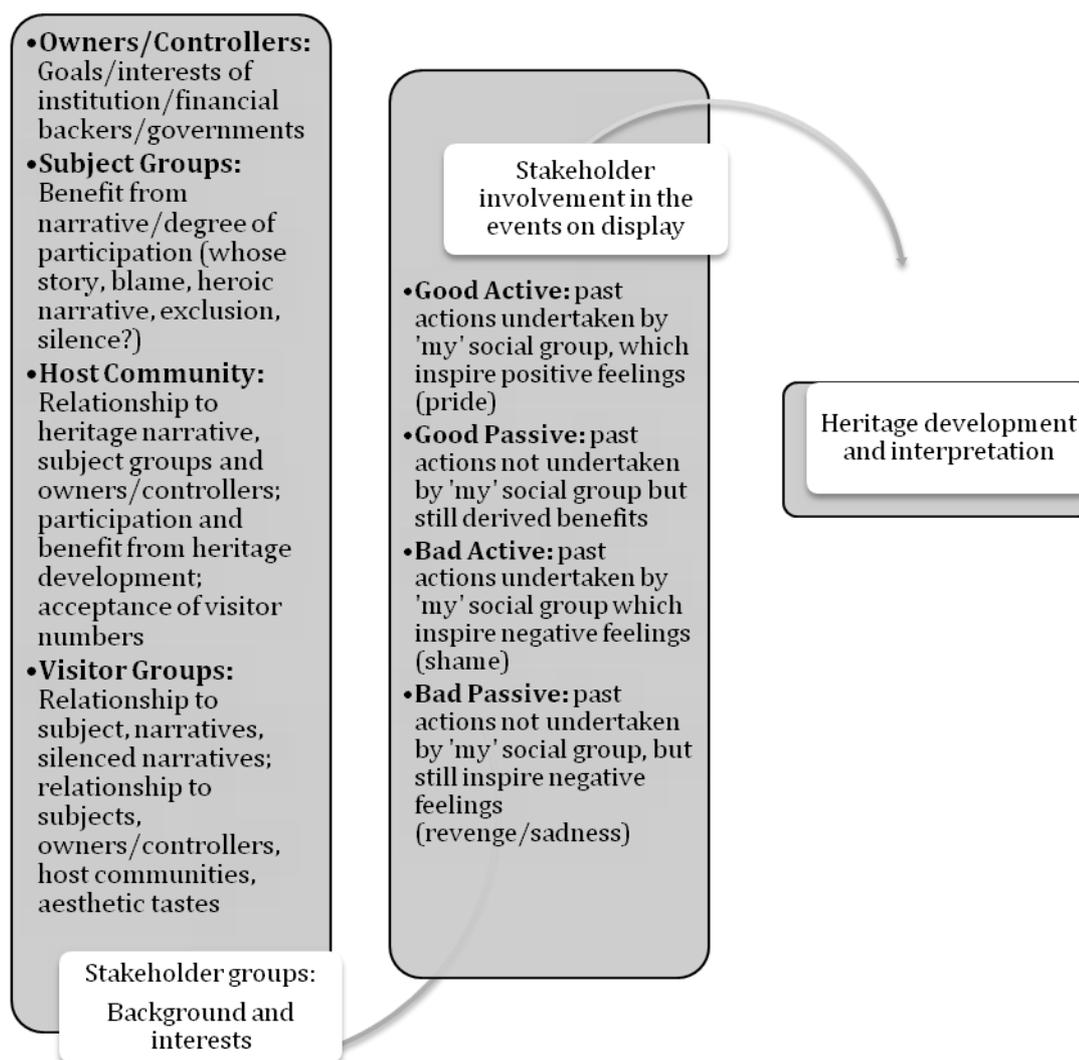
Figure 7: *A model of dissonant dark heritage governance.*
(Source: Adapted fromPoria: 2001; Seaton: 2001; Sharpley: 2009)

Figure 7 further illustrates that whatever is portrayed and communicated at heritage sites stems from a variety of subjective values, whether consciously held or not, of those exercising certain choices. Education is often mentioned among the most central purposes of heritage designs and thus such memorialscapes are expected to fulfil "a socialisation function in reproducing the dominant or currently favoured ideas of the community", like the dissemination of a consistent political ideology, or the identification with certain spatio-political or ethnic entities (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996: 27). This is not to allege that all heritage is deliberately produced by government officials only for political purposes, it can also be motivated by "non political, technical approaches in search of historical

accuracy, aesthetic beauty or even just entertainment" (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996: 28). Nevertheless, any heritage will always attempt to form view points according to a set of predetermined principles, whether this was intended or not, and those will vary among different groups, their stance within society, as well as historical relation, and their strategies of coping with the tragic past.

Victims for instance, and those associating with them, might have apparent reasons for obliterating distressing memories of past violent traumatic experiences committed against them and their relatives and friends. In this case, the reliving of the memory itself could be traumatic and destabilising and seen as hindering the formation of social cohesion and personal growth towards more peaceful relations (Ashworth, 2008). In contrast, strategies of memorialised victimisation and demonisation can be employed as the basis for the formation of group identity, in which case public memorial landscapes continually re-count past injustices and the resistance of the dominant group to them (Ashworth, 2008). While perpetrators can focus on strategies such as denying that the violence occurred in the first place, that it has been greatly exaggerated, or was simply an unfortunate by-product of an unavoidable circumstance, heritage interpretation can further be exploited to shift culpability for the violence to another group, through either narrowing or widening the allocation of blame, or applying instances of collective amnesia (Ashworth, 2008).

Relatedly, Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996) provide four categories of message content that might foster dissonance among a divergent visitor base. First, messages of the same events may conflict with each other and thus themselves create dissonance among consumers who have to incorporate contradictory ideas into their psychological constructs; second, the message may unintentionally create dissonance by some or all of the recipients; third, messages may continue to be projected to a now transformed society that has different policies and values from those for which they were originally intended for; and fourth, messages are disseminated that certain groups would rather not hear themselves, or permit others to hear (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996). Undoubtedly, there are unquantifiable circumstances at such sensitive spaces of former violence that provoke divergence, also with regards to those narratives that are not publicly displayed.

3.7   Summary

In sum, it is possible to argue that the shaping of any heritage product is by definition prone to disinherit non-participating social, ethnic, or regional groups, as their distinctive historical experiences may be discounted, marginalised, distorted or ignored (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996). Therefore, it has been maintained throughout this chapter that disinheritance is a direct consequence of the selectivity built into the concept of heritage in general. As exemplified, this natural side-effect does not necessarily have to foster negative sentiments, and there are cases where distinctive communities uphold a completely separate existence, whereby accepting the presence of the other (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996). However, if heritage interpretation starts to inconvenience others by refusing them access to certain structures, or rejecting recognition, as well as distorting significant events, tensions may undeniably appear. Northern Ireland and its marching season offers an undeniable example of the latter, where admission is denied to certain participating communities at specific public spaces in order to avoid confrontations and violent outbreaks (McDonald, 2015). In 2002 the BBC reported that "tension mounts in Northern Ireland as … marching season gets underway. This year the Orange Order [Protestant fraternal organisation] parade at Drumcree will not be allowed to march along the mainly nationalist Garvaghy Road" (Murray, 2002). Further frictions were recorded in 2013 and 2015, when the ban on marches going through nationalist areas caused widespread violent rioting and disorder, and was titled as the most contentions threat during the parading season (McDonald, 2015).

Moreover, the chapter exemplifies that memorials are dynamic spaces, which gradually change as memories of the past fade away or are distorted; indeed sites should be actively altered if they purely aid the remembrance of perpetrators and support their defence and denial (Logan & Reeves, 2009). The importance of determining what aspects of the past are being ignored or poorly represented in the interpretation of a particular heritage site is underlined, including the general notion that practitioners certainly need to approach a wide range of affected communities to gain further insights on individual views on specific management practices (Logan & Reeves, 2009). As formerly demonstrated, and in accordance with Foote's (2003) stages of atrocity commemoration, entire communities or

events might be missing from the public consciousness, perhaps because the communities or authorities in question do not want to remember the values associated with such places, nor do they want to focus on past controversies, or enhance political debates and dialogues (Graham *et al.*, 2000).

Although governments may want to increase constructive nation building, they might also retell history, invent traditions and celebrate heritage in ways that serve their own priorities, such as simply maintaining a grip on power (Logan & Reeves, 2009). This chapter suggests that difficult heritage is particular susceptible to many forms of dissonance, since it commonly relates to an entanglement of the worst experiences of inhumanity that naturally include profound diverging perceptions of perpetrators, victims and bystanders among others (Logan & Reeves, 2009). In order to respond to Ashworth's (2008: 243) persistently unanswered question "should it be remembered?", this thesis argues that it is necessary to recognise difficult heritage than to purposefully neglect it as an excuse to redraft history in the name of reconciliation (Basu, 2008). "Better, surly to negotiate a heritage of conflict than to build post-war society on a flimsy myth of peace" (Basu, 2008: 246). Rather than tolerating silence, a more responsible and transparent presentation of the past should be utilised (Poria, 2001). Nevertheless, painful heritage needs to be recognised as a form of cultural politics; a link between ideology, public policy, as well as national and community identity creation, in addition to its physical restorative purpose (Logan & Reeves, 2009). How this struggle of post-traumatic memory and identity formation relates to the challenges inherent in memorialisation and commemoration developments will be the focus of the next chapter.

CHAPTER 4

MEMORIALISATION AND COMMEMORATION – REMEMBRANCE IN TIMES OF TRANSITION

4.0   Memory and Identity Formation

When studying the complexities fundamental to memorialisation developments and practices, it is necessary to locate their origin within the broader field of memory and identity creation. Hence, one of the notions within memory studies is to not interpret associations of the past as a naturally given, truthful account of history (Buckley-Zistel & Schaefer, 2014) but as a collective or individual phenomenon made accessible and meaningful through social interaction and collective symbolic creation (Sturken, 1997). This approach has been central to arguments discussed earlier in Chapter 3, with regards to the hierarchical social, political, and cultural processes involved in shaping memories and portraying dissonant painful legacies within multidimensional societies. It is particularly through memorial museums that a selective dissemination and documentation of memories takes place through which outsiders can inform themselves about specific narratives and their contexts, while members of the community can reaffirm their past and hand histories down to new generations (Buckley-Zistel & Schaefer, 2014).

At this point it is important to elaborate on how such memories are actually related to the individual or to 'the Self' (Kihlstrom *et al.,* 2002). Klein (2001) states that self-knowledge is always signified in the individual's memory, and therefore, in addition to viewing the Self as a notion or as an image, it is useful to think of it as one's memory for oneself. This concept can be traced back to John Locke's[9] famous identification of the Self with memory (Kihlstrom *et al.,* 2002). While Descartes[10] (1637) had found the Self in the instant conscious experience of thinking, forming

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[9] The work of English philosopher John Locke (b. 1632, d. 1704) is considered among the foundations of modern philosophical empiricism and political liberalism (Uzgalis, 2015).

[10] Réne Descartes, a French academic, philosopher, scientist and mathematician, born in 1596 (d. 1650), is considered by many to be the father of modern philosophy because his approach to numerous ideas departed widely from contemporary understandings in the early 17th century (Hatfield, 2015).

self-identity in the immediate experience: "Cogito ergo sum, je pense, donc je suis; I think, therefore, I am", Locke on the other hand found identity in "the extension of consciousness backward in time ... [meaning] that identity extends to whatever of his or her past he or she can remember" (Kihlstrom *et al.,* 2002: 5). Therefore, actions of the past that have been forgotten by a person are not part of his or her identity, which hereby suggests that the Self consists solely in connection with memory and if nothing is remembered, there would be no Self or identity (Kihlstrom *et al.,* 2002). While this connection between memory and identity has been widely recognized as a basis for human self-identification, it is shown to be restrictive at times (Kihlstrom *et al.,* 2002).

From the German philosopher Heidegger's perspective, for example, such negotiations "suffer from their generality" (Steiner & Reisinger, 2006: 309). While a Heideggerian approach doubts the authentic existence of individual identities all together, "in a sense they would not be personal and unique but communal", society nevertheless utilises the past to identify and understand themselves, and history, therefore, gives people the probabilities to define themselves (Steiner & Reisinger, 2006: 309). In this context, the Scottish philosopher Hume (2012) argues for the ability to extend identity beyond those events that can be personally remembered, meaning that self-narratives also include experiences that must have happened – whether they essentially happened or not. While Locke's view of the Self-as-memory is based on the ability to reproduce experiences from memory, Hume focuses also on the ability to reconstruct experiences in memory by forming causal relations among events (Kihlstrom *et al.,* 2002). Freud[11] also embraced this Lockean view, but added the controversial concept of the nature of the unconscious mind, illustrating that crucial memories are unconscious as opposed to consciously accessible (Freud, 1916-1917). Although highly criticised as being methodologically inadequate, too speculative, and unable to deliver substantial empirical evidence (Crayling, 2002), Freud's work (1899: 4) on the unconscious mind and the intuitive tried to demonstrate how actions are influenced subconsciously, specifically so in dreams during which psychological structures are "full of significance ... which may be assigned to a specific place in the psychic

[11] Austrian neurologist Sigmund Freud (b. 1856, d. 1939) is known for developing theories and techniques of psychoanalysis, which are however widely criticised as being free associations, reliant on subjectivity, and overly suggestive rather than theoretical and empirically grounded (Crayling, 2002).

activities of the waking state". While this thesis does not have the scope to deconstruct contemporary debates on the conscious and subconscious psyche of the human mind, it can nevertheless be argued, thus far, that memory and time form a special relationship that has relevance to this study.

Certainly, the concepts of time and memory are interrelated since the act of remembering rationally presumes a sense of time and our subjective experience of time is held to be a composition of memory (Klein *et al.*, 2002). However, memory as a social activity differs from the psychological or cognitive process mentioned earlier and can function as a communal need to reconstruct the past (Brown, 2004). Memory then becomes a dynamic element that is constantly expanded and adjusted to the needs of a certain group "as it attempts to reconstruct out of the fragments of the past a more sustainable future" (Brown, 2004: 251). Such memory developments can take up various constructive, but also destructive forms and transformations dependent on the needs of any given society.

4.1   The Link between Memory, Identity and Dark Tourism

It should be noted that since individuals identify themselves in terms of kinship and other interpersonal relations or group memberships, other people, as well as given societal norms, values and structures, do form a substantial part of the formation of the self-concept (Markus & Cross, 1990). This feeds back into discussions illustrated throughout earlier chapters, where it was argued that the commemoration and identification of the past is a selective social and geographic construct (Rose-Redwood *et al.,* 2008). Which memories are eventually made visible (or invisible) results directly from people's commemorative decisions and actions and are positively or negatively influenced by socio-spatial conditions (Rose-Redwood *et al.,* 2008).

With regard to the temporal relations of memory and identity formation exemplified above, Kansteiner (2002: 189) argues that memories become most collective when they exceed the time and space of the events' original occurrence, which is when "they take on a powerful life of their own, 'unencumbered' by actual individual memory … [forming] the basis of all collective remembering as disembodied, omnipresent, low-intensity memory". Remembrance then evolves into a form of generic difficult heritage that certain groups identify with.

Kantsteiner (2002) illustrates this with reference to the memory of the Holocaust in American society, where millions of people share a restricted range of stories and images about the Holocaust, yet few of them have a personal link to the transpired events. Although for many, such images do not encompass intense or overpowering experiences, they nonetheless influence and shape people's identities and views (Kantsteiner, 2002). Indeed, one powerful disseminator of identity representation with regards to collective painful pasts and their position in the contemporary culture is the film industry.

4.2   Genocide through the Eyes of Hollywood – Shaping Visitor Expectations

Emotive films can have wider reaching impacts on the public sphere and provoke responses from far beyond the commercial sector, receiving attention from writers, activists and politicians (Hansen, 1996). For example, *Schindler's List* (1993), *Hotel Rwanda* (2004), *In the Land of Blood and Honey* (2011), and *Pearl Harbour* (2001), to name just a few, are all Hollywood productions which managed to not only catalyse opposing points of view, but also, made contestation visible among several unequal discursive arenas in their effort to reveal what and how a non-identical nation should remember (Hansen, 1996). Similarly, Rupert Murdoch's film *Behind Enemy Lines* (2001) was rush released soon after the 9/11 attacks, at the wake of American nationalism, to encourage public consent on the US-led retaliatory attack against the Taliban regime in Afghanistan (Tuathail, 2005).

The controversies surrounding *Schindler's List,* for example, are not only symptomatic of larger problematic issues of Holocaust remembrance and the so-called Americanisation of the Holocaust, but also demonstrate more general concerns regarding the relationship of intellectuals to mass culture (Loshitzky, 1997). Main critiques argue that the film:

a) remains a Hollywood product and, as such is restricted by the economic and ideological principles of the culture industry, "with its unquestioned and supreme values of entertainment and spectacle, its fetishism of style and glamour" (Hansen, 1996: 296). The film is usually compared to Spielberg's

previous epics and has been accused of turning the Holocaust into a theme park, "the so called Shoah-business" (Hansen, 1996: 297)

b) signifies one story from the Shoah in a representative manner by focusing on the heroic exception, the gentile rescuer and the miracle of survival, which distorts proportions and ends up falsifying the record of the anonymous Jewish masses who were exterminated (Loshitzky, 1997)

c) is portrayed through the eyes of the perpetrator (Hansen, 1996). Spielberg's Jewish awakening during the making of the film led to the false notion that *Schindler's List* is a 'Jewish movie' (Gourevitch, 1994). Though it chose "as its epigraph the words (somewhat mangled) from the Talmud[12]: "Whoever saves one life, saves the world entire", *Schindler's List* depicts the Nazi slaughter of Polish Jewry almost entirely through German eyes" (Gourevitch, 1994: 7). Except for Itzhak Stern, limited Jewish figures are individuated from the mob of victims and when they are seen on their own the camera views them with a certain detachment (Gourevitch, 1994).

Moreover, Claude Lanzmann accuses *Schindler's List* of not recognising the unique and absolute status of the Holocaust, "unique in that it erects a ring of fire around itself, a borderline that cannot be crossed because there is a certain ultimate degree of horror that cannot be transmitted. To claim it is possible to do so is to be guilty of the most serious transgression" (Lanzmann, cited in Hansen 1996: 301). In his own production *Shoah* (1985), Lanzmann firmly refuses any direct representation of the past, whether through fictional re-enactment or archival footage (Felman, 1992). In its place, the film combines interviews with numerous witnesses (survivors, perpetrators, bystanders, historians) to give testimony to the physical details of mass extermination (Felman, 1992) and to depict the "sheer incapacity" of the mind to grasp such an extend of brutality (Charlesworth, 1996: 176). Lanzmann deliberates aspects of spatial relations by continuously relocating the sites of Chelmno and Treblinka through his shots of moving gas vans and the death trains through the surrounding landscapes and their arrival at the camps (Charlesworth, 1996). "Such repetition allows the viewers no escape from the conclusion that the camps [as well as the ghettos] were set in living landscapes

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[12] The Talmud is a supplement to the Bible, explaining the laws of the Torah. In addition, it includes sayings and stories that offer the philosophy and wisdom of Judaism (Student, 2000).

[not in distant suburbs], not in remote Siberian wastes" (Charlesworth, 1996: 176) and raises the inescapable question of how such horrors were kept concealed and what role these sites occupy in the landscape today.

Films can also offer a platform for resistance and alternative narratives, as argued by Andre Bazin – the author of *French Cinema of the Occupation and Resistance* (1981) – who states that "the function of cinema, even above its artistic function, is to satisfy the immutable collective psychic needs that have been repressed" (Bazin, cited in Armao, 2014: 383). This is the case in post-conflict Bosnia Herzegovina, where although the government's main focus lies on retributive justice, several local organisations and artists employ forms of symbolic reparations to acknowledge victims of war (Armao, 2014). They argue that although judicial proceedings and accountability for human rights violation is necessary, such measures are not sufficient to bring sustainable peace and democracy to the region (Armao, 2014). As history has demonstrated, justice cannot be limited solely to legal processes implemented by state entities or even customary law, therefore, it is often sought through symbolic reparations carried out by civil society, such as theatre performances that focus on truth seeking or on the complexities of culpability in accounts of war crimes and sexual victimisation (Simić, 2011). The Belgrade theatre group Dah, for instance, is trying to open up sensitive dialogue in their play, *Crossing the Line* (2009), which uses genuine testimonies of women refugees, displaced persons, and survivors of the Yugoslav wars to establish a way of dealing with the past and to reach audiences "on a verbal and emotional level" (Simić 2010: 119). Since 1991, the Dah Theatre openly counters militarism, nationalism and gender inequality through street performance and theatrical plays (Salzano, 2014).

Overall, Bosnian cinema has been a successful domain where trauma of war has received significant attention (Armao, 2014)[13]. However, in an atmosphere "where the narrative of Bosnia and Bosnian victimhood is dominant" (Helms, 2014: 633), films about war rape have mostly failed to highlight the political and social complexities of rape, sex and gender roles during conflict and its aftermath,

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[13] Žbanić's films *Grbavica* and *For Those Who Can Tell No Tales,* for example, are sensitive and moving portrayals not only of wartime rapes, but also their consequences for women (Armao, 2014).

unfortunately, adding to one sided simplistic narratives of ethno-national entities as victims and perpetrators in the Bosnian War (Armao, 2014). One example of one-dimensionalism is the highly criticised film *In the Land of Blood and Honey*[14] directed by Hollywood celebrity Angelina Jolie, which reinforces patriarchal notions of female vulnerability and male violence during war, as well as ethno-national symbols of aggressive Serbian male sexuality and Bosnian female passivity (Plate 8) (Helms, 2014). Unlike Žbanić's *Grbavica* and *For Those Who Can Tell No Tales* that emphasise how the past connects to the present, and how places and people can be marginalised and marked by tragic events, Jolie's film ignores the stigmatisation of war rape survivors, including sexually abused men who remain invisible within their 'own' communities (Helms, 2014).

Image
redacted

Plate 8: *Main characters Ajlia and Danijel in The Land of Blood and Honey.*
(Source: Pulver, 2014)

Similarly, cinematic representations of the Rwandan genocide have perpetuated a "mythology in which there are clearly identifiable victims, heroes and villains and simple ethnic or even tribal causes for the atrocities" (Cook, 2011: 174). Whereas McKinney (2014) claims that "without the release of *Hotel Rwanda*, it is hard to

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[14] The plot is created around the relationship between Bosniak painter Ajla and Bosnian Serb policeman Danijel who meet in pre-war Sarajevo. Within a couple of months Ajla becomes a prisoner of Bosnian Serb soldiers in a detention camp and encounters Danijel again who has become a local commander of the Bosnian Serbs. In order to save her, he takes her as a prisoner. In the end she betrays him and he ends up killing her (Pulver, 2012).

imagine that the Western tourist would know what to look for in Rwanda", its decontextualisation and simplification of the causes of violence add to "established conventions that govern the representation of African culture in Western literature" (Cook, 2011: 174). As Philpot (2004) suggests in his fitting title *Rwanda 1994: Colonialism dies hard*, it is rarely mentioned within literature, and even more so the media, how violent eruptions in Africa are based on social, economic, political, international and institutional pressures. Since it is easier to rely on ethnic or tribal frameworks, several films dealing with the build-up and execution of genocide in Rwanda (e.g. *100 Days*, 2001; *Shooting Dogs,* 2005; *Sometimes in April*, 2005) obscure the often complex and internationally blurred factors that contribute to bringing about conditions that eventually result in violence (Cook, 2011). Previous knowledge gained through such media outlets accordingly influences visitor expectations, as well as their gaze on such sites representing the violence and death encountered in previous affecting storylines.

In this context, Charlesworth (2004), for example, elaborates how the landscape of the former concentration camp Płasow[15] in Poland has become a vision of the place Spielberg created in *Schindler's List*. Certainly, the making of the film is what pulled Płasow out of its global anonymity and made it infamous. Nevertheless, Beech (2002) suggests that the site remains less popular as a visitor attraction compared to other Holocaust memorials located at authentic killing sites, owed to the fact that besides a few small reminders of its tragic past, the entire space is now essentially used by the population for daily activities, such as grazing goats, haymaking or taking walks. Still, in contrast to Ashworth (2002) who argues that the Polish middle class in Kazimierz are not likely to relate to its Jewish heritage, Charlesworth (2004: 307-308) emphasises that locals who have lived in the area of Płasow since the early 1950s

> … know what the camp was and what happened to parts of the camp after Soviet liberation … and the behaviour of locals on the site was never meant as disrespect[ful, sacrilegious or anti-Semitic behaviour] to the memory of those who had been killed there during the German occupation, which included Catholic Poles as well as Jews.

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[15] Płasow was a labour and concentration camp located outside of Kraków in the suburbs of the city in southern Poland. With the liquidation of the Kraków ghetto in 1943 the camp expanded to fully occupy the 32 hectare site centred on two former Jewish cemeteries (Charlesworth, 2004).

Nevertheless, turning the space into a memorial site would disturb the lives of people who are presently using these spaces (Charlesworth, 2004). Similarities can here be drawn to the town of Oświeçim where dissonance regarding its biggest attraction, the Auschwitz-Birkenau memorial museum, causes tensions between the need to acknowledge the tragedy, but also to create conditions for the local population to carry on living (Charlesworth, 2006). Various struggles in the past show how closely the memorial institutions are linked to Oświeçim's present politics and how important it is for the town to reconcile its diverse parts (Stenning *et al.*, 2008). Conflicts between local and national authorities include disagreements over urban development opportunities, such as the appropriateness of introducing supermarkets, restaurants and tourism infrastructures in the vicinity of the memorial (Dwork & Pelt, 1996), as well as more deeply rooted political tensions, like the establishment of a Carmelite convent next to Auschwitz I to acknowledge the Polish Catholic victims of the camp (Stenning *et al.*, 2008). Unfortunate and misleading newspaper headlines provoked aggressive objections; "controversial plans to build a shopping complex right outside the gates of the former Auschwitz death camp were put on ice by the Polish government yesterday following fierce protests from international Jewish groups and senior Israeli politicians" (Bridge, 1996). Hence, increasing pressure from the outside pushed investors to side-line local communities by halting development opportunities, which not only implied that the memorial was now a global player in the Holocaust heritage business, but also demonstrated that the museum was aware of its new position and influence within an increasingly international environment (Charlesworth, 2006).

4.3 Global Memoryscapes:
The Fall of Nationalism and the Internationalisation of Heritage

Erika Doss (2010: 2), regarding the United States, uses the expression 'memorial mania' to describe the flourishing "obsession with issues of memory and history and an urgent desire to express and claim those issues in visibly public contexts." Similarly, David Lowenthal (1996) branded society as 'possessed' by a cult-or religious-like dedication to the past. "Heritage has become a global industry that sells the past to promote tourism and development, feeding a rampant consumer appetite for things retro, restored, and re-enacted" (Alderman & Inwood, 2013: 186). This internationalisation of heritage or, as Williams' (2007) book title reads,

the *Global Rush to Commemorate Atrocities*, can be traced back to general notions of globalisation. Arjun Appadurai, a contemporary social-cultural anthropologist, explains globalisation through a shift in cultural gravity (Appadurai, 1993). While in the past, transaction and communication between groups has been limited because of geographical aspects, ecology, or simple resistance to meet the Other (Appadurai, 1993), "the contemporary age has seen a pull toward more complex transnational cultural processes" (Phillips & Reyes, 2011: 13). Where the previous age of nationalism was driven by what Benedict Anderson (2004) coined "imagined community", globalisation is fuelled by what Appadurai (1993) describes as "imagined worlds", "spaces and places where the cultural imaginary is driven by the global rather than only the national landscape" (Phillips & Reyes, 2011: 13). While Misztal contends that "in today's societies with their diversity of cultures, ethnicities, religions and traditions, we are witnessing the fragmentation of national memory" (Misztal, 2003: 18), Phillips and Reyes (2011) argue that local and national memories have not disappeared, but rather they have been redefined in a new global context, particularly in terms of ownership and dominance.

While previously, heritage was a universally accepted government or state tool utilised to stimulate a homogenous, legitimate and official 'national' identity, disseminated at a local and international level, there has been an increasing change in the conceptualisation of nation-states as identical units through the acknowledgment of cultural diversity within state boundaries (Craith, 2007: 9). This has served as the catalyst for a more inclusive review of national heritages and has encouraged initiatives, such as the *Black History Month* in Britain that promotes knowledge of black history and experience with the aim of circulating information on positive black contributions to British society, as well as challenging conventional national narratives (Constantine-Simms, 2005: 12).

Observably, these new found global spaces are comprised of shifting and often conflicting cultural *scapes*, such as the global movement of people *(ethnoscape)*, images *(mediascape)*, technology *(technoscape)*, capital *(finanscape)*, ideologies *(ideoscape)* and even death *(deathscapes)* (Appadurai, 1993). As demonstrated earlier, the global *memoryscape* can be endorsed into this framework, upon which "memories and memory practices move, come into contact, are contested by, and contest other forms of remembrance" (Phillips & Reyes, 1993: 13). The case of

Rwanda, for example, indicates how contemporary memorialisation is shaped by international actors, indicating how "the national hold on memory, never entirely firm, has been loosened by international norms, narratives and finances" (Ibreck, 2013: 150). This is also represented in the global memory of the Holocaust and the role it has played in creating new sensibilities and moral, as well as political obligations (Levy & Sznaider, 2002). Steele (2006: 3), for instance, refers to the KGM, Rwanda's leading memorial museum, as a "Euro-Western project of memory and international criminal law" which communicates the view of genocide as a crime against humanity, moving memorialisation away from being a commemorative ritual for local societies to a politicised phenomenon incorporating the international community.

Such international support encompasses three main aims, (i) to promote reconciliation among Rwandans by changing attitudes towards the past and cultivating the idea of a unified nation, as an act of international solidarity, (ii) to build personal or institutional credibility for international norms, and (iii) to promote the global cause of genocide prevention, since 'never again' depends on remembrance and learning lessons from past atrocities worldwide (Ibreck, 2013). As a result, collaborations such as the KGM, have been established that work together with the "state and the international community in a symbolic reconstruction of the nation" (Ibreck, 2013: 165). While it remains difficult to establish whether this project will have the long-term outcomes it is seeking, since collective memories in Rwanda are naturally characterised by divisions and trauma of not only the genocide but also other past conflicts (Misztal, 2003), it does "show how Rwandan elites are influenced by transnational discourses and how they seek external support for post-conflict reconstruction and to construct their political legitimacy" (Ibreck, 2013: 166). While outsiders can support the planning and implementation process of memorial projects if they bring skills and perspectives not readily available in survivor communities, designing a memorial without sufficient study of local needs, priorities and disagreements can lead to a site that, "at best, carries little meaning for survivors and at worst raises unrealistic expectations or generates hostility" (Barsalou, 2014: 62).

However, it should be noted here that survivor groups in Rwanda have taken part in the creation of memorials (Ibreck 2010). Communities have gathered and tried to preserve or bury the remains of the dead, they have organized local commemorative ceremonies and have voiced their concerns to local authorities, as well as being the leading force in constructing local memorial sites (Ibreck, 2010). Certainly, their efforts exceed that of international actors or even the state.

4.3.1   Never again – a universal slogan of hope

With reference to overall memorial constructions and design, particularly with regards to those sites promoted for international visitors, thoughts commonly diverge. This becomes particularly apparent when discussing evidence such as artefacts, photographs and images exhibited at memorial museums. Not only do they carry a heavy emotional demand, but "there is [also] a close connection between the theory of trauma and the visual aesthetic of shock" (Williams, 2007: 75). While information is gathered through establishing the context of any image, and some form of relation is formed, the subject's traumatic experience can never be completely understood or prevented. Sontag (2003: 91) states that it is precisely this

> ... passivity that dulls feeling. As long as we feel sympathy, we feel we are not accomplices because horrific events can't be stopped. People therefore become less responsive to the horrors. The question is what to do with the feelings that have been aroused, the knowledge that has been communicated. If one feels that there is nothing 'we' can do ... then one starts to get bored, cynical and apathetic.

In this context, Williams (2007: 50) argues that it is the museums' inability to prevent violent recurrences, in combination with the general conflicted feeling of helpless frustration and the relief of not having lived through the atrocities that such spaces can only offer a future oriented hopeful assurance of 'never again'. Although it is evident that such a promise cannot be followed through in practice since visitors lack the institutions to secure it, "hope is not the conviction that something will turn out well, but the certainty that something makes sense, regardless of how it turns out" (Havel, 1993, cited by Fullan, 1998: 4).

Such sentiments are often voiced through visitor commentaries in customary guest books laid out in front of donation boxes (Clark, 2009). While the comments left in such books are predictable, tending to express shock at the horrific crimes, solidarity with the victimised populations, and different versions of 'never again', there are instances of resistance (Clark, 2009). Previous guest books in the Khe Sahn War Memorial in Vietnam, for example, have been removed by the government because political comments were criticising communism and the current regime (Clark, 2009: 12). At the Tuol Sleng Memorial in Cambodia, however, the current guest book depicts a consistency of messages that can be separated into five categories: "feelings of sadness, bewilderment at human evil, variations of 'never again' and 'do not forget', praise for the exhibit and the learning experience, and positive messages of hope, peace, reconciliation and love, sometimes with a religious reference" (Sion, 2011: 5). Since these messages could describe many other sites of former pain, from Auschwitz to Kigali to Srebrenica to Buenos Aires, this supports the argument that memory and memorialisation practices are "becoming globalised, inspiring similar emotions, standardising architecture and blurring the uniqueness and specific historical context of each tragedy" (Sion, 2011:).

With regard to visitor books, Clark (2009) argues that guests always bring a performative impulse to memorials, whether the site invites or discourages participation, visitors do want to 'do something'. By far the most extensive infrastructure for participation can be found at Hiroshima and Nagasaki, where protected repositories are provided for the universal paper crane wreaths, in addition to holders for flowers, notes, incense, candles and other offerings, a grassroots gesture that has become the normative memorial performance (Plate 9) (Clark, 2009).

Image
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Plate 9: *Mass grave at the KGM, 2014.* (Source: Author)

This becomes particularly apparent at the Columbine shrines which developed soon after the shootings at Columbine High School on 20 April 1999 (Grider, 2007). Margry and Sanchez-Carretero (2011: 2) refer to these developments as "grassroots memorials – a form of social action, in public spaces, usually at sites where traumatic deaths or events have taken place". Conventional shrines generally consist of spontaneously and aesthetically arranged candles, flowers, stuffed animals, balloons, photographs, notes and messages and personal items (Grider, 2007). A few examples are those deposited in remembrance of Princess Diana, the 9/11 shrines in New York, or those created alongside roads to mark the location of fatal accidents (Margry & Sanchez-Carretero, 2011). There are, however, also atypical shrines, such as the one created by Greg Zanis, an apparently well-meaning carpenter from a suburb in Chicago, who erected a series of 15 tall crosses (Plate 10), controversially including two for Dylan Klebold and Eric Harris, 'the shooters' who committed suicide after the massacre (Grider, 2007). While each cross bore the name of one of the dead, Zanis later pointed out that he had used a different typeface for their names to evidently set them apart (Grider, 2007). Community response to this display polarised:

> The crosses, for a few days a unifying beacon, have become symbols of discord ... some of the victims' parents felt it wrong to accord identical memorials to the killers and the innocent dead. Visitors were divided too. Some put black plastic bags over the crosses for Harris and Klebold. Others took the bags down. [While] some placed obscene letters on the killers' crosses.

(Adams, 1999: 3)

The Amish, for instance, completely ignored the shrines, forgave the murderers, and offered assistance to their families, which demonstrates how "individual communities exert their ownership and control over the form and performance of their mourning, regardless of the viewpoints of outsiders" (Grider, 2007: 7).

Image
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Plate 10: *Fifteen crosses erected by Greg Zanis in remembrance of the deaths from the Columbine High School shooting.* (Source: Columbine Memorial Website, 1999)

4.4 The Dynamics of Memory

In essence, memorials form a basis for the dissemination of certain recollections, a space where outsiders can learn about particular pasts "while members of the community can reassert their memories and crucial memories can be handed down beyond the generational divide" (Buckley-Zistel & Schaefer, 2014: 4). Additionally, a memorial provides a visual space which simplifies a multifaceted narrative into symbols that can be reused in numerous contexts (Buckley-Zistel &

Schaefer, 2014). Such public discourse permanently entails pathways for contestation and change, since it is always fluid and exposed to persistent re-interpretation. This thesis, therefore, acknowledges that the past and its dynamic collective memories not only differ widely with regard to interpretation, but that such dissonance holds the potential to take on intense and at times violent forms (Buckley-Zistel & Schaefer, 2014).

At memorial sites narratives function as templates for making sense of the present or are used as a form of symbolic reparation for victims, but they also serve as a model for interaction and to ensure order and belonging within a certain group (Welzer, 2001). The process of commemoration is, for that reason, characterised by attempts to "condense and harden a layer of meaning above all others" (Dwyer, 2004: 431). It is a type of "symbolic accretion" whereby collective histories are developed through a place, promoting or diminishing competing discourses in an unidentified landscape (Dwyer, 2004). Since memory is unable to preserve everything "it is the result of a selection process and of organizing what is chosen so that it is within graspable reach" (Lynch, 1993: 36). Still, difficult heritage can never guarantee the continuity and supremacy of a particular narrative, nor can it prevent the event from being subjected to reinterpretations in competing narratives (Buckley-Zistel & Schaefer, 2014).

Thus far, the thesis has demonstrated that memorialisation is driven by uneven power relations among social groups, the politics of identity and cultural representation, the physical and affective experiences of people, broader political patterns of control, and the forces of commercialization accompanying the tourism market (Alderman & Inwood, 2013). And so it is plausible that the study of memory is a multidisciplinary field of research. However, it is "different kinds of memory as generations pass away that is important to dark tourism and the mediation of mortality" (Stone, 2012: 1579). As a result, Stone (2012) distinguishes between first generation memory that refers to events, places or people that are personally experienced; second generation memory, which demonstrates memories that are passed down to influence the understanding of the past; and third generation memory that is not passed down directly but has already undergone memorialisation processes and has eventually evolved into general history (Stone, 2012). The way these developments are formed is

constantly changing. For example, digital approaches to the study of social memory and heritage tourism acknowledge that online expressions such as web pages, travel blogs and You Tube videos are more than just data, and yet little is known about how these virtual places of memory interrelate with or shape physical places of memory (Alderman, 2015).

A study conducted at three former Dutch concentration camps, for example, concluded that promotional material published on their individual websites benefits from including personal testimonies of each commemorative landscape, which appeal to the sites' locational authenticity by triggering emotions of "disgust, shock, compassion, sadness, interest, awe, anger, gratitude and fascination" (Nawijn *et al.*, 2015: 13). Such digital technologies, including mobile apps, are increasingly utilised to supplement exhibits, offering interactive ways to engage with the tragic history on display (Graham *et al.*, 2012).

Former concentration camp Bergen-Belsen, for instance, has developed an audio-visual installation "Here: Bergen-Belsen, Space of Memory" which was opened in October 2012 at the entrance square of the Bergen-Belsen Memorial (Synthetic Perceptive, Emotive and Cognitive Systems Groups (SPECS), 2012). Inside the space, visitors are absorbed with an introduction to the memorials main commemoration theme through the words of surviving prisoners, images from then and now, and a 3D reconstruction of the former concentration camp (SPECS, 2012). The aim is to make the visitor aware of her/his position in between past and present and one's own responsibility to commemorate as a result of this perspective (SPECS, 2012). It is the first manifestation of what has been developed into a tablet application (Plate 11) which includes models of the camp during different historical stages, virtual reality views, context documents, historical documents, photographs, diary excerpts, drawings by inmates, testimonies and interviews. The tablet is organized via a database that gives complete control over the available content appropriate for each occasion (SPECS, 2012).

Image
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Plate 11: *3D reconstruction of the former Bergen-Belsen Camp.*
(Source: SPECS, 2012)

The popularity in memory-making is of course not just attributed to the pervasiveness of innovative digital technologies, it is also owed to "heightened public anxieties and feelings about who and what should be remembered" (Alderman, 2015: 234), so as to gain recognition for atrocities committed in the past (Doss, 2010). While it is recognised that the charged nature of memory work in general involves ideological interests and political struggles (Alderman, 2015, 234-235), such agendas can manifest themselves through a variety of narrative and exhibit designs, including the contested display of human remains or other explicit images.

4.5   The Macabre Legacy of the Bones

Even though widely considered a questionable concept, the display of graphic materials has become a central method of educating people on the sheer horrors of mass atrocity (Williams, 2007; Guyer, 2009). With regard to the Tuol Sleng Memorial in Cambodia, for example, visitors often find stains on the pillows, the proximity of death and the raw photographs nauseating and revolting (Sion, 2011). Accordingly, the visit is predicted by Lonely Planet (2015b: 1) as

> ... a profoundly depressing experience. The sheer ordinariness of the place makes it even more horrific: the suburban setting, the plain school buildings, the grassy playing area where children kick around balls juxtaposed with rusted beds, instruments of torture and wall after wall of disturbing portraits. It demonstrates the darkest side of the human spirit that lurks within us all. Tuol Sleng is not for the squeamish.

Previously, the shocking staging of objects and pictures served political goals, "it helped to justify the Vietnamese presence in Cambodia and its image as liberators form the 'genocidal clique' of Pol Pot and others ... and to legitimize ... the new government that had been installed by the Vietnamese" (Sion, 2011: 3-5). Now, the former prison counts as one of Cambodia's main tourist attractions inherently facing several ethical dilemmas (Williams, 2007). One room, for instance, used to display a map of Cambodia made entirely of splintered skulls and bones of Khmer Rouge victims, with blood like streaks representing rivers (Plate 12), which was removed in 2002 due to increasing disagreement, and replaced by a photograph of the map (Sion, 2011). "The map was for many tourists the symbol of Khmer Rouge brutality. For many Cambodians, it was an insult. "It's like hanging people twice", King Norodom Sihanouk[16] once said of the map" (Ham & Myers, 2002: 1). However, skulls are still exhibited at the museum up to now (Sion, 2011), a controversial display method that has lead to a range of divisive moral debates on the problematic of open showcasing of remains in any public setting.

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[16] King of Cambodia between 1941–1955 and 1993–2004 (The Telegraph, 2012).

Image
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Plate 12: *Map of skulls now removed from the Tuol Sleng museum and replaced by a photograph.* (Source: Travis, 2013)

Generally, museums find graphic displays from modern atrocities flawed (Williams, 2007), as reflected in the understanding of the US Holocaust Memorial Museum that "assume[s] that objects, such as hair, bones and ashes will not be considered as potential accession … They do not belong in an American setting, where no concentration camps stood and which was not the primary area for the Holocaust" (Linenthal, 2001: 213). Moreover, "at any standard, the display of human hair and or ashes is offensive to the memory of the dead, [which would] often repel and sicken many visitors physically, emotionally and spiritually" (Rosenfeld, cited in Linenthal, 2001: 213). While the issue of exhumation, placement, ownership, preservation, display and interpretation of human remains is highly contested, they still seem to offer some kind of clarity, not just on what occurred, but also on how such tragedies can be mentally solved (Williams, 2007). Yet, whereas the irreducibility of the bones "confronts the tragic flaw within humanity" while possibly serving as evidence of killing, they communicate little of the context within it was possible to perpetrate such horrors (Williams, 2007: 39). And while tourists feel that they are actually experiencing an object that was

present at the time, an actual 'witness' to the event, it seems "perverse to suggest that a body experienced something without an animate mind that can attest to it" (Williams, 2007: 40). Also, the absolute incomprehensibility of the bodies can make it difficult for the visitor to empathise with the victims, since it is impossible to imagine oneself amongst the dead (Williams, 2007).

Any discussion of the representation of human remains in museums should at least mention the concept of sacredness and Durkheim's[17] argument that an object is not intrinsically sanctified due to its form, but because of the social rituals surrounding it (Thompson, 2002). Some reason that museum visitation in itself has religious overtones, which then underlines the question whether sacredness is compromised by the general absence of religious interpretations in displays, and with regards to the bodies, whether they are made profane when kept earthbound, or when coming into contact with ordinary people (Williams, 2007). Since arguably "the sacred thing is *par excellence* that which the profane should not touch, and cannot touch with impunity" (Durkheim, 1965: 55), Williams (2007) proposes that memorial museums display objects and support social rituals in a fashion somewhat unlike traditional sacred spaces, a form of interpretation one might term 'secular sacredness'.

Such an intersection between sacredness and public display is demonstrated at the Catholic Church of Nyamata, located in the proximity of Rwanda's capital city Kigali, where an outdoor chamber displays thousands of skulls (Viebach, 2014). While this might appear as a natural site for a local memorial since it 'witnessed' the killing, as well as offering a place to mourn that supports themes of redemption and the afterlife, the complicity of the church during the 1994 genocide complicates matters and, although exposed human remains might be perceived as sacred, many of the values associated with the church, including security, consolation and personal reconciliation, have in this case been radically disturbed (Williams, 2007).

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[17] Durkheim, born in 1858, was one of the first professional, university based sociologists and is considered as one of the crucial architects of modern social science (Thompson, 2002).

Commonly argued in favour of preserving artefacts and actual killing sites is that they add to the construction of a precise record of what has occurred (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996). An appeal is made here to authenticity as a self-explanatory justification and criterion for selection and interpretation. However, heritage is not "the totality of the history of a place or even facets of that totality" (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996: 10). Rather, it is an appearance continuously recreated according to changing attitudes and demands. As the thesis previously established, such sites are more telling about the present than the past presented, and authenticity, therefore, derives from the experience of the consumer and the extent that the product satisfies the expectations the visitor has of that particular history (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996).

In this context, several agree that the preservation of the past through the care-taking of the shared artefacts and human remains offers a sense of denotation, by way of telling the outside world a story of extreme and ruthless violence (Viebach, 2014). Not only do these objects then serve as proof to counter denial, as there was little media coverage of the genocide in Rwanda during 1994 (Williams, 2007), but further "transform into a collective artefact as pain and suffering become shareable in our midst ..." (Viebach, 2014: 92). Nonetheless, some critics express concern that the open display of bodies is profane and that there is little value in "remember[ing] the dead through the sheer anonymity of these bones [which] means that no one is or can be remembered [individually]. A pile of unrelated bones or a shelf with rows of carefully arranged skulls does not commemorate a person" (Guyer, 2009: 163), and offers little more than an undignified resting place for victims.

Though Fontain (2009) speaks of how bones and bodies can confront commemorative processes by bringing marginalised pasts back into the present, as a result undermining dominant narratives of political elites, Guyer (2009) argues with regard to Rwanda, which has no cultural tradition of exposing bodies after death, that such displays impede the mourning process and can be understood as a cause of the population's enduring trauma. Whilst they do offer the clearest physical evidence of the genocide, they remain unidentified and "one recognises that any body can make bones and some of the bones collected at these sites may belong to people murdered after the genocide" (Guyer, 2009: 159). Relatedly,

Buckley-Zistel recalls the statement of a young Rwandan woman: "First of all, we cannot identify the people they put into the memorial sites. They took all bones. And no particular ethnicity died, all Hutu and Tutsi died ..." (Buckley-Zistel, 2006: 138). In a study conducted by Ibreck (2010), a participant commented that "according to Rwandese culture if you don't bury relatives they will haunt you" and when the bodies are not buried, restless and malicious spirits can be felt as a burden, troubling their relatives (Ibreck, 2010: 337). Likewise, a Rwandan psychiatrist mentioned that "allowing people to bury their loved ones means that they are no longer haunted" and reburial is generally described as therapeutic; "if you bury someone it is like a medicine you have taken" (employee of the KGM, 2006, cited in Ibreck, 2010: 337). Harrison (2003: 1) emphasises the importance of burials for those in remembrance by affirming that "it is only because their bodies have a place to go that their souls or images or words may attain an afterlife of sorts among the living". Such debates are central to the dissonance surrounding the display of bones at Rwanda's memorialscape and will be further discussed in Chapter 6 and throughout the analysis.

However, bones and corpses can also problematize heritage in other ways that have less to do with representations of the past, and more to do with their "affective presence as dead persons or spirits or subjects that continue to make demands on society" (Fontain, 2009: 20). Although there has been an increasing interest in the agency of objects (Miller, 2005), bones and human remains continue to be "understood only as a set of materials without agency or ability to affect the actions and perceptions of the living" (Williams, 2004: 264). This approach overlooks the complex engagements between people, both living and dead, with material culture in the transformation of social structures (Williams 2004: 264). In Zimbabwe, for example, state commemorative practices have not taken into account the complex entanglement of the living with the dead and the specific cultural and historical needs to respond to the dead in particular ways in order to ensure the welfare of the living (Fontain, 2009). With regards to Rwanda, Guyer (2009) calls for a decent burial of all human remains, to restore dignity to the victims and to reduce the political function of such displays, as a tool to silence internal and external criticism.

In his paper on *Mark Twain and The Innocents Abroad[18]*, in which he analyses the tourist gaze on death, Johnston (2013) regards the viewing of bones through a different historical lens. It is argued that while secularisation in contemporary society has reduced exposure to death (Stone, 2009b), although not in light of present-day mass media, whose treatment of disaster is an "attempt at a sustained legitimation of our social world in the face of death" (Walter *et. al.,* 1995: 539), the history of the Christian cult of death does play a role in constructing contemporary dark tourism practices (Seaton, 2009a). In *The Innocents*, Twain regularly comments on the prominent encounters with death through architecture, symbols and rituals (Johnston, 2013). While this underlines the argument that dark tourism is by far not a new phenomenon, it further illustrates that death occupied the majority of Christian sites encountered by pilgrims, represented through the public display of bones, body parts and pieces of the crucifix (Johnston, 2013). "The priests showed us two of St Paul's fingers, and one of St Peter's; a bone of Judas Iscariot ... and also bones of all the other disciples" (Twain, 1869: 180). Twain also illustrates that the monk had a business-like way of presenting such a touching story, a performance he refers to as 'grotesque' and 'ghastly', comparing his behaviour "to that of a surgeon, telling of a recently deceased patient in medical terminology" (Johnston, 2013: 206).

4.6   Communicating Real Death: A Tour Guides' Perspective

At large, it is acknowledged that guides play an important role in the visitor experience, offering the "means through which history, culture and myth are communicated to tourists" (Poria *et al.*, 2006: 173). An internationally accepted definition provided by the *International Association of Tour Managers* (IATM) and the *European Federation of Tourist Guide Associations* (EFTGA) states that a tour guide is a person who "guides groups or individual visitors from abroad or from the home country around the monuments, sites and museums of a city or region; to interpret in an inspiring and entertaining manner, in the language of the visitor's choice, the cultural and natural heritage and environment" (EFTGA, 1998).

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[18] In 1867, the American author Samuel Langhorne Clemens, better know as Mark Twain, undertook an excursion to Europe and the Holy Land, a route that mixed some of the classic, aristocratic "Grand Tour" and Western pilgrimage travel routes of the 19th century. Twain documented his travels two years later as a full travel book called *The Innocents Abroad, or The New Pilgrims' Progress* (Johnston, 2013).

Earlier definitions describe a tour guide as 'an information giver and founder of knowledge', 'a mentor' (Cohen, 1985), 'a mediator' (de Kadt, 1979) and 'cultural broker' (McKean, 1976). Evidently, mediating and culture broking are interpretive functions which move beyond telling tourists how to think and feel about their experience (Ap & Wong, 2011). Rather, the focus should be on letting visitors come to their own conclusions, a notion which is highlighted in a study conducted at the Anne Frank House in Amsterdam, where it was demonstrated that those who are personally connected to the site, whilst interested in explanations that will both "enrich their knowledge and cause them to be emotionally involved … they would not like the interpretation to be communicated for them by tour guides" (Poria *et al.*, 2006: 173). A study conducted at Dutch Holocaust sites confirms that respondents who had some form of "closeness to the Holocaust expect to feel most emotions more intensely" (Nawijn *et al.*, 2015: 11). Nevertheless, Reisinger and Steiner (2006: 481) argue that heritage tourism in particular should allow visitors to decide on their own how they interpret their experience, making tour guides in their current manifestation "largely superfluous".

However, rather than dictating the visitor experience, culture broking aims at linking or mediating between groups or persons of different cultural backgrounds to reduce prejudice and conflict and to enhance positive change (Jezewski & Sotnik, 2001), which proves particularly significant for tourism developments at genocide memorials. Although the notion of 'cultural broker' implies a model of discrete 'cultures' and a clear distinction between hosts and guests, this is rarely the case and guides should be viewed as "directors and stage-managers who choreograph tourists' movements" (Edensor, 2001: 69) and "help to construct and develop our gaze as tourists" (Urry, 1990:1). While they are always engaged in processes of mediation, these do not necessarily have to involve two distinct cultures, and representations might be consumed by those who think of themselves as part of the culture presented (Macdonald, 2006). Cohen (1985) classifies culture broking as a form of communicative mediatory work, a process which naturally includes selection to provide certain information in a specific way, sometimes to benefit particular narratives. The case of atrocity memorialisation in Cambodia discussed in Chapter 3, for instance, suggests a sense of tragic exploitation created by a lack of interpretation presently delivered by unqualified former Khmer Rouge who disseminate a distorted understanding of the historic

events commemorated (Long & Reeves, 2009). Such efforts of 'encoding' by guides are not simple matters of recounting and presenting (Bal, 1996), instead, it is a process of negotiation between "guides' self-positioning, that of their organization, the particular genre of tourism involved, the audience and the site itself" (Macdonald, 2006: 136). Certainly, this becomes more complex when tour guides feel personally related to the appalling events on display through their personal positioning as survivors, perpetrators or bystanders.

4.7   Photography

Similar to the presentation of human remains, photographs showcased at memorial sites are often taken to "record faithfully, to bear witness, to aid mourning, and to provide a history lesson" (Williams, 2007: 71). That is why it might be surprising to say that they can be just as vague, their contexts as unclear and their impacts (re)traumatizing. Action shots, for example, can obscure challenging moral and political issues with regards to the identity and motivation of the photographer, as well as those of the object (Williams, 2007). Geoffrey Hartmann in his book *The Longest Shadow* (1996) questions whether the violent imagery of the present visual landscape of the Holocaust has desensitized people to such horrors, offering little more than decontextualized signals animated by an already coded memory (Zelizer, 1998). Actually, the contemporary memorialisation of the Holocaust does not show the intensification of imagery one might expect, "but a striking repetition of the same very few images, used over and over again, iconically and emblematically to signal this event" (Hirsch, 2001: 7).

An artist who works with the ethical dilemmas surrounding photographs of terrifying histories is Alfredo Jaar (Williams, 2007). After bearing witness to the Rwandan genocide and taking thousands of pictures, his *Real Pictures* series (Jaar, 1995) is based on these images unexpectedly sealed in black archival boxes that are displayed in galleries stacked upon each other in numerous shapes and sizes (Plate 13) (Williams, 2007). Concerned with the way the world saw images of the genocide in the media, yet still failed to act, the very dark presentation spaces in which Jaar installed the exhibition mirrored this sense of blindness (Chau, 2014) and only the white texts printed on each box allowd an awareness of the pictures kept inside (Jaar, 1995). One of those examples reads:

Ntarama church, Nyamata, Rwanda, Monday, August 29, 1994. This photograph shows Benjamin Musisi, 50, crouched low in the doorway of the church amongst scattered bodies spilling out into the daylight … Tutsi men, women, and children who had come here seeking refuge were slaughtered during the Sunday mass. Benjamin looks directly into the camera, as if recording what the camera saw. He asked to be photographed amongst the dead. He wanted to prove to his friends in Kampala, Uganda that the atrocities were real and that he had seen the aftermath.

(Jaar, cited in Williams, 2007: 73)

Image
redacted

Plate 13: *Alfredo Jaar's Real Pictures exhibition (1995).* (Source: Rouge, 2013)

By withholding the photographs, Jaar recognises "the impossibility of representing tragedy, while referencing the invisibility of the genocide in global media", as well as forcing visitors to picture scenes of atrocity for themselves and, therefore, not to rely on the new reality created by the camera (Chau, 2014: 2). However, photographs, just as other primary artefacts, can serve as concrete proof in debates surrounding denial, if interpreted appropriately (Williams, 2007) and more so when witnesses are still alive to give testimony.

4.8 Site Interpretations from a Management Perspective

Barsalou (2014) argues that when violence occurred recently, memorials often do not offer visitors an in-depth analysis of the conflict, or they cover only one side of the story. Memorials commemorating events which lie further in the past, however, are more likely to provide explanations of the root causes of conflict, as well as presenting wider lessons in relation to violence prevention (Barsalou, 2014). While such exhibitions are increasingly utilising innovative new technologies and multi-media installations, as well as focusing on graphic images and artefacts, such as the piles of personal belongings of victims at the Auschwitz Museum (Plate 14), such displays cannot fully predict the needs of the visitors at hand and, while in some cases the aims of curators correspond to the desires of the audience, they are not always in alignment (Clark, 2009). Clearly, it is the individual who considers heritage as personal, based on his or her identity, experience, tradition, or other social or emotional factors. The same historic artefact or commemorative space is thus observed differently by different people (Clark, 2009).

Image
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Plate 14: *Victims' shoes displayed at Auschwitz.* (Source: Author)

Poria, Reichel and Biran (2006) illustrate in their study on tourists' experiences at heritage sites that the more participants perceive the events portrayed as their own heritage, the more they become interested in the visit, and the higher their

expectations of the site interpretations to enhance their knowledge and make them feel emotionally involved. For others, the site offers only educational value or is regarded as a must see attraction where the history presented is less important than the social obligation attached to the visit (Poria *et al.*, 2009). This underlines the argument that "tourists to historic settings are a heterogeneous segment and, as such, may be provided with various [customized] interpretations in order to meet their varying expectations more successfully" (Poria *et al.*, 2006: 173). If this is the case, marketing strategies will benefit from identifying different visitor emotions and needs that reinforce the uniqueness of the site, rather than the portrayal of an often blurred combination of entertainment and education (Austin, 2002).

4.8.1 The entry fees dilemma

With regard to marketing strategies, a brief note on the contextual and ethical concerns in relation to pricing matters among heritage sites seems appropriate. It appears somewhat surprising that the heritage sector has received relatively limited attention regarding sustainable economic developments, with prominent academic literature focusing mainly on its cultural, educational and practical preservation aspects (Garrod & Fyall, 2000). While the few studies available have examined pricing practices among attractions in a quantitative manner (e.g. Leask & Goulding 1996; Rogers, 1995), none have actually interpreted such results from a qualitative perspective, questioning more individual ethical dilemmas and constraints within heritage tourism management (Garrod & Fyall, 2000). However, general notions of managers in the field demonstrate that even though financially difficult times are predicted, elevated admission prices would not be a fitting response since this would contradict the fundamental mission of these sensitive historical sites in the first place, as well as restricting public access (Austin, 2002). Therefore, non-obligatory donations for the maintenance of the site are more welcomed by visitors (Austin, 2002).

Similarly, a study conducted in Rwanda by Friedrich & Johnston (2013: 10) highlights that even though lack of funding makes progress slow in creating interpretive materials at memorial sites, they "cannot be regarded as revenue generating sites". While a member of the independent survivors group IBUKA

suggests that "it is time for the government to establish a policy which requires visitors to pay a certain amount for [their] maintenance" (Friedrich & Johnston, 2013: 10) and to support communities affected by the genocide, "the memorials are… [not only] too raw to require payment", but fees would limit visitors to come and certainly "we do not want people saying that we are selling the blood of our families" (Friedrich & Johnston, 2013: 10). Although interviewees were reluctant to talk about memorialisation in relation to dark tourism, because of the perceived insensitive commercialisation of death it might imply, there was a general acknowledgment of the potential positive economic effects that come with such practices (Friedrich & Johnston, 2013), exemplifying a certain recognition of such sites contributing to larger economic developments (Stenning *et al.*, 2008).

4.9   Educational and Authentic Value versus Commercialisation

In this context, Charlesworth & Addis (2002) exemplify different marketing strategies within the difficult heritage sector by placing it within broader educational experiences gained at the former concentration and labour camp Płasow, in comparison to the familiar Holocaust attraction of Auschwitz-Birkenau, as an example of two extremes of ecological management regimes. While at Auschwitz-Birkenau the museum attempts to reproduce, or 'sanctify' (Foote, 2003) the camp as it was in 1943/44, particularly in its "landscape of lawns" through which it "appears to want to package its historical evidence neatly for the visitor" (Plate 15), Płasow's ecological progression is slowly eroding its historical evidence without the care of formal management (Plate 16) (Charlesworth & Addis, 2002: 248). In an emotive self-reflexive study on visitor encounters at Auschwitz, Charlesworth (2003: 514) comments that

> The flowers of Birkenau, like the hares, the deer, the birds and frogs, are a shock for many visitors. Perhaps that experience explains why the proposed management plan for Birkenau would replace the rich variety of flora and fauna with manicured lawns of grass … The rationale is that this kind of sterility comes closest to how the camp looked in the years of 43-45.

Webber (1992: 82), however, with regard to the ecology discussed, argues that it is the way in which many Jews conceptualise the duty of recollecting the Holocaust and that by "remembering it they are so to speak beating down those tall grasses, uncovering the blood that has seeped into the earth … the field of grass symbolizes

forgetfulness, the very height of the grass representing length of time, the indifferent onward growth of nature" (Webber, 1992: 82). Since Auschwitz for diaspora Jews symbolically represents a silent space for cultural privacy to grieve, to recover and to remember, this environment naturally conflicts with tourism activities and the commercial developments of the surrounding area (Dwork & Pelt, 1996).

For many Poles, on the other hand, while the site is a symbol of the Nazi oppression of Poland (Webber, 1992), it is also a divisive space that needs to be considered throughout local planning initiatives, while at the same time supporting its main mission of creating a fulfilling visitor experience for daily tourism encounters, possibly enhancing international understanding. Charlesworth (2003: 517) observed that dialogue and reconciliation between different groups and communities visiting is not encouraged or promoted, rather "the museum authorities … expend their creative energies turning the site into a sort of theme park". Relatedly, Webber (1992) suggests the establishment of a place that offers privacy, contemplation, study and prayer, as well as the opportunity for young Jews to meet young Germans and young Poles in a spirit of mutual understating. Moreover, future developments should additionally focus on the ecological possibilities of the landscape to allow the visitor experience to be more imaginative, self-reflexive and interactive.

Image
redacted

Plate 15: *Chimneys at the Birkenau death camp, Auschwitz II.* (Source: Author)

Image
redacted

Plate 16: *Former concentration camp Płasow, Kraków.* (Source: Metz, 2002-2015)

In order to address such concerns and to encourage dialogue within divergent populations, the previously introduced AUHRM has launched a process of outreach and consultation particularly with survivors, to promote civic engagement with the memorial creation process to shape its form and content (In-Country Consultations Report, 2014). The museum will comprise of four permanent memorials: The Red Terror Memorial in memory of the massacres and other abuses committed by the Dergue regime[19] in Ethiopia, The Memorial for the 1994 Rwandan Genocide, The Apartheid Memorial and The Slavery Memorial, each representing important aspects of the AU's heritage (Abimbola, 2015). Additionally, the memorial museum will house a temporary rotating exhibit, drawing on peace building and reconciliation initiatives of African groups and institutions (Abimbola, 2015). Stakeholder consultations illustrated that the site should be a 'living memorial', whereby the focus lies on activities of remembrance that enable "people in different countries to feel connected" (In-Country Consultations Report, 2014: 16). Respondents further emphasised the need for dynamic programmes to involve stakeholders around the continent and in the diaspora to promote pan-African human rights education through curriculums, dialogue and scholarship and through artistic endeavours to generate "stories and oral histories" that people can identify with in a collective aim to "strive for never again" (In-Country Consultations Report, 2014: 16).

4.10   Grief and Trauma

While scholars have addressed the possibility of positive social change through collective reformation towards social cohesion and the development of group identity, such situations might actually rely on intergroup differentiation shaped by intergroup enhancement and outgroup derogation (Williamson, 2014). "Ingroup enhancement corresponds for example, to the types of behaviours similar to those observed after the 9/11 bombings, such as ingroup cohesion, enhanced collective identity and increased perceptions of the ingroup in more favourable terms through processes of self-glorification" (Williamson, 2014: 93). This usually leads to a constriction of the boundaries of ingroup inclusion, as well as increased

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[19] The Dergue regime describes the military rule of Ethiopia from 1974 to 1987, which embraced communism as its ideology and executed and imprisoned thousands of its opponents without trial (Khalif & Doornbos, 2007). This cumulated in a violent and bloody era known as the Red Terror from May 1977 to March 1978 (Khalif & Doornbos, 2007).

ethnocentrism and patriotism (Skitka *et al.*, 2004), and encourages negative attitudes towards outgroup members by perceiving the outgroup as homogenous through relying on negative stereotypes, prejudice and discrimination to judge its members (Esses *et al.*, 2002). Williamson (2014), therefore, argues that post-traumatic growth is not actually related to positive change but, rather, to ingroup enhancement which may be perceived as positive by those engaging in such processes but certainly not by those outgroup members who experience the negative impact of outgroup derogation. This is evident in the case of Rwanda where, unlike the US, the conflict came largely from within the country and not from an external threat, and where the process of intergroup differentiation can play a problematic role in post-conflict developments (Williamson, 2014). While on the surface Rwanda appears to have overcome its groups' differences, the next chapters will discuss the country's struggles with identity formation and social harmony in light of its memorialisation and commemoration developments.

In a study conducted on commemorative ceremonies in Rwanda, Ibreck (2010: 336) demonstrates that while survivors do gain a political platform through commemoration, this is not their original motivation and although the last chapters have focused on memorialisation as a political institution, it needs to be clarified that memory work in Rwanda began "as a response to loss and is … an expression of grief and a practice of mourning" to sustain personal bonds with the dead so as to find ways to live with the loss. "Survivors' sense of relief began with the first burial. Although their relatives were killed inhumanely they are buried in a dignified way … It is a way of healing for survivors, and the people who returned from exile" (President of the Nyamasheke Memorial Committee, 2006, cited in Ibreck, 2010: 336). Moreover, some participants related the construction of official burial places and memorials to traditional religious beliefs, in which the fortunes of the living depended upon collective and public attention given to the spirits of the dead in the form of an ethical practice to begin healing through remembrance (Ibreck, 2010). Certainly, this is focusing on a survivor's perspective, a controversial semantic and political debate which will be elaborated on in Chapter 5 and 6. Nonetheless, not all survivors want the genocide to be publicly commemorated and there are diverse opinions and emotional responses in the field. At worst, memorials reawaken sorrow, anguish and trauma, and

commemoration ceremonies have regularly been disrupted by survivors' so called 'traumatic crisis' (Gishoma & Brackelaire, cited in Ibreck, 2010).

Generally, trauma is defined as "a shock or blow to the tissues of the body and/or mind that may trigger abrupt intrusive memories from the past" (Brown, 2005: 249). One can, however, also speak of

> … traumatised communities as something distinct from traumatised persons. Sometimes the tissues of community can be damaged in much the same way as the tissues of mind and body … [and] traumatic wounds inflicted on individuals can combine to create a mood, ethos – a group culture … that is different from the sum of the private wounds that make it up. Trauma … has a social dimension.

> (Erikson, 1995: 185)

Incidents of 'traumatic crisis' are stark reminders that trauma still exists among the population in Rwanda. Increasing during the commemoration period, such episodes also affect the younger generation who neither remembers, nor has experienced the atrocities at hand (Ibreck, 2010). Although trauma cases are generally decreasing those involved in creating memorials worry about such occurrences, which at minimum raise questions about the current form and practice of commemoration, including the graphic display of bones, which stands in contrast to the survivors' determination to honour and rebury their dead (Vidal, 2001).

With regard to temporary memorials in America, Doss (2010) states that such places engage social and political transformation by voicing previously silenced matters and demanding inclusion for those subjects within an extended national narrative. "Grieving is thus a form of claiming, an insistence on belonging [to] America … and subsequently reshaping and reforming American national identity" (Doss, 2010: 115). Yet, some memorials are absorbed by exclusionary religious and political beliefs and are the physical and emotional testimonials to a nation confronted with violent death that is still ostensibly disengaged from the social and political initiatives that might stop such violence in the future (Doss, 2010). The Columbine High School shooting, for example, did not query the nation's legacy of gun violence and policymakers failed to challenge the National Rifle Association (NRA) (Doss, 2010).

At large, grief's performative potential in America "lies in its ability to mobilise social and political action and to orchestrate productive change", and therefore, it has the authority to overturn conventional national norms in both a constructive or destructive manner (Doss, 2010: 115). While the previous chapters illustrated how grief and tragedy can be manipulated in several ways to access power, the question of how effective these places really are remains unanswered. Bereaved people themselves do not share a common view of their own needs, neither is the concept of grief understood universally (Woodthorpe, 2010). "It may be that some bereaved people work through feelings … to detach themselves from the deceased, while some talk with others in order to find an enduring place for the deceased in their lives … both processes work effectively" (Walter, 1996: 20). Possibly the most popular way of conceptualising grief has been the notion that a bereaved person goes through various emotional stages over a period of time, their transitions being shaped by working through certain prevailing emotions (Grimes, 2000), including shock, anger, sadness and forgiveness (Woodthorpe, 2010). Any emotional response outside this straightforward passage through chronological time is, therefore, considered as excessive and can be utilized as potential evidence that someone is not managing their grief very well and that their behaviour is pathological and out of control (Small, cited in Woodthorpe: 2001).

4.11   Summary

This chapter has brought together a variety of themes related to the challenges inherent in memorial design and interpretation from both a consumer and supplier perspective, as well as demonstrating implications for those communities whose histories are being commemorated. The chapter has established that while collective memory formation usually assumes activities of sharing, open dialogue and conciliation, such processes also include several forms of contestation. It has thus been argued that remembering is not just a recollection of the past, but implies a wide range of other challenges, such as identity formation, power and authoritative struggles, and the negotiation of cultural norms and social interactions, particularly so in sensitive times of transition after conflict (Zelizer, 1995). An attempt of a reasonable definition of memory, consequently, requires its placement within "social, cultural and political action at its broadest level" (Zelizer, 1995: 214).

Just as trauma has a social dimension and can create a group culture, so too can memory evolve into a social construct that differs from its individual recollections (Brown, 2004). Rather than recalling an accurate moment from the past that attempts to re-establish what was lost, memory then becomes "a malleable substance that is continuously expanded and adjusted to the needs of the community as it attempts to reconstruct out of the fragments of the past a more sustainable future" (Brown, 2004: 251) by incorporating a collective narrative into the rituals of grieving and commemoration. Within this process "issues of historical accuracy and authenticity are pushed aside to accommodate other issues, such as those surrounding the establishment of social identity, authority, solidarity, political affiliation" (Zelizer, 1995: 217). Certainly, this becomes problematic in regions where communities are working through a history of conflicting disparities and where several narratives are competing with each other.

Moreover, the effect of popular media in shaping certain collective narratives and thereby influencing visitor and site expectations has been demonstrated. While such outlets do offer the potential to foster resistance and critical dialogue through the presentation of what is publicly regarded as a marginal issue, this chapter has exemplified the dissonance evident in divergent stakeholder expectations within an increasingly globalized and continuously expanding heritage industry. As illustrated, disagreements arise over the display of sensitive artefacts and images, such as human remains, weapons, clothes or photographs, which require ethical attention regarding emotional effect, social cohesion and trauma, particularly for those closest connected to the events portrayed (Williams, 2007).

The chapter further reveals how global international norms have influenced individual memorialisation and how national memory has increasingly been taught and developed through an international prism (Ibreck, 2013). Universal norms of preventing and punishing crimes are related to strategies of international peace-building principles, which seek to transform people and governments in post-conflict areas to fit a common world order, a process which relies on the creation of a moral international high ground (Ibreck 2013: 166). However, at the same time memorials are also established to grieve and honour victims (Winter, 1995), even if they are employed politically to promote legitimacy or nationalism. Consequently, their formation, just as other artistic channels of remembrance,

illustrates some form of survivors' agency after mass death (Edkins, 2003). In order to comprehend how these issues play out in Rwanda's post 1994 memorialisation and commemoration landscape, the next chapter will deliver a detailed case study overview, deliberating the origins of conflict and its manifestation in several decades of violence and insecurity.

Chapter 5

RWANDA'S MEMORY IN CONTEXT

5.0   Narratives at War: A Preliminary Note

The genocide was and still is a precarious story to cover and its context remains difficult to understand. This is particularly so, since the rewriting of history has been a major political and academic project in and outside of Rwanda, to justify several interventions or strategic developments, beginning with the Belgian rule and the introduction of their racial theories (Jefremovas, 1997). Several academic and powerful political discussions have arisen over the past years, which question statistics, state policies, massacre sites and present narratives disseminated in Rwanda. In particular, the book *Remaking Rwanda – State Building and Human Rights after Mass Violence* (Straus & Waldorf, 2011) offers a compilation of critical concerns by a variety of academics with regard to the country's present political situation and its possibly negative effects on developments in the future. However, the book gives superficial attention to the enormous strides the country has taken over the past years in terms of economic development, health, education, judicial reform, gender equality and social cohesion, as well as offering little debate between its 29 contributors, which conceals the disagreement among scholars on the political and historical disputes surrounding Rwanda in general (Clark, 2013).

The peak of divergence becomes evident in the BBC documentary *Rwanda: The Untold Story (2014a),* which radically claims that while there were more than 800,000 deaths between April and July 1994, it can be ascertained that only 200,000 of those were Tutsi and that the rest had been Hutu killed by the presently ruling Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) (Baird, 2015). Moreover, it was suggested that President Paul Kagame had been involved in shooting down his predecessor's plane, in order to trigger the mass killings to strategically take control over the country (Baird, 2015), a claim which has resulted in indictments filed in French courts against Kagame and several of his soldiers (Suamuelson & Freedman, 2010). While there is still controversy surrounding political intentions from several sides, several voices emphasise an "insidious and creeping rise of denial that has made the truth of the 1994 genocide against the Tutsis an unwanted

battleground" (Wallis, 2015: 1). Whereas commonly cited and comprehensive accounts of Rwanda's past have been delivered by Dallaire (2004), Des Forges (1999/2011), Gourevitch (1995/1998), Mamdani (2001), Melvern (2000), Prunier (1997), to name a few, it should be acknowledged that there is no single 'real' account and while the overall aim of this thesis is not to choose a side and defend it by delivering an in-depth analysis of Rwanda's complex history, this chapter still explores different narratives relevant to comprehending the country's memorialisation politics discussed in Chapter 6.

5.1   The Pre-Colonial Myth of Harmony and Unity

Before presenting a brief overview of the pre-colonial history of Rwanda, it is again important to note the profound lack of agreement on the matter among Rwandans as well as among specialists on the region. Partly, this is due to the difficulties of establishing history in an oral society, as well as through the distorted Eurocentric and racist accounts of the first colonisers, missionaries and ethnographers (Uvin, 1998). Nevertheless, such debates have acquired a high level of political importance, since divergent interpretations of these histories provide the basis through which collective identities are built in Rwanda today (Uvin, 1998). To begin with, disagreement surrounds the unclear nature of the previous distinctions made among the Rwandan population, namely the Hutu[20], Tutsi and Twa (Burnet, 2012).

There are two central interpretations of this period. While some consider these groups to be separate ethnic categories or races, others believe that they are socio-economic divisions (Uvin, 1998). Selectivity in the available sources and the nature of their interpretation, particularly with regards to crucial ancient institutions that structured the interaction between the different social groups, such as clientship (*ubuhake*) and forced labour (*uburetwa*), defines the conflicting understanding of Rwandan history (Ingelaere, 2008). The section below briefly sketches the main threads of each historical interpretation and the truth possibly lies in between.

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[20] In Kinyarwanda, the three terms are more correctly called Batwa (indigenous hunter-gatherers), Bahutu (farmers) and Batutsi (owners of cattle), while individuals are a Mutwa, a Muhutu and a Mututsi (Briggs & Booth, 2009). However, this thesis opts for the commonly acknowledged forms Twa, Hutu and Tutsi, because of their universal use in English worldwide.

The position supported and misused by the previous genocidal government and backed up by substantial scientific work claims that Rwanda's earliest inhabitants were Pygmoid hunter-gatherers, ancestors of the Twa, who still form part of the population today (Briggs & Booth, 2009). These were joined first by the Bantu-speaking Hutu farmers some time before 700 BC and then by the Nilotic Tutsi cattle holders, who migrated from Ethiopia (Gourevitch, 1995, Prunier, 1997), some time between the 10th and 14th century AD, (dates are uncertain and oral tradition is the only guidance here) (Briggs & Booth, 2009). Such ethnic categorizations are still found in several sources today usually amongst other basic facts describing Rwanda's landscape, culture and people. *The World Factbook* created by the CIA (2015), for example, states under the category *People and Society – Ethnic Groups*: Hutu (Bantu) 84%, Tutsi (Hamitic) 15% and Twa (Pygmy) 1%. This narrative was distorted by Hutu extremists to their advantage as one of "conquest by foreign Tutsi cattle rearers who gradually through economic and military means, imposed centuries of oppression and exploitation on the Hutu. In the 1959 social revolution, the Hutu reversed this feudal situation and acquired their rightful place" (Uvin, 1998: 14).

The opposing position which is not only widely accepted in Rwanda today, but also largely agreed upon by historians, ethnographers and scientists, asserts that the Banyarwanda are a single ethnic group (Kolini & Holmes, 2007), originally organized in small units based on lineage, loyalty, or clans, to an outstanding leader (Des Forges, 1999). The differences between Hutu and Tutsi originally replicated no more than socio-economic divisions, categorizing individuals into castes, classes or ranks (Smith, 2006). Whoever acquired a sizable herd of cattle was called a Tutsi and was highly considered and wealthier; farmers, instead were Hutu, and hunters and artisans were Twa (Prunier, 1997, Vidal, 1974). In this case, it is then the Belgian coloniser who is responsible for the Hutu-Tutsi divide, having created the racist ethnic categories that still exist today (Uvin, 1998). "In the absence of clear-cut, distinctive criteria, the colonialists had to find … means of applying the … rule policy, and they invented theories of origin that have never been supported by any empirical evidence" (Rutayisire *et al.*, 2004: 323).

Within this jumble of racial, or tribal characteristics, the question of appearance is a particularly touchy and uncomfortable one, which in 1994 often meant life or

death (Gourevitch. 1998). Nobody denies that there are physical archetypes and although nature presents countless exceptions, their origin remains uncertain (Gourevitch, 1995). Des Forges (1999: 33) explains such developments through intermarriages within the occupational group in which people had been raised, a practice which created a shared gene pool within each group, which meant that "over generations pastoralists came to look more like other pastoralists – tall, thin and narrow featured – and cultivators like other cultivators – shorter, stronger and with broader features".

The latter narrative is presented in President Paul Kagame's 20th Commemoration speech with which he addressed Rwanda at the Amahoro Stadium in Kigali on the 7th of April, 2014:

> *The most devastating legacy of European control of Rwanda was the transformation of social distinctions into so-called 'races'. We were classified and dissected, and whatever differences existed were magnified according to a framework invented elsewhere. The purpose was neither scientific nor benign, but ideological: to justify colonial claims to rule over and 'civilize' supposedly 'lesser' peoples. We are not.*

> *Rwanda's two thousand years of history were reduced to a series of caricatures based on Bible passages and on myths told to explorers. The colonial theory of Rwandan society claimed that hostility between something called 'Hutu', 'Tutsi', and 'Twa' was permanent and necessary. This was the beginning of the genocide against the Tutsi, as we saw it twenty years ago.*

> *With the full participation of Belgian officials and Catholic institutions, this invented history was made the only basis of political organization, as if there was no other way to govern and develop society. The result was a country perpetually on the verge of genocide.*

> *(Kagame, 2014: 1)*

Rather than emphasising the distinct geographical and racial origins of the groups inhabiting the country, such interpretations stress the unity of the people of Rwanda and Rwandan citizenship based on a common thread, 'Rwandanicity' (*ubanyarwanda*) (Ingelaere, 2008). Such notions mirror the contemporary political principles that revolve around banning ethnicity and establishing an all-embracing 'Rwandaness' (Kinzer, 2010).

In contrast, the seldom mentioned Twa people are, however, clearly differentiated from Hutu and Tutsi and up to now form the smallest component of the Rwandan population, representing approximately one percent of the total before the genocide (Des Forges, 1999). While the boundary between Hutu and Tutsi was flexible before the colonial area, the separation of Twa from both groups, not only in their physical appearance, was far stricter (Beswick, 2011). The Twa experienced a history of marginalisation with a general popular perception in Rwanda as being "backward and lacking modern education … uncivilized, primitive and uncultured" (Thomson, 2009: 3). The genocide itself had a significant impact upon the Twa, who became both perpetrators and victims of violence. Due to historical patterns of discrimination they were targeted by both Hutu and Tutsi within and without the context of the genocidal killing program (Lewis, 2000). With reference to Foote's continuum of commemoration (2003), such cases of violence eventually became rectified, because they were forgotten and not documented, since they were simply not seen as significant enough to inspire sanctification or designation within Rwanda's memorialscape.

While historical linguistic and archaeological evidence indicates that the people who populated what today is Rwanda have shared similar ways of life, language and culture in the past (Schoenbrun, 1998), the pre-colonial state cannot solely be characterised by social harmony and equality (Burnet, 2012). Since cattle were considered a more valuable asset than crops, the name Tutsi became widely synonymous with the political and economic elite, a manifestation which was accelerated after 1866 when Mwami Kieri Rwabugiri, a Tutsi king, launched a series of military and political operations to centralise his authority and exert it over most of the country (Gourevitch, 1995). While the brutal conflict that has characterised the two groups, Hutu and Tutsi, has not been recorded before the arrival of Europeans, it should be noted that violence did occur, mostly amongst

the descendants of the ruling class over their heritage and the throne, which was mostly based on financial and martial power rather than racial identity (Des Forges, 2011)[21].

Moreover, there was one other significant socio-geographic division in the North of Rwanda where a set of small Hutu kingdoms was fighting aggression from the Tutsi kingdom (Uvin, 1997). These regions were only incorporated into what is now Rwanda at the beginning of colonisation with German military help (Uvin, 1997). It has been widely observed that the 1959 to 1963 violence against Tutsi was especially widespread in the northwest, not only the home region of former President Habyarimana, as well as the political clique that was responsible for the genocide, but also the area where large-scale massacres against Tutsi took place in the years preceding 1994 (Lemarchand 1970; Prunier 1997). From the end of the 1980s onwards, internal political opposition developed from southern Hutu who had been excluded from the turmoil of the North and many opposition leaders of the South were killed in the genocide (Pottier, 2002). This North-South division became further evident in the refugee camps in DRC, where aid workers tended to treat those fleeing as a homogenous group without history (Pottier, 2002: 144). A disastrous misunderstanding that resulted in continuous waves of violent outbreaks and massacres.

5.2   The Invasion of the Bazungu[22] – Rwanda's Colonial Reformation

It is during this politically turbulent period that the Europeans arrived in Rwanda, advocating a 'racial theory' that allocated authority to the Tutsi ethnic minority, an ideology that resulted in rapid increase of divisionism and conflict (Prunier, 1997). 'Race science' was prevalent in Europe at that time and for students of Central Africa the key doctrine was John Hanning Speke's[23] so called Hamitic hypothesis,

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[21] Some, therefore, argue that efforts in Rwanda should not be directed at returning to a non-existent state of reconciliation and harmony but should rather focus on the novel creation of peaceful cohabitation amongst the current generations of not only Hutu and Tutsi, but also Twa (Nyirubugara, 2013).

[22] In Kiswahili (the lingua franca of East Africa) Mzungu literally translates into "someone who wanders without purpose, someone constantly on the move", since most visitors were encountered as traders, visiting colonial officials or tourists. Today it has become the general term to describe a white foreigner (Urban Dictionary, 2008: 1).

[23] John Hanning Speke (1827-1864) was an English explorer and the first European to reach Lake Victoria in east Africa, which he identified as the long-sought source of the Nile (BBC, 2014b).

which proposed that everything of value ever found in Africa was brought there by the Hamites, apparently a branch of the Caucasian race (Sanders, 1969). "The civilisations of Africa are the civilisations of the Hamites … [who] were pastoral 'Europeans' … better armed as well as quicker witted than the dark agricultural Negroes" (Seligman, 1930: 96). Speke had never been to Rwanda, but the Germans and Belgians took him by his word and thus they believed that Tutsi, Hutu and Twa were three distinct long existent groups of people, the Ehiopid, Bantu and Pygmoid (Gourevitch, 1995). Propagandising an apartheid system that disseminated the myth of Tutsi supremacy, they were convinced that the Tutsi were superior to the Hutu and the Hutu superior to the Twa, just as they were superior to all three (Des Forges, 1999).

Such distorted and dangerous hypotheses, which told more about the intellectual atmosphere of Europe in the 1920s than the early history of the region, not only began to circulate within and outside of Rwanda, but were then formalised by introducing identity cards in 1932 (Plate 17), identifying 15% as Tutsi, 84% as Hutu and 1% as Twa (Smith, 2006). The situation started to intensify when the ruling elite, influenced and supported by the Europeans, stressed their separateness and presumed superiority, while Hutu, officially excluded from power, began to experience the solidarity of the oppressed (Des Forges, 1999). Through violent uprisings of Hutu extremists in 1959 following the death of the King and faced with the end of colonial rule, as well as increasing international pressure for Hutu to participate in public life, the Belgians started to back Hutu revolutionaries before they themselves departed (Gourevitch, 1995).

Plate 17: *Formalised identity cards introduced by the Belgians in 1932 displayed at the Murambi Genocide Memorial, Rwanda.* (Source: Author)

5.3   Independence and Propaganda

After independence in July 1962, the presidency of Gregoire Kayibanda (The First Republic) replaced the kingship that had ruled Rwanda over centuries by founding the Parmehutu, a movement for the emancipation of the Hutu ethnic group, promoting Hutu consciousness and unity (Smith, 2006). As a result, Tutsi refugees in neighbouring countries organised themselves to destabilise and re-conquer power from the now 'Hutu' republic (Prunier, 1997). These attacks not only failed, but also gave rise to retaliations against the internal Tutsi population and when Juvénal Habyarimana gained power through a military coup in 1973 (The Second Republic), seeking the reunion of the state, he failed to resolve what was to become the largest and longest refugee crisis in Africa (Prunier, 1997). While the National Republican Movement for Democracy and Development (MRND) (dominated by Hutus from the northern part of Rwanda) seemed to enforce stablilty in the region and "attracted development aid and the general environment was relatively free of unrest or state-sponsored persecution", the coffee prices collapsed in 1986 and as a result an increasing number of farmers lost their income (Smith, 2006: 4). As the

economy deteriorated, the government tightened its grip on available wealth and political power, as well as founding the *Interahamwe*, (those who stand, fight, work, attack together), a popular Hutu youth militia promoting 'Hutu Power' and 'Hutuness' at the expense of Tutsi lives (Smith, 2006).

By 1990, Rwandan refugees, mostly Tutsi, had formed a political party called the Rwandese Alliance for National Unity (RANU) that later became the currently governing RPF (Rwandan Patriotic Front), which consisted of an armed wing that launched war into Rwanda from Uganda (Prunier, 1997). Feeling increasingly threatened, the centralised regime of the MRND not only started a highly effective propaganda campaign inciting ethnic hatred and violence, but also arrested hundredths of Tutsi and Hutu oppositionists accused of infiltration and accomplice, a precarious development that led to several massacres (Kolini & Holmes, 2007). The widely circulated *Hutu Ten Commandments* (Figure 8) published in the national newspaper *Kangura,* shortly after the RPF invasion, urged vigilance against the *ibyitso* (accomplices), *inyenzi* (Tutsi cockroaches), or 'enemies of Rwanda' on all fronts "charging that the Tutsi had prepared a war that would leave no survivors" (Des Forges, 1999: 78).

Another pamphlet produced by Mugesera[24] declared in February 1991 that the RPF planned "to restore the dictatorship of the extremists Tutsi minority" by "the extermination of the Hutu majority" (Des Forges, 1999: 78). As the conflict progressed the warnings became more explicit and RPF soldiers in particular were pictured as "creatures from another world, with tails, horns, hooves, pointed ears, and red eyes that shone in the dark" (Prunier, 1997: 142). In Mugesera's celebrated speech in 1992, he publicly urged the population to "take responsibility … and wipe out this scum. No matter what you do, do not let them get away" (Mugesera, cited in a hearing protocol, Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, 2003: 23). By invoking the Hamitic hypothesis, Mugesera advised that Rwanda should not be invaded and that the Tutsi should be sent back to where they came from: "I am telling you that your home is in Ethiopia, that we will send you by the Nyabarongo [River] so you can get there quickly" (Mugesera, cited in a hearing

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[24] Léon Mugesera, a former politician of the MRND in Rwanda, gave one of the first inflammatory public speeches that contributed to the eruption of violence (International Crimes Database, 2013).

protocol, Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, 2003: 23). His message was certainly understood; in 1994 tens of thousands of dead Tutsis were thrown into Rwanda's rivers (Gourevitch, 1995). Similar ideology was propagated by a new radio station called *Radio Télévision Libre des Milles Collines* (RTLM) that began to broadcast in July 1993 through the contributions of Ferdinand Nahimana, a history professor who was known for his work on the history of the Hutu Nation and whose main argument was that Tutsi were not indigenous to Rwanda (Melvern, 2000).

1. Every Hutu should know that a Tutsi woman, whoever she is, works for the interest of her Tutsi ethnic group. As a result, we shall consider a traitor any Hutu who
   - marries a Tutsi woman
   - befriends a Tutsi woman
   - employs a Tutsi woman as a secretary or a concubine.
2. Every Hutu should know that our Hutu daughters are more suitable and conscientious in their role as woman, wife and mother of the family. Are they not beautiful, good secretaries and more honest?
3. Hutu women, be vigilant and try to bring your husbands, brothers and sons back to reason.
4. Every Hutu should know that every Tutsi is dishonest in business. His only aim is the supremacy of his ethnic group. As a result, any Hutu who does the following is a traitor:
   - makes a partnership with Tutsi in business
   - invests his money or the government's money in a Tutsi enterprise
   - lends or borrows money from a Tutsi
   - gives favours to Tutsi in business (obtaining import licenses, bank loans, construction sites, public markets, etc.).
5. All strategic positions, political, administrative, economic, military and security should be entrusted only to Hutu.
6. The education sector (school pupils, students, teachers) must be majority Hutu.
7. The Rwandan Armed Forces should be exclusively Hutu. The experience of the October 1990 war has taught us a lesson. No member of the military shall marry a Tutsi.
8. The Hutu should stop having mercy on the Tutsi.
9. The Hutu, wherever they are, must have unity and solidarity and be concerned with the fate of their Hutu brothers.
   - The Hutu inside and outside Rwanda must constantly look for friends and allies for the Hutu cause, starting with their Hutu brothers.
   - They must constantly counteract Tutsi propaganda.
   - The Hutu must be firm and vigilant against their common Tutsi enemy.
10. The Social Revolution of 1959, the Referendum of 1961, and the Hutu Ideology, must be taught to every Hutu at every level. Every Hutu must spread this ideology widely. Any Hutu who persecutes his brother Hutu for having read, spread, and taught this ideology is a traitor.

Figure 8: *'Hutu Ten Commandments', first published in Kangura in December 1990.* (Source: Hartman, 2015)

After the RPF invasion efforts were made to resolve the civil war. Belgium and France[25] in particular pressured President Habyarimana to negotiate with his opponents (Smith, 2006). Regrettably, the *Arusha Peace Accords*, a peace agreement between the Rwandan government and the RPF, signed in August 1993 failed for many reasons, including the distrust between its signatories, the lack of funding by the international community, security concerns related to the process of demobilisation, challenges in integrating the militaries, and the general increase in political tensions, amongst others (Willard, 2014). By January 1994, the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) and the US Embassy were reporting that the opposite of demobilisation was happening since political parties amplified training of armed militias, and were distributing weapons to civilians (Willard, 2014). Besides, the peace agreements operated on the principle that once the civil war between the government and the RPF was resolved, the conflict between Hutu and Tutsi would also come to an end, ignoring the growing threat of ethnic division (Smith, 2006). The unresolved political tensions ultimately reached a boiling point on the 6th of April 1994, after President Habyarimana's plane was shot down (Mamdani, 2001). How, by whom and for what purpose still remains a mystery. While the next morning Rwanda started its descent into a bloody spiral of unimaginable violence, terror and death, the international community as well as the media remained silent and did not intervene (Melvern, 2000).

5.4 Witness to a Genocide – The Media and the Flaw within the Genocide Convention

While one of the few universally accepted facts of Rwandan history is the certainty that the genocide did not develop through long fought tribal detestation (Destexhe, 1995), the detrimental image of the country as being plagued by tribal warfare was continuously reinforced by the press during 1994 by several institutions. The World Food Programme's (WFP) spokesperson Jennifer Parmelee, for instance, in

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[25] When the RPF attacked in 1990, France sent arms and troops to not only fight alongside the genocidal government but to train the Rwandan Army. After Habyarimana's death, the French continued to support his Hutu power successor, providing arms, refuge and diplomatic support (Gourevitch 1995). In late June 1994, France launched a 'humanitarian' mission from Zaire (now DRC), the so called Zone Turquoise, which created a safe haven for perpetrators to flee the country (Dallaire, 2003). Since 2008 Rwanda has dismissed the French language as one of its three official languages, justifying the switch to English by pointing to the global growth of English as the leading language of science, commerce and economic development (Samuelson & Freedman, 2010).

her article *Africa: Bloodied, torn at its ethnic seams*, writes that Rwanda had been waging a "war of the tribal passions … wounded by recurrent tribal pogroms". While the article reviews thoughts by historians and political scientists, it makes no reference to any research conducted by specialists in Rwanda at the time. Moreover, images in the *New York Times* represent the repeated and distorted claims of tribalism (Storey, 1997), incorporating wider elements of 'orientalist' thought discussed in Chapter 2. Similarly, Fergal Keane (1995), one of BBC's most renowned correspondents, mentions in his book *Season of Blood* (1996: 6) that "the general consensus among those of us watching the pictures and those who had taken them was that Rwanda was a madhouse, a primitive torture chamber where rival tribes were busy settling ancient scores …".

In response to the *New York Times,* Laber, Executive Director of *Human Rights Watch-Helsinki*, states that "the UN should finally find a means to protect the innocent. To describe ancient hatreds in Rwanda is deplorable, faulty and dangerous" (Laber, cited in Thompson 2007: 208). While human rights activists and academic specialists were releasing regular press bulletins with well-documented information (Thompson, 2007: 246), the notion that the conflict was not tribal warfare but that it was in effect structured, organized and rehearsed well in advance by a small group of the then regime's political, military and economic elite who felt threatened by possible political change (Prunier, 1997) was difficult to get through to the press (Melvern, 2001). And although the Clinton administration had early warnings from the *Central Intelligence Agency* (CIA) that conditions in Rwanda were deteriorating, it gave explicit warnings to its spokespeople not to use the term genocide in reference to the killing (Storey 1997: 617), which according to the *Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide* (1948) would have obliged risky intervention and punishment of the crimes committed.

The term genocide eventually surfaced in an article written by a French journalist in the daily newspaper *Libération* in Paris on 11 April 1994 who predicted that "...before [the RPF rebels opposing the genocidal government] are able to take over the city, if they have the power to do so, the genocide in Kigali will probably already be over" (Ceppi 1994, author's own translation). The word then disappears from news reports and over following weeks, a fog of misinformation

covered what was happening. In this context, the photographer and artist Alfredo Jaar (1994), introduced in Chapter 4, designed another noteworthy exhibition called *Untitled (Newsweek)* (Plate 18). He created a timeline of the deteriorating events in Rwanda, while allocating them to 17 covers of *Newsweek* magazine at the time that ignored the killing until the 1st of August 1994, when the genocide had already come to an end (Jaar, 1994).

June 10, 1994:
The United States argues with the UN over the cost of providing heavy armored vehicles for the peacekeeping force. 500,000 deaths.

Image redacted

June 10, 1994:
The killing of Tutsis and moderate Hutus continues, even in refugee camps. 600,000 deaths.

Image redacted

Plate 18: *Prints of Alfredo Jaar's 'Untitled (Newsweek) Series'.*
(Source: Jaar, 1994)

The way the genocide is being portrayed in the media and in international films or cinematic representations, such as the prominent Hollywood production *Hotel Rwanda* (2004), influences the global understanding of Rwanda up to today. Often depictions still side-line the greed and geopolitical wrangling that underpinned the massacres by predominantly relying on an exclusively ethnic framework to account for the violence (Cook, 2011). This obscures the historical, political and economic factors that contributed to the conditions that eventually resulted in genocide (Cook, 2011). By concealing the extent of external involvement in Rwanda, such representations frequently support "an ideological tradition that persistently erases the hand of the West in creating and perpetuating the conditions of instability violence and exploitation in African nations" (Cook, 2011: 175).

5.5   A Country Shaken to the Core – Rwanda's Darkest Moment

Image
redacted

Plate 19: *Photograph taken by Brazilian photojournalist Sebastião Salgado, in Rwanda in 1994/5, exhibited at the KGM.* (Source: Silva, 2015)

Throughout this disarray of complex political contexts, ideologies, accusations and assumptions it is underlined here that the truth is not clear cut, it is disordered and the lines are often blurred. Certainly, in this case reality is unimaginable and more complex than can ever be comprehended. Evident though is that the 1994 genocide is one of the most horrible crimes of this age, a conflict, "which

contributed to the destabilisation of an entire region followed by years of war, human deprivation, rape and misery, with untold and unimaginable brutality, and an incalculable number of victims" (Melvern, 2000: 278).

Over the period of approximately 100 days (7th April to 18th July, 1994) the slaughter was violently carried out mostly with basic farm tools, such as clubs, machetes and hoes (Des Forges, 1999). A genocide perpetrator comments on the common weapons used by the killers in an interview in 2005:

> The club is more crushing, but the machete is more natural. The Rwandan is accustomed to the machete from childhood. Grab a machete – that is what we do every morning. We cut sorghum, we prune banana trees, we hack out vines, we kill chickens. Even women and little girls borrow the machete for small tasks, like chopping firewood. Whatever the job, the same gesture always comes smoothly to our hands. In the end, a man is like an animal: you give him a whack on the head or the neck and down he goes.
>
> (Ellie, cited by Hatzfield, 2005)

The contemporary era is, atrociously, one of genocide, but even so, what happened in Rwanda stands out. The women, men, and children who were slaughtered were of the same race, shared the same language, customs, and religion as those ordinary citizens who were eagerly murdering them (Sontag, 2005). Another perpetrator describes his incentives to kill as follows:

> Killing could certainly be thirsty work, draining and often disgusting. Still it was more productive than raising crops, especially for someone with a meagre plot of land or barren soil … We could no longer count the panels of sheet metal we were piling up. For the simplest farmers, it was refreshing to leave the hoe in the yard. We got rich, we went to bed with full bellies, we lived a life of plenty.
>
> (Ignace, cited by Hatzfield, 2005)

Killings took place, among others, in and around churches where people sought refuge against the extremist militia groups and radical army (Des Forges, 1999). In the mistaken belief that the sacredness of such spaces would protect them from death, whole communities perished, leaving behind a path of destruction that turned friends and neighbours into enemies and broke centuries of family ties (Viebach, 2014). For about three to four months, Interahamwe militiamen, Forces Armées Rwandaises (FAR), soldiers, policemen, government authorities, and

civilians recruited killing squads and individual fates were decided at roadblocks according to ethnicity, usually marked on national identity cards (Gourevitch, 1998). Thousands of Tutsi sought protection in the forests and valleys, while others hid in official buildings or under beds, in cupboards, or in dropped ceilings awaiting death but hoping that those who helped them hide would not turn them over to the *ibitero* (killing squads) (Burnet, 2012).

5.5.1 The aftermath

The RPF ended the genocide by military means in July 1994 by overthrowing the government of Habyarimana and subsequently the Rwandan army, militias, and a large number of Rwandan civilians crossed the border into Zaire (now DRC) (Cook, 2006). The RPF then installed what it called a Broad Based Government of National Unity under President Pasteur Bizimungu (with Kagame as vice-president), the oldest and most important of the 'RPF Hutu', and some 800,000 diaspora Tutsi returned to Rwanda. "The irony is not lost on Rwanda's new leaders that the genocide actually handed them more power[26]. Yet, even so, they cannot declare victory. The enemy wasn't defeated; it just ran away, and the country it left behind was so ravaged and divided that it was guaranteed to present its new rulers with temptations to extremism and revenge" (Gourevitch, 1995: 19). Rwanda had a collapsed economy, a completely demoralised population in various stages of shock (Melvern, 2000) and thousands of traumatised survivors, many of whom were to be designated as the "bapfuye buhagazi", the walking dead, for years to come (Prunier, 2009). As a result of the slaughter, most of the infrastructure had been brutally looted; streets, churches and schools were filled with dead bodies, some of which remained unidentified and were left unburied for memorial purposes as an appalling reminder that the tragedy at hand was in fact the attempt to eradicate the entire Tutsi population (Viebach, 2014).

In the midst of this chaos another crisis was rapidly unfolding. Since the corpses were falling into lakes and rivers, the water was increasingly polluted and this led

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[26] Gourevitch's comment refers to critical voices alleging that the RPF had deliberately shot down the plane and allowed the murder of hundreds of thousands of Tutsi to justify their insurgency against the Hutu government (Clark & Kaufman, 2008). However, even if this was the case, the genocide would have occurred, since as explicated above, the Hutu extremists had been plotting and preparing the tragedy long in advance (Clark & Kaufman, 2008).

to a rapidly spreading Cholera epidemic with disastrous consequences for those crammed into refugee camps in the DRC. Newspapers and TV reporters jumped at this unfolding horror and documented it in detail: "The slaughter in Rwanda may have been an expression of bestiality of man, but what is happening in the refugee camps in Zaire today is surely the wrath of god" (Block, 2011). This twist of fate that destined many of the killers to an atrocious death diffused the intensity of feeling linked with the previous genocide, which could have led to the hurried empanelling of an international tribunal (Prunier, 1997: 303).

Nonetheless, attempts to bring the guilty to justice began sooner or later, with the U.N. establishing an ad hoc tribunal (International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, ICTR) in Arusha, Tanzania (November, 1994) to try the main architects of the genocide (Cook, 2006). Unfortunately, this proved to be a very slow, and sometimes biased process, and between 1994 and 2001 only twenty defendants were indicted, arrested, tried and sentenced (Cook, 2006). Simultaneously, the new Rwandan government[27] began detaining lower level perpetrators, which led to around 120,000 genocide suspects being packed into jails that were built to hold only 45,000 inmates (Clark, 2008). Most detainees were never formally charged and were forced to live in hellish conditions, whilst outside the prisons, genocide survivors demanded justice and compensation for the crimes committed against them, their families and friends (Clark, 2008).

It quickly became apparent that "the economic impact of imprisoning so many young Hutu men was immense, both for the population that has had to cover for the loss of labour and for the government that has had to care for so many detainees" (Clark, 2008: 297). In response, the government introduced the previously explained *gacaca* jurisdictions in 2001 that comprised around 9,000 community based courts overseen by locally elected judges (Rettig, 2008). Upwards of 70,000 perpetrators went through this community trial in which they admitted guilt to their friends and neighbours, and in 2003 President Paul Kagame daringly decided to release tens of thousands of genocide offenders from prisons who had confessed to their crimes (Cowart, 2014). In order to be reintegrated into

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[27] In March 2000 Bizimungu resigned and Kagame was sworn in as the new president, successively receiving the overwhelming majority of votes in the 2003 and 2010 elections (Briggs & Booth, 2009).

society they had to go through *ingando* civic education centers[28] where they underwent re-education before returning to their homes (Clark, 2008). Susan Thomson (2011: 338), having spent a week at such a camp, is skeptical of their purpose and concludes that although portrayed as one mechanism of national unity and reconciliation, "graduates … do not believe in the national unity of the re-imagined past or in the reconciliation of a re-engineered future. Rather they see the camps and their ideological discourse as efforts to exercise social control over adult Hutu men". While some argue that such practices of re-education with regard to ethnicity offer a vital contribution to Rwanda's peace building process, others state that these spaces merely disseminate current RPF political ideology and indoctrination (Mgbako, 2005).

Evident, however, is that "when measured against the record of other courts, principally the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) … [which] has tried about sixty cases [93 individuals indicted], cost about 1.7 billion dollars and left justice wanting" (Kagame, Gacaca Closing Ceremony Speech, 2012), gacaca offered a more effective platform of engagement between genocide suspects and survivors that was desperately needed at the time to generate dialogue and a feeling of justice.

5.5.2 Controversial numbers and statistics

It should be recognised at this point that the number of victims remains highly debatable, and while this thesis will not endorse any of the attempted approximations below, it is, nevertheless, important to highlight discrepancies so as to place them within contemporary global debates. Des Forges (1999: 1) reveals an estimation that "perhaps as many as three quarters of the Tutsi population (77% of the population registered as Tutsi in 1991) [perished]" during that time. Taking into account Prunier's (1997) calculations that 130,000 Tutsi were alive in

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[28] The word *ingando* comes, from the verb 'kugandika', which means going to stay in a place far from one's home (Mgbako, 2005). Arguably, traditional ingando referred to a retreat during which elders, leaders or young people left their homes and stayed in a place where they would meditate and share ideas on how to solve problems affecting their communities or the nation (Mgbako, 2005). Today, the government makes a distinction between ingando solidarity camps (for politicians, civil society, church leaders, gacaca judges, incoming university students) and ingando re-education camps (for ex-combatants, confessed génocidaires, released prisoners, prostitutes, street children) (Thomson, 2011).

July, excluding those in Zaire (today DRC) or Tanzania, which would perhaps add another 20,000, this would mean that 507,000 Tutsi were killed, since 150,000 survivors are subtracted from a probable population of 657,000 Tutsi[29] (Des Forges, 1999). While this figure is quoted by several prominent genocide scholars, including Scott Straus (2004), it is widely asserted that the number of Tutsi in 1991 was underreported since the Habyarimana regime wanted to minimize the importance of Tutsi in the population and, therefore, a significant number of Tutsi were registered as Hutu in order to avoid discrimination (Des Forges, 1999). While the more commonly cited figure reports that over 800,000 people perished in 1994 (Clark & Kaufman, 2008; Gourevitch, 1995; Dallaire, 2003), the government and the KGM (KGM/Aegis Trust, 2004) disclose that over one million Tutsi and moderate Hutu lost their lives in this tragedy[30], with mostly unidentified bodies being exhumed to the present-day.

However, estimates of persons killed at specific sites vary widely. For instance, some claim that 35,000 people were murdered in single massacre at Nyamata Church, a space that appears to only hold a capacity of 3,000 (Des Forges, 1999)[31]. Also, establishing the number of persons killed in the genocide does not help much in assessing the number of people involved in their execution and, whereas some state that 120,000 (Clark, 2008) suspected génocidaires had been imprisoned, others argue that numbers range from 125,000 (Rettig, 2008) to 200,000, or even more (Straus, 2004). It is evident that the circumstances of the crimes varied enormously since there were professional soldiers armed with machine guns and grenade launchers who could have killed 100 people at a time and there were groups of militia armed with clubs, sharpened bamboo or machetes, who together only killed one person (Des Forges, 1999). According to a government study, for example (République Rwandaise, 2002: 26), death by machete was the most common means of murder (37.9%), after that killing by club (16.8%) and killing by firearm (14.8%).

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[29] A disputed number estimated by demographer William Seltzer based on the 1991 census, which stated that the Tutsi represented around 10% of the country's population of seven million (Des Forges, 1999).

[30] The official number of victims determined by the government of Rwanda in 2008 was 1,074,503 (Institue of Research and Dialogue for Peace (IRDP), 2008).

[31] Such discrepancies are reflected in participant observations throughout the data analysis chapters and figures should therefore not be taken as accurate.

Likewise, the estimated number of killings and massacres committed by the currently governing RPF before, during and after the genocide (Prunier, 1997) offers the most controversial debate in and outside of Rwanda today. Disputes about the limited judicial and public attention that such crimes have received (Peskin, 2011), not only in Rwanda but also in the DRC (Stearns & Borello, 2011), as well as the government's "authoritarian rule" (Reyntjens, 2011: 145), together with the powerful hold on the national press and the preservation of a strong, centralized state structure (Zorbas, 2004), have generated highly polarizing views in the field. While extreme voices speak of a 'double genocide', including the late French President Mitterand, particularly in association with the massacres conducted at refugee camps in Zaire (now DRC), such terminology is predominantly utilised by oppositionists, to equalise and justify "the mayhem unleashed by the former Rwandese government [which in any case] retains its grisly specificity whether in terms of conscious intent, size or political project" (Prunier, 1997: 359).

5.6 Summary

This chapter has delivered a contextual overview of Rwanda's complex past up to the present (see Appendix 1 for a chronological overview), elaborating on various controversial debates surrounding the genocide and its aftermath. It has been demonstrated how the fatal effects of the civil war in combination with the initiation of multiparty politics, the construction of ethnicity by 'outsiders', class struggles, Rwanda's North-South divide, as well as a series of unprecedented economic shocks, some resulting directly from the conditions imposed by the IMF and the World Bank, exacerbated existing tensions that eventually gave rise to genocide (Pottier, 2002). Decades of violence and discrimination on all fronts, as well as the RPF invasion and the resulting war since 1990, unleashed a tremendous response and served as a catalyst for Hutu solidarity and the growing determination of hard-liners within the government to manipulate ethnic hatred for political advantage (Lemarchand, 1995).

On the morning after the death of the country's former President, Juvénal Habyarimana, when the aeroplane in which he was travelling was shot down as it

approached Kigali, the genocide began and during the following 100 days more than a million people lost their lives (KGM/Aegis Trust, 2004). As with many African conflicts it went comparatively unnoticed for weeks until the world comprehended the extent of the tragedy (JAM International, 2003). The violence came to an end only when the RPF, led by the country's current President, Paul Kagame, entered Kigali and defeated the last remnants of the former government troops in July 1994 (Melvern, 2004), inheriting the inconceivable task of rebuilding an entirely destroyed and deeply traumatized country. As a result of the genocide, approximately 75% of the Tutsi minority had been killed, more than 300,000 children were orphaned and some two million Hutu, fearing retaliation, fled into neighbouring countries (Melvern, 2000; Prunier, 1997).

CHAPTER 6

RWANDA'S MEMORIALSCAPE TODAY

6.0   Living with Genocide

Mudaheranwa:

I burned her house. I attacked her in order to kill her and her children, but God protected them, and they escaped. When I was released from jail, if I saw her, I would run and hide. Then AMI [Association Modeste et Innocent] started to provide us with trainings. I decided to ask her for forgiveness. To have good relationships with the person to whom you did evil deeds – we thank God.

(cited by Hugo/Dominus, 2014: 2, Plate 20)

Mukanyandwi:

I used to hate him. When he came to my house and knelt down before me and asked for forgiveness, I was moved by his sincerity. Now, if I cry for help, he comes to rescue me. When I face any issue, I call him.

(cited by Hugo/Dominus, 2014: 2, Plate 20)

Image
redacted

Plate 20: *Godefroid Mudaheranwa, genocide perpetrator (left) and Evasta Mukanyandwi, genocide survivor (right).* (Source: Hugo, 2014)

In 2014, Rwanda was honoring its 20th commemoration (Kwibuka20) of the genocide. Two decades after nearly a million people were killed, the photographer Pieter Hugo took a series of unbelievable, almost unthinkable images (Dominus, 2014). One picture shows a woman placing her hand on the shoulder of the man who murdered her father and brothers and in another, a woman poses with a man who looted her property and whose father helped to kill her husband and children (Dominus, 2014). Each photograph depicts a Hutu perpetrator who was pardoned by a Tutsi survivor and while the images show little warmth "between the pairs … they are, together" (Dominus, 2014: 1). The people who agreed to be photographed are part of a continuing national effort towards reconciliation and work closely with the Association Modeste et Innocent (AMI), a non-profit organization known for bringing together former genocide perpetrators and survivors for reconciliation and peaceful resolutions of Rwanda's conflicts, such as restitution concerns after the gacaca trials (Peace Direct, 2011).

However, Hugo observed that the relationships between the victims and the perpetrators varied widely, and while "some pairs showed up and sat easily together, chatting about the village gossip, others arrived willing to be photographed but unable to go much further. There are clear different degrees of forgiveness" (Hugo, cited in Dominus, 2014: 2). This is also demonstrated in Cowart's blog post on *Voices of Reconciliation* (2011) in Rwanda where he, among others, depicts Bernard and Ernestine (Plate 21) who married after the genocide, during which nearly all of Ernestine's family members were murdered. Ernestine forgave the killers of her family and married Bernard, a former Hutu, the ethnic group that largely perpetrated the genocide (Cowart, 2011).

Nevertheless, while the idea behind such images seems beautiful and truly genuine, they too attract critical voices. Aaron Bady (2014: 2), for example, raises the issue of the overwhelmingly gendered narrative that these photos tell – "all the 'perpetrators' are men, and seven of the eight 'survivors' are women – while the word rape is screamingly absent from the article and the framing". Although the exact number of women raped in 1994 is difficult to determine, testimonies from survivors confirm that rape was extremely widespread and that thousands of women were individually abused, gang-raped, raped with objects such as sharpened sticks or gun barrels, held in sexual slavery or sexually mutilated

(Human Rights Watch, 1996). These crimes were frequently part of a pattern in which Tutsi women were raped and then killed or purposely kept alive so that they would 'die of sadness' after they had witnessed the torture and murder of their relatives and friends, as well as the destruction and looting of their homes (Human Rights Watch, 1996). In most cases, these women and others who survived horrific violations "have to make peace and can't go anywhere else … Their survival is framed as making reconciliation a necessity and not a choice" (Yahwon, 2015: 6). Then looking at these pictures, "we might be repulsed at the idea that a rape-victim would have to hug her rapist and forgive him, for national progress" (Bady, 2014: 3).

Image
redacted

Plate 21: *Bernard and Ernestin holding a banana leaf which reads 'We are all Rwandan'.* (Souce: Cowart, 2011)

Actually, and in contrast to the current representations of women as victims and bystanders, a narrative also reinforced through such images, some Rwandan women played a central role in the genocide (Brown, 2014). For instance, even though women were greatly underrepresented in politics at that time, they were among the handful of leading politicians, the so-called *akazu* – 'little house' or 'President's household' – who were most responsible in plotting the genocide (Sharlach, 1999). Many Hutu women employed agency, in particular as

perpetrators, to the murderous detriment of their community and although female culprits "are often depicted as deviant anomalies and stripped of their gender and humanity", it has been demonstrated that "a woman can be a mother, a sister or daughter and a génocidaire, the common term for a perpetrator of genocide in Rwanda" (Brown, 2014: 449).

The extensive involvement of the general population in the violence is highlighted by Sharlach (1999: 397): "Elders were killing as well. Women were killing. Children were hunting people with their hands. Even priests. Doctors. Nurses. Veterans. You see, the fact is, what happened is incredible". Sharlach (1999) hereby offers a glimpse of insight into the tragic chaos into which Rwanda descended at the beginning of April 1994. The combination of the speed, scale and intensity of the genocide, as well as the failure to intervene and the suppression of information about what was actually happening, delivers a shocking accusation of "governments and individuals who could have prevented it but chose not to do so even when the evidence was indisputable" (Melvern, 2000). It is not surprising that Rwanda will continue to struggle with not only the consequences of the genocide, but with the repercussions of its entire volatile past for years to come. After all, when the violence ended in July 1994, the country was "a mass grave, bankrupt of cash and commodities ... faced with an enormous post-genocide crisis and task of rebuilding from 'ground zero'" (Wallis, 2015: 1). In addition, it had undergone a complete traumatic rupture of social ties, norms and communal trust (Viebach, 2014)

6.1   Rwanda Today – Commemoration and the Politics of Memory

Thousands of visitors have travelled to Rwanda in recent years, on business and for tourism purposes, and they have seen a country in reconciliation mode, trying to heal and keen to move on from its tragic past (Thome, 2015). For those visitors who come for more than tracking gorillas, numerous memorials commonly established next to mass graves or on the site of particular horrific mass killings (Plate 22) offer an opportunity to not only gain a slight glimpse of Rwanda's darkest era, but also allow guests to come face to face with eye witnesses. Six of these are considered official national memorial sites, that is the KGM (Gisozi),

Nyamata, Ntarama, Bisesero, Nyarubuye and Murambi[32], all of which are maintained by the *National Commission for the Fight against Genocide* (CNLG), the government body responsible for commemoration and remembrance (Friedrich & Johnston, 2013).

Image
redacted

Plate 22: *Landsat TM Mosaic of Rwanda, 1995 (numerous memorials have been constructed since then). National border – white, mass graves –blue, memorial sites – red, resistance sites – green.*
(Source: Yale University, 1995)

While four of the national sites have been proposed by the Rwandan authorities for UNESCO World Heritage Site status, namely the KGM, Nyamata, Murambi and Bisesero (de la Croix Tabaro, 2012), they are also amongst those sites most commonly visited by international tourists, being significant for both the nature and representation of the atrocities they commemorate (Friedrich & Johnston, 2013). However, the KGM is not only regarded as the principal memorial to the genocide in Rwanda but also the most visited (Figure 9). Moreover, it is arguably the least 'difficult' of these four spaces, in as much as human remains are not on graphic display as at the other three (Sharpley & Friedrich, Forthcoming). Nevertheless, through various forms of textual and photographic interpretation,

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[32] Participant observation was conducted at all of these sites, which will be elaborated upon in detail throughout the data analysis in Chapter 8 and 9.

including a display documenting the genocide, a children's memorial, an exhibition on the history of genocide worldwide and a wall of names, as well as the starkness of concrete covered mass graves, the KGM offers a visually powerful and morally challenging memorial to the victims (Sharpley & Friedrich, Forthcoming).

	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
National	44449	45548	35840	17985	21461	27822	21522
International	27996	35107	35060	36987	42377	48164	42683
Total	72445	80655	70900	54972	63838	75986	64205

Figure 9: *Visitors to the KGM.* (Source: Sharpley & Friedrich, Forthcoming)

The KGM embraces an educational element, providing peace building workshops to frequently vising school children, as well as other community groups (Aegis Trust, 2015), in addition to acting as focus for the national commemoration ceremonies consecutively held there in April. The British NGO Aegis Trust not only runs the site, but is further involved in numerous other peace initiatives. These include the implementation of a mobile exhibition, which aims at breaking down stereotypes and educating communities on active bystandership to provide young people and educators across the country with the knowledge and tools to overcome the legacy of fear, violence and suspicion left by the genocide (Friedrich *et. al.*, Forthcoming). This *Rwanda Peace Education Program* (RPEP) is made up of four institutions which are joining together to reinforce peace and reconciliation through the promotion of social cohesion and positive values, such as pluralism, personal responsibility, empathy, critical thinking and action (Genocide Archive Rwanda, 2015a). One of these organisations has created a popular and unique Radio Soap Opera that is broadcasted weekly throughout Rwanda and addresses a number of different conflicts, including the build up of different types of violence between groups (Staub *et al.*, n.d.). In addition, the Aegis Trust has been involved in a multi-partner effort of introducing a new curriculum that covers pre-school, primary and secondary level integrated peace education, as a cross cutting course into all subjects (Mwai, 2015).

Another location that "perhaps epitomizes the horror of the genocide in terms of both atrocities that occurred there and in the manner in which they are presented" (Sharpley, 2012: 103) is Murambi. It is the one other site holding an exhibition and

the only national memorial which displays hundreds of lime powdered fully intact dead bodies in classrooms of the former technical school where approximately 50,000 people were massacred (Viebach, 2014). Similarly, the Ntarama Church Memorial[33] (Plate 23), designated by Trip Advisor as number 12 of the top 25 landmarks in Africa, together with the KGM in 10th place (Kwibuka Website, 2015), offers another highly sensitive visitor experience. Artefacts and human remains displayed at the site indicate

> ... how they were killed, the spots where the victims were burned, materials which were at their disposal when they got killed (clothes, rosary and beads, cups, kitchen ware, pens, mattresses) ... some of the instruments that were used to kill them (bullets, knives, arrow and bows), holes mark where the grenade blasts occurred, [blood stains on the walls imply where babies were smashed against the wall] ... some of the church's own religious symbols and materials (altar), all of these are still visible today.

> (Mutwarasibo, 2014)

Image
redacted

Plate 23: *Ntarama Church today.* (Source: Kwibuka Website, 2015)

Whilst one commonality is that all the memorials rely heavily on place authenticity (except for the KGM, which is not placed at a former killing site) (Hohenhaus,

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[33] Preservation works are taking place at the site at the moment and mass graves are being constructed in the church garden; supposedly some of the human remains will be transferred upon their completion (Trip Advisor, 2015).

2013), although some 'rawer' than others, the details and context of the crimes comitted must be gathered from the oral accounts of guides, or researched through secondary sources, since the physical remains, as well as the perpetrators' weapons or victims' personal belongings themselves do not tell the confusing and politically complex story of genocide (Cook, 2006). Moreover, the ethical concerns regarding such open presentation of human remains commonly brings divisive views to the forefront, including very strong concerns about the legitimacy of violating victims' dignity, their re-traumatization potential, issues concerning profanity, and the actual educative value of displaying such horrors (Hohenhaus, 2013). Although one of the aims is to put clarity into the various crimes and atrocities committed during that period, to counter revisionism and to prevent future susceptibility to propaganda and discrimination, "the difference between genocide and mass death cannot be represented by bones. This difference, which remains so central to historical understanding and perhaps above all to post-genocidal juridical and political claims, is troubled by the very memorials called upon to establish it" (Guyer, 2009: 174-5). Confusions that what transpired in 1994 was in fact a double genocide or a civil war are still prominent in and outside of Rwanda today, made evident through alternative interpretations of the liberation war launched by the RPF, the cholera deaths of genocide perpetrators and other Rwandan refugees in Zaire (now DRC), and the infiltrator insurgency[34] (IRDP, 2008).

Mamdani (2001) and Burnet (2012) together identify four different types of killings in Rwanda in the 100 days between January and April 1994: (1) the killing of combatants (and accidental killing civilians) on both sides (between the RPF and the FAR), an outcome of the civil war; (2) the killing of Hutu by Hutu, whether for political reasons (as when Hutu nationalists killed 'moderate' Hutu as RPF collaborators or those killed because of the long standing North-South divide referred to earlier) or for social reasons (as when poor Hutu killed wealthier ones to appropriate or redistribute their property); (3) killings perpetrated by the RPF against militiamen and civilians as part of the liberation war, and (4) the killing of Tutsi and moderate Hutu civilians by the Interahamwe militias, the FAR, and civilian-based death squads. Furthermore, there were cases of settling personal

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[34] FAR and Interahamwe militia frequently invaded the northern region of Rwanda between 1996 and 2000, and the RPF launched several counteroffensives (IRDP, 2008).

disputes and other murders driven by theft that were made possible by the chaos (Burnet, 2012).

While the Rwandan genocide refers to the fourth type of killing, that of Tutsi by Hutu (Mamdani, 2001), it is evident that those writing on this subject have undergone what could be called a terminology crisis. This is reflected for example in the general definition of a 'survivor', a term used only to identify "Tutsi [who were] in the country at the time of the Genocide and who [are]... alive today" (Mamdani, 2001: 267). Since the word 'survivor' is not used to describe any Hutu, this has resulted in the victimisation and demonisation of certain groups and points towards the dilemma of "incorporating a guilty majority alongside an aggrieved and fearful minority in a single political" and often closely connected scarred community (Mamdani, 2001: 266). Williamson (2014) argues that the only label available to Hutu is therefore génocidaire, while the only label available to Tutsi (if not returnee) is 'survivor'. The only people who are not stigmatized are consequently those who were not in Rwanda at the time of the genocide, the so-called returnees. Nevertheless, these publicly tolerated categorisations, which in some cases have replaced the former ethnic classifications are used throughout the thesis since, even though criticised by several respondents, they are commonplace 'stereotypes' in Rwanda today and have thus been utilised to derive contextual information. It should be noted that this analysis does not imply that labels are always correctly assigned; indeed many died during the genocide as the result of mistaken ethnic identity and there are, of course, numerous cases of Rwandans whose experiences do not fit these categories.

Additional controversy was caused by the parliament adopting the proposal by the Minister of Justice in 2008 to officially refer to the genocide as "the genocide against the Tutsi" (IRDP, 2008) in the constitution. This official statement, 13 years after the actual events, weakened Rwanda's emphasis on national unity and contradicts the enduring constitutional ban on references to ethnicity[35], emphasising that Tutsi victimhood is now securely established in public discourse

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[35] Article 9 of Rwanda's Constitution reads: "Propagation of ethnic, regional, racial discrimination or any other form of division shall be punishable by Law" (Constitute Project, 2015, n.d.).

(Ibreck, 2012). While this thesis acknowledges the genocide against the Tutsi and that it should be officially recognised through public commemoration as the most brutal act of violence committed against a people in Rwanda, the question remains whether such politically motivated actions could install further division and animosity among those who feel that their losses are not being truthfully acknowledged.

This dilemma with regards to the memorials, but also other public representations of Rwanda's past, such as those portrayed through theatre and cinema (Breed, 2008) is evident. One simply cannot interpret the genocide appropriately without reference to the ethnic element (Hohenhaus, 2013). Memorials then stand in contrast to the government's strategy of altering citizens perceptions about their group affiliations, past and present through various initiatives that aim to eradicate genocide propaganda and foster national unity (Samuelson & Freedman, 2010). These include adding crimes such as divisionism and ethnic ideology to the penal code (Williamson, 2014), endorsing an interpretation of historical events according to which Rwandan society was essentially unified before the arrival of European colonists, and introducing campaigns such as *Ndi Umunyarwanda* (I am Rwandan) (Visathan, 2015). *Ndi Umunyarwanda* is a program put forward in 2013 that aims at encouraging Rwandans to build bridges by openly discussing challenges not only encountered in the present, but also in the past, which might obstruct individuals or communities from moving forward (Visathan (2015). McLean Hilker (2011), however, challenges this approach by arguing that the banning of ethnicity from public discourse will most likely lead to covert discussions that will bear the risk of leaving alternative Hutu and Tutsi versions of the past unchallenged which in turn can reinforce a dangerous ethnic logic.

It is undeniable that the matter of ethnicity remains to be an extremely sensitive issue in Rwanda today; a documentary (*Hutu? Tutsi? Twa? Or Rwandan*) produced by the IRDP (2010) shows clear evidence of this: "Three thousand people were interviewed about ethnicity and its influence on people's ordinary life, at work and in other relations. 53 percent think that the situation has somewhat improved but almost half the population in Rwanda still see ethnicity as a major problem" (Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA), 2011). One participant in the film, for instance, claims that

> If a Hutu joins a Tutsi in a bar, they will change the topic, same appears for a Hutu, if they see a Tutsi coming. Both groups suspect each other and people are afraid of mentioning anything related to ethnicity. Even the president hesitates to mention it during his speeches. If even the top authorities are scared of this, it becomes a problem. It is important to discuss openly about it.

(IRDP, 2010)

The documentary concludes that if Rwanda is to continue its path towards a stable society, people need to communicate about their history, and hence a more critical way of thinking should be stimulated (SIDA, 2011). In particular, the culture of 'blind obedience' that is often used to characterise the Rwandese people, and that once led to the genocide needs to be abandoned (Mugiraneza, cited by SIDA, 2011). Samset (2011), however, suggests that Rwanda's 'repressive' peace, will remain secure for some time to come because of this high tolerance for government interference and emphasis on respecting authorities and the social hierarchy. The future then is to a large extend dependent on the politics of the present and upcoming regimes.

6.2   The Power of Selectivity – Coping with Traumatic Memory

The politics of memory in Rwanda are closely connected to questions of identity, since to remember is to assert a claim about one's own being (Burnet, 2012). While for individuals in private settings, memory can often be separated from broader historical, cultural, and political narratives and discourses, therefore, reflecting integral contradictions of experience, for Rwandans in public or semipublic settings, remembering can become a political act that takes into account the powerful moral discourses concerning society and collective history (Burnet, 2012). It is this discourse that (re)produces the language of social category, including terms such as Hutu, Twa, Tutsi, Interahamwe, killer, survivor, victim, returnee, all of which mould the ways Rwandans define themselves today.

Susan Buckley-Zistel's (2006) fieldwork establishes that through remembering what to forget, or so called 'chosen amnesia', rural Rwandans are able to cope with their day-today life in the proximity of perpetrators and victims. However, since each individual is defined with reference to the tragedy, for social or economic reasons, certain suppression of the past is necessary for peaceful coexistence. By

blaming the political elite of the former genocidal regime for the planning and follow through of violence, this "allows everybody to feel victimised and creates at least some sense of collective identity under the guise of victimhood" (Buckley-Zistel, 2006: 147). Yet, the danger of 'chosen amnesia' is that it leaves social resentment untouched and if for whatever reasons the present government is replaced by one that chooses to incite ethnic hatred once again, this will fall on fertile ground (Buckley-Zistel, 2006).

Nonetheless, individual mourning practices or government sponsored genocide commemoration activities force people to remember on a regular basis and, although the government constructs both its own legitimacy and national identity through presenting a selective account of the complex issues at hand, it does not have a monopoly over all memorialisation practices (Ibreck, 2012). Ibreck (2012) argues, in contrast to most academic literature available, that the official discourse does not construct a shared consistent memory of the genocide, since the commemorations are also shaped by survivors and by the participation or resistance of all Rwandans. While certainly the state sets the parameters for remembrance, the ceremonies are marked by contradictions, contestations and negotiation (Misztal, 2003). Previous studies show examples of resistance from Rwandans who resent the focus on the past (Prunier, 2009), of Hutu survivors who want recognition for their suffering (Burnet, 2009) and of Tutsi survivors who want to mourn privately without interference from the state (Vidal, 2001). There are also accounts of opposition to official representations of the past from a minority who deny the genocide (Lemarchand, 2009). Moreover, there are conflicting opinions within the state about genocide memory and international donors, including NGOs that also play a significant role in several commemorative activities, either by sponsoring or becoming directly involved in creating sites of remembrance (Ibreck, 2013).

Throughout all parts of Rwanda one encounters a widespread feeling of urgency for memorialisation projects which reflects the relative recentness of the genocide, and the continuing sense of shock, trauma, anger, and disbelief experienced by survivors and their communities (Cook, 2006). While arguably the building of such sites, as well as the emphasis on the national mourning week in April and the following 100 days of national commemoration events all over the country may

also serve specific political agendas, they likewise aim to educate present and future generations of Rwandans about the genocide in order to prevent further crimes against humanity. Although people shy away from the idea that such spaces might represent a tourist attraction for foreign visitors, the desire to expose the world to the gruesome reality of what took place in Rwanda in 1994 is exceedingly evident (Cook, 2006). Whether these sites fulfil any wider educational purposes and if they are better served by the existence of comprehensive memorial museums, or by authentic graphic imageries will be discussed throughout the empirical analysis.

6.3   Summary

This chapter has demonstrated that since 1994 Rwandans have scrambled through the conflicts and tensions of post-genocide life to accomplish what they call cohabitation (Burnet, 2012). Given the country's long history of strong, centralized government power, the ways that individuals make sense of their lives today are naturally caught up in local and national politics, state building and the (re)writing of Rwanda's past. While cultural traditions of mourning may be impossible to practice in the wake of genocide, Rwandans improvise their own means to put aside their grief and go on living (Ibreck, 2010). What certainly has been exemplified is that memorial commemoration becomes a collective process, with the generally accepted dominant discourse overshadowing the diversity of individual experience, erasing difference or disguising it at least at the national level.

Although, as previously recommended by Bar-Tal and Bennink (2004), this emphasis on creating a new shared narrative should be encouraged, the unavoidable question with regard to Rwanda's memorialscape remains to be whether the publicly disseminated narratives are contributing to wider social cohesion or whether they are predominantly benefitting a small minority, breeding further resentment among the majority population (Viebach, 2014). Furthermore, despite the official ban on ethnicity, state practices of national memory have maintained an ethnic dichotomy by politicising victimhood and emphasising the distinction between victim and perpetrator during national ceremonies commemorating the genocide. This offers limited possibilities for the

public mourning and remembrance of all victims of violence, including those associated with the civil war, or the decades of violence before the 1990s (Burnet, 2012).

However, this chapter also highlights that memorialisation has for some become a way of surviving in Rwanda, as loss and trauma became part of everyday existence (Ibreck, 2010). While the bereaved have joined together to remember and to grieve for the loss of loved ones and to empathise with the pain of others, they have also intended to expose the truth of the atrocities of 1994, in order to gain recognition and to educate on the fatal consequences of discrimination (Ibreck, 2010). As such, survivor commitment in the creation of genocide memorials should be seen as separate from the state's desire to implement wider political purposes.

6.4   The Story so Far

The thesis thus far has focused on building the theoretical framework as well as evaluating the contextual background for the empirical analysis that now follows. While focusing on the controversies of dark tourism, as a phenomenon that depicts death, disaster, and the seemingly macabre for international and local visitors, the study has embedded the framework into wider societal contexts, such as its effect on peace building developments in post-conflict communities. The earlier chapters have made apparent that dark tourism, despite its long tradition and focus on historic events, holds not only the potential to serve as an opponent but also as a collaborator of present exploitation of the past for political or personal reasons. Themes from a wide spectrum of disciplines addressed ethical and moral dilemmas, interpretation and political implications, management, commercial and government matters, as well as the controversies surrounding the politics of memory and identity formation in vastly dissonant communities (Figure 10).
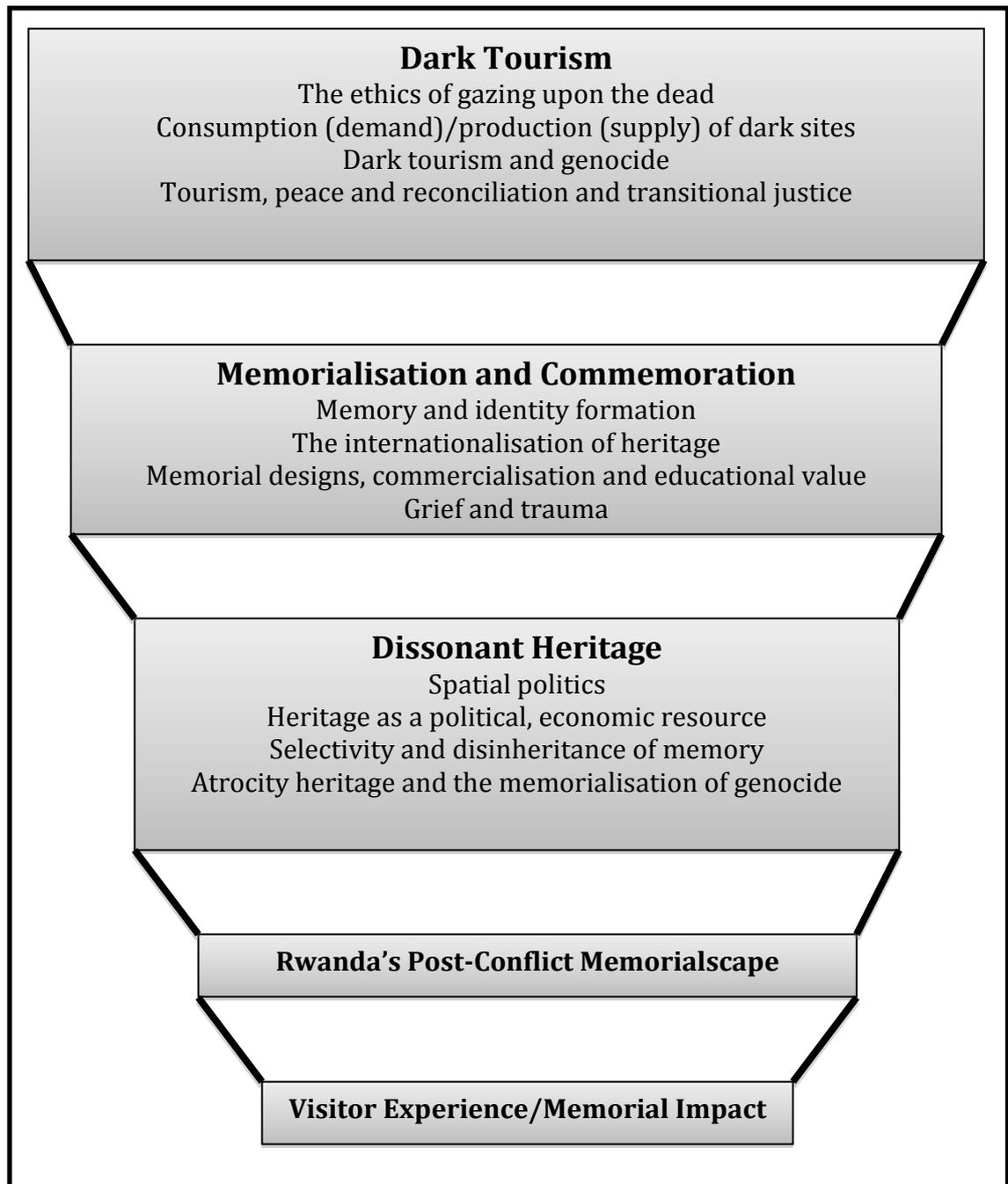
Figure 10: *Theoretical framework.* (Source: Author)

To this point, the theoretical framework has brought forward the following arguments:

- Rather than excluding dark tourism as a morbid marketing niche within the wider tourism industry, it should be considered as a critical and crucial framework that sheds light on how societies deal with commemorating and presenting their dead. Moreover, as this study has advocated, dark tourism can also have potential broader reaching implications for wider societal

processes, such as peace building and reconciliation efforts in post conflict spaces. Yet, the concept remains fragmented and the term itself could, arguably, be considered by some as unhelpful. Chapter 2 in particular argues that dark tourism as a concept within the broader academic literature has, perhaps, oversimplified and generalized the complex, multi-dimensional processes involved between a diverse visitor base and the essentially distinct experiences encountered among the extremes of dark tourism sites. This study, therefore, favours an integrated demand-supply approach to highlight that the production and consumption of atrocity sites is continuous and interrelated.

- Chapter 3 discusses the political and social effects of difficult heritage. In particular, the implications of disinheriting non-participating social, ethnic or regional groups as distinct historical experiences may be discounted, marginalised distorted or even ignored. While disinheritance is a natural by product and direct consequence of the selectivity built into the concept of heritage, the chapter, nevertheless, emphasises the importance of determining what aspects of the past are being ignored or poorly represented in the interpretation of particular sites. Only then wider reaching impacts on the visitor of the often pedagogic moralising messages portrayed at memorial sites can be determined and if necessary practices can be adjusted.

- Wider implications of memory creation, in particular those inherent in the formation of collective memory, demonstrate that remembering is not just a recollection of the past, it also implies a range of other challenges. These include identity development, power and authoritative struggles, the negotiation of cultural norms and social interactions, particularly so in sensitive times of transition after conflict. A definition of memory in Chapter 4, therefore, places it within social, cultural and political actions, as a process that is continuously expanded and adjusted to the needs of the community. Memory then develops in negotiation with those in power, through the incorporation of a collective narrative into the rituals of grieving and commemoration. Certainly, this becomes problematic in regions where communities are working through a history of conflicting

disparities and where several narratives, shaped by social identity, authority, solidarity and political affiliation, are competing with each other.

- Chapters 5 and 6 illustrate in what way the above play out in Rwanda's post-genocide memorialisation and commemoration landscape and how they continue to shape the country's political and social climate today. In order to understand Rwanda's present it is important to understand its complex past. Accordingly, the chapters offer a comprehensive overview of several decisive events leading up to the genocide, illustrating Rwanda's continuous historic struggle with violence and division; a difficult legacy which represents current dissonance and controversies surrounding contemporary heritage, commemoration and memorialisation practices.

While the theoretical framework of the thesis has been grounded within the broader politics of painful memory and remembrance and its manifestation as dissonant heritage, the task now is to empirically examine the role of Rwanda's memorialscape in times of transition through an international, national and local lens. Chapter 7, therefore, begins by outlining the research methodology and empirical groundings of the study, while Chapters 8 and 9 comprise a comprehensive discussion of empirical findings and their analysis.

Chapter 7

METHODOLOGY

7.0   Introduction

The excerpt below (Figure 11) is a brief written reflection recorded shortly after a semi-structured interview conducted during fieldwork in Rwanda in 2014 with a TIG[36] camp inmate accused of committing genocide. It highlights the author's personal contemplations towards the research environment, as well as the complexity of discussing delicate themes for the respondents. Moreover, it addresses various methodological challenges that need to be emphasized and clarified throughout this chapter.

Research diary entry:
TIG Camp

      Luckily the guards let us have the privacy we needed to conduct the interviews and we were able to talk in a location where no one could listen to our conversation or disturb us. The translator who came with me is a genocide survivor, who considered himself a Tutsi, and I am wondering how he felt when talking to people directly about their killing sprees and individual roles in the violence, since he himself lost the majority of his family. Did this affect his translations? I don't think so, since he was very open to me about numerous political issues that arose during the conversations we had with the inmates.

      In general, I found these interviews particularly tough. I knew that the language was a barrier and my appearance as a European outsider was not helpful. At large, I was cautious with certain questions until I gained people's trust and sometimes those topics had to be avoided all together (ethnicity, role in 1994).

      Moreover, switching from professionally working with predominantly Tutsi survivors, most of whom became friends of mine and who confided in me with their often heart breaking testimonies, to becoming a critical researcher showed to be difficult at times. On the other hand, I do feel that in some instances I developed compassion fatigue or became desensitised, maybe some kind of self-protection mechanism when looking at or listening to the horrors displayed at the memorials. While this certainly cannot be considered as a positive development, I feel it still enables me to take up a less emotional or dare I say 'neutral' stance in relation to the challenging issues at hand.

Figure 11: *Research diary entry, July 2014.* (Source: Author)

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[36] TIG Camps, 'travaux d'intérêt général', or so called community service institutions, are working camps where genocide perpetrators who have admitted to their crimes and who have finished parts of their sentence in prison, complete the rest of their punishment. A person carrying out TIG is known as a 'tigiste' (Rwanda Correctional Service (RCS), 2014).

7.1 Study Philosophy: A Grounded Theory and Qualitative Research Approach

During the 1970s, various scholars began to criticise the prevalent positivist approach to research, in particular the application of "objective scientific methods to obtain quantities through giving numerical value to certain phenomena, which conceptualised people as rational actors" (Clifford *et al.*, 2010: 5). While it is argued that quantification establishes strong evidence towards understanding universal spatial processes (Fotheringham, 2006), researchers adopting a more humanistic approach maintain that human behaviour is in fact subjective, messy, irrational and contradictory. As such, they draw on methods which allow them to explore the meanings, emotions, intentions and values that make up our daily lives (Clifford *et al.*, 2010). These so-called 'thick' descriptions of human behaviour explain not only "a multiplicity of complex conceptual structures, many of them superimposed upon or knotted into one another" (Geertz, 1973: 10), but also their individual contexts. A qualitative study, therefore, seeks to identify individual practices and the relationships between them (Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias, 1996) through transcripts of in-depth interviews or participant observations among others (Patton, 1990). The distinction between qualitative and quantitative data has become paramount in the thinking of many researchers and has in some cases been regarded as "unhelpful and overloaded with misunderstandings" (Cloke *et al.,* 2004: 17). So "… quantitative sociologists … [have] often criticized the ethnographers approach. They argue that it isn't nearly scientific enough and … to reach any important and generalizable conclusion, you need to rely on the statistical analyses of large data sets …" (Venkatesh, 2008: 4).

However, as previously outlined, the aim of the thesis is to demonstrate the particulars of every case, rather than seeking to grasp a generalising sketch regarding the sample population. Moreover, the sensitive matter of discussing personal experiences, perceptions and collective meanings of remembrance in an emotionally charged post-conflict environment (Zorbas, 2004) additionally calls for a qualitative research methodology which, through its adaptable verbal and observatory methods, is extensively recognised as the best suited to address more in-depth issues in complex cultural, social and political settings (Mason, 2002; Cloke *et al.,* 2004). Also, given the increased desire in the literature for methods

that are empathetic to the emotional complexities of dark tourism (Biran *et al.*, 2011; Dunkley, Morgan & Westwood, 2011 & Iles, 2008), it is acknowledged by the researcher that a positivist approach would be invasive and likely yield little useful empirical data.

Consequently, the study is not reduced to predetermined categories (Hyde, 2000) and instead of descending on the field of enquiry armed with a body of theoretical concepts, this modified grounded theory methodolgy (GTM) rather encourages the researcher to instigate the themes with a mind open to the possibilities of the data and the perspectives of the subjects (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1994). Since GTM emphasises building inductive and comparative theoretical categories that are directly 'grounded' in the data (Charmaz, 2000), "data forms the foundation of our theory and our analysis of these data generates the concepts we construct … We try to learn what occurs in the research settings we join and what our research participants' lives are like … through what we hear, see, and sense" in the field (Charmaz, 2014: 3). This will then in turn inform and refine the developing theoretical analyses (Charmaz, 2000).

However, GTM has come under attack and Glaser, Strauss and Corbin have moved in somewhat conflicting directions, so their positions at times remain confusing (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). Whereas Glaser (1978, 1992) often comes close to traditional positivism, with its assumptions of an objective, external reality, a neutral observer who discovers data, reductionist inquiry of manageable research problems, and objectivist rendering of data, Strauss and Corbin's (1998) stance assumes an objective external reality, aiming toward unbiased data collection through a set of technical procedures. It is, then, not surprising that Glaser (1998) himself stated that GTM does not represent a change in philosophy and scientific thought, and while certainly there are statements in the standard literature which stress that the researchers' own views do have some impact on the research process, there seems to be a consistent positivist notion of data taken as an undistinguishable category (Bryant, 2002). With this in mind, the study therefore adopts the key principles of what Charmaz (2000: 510) terms 'constructivist' grounded theory, which assumes the relativism of multiple social realities, as well as recognising the mutual creation of knowledge by the researcher and the respondents (Guba & Lincoln, 1994), accordingly bringing relativity and

subjectivity into epistemological debates of this research philosophy. This means that instead of treating analysis as accurate renderings of the world, studies rather form constructions of them and need to acknowledge the researchers' involvement in interpretations (Charmaz, 2014). Indeed, Hollinshead (1999) argues that each individual creates his/her own experience based on backgrounds, values, attitudes and beliefs and the possible ways within which such distinctions may be revealed remains crucial throughout the social sciences and perhaps, beyond (Middleton, 2011).

Since GTM offers a set of general principles, guidelines, strategies and heuristic devices rather than formulaic prescriptions (Atkinson *et al.*, 2003), the thesis does not strictly follow all of the steps or methods suggested, including theoretical saturation. It does, however, encompass its key strategies of simultaneous collection and analysis of data, a two-step data coding process, comparative methods, sampling to refine emerging theoretical themes, and the following integration of the theoretical framework (Charmaz, 2000). Also, a methodological journal was composed to support the construction of the conceptual analysis, to engage in reflexivity so as to avoid preconceiving the data, and as a space to jot down methodological dilemmas, directions, and decisions (Charmaz, 2014).

In sum, this thesis follows a social constructivist epistemology which emphasises the multiple perceptions, meanings and subjectivities of all participants involved in the research, including those of the researcher herself. As a result, the research advanced by an interplay of inductive and deductive practices since it is recognised that the data is collected with some initial knowledge on the subject, (Hyde, 2000), and while the research may be open to whatever emerges from the study, evolving patterns will automatically be verified or exposed (Patton, 1990).

7.1.1 The Case Study

Brotherton (2008) notes that the inductive approach is generally regarded as one that favours the use of 'ideographic methodologies', which focus on individual cases or events, hence encouraging an in-depth study of a particular instance of a phenomenon. In general, there are different ideas about what a case study is. The common feature though that researchers (Yin, 1994; Merriam, 1994; Stake, 1995, 1998; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Gillham, 2001) agree on is that the study needs to

have a 'case' that is a complex functioning unit, is explored in its natural context with a multitude of methods, and is contemporary. In other words, the study should "investigate a contemporary phenomenon within its real life context, when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident; and in which multiple sources of evidence are used" (Yin, 1994: 3).

Selecting the case of commemorative developments in Rwanda is twofold. First, the death toll and the temporal proximity of the events of 1994 make it a particularly relevant study given the uncertainty surrounding the memorialisation process. Many of the sites to be discussed are "extremely raw and fluid, operating in a state of flux" (Friedrich & Johnston, 2013: 4). Unlike World War 2, the focus of much dark tourism literature, the genocide in Rwanda is a very recent event. Essentially, for most of the participants in this present study, 1994 is well within living memory and what happens to the memorials in the coming years will, therefore, most likely have a significant impact on the groups representing Rwanda today.

Second, a substantial power transpires from the genocide memorials (Friedrich & Johnston, 2013). Particularly, encounters with graphic physical artefacts and personal narratives from survivors, such as detailed depictions of the brutality imposed on women and children, as well as "the poignant contrast between bones and the decaying remains of colourful clothes and the dehumanising effect of the presentation of multiple skulls" (Friedrich & Johnston, 2013: 4) proves an emotionally challenging experience for many visitors (Hohenhaus, 2013). These often graphic encounters with authenic killing sites encourage a personal form of thanatopsis; the contemplation of death (Sharpley, 2012).

7.2   Research Methods

Although there were different methods utilised within the study they all relate to a single research question: ***How and why is Rwanda's memorialscape created and negotiated and, consequently, how does the development of local and international tourism contribute to wider societal processes, including peace-building development and the formation of social cohesion?*** All methods applied within this research refer to this question in a purposeful, sequential and corresponding manner.

Research was carried out in a series of progressive sequences between November 2013 and July 2014, which included a six months work placement and an additional three months of exclusive fieldwork. Figure 12 exemplifies the qualitative research methods utilised during this period that comprise participant observation and the conduction of semi-structured interviews, as well as the distribution of open questionnaires. Simultaneously, field notes and reflections were recorded in a research diary.
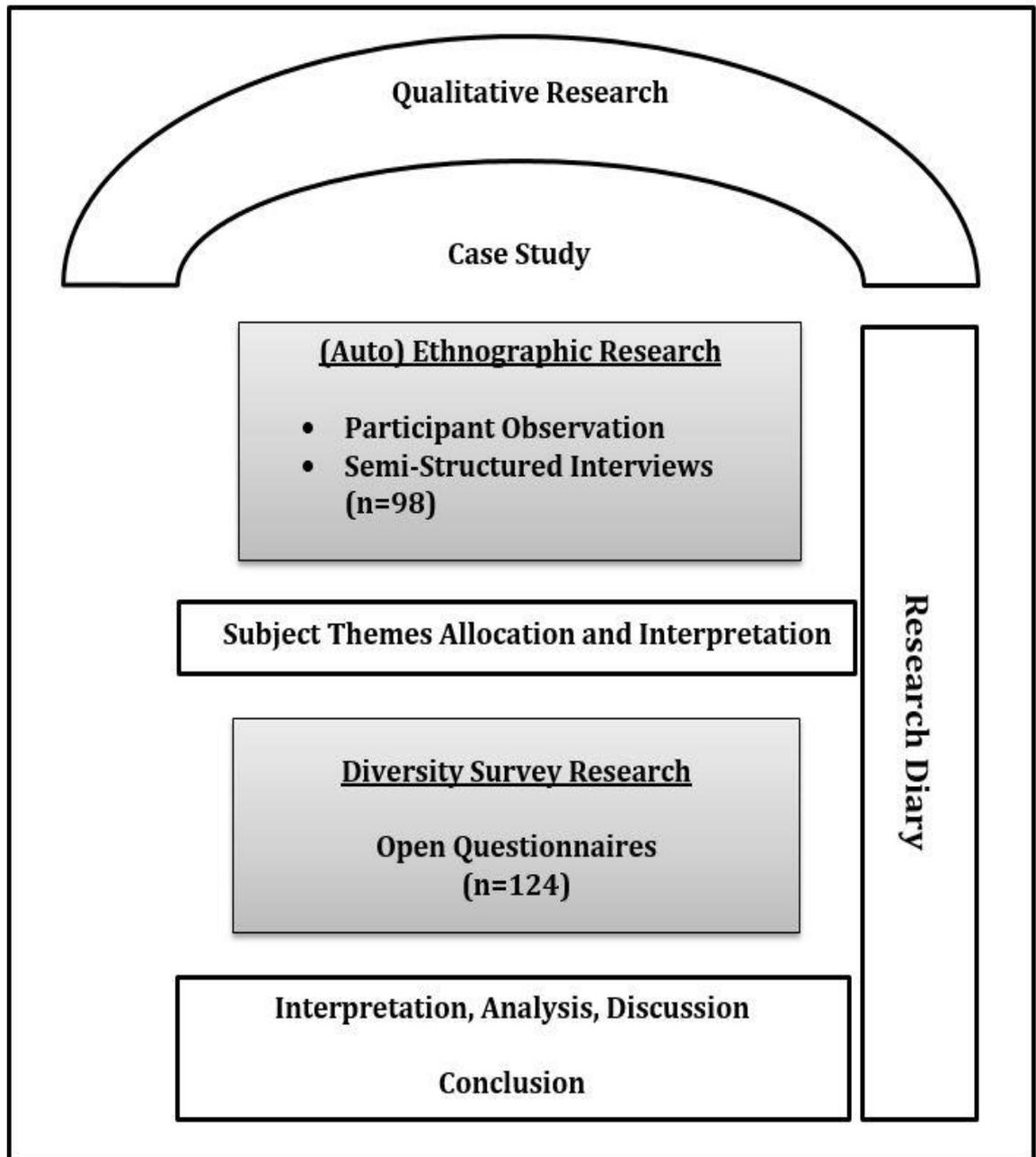
Figure 12: *Empirical framework.* (Source: Author)

7.2.1 (Auto) Ethnographic research and participant observation

The definition of the term ethnography has been subject of debate. For some it refers to a philosophical paradigm, while for others it is simply a method that is utilised when appropriate (Atkinson & Hammersley, 1994). Nonetheless, common characteristics are distinguishable and so this research approach regards respondents as knowledgeable, situated agents who can elucidate "how the world is seen [and] lived ... through 'real' places, communities and people" (Cloke *et al.*, 2004: 169). While traditional ethnography emphasises an extended, detailed, 'immersive' methodology, intended to allow grounded social orders, worldviews and ways of life to gradually become apparent, this thesis also acknowledges that encounters with and representations of the 'subjects' studied are always coded or framed in terms of an 'us versus them' dichotomy (Kapoor, 2004). Kapoor (2004) underlines how the encounters in different spaces will unavoidably be formed by preconceptions, for instance, those shaped by class systems, or beliefs grounded in Orientalist thought, and it is therefore important to consider what backgrounds and natural affiliations influence the research environment.

Such considerations need to be deliberated when carrying out participant observation, a method frequently employed throughout enthnographic research "since we cannot study the social world without being part of it" (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983). Participant observation "uniquely involves studying both what people say they do and why, and what they are seen to do and say to others about this" (Cloke *et al.*, 2004: 169). However, such ethnographic findings are not realities directly extracted from the field (Parr, 2001). Rather they are struggles to construct 'inter-subjective truths' to understand why so many versions of events are produced and recited and, with the researcher as its main research tool, such methods explore the ways in which people make sense of events around them and render these true in their own terms, revealing how lives are embroiled in larger social, cultural, economic and political processes (Crang & Cook, 2007). As a result, stories encountered throughout this process are not to be deemed as ways of mirroring the world but as the way through which it is constructed, comprehended and acted out.

With this in mind, participant observation was applied during a six months work placement with the non-governmental organization (NGO) Aegis Trust, carried out at the KGM in Rwanda between November 2013 and April 2014. This offered the opportunity to contribute to the preparation of various Kwibuka20[37] events taking place in Kigali before, during and after the 7th of April, including the conceptualisation of the national commemoration event in cooperation with the Rwandan government. Additionally, research was carried out on the genocide in Bugesera District for an audio-guide production, to be implemented at the Ntarama Church Memorial located outside of Kigali.

The data accessed during such activities (exhibition narratives, revised panel designs, expansion plans), as well as established contacts were utilised throughout this study. In general, the assignment with the Aegis Trust involved communication with ministries and government bodies, such as the CNLG, which not only expanded the sample frame, but also simplified several procedures necessary for following data collections, such as the attainment of a research permit and visa. This bureaucratic and extensive application process involved not only gaining ethical approval from the University of Central Lancashire (UCLan), but also the Rwandan Ministry of Health, as well as attaining a one year research permit from the Rwandan Ministry of Education and a research visa from the Rwanda Directorate General of Immigration and Emigration. These permits proved particularly important when applying for permission to interview TIG Camp inmates (see Appendix 2 for permits).

Moreover, three months of exclusive fieldwork were carried out between May and August 2014, partly through Kwibuka20, during which commemoration ceremonies offered ideal opportunities to interact with community members. Participant observation was conducted at 10 memorial sites (6 national sites, 4 district sites) throughout the country (see Table 3 for memorial details, Appendix 6 for a detailed memorial overview and Figure 13 for corresponding locations), which included photographs, personal observations of the site and guided tour, as well as the site design, visitor book entries (including VIP visitor book commentary and tourist number records received from the KGM since their opening in 2004 up

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[37] 20th 100 day commemoration and mourning period since the liberation in July 1994. Kwibuka means to remember in Kinyarwanda.

to August 2014) and personal reactions, as well as inner contemplations of the researcher recorded in a research diary. The memorials were chosen according to site history, design and visitor base, in order to illustrate how commemoration processes vary throughout Rwanda, just as the genocide developed separately in different regions of the country.

Such observations were not only unstructured (Veal, 2006) but also auto-ethnographic, as the researcher was immersed within the sites and gazed not only upon the visitors but also consumed the touristic interpretations on offer to expose multiple layers of consciousness by connecting the personal to the social, or to the educational (Ellis & Bochner, 2000). Besides focusing on outward collective and political aspects of such visits, the researcher also looked inward, exposing and reflecting on the vulnerable Self – moving through and interacting with the visitor experience (Neumann, 1996). Such participant observations were used to build explanations and to guide understandings on the behaviour of people within these sensitive visitor spaces.

Participant Observation (Po)	Location	Activity	Date/Month
Po1 (Plate 24)	**KGM** • National Site	Audio-guided memorial visit, several non-guided visits	November 2013 to April 2014
Po2 (Plate 25)	**Nyamata Church Genocide Memorial** • National Site	Several guided memorial visits, including the *Nyamata Peace and Reconciliation Village Tour* (interviews with perpetrators & victims)	November 2013 to July 2014
Po3 (Plate 26)	**Ntarama Church Genocide Memorial** • National Site	Several guided memorial visits	November 2013 to April 2014
Po4 (Plate 27)	**Murambi Genocide Memorial** • National Site	Several guided memorial visits	November 2013 to April 2014
Po5 (Plate 28)	**Bisesero Genocide Memorial** • National Site	Guided tour	June 2014
Po6 (Plate 29)	**Nyarubuye Genocide Memorial** • National Site	Guided memorial visit with genocide survivors	July 2014
Po7 (Plate 30)	**Nyanza Genocide Memorial/École Technique Officielle** (ETO) (former location of UN Mission) • District Site	Memorial visit (no guides present)	July 2014
Po8 (Plate 31)	**Rebero Genocide Memorial** (Politicians' Memorial) • District Site	Memorial visit (no guides present)	April 2014
Po9 (Plate 32)	**Ngororero Genocide Memorial** • District Site	Memorial visit (no guides present)	July 2014
Po10 (Plate 33)	**Kibeho Genocide Memorial** • District Site	Memorial visit (under construction, no guides present)	August 2014

Table 3: Participant observation conducted at Rwandan genocide memorials

Image
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Figure 13: *Participant observations conducted throughout Rwanda.*
(Source: Adapted from Nations Online, 2016)

As a comparison tool, Carr's (2012) previously cited features of the memorialscape were adapted and employed during field visits to sites that are inter-related in terms of space, time and event. Such observations incorporated seven key characteristics (Table 4) which provided overarching narratives (and counter-narratives) of Rwanda's memorial landscape.

1. **Relative centrality or marginality of the memorial within the townscape/landscape**

2. **Biography of the memorial**

3. **Geographical/spatial relationship to other memorials of the same 'event' and the particularity of the site**

4. **Date at which the memorial was created**

5. **Condition of the memorial (as a sign of care or abandonment)**

6. **Use or visitation of the memorial**

7. **Site instigator (implications of power and agency)**

Table 4: Key features recorded and contrasted during participant observation at memorial sites

7.2.2 (Auto) Ethnographic research and semi-structured interviews

In addition, 98 semi-structured interviews were conducted with 110 respondents. Of these, 91 were individual interviews, during which an interviewer and a respondent communicated about a theme of common interest, and the remaining 7 were group interviews, in which between 2 and 4 interviewees discussed topics introduced by the researcher (Hove & Anda, 2005). The latter constellation was only arranged when participants, in this case international tourists, preferred to debate in their respective visitor groups, usually after site visits, due to time limitation or convenience. Given the focus of the thesis on local experiences of mainly national memorials sites, dialogues comprised 73 Rwandans and 37 non-Rwandans (34 female and 76 male) from a variety of social, cultural and political backgrounds (Figure 14). Unfortunately, due to accessibility and with no intention of the researcher, the sample frame shows a certain gender imbalance. Future

studies in this field should establish if and how gender feeds into concerns related to memory formation throughout Rwanda.
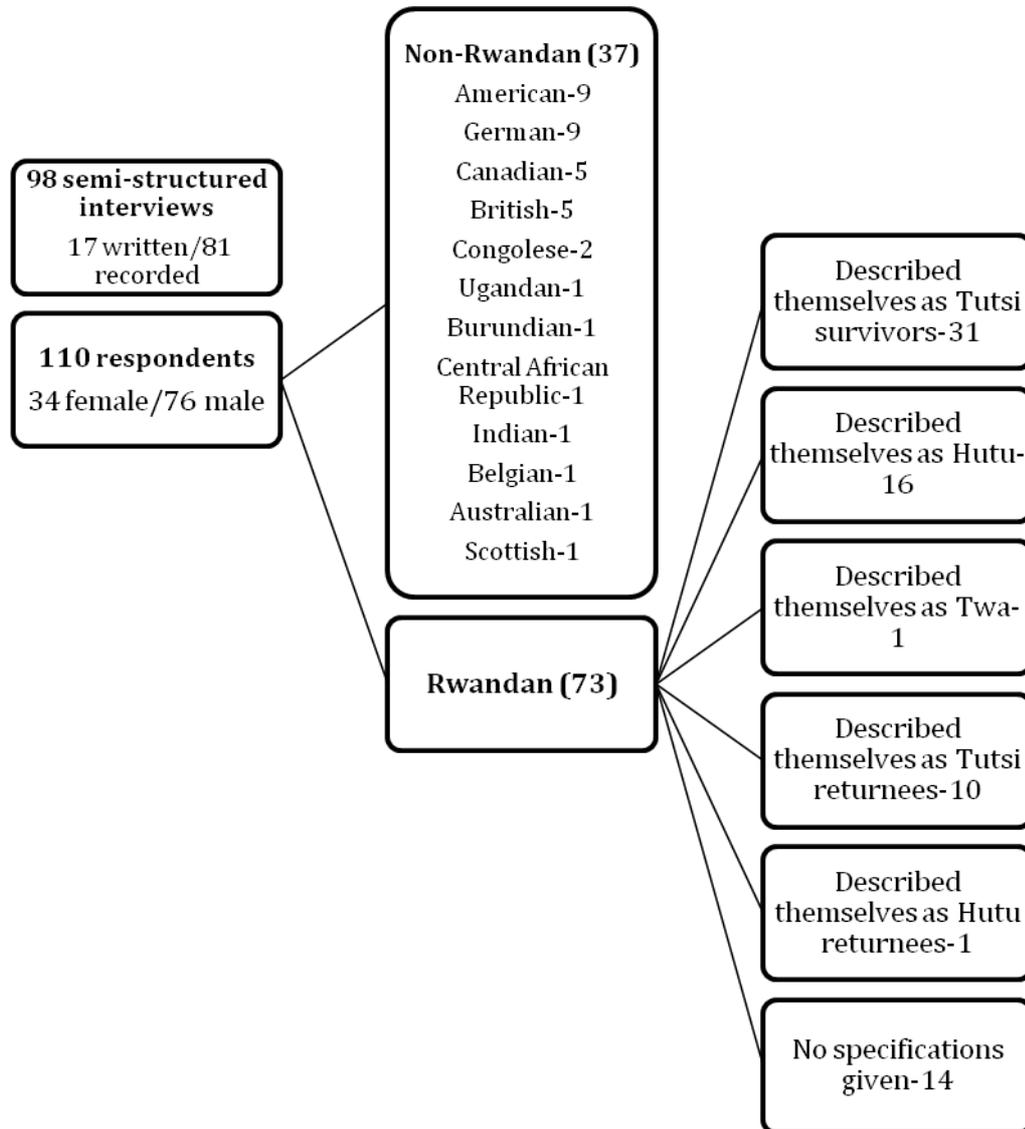
Figure 14: *Participants' details.* (Source: Author)

Although Glaser (1978) argues that taking notes enables a grounded theorist to record the essentials without becoming lost in particulars, 81 out of 98 interviews in this study were recorded and later transcribed to avoid loss of information and situational detail. Also, the recorder permitted the interviewer to be more attentive to the respondent, preserving the participant's tone and tempo silences, complex statements and the flow of questions and responses. However, there were 17 instances where interviewees felt uncomfortable with being recorded, or where recording was inappropriate or prohibited, such as the interviews conducted with TIG Camp inmates.

While interviews were structured around a number of overlapping themes created for those involved in the consumption of memory and those producing it, they all surrounded Rwanda's memorialisation process (see Table 5 for a brief thematic overview and Appendix 3 for a more comprehensive interview guide), and resulting tourism developments. The questions asked were highly dependent on the participant and her/his willingness to share personal insights. The aim of such conversations was not to traumatise individuals or to reveal sensitive personal testimonies, but to create a comfortable discussion environment during which innovative and stimulating areas would open up for future dialogue.

It is acknowledged that the researcher herself is implicated in the construction of meanings with the participants (Cloke *et al.*, 2004) and accordingly the social, cultural and political conditions in which the interviews were carried out have been considered throughout the analysis. Since all interviews must be understood in relation to the various contexts in which they occur (Twyman *et al.*, 1999), it is not surprising that challenging and controversial political themes were at times not directly communicated or avoided during conversations. As mentioned previously, constructivist GTM attends to the situation and construction of the interview, the participant's story and silences, and the interviewer-participant relationship in addition to the content of the interview (Charmaz, 2009). What participants do not say can be as telling as what they do say and, rather than regarding the information as a reflection of reality, the interview should be considered as "a space of exploration, emergent understandings, legitimation of identity and validation of experience" (Charmaz, 2014: 91). Hence, the importance of the personal interaction between researchers and respondents cannot be stressed enough, particularly when interviewing victims of violence whose painful memories and experiences may trigger painful distress or discomfort (Orb *et al.*, 2000). Though this highlights the importance of seeking on-going consent and, if necessary, stopping the interview, such conversations can serve several purposes, including catharsis, self-acknowledgement, self-awareness, empowerment, healing, and providing a voice to the marginalized (Hutchinson *et al.*, 1994).

Sample frame	
Production of memory	Consumption of memory
• Memorial guides/staff • Aegis Trust staff • Tour guides • Tour company staff • Rwanda Development Board (RDB) staff • Hostel/hotel staff • CNLG staff • Ministry staff • Office of the President staff • NGO staff (local/international) • Academics (inside & outside of Rwanda) • Architects/designers involved in memorial designs	❖ Rwandans from all backgrounds ❖ Diaspora community members ❖ Perpetrators in TIG Camps ❖ Released perpetrators ❖ International tourists/visitors ❖ Expatriates, volunteers living in Rwanda
Interview themes	
• Purpose/choice of memorial design (human remains, artefacts, graphic images) • Structural differences among sites (national, district, local) • Messages/narratives (not) portrayed at the sites (dissonance, disinheritance, collective memory, individual remembrance) • Impact on the visitor/educational value (catalysts for humanitarian action) • Commodification of memory • Expansion plans/future developments • International influences at memorials sites • Promotion of sites (commercialisation) • Effects of international tourism development • Effects of local tourism development	❖ Associations with the term dark tourism (alternative frameworks/terminology) ❖ Messages received at the site ❖ Missing narratives (dissonance, collective national narrative, individual commemoration) ❖ Impact of the site visit (catalysts for humanitarian action) ❖ Visitor emotions (grief, trauma)/reflections ❖ Frequency of visits/purpose of visit ❖ Which sites visited when/areas visited ❖ Possible future developments of the sites ❖ Educational value ❖ Victimisation/guilt projection (contribution to unity, division) ❖ Contribution to post-traumatic growth & peace building

Table 5: Sample-frame and interview themes

Certainly, ethical dilemmas that may rise from an interview are difficult to predict, but the researcher needs to be aware of sensitive issues and potential conflicts of interest in political sensitive environments from the earliest stages of participant selection onwards (Orb *et al.*, 2000). Indeed, such considerations were deliberated when identifying roles and relationships among respondents who were willing to reflect further upon the themes provided and who sought to participate in this study.

With regard to sampling guidelines and the logic and power behind purposeful selection, Patton (1990) provides three different sampling strategies which have been utilised in several combinations throughout the study. *Extreme or deviant case sampling* was employed in order to select participants who exemplified characteristics of interest that included extreme cases who could clarify certain factors of importance, such as genocide survivors, perpetrators, or international tourists with no personal connection to the sites in question (Morse, 1994). *Intensity sampling* less emphasized on such extremes in order to gain broader insights into various experiences in the field. In this case, participants who are experiential experts and who are authorities on a particular case were selected, which included those producing Rwanda's memorialscape, such as ministry staff or international organisations (Morse, 1994). Finally, *maximum variety sampling* identified heterogeneous samples to generate common patterns in their experiences in order to obtain high quality case descriptions, useful for documenting uniqueness, as well as shared patterns of commonalities prevailing across the participants identified (Morse, 1994). Such samples, for instance, compared visitor experiences of Tutsi survivors who encountered loss or violence in Rwanda in 1994, with those who fled the country or who lived in the diaspora.

In general, the sample frame gathered for the semi-structured interviews, as well as the survey material explicated below includes actors from a wide spectrum of cultural, social and political backgrounds and institutions, such as those stakeholders actively involved in producing memory (e.g. policy makers, memorial staff and management), as well as various international and national visitors using these spaces (Table 5). Prior to the interview participants were given consent forms and information sheets in their preferred language (French, English, Kinyarwanda or German) (see Appendix 4) that offered a comprehensive overview

of the project, including the manner in which the study was to be conducted, followed by details of informed consent and storage of the data. Given the current political situation in Rwanda, it has also been assured that all information provided remains anonymous to avoid compromising privacy.

7.2.3 Qualitative diversity survey research

Whereas the data collected was continuously interpreted and allocated to several emerging subject themes, such preliminary notions were then considered in the design of a diversity survey which was distributed by KGM guides at the memorial reception area during June and July 2014. The questionnaire was circulated among a variety of English (77), Kinyarwanda (33 – translated into English for the analysis) and French (14 – translated into English for analysis) speaking guests after site visits (see survey template and sample questionnaire attached in Appendix 5). The sample comprised 124 completed forms (87 international visitors, 37 Rwandan visitors), which included female and male participants above the age of 16, from a variety of nationalities and backgrounds who were able to speak, read and write in one of the 3 languages stated above. The aim of the survey was to add individual site specific experiences to the other qualitative methods utilised in a setting where no personal face to face interaction with the researcher was required. Although complete confidentiality was provided, respondents had certain time restrictions, which in some cases is reflected in the elaborateness of the answers provided.

While in general methodology, the word survey only covers quantitative studies that primarily aim at describing numerical distributions of variables in the population (Groves *et al.*, 2004), the qualitative type of questionnaire does not aim at establishing frequencies, means or other parameters but looks at determining the diversity of some topic of interest within a given population (Jansen, 2010). This survey, therefore, does not count the number of people with the same characteristic but, rather, establishes meaningful variation within this particular population. Consequently, the questionnaire form was made up of ten open questions related to the visitor experience at the KGM, including internalised messages, educational value, wider assistance in coping with grief, and overall contributions to peace building and the formation of social cohesion in Rwanda.

Overall, these multiple data gathering methods; participant observation, semi-structured interviews and the qualitative survey, were purposefully chosen for several reasons. First, data gathered from different sources does to a certain degree offer a range of diverse perspectives for analysis and interpretation, as well as providing further dimensions to the phenomena discussed (Saldaña, 2011). Second, the limitations of one data collection approach can be addressed by using an additional method. For instance, participant observation, as previously explained, is the researcher's perception of social interactions, as well as reactions to physical surroundings of space and place, but it can only be assumed what participants are encountering as they are being watched and heard (Saldaña, 2011). Accordingly, to compensate for this limitation, interviews or surveys with respondents can provide insightful accounts of their hidden reflections. And third, multiple data gathering methods (and sources) increase the credibility and trustworthiness of a study through what is known in the field as *triangulation*, a term that refers to the use of at least three multiple techniques for collecting or handling data within a single study so as to confirm or further comprehend apparent findings through multiple sources (Adami & Kiger, 2005).

7.2.4 Reflexivity and the research diary account

Davies (1999: 5) argues that as researchers actively engage in fieldwork, there is always a danger that "boundaries between subject and object disappear, that one becomes the other, a process which effectively denies the possibility of social research". Nevertheless, while some kind of objective outlook might be useful at times, it is important to recognise the extent to which personal sentiments and contemplations inevitably impact on research findings. Reflexivity thus involves reflecting on the way in which research is carried out and how the process itself shapes and influences the outcomes (Hardy *et al.,* 2001). Since research in this case is regarded as an interpretive activity, it is naturally subject to a variety of influences that impact upon those interpretations generated, and a reflexive viewpoint is needed at all times in order to identify and understand what these influences are (Nadin & Cassell, 2006). In this sense, "reflection can be defined as the interpretation of interpretation and the launching of critical self-exploration of one's own interpretations of empirical material" (Alvesson & Skoldberg, 2000: 6). With this in mind, contemplations and thought processes were systematically

recorded in a research diary account throughout the entire course of fieldwork. While in some instances the time frame and setting allowed the recording of comprehensive field notes, in the majority of cases jotted or mental notes had to suffice in order not to interrupt, delay, distract or unsettle those involved in the experience (Loftland *et al.*, 2006). Such field notes were then clarified and expanded upon to full field notes at the end of every research practice, which also illustrated emergent themes and interpretations, as well as proposing modifications for following interviews and participant observations. Moreover, ethnographic impressions were recorded, including deliberations gained while working with the Aegis Trust on the Kwibuka20 events, in addition to an analysis of responses and reactions to the methods utilised. Reflections on the interviews conducted focused both on practical issues, as well as on the interview as a social encounter, considering conversation flow, silenced issues, dominant themes, contradictions and theoretical or methodological implications (Nadin & Cassell, 2006).

The research diary itself serves a number of functions. While practical comments enable the exploration of methodological issues and as such supplement the content of the interview data where relevant, comments related to the interview as a social interaction aid observations of the researcher her/himself (Nadin & Cassell, 2006). Such remarks might include arising emotions which lead to contemplations about assumptions, values, beliefs and how these might impact upon the study (Nadin & Cassell, 2006). In addition to acting as a useful organisational tool to keep track of the research process as a whole, the diary created the time, space and context within which to be reflexive, particularly necessary in a research environment such as Rwanda, where sensitive political and social challenges could not always be discussed.

7.3   Data Analysis

Narrative analysis was employed to support the understanding of interpretive processes involved within the qualitative research conducted. The analysis commenced with a detailed review of observational field notes, interview transcripts, survey outcomes and the diary account, with the aim of gaining an understanding of overall meanings (Hall, 2004) surrounding memorialisation

processes and tourism developments at sites of memory throughout Rwanda. This phase entailed identifying narrative structures and their recurrent components that assisted respondents in making sense of their experiences and allowed the assembling of narratives according to themes, which were then translated into code labels or more complex phrases (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996; Miles & Huberman, 1994).

Given the extent of the transcript material, evaluation was facilitated by utilising the software *f4analyse* (http://www.audiotranskription.de/english/f4-analyse), which not only assisted in the coding of all interview transcripts and the development of a comprehensive code system, but also enabled memo writing and the export of summaries in accordance with emerging themes. All other analysis, including the transcription process itself, as well as the survey and participant observation evaluation, was conducted manually to capture the quality and richness of the data (Basit, 2003).

Coding or categorising research findings plays an important role in the data analysis since it allocates units of meaning to the descriptive information compiled during a study (Dey, 1993). Seidel and Kelle (1995) regard the role of coding as noticing relevant phenomena, collecting examples of those phenomena, and analysing them in order to find commonalities, differences, patterns and structures. This in turn triggers the construction of a conceptual scheme that suits the data, which assists the researcher to ask questions, to compare across data, to change or dismiss categories and to construct hierarchical orders (Basit, 2003). In this manner, key emergent themes were identified and categorised by grouping words, phrases, sentences, or paragraphs together that were associated with the same theme or code (see Table 6 for code allocations). For example, one key theme frequently acknowledged by respondents was the contribution of memorial sites to overall peace and reconciliation processes and the formation of social cohesion. This code was then expanded to include emerging sub-codes, which in this case included the memorials' contribution to transitional justice and to counter denial; and the role of religion in forgiveness.

Codes and sub-codes	Code allocations
Memorials' contribution to peace, reconciliation and social cohesion	64
• Memorials' contribution to transitional justice and to counter denial	36
• Role of religion in forgiveness	08
Memorials' contribution to post-traumatic growth, personal healing	61
• National collective narratives and dissonant multiple histories, political implications	55
• Representation of 'other' victims	70
• Victimisation and collective guilt projection through language, narrative and display	72
Local/individual remembrance and the internationalisation of public memory	36
• When and why do visits take place at which site?	122
Memorial designs, purpose and future plans	129
• Visitor experience and impact	78
• Authentic value vs. preservation	51
• Display of human remains, artefacts and graphic images	60
Dark tourism development and controversies	52
• Commodification of genocide	19

Table 6: Codings and code allocations

To re-emphasise, this storied finding of a narrative is not a third-person objective representation of a researcher's or respondent's life as it essentially transpired. Rather, it is the product of a series of constructions (Polkinghorne, 1995). Therefore, the author's contributions to the constructive aspects of this research and the effect this might have had in shaping the findings should be acknowledged throughout the data analysis (Tierney, 1993).

The purpose of narrative analysis is to answer how and why a particular outcome came about; it is an attempt to understand individual persons, including their spontaneity and responsibility, as they have acted in certain social conditions (Polkinghorne, 1995). In this case, the thematic analysis approach is applied, as it is useful for theorising across a number of cases through finding common thematic elements across research participants and the events they report to construct a developing theory (Riessman, 2005). However, since language and cultural discourses are often viewed as a given, not a topic of exploration, readers may

assume that everyone grouped into a similar thematic group refers to the same instance or object by what they say. Since this is not the case, the thesis therefore combines parts of the thematic analysis with structural analysis, in order to shift emphasis to the way a story is told (Riessman, 2005). Although thematic content does not slip away, focus is then also put on how a respondent interprets the past and makes a story credible by selecting particular narrative strategies through imagination and strategic interests.

7.4   Ethical Concerns and Study Limitations

It is acknowledged at this stage that the investigator, as a European female researcher, is aware of the limitations of this qualitative study, particularly with regards to Rwanda's sensitive research environment. Therefore, it is necessary to address the academic and social structures that influence not only the research agenda, or as McDowell (1992: 413) put it, "make visible our own critical positioning with the structure of power", but also those that drive the participants. A word of caution is necessary at this point. Undoubtedly, respondents had incentives to present their efforts in particular ways regarding their past or role in the present, and several of the accounts simplify the diverse experiences of war and genocide from the vantage point not simply of Hutu or Tutsi but of victim, perpetrator and bystander. This is an unavoidable fact that reflects the highly sensitive nature of the research, due to which it was at times not possible to clarify the exact responsibility of the interviewees in the violence (Buckley-Zistel, 2006). As explicated in Chapter 6, while assumptions could be made in relation to the identification of a survivor, refugee or returnee in accordance with language preference and location before, during and after the genocide, to directly probe into personal involvement or issues related to ethnicity would have restricted, if not terminated, any conversation. Certainly, access to some participants has been challenging with regards to more provocative views of alternative narratives that diverge from the national story. However, while elaborating upon these issues can be uncomfortable, this study did not seek to contribute to trauma or the perpetuation of stereotypes or past divisions in any way. Yet, to further gain insights into underlying reflections of memorial sites in relation to personal healing, as well as individual and national impacts of commemoration practices, the thesis required certain deliberations of past affiliations.

In general, the literature on research in non-western settings illustrates how "academic research practices … have relied extensively on remnant colonial discourses and structures of domination for access to research subjects, efficacy of data collection and legitimisation" (Butz & Besio, 2004: 350). Thrift (2003: 106), nonetheless, notes that "though fieldwork is often portrayed as a classical colonial encounter in which the fieldworker lords it over her/his respondent, the fact of the matter is that it usually does not feel much like that at all. More often it is a curious mixture of humiliations and intimidations mixed with moments of insight and even enjoyment", where understanding is co-produced by constructing fragile and temporary commonplaces. This process, however, remains inspired by ethical and political challenges, and practitioners are deeply concerned by the moral and political implications of their work (Crang, 2005) as well as the integrity of their participants.

In relation to Rwanda, much literature conveys the sense that conducting fieldwork in the country is a daunting prospect for numerous reasons. Commonly mentioned are the difficulties encountered through the current political climate and the extensive and expensive bureaucratic process that must be overcome in order to acquire formal permission for the proposed research (Reyntjens, 2011; Thompson, 2011). Moreover, when projects touch upon sensitive issues, such as the 1994 genocide or the evaluation of government developments and reconciliation initiatives research "should expect to encounter difficulties … rang[ing] from identifying country partners and establishing a working relationship to receiving final clearance" from the ministries (Jessee, 2012: 271-272). Still, it is worth mentioning here that in contrast to all the suspicion and anxiety surrounding issues of research in Rwanda, this study demonstrates that it is in fact possible to be critical of Rwanda and its memorialisation landscape and yet, nevertheless, maintain access to the country in order to study and question national developments through respecting and building relationships with local actors. Indeed, Rwanda represents a tense and sensitive environment for both the local and foreign researcher but many of the former, who understand the domestic landscape better than any outsider, continue to utilise their research to challenge existing policies (Clark, 2013).

7.5   Summary

The chapter offers an overview of the methodology utilised throughout the empirical stages of this thesis. Following a constructivist grounded theory approach, the study advances by an interplay of inductive and deductive qualitative practices bringing relativity and subjectivity into the analysis process. By selecting the case of commemorative developments in Rwanda, all research methods applied relate to the following single research question: ***How and why is Rwanda's memorialscape created and negotiated and, consequently, how does the development of local and international tourism contribute to wider societal processes, including peace-building development and the formation of social cohesion?***

Fieldwork was carried out over a period of nine months and included extensive participant observation not only throughout a six months work placement with the NGO Aegis Trust at the KGM, which involved the preparation of Rwanda's 20th commemoration (Kwibuka20), as well as research for the installation of an audio guide trail at the Ntarama Church Memorial in Bugesera District, but also at 6 national and 4 district memorial sites throughout the country. Additionally, 98 semi-structured interviews were conducted, created around a number of overlapping themes designed for stakeholders involved in the consumption of memory and those producing it. Key questions surrounded Rwanda's memorialisation process, subsequent tourism development and its impact on wider peace building and reconciliation initiatives. Furthermore, a diversity questionnaire survey was distributed with the help of KGM guides at the memorial reception to a variety of English (77), Kinyarwanda (33) and French (14) speaking guests after site visits, adding individual site specific experiences and insights to the data, in a setting where no personal face to face interaction with the researcher was required.

Moreover, this chapter illustrates the implications of the researcher in the construction of meanings during not only the collection, but also the subsequent evaluation process, and additionally highlights the complexity and sensitivity of Rwanda's research environment, particularly so, when interviewing victims of violence. Stressed here is the importance of reflexivity, which was encouraged by

the documentation of contemplations, thoughts and challenges encountered in the field in a corresponding research diary.

Subsequently, the collected data was reviewed and evaluated through narrative analysis, which translates and allocates the rich fieldwork documentation into various codes, grouping words, phrases, sentences or paragraphs. Here, thematic and structural analysis was applied so as to categorize common thematic elements across research participants and the subjects they report on, taking into account how particular storylines are selected to represent individual imaginations and interests.

Finally, the complex political context of Rwanda is illustrated throughout the chapter, particularly with regards to the investigator's role as a European female researcher. Nonetheless, this study demonstrates that it is in fact possible to have more critical discussions with participants in Rwanda who do challenge existing trends and policies, and future research should therefore be encouraged.

Image
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Plate 24: *KGM entrance during Rwanda's 18th Commemoration, April 2012, has now been renovated and restructured, national site.* (Source: Author)

Image
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Plate 25: *Victims' clothes on display at the Nyamata Church Memorial, national site.*
(Source: Author)

Image
redacted

Plate 26: *Coffins and artefacts in the Ntarama Church Memorial, national site.*
(Source: Author)

Image
redacted

Plate 27: *Former classrooms and main building of the Murambi Technical College,*
now the Murambi Genocide Memorial, national site. (Source: Author)

Image
redacted

Plate 28: *Bisesero Genocide Memorial, national site.* (Source: Author)

Image
redacted

Plate 29: *Human remains displayed at the Nyarubuye Genocide Memorial – a former convent, national site.* (Source: Author)

Image
redacted

Plate 30: *Mass graves at the Nyanza Genocide Memorial, district site.* (Source: Author)

Image
redacted

Plate 31: *Politicians' graves at Rebero Genocide Memorial, district site.*
(Source: Author)

Image
redacted

Plate 32: *Ngororero Genocide Memorial during the 20th Commemoration (Kwibuka20), district site.* (Source: Author)

Image
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Plate 33: *Construction works to protect mass graves at Kibeho Genocide Memorial, district site.* (Source: Author)

Chapter 8

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

COLLECTIVE MEMORY – CREATING A SHARED HISTORY FOR A COMMON FUTURE

8.0   Introduction

After analysing the data sets as outlined in the methodology section, this chapter will offer a critical discussion of the key findings. Having assigned interview transcripts and survey outcomes to the six different codes and their sub-codes exemplified earlier, a selection of code allocations will now be examined in relation to the various themes highlighted throughout Chapters 2 to 5 to exemplify interconnections, similarities and disparities.

The chapter will analyse and discuss the empirical data in light of wider contested notions of peace tourism, as such debating Rwanda's memorial experiences from a Rwandan and international supply and demand perspective. In this regard, specific contributions to reconciliation efforts, as well as general formations of social cohesion and transitional justice developments on a personal, but also on a national collective level will be considered. Moreover, the national narrative, and its dissemination through the memorial sites in comparison to the divergent histories present in Rwanda today, will be critically debated in light of further conceptions of unity and division. Chapter 9, hereafter, discusses individual experiences and impressions received at this divergent memorial landscape within several groups of the dissonant visitor base. Additionally, narratives, site designs and graphic images in particular will be examined through the eyes of those producing these spaces, as well as those consuming them. Finally, future development plans and general notions of (dark) tourism growth and its impact on such a sensitive post-conflict environment will be evaluated.

8.1   Memorials as Agents for Social Cohesion and Reconciliation

As previously discussed in the thesis, the re-occurring positive association of tourism with peace and reconciliation is not a new notion. Although highly contested, this perception supports the belief that through international travel and communication, people, regardless of their political, religious or socioeconomic status, can discover common goals, which can form connections that increase cooperation between nations and populations to develop an international understanding (Kelly & Nkabahona, 2010). Even though the challenges of tourism as a contributor to peace have been deliberated in detail throughout Chapter 2, the majority of Rwandan participants in particular, regarded such sites as helpful institutions in the peace building process due to several different reasons.

Throughout semi-strucutred interviews participants frequently mentioned the belief that the memorials play a vital role in peace education and that they can contribute to violence prevention not only in Rwanda but also on a global level. This can be demonstrated on the basis of two Rwandan respondents who suggested:

> Yes, I think the memorials can contribute to peace building, because when you get to know the history and what happened, you get to know how to prevent it ... I think it is essential for future mass atrocity prevention.
>
> (Interview 49, Paragraph 11)

> ... I think the memorials can contribute to peace building in Rwanda and also in the world. Peace building means to think about the past and to learn about what happened. You keep the lessons from the past and you use them for the future in terms of prevention. And the genocide sites have also that function.
>
> (Interview 53, Paragraph 10)

Specifically, in the context of forgiveness and reconciliation between victims and perpetrators several respondents argued that the preservation of painful heritage can play a positive role in the improvement of social relations. Memorial sites were commonly regarded as places of symbolic compensation, where those who committed crimes are able to show remorse and empathy for the victims. Such dialogues were seen to play a significant role in initial conciliation advances

between community members. The following comments highlight how participants repeatedly referred to the memorials as physical spaces for perpetrators and victims to come together to communicate, remember and forgive;

> So many people go there, even our neighbours when you know that this person killed some people and is back from prison and they give him forgiveness, they used to come to the memorial. This year, it was very good to see them there and sometimes they even remind you to go there. There are some who are ashamed. But the majority is coming.

> (Interview 34, Paragraph 11)

> If you visit this memorial it can be a place to open up if you are a killer, to go and ask forgiveness. Also it is a way of teaching, there is education of peace here. So people can understand how they can manage a life after genocide and how they can live together, no matter any difference, religion or how you look. There is a way of understanding each other after visiting a memorial.

> (Interview 19, Paragraph 9)

Moreover, a genocide perpetrator completing part of the sentence in a TIG Camp specified that she had to clean memorial sites for two months together with genocide survivors, as part of the Ingando program, after she was released from prison, which helped her to break down stereotypes and anxiety towards those she had harmed (Written Interview 89, translated from Kinyarwanda). Such notions were further highlighted by a participant who considered herself a Tutsi survivor:

> 100% it contributes to peace building and reconciliation. I have seen a survivor coming here and visit with her perpetrator and the scar she has, this is the guy who cut it.

> (Interview 69, Paragraph 6)

A TIG Camp inmate accused of genocide relatedly mentioned that attending reburials as a sign of regret and sorrow for the pain caused to neighbours and friends contributes to the restoration of a sense of community and that

> ... memorials are a good thing to reconcile Rwandans when they work together with survivors, for example, putting people into coffins together at memorials, they have done that with survivors to mourn together.
>
> (Written Interview 88)

Nonethelss, such sites can also instil feelings of guilt, shame and blame and some, therefore, question whether commemoration ceremonies and other memorialisation activities are merely benefitting a small minority of victims, while fostering anger within the rest of the population. One interviewee voiced concerns regarding guilt projections during annual national commemoration ceremonies:

> ... Hutus, we are also people, why are we not allowed to commemorate. You saw the commemoration ceremony, presidents from outside, they came, ambassadors, they came, for commemorating Tutsis at Tutsi memorials. They are making their grandchildren hate the other generation of Hutus.
>
> (Interview 4, Paragraph 8)

This statement was further supported by another respondent who argued that memorials can actually become

> ... a threat, because when people are still complaining that their families were killed, but they are not remembered at the memorial and they see you going there, they will always think, their relatives are more important than our relatives, so that can be a threat to unity.
>
> (Interview 60, Paragraph 12)

The dangers inherent in memorial sites fostering notions of victimisation and demonisation among the Rwandan population were taken up by a participant working within the peace education sector who suggested:

> I think these places should contribute to peace and unity in Rwanda but it is difficult, maybe on the day that people will not be feeling that this is a place to emphasise their guilt. It is not because my uncle was a genocide perpetrator that I am. The guilt of my uncle, my grandparent is not mine. People are afraid of the eyes of others. This memorial, it reminds me that there are people who were killed. Tutsi died, killed by extremists Hutu. Hutu killed in the name of Hutu. So there are Hutu who feel ashamed by what other people bearing that same name did. They may not have relationships, family ties, but the fact that I belong to this category which bears the shame of having done this, so to some extent I feel involved.

> (Interview 72, Paragraph 3)

Although this thesis continuously underlines that it was predominantly one group of people who perpetrated crimes, it has also been emphasised that "the story looks more complicated than that [and that a more] holistic view is needed." (Interview 81, Paragraph 5). However, it is also acknowledged that memorial sites by themselves cannot achieve greater societal change, rather they should be part of larger processes of social reformation going on in the country. One respondent reasons with regards to general memorial impacts on a divergent visitor base that

> I have always seen the [memorials] in terms of helping to generate a sort of society-wide narrative that then gets picked up in all sorts of ways and that can be very unpredictable. We get a sense of the story that they [visitors] probably come away [with] but that then gets influenced by a whole range of other factors, which are a long way away from the memorial. So the memorials will have an impact but I don't think they are the only factor. Also, they are typically trying to engage a very broad audience and then have to narrow certain debates down, because it has to be digestible. If you really want nuance about a particular conflict you have to go to history books, you need to go and interview survivors. Memorials are never going to be able to fulfil that function.

> (Interview 52, Paragraph 9)

Whereas Chapter 2 established that atrocity heritage by itself is not able to achieve social rehabilitation, it can, nevertheless, serve as a contributor to peace through offering two vital aspect of symbolic reparation, that is, memorial and site preservation for those grieving, and the commemoration and recognition of locations and occurrences of past atrocities for future generations (Ševčenko, 2011). As several tour guides interviewed at Rwanda's national memorialscape

affirmed, "... the purpose of the memorial is to keep the memories alive. That is first priority" (Interview 2, Paragraph 9);

> ... the message of the memorials is remembrance from one generation to another. Our brothers, our fellows, maybe once they grow up and see what happened they will not think about conflict. For international visitors, it is good when they hear it through the radio, but when they arrive here they see what actually happened. This has a bigger effect.
>
> (Interview 5, Paragraph 4)

Although one participant argued that "it is always going to be impossible to get a sense of the real impact, I don't think that exit surveys really capture the meaning of what these sites are" (Interview 52, Paragraph 7), this research retains the opposite. While it is acknowledged that the long term impression of such visits is yet to be measured, the responses provided by the KGM diversity survey (Table 7) exemplifies that impressions were in fact informative, offering insights and guidance for those involved in the site design.

Do memorial sites contribute to peace?
Rwandan respondents (translated from Kinyarwanda):
• I believe that preserving genocide memorials would help anybody who might have been involved in the crimes of genocide to come forth and ask for forgiveness
• Memorial centres contribute in the process of educating people on what actually happened. I do believe that memorial centres play an important role in encouraging those who had a hand in the crimes of genocide to step forward, repent and ask for forgiveness
• When people see it with their own eyes, it shocks their feelings so much that they all would be ready to join in the fight to prevent it from happening ever again
• Memorial centres contribute in making people understand the bad effects, impact and consequences following a genocide. This understanding equips people with the necessity to avoid anything that would lead them into darkness once again and as such strive to live in peace with each other
• Memorial centres help people to work together for a common greater good and nurture a sense of patriotism
• Memorial sites serve as an education tool to our children from which they learn what really happened to our nation. They can come and see for themselves rather than letting them hear those historical facts from history books
• Memorials are very important because they help all of us to understand and for that matter instil in us the feeling and willingness to fight anything unhealthy, irrespective of where we are coming from
• Memorials contribute significantly in educating people on what happened and this is a key factor in overcoming it and thus forgiving all those who were involved in it
• Memorials inculcate in us the love for the country and the necessity to work together as a nation
• Preserving memorials is a good thing in itself because it reminds us that we have a moral duty to prevent any similar tragedy to happen ever again

- Having memorial centres around us gives us a perpetual lesson to fight any forms of divisionism ideology and in the same respect these memorials give us some courage to build our nation so that the tragedy we went through doesn't happen ever again
- These memorials contribute significantly in the process of peace building and social cohesion in such a way that any visitor feels how significant they are and ultimately feels convinced that a certain personal contribution is after all needed in the perspective of making sure that a similar tragedy doesn't repeat itself
- Memorials serve the purpose of showing the history of a particular location as well as a clear depiction of how humanity descended into such horrors. The memorials also serve the purpose of bringing to light the ignorance on the behalf of local people that the colonisers managed to exploit to their advantage and the outcome of all that is what we have now in our memorials
- Memorial centres serve the purpose of confronting actual facts to the various people who are still denying and negating that the genocide did really take place
- Yes, I think that the genocide memorials contribute in the process of peace building and social cohesion as they serve as a safeguard from repeating the same mistakes. In addition to that, it has to be noted that the aftermath of a genocide goes beyond a generation
- First heals hearts of the victims which has gradually brought about social cohesion, due to the time factor. Relatives of perpetrators used not to come here but now they do. And their children can also be critical of hatred ideology

International respondents:

- Yes, memorials contribute to social cohesion and peace building process because if we are allowed to forget our sins, we lose our humanity
- For people to renew the inner self, it is fundamental. And of course for preventing any similar scenario repeat itself and I believe that the international community must be involved
- Yes, memorials are a great thing to have if they are built on a model and spirit of comprehension and not on accusations so that everybody lives in harmony with one another
- I just believe that the memorial should be there to remind people of the past sad events and I think it is the government's duty to put in place the proper mechanisms for reconciliation and prevention
- Yes, this site remains sober and non-political
- Yes, it is difficult to imagine these things happened. As future generations grow, they need to be taught so they believe and remember and prevent
- It is difficult to comment being a foreigner. But I feel that these events should never be forgotten. But by having weeks of mourning in April, the victims are re-traumatized all over again. So it is difficult
- Yes, it is giving the facts of what happened. Also a place for grief for people who are missing their loved ones. A grave where to go
- Yes. I have noticed that the perpetrators of the genocide were not personalised and I got an impression that the country is united. Also, it acts as a preventive method against conflict, and it creates awareness
- To greater extent. One should know where he/she is coming from to avoid similar traps in the future. Educative but too touching for the people of Rwanda
- Yes, because the dissemination of information, the general awareness of the truth is what keeps acts like this from happening again
- Yes, education is critical for all, particularly the international community
- I think it is a wonderful memorial and place to come so that Rwandans do not feel alone with their grief
- Yes, they allow people to see and learn history in a safe place
- Yes. Reminder that the capability for evil and genocide lives inside all of us

- Yes, because it discusses how the genocide developed and talked about the solutions that were brought forward. It allows us to critically reflect and bring forward new solutions
- By remembering and recognising problems, I think it could contribute to future inhumane acts
- Yes, memorials raise awareness that genocide can occur anywhere
- Absolutely, we must humanise these events to prevent future mistakes
- Understanding and mutual respect to help in reconciliation and stability in Rwanda
- I hope so. I would hope it would be part of this education but certainly not just in Rwanda. People everywhere need to gasp the consequences of hatred
- Yes. Knowledge is power. It is the first step
- Yes, everyone can learn from vivid and lively pictures, videos and talks. Nobody wants it to replay. Most importantly it serves as an educational tool to cultivate a notion of unity and peace

Table 7: KGM visitor diversity survey responses, 2014 (peace building)

Though answers differ between local and international visitors, they all emphasise the constructive potential of the KGM to contribute to positive societal change. In general, the more detailed responses were provided to this survey question concerning memorials' relation to peace building developments (see Appendix 5 for survey outline). While the comments provided above recurrently mention the vital role of such sites in genocide and violence prevention, transitional justice and forgiveness, such visits can foster unhelpful notions of blame towards certain groups represented in the exhibition narrative.

8.2   Memorials, Forgiveness and Transitional Justice

Even though, as previously established, reconciliation requires confrontation with the past (Bronkhorst, 1995), such encounters naturally harbour strong negative feelings toward the perpetrators. These sentiments must then be reduced to enable the psychological change required for reconciliation, possibly through the formal apology by those who committed the crimes (Scheff, 1994). By formally apologizing, the past injustices and grievances are acknowledged and addressed, allowing the victims to forgive and to be healed so that eventually their feelings towards the past enemies will change (Bar-Tal & Bennink, 2004). As explicated by Clark (2007) in Chapter 2, the majority of Rwandans incorporate religious principles into reconciliation and confession processes, which are deeply grounded in Christian beliefs.

This is reflected in participant responses provided by victims and perpetrators who are rebuilding their lives together in the same community and who were interviewed during the *Millennium Village Tour*[38] advertised by the New Dawn Associates, a local tour operator (Figure 15):

> You know what makes me forgive them is my Christianity. Sometimes they teach about forgiving my people, as Jesus forgave our sins. That is what I did because I want to go to heaven. Sometimes I think they ask for forgiveness to be released only. But there are some who are ashamed of what they did.
>
> (Interview 34, Paragraph 4)

> It was really hard for her to forgive, she did not understand how she could forgive someone like that. But the Prison Fellowship helped them to. They were preaching them the word of god, so that they can forgive.
>
> (Interview 54, Paragraph 9, translated from Kinyarwanda)

> What happened was just like the devil that came to people and made them do such horrible things. They were being taught by pastors in prison about the word of god. Then they went to Ingando. They have no problems now, you can't go and say this is the child from the perpetrator, this is the child of a survivor and they have a cooperative of women where they meet and try to remember what happened, but not negatively.
>
> (Interview 56, Paragraph 20, translated from Kinyarwanda)

Such organisations, as the Prison Fellowship, did play a vital part in several processes leading to reconciliation initiatives throughout Rwanda, including the opening up of dialogues to re-establish trust or a sense of belonging, as well as the willingness to participate in the reinstatement of communal values (Chan *et al.*, 2006). This shows that NGOs and other associations can demonstrate how peaceful relations have important benefits, through helping to establish cooperative and friendly relations, or providing economic assistance to society members (Bar-Tal & Bennink). NGOs, for instance, often have direct contacts at the grassroots level and, therefore, frequently take up the role of facilitator and mediator (Voutira & Whishaw Brown, 1995).

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[38] Rwanda's Millennium Village is part of an innovative project designed to achieve the United Nations Millennium Development Goals by 2015. The goals focus on reducing extreme poverty and hunger, as well as improving education, health, gender equality and environmental sustainability (NDA, 2014).

Figure 15: *Research diary entry, July 2014.* (Source: Author)

Moreover, interviews with Rwandans exemplified that memorial sites are also frequently regarded as a crucial instrument to counter denial, at a local but also international level. A respondent who considered himself a Tutsi survivor mentioned that

> ... there are those people who deny, who do not want to accept that there is something that happened. But if they come and they see for themselves, they realise that humanity suffered a lot and it helps them to take measures.

(Interview 46, Paragraph 6)

Particularly with regards to the display of human remains and other graphic objects openly exhibited at memorials, a large number of interviewees, both Rwandan and international, emphasised the importance of presenting proof to

counter any form of denial or divisionism inside and outside of the county (Plate 34). An American visitor, for instance, stated:

> … they are kept to show the facts of what happened, you know you cannot deny that the machete cut the skull when you see it there in front of you, that story is pretty clear.
>
> (Interview 33, Paragraph 6)

Similarly, a Rwandan mentioned that

> People died in churches [Plate 35], where they thought they would be saved by church leaders. If we do not keep them there, these people who killed them will want them to disappear. I remember when the Jews were killed by the Nazis, they took their bodies and burnt them. So for us, when negationists and perpetrators see this, they need to understand that they committed genocide.
>
> (Interview 19, Paragraph 4)

Image
redacted

Plate 34: *Skulls on display at Bisesero Genocide Memorial.* (Source: Author)

Image
redacted

Plate 35: *Human remains on display at Ntarama Church Memorial.*
(Source: Author)

However, not everyone supports such sensitive displays and the ethical implications they imply are critically highlighted by the following comment provided by a Rwandan respondent:

> I don't like the views of those skulls and the descriptions of how people died with machetes or during shootings. It takes me back 20 years. I think they should be buried. But my view doesn't count better than others, I can't speak for all survivors. Most of them agree with the display but I personally would not agree to my father or relative being displayed. In the long run we should look for other ways of preserving the memory. We can video tape people talking about how their loved ones have been killed. It has been 20 years and the world knows what happened in Rwanda, it is time to re-think this.

(Interview 22, Paragraph 2)

Such opposing interpretations stress a certain dilemma with regard to the display of graphic 'evidence' in general, which will be further elaborated in Chapter 9. This predicament of dealing with human remains and artefacts, as well as the clear formulation of who is in charge of taking care of such sites and how, has not been

dealt with at the legislative level. Nevertheless, a new bill outlined in the Chamber of Deputies in July 2015 seeks to close down those memorial sites and cemeteries in a bad state of repair by relocating remains of genocide victims to designated district genocide memorials (Kwibuka & Tashobya, 2015). While the draft law does not give insights on burial procedures concerning those human remains presently on display at memorials, it does, however, mention that "victims buried in locations other than memorial sites shall be reburied with dignity when their families take the initiative or in agreement with district officials" (Kwibuka & Tashobya, 2015: 1).

The bill further categorises memorials into four different sites, namely, national memorials sites, district memorial sites, special memorial sites and international memorial sites. National sites will be managed by the CNLG and shall have a particular history of national relevance in relation to the planning and execution of genocide (Kwibuka & Tashobya, 2015). Each district will manage one memorial and will be provided with a budget every year to build, repair and ensure day to day management of the site. Special memorials are those located abroad, which will be run by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, whilst the international memorials are those which in future might be adopted by the United Nations Organisation for Education, Science and Culture (UNESCO) as part of world heritage (Kwibuka & Tashobya, 2015). In this context, a CNLG employee affirmed that:

> There is no policy so far about it, but for the time being there are those negationists who say that genocide did not happen, at least these bodies show that people died. It is not even about the bodies, but the way that they were killed. We will discuss in future, if we can use only media to portray them, but as for now, they were looking for ways of preserving them, so that they don't fall apart, instead of burying them. We want to conserve as many as possible, so you see children, men, women, and women carrying babies. It will be an issue to be discussed up in the Cabinet. Maybe at first people thought it was for haunting them, but with time they learnt that the country is no longer in that discrimination period.

> (Interview 68, Paragraph 13, translated from Kinyarwanda)

Yet, as formerly indicated, some regard this open display of artefacts as highly problematic. A German visitor, for instance, implied that

> I am not really in favour of this argument of proof. From my point of view, there has been so much documentation, all those archives. I don't know if it is really necessary to have this visual proof. For me it serves another purpose. Mainly to shock visitors and silence criticism. I think therefore it is not contributing to peace and reconciliation and is a divider.

(Interview 18, Paragraph 5)

Likewise, a Canadian respondent addresses one predicament regarding the display of such 'proof', highlighting that the bones and corpses remain unidentified:

> Even though I find the graves at Gisozi [KGM] incredibly moving, I am perfectly conscious that there are people in Rwanda who say that some of those are Hutu and they just scrap up all the bones and they don't differentiate, which ones were the genocide and which ones were the civil war and it is all fraud, so on the one hand you say it it evidence, but it is so complicated.

(Interview 79, Paragraph 13)

In this regard, several Rwandans suggested that the display of human remains and the memorials in general were in fact utilised as a political tool, in order to serve certain national agendas. One respondent mentioned that "I feel like that it is a way of getting Rwanda on the map. The memorials, the graphic displays and the commemorations" (Interview 50, Paragraph 16), while another claimed that

> ... the genocide is used like a playing card. Exploiting the history. Even when you follow the speeches of commemoration, what is the motto, all of this is because the president has stopped the genocide that is why we can now eat and work together.

(Interview 4, Paragraph 15)

Even though one participant compared the three months national commemoration period to "a political rally, instigated by the current government [Figure 16]" (Interview 63, Paragraph 8), it should be pointed out that remembrance ceremonies, as well as their corresponding themes have changed over the past years, in accordance with the country's political climate (Plate 36). Relatedly, an interviewee emphasises that

In 2004, commemoration was really stark and laborious to sit through because it was like 9 hours of political statements ... in recent years more individual survivors have been encouraged to tell their stories.

(Interview 52, Paragraph 22)

Research diary entry:
Looking at the individual case

After our visit to Nyarubuye we ran into a former RPF soldier who was part of the liberation movement in 1994. As usual the translations were not easy to follow but I eventually was able to place his story into the wider historical context. He is telling us how the memorials should include more of the liberation narrative, especially pictures of soldiers helping the wounded back then. He feels like this part is not highlighted enough during the commemoration period. The conversation made me realise again that memorialisation is a political issue and that opinions really diverge in the field. It is important to talk to all kinds of different people and to understand their stories. Everyone has different backgrounds and it is easy to get a one-sided view on events and certain interpretations. I should keep in mind that people are shaped by their experiences in 1994, and should avoid generalisations.

Figure 16: *Research diary entry, May 2014.* (Source: Author)

A notion further represented in another interviewee's description of the post-1994 commemorations as "aggressive, we are fed up and blaming. Now we are remembering a nation of Rwanda that is more than just genocide itself. This is also reflected in the memorials" (Interview 32, Paragraph 18).

Image
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Plate 36: *Kwibuka20 theme: 'Remember, Unite, Renew' displayed in Kigali.*
(Source: Author)

When reflecting on these particular themes (Figure 17), it becomes apparent that while such places of painful heritage can provide opportunities for various groups to engage with each other across differences, interpretation and purpose diverge widely among consumers and producers (Anson, 1999). One organisation working to enhance the potential for dialogue between several affected groups visiting these spaces, while at the same time ensuring that they contribute to processes of wider social cohesion, instead of benefitting only a small powerful minority (Viebach, 2014), is the previously introduced *International Coalition of Sites of Conscience*. One participant working within the memorial sector suggested in relation to the coalition that

> Most of these sites of conscience emerge to the need for a society to express itself about something that happened, that it really is struggling to come to terms with and one of the ways to come to terms with it is to create a space which might describe this historical happening and to provide an opportunity for this entity to confront its own past. There are lots of ways of interpreting how it does that and to critique that.

> (Interview 77, Paragraph 43)
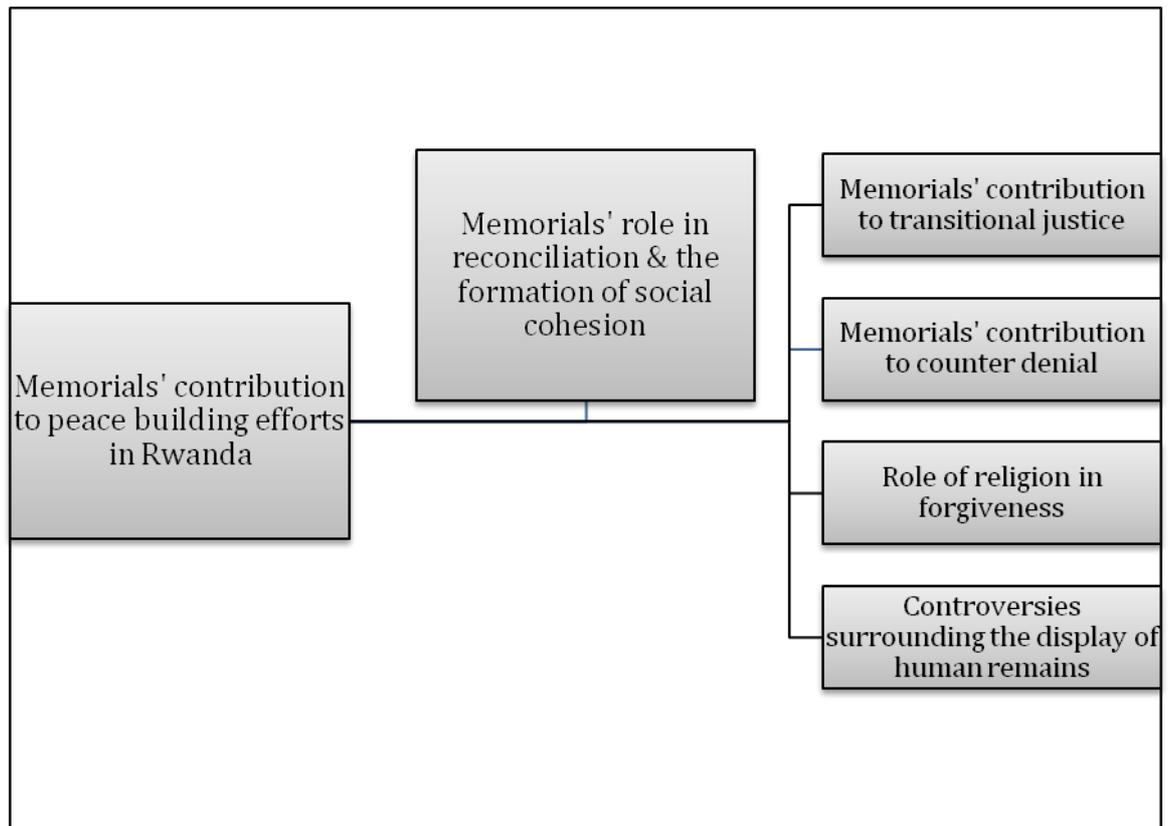
Figure 17: *Thematic overview 1.* (Source: Author)

In this context, the earlier cited study conducted by Hamber *et al.* (2010) exemplifies a number of impacts on young people who visited a site of conscience. These include a change in opinion, raising general awareness, improving relations, encouraging civic engagement and increasing emotional understanding of the human consequences of atrocity. While the wider reaching effects of such experiences still need to be determined, for example, how they relate to wider social processes, such as human rights reform, violence prevention and transitional justice, individual visitor experiences in relation to personal reflection and action at Rwanda's memorialscape will be further discussed in Chapter 9. Although the KGM did eventually become a member of the coaltion, a professional working within peace education still recommends the completion of a comprehensive impact study at the museum, but also at several other national memorials throughout the country, to determine how such spaces can enhance exhibits and narratives to promote catalysts for humanitarian action and genocide prevention. She explains that the impact evaluation studies conducted by the *International Coalition of Sites of Conscience*

... really try to explain what impacts memorials have in transitional justice or what role they can play. So there are a lot of theoretical discussions, now they try to move on and try to conduct some impact assessment studies in the field to really evaluate what happens if you have a memorial combined with peace education for example, what changes can you actually see in the communities ... the way the memorials in Rwanda are designed now, they do not contribute to peace building but they fulfil another purpose in transitional justice. A place for survivors, a place to give some dignity to the victims of genocide.

(Interview 18, Paragraph 5, 13)

This is further supported in a study by Ibreck (2010) on commemorative ceremonies in Rwanda which demonstrates that although memorialisation naturally incorporates political elements, memory work began as a response to loss and is up to now an expression of grief and a practice of mourning to express and sustain personal bonds with the dead in order to find ways to live with the loss (Figure 18).

Research diary entry:
Researcher bias and compassion

I have been fascinated and emotionally attached to Rwanda for several years. It took me a long time to build up friendships and contacts in the country and over the years many friends have told me about their personal experiences and losses, which of course have not left me untouched. I have been to burials, memorial services and have visited graves of loved ones. I am aware of the fact that I will never be able to detach myself from the testimonies of those that I speak to. But I try to listen to different stories and to put myself into the shoes of all participants that I talk to, no matter their opinion, or what role they played in 1994. Often the lines are blurred and it is impossible to make a clear judgement in such a politically and socially complex situation. I know that I cannot comprehend what people have been through, or how this has affected their lives and thoughts and I do not claim that I am able to objectively analyse the highly personal data that I collected. Rather my research offers insights into a small percentage of individual thought processes with regards to memorialisation of the genocide in Rwanda.

Figure 18: *Research diary entry, May 2014.* (Source: Author)

Certainly, fieldwork exemplified that those visiting solely for private remembrance focus on different areas of such sites, avoiding particular graphic exhibits, than visitors who have no personal connection to the events at hand. Reactions and contemplations towards site designs and displays will be further discussed in Chapter 9.

8.3   Post-traumatic Growth and Personal Healing at Sites of Remembrance

However, also this group of those personally affected by the genocide holds conflicting views. Some Rwandan respondents felt consoled when they were assured that their family members were resting in peace in mass graves at memorial cemeteries. For instance;

> Psychologically, memorial sites can help them. They might have been living in anxiety for many years, once he or she is buried officially, it kind of helps…
>
> (Written Interview 86)

> … in my heart I understood that it is my first responsibility towards my husband and his brothers and other relatives, to bury them in dignity and when we did it I was very sad, but after I changed immediately and there was a light in my heart and I started to see my future because I was satisfied of burying my husband. I could really measure that satisfaction. The memorials can help us to remember and to always be in link, not physically, but in the mind with those we lost.
>
> (Interview 73, Paragraph 2)

> … for me to go to the memorial I feel like I am at home. It is where my father and aunt and cousins are resting. It does not bring trauma to me. When I have a lot of problems in my life I take my time to go there and to think. I remember that I am not here for myself but for all those people who are buried there. The commemoration period is not a sad period for me, it is a period when I sit down and think what I want and where I am and where I want to go.
>
> (Interview 36, Paragraph 3)

Others, however, show no desire for the genocide to be publicly commemorated and, at worst, regard memorials as traumatising spaces that reawaken sorrow and anguish (Figure 19). This concern is understandable since commemoration ceremonies have regularly been disrupted by survivors' so called 'traumatic crises' (Gishoma & Brackelaire, 2008).

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Research diary entry:
Reflections on Kwibuka20, Rwanda's 20th Commemoration Ceremony held at Amahoro National Stadium, Kigali

The ceremony for me was very different than expected. Having worked so hard on one project, into which I had put all my heart and effort, I expected some kind of feeling of accomplishment. However, at the end of the day it was horrific and all I wanted to do was leave. The traumatic outbreaks of those around me were shocking. I have never felt and seen such pain in peoples' eyes and bodies, and it brought me the closest to the genocide I have ever been. It made me question if these official commemoration events are really helping people to heal or if they are making things worse.

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Figure 19: *Research diary entry, April 2014.* (Source: Author)

Such reflections were elaborated on by one interviewee who argued that

> Sometimes you think you are helping someone to heal, while you are just helping them to keep on suffering. For example, if you have suffered and people keep telling you that you have suffered, you always feel like you are a victim. But if they tell you it happened, we can't change it, so try to stand, you might stand and continue life.

(Interview 40, Paragraph 12)

While the number of traumatic episodes increases during commemoration, offering a stark reminder that trauma still exists among the population (Figure 20), which affects also younger generations who do not remember the genocide or who were born after 1994 (Ibreck, 2010), overall such incidents are decreasing. Yet, those involved in creating memorials, nevertheless, worry about such occurrences that at minimum raise questions about the current form and practice of commemoration, especially the display of bones, which stands in contrast to the survivors' determination to honour and rebury their dead (Vidal, 2001).

Figure 20: *Research diary entry, April 2014.* (Source: Author)

A respondent working in peace education, for instance, further explained that

> Formerly school classes would go through the whole exhibition at the KGM. Now we have reconsidered the purpose of the whole program. Whereas before it was just a visit, shock treatment and away you go, it is now a visit to support what they are actually learning at the workshops. Certain parts are avoided, such as the children's museum or the large screen with horrific images. They have too strong an emotional impact. The consequence is a big reduction in trauma.

> (Interview 10, Paragraph 2)

With regard to trauma, the Murambi Memorial site (Plate 37) was frequently mentioned as epitomising the horrors of violence committed in 1994. A Rwandan visitor recounts the experience as follows: "Once you arrive there at Murambi and you know that your friend or brother died there and you see the bones, entire rows of bodies, you feel traumatised. And that will make you remember the ones who did that" (Interview 5, Paragraph 5). Relatedly, another participant describes his first encounter with the corpses;

> I went to Murambi about 6 years ago. Those experiences were very, very, very difficult. For me it was reminiscent of the time of the genocide, that smell of the decaying bodies laid out in front of you is such a huge factor, a huge trigger in memory and to walk through the classrooms was extremely hard.

> (Interview 80, Paragraph 7)

Particularly in relation to personal healing and post-traumatic growth, a German counsellor explicated that it is vital for those attending

> … these sites and events to do this voluntarily and only to that extend which they feel is good for them. That they don't get pushed … also they should be accompanied by people who can support them. I am not sure if this is the case here. If there really is space for individual rehabilitation or if it is just the dissemination of the official propaganda and genocide narrative.
>
> (Interview 20, Paragraph 25, translated from German)

Undoubtedly, bereaved people themselves do not share a common view of their own needs, nor is the concept of grief understood universally (Woodthorpe, 2010). Table 8 illustrates perceptions of grief and post-traumatic healing through a selection of visitor responses recorded during the diversity survey carried out at the KGM.

Image redacted

Plate 37: *Conserved corpses on display at the Murambi Genocide Memorial.*
(Source: Author)

| **Do such visits help to overcome grief?** |
| **Rwandan respondents (translated from Kinyarwanda):** |

- Yes. Because the victims' dignity was restored when the remains of their bodies were decently buried
- Yes, because it allows you to believe that there is an urgent need to help the survivors of the genocide
- Such visits instil in me the feeling that there is a need to urge all fellow Rwandans to avoid anything that might lure them into committing any acts of violence
- Visiting memorials is very significant for me because it equips me to avoid anything that would drive me to nurture hatred and divisionism ideology that brought us here
- Yes, such visits allow me to go beyond these facts of history, overcome my grief and strive for making sure that the course of history doesn't repeat itself. It also enables me to realise that I have a role to play in all of this and that there is a need for my contribution, which is a personal strong commitment that a similar tragedy doesn't happen ever again
- The visit enables some kind of self-recollection and a determination to prevent it from happening again at all cost
- Yes, because the more I get at the heart of the history of Rwanda, the more relieved I feel. Plus today, we all have this feeling that our individual rights are protected and this encourages me to think and deal with my grief proactively
- At times, yes, these visits help to come over this feeling of bitterness and no at times these visits don't help at all
- No, because there are people (perpetrators of genocide) who still have plans to carry on a genocide and are still behaving as if nothing happened
- I get out feeling sick but later on I feel relieved

| **International respondents:** |

- I think this visit revives the grief but again it's important to have this feeling of mourning for a collective commemoration
- No, because such visits help keep the memory and being aware that these things can always happen
- No, such visits don't help any bit to go over my pain of lack of power
- For families of the victims. It is really important to bear in mind that other families have experienced the same and that this is no longer a shelved or ignored truth
- Overcome the pain, I don't think so, certainly understanding it
- Yes, as long as they [visits] are part of a personal process that aims to overcome that pain or sorrow
- I have no personal grief over this, but it increases my empathy for those affected
- No, as I was not caught up in the tragedy, I was 15 at home in New Zealand. I remember watching the TV, seeing piles of bodies in the streets of Kigali…
- No not directly. It helps to know that such evil is capable anywhere, though, to make sure we address it in our own lives and community
- Yes, they put it into perspective that if you have a relative who died of natural causes and you could bury and let them rest in a place known that is more than families and friends of the genocide had
- I don't know if it helps me overcome grief, but it helps open my eyes and gets me to think more then what is in my little world
- Can one 'overcome' grief? One lives with it but can also move on
- It makes me sad but in a very important way
- No, it makes me more angry
- As an outsider I am more depressed and hope the victims families can forgive
- No, but it shows me how blessed I am to not have suffered such experiences

- Not for me. They only help me to understand the grief of others
- Yes and no. No because my questions that will never be answered have increased, such as: why would a human do this to another?
- No, no personal experience of the genocide
- It makes me appreciate my life
- I don't know. I have never experienced grief and trauma at this scale and level
- It creates more grief because I am more informed
- No, but coming here we did witness people who had come to grieve and bring family member caskets to the memorial grave
- I was reminded of the history of my own country (Germany)
- Not an issue personally, interested as a human being
- Yes, because I believe the way to overcome grief is to trace it back to its origin. Face it, embrace it and rebuild it

Table 8: KGM visitor diversity survey responses, 2014 (grief/trauma)

While trauma is often regarded as a private individual affair, it has been recognised throughout this thesis that similar to memory, it can also evolve into a social construct that differs from the private individual recollections which make it up (Brown, 2004). The case of Rwanda in particular, demonstrates how historical authenticity is pushed into the background to accommodate other issues, including the establishment of social identity, authority, solidarity and political affiliation (Zelizer, 1995). This is illustrated through the responses provided by several participants in Table 8, who frequently refer to a general responsibility among all Rwandans to overcome grief and to focus on rebuilding their country, while together ensuring that such tragedies will never happen again. However, when talking to Rwandans who lived through the events of 1994, it soon becomes apparent that communities are working through a history of conflicting disparities, where dissonant narratives are competing with each other.

8.4   The National Narrative and its Political Implications

As discussed in Chapter 3, this consideration of the 'multiple' present recognises that the past is never singular but exists in the contemporary via numerous intersections that merge in a particular place and time (Bond & Kindon, 2013) through interactions, continuously in process and never complete (Massey, 2005). However, such manifestations of the past are often accompanied by a wide range of interpretations and potential conflicts, in particular when the preservation of difficult heritage involves the legitimisation of contemporary power structures. This suggests that the past and its interpretation as history, can present certain social

benefits as well as costs (Graham *et al.*, 2000). Therefore, atrocity is not only memorialised as a lesson for the present, but can also be utilised as a tool for future political direction, as much as it is an account of the past. As might be expected, interviewees illustrated divergent thoughts on the sensitive subject of the collective national narrative put forward at memorial sites throughout Rwanda.

Some mentioned concerns with regards to the unified harmonious image portrayed of pre-colonial Rwanda in the KGM exhibition:

> There is quite a lenient explanation of how things happened. Which is on the one hand fine, you can't say everything in a museum. But it seems very linear that colonialists cause something, otherwise Rwanda was happy and things only started to unwind once independence developed and there is not much about pre-existing tensions and the role of exploitation of Hutus beforehand and that is not to lessen what happened, which is sometimes interpreted as if it does.
>
> (Interview 13, Paragraph 5)

> I think it is fundamentally wrong that before the colonial times everything was milk and honey and Hutu and Tutsi lived together, no conflict at all. There isn't a country in the world that is like that and then all of a sudden the colonials came and split them up – however, I do think that for the international visitor this has no bearing because then the story of what the colonial period did is pretty accurate, maybe you don't have time in a two hour visit to go into such details.
>
> (Interview 27, Paragraph 6)

> I find the content on the history of Rwanda before colonisation very much simplified ... the way they explained some kind of Eden before the fall, were Hutu, Tutsi and Twa lived together in harmony. There were wars between different Kingdoms for example, they would fight over territories, some kingdoms would be Hutu kingdoms, which is not mentioned at all in the exhibition.
>
> (Interview 37, Paragraph 4)

As recognised earlier, historical narratives in Rwanda have been misused and misinterpreted in the past to broadcast genocide ideology and to divide society. Consequently, certain narratives are emphasised to strengthen the sense of unity among the population today. This is asserted by a Rwandan peace educator who explains the pedagogical approach as follows:

206

We tell them that since the colonial period, all Rwandans were living in harmony and later the divisions were initiated by the colonial rule and then the Rwandese starting hating one another ... In the leadership of Rwanda there is this sense of a common future, that we are all Rwandese and all categories of Rwandans who visit here, they learn to feel as one people. We have to restore those values that were lost completely because of genocide. To restore a sense of community.

(Interview 16, Paragraph 17)

This approach is reflected in the new audio guide in form of a tablet app that will be implemented at the KGM in July 2016, which covers pre-colonial history like this:

This part of the exhibition gives an outline of Rwandan society before colonisation. It is designed to give you an idea of the unifying features and the harmony that existed before colonisation as well as a flavour of the hardships of everyday life.
While Rwanda was by no means a perfect society, the deep division and resulting violence Rwanda experienced in the 20th century had never occurred on such a scale prior to colonisation ... Headed by Colonel Guy Logiest, the military then started to replace Tutsi chiefs with Hutus – claiming to be righting the wrongs of the colonial period. It is worth noting that this was the first time there had been violent outbreaks between the two groups. Those who speak of a century's long feud are mistaken.

Figure 21: *KGM audio guide to be implemented in July 2016.* (Source: KGM, 2015)

While there is a unanimous collective narrative presented throughout public outlets in Rwanda, this does not reflect the diverse experiences encountered in the field. Commenting on the matter of multiplicity, an international respondent states:

I think this particular event is so central to the story of this country and peoples' experience that it has to be told with a focus and determination and anything else that is added is potentially seen as a distraction. One of the fascinating things to see is the political overlay to all of these kind of processes, there is a direction to this. There is a government process of constructing a coherent narrative and they are very organised about this. Even that they locate most of their legitimacy in the liberation of the country after the genocide. It makes sense that they would then try to tell a very neat consistent story about that and you see that filtering through all of these memorialisation objects and processes. I do think that that is a very big obstacle to reconciliation. In the sense that it causes resentment amongst a significant proportion of people, who don't feel that their own experiences are being recognised. It is not like people don't talk

about divergent experiences. I think the main spaces where divergent voices can be heard are unofficial ones and I think this is universal and not only specific to Rwanda.

(Interview 52, Paragraph 13- 20)

Indeed, several participants verified that alternative dialogues do exist. For instance;

> ... in the 1990s when the RPF came in people were put in prison, accused of being Tutsi traitors, people were killed and they were not allowed to cry for their people, kids were not allowed to mourn for their mums, their dads ... This is the time for these people, there will be another time for others. We cannot force things. But that cannot stop me to live with my own opinion.

(Interview 40, Paragraph 15-16)

This statement illustrates that "it is not only multiple narratives, it is also multiple periods" (Interview 52, Paragraph 30) that ideally need to be publicly addressed, commemorated and remembered, since discrimination and massacres between all population groups have been tormenting Rwanda for centuries. A Rwandan respondent comments on the remembrance of Rwanda's volatile past by highlighting the important difference between killings and genocide:

> In 1950, in 1959, in 1964, 1963, 10 000 Tutsi were killed. No one has erected a memorial for them either. In 1970 Tutsi have been persecuted for so long and no one takes their memory to Amahoro Stadium saying we should remember them on a national level. Still we remember them. However, it is genocide that happened from April to July 1994 by a government who dedicated itself to killing only Tutsi.

(Interview 22, Paragraph 12-13)

It becomes evident throughout the analysis that thoughts on the inclusion of other victims and crimes committed not only during this period, but also before and after, vary. One participant, for example, argues that

> ... it is [not] clear cut, like all Hutu think that a particular narrative needs to be told. It is very diverse, it depends on what their experiences of the genocide were. And even if we talk about other killings, that only happened in some parts of the country, it did not happen everywhere.

(Interview 52, Paragraph 16)

While some believe that "the death of Hutus during genocide was especially on national level. The top leaders of the political party of the opposition. I can even count them from my fingers" (Interview 2, Paragraph 7); "no Hutus were dying in 1994. They knew they had their right and there was no revenge" (Interview 34, Paragraph 8), others claim "that 250,000 people died in the civil war, which is not reflected anywhere" (Interview 70, Paragraph 19).

Generally, however, the death of non-Tutsi victims was recognised by respondents: "We acknowledge those people as victims of genocide. If we talk about Prime Minister Agatha, she wasn't a Tutsi, she is a Hutu and they have a memorial for them at Rebero (Plate 38), the opposition politicians burial place" (Interview 12, Paragraph 11). The approach of how to deal with this aspect of history, nonetheless, differs. One interviewee, for instance, approaches the subject as follows:

> We are in the 9th step of genocide, which is denial. What happened in Rwanda was a genocide and a civil war at the same time. Many people they do not know enough to differentiate the two. If you want to do that you need to build a museum from 1916 to 1990. I think genocide was the climax of all those realities for me. We do talk about the political environment during the civil war in the museum.

(Interview 17, Paragraph 18)

Still, while individual guides may choose to elaborate on these thought-provoking issues, they are not explicitly recorded on any exhibition panel, neither are they publicly discussed (Figure 22). Undeniably, however, prevalent opinions in the field show that

> … people do talk about it a lot especially about what happened during 1990 and 1994, during the war, also to understand that Hutu people died. I believe that one day this will also be publicly debated. I think people are not patient with Rwanda. Everything here depends on this social cohesion. So if I start trying to push for such discussion where it is still so raw, you might destroy everything you have built on.

> (Interview 29, Paragraph 14-16)

The danger with this reasoning is that such covert discussions bear the risk of leaving alternative Hutu and Tutsi versions of the past unchallenged, which can reinforce dangerous ethnic logic (McLean Hilker, 2011).

Research diary entry:
Researcher bias and limitations

The interview before shows how dependent I am on the translator. The language issue is a huge barrier. The person who translated for me today was not a professional translator and it was difficult to create a conversation flow and to open up different areas of dialogue. Halfway through the interview when we started talking about the political aspects of memorialisation and narrative building, translating became more difficult. Clearly he feels like he cannot trust me as an outsider, which is understandable. Also, we were talking in the back of a driving car, so the interview setting was not very calm and certainly not private. Since the atmosphere was becoming tense and uncomfortable, I steered the conversation away from politics into the direction of memory and cultures of remembrance in general and asked about positive developments in Rwanda since 1994. Although such situations are frustrating, they are to be expected. I need to keep in mind that everyone carries their own personal agenda, including myself as a researcher of course.

Figure 22: *Research diary entry, July 2014.* (Source: Author)

Image
redacted

Plate 38: *Rebero District Memorial Site.* (Source: Author)

Evidently, there is a need to set up "a safe place for those kind of discussions, some kind of a learning environment" (Interview 80, Paragraph 11). A Rwandan interviewee, for instance, suggests that "it would be good to have a different place, which is just about the history of Rwanda and would also talk about what happened before, not just the genocide" (Interview 50, Paragraph 13), a notion supported by a British visitor who considered

> … having a space to remember other victims. I feel like if you suppress that for too long never in history has that ended well … when I talk to Africans outside of Rwanda, they are concerned about this suppression of identity and memory, because it will always resurface.

(Interview 13, Paragraph 4)

Such suggestions, however, become problematic with regard to identifying and burying the dead, since the ultimate struggle of who is considered a genocide victim and who is not remains to be settled:

> Having different spaces, for those who were killed by men, those who were killed by youth, those who were killed by the army, those who were killed by civilians and those who were foreigners associated with or identified as Tutsi. We would have so many identity elements. Shouldn't they all be put in the same place? Now what I don't agree with is treating victims of genocide like people who may have been killed or who died during the war or killers who were killed when they were killing.
>
> (Interview 72, Paragraph 8)

Moreover, several Rwandan respondents advised about the dangers of confusing historical events. For example;

> War victims and genocide victims should not be in the same area. Don't mix them because this might cause another division, or conflict from genocide deniers. It is not a sign of prestige to be buried at the memorial. We do talk about others that died during the genocide. Rescuer panels and so on. But not about the war issues. These things should not get blurred, it could cause confusion, more division or new conflicts. It is a Tutsi genocide memorial after all. Do you include German soldiers who died in the Holocaust Memorial?
>
> (Written Interview 93)

> I think there is a place for everything and I think that when it comes to the memorial itself it is almost unfair to bring such political issues into it, because it is a genocide memorial. It is not a war memorial. If it was a war memorial there are so many different aspects to it. Throw in the Congo war that is all related. But it is a genocide memorial telling the story of genocide because we want to teach genocide prevention and make sure that it doesn't happen again. You know the Holocaust Centre talks about the genocide against the Jews, whereas there are also war museums and war memorials, and that distinction is made.
>
> (Interview 41, Paragraph 11)

These comments were supported by one interviewee, who although in favour of opening up the dialogue surrounding such issues, clearly stated that certain lines should not be blurred;

> We need to find a way of talking about this. In a way that does not deny the genocide against the Tutsi. It is just a way of not being silent. However, people need to know the difference between war and genocide and this narrative cannot be put in the memorials before these dialogues have taken place within the population.
>
> (Written Interview 87)

In support of this notion a respondent employed within the field of memory work suggests that

> ... the memorial should be a place for people who represent all sides of those experiences and arguments to come and be safe to talk about them. The civil war in Rwanda, however, was a different historical experience than the genocide. It is like saying lets go to Auschwitz and learn about World War 2. There are places to do that, but it probably is not a genocide memorial museum. Now of course they sit in the context of that and they are not entirely divorced from it.
>
> (Interview 77, Paragraph 42-43)

Relatedly, a Rwandan working in peace education argued with regard to his own research, that

> ... for the general citizens in the village those namings and the problems behind them are not really seen. So for him or her someone died. But for people who know those differences do communicate those and those Rwandans have understood that the genocide was targeting Tutsi, but that other people died. So there were people who were killed because of what they were, their ethnic belonging, their social belonging and others who were killed for political motivations, because of their wealth, their education, or because others were jealous of them.
>
> (Interview 72, Paragraph 10)

Interestingly, such viewpoints were supported by two genocide perpetrators currently detained in a TIG Camp who, although wanting to encourage open dialogue about other conflicts and deaths at that time, did not express the wish to bury their relatives or friends at genocide memorials. While one of them stated that "It would not be possible at all to bury them at Tutsi genocide memorials. He has no problem with that, they are resting in peace at home" (Written Interview 88, translated from Kinyarwanda), the other one argued that "... he can't bury his family at Tutsi memorials because it creates hatred. But people should be given

the same value to those killed in 1994 and after. Because when there is a commemoration for Tutsi, there should also be a commemoration of his family members" (Written Interview 90, translated from Kinyarwanda).

Similarly to the arguments made in Chapter 3, a Rwandan historian involved in the creation of memorial narratives argues that

> ... memory is always a kind of selection. It highlights what to educate people about, or against. Genocide itself happened within a context of different crises, different problems and different challenges. Genocide in itself distinguishes itself from those crises. It has that specific attention. The genocide memorial does not have to address all those issues. There are social, political agreements on the things that need to be highlighted and the things that can be in a way tolerated not to be.

> (Interview 32, Paragraph 5, 17)

However, a German visitor expressed the need for public recognition of alternative histories and suggests:

> ... currently there is a lot blaming and shaming others and not taking any responsibility, not acknowledging that there is not only one truth and that it is not black and white but that there is also grey. At the KGM I felt attacked by the history and how it is told. I can't focus on the victims because I get so upset by that it is all the UN's fault, or that before the colonialists came it was all paradise ... how are you supposed to prevent something if it is not portraying the actual root causes and how are you supposed to reconstruct if one group is completely side-lined?

> (Interview 18, Paragraph 12)

One of these groups is Rwanda's rarely acknowledged indigenous minority population that has been exposed to decades of marginalisation and discrimination (Beswick, 2011). As discussed in Chapter 5, during the genocide, the Batwa were both perpetrators and victims of violence, and it is estimated that 30% were killed throughout that period (Beswick, 2011). While such statistics, as is usually the case, need to be considered with caution, general concerns about certain oversights are reflected in the following comment:

> We have read about the situation of the Batwa in the genocide, but we didn't deal with that in any way in the exhibition. It is difficult to communicate because they were both perpetrators and victims so there are a lot of Batwa who joined in with the Hutu and the killing and then there were a lot of Batwa who were killed.

> (Interview 79, Paragraph 38)

The frustration surrounding such matters of public recognition is further highlighted by a Rwandan respondent who remarks that

> We are different. I know we are Rwandan, but we have different minds. In all groups, Twa, Hutu, Tutsi, people have died. But when we are in that period, we talk about only one. This doesn't feel good to some people … They died in 1994, and they were not Hutu, not Tutsi. It is a good thing that they keep the bones. Because when I go there and I see those bones, it reminds me of my family. Now I am alone, I should be with my family, my mum, dad, my sister, my brothers and I am not included in these tribes.

> (Interview 8, Paragraph 2-3)

According to Foote (2003), such cases of violence eventually become rectified, because they have been forgotten and have not been documented or commemorated, since they are simply not seen as significant enough to inspire sanctification or designation within Rwanda's present memorialscape. In relation to the case of the Batwa one participant clarifies that

> This is a classic example of a whole group that gets left out of almost all stories. And even in the literature on the genocide, the Twa get a footnote by almost everybody. There is no real systematic research into what happened to the Twa during the genocide and what their plight is like these days. What they think about the memorialisation of the genocide. It is scandalous that we don't know.

> (Interview 52, Paragraph 17-18)

8.5   Projection of Blame and Shame through Language and Interpretation

With regards to difficult narratives portrayed at atrocity heritage Schaller (2007) argues that the current Rwandan government is deliberately exploiting the strong empathy of genocide tourists who as a result adapt a narrow black and white perception of the complex events that transpired in 1994, and who then generalise the Hutu as evil perpetrators and the Tutsi as everlasting victims. Indeed, some

participants did voice the concern that certain storylines or descriptions redirect blame and ascribe honour, attempting to break the event down into "us-versus-them" binaries (Post, 2015: 199). One respondent, for example, mentioned that

> In the memorial there is a very simplistic delineation between bystanders, perpetrators, survivors and upstanders. Obviously, that is not the place to say the Interahamwe were young, unemployed, uneducated youth, but let's not create something that is very difficult for the kids of those people to break out of and I don't know if having a few stories of some upstanders is enough.
>
> (Interview 13, Paragraph 9)

Another Rwandan visitor stated "it does put blame on certain people. In a way on the whole Hutu generation, because if it is a Hutu who did the brutality that is displayed at memorials, if I was a Hutu, I would feel partly to blame" (Interview 63, Paragraph 4). Cinematic representations of the genocide in particular have perpetuated the image that there are clearly identifiable victims, heroes and criminals, as well as simple ethnic or even tribal origins for the brutalities (Cook, 2011). Since it is easier to rely on such frameworks, numerous films dealing with the build up and execution of genocide in Rwanda, including *Hotel Rwanda* (2004), *Shooting Dogs* (2005), *Sometimes in April* (2005) and *100 days* (2001) obscure the often complex and internationally blurred factors that contribute to bringing about conditions that eventually result in violence (Cook, 2011). Relatedly, a visitor survey conducted by the Aegis Trust supportively revealed that 13 out of 22 international participants received their entire knowledge on the genocide exclusively from the film *Hotel Rwanda* (2004) (KGM, 2012). Likewise, an international tourist explained: "We knew very little about Rwanda, only through *Hotel Rwanda* and whatever news we learnt form the 1990s that was on TV, which was basically just the horrific images, no background" (Interview 10, Paragraph 3).

Such one-dimensional and simplistic portrayals of the past, as well as a recurrent reference to ethnicity was observed during guided tours at two different national memorial sites. Moreover, it was noted that direct and merciless presentation of the shocking human remains and graphic images on display was strategically employed by the guides so as to appeal to the visitors' sympathy and compassion for those killed;

As you can see people burnt alive, or you can see the tools that were used to put holes in heads. Tutsis were called snakes, to dehumanise them, this is a snake you can just kill them. They gave them names of dangerous animals, so that Hutu can feel it is not a problem to kill Tutsi. This is the room for kids, you can see that this baby was hiding his face, he thought that if he can't see the killers they can't see him too. This one was decapitated. You can see that the bodies are compressed, that is because there are so many humans buried around them, in particular the ones of babies because their skeletons are not so strong. You can see this baby, the body was squashed under the weight of so many bodies. Can you imagine the weight of 50,000 bodies?

(Interview 1 [guided tour], Paragraph 15)

These are materials used by Hutu to kill Tutsis during the genocide, with these spears here, the Interahamwe militia put them inside the women to kill them.

(Interview 30 [guided tour], Paragraph 3)

Regarding the overall guilt projection at such spaces, several Rwandans mentioned that initially, just after the genocide, memorials were not frequently visited since "people were feeling as perpetrators" (Interview 12, Paragraph 8), or "people were traumatised, suffering, and others were getting angry. Nowadays, it is getting less, because we are accepting that we need each other, whatever the difference" (Written Interview 86). Indeed, the majority of participants did not perceive the memorials as ascribing blame or shame to certain parts of the population:

No, I don't think the memorials put blame. Even me I have close friends who are not survivors, who are Hutu. They killed her family because they said you are part of ours and they did not want to be part of the Interahamwe, her father and mother were killed by their relatives, their own cousins. They knew very well that all of them are Hutu. So I think when they go to memorials, we as survivors we do not blame them because even me I have one Hutu who hid me in his house, so it is hard to see a survivor without Hutu contribution.

(Interview 36, Paragraph 7)

The belief that memorial sites were not created to instil feelings of blame and shame was supported by an interviewee who assumed that

… having these places and the genocide present in our mind, is not for the reason of keeping the sentiment of guilt to some people or the feeling of victims to other people. It is for the purpose of keeping an eye on our past, with the objective of taking lessons from that past and working towards preventing all possible mass atrocities.

(Interview 72, Paragraph 2)

Nonetheless, the importance of objective, non-biased perpetrator presentation at sites was emphasised by a respondent conducting research on the culture of remembrance:

Don't say all Hutu are killers, that is most important, but among Hutu there are killers and their project was to involve as many Hutus as possible. That is not blaming, that is the sad reality of the situation. You cannot compromise on the interpretation of the collective information, then something can happen again. However, we still have a long way to heal. The conflict between group memories, local memorials and national memories, this is a very big issue, we are still struggling with it. The intention is not to revenge, that is very important right now.

(Interview 53, Paragraph 11)

Undoubtedly, a significant viewpoint regarding the descriptions provided at memorial sites is the perpetrators' perspective. While one would only expect that it is natural for those involved in the planning and execution of genocide to feel remorse and regret at places of former pain and terror, some respondents demonstrate the opposite. Two TIG Camp inmates, for instance, assert their innocence throughout the interview:

She does not feel guilty, she did not participate, she is only here because of the family conflict. Memorials are good to learn about working together that some events should not happen again, but she does not feel guilty because she did not commit any crime. She feels general blame, like she cannot approach places like that. Since those who are concerned are the Tutsi, Hutus just go there because they are called to do so.

(Written Interview 89, translated from Kinyarwanda)

> He is considered guilty. But he did not kill. The memorials they do not make him feel guilty, and he is clean at heart and before god. He does not feel responsible for any killings. But he is responsible as a bystander. He might feel sad of what happened and of being considered as someone who got involved in it, which he did not. He feels bad when seeing the bones, they are a problem to reconciliation because of the blame.

> (Written Interview 90, translated from Kinyarwanda)

Others, nevertheless, reflected on the role they played in the violence, which was then mirrored in the overall visitor experience. However, the challenging reminders of the crimes committed revealed during memorial visits did not stop individuals from visiting such sites and regarding them as necessary tools to counter denial and to promote overall peace education. In this context, two perpetrators stated the following:

> When he goes to the memorials he feels guilty and he asks himself why did I do this and sometimes he thinks how these leaders managed to tell us to go and kill people like that. They could even be killed for refusing to kill. If we had a good government, he would not have been there doing such kind of things. That is what he thinks always when he goes [to the memorials].

> (Interview 57, Paragraph 8, translated from Kinyarwanda)

> When he goes there he feels sorrow because of what happened, he can't do anything to stop that feeling of sadness. He feels guilty, you feel like you have participated in killings, it is a bad feeling ... He feels it is something normal to visit any time. He does not have any problems with survivors anymore. The evidence needs to stay there as proof.

> (Written Interview 88, translated from Kinyarwanda)

These comments illustrate the importance ascribed to memorial sites in keeping proof to counter genocide denial worldwide.

8.6   Display and Narrative as a Tool to Counter Denial

As overall themes of this chapter have highlighted earlier (Figure 23), confusions and denial about what transpired in 1994, including references to a double genocide or a civil war, are still prominent in and outside of Rwanda. A common concern put forward by interviewees with regards to negationism is the

significance of evading "… the opinion of double genocide. Even they [government] recognise that some Hutus have been killed, but they have some reserve and don't want to say it loudly to avoid making people think that there has been a double genocide" (Interview 4, Paragraph 6). A respondent working in the peace education sector explained that

> … there is a word in Kinyarwanda that was used to describe those who were killed because of their natural social belonging and others who were killed because of human relationships, their status within the community. These namings were later misused by political opponents and their idea of double genocide. Tutsi were killed by citizens and Hutu also died, killed in the war. So death does not equal another death because of those differences. Genocide victims died because they were targeted as genocide victims. The problem would be confusing those things. There are people who can confuse them deliberately and that would be dangerous.

(Interview 72, Paragraph 10)
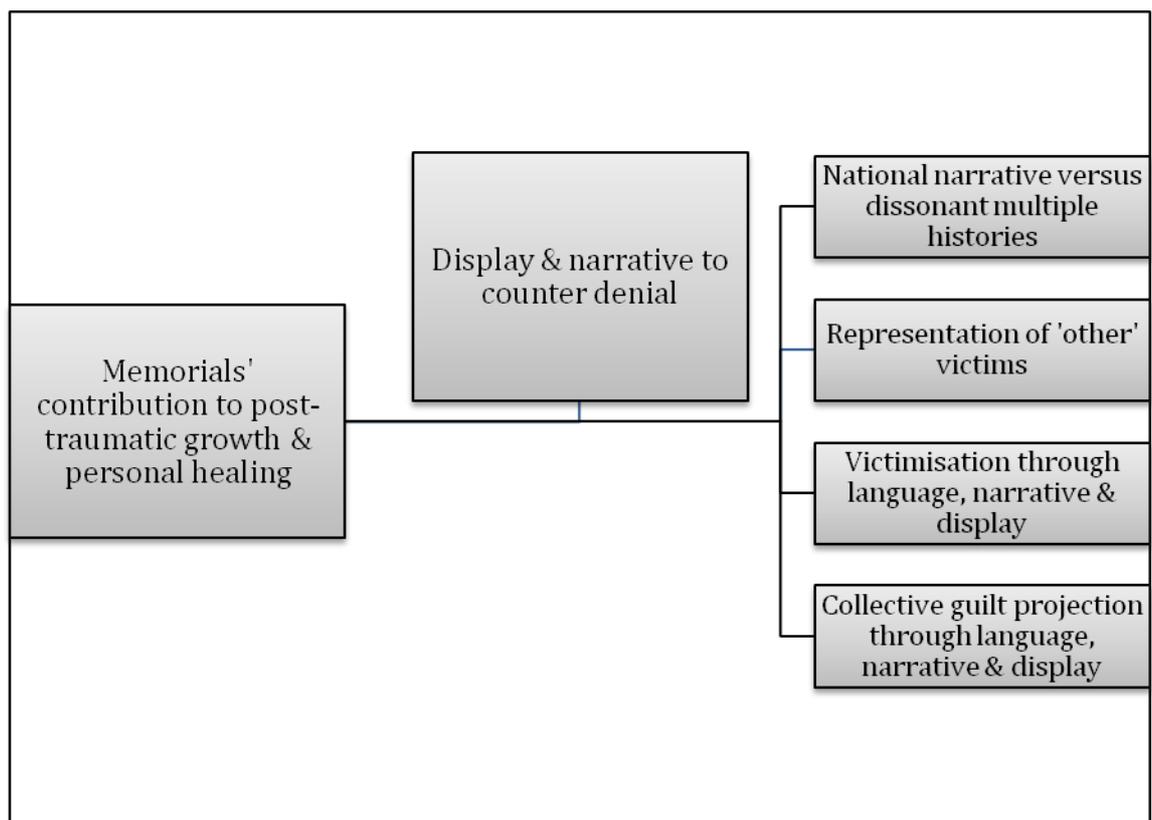
Figure 23: *Thematic overview 2.* (Source: Author)

As discussed, anyone writing on this subject has most likely undergone a certain terminology crisis. This is reflected, for example, in the overall naming of the genocide, or the general definition of a 'survivor', a term used only to identify Tutsi

who were in the country during genocide and who are alive today (Mamdani, 2001); "a survivor is the one in the time of genocide, the one who was being searched and they were trying to kill him" (Interview 31, Paragraph 12). A Rwandan participant explained the terminology as follows: "so if I am a Hutu who survived, I am also a survivor? Which genocide? Because the genocide was perpetrated against the Tutsi. If you were hiding a victim and were attacked, you were not attacked because of your belonging. So you cannot call yourself a survivor" (Interview 2, Paragraph 4). Since the word 'survivor' does not refer to any Hutu, this has resulted in the victimisation and demonisation of certain groups and points towards the dilemma of including a guilty majority alongside an aggrieved and fearful minority in a single closely connected traumatised community (Mamdani, 2001). Consequently, Williamson (2014) argues that the only label available to Hutu is génocidaire, while the only term accessible for Tutsi (if not returnee) is 'survivor', making the so-called returnees – anyone who was not in Rwanda at the time of genocide – the only group not being stigmatised.

Such debates highlight the concern of the memorial sites perpetuating difference, rather than supporting unity. Relatedly, a quote taken from the film *FC Rwanda* (2013) argues for a middle ground:

> For Rwandans to be a better community, they should keep memory, but they also have to move on. Because if they put their focus on the memorial, as something that defines them, that denies this society – a society shaped by genocide, by those differences – to move on. It will then remain: the Hutus killed the Tutsis. So you have to feel pain. You have to go through the memory of our people killed.

> (quoted in Postema, 2013, Minute 41:44)

Nevertheless, even though these terms are frequently and freely used in Rwanda today, several respondents argued that anyone, no matter their ethnicity or background, in danger during 1994 could be considered a survivor. For example; "Even if a Hutu was persecuted because of sympathising with Tutsi for me [he or she] is also a survivor. Just because you are Tutsi you are not a survivor and just because you were Hutu you are not a killer" (Interview 29, Paragraph 6); "Tutsi were being hunted but also if there is a war or anything else to do with misplacement of people other people also do get killed. So I think whoever was targeted is a survivor, no matter the ethnicity" (Interview 39, Paragraph 2).

Such discussions were fuelled by the parliament adopting the proposal by the Minister of Justice in 2008 to officially refer to the genocide as 'the genocide against the Tutsi' in the constitution (IRDP, 2008). While this formal statement, 13 years after the transpired events, weakened Rwanda's emphasis on national unity and contradicted the enduring constitutional ban on references made to ethnicity, numerous Rwandan respondents argued in favour of this official titling. Two respondents supporting the terminology maintained:

> Why I am still emphasizing that it is the genocide against the Tutsi is that those people were not killed because they were Hutus, even those politicians. They were killed because they were against the Tutsi Genocide. It was planed for which aim? For Tutsi extermination, not Rwandan extermination, not politicians extermination, but Tutsi extermination.
>
> (Interview 2, Paragraph 10)

> What was the aim of the perpetrator? It was to annihilate and exterminate the entire Tutsi ethnic group. If others died, they were not killed as Hutu, they were taken as Tutsi, but with a Hutu mask, with a Hutu body, with a Hutu background, but seen by the perpetrators as Tutsi. We have to define genocide in accordance with the aim of the perpetrator.
>
> (Interview 32, Paragraph 19)

Interestingly, only few respondents avoided mentioning ethnicity throughout the interviews, which illustrates the dilemma of abolishing such distinctions when portraying or reflecting on the genocide and its challenging aftermath (Hohenhaus, 2013). And even though this thesis does not aim at perpetuating these divisions in any way, they were mentioned, either by the participants themselves, or repeated in order to gain a better contextual understanding of the complex discourse at hand.

8.7 Summary

This chapter has analysed and discussed the empirical data in light of the national memorials' contribution to peace and reconciliation, as well as transitional justice developments in Rwanda. Generally, memorial sites were seen by participants to contribute to peace in three ways:

1) Through education about the past, which leads to genocide prevention;

2) As a space for reconciliation between victims and perpetrators that breaks down stereotypes and thoughts of animosity, fear and guilt;

3) To counter denial and negationism inside and outside of Rwanda.

However, concurrently and in some cases conflicting, interviews exemplified that the main purpose of such sites was also to offer a dignified space for victims to remember and to mourn. In this context, several participants claimed that memorials do contribute to transitional justice, since they first and foremost serve the victims, as a place to respond to loss or as an expression of grief. Nevertheless, in order for them to contribute to peace additional focus needs to be put on creating catalysts that communicate significant change upon the world. While it became evident that memorials are not able to achieve large scale societal reconstruction by themselves, rather they are part of larger social, political and financial processes, they can, however, offer symbolic reparation. Many participants emphasised that the first purpose of such places is to honour the victims and to keep their memory alive.

Therefore, this chapter first and foremost stresses the need for policy makers presently involved in the memorialisation process, including members of the tourism industry who increasingly market these sites for national and international tourism consumption, to formulate common guidelines, purposes and outcomes at the legislative level that various national sites should fulfil, as well as identifying their primary target groups. Particularly, with regard to the controversial display of human remains and graphic artefacts, the desired outcome needs to be discussed, conveyed and communicated among those actors involved in the production and consumption of memory. Especially so, since such graphic exhibits were frequently criticised in the field. Various Rwandans, as well as international visitors deliberated whether after 20 years and with innovative technological advancements, such as films and photography, it was still necessary to keep physical evidence unburied.

While some argue that the often degrading and unprotected remains offer a somewhat undignified way of letting victims rest in peace, others question the ethics of allowing visitors to gaze upon the dead. Although respondents question whether such displays are merely sustained to silence critical voices as a tool to

legitimise political agendas, the importance of keeping evidence as proof to counter denial was emphasised repeatedly. Yet, the reluctance of Rwandans to expose themselves to these graphic imageries underlines their destructive potential to further distress a still traumatised population.

It has become evident that for Rwandans memory and trauma has developed into a social construct that differs from private individuals' recollections. Definitely, the diversity in Rwanda's population makes for distinctive visitor experiences, as well as different needs that such sites should fulfil. And, while the majority of participants respect these commemorative spaces, they still bring with them a range of interpretations and potential conflicts, particularly so since the narratives portrayed presently legitimise recent power structures. Discrepancies include the presentation of Rwanda before colonisation, as well as the commemoration of other fatalities that occurred before, during and after 1994. These comprise the deaths of Tutsi years before the genocide, as well as those of Hutu, Twa and non-Rwandans who perished in the civil war, in refugee camps in the Congo or during various insurgencies. Fieldwork confirms that while the majority were killed because of their ethnicity or social belonging, others died because of political motivation, family disputes, wealth or their educational status. Additional debates involve the handling of those who had killed and died, or those who were killed while they were killing.

Questions whether there should be distinct memorials commemorating separate historical events, or whether such dialogues should be held at current sites diverge. While it was generally acknowledged that covert debates about these challenging issues do take place at community level, several argued that there is a danger of confusing historical events and, therefore, further education on the differences between genocide and other acts of violence needs to occur before any contentious debate can become part of the national discourse.

Whereas a variety of interviewees expressed that the memorials themselves should be kept for Tutsi genocide victims only, others supported a space where more diverse conversations can take place and where a more holistic view is discussed. Several international visitors stressed that if memorials will ever contribute to peace and reconciliation, exhibition narratives need to avoid

simplistic black and white accounts and open up to more challenging debates, which reflect the complexity and confusion of the situation.

Respondents mentioned that particularly after 1994, memorials were rather viewed as places of division, which assigned blame and revived horrors, whereas nowadays, they are predominantly perceived as educative establishments that counter denial. However, they do face the dilemma of elaborating on past events while trying not to perpetuate disagreement or encourage sentiments of revenge. Several participant observations during memorial tours highlighted that ethnicity was still frequently referred to and even though officially the words Hutu and Tutsi are not publicly used, they have now been largely replaced by the terms 'survivor' or 'returnee'. Since the expression 'survivor' is not applied to describe any Hutu, this has indirectly resulted in the victimisation and demonisation of certain groups and even though various participants mentioned that anyone who was persecuted is a survivor, no other than Tutsi referred to themselves as such. This is also reflected in the recent official renaming of the genocide to the genocide against the Tutsi, which further exemplifies the notion of those involved in the production of memory in Rwanda to tell the story with focus and determination, while regarding any alternative accounts as needless distractions.

The dissonance here is evident and its management needs to be prioritised and incorporated into the policy making process surrounding commemoration practice and design. Furthermore, this chapter highlights the need for a comprehensive impact analysis at all national memorial sites in Rwanda, to further establish how their roles as sites of conscience can be enriched with regards to changing opinions, raising awareness, improving relations, encouraging civic engagement, as well as increasing emotions and understanding of the human consequences of atrocity (Hamber *et al.*, 2010).

CHAPTER 9

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

MEMORY AND TOURISM – THE UNDERSTANDING OF SPACE, SITE AND SELF

9.0   National Narratives and Personal Stories

Several sections of the previous chapters have established that there are disparities between national public memory and local private remembrance in Rwanda. Such differences are reflected in visitor patterns and shape general site expectations and experiences, which in turn prove significant in evaluating the overall impact of such spaces on the population. This chapter, therefore, commences with comparing individual memorial activities, to those experiences received at national sites. Overall, the chapter will establish the overarching purposes of national commemorative spaces, as well as their impact on a dissonant local, but also increasingly international visitor base.

As discussed earlier, Bar-Tal and Bennink (2004) highlight the importance of recreating a past that can be agreed on by groups that have been involved in conflict, a process, which involves the negotiation and careful selection of several histories to establish an approved interpretation of past events. However, such work requires exposure to the untold misdeeds committed by all sides, and to the unheard accounts of those considered less noteworthy. Whilst this product of joint effort should allow the formation of a well-grounded and agreed collective narrative that sheds new light on the past of both groups (Bar-Tal and Bennink), this proves to be challenging in an authoritarian post-conflict society where competing histories are still struggling with enforced power dynamics and recognition.

Nevertheless, while several participants confirmed that national memorial sites cannot deliver all-inclusive historical accounts of Rwanda's complex past, they did mention that spaces which allow for a more diverse commemoration do exist. One Rwandan respondent, for example, stated:

> I accept the current situation, there needs to be a selection, and I don't deal with it at national level, but at individual level. Because at least at individual level, I can serve all those people who are suffering for those who have died in Rwanda, in Congo or elsewhere, that is a personal history.

> (Interview 40, Paragraph 16)

In this context, a number of Rwandans referred to the program *Ndi Umunyarwanda* (I am Rwandan), launched in 2013, which assists in building bridges and solving conflicts through openly discussing challenges encountered in present daily life, but also in the past, which might obstruct individuals or communities from moving forward (Visathan, 2015). In reference to this community initiative two participants commented that

> … people can remember those they lost without making it a national issue. [The program] tries to establish a difference between atrocities. You are right everyone has gone through a difficult period, but we need to try to establish distinctions between killings and genocide.

> (Interview 64, Paragraph 7)

> … the national narrative maybe covers 20%, I think we all have different understandings, but the degree of hurt is the same. It may vary, because you saw your parents being raped in front of you, or your siblings hit on the wall. But *Ndi Umunyarwanda* is the time when people come and say, well this is what my dad did. This is what happened to me.

> (Interview 67, Paragraph 15)

Such remarks illustrate that the national memorial sites, although representing a significant symbol for the country's dedication towards preventing future violence, do not represent the diversity of experiences in the field. This means that they serve another purpose, which is mainly to educate those who did not live through the events in 1994, including an increasing international audience.

With regard to the rise in international visitor numbers, Steele (2006: 3) refers to the KGM as a "Euro-Western project of memory and international criminal law" which communicates the view of genocide as a crime against humanity, moving memorialisation away from being a commemorative ritual for the local population, to a universal politicised phenomenon. While some participants supported this

notion particularly so when commenting on site designs. One international visitor stated that

> The memorial [KGM] is designed and built to international standards, which is probably right if you want to preserve the actual physical things and if you want to get the message out of what happened. It has a really Western style layout. I don't know if the Rwandans appreciate that.

> (Interview 25, Paragraph 11)

Similarly, another memorial guest emphasised that the KGM "was so well laid out, so well done, it was like being in a capital city in Europe" (Written Interview 98). Others, however, considered this as not very helpful in the overall education on genocide prevention. Especially so, since the majority of the Rwandan population resides in the countryside and does not have access to such locations. A respondent involved in memorialisation work, therefore, highlighted that

> ... one of the biggest problems is that we have not taken these kind of memorials close to the ordinary citizen. So in some way it is an elitist way of remembering, in which case it might not serve the purpose.

> (Interview 51, Paragraph 6)

While one visitor commented that the historical exhibition at the KGM is predominantly designed for foreigners, the "Rwandans prefer to see the bodies, the graves, the machetes, the clothes" (Interview 4, Paragraph 12), this notion was mostly rejected by others who argued that such graphic images were usually avoided. Several Rwandans emphasised that in comparison to the national sites,

> ... the localised memorials are very rarely in obvious open spaces. Sometimes a mass grave, sometimes more than that, like a small group of stones, a carving in a tree, photographs. They are small scale, individualistic and not very ostentatious.

> (Interview 52, Paragraph 5-6)

Particularly, with regard to post-traumatic growth and personal healing such low key places were described as locations

> ... where people go to remember and put flowers down without the whole shock value thing. To make peace. You need to remember, you need to look forward, reflect on life and not be traumatised. We don't need to see the bones of someone to know what happened. I just don't think that is how you would set it up if you were targeting other Rwandans.
>
> (Interview 61, Paragraph 7)

Again, views on this subject proved to be conflicting. Although an international visitor mentioned that "they are largely created for outside audiences and I feel uncomfortable with that" (Interview 52, Paragraph 4), a Rwandan expressed that "the memorials are a sign of giving dignity to the victims. They weren't built for foreigners, but to give respect to those who died" (Interview 68, Paragraph 3, translated from Kinyarwanda). Evidently, when trying to identify the target groups and overall purposes of the sites in question, opinions in the field diverge. As formerly explicated, some stakeholders affirm that the motivation for the initial construction of the KGM was the need for survivors to bury their loved ones and to construct a dignified place for them to mourn and to heal. Nevertheless, these spaces have now developed into much more. For example, their existence is often regarded as fundamental in warning new generations about the dangers inherent in discriminative ideologies and propaganda, specifically since such topics are still avoided in schools today. Relatedly, two interviewees emphasised the significance of the memorials among Rwandan youth;

> The young generation can come over there to see and to study their history, the history of their families and the history of their nation in order to build a better future.
>
> (Interview 45, Paragraph 3)

> "for the Rwandan youth who were not alive who maybe only get a kind of unclear picture from their parents because their parents don't want to talk about or can't talk about it or maybe even are misinformed. So it is an educational tool.
>
> (Interview 25, Paragraph 8)

9.1 The Worldwide Trend to Commemorate Atrocity

Similarly, an interviewee involved in the KGM designs and narratives underlined its educational purpose by commenting that "we worked very hard from our Western, Northern understanding around psychology or representation and we wanted an educational tool that can stand alone, someone could walk in and read from the beginning to end" (Interview 79, Paragraph 26). Another respondent highlighted the importance for such places in addressing both, Rwandan and international visitors, in order to have a wider reaching impact: "I knew it had to be local but again it has to tell the story in a way that every person can get something from here so that it can be a tool to teach people" (Interview 78, Paragraph 2). Additionally, an international participant involved in various aspects of memory work commented that

> there seems to be some kind of synergy about meeting some universal human needs when you go to these places. Information, some connection to the past, personal story and memorabilia, as well as linkage to the historic site, and education. However, in Rwanda it wasn't a matter of here we come as an institution and help you to build an institution like the one that we built. It came really out of the community itself and their needs. In a sense what we were tying to do was just be facilitators that thought deeply about the issues of memory and were very careful of what Holocaust survivors had been through and how they had been forced into this involuntary closure, which then became talked about as silence.
>
> (Interview 77, Paragraph 13- 29)

In accordance with the literature discussed in Chapter 4, this quote implies that such international support encompasses three main aims, (i) to promote reconciliation among Rwandans by changing attitudes towards the past and cultivating the idea of a unified nation, as an act of international solidarity, (ii) to build personal or institutional credibility for international norms and, (iii) to globally promote the cause of genocide prevention, since never again depends on remembrance and learning lessons from past atrocities worldwide (Ibreck, 2013). Correspondingly, a Rwandan working in the memorial sector argues that

> ... genocide is an international crime against humanity. In 1948 the UN decided another genocide will not happen, so it is a responsibility of the whole world to take on the consequences of genocide even those regarding the reconstruction, rehabilitation, as well as physical and psychological rehabilitation, legal rehabilitation and also economic rehabilitation.

(Interview 73, Paragraph 12)

As a result, collaborative projects have been established throughout Rwanda that work together with the government and the international community "in a symbolic restoration of the nation" (Ibreck, 2013: 165). National memorial sites specifically demonstrate how Rwandan leaders are influenced by global discourse and how public memory has increasingly been taught and developed through an international prism (Ibreck, 2013). In particular, the section on genocides around the world displayed at the KGM was frequently referred to in this context of globalisation and the world-wide notion to foster a common sense of humanity. One international visitor suggested that "It is valuable to put the Rwandan genocide into this kind of international context and for local audiences to see that they are not alone" (Interview 52, Paragraph 6). Here, another respondent emphasised the importance of one part of the KGM exhibition that refers to other genocides around the world;

> I think that it is important for them to go upstairs [genocides around the world]. I have had friends saying it is an African problem, it is a black man's problem, but there is genocide somewhere else, it is a human problem. And it is always the same recipe, so having the different perspectives about it makes a big difference. People did not have much access to media, you hear about massacres, but if you lived in these small remote places, people did not know the extent of what was going on and that the whole world was watching too.

(Interview 14, Paragraph 10)

Similarly, another visitor remarked that "what I thought was great at the KGM, was the statement that we are not the only one. Such things have happened everywhere in this world and still nobody managed to stop it. This thinking beyond borders was a valuable part of the exhibition" (Interview 20, Paragraph 36, translated from German). This comment specifically addresses the struggle to create a universal sense of responsibility for the global prevention of mass

atrocities worldwide. A notion that is furthermore reflected in three KGM VIP visitor book entries exemplified below:

- It's the second time I visit this place. My sorrow and sadness is as intense as when I came here the first time. This is tragic. It is very dark shadow in the history of this great country. Let's hope and pray that this tragedy does not befall this country again or any other country. Mankind should work towards ensuring that genocide does not happen again anywhere on earth. I believe it can be done if each one of us played his or her part properly. Sincere sympathies (KGM, 2006)

- Each time when one visits this museum, it still becomes very difficult to comprehend how humanity could be pushed so far. As we pray for the soul of those who lie here, may it be a resolve that this should never happen again. May we all work towards reconciliation, towards justice and towards sustainable peace and prosperity (KGM, 2009)

- We must all fight for freedom together with people all over the world. Thanks to the government and everyone who erected this museum (KGM, 2013)

While outsiders can certainly aid in facilitating consultation, assessment, feasibility and impact studies, as well as encouraging dialogue between diverse stakeholders, it is also essential that they limit their activities primarily to building and supporting indigenous expertise, in addition to promoting participation by local actors from all sides of the conflict (Barsalou, 2014). In this case, a respondent active in the peace building and transitional justice sector critically mentions with regard to initial KGM developments that "it was not a very participatory approach. Which is when you look at best practices on how to establish memorials, this is one of the key elements, that you really try to include as many stakeholders as possible" (Interview 18, Paragraph 8). Interestingly, another interviewee involved in memory work stated the opposite:

We went around a variety of communities, and we felt very strongly that we were not going to proceed unless we knew that we were not going to do harm and that this was maybe not the right time or place. We were getting a lot of pushbacks from external NGOs and embassies saying, if you create a memorial it will divide the population. The very specific feedback we were getting from the survivors themselves is that if their pain is acknowledged, then healing will become possible, more possible than if it is not. And that it will not divide the population, and create a space that survivors need for their wellbeing and that in itself is a contribution. We knew from the holocaust era that acknowledgment creates good in terms of the ability to move on.

(Interview 77, Paragraph 27)

The foregoing comment supports the perception that survivor groups throughout Rwanda have taken part in the creation of commemorative sites and activities. For example, they have gathered and tried to preserve or bury the remains of the dead, organised local commemorative ceremonies and voiced their concerns to communal leaders (Ibreck, 2010). A former local authority depicts this need within the aggrieved population to put their loved ones to rest as follows:

… even people in the villages, they would complain, you have the authority, why don't you help us bury our people decently. Why should our people be mixed with the organs of animals in the pit. Then after removing them, they washed them, put them in a coffin, and covered them with soil. Then people in the villages were complaining, why don't you build for us a memorial site like Gisozi [KGM], put tiles there and build it nicely, so that our people can rest in dignity.

(Interview 68, Paragraph 3)

Moreover, local communities have played a role in evidencing, supplying and organising events in their own way. One Rwandan participant conducting research on memorialisation developments explains that

At different memorials I saw that there is underground work of local populations, local leaders, local allies and the government, and in between the genocide associations and civil society organisations, not necessarily only genocide survivors.

(Interview 32, Paragraph 5-6)

This statement was further supported by an interviewee who argued that Rwandans were participating in creating dignified places to honour the victims and that "it wasn't the Rwandans themselves who were struggling with memory and what to do with it. The outside world was putting pressure on them to come up with something that suited them, the international community and its expectations, rather than what was needed" (Interview 77, Paragraph 29).

9.2   Visitors Trends

Nevertheless, as established above, most Rwandans who are personally connected to the tragic events on display at national memorial sites, prefer private intimate commemorative settings. This is reflected in visitor patterns at the KGM, which illustrate that although numbers between 2006 and 2015 have generally increased (Figure 24), this is mainly owed to a rise of international visitors, while local numbers have been declining. Also, there have been fluctuations in 2010 and 2013, which with regards to international tourists can be ascribed to general declines in tourism numbers because of political insecurities in the countries bordering Rwanda that threatened to spill over, or to general negative representations of Africa in the international media, such as the increase in terrorism. Moreover, no extensive marketing of the museum has been promoted by local and international tour operators. The decline in local numbers can be traced back to the overall recovery of the population that now visits less frequently than before, or to the lack of updates or upgrades in the exhibition narratives and displays, through which incentives to visit the site are decreasing. Additionally, the government has promoted and implemented commemoration programs at the district level and at other national sites, so there is no need for communities outside of Kigali to visit the KGM every year.

Figure 24 further illustrates the comment provided by one participant who clarifies that "… we have different periods of visiting, but if you compare both the commemoration time and the high tourism time, the international ones have the bigger numbers" (Interview 69, Paragraph 5). Another respondent further underlined this increase of international interest in such 'attractions' by commenting "… that the genocide is such a small part of our history and it became such a big part. It is like the only thing that Rwanda is known for, except for the

gorillas. Gisozi [KGM] is the number one tourist attraction in the country, even more than the gorillas" (Interview 50, Paragraph 14-15). This development is also reflected on the Lonely Planet Website, which recommends the KGM as the top pick visitor attraction affirming that "this is an intensely powerful and moving memorial for which you should dedicate at least half a day" (Lonely Planet, 2016: 1).
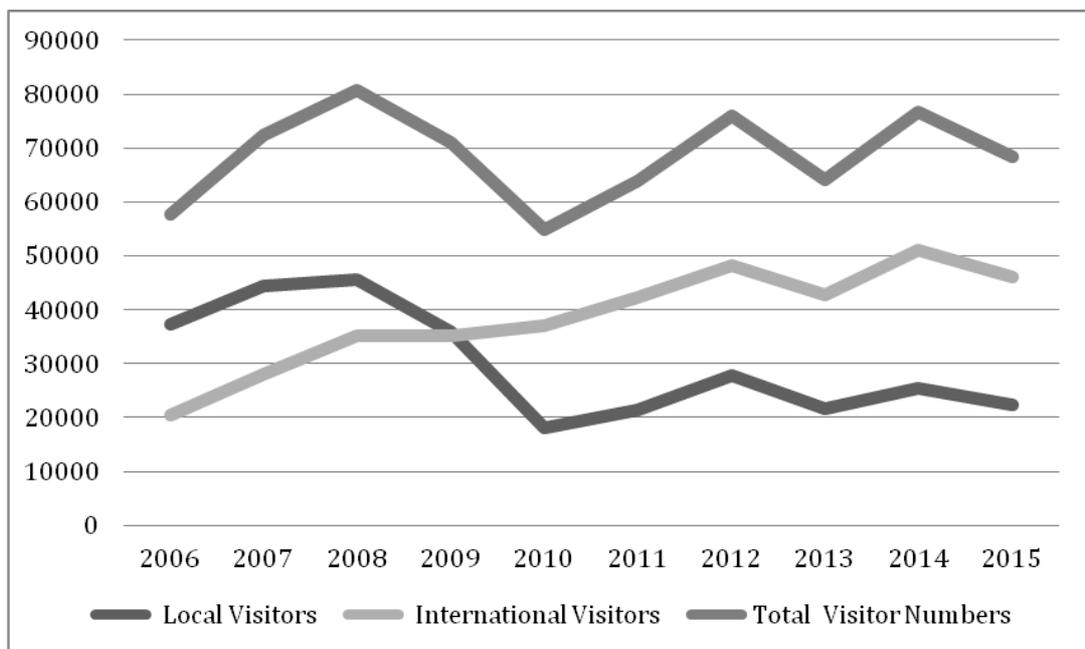
Figure 24: *KGM local and international visitor numbers 2006 to 2015.*
(Source: Adapted from KGM visitor statistics)

As exemplified above, visitor numbers briefly increased in 2014, due to Kwibuka20. This is also reflected in a respondent's comment on how the 20th commemoration is "telling for how many Rwandans this particular location then becomes a focal point and for dignitaries who come here, it is like a port of call, it is almost automatic that they come here" (Interview 52, Paragraph 5-6). Such patterns become further evident when examining the KGM monthly visitor figures during 2015 which clearly demonstrate that Rwandans visit mainly during the annual commemoration period between the months of April and June (Figure 25).
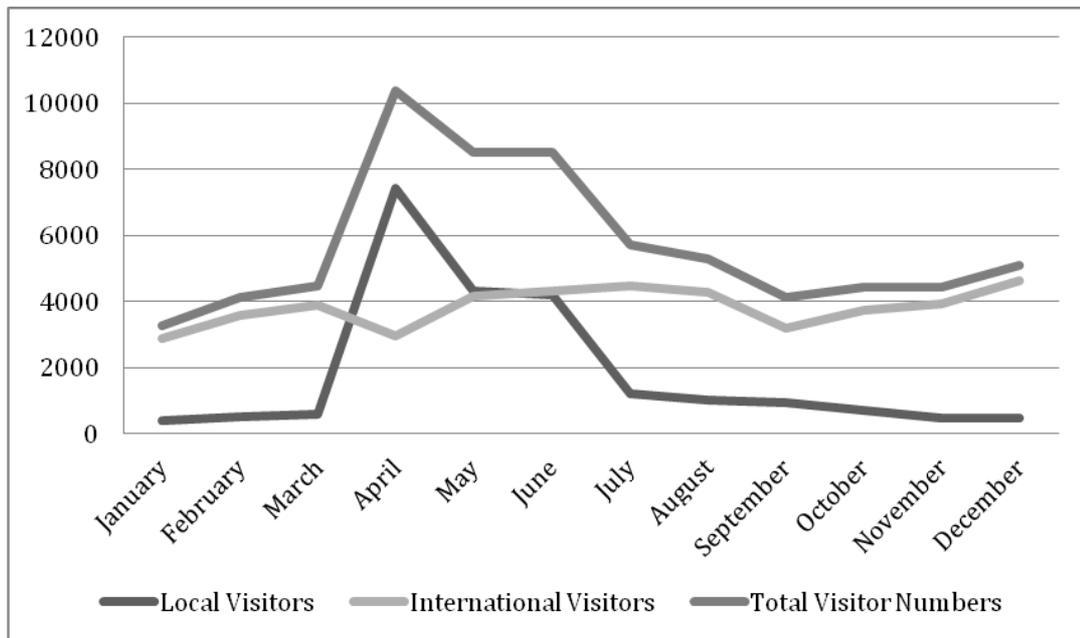
Figure 25: *KGM local and international visitor numbers 2015.*
(Source: Adapted from KGM visitor statistice)

9.3   Local Visitor Motivations

Indeed, such notions were identified with the majority of Rwandans who confirmed that they visit public memorial sites mostly during the commemoration period or to accompany burial ceremonies. For instance;

> For Kwibuka [commemoration] and when people are burying their relatives, we go to attend the ceremony, only visitors from foreign countries come to visit when it is not a commemoration day.

> (Interview 4, Paragraph 2)

> … the first memorial I went to was Gisozi [KGM] in 2004, when these official burials were taking place. I was accompanying some people, it was not the purpose to visit.

> (Interview 72, Paragraph 2)

> Rwandans pass by during commemoration, no one says I want to go there today to understand this. It is so terrifying for people. They start thinking about ethnicity after such visits. They will think about it but they are too afraid to talk about it.

> (Interview 7, Paragraph 10)

236

> ... during commemoration we support our colleagues. If one of us goes to remember, we just go with him or her, just to support him or her. That is how I know most of the memorials.

> (Interview 26, Paragraph 2)

Moreover, several respondents asserted that memorial visits during the commemorative period are becoming more institutionalised as the following remarks suggest:

> In April you see many buses, just different organisations going to remembrance events in different districts.

> (Interview 26, Paragraph 6)

> I have seen most Rwandans come on the 100 days, on these official missions, where for example the Rwandan Development Board will bring their whole staff

> (Interview 33, Paragraph 4)

> ... at the beginning some Rwandans did not go to the memorials because they have different priorities and other issues to solve. But now the Kwibuka [commemoration] is changing. Before it was only for some of the people. Then it came to be in the ministries and the government institutions, now it is even coming to private institutions. Now people have solved the issue of houses and food, before genocide was all around you, houses destroyed, people with wounds, people walking down the street saying that this one is a perpetrator and then they start beating them up. Now they are getting more patriotic.

> (Interview 40, Paragraph 8)

The last comment in particular clarifies how such visits are partly motivated by a sense of duty and responsibility to honour the victims and to learn about the past, in order to prevent other tragedies in future; "A part of me has to pilgrim there in order to be fulfilled in some way, or to fulfil a duty in some way" (Interview 77, Paragraph 5). These sentiments were further reflected in the following responses provided by the KGM diversity survey:

Purpose of the memorial visit
Rwandan respondents (translated from Kinyarwanda):
• I have come to visit the memorial in order to learn and to finally join the fight of preventing similar tragedies from happening elsewhere
• I am here to learn the history of Rwandans, as well as that of other countries
• We have to pay respect to former employees who were killed during genocide and make sure history does not repeat itself
• We came for the 20th commemoration as an institution, to remember together
International respondents:
• To learn the history, remember, honour victims
• It did not feel right somehow, to come to Kigali and not see the memorial, considering the tragedy that befell this country in 1994
• To pay respect to this beautiful country and people
• I read a book about the genocide and wanted to pay respect. It's a mandatory visit

Table 9: KGM visitor diversity survey responses, 2014 (purpose of visit)

Another theme illustrated above is that the memorials can foster a certain sense of commonality and a feeling of belonging. In the words of two participants: "Memorial centres help people to work together for a common greater good and nurture a sense of patriotism" (KGM Diversity Survey, 2014, translated from Kinyarwanda); "memorials inculcate in us the love for the country and the necessity to work together as a nation" (KGM Diversity Survey, 2014, translated from Kinyarwanda). These remarks underline the argument brought forward by Craith (2007) which asserts that heritage can be an important state tool utilised to stimulate a homogenous, legitimate and official 'national' identity that is disseminated at a local and international level. Whereas this sense of unity and social cohesion is suggested in some interviews: "The KGM is a place for everyone to come, no matter the background" (Interview 39, Paragraph 5); "we are all Rwandans. I know some of my friends they go to the memorial sites, they are not Tutsi only, they are Hutu. They go for one reason, because it is part of our history" (Interview 47, Paragraph 6), others do not express such feelings of togetherness. One respondent, for example, commented that the memorials have been established "for every Tutsi who lost someone, or was connected to somebody who lost somebody. I think in people who voluntarily turn up, the majority will be Tutsi" (Interview 27, Paragraph 6).

While, as previously implied, such commemorative outings have in a way become obligatory, various Rwandans mentioned that it took them several years to build up the courage to visit. Whereas some actually never went:

> I never had the courage to visit the memorials when I came back to Rwanda for holidays. I was always thinking I should go there at the very beginning so that I can forget about them a little bit, then I will go there maybe in the middle, so that I have a bit of time before I go, or I go there at the very end so that I can go back and for some reason I never went.

> (Interview 37, Paragraph 3)

Others were worried of relieving the trauma experienced in the past. Two participants who refer to themselves as genocide survivors explained that "I always thought it is something for people who did not experience genocide and I also thought it's already enough to pass the trauma, why even get back to that" (Interview 29, Paragraph 4); "I did not go to the memorials until 2007. I feared to revive some memories and just lived that way" (Interview 46, Paragraph 3). Similarly, a Rwandan working within the peace education sector mentioned that generally

> … there are so many Rwandans who have not been there. Even those who are in Kigali, who don't really need special means. They ask themselves what I am going to see there. I saw it live, I know much more compared to what is there. The prevention side of it is still not known.

> (Interview 72, Paragraph 2)

In this context, responses of genocide perpetrators between those released because they admitted to their crimes and those still detained in TIG Camps varied. Those still completing their sentence regarded the memorials as inaccessible and traumatising; as shameful places projecting blame:

> She has only gone there to clean, she would not go there alone, because the doors are locked. She would only go if they call the whole sector to go. Some people might not give her access alone, because she is known in the area, she might be punished. She can face problems when she gets close to those memorials in the area where she is from. She is informed about other memorials and they go there for Kwibuka. She has to participate because everyone does it.
>
> (Written Interview 89, translated from Kinyarwanda)

> She feels general blame, like she cannot approach places like that. Since those who are concerned are the Tutsi, Hutus just go there because they are called to do so.
>
> (Written Interview 89, translated from Kinyarwanda)

Interviews conducted with community members from the *Millennium Village Project*, however, demonstrated that memorials were generally regarded as a contribution to a peaceful coexistence. One genocide perpetrator, for example, commented that he regularly visits memorial sites with neighbours and friends for reburials and to commemorate. For him, although a traumatising experience, these sites fulfil a valuable educational purpose:

> Sometimes when they discover the relatives of their neighbours who died, they discover them from the bush and they want to bury them at the memorial, they have to accompany them as neighbours. When they go there, they do feel traumatised because they see what happened and they see that I was part of these people who killed all of these people, so he gets traumatised somehow and he says that these people I killed, they should be alive like I am. They should be here walking, like I am walking. But they must keep the memorials there. Because if people do not see what happened, they can forget and they redo that again. So for their children that is like a mirror, where they can see what happened in 1994, so that they cannot do the same as their fathers, their parents did.
>
> (Interview 59, Paragraph 6)

9.4 Rwanda's Memorialscape: Design, Purpose and Future

The previous section exemplifies how Rwandan visitor motivations diverge and how the memorials, therefore, have to meet a wide range of different needs and priorities, which might be conflicting;

> On the one extreme you have the survivor whose family is buried in the mass graves and on the other you have the gorilla trekker who gets on a little mini bus at the Serena Hotel without any idea of what they are about to encounter. Maybe it is because it is the only show in town that so many make that journey, maybe it is because while you are in Rwanda you feel you need to fulfil some kind of duty.
>
> (Interview 77, Paragraph 7)

Relatedly, a tour guide mentioned that "[in contrast to] the international visitors, most survivors never go through and spend an hour in the exhibition, they spend an hour at the graves, but only 10 minutes in the museum" (Interview 12, Paragraph 20). While this understanding was shared by several staff working at the KGM, it is further reflected in the fact that the audio guide tour is presently not available in Kinyarwanda. While one Rwandan participant claims that "I never listen to the audio guide fully. It is like telling me half the story. It is giving me a picture of what I have lived" (Interview 7, Paragraph 6), in the light of general upgrades that have recently taken place throughout the site, a new audio guide in form of a tablet app will be introduced at the KGM in June, 2016. In this case, aside from the more interactive approach utilised to supplement the commemorative landscape and an increasing focus on genocide prevention and peace building work, a Kinyarwanda version will also be made available. Please find the introduction to the guided memorial tour below (Figure 26).

Stop 1: Introduction

Welcome to the Kigali Genocide Memorial, run by the genocide prevention organisation Aegis Trust. The memorial is dedicated to remembering the victims of the Genocide against the Tutsi and teaching about genocide prevention and peace building. Your tour today will last approximately one hour and thirty minutes.

You have chosen Oliver Nduwumukiza/Monique Huss/Theoneste Karenzi to accompany you on your tour of the memorial. Oliver/Monique/Theoneste is a survivor of the Genocide against the Tutsi. Throughout the tour, he/she will join you by telling his/her story and sharing what happened here in 1994 as well as how Rwandans are rebuilding our country.

As you walk around the memorial you will see numbered signs. These represent stops on the tour. Simply select the stop number on your device to listen to a description. Each stop contains an audio description and photographs, while some also include videos.

At different points along the tour, you can watch testimonies from Oliver/Monique/Theoneste related to that particular stop. To do this, select the option with his/her photo next to it.

The tour begins at the burial place, where we pay our respects to the victims of the Genocide against the Tutsi. Before moving to the burial place, you may wish to purchase a rose from the Souvenir Shop to lay on the graves.

We will then tour the exhibits, and conclude with the memorial gardens and Café. The Café offers a range of refreshments and all proceeds support the work of the memorial including survivor support and peace education programmes across Rwanda.

If you would like to take a break or speak to one of the counsellors at the memorial, please return to the reception. More support is available in the 'Stay Connected' section of your tour App. If you have borrowed a device, please return it to the Souvenir Shop after you have finished your tour.

We hope that you have an informative and valuable experience.

Figure 26: *New audio guide narratives to be implemented at the KGM.*
(Source: KGM, 2015)

With regard to overall site philosophies and as established in Chapter 2, one can distinguish between sites celebrating the absence of violence through 'negative' themes of peace. For example, some museums, or memorials depict war, genocide, colonialism, racism, or any of the many other evils of humankind, by condemning tragedies of the past and disseminating powerful messages of 'never again' (Lollies, 2014). This is the case at all of the national memorial sites in Rwanda, with the exception of the KGM, which has recently undergone, and is planning to continue to do so in the future, numerous changes to promote tolerance and

human rights through 'positive' themes of peace, such as highlighting reconciliation and the acts of individual peacemakers (Lollis, 2014). Generally, the KGM is regarded as a special case within Rwanda's memorialscape, since it is not located at an actual former killing site, and is seen as a comprehensive interactive museum, rather than a place of exclusive pain, horror and tragedy. Two interviewees described the site as follows:

> Gisozi memorial [KGM] is not like other memorials, it gives us life. When you go there you visit and you learn something somehow. You can gain some skills.

> (Interview 43, Paragraph 3)

> Gisozi [KGM] is very well organised compared to other places, where you find just the remains of humans. It is more talkative. You can read, yes there is some rest of humans, but not many.

> (Interview 47, Paragraph 3)

Nonetheless, several Rwandan and international visitors recommended visits to other national sites, due to the distinctive nature of events and brutalities that simultaneously occurred in different parts of the country (see Appendix 6 for a detailed overview of several national and district memorial sites throughout Rwanda). One international respondent, for example, argued that

> Because the KGM is not a historic site, in the sense of being a site of mass murder and I think historic sites are important. In some sense the KGM was a site of burial and it was away from the city and it was a very open site. It was intimately tied to the genocide but not a site of mass killing, so I think it gave greater freedom in terms of how we processed it. But I think it is important to visit other sites. I think Murambi and Ntarama are important in particular.

> (Interview 77, Paragraph 34)

While the Genocide Archive Rwanda Website (2015b) encourages visitors to learn more about the genocide in different parts of Rwanda through indicating several locations of previous killing sites, road blocks, mass graves, as well as 29 genocide memorials in an interactive map, overall experiences at more graphic sites, were generally described as shocking and traumatising encounters rather than valuable educational experiences. Two visitors refer to present site narratives as overly simplistic;

Some narrow the story down too much. For example, Nyamata Church, I feel like it portrayed an overly stark representation of the genocide. It was skulls and that was kind of it. But without any sense who these people were, where the skulls had come from. So there has to be some kind of [middle ground].

(Interview 52, Paragraph 9)

I told you the genocide memorials are empty, without exhibition and all those things. I think it is a case of priorities of money. But this has to be improved, more informative documents, history of the region, people involved, victims, rescuers, all those things have to be put together. Nyarubuye, you see there, the church that is all. Yes, it is clean, but it is not enough.

(Interview 53, Paragraph 12)

Such notions are reflected in a research diary entry recorded during a guided tour through the Nyarubuye Genocide Memorial (Figure 27) (see memorial overview in Appendix 6 for site characteristics).

Research diary entry:
Reflections on guided tour through the Nyarubuye Genocide Memorial (Plate 29)

I last visited this site in 2012. While the dust road to reach here has been improved, nothing much has changed at the memorial itself. Although the former convent is now renovated and tiled, apart from a few glass cases to keep some of the bones, all the remains and artefacts, clothes, weapons, identity cards remain exposed and some are obviously falling apart. Unfortunately, the guide who took us around can only speak very basic English, so it is hard for me to gain a contextual overview of what exactly happened here in 1994. I am visiting with a Rwandan friend who lived through the genocide in this area and I am thinking the experience must not be so delightful for him, especially since we went to his family grave before. However, he continuously tells me how happy he is to share this history with me and that the more people visit the better.

Figure 27: *Research diary entry, July 2014.* (Source: Author)

Since these national sites were officially chosen to act as locations of remembrance, as well as global warning signs to counter violence and discrimination, they need to be further developed not only through preservation, but also in their capacity to offer important contextual background with regard to the structures and objects on display. Although a certain level of maintenance is taking place, the artefacts and human remains, as well as the buildings themselves, are deteriorating. Various interviewees explained that even though the necessity of investment into memorials is recognised, the financial means need to be raised and

allocated. This proves to be challenging in a country that is still reconstructing itself and where priorities are naturally conflicting. Accordingly, one respondent emphasises that

> The problem why the other memorials are in the state they are in is financial. Preserving a memorial is very expensive, expertise is needed and the means are limited. It is a process that needs to be fast and successful, because it is a big loss if we don't preserve the artefacts of the genocide. It is not because they are not paying attention to it. It is a matter of finances and how government processes always take time.

(Interview 12, Paragraph 16)

While the significance of authentic evidence is acknowledged by the following statement provided by a Rwandan participant involved in memorial designs; "I think as an inspiration the church still is the best one. Because you can see how a site can tell a story. Sometimes the building in itself can tell a story" (Interview 78, Paragraph 2), the general demand for more background information on the region and the specific events that transpired there in 1994, as well as insights into multiple witness testimonies needs to be considered (Figure 28)

Research diary entry:
Reflections on a guided tour through the Bisesero Genocide Memorial Site

This is the second time that I make it to remote Bisesero. During my first visit no guide was to be found and we had to take ourselves around the site, so the experience now is definitely more informative. However, the tour guide does not speak English very well, so the Rwandan friend I am with has to translate. Both the guide and my friend consider themselves Tutsi survivors. Without hesitation the guide dives right into the horror and takes us to a little shed at the bottom of the hill, where bones are stacked neatly on tables. Rows of skulls and human remains are laid out for us to inspect. Not protected by glass, just there. The guide eagerly points to different corners of the table and mentions how these victims must have died. Some slaughtered through the machete, some shot by bullets and some burnt alive. My friend quickly leaves the room and I am left alone with the guide in the middle of this graveyard. The whole experience made me question the ethics of allowing mostly uninformed visitors, or traumatised Rwandans to gaze upon the dead once again.

Figure 28: *Research diary entry, June 2014.* (Source: Author)

A common argument in favour of preserving artefacts and actual former sites of violence is that they add to the construction of a precise record of what occurred (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996). An appeal is made here to authenticity as a self-explanatory justification and measure for selection and interpretation.

Nevertheless, it should be noted that heritage is not "the totality of the history of a place or even facets of that totality" (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996: 10), rather, it is a created dynamic manifestation continuously altered according to changing attitudes and demands. Authenticity subsequently derives from the experience of the visitor and the extent to which the product satisfies the expectations the consumer has of that particular history (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996).

9.5   Memorial Dynamics and Future Plans

With regard to overall site developments, respondents frequently highlighted the need for memorials and exhibition narratives to be more dynamic, changing with time, as the country itself is developing. Ideally, such spaces should adapt to new concerns arising over time (Ševčenko, 2011), as they become exposed to political and cultural transformations (Sharpley, 2009). This is particularly the case if visitor experiences should have wider reaching impacts on societal change. Two respondents commented on future developments and argued that

> …. memorials should be living memorials, in a sense that they should be centres of learning, reflection, inquiry. The KGM holds conferences there and such like, going into that direction, so all that is a good thing. Certainly more can be done, let these be centres where people debate issues and even share contrary views. Rwanda still has a while to go with this.

> (Interview 81, Paragraph 3)

> I would actually hope that the exhibition would change but a big component is for a memorial museum to be dynamic and to address the needs of people. So obviously the needs of people for the past 20 years might have changed. You know history, the facts don't change, but the way that they are taught, the way that they are interpreted and the way that they are related change. I think it would be interesting for the memorial if it got in touch with survivors again and figured out some things they would like to add or see highlighted.

> (Interview 33, Paragraph 3)

One aspect repeatedly referred to when talking about memorial dynamics was the need to focus on the future and the peace building processes that have been initiated by communities since 1994. In this regard, one interviewee referred to the Murambi Genocide Memorial and maintained that

... the exhibition should change and I think it is changing. Because the country is moving forward, students are visiting these memorials, the country is developing. I am talking about this because I was in Murambi and towards the end of the exhibition, there are these positive messages that are pinned on the wall [Plate 39] from the students and this was not there three years ago.

(Interview 38, Paragraph 11)

Image
redacted

Plate 39: *Messages of peace written by students after visiting the Murambi Genocide Memorial.* (Source: Author)

As to be expected most of the visitor messages included a commitment to prevent future mass atrocities, as the sample exemplifies below:

- Future generations in Rwanda, let us fight for peace, love and unity
- People must visit Murambi to understand how terrible and horrible the genocide was. Never again in the world
- As a student and future priest, I promise to try and lead our country in a good direction
- I will take sad memories from this site home and will try to prevent something like this from ever happening again

- The future generation will never forget your behaviour. Rest in peace our heroes. Never again

While Williams (2007) argues that such comments evolve out of the clashing feeling of helpless frustration about the past and the relief of not having lived through it, the critical point is for such sites to provide opportunities to turn these feelings provoked by the memory of past tragedies into action.

Fortunately, as previously highlighted the KGM has recently implemented an upgraded exhibition and an interactive audio guide, which now includes additional personal testimonies, as well as stories of hope and heroism, and successful examples of reconciliation developments within communities since 1994. Additionally, the museum is considering expansion plans to create catalysts at the site that will engage visitors in humanitarian activities. Since these alterations have only recently been integrated into the exhibition, they are not included in the evaluation of visitor responses in this thesis. However, their impact should be considered in future studies on visitor experiences.

In this context, a respondent working within peace education stated that "I never really thought about the job the KGM could do until those international designers came and said that people come and they leave unhappy depressed, emotionally exhausted. Visitors should leave inspired to do some good" (Interview 25, Paragraph 12). Similarly, a respondent working in the memorial industry elaborated that

> 10 years ago when the exhibition was opened we wanted a tool to tell people the story of the genocide in Rwanda. To create a common understanding of what happened. This is still the objective, but now we reflect on how do we move on 20 years after? The museum is not changing its focus, but we added another wing of thoughts towards peace building and social cohesion. You may understand the part of history before and during the genocide will not change. But the aftermath of the genocide is dynamic. The consequences we were facing 10 years ago are no longer the consequences we are facing now. How do we make our achievements durable? How do we recreate the society and make people live in peace? You need to make sure that it really serves as a lesson. We are adding 18 new panels. We talk about the perpetrators, has justice been delivered? Are the home-grown solutions serving the community? Are they contributing to peace, to harmony, to social cohesion?

The fact, that the new panels include perpetrator testimonies provides evidence that the disappearance and (re)emergence of certain narratives over time can be regarded as a persistent dynamic process (Kelleher, 2004). Consequently, studying the spatial forms of memory in relation to such tourism sites can therefore not only educate about the past, but more so on its role in the present (DeLyser, 1999). Certainly, dissonance here is inevitable and while one participant stated that "it won't be good to introduce perpetrator panels. They are perpetrating the division. Imagine if you are visiting and your father was a perpetrator" (Interview 7, Paragraph 8), others argued that

> ... it is a really good thing because they have reached a level of positive mind change, they can testify what they have done. The panels will be about their individual stories, which contributes also to the healing of the country because if their stories include where they have put bodies of victims they have killed, then the process is repatriating them, it heals.

(Interview 69, Paragraph 6)

> You have to talk about the experience of a perpetrator because they are the majority of the population and if you can't talk about the indoctrination and the difficulties that they went through, how can you understand how the conflict happened? Otherwise it remains to be half of the memory presented.

(Interview 74, Paragraph 7)

In comparison, Auschwitz-Birkenau, 70 years after the end of World War 2, is only just implementing a new exhibition that will focus not only on the victims but also on the perpetrators (Graham-Harrison, 2015). This innovation for the main Auschwitz barracks is a delicate experiment in a place where the displays have remained almost unchanged since they were created to remember the victims of the Holocaust (Graham-Harrison, 2015). However, similar to the case of Rwanda, the gruesome mystery of how it was possible for ordinary people to start murdering on an industrial scale will now finally be addressed.

Besides the implementation of thought-provoking perpetrator panels, the current KGM exhibit is being further extended to incorporate sequences of hope and mobilisation through presenting Rwanda's significant developments from

complete devastation to its present image of safety and stability. Nevertheless, the concerns of multiple narratives and the opening up of dialogue arises also here. One respondent, for instance, advocates for the inclusion of alternative histories and a more diverse approach towards the country's past:

> It [KGM] has an educative purpose but in my opinion the purpose is to support the legitimacy of the government. I agree that that was the only way it was possible at that time. The only other option would have been to not have a museum at all. Because with government influence it would not have been possible to do anything more and I am not saying it would have been better to not do anything at all because there are very valid issues that are raised in the museum. So I can imagine there has been progress made in the narrative, by including rescuer stories for example. [However], it is still underrepresented in my view.

> (Interview 18, Paragraph 6)

While Chapter 8 demonstrates that there is a particular need for these sites to eventually include several perspectives, it must be recognised that the KGM made advances over the past years in accordance with the state's priorities to rebuild a country from complete devastation. One participant describes the KGM when it first opened as

> ... a sketch of the genocide. There was a very basic narrative that you got led through. It was static and didn't have any emotional power. It has become so much more complex as the years went on. You now have categories about the children and rescuers during the genocide and then the comparative element of the Holocaust and the Armenian genocide and Bosnia.

> (Interview 52, Paragraph 6)

While the initial plan of the site was to be an ossuary for victims to be buried, with an underground tomb to view human remains, the importance of contextual background, interpretation and some kind of narrative was soon recognised. There was a demand for a place for confrontation with the past that acknowledged the pain experienced "by people in their homes who have no place where they can have that outlet that will meet their needs" (Interview 77, Paragraph 27).

However, for the KGM to become a global centre of humanity it still has a long way to go. Several expansion plans for the future, therefore, include:

- An education centre incorporating peace building displays and travel exhibits from around the world, teaching space for lectures, film screenings, social events and interfaith worship (Written Interview 97), a library, as well as an archive and documentation hub where people can give testimony (Interview 78, Paragraph 7);

- A living archive, which focuses on the multiplicity of stories, where everyone can contribute to the remembrance and formation of history E.g. through a digital guest book where people can leave notes (Written Interview 97);

- A park, which will hopefully be integrated into the day to day life of Kigali residents, not only as a place to commemorate, but also as a place to meet, a place for reflection and peace (Written Interview 94).

Besides further site developments the importance of also forming partnerships outside the heritage field, such as schools, local cooperatives, social services or advocacy groups, among others, in order to educate and engage the population with the past to work for a more peaceful future is underlined (Ševčenko, 2011). Relatedly, the peace education outreach programme at the KGM has instigated a mobile exhibition that travels around the country, breaking down stereotypes and educating communities on active bystandership, as well as illustrating successfully implemented peace initiatives (Friedrich *et. al.*, Forthcoming). The essential difference between the mobile exhibition and the permanent KGM narrative is that the former was designed to focus specifically on peace building and education after the genocide, with the story being told through the eyes of three child witnesses:

> … the Hutu boy, the Tutsi survivor and Hutu girl who rescued, which is an inclusiveness that is not seen at Gisozi [KGM], so there are images of the Congo camps [and] we were able to widen the doorway of creating a space where people could see themselves reflected in the story. The history piece had to be very condensed and the peace building expanded. The other difference is that there is more psychology in it. Really looking at some of the aspects that lead to mass violence and what leads to peace.

> (Interview 79, Paragraph 15)

The children's perspective was deliberately chosen to give the display a lighter tone in order to avoid such heavy experiences encountered at the memorials. At

the same time the aim was to take it outside of the city and into the countryside where people do not have the opportunity to visit commemorative sites in and around Kigali, and where

> ... 85% is Hutu. How can we tell stories that will open dialogue? We wanted to embed the history in the present day experience and issues and struggles of the Rwandan people to make it as accessible as possible towards as many people as possible in the country who did not have education and who maybe didn't even read, but who could see the pictures and who could relate.
>
> (Interview 79, Paragraph 24)

Overall, the main aim of such illustrations is to concentrate on the future, rather than on the gruesome past. Although numerous respondents voiced the importance of including the mobile exhibition permanently into the KGM, others argued that the main focus of the museum needs to remain with the genocide, the build up of violence and its complex aftermath. Therefore, only certain peacemaker panels were incorporated into the main displays, serving as an addition to the historical narrative presently portrayed. In this context, a participant addressed the complex issue of site priorities and primary target groups by highlighting that "it is a touchy issue to have the peace exhibition on the same grounds as the permanent exhibition at the KGM. It is touchy to push peace building at a site where survivors want to simply remember their family. They may still need the space to not be told that now is the time to reconcile (Figure 29)" (Interview 79, Paragraph 22).

Figure 29: *Research diary entry, June 2014.* (Source: Author)

Thus far, this chapter has established that whilst district memorial sites primarily focus on creating a dignified space to commemorate those lost, national sites, and the KGM in particular, also target an international visitor base, striving for a more global impact on genocide prevention. However, in order for these spaces to foster further personal reflection and ideally humanitarian action, they need to provide a variety of catalysts. Hamber *et. al.* (2010) suggest that these need to include the deliverance of new information, as well as an emotional understanding of the human consequences of genocide, in order to promote civic agency and personal responsibility in violence prevention. Additionally, such visits should generate a collective conscience and a change of stereotypical, discriminative thinking.

9.6   Visitor Experience and Impact

In general, the importance of gaining new insights and learning about the past was frequently emphasised by participants, as one of the principal outcomes of site visits, which was reflected in responses provided by the KGM diversity survey. Whereas the KGM was often described as an educational tool: "Even me, I was interested to know how the genocide was prepared, how it was implemented, to see how the people start a new life. Many survivors were interested to know" (Interview 11, Paragraph 4), it was also referred to as a sterile and "almost sanitized version of what went on" (Interview 10, Paragraph 4). One participant, for example, reasoned that "... the KGM is lacking that sort of extremely shocking first hand experience that you can get in some churches. I think it is good that you have diversity in the memorials" (Interview 66, Paragraph 6). Undeniably, thoughts differed on this subject and it became evident that visitors' perceptions of authenticity varied, depending on their social identity and on the degree to which

they were psychologically and emotionally involved in the experience at hand (Cohen, 2011). Several participants put emphasis on that the KGM's educational value. For instance;

> Even for people who experienced the genocide, Rwandans, to understand the whole concept of masterminding that genocide and how propaganda developed, for genocide prevention. I would say Gisozi [KGM] is better than the others.

> (Interview 29, Paragraph 8)

Others described the graphic national sites (see Appendix 6 for memorial overview) as "authentic, since they bring a sense of reality" (Interview 10, Paragraph 4); they are "so unapologetically present and maybe why it is so powerful is that you are so close to the suffering, rather than having it told to you" (Interview 3, Paragraph 11).

Certainly, while locations at authentic massacre sites offer a small glimpse into the true horrors of 1994 (Plate 40), with regard to educational value they show little impact since "there is no explanation as to what I am looking at. The exposure itself is shocking and telling and you can sort of fill in the details in your head. But the individual stories and details are missing" (Interview 33, Paragraph 8). One interviewee described that "it did not have the same impact as being at the memorial centre. There you could understand it, there were real stories, whereas this just seemed to be laid out for shock value. It did not educate me to be a person who wants to stop genocide the same way as the museum did" (Written Interview 89).

Image
redacted

Plate 40: *Roadside Church Memorial.* (Source: Author)

In this regard, visitors frequently mentioned the importance of tour guides to contextualise displays and to create the basis for any sort of emotional connection. While all national memorials should ideally have English and French speaking guides present at the sites, the district memorials are usually looked after by gatekeepers. This demonstrates the tendency that national sites are increasingly being promoted for national and international visitors for educational purposes, while district sites are primarily utilised as cemeteries for commemorative purposes. Certainly, guides can play a significant role in the overall visitor experience. Several visitor book entries at the Bisesero Memorial Site, for instance, demonstrate high appreciation for the personal guidance received:

- Thank you so much for such a detailed and thoughtful tour. Thank you for keeping the memory (USA)
- I appreciate the guiding and telling us what happened here. A very informative and helpful guide, thank you so much. Visiting this memorial made the genocide unforgettable to me (USA)

- So haunting to hear and see such brutality in such a beautiful country. But also wonderful to hear stories of a new family and hope for our guide. A big thank you (UK)
- With respect to the guides who keep this very evocative and moving memorial site, who through their good work give us the opportunity to remember victims (Netherlands)

Other comments, however, illustrate less rewarding encounters with guided tours through the more graphic locations:

> The guides were not very animated. They just said over here this happened, over there that happened. They could have put it in a context, talked it through, made it a more interesting story and they would have got a much more emotional reaction. I did not cry. I kind of came away feeling guilty with myself that I didn't cry. I had a cathartic reason for coming, expecting some really emotionally draining, feeling great sorrow, guilt, a sense of injustice for what happened. I did not feel that at the churches. I just felt deeply sick.
>
> (Written Interview 98)

> The tours were very short and scarce. The guides gave me a good description of what I was looking at, but I did not get a good context of what led to the genocide, what was the political situation beforehand, what is the society like right now. At each site I asked the guide to fill me in I would get a short response. I felt like I had to push to get full information.
>
> (Interview 33, Paragraph 9)

Particularly in the case of Rwanda, where guides have predominantly lived through the experiences they are now narrating, such tours are not simple matters of recounting and presenting (Bal, 1996). Instead, it is a process between "guides' self-positioning, that of their organisation ... the audience and the site itself" (Macdonald, 2006: 136), a negotiation which was verified in a comment provided by a German tourist who described her experience as follows:

> Of course he brought his own opinion into the whole thing. But it was good to have a personally affected person talk. And you always have an opinion if you are affected, feelings of course come up. He was clearly shaped by his past and I understand, this trauma will never leave him. It made my experience much more valuable.

> (Interview 20, Paragraph 7, translated from German)

Evidently, all site visits evoked a strong emotional reaction among the majority of visitors:

> You are forced to confront something in such a personal way, you have to have a total lack of empathy not to think that. Even if you just think of the small children that you know or have. The woman that took us around Nyamata was pregnant and I found that even more awful. Those things are always more painful for me, because no matter how much footage you watch, those awful graphic things put it into context what it would be like to lose someone and maybe you will care more.

> (Interview 13, Paragraph 11)

> In Ntarama these skulls are at the level of your eyes, so you cannot avoid them and also they are not somehow exhibited in a professional way. It is very raw and it comes to you strongly, you cannot avoid it. It is a personal experience that you can still avoid at the KGM, where you can come as a tourist, a historian, you visit and you understand a bit, you go home and you think about it a bit. But at Ntarama that is very different. Whoever is with you, will be personally engaged and accused. Because some of the remains are in a very bad state. Sometimes you have to walk on them. You know the clothes in the former kitchen, the mattresses are everywhere.

> (Interview 37, Paragraph 5)

Such observations highlight that in some instances the mere presence at the site reveals to the tourist an empowering commemorative potential, inducing incomparable emotion simply through name and location (Miles, 2002). In addition, the short time period in Rwanda passed from the moment the event took place to the moment it is consumed explains the high level of empathy shown by tourists towards the victims of the tragedy (Farmaki, 2013).

While for some the location triggered personal associations: "the church for me as a religious person is always something familiar, a place where I feel at home. Something protective, it creates a very personal atmosphere" (Interview 20, Paragraph 43), others repeatedly stated that the ruthless murder of innocent

children brought home the true horrors of the genocide. In this context, the personal portrait exhibition of children who perished in 1994 displayed at the KGM was commonly cited:

> I tried to look at every child in that room and thought they had a life, they had parents. I had kids already at that time so of course I wondered how people can live their daily lives here and it really changed our view on Rwanda. We had a lot of empathy for the people.
>
> (Interview 14, Paragraph 2)

> The hardest part by far was the children's room. After reading the first panel about the first child, about his favourite meal, I was in floods of tears. I had to sit outside the room for about 15 minutes, I was inconsolable. The bones and everything that I had seen, the pictures and the machetes, nothing prepared for that children's room and nothing I think has ever affected me that badly in relation to genocide. People have to understand that it was not a war between men fighting men. You know kids were targeted, eradicated and not just shot, no they were picked up by their feet and hit against the wall.
>
> (Interview 25, Paragraph 3)

Such emotionally stark encounters were reflected in responses provided for the KGM diversity survey, which repeatedly emphasised that this last stop on the museum tour left visitors in a state of devastation and demoralisation. However, the implementation of the new panels and several other upgrades mentioned earlier also include the integration of an end of tour film after the children's memorial, which among other things captures hopeful examples of peace building projects throughout the country.

In this context, however, several international visitors felt manipulated by these emotive and graphic displays and their presentation was seen as entailing an amount of 'artful fakery', with the overall aim to further certain ideological ambitions and to defend a specific reality (Gable & Handler, 1996). Three respondents commented with regards to the emotive displays encountered throughout the exhibit that "Children and women are being pushed into the foreground, so it feels like designed to get the tears flowing. This clarifies nothing" (Written interview 83, translated from German), "it is manipulative, because it is meant to make you cry. After going through it I felt guilty for not weeping. It is

designed to make you feel bad. It is not subtle and not elegant. Why are the kids more important? Because they are innocent, and if you are not innocent your death is less painful?" (Interview 13, Paragraph 17) and "I think it is good to make it personal, but your judgement is just very clouded by emotions" (Interview 18, Paragraph 10).

Nonetheless, while one participant argued that "there is something obviously orchestrated by putting that number of skulls out" (Interview 52, Paragraph 4), reactions show that in some cases these emotions can support the development of a collective conscience, a certain sense of civic agency, or personal responsibility towards countering discrimination and violence in future. Such reactions towards positive action became evident in the remarks made by the following two visitors:

> When I saw those kids and the way they got killed and the comparison to other genocides, I felt that there is a role that I have to play. I felt more concerned.
>
> (Interview 39, Paragraph 2)

> … you should be forced to face that true horror. Anyone who goes there and is forced to go through that will want to ensure that this will never happen again. It is impossible for people to understand that 800,000 to 1 million people died. But walking into one of those churches and seeing piles of clothes on the floor, seeing blood splashes on the wall and being told that is where babies' heads have been hit, it can do so much more to you.
>
> (Interview 15, Paragraph 10-12)

As indicated, several visitors contemplated their personal responsibility in the fight of genocide, be that in the form of discussions: "When you have this information, it is easier to argue with people and to discuss" (Interview 40, Paragraph 5), or personal reflections: "it makes you think how to do things better. Now this happened, what can I do? I used to think I don't have the power to do anything, but now I know it is possible to improve peace and reconciliation in my country" (Interview 78, Paragraph 2).

Such contemplations were also represented in numerous visitor book entries at national sites, mostly expressed through notions of hopeful never agains (Table 10). While Farhi (2005) considers that 'never again' cannot be accomplished by focusing on the past, since this fortifies a view of the world where social division is

enforced, the messages below emphasise the need for "some basis through which we might avoid repeating our most terrible deeds" (Williams, 2007: 188).

Bisesero Memorial Site
• The future generation will never forget your behaviour. Rest in peace our heroes. Never again (Rwanda) • Let's struggle more for our survival. Let us say: We will never die again. A heritage culture for us and our future generations (Scotland) • Never again! May the survivors be considered and helped. May also the security and maintenance of the memorial site be reinforced to make this tragedy unforgettable (Sweden) • Very distressing, but a very important memorial. May this never happen again (UK) • Never again must humanity tolerate and accept reoccurrence of these kind of atrocities. Never (Uganda)
Nyanza Memorial Site
• We remain with love and solidarity and go forward as ambassadors (USA) • In memory of the victims here and an acknowledgment of our responsibility to prevent genocide (UK) • We the young ones will make sure that history does not repeat itself (Rwanda) • This tragedy should never happen again. Thank you for waking up the world (Austria) • Genocides all over the world have torn countries apart, but they have always bounced back when they were so broken. Let's stay hopeful (UK)
Kigali Genocide Memorial
• Hope that all Rwandan people have the chance to come here. Serves as a remembrance of evil. Never Again (USA) • As I am from Germany I know how important it is to have a place to remember in order to prevent similarities (Germany) • As individuals we have a responsibility to pursue love, justice, truth, compassion-the human capacity for evil is so close and real in all of us (USA) • I am newly sensitized to the similarities of some contemporary group agendas in the US that are alarmingly like what happened in Rwanda in the 1990s. Always be vigilant to propaganda in any form (USA) • The honour of the genocide, the absolutely amazing recovery of the nation. The resilience of the people (German) • After this journey to the memorial, I am going home with a firm belief that it is time I start urging my colleagues and friends to fight and prevent all types of radicalization that would lead to divisionism which may culminate into a similar tragedy (Rwanda) • The message is a strong conviction that as a youth, we have a role to play. Our mission is to prevent that the genocide happens ever again (Rwanda) • The message that I carry back with me is to explain to other people that we are a united people; there is no such thing as Hutu, Tutsi or Twa in Rwanda. We are all the same children of a non-divisible nation (Rwanda)

Table 10: Visitor book entries at Rwanda's national memorial sites

9.7   Site Conservation and Preservation

While the previous section has demonstrated that visits to graphic sites of violence can offer particularly agonising experiences (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996), it has also been established that they carry the potential to fulfil wider educational purposes. Nevertheless, if no investment into individual sites takes place their valuable legacy will be undermined. That said, Ntarama Church (see Appendix 6 for memorial overview) is presently undergoing several preservation and construction works (Plate 41), with long-term objectives including the implementation of a comprehensive exhibition, and interactive audio guide, focusing specifically on the Bugesera region, which is known for its violence against the Tutsi since resettlements took place in 1963.

Plate 41: *Reflective seating area under construction at the Ntarama Church Memorial.* (Source: Author)

Apart from the KGM, however, which displays a limited number of artefacts and human remains carefully safeguarded behind glass (Plates 42 & 43), other sites, while offering a certain locational authenticity, are far less preserved and protected. Several interviewees were critical of the present state of these 'sacred' spaces and emphasised the need for better maintenance:

You cannot walk on the clothes, because you are destroying evidence of what happened. I understand the purpose of keeping it as raw as it is, because I am telling you it is the place that moved me the most. But you can't keep that aspect and protect the remains.

(Interview 37, Paragraph 5)

... after 20 years, nothing is renewed. A lot of things need to be improved. Especially those entities entrusted to do that kind of work need to feel the urgency of theses issues.

(Interview 17, Paragraph 9)

While the KGM is often prioritised, given its central location in Kigali; "It's in the city and you can see everyone is putting an eye on that" (Interview 19, Paragraph 10), other sites will need investment and appropriate care-taking, or else they will continue to deteriorate. In this regard, two international visitors describe site encounters as follows:

One of the guides produced an ID card and she gave it to me. And I looked at it, and I can't believe I am handling it. Photocopy it and give it to me but don't give me this incredibly fragile document.

(Interview 25, Paragraph 11)

I really wish that they would preserve things better. Like all those clothes are all just brown, all muddled together (Plate 26), no one knows who they belong to. I don't know if someone has gone through them to see if there are pictures or ID's that should be preserved. The buildings themselves should be [preserved]. They are a little bit of history, they should be kept in a state that they won't deteriorate. There are those coffins. For me I didn't understand why the coffins are not buried 20 years after. People look at them and touch them. And then all the skulls are laid out, they should be in glass cases looked after with people who know and can explain. I should not be able to touch them.

(Interview 25, Paragraph 9)

Image
redacted

Plate 42: *Skulls on display behind glass at the KGM.* (Source: Author)

Image
redacted

Plate 43: *Victims' clothes on display behind glass at the KGM.* (Source: Author)

Financial limitations, as well as conflicting priorities were frequently mentioned as obstacles to conservation. Relatedly, a Rwandan participant elaborates on the consequences faced after the genocide and states that "… the government had a lot of priorities because everything was destroyed by war and genocide. I hope after some more years, those memorials will become like the KGM. Before we were not motivated to support them, this is changing now" (Interview 11, Paragraph 8). Consequently, the reduction of sites preserved for visitors is suggested. Since the more graphic sites are predominantly used by international visitors, as well as the Rwandan youth, efforts should be focused on developing and expanding a small number of memorials for educational purposes. While these spaces could then include an overview of the tragic events that transpired in different parts of Rwanda, other locations can concentrate on burying the human remains to offer a more dignified resting space for victims and those grieving. Several respondents supported this notion, emphasising that to show the "aggressiveness of genocide, we don't need a big number of exposed bodies, maybe we can preserve 10 and bury others. This way we will be able to preserve them in a good way" (Interview 44, Paragraph 9). An international respondent accentuated here that

> … there is a danger of trying to have too many memorials. You can define the country by the genocide, as opposed to remembering the genocide as a particular important part. So when we were doing the interactive map, and we identified 150 genocide sites. Those sites are all memorials, now some of them were quite discrete, just small memorials, like you find war memorials in towns and cities across the UK to remember the people from that region who died and I am ok with that. The big national memorials as they are called, I am less sure if that is longer term a good idea.

> (Interview 27, Paragraph 13-14)

Although, as Chapter 8 illustrated, there is no specific policy defined on the preservation of artefacts and human remains at memorial sites in Rwanda, the present trend within the population points towards a limited preservation of authentic killing sites and artefacts for educational purposes.

9.8   The Legacy of the Bones – A Continuous Testimony of the Dead

However, some suggest that the preservation of the past through the care-taking of the shared artefacts and bones offers a sense of significance, by way of telling the outside world a story of extreme and ruthless violence (Viebach, 2014). In this regard, a visitor stresses the significance of portraying the true horrors of genocide through graphic displays and argues that

> They have to be there, people have to face the reality of what happened. Those who lost their lives in that manner. I am sure that they would want their story to be told. White washing it takes the story away from these people and completely disregards the experience they had. It disregards what they died for.

(Interview 41, Paragraph 5)

While Viehbach (2014) reasons that through collective artefacts the pain among those who experienced violence can become more shareable, several Rwandans stated the contrary, putting emphasis on the fact that these exhibits are only displayed as proof to counter denial and to educate those who were not present in 1994. One participant, for instance, maintains that such displays are exhibited solely for international tourists;

> For the foreigners who don't know anything, they need to be portrayed that way. But of course for me as a Rwandan who was there and who believes it happened, they don't need to be put on display.

(Interview 61, Paragraph 6)

Furthermore, some interviewees expressed the concern that the open display of bodies is profane and that there is little value in "remember[ing] the dead through the sheer anonymity of these bones [which] means that no one is or can be remembered [individually]. A pile of unrelated bones or a shelf with rows of carefully arranged skulls does not commemorate a person" (Guyer, 2009: 163) and offers little more than an undignified resting place for victims. This understanding was reflected in several interviews and numerous Rwandan respondents expressed their discontent with such exhibits. For example;

For the first years after genocide it was hard for us to watch the bones of dead people, even the flesh could still be seen. Now people are starting to become familiar with it. But every time you go there you will be touched, however, the fear decreases. Still it is not compatible with our culture and our religion.

(Interview 3, Paragraph 2)

Culturally it does not fit to display bones, but genocide it also does not fit culturally, however there should be a policy, not how it is now.

(Interview 53, Paragraph 5)

… we have this kind of respect for dead bodies and if somebody is dead then we have to bury the person properly and not take out the bones. Even if we find a person that has been dead a long time ago the person needs to be buried

(Interview 65, Paragraph 6)

As formerly argued and supported by Guyer (2009) with regard to Rwanda – a country that has no cultural tradition of exposing bodies after death – such displays can impede the mourning process or be understood as a cause of the population's enduring trauma. Whereas these exhibits do offer the clearest physical evidence of the genocide, "this clarity is obscured as soon as one recognises that any body can make bones and some of the bones collected at these sites may belong to people murdered after the genocide" (Guyer, 2009: 159). Two participants, however, stated to the contrary that the point of such representations was in fact to "humanise what happened, to make it real and to show that this happened to innocent people" (Interview 61, Paragraph 6) and that when "you go into the room with the remains and there is an element particularly with the skulls [when you realize] that this is an actual person and there is a point of humanising it" (Paragraph 27, Paragraph 12).

Another international visitor explained that undoubtedly "nothing comes anywhere close to capturing the actual reality, the classrooms [at Murambi] with the bodies preserved is the most powerful, disturbing and provocative experience for me (Plate 44). It is valuable because it is so easy for this genocide to be sterilised and this really brought the human loss back very powerfully" (Interview 80, Paragraph 7). Whereas Murambi "perhaps epitomizes the horror of the genocide in terms of both atrocities that occurred there and in the manner in

which they are presented" (Sharpley, 2012: 103), it should be acknowledged that the reason why the human remains are tolerated, is because they will remain unidentified. As a Rwandan respondent certified, "It is shocking and people should face it, the good thing is that when you see the skulls and the skeletons you don't know who they belong to. When it's anonymous, it is no problem" (Interview 72, Paragraph 4).

Image redacted

Plate 44: *Corpses laid out at the Murambi Genocide Memorial.* (Source: Author)

Nonetheless, the sense of reality and authentic value that the bare bones add to the visitor experience was frequently accentuated. One Canadian visitor, for instance, described his enounters at Bisesero Genocide Memorial as incorporating a

> … profound sense of enormity and reality … the stillness in that shed and the breeze that was coming through the cracks and the red dirt floor. For me it was a majestic thing and I am very sad about putting stuff under glass. I would rather see it buried than put under glass.

(Interview 79, Paragraph 28)

However, evidently, those remains had been moved, washed and neatly organized in a certain order. This means that those involved in the production of the site "chose to arrange it like that (Plate 45). If you undig a mass grave, it is not all the skulls over there and the rest of the bones over here, they have to put them in that way" (Interview 22, Paragraph 15). This thought was picked up by another respondent who argued with regards to authentic value that

> … they had already divided them up because the skulls and the bones were in the shed and the rest of the bodies were in the graves at the top of the hill. That to me is very strange. The fact that they separated them and buried the spines and pelvises anyway.

(Interview 79, Paragraph 33)

Yet, even if anonymity is provided, the ethical dilemmas of gazing upon such displays are evident, and whether the victims would have agreed to be exhibited in the greater cause of genocide prevention is questionable. Still, with regards to the human remains portrayed at the KGM, a respondent involved in the memorial design mentioned that even though he was rather sceptical of this practice, he realised that "the survivors themselves were really asking for it. In so far that they wanted people to be confronted by the brutality and the mass scale of what genocide does" (Interview 77, Paragraph 32). While numerous visitors exemplified how such images brought with them a feeling of unease and queasiness, it could also be argued that "the [exact] purpose of the exhibit is to bring that feeling of grotesqueness, to instil in people just how serious and horrible the genocide was" (Interview 33, Paragraph 11). However, as highlighted earlier, in order for these emotionally overwhelming encounters to have wider reaching impacts on civic

engagement, memorial sites should not leave the visitor in a state of shock, and exhibits should also portray examples of hope and positive action.

Plate 45: *Skulls arranged in underground tombs at the Nyamata Memorial Church.* (Source: Author)

9.9   Dark tourism – The Commercialisation of Tragic Death

The latter comment in particular describes memorial visits at Rwanda's memorialscape as horrific, shocking, and sad confrontations with atrocity and death, all attributes which are commonly opposed to ordinary tourism qualities associated with pleasure, joy and relaxation. When confronting participants with the dark tourism terminology, reactions were predominantly negative (Figure 30). One respondent, for example, stated that "Tourism in association with genocide strikes me as very wrong, even offensive. The word tourism brings ideas of

pleasure and commercialism, I find it hard to accept that there are significant numbers of people going to these sites motivated by a desire to encounter death or disaster" (Interview 80). While dark tourism is often understood as a grotesque, macabre activity, practiced by only those with morbid curiosity, memorial visits are rather associated with educational practices that "… emerged out of the need for a society to express itself about something tragic that happened, that it really is struggling to come to terms with, to create a space which might describe this historical happening and provide an opportunity for this entity to confront its own past" (Interview 77, Paragraph 43).

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Research diary entry:
Reflections on dark tourism terminology in the field

I am realising that the term dark tourism, thanatourism or tourism in general when talking about visits at memorials is met with resistance in the field. People are afraid to associate the sites with any commercial or tourism activities. I have now decided not to start the interview by mentioning any of these terms to avoid negative stereotypes, prejudice, associations or preconceptions towards my research. Usually the conversation naturally turns towards the terminology of this phenomenon, or to the discussion of alternative concepts.

</div>

Figure 30: *Research diary entry, April 2014.* (Source: Author)

Overall, interviewees represented the view that dark tourism does not encompass this educational element, or that it even purposely excludes it. One respondent argued that

> Dark tourism is just a bigger version of morbid curiosity. You drive down the road you see a crash, you look. I try not to look but there is a part inside of me that wants to look. I could argue that I am not a dark tourist. Because I only want to be informed about what happened. However did I look at the children room, did I look at those bones, yes.

> (Interview 25, Paragraph 15)

These remarks reflect the common consideration of the term as subjective, and derogatory, generalising tourists at former sites of tragedy as engaging in voyeurism, while possessing a morbid fascination in death (Farmaki, 2013; Sharpley & Gahigana, 2014). These notions were supported by two participants who described dark tourism to the following:

> Dark tourism means that you have some sort of ghoulish interest, you actually enjoy seeing death, and you want to smell death. Basically you want to stand on the spot where people were killed for reasons which are not historical learning to understand it better.
>
> (Interview 27, Paragraph 17)

> Dark tourism to me, I think of someone going to a stag do in Auschwitz or purposely visiting a horrible place or a touristic site that aims to make money. Like buy your tickets and we will show you the gruesome side of it. That can put off people who are trying to learn.
>
> (Interview 15, Paragraph 20)

In this context, and as discussed in previous chapters, Bowman & Pezzullo (2009: 199) have gone so far as to suggest that it may be time to "abandon the term dark tourism insofar as it might present an impediment to detailed and circumstantial analyses of tourist sites and performances in all their mundane or spectacular particularity and ambiguity". It is indeed problematic to attach an all-embracing label to the enormous diversity of dark sites, attractions and experiences (Stone & Sharpley, 2008) and to generalise visitors as dark tourists ignores the typically positive motives and personal meaningful experiences encountered at such sites (Sharpley & Friedrich, Forthcoming). While interviewees rather referred to cultural or memorial tourism, or to educational visits, this often unhelpful semantic debate ignores the valid context of the phenomenon to explore how places associated with suffering mediate between the living and the dead. The analysis affirms that for emotionally engaged visitors such experiences offer space for reassessment and self-reflexivity that allow for a reconfiguration of outlooks and interpretative strategies (Stone, 2012). Such contemplations, usually dependent on individual site designs, can certainly include positive sentiments generated through narratives of hope, tolerance and peace.

As exemplified throughout this chapter, Rwanda's diverging tourist base naturally holds a wide range of expectations for visiting these former places of pain and shame. While for some who "have family buried there, it may be a place of pilgrimage, something more of a religious or sacred destination" (Paragraph 77, Paragraph 3), others visit to inform themselves "because they want to know the real story about what happened" (Interview 54, Paragraph 20). Nevertheless, the overall motivation was frequently highlighted as the quest for genuineness and the

sacred (Urry, 2002), as well as a true confrontation with the horrors of genocide. Since this is impossible, what is encountered instead is a phenomenon previously discussed as 'staged authenticity' (MacCannell, 1973), presented in the form of testimonies, graphic artefacts and rows of neatly organized skulls and corpse arrangements. Evidently, tourists' perceptions of authenticity will vary depending on their social identity and on the degree to which the visitor is psychologically and emotionally involved in the experience at hand (Cohen, 2011). For some "it is hugely effective, you come out feeling terrible and kind of having faced part of the true horror" (Interview 15, Paragraph 10 - 12), while others seem disappointed in the commonness of some of these spaces today. One British respondent, for instance, mentioned that he came away

> ... feeling guilty with myself that I didn't cry. I had a cathartic reason for coming, expecting some really emotionally draining, feeling like great sorrow, guilt, a sense of injustice for what happened. I did not feel that at the churches. I am glad I did it, because you want to say, been there done that. But would have benefited if I heard more of the stories.

> (Written Interview 98)

Whilst this statement highlights that "people are very attached to their expectations of what a conflict affected society is going to look like and when they don't find it, sometimes they find that hard to deal with" (Interview 52, Paragraph 25), an American visitor further indicated that he was struggling with the drastic contrast between Rwanda's destructive past and peaceful present. He indicated that

> ... the country is so stunningly beautiful and yet everyplace has experienced some kind of killing, if not mass killing. When we were at the lake it was so calm and beautiful and yet memorials are everywhere. It is hard to reconcile, it does not seem to fit into any kind of normal or rational pattern of experience, that you can have that coexist.

> (Interview 22, Paragraph 23)

Whereas few visitors try to avoid Rwanda's painful past all together, such comments, nevertheless, underline the dilemma of image representation that the tourism sector faces, in addition to the ethics of marketing such sensitive spaces. Some stakeholders in the tourism industry argue that "memorial sites are not part

of the tourism activities that we market in the sense of getting money. We market gorillas and other cultural activities. But this one is aimed at educating people, Rwandese and foreigners who come here to understand the history of our country" (Interview 76, Paragraph 2). Relatedly, another respondent stated that "nobody tells visitors that they need to go to the memorial, I think the Rwandan history markets itself" (Interview 38, Paragraph 10). However, previous analysis has established that there is curiosity about these sites and that they are geared towards an international audience. Since this part of the tourism industry has been growing over the past years and will hopefully continue to do so in future, it should be acknowledged that if not carefully managed, visitor developments around the genocide can potentially cause damage. One participant, for instance, cautions that

> If it involves for example a large number of foreign tourists in four wheel drives turning up in a village, where you undoubtedly have a large number of genocide survivors that can potentially be traumatizing, as well as harmful to the environment. At the same time it brings in revenue which is important for a lot of people in this country. I think there is a mixed legacy and people have to be very careful around organizing it. I think presently there is a sensitivity around this because you are talking about a genocide that affected almost every single adult.

(Interview 52, Paragraph 25)

The largest challenge presented to those working in the tourism industry is to balance the marketing of such sites, without overly commercialising the visitor experience. Evidently, regarding site marketing and popularity, the KGM stands at the top of the list, being recommended by several travel guides and online forums, in addition to its gift shop (Figure 31, Plate 46) and museum café, which has become a popular meeting space not only for staff and visitors, but also for those not passing through the museum. One international interviewee, for example, explained that "I have many friends that work here, I live close by and sometimes I just come here to grab a bite to eat with friends, which is also a great experience, there is some great food here" (Interview 66, Paragraph 5).

Figure 31: Research diary entry, June 2014. (Source: Author)

Image
redacted

Plate 46: *KGM Giftshop.* (Source: Author)

While relatively limited promotion is pursued:

> People ask for Gorillas first then the genocide, which is not marketed very well through the RDB. They should bring out more brochures on culture, museums and memorials, which is still low, also on the tour operator side.

<div align="right">(Written Interview 85)</div>

Those presently benefiting from memorial marketing strategies and the generated income are predominantly communities affected by the genocide, or programs working with peace and reconciliation at large. One of the few tour operators offering memorial visits as part of a tour package clarified that "We have a package reserved for the memorials as well. When we offer the millennium tour 70% goes to the community, to the peace and reconciliation village" (Interview 60, Paragraph 2). Moreover, it was frequently emphasised that while donations are welcome, entry fees are not appropriate. This is reflected in two comments made by Rwandan participants who argued that "we should never charge money for that because that would be like selling the bodies of our relatives" (Interview 60, Paragraph 7); "We need everyone to get in for free to visit and to know about the extend to which this happened. This will prevent genocide denial in Rwanda and abroad, it is educating and provides enough information about the reality" (Interview 72, Paragraph 12).

Overall, it is possible to state that there is no evidence of any intention of those involved in memorialisation processes throughout Rwanda, as well as those working in the country's tourism sector to market these sites for any wider commercial gain. Presently, memorials are commonly regarded as sacred spaces, maintained to remember those who perished and to teach valuable lessons for the future. If they will continue to be regarded as such by new generations and changing governments, only time will tell.

9.10   Summary

The major themes of this chapter (Figure 32) have clarified that even though there is a form of collective national memory portrayed at memorial sites, particularly disseminated during the commemoration period, Rwandans also express a local level memory culture that includes a variety of different perspectives. Moreover, it

was exemplified that except during national remembrance, when visitor numbers peak, the national memorials, more so the graphic ones, are not frequently visited by Rwandans. This trend has been demonstrated above through several visitor statistics recorded by the KGM, illustrating that while local numbers increase during April to June due to the general institutionalisation of commemorative events, international numbers prevail. Since memorials primarily attract the new generation, foreign visitors and those who did not live through the horror of 1994 for educational purposes, respondents emphasised the importance of introducing legislative principles, outlining target groups and their needs to ensure that such experiences leave a longer-lasting impact, particularly in the fight against discrimination.
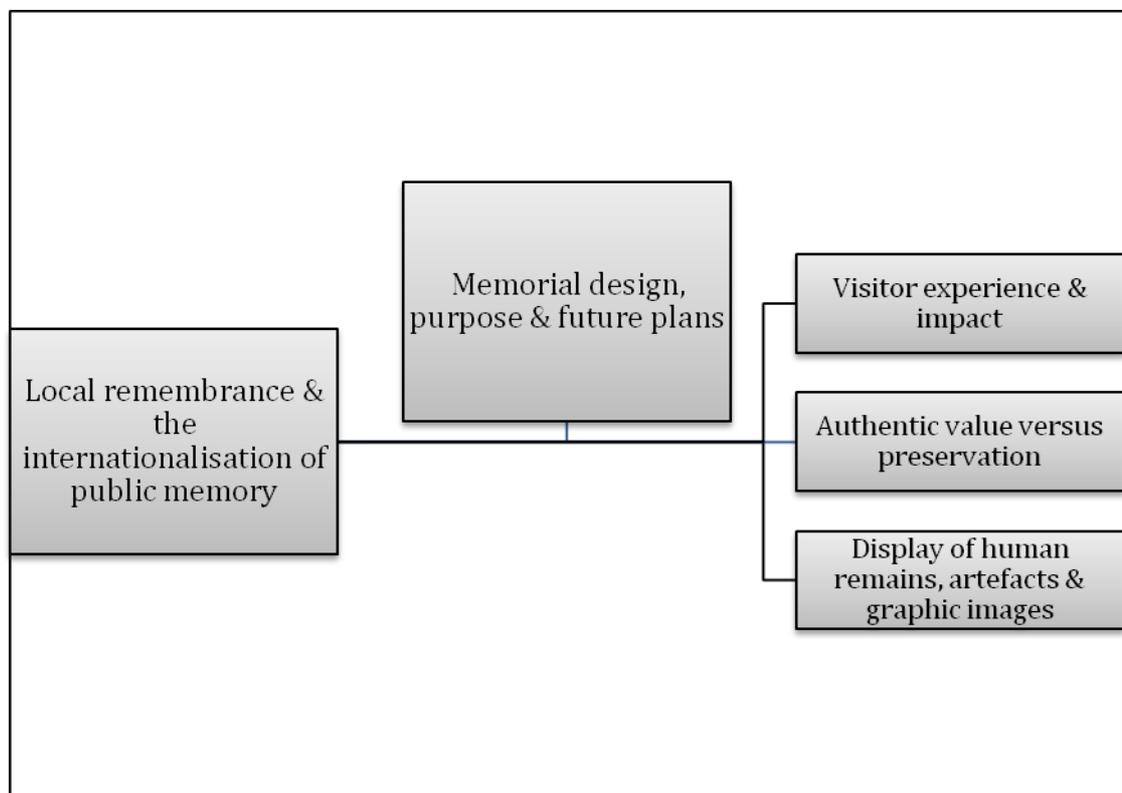
Figure 32: *Thematic overview 3.* (Source: Author)

While a clear internationalisation of commemorating atrocity is visible world-wide, to strengthen personal and institutional credibility for international norms and to globally promote the cause of genocide prevention, the importance of not only outsiders, but all actors in the memorial industry in Rwanda to establish participatory approaches supporting the understanding, reconciliation and healing of those affected by the genocide needs to be prioritized.

Although the more graphic national sites evidently celebrate the absence of violence through negative themes of peace, the KGM has recently undergone various upgrades to promote tolerance and human rights through more positive approaches, highlighting reconciliation and the acts of individual peacemakers. In this regard, interviews highlight the need for memorials and exhibition narratives to be dynamic, as the country itself is developing, adding focus to the future, rather than solely concentrating on the traumatic past. Since these sites should ideally turn feelings provoked by memory into positive action, an opening up of dialogue needs to be encouraged. Whereas this is to some extent supported by the KGM's mobile exhibition through its emphasis on breaking down stereotypes and encouraging active bystandership in local communities, it has not yet been integrated into the permanent exhibit. This is mainly owed to the strong desire not to deviate from the actual historic event that is still the main focus of the museum.

Moreover, this chapter has explicated that those memorials displaying exclusively authentic graphic artefacts do not help an understanding of the genocide and the ideology leading up to it. Such spaces should, therefore, provide at least minimum verification through exhibition labelling, guide books, or knowledgeable physical guides, to put places and artefacts into context (Friedrich *et al*., Forthcoming). This does not imply that authenticity should be completely compromised, however, in their current state victims' belongings, former weapons and the human remains are gradually degrading and rotting away. Evidently, if no investment takes place their valuable legacy, as well as potential to contribute to wider societal processes will be undermined.

A significant challenge here is the limitation of funds, in addition to conflicting priorities in a country that is still in the midst of redevelopment. This chapter, therefore, suggests that focus should be put on reducing the number of national sites promoted for visitors, while concentrating on developing and expanding a small number of locations for educational purposes, which should include a general overview of Rwanda's memorialscape and the events that transpired in various regions of the country. Since the majority of survivors mentioned that they do not expose themselves to traumatising graphic images, other sites should bury the artefacts and human remains to offer a more dignified resting space for victims.

Additionally, this chapter has analysed the various approaches regarding memorial designs to establish whether these spaces foster personal reflection and humanitarian action through the distribution of new information. The majority of respondents mentioned that the KGM offered a better contextual background, while other sites conveyed a sense of the true brutalities committed in 1994. However, overly graphic spaces were often regarded as laid out and orchestrated for shock value, thus not facilitating an understanding of genocide or the ideology leading up to it. In this regard, guides were considered as playing a crucial role in contextualising these encounters and their varied animation, knowledge and political affiliation was reflected in the overall visitor experience.

While this chapter highlights the different concerns of increasing tourism numbers at such sensitive sites of memory, and the developments this could entail, it has nevertheless been established that marketing and promotional activites are presently kept to a minimum, with general priorities focusing on keeping these sites as non-commercial as possible.

Finally, whilst the often unhelpful semantic debates surrounding the controversial phenomenon of dark tourism practice and its associations in the field are exemplified, this chapter argues that rather than excluding the concept as a morbid marketing niche within the wider tourism industry, it proves to be a supportive framework in the wider exploration of space, identity and memory formations at Rwanda's post-conflict memorial landscape.

CHAPTER 10

CONCLUSION

10.0   Thesis Summary

This thesis has argued that the concept of dark tourism provides a multi-disciplinary approach by which to study a variety of social, cultural, geographical, anthropological, political, managerial and historical concerns. As the study has demonstrated, 'dark tourism' offers a useful, if not contested, scholarly lens through which to critically examine sites, practices and visitor experiences that communicate death and dying within broader intersections between society, culture and politics (Stone, 2013). Therefore, dark tourism is not only about presenting tragic aspects of the past but, and perhaps more importantly, also illustrates how the living deal with producing and consuming difficult heritage.

Chapter 2 in particular argues that dark tourism as a concept remains fragmented and the term itself has even been considered by some as unhelpful. This is particularly so since 'dark tourism' may be perceived to be an oversimplified and generalised term when the framework is seemingly universally applied to a broad range of sites and visitor experiences. In other words, the concept of dark tourism does not always take into account the complex and distinct visitor experiences encountered between the two extremes of dark sites: the 'dark fun factories' and the 'dark camps of genocide' (Stone, 2006). Consequently, this study has selected an integrated demand-supply approach to underline that production and consumption of atrocity sites are continuous and interrelated. Additionally, it has been argued that numerous motivations for visiting such difficult spaces exist and that an interest in death may not be the primary objective. Similarly, the supply of dark tourism may also be driven by factors other than those related to death.

The key research objective of this thesis is to locate dark tourism within the subject fields of heritage, peace and conflict studies. This is in order to explore how the production and consumption of memorial landscapes in Rwanda are negotiated and contested. Specifically, dissonant memorialisation strategies were positioned within peace and reconciliation discourse to establish that visits to former sites of violence and death carry the potential to add to the restoration of

post-conflict cultural, social and political identities. However, while memorials can indeed be utilised for social healing and civic engagement, as a way of using the past to address the demanding concerns of the present (Ševčenko, 2011), it has been illustrated through several present-day examples that such politically charged locations can encourage and (re)produce divisive former ideologies. In turn, this may foster new waves of potential conflict and violence. Of course, (difficult) heritage is never outside of politics and the shaping of any *heritagescape* is always susceptible to disinheriting particular social, ethnic, or regional groups, by selecting certain historical experiences and discounting, distorting or ignoring others (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996). Although such processes naturally cause dissonance within the affected populations, it is nonetheless important to determine what aspects of the past are being ignored or poorly represented in the interpretation of a particular heritage site. This is in order to gain further insight on the positive or negative value of specific site management practices (Logan & Reeves, 2009).

Difficult heritage is especially prone to many forms of dissonance, since such sites relate to a profound entanglement of diverging sensitive perceptions of perpetrators, victims and bystanders, among others. Therefore, a more responsible and transparent presentation of the past should be particularly encouraged at memorials dealing with the worst of crimes committed against humanity (Poria, 2001). In order to ascertain the wide-reaching societal impacts of such memorial museums on the divergent visitor base, the complexities inherent in site design and interpretation from both a consumer and supplier perspective, as well as possible implications for those communities whose histories are being commemorated has been debated throughout this study. Indeed, the research has revealed that remembrance is not just a recollection of the past but, rather it implies a wide range of other challenges, such as identity formation, power and authoritative struggles and the negotiation of cultural norms and social interactions. These are particularly so in sensitive times of post-conflict transition. Within this context, therefore, the dissonance arising within the sensitive display of conflicting histories is exposed, including the effect of popular media in shaping certain collective narratives and exhibits. Moreover, disagreements arising over the presentation of sensitive artefacts and images, such as human remains, weapons, clothes or photographs, require ethical attention with regard to

emotional effect, social cohesion or trauma, particularly for those closest connected to the events portrayed (Williams, 2007).

Chapter 4 critically outlines the challenges inherent in recognising and promoting memorial landscapes as part of a growing national (dark) tourism product within a global framework of international remembrance. By exploring the influence of global international norms on individual memorialisation practices, it is exemplified how national memory is increasingly being taught and developed through an international prism (Ibreck, 2013). While the study further explicates that memorials are also created to honour the victims, offering a dignified place to grief for the bereaved, universal norms of preventing and punishing crimes seek to transform people and governments in post-conflict areas to fit a common world order (Ibreck, 2013). Whereas Chapters 1 to 4 provide the theoretical underpinnings of the thesis, grounded within broader politics of memory and heritage remembrance, Chapters 5 and 6 subsequently demonstrate in what way the previously debated concepts play out in Rwanda's post-genocide memorialisation and commemoration landscape. In this regard, a comprehensive overview of Rwanda's complex past up to its present-day highlights several controversial debates surrounding the genocide and its aftermath. It further illustrates that fatal effects of the civil war combined with the initiation of multi-party politics, the construction of ethnicity by 'outsiders', class struggles, Rwanda's North-South divide, as well as a series of unprecedented economic shocks, (Pottier, 2002), unleashed a tremendous response. In turn, this served as catalysts for Hutu solidarity and the growing determination of hard-liners within the government to manipulate ethnic hatred for political advantage (Lemarchand, 1995). This gradually deteriorating political situation eventually resulted in genocide and within 100 days during April to July 1994, between 800,000 and 1 million Tutsi and moderate Hutu lost their lives in a bloody rampage of violence and destruction.

Regarding Rwanda's socio-cultural landscape today, Chapter 6 determines the ways in which individuals make sense of their past. Consequently, Rwanda's construction of the past is naturally caught up in local and national politics, state building and the (re)writing of the country's volatile history. Although communities put aside their grief and continue with day-today living, survivor

commitment in the creation of genocide memorials should be seen as separate from the State's aspiration to implement wider political purposes. Therefore the study demonstrates that national memorial commemoration has become a collective process that overshadows the diversity of individual experience. In this context, and despite the official ban on ethnicity, State practices of national memory have frequently maintained an ethnic dichotomy by politicising victimhood, and publicly referring to the distinction between victim and perpetrator throughout public discourse (Burnet, 2012). This, thereafter, offers limited possibilities for the public mourning and remembrance of all victims of violence, including those associated with the civil war, or the decades of discrimination previous to the 1990s (Burnet, 2012). Nevertheless, it is recognised that memorialisation for some Rwandans has become a way of surviving through remembering and grieving for the loss of loved ones, while empathising with the pain of others (Ibreck, 2010).

The empirical and primary evidence of this study adopts, in principle at least, a constructivist grounded theory approach. In other words, the research is advanced by interplay of inductive and deductive qualitative practices bringing relativity and subjectivity into the analysis process. Fieldwork was carried out over a period of nine months and included extensive participant observation. This was not only throughout a six months work placement with the NGO Aegis Trust at the KGM, but also at six national and four district memorial sites throughout the country. Additionally, 98 semi-structured interviews were conducted; designed around a number of overlapping themes created for those involved in the consumption of memory and those producing it. Key interview questions focussed upon Rwanda's memorialisation process, subsequent tourism development and its impact on wider peace building and reconciliation initiatives. Furthermore, a diversity post-site survey was distributed with the help of KGM guides at the memorial reception to English (77), Kinyarwanda (33) and French (14) speaking guests. This added individual site specific experiences and insights to the data, in a setting where no personal face to face interaction with the researcher was required. The methodology chapter particularly underlines the implications of the researcher in the construction of meanings during not only the data collection, but also the interpretation and evaluation process. While the complexity and sensitivity of Rwanda's research environment is highlighted throughout, this research

demonstrates that it is indeed possible to have critical discussions with participants who do challenge existing trends and policies.

Overall, fieldwork data exemplified that while memorials can fulfil acts of symbolic reparation, they are not able to achieve large-scale societal reconstruction by themselves, and should therefore be viewed as part of wider social processes. In order for such places to contribute to peace-building, additional focus needs to be put on creating catalysts that initiate personal responsibility to counter discrimination and violence through humanitarian action. For instance, the KGM has recently undergone upgrades to promote tolerance and human rights through a more positive approach towards remembrance than the more graphic sites, by highlighting reconciliation and the acts of individual peacemakers. As Schaller (2007) suggests, tourists' perceptions of the countries and regions they visit are often distorted since the hardships of coping with the consequences of genocide and war and the social reconstruction of everyday life remain unclear. Accordingly, the research revealed the need for memorial designs and exhibition narratives to be dynamic, further incorporating aspects of post-1994 developments. Even so, while such spaces should eventually open up to multiple dialogues, general notions in the field indicate that there is a strong desire not to deviate from the actual historic event that ought to remain the main focus of the memorial museums.

While the majority of participants appear to respect these commemorative spaces, the research suggested that individuals may still bring with them a broad range of personal prejudices. This is particularly so since present memorial narratives appear to legitimise recent power structures. Even though the empirical data reaffirms that it is impossible to create a 'universal heritage' or one with which all stakeholders identify with, it is significant to recognise such dissonance in order to foster a more inclusive space of remembrance for all those involved. Disagreements, for instance, include the presentation of Rwanda before colonisation and the public commemoration of other fatalities that occurred before, during and after 1994. Although, it was generally acknowledged that controversial debates do take place at community level, the study suggested that there is still a danger of confusing historical events. Therefore, further education on the differences between genocide and other acts of violence needs to occur

before any contentious deliberation can become part of Rwandan national discourse.

Nevertheless, memorials can perpetuate division and the research during memorial tours highlights that ethnicity is still frequently referred to. Even though officially the words 'Hutu' and 'Tutsi' are not publicly used, they have now been largely replaced by the terms 'survivor' or 'returnee'. Since the expression survivor is not applied to describe any Hutu, this has indirectly resulted in the potential victimisation and demonisation of certain groups. Even though various study participants suggested that anyone who was persecuted is a survivor, no other than Tutsi referred to themselves as such. This is also reflected in the recent and official renaming of the 'genocide' to the 'genocide against the Tutsi'. Arguably, this further exemplifies the belief of those involved in the production of memory in Rwanda to tell the story with focus and determination, while regarding any alternative accounts as needless distractions. While it is impossible to talk about the past without referring to ethnicity at some point, the study argues that such narratives should always contextualise the political and social environment of individuals who committed crimes, as well as avoiding the generalisation of certain perpetrator groups. Indeed, such notions underline Tunbridge and Ashworth's (1996) concern that if heritage interpretation starts to inconvenience others by refusing recognition, distorting or giving voice only to certain events, tensions will undeniably arise.

Whilst this thesis demonstrates that national (Rwandan) memorials represent a collective standardised narrative, particularly disseminated during the commemoration period, Rwandans also express a local memory culture that includes a diversity of perspectives. Since the national memorial sites and, in particular the graphic ones, are not frequently visited by Rwandans, such spaces exist for mainly educational purposes and primarily attract largely foreign visitors, as well as those who did not live through the horrors of 1994. Such visitor dynamics are promoted by the internationalisation of atrocity commemoration, not only in Rwanda, but also worldwide. This represents a universal trend which seeks to strengthen personal and institutional credibility for international norms, as well as globally promoting the cause of genocide prevention.

The research also suggests memorials displaying graphic artefacts may not help with a potential understanding of the genocide and the ideology leading up to it. Such spaces should therefore provide at least minimum verification through exhibition labelling, guide books, or knowledgeable physical guides, to put places and artefacts into context (Friedrich *et al.*, Forthcoming). Of course, this does not imply that authenticity should be completely compromised; however, if no investment takes place valuable historical materials will continue to deteriorate. Present and future challenges for difficult heritage site management includes maintaining the authenticity and original purpose of the sites, while also making them meaningful and relevant places for a divergent contemporary visitor base (Magee & Gilmore, 2015). As the thesis argues, such sites no longer see themselves as dark places and are increasingly focusing on providing transformative experiences through learning and reflection. However, with regards to Rwanda's memorialscape, the more graphic national sites in particular need to focus on contextualising the displays at hand, in order to provide a space where visitors can interact and engage. Subsequently, this may enhance visitors' knowledge and understanding of the complex issues at hand (Magee & Gilmore, 2015).

The often protracted semantic debates surrounding the controversial phenomenon of dark tourism practice and its associations have been discussed throughout this study. Moreover, the thesis argues that rather than excluding the concept as a morbid marketing niche within broader tourism, 'dark tourism' can be a supportive and inclusive academic framework for critical examination of space, identity and memory formations within Rwanda's post-conflict memorial landscape. Ultimately, whatever scholarly term or academic label is used – whether dark tourism, reconciliation tourism, reflective mobility, peace tourism, commemorative tourism, memory tourism or genocide tourism – the underlying concept shines a critical and crucial light on how societies commemorate and present their significant Other dead. As a result, dark tourism has far-reaching implications and consequences for national and international post-conflict developments.

10.1 Conclusions and Implications

The overall research question for this study is: ***How and why is Rwanda's memorialscape created and negotiated and, consequently, how does the development of local and international tourism contribute to wider societal processes, including peace-building developments and the formation of social cohesion?*** The research question has been addressed by critically examining a number of relevant and associated research objectives. Consequently, a conceptual framework was built in the early stages of this study in order to locate, scrutinise, and provide synthesis with the empirical data analysis.

In order to gain a better understanding of the impact of Rwanda's memorialisation process on the population and its divergent visitor base the *first research objective* was to provide ***an overview of Rwanda's commemorative landscape by comparing several national and district memorial sites according to history, development, contemporary status and educational value in cultural, social and economic contexts.*** In this regard, the research has demonstrated that visitors to memorials in Rwanda hold a wide range of motivations and expectations, indicating that the sites have to meet numerous conflicting needs and priorities. While survivors visit to mourn and grief for their loved ones at the mass graves, international tourists show no personal relations to the events portrayed and sometimes visit without any awareness of what they are about to encounter. Moreover, Rwandan visitor numbers peak at the KGM during the national commemoration period. Thus, this indicates an increasing institutionalisation of memory and remembrance throughout the country's ministries, institutions and organisations. However, the research also illustrates that apart from the months between April and July the national memorial sites, particularly those located at authentic killing sites, are not frequently visited by Rwandans, and thus, overall, international visitor numbers prevail.

Moreover, tourist dynamics show large discrepancies when comparing the KGM to the much less frequently visited other national sites. This pattern is owed to several reasons. Firstly, the KGM is located in the heart of Kigali; whereas several of the other sites are situated in the more marginal and inaccessible regions of the country. Secondly, marketing strategies, such as guide book recommendations,

online portals and tour operator packages predominantly focus on those memorials located in the vicinity of the capital city. Thirdly, the KGM offers the most educational experience of all sites and, therefore, enjoys the reputation of providing a comprehensive overview of the country's genocidal history. And finally, visitors are often seemingly discouraged by the shocking raw images displayed at other sites and do not want to expose themselves to such emotionally overwhelming and traumatising experiences.

By conducting guided and unguided participant observations at the six national sites and comparing them according to location, site biography and design, date of creation, site condition, visitation rates and site instigators (Appendix 6), differences among these spaces showed most apparent between the KGM – which is not located at an authentic massacre site – and the other commemorative museums, which all encompass former spaces of violence and killing. The latter in particular focus on site authenticity, displaying appalling graphic images, such as human remains, preserved corpses and artefacts, including personal belongings of the victims and perpetrator weapons. Whereas it has been argued that such graphic exhibits aim to bring the reality and true horrors of 1994 closer to the visitor, as well as presenting proof to counter denial within and outside of the country, they also highlight the difference within individual site philosophies. While the more graphic sites focus on celebrating the absence of violence through negative themes of peace, presenting the atrocities committed in their utmost detail and particularity, the KGM is increasingly undergoing changes to promote tolerance and human rights through positive themes of peace, such as highlighting reconciliation and the acts of individual peacemakers. Such narrative shifts 22 years after the genocide were regarded by the majority of participants as appropriate adjustments, since the country's journey of political and social transformation should be reflected in the memorial's storylines.

Similarly, commemorative themes have been changing over the years, and so have the acts of remembering in the community. Originally, memorialisation activities reflected widespread sentiments of aggression and pain, aimed at shaming and blaming those seen as responsible for the tragedy at hand. Nowadays, commemoration practices are increasingly portraying positive themes of a unified Rwandan nation which is moving on from its tragic past, focusing on a hopeful

future. As public spaces that aim to represent to the world the spirit of a country rising from its ashes, the memorials need to increasingly embrace optimistic examples of reconciliation rather than continuously elaborating on past divisions. In this context, the research has exemplified those memorials displaying overwhelming graphic artefacts do not help an understanding of the genocide and the ideology leading up to it; even though this was commonly highlighted as their primary aim. In short, the memorials are required to educate international visitors and the new generation of Rwandans of the tragedies committed in the past in order to prevent future violence and discrimination. Relatedly, numerous respondents questioned the ethics of allowing visitors to gaze upon the dead, or debated whether such displays are merely sustained to silence critical voices as a tool to legitimise political agendas.

In order for such spaces to reach their full educational potential they need to deliver at least minimum verification through exhibition labelling, guide books, or knowledgeable physical guides, to put locations and artefacts into context. This may, in turn, provide catalysts that call for personal action towards genocide and violence prevention. That said, of course, this does not imply that authenticity should be completely compromised, since graphic imageries can bring the horrors of genocide closer to the visitor, while also acting as an important symbol against genocide negation and denial. However, since the bones remain unidentified and are exhibited out of context, they presently do not fulfil any wider-reaching educative purpose and, consequently, can leave the visitor in a paralysing state of shock. Moreover, if no conservation of the physical structures takes place, including the preservation of the memorial buildings themselves, their valuable legacy will sooner or later be undermined. Equally important is to address the concern that such displays contradict the central purpose of memorial sites. That is, to honour the victims and to offer a dignified space to remember and to reflect. Since the majority of survivors do not expose themselves to the traumatising images, this demonstrates a conflict of interest. Presently the graphic national exhibits offer neither a dignified mourning space to grieve, nor do they fulfil any broader educational purpose. Consequently, this thesis argues for policy makers to formulate common guidelines at the legislative level elaborating on the impacts that such sites are looking to make, as well as identifying their primary target groups.

A significant challenge in future developments is the limitation of funds and funding potential. In particular, the memorial sites do not generate direct income but, rather, rely solely on voluntary donations. However, the exception to this is the KGM which maintains a museum café and gift shop, as well as renting out audio guides and offering personalised guided tours. Undoubtedly, financial priorities in Rwanda are conflicting since the country is still in the midst of numerous social and economic transformations. It is therefore suggested to reduce the number of national memorial sites currently promoted for international and domestic tourism, while concentrating on preserving and developing only a small number of locations for educational purposes. These should then include general overviews of the events that transpired in several regions of the country, while the other sites must focus on burying the fragile artefacts and sensitive human remains to offer a more dignified resting place for victims.

The diversity in site designs and the impacts they have on the healing and reconciliation process of Rwandan visitors is explored through the *second research objective* aimed at **deliberating whether memorial visits assist in post-traumatic growth and foster an individual sense of responsibility or humanitarian activism to counter violence and discrimination in future.** During semi-structured interviews and supported by the diversity survey, the research demonstrates the process of exhumation and reburial at memorials does support individual healing in the majority of cases. Nevertheless, some participants showed no desire for the genocide to be publicly commemorated and, at worst, describe the national sites as traumatising spaces that reawaken sorrow and anguish. Such sentiments are reflected in visitors' traumatic crises, which although decreasing, are still visible during memorial visits and commemorative ceremonies. These traumatic outbreaks raise questions about the current form and practice of commemorative activities. This is particularly so regarding the display of human remains and other graphic exhibits. Evidently, the reluctance of Rwandans to expose themselves to these horrific images as discussed earlier also underlines their potential to further distress a still traumatised population. In this regard, this thesis underlines the significant technological advancements made throughout Rwanda to document testimonies and to gather other important digital proof of the genocide. This not only provides adequate material to replace the physical evidence presently on display, but also assists in the reduction of trauma

for all stakeholders involved.

It has been established that memorials are dynamic spaces that operate in a constant state of flux. However, this study illustrates that no larger site preservation, particularly those relating to decaying human remains and artefacts, have taken place at Rwanda's graphic national sites since their official designation as memorials over a decade ago. Although it is recommended to visit different locations in order to understand how the genocide played out in various parts of the country, such visits at present offer littler more than distressing experiences for both international and Rwandan visitors. Since these sites were officially chosen to act as spaces of remembrance, as well as global warning signs to counter violence and discrimination, the sites need to foster personal reflection and humanitarian action by distributing information catalysts, rather than projecting visitors back into traumatic pasts that revive sentiments of guilt and blame.

In this regard, the empirical analysis addressed the *third research objective* by offering detailed insights into Rwanda's divergent visitor base through ***explicating different site experiences and motivations to visit painful heritage in Rwanda, particularly with regards to site narratives, exhibits and (graphic) displays.*** Indeed, the research revealed that memorial visits were motivated by a sense of duty and responsibility to honour the victims, as well as to learn about the tragic history in order to prevent similar atrocities in the future. In some cases, however, international tourists did not have a deeper understanding of the genocide. Consequently, memorials were arbitrarily included on standard tour itineraries en-route to the more uplifting tourist attractions. Nonetheless, fieldwork data suggested that the majority of respondents had read about the region in advance and took a conscious decision to visit a memorial site in order to pay respect to the victims and to learn more about the country's past. Particularly, the non-intervention of the international community in 1994 was frequently mentioned as an incentive to acknowledge and learn about the genocide today, and visits were thus considered as obligatory. In general, visitor experiences, especially those recorded in visitor books, demonstrate that memorials can indeed foster a sense of global commonality and national belonging. Painful and difficult heritage can therefore be utilised as an important State tool to stimulate a homogenous and legitimate national identity. In turn, this may contribute to the formation of social

cohesion within conflicting post-conflict communities. However, critical voices in the field, including those of several genocide perpetrators, counter this harmonious notion of unity and regard the sites as inaccessible and shameful places projecting blame. Moreover, a number of Rwandans who lived through the events of 1994 expressed concern about reliving the anger experienced in the past when being confronted with former divisive ideologies.

Given the apparent need to discuss controversies surrounding such issues of display, it is surprising that no official policy has been introduced to address this confusion. While there are several notions prevalent in the field listing differences between national and district sites and who takes responsibility for running them, no concrete action plans regarding funding issues and future site developments have been determined. As a result, this thesis argues for a comprehensive and participatory stakeholder and impact analysis to be carried out at Rwanda's memorialscape. This is in order to determine realistic action plans for the near future, which will integrate aspects of trauma reduction, self-reflexivity and critical engagement into the overall visitor experience.

The challenges encountered at Rwanda's memorial sites add to an understanding of heritage tourism as a potential contributor to peace. However, the most significant concern is the selectivity of narratives portrayed at national sites and the inherent dissonance that this entails. The *fourth research objective*, therefore, ***explored spatial multiplicity and dissonance arising within Rwanda's memorialscape and its impact on social cohesion, particularly with regards to the selective national narrative.*** Whereas the majority of participants showed appreciation for the sites in question, they still highlighted a wide range of interpretational conflicts. This was particularly so since present narratives seemingly legitimise existing power structures. Although the occurrence of violence before, during, and after 1994 was frequently mentioned, the matter of how to deal with such alternative histories proved to be conflicting.

Certainly, this thesis recognises that not everyone's pain can be represented at heritage sites and that genocide memorials should largely focus on the darkest part of Rwandan history, which deserves national and international recognition. However, public outlets where more holistic views are deliberated should be

291

encouraged, since numerous periods of Rwanda's volatile past continue to shape the present-day population. Undoubtedly, exhibition narratives can avoid simplistic accounts and open up to more challenging debates without obscuring the severity and horror of genocide. For example, while efforts to expand dialogue have been implemented at the KGM through the introduction of perpetrator panels, this needs to be translated to other sites and commemorative activities. As long as individuals or communities feel anxious or concerned with public recognition, this may foster resentment that can lead to the perpetuation of a dangerous ethnic logic. Certainly, such issues need to be addressed with caution, and overly sensitive commemorative spaces at Tutsi genocide memorials do not represent the ideal setting to foster controversial debates. Nonetheless, a certain degree of public recognition for alternative histories should be encouraged to counter threatening notions of victimhood and demonisation within the population.

Even though it is argued that tourism development at memorial sites is unethical and disrespectful to victims buried in mass graves and to those visiting them, it should be acknowledged that Rwandans have established a diverse local remembrance culture, which has largely been neglected in academic discourse. The numerous district and local memorials that do not promote or allow public access to tourists offer private spaces that provide for more diverse commemorations to take place. While the national sites do represent a significant symbol for the country and its political agenda, as well as publicly demonstrating its dedication towards preventing future violence, they do not represent the diversity of individual remembrance and mourning practices in the field. Moreover, specific memorial designs and structures demonstrate that Rwanda's national memorialscape follows an increasingly international framework of atrocity commemoration.

With this in mind, the *fifth and final research objective* ***critically outlines the general challenges inherent in recognising and promoting memorial landscapes as part of a growing national (dark) tourism product within an increasingly global framework of international remembrance.*** Subsequently, the study showed that the KGM, when compared to other national sites, stands out in its universal format and design. While the exhibition of various genocides

around the world often defines genocide as a global crime against humanity, all national sites incorporate contemporary standardised memorial museum features. As a result, this can move memorialisation away from being a commemorative ritual for local populations. Universal elements, for example, include the display of artefacts, guest books, donation boxes, the dissemination of survivor testimonies, and in the case of Murambi and the KGM, chronological exhibition narratives displayed on panels, accompanied by film and photography. While initial motivations for memorial construction and site designation was the need for survivors to bury and mourn their loved ones in a dignified environment, these spaces are now regarded as fundamental in the warning of new generations of the dangers inherent in discriminative ideologies and political propaganda. However, where these sites aim to fulfil broader educational purposes, they cannot achieve positive societal change alone and, therefore, are always part of wider political and social transformations. Specifically in Rwanda, such spaces are not accessible to the majority of the population who live in rural and often peripheral regions. Therefore, peace education needs to reach the wider community, perhaps through integrating relevant themes into school curricula and other grassroots initiatives. Nonetheless, while genocide prevention is a global universal norm and outsiders can aid in facilitating consultation, or in assessment, feasibility and impact studies, as well as encouraging dialogue between stakeholders, agency should be given to those primarily affected by the horrific events at hand and their needs should be primarily considered in any future developments.

Ultimately, the *overall research aim* of this study was **to explore how the production and consumption of memorial landscapes in Rwanda is negotiated and contested, in order to determine whether difficult heritage can add to the restoration of post-conflict cultural, social and political identities.** Thus, the fundamental elements of how Rwanda's memorialscape can contribute to peace are fourfold. Firstly, through peace education that counters discrimination and enhances humanitarian action. Secondly, as a space for reconciliation between victims and perpetrators, that in turn, breaks down stereotypes and thoughts of animosity, fear and guilt. Thirdly, to provide recognition and counter denial and negationism inside and outside of Rwanda. And, finally, as a dignified resting place for genocide victims and significant contact point for those who mourn their loss. However, as the sites currently stand and some more than others, they are unable

to reach their full potential as memorial education centres due to four key factors that restrict the visitor experience:

- The display of graphic imageries, including degrading human remains, corpses and other artefacts leave the visitor in a paralysing state of shock, which especially for Rwandans can revive trauma and sentiments of anger and blame;

- The exclusion of alternative histories and a failure to publicly recognise victims who died not because of being identified as Tutsi, but because of other acts of violence that transpired before, during, and after the genocide offers no space for critical reflection and the opening up of dialogue to include all those who have suffered;

- Several sites do not provide catalysts for humanitarian action whereby the absence of guiding and interactive exhibition narratives at specific killing sites fail to put graphic displays into context and, as a result, leaves individuals with images of a divisive past rather than incentives for creating a more harmonious future;

- And finally, simplistic accounts disseminated by tour guides or subject gatekeepers, in addition to the sometimes generalising references made to ethnicity, perpetuate ideologies of the past that can lead to the continuation of dangerous ethnic logic, as well as creating a simplistic understanding of the complex causes that led to genocide in that region.

Consequently, this thesis has particular implications for the management and governance of Rwanda's national memorialscape, as well as furthering the understanding of contrasting expectations, motivations and behaviours of a highly divergent visitor base. Crucially, those who are responsible for the management and (re)presentation of Rwanda's tragic past through the memorials need to recognise the role these sensitive spaces play in contributing to or obstructing the country's overall effort to restore social relations and community values.

To that end, and in conclusion, Figure 33 schematically provides the framework or 'academic blueprint' of this thesis by taking into consideration the theoretical and empirical analysis that has transpired from the research. This summative model illustrates the fundamental interrelationships of dark tourism development at

Rwanda's post-conflict national memorialscape within a broader peace-building and reconciliation context. In essence, the model that has emerged from this study regards the development of national and international tourism at difficult heritage sites as a potentially positive contributor to the symbolic reparations needed by societies recovering from conflict. However, as the model highlights, and as previously discussed, in the case of Rwanda's memorialisation developments, certain structural and contextual changes need to be implemented in the near future to make full use of 'dark tourism' as a significant addition to peace-building development.

Peace and Reconciliation at Rwanda's National Memorialscape

| Dark Tourism Supply **Memorial Design**	**VISITOR EXPERIENCE**	Dark Tourism Demand **Visitor Motivation**
Limited display of human remains, corpses, artefacts		Remembrance / grief
Contextualisation of graphic imageries		Education
Opening up of dialogue / acknowledgement of alternative histories		Pilgrimage / sense of duty
Provision of catalysts for humanitarian action / interactive exhibition narratives		Sign of respect
Avoidance of simplistic accounts / generalized references to ethnicity		Arbitrary visit
Memorial Impact ▶		◀ **Emotional Impact**
Peace education		Empathy / emotional understanding
Dignified burial place to grief		Awareness
Public recognition / opposition to denial & negationism		Change in opinion
Reconciliatory space for victims and perpetrators		Civic engagement

Contribution to Peace

Figure 33: *Dark Tourism demand and supply within a peace-building framework.*
(Source: Author)

The model illustrates the different factors contributing to peace through dark tourism demand and supply at Rwanda's national memorialscape. As the research has revealed, a divergent visitor base holds several motivational factors and expectations when visiting such spaces which need to be addressed by those involved in the overall site production. The thesis model, therefore, highlights five crucial site features that need to be implemented if (Rwandan) national memorials are to contribute to social healing and the enhancement of peaceful relations among different populations. Whilst the KGM does indeed fulfil several of the characteristics previously mentioned, other sites are still in need of further conservation as well as expanding on historical and present-day contextualisation.

However, this thesis cannot be regarded as a universal blueprint model for all communities recovering from genocide and, therefore, the framework is not arbitrarily applicable to other post-conflict regions. Since difficult heritage is always set in politically-charged and socially-fraught environments, such memorial visitor sites need to be researched within their own individual setting. However, conclusions from this research can certainly be considered and adjusted to similar case studies. For instance, destinations recovering from conflict and genocide, such as Cambodia or Srebrenica, require research into challenging memorialisation processes to elucidate how these politically infused spaces contribute to present-day division or unification patterns. Moreover, Rwanda's memorialscape is dynamic and operating in a continuous state of flux. While this research has focused on the establishment of memorials since the end of the genocide up to the present-day, future site developments, their impacts and social implications are greatly dependent upon future governments and the overall political climate, not only in Rwanda, but in the entire Great Lakes Region.

10.2   Study Limitations and Future Research Directions

This study encountered several challenges throughout its different research stages and, as a result, several limitations need to be outlined and acknowledged. As noted earlier, the fieldwork period in Rwanda was restricted, particularly with regards to the ethnographic explorations conducted. Therefore, the completion of a comprehensive ethnographic study at Rwanda's entire memorialscape was not achievable, or indeed, ever possible. Certainly, to gain deeper insights into the

diverse groups at hand, lengthier and repeated fieldwork periods over the course of several months need to be implemented in order to observe the dynamics of remembrance in an ever-changing memorialisation process. In this regard, focus should be put on less accessible narratives and hidden discourses within Rwanda's divergent population. Given the political climate in the country today, certain subjects proved difficult to access, and while several interviews addressed critical and controversial debates, a larger and more diverse sample frame is perhaps required for future studies.

Moreover, this study exemplifies a gender imbalance that was not purposefully intended. Future studies should, therefore, explore the significance of gender roles throughout memorialisation developments in Rwanda, and how these impact on the reestablishment of social relations. In addition, the sampling frame did not sufficiently represent the rural communities, which make up most of Rwanda's population today, with predominant emphasis situated around memorial consumption and production in urban settings. This was mainly owed to the language barrier, issues of accessibility, as well as a limited timeframe. Given the overall lack of academic literature on local commemoration practices in Rwanda, and how these stand in contrast to national acts of remembrance, further research should reveal the interrelationships of such practices and how they impact on the everyday lives of different communities in rural populations.

In essence, this thesis highlights the need for a comprehensive long-term impact analysis to be followed through at all national memorial sites in Rwanda. This will, perhaps, further ascertain how these former sites of pain and shame can be enriched as international sites of conscience with regards to changing opinions, raising awareness, improving relations and encouraging civic engagement, as well as increasing emotional understandings of the human consequences of atrocity. Whilst the research explored experiences encountered at national and district memorials from a domestic and international visitor perspective, the lasting impacts of such visits on individuals and their day-to-day lives is yet to be established. Moreover, while the aim of the thesis was to provide detailed insights into Rwanda's post-genocide memorialisation environment, future studies should focus on adapting and applying the established concepts to other difficult heritage sites worldwide. Consequently, a more encompassing understanding of how

memorials can contribute to general healing processes and efforts of violence prevention in societies struggling with post-conflict transformation may be established.

Other limitations can be found in several aspects of the data collection process itself regarding the methods used, the research environment and the interactions between the researcher and the participant. It is clear that different narratives exist throughout Rwanda and while some are easier to access, others remain unrevealed in public. To approach these more hidden accounts proved to be difficult at times. If respondents were willing to talk about more controversial themes of memorialisation, such dialogues involved a great deal of diplomacy and sensitivity, as well as detailed knowledge on Rwanda's history and culture in order to appropriately interpret and read the information provided. While some participants openly disclosed their experience and role in 1994, others did not. Interpretations were then shaped by the researcher's own background and understanding, which will unavoidably be biased and subjective to a certain degree. This was particularly the case when respondents were acquainted with the researcher in advance and when individual traumatising testimonies were known previous to the interview. In this case high priority was given to not upsetting the participant. However, since most topics discussed were of a sensitive nature, some questions were naturally met with resistance and the researcher then had to accept that selected information remained inaccessible. Future studies should focus on follow up interviews and on alternative research settings to gain further insights into these more controversial subject areas.

In general, language limitations and misunderstandings were common. Rwandans use a symbolic narrative and certain phrases which might have easily been read by those more accustomed to the field, were difficult to grasp at the beginning. However, the more interviews were conducted, the easier it became to communicate. Nevertheless, conversations that required a translator continued to be the most difficult. In most of these instances no professional translator was employed and misinterpretations and confusions were recurrent. Future fieldwork should therefore pay attention to recruiting a translator who is familiar with the research topic and who feels comfortable to talk about several aspects of this complex research area. Dialogues in Kinyarwanda are valuable and methods

applied should shift towards more interviews being conducted in the native language.

With regards to the depth of interview data collected, it would have been useful to set-up follow-up conversations with participants in order to clarify, establish or further demonstrate evident details, such as adjusting the appropriate research environment or altering certain interview strategies. Privacy, which was compromised in several instances, is an essential point here. Such inconveniences, although sometimes unavoidable, are bound to have effects on the interview outcomes. Upcoming studies should ensure that interviews take place in comfortable, uncompromised settings, even if this means that fieldwork might be postponed or prolonged. This is especially so after guided tours through memorial museums and traumatic confrontations with graphic images. While memorial sites proved to be good spaces to engage with international tourists, this is not the case for affected Rwandans who might feel disturbed in their mourning rituals.

Having previously lived, studied and worked in East Africa, the researcher shows a strong bond towards this part of the world. At times these experiences facilitated the research process and the interpretation of the data collected. While in some instances overall judgments were manipulated by intense emotional encounters, the researcher is aware of such bias and reflected on these notions during research diary entries and interview evaluations. Such reflexivity included thoughts on the position of the researcher as a European female 'outsider', which with regards to in-depth political discourse proofed to be challenging. Nevertheless, fieldwork was a progressive sequential development and the researcher's integration into the study environment has been noteworthy. During the fieldwork period, interview settings and strategies were continuously re-evaluated and adapted to individual situations and while at first politically delicate topics were addressed with caution, the value and possibility of implementing a more direct approach towards such sensitive themes was soon recognised.

10.3   Final Thoughts

This thesis has critically explored difficult heritage and the tourism it generates to contribute to peace-building initiatives in post-conflict environments. While extensive studies have been undertaken on the geography of memorial landscapes, the memorialisation of genocide, as well as its commodification and consumption in lower-income countries has received comparatively little attention. This study, therefore, calls for a less Western-centric analysis of memorial museums and argues for a more comprehensive insight into the impacts of often overwhelming emotional visitor experiences. By exploring the contentious dark tourism phenomenon in relation to Rwanda's overall peace and reconciliation developments, this thesis has addressed several gaps in the often contested peace tourism discourse. By doing so, the research has focused on the impacts of atrocity heritage through a Rwandan lens, elaborating on individual reactions and responses to overall site designs and narrative implementations of those groups directly affected by present commemoration and memorialisation practices.

While the empirical analysis critically evaluates Rwanda's national memorialscape in terms of educational value, it also offers insights on how site features need to be reassessed so as to enhance visitor experiences. This is particularly the case in terms of self-reflexivity, awareness raising and civic engagement. Although it has been demonstrated that memorials alone cannot enforce positive social transformation, they can, however, contribute to peace-building initiatives through critically engaging their audience with sensitive topics at hand in order to raise awareness on dangerous consequences of discrimination. Moreover, memorials in Rwanda also play a role in the social healing of individuals personally connected to the tragedy on display. Not only do they offer national and international recognition for the pain and incredible loss encountered by those left behind, but stand as a symbolic reminder of the shared responsibility in the continued fight for a common humanity.

A PERSONAL AFTERWORD

As I reflect on the story that has gradually come together throughout the different stages of my thesis, I want to emphasise that these concluding paragraphs do not imply the end of my Rwandan journey. Rather, I now stand at the beginning of taking on a more practical approach towards conceptual understandings discussed during my research. The prior motivation for my study was to shed light on a part of the world that is still very much associated with distorted negative images of violence, genocide and tribal rivalries. By focusing on several political, economic and contextual underpinnings that led to Rwanda's downfall in the 1990s and placing them in a present-day memorialisation and peace-building context, my aim was not only to clarify unhelpful stereotypes, but to reveal the challenges inherent in identity and memory formation within a divided population that is trying to overcome its traumatic past.

Unquestionably, I encountered an array of conflicting needs, priorities, beliefs and justifications in the field, shaped by personal experiences that illustrated the dissonance within competing histories and individual agendas. Nonetheless, the research participants in my study shared with me several common aspirations; namely to move on from a volatile past, focus on a brighter future and to ensure that such a tragedy will never occur again. Given the stimulating encounters in the field and an increasing need to critically reflect on the sensitive issues at hand, I encourage future research to look at Rwanda's continuous struggle for long-lasting stability. I encourage this as to help further awareness and dialogue on this inconceivable crime committed against a people and the fatal consequences this has for the entire region. Whilst the many stories I came across in the field have stayed with me over the years as inspiring examples of the resilience of a completely devastated nation, such impressions need to be progressively translated into Rwanda's present-day national memorialscape. Quite simply, this is in order for the visitor experience to extend beyond a traumatic encounter into a clear 'never again' moral philosophy.

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Appendix 1: Rwanda Timeline

19th Century	The elite were the Tutsi cattle herders, the majority were peasant farmers, known as Hutu, and the minority were indigenous forest dwellers known as Twa (if and when Hutu and Tutsi migrated to Rwanda is uncertain and disputed up to the present-day).
Late 1800s	Tutsi King Kigeri Rwabugiri establishes a unified state with a centralised military structure. Tutsi who owned large herds of cattle sometimes exploited their power over Hutu farmers.
1885-1962	Europeans colonise Africa and Rwanda is first ruled by Germany (1885-1919), then Belgium (1922- 1962)(ruled indirectly through the Tutsi Kings).
1933	Belgians organise a census and mandate that everyone be issued an identity card classifying them as either Tutsi, Hutu or Twa.
1957	Hutu issue manifesto calling for a change in Rwanda's power structure to give them a voice; Hutu political parties formed.
1959	Tutsi king dies and Hutu overthrow and kill Tutsi. The Belgians do little to save them. Tens of thousands of Tutsi forced into exile in Uganda following inter-ethnic violence.
1961	Rwanda proclaimed a republic; Tutsi monarchy abolished.
1962	Rwanda becomes independent with a Hutu, Gregoire Kayibanda, as president, many Tutsi leave the country (mainly to Uganda); Tutsi rebels respond with attacks on Hutu. In Burundi, Tutsi hold onto power during Independence.
1963	Hutu militia murder an estimated 10,000 Tutsi. In Burundi Tutsi-dominated army murders Hutu.
1967	In another anti-Tutsi purge, Tutsi are thrown in rivers and murdered.
1972	In Burundi Tutsi army kills over 100,000 Hutu.
1973	Major General Juvénal Habyarimana becomes president after a military coup.
1988	Some 50,000 Hutu refugees flee to Rwanda from Burundi following ethnic violence, the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) is established in Uganda.
1989	World coffee prices plummet, significantly affecting Rwanda's economy – regime tightens, discrimination against Tutsi increases.
1990	The RPF invade Rwanda, starting a war against the Hutu Rwandan Army.
1991	A new constitution allows for multiple political parties.
1992	The army steps up a murder campaign against Hutu in Burundi, Hutu refugees escape into South of Rwanda. Many will play a major role in the Rwandan genocide.
1993	President Habyarimana signs a power-sharing agreement with the RPF in Arusha (Tanzania), signalling the end of the civil war, in the same year *Radio Télévision Libre des Milles Collines* (RTLM) begins broadcasting and spreading hate against the Tutsi. Anti-Tutsi propaganda becomes more extreme.
6 April 1994	President Juvénal Habyarimana is killed when his plane is shot

	out of the sky (by whom remains uncertain). The RPF launches a major offensive; extremist Hutu militia and elements of the Rwandan military begin systematic massacres of Tutsi. Within 100 days between 800,000 and 1 million Tutsi and moderate Hutu are killed. Hutu militias flee to Zaire (now DRC), taking with them between 1-2 million Hutu refugees.
1995	UN appoints international tribunal (ICTR) and begins charging and sentencing a number of people responsible for the genocide.
1996	Rwandan troops invade parts of Zaire (DRC) to drive home refugees.
2000	President Pasteur Bizimungu resigns (later sentenced for embezzlement, inciting violence and associating with criminals) and Vice-President Paul Kagame steps in.
2001	Gacaca traditional courts are introduced to clear genocide cases. A new flag and national anthem are unveiled to promote national unity and reconciliation.
2003	Constitution that bans incitement of ethnic hatred is drafted; Kagame and the RPF win first multi-party elections.
2005	Government begins mass prisoner releases after confessions to ease prison overcrowding.
2006	Rwanda's 12 provinces are replaced by a smaller number of regions with the aim of creating ethnically diverse administrative areas.
2007	60,000 genocide suspects are released.
2008	RPF wins parliamentary elections; Rwanda decides all education will be taught in English instead of French (relations to France deteriorate after grave accusations of human rights violations from both sides), officially as a result of joining the English-speaking East African Community.
2009	UN report accuses Rwanda and the DRC of helping Tutsi rebels fight in eastern DRC; Rwanda denies all accusations. Rwanda is admitted to the Commonwealth.
2010	President Kagame wins new term in elections.
2012	Gacaca courts are closed; US, Britain and Netherlands halt aid to Rwanda over UN accusations that it is training and supporting rebel groups in DRC. Rwanda denies the charges.
2013	RPF is re-elected.
2015	The ICTR is closed, having indicted 93 individuals (61 sentenced, 14 acquitted, 10 referred to national jurisdictions, 3 deceased prior or during trial, 3 fugitives referred to Mechanism for International Criminal Tribunals (MICT), 2 indictments withdrawn before trial).

Source: Adapted from Rwandan Stories, 2011; BBC, 2015; Rosenberg, 2015

<u>Appendix 2:</u> Ethical Approval and Research Permit

uclan
University of Central Lancashire

14th March 2014

Phillip Stone and Mona Freidrich
School of Sports Tourism & the Outdoors
University of Central Lancashire

Dear Phillip & Mona

Re: BuSH Ethics Committee Application
Unique Reference Number: BuSH 217

The BuSH ethics committee has granted approval of your proposal application '**In which way are memorial landscapes negotiated and created in Rwanda and how does the development of dark tourism contribute to these processes?'**

Please note that approval is granted up to the end of project date or for 5 years, whichever is the longer. This is on the assumption that the project does not significantly change, in which case, you should check whether further ethical clearance is required

We shall e-mail you a copy of the end-of-project report form to complete within a month of the anticipated date of project completion you specified on your application form. This should be completed, within 3 months, to complete the ethics governance procedures or, alternatively, an amended end-of-project date forwarded to roffice@uclan.ac.uk quoting your unique reference number.

Yours sincerely

Name
Vice Chair
BuSH Ethics Committee

NB - Ethical approval is contingent on any health and safety checklists having been completed, and necessary approvals as a result of gained.

Image
redacted

<u>Appendix 3:</u> Interview Guide and Thematic Overview

<u>Production of memory:</u>

- Purpose/choice of memorial design, structure (exhibition, audio guides, display of artefacts, human remains and other graphic images)
- Differences in memorial designs throughout the country (why are 6 memorials being promoted for international tourists and Rwandan visitors by the CNLG)?
- Which messages are portrayed at the sites? How are these received by visitors?
- Do site designs, exhibits and guides provide catalysts for humanitarian action?
- Are certain messages silenced, left out, ignored? How should 'other' victims be commemorated? How does this impact on reconciliation processes?
- Commodification of memory (entry fees, maintenance, are measures put in place to avoid the commercialisation of these sacred spaces?)
- Future expansion plans (revised panels, narratives)
- International influences on the formation of the memorialscape in Rwanda. Is there a global framework of remembrance or an internationalisation of heritage taking place?
- Local remembrance and commemoration initiatives
- Are the memorials becoming part of Rwanda's national tourism package? If yes, how is this promoted by the RDB, tour operators, tour guides?
- How is international tourism affecting the sites? (Site design, funding, image of Rwanda, conflicts of interest)
- How is domestic tourism affecting these sites? (Site design, narratives)

<u>Consumption of memory:</u>

- Can the concept of dark tourism be universally applied? (What is associated with the concept? Negative/positive connotations? Alternative frameworks?)
- What are the messages taken away from site visits by international and Rwandan visitors? (Educational value, shock value)
- Visitor emotions (grief/trauma), contemplations of death
- Do such sites assist in post-traumatic growth (in particular during the commemoration period)
- When are which sites visited by Rwandans, non-Rwandans? General visitor patterns
- How should the memorials develop over the coming years? (Revised panels, exhibition and guide narratives, display of human remains, artefacts)?
- What 'story' is missing (ignored, distorted) at sites?
- Are such spaces perpetuating divisionism or projecting guilt?
- Which parts of the memorials are important for domestic visitors and why?
- Which parts of the memorials are important for international visitors and why?
- Do such sites contribute to peace building on a personal, national or international level? (Encourage active bystandership, provide positive catalysts for humanitarian action)
- Controversy around the display of human remains and other graphic images
- Conflicting interests between those mourning at sites and international tourists visiting for educational or other purposes

INFORMATION SHEET FOR PARTICIPANTS
YOU WILL BE GIVEN A COPY OF THIS INFORMATION SHEET

<u>**Tourism development and memorialisation at Rwandan Genocide Memorials**</u>

We would like to invite you to participate in this Ph.D research project. You should only participate if you want to; choosing not to take part will not disadvantage you in any way. Before you decide whether you want to take part, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what your participation will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Ask us if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information.

The aim of the research is to explore the various ways in which people involved in the memorialisation of the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda set, interpret and direct its context for the visitor. Moreover, it will be explored how people travelling to and within Rwanda (domestic and international) experience and engage in the memorials. The extracted data will feed into wider discussions surrounding tourism development at genocide memorials worldwide.

Research will include participant observation of memorial staff, tour guides and visitors during visits to memorial sites in Rwanda. In addition, further semi-structured interviews and questionnaires will be conducted with various people involved in the memorialisation process, as well as tourists present at the sites.

All demographic information that you disclose will be anonymised. Contact details (if you chose to receive a copy of the final report) will be stored separately. No personal information will be identified in the publications in academic journals and presentations and all data will be stored in a locked room at the Institute of Dark Tourism Research.

It is up to you to decide whether to take part or not. If you decide to take part you are still free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason. In addition you can withdraw any data/information you have already provided up until it is transcribed for use in the final research report/Ph.D. thesis at the end of March 2015. The data you provide will be stored at the University of Central Lancashire for 5 years from the end of the project and will then be destroyed.

If you decide to take part you will be given this information sheet.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Mona Friedrich
MFriedrich@uclan.ac.uk
If this study has harmed you in any way you can contact the University of Central Lancashire University Officer for Ethics at OfficerForEthics@uclan.ac.uk or:

Dr. Philip Stone (Ph.D. supervisor)	Dr. John Minten (Dean of school)
University of Central Lancashire (UCLan)	School of Sport, Tourism and the Outdoors
Institute for Dark Tourism Research	Greenbank Building, GR159
Greenbank 130, Preston, Lancashire, PR1 2HE	+44 (0) 1772 89 4901
England	jhminten@uclan.ac.uk
Office: Greenbank 130	
Tel: +44 (0)1772 89 4769	
Email: pstone@uclan.ac.uk, Website:	
www.uclan.ac.uk	

Please complete this form after you have read the Information Sheet and/or listened to an explanation about the research.

Title of Study: <u>**Tourism development and memorialisation at Rwandan Genocide Memorials**</u>

Thank you for considering taking part in this research. The person organising the research must explain the project to you before you agree to take part. If you have any questions arising from the Information Sheet or explanation already given to you, please ask the researcher before you decide whether to join in. You will be given a copy of this Consent Form to keep and refer to at any time.

- **I understand that if I decide at any time during the research that I no longer wish to participate in this project, I can notify the researchers involved and withdraw from it immediately without giving any reason. Furthermore, I understand that I will be able to withdraw my data until the end of March 2015.**

- **I consent to the processing of my personal information for the purposes explained to me. I understand that such information will be handled in accordance with the terms of the Data Protection Act 1998.**

- **I consent to the interview being recorded.**

- **The information you have submitted will be written up as a Ph.D thesis. Please note that confidentiality and anonymity will be maintained and it will not be possible to identify you from any publications.**

If you would like to receive a copy of the final dissertation electronically, please give an email address here:..

Participant's Statement:

I _____

agree that the research project named above has been explained to me to my satisfaction and I agree to take part in the study. I have read both the notes written above and the Information Sheet about the project, and understand what the research study involves.

Signed   Date

Investigator's Statement:
I _____
Confirm that I have carefully explained the nature, demands and any foreseeable risks (where applicable) of the proposed research to the participant.
Signed   Date:

Appendix 5: Survey Template (English) and Sample Questionnaire

Visitor Experiences at the Kigali Genocide Memorial

1.   Nationality:

     If international:
     A) Length of intended stay in Rwanda:
     B) Purpose of visit/travel to Rwanda:

     If Rwandan:
     C) From which region did you travel to visit the memorial:
     D) Did you come with a specific institution:

2.   Purpose of visit to the memorial:

3.   Experience at the memorial:

4.   Which part of the memorial did you find most difficult to visit?

5.   Do such visits help you to overcome grief/trauma?

6.   Did you receive new insights into the 1994 genocide against the
      Tutsi?

7.   What message will you be taking home with you?

8.   Will you recommend a memorial visit to your relatives/friends?

9.   Are you planning to visit other memorial sites throughout the
       country?
       If yes, why?

10.   Do you think that the memorial sites contribute to peace building
       and social cohesion in Rwanda? If yes, how?

Sample questionnaire translated from Kinyarwanda:

Visitor Experiences at the Kigali Genocide Memorial

1. Rwandan
   A)
   B)

   C) IPRC-Kigali
   D) We came as a "family" operating under the AERG-Igihozo of the Kicukiro College of Technology (IPRC-Kigali)

2. The object of our visit to the memorial is threefold:
   o To learn the history of our nation;
   o To pay respect to our beloved ones;
   o To visit all different corners of the memorial and see all its distinctive features
3. My experience here is like the sensations one feels when in front of a horror movie. At a certain point, I was scared to death as the guides explained to us different steps of the history.
4. The children's room and the grave keeping the remains of the victims' bodies. I simply have difficulty bearing these two parts each time I come here.
5. Yes , because the more I get at the heart of the history of Rwanda and understand it, the more relieved I feel. Plus today, we all have this feeling that our individual rights are protected and this encourages me to think and deal with my grief proactively.
6. Yes, I have learnt different expressions of hatred that were used in the media, like those used in the Kangura of Ngeze Hassan and the Gitera's Hutu Manifesto.
7. The message is to reiterate that what we saw here should never happen ever again and naturally I would share with them the lessons I got from this visit to the memorial. They also have to prevent anything that would let our nation descend into a similar tragedy ever again.
8. Yes, I will do so by giving them full accounts of what actually happened as far as the history of Rwanda is concerned.
9. Yes, I intend to visit other memorials in a search to learn further about the history because no single location or memorial is similar to the other.
10. Yes, because once you are inside the memorial, you start wondering the possible reason why people should kill their fellow neighbours and you find that there is no justified reason. Then you realize that there is a need to get together as one people and that we should ultimately find some kind of brotherhood with our fellow neighbour.

Appendix 6: Memorial Overview/Participant Observation at National and District Sites (May-July 2014)

Memorial	Location	Biography and Site Design	Particularity	Date of Creation	Condition	Visitation	Site Instigator
Kigali Genocide Memorial (KGM) (Po1) National site	Central, in Gisozi District in Kigali	Museum including mass graves holding 250,000 victims, memorial gardens, three permanent exhibitions (new panels currently being installed), a children's memorial room, an illustration on the history of genocides around the world, museum café and gift shop. Survivors of the genocide are trained as guides at the centre and provide educational facilities	Largest memorial out of the 7 national sites. Not an actual preserved killing site, but created for those victims killed in and around Kigali	1999 – mass graves 2004 – opening of the completed memorial centre	Good condition, modern museum, including text and photo panels, documents, artefacts, multi-media installations	Highest visitor numbers out of all sites, about 68,000 in 2015 (international & local). Local numbers peak during commemoration. Over 9,000 Rwandans visited the site in April 2014 (KGM visitor statistics)	Aegis Trust, Kigali City Council, Rwandan Government
Nyamata Genocide Memorial (Po2) National site	Relatively central, 35 km south east of Kigali, Bugesera Region, located close to the Ntarama Church Memorial. Guests usually visit both sites	10,000 victims from the surrounding area took refuge in this Catholic church. On 10th April nearly all of them were slaughtered by the Interahamwe and army. Pews filled with blood-stained clothes/personal belongings of victims/blood stains on the walls. Human remains displayed in an inside crypt and in grave chambers outside of the church, which hold over 41,000 remains of	Single casket in the crypt holds the remains of a woman who was raped and tortured by the militia. The coffin symbolises the horrific violence committed against women during the genocide	Used as a place to remember since 1994	Artefacts, human remains exposed not protected and degrading. Although mass graves have been implemented in the church's garden	Higher visitor numbers (since located less than an hour away from Kigali), particularly during commemoration. Recommended in travel guides	District, local community (now CNLG)

		victims. CNLG guides present					
Ntarama Genocide Memorial **(Po3)** National site	Relatively central, 30 km south east of Kigali, Bugesera Region (remote from the main road)	Catholic church, where 5,000 people were killed. Ceiling covered with clothes, shelves stacked with coffins and human remains. Grenade holes in the walls used as entry points by killers. Separate room dedicated to children who suffered atrocious deaths, as revealed by blood stains on the wall. No mass graves present. CNLG guide present	The region is known for its violence against the Tutsi, since resettlements took place in 1963. The Nyabarongo river was flooded with dead bodies in 1994 and its large swamp area, offered an unbearable hiding place for those persecuted	Used as a place to remember since 1994	Artefacts, human remains exposed not protected and degrading. Presently, preservation and construction works are taking place at the sites (implemented by CNLG), such as the construction of mass graves in the garden, as well as an exhibition and audio guide (designed by the Aegis rust)	Higher visitor numbers (since located less than an hour away from Kigali), particularly during Commemoration. Recommended in Travel Guides	District, local community (now CNLG)
Murambi Genocide Memorial **(Po4)** National site	Marginal, in the south of Rwanda, close to the town of Gikongoro	Former technical college where about 50,000 people were killed in a very short period of time. The site was situated in the controversial Zone Turquoise, occupied by French military and displays around 850 bodies preserved in powdered lime, as well as artefacts. Holds an exhibition, and a guide is usually	Extremely shocking site. Only one of the 7 national sites, where complete bodies are on display, with clear mutilations visible	1995 Exhibition was established in 2011	The human remains and artefacts are exposed to the visitors/weather without sufficient protection, multi-media installations are not working	High visitor numbers during Commemoration (mainly Rwandans). International tourists usually visit on their way to Nyungwe Forest. Around 400 visitors per month	District, CNLG, Aegis Trust (exhibition)

		present					
Bisesero Genocide Memorial **(Po5)** National site	Marginal, located in the Northern Province	Tutsi from 9 different communities resisted the genocide with stones and spears in this area for weeks until they were slaughtered. Nine houses holding human remains now symbolically represent the struggle. Mass graves at the site house the remains of approximately 60,000 people of this region. CNLG guide present, no exhibition	Known for strong resistance. The area is also named the "hill of resistance"	Used as a place to remember since 1998	Less developed site, however, refurbishments are taking place. No glass cabinets to protect human remains	Fewer visitors; very isolated. Own private transport is needed and the roads are in bad condition	District, local community (now CNLG)
Nyarubuye Genocide Memorial (Po6) National site	Marginal, located in the Eastern Province	Former convent. Main building includes tables stacked with human remains, clothes and killing utensils. The beautiful gardens offer a dignified resting place for the 60,000 victims who lost their lives in this area. No guide/exhibition present	Known for stories of cannibalism, which state that perpetrators smashed the heads of victims, shredded their brains and drank their blood out of traditional wooden bowls	Used as a place to remember since 1994	Artefacts, human remains are openly exposed and not protected, but the site has recently been undergoing renovations and glass cabinets are being installed	Fewer visitors, since inaccessible with no public transport connection	District, local community (now CNLG)
Nyanza Genocide	Kicukiro, a suburb southeast of Kigali City	6, 000 victims buried in concrete mass graves, surrounded by walls with lists of	Many come to know about this site because of the	Used as a place to remember since 1994	Mass graves and list of names (fading through the sunlight	Average visitor numbers. Rwandans come mainly during commemoration,	District, Rwandan Government

Memorial **(Po7)** District site		victim names. IBUKA (survivor's organization) headquarters are located on the site. IBUKA staff provides site information, otherwise no exhibition or artefacts on display. Victims took refuge in the École Technique Officielle (ETO) which fell under the protection of Belgian troops from the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR). Following their withdrawal after the assassination of 10 Belgian soldiers, the Tutsis were left unprotected and ultimately taken to the less noticeable site at Nyanza and massacred	American film *Shooting Dogs* which was set here and portrays the story of a former British headmaster of the ETO who is killed in the genocide		and rain)	but tourists visit due to its significant history	(now CNLG) IBUKA
Rebero Politicians Memorial **(Po8)** District site	Central, Kigali City	Cemetery (14,000 victims), including graves of 12 politicians who were killed at the beginning of the genocide. No guide, exhibition	Known for politicians who resisted the extremist government (including Hutu)		Good condition, mainly a cemetery, no exhibition, guides or artefacts	Few visitors, mainly during commemoration. Memorial is closed and needs to be especially opened for visitors. No guide present	Rwandan Government (now CNLG)
Ngororero Genocide	Northern Province, between Muhanga and	The memorial contains the remains of 8,402 victims, including those exhumed from	Located in the former MRND Palace	Created in April 1996	Less developed site. Mainly a cemetery of mass graves, no	Few visitors, mainly during commemoration. Memorial is closed and needs to be	District, local community

Memorial **(Po9)** District site	Rubavu	the MRND Palace and those found in the area				exhibition or guides present. Some remains are kept on display behind glass	especially opened for visitors. No guide present	
Kibeho Genocide Memorial **(Po10)** District site	Marginal, located in the Southern Province	28,937 victims who were killed at Kibeho and in the neighboring sectors are buried in mass graves situated in front of the church, which continues to be used by the community. Only 43 people are believed to have survived the church massacres		Created in April 1998	Memorial is presently under construction to offer better protection for the mass graves. Mainly a cemetery, no exhibition, guides present, but bodies conserved in lime kept onsite	Very isolated and therefore few visitors, mainly during commemoration. Memorial is closed and needs to be opened for visitors. No guide present	District, local community