

**The Politicisation of 'Dark Tourism': A Cross Cultural
Analysis of Interpreting the Atomic Bombing of
Hiroshima**

by

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment for the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Central Lancashire

October 2020

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Acknowledgments

Firstly, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my Director of Studies, Dr Philip Stone, for the continuous support of my PhD study and related research for his patience, motivation, and immense knowledge. His guidance has encouraged me to broaden my outlook in the writing of this thesis. I could not have imagined having a better advisor and mentor for my PhD study.

Besides my Supervisor, I would like to thank the rest of my thesis team: Prof. Richard Sharply and Dr Sean James Gammon for their insightful comments and encouragement from the start of my PhD Journey. In addition, I would also like to thank Dr Dorota Ujma, who has kept an eye on my progression; Dr Ujma has provided valuable advice and has helped to keep me on track with the realities of the PhD schedule. For those mentioned above, I am sincerely beholden to all of them for their invaluable support and help. Additionally, I would like to thank University College Birmingham, who has sponsored my endeavours through their internal professional development initiatives.

I would also like to give my utmost and profound thanks to my mother, Veronica, who while no longer with us, provided the initial spark, which helped to motivate me to undertake my PhD Journey. Finally, I would like to give my deepest thanks to my dearest friend Bhavna Singh who joined me on this journey with her own PhD. Bhavna has been by my side throughout this PhD, living every single minute of it with me. I would like to thank Bhavna for her continuous and steadfast company in being there every step of the way and motivating me through the hard times and for all the cups of tea. Thank you Bhav, I will forever be grateful.

Abstract

For dark heritage sites, the level of authenticity within the interpretation of the site is not only dependent upon the typology of a specific dark attraction, but also on the level of associated political value a given site has to its governing institution. Hence the dual case studies of The Enola Gay, the B-29 Boeing Superfortress aircraft that dropped the atomic bomb on Hiroshima Japan, and Hiroshima's Peace Memorial Museum (HPMM) are used as prime examples of a politicised narrative driven by substantial amounts of stakeholder dissonance. Thus, the overall purpose of this thesis is to address the gap in knowledge relating to the impacts of culturally politically driven dissonance, and its effects on the authenticity of a narrative of a singular shared event of one story with two narratives from the perspectives of the Japanese and US.

The study, therefore, seeks to make an original contribution to the dark tourism literature by exploring issues surrounding the management and interpretation of dark sites through the lens of dissonance in particular. In so doing, a Dissonant Heritage Cycle model is proposed to demonstrate the cycle of dissonance, not only of the Enola Gay and the HPMM but also potentially at any other heritage site associated with contested heritage. Thus, the study adds an empirical dimension to the discussion surrounding the understanding of the cycle of dissonance at sites of contested heritage/dark tourism where the sensitivity of a nation's historic memory is silenced. In particular, empirical research suggests that for heritage sites to be effective and to act as a catalyst for representing authentic narratives, it is important that dissonance is minimised. This, in turn, suggests that it is important to understand the role of stakeholders within the development and interpretation of any site. Subsequently, an appreciative understanding of dissonance, and methods of addressing it, is of vital importance to the legitimacy of heritage interpretation in order to contribute to the validity of any authentic narrative for the thoughtful consumer. Yet, the research reveals this legitimacy may be challenged by what emerges in the thesis to be the pervasive politicisation of heritage for nationalistic reasons with its subsequent impact on authenticity or, more realistically, perceptions of authenticity. In short, this thesis contributes to the knowledge and understanding of dissonant heritage both generally and within the context of national heritage. It also offers an additional and original perspective on the politicised touristification on the bombing of Hiroshima as a tool for silencing the sensitive national memory of both the US and Japan. As well as adding to the dark tourism literature through pushing the boundary of Stone's dark

tourism spectrum by illustrating that sites with silent histories are just as dark for what they do not say for what they do say.

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Acronyms

AFA	Air Force Association
BSSS	Brief Sensation Seeking Scale
CAQDAS	Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software
DHC	Dissonant Heritage Cycle
DHG	Dark Heritage Governance
GLP	Great Japan Patriots Party
HPMM	Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum
ICIP	International Committee on Interpretation and Presentation of Cultural Heritage site
ICOMOS	International Council on Monuments and Sites
LDP	Liberal Democratic Party
NASMUHC	National Air and Space Museum
OG	Operational Guidelines
PKO	International Peace Cooperation
POW	Prisoner of War
SCAP	Supreme Commander of Allied Powers
SSS	Sensation Seeking Scale
UHC	Udvar Hazy Center
UNESCO	United Nations, Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
US	United States
WDC	Washington District of Columbia
WHC	World Heritage Convention

Chapter 1

Introducing the study

1.1 Introduction

This study aims to critically explore the interrelationships that exist in the cross cultural touristic (re)presentations of the 1945 atomic bombing of Hiroshima, Japan. This will be done by using the Enola Gay exhibit, the B-29 superfortress aircraft that dropped the first atomic bomb on Hiroshima, housed at the Smithsonian National Air and Space Museum, Steven F. Udvar Hazy Center (Chantilly, VA, USA), (NASM/UHC) and Hiroshima's Peace Memorial Museum/Genbaku Dome (Japan), (HPMM/GD), as case studies. As we shall see, the sites are inextricably connected to the same watershed event, both have 'authentic' elements and each site is characterised by silence driven by ongoing historical sensitivities.

Specifically, the work will follow a narrative-building approach that will trace the unfolding politics over time, illustrating the 'politicised historicity' inherent in the literature. This will be achieved by unpacking the history of each site in the context of field research, which will act to open up a bigger story as to how one event with two different sites results in one story with two narratives. Hence, the work will take these two narratives and create one story by starting at the beginning to come back to the present.

The study, in Chapter 2 will first explain the methodology and the methods utilised to assist the exploration of the topic, to formulate an inductive based interpretive research approach using narrative-building as a key feature for collecting and reporting what Holloway (1997), Schwandt (2001) and Ponterotto & Grieger (2007) call thick data.

In Chapter 3, the work will draw the relative theories together to lay down the grounding of the underlying key concepts to be analysed within the framework of the empirical research. Specifically, the research will analyse dissonance, heritage and dark tourism as conceptual frameworks for the touristification of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima. Doing this will illustrate how heritage is increasingly packaged for

consumption within the tourism industry by exhibiting the darker side of a nation's past (Timothy, 2011; Hartmann, 2014; Dalton, 2015; Timothy, 2018).

Sandwiched between the dissonance, heritage and dark tourism debates are the theories relating to interpretation, nation-building and authenticity. Interpretation is discussed in the context of nation-building linking to Ashworth & Isaac (2015) and Rose (2016). Following interpretation, authenticity is examined; authenticity, which has proven to be an area full of contentions. Distinction will be given to objective authenticity, the originality/genuineness that resides in the sites, as well as the subjective, or existential authenticity, of what visitors make of each site. Consequently, work on authenticity will also focus on the cultural differences of interpretation of the term 'authenticity' from an East/West perspective using Cohen & Cohen (2012), Akagawa (2014;2016) Bryce et al. (2015), Liu et al. (2015), Shepherd (2015), Taheri et al. (2018) and Xiaoli et al. (2018). Finally, to help conceptualise the cultural differences when looking at authenticity, the work of Edward Siad from 1995, will be used to illustrate the East/West positionality through his discussion on Western concepts of Eastern cultures. This section will then finish by leading the reader back to the discussion on dark heritage and dark tourism as a lead into the following chapter. It is in this subsequent chapter where the empirical observations of each site will be positioned within the context of dark tourism. Thus, Chapter 3 will provide a thick level of grounding of the theory the reader will be engaging with in the following chapters.

Chapter 4 sets the scene for the reader by drawing from the observational findings /primary observations in the field. The work follows a two narrative approach drawing two separate sites together. There is the story of the atomic bombing, and on each side of that is the USA narrative and the Japanese narrative. Emphasis is given to both sites' current touristification background and positioning within a dark tourism context. The discussion then moves on to illustrate how each site represents its narrative today, while silencing their historical sensitivities. From this point, the work then goes back in time to Chapters Five and Six, where the story begins to come back to the present to illustrate how and why both sites portray the Hiroshima bombing as they currently do.

Chapter 5 and 6 are a continuum of the two narrative approach but each side is dealt with within its own individual chapter. Chapter 5 focuses on the Enola Gay NASM/UHC while Chapter 6 looks at the HPMM/GD. The structuring will move forward from Chapter 4's contemporary positioning of both the sites, by taking the narrative back

to unfold the story of how each site became what it is today. However, whereas Chapter 4 draws from the empirical observations, Chapter 5 will move forward from 1945 to unpack the Enola Gay's historical journey. This will be done by examining the surrounding contentions of the 1995 proposed Enola Gay's 50th anniversary exhibition – *The Last Act: The Atomic Bomb and the End of World War II* – NASM/WDC, through to its 2003 inclusion in the NASM/UHC to date. In contrast, Chapter 6 will focus on the contentions in Hiroshima's narrative leading up to Hiroshima's/Genbaku Dome's inscription on the World Heritage list (UNESCO, 1996b). Each chapter will present a critical account of both sites' representations of Hiroshima's atomic bombing through applying the key theoretical principles discussed in Chapter 3 to the empirical research drawn from the interviews of the participating curators and visitors. In doing this, the chapters will demonstrate how both sites are drawn together through one event, yet give two different narratives, each driven by a committed rhetoric of nation-building resulting in both nations' past historic sensitivities being silenced.

1.2 Research Rationale/Originality

The interpretation of any heritage site or exhibit is all too often hidden under the shroud of political perspectives caught up in the wrangling of dissonance, from what can be a multitude of stakeholders (Alivizatou, 2016; McCarthy, 2017). Indeed, heritage interpretation is often driven by an event and its effect, while neglecting the actual cause of the event. This often results in a narrative being 'half untold' with one of the key principles of heritage interpretation being to create a dialogue between an event and a visitor with a focus on creating learning outcomes (Staiff, 2016). More often than not the visitors' understanding will fall short of their gaining an objective understanding of events. This gives rise to the question, within the context of dark tourism and politicisation, what fundamental interrelationships exist within the authenticity and cross-cultural touristic (re)presentations of the 1945 atomic bombing of Hiroshima, Japan? While, in addition, it also contributes to the broader dark tourism literature by pushing the boundaries within the dark tourism spectrum. This will be done by illustrating that sites with silenced histories are just as dark for what they do not say, as much as for what they do say.

Therefore, a cross-cultural critique of the interpretation of the atomic bombing within tourist settings is required. Hence, this thesis is a comparative case study analysis of the NASM/UHC and the Enola Gay Exhibit and the HPMM/GD, World Heritage Site.

Justification for choosing these sites is that both sites are inextricably connected by one event: the 1945 bombing of Hiroshima, and the consequences. This has caused numerous contentions within each site’s interpretations of that event, as there is one event, yet two sites and two very different silenced narratives. In short, the research will seek to promote the need for a total approach to heritage interpretation and, subsequently, illustrate the extent to which tourist sites are politicised and why. Therefore, the thesis aims to engage with the call advocated by Stone (2011:318) in that scholars take up “a new post-disciplinary research approach” when undertaking scholarly research within the disciplines of dark tourism research.

1.3 Research Aim, Question and Objectives

Table 1.1: Research Aim, Question and Objectives

Research Aim	To appraise dark tourism within specific political ideologies and, in so doing, offer an integrated theoretical and empirical analysis of politicised visitor sites.
Research Question	Within the context of dark tourism and politicisation, what fundamental interrelationships exist in the authenticity and cross-cultural touristic (re)presentations of the 1945 atomic bombing of Hiroshima, Japan?
Research Objectives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> i) To critically examine the historicity of touristification of the 1945 atomic bombing at Hiroshima, Japan. ii) To compare and contrast touristification dynamics and cross-cultural interpretations of the 1945 atomic bombing at the Peace Memorial Museum/Genbaku Dome (Hiroshima, Japan), and the Enola Gay exhibit at the Smithsonian National Air and Space Museum, Steven F. Udvar Hazy Center (Chantilly, VA, USA). iii) To analyse concepts of dissonance heritage and dark tourism as conceptual frameworks for the touristification of the atomic bombing at Hiroshima. iv) To evaluate critical issues of politicisation and authenticity associated with interpreting the atomic bombing at Hiroshima, specifically from both Japanese and American perspectives.

1.4 Research Methodology: An Outline

The strategy for this research was designed to address the stated question and to meet the aim and objectives and is discussed in section 1.1 & 1.3 in chapter 1. The strategy employed is supported by adopting an ontological and epistemological perspective. Specifically, following an inductively based, interpretive approach drawing upon narrative building as a key feature for collecting data and reporting it.

In addressing the methodology for the research, a qualitative methods approach was employed focusing on primary and secondary methods, within a comparative case study approach that draws on participant observations as well as semi-structured interviews as methods of generating primary data. Indeed, case study research is deemed an appropriate methodology to study the development of dark cultural heritage of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima. In this regard, the clear delineation of boundaries and delimitations of the bombing event assist the researcher in determining the focus and parameters of the case study (Yin, 2003; 2018).

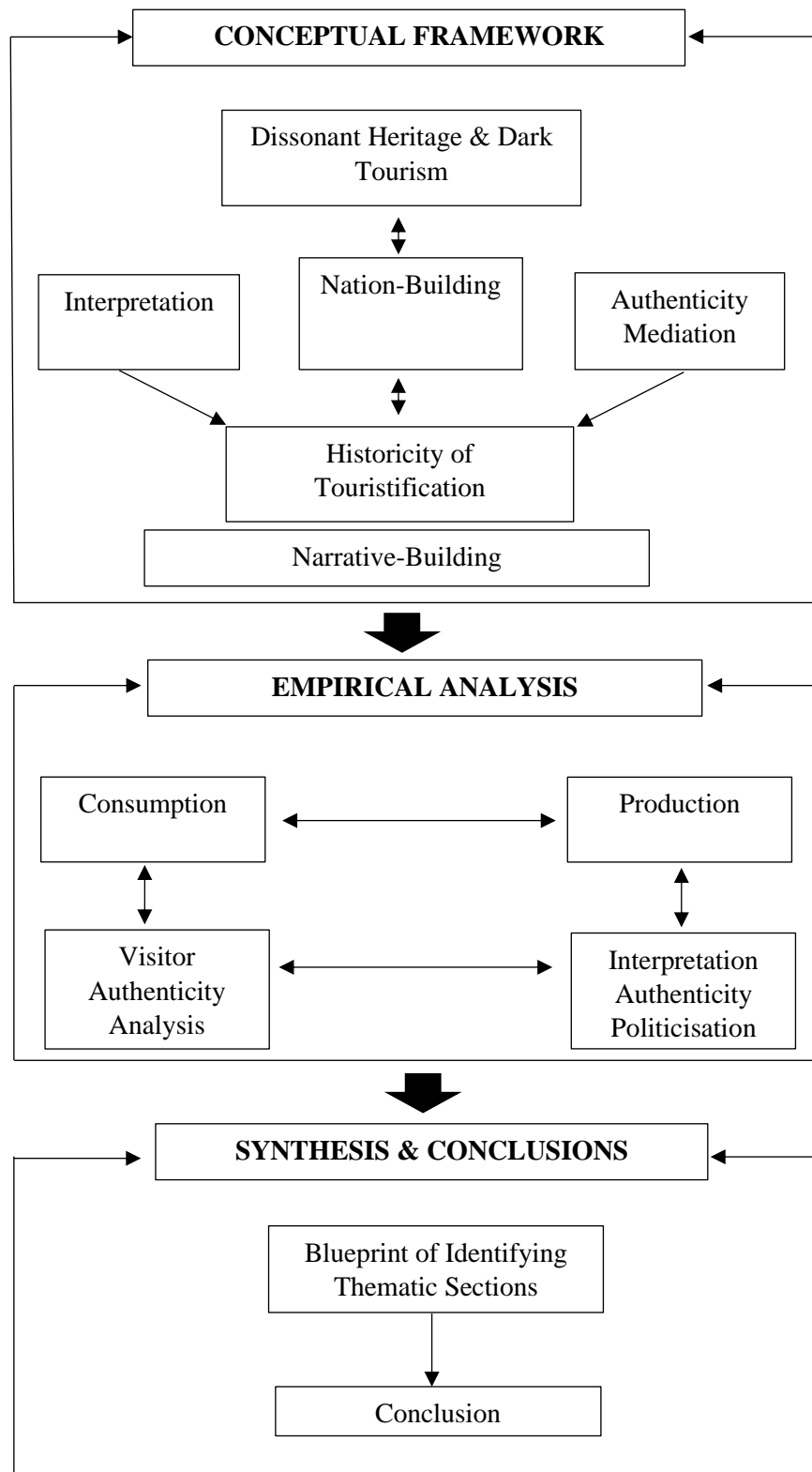
In this case, qualitative methodological approaches combine elements of primary observational/empirical methodological research, with elements of semiotic methodology. For instance, observational methodological research will be used when analysing comparative interpretive IT animation and signs (e.g. narration plaques) and pictures – all of which are employed at the case study sites. Ultimately, the reasoning for choosing observational methodology is that it can be employed to bring structure to the research process (Walliman, 2016).

Targeted interviews with key site stakeholders were also arranged to coincide with site visits. Questions were open-ended and the interviews informal and semi-structured. Interviews were conducted to ascertain the perspectives of visitors and curators on their opinions relating to the objectives of the research. Information generated from the interviews was integrated with the other data sets. Research findings were then analysed by employing NVivo, a software package to assess qualitative results, which helped to provide in-depth classification of patterns, relationships and to give significant insights into identified themes.

1.5 Thesis Structure

The structure of the thesis is illustrated in Figure 1.1, including the conceptual underpinning, empirical insights, and overall synthesis of research findings.

Figure 1.1: Thesis: A Framework Structure



1.6 Summary

The purpose of this chapter is to introduce the thesis, offer a research rationale, and to state the research aim, objectives and research question. The introduction acts as a guide to the thesis by outlining a framework, as well offering a brief account of the literature pertinent to the study. This chapter has also offered justification for the methodological framework for this research, with further detail to follow in Chapter 2.

The chapter then illustrated how the proceeding chapters will build up the conceptual framework within which this study is located. This was achieved through clarifying the process by signposting for the reader what the work is about and illustrating the course each chapter will follow in order to present the case study within the contemporary setting. Subsequent chapters have been shown to follow the story back in time to carry the narrative forward to illustrate how the atomic bombing of Hiroshima, while being one story has two sites leading to two narratives, each heavily influenced by each country's nation building.

1.7 Reflection 1: A Reflection on the Structure

I must admit I was a little naive when I first started this research. I had the idea of analysing the bombing of Hiroshima from the two case study perspective from my experience in archaeology which, together with ancient history, was my first degree. Archaeology tends to focus on unearthing material culture through the physical artifacts of the past. However, you do not just go straight in with a shovel, first you tend to have to get some historical knowledge about the area and cultures you are breaking ground on. Once armed with this knowledge you then go in an inch at a time scraping away at the surface and recording your observations as the history/artefact is revealed into a tangible narrative. When reflecting on the introduction, the inductive based interpretive research approach using narrative-building is clearly evident with in the structuring in archaeology. With the bombing of Hiroshima there is the history, there is the culture and there is the excavation of the absent narrative of the why and what happened within both the Enola Gay exhibit and the HPMM/GD. All of this has led to the structure of the thesis starting with the event as it is today, then going back in time to bring its narrative forward. But at the start of my journey this was not as clear as it is today, and it took the viva process to realise this. So, what is seen now is a result of the reflective processes of my examiners and myself. All of which has demonstrated to me that within research, even when you think you have reached the end of your journey there is always the possibility of a new way to unravel your research story.

Chapter 2

Methodology

2.1 Introduction

This chapter will establish and explain the philosophical approaches that form the research methods used to address the research aim and objectives as stated in Chapter 1. The strategy employed is supported by research philosophies following a particular ontological and epistemological perspective. In addressing the methodology for the research, a qualitative methods approach was employed focusing on primary and secondary methods, within a dual case study approach drawing on both exhibit observations and semi-structured interviews as methods of generating primary data. Specifically, the research followed an inductively based, interpretive research approach drawing upon narrative as a key feature for collecting data and reporting it.

2.2 Research Philosophy

Research can be defined loosely as a variety of endeavours focused on gathering sufficient amounts of information, probing into elaborate theories and producing new ideas or supporting old ideas (Walliman, 2016; Durbarry, 2018). For a more utilitarian perspective, Leedy & Ormrod (2014) state that research is a systematic method of scrutiny into the analysis of material and sources to ascertain facts to reach new deductions or to establish old facts by the scientific re-examination of a subject by employing critical investigation. A common underlying theme is that research tends to have several assumptions that steer their various approaches used towards seeking through investigation, the solution to a problem, to find answers and to find the truth to support those answers. There are generally five stages within the research process (Gratton & Jones, 2010:5):

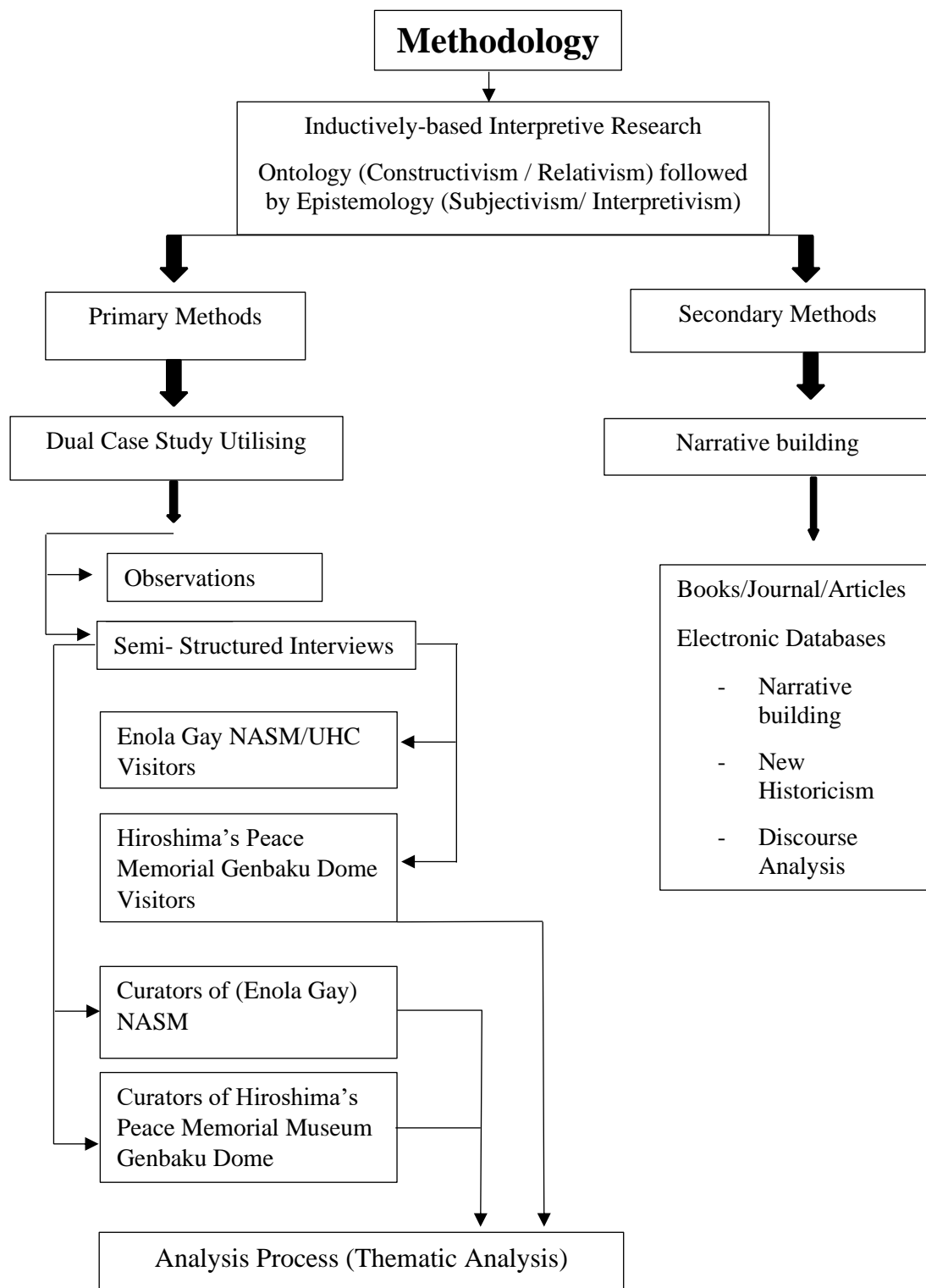
- i) The stage before data collection, where the researcher decides upon the research question, the aim of the research and the research objectives.
- ii) The stage of designing how to collect the data to answer the questions, deciding which methods to use and with what sample or, more precisely, establishing the methodology.

iii) The actual data collection stage, where the data are collected by one or more research methods.

iv) The analysis of the data – either regarding the theoretical framework adopted or to generate theory – to achieve the overall aim of the research.

v) The reporting of the research to communicate the findings to others.

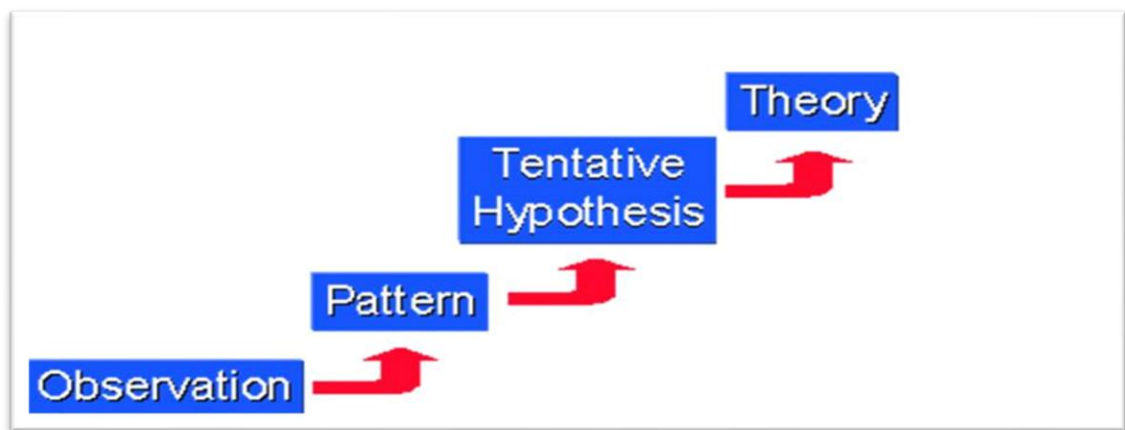
Figure 2.1: Overview of Research Methodology



In addressing the methodology for the research, a qualitative methods approach was employed focusing on primary and secondary methods for which figure 2.1 above provides a summarised account.

The process of research adopted within the analysis for this thesis followed the key principle of an inductively based, interpretive research approach/inductive reasoning. By utilising the inductive approach it allowed the researcher to follow more of an unhindered and exploratory method of reasoning (Gratton & Jones, 2010; Morse, 2017).

Figure 2.2: Inductive Reasoning Source



Source: Trochim (2006)

Inductive reasoning begins by focusing on a particular observation with the goal of drawing a more general conclusion (Figure 2.2 above), (Trochim, 2006; Morse, 2017) and has become the most widespread form of action in social science research as it enables the researcher to draw conclusions from everyday experiences that can be generalised (Walliman, 2016).

Walliman points out there are three stipulations required for the use of generalisations to be reasoned as legitimate by inductivists. The first relates to there being a large sample size of observation statements. The observations should repetitively incorporate a wide range of contexts and settings and no one observation statement should allow for the contradiction of the resulting generalisations.

For this research, inductive reasoning was employed when addressing areas relating to the observational aspect of the research. Observations were made relating to exhibits interpretation of the meaning of IT, animation and signs projected to the visitor

of physical artefacts, photographic and narrative displays at both the HPMM/GD and the Enola Gay Exhibit. Emphasis focused on analysing their links to semiotics, authenticity and victimhood to assist analysis of the findings. In doing this, this research adopted inductive reasoning.

Having introduced the specific focus of the research, attention now turns to research paradigms which act as a guiding influence for the study.

2.3 Research Paradigm

The driving influence in any study is the research paradigm. A research paradigm is a collection of combined principles that signifies a theoretical and philosophical framework for structured study (Hassard & Kelemen, 2002). Walliman (2016) believes that research methods are governed by several interconnected beliefs relating to the social world and that research signifies a philosophical and theoretical structure to facilitate a systematic study of humanity. Specifically, when linking to humanity research, an approach modelled on a basic belief system which acts as a guiding hand for research activities is preferred. With this being the case, the correct choice of methodology and methods is paramount when starting any research. Mazanec (2005), Denscombe (2017) and Yin (2018) all agree that all research, be it quantitative or qualitative, has its methods rooted in the principal beliefs of what shapes valid research and which methods are best suited for a particular investigation.

Bryman & Bell (2007) describe a research paradigm as a collection of principles that can influence scientists in a particular discipline to what ought to be studied, by what method research should be done and finally, in which way(s) results ought to/might be interpreted. Thus, a research paradigm offers a primary platform and a methodological procedure that guides research; simply stated, it is, a straightforward belief system that guides the researcher's actions while undertaking an investigation. Consequently, the selected research paradigm becomes the starting point for any study.

Research paradigms are often illustrated under several different headings. These are mainly positivism, post-positivism critical theory and constructivism as illustrated in Table 2.1 (below). However, they can also include interpretivism, feminism, and postmodernism (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011).

Table 2.1: Table of Research Paradigm

	Positivism	Post-Positivism	Critical Theory	Constructivism
Ontology The nature of reality	Realist Reality is Objective Reality exists out there and becomes driven by unchangeable natural laws and mechanisms Context-free, a generalisation of findings	Critical Realist Reality exists It becomes driven by natural laws but can never be completely understood or uncovered	Critical Reality Social-political ethnic and gender values shape reality	Relativist Reality exists in the form of multiple mental representations
Epistemology Nature of relationships between the inquire and the knowable	Objectivist Knowledge is scientific. The inquirer adopts detached, non-interactive position	Modified Objectivist Objectivity remains an idea but can only become approximated with particular emphasis placed on external guardians such as a critical community	Subjectivist Values of inquirer influence inquiry	Subjectivist The findings are the fused interaction processed between inquirers and inquired in to Personal
Methodology The entire process of collecting and interpreting data collection	Experimental / Manipulative Redress imbalance by making enquiry in a natural setting	Modified Experimental/ manipulative Redress imbalance by making enquiry in a natural setting	Dialogic / Transformative Eliminate false consciousness and facilitate emancipation	Hermeneutic / Dialectic Inductive and interpretative
Methods Specific techniques of data collection	Quantitative Methods i.e. Questionnaires	Mixed Methods Though quantitative often gets used	Some mixed methods With care taken to permit views of participants to get expressed	Qualitative Methods i.e. Interview, text analysis of cases; observational.

Source: Adapted from Lincoln and Guba (1985)

2.4 Constructivism

Constructivists in contrast to positivists can apply a more individual and flexible structure since the knowledge obtained from what Lincoln and Guba (1985) highlight has been derived from a value-laden society with socially-constructed interpretations. Thus, they can make sense of multiple realities. Hence, Lincoln and Guba state that the research methods have to be more open to meanings in human exchanges. When engaged in the data collection stage the researcher engaged with the participants. These participants were independent, however both the researcher and the participants interacted with each other. The engagement was pursued an environment whereby together, a collaboration facilitated an account of perceived reality relating to the subject area. During this process, it was essential for the researcher to maintain an open view to new ideas that are made through the various stages of the research and an openness to permit the study to evolve and take alternative directions if needed.

For this study, the researcher focused on using constructivism as the constructivist paradigm signifies a distinct shift in terms of ontology, epistemology and methodology, due to it being structured on the relativist ontological belief that there exist a number of (social) realities that people could create for a given environment (Savenye & Robinson, 2004). The epistemological position is subjective as the researcher brings to light reality through personal exchanges with participants and strives to reveal their differing comprehensions of reality. Methodologically, constructivists prefer ‘hermeneutics’, the interpretation of human comprehension and ‘dialectics’, the comparison of different positions and views (Guba & Lincoln, 1994), while Mackenzie & Knipe (2006) observe the constructivist researcher will tend to employ qualitative data collection methods and analysis.

However, different research requires different research philosophies. Smith (2010) discusses how different models typify different research models and each model offers a distinctive assumption about the nature of reality and how individuals comprehend reality. Three fundamental models make up the research philosophies that help facilitate a worldview. These are Ontological, Epistemological and Methodological assumptions. In short, a paradigm is made up of three elementary sets of questions, which entwine in such a way that the answer to any one question governs answers to the others.

2.5 Ontology, Epistemology and Methodology Perspective

For this research, the methodological philosophies followed an ontological approach that defined the epistemology approach which in turn formed the method. Overall, the methodology followed a qualitative approach and utilised the following method - A case study based on semi-structured interviews and exhibit observations.

Ontology relates to people's beliefs on the perception of truth and how that perception affects what people think and thus, helps shapes what people think of as reality (Killam, 2013). It is advocated by Willig and Rogers (2008) who state that due to ontology being rooted in people's beliefs and assumptions, it is what shapes reality. Thus, Ontological assumptions are fundamental to research and it is comparatively impossible for researchers not to construct various assumptions about the nature of the world in which we live and in which research is conducted.

The researcher's ontological stance is located in the field of tourism, mainly in dark tourism given the multifaceted exchanges between dark places and their visitors. Carpentier (2018) states that, through the use of suitable ontological and epistemological positions, it is feasible for the researcher to recognise the 'darkness' and 'construction of places'.

Carpentier further states that ontology can be divided into two types: realism and relativism. Realism is based in the belief that one truth exists and one truth only and can be discovered using objective measurement. On finding the truth, this can then be applied to other situations. The opposite view of reality is relativism, and Carpentier argues that relativism focuses on the assumption that multiple realities exist, and the perception of the reality is dependent upon what individuals attach to the notion of truth which is shaped by context. Therefore, for relativism, the reality is shaped by how individuals see things, it evolves and changes depending on experiences. However, Carpentier believes that a limitation associated with relativism is that it does not allow the researcher to clarify "an absolute truth about the real world and meanings" (Carpentier, 2018:8), hence differing epistemologies.

Epistemology can also be divided into two parts: objective and subjective epistemology (Killam, 2013). Objective epistemology is utilised by realists who believes that to find what the truth is, the researcher needs to stay as far away from the research as they can so that they avoid having a direct impact on information collected. The subjective epistemology approach works by interacting with people to find out what truth means to

them. However, in order to be subjective Killam argues the researcher needs to acknowledge the potential influences they may have on the research. Interaction is a necessary process to understand what is happening with the participant's opinions.

Given the research aim and objectives, with regards to the interpretation employed in the representation of interpreting contentious heritage belonging to both the Enola Gay and the HPMM, the constructivist paradigm following a relativist ontology and subjective epistemology was deemed the most suitable for this research within an inductively based, interpretive research approach. The reason is that this approach is appropriate since the research involved obtaining the views of different visitors with potentially different viewpoints and their interpretation of the respective sites. Thus, the subjective approach allowed the researcher to comprehend the different outlooks and opinions of given visitors both at the HPMM/Genbaku Dome and the Enola Gay Exhibit NASM, Hazy Center.

When focusing on methodology, Killam (2013:9) states that “a methodology is driven by the researcher's ontology and epistemology beliefs”. Having established a relativist ontology, and subjective epistemological position for this research, it is important to select appropriate research methods and tools to collect rich and in depth data. The methodology is formulated through linkages with a variety of disciplines and becomes governed by nature or perspectives. There are two terms relating to the different aspects of research; one is linked to the approach to methodology while the other is linked to doing the Method. The methodology gets associated with a general approach to researching subjects while the method is related to a specific research technique. The methodology is governed by the researcher choosing an epistemological stance, in contrast to the meaning related to the method (Willig, 2013). This general, rather than specific, approach considers the role of knowledge concerning the research undertaken. Therefore, it can be proposed that a researcher who undertakes a predominantly empiricist approach to gathering knowledge will investigate research subjects through the gathering of information rather than utilising theoretical formulations. This equates to the point that construed ideas or hypotheses relate to research, and research should be subject to the demands of testing before being pronounced knowledge/theory, thus, the inductive approach is demonstrated. In everyday terms, epistemology involves both ontology and methodology. Ontology is associated with the philosophy of reality whereas epistemology considers how we as humans come to distinguish what is meant by reality. Methodology, on the other hand, defines the specific systems used to attain that

knowledge of reality (Krauss, 2005). Therefore, it is implicit that the researcher adopts an appropriate model of research that supports their ontological, epistemological and methodological assumptions.

2.6 Case Study

Attention now turns to examine the case study approach as the research in this thesis is based upon two case studies: the HPMM/GD and the Enola Gay Exhibit NASM/UHC. Several academics present justifications for the use of case study design as a means to better gain an in-depth understanding of the situations and meanings as they provide the opportunity to investigate present-day phenomena in depth and within a real-world setting (Yin, 2003; 2018; Stevenson et al., 2008; George, 2019).

Parks-Savage (2005) concluded that case studies are best employed in developing an in-depth analysis of a single case or multiple cases. Furthermore, Yin (2003) states that a case study is an empirical enquiry functioning in a real-life situation and is a valuable tool when the phenomena being considered fall outside a laboratory or other controlled environment.

Case studies characteristically bring together data collection methods such as archival searches, fieldwork, interviews, observations and questionnaires to reconstitute and analyse a given area of study (Eisenhardt, 1989; Hamel, 1992; Patton & Appelbaum, 2003; Rahim & Baksh, 2003; George, 2019). Wight and Lennon (2007) posit six central types of data to be collected to put forward a robust case study, which are: documents, archival records, interviews, direct observations, participant observations, and artefacts. All of this further enables the researcher to answer questions such as ‘how’ and ‘why’ (Parks-Savage, 2005; Baxter & Jack, 2008). Case studies are, thus, well suited to enquire into meanings and expressions of the human experience (Rubaie, 2002) and other complicated and unique phenomena where existing research is lacking (Fisher & Ziviani, 2004). Additionally, case studies have some characteristics that add strength to research that includes its ability to provide a depth of analysis, which is seen as a primary virtue of the research. Moreover, case studies can use both quantitative and qualitative data to complement each other in the research and by using triangulation techniques in the research, this adds to the reliability of the conclusions. This is because this variety of data enhance the credibility of the findings, which greatly increases the effectiveness of theory building and testing capabilities (Zainal, 2007; Denscombe, 2017 and Yin, 2018).

However, Zainal argues that while the case study method has substantial support for its merits, it is not devoid of limitations. Case studies, frequently get branded as lengthy, drawn-out methods that generate substantial quantities of data over a prolonged period and as such may not be organised or managed systematically. Additionally, Yin (2003;2018) proclaims the virtues of case studies, whilst also being critical to their limitations by stating they can lack rigour and present not much base for generalisation. Also, Yin argues that the case methodology is microscopic due to the characteristically limited sample sizes. However, Zainal in defence of case studies, argues that ‘parameter establishment’ and ‘objective setting’ of the study are considerably more insignificant in the case study method than a big sample size. Likewise, Crowe et al. (2011) point out that there are numerous tactics to address this concern such as including the use of theoretical sampling and openness through the research process. Nonetheless, despite these challenges the case study method is widely supported and widely deployed in research which studies social phenomena within actual settings and, if thoughtfully conceptualised undertaken well, it can produce meaningful and authoritative insights into many important aspects of the phenomenon being studied (Zainal, 2007; Thomas, 2017).

In general, there is a mixture of terms used to define different case study types. Stake (1995;2006) categorises case studies as intrinsic, instrumental and collective, while, Yin makes distinctions between explanatory, exploratory or descriptive case studies. Table 2.2 below summarises the different types of case study.

Based on the arguments above, case study research was deemed an appropriate methodology for studying the development of the dark cultural heritage of Hiroshima, and the Enola Gay. One of the key defining characteristics of case study research lies in delimiting the object of the study. In this regard, the clear delineation of boundaries and delimitations assisted the researcher in determining the focus and parameters of the case study.

Table 2.2: Definitions of Different Types of Case Studies

Stake (1995;2006)	Yin (2003;2018)
<p>Intrinsic - The term intrinsic suggests that researchers who have a genuine interest in the case should use this approach when the intent is to understand the case better. It is not undertaken primarily because the case represents other cases or because it illustrates a particular trait or problem, but because in all its particularity and ordinariness, the case itself is of interest. The purpose is not to come to understand some abstract construct or generic phenomenon.</p>	<p>Explanatory - This type of case study would be used if you were seeking to answer a question that sought to explain the presumed causal links in real-life interventions that are too complex for the survey or experimental strategies. In evaluation language, the explanations would link program implementation with program effects.</p>
<p>Instrumental - This type of case study is used to accomplish something other than understanding a particular situation. It provides insight into an issue or helps to refine theory. The case is of secondary interest; it plays a supportive role, facilitating understanding of something else. The case is often looked at in depth, its contexts scrutinized, its ordinary activities detailed, because it helps the researcher pursue the external interest. The case may or may not be seen as typical of other cases.</p>	<p>Exploratory - This type of case study is used to explore those situations in which the intervention being evaluated has no clear, single set of outcomes.</p>
<p>Collective - Collective case studies are similar in nature and description to multiple case studies</p>	<p>Descriptive - This type of case study is used to describe an intervention or phenomenon and the real-life context in which it occurred.</p>

Source: Adapted from Baxter & Jack (2008)

2.7 Qualitative Research Method

Generally, within research strategies, there are two diverse methodologies: quantitative and qualitative. Quantitative methods focus on gathering information that is numerically based, is open to analytical methods such as statistical correlations and is beneficial to the testing of theory. In contrast, qualitative methods focus on language and the analysis of its meaning. As such the gathering of qualitative data tends to focus on close human participation and a creative process of theory development as opposed to theory testing (Walliman, 2016). Also, there is an underlying epistemological difference associated with quantitative and qualitative research. Bryman (2015) illustrates this difference by identifying three characteristics in both the quantitative and qualitative approaches that include: Orientation, Epistemology and Ontology (see table 2.3 below).

Concerning Bryman’s three characteristics Orientation, Epistemology and Ontology, Walliman states that while these characteristics are useful in illustrating and comprehending social research, as they should not be viewed as being absolute but instead should be seen as polarisations. For this research, the qualitative research method has been utilised and focuses on employing the inductive and constructionist approach.

Table 2.3: Differences Between Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches

Qualitative	Quantitative
Orientation: Uses an inductive approach to generate theories	Orientation: Uses a deductive approach to test theories
Epistemology: It rejects positivism by relying on the individual interpretation of social reality	Epistemology: Is based on a positivist approach inherent in the natural sciences
Ontology: Constructionist in that social reality is seen as a constantly shifting product of perception	Ontology: Objectivist in that social reality is regarded as objective fact

Source: Bryman (2015:32)

The principles of qualitative data analysis can take several forms, each reflecting the kind of data to be analysed as well as the reason they have been studied. Consequently, there is no single method for the analysis of qualitative information which includes all circumstances (Denscombe, 2017). However, there are some common principles connected with qualitative data analysis which can act as signposts to guide researchers in carrying out their research. Therefore, when looking at the analysis through using the qualitative approach, information tends to be seen as; interactive, inductive and research-centred.

Interactive equates to the analysis not being seen as a one-off affair within a specific point of time but as one where the analysis follows an evolving undertaking whereby the collection of information and analysis phases occur together (Eisenhardt et al., 2016; Denscombe, 2017). Eisenhardt et al. further state that inductive analysis works from the particular to the general based on a detailed study of localised data. Additionally, the analysis strives to conclude with a more abstract/general statement relating to the topic under analysis. Finally, research-centred relates to the relationship that the researcher has with the research concluding that the beliefs and experiences of the researcher are viewed as influencing factors on the analysis. Therefore, as Denscombe argues the researcher's 'self-identity' is considered to be a significant factor concerning the analysis presented.

The study was confined to the HPMM/GD and the Enola Gay Exhibit NASM/UHC. Key participants were limited to people holding the positions of acting directors of collections and curatorial affairs. These are the people who have overall responsibility for the designs of exhibits, including information conveyed to the visitor via IT animation and signage. They are "key players" [...] "picked out precisely because they are specialists, experts, highly experienced and their testimony carries with it a high degree of credibility" (Denscombe, 2017:189). Interviews were also held with 30 members of the public visiting each site to assess their views of the interpretation of each site related to issues raised in the research objectives. Consequently, the study used the following data types: documents, archival records, interviews, direct observations, artefacts and field surveys (see table 2.4 below).

Table 2.4: Types of Qualitative Data

<i>Source of data</i>	<i>Research method</i>	<i>Format of data</i>
Interview talk	Interviews	Recorded speech
Reports, diaries, minutes of meetings, scripts (e.g. for political speeches or media programmes)	} Documents	Printed text
Interactions between people (including naturally occurring actions, responses, language) Events (e.g. ceremonies, rituals, performances) Artefacts, symbols, cultural objects (e.g. paintings, advertisements)		
Answers to open-ended questions	Questionnaires	Printed text

Source: Denscombe (2017:273)

In spite of the benefits of qualitative research, it is also important to note its limitations. Denscombe notes as criticism that data collection and analysis in qualitative methods are more time-consuming than quantitative methods. Further, Mohajan (2018) observes that it is acknowledged that the responses of subjects can be affected or influenced by the presence of the researcher in the process of data gathering. Moreover, Mohajan also advocates that research based on the qualitative method can have issues of bias, therefore, to minimise the bias, it is essential to identify and elucidate the viewpoints of both the researcher and participants.

However, despite its criticisms, Mohajan emphasises that the importance of qualitative research lies in its ability to enable the researcher to comprehend complex phenomena that are difficult or even impossible to capture through quantitative research. This is because in qualitative research, “it is the rich, thick description through words (not numbers) that persuade the reader of the trustworthiness of the findings”, further validating the research findings (Merriam & Grenier, 2019:6).

2.8 Grounded Theory

When linking to grounded theory, the methodology within this thesis did not strictly follow the rules of grounded theory but instead adopted key principles in the spirit of this approach. Taking an inductively based interpretive research approach to data analysis, a philosophy of naturalistic examination was adopted. This choice was made due to the integral complexities in the comprehension relating to the controversies within the context of dark tourism and politicisation of the fundamental interrelationships that exist in the authenticity and cross cultural touristic (re)presentations of the 1945 atomic bombing of Hiroshima, Japan.

The use of grounded theory can thus be legitimised on the basis that the approach draws towards the nature of reality through established grounded theory. This is relevant for this study since it is based on the analysis of a variety of theoretical and primary multi-viewpoints from various academic field research undertaken by a broad range of published academics. Hardy (2005) asserts that grounded theory is a methodology that reflects the ontological view that different people perceive incidents in different ways. Therefore, when studying a social phenomenon, researchers need to gain an in-depth understanding of how people/cultures (individually) distinguish reality/existential authenticity.

Consequently, Joo (2011), Lewis (2015) and Nunkoo & Ramkissoon (2016) convey research based around grounded theory classically utilises in-depth and semi-structured interviews as the primary data collection method due to their ability to generate in-depth explanations of a phenomenon from the viewpoints of the contributors' understandings, rather than just drawing from the understanding of the researcher's perspective. As stated, for this study grounded theory has been adhered to in spirit by adapting the specifically chosen core elements of Iterative Process, Theoretical Sampling and Constant Comparison and adapting them to accommodate new historicism and political psychology.

i) Iterative Process: An inductive analysis is an iterative process and aims to sort and arrange qualitative data incorporating observation, interviews, and documents then structuring these data sets into patterns, themes, categories and units of meanings, to form sets of abstract data (Creswell, 2009; Punch, 2009; and Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2011). Within a grounded theory approach, iterative means collected data is repeatedly revisited, analysed and compared with the literature,

following which further data is collected to help refine concepts. This is then analysed and compared with the literature and original concepts, “leading to the focused collection of further information, and so the process proceeds” (Weed, 2009:505) until theoretical saturation is achieved.

ii) New Historicism: Adopting new historicism as the research followed a post-disciplinary route. It was felt necessary to expand research lines of investigation by bringing together a multi-theoretical and interdisciplinary new historicist criticism approach. This approach utilises comparative research analysis and follows the lines of new historicism. The reasoning for engaging with the new historicism methodological approach was that in the words of Griffith (2010:198) new historicism adds a political edge which is lacking in “Old” Historicism. Therefore, this method increases the acknowledgement within this academic research due to its interconnectivity with political elements of investigation, thus making it a more appropriate approach to investigating the politicisation aspect of the study. New Historicism, as with ‘Old’, is used to look at how events were/get represented in historical and cultural texts written at the time from a cultural perspective. New Historicism “...differs drastically in its beliefs about the nature of literature and the purpose of literary studies and is more sympathetic for disadvantaged – “marginalised” people and critically examines in what ways the socio-cultural myth of events that have been, represented” (Griffith, 2010:198). However, within this study the social-cultural element focus also falls on the political psychology influence in the forging of the myth of events linking to dissonance and stakeholder analysis. Therefore, it was felt necessary to support new historicism criticism with political psychology.

iii) Political psychology: As a method this seeks to interpret the interconnectedness, linking individuals via perspective influences, to a variety of human social and cultural traits including attitude, beliefs, cognition, information processing, learning strategies, motivations, perceptions, religious beliefs, and socialisation (Cottam et al., 2010). Thus, the political psychology approach is utilised due to its use in leadership, nationalism political extremism, domestic and foreign policymaking, behaviour in ethnic violence, war and genocide, dynamics, and conflicts. This illustrates the unfolding politics of ‘politicised historicity’ within political psychology theory and practice. Thus, political psychology, when applied as a fundamental conceptual framework for this thesis, helps to illustrate

a greater understanding of the political outlooks for both the Enola Gay and the HPMM/GD, from both the relevant US perspective and that of Japan. In addition, emphasis is given to political righteousness, victimhood through the concepts of victim/victimiser/perpetrator, authenticity and dissonance. Further, all of these are related to the state/city, institutional, managerial stakeholder ideologies which govern each of the case studies.

To illustrate the relevance of political psychology to individuals and the social collective, attention was paid to Brewer (2001) who draws upon the notion that political psychology evolved out of social ideology and divided social ideology into four sections: personal-based social identity, relational social identity, group-based social identity and collective identities. For this work, the concept of collective identities proved most apt, as it illustrates the linkages between the two disciplines of social ideologies and political psychology concerning the Enola Gay and the HPMM/GD.

iv) Constant Comparison: Within the process of grounded theory, information is analysed through constant comparison (Memon et al., 2017). The process of consistent comparison requires the continual appraising and comparing of new codes, classifications and concepts as they surface and for the researcher to continually validate them against existing versions (Denscombe, 2017; Memon et al., 2017). In doing this, Denscombe and Memon et al. state the researcher is then able to hone and perfect the instructive potential of the emerging concepts and theories generated from the research. Therefore, when engaging in constant comparison, researchers are able by following three stages to improve their codes and concepts by:

- i) Underlining the similarities and differences.
- ii) Integrating categories classifications and codes under common headings.
- iii) Constantly checking out their emerging theories as they develop.

Thus, engaging with constant comparison, ensures that theories advanced by the researcher maintain their relationship with the origins of the research and in doing so, remain 'grounded' in empirical reality. Further, having adopted the grounded theory principles outlined above to address the research, the type of theory produced follows the vein of substantive theory and formal theory. This tends to be the more usual type of

theory, and since it is closely associated to empirical, which is the aim of this study which strives to tackle a studied phenomenon within a particular situation (Birks & Mills, 2015), it is an appropriate approach to take.

2.9 Narrative-Building

When employing narrative-building as a method for quality improvement research as a process of data collection analysis and narration storytelling, Bruner (1986) and Greenhalgh et al. (2005) argue there are two forms of human cognition: A) Logico scientific - Science of the concrete which aims to understand specific phenomena as common laws. B) Narrative – Science of the imagination, which employs narrative reasoning that seeks to understand phenomena in terms of human experience and purpose.

Traditionally, conventional research mostly relies on Logico scientific - Science of the concrete (Palkinghorne, 1988 and Muller, 1999). In fact, Vorenberg (2011) states that narrative-building is a tool largely overlooked and yet it provides the opportunity to bring the researcher ‘face to face’ with the subject area which stimulates questions and directs researcher into new directions not necessarily sought out by conventional methods. Also, Greenhalgh et al. (2005) argue that stories, while they do not persuade via their objective truth, they instead influence the reader through their emotional bearing. This is achieved either through a narrative/story’s aesthetic appeal (touching, humour or irony, metaphor) or when one level of meaning is heightened through subjective comparison analysis and moral order (moral comeuppance).

The concept of story/narrative is one which itself has been unravelled through time and traced back to the classical scholars like Herodotus, Thucydides, and Aristotle. Greenhalgh et al. draw on Aristotle’s work ‘Poetics’ to illustrate the application of narrative/storytelling as a tool of literary analysis, illustrating how Aristotle divided the value of story narrative into three main traits. This is done by: An unfolding of events and actions over time.

- i) Employment (the rhetorical juxtaposition of these events and actions to evoke meaning, motive, and causality).
- ii) Trouble (*peripeteia*)– the unexpected in the form of surprise, “twist in the plot” (Greenhalgh et al., 2005:443).

In response to Aristotle, Burke (1969) laid down a modern equation that story concerns purposeful action in the face of adversity and risk, and is made up of five main features:

- i) The act (what is done).
- ii) The scene (the context in which it is done)
- iii) The agent or actor (who does it).
- iv) The agency (how it is done).
- v) The purpose (why it is done) (Burke, 1969).

In general, there are four main approaches to employing narrative-building in research: narrative interview, naturalistic story gathering, organisational case study and narrative dimensions of collective sense making. For this study, the naturalistic story gathering, and organisational case study approaches were utilised. The naturalistic story gathering approach was utilised due to its ability to help access shared values and meaning systems within the organisational culture such as the Smithsonian NASM and the HPMM. This is because it uses informality through the exchange of stories, which then allows the narratives to be collaboratively reframed and contextualised. More specifically, it was employed during the semi-structured interview process of the empirical research.

Gabriel (2000) argues that stories exchanged by individuals from within organisations establish meaning by drawing on moral lessons they transmit to explain values that justify, warn, and educate. In contrast, Boje (2014) argues that informal stories from within organisations tend to be multi-authored, are highly reflective and co-constructed through the interaction between the interviewee/teller and the interviewer/listener. This results in the story being recreated and reinterpreted in the light of the present which builds on the interconnectivity with new historicism.

Naturalistic enquiry, thus, presents the opportunity to produce what Geertz (1973) has called “thick description”, a term to which Geertz credits to Ryle (1973). Nonetheless, Geertz conceptualises thick description as a “multi-layered interpretation of social actions in context” (Geertz cited in Greenhalgh et al. 2005:445) while Ponterotto (2006) defines the essence of ‘Thick Description’ through joining together the works of Ryle (1971), Geertz (1973), Denzin (1989), Holloway (1997), and Schwandt (2001) into five components: “Thick description” involves accurately describing and interpreting social

actions within the appropriate context in which the social action took place. “Thick description” captures the thoughts, emotions, and web of social interaction among observed participants in their operating context. A central feature to interpreting social actions entails assigning motivations and intentions for the said social actions.

The context for, and the specifics of, the social action are so well described that the reader experiences a sense of verisimilitude as they read the researcher’s account. For Denzin (1989), verisimilitude refers to “truthlike statements that produce for readers the feeling that they have experienced, or could experience, the events being described.” (pp. 83-84). “Thick description” of social actions promotes “thick interpretation” of these actions, which lead to “thick meaning” of the findings that resonate with readers (Ponterotto & Grieger, 2007).

A working definition of thick description, therefore, is that the term describes observed social actions and gives meaning to these actions through the researcher’s understanding/description within the context the social actions were undertaken. Thick description, thus, encapsulates the reflections and sentiments of participants, including the relationships among themselves. Thick description results in thick interpretation, which in turn leads to thick significance of the research findings for the researcher, participants and intended readership. Thick meaning of findings conveys a sense of verisimilitude, where participants can cognitively and emotively “place” themselves within the research context (Ponterotto, 2006:543)

An organisational case study approach was utilised as case study research draws on a social system/a case within a context which allows the opportunity to study in depth and illuminate understandings into why specific events unfold (Yin, 2018) leading to a rich and more genuine analysis. Methods of case study analysis have been previously discussed in section 2.6 above, however the discussion will now focus on case studies as an application for data analysis within storytelling. Storying entails building a chronological narrative of fundamental events as part of the selection process of data inclusion and exclusion. It also facilitates a method of deriving meaning from various data sources through generating connections case as Greenhalgh et al. (2005:446) states, “either tentatively (as hypotheses to be tested in further research) or more firmly as lessons or conclusions”.

To help conceptualise the approaches to storytelling Greenhalgh et al. draw on Stake (1995) and Maanen (1988) who suggest four approaches to “storying” to assist the

researcher in presenting in depth case studies: Realist tales: a direct, matter-of-fact portrait, a chronological or biographical development of the case. Confessional tales: the researcher's personal account of coming to know the case and the challenges they faced. Impressionist tales: a sequential description of several major components of the case, "*personalised accounts of fleeting moments of fieldwork case in dramatic form*". Illustrative tales: the use of vignettes (storied episodes) to illustrate particular aspects of the case (Greenhalgh et al., 2005:446). All four areas have been adhered to within both the theoretical and epistemological sections of the research. Thus, in choosing to utilise story/narrative telling as a method to secure and convey data it has helped to enrich and exemplify research side by side with traditional research methods (Vorenberg 2011).

2.10 Discourse Analysis

Discourse analysis is often linked with methodologies that Phillips and Hardy (2002:2) state are, utilised for examining the practice of "social construction and organisational life". From this, Phillips & Hardy move forward and discuss the fundamental function that the role discourse plays across societies, stating if:

"...any society becomes deprived of discourse there is no social reality, no understanding of reality, or their collective experiences or any true understanding of themselves" (Phillips & Hardy, 2002:2).

The poststructuralist social theory of the French philosopher Michel Foucault worked on power and language (Walliams, 2016) to establish how power works. This led to what is known as Foucauldian discourse analysis, which is a method used for analysing language and image. Thus, discourse analysis runs concurrently with semiotics insofar as both disciplines focus on the messages sent via the visual form. Languages take many forms; this can be seen in the visual arts, sculptures, pictures, or can be expressed in the written word through the media of lyrics for songs, poetry, newspapers, books and websites. These go into making up the exhibits that curators display to the public, all of which are media of discourse open to having their messages analysed. Foucault found that no matter what kind of language is analysed, one can see how it is utilised by various institutions such as governments, the press, schools and advertising as a medium by which the function it bestows is one of a position of power (Wetherell et al., 2001).

Discourse analysis, when viewed through Foucault's interpretation, relates to how visual images are rooted in the customs of organisations and how they implement their

influence for this work. These institutions are the influential stakeholders and the governing bodies of the Smithsonian NASM/UHC, USA and the HPMM/GD, Japan. Wetherell et al., discuss Foucault's notion of power and power relationships noting that Foucault spurned the conventional idea of power as something that can be owned by a power elite and wielded over the masses. Foucault links between knowledge and power and used discourse analysis in his search for a real interpretation of crime and punishment in France. He did this by examining a range of categories, concepts, theories and relationships of relating to issues from data gathered relating to the French criminal justice system between the 17th and 20th centuries. In effect, this was an undertaking in using historical texts linking to the New Historicism method. Foucault went on to demonstrate how one can explore historical and contemporary themes for information relating to the different time spans analysing what had been written and comparing how past events helped to influence politically shaped decisions within contemporary times (Foucault, 1977). This was used to illustrate how discourse analysis gets used as a method where reactions can take place through analysis. In the instance of Foucault's study into criminal justice, the reaction of the power elite was a policy that reflected the response towards those who transgressed against society's norms and values insofar as a crime was punished by society handing out just recompense. This illustrates Foucault's view of the role of discourse analysis in assisting society in having a greater understanding of their belief in reality. It also illustrates the discourse relating to the US decision to hand out its retribution to Japan for its attack on Pearl Harbour in the form of a nuclear bomb, and is a point further discussed when examining dissonant heritage in Chapter 3 section 3.10.

Wetherell et al. (2001) argue that Foucault promotes the idea that power is pervasive insofar that it is woven into all relationships; relationships which individuals and institutions continuously occupy when dealing with others in strategies of power. Foucault states that power is "action upon action" (Foucault, 1982:340), implying that power is productive and positive for society. However, in looking at interpretation and Rose's (2014) work based on Hooper-Greenhill (1992) on discourse analysis, concerning exhibits, Rose observes that exhibits themselves will have often undergone much critical analysis of their physical content and purpose in conveying a directed message to visitors. Rose further states that in museums the spaces behind the displays, behind the scenes the "stores [...] archives [...] libraries [...] offices and service areas, of museums where visitors are not aware of and have no access to. They are the places within museums that produce the institution's power/knowledge" (Rose, 2014:249-50).

The implication made here is that museums, when producing exhibits for display, are all too aware of the political nuance that governs the institution and that the message conveyed in the exhibition is one governed, by whatever suits the purpose of the controlling stakeholders and no one else. Additionally, this is all undertaken behind closed doors or as Hooper-Greenhill states:

“A split is sliced between ‘knowing subjects’, between the producers, and the consumers of knowledge between expert and layman [...] stating that the producers work in hidden places for the consumers who consume in the public places and that power is [...] skewed to privilege the hidden [...] the production of knowledge through the compilation of catalogues, inventories and installations” (Hooper-Greenhill, 1992:190).

Linking back to discourse analysis, Smith (2006) presents the subject of power relations as the seat of heritage discourse, stating that within societies dominant groups use their view of the past when recognising prominent monuments as well as the professionals responsible for conserving and interpreting them. This is authorised exclusive heritage discourse and the expression of hegemonic power (Smith, 2006; Battilani et al., 2018). The issues raised here are ones of control and truth of the exhibited narrative, insofar as the context in which the narrative is set. Thus, this illustrates the point of Battilani et al. (2018) who reaffirm that heritage for nation building has been widely used, as documented by Smith (2006) Graham & Howard (2008) Harvey (2008) and Smith (2011).

The essential point of interest in discourse analysis relating to this work is apparent when considering the concepts of nation-building and tourism interpretation. Societies need to understand the reality they gain through individual or shared experience. For example, the Japanese needed to understand their position post World War II and the HPMM/GD has given them a shared understanding of how the war resulted in them being a collective victim of nuclear aggression. Therefore, this diminishes the fact that they lost the war by allowing Japan to play on the enormity of the devastation suffered by Hiroshima and Nagasaki as a result of the American bombing. Consequently, the Japanese were able to believe in the narrative of the Emperor Hirohito in his surrender speech where he stated:

“...Should, we continue to fight, it would not only result in an ultimate collapse and disappearance of the Japanese nation, but it would also lead to the total extinction of human civilisation” (Butow & Reischauer, 1954: 248).

Phillips and Hardy (2002) state that without understanding reality, society cannot fully understand itself truthfully. Therefore, one can deduce that The Smithsonian and The City of Hiroshima cannot represent itself truthfully either through the Enola Gay or the HPMM/GD. However, as one can see through Hooper-Greenhill (1992), within institutions whose custodians are charged with the conveying knowledge to the public, this knowledge really can be one of self-interest. Definitive meaning that reflects reality is often culturally constrained by social actors who shape the construction of meaning within a context. Meanings are far from fixed and stable; truth/reality are not merely evident but are waiting to become discovered.

To return to discourse analysis, it is apparent that discourse analysis centres its attention on analysing how the social world is built and upheld. As a methodology, it encompasses a robust constructivist epistemology (Berger & Luckmann, 1967; Gergen 1999). It emphasises the codes by which the social world is built and sustained, highlighting a strong focus towards reflectivity just as one would hope the Enola Gay exhibit at the NASM/UHC and the UNESCO World Heritage Site and the HPMM/GD visitor centres adhere. However, when looking at discourse analysis which is applied around power relations within establishments charged with conveying visual displays, the results were very interesting.

Rose (2014), however, points out that discourse analysis as a methodology has some weaknesses insofar as there is an “un-interest in images themselves, a lack of concern for conflict and disruptions within institutional practices, a neglect of the practices of viewing brought by visitors to those institutions, and a lack of any form of reflexivity” (Rose, 2014:259) The lack of reflexivity is an exacting point for Rose to finish on. Rose here recognises the weakness of the discourse analyst, which is that of not scrutinising themselves as researchers. Nor do they scrutinise the research connection between individuals or institutions by stepping back and taking time to self-search their conceptual baggage in the form of their previously-held assumptions and prejudices. Thus, there is a strong likelihood that interpretation can accrue a significant degree of subjectivity impacting on the representation or non-representation of reality.

With postmodernist perspectives and concepts of reality, Gough (2002) links to modernist theory pinpointing Schwab’s (1962) analysis of the post-positivist evolution into post-modernism. Schwab’s work can be used to support Phillip and Hardy (2002), by discussing how scientific research in the mid-twentieth century moved from a

discipline that consisted of a linearity process. This linearity process illustrates a rational control by developing a structure of thought that was analytical with its roots set in objective facts. It then moved from the modernist perspective to one which evaluated interpretations, perceptions and rationalisations of a society's experiences for its insight into reality. Reality comes from a process that stems from a variety of human actors and from varying social, cultural and political backgrounds, all of whom, Schwab argues, draw on a mixture of resources available to them to construct a narrative rather than drawing on facts driven by the linearity process as the case in modernism.

Gough (2002) points out, though, that understanding 'reality' (and our knowledge of it) as socially constructed is *not* an 'anti-realist' position, however, what is at issue here is not *belief* in the real but confidence in its representation. Linking to semiotics as a science, Elam (2002) states that semiotics can "best be defined as a science dedicated to the study of the production of meaning in society" (Elam, 2002:1). Elam goes on to illustrate how semiotics is irrevocably linked to methodological practices of signification and communication, which link to the process through which meaning is produced and exchanged. Its entities are diverse science systems and codes that operate in society reflecting on how messages and texts are produced. The extent to which semiotics becomes interconnected within the concept of interpretation is such that Elam denotes semiotics cannot be thought of merely as a discipline as it is too multifaceted and heterogeneous to be reduced to a 'method'. Elam concludes by arguing the case for semiotics to be called a 'multidisciplinary science', stating that it is a science where the exact methodological features will inevitably differ from the varied fields; fields which are united by shared international concerns in the search for better recognition and understanding of societies' own meaning, the directions by which humanity travels and conduct. This study was then, the undertaking of an observational analysis of exhibits produced by curators, whose influence is governed by subjective institutional perspectives and employing semiotic theory.

An individual can see the critical themes with which museums are engaging proactively through semiotic theoretical implementation and which direct the visitor to see what the institution wants them to see insofar as exhibits are designed to convey messages that form sequential parts of the official narrative that suits the purpose of the museum. For Hiroshima, the purpose is to convey the facts of the bombing of Hiroshima and to contribute towards the abolition of nuclear weapons (Fuchinoue, 2008). Here, the depth of truth is curtailed, as there is no vision by the HPMM to lay bare the cause of the

bombing, thus, the message conveyed is one-sided and portrays Japan as being a victim of World War II. For the US, the current exhibition in which the Enola Gay is displayed is one which is focused not on its role in killing tens of thousands of people, although the information does explain that it was used to drop the bomb on Hiroshima in one sortie. However, the emphasis is laid on the part it played in the technological advancements made in aircraft design with the Boeing B-29 Superfortress being the most advanced bomber of its time (Lardas, 2019). Thus, each side of the argument does represent a subjective position governed by institutional or national politics.

For scholars, the interpretation of discourse is a complicated process as it covers all forms of communication following the postmodernist perspective. Discourse is communication that shapes the world in which we live. Communication, in general, gets driven by knowledge drawn from beliefs, backgrounds, assumptions, and common sense. When looking at cross-cultural interpretation, such as a Western perspective in comparison to Eastern perspectives, there will be instances where the message communicated can be blurred, due to there being a lack of understanding of each other's cultural traits. Nonetheless, when applied in a common/shared cultural setting, discourse acts to facilitate and reinforces assumptions which contribute to the flow of knowledge through time (Gee, 2014).

Discourse analysis has moved from the text-based approach to the visual, non-verbal communication linked to semiotics (Schneider, 2013). Heritage attractions represent exhibits from positions of what the curators see and wish to represent; therefore an exhibit is presented by the curators in a way they want their world to be viewed. Thus, they showcase exhibits that convey messages for consumption that help re-enforce the social structure they desire. When looking at Hiroshima and the Enola Gay, both heritage centres can be seen to structure their place in the narrative of the bombing in a position where the event gets transmitted from the perspective of a nation-state. Hence, as Schneider observes, the power of discourse here is to nationalise the message in a way in which it seems self-evident to the societies of each nation — the visual set up of information act to mirror natural assumptions. Thus, semiotics is used to re-enforce discourse through semiotic transmissions.

Discourse analysts scrutinise statements by taking them apart. When set within a political context, rhetorical tools are employed to scrutinise messages not just looking at the text of the message but also how the language is employed to deliver that message.

The social and historical backgrounds of the events also need to be recognised from a point when the statement became formed, as explained by Foucault (1977) through his work previously discussed on crime and punishment which also illustrates the connections with new historicism. This shows that findings drawn from research need to be tied together to work out the world that the statement is formulated for, whether this is for influencing national opinions of the home nation or influencing international opinions. All of which brings us back to perspectives and the issue of whose perspectives decide what gets included within an exhibit's interpretation and, equally important, whose perspectives get left out.

2.11 Semi-Structured Interviews

Targeted interviews were arranged for each site to coincide with the proposed visits. Semi-structured interviews were conducted to ascertain the perspectives of visitors and professional curators on their opinions relating to the objectives of the research. The information generated from the interviews was integrated with the other data sets, observations and theory. The questions were open-ended and the interviews informal and semi-structured.

Those targeted for interviews were people holding the positions of senior curator of collections and curatorial affairs. These are the people who have overall responsibility for the design of exhibits, including information conveyed to the visitor through IT animation and signage. They are “key players” [...] “picked out precisely because they are specialists, experts, highly experienced and their testimony carries with it a high degree of credibility” (Denscombe, 2017:189).

For this research, an in-depth semi-structured one to one interview method was used for the senior curators set within a formal setting. For the Smithsonian curators this was their offices, and for the Hiroshima curators an open meeting area. In contrast the visitor interviews for the Enola Gay exhibit were semi-structured and held on-site in the shadow of the Enola Gay in the NASM/UHC; the interviews for visitors to the HPMM were also semi-structured and took place in the foyer of the HPMM. In doing this, the researcher aided the selection process as they were able to bear witness that those visitors selected for the interview had first-hand knowledge of the case study, and were, thus, more informed.

The rationale for choosing the semi-structured one to one interview method is that it enabled the interviewer to have a clear list of issues and questions to be discussed and answered. The semi-structured process allowed the interviewer to be flexible with the order that the topic was discussed, which provided an opportunity for the interviewee to speak more widely relating to the issues highlighted by the interviewer. As Denscombe notes “the answers are open-ended, and there is more emphasis on the interviewee elaborating points of interest” (Denscombe, 2017:175). Denscombe also states that a one to one interview is also easier to arrange as there are only two parties to bring together, opinions expressed will be derived from only one source, the interview is more comfortable to control and for the analysis process, it is easier for the interviewer to transcribe the interview recording if the interview only has one person talking.

Before conducting the interviews with both sets of curators, the aim was to establish a rapport with the interviewees. This was first achieved through email, then telephone and finally Skype contact during six months before the interview. It is also important to present oneself as a neutral observer to avoid personal bias guiding the direction of the interview. To avoid this, it was crucial to develop a structure based on the purpose of the interview, questions to be asked, the approach to be taken and the design frame. This helped in the analysis stage when interpreting what it was the interview aimed to achieve. During interviews notes were also taken based on observations of the interviewee as well as the answers conveyed relating to each question, which enabled comparisons to be drawn between behaviour and information linking into observational methods. Behaviour as Thomas (2017) explains, is also an informative part of the interview:

“...mannerisms, gestures, hesitations, and glances away [...] You will be using these clues to make informed guesses about what interviewees might mean beyond the actual words they are using” (Thomas, 2017:161).

Permission was also sought to record the interview via audio equipment which significantly assisted in the recall for the desk analysis process as the transcribing of the recordings allowed the researcher to re-engage with the interviews at a later date.

The main advantage of the methodology used is that it gives a better understanding of the participants’ beliefs and attitudes on some issues if conducted through structured interviews (Hernandez et al., 1996). Interviews sought primarily to explore the understanding and opinions in relation the issues raised in the research question: Within

the context of dark tourism and politicisation, what fundamental interrelationships exist in the authenticity and cross cultural touristic (re)presentations of the 1945 atomic bombing of Hiroshima, Japan? In this regard, the semi-structured interviews helped to gain insights into attitudes towards the cross-cultural politicisation and authentic representation of cause and effect within heritage development.

Shiple et al. (2004) state that the interview arrangement creates a more open-ended encounter and, as such, allows for a wider level of expression of more detailed opinions. Whereas, Gillham (2000:10) asserts:

“The overpoweringly positive feature of the interview is the richness and vividness of the material it turns up [...] it enables you to *see* and to understand what is reflected.”

However, a common problem of interviewing stakeholders such as the curators for both the Enola Gay and the HPMM is that it should be recognised that their views could be shaped by their particular interests or the organisational interest, which in effect might not be generally shared. For the interviews, the research paradigm used was constructivism. The methods employed by constructivists are characteristically qualitative and aim at providing a better understanding of the phenomenon being researched than the traditional quantitative methods (Kayat, 2002). In this methodology, a theory may be generated primarily from the research, or, if an existing theory looks suitable to the subject area of investigation, then it may be appropriate for the researcher to elaborate on it and adapt it as incoming information (Hernandez et al., 1996). Given that the interviews were searching for repetitions in perspectives, an in-depth probe was more valuable than surface understanding. Also, the data from the interviews were important for a comparative analysis of the stated views.

For all participants, a brief outline of the study was given. Once an individual agreed to be interviewed, a formal consent form was given to them and a signed copy was retained by the researcher (Appendix 1). Before the start of an interview, the interviewee would be told the purpose of the study as illustrated in (Appendix 2), then the interview would proceed to the first question. In all cases, the interviewees consented to the interviews being audio recorded and to their responses to be quoted in any subsequent publications emerging from the research. At the end of each interview, the researcher thanked the interviewee for their time and contribution.

The interviews of the visitors ceased after a total of thirty interviews had been conducted at each site. This was because, in the opinion of the researcher, data saturation had been reached as no new patterns of responses were emerging from the information given. Thus, a decision was made that a larger sample size was not necessary. This was in keeping with one of the theoretical sampling principles in qualitative research which is to stop gathering information/interviewing at the point of 'saturation' (Charmaz, 2006; Guest et al., 2006 and Babbie, 2015).

2.12 Interview Schedule

An interview schedule was drawn up to outline the set of issues and questions to be discussed with each participant (Appendices 3A, 4A, 5A and 6A). Within the context of the semi-structured interview, the interview schedule aimed to ensure the relevant factors were addressed during the interviews. Thus, the interviews were guided by the schedule rather than dictated by it (Patton, 2002). Issues for discussion were developed based on the review of literature that covered the main question of the research. Within the context of dark tourism and politicisation, these issues were based around what fundamental interrelationships exist in the authenticity and cross cultural touristic (re)presentations of the 1945 atomic bombing of Hiroshima, Japan?

The interviews explored eight interconnected points which revolved around three key themes of the inclusion of cause, authenticity and politicisation of interpretation:

- i) Opinions on whether or not an interpretation of heritage should include an explanation of what caused an event to happen.
- ii) The level of the conception of the representation of the truth of an event being conveyed in interpretation.
- iii) Issues of perpetrator and victim representation.
- iv) The importance of authenticity.
- v) Comprehensions of politicisation of sites.
- vi) Attributes of reconciliation.
- vii) Individual meaning.

Sixty-four semi-structured interviews were conducted between July and August 2017. As indicated above thirty with visitors to the Enola Gay and thirty with visitors to the HPMM. Additionally, two curators were interviewed from each site. The interviews

with visitors took from as little as 12 minutes to 26 minutes, while the interviews with the curators took between 35 minutes and 84 minutes. All interviews were audio recorded with the permission of the interviewees (see Appendix 1) and then transcribed verbatim and summarised for qualitative content analysis.

2.13 Observational Research

Observational qualitative methodological approaches combine elements of primary observational/empirical, methodological research, with elements of the semiotic methodology. Observational methodological research was used when recording and analysing comparative interpretive IT animation, signs (narration plaques) and pictures. All of these are made use of at the Enola Gay exhibit NASM/UHC and the HPMM/GD. The reasoning for choosing observational methodology is that it can be employed to bring structure to the research process (Somekh & Lewin, 2007). However, one should always be aware of individual bias, and given the cross-cultural focus of this research, it is even more critical to recognise that there are many ways of not only seeing the world but also in interpreting the world. This point is reinforced by Somekh & Lewin who state that: “What is observed is ontologically determined” (Somekh & Lewin 2007:138). What this means is that an individual’s observations vary depending on how they conceptualise the world and their situation or position within it. This then reinforces the need to the researcher to reduce observer bias when interpreting what they see.

When interpreting observational material such as IT, animation, signs (narration plaques) and pictures, the semiotics theoretical framework can be used to provide analysis of the interpretation of the meanings both sites project to their visitors. When discussing the three states of mind, that meaning (concerning interpretation and signs) stimulates thought, Pierce (1992:5) defines thought as “a sense of learning and learning is how we pass from ignorance to knowledge”.

Therefore, information that both sites conveyed was recorded so it could be compared to the theoretical underpinning derived from the objectives by using comparative analysis between the visitor centres. The focus for analysis fell on the cultural, psychological and political perspectives of the interpretation of each site insofar as the representation of each site of facts to its contemporary audience via its IT animation, signs (narration plaques) and pictures (Denscombe, 2017).

Observation directed by semiotic methods focused on:

- i) Signifiers: These being material interpretation, for example, media that convey actual messages utilising words and images.
- ii) Iconic Signs: relating to signs, IT animation where the signifier takes the form of a picture or model.
- iii) Syntagmatic Relations: This enables the interpretation of the meaning of IT animation and signs through their connection with the sequential linkage of events depicted that represent the story.
- iv) Ideologies: Codes that are used to re-enforce structures of power or are congruent with structures of power.
- v) Codes: Codes are made up of several semiotic systems that combined give general meaning linking into individual and cultural belief systems of self and others. This helps formulate attitudes about how the world is, or ought to be. Codes are mediums by which semiotics can measure social structures and values and will significantly assist the analysis of cross-cultural differences in the representation of facts (Charmaz & Belgrave, 2007).

The time frame is a crucial element to maintain consistency of contemporary analysis to facilitate consistency in the time frame for observation of comparisons of IT animation, signs (narration plaques) and pictures. Site visits took place between July and August 2017. However, initially, a scoping exercise was planned to follow the desk research relating to objectives. The purpose of undertaking a scoping visit was to provide the opportunity to test out the significance of planned research at the sites, and to allow for any weaknesses to be identified within aspects of the primary research information gathering (Siccama & Penna, 2008). However, due to the cost implications of travel and accommodation, a separate scoping trip was ruled out and replaced by extending the duration of the main trips by three days. This was done for both the USA and Japan, and allowed for the planned site research so the site could be assessed, plans adjusted, and problems addressed before the commencement of the site observations and interviews.

Both trips were undertaken in quick succession to capture a comparative international timeframe to assist the validity of comparative measurements of time and context as suggested by Wisker et al. (2007) and Denscombe (2017). The observational schedule consisted of recording interpretive IT animation, signs (narration plaques) and

pictures, paying attention to events, times, frequency, relevance to the site and the cultural-political perspective. To facilitate a systematic process of observation, the researcher used an observational schedule which allowed for the organised and rigorous recording of observed IT animation, signs (narration plaques) and pictures. Observational schedules are efficient for collecting vast amounts of data and allow for a high level of reliability when comparing similar data. Both Wisker et al. and Denscombe advocate that an observational research diary should also be kept recording ideas and thoughts about the information gathered. This was done to assist the process of analysing data drawn from observations of IT animation, signs (narrative plaques) and pictures to assist the process of analysing information further. Notes were taken and supported by the photographic still frame and audio-visual equipment used to record animation. All recorded observational material was subsequently catalogued, critiqued for inclusion and analysed in relation to the context of the research objectives, the theoretical underpinning, and interviews of visitors and curators. This formed part of the desk analysis of the primary research utilising the semiotic methods discussed.

2.14 Thematic Analysis

Theoretical/philosophical underpinning provides the framework for this research. Thematic analysis is the process of information gathering and analysis that is vital to yield meaningful and useful results (Guest et al., 2006). There are various approaches to qualitative data analysis, however, for this research, thematic analysis was deemed the most suitable. Thematic analysis is a flexible set of techniques used to analyse data and is a widely used method of qualitative research (Attride-Stirling, 2001; Braun & Clarke, 2006; Vaismoradi et al., 2016; Braun et al., 2019). The prime function of thematic analysis is its use as an analytical tool:

“...for systematically identifying, organising and offering insight into patterns of meanings (themes) across a data set [hence permitting the] researcher to see and make sense of collective or shared meanings and experiences” (Braun et al., 2019:57).

Thus, this method offers a way to instruct the systematic mechanics of coding and analysing data, which then can be linked to much broader theoretical or conceptual issues (Braun et al., 2019). Vaismoradi et al. (2016:100) outline three key characteristics of thematic analysis:

- i) A systematic process of coding
- ii) Examining of meaning
- iii) Providing a description of the social reality through the creation of theme

Consequently, to undertake a thematic analysis for this research, it was first important to understand the significance of the word 'theme'. Braun & Clarke (2006:82) define the term 'theme' as one that "captures something important about the data concerning the research question, and represents some level of patterned response or meaning within the data set". While, Javadi & Zarea (2016:34) define a theme as a "product of a code which refers to special parts of the data that in return contributes to a theme". However, as is evident in all definitions, the principal aspect of a theme is its level of recurrence within the information researched and its significance for addressing the research question in hand (Javadi & Zarea, 2016).

There are several advantages of thematic analysis. First, it is a highly flexible research tool that can be used and modified according to the needs of the research, to produce a rich and detailed, yet complex account of data (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Javadi & Zarea, 2016; Nowell et al., 2017). Another advantage of thematic analysis as advocated by Braun and Clarke (2006) and King (2004) is that thematic analysis is an effective method for analysing and examining the perspectives of various participants, by bringing to light their similarities and differences, and creating unexpected insights in research which researcher might not have anticipated. Here, thematic analysis was used to identify and discover several factors of perceptions concerning participants' views of the level of authenticity represented within both the Enola Gay and the HPMM. Participants' interpretation is significant in terms of delivering the most appropriate analysis to identify their understandings of the themes raised in the study objectives.

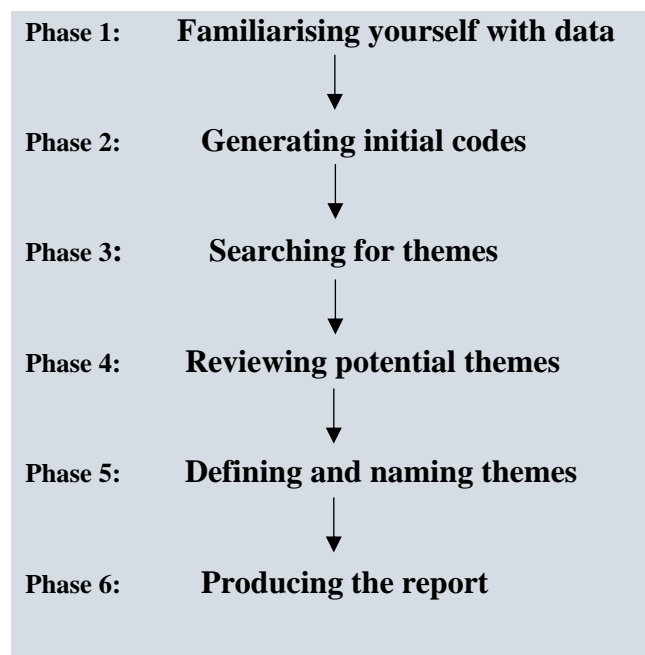
An additional advantage of thematic analysis is that to handle information and produce insightful, rich and trustworthy research findings for the research, thematic analysis is suitable as it allows for the summarising of key features of large data sets which further compels the researcher to undertake a well-structured approach (King, 2004; Nowell et al., 2017).

Having reviewed the strengths of thematic analysis, it is important to note that thematic analysis also has its limitations. While thematic analysis is a straightforward process, conducting the analysis can produce errors (Braun et al., 2019). Mistakes such

as employing data collection questions or interview guidance as themes or presenting information extracts with little or no analysis should be avoided during analysis. Subsequently, analysis can be weak or unconvincing if themes are either overlapped or lack coherence and consistency. To avoid this Nowell et al. and Braun et al. advocate researchers should analyse all aspects of their gathered information and provide enough examples of the data for cross-comparison to be made to substantiate further the information gained. However, given the limitations of the thematic analysis, Nowell et al. argue that these issues can occur as a result of incorrect research questions or poorly conducted analyses. Nevertheless, even when considering its limitations, the thematic analysis does provide a flexible information analysis method in qualitative research by allowing the researcher to establish a systematic and explicit form of analysis.

There are six key phases to its total structure as identified by Braun & Clarke (2006) and Braun et al. (2019) (figure 2.3 below).

Figure 2.3: Six Phases of Thematic Analysis



Source: Adapted from Braun & Clarke (2006) and Braun et al. (2019)

Phase 1: Familiarising yourself with data – The first phase of thematic analysis is the most significant stage (Nowell et al., 2017). Thematic analysis is time-consuming but at the same time highly valuable. To begin with, Nowell et al. state the researcher must be certain about their information content, and the interviews must be transcribed with

minimal inaccuracies. To understand the content in depth, researchers must fully immerse themselves in their data. This involves the re-reading of interview transcripts and re-listening to audio recordings (Maguire & Delahunt, 2017; Braun et al., 2019). Having conducted semi-structured interviews for this research, all 64 interviews were transcribed and read through repeatedly alongside the supportive field notes. This was done to build up a competent level of familiarity. Thus, to obtain an overall understanding of the data, the researcher actively repeated the process several times throughout the research before starting the coding process.

Phase 2: Generating initial codes – After obtaining a good level of understanding, phase two demands the researchers continue reviewing and re-visiting their data. This enables the process of developing codes that allow “the researcher to simplify and focus on specific characteristics of the data” (Nowell et al., 2017:6). Hence, codes provide a critical summary of a portion of data or describe the content of the data. Typically, according to Braun et al., codes stay close to the content of the data and the participants’ meanings.

Nowell et al. and Maguire & Delahunt explain that there are different methods for writing codes such as computer assisted qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS) like NVivo. For this research, NVivo was used to assist with the analysis of the data gathered through the interviews. Transcriptions of the interviews were inputted into NVivo which helped to facilitate the categorisation and manage emerging ideas and arguments and theoretical concepts while assisting with theory building (Maher et al., 2018). Coding was facilitated by NVivo as text direct from the interview could be highlighted and made into a code. To help facilitate an optimum work environment the researcher employed a dual screen (25-inch high resolution) computer set-up as the size of the computer screen determines how much of the interview and emerging codes can be seen at any one time. The process was consistently applied to all of the data until the entire set of data was fully coded. This process was finished when all of the data were “fully coded, and the data relevant to each code had been collated” (Braun et al., 2019:63).

Phase 3: Searching for Themes – Once the entire data has been initially coded and collated, the third phase involves arranging and organising all the potentially relevant coded data extracts into themes (Nowell et al., 2017). Themes are identified by comprising or dissolving codes that emerge to share a specific unifying characteristic that demonstrates a relevant and coherent pattern in the data set (Maher et al., 2018; Braun et al., 2019). Significantly, while developing themes, Maher et al. and Braun et al. note that

there can be good themes that stand alone and are thus distinctive. Also, one central theme/concept can underpin or draw together other themes in the data set. Moreover, there can be miscellaneous themes which can be useful as they can become a part of a new theme or can be discarded if they do not fit in anywhere.

Phase 4: Reviewing potential themes – Braun et al. (2019:65) identify this phase as a “recursive process whereby the developing themes are reviewed concerning the coded data and entire data set”. Phase 4 comprises two steps. The first involves ‘checking themes’ as opposed to the collated extracts of data and exploring their functionality with the data. However, Braun et al. argue that if it does not work, the researcher must discard some codes or reposition them under another theme. The second step involves the ‘review process’ meaning reviewing the themes of the whole set of data (Maguire & Delahunt, 2017). By reviewing themes, data will be reduced into a more manageable set of significant themes that can be used to summarise concisely the entire research.

Phase 5: Defining and naming themes –This requires the researcher to determine the features of data that each theme reveals and then undertake a thorough analysis by identifying the narrative/purpose that each theme uncovers (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Nowell et al. 2017). Therefore, researchers must conduct and create a detailed analysis of each specific theme and identify the story that each theme conveys. Furthermore, Nowell et al. (2017) and Braun et al. (2019) argue that a good thematic analysis should have themes that have a singular focus, are related but do not overlap and directly address the research question. Additionally, Braun et al. (2019) argue the order in which themes become presented is an important element in the writing-up phase as the themes must link in ‘logically’ and ‘meaningfully’ to the narrative and, thus, help to convey a coherent story of the analysis drawn from the data gathered.

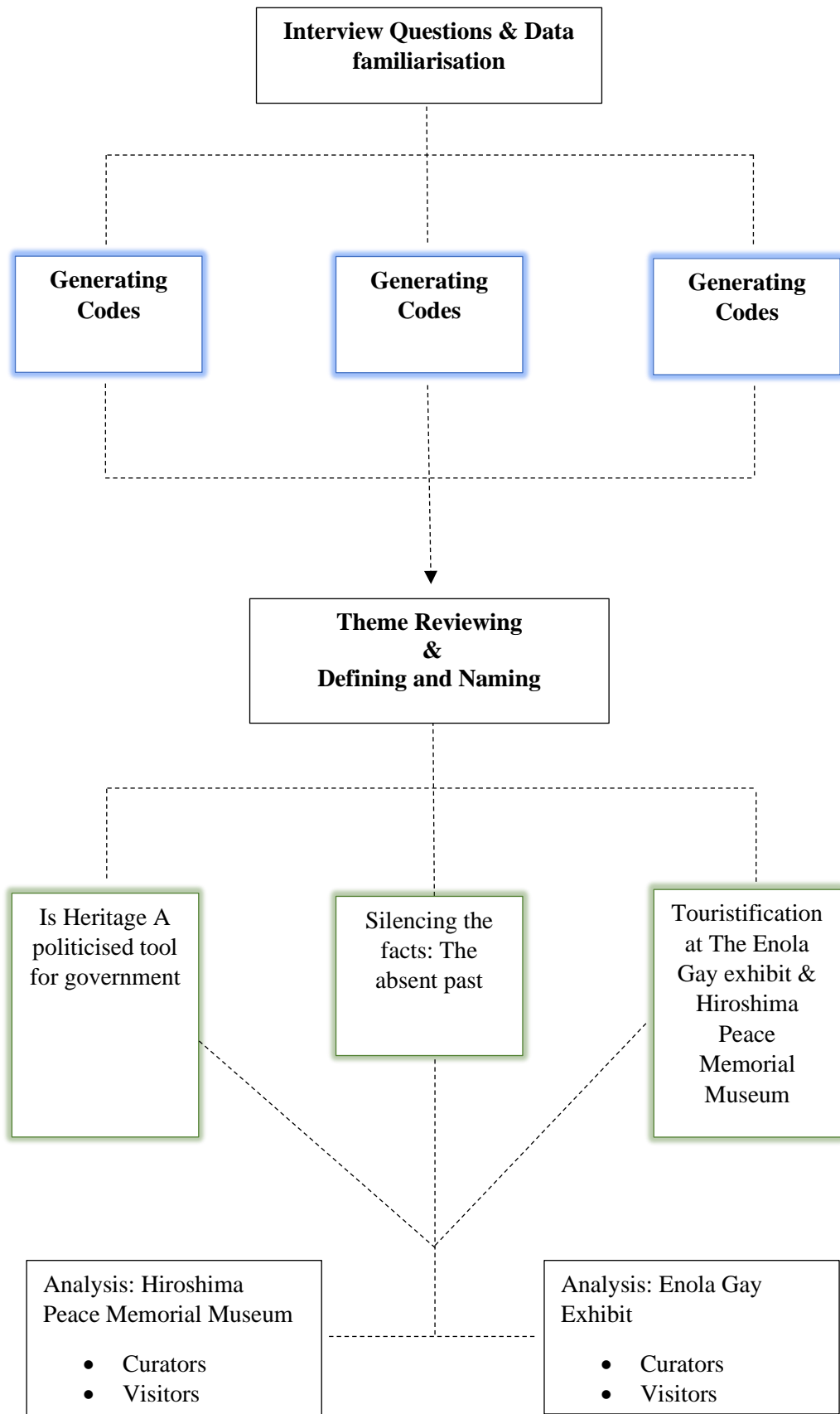
The themes identified for this research were: 1) Is heritage a politicised tool for government with the following sub-themes of a) The Enola Gay: A silent past and: b) Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum: A politicised commodity. 2) Silencing the facts: The absent past with the following subthemes of a) the Enola Gay: Dulling of Authenticity and: b) Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum: Dulling Authenticity. And 3) Touristification at the bombing of Hiroshima with the subthemes of a) Values and meanings in the visitor context: the Enola Gay and: b) Values and meanings in the visitor context: Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum.

For this research, each theme was identified from the information concerning perspectives of the participant and has a well defined purpose, in that it helps to provide a coherent picture of the case studies. The chosen extracts from the data helped to present a clear and convincing argument to support the analysis of the research objectives. To deliver a well structured framework for the analysis, chosen extracts will be quoted to aid the arguments. Selections of short quotes will also be presented to support specific points of interpretation.

Phase 6: Producing the report – The final phase of thematic analysis begins after the researcher has fully formulated the themes that allow them to finalise the analysis and write up their findings. Within the final phase, the write-up must present a concise, coherent, rational, nonrepetitive account of the data within and across themes (Maguire & Delahunt, 2017). Thus, the purpose of writing up the findings “is to provide a compelling story about the data based on analysis” (Braun et al., 2019:69).

To strengthen the research findings, direct quotes from the participants were included in the empirical section (King, 2004). King stated that by simply writing up the findings with codes and themes that occurred in the transcripts will result in lack of richness in the findings and would present a flat descriptive account of the data with very little depth. Therefore, the short and extensive passage of quotations were included in the analysis drawing from both sets of visitors and curators to aid the understanding of the topic further. In doing so, this will assist in keeping alive the voice of the interviewees within the research. For a visual overview of the the identified thematic sections (see figure 2.4 below).

Figure 2.4: Blueprint of Identifying Thematic Sections



2.15 Ethical Considerations

Within social research such as was undertaken in this research, specific ethical considerations arise due to the research involving human ‘subjects’ (Yin, 2018), namely the non-probability interviews of the curators of the at the Smithsonian NASM and curators at the HPMM and the probability interviews of the visitors at each site. Therefore, given the interaction with people, some of whom hold positions of influence, there is a need to protect all human subjects. Protection is needed due to the fact that, unlike researchers such as scientists who research within a physical, chemical or other non-human system, or historians that study the ‘dead past’, this study which focuses on a ‘contemporary’ phenomenon, is set within the ‘real world’. As a result, the context necessitates the researcher apply ethical practices to protect those who participate in the research (Gratton & Jones, 2010; Denscombe, 2017; Yin, 2018).

This research was undertaken having met the ethical clearance requirements of the University of Central Lancashire’s relevant ethics committee. All participants were informed of the purpose of the research. Before the interviews, informed consent was sought from participants who were provided with informed consent forms. Throughout the process, participants’ privacy and confidentiality were closely protected during and after the research in both data collection and presentation. Also, participants were asked if they were willing for their contribution to be discussed within the research outcomes to which all participants replied stating they were happy to have their contribution included. However, to protect the anonymity of the participants, each participant was given a code which was used in the analysis as a point of reference for the researcher only. Each participant was informed they could have access to a summary of the findings of the completed work should they wish to.

2.16 Researcher’s Role/Reflexivity and Researcher Positionality

A concern relating to the connections linking the researcher and the researched has been an enduring point of interest within the methodology literature (Raheim et al., 2016; Manohar et al., 2017). Watts (2006) observes that a researcher’s background may indeed enable the disclosure of more comprehensive information if the researcher is being viewed as a friend or counsellor by their participants. This point is highlighted by Hayfield and Huxley (2015), who argue that researchers from the same culture with the same values, beliefs, religion, ethnicity or profession as the participants, have a much greater awareness of the lives of their participants. As such they find themselves in a more

effective place to undertake ethical research, by which participants' voices can be represented in a true sense. However, as researchers are individuals, they will undoubtedly tackle a body of research from separate perspectives that, in turn, results in eliciting alternative responses from different participants which in due course impacts on the research findings. Therefore, it is important to recognise the researcher's background and viewpoints that inevitably could influence the choice of the research topic and research methodology.

One of the essential elements to recognise in any research is personal bias. The researcher is aware that his cultural background is western and has been subject to varying degrees of media interpretation of the bombing of Hiroshima which has primarily painted Japan in a negative light and the Americans as being righteous. In acknowledging this, the author has endeavoured to look at the issues set before him with fresh eyes based on substantive evidence. Furthermore, there was no bias in the selection of the participants for inclusion in the interview process and the researcher can confirm that he has no personal connections with any of the participants. Hence, the discussion will now revolve around the concept of reflexivity and the researcher's positionality

According to Hardy et al. (2001), Rolfe (2006), Cousin (2013) and Corlett & Mavin (2017), reflexivity in qualitative research has become increasingly utilised in substantiating reliability and trustworthiness. Yet, while there tends to be no single agreed perspective on reflexivity (Dowling, 2006), Cousin notes that the concept tends to relate to the theme of social constructivism. This is because social constructionism positions our perception of reality due to it being driven by our negotiated constructions. This assumption is often juxtaposed with the positivist belief that we can interpret reality from observations in unproblematic and disinterested ways. Consequently, social constructionist research, as Cousin states, is a work of interpretation which positions the researcher in the thick of the research process as opposed to being distanced from it. Hence, Cousin and Corlett & Mavin, believe reflective practice relates to a researcher's ability to self monitor their thoughts, feelings and actions engaged during the research project. In other words, it is about the researcher stopping and thinking about their mode of thought and continuously analysing their decision-making by drawing on theory and relating it to what they have done in practice.

However, when analysing reflexivity, reflexivity also encompasses a need for reflecting on positionality. According to Mason-Bish (2019) writings on positionality in qualitative research aim to gauge how singular characteristics of both the researcher and

researched can influence the research process. This is a point previously argued by Macbeth (2001) who argued that positionality relates to an assessment of place and a researcher's biography profile. Cousin defines a biography profile as what an individual has seen, heard, read and touched in terms of their own cultural experiences, and are generated through such media as documentaries, films, museums and books. This then, according to Macbeth also relates positionality to the researcher's view of self and otherness and their understanding of themselves and how this self-understanding then impacts on the moulding of their research analysis. Therefore, when writing reflectively, acknowledgement needs to be given that as researchers while we "find findings, we make findings, one reason for this is that we can only represent reality, we can never mirror it and the act of representation is always going to be adrift from the event" (Cousin, 2013:6). Therefore, it would be logical to conclude that an exhaustive journey to the truth is unlikely to be possible but that extending our understanding of the subject of our inquiry is a worthy ambition.

In engaging in the process of reflexivity and researcher positionality the researcher has built in reflexivity comments to furnish the reader with evidence of the researcher's development as a researcher and thus provides a present voice.

2.17 Summary

Table 2.5 below highlights the summary of research methods used for this study. Having established the position of research approaches along with their justification, the next chapter will now present the results and discussions.

Table 2.5: Research Methodology Summary

Research Philosophy	Inductive
Research Approach	A Stylised Grounded Theory that included <ul style="list-style-type: none">- New Historicism- Discourse Analysis- Narrative Building
Research Methodology	Qualitative
Research Ontology	Constructionist / Relativism
Research Epistemology	Subjective Interpretivism
Research Design	Dual Comparative Case Study
Research Methods	Semi-Structured Interview Observations (IT animation and interpretation plaques) Books/Journal/Articles/ Electronic Databases Fieldnotes
Research Analysis	Thematic Analysis

2.18 Reflection 2: When Structuring the Methodology

When structuring the methodology, at the time the procedure activity worked like an immersion into an experiential learning activity. I was originally far too broad in my inclusion of methods. I have found on reflection of this point that one of my main weaknesses has been to over theorise to the point where my original methodology tended to include some unnecessary methods alongside the relevant ones. However, when getting into the empirical research this became clear, and the importance of honing down my methods started to register with me. On reflection, looking back over the construction of the methodology my eye has become more critical and I have a greater understanding of the inclusion process. Yet, the process of construction has in itself proved to be a valuable learning process, not only in conventionalising theoretical methodological principles for a practical application but also for building confidence in planning future research.

Chapter 3

Introduction of Key Concepts

3.1 Introduction

This chapter now turns to analyse the key theoretical concepts relevant to the unravelling of the narrative relating to the touristification dynamics and cross-cultural interpretations of the 1945 atomic bombing of Hiroshima at both the HPMM/GD and the Enola Gay exhibition at the NASM/UHC. This will be achieved by first undertaking an examination of dissonance to help conceptualise how the narrative of sites of national significance tend to portray a message driven by the controlling stakeholder. The work will then move on to illustrate the complexities of interpretation leading onto an examination of a range of concepts of authenticity with specific focus on the dilemmas of authenticity when looking at nation-building from Western and Eastern perspectives. Then, in order to pull the theory together, the debate on authenticity will be followed by a critique of the concepts of dissonance heritage and dark tourism as conceptual frameworks for the touristification of Hiroshima's atomic bombing, and subsequently look to re-enforce how dark tourism/heritage interpretation helps to lay down the foundations for nation-building through tourism.

3.2 Dissonance: An Examination of Stakeholder Perspectives and Management

According to Ashworth and Hartmann (2005:253), dissonant heritage is “a condition in which there is a lack of congruence at a particular time or place between people and the heritage with which they identify”. In placing the dissonant debate alongside dark heritage, we see how dark heritage sites, while acting as a tool for mediation between the dead and the living, are confronted by issues of stakeholder representation. This can be seen when first asking the questions whose heritage is getting memorialised and from what perspective is a story told. Battilani et al. (2018) state that cultural heritage continuously bears the values and messages of contemporary society, due to its precise selection method. A statement which was previously advocated by Tunbridge & Ashworth (1996) who concluded in a similar vein to Battilani et al. that contemporary generations single out and interpret the given parts of history society feels deserve

upholding. Consequently, Tunbridge & Ashworth and Battilani et al. conclude that conflicting perceptions of the past develop creating a position where competing narratives vie for just meanings on the regional, national and international stage. Nonetheless, Ashworth and Isaac (2015) argue while this view may imply narratives get manipulated, this manipulation is much less than it originally seems. They (ibid.) continue, stating that one of the fundamental reasons why collective heritage is continuously shaped and reshaped is in fact to satisfy the needs of contemporary society. Hence, public agencies bid to rationalise a collective heritage in the interest of public/political policies to mediate the cohesion between governmental ideologies and the contemporary society it represents.

This is in fact the case with the differing perspectives relating to the bombing of Hiroshima by the Smithsonian's Board of Regents for the NASM and Hiroshima's prefectures House of Councillors for the HPMM/GD. Dissonance emerges, as Battilani et al. proclaim, when there is more than one group that creates its discourse about the same cultural heritage. Therefore, dissonant heritage spaces contain distinct risks such as the willing removal of historical contexts deemed to be controversial (Goulding & Domic, 2009). This could be undertaken for reasons of political manipulation by extremists who support their ethnic exclusiveness (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996). For the interpretation of the bombing of Hiroshima, this political manipulation is facilitated by political elites in both Japan and the US. Consequently, in the wake of historical manipulation, the representations of historical ideologies or values are frequently concealed or enthusiastically side-lined through societal amnesia (Hollinshead, 1992; Battilani et al. 2018). Though, Tunbridge & Ashworth (1996) and Smith (2006) all believe that within heritage, dissonance will always be a fundamental aspect of its interpretation.

Tunbridge & Ashworth promote three different sources of dissonance, first, dissonance implicit in commodification; second, dissonance implicit in place products; and third, dissonance implicit in the content of the message. The discourse surrounding the interpretation of the bombing of Hiroshima would be contextualised as the third type, dissonance implicit in the context of the message. This is due to the politicised dissonance surrounding the underpinning of the formation of the narrative embedded within Hiroshima's interpretation as well as being conspicuous by its absence in the interpretation of the Enola Gay. Tunbridge & Ashworth further refine dissonance implicit in the context of the message into four types, first, contradictory transmissions; second, a

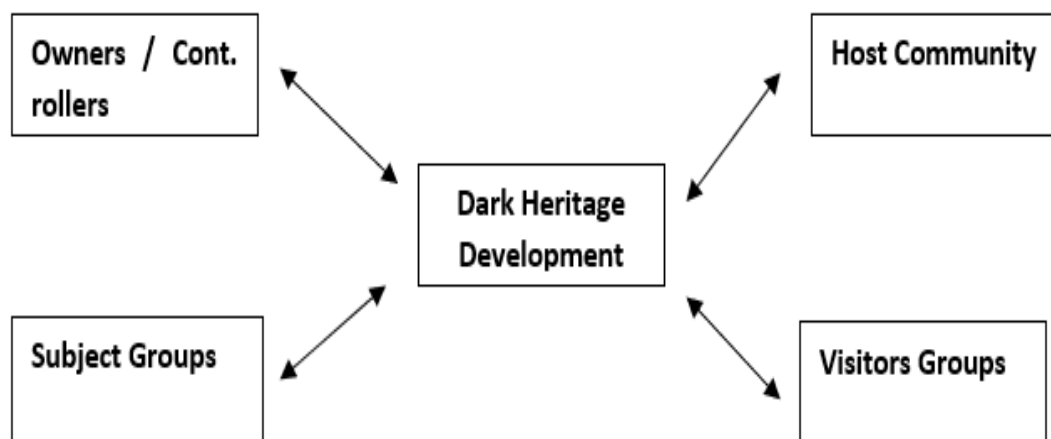
failure in transmission; third, obsolete transmission; and fourth, undesirable transmission (distasteful message). Here then, both the Enola Gay and the HPMM/GD fall within the typology of undesirable transmission. As the discourse for both emerges from history and as seen above both interpretations are politically influenced with messages from both sites having narratives that for some sections of each society, they are content to have some messages omitted, even though both sites are inextricably connected to the same watershed event. Examples of this revolve around civilian casualties which raise issues of humanity, war, discrimination and victimisation. This further demonstrates the point that Tunbridge & Ashworth and Battilani et al. make that dissonance is dissonant not only to the perpetrators, which in itself is a point of dissonance (who are the perpetrators the US or the Japanese) but also to their descendants. This is evidence with the bombing of Hiroshima since it acts as a constant reminder of the depths which each nation has been capable of reaching. The result of this is a further illustration through each nation's historical sensitivities of their shared flaws, all of which does not fit easily with the notion of a just war (Tunbridge & Ashworth) given their unwanted pasts (Battilani et al). All of this reiterates that when dealing with heritage interpretation, perspective is an issue which will dominate the narrative and as such is likely to cause dissonance between respective stakeholders; dissonance, therefore, is a fundamental aspect of heritage (Smith, 2006). All of this raises the question of whether heritage/tourism site managers can convey a narrative which holds ground for differing perspectives.

When examining the complexities of interpretation linking to dark tourism, Sharpley (2009) questioned whether it was possible to manage dark tourism sites to represent the perspectives of all stakeholders and reduce the degrees of dissonance in the interpretation of the site. Stone (2005) went on to illustrate how Ashworth and Hartmann (2005) stated that within universal heritage sites, where there are several stakeholders with a shared experience, when looking for a definitive interpretation of “multiple truths” the complexities of the reconciliation process between victim and perpetrator is almost impossible to achieve. For this point, Sharpley discusses Seaton's (2001) ‘Heritage Force Field’ model, which suggests ways in which dissonance can materialise between groups with shared interests in specific heritage development. The model focuses on four stakeholder elements surrounding dark heritage development — first, the owner or controllers of the development; second, the subject groups, where the focus of the narrative of the owners and controllers are delivered. The subject groups are the “subjects about whom the heritage narrative is told” (Seaton, 2001:124). Third, the host

community, these being the residents in the location of the development and the fourth, is the visitor groups (see figure 3.1 below).

The weakness of the model is that it relies on those utilising it to recognise the impact the size and influence of each group will have on its variants, depending on the nature of the heritage. This then lends credence to Poria's (2001;2007) work, which Sharpley points to as a mechanism to address conflicts between heritage stakeholders. Poria argued the need for a new narrative, stating that within site interpretation, to avoid/diminish dissonance between the stakeholders site managers should link stakeholders to "conceptual frameworks" that join the stakeholders together, which advocates the move from interpreting events discarding the methodology of old history to new historicism and beyond. The call for a new historicism perspective is part of what Poria is talking about when highlighting the need for a new narrative.

Figure 3.1: The Heritage Force Field



Source: (Sharpley 2009:162)

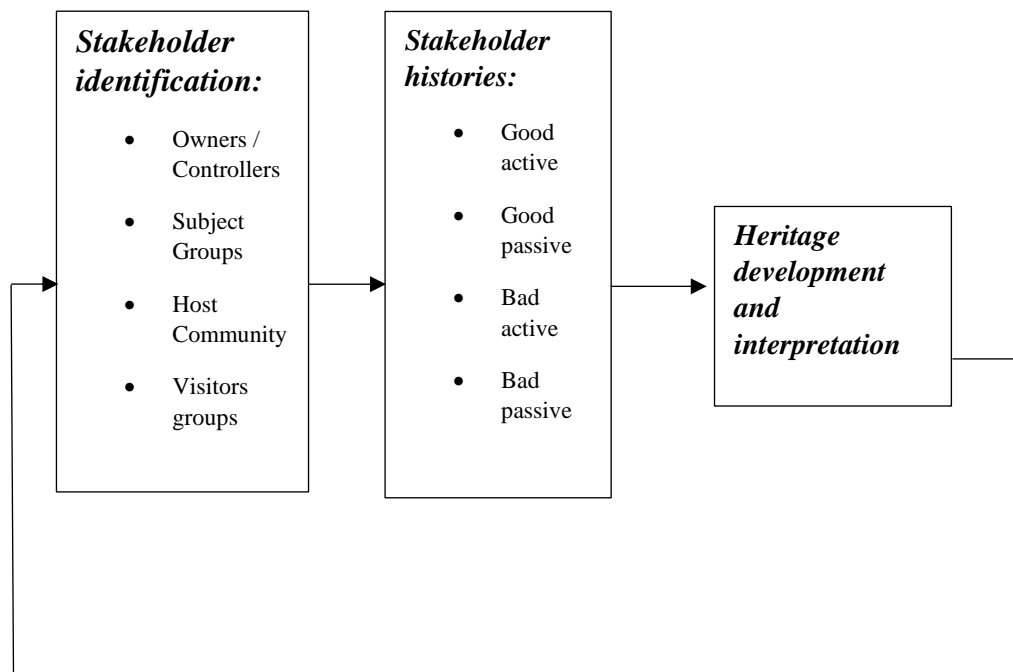
However, Poria then goes on to develop a conceptual framework relating to the concept of stakeholders' histories linking to the feelings associated with an event. These feelings relate to feelings of *shame or pride* and the element of involvement in the event as *active or passive*. This then clearly links to elements of perpetrator and victim, which lead to victimhood. The concept of *shame or pride / active or passive* relates to good history and bad history. Poria explains that *good active history* when related to a past event, inspires positivity leading to feelings of pride within stakeholder groups with a

cultural attachment to an event but can also lead to feelings of shame when related to a bad event.

In merging Seaton's (2001), Heritage Force Field and Poria's (2001;2007) concept of stakeholder's histories, Sharpley (2009) suggests a model (figure 3.2) that looks to address contentions. He does this by merging Seaton's (2001) Heritage Force Field, which included Owner/Controllers, Subject Groups, Host Community and Visitor Groups with the different approaches to representing past incidents suggested by Poria (2001;2007), namely Good active history, Good passive history, Bad active history, Bad passive history

Sharpley's model comprises the need to recognise each stakeholder group, verifying each stakeholder's distinct history and creating a negotiated or collective historical account for the interpretation of the related site. The model also facilitates the inclusion of new writings as the latest information comes forth or the political environment moves to create a better sense of harmony between groups.

Figure 3.2: A Model of Dark Heritage Governance



Source: Sharpley (2009:163)

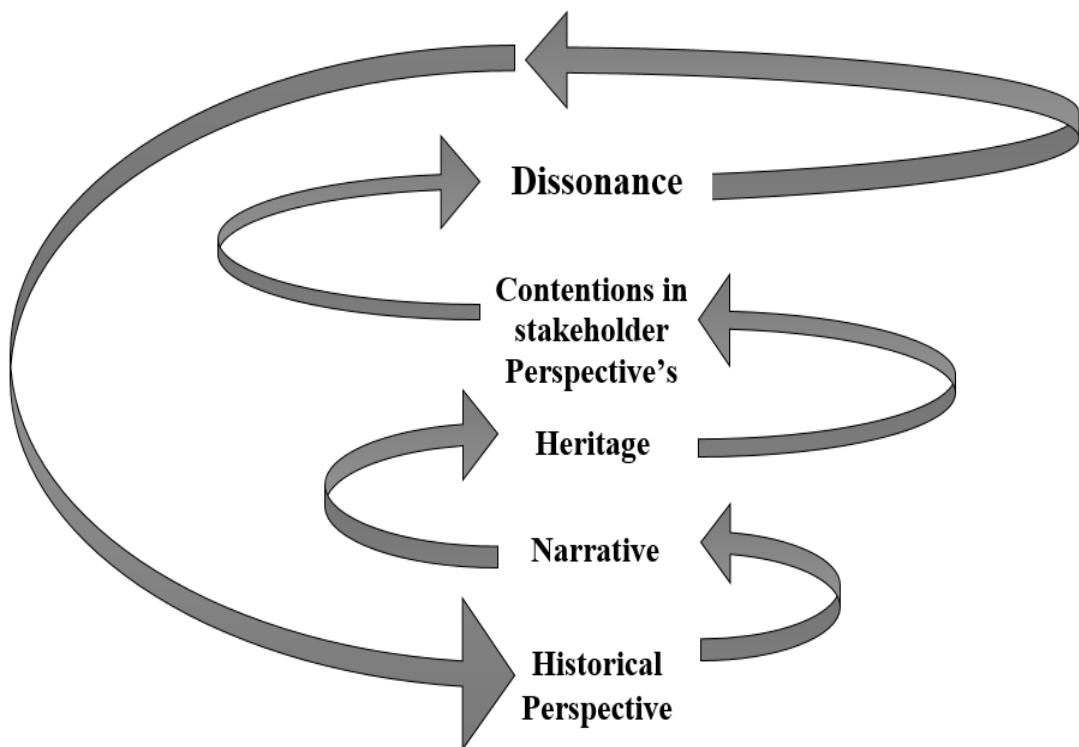
However, while this may seem to be a logical and straightforward concept, it by no means is due to the inert nature of reaching an agreement between groups and the lack

of investigative research. This point is raised by Light (2017) who states that the validity of such a theoretical concept still requires additional analysing and application.

Another model to convey these sentiments but illustrates just how dissonance occurs, is the Dissonant Heritage Cycle as devised by Clinton & Singh-Mokha (2018) (figure 3.3 below).

The Dissonant Heritage Cycle (DHC) helps to illustrate the complexities when focusing on interpreting contentious histories. When curators and historians develop heritage for public consumption, they should instinctively be aware of the high risk of their representation which can result in contentions raised by various affected stakeholder groups. The common faux-pas that history is written by the victor instantly raises the matter of perspective, for if there are winners there will inevitably be losers. The DHC thus represents the problematic nature of devising an accurate representation of history.

Figure 3.3: Dissonant Heritage Cycle



Source: Devised by Clinton & Singh-Mokha (2018)

The model starts bottom up, with the historical perspective of an event which leads to a narrative. This narrative then materialises as heritage/a heritage product which in turn

leads to contentions in stakeholder perspectives and thus resulting in dissonance. This dissonance then results in a review of a historical perspective. However, with multiple stakeholders, dissonance can become caught up in a repeated cycle until an agreement is reached, which may well result in either a compromise in representation or a representation forged by a dominant group, thus perpetuating dissonance. The difference between the DHC and the Dark Heritage Governance (DHG) model is that the DHC illustrates the process by which dissonance in interpretation happens, whereas the DHG illustrates how to manage the process of removing dissonance or more realistically reducing its presence (Clinton & Singh-Mokha, 2018).

By positioning the three models in the following order: HFF, DHC and DHG, this helps to unravel a significant conundrum. Within any dark site, possible stakeholders become involved, and with the HFF model, scholars and managers of such sites are unable to identify potential stakeholder groups and so cannot identify where possible dissonance is likely to happen. In contrast, the DHC helps scholars and managers to illustrate an understanding of the process by which dissonance in interpretation occurs, to reduce dissonance within interpretation, whereas the DHG aims to manage and to reduce the possible dissonance. Hence, it is apparent that with each step, it enables one to avoid dissonance as dissonance is multifaceted. Therefore, an accumulation of strategies is required to address the aim of limiting dissonance adequately.

Heritage attractions, in general, aim to enable the making of identity (Bandyopadhyay et al., 2008) and to create spaces that provide contemporary and future visitors with a specific value system based on a dominant group's use of their view of the past (Smith, 2006; Battilani et al., 2018). As such, heritage attractions stage "someone's heritage and therefore logically not someone else's" (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996:21). In doing so, they raise unity inside a specific group by separating it from others, which implies that the inheritance of heritage to one group also implies the disinheritance of another group. This is a theme promoted by Poria & Ashworth (2009:522) who state: "The heritage site is a political resource, and as such, it aims to legitimise a specific social reality which divides people into 'we' and 'they'".

Therefore, scholars, site managers and visitors ought to be critical and recognise that heritage sites, and the organisation they are part of, seek to set apart people's identity and the underlying current motives for that separation (Poria & Ashworth, 2009). Therefore, when considering the levels of dissonance in heritage, it is little wonder that

heritage has become what Poria & Ashworth state as not only a resource in conflict but also a resource for conflict, thus following the model of Clinton & Singh-Mokha (2018), the DHC.

3.3 Interpretation

Much of the literature relating to tourism alongside the debate of authenticity is the topic of 'interpretation'. Interpretation to date has never been far from having its share of controversy. The concept is typically managed to explain artefacts, histories and activities linked to the staging of heritage to visitors. That is, interpretation acts as a medium that depicts the rudimentary art of telling the story of an object or a place. All of which results in suppliers choosing which heritage gets interpreted at visitor sites for tourist consumption (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996; Ashworth & Isaac, 2015). However, as noted by Tunbridge & Ashworth and Ashworth & Isaac, heritage interpretation can be subject to varying degrees of dissonance driven by stakeholders vying to acquire the best possible interpretation of their groups' perspective.

Wight and Lennon (2007:522) assert that "interpretation is the primary means by which museums communicate with visitors, and it is through interpretation that memory and audience engagement becomes selective and syncretic." In September 2008, to standardise interpretation for UNESCO, the Ename Charter gained ratification via the ICOMOS International Committee on Interpretation and Presentation of Cultural Heritage Sites (ICIP) in Quebec, forming a benchmark for international standards in interpretation and presentation (ICOMOS, 2008). In its final form, the Ename charter promoted seven clear standards/principles viewed as necessary to widen the interpretive commitment in heritage and conservation activities, these were:

- i) Facilitate understanding and appreciation of cultural heritage sites and foster public awareness and engagement in need for their protection and conservation.
- ii) Communicate the meaning of cultural heritage sites to a range of audiences through careful, documented recognition of significance, through accepted scientific and scholarly methods as well as from living cultural traditions.
- iii) Safeguard the tangible and intangible values of cultural heritage sites in their natural and cultural settings and social contexts.

- iv) Respect the authenticity of cultural heritage sites, by communicating the significance of their historic fabric and cultural values and protecting them from the adverse impact of intrusive interpretive infrastructure, visitor pressure, inaccurate or inappropriate interpretation.
 - v) Contribute to the sustainable conservation of cultural heritage sites, through promoting public understanding of, and participation in, ongoing conservation efforts, ensuring long-term maintenance of the interpretive infrastructure and regular review of its interpretive contents.
 - vi) Encourage inclusiveness in the interpretation of cultural heritage sites by facilitating the involvement of stakeholders and associated communities in the development and implementation of interpretive programs.
 - vii) Develop technical and professional guidelines for heritage interpretation and presentation, including technologies, research, and training. Such guidelines must be appropriate and sustainable in their social contexts.
- Source: ICOMOS (2008)

However, in trying to acknowledge a wide range of regional, linguistic, and cultural viewpoints found within the membership of the ICOMOS and the remainder of the international heritage community, the recommendations laid out in the charter are quite abstract (Silberman, 2009) and in themselves open to interpretation.

3.4 Interpretation: Dynamics of Semiotics

Semiotics derives its roots from the Greek word 'semeion', meaning the science of signs (Posner, 2003). Semiotics then is the science of signs, sign systems and sign processes. As such, semiotics presents a vast array of analytical tools for grasping an image, stripping it down and tracking how it works with broader systems of meanings, including visual cultural meaning (Rose, 2014).

When fully understood by those constructing museum exhibitions, semiotics can be used to help visitors process messages displayed and help exhibitors present the message. In other words, they desire the exhibition to be received by the visitor in such a way that the visitor is unaware that messages have been sent. With semiotics, curators are easily placed in positions of influence to present images with political undertones that the subconscious of visitors pick up through the semiotic process. This process itself employs complex sets of analytical processes, based on the social nurturing and interaction within

the specific culture of the visitor. Hence, semiotics has come to be a dominant method for interpreting visual images, becoming more prominent than content analysis and compositional interpretation. Its dominance as a method of interpreting the visual imagery, as Rose (2014:105) states, is down to the fact that semiology challenges the question of “how images make meanings head on”. Semiotics has evolved to analyse encounters for cultural studies and has facilitated a higher level of understanding in the social sciences towards making comparisons for findings to facilitate a unifying dialect of interpretation of language in its many forms. However, to understand the message sent to an individual, the receiver needs to have a shared cultural understanding with the sender.

Within heritage interpretation through pictorial exhibits or stage artefacts, messages are being transmitted by a sender, who is the curator acting for the institution. Senders can be in positions of power and influence and present events through the chosen artefacts/displays that best convey their chosen message from the organisation’s perspective in their interpretations (Kreuzbauer & Keller, 2017). Visitors or the addressed can be directly targeted by curators, the sender, or the curators can reach out to the visitor, the recipient, without the visitor being aware the sender is reaching out to them. This illustrates that curators can target the subconsciousness of visitors by manipulating the semiotic process to reinforce the perspective of the controlling stakeholder. Where recipients/visitors are not directly targeted, the recipients within semiotics are defined as bystanders, and those that the senders are unaware of are the indirect observers, these are called other recipients. Regardless of the label given, all are recognised as sign users (Posner, 2003). It is worth noting, however, that with these examples there are different sign processes and judgements of authenticity due to the complexity of an individual’s “psychological process where the perceiver determines whether a sign-vehicle truthfully represents its represented object” (Kreuzbauer & Keller, 2017:418).

Thus, awareness is needed as to the power of semiotics through the cultural ideas, values, and convention of the US and Japan whose curators are charged with the interpretation of the Enola Gay and the World Heritage Site at Hiroshima. The relevant dynamics of tourism interpretation at both sites can be seen to be employed as a tool for nation-building.

3.5 Interpretation and Representation and Nation Building

“There are few nation building narratives that do not include episodes of violent struggle, endured suffering and ultimate triumph over adversities” (Ashworth & Isaac, 2015: 322).

The statement made by Ashworth & Isaac can never ring truer than when applying the notion of nation-building within the cross-cultural interpretation of the bombing of Hiroshima. Indeed, it is the persistent remembrance of such events which marks out and joins a society/group through their common heritage to the adversarial ‘others’, through which the governing body is then able to legitimise its existence, values and politics which when employed for nation-building politics may not necessarily be disreputable.

3.6 Dilemmas Facing Interpretation – Silencing the facts

Rose (2016) when discussing risk, apathy, irrelevance and passive empathy, states that when the visitor perceives the history presented at a given site is not relevant to them, their response will be one of indifference. When this happens, the visitor will become apathetic and is blinded by the relevance of history. Rose argues that with this, the risk of downgrading history will increase apathy, to become resistance apathy which can arise when a visitor is confronted by an interpretation that challenges a visitor’s belief about a given history. This scenario arises when the presented history is written from a perspective of an alternative stakeholder which renders the relevance too foreign for the visitors’ “Visual Vocabulary” (Rose, 2016:42). This results in visitors being disinterested and merely skirting past the exhibits rather than engaging with them.

Past events can seem irrelevant to a visitor’s own experiences, and those events that have happened or are contemporary in other parts of the world can be viewed as too far removed from the visitor’s daily routine so that the visitor once more sees no relevance in engaging with the story. This results in tourists becoming passive visitors, content in their belief that they are not in harm’s way and are unlikely to experience such events. In this scenario, Sontag (2003) argues that images of individuals or groups that suffer in distant lands today are becoming increasingly incapable of producing any depth of disturbance within an individual’s consciousness. Sontag reasons this judgement by commenting on how in our day to day life, people have become used to dealing with horrific images. These images are portrayed through various news media, movies and more recently online search engines and social media, and readily depict the horrors of terrorism and mass shootings. This conclusion still holds as firm today as it did back in

2003 and indeed even as far back as when Baudrillard (1994) was writing on the topic. Today we see everything, and the consequence is that it has made us less caring and increasingly hardened to the horrors that happen to others. This predominance of images above reality has increasingly become the norm, and while there has been an upsurge in their production, all of this has impacted on the notion of reality which Baudrillard (1994), writing at a time contemporary to the 50th anniversary of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima, argued no longer exists and that the production of images has replaced all. Thus, when linking to heritage sites silencing the facts, this silencing can also be attested to by how visitors have become disconnected from reality. As individuals, we have viewed countless images, so that we can no longer react as previous generations may have done, and as a result society overall has undoubtedly become desensitised by photographic imagery (Baudrillard, 1994; Sontag, 2003).

To illustrate this point, Sontag argued that it appeared natural for individuals to deter themselves from contemplating the sufferings of others even when those others would be easier to identify with. Take the American visitor to the Enola Gay or the Hiroshima World Heritage Site and then ponder the politically charged question of who is to blame for the bombing of Hiroshima? One would suppose that the American visitors would confront the dilemmas of America's national violence in what seems to be an incurable past they ought to see. Yet, Sontag argued on reflection to Baudrillard (1994) that "Americans probably think it would be 'morbid' to turn away from their past to look at images of the victims burned as a result of the bombing of Japan" (Sontag, 2003:136). Given the assumption, many Americans would view the atomic bombing of Hiroshima as a justified part of ending the war.

With a problematic history, the presentation of its interpretation can all too easily fall on deaf ears. Indifferent visitors can create indifferent compassion which in turn can induce insincere fulfilment in knowing. This emboldens visitors to state that they have heard the difficult histories all before and are unmoved by yet another encounter of the same old narrative. Rose (2016) argues this creates a situation where a visitor's own remoteness from a historical affair be the time or geographical distance from a historical event, which can result in the "mistaken usefulness of passive empathy" (Rose, 2016:42). This passive empathy is further described as the "empty pit of sympathy the visitor shows for the presented history" often aired by visitors uttering such phrases as "how sad or wasn't that a shame" Rose (2016:42). Rose, however, argues these sentiments voiced by visitors provide little more than a false sense of achievement, that the interpretation of

history has indeed been engaging and that the visitor merely acknowledges an explicit or dramatic occurrence without altering their perspective of the event presented. Moreover, Rose argues that if the visitor indeed seems apathetic, it is time for a new strategy by which the seriousness of the event is portrayed where interpretation needs to become ever more prevalent by illustrating a broader range of perspectives. However, this in itself can lead to creating a whole raft of controversies when institutions attempt to deliver a more accurate interpretation of an event.

Controversies in museums and sites with a historical significance can often dim reality and silence the facts of historical actualities when dealing with the interpretation and presentation of problematic histories. Displays that endeavour to present problematic histories will often provoke arguments around the true meaning of the presented history as well as how the history is best represented. All of which opens the doors to the whole topic of dissonance. Arguments revolving around the contentions of a display can be too heated, placing the host institution at a much higher risk of offending visitors and putting at risk the institution's economic and communal support. In addition, institutions also run the danger of placing those engaged in developing the history, that is the exhibit's curators and historians, under the spotlight of public scrutiny in such ways that can test an institution's authority. Yet not all controversy is negative, and Rose argues that public controversy can also have a positive usage which is to motivate public engagement, to create a forum in which dialogues can challenge and change cultural understandings and political positions such as in the interpretation of the bombing of Hiroshima.

3.7 Representation and Nation Building: Contentions in Interpretation of Hiroshima

The bombing of Hiroshima for both the US and Japan can in all essence be seen as a tragedy for the two nations. For Japan, it signified the end to a Japanese dream of empire; while for the US, the scale of destruction, though initially a wonder of science, turned into an area of contention for American morality. Mann (1948) referenced in Isaac & Platenkamp (2018:211) argued that "Western morality has ended in the form of relativism that rejects any substantial value in everyday life of the Western world". Mann, a German scholar, writes with the backdrop of the devastation of a war-torn Europe, however, his statement follows the sentiment by which the Japanese Emperor Hirohito declared Japan's surrender to the Japanese people on 15 August 1945, by stating:

“The enemy has begun to employ a new and most cruel bomb, the power of which to do damage is indeed incalculable, taking the toll of many innocent lives. Should we continue to fight, it would not only result in an ultimate collapse and disappearance of the Japanese nation, but it would also lead to the total extinction of human civilisation” (Butow & Reischauer, 1954:248).

The bombing had created a realisation that both nations had wielded the full horrors of humanities dark side. In relation to this, Isaac & Platenkamp (2018) argue that contemporary human disasters need a contemporary understanding of the infinite grief of humankind and that dark tourism enhances the ability to make a connection with such human tragedy.

Museums of national standing such as the World Heritage Site HPMM/GD and NASM/UHC explore through their exhibits the role they can play in a nation’s memorialisation process while reflecting a national identity. However, a common factor among these sites that governs the production of national identity is that decision-making often lies in the hands of mutual interactions driven by multiple stakeholder perspectives, ranging from public bodies to politically-driven elites (Forest et al., 2004). Till (2003) explains how public memory extends and hardens through social and cultural processes as opposed to individual psychology. Till goes on to argue that when looking at histories, it is societies that create histories, and that they do this for themselves using the physical symbols of the past to represent either the people, the nation or both. A problem that occurs through the representation of histories is that public memory can often give way to the official memory presented by political elites. In the case of both the HPMM/GD and the Smithsonian NASM, concerning political elites, it must be acknowledged that both institutions are financed by government departments and thus, their interpretive narrative of events has official sensitivities attached and require political sanctioning (Hughes, 2020). Therefore, what visitors see may not be the pure creation of each museum’s management/curators. Indeed, as Bothwell (2008) states, it seems that what governments do not want is a “history that presents only the darker side of the past” (Bothwell, 2008:372) and as governments are the ultimate authority their relationship with their sanctioned executives is one where government, on the whole, expects its executives to set policies and allow the daily running of the institution by its management. However, as observed by Bothwell, management all too often responds to this situation by doing only what they are told. Bothwell further explains that when looking at the

national narratives presented to the visitor, it must be remembered that many executives appointed to the board of national museums by government-run departments secured their appointments not only through their professional credentials but also through their political connections. Therefore, as was the case of the Enola Gays 50th anniversary exhibition, it is little wonder that post-war attitudes to the bombing of civilians, in the words of Hughes (2020:1) “do not sit comfortably with the victor narrative of a just war”.

Nevertheless, it is essential to recognise that public memory and the mutual interactions between the political elites and public entities are fraught with complexities. This becomes evident when promoting memory that crosses complex paradigms when interpreting the truth of a nation's memory of its past, while at the same time promoting a desirable outlook for its future (Forest et al., 2004). Places of national memory often represent the past through historical exhibitions or exhibits such as the Enola Gay for the Smithsonian. Additionally, in the case of World Heritage Sites, through their geographical location with global significance like the HPMM/GD which includes a museum, various purpose-built memorials, with the Genbaku Dome becoming an international icon, serving to symbolise Hiroshima not only as a peace city but also a victim. Often, such sites act as essential points for commemorative events becoming symbolic places where bureaucrats and other social groups voice their ongoing politicised agenda to a broader local, national, and international public. Till (1999) states that within the concept of a social and spatial memoryscape, public memory affects both the symbolic interpretations and the leading conceptualisations of a nation. Furthermore, Till goes on to emphasise that public memory is for a society marked by cultural spaces and practices through which a given society identifies, translates and negotiates myths about its past. It is through these processes that the foremost prevailing cultural understanding of a nation or people can be made. However, consensus on formulating the memoryscape may not be as straightforward as Till advocates, since there can be a conflict between the major stakeholders or the state and elite groups depending on their agenda. Moreover, social groups from the public may choose to follow the official narrative or opt for alternatives to the official rhetoric to influence the remaking of the national identity, via a site's interpretation. This highlights memory concerning nation-building can be defined as an activity as opposed to being an object or an outcome (Forest et al., 2004).

The memory process concerning the creation of national identity or agenda is a process that is far from straightforward. As Bothwell (2008:372) states “because history is so intertwined with identity it can easily become a battleground between competing

narratives”. For example, Japan, following the end of World War II was a society which had experienced its social norms being disintegrated by defeat, causing a complex and historical change. This resulted in Japan having to go through a period of political transformation that can be seen to be a process by which the national memory has reinvented itself to its citizens given the government's unfulfilled promises of victory. This has all been achieved mainly through the practice of reconstructing the national narrative of Japan from an aggressor of World War II to one of the victims (Schäfer, 2016).

The national memory along with the projected international context of public memory by any given nation can have profound impacts on the definition of places of memory (Herf, 1997; Fulbrook, 1999). Carr (2018) argues that the nation as a state with a distinctive existence exists first and foremost within: “the imagination and artefacts comprising various elements chosen to fit that imagination” (Carr, 2018:355). Carr justifies this by stating that nations are cultural artefacts along with the aspects of heritage that they choose to symbolise, imagine, define and build themselves.

Elgenius (2011) has argued that symbolism plays a fundamental part when it comes to a nation constructing its national building process. For Japan, this would be the adoption of victimhood, used by the political elites (Bix, 2008). For Japan and Hiroshima as victims, Hiroshima’s Genbaku Dome served a vital symbolic political function by providing a platform whereby the government of Japan could create a Japanese symbol of ‘A-Bomb Nationalism’. A concept which Schäfer (2016) argued echoed the conviction of countless Japanese that, as with the nation, they too have been the victims of World War II. This move into victimhood by Japan, thus, helped Japan lay the foundations to silencing their past.

As for the Enola Gay, the aircraft can be viewed in two ways, first as a liberator from a war of the American people through its role played in ending World War II; secondly as a symbol of national power by which a new American presence had been shown to the world, one by which a sense of identity and national solidarity reignited the US “passionate romance with American exceptionalism” (Timothy, 2018:383). On the other hand, the HPMM/GD anchors Japan’s constructed memory as the victim of the nuclear age, with an emphasis on serving as a place to promote global anti-nuclear messages. Consequently, for both nations, the bombing of Hiroshima added a new tier to each their post-war identity. However, as Elgenius (2011) concludes, it is not just through

symbols that a nation can build itself; monuments, ceremonies, museums, and the land itself can all be incorporated into the construction of a nation's national heritage in the pursuit of the identity of a nation all of which can be found within the confines of Hiroshima's Peace Memorial Park and with the presence of the Enola Gay at the NASM/UHC.

Hiroshima's role in Japan's post-war nation-building as we have seen is complicated and mainly revolves around the conventional idea of Japan's victimhood. However, with this comes the notion that much of what is portrayed by Hiroshima's public and elite bodies acts to convey a somewhat narrower perspective of events; one where truth blurs into myth controlled by the voice of the local authority and directorate. This directorate conveys Hiroshima's municipal by-law of the HPMM. The by-law was initially enacted in 1955 and subsequently revised in 1994 in time for giving direction for Japan's 50th anniversary commemorations. The objectives in Article 1 of the by-law say, "Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum shall be established to convey to the world facts of the atomic bombing and to contribute to the abolition of nuclear weapons and realisation of lasting world peace" (Fukushima, 2017). However, the law was one born out of the struggles of Hiroshima's political elite under the leadership of the Mayor Shinzo Hamai, who lobbied the national government for assistance in Hiroshima's reconstruction. As a result, the memorial city construction law became enacted as a particular law based on Article 95 of the construction of Japan. The memorial city construction law was put to a timely referendum and became enforced in August 1949, four years to the day of the bombing of Hiroshima. The importance of this enactment in law helped Hiroshima's political elite to raise the profile of Hiroshima during a time when the city was viewed and treated as just 1 of 115 war-damaged cities in Japan (The city of Hiroshima, 2015). The benefits of Hiroshima's Peace Memorial City Construction Law were extensive, as Hiroshima was able to not only draw financial assistance from the national government, but also the city gained the assurance that the national government was watching over it. This reinforced their connections with the new Japan, which in turn assisted in providing the narrative of Hiroshima as a victim, and through Hiroshima, Japan as a nation was also able to be seen to have derived similar benefits on the international stage. Currently, the city of Hiroshima is ultimately responsible for the exhibitions of the HPMM/GD, as the museum is a public institution managed by the City of Hiroshima. However, the Hiroshima Peace Culture Foundation is entrusted by the City of Hiroshima with managing and operating the museum as the administrator (Fukushima, 2017).

Nevertheless, the HPMM/GD in Hiroshima has become with the absence of genuine involvement of a broad range of social group representatives from the past and present, a form of state spectacle, projecting a form of state propaganda with a focus on reinforcing a centralised narrative of authority. The interpretation of this spectacle is centrally focused on Hiroshima, the victim. To support this point, one only has to point to the inner voice of the Chosyu-Journal, an organisation which sees itself as being responsible for raising the hidden voices of Japanese soldiers and victims of the war. Their work focused on the misery of war, set against anti-war rhetoric. However, unlike the official sanctioned showcasing of the HPMM, the Chosyu-Journal focuses on this topic area on cause and effects. In the case of Japan, it scrutinises Japan's involvement in the Japan-China War and World War II. The Chosyu-Journal was born out of the need to raise a critical voice in 1955 in response to the Japanese government's interpretation of events. It aims to stand against authority and to promote free speech. Concerning Hiroshima and the Japan-China War, the organisation has focused on publishing a multi-dimensional account of the lives of the people involved in the war from the voice of the everyday citizen to a critical analysis of political events.

The efforts of the Chosyu-Journal have resulted in an alternative exhibition known as the Shimonoseki A-bomb Exhibition titled *A-bomb Survivors and War Victims Speak Out the Truth of the A-bombings and World War II*. This alternative exhibition was tucked away at the far end of the peace park in Hiroshima over the river and in the shadow of the Genbaku Dome. The exhibition is relatively simple, taking a chronological narrative of historical events spread along a row of pop-up storyboards positioned under the trees. It shows the devastation of the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the lives of the people at the time with their battlefield experiences and gives accounts of the urban bombings and the battle against Okinawa, culminating in the occupation and post-war society in Japan (The Secretariat of the Shimonoseki A-bomb Exhibition, 2017). The critical difference that the exhibit delivers is its critical voice of the then Japanese government's treatment of its people and the subjugated people of the nations it occupied, along with an analysis of the unnecessary prolonging of the war by a government which had already acknowledged at the outset of the war that it could never win. The overall outcome is similar to the official museum - that of an anti-war message - but the Shimonoseki A-bomb Exhibition lays bare that the responsibility rests not solely at the feet of the Americans but also firmly at the feet of the Japanese governments. This then raises questions about the political rhetoric of victimhood.

In an attempt to move forward and engage with contemporary generations, Hiroshima began to position itself as an example of successful post-tragedy reconstruction. Hiroshima is doing this while firmly maintaining its position as a nuclear victim and showcasing itself as a city that has succeeded in raising itself from total devastation to total regeneration. Hiroshima now projects itself as a centre of the anti-nuclear movement, as well as a city which can help countries that have been devastated by not only war but also natural disasters. Examples given by the Prefecture of Hiroshima are Iraq, Afghanistan and Fukushima, with Fukushima given as an example of a city which not only experienced devastation because of the Great East Japan earthquake on 11 March 2011, but one which Hiroshima holds an affiliation with due to the Japanese government having to deal with the consequences Fukushima's nuclear power plant (The city of Hiroshima, 2015). This perhaps further evolves the official myth of Hiroshima, since it illustrates that the politics of peacemaking and the evolution of transmitting that memory down to new generations, even within a modern democratic state, is entrenched in the shadows of its past practices.

In the post-conflict commemorative genres, national and local commemoration ceremonies serve societies through representational forms that are either directly interpreted through collections of artefacts or by monuments. These monuments often get placed on pedestals, which act as gathering points for mourners and a stage for political elites to be seen by the public eye engaging in the high-profile act of ceremoniously laying wreaths on specific commemoration days. All of this serves a dual process, one, is to provide a medium for remembrance and the other to help maintain continuity with the desired national narrative. By participating in the process of making and subsequently remaking of public spaces in Hiroshima, Japan's post-war national and international identity has been framed first as a victim, secondly as a focal point for the anti-nuclear movement and now thirdly, as a model to be held up as a signifier for regeneration from catastrophe. As such, we can see how the memoryscape of the HPMM/GD has helped Japan through the transitional phases from governance by a political and military elite bent on a conquest to a political system that advocates a new civic-democratic society, albeit a society that stills wields' entrenched respect from its citizens.

Despite this, within Japan, the elites have missed an opportunity to interpret to its citizens and the world, a higher level of all round truth. LaCapra (1996) discusses when looking at the multiple meanings of places of tragedies, the functions and the forms of memoryscapes should be used to view the past to confront and work through cultural

trauma to imagine a different future. For Japan, this would mean a more honest public appraisal of its wartime past. Nevertheless, McDowell (1999;2018) questions the transitional process of a nation addressing its cultural trauma, observing that this could lead to a crisis, one where the representation of conflicting memory results in the questioning of the regime, thus causing instability. In support of this, Forest and Johnson (2002) also state that regimes should not cast off their past cultural interpretations of projected memory or meaning of events and places. The political and social ambiguities that typify transitions can encourage a situation where social groups and citizens can construct a lucid account of believed tradition, memory and history, thus projecting untruths and silencing facts. Hobsbawm & Ranger (2012) comment that in such cases invention of tradition is often used to foster stability in a chaotic situation; such was the case in Japan when using Hiroshima in its post war nation-building. Nora (1989), however, puts forward the argument that academics then focus on the roles of the elites in the formation of public memory and restructuring, and when they involve the participation of citizens, academics tend to utterly suppose an opposition between the official memory of the elites and the popular beliefs expressed by the citizen body. This is the case with those beliefs voiced through the Shimonoseki A-bomb Exhibition and the Chosyu-Journal. Koonz wrote that “public memory is a battlefield on which the political elite and the citizen body compete for authority and where both employ selective memory” (Koonz, 1994:261).

Selective memory within Japan’s political elites has its roots firmly entrenched in Japan’s post-war psyche. Unlike Germany’s post war government which took an open and critical role of its involvement in the war, Japan has politically crafted a highly effective level of ambiguity when confronted with calls for an acknowledgement of wartime aggression or reparations by its wartime victims. In the lead up to 1995, the 50th anniversary of the end of World War II and subsequently, for Hiroshima, gaining the accolade of World Heritage status in December of 1996, the debate over Japan’s war guilt paled into insignificance compared to Germany’s, ‘Schlussstrich’ debate, meaning to draw a line under or to have a debate to end all debates (Howell, 2006). In Japan, the national debate never really took place, instead, it was deployed as a political tool by which the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) acted to detach the socialists from the government by highlighting the inadequate void of Japan’s political ideology, together with illustrating the national feeling marked by the projected psyche of self-groomed victimisation (Howell, 2006). This highlights the problem with Japan’s post-war stance

on its acknowledgement of aggression towards its neighbouring states. The political infighting took advantage of the 50-year commemoration of the war to highlight the bitter divisions within Japan's political elite. The resolution, calling for Japan to formally apologise for its behaviour during the Japan-China war and subsequently, World War II, remains a source of bitter contempt among political bodies within Japan. This shows that Japan's political elites are all too ready to abandon ideological differences in preference for haranguing each other over their interpretations of historical events and accountability. This illustrates that it is Japan's past and not its future that creates fractures between intergovernmental relations. This observation, made by Howell, thus, serves to further the understanding of the political culture of memory in modern Japan. With all of this though, one thing seems apparent, which is that there are variances in the outcomes of public memory with a strong emphasis leaning towards the official political elites within Japan as opposed to there being a balance with the civic consciousness. This dichotomy results in there being an incomplete understanding of the events represented, which in turn spills over into the level of truth conveyed in the interpretation presented to the visiting public when the narrative is silenced into a mono-narrative such as that observed at Hiroshima.

While Hiroshima will forever sustain its symbolic value as the centre of the anti-nuclear consciousness, it is the national and local political elites that have seized the memory of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima. On both sides of the divide, debates have raged on to just how to commemorate and interpret both the Enola Gay and the HPMM, which has been guided by the elites, making their remembrance a national matter. In the US, the controversy surrounding the Enola Gay exhibit at the NASM/WDC became embroiled in domestic political turmoil, as discussed in section 5.3. The Smithsonian controversy can be understood by the sentiments that Fujitani et al. (2001) express about how the sacrifices of American veterans as well as the suffering of Japan's atomic bomb victims can be represented through the interpretation of the event in an intensely national site. The Smithsonian debate, through the publications in American journals, questions the use of the atomic bomb. This can only have served to have confirmed Japan's ruling elite's belief that the moral arguments put forward by the West are not as clear cut as the West would like the world to believe. All of this served to illustrate the complexity of the dissonance involved in forging each site's narrative to their prospective audiences and is discussed in the following section.

3.8 Concepts of Authenticity

Wall & Xie (2005) argued that authenticity is an element in interpretation that gets ignored rather than becoming an unconditional part of the tourism experience. The blame for this is attributed to the ever-increasing numbers of stakeholders such as governments, tourists, businesses and ethnic representatives all scrambling to secure their “own perspective on authenticity” to the tourist (Wall & Xie, 2005:1). Also, Olsen (2007) offers a critique of the authenticity debate by concluding that four key directions drive the debate on the future meaning of authenticity. Olsen finds that this ultimate meaning will be dependent upon future research, because the term authenticity is viewed differently by researchers, due to the different theoretical stances researchers use to reinforce their particular interests.

The first direction Olsen focuses on is researchers that employ the positivist and post-positivist theory of authenticity. He states their concept of interpretation and usage of the term could well remain ‘frustrating and slippery’ requiring an understanding of the internal elements of a culture and their functioning, or as Olsen states an ‘emic approach’ to gather a broader and deeper appreciation, to portray a clearer level of social representation. The second direction focuses on researchers and site managers utilising the constructivist and interpretive theories. The nuances incorporating the concept appear more effortlessly understood. However, researchers and managers face the task of developing creative modes of interpretation to deliver a consensual endorsed response from the visitor.

The third direction relates to those researchers working in the realms of critical realism theory. This takes the authenticity debate down the path of questioning the level to which a feasible authenticity is achievable as well as questioning just who it is that makes it achievable. Finally, and perhaps more importantly to this thesis is Olsen’s view that for those researchers who are working with a more critical theory approach to uncovering and portraying authenticity, they need to focus more on questions relating to power and privilege to expose the political and developmental agenda. Olsen also raised the need for such researchers to apply the critical theory approach to the epistemology of visitors to gather a greater understanding about their own beliefs of what they have seen and learnt (Olsen, 2007). Wang (1999) six years previously, states that being ‘true or false’ is typically an epistemological concern, which is a principle used to judge the characteristics of “utterance, statements, theories or knowledge” (Wang 1999:360). This view is one that is at the forefront of this research concerning the interpretation of the

Enola Gay NASM/UHC and the HPMM/GD, in the hunt for the authenticity of each site's narrative, and Wang's concept of Object authenticity and Existential authenticity will be employed while giving recognition to Wang's constructivist approach.

Wang's object authenticity is defined through association to the context in which museums employ the term authenticity concerning the originality of objects seen by the museum's visitors. This relation is linked to the visitor's belief that the objects presented to them within the museums are indeed original and thus the visitor's authentic experience is characterised by the recognition of the displayed object as authentic. This as Newman & Smith (2016) confirm gives the concept of object authenticity an objective principle by which to "verify the authenticity of originals" (Newman & Smith 2016:611). With this said, it should also be mentioned that although visitors may feel they have attained an authentic experience this authenticity can indeed be viewed as inauthentic if the displayed objects are "in fact false" in which case the category of authenticity would then follow MacCannell's (1973) concept of "staged authenticity" (Wang, 1999:315). Nonetheless, Wang's concept of object authenticity fits well when identifying a criterion for categorising the authenticity to both the Enola Gay NASM/UHC and the HPMM/GD. Their application applies to object authenticity through the originality/genuineness that resides in each object displayed to the visitor/site. For example, the Smithsonian NASM/UHC displays the actual original aircraft the Enola Gay (authentic object) which dropped the bomb on Hiroshima while the Genbaku Dome Hiroshima is the actual object/site and the Peace Memorial Museum is located in the actual city destroyed by the atomic bomb and its displayed objects are original to the event.

In addition to object authenticity, Wang also identifies the notion of "activity-related or existential authenticity" (Newman & Smith 2016:612). This bears relevance to the concept of authenticity referring to what visitors make of their experience having visited a site such as the Enola Gay NASM Hazy Center and the Genbaku Dome HPMM. Wang explains that existential authenticity, unlike object authenticity that validates the attributes of objects focuses on the realising of a clear personal and inter-subjective state of being which is to look at the meaning of authenticity. When equating this to a visitor's engagement with Museums the engagement offers the visitor the opportunity to learn about their self in other ways. Museums thus allow individuals the opportunity to attune how they connect with the presented objects both personally and with others. Thus, when the visitor tours a museum and connects with the displays, they connect with the objects insofar as the object installs a belief in its genuineness within the individual. However,

this existential authenticity as an experience is highly personal and heterogeneous hence it is fundamentally a very different model of verification than objective authenticity (Newman & Smith 2016:612). Therefore, while object authenticity deals with the physical, existential authenticity deals with the psychological authenticity with all the complexities that formulate the individual to who they are. Hence, existential authenticity helps the individual to reinforce themselves as 'being' while opening their mind to a greater understanding of the 'other' thus facilitating a higher sense of self.

Constructivism, as opposed to being objective, stresses the use of symbolic meaning for the interpretation authenticity gained through what Belhassen et al. (2008) identify as the process of socio-public discourse. Within constructivism there is little stress put upon the originality of displayed objects. Also, constructivists rebuff the objectivists' faith in the binary character of authenticity. Instead, they highlight the pluralistic character of constructing, the meaning process by which authenticity is acknowledged. Thus, constructivists believe that authenticity is cast onto an object by the influences of social discourse (Belhassen et al., 2008).

To legitimise this stance constructivists, point to the varied ways that individual tourists perceive authenticity. Often this perception is influenced by the tourist's national identity and culture as opposed to seeing an accurate reflection of the essential quality of the objects they confront. Here, then, the constructivist line of thought can be seen to join authenticity with having associations to power (Belhassen et al., 2008).

In the same year as Olsen (2007), Cohen (2007) concluded when discussing MacCannell (1973) that modern tourism looks to be shifting into a "post-authentic age" (Cohen, 2007:81). Nevertheless, authenticity still lies under the surface of postmodern attractions. Here, then, we can see that while Cohen acknowledges the drift from authenticity, he still holds the belief that authenticity forms the foundation of interpretive narrative but concedes that authenticity has become "less relevant to the study of post-modern tourism" (Cohen, 2007:75). This is a notion which Cohen & Cohen (2012) reiterates some five years later by concluding that "there exists few if any, formal criteria or accepted procedures to determine and codify the authenticity of attractions" (Cohen & Cohen, 2012:1299). Concerning academic research, Cohen & Cohen highlight how certain scholars such as Jackson (1999) and Xie (2011) have advocated the need to move away from the search for authenticity in favour of investigating the complex question of authentication (Cohen & Cohen, 2012). This lead Cohen & Cohen to develop their two

modes of authentication ‘cool’ authentication and ‘hot’ authentication (Table 3.1). Their approach draws links to Wang’s (1999) objective and existential authenticity through their criterion of conducive to personal experiences.

Table 3.1: Comparing ‘Cool’ and ‘Hot’ Authentication

	Cool authentication	Hot authentication
Basis of authority	Scientific knowledge claims, expertise, proof	Belief, commitment, devotion
Agent	Authorized person or institutions	No single identifiable agent, performative conduct of attending public
Approach	Formal criteria accepted procedures	Diffuse and incremental
Role of Public Practices	Low, observer Declaration, certification, accreditation	High, imbricated, participatory
Practices	Declaration, certification, accreditation	Ritual, offerings, communal support, resistance
Temporality	A single act, static	Gradual, dynamic, accumulative
Conducive to personal experiences	Objective authenticity	Existential authenticity
Continuance	Dependent on the credibility of the agent	Reiterative, requires continual (re)enactment
Impact on dynamics of attraction	Stagnating effect, fossilization	Augmentative and transformative

Source: Cohen & Cohen (2012:1303)

Cohen and Cohen’s ‘hot’ and ‘cool’ application analysis of authentication of authenticity in tourism research attempts to move the authenticity debate away from the tourist experiences and towards a sociological analysis which questions the procedures of authentication of tourist attractions. To this aim, Cohen & Cohen theorised two separate

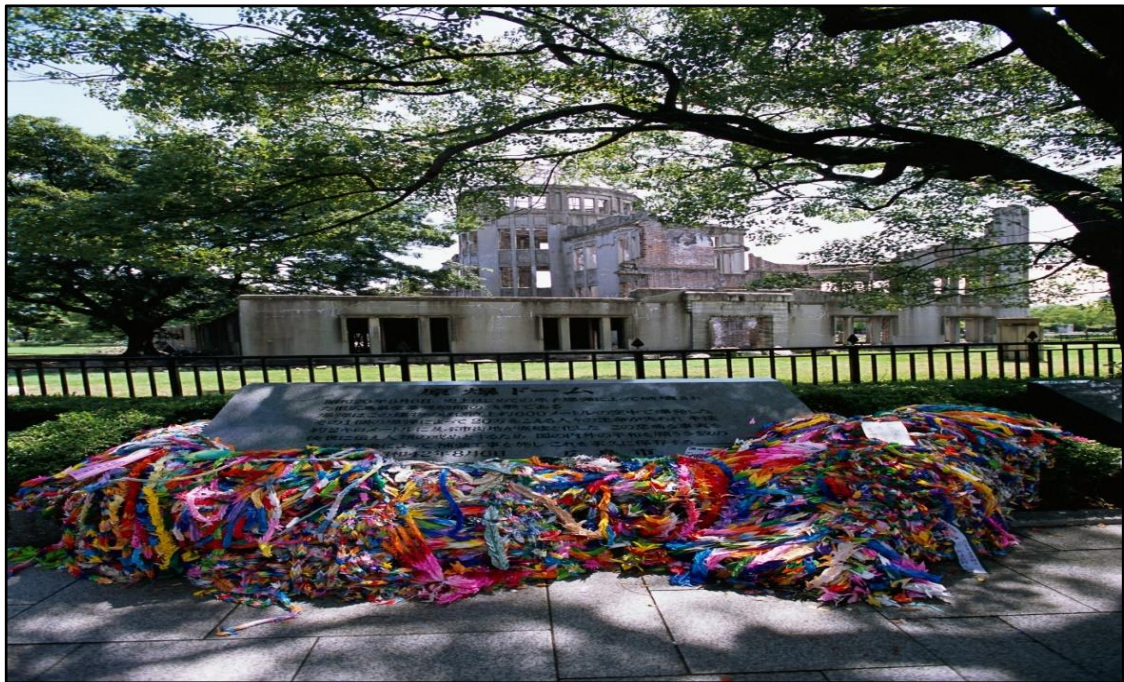
but interconnecting modes of authentication for attractions: ‘cool’ and ‘hot’. These were used to illustrate the dynamic contrast of the nature of tourist attractions by examining each mode’s interaction to illustrate how ‘cool’ and ‘hot’ authentication can become conducive to different varieties of individual visitor experiences of authenticity. Also, Cohen & Cohen explored the critical dilemmas of power and contestation in the politics of authentication by examining the perspectives of those empowered to authenticate tourist attractions.

The fundamental differences between ‘cool’ and ‘hot’ authentication are that ‘cool’ authentication is pronounced or certified on grounded ‘proof’ and is authorised without the involvement of the public. Therefore, its acceptance hangs on the credibility of the authority charged with the authenticating. In contrast, ‘cool’ authentication inclines to be fixed and free of the visiting public judgements as its authentication is routinely established via a solitary act (Cohen & Cohen, 2012). An example of an official organisation charged with the authority of granting certification of a site’s authentication would be UNESCO and its power to grant World Heritage Site (WHS) status (Wang et al., 2015). An illustration of this would be the HPMM/GD. ‘Hot’ authentication is implied and built on belief and is not implicitly certified, rather it is socially constructed through a process that engages a visitor’s participation. Its authentication is active through the maintenance and augmentation of the performative practices of visitors’ and is constructed gradually yet continually over time. Thus, the concept of ‘hot’ authentication evolves into an effective self-reinforcing process in which “the sacredness, sublimity, or genuineness of sites, objects or events is constantly perpetuated, confirmed (and augmented) by public practice, rather than by some declaration” (Cohen & Cohen, 2012:1300).

The characteristic traits of ‘hot’ authentication are well expressed by material representations of reverence left behind by visitors. Examples of these for Hiroshima would be the iconic peace crane, such as the ones left behind by visitors (Plate 1) and by heads of state such as the US President Barack Obama on the 27 May 2016 (Plate 2). While Cohen & Cohen focus on the concepts of ‘cool’ and ‘hot’ authentication, Wang et al. (2015) scrutinised the concept of integrity and authenticity. They did this initially using the backdrop of the operational guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention, or OG, as laid down by the UNESCO World Heritage Centre as the basis by which the WHS should meet the standard/standards of integrity and authenticity issued

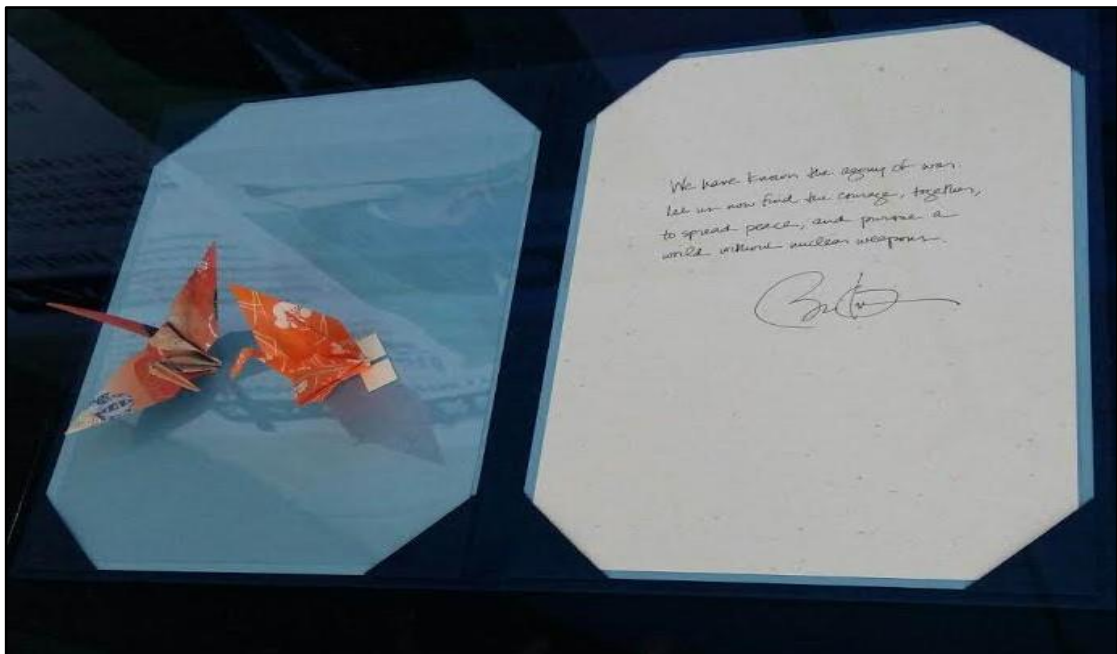
in 2011 (Wang et al., 2015). The OG was later updated in 2017 with the integrity and authenticity sections remaining the same (UNESCO, 2017).

Plate 1: Collection of Peace Cranes laid down by Visitors, Opposite Genbaku Dome



Source: R Clinton (2017)

Plate 2: Peace Crane laid by US President Barack Obama



Source: R Clinton (2017)

The difference between the previous 1977 guidelines and the 2011/17 guidelines is that the 2011/17 guidelines unambiguously express: “All properties for inscription on the World Heritage List shall satisfy the conditions of integrity” (UNESCO, 2017:27). This therefore positions both authenticity and integrity heritage preservation as UNESCO OG principles post 2011. Wang et al. (2015) noted that authenticity as a concept was initially adapted from heritage conservation by scholars focusing on heritage tourism, anthropology linking to ‘staged authenticity’, sociology promoting the constructivist view, psychology focusing on the tourist experience and philosophical views linking authenticity with the state of being ‘true’ self and political discussions on the various processes of authentication. The literature on integrity had remained firmly in the preservation of heritage conservation. In response, Wang et al. proposed a concept analysis where authenticity and integrity should be seen as an integrated unit epistemologically and made the suggestion that authenticity and integrity are like two sides of the same coin, with both concepts supporting each other in four distinct ways:

“1, ...authenticity implicates the “wholeness” and “completeness” of the cultural context associated with the heritage site; completeness links all temporary and spatial elements/components/factors together as required by the integrity

2, ...authenticity involves both the toured object, the situated place, as well as tourist feelings and perceptions; in other words, authenticity involves both an objective and subjective world. Correspondingly, integrity should involve not only physical fabrics of a heritage site but also its social and cultural contexts

3, ...the principle of integrity requires the heritage site to be “original” and “genuine”, either physically or regarding tourist experience; this corresponds to the essential requirement of authenticity

4, ...authenticity and integrity work together to form a comprehensive impression for tourists and eventually create tourist experiences with a heritage site” (Wang et al., 2015:1478).

Having stated these principles, Wang et al. concluded that if any phase were neglected, there would be consequences for authentic integrity. Thus, adhering to each concept within each phase in a harmonious manner would create a theoretical structure with a direct link to heritage tourism. This can subsequently be used to rationalise the connection between authenticity and integrity and their corresponding dimensions of constructive authenticity, cultural continuity linking the past to the present, physical elements to socio-cultural elements and tourists’ psychological factors (Wang et al.,

2015). However, while calling for a more holistic view, caution is recommended and suggestions are made by Wang et al. who state that heritage tourism managers should regard the toured objects as a central part of the heritage, but should also position place and person decisively within the context of their reference framework simultaneously with the cultural continuity of the heritage site. Although warnings were made that if static and fragmented analysis of the linkages between authenticity and integrity occur, this could result in a model that was damaging to the cultural sustainability of heritage tourism sites. Also, caution is voiced relating to the empirical verification of a given framework constructed by heritage managers with Wang et al. stating the need for heritage managers' and visitors' perspectives always to be taken into consideration.

When looking at the interpretation of sites of touristic interest, Seaton (2018) observes there is an increasing emergence of construction of narratives that favours numerous stakeholders' perspectives. This, in turn, sees those in authority constructing frameworks that reflect their own institution's predispositions/historically located sensitivities resulting all too often in the dilution of truth within the narrative presented to the public. This illustrates the complexity within the debate on the interpretation of the term authenticity as it shows that within the heritage and tourism sphere, the discussion of authenticity is very much alive as a problematic area in the development, management and endorsement of dark heritage sites and attractions.

3.9 Authenticity: An East (Japanese) – West Cross-Cultural Perspective

As we have seen, authenticity is an idea that is continuously evolving (MacCannell, 1973; Lowenthal, 1995; Selwyn, 1996; Peirce, 1998; Wang, 1999; Cohen & Cohen, 2012; Wang et al., 2015; Sharpley, 2018; Xiaoli et al., 2018). Yet, scholars such as Bryce et al. (2015), Liu et al. (2015) and Taheri et al. (2018), all recognise that significant differences co-exist amid both Asian and Western perspectives.

A key turning point in the understanding of the concept of East/West authenticity within heritage came at the Nara Conference hosted in Japan in 1994, coincidentally one year before the 50th anniversary of the bombing of Hiroshima commemorations. The agenda mainly focused on the discourse related to the Western deliberations of the Eastern methodologies and philosophy of heritage conservation in the East, which deviated from and questioned long-established Western approaches to conservation. To help add legitimacy, the Nara Conference was co-sponsored by the UNESCO World Heritage Centre, ICCROM and ICOMOS along with the governments of Norway and Canada. The

conference resulted in the acceptance of the Nara Document on Authenticity (1994) which addressed the contrasts in heritage conservation in Asia and the West (Akagawa, 2014;2016). When examining section 11 under the heading Values and Authenticity indications were made that there is not one perception of authenticity. Instead, it stated there should be an acceptance that values attached to cultural properties and the credibility of information sources will differ between different cultures and even within the same culture. Thus, the plausibility of making judgements on authenticity values based on having a fixed set of criteria is implausible. Therefore, in acknowledging this when judging values and authenticity, it is proclaimed that due respect is given to different cultures and that “heritage properties must be considered and judged within the cultural contexts to which they belong” (ICOMOS, 1994).

Therefore, when looking at the concepts of authenticity from a cross-cultural perspective, one must first recognise the point laid down by the Nara Document on Authenticity (1994). Secondly, it is necessary to be aware of the concepts of authenticity and thirdly, also be aware of the shortage of literature in which research on authenticity has been undertaken in a non-Western context (Bryce et al., 2015; Liu et al., 2015; Taheri et al., 2018). Essentially, to understand these concepts within the context of the Enola Gay NASM/ UHC and the HPMM/GD, one needs to analyse the definitions by which the research is to relate. To do this, one needs to address the term authenticity via a US (Western) and Japanese (Eastern) perspective when applying authenticity to heritage sites, museums and exhibits. However, as we shall see, there are two main areas of contention when examining authenticity and relating the term to the context of the heritage sites associated with this study.

The first area of contention belongs to the academic debate among tourism scholars in the West surrounding the discourse relating to the acceptance of a single unifying interpretation of the term authenticity (Reisinger & Steiner, 2006). The second area of contention is the fact that in Japan, the Japanese have no word for authenticity by which a single definition can be interpreted into a concept that would mirror the definitions given in the West (Ito, 1995). In the Western context, according to Trilling (2009), the term authenticity within the setting of tourism studies was first used in museums. Authorities within museums used the term to denote whether objects within their collections were what they appeared or claimed to be, and consequently held any monetary value or were worthy of the esteem they had been given (Trilling, 2009). This concept was primarily adhered to within the broader field of tourism supply, where

artefacts, cultural events, ceremonies, food, costumes and dwellings get either labelled as being authentic or inauthentic according to the various indigenous practices (Reisinger & Steiner, 2006).

Advocating a Western perspective of the term “authenticity”, MacCannell (1973) illustrates the importance of authenticity to society and discusses the role tourism plays as a mediator for authenticity while also raising concerns as to the extent tourism interpretation can convey authenticity with the truthfulness of performance. In applying this to the Enola Gay NASM/UHC and the HPMM/GD, this would be the authenticity of the presentation of each site in terms of truthfulness within their narrative concerning the bombing of Hiroshima.

Within the context of a destination and staged authenticity, MacCannell focuses on illustrating issues of authenticity and truth by examining the tourist's relationship between what Goffman (1959;2002) states as the front regions and back regions. MacCannell makes an interesting statement which cuts to the social relationship of a visitor to a destination/attraction, one where the quest for and importance of truth and authenticity to the individual and society, in general, are of the utmost importance.

Moreover, according to Steiner & Reisinger (2006) and Reisinger (2018), “authenticity is used in two different senses: authenticity as genuineness or realness of artefacts linking to object authenticity and events and also as a human attribute signifying being one true self or being true to one’s essential nature” (Steiner & Reisinger, 2006:299; Reisinger, 2018:297). The latter can also be defined as existential authenticity.

Authenticity is also deeply associated with the distinctiveness of a place and common cultural practices (Tucker, 2005). For an individual visitor, the concept and understanding of a site can further be enhanced by the experience of the authenticity engaged within that attraction/site/setting, helping the tourist to make better sense and gain a deeper understanding of the site’s meaning (Cohen, 1988). The need for authenticity in heritage sites is paramount, particularly for those that have a global significance with a need to inform and educate rather than entertain. Visitors take in what is placed before them by the curators who can, through consumption, either re-enforce or redirect an individual’s perspective. Authenticity in a post-modern world is increasingly important to individual consumers. The tourist gaze all too often becomes what Sather-Wagstaff states as: “Passive in that the process of consuming sights/sites [...] is consumed

[...] without much questioning of the construction of such sight/sites” (Sather-Wagstaff, 2011:102).

Sather-Wagstaff goes on to discuss how historical events, when presented through the commemorative historical and heritage museums and their exhibitions, are found to be suspect in their level of authenticity. Sather-Wagstaff supports this by referring to Lennon and Foley (2000) who express the opinion that in museums, when projecting the visitor into the historical past, narratives can be supplanted by commodification or more realistically through curators responding to historically located sensitivities resulting in a silenced past.

When looking at authenticity and the Genbaku Dome, authenticity is actively pursued through memorial architecture, artefact photographs and information boards linking to Wang’s (1999) object authenticity. The Genbaku Dome has become an icon that acts as a focal point for the need to conserve the authentic for fear of the erasure of the authentic by the distance of time and the elements. Linking to this, Cole & Dolan (1999) raise concerns that as time moves forward, survivors and witnesses are passing themselves into history and taking the reality behind the authentic with them to the point where we are losing the living Memory. Much the same can also be said for the Enola Gay, which is an object authentic exhibit, which gives further importance for sites to adhere to the conventions of truth and authenticity, albeit now a Western convention. Therefore, as suggested by Xie (2011) and Cohen & Cohen (2012) academic attention should be focused more on the process of authentication of tourist sites, with a requirement to state how and why sites/exhibits are deemed authentic.

The authenticity of a site marks a value judgment. Hence, if ‘authenticity’ gets removed from a site, it makes that site worthless not only to the tourist but also to humanity. Nevertheless, as Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996) point out about the commodification of sites, that monuments and historic sites always remain in the custodial charge of individuals and institutions with a ‘resource base’, and that resource base will always make their historic sites a ‘demand base’. However, with the demand base comes a potential for commodification and this can have an eroding effort on authenticity (Cole, 2007; Hguyen & Cheung, 2017).

Relating to the erosion of authenticity, one only needs to look at the debate revolving around the term authenticity itself. Kuhn (1970), when discussing the values and need for academics to work from a standard understanding of a concept, stated that a

“basic concept”, that of an interpretation of meaning within a branch of learning, should be adhered to “once and for all” to facilitate the development of knowledge. However, when it comes to authenticity, Latour (1987) noted that even 17 years after Kuhn within tourism the term authenticity had still not achieved a “black box” status where a common interpretation gets accepted; a fact which still holds water today (Reisinger & Steiner, 2006; Lau, 2010; Bryce et al., 2015; Knudsen et al., 2016; Xiaoli et al., 2018). Nevertheless, there were attempts to try to standardise the meaning of the term, none more so than by Wang (1999) who wrote an article titled *Rethinking Authenticity in Tourism Experience*. Wang concluded that there were three critical types of authenticity: Objective Authenticity, Constructive Authenticity and Existential concepts of authenticity.

The Japanese perspective on heritage authenticity is a complex anomaly particularly considering the many studies relating to authenticity tended to have been written from a Western centric stance, which has mostly neglected to investigate how authenticity appears through an Asian lens (Kolar and Zaskar, 2010; Winters, 2014; Zhu, 2015; Bryce et al., 2015; Liu et al., 2015; Akagawa, 2016; Taheri et al., 2018). However, when looking at authenticity from a Japanese perspective, one first needs to recognise the Japanese, along with numerous other Asian countries do not have appropriate words within their languages that directly translate into the Western/Eurocentric interpretation of the term ‘authenticity’. This makes the term ‘authenticity’ from within the cultural heritage outlook of Japan a word that is ‘difficult to understand’ in comparison to Western perspective (Ito, 1995; Akagawa, 2016). This difficulty in understanding is largely due to the historical fact that the term ‘authenticity’ has its root in the neo-classical languages of ancient Greek and Latin, with the Greek word “*authentikos* meaning real, genuine, original, something that has an undisputed origin, is not a copy, is reliable, accurate, true and authoritative” (Reisinger, 2018:295). European languages such as English, French, German, Spanish and Italian have evolved, maintaining many similarities to ancient Greek and Latin. Hence, many Western cultures have a common linguistic heritage, which, in turn, enables a greater understanding of the fundamental meaning of the term authenticity with little difficulty. In contrast the Japanese language has closer evolutionary links to that of ancient Chinese (Ito, 1995; Luo, 2018). Instead, the Japanese language has modern equivalents such as reliability and genuineness. This then highlights the problem with the Japanese understanding of the western notion of the term authenticity because as Ito states there is no direct one to one comparison. Subsequently,

Japanese people are unable to appreciate the concept of the term authenticity from a Western perspective (Akagawa, 2016; Ito, 1995).

Additionally, it is questionable if the Japanese language can itself be correctly translated into European languages from a Japanese perspective (Ito, 1995). This highlights the complexities between the understandings of the West and Japan, even though as Horn (1998) points out, Japan has an economy and system of government modelled upon Western economies. For examples of differences within the Japanese interpretation of authenticity or genuineness and reliability, one only needs to look at Japan's commodification of its built heritage and its concept of repair. Traditionally, buildings in Japan were constructed out of perishable materials such as wood and consequently had a finite lifespan, as timber is prone to suffer decay caused by adverse weather and termite infestation as well as the impacts of the US bombing during the latter parts of the Second World War. On top of this, one must also acknowledge the periodic destruction caused to areas through natural disasters such as tsunamis and earthquakes (Akagawa, 2016). This in itself has led to Japan being culturally impacted upon in conjunction with the way the Japanese interpret the representations of their past and genuineness of their heritage products.

Due to the periodic widespread renewal and restoration of heritage artefacts either damaged or destroyed through nature and war (Rigney, 2001; Bryce et al., 2015), the legacy of renewal and restoration linked to Japan's cultural tradition can be readily seen when looking at several of Japan's heritage sites. Ito illustrates this by focusing on the Shinto Ise Shrine reconstruction system. This reconstruction system helps to illustrate the differences found within the Japanese interpretation of authenticity. Akagawa highlights the Shinto Ise Shrine as an important case study by which Japan has been able to represent an 'Eastern approach' to counteract the 'Eurocentric' approach of Western heritage discourse. Reconstruction at the shrine requires all the shrine buildings to be reconstructed after 20 years (Akagawa, 2016). The significance of the 20 years is that it relates to a period which denotes the life cycle of deities and draws comparisons with the life cycles of human generations. Coincidentally, the 20-year time frame also relates to the period during which the foundations of the shrines' thirty centimetres diameter columns start to give way to decay and insect infestations.

As part of the reconstructive process, old buildings get dismantled with care, and new ones are rebuilt strictly adhering to the previous style and only using traditionally

handcrafted and labour-intensive manufacturing methods (Akagawa, 2016). All this is done to meet the requirements of the eternal life of architecture which is to be preserved (Ito, 1995). Nevertheless, Ito goes on to note that while the eternal life of the architecture is maintained, it also serves to convey traditional culture insofar as it has become a system of preserving intangible cultural heritage by staying true to the original building design and construction methods. The authenticity, however, from a Western perspective is lost as the new buildings are not historically original 'tangible cultural heritage'. To date, there have been reconstructions taking place every 20 years for the last 1300 years with the next reconstruction due in 2033 (Nuwer, 2013).

Yet, things are very different when looking at the idea of the tradition of authenticity/genuineness in Japan when it comes to Buddhism. Through Buddhism, the tradition of authenticity is much more in line with the notion in the West. Temples are not demolished as with the Shinto Ise Shrine but instead get preserved. The tradition of preservation in Buddhism links to the belief in Buddha and the notion of respect. Preservation of artefacts comes from the tradition of belief that the sculptures and paintings of the Buddha along with other holy artefacts donated to the Buddha are representations of Buddhism and, therefore, are respected and preserved. This notion also spills over to showing respect for the founders of temples dedicated to Buddhism, the high priest. Thus, the tradition of preservation is recognised in Japan, but one can see the notion of authenticity having more links to the interpretation of genuineness and having comparisons with the preservation of Christian artefacts relating to Christ and Saints (Ito, 1995).

However, heritage in Asia does have a tradition of secular protection via legal legislation. Within Europe, the protection of cultural heritage began during the 18th century following the renaissance. The establishment of several national museums drove this concept and in the 19th-century laws protecting sites and monuments in many European countries were introduced. This was later accelerated post-World War II to include legislation in many Western nations to protect and preserve historic towns and cities.

In Japan, they followed the European trend and adapted European systems through legal administrative development. However, other Asian countries colonised by European nations saw the protection of their cultural heritage undertaken and interpreted by the hands of the "European Suzerains" (Ito, 1995:41). Here, then, Ito points to the fact

that by and large Japan was relatively independent in the implementation of legal preservation legislation, whereas the West imposed its control upon colonised nations and, in doing so, can be seen to have a Western bias to that preservation/interpretation. However, this is not to detract from the discussion of the cultural interpretation of authenticity. Ito observes that Japan, far from being a colonial dependent, has always maintained its independence, although it has tended to model its democratic political style on those of the West.

Japan first initiated legislation for the preservation of buildings and artefacts in 1897. This legislation was subsequently revised in 1927, and with new laws in 1933 and 1950 that included legislation against the illegal exporting of essential artefacts. These laws were merged into one law for the protection of cultural properties. In 1975, new areas were added to the legislation to include the protection and preservation of historic buildings, along with cultural entities. Linking back to the issue of authenticity, one can see that although Japan has a history of legislation focusing on protection, one must be aware of the fact that the natural conditions such as extreme climate, natural disasters and insect infestation have resulted in a uniquely Japanese way of preserving many of their monuments. This includes dismantling, reassembling, repairing or restoring. In the restoration, parts are patched or replaced in their entirety to bring the building back to a correct state. In relation to this, Ito states that:

“...if a part of timber is replaced by new wood in the first repair work and another part is replaced in the same way in the second work all wood in the building will eventually have to be replaced and no original wood will remain. But I must say that this presumption is quite a sophistry” (Ito, 1995:43).

Ito’s statement on authenticity relating to the above explains that:

“...if authenticity gets defined as genuineness, even the replacement of one timber will result in the violation of authenticity, however if the meaning of authenticity can include reliability, the situation will become more flexible” (Ito, 1995:44).

Here then, we have seen how the debate relating to the concept of authenticity was perceived within the Japanese culture. Ito’s work is essential as it related to the discussion linking to the UNESCO World Heritage Convention in Japan in 1994 known as the Nara Conference (Akagawa, 2016). The focus of this conference was to solicit subscription from member nations to support the preservation of listed monuments

registered on the World Heritage in danger list in countries that face financial difficulties, which enables us to look back at the differences in trust, particularly in the notion of truth within authenticity. The cultural interpretation of authenticity raises questions relating to staged authenticity, from the viewpoint of the curator's interpretation. The discussion above focused in particular on the tangible and on the perspective of the Japanese interpretation of authenticity. When looking at the intangible, for us the narrative by which physical artefacts get interpreted, one can see how cultural differences can indeed impact upon interpretation resulting in a multifaceted view of authenticity.

Interpretation is communication, and that becomes discourse (Said, 1995). Said discusses the issues of cultural studies within the context of the orient. Moreover, he (ibid.) implies that when looking at cultural studies, discourse is impacted upon by culture via its acquaintance with the social group and that this assimilation with the group produces its reality (Said, 1995). This statement can be viewed in two ways; one which is Western-focused, and the other is Eastern focused, however, Said is using the Eastern lens looking at the West, by which the West views the East/Orientals. Said (1995) focuses on how much the Western attitudes towards the East have stemmed from colonialism. When looking at authenticity and truth through the Western lens, Said focuses on Western attitudes towards the East, reciting Sir Alfred Lyall, a British civil servant and a published historian. Said states that Lyall claimed that accuracy is repugnant to the oriental psyche and that want of exactness all too easily collapses into untruth and falseness (Said, 1995). What is illustrated here is a cultural difference, albeit one illustrated through the colonial eye of an individual, Alfred Lyall who illustrated differing attitudes between what Said states as being the cultural awareness of orientalism. This awareness was driven by a political image of reality whose assembly endorsed the disparity between the familiar 'Europe, the West *Us*' and the perspective of the 'Orient, the East, *Them*' (Said, 1995).

Edward Said was an important cultural figure of the latter part of the 20th century. In his book, written in 1995 on orientalism, he argues that American and European (Western) academics writing on Eastern cultures and societies made inaccurate, misleading and social-cultural misrepresentations of the East based on a lack of understanding the West had of the East. Said implies that the West could not possibly understand the East because the Eastern cultures were too far removed from the West's cultural belief systems. As a result, the East was judged by Western academics who were without any real understanding of the East. Said further stated that these academics felt justified in their stance due to their disdain for alien cultures and that their work served

the purpose to re-enforce that their Western way was the correct way due to how the East deviates from Western values. Concurrent with this belief Said also believed that these Western beliefs/values are linked to dominant imperialist societies whose knowledge derived from colonial contact with Eastern cultures. Therefore, he believed that Western academics and scholars were politically motivated and was convinced that stereotyping had become a type of justification for the colonialism of Eastern countries. He also believed that the west just framed the East as a region that needs civilising. In addition, Said believed that this attitude of the West was driven by the notion that the West was guilty insofar as that they had failed to recognise their stance as a stereotype.

Moreover, the West just believed that Western cultures were superior cultures, and those Western academics are just as complicit as active agents within colonialism as their governments. Said also commented that this biased analysis is what has hindered a true understanding of Eastern cultures by the West and is implicit in the concept of otherness. Edward Said's text went on to become the foundation text for post-colonial studies. While his theories can still be seen to hold water, his interpretation of the meaning of Orientalism can be seen as one which links to a patronising Western attitude towards Eastern nations (Said, 1995). Nonetheless, Said's stance on orientalism is not one without criticism, which is illustrated through Ibn Warraq's (2007) book *Defending the West: A Critique of Edward Said's Orientalism*. Warraq contested Said's arguments that the Western academic world had fashioned a persona of the East for Western governments as the East been the "Inferior Other", and thus were guilty of complicity in the crime of colonial subjugation (Warraq, 2007). Warraq's criticism focuses on disputing Said's claims that Western civilisation is racist, xenophobic and self-centred, and illustrates how, contrary to Said's claims, the West's rationale has universalism at its core and is self-critical. Croydon (2012) in turn interprets Warraq as interpreting the West to have "respectively unfettered, impartial, intellectual curiosity having an openness to others and a willingness to submit to tradition to rational scrutiny" (Croydon, 2012:430).

The above serves to illustrate the link between authenticity and otherness and further assists the debate relating to the Japanese cultural interpretation of authenticity (genuineness and reliability), in comparison to that of the West. Through sociological analysis, identities have been constructed based on representations derived from observations gained through social interactions between different societies and cultures. Linking back to Said's illustration of Sir Alfred Lyall's attitude, Said claims that the points Lyall made were driven by a stance of power where one group, the "Colonial

West”, viewed themselves as the superior power over the East. Zevallos (2011) supported Said’s stance and claimed that otherness was used by the West as a tool to convey a superior air according to their own beliefs, thus giving credence to Said’s work. Another advocate of Said’s philosophy is Andrew Okolie, who discussed political otherness in 2003 and claims that otherness typically serves a purpose for potential gain by the “US” (the West) and loss for the others, which reaffirms perceptions of superiority. This links back to authenticity and cultural interpretation, and no matter how controversial Lyall’s comments were, there are instances which can be used to validate the underlying undertones of the points he made. This can be turned around to validate Warraq’s observation of how the West is, through Croydon’s interpretation, “respectively unfettered, impartial and having an intellectual curiosity” (Croydon, 2012:430).

Lyall’s statement can now be further examined and used to illustrate Japan’s political stance on authenticity, genuineness and reliability within the setting of true representation. When looking back at Japan’s heritage policy, which is directed at heritage sites, the policy states that the principal aim is to maintain the integrity of individual sites (Ehrentraut, 1993). However, the extent to which this can be held to account when looking at the HPMM/GD Japan which, after all, has a well-documented record of denial regarding the truth and the authenticity of its actions in World War II and its campaign in mainland China, is questionable. Hiroshima is a unique site came into existence because of Japanese aggression towards the US. While, the consequences of this action may not have been apparent at the time, the result was the dropping of the first atomic bomb on an occupied city. However, within the interpretation of the event, two stories are told: one from the Japanese perspective and one from the US perspective. Each perspective has attracted unwanted and contested debates. For Japan, the US had great reservations concerning Hiroshima gaining World Heritage status. This fact could be thought to be poignant given Japan also raised considerable objections to the granting of World Heritage status to China’s site at Nanking.

The concept of authenticity is a complex one. Reisinger and Steiner (2006) and Reisinger (2018) stated, that within tourism the subject of authenticity has become an issue focused on by academics. However, there has been little if any agreement as to what the concept truly signifies. Reisinger and Steiner question the concept of authenticity linking to “objects and events”, “a state of mind”, “objective or experiential”, “universal or personal” (Reisinger & Steiner, 2006:65). When presenting artefacts and events within a realistic setting, the need for objective authenticity should be paramount for the visitors,

the host nation and curators. Explanatory narratives relating to events and artefacts should convey genuineness.

Authenticity should have a power of interpretation, a power that gives credibility to experience the truth of meaningful places. Authentic should mean authentic. It should be measurable across culture as a force for nurturing objective truth, even though this may lead researchers and curators into zones of discomfort. However, as seen above, the constructivist's view of authenticity is ever present in museums, heritage sites and exhibitions, especially when two national perspectives politically convey themselves as the victim.

3.10 (Dark) Heritage and Dissonance

Timothy (2018) states that heritage consists of links to people's origins and to the past that is inherited and utilised by societies in the present, and that this heritage is comprised of both the tangible and intangible. All of this then forms the individuals we become, who we are as a community and who we are as a nation. As such, heritage is fundamental in the formation of a nation's identity as it can "cause entire societies to coalesce in solidarity or collapse in disunity" (Timothy, 2018:382). Traditionally, heritage tends to memorialise significant accomplishments and idealistic occasions. However, as heritage is increasingly packaged for consumption within the tourism industry, it is increasingly exhibiting the *darker side* of the individual community's or nation's past, through its aggression, suffering, grief and misery. While events, spaces and specific sites have since ancient times drawn tourist visitations, it has only been since the 1990s that dark visitations/supply has been recognised as a distinctive brand of tourism (Hartmann, 2014; Ashworth and Isaac, 2015; Dalton, 2015 & Timothy, 2018).

As Sharpley (2009) rightly points out, research relating to the concept of dark tourism – that is, sites with an association to death or violence – have by no means been forged in isolation by tourism academics alone. Visitor sites connected with war and atrocities have long been studied within the broader topic area of heritage tourism, especially when focused on an interpretation perspective (Sharpley, 2009). Indeed, Uzzell (1989) and his work on the 'hot interpretation' of war and conflict implies that 'hot' interpretation should be interpretation managed in a way that reflects the intensity or is as passionate as the site/event that is being interpreted. Moreover, Uzzell believes this should be done to communicate the 'true' importance of the meaning of events to the visitor and in doing this, only then shall museums and interpretive sites become

foundations of distinction for communicating the story of cultural heritage in all its dimensions. Light (2017) also states that the notion of visiting places of death is nothing new and that scholars mainly working in the field of heritage tourism had previously engaged in a substantial amount of research into battlefield sites and other war-related sites. This is not surprising given that it is commonly accepted that battlefield and war-related sites are considered to make up the largest single/significant niche category of tourist attractions in the world (Smith, 1998; Henderson, 2000; Ryan, 2007; Dunkley et al., 2011; Upton et al., 2018).

As well as heritage scholars dealing with battlefield and war interpretation, Ashworth & Tunbridge (1990) first developed the notion of dissonance while writing on the development of the 'Tourist-Historic City' model in the subfield of urban tourism. Ashworth and Isaac (2015:317) reasoned that "people and heritage around them were not always in harmony but could be in a condition of disharmony or dissonance" and dissonance is inherent to all forms of heritage – be this in scale, context or locale. By 1996, Tunbridge & Ashworth had established research into the concept of 'dissonant heritage', a concept that suggested dissonance - or tensions in interpretive narratives – is implicit in the commodification process in the establishment of place products and in the substance of narratives which could in some instances lead to disinheritance. As such, the range and promotion of a specific heritage supply for tourism can predictably act to disinherit and alienate specific groups within society who do not relate to a specific interpretation of heritage. This is evident with veteran groups for the Enola Gay 1995 exhibit and the Chosyu-Journal, who see themselves as being responsible for raising the hidden voices of Japanese soldiers and victims of the war.

Ashworth (1996) also went on to apply dissonance concerning visitor motivations when visiting Krakow-Kazimierz, the former Jewish district which featured in Steven Spielberg's 1993 movie *Schindler's List*. Ashworth identified three types of visitors, each having different reasons for visiting Krakow. The attention of the research focused on the need to formulate management strategies for atrocity sites, to reflect the difference in motives between three visitor groups: the victims, the perpetrators and the bystanders, all of which have very different motives for visiting. Ashworth & Hartmann (2005) argued that victims, perpetrators and bystanders require individual strategies when it comes to delivering a specific interpretive narrative that emphasises different messages and perspectives.

Tunbridge & Ashworth (1996:94) discussed dissonance concerning “heritage of atrocity” – a concept defined as heritage directly related to sites of “deliberately inflicted extreme human suffering that can be labelled atrocity” and this, according to Foote (2009), can be applied to Hiroshima under the grounds of the 140,000 casualties.

Tunbridge & Ashworth categorised heritage atrocity into two typologies, first, general categories:

“...atrocities from aggravation on natural/accidental disasters by human action or neglect [...] atrocities perpetrated by an entire category of people on another [...] and [...] atrocities from war or from within the context of war” (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996:96).

Second, specific category meaning:

“...atrocity of former judicial systems [...] an atrocity of racial, ethnic, or social groups [...] atrocity arising from large-scale killing or massacre [...] to atrocities of genocide” (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996:96).

In categorising the different types of atrocities, Tunbridge & Ashworth went on to apply the concept of dissonance to a range of examples to illustrate the range of dilemmas faced by managers when interpreting the various aspects within atrocity heritage for visitors competing for demand. These different visitors can be classified as perpetrators and victims or, as Tunbridge & Ashworth state, those remembering and those forgetting.

Tunbridge & Ashworth (1996) subsequently developed a conceptual framework which managers of such sites could draw on to develop a broader understanding of the complexities of the visitor given the challenges of heritage dissonance and the association with dark tourism and heritage atrocity. Tunbridge & Ashworth’s work was contemporary with Foley & Lennon’s (1996) work on dark tourism and Seaton’s (1996) thanatourism, and tackles similar issues relating to the management and manipulation of atrocity sites. Their work on dissonant heritage does not ascribe to positioning itself more broadly within the wider context of dark tourism. However, the interpretative/dissonance theme raised by Tunbridge & Ashworth (1996) and Ashworth and Isaac (2015) through to Ashworth (2017) remains central to several dark tourism studies. Also, Hartmann (2014) focuses on tourism to heritage sites with a contentious history related to sites of death, disaster and the macabre and raises several new concepts and research directions in the study of such sites. Specific consideration is given to both dark tourism as well as an

examination of dissonance in the management of heritage sites. Also, he also highlights the emergence of three new terms appeared in the mid to late 1990s – that is, dissonant heritage, thanatourism and dark tourism.

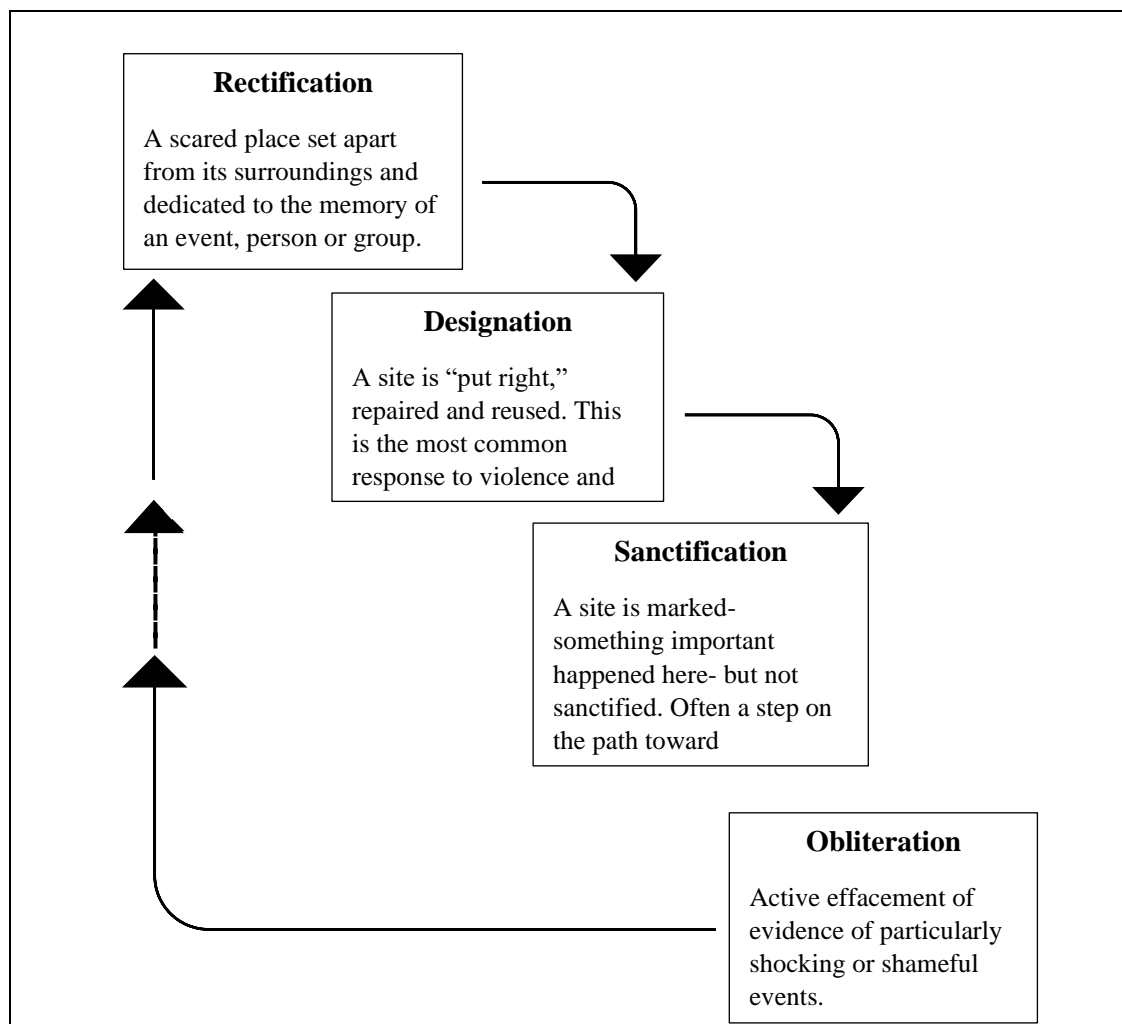
Hartmann discusses issues relating to the geography of memory within heritage linking his work to places with a shadowed history and draws upon Foote (1997; 2009) who analyses outcomes for sites connected with tragic happenings, by focusing on the US landscapes of violence and tragedy. Foote gives the development of these dark heritage sites four major outcomes: rectification, designation, sanctification and obligation (Figure 3.4). The greatest commonplace outcome was the process of rectification: a process where a specific site is renovated and reused, which for the Enola Gay would be its renovation and inclusion as an exhibit in the NASM/UHC. In contrast, the HPMM/GD has been ‘put right’ only in the sense that it has undergone repairs to preserve the iconic bomb blast appearance of having survived the world’s first atomic bomb. This then leads to the designation phase of Foote’s model where the site (Genbaku Dome), or as in the case of the Enola Gay, an object, becomes recognised as having a link to an event which warrants recognition.

From the recognition stage, sites deemed as significant will go through sanctification. For Hiroshima, the process of sanctification has a geographical significance for the Genbaku Dome as the structure represents the closest surviving building to the epicentre of the explosion. Therefore, it has become an iconic signifier, while the Peace Park which comprises of a range of memorial monuments and the Peace Memorial Museum occupies a substantial geographical setting free from any post-war city reconstruction. Yet all of these are found within green park scape which can in itself be read as a form of rectification, designation and sanctification due to the rebirth of the land itself as it has recovered from the nuclear pollutants and been given new purpose as a park of monuments.

Hartmann (2014) further highlights the fourth phase of Foote’s (2009) common outcomes for heritage places associated with violence and tragedy, that of obliteration, which Foote states is the effective effacement of a site’s link with a particular shameful event. This then forms an interesting yet disquieting link to the Enola Gay narrative, as the aircraft that delivered the bomb to Hiroshima, which together with the HPMM bears little witness to the cause of Hiroshima’s bombing. The result of this is a tentative silencing of both the US and Japan’s role in the killing of some 140,000 people on 6

August 1945. When looking at Foote’s original model, it takes the form of a continuous semi-hierarchy process with sanctification top far left and rectification top centre right, designation bottom centre left and obliteration bottom far right. However, Foote states none of the outcomes are static outcomes but are individual steps in time, which lead to sanctification. He further states that the obliteration phase may with time get to the rectification phase. Yet, the obliteration phase is linked within the continuum in Foote’s original model but it is in effect described as erratic and as such should not be anchored to the continuum but instead be tentatively joined to the model as illustrated in Figure 3.4 In doing this, while recognising the link with process of rectification, designation and sanctification it also shows the link to be inconsistent in its flow.

Figure 3.4: Adaption of Foote’s (2009) Common Outcomes for Heritage Places Associated with Violence and Tragedy



Source: Adapted and modified from Foote (2009:43)

This in itself can serve to bring some order to Foote’s concept from what has been observed by Hartmann as: “a concept that seems to have no distinct set of rules about

when and how a place with a shadowed past enters the process of designation and sanctification” (Hartmann, 2014:175). Concerning the importance placed on the growth of dark tourism as a place of visitation, Timothy (2018) examined the importance of scale, which illustrated the typology of dark heritage sites to its geographical relevance among tourism/heritage consumers. Timothy identified four scale perspectives for sites including:

i) **Global** – this category includes those sites designated as UNESCO World Heritage Sites which is the status of the HPMM/GD. Moreover, also those sites listed on the New 7 Wonders of the World list. These are recognised as world-renowned sites, iconic sites that generate an aspiration within a large audience of travellers to visit.

ii) **National** – This category relates to sites and objects that have a more national appeal, such as the Enola Gay, yet also have appeal to foreign tourists. Despite this international appeal, their main audience is national citizens and they will represent nationalistic sentiment.

iii) **Local** – Sites are comprised of local heritage artefacts housed in local museums and local monuments with importance to an audience within a region. Visitors may come from residents, youth/school groups and people who have a nostalgic link with the region.

iv) **Personal** – Relates to personal or family heritage. These sites are visited by travellers undertaking genealogy research, visiting family and for nostalgia (Timothy, 2018).

Timothy provides a concept and measurement mechanism by which scholars and site managers can assess the level of significance of a site set within a global context. However, as with all concepts in utilising this theory, questions should be asked within each category as to whose heritage is showcased and more importantly whose heritage is not. Thus, it is essential to have a broad understanding of events surrounding a site, artefacts and any instances of dissonance relating to any specified site, for what is essential to one group of stakeholders may be less important to another. Thus, the overlap may be an issue, which is acknowledged by Timothy as including perceptions of value which would be a significant factor in the importance of scale while constructing a position of a site on a hierarchical setting.

Trips to historic sites and attractions that depict events associated with human suffering and mass death have become a significant aspect of tourist visitation in recent times (Light, 2017). Stone (2012) asserts that the demand for visiting these attractions has increased ever since the mid-twentieth century, concurrently with the surge in tourism in general. Also, it has been noted that sites associated with either natural or human-made disasters or atrocities have become places of remembrance and thus becoming “tourism attractions themselves” (Kang et al., 2012:257).

The study of dark tourism sites in its infancy was often characterised by attractions that were traditionally deemed and classed as heritage sites, with Dann & Seaton (2001) and Seaton (1999) emphasising that dark sites have a significant level of cultural and historical importance, and therefore scholars studying dark sites should draw on and benefit from established theories of heritage tourism. This point is also raised by Hartmann (2014) who, when discussing the stimulus for the growth of academic interest in dark tourism, noted that the customary term ‘cultural tourism’ was too restrictive insofar as it tended to go along with elitist types of tourist activities that excluded examples of popular culture. Thus, scholars turned to the “broader concept of heritage instead” (Hartmann, 2014:168).

Biran et al. (2011) in their work relating to Auschwitz-Birkenau categorise Auschwitz to be the epitome of dark tourism. Biran et al. (2011) go onto state that by shedding light on the character of the tourism experience by explaining the relationship linking the symbolic meaning. A site portrays the fundamental components of the tourism experience by these visitor motivations and the desired interpretation gains. Biran et al. thus conclude when analysing their research on the nature of the tourist experience at Auschwitz-Birkenau, that Auschwitz, as a site hosts a heritage experience too, rather than a merely dark tourism one.

Biran et al. also argue that together with site characteristics, visitor perceptions of the site need to be considered when attempting to conceptualise the visitor experience and that when doing these, heritage scholars can contest the wide held mindset of dark tourism as a “distinct phenomenon to heritage tourism” (Biran et al., 2011:823). In stating this, added importance is afforded to re-affirming the notion laid down by Dann & Seaton (2001) that literature focusing on visits to heritage sites might permit a more significant level of understanding of tourist experiences at dark sites. Such literature helps to acknowledge the multifunctional character of dark sites that stage death, which

encompasses a broad range of diverse symbolic meanings. For instance, various papers have demonstrated that dark sites are places for a spiritual experience, mourning and remembrance as well as sites for educational experiences and demonstrating national identity (Austin, 2002; Slade, 2003 and Logan & Reeves, 2009). Also, similar to heritage sites, dark sites are often mixed up in ideological and socio-political issues (Seaton & Lennon, 2004; Light, 2017).

3.11 Dark Tourism: An Overview

The literary debate surrounding dark tourism can be seen to have its roots in the writings of Rojek (1993) who started to draw attention to the growth of tourism to sites related to death and suffering by calling it 'Black Spot' tourism. In 1997, Rojek also proposed the term 'Sensation Site' meaning sites of violent death which in effect, by adding to his Black Spot term, allowed Rojek to categorise sites into typologies. 'Sensation Site' gave Rojek a dual meaning definition the first of which referred to "the marker of a death site" and the second referred to "disaster sites of notable deaths" (Rojek & Urry, 1997:62). Rojek's readjustment from his original definition is seen as a response to the increasingly informed perspectives of other academics such as Dann (1994), Foley & Lennon (1996) and Seaton (1996).

In 1994, Dann discussed the concept of visitors 'milking the macabre', linking visitations to sites in the aftermath of a disaster and more general sites that can be visited multiple times. Moreover, Foley & Lennon (1996) went on to establish what is now the widely expected definitive/umbrella term 'Dark Tourism'. They defined it as "the phenomenon which encompasses the presentation and consumption of real and commodified death and disaster sites" (Foley & Lennon, 1996:198), arguing that dark tourism was a postmodern phenomenon owing to its emphasis on spectacle and reproduction. This, though, was refuted by Dunkley et al. (2007) who questioned the usefulness of using post-modernism as a structure for comprehending dark tourism as it tends to overlook the individual psychological questions as to why tourists are drawn to visiting places associated with death and suffering. Subsequently, Foley and Lennon's work was swiftly followed by Seaton (1996) who coined the phrase 'Thanatourism' which is derived from the ancient Greek word 'Thanatos' meaning the personification of death (Johnston, 2010). Seaton, by introducing the term thanatourism, broadened the sphere of dark tourism to include "travel to a location wholly or partially motivated by the desire for actual or symbolic encounters with death" (Seaton, 1996:240). Ashworth

and Isaac (2015:317) identify that Seaton, in taking this position is shifting the emphasis away from the site to “motivation conceptually, as well as empirically”. Seaton illustrates thanatourism by grouping the term into the following five feasible categories: observing the communal enactments of death; actual locations of singular or mass deaths; memorials or imprisonment locations; to view emblematic demonstrations of death; and to observe re-enactments of death (Seaton, 1996). The term thanatourism though not widely used has indeed gained marginal acceptance as a term used interchangeably with dark tourism. In fact, thanatourism can be applied to the sites of both Hiroshima and the Enola Gay insofar as Hiroshima is a site of death and destruction, while the Enola Gay was the bringer of that death and destruction.

As with many definitions within academia, scrutiny followed, resulting in the broadening out of the topic area of dark tourism. This led to more coining of terms as scholars pushed to further develop the theoretical framework by improving their understanding of the phenomenon through drawing on the intricacies of previous scholars. Blom (2000) for example, defined two aspects of visitations, converging them together under the term ‘morbid tourism’. Blom’s concepts first focus was on the visitation to sites of sudden death that quickly draw large numbers of people and secondly focuses upon attractions which centre on artificial morbidity related tourism (Blom, 2000). Bristow & Newman (2005) later presented the term ‘fright tourism’, which reworks the term dark tourism by focusing on how individuals may seek an experience when visiting a site that delivers a thrill or shock. Also, Preece and Price (2005:200), while not coining a term, defined dark tourism as “travel to sites associated with death, disaster, acts of violence, tragedy, scenes of death and crimes against humanity”. In the same year, Tarlow (2005) defined the term dark tourism as “visitations to places where tragedies or historically noteworthy death has occurred, and that continues to impact our lives” (Tarlow, 2005:48). However, in 2009, Sharpley criticised Tarlow’s definition by stating that it was narrow in its inclusion of sites, either directly or indirectly related to death and disaster (Sharpley, 2009) with which Stone (2011) also agreed, stating Tallow’s definition overlooks many ‘shades’ of dark sites associated with, although not essentially actually, a site of death and disaster (Stone, 2011).

Nonetheless, Stone (2006) gave a clearer definition which enveloped a more inclusive, broader appeal towards the supply side by defining dark tourism as “the act of travel to sites associated with death, suffering and the seemingly macabre” (Stone, 2006:146). Stone’s definition, on the one hand, offers a succinct explanation of the

concept of dark tourism, while on the other hand, theoretically incorporates a large array of attractions, sites, destinations and experiences. Dunkley et al. (2007) further the debate with emphasis on adding to the definitions of seven various thanatourism types including: horror tourism, grief tourism, hardship tourism, tragedy tourism, warfare tourism, genocide tourism and extreme tourism. However, Dunkley et al. state that each of the categories is to some extent permeable and thus they are divided from each other by dashed lines rather than solid lines, to stress the fluidity between the categories. An example of this can be seen where warfare tourism can merge into genocide tourism. Ashworth (2008) re-entered the definition pool when writing on the memorialisation of violence and tragedy within heritage visitation, by asking why past human violence resulting in trauma and suffering of humans would become purposely selected for memorialisation. As such, Ashworth defined dark tourism as an entity where the experience for the visitor is composed of: “Dark emotions such as pain, death, horror or sadness. Many of which result from the infliction of violence that are not usually associated with voluntary entertainment experiences” (Ashworth, 2008:234).

Stone & Sharpley (2008) observed that the debate around the term dark tourism was one which still lingered in a state of ‘theoretical fragility’ (Stone & Sharpley, 2008:575). In fact, on reflection, it appears that there was a continual stream of academics writing on the topic and finding limitations to their work as a result of previous definitions. Thus, they formulated their own definitions of dark tourism to encompass elements that had previously been left out. This point illustrates the value of Stone’s (2006) definition as the breadth of explanation of dark tourism which is given is inclusive of a broad range of supply. Sharpley (2009) appeared to consolidate the definition by stating that in recent years, dark tourism has been collectively referred to as meaning, “travel to places associated with death and destruction” (Sharpley, 2009:9), and with this, the juxtapositioning of the definitions came to a virtual end.

However, in the same year as Sharpley’s observation, Robb (2009) on using Clark’s (2006) term “Trauma Tourism”, and equating it to Foley and Lennon’s (1996) “Dark Tourism” appeared to align both terms together. Robb seems to have done this to encompass a link with his work on violence and recreation and stated that: “This practice, which Lennon and Foley (2000:3) have called “dark tourism” and that is also called trauma tourism (Clark, 2006), involves visiting destinations at which violence is the main attraction” (Robb, 2009:51). Robb, in fact, illustrates the consolidation of definitions for dark tourism and creates a point where the term dark tourism appears to have been

stretched to its extremes insofar as its alignment with numerous definitions. This notion is also believed by Bowman & Pezzullo (2009), who argued the term dark tourism should cease because its interpretation could present a hindrance to the framework of a site's analysis. A point of view which echoes the view of Seaton & Lennon (2004) who observed that the term and definition of dark tourism tended to bring with it more questions than answers concerning dark tourism actuality.

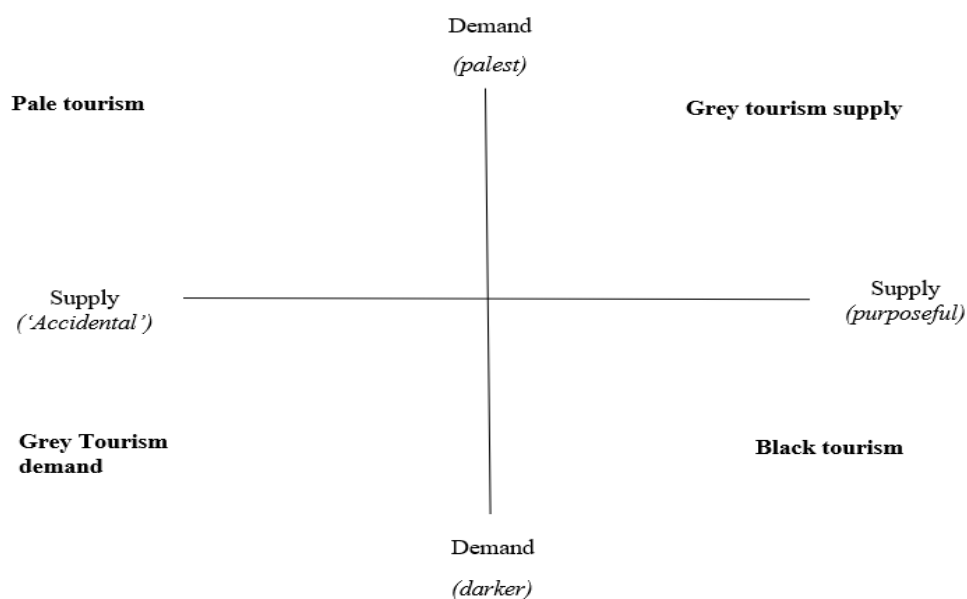
Jamal and Lelo (2011) examined the theoretical and systematic framing of dark tourism and proposed that the concept of darkness in dark tourism is socially fashioned, rather than being an objective fact, a notion supported by Stone (2011) and Biran & Poria (2012). Biran & Poria (2012) further state that the main problem with the use of the term dark tourism in a Western context is that the term tends to hold negative connotations which conflict with the actual experiences/visits to dark places. This is because dark tourism sites are not necessarily visited for negative reasons, nor do they always create negative responses. Thus, Biran & Poria concluded that the ideas of darkness are socially created and, therefore, ought only to be used for deviant tourist activities. However, Jamal & Lelo (2011) raised concerns about the excessive use of the phrase dark tourism. While, Hartmann (2014) argued that while you can attempt to identify dark tourist destinations, the term in itself is somewhat "nebulous" (Hartmann, 2014:167). In fact, Isaac & Cakmak (2014) went one step further and stated that dark tourism does not exist, however, the experience did. Therefore, they argued for the phrase dark tourism to be replaced by the phrase "site associated with death and suffering" (Isaac & Cakmak, 2014:174). Nonetheless, given the depth of debate, there is yet to be any concluding outcome on the exact definition of the term dark tourism, which by default remains the "umbrella term for any form of tourism that is somehow related to death, suffering, atrocity, tragedy, or crime" (Light, 2017:276).

Once the term dark tourism gained general acceptance, scholars began exploring the range of places associated with dark tourism experience. Their scrutiny turned to categorise two aspects of dark tourism: place typologies and perceived depth/sense of darkness, with each element dependent upon a raft of criteria and typologies that shape dark tourism's consumption and experience. To this end, Miles (2002) devised a measurement framework that categorised the depth of darkness of a given site by using the terms 'dark', 'darker' and 'darkest'. Following Miles, Strange & Kempa (2003) attempted to categorize the depth of darkness relating to the prison attractions of Alcatraz in the US and Robben Island in South Africa, since both sites have become popular

heritage tourist attractions/museums. Alcatraz represents a federal correctional facility for America’s dangerous criminals, used on the one hand to fulfil the visitor expectations of a Hollywood-informed public, while on the other hand, providing an insight into the United States’ passage towards an increasingly advanced model of penal reform. While in comparison, Robben Island has become a museum which serves as a monument to the triumph over apartheid and to the wider resilience of the human spirit to overcome injustice. Strange & Kempa stated that while some theorists would view these sites as just dark tourist sites, they preferred to distinguish elements of an attraction within a spectrum rather than generalise all elements of a heritage attraction under one term. Arguing that the desire to recognise differing categories within penal attractions assists the creation of multiple shades of penal history through analysing and differentiating their individual history and forms of interpretation. This, then, illustrates that “many shades” of dark tourism develop and co-exist at penal tourism sites (Strange & Kempa, 2003:338).

Two years later, Sharpley (2005) identified that travel is a marker of social status and that there is a ‘continuum of purpose’ of supply based on an exploitative nature for profit. Moreover, to drive this profit, the supply-base often preys on people’s desire to engage in mediation or contemplation of death. Based on this desire to supply, Sharpley sought to formulate ‘a matrix of dark tourism demand and supply’ (Figure 3.5) by using four shades to map out how dark tourism sites and experiences could become measured (Sharpley, 2005).

Figure 3.5: Matrix of Dark Tourism Demand and Supply



Source: Sharpley (2009:19)

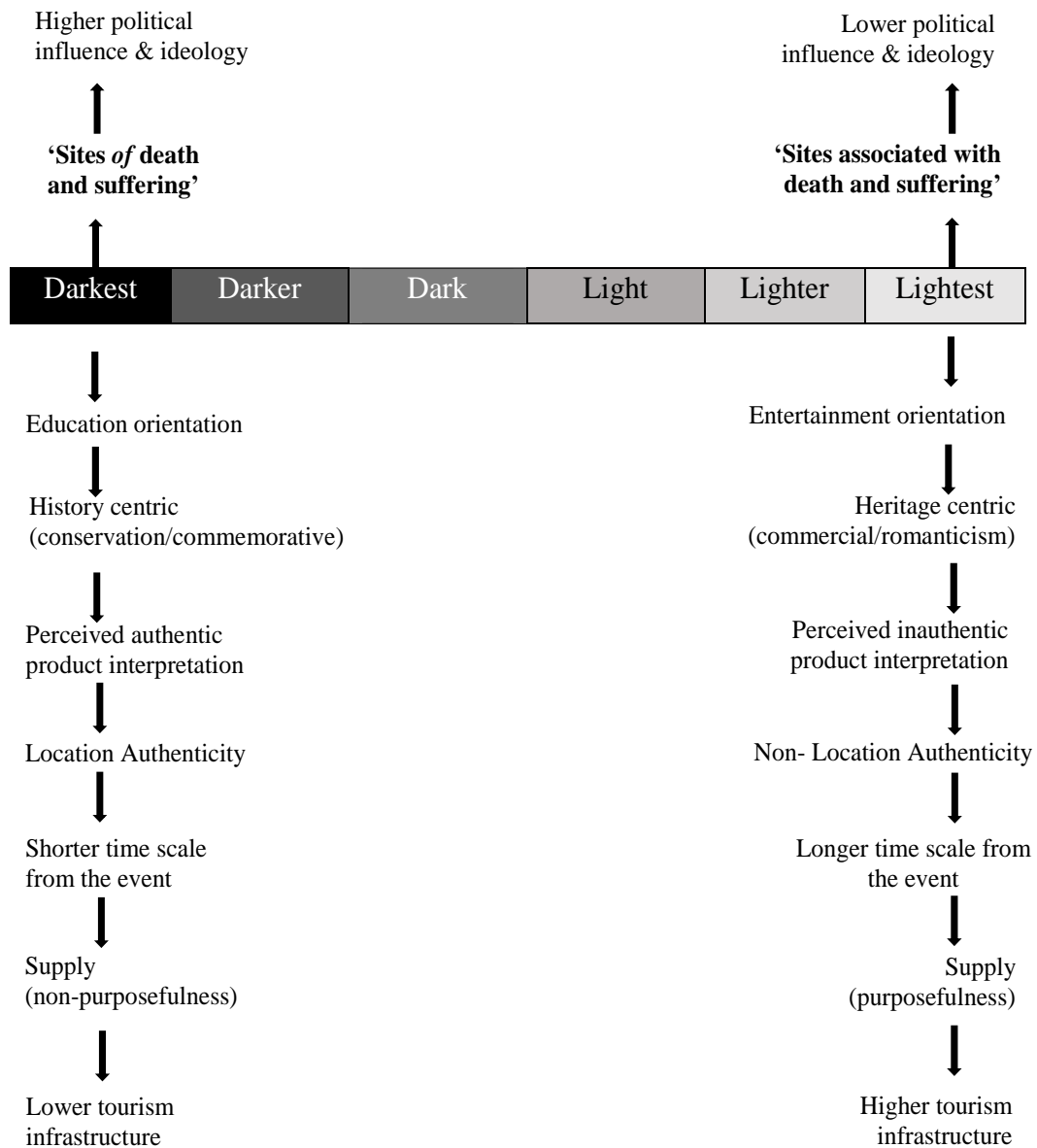
The criteria used for formulating this measurement was two-fold, the first criteria relate to the level by which the appeal of death is a principal feature of consumption by the tourist. In contrast, the second element centred on the extent to which the supply side is firmly focused on to fulfil the tourist's interests (Sharpley, 2005). By utilising these criteria, Sharpley found it feasible to categorise four shades of dark tourism using the following terms: 'Pale tourism', 'Grey tourism demand', 'Grey tourism supply' and 'Black tourism' (Sharpley, 2005).

Pale tourism is related to tourists who have a limited interest in visiting sites of death not planned to be tourist sites. Grey tourist demand is used relating to tourists with a fascination for death who purposely visit unintended dark tourism sites. Grey tourism supply is used to define attractions purposely founded to exploit death, but which attract visitors with limited interest in death rather than having a dominant interest in death. Finally, black tourism relates to 'pure' dark tourism, where a visitor's fascination with death is gratified by the purposeful supply of a planned experience to satisfy this fascination.

Sharpley's Matrix of Dark Tourism Demand and Supply is important for its ability to be used as a tool to engage with the diversity of character and the variety of contexts of dark tourism supply and demand, thus aiding the positioning of the visitor/the dark tourist to a specific dark tourist supply typology. It also provides recognition that not all so-called dark tourism sites are planned to be dark tourism sites, and that not every tourist who visits dark tourist sites is passionately fascinated by death (Sharpley, 2005).

Following Sharpley (2005), Stone (2006) devised a dark tourism spectrum (Figure 3.6) to create a conceptual framework for measuring the depth of darkness of a given site against a standard set of categories.

Figure 3.6: A Dark Tourism Spectrum



Source: Stone (2006:151)

Stone's spectrum addressed differing characteristics of attractions, by contrasting the darkest form of dark tourism sites to the lightest forms of dark tourism sites. In doing so, the spectrum aids the ability to identify types of dark suppliers and so enables the formation of a dark tourism supply typology (Stone, 2006). Stone reasoned the necessity for formulating a dark tourism spectrum was first driven by the recognition that dark tourism products were multi-faceted, complicated in their design and purpose and were increasingly diverse. Secondly, it was formulated because although the term dark tourism had become universally accepted as a term, Stone like Seaton and Lemmon (2004)

recognised the term had become too broad and failed to illustrate the multilayered character of dark tourism supply (Stone, 2006).

In tackling the criteria for creating a dark tourism spectrum, Stone positioned the darkest categories on a binary with its two parts comprising, on the left hand, the darkest side of the spectrum as *sites of death and suffering* having:

- Higher political influence and ideology

Whilst, the lightest categories are those sites positioned on the right-hand side and were *Sites associated with death and suffering* having:

- Lower political influence and ideology

Also, within the extremes of the spectrum, Stone saw fit to include several ruling design characteristics for the supply side. These included elements as to whether or not a site was:

- i) Educationally orientated or entertainment orientated;
- ii) History centric with a focus on conservation or heritage centric with its focus on being commercial;
- iii) Perceived authentic product interpretation or perceived inauthentic product interpretation (linking to Wang's (1999) existential authenticity);
- iv) Location authentic as opposed to none location authentic (linking to Wang's (1999) objective authenticity);
- v) Short timescale from the event or more extended time scale from the event;
- vi) Supply none purposeful or supply purposeful;
- vii) Low tourism infrastructure or higher tourism infrastructure

When applying Stone's spectrum (Figure 3.6), the essential element to consider is the level of dark and light relating to the extent political ideologies have influenced the interpretation of a site due to the historically located sensitivities. As all sites can be dark through association with the macabre, they can also be dark with their association with the lack of genuineness through its interpretation.

When examining Stone's spectrum, inherently dark tourism can be viewed as offering scholars a tool by which a fluid and dynamic continuum of intensity can be attached to various product features. However, Stone acknowledged that it would be unwise to think that all dark tourism attractions have all of the essential characteristics that would qualify them to be plotted precisely on his 'spectrum of supply'. Stone further states due to many attractions being multi-layered, they will be seen differently by different stakeholder groups and visitors from various parts of the world, thus acknowledging the complexities of dissonance upon the interpretation of a site. In support of this argument, Stone highlights how Seaton (1999) too believed that shifts in the macro and micro situation, such as the exploitation of 'dark heritage' for political reasons or the selective interpretation of specific events, may cause shifts in how an attraction is both presented to and understood by the consumer. Stone also recognised that interpretation driven by political pressure can be fluid and can quickly change resulting in suppliers/attractions having to slide along the dark tourism spectrum from darker to lighter or from light to dark.

This work will contribute to the literature by demonstrating these issues revolving around the fluidity of the continuum and thus add to the originality of the work. It will achieve this by providing two sites drawn together by one event yet both sites also holding two positions upon the Stone's spectrum simultaneously. One position for the horrors of the event and one position for the political silencing of the event. Therefore, this study is an original contribution to the dark tourism literature as it pushes the boundary of the dark tourism spectrum by illustrating that sites with silenced histories are just as dark for what they do not say, for what they do say. This will be achieved in the following chapters when mapping out the positions of both the Enola Gay exhibit NASM/GD and the HPMM/GD.

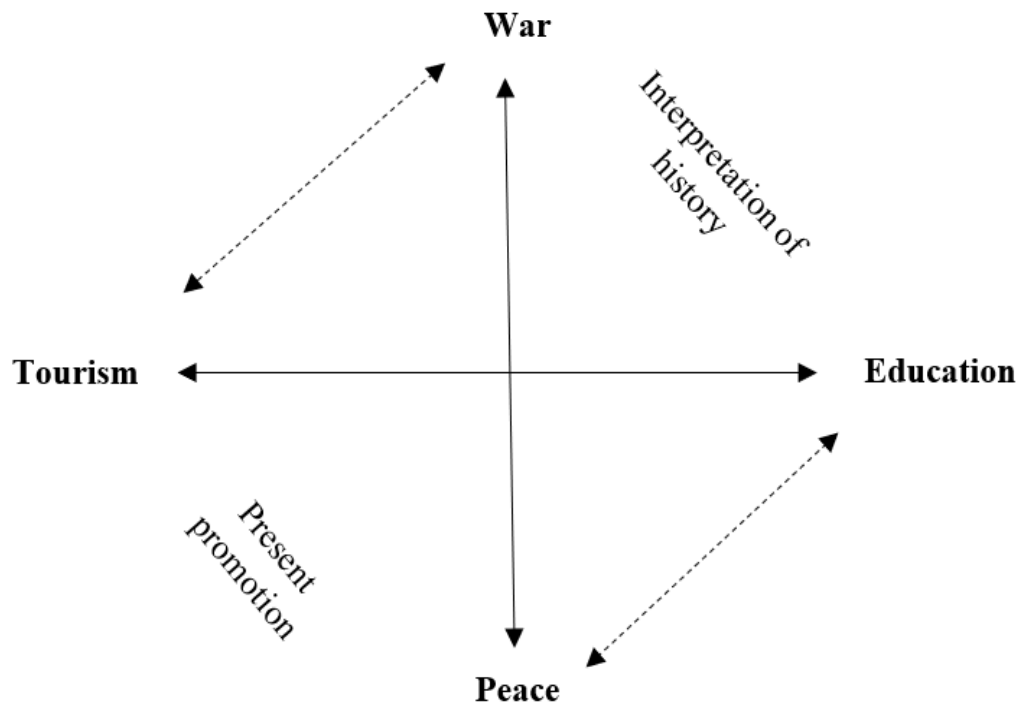
Stone developed the dark tourism spectrum with the dark supplier categorisation to enable a greater level of clarity through registering factors to help create a framework for the identification of dark tourism site analysis. However, Raine's (2013) work on developing a typology of the dark tourists, based on people's motivations found Stone's dark tourism spectrum could also be "applied to the consumer" (Raine, 2013:245). An idea that Stone himself had previously identified to be a flaw within his dark tourism spectrum by stating that; to fully appreciate a fuller understanding of the dark tourism phenomenon more research is needed to, "identify types of 'dark tourists' within each of the product type" (Stone, 2006:158). However, flaws are also found within Raine's work

as her study seems too narrow insofar it is confined to just one supply typology and includes a sample size of just 23 participants collected within a narrow timespan (Raine, 2013). Therefore, when looking for a model by which to categorise supply typology, Light (2017) states that while the debate on typology is multilayered, not one scholar's endeavours have established a single collective acceptance and concludes that even with its weaknesses, "the most influential typology is Stone's spectrum of dark tourism supply" (Light, 2017:281).

When interpreting and utilising Stone's (2006) model for explaining and allocating a particular supply, there is a need (as seen in section 3.9) for Western and Eastern scholars to be aware of each other's cross-cultural differences. However, Light also picks up on another issue relating to the East and West cultural differences, which is the need to re-evaluate the alignments within the dark tourism spectrum relating to education and tourism. Light draws on Yoshida et al. (2016), who asked the question as to whether or not dark tourism illuminates the darkness of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Yoshida et al. drawing on Kang et al. (2012) argued that corresponding educational and tourism alignments in Stone's dark tourism spectrum require re-evaluation. Instead of positioning the variety of dark attractions with an educational emphasis against light sites with a tourist emphasis as, fixed and distinct opposites in the spectrum, Yoshida et al. conclude that the dark – light spectrum cooperates and functions like a circle. This then gives a level of flexibility to revise the principle of education for tourism and vice versa, subject to the demand of the markets, the location and the all-important context. By taking this perspective, the case is better placed to display a non-Western standpoint when exploring the phenomenon of dark tourism within the setting of the Asia Pacific Region. In doing so, Yoshida et al state that this revision would result in a more adaptable method which promotes the two elements as a: "...flux rather than a dichotomy and permits the investigation of the coalescence of a place for commemoration and education with a site for sightseeing and tourism" (Yoshida et al., 2016:339). Demonstrating the circular approach when discussing issues relating to war tourism and peace education and Yoshida et al., integrated model of conflict-ridden destinations (Figure 3.7).

In linking with dark tourism, Sharpley citing Smith (1998), Henderson (2000) and Ryan (2007), discusses how sites associated with war probably constitute the largest single category of tourist attractions in the world. This helps to place the NASM Enola Gay exhibit and the Hiroshima World Heritage Site firmly within the context of dark tourism.

Figure 3.7: Integrated Model of Conflict-Ridden Destinations



Source: Yoshida et al. (2016:339)

Increasingly, the consensus among academics has seen dark tourism used as a means to analyse broader ethical dilemmas of the supply side by looking at the political consequences of sites and their social-cultural considerations, as well as focusing on the broader managerial issues of site interpretation including the category of dark tourism site/attraction along with their distinctive traits. Consequently, numerous themes have been drawn from dark sites resulting in a variety of dark tourism experiences. Themes such as 'slavery tourism' (Dann & Seaton, 2001), 'prison tourism' (Strange & Kempa, 2003), 'atrocities heritage tourism' (Ashworth & Hartmann, 2005), 'battlefield tourism' (Balwin & Sharpley, 2009) and 'genocide tourism' (Beech, 2009). Stone (2006) on the other hand put forward seven product typologies along the dark tourism spectrum as detailed below.

- i) Dark Fun Factories: these are defined as attractions and excursions that deliver to the visitor, sanitised real, fictional death and macabre events that principally delivers an entertainment focus.

- ii) Dark Exhibitions: sites which merge death, suffering or the macabre event to reproduce education and possible learning chances.
- iii) Dark Dungeons: sites which combine entertainment and educational products that focus on or around former prisons/penal systems comprising courthouses and other sites related to the practices of justice systems.
- iv) Dark Resting Places: their emphasis is on cemeteries or grave markers with potential products for dark tourism. One such utilisation of this would be the visitation to resting places of celebrities.
- v) Dark Shrines: these are sites of remembrance and respect that are fashioned in close proximity either to the site of death or at the actual site of death and constructed all within a short time frame after the actual death occurrence. Dark Shrines commonly begin with floral tributes that help signify and provide a marker for either other mourners or voyeuristic visitors who often have no direct relationship with the victim.
- vi) Dark conflict sites: history-centric presentations of commodified war and battlefield sites that have educational and commemorative focus.
- vii) Dark Camps of Genocide: as the typology states focus on sites of genocide, atrocity and catastrophe and will have a high degree of political ideology attached to them. They will have a central thanatological theme, and so will occupy the darkest shade of the 'dark tourism spectrum' (Stone, 2006).

The dilemma that academics face when trawling through all these attempts to categorise dark tourism, along with the various degrees of darkness the supply sector falls into, is that the debate is inundated with what Ashworth and Isaac (2015:318) define as “an almost infinite number of overlapping taxonomies [which] can be conceived and imposed upon the diverse realities of tourism sites”. Also, Ashworth and Isaac further criticise these attempts by observing that there is a ‘fatal flaw’ with attempts to bring about a method to classify tourism sites by dividing them into a separate shades of dark to light and then to ‘sub-classify’ them into a progressively obscured ranking structure. However, it was also identified that while sites arouse unique experiences for individual visitors, this fact inevitably leads to a situation where what one visitor finds to be dark another may not (Ashworth and Isaac 2015).

3.12 Summary

The necessity of examining the dynamics of interpretation and nation-building was to ensure a rational implementation of a range of stances within the construction of the research framework. With this in mind, a brief overview of the dynamics of semiotics within the realms of interpretation was analysed.

Also, a discussion of dissonance and an examination of stakeholder perspective management were undertaken for which the researcher has co-constructed with Bhavna Singh-Mokha a Dissonant Heritage Cycle model to supplement Poria's (2001;2007) Heritage Force Field and Sharpley's (2009) Dark Heritage Governance. As a result, the DHC aims to illustrate just how dissonance occurs, thus becoming an original contribution to the field of dark tourism/heritage management.

Moving forward, this chapter has also considered the concept of authenticity in general where it was shown that object authenticity and existential authenticity championed by Wang (1999) were the best frameworks to use as a category when applying authenticity to both the Enola Gay and the HPMM/GD. This chapter has also identified the significance in recognising authenticity from a cross-cultural (Japanese) and Western cultural perspective. In particular, it was found that when looking for a uniform interpretation of the term authenticity, due to the different academic perspectives and the regional institutions' governance of heritage, the likelihood of achieving a uniform standard interpretation is very slim. These points can in effect result in some confusion for uninformed visitors when consuming heritage interpretation. However, it was argued that the likelihood of a visitor gaining an objective/genuine representation of an event which has not been subjected to historically located political sensitivity is unlikely.

Finally, the concept of dark tourism was scrutinised as a set term followed by an analysis of the categorisation of dark site supply. It was found that analysing both aspects could be particularly complicated due to the nature of dark attractions being extremely varied. In particular significant differences were identified between those sites associated to death and suffering and those sites that are actual sites where death and suffering have occurred (Foley & Lennon, 1996; Dann, 1998; Sharpley, 2005; Stone, 2006; Johnston, 2011;2015; Light, 2017 and McKenzie, 2018). In response, it was found that academics have categorised some sites as either 'primary sites' or 'secondary sites' while other sites and attractions are categorised by the varying degrees or shades of darkness (Miles, 2002;

Stone, 2006; Wight & Lennon, 2007 and Sharpley, 2009). Yet, it was found that while questions have been asked as to whether or not all these attempts to illuminate the dark have indeed been successful, the conclusion advocated by Ashworth and Isaac (2015) was that it had not.

3.13 Reflection 3: Chapter Three, I Found Myself with Two Struggles

The First struggle, when considering the position of Chapter Three, Key Concepts, due to the way the thesis has been structured through narrative-building, chapter Three, could have sat either at the beginning of the thesis where it inevitably went, or at the end. If I had positioned the chapter at the end, it would have allowed the story to run un-interrupted from the methodology, giving the reader the current position and observations. This would then have been followed by the history of when both the Enola Gay and the HPMM/GD first became the focal points by which the Hiroshima bombing became interpreted to visitors in the US and Japan, and so marking the beginning of the representation of one event shared by two nations leading to two narratives. Thus, I was bringing the reader back to the beginning then taking them forward on a journey to illustrate the dissonance that has created at both sites an absent and silenced past. I could then have ended with the key concepts for the reader to digest once they had gone through the story. Sounds logical and, for many, it may have been the way to go. However, for me, that path would have separated the thickness of understanding of the key concepts raised in the historical narrative and within the empirical debate revolving around the analysis of the interviews. Therefore, the decision was made to position the key concepts at the beginning to provide the reader with the opportunity to first familiarise themselves with the theory, in order to better understand the theoretical implications of the unfolding narrative.

The second struggle was the running order given to the key concepts, and so I started with dissonance, interpretation and authenticity followed by the lead into dark heritage dissonance and dark tourism. In compiling this running order, my mindset was focused on framing interpretation issues and authenticity concepts including East and West with the surrounding dissonance, heritage dissonance and dark tourism. Thus, it was designed to start with dissonance, then, to flow into interpretation followed by authenticity while coming back to dissonance but relating it to dark heritage before finishing with dark tourism. In doing this I was ending Chapter Three with dark tourism, having illustrated how a silence and the absent past could extend Stone's (2006) spectrum. This then positioned the work to lead straight into Chapter Four by taking the reader seamlessly to the point of the Enola Gay's dark tourism application and journey into both case studies' current touristification. Hence, reinforcing the decision to position the literature at the beginning rather than at the end.

Chapter 4

An Observational Analysis: The HPMM and Enola Gay NASM/UHC Dark Tourism Application and the Touristification of the Present Hiroshima A-Bombing

4.1 Introduction – Setting the scene: One story, two narratives

In setting the scene, the story revolves around one event with two stories. Therefore, the work follows a two narrative approach separately because there are two separate sites. There is the story of the atomic bombing and on each side of that is the USA narrative and the Japanese narrative. In doing this, this study aims to critically appraise dark tourism within specific political ideologies and offer an integrated theoretical and empirical analysis of politicised visitor sites.

This chapter will analyse and discuss the empirical data in depth, and offer a critical discussion of the key findings. To achieve this, the chapter is divided into two sections: an observation analysis and an interview analysis of both the Enola Gay, NASM/UHC and the HPMM/GD. The observations were made on how the curators of both sites have displayed their respective exhibits thus providing data to address the research aim. Additionally, the observational data were also used to help position and justify each site's level of darkness within the conceptual framework of Stone's (2006) dark tourism spectrum. In so doing, the chapter will pave the way for looking back through the various historical narratives and related theories, all of which will serve to highlight how the findings have evolved. Indeed, the narrative begins with the present, goes back in time then comes forward to telling the story of how both sites became what they are today.

Also, both sites come under political control, with the Smithsonian NASM being controlled through Congress, which has a vested responsibility for the administration of the Smithsonian. This is achieved through the Board of Regents, consisting of the Chief Justice of the United States, the Vice President of the United States, three members of the United States Senate, three members of the United States House of Representatives, and nine citizens (Smithsonian, 2020a). Therefore, the Smithsonian management will follow

either a republican conservative agenda or a democrat liberal agenda depending on which party holds power. As for the HPMM/GD, this is managed by Hiroshima Peace Culture Foundation and is in effect a bureau within the city of Hiroshima government called the Hiroshima Peace Culture Center. It is entrusted by the City of Hiroshima with managing and operating the HPMM/GD (Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum, 2020). Its organisation is run by the Board of directors, councillors, and auditors comprising a President, Chairperson of the Board and Executive Directors who then feed down to the general management of the HPMM Curatorial division and Outreach Division. As with the USA, there are two main parties the Conservative (LDP) and the Constitutional Democratic Party of Japan (CPD) (Beazley, 2010).

4.2 The Enola Gay and Hiroshima's Peace Memorial Museum/Genbaku Dome and Dark Tourism: A Site by Site Observational Analysis

Hiroshima's HPMM/GD is the second most visited tourist attraction in Japan receiving for the fiscal year April 2018 to March 2019, 1,522,452 visitors with 434,838 or 29% of these visitors being international visitors (The Chugoku Simbun, 2019). These international visitors came mainly from the US, France, Australia, China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, South Korea, Thailand, United Kingdom, Germany, and Singapore. In addition to the international visitors, the HPMM received 322,000 or 21% Japanese school children on excursions (The City of Hiroshima, 2020). During the field research, late July to mid-August, it was observed that the majority of the visitors to the HPMM tended to be international visitors, there were no school excursions observed due to the period coinciding with Japan's summer school semester break. The observed demographic breakdown tended to be of mixed ethnicity reflecting the international profiles listed above as well as including Japanese nationals. There was an equal mix of young mixed gender adults, adults in groups of between 3 and 5 individuals, young couples, middle aged couples sometimes accompanied by teenagers representing family groups, older couples and mixed gender older groups who appeared to be on guided tours.

When looking at the visitor numbers for the Enola Gay, figures do not specifically exist for the Enola Gay, rather the figures represent visits to Smithsonian NASM/UHC in general and these stand at 1,500,000 visits. Unlike Hiroshima's HPMM where figures are based on ticket receipts, the Smithsonian museum is free. Thus, 'visit' figures are counted not through ticket sales but are collected by security officers using hand clickers to count those entering the museum. As such the Smithsonian have acknowledged that

the counts sometimes include employees who may exit and re-enter the museum up to three times in a day. It is for this reason that the Smithsonian refer to 'visits' rather than 'visitors' (Smithsonian, 2020b). Besides, again unlike Hiroshima's HPMM, the Smithsonian compile their visits data on a calendar year basis. As such given the process used by the Smithsonian to gather visits data, there are no statistical data on educational visits by schools or breakdowns of nationalities of international visitors.

Based on the observational data, the characteristics of the visitors visiting the Enola Gay can, therefore, only be defined as those stopping to read the panels, taking photographs or simply seen pointing to the aircraft and discussing it with companions. There was a fair proportion of international visitors, but these did not make up the dominant grouping. This seemed to be made up of US nationals from a broad range of ethnicities but dominated by Caucasian Americans. As with the HPMM, there were many young adult couples, but the young adult visitor group was mainly dominated by young adult males in groups of two to four. Also, middle aged families were frequent, with maybe one grandparent (usually male) and couples with young to middle aged teenagers. Finally, there were the mixed gender older groups many of whom tended to be with guided tours.

As illustrated both sites receive substantial visitations, and what goes into making a rewarding visit for any museum and its visitor is the exhibit/site interpretations. This is a key focus for formulating the links of each case study site to not only dark tourism but also as a focus on which the visitors/interviewed of each site had built their understanding of what each attraction means to them. For the HPMM, the visitor is first confronted with a purpose-built infrastructure dedicated to the promotion of world peace and an anti-nuclear world (HPMM 2020). The museum is comprised of a linked East and Main Buildings. The East Building houses the 'Introductory Exhibit' which visitors ascend to the third floor to see. Visitors then work their way over to the Main Building to view the 'Reality of the Atomic Bombing' before once more moving over to the East Building to engage with the 'Dangers of Nuclear Weapons' exhibit, then descending to the second floor to view 'Hiroshima History'. The permanent exhibition in the Main Building interpretation displays personal belongings donated by the A-bomb victims' families and photos vivid in their detail depicting life in Hiroshima before and after the bombing of both architecture and individuals. Also included are graphic pictures drawn by many of the survivors depicting horrific scenes seen in the immediate aftermath Hiroshima's bombing. All of these artefacts are exhibited in the Main Building. In the East Building,

the exhibits are supported with access to video testimonials of the A-bomb survivors on the first floor (HPMM, 2020).

When observing the behaviour of the visitors to the HPMM, there seemed to be a general air of seriousness between all groups, which was observed throughout the fieldwork. The only change in this behaviour was that a minority of visitors visibly appeared emotionally moved by their experience.

For visitors to the Enola Gay, there is no purpose-built museum, rather it is housed within the Smithsonian's NASM/UHC the companion facility to the NASM museum on the national mall in Washington, DC. The NASM/UHC houses twenty eight exhibitions spread across five key themes on Aviation including Exploration, Popular Culture, Human Space Flight and Military. The military is where the Enola Gay is found, housed within the section allocated to World War II Aviation. It is here where various aircraft are clustered together with just one plaque of technical interpretation, apart from the Enola Gay and the U 2 spy plane SR-17 Blackbird which are the only aircraft to be allotted two plaques giving a brief historical overview stating that it was this the Enola Gay that dropped the first Atom bomb on Hiroshima with an emphasis on technical data for the aircraft (Smithsonian, 2020c). In addition to this, but away from the aircraft, are two additional plaques discussing the Atom bomb which also mention the Enola Gay in the same light as above. The unique element on the Enola Gay's interpretation is that it is the only aircraft displayed on stanchions. There is no account of the effect of the bombing.

In comparison to the behaviour of visitors at the HPMM, the visitors to the Enola Gay had no real outward signs of seriousness, rather their behaviour appeared interested, relaxed with no outward signs of emotions.

When classifying the typology of the Enola Gay and the HPMM/GD within the discipline of dark tourism, it is useful to provide an understanding of certain qualities and features to illustrate the differences between the Enola Gay exhibit and the HPMM/GD as dark tourism supply. To date, several attempts by scholars have been made to ascribe dark tourism sites to a specific classification. Mills (2002), Strange & Kempa (2003) and Sharpley (2005) have created classifications to represent and differentiated levels of gravity of sites associated with death and the macabre. Nevertheless, Stone's (2006) dark tourism spectrum, with its generalising aspects relating to the complexity of the influences on dark tourism (Stone, 2006; Raine, 2013; Yoshida et al., 2016), remains, for scholars the most noteworthy typology model (Light, 2017).

4.3 The Enola Gay: Towards the Dark Tourism Spectrum and Typology Application – Contextual Analysis of the Display (1995 to 2020)

When focusing on the contemporary ‘Enola Gay’ exhibit, it is necessary to emphasise the separation of the current exhibit with that of the contentious proposed 50th anniversary exhibition of 1995, entitled *The Last Act: The Atomic Bomb and the End of World War II* (Goldberg, 1995) and the actual 50th anniversary exhibition of 1995, entitled *The Enola Gay B-29 Superfortress*. This separation serves two purposes: the first is that there is a considerable amount of literature written on the discourse surrounding the contentions of various stakeholder groups for the 50th-anniversary controversy. This provides material for the reader to gain an insight into the political nature of narratives of the Enola Gay in 1995. This also puts into perspective the interpretation of the current exhibit at the NASM/UHC, displayed as part of the World War II aviation exhibition. The second is that, on reaching an understanding of the evolution of the current exhibit, the justification for its mapping out within Stone’s supply typology will be more readily understood.

4.4 Enola Gay: Dark Tourism Spectrum and Typology Application

When positioning the supply typology of the Enola Gay, there is a dilemma regarding whether it falls into the category of a dark conflict site or a dark exhibition. Stone (2006) positions the supply of dark conflict sites as sites that revolve around war and battlefields. Stone uses Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996) and Edwards (2000) to illustrate the fact that dark conflict sites are repeatedly controversial within their interpretation, stating that these sites represent those events that demand recognition as places of commemoration and memorial. However, while there is a clear link to war and battlefields, the literature needs to be brought forward with regards to using the term ‘battlefield’. The term battlefield has become rather outdated and, for Hiroshima and the Enola Gay, constricting. Blank (2010:1) defined ‘battlefield’ as “a place where a battle gets fought”, However, the Enola Gay did not fight a direct battle, therefore, the term battlefield cannot apply, in the sense that the Normandy beaches are defined as battlefields. As such, there is a need for new terminology to be brought into Stone’s definition to reflect areas of conflict more effectively. Thus, for the Enola Gay, the term should be one of an association with a ‘Theatre of Operations,’ defined as a “region in which active combat operations are/were in progress” or more progressively, “a Zone of Combat” (Blank, 2010:3).

The Enola Gay's interpretation has its roots firmly embedded within dissonant heritage, and its interpretation is guided by political ideologies. Benton and Watson (2010) comment that within the NASM/WDC there is an intense atmosphere that conveys a national and military mood and that this makes the museum a sensitive place for discursive historical analysis (Benton & Watson, 2010).

The categorisation of dark tourism supply is a complicated process; sites often get encompassed within a multilayered grouping of entities. When linked to Stone's spectrum, this includes a site's level of political influence, educational value, historical provenance, the authenticity of artefacts and location, distance in time from the event, and its supply purposefulness.

With the Enola Gay having a high degree of political influence guiding the moderate interpretation of its notorious past, it does not function as a focal point for remembrance or commemoration of the bombing of Hiroshima. Instead, it is merely a representation of an aircraft, the B-29 Superfortress, and it happened to be the one which dropped the first atomic bomb. The dilemma here is that, when attributing a *level of darkness* to the Enola Gay, one must look at the interpretation to ascertain the depth of darkness from an official stance. However, officially, not much is made of its role in the bombing of Hiroshima, which positions its level of darkness more towards the lighter end of the spectrum. Nevertheless, if a visitor has a high degree of background knowledge relating to the bombing of Hiroshima, this positions the Enola Gay at the extreme right hand side of the darkest end of Stone's 'dark tourism spectrum'.

To legitimise the links to the lighter categorisation of dark tourism supply as well as the darkest categorisation of dark tourism supply to the Enola Gay, one needs to examine the contributing factors of designating supply to a category/shade of dark tourism supply of Seaton (1999), Miles (2002) and Sharpley (2005). Seaton discusses how shades of darkness can be transient through time as events can change politically and culturally the further away in time one travels from the event. Events like terrorism, successive wars and governments can all impact on and change existing attitudes or established beliefs. Additionally, memories can get turned into myth through a range of media platforms such as books, documentaries, movies, the internet and social media. All of this, as Seaton argues, can in effect rewrite events, giving access to new evidence or shifting political perspectives, and thus influence changes in the meaning of sites of death or exhibits associated with mass death such as the Enola Gay.

In assessing a typology and category of darkness for the Enola Gay, awareness needs to be raised about the exhibit's association with death. Miles (2002) argued that there is a fundamental distinction concerning sites associated with death and suffering and sites that are of death and suffering. When applying this concept to the Enola Gay, it can help serve the purpose of allowing for a category of measurement of typology and darkness to be assigned. However, a dilemma exists as to whether the Enola Gay can be categorised within the darkest shade of Stone's spectrum, as in doing so, it would give polarity to Hiroshima. The Enola Gay is associated with death and suffering through its dropping the first nuclear bomb as an act of war. However, it is not a site of death and suffering. The exhibit is highly charged politically in its presentation since the Enola Gay is interpreted to the public with a high level of induced political pacification in its narrative.

With this politicisation of its narrative, one can argue that this gives the Enola Gay an even more sinister edge, tipping it into the darkest shade of Stone's spectrum, due to its suppressed educational orientation, and suppressed historical content, as well as the context in which it is housed. However, as an exhibit, all this is unseen and not communicated – thus, casting doubt over the positioning of the Enola Gay within the dark tourism spectrum. Therefore, the logical outcome would be to position the Enola Gay in the darker spectrum because it is exhibited as a display of a B-29 Superfortress with the association to dropping the first nuclear weapon upon the city of Hiroshima. Should the Enola Gay be given its own space telling the full story of the bombing of Hiroshima, then there would be no doubt cast, and it would fit firmly within the darkest spectrum. However, as for the present display, it is a darker shade and not the darkest shade of Stone's 'dark tourism spectrum'.

4.5 The Enola Gay Exhibit (2003 to 2020): Just a B-29 Superfortress?

Since 2003, the Enola Gay has been exhibited at the NASM/UHC. As a direct effect of *The Last Act* 1995 controversy, the interpretation of the Enola Gay is not displayed as a stand-alone exhibition but has become integrated into the NASM/UHC broader World War II aviation exhibition. As such, the NASM/UHC has stripped the Enola Gay of its unique presence in American, world and nuclear history at its physical point of contact with visitors to NASM/UHC. Consequently, it was observed that there is no aura of grandeur within the museum for the Enola Gay and no hint of celebrity status. Instead, visitors are left to stumble upon the fact that the aircraft in front of them is the aircraft

that dropped the world's first atomic bomb on Hiroshima (Obs, 2017a). Additionally, it was found that the interpretation belonging to the Enola Gay exhibit is restricted to providing only a limited amount of technical data specific to a B-29 Superfortress. In doing so, its interpretation conforms to the format by which all other aircraft on display also follow, apart from the fact that the Enola Gay's interpretation comprises of two plaques as opposed to the standard one plaque of other aircraft (Obs, 2017b). These plaques are spread out over two floors near the aircraft however there is more information linking the atomic bomb and the Enola Gay in more depth some distance away from the aircraft near the entrance to the World War II aviation exhibition on the lower floor (Obs, 2017c). The fact that the Enola Gay has two plaques is the only official recognition given of its uniqueness among the other aircraft apart from one F-100 which gained notoriety for its precision bombing of the attacking Vietcong's airbase in 1968 (Obs, 2017d). All other aircraft are restricted to one plaque only. Of the plaques which stand near to the Enola Gay, one plaque stands in front of the aircraft (Plate 3) which informs the visitor that the aircraft is a B-29 Superfortress and names it as the "Enola Gay" as well as stating its position as the most advanced bomber of World War II.

Plate 3: Information Plaque for the Enola Gay, shows the emphasis on the technical specification and states this Martin-built B-29-45-MO that dropped the first Atomic Weapon used in Combat on Hiroshima, Japan

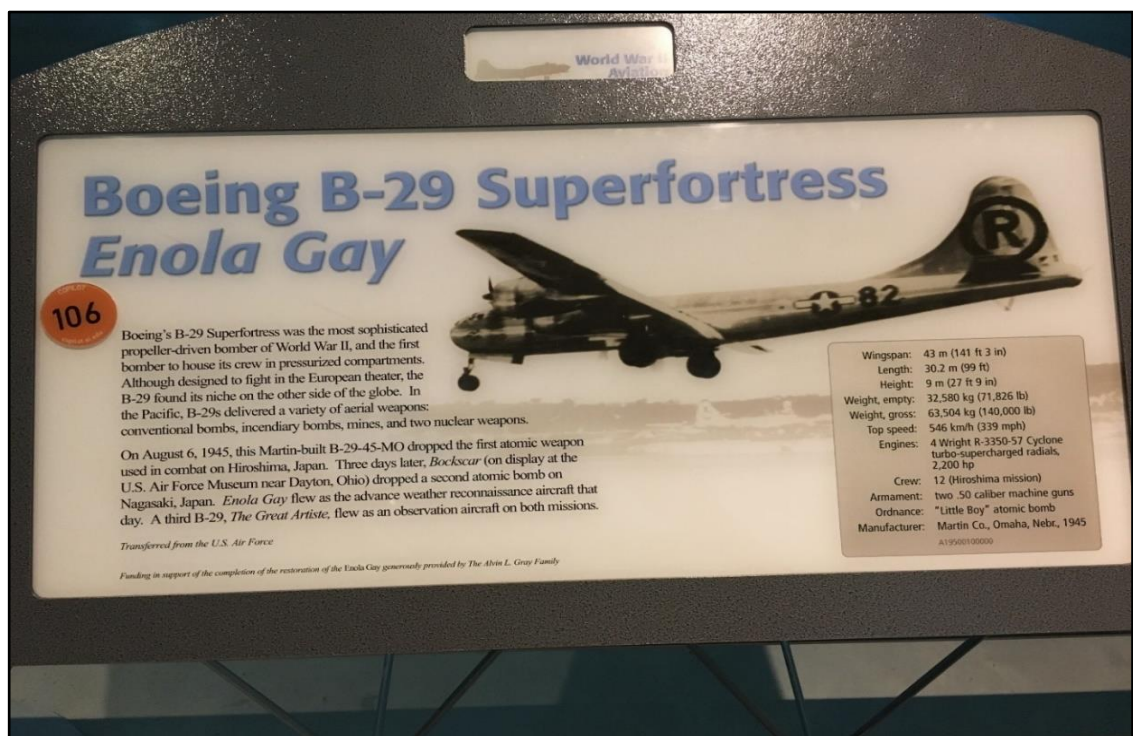


Photo: R. Clinton

To support this claim, the narrative explains that the B-29 Superfortress was the first bomber to have pressurised compartments for its crew. Though it was originally designed for deployment in the European theatre of war in World War II, the B-29 found their niche in the Pacific war where they were deployed to deliver a range of conventional bombs, mines and incendiary bombs. It is interesting to note that the narrative, both on the information board and the official Smithsonian website (Smithsonian NASM, 2018), gives no direct link to the name Enola Gay in the descriptive narrative, other than having the name on the title of the plaque. Rather, the narrative links the aircraft to the event by a serial typology number and a statement that reads “on August 6, 1945, this Martin-built B-29-45-MO dropped the first atomic weapon used in combat on Hiroshima, Japan” (Plates 3 and 4) (Obs, 2017b).

Plate 4: Magnified view of Plate 3

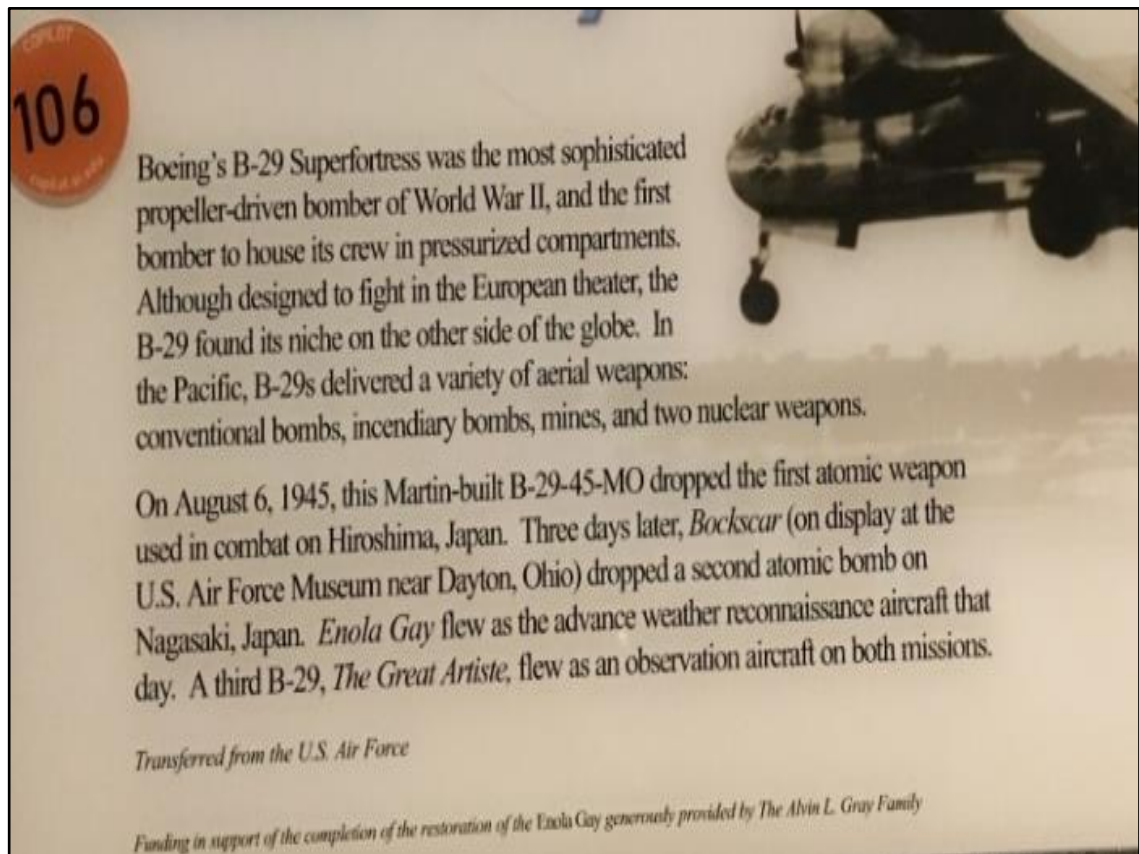


Photo: R. Clinton

Interestingly, it was observed even within the point of contact between the visitor and the Enola Gay, very little is presented to the visitor of the Enola Gay’s dark past. Rather (see Plate 5) focus is given to the importance of the B-29 Superfortress technology

NASM/UHC. The first is the yellow jacks, located under the landing carriage as seen in Plate 6. This makes the Enola Gay the only aircraft at the Smithsonian to be held aloft like this (Obs, 2017e).

Plate 6: Just Another Aircraft, the Enola Gay R82 NASM/UHC, displayed in the World War II Aviation Exhibition



Photo: R. Clinton

The second significant difference is the protective screen seen in Plate 7 (Obs, 2017f). This protective screen is placed along the elevated walkway and spans the Enola Gay's cockpit. Initially, this screen was not a planned fixture. Instead, it was erected in response to an act of vandalism by two American protesters who on the opening day 15 December 2003 symbolically threw red paint over the Enola Gay on the same day it went on public view, thus further politicising the exhibit (Wittner, 2005). In addition to this demonstration, around 6 "Hibakushas" (atom bomb survivors) and 50 peace activists visited the Enola Gay on the 15 December to highlight the Enola Gay's role in the

bombing of Hiroshima and in protest that NASM/UHC had not displayed any casualty figures of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki (BBC News, 2003).

Plate 7: Security screen: The Enola Gay NASM/UHC, displayed in the World War II aviation exhibition



Photo: R. Clinton

In response to the protest, John Daily, the director of the NASM/UHC from 2000 to January 2018 and retired Airforce general, stated that concerning the pleading by protesters to display the casualty figures: “we don’t do it for aeroplanes ...from a consistency standpoint, we focus on the technical aspects” (BBC NEWS, 2003). All of which illustrates the desire from members of the public for a more authentic legacy of the interpretation of the Enola Gay. This reinforces Schwartz’s (1998) call for a much higher level of historical narrative to reflect both the Enola Gay’s role in history and also through the Enola Gay, the US motivation for unleashing its nuclear bombs.

Despite all of this, to date, the NASM/UHC position on the Enola Gay’s interpretation persists in suppressing an authentic/holistic interpretation in favour of promoting a politically subjective narrative which follows the doctrine of American

exceptionalism which MacMillan (2011) states encourages the USA to believe itself as unique, and allows the USA to pursue its interpretation of history as it sees best.

Previous to MacMillan, Koh (2003) discussed American exceptionalism as having two sides:

“the one eager to set the world to rights, the other ready to turn its back with contempt if its message should be ignored [...] Faith in their exceptionalism has sometimes led to a certain obtuseness on the part of Americans, a tendency to preach at other nations rather than listen to them, a tendency as well to assume that American motives are pure where those of others are not” (Koh, 2003:480).

Therefore, given MacMillan’s and Koh’s explanation of American exceptionalism, it would be very “Un-American” for the NASM curators to have produced a more in-depth interpretation of the Enola Gay (Maddox, 2007) in 1995 and again in its interpretation from 2003 to date, where the current interpretation still has little to no historical commentary on the overall account of the bombing of Hiroshima in favour of maintaining the stance of silent witness (Obs, 2017a). As an exhibit, this subdues American consciousness and maintains American exceptionalism through avoiding any portrayal of either America the aggressor or Japan the victim. Suffice to say for now that the Enola Gay as a display is viewed publicly by the NAPM/UHC as just a specimen of a B-29 Superfortress and that the purpose of the NASM/UHC is:

“to provide an environment whereby the visitor can explore hundreds of the world’s most significant objects in aviation and space history” (Smithsonian National Air and Space Museum, 2018).

Nevertheless, given the data above, observations did reveal a larger display-plaque (exhibit D - the World War II Aviation purple marker on Plate 8) associated to the Enola Gay’s role in bringing World War II to an end in the opposite corner of the World War II aviation exhibition. It is positioned just left of the main stairway with clear access to all visitors who descend to the World War II aviation exhibit (Obs 2017c).

Plate 8: Section of the First Level Floor Plan Showing the World War II Aviation Exhibits top Left-Hand Corner of the Plate



Source: Smithsonian National Air and Space Museum (2018)

The plaque, *The Final Blows* (Plate 9), highlights the role the B-29 played in the strategic bombing campaign upon Japanese forces and on Japan’s mainland. While the information explains the effectiveness of the B-29, reference is also made to the compromised effectiveness of the B-29 bombsights at altitude (Hogan, 1996) (Plate 10). The significance of this statement should not be overlooked as it probable that it was included to help ease the American consciousness by helping to explain to visitors a cause for US collateral damage (civilian deaths) during bombing raids on both Japan and Germany, thus shifting the blame to new technology and away from aircrews (Obs, 2017g). Looking from left to right on Plate 9, there are two links to the Enola Gay’s role in dropping the bomb on Hiroshima. However, there is no mention of any destruction/casualties. Instead, again, the emphasis is once more placed on the technical aspects. Rather, Plate 9 acts as a roll call for individuals involved in the execution of the mission against Hiroshima (Obs, 2017h).

Plate 9: The Final Blows: Information Narrative of Critical Events of the Final Nine Months of the Bombing Campaign of Japan

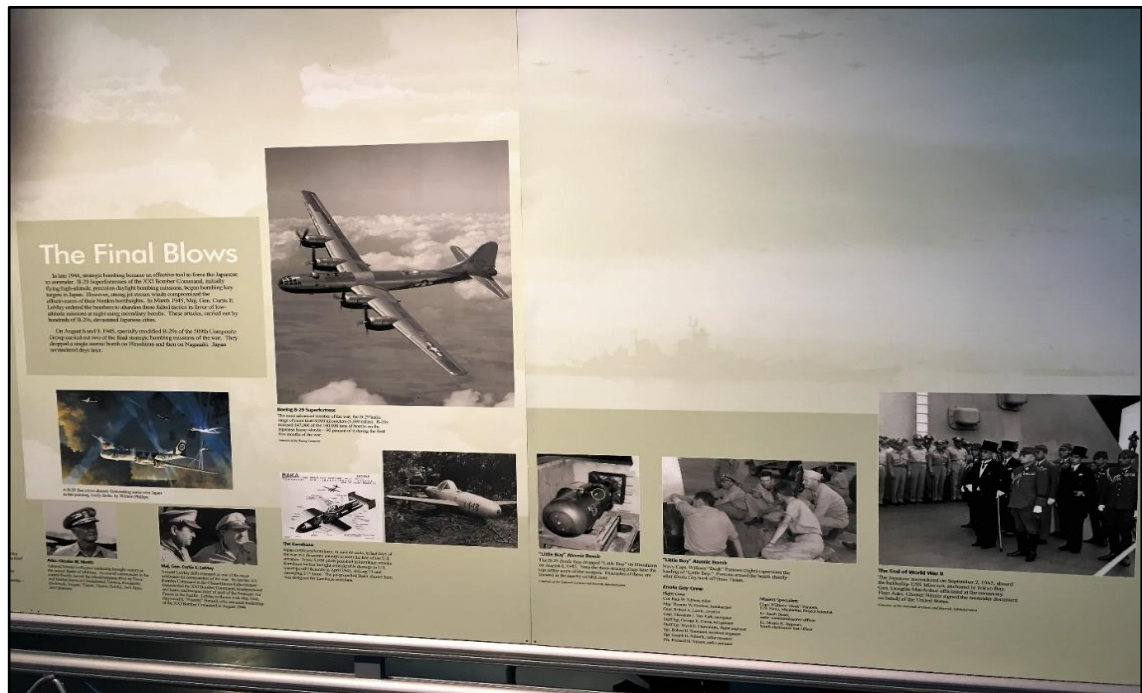


Photo: R. Clinton

Plate 10: This Plate Explains the Strategic Bombing of Japan from Late 1944 to 6 and 9 August 1945. No Mention of the Enola Gay

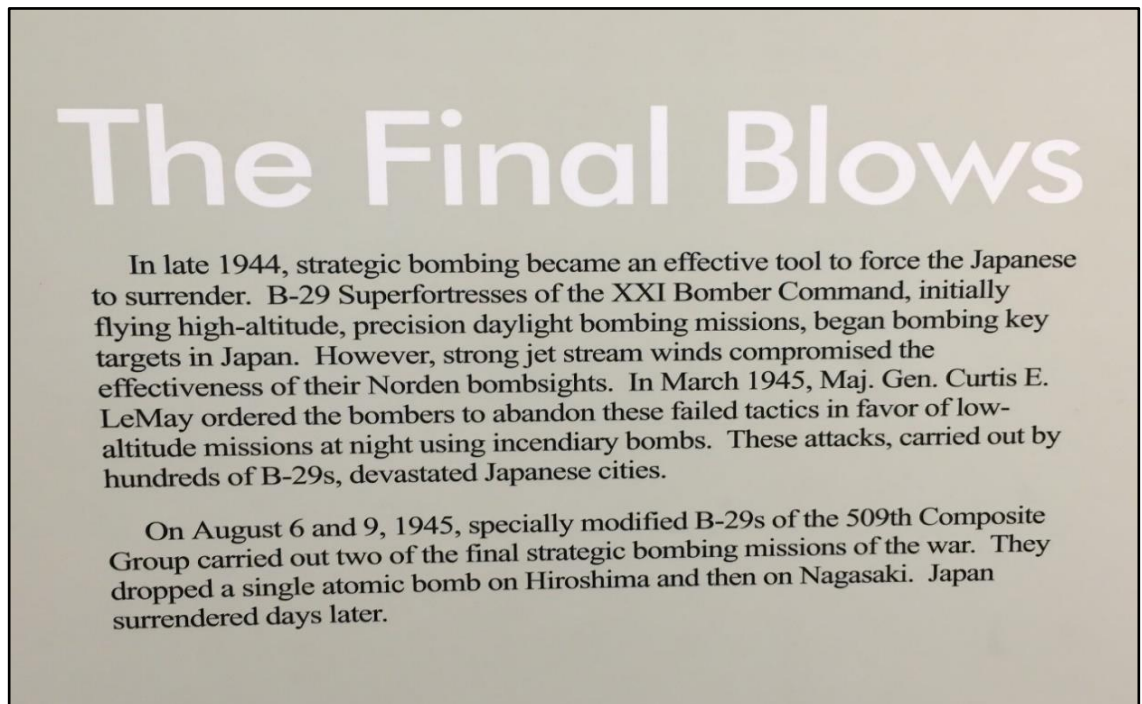


Photo: R. Clinton

Plate 11: Little Boy Atomic Bomb Linking the Bomb to the Enola Gay

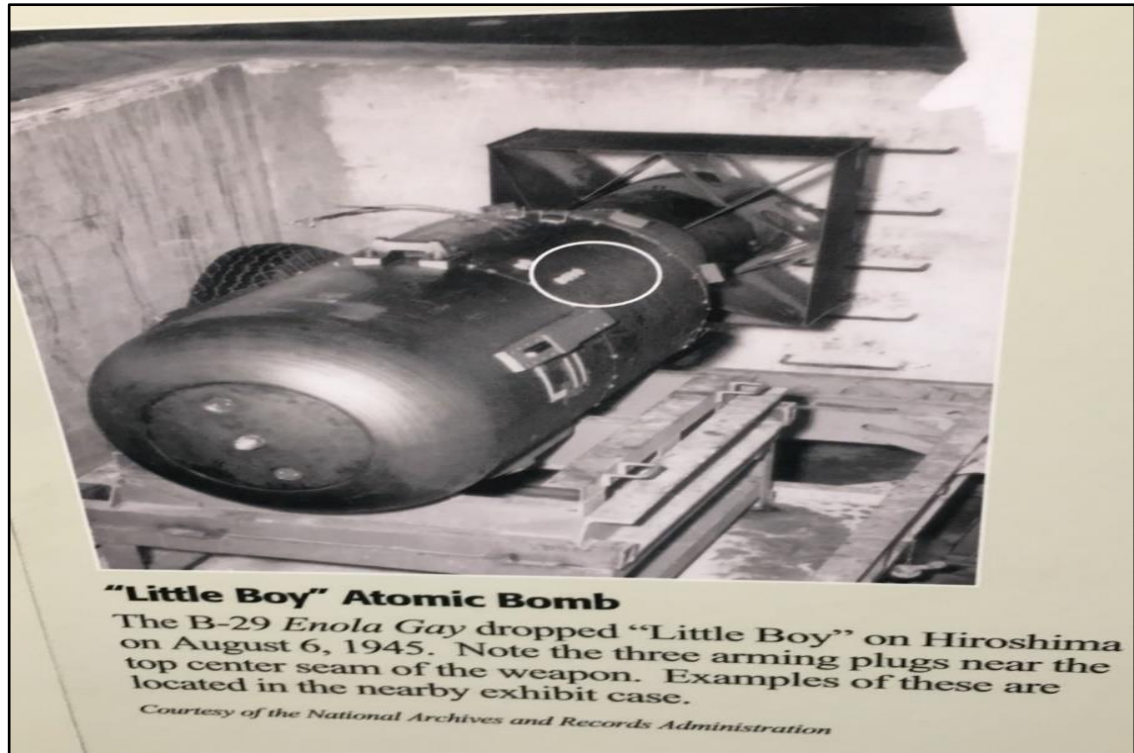


Photo: R. Clinton

In concluding the analysis, the *Enola Gay* will be discussed as it stands now and as it stood in the 50th anniversary exhibition of 1995. The *Enola Gay* has, from its start as an exhibition, been snarled up between memory and history. On one side, is the voice of commemoration dominated by American stakeholders with direct links to World War II veterans, members of the armed forces and their families who lobbied against the curators, not as historians but with their authority as witnesses (Hogan, 1996). While, on the other side, is the voice of the curators, who initially wished to challenge the historical consciousness of their visitors by discussing various doubts and debates that historians had been wrestling with for the last 50 years, leading up to the 50th anniversary of the bombing of Hiroshima. In doing this they aimed to grapple with the complexities through a narrative which challenged the view of American exceptionalism. Unfortunately, the voices of the veterans 'won', and the *Enola Gay* since Martin Harwit proposed *The Last Act* exhibition has become a political issue and sits true to the words of Hogan (1996) who observed then that the *Enola Gay* narrative is voiced not with the authority of the historian but for the voice of the witness who lobbied harder for the commemorative voice. The curators, as we shall see as the narrative unravels the story of how the *Enola Gay* became interpreted the way it currently is in Chapter 5, lost out mainly due to the

change in the political landscape of the 1994 election, which saw the Republicans gaining power.

4.6 Hiroshima: Towards the Dark Tourism Spectrum and Typology Application – Contextual Analysis of the Display (2000 to 2020)

As with the Enola Gay, when examining Hiroshima, there needs to be some clarification of the timeframe by which an application of Stone's (2006) typological spectrum can be made on the HPMM/GD. By going back in time Chapter 6 (section 6.3) highlights various historical perspectives revolving around the contentions relating to the evolution of Hiroshima's official narrative leading up to its inscription and recognition as a World Heritage Site in 1996 (UNESCO, 1996b). When looking back at the national to local perspectives of various political stakeholders ranging from the far-right, the Great Japan Patriots Party (GLP) to the liberal left, the Liberal Democrat Council (LDP) (Naono, 2005), an interesting observation can be made between both the Enola Gay *Last Act Exhibition* NASM/WDC and the inscription of Hiroshima's Genbaku Dome's as a World Heritage Site. This is that both sites experienced contentious discourse simultaneously leading up to and just after the 50th anniversary of the bombing of Hiroshima. Arguably this caused significant levels of reflection for each nation's institutional past and future narratives.

For Hiroshima, since 2000, little has changed in the official narrative – apart from the new technology the HPMM utilises in interpreting its narrative. Emphasis is focused on three themes: first, Introductory Exhibit; second, The Dangers of Nuclear Weapons; and third, Hiroshima's History (Obs, 2017i). Furthermore, with the refurbished East Wing, completed in April 2017 (Plates 13 to 32), emphasis is given to using technology to enhance the visitor's experience (Obs, 2017j) into what Tanseisha Co Ltd (2016) states is a “visual understanding of the horror of Hiroshima”. Additionally, between April 2017 and April 2019, there was a new refurbishment of the main building (Plate 12) to create a permanent exhibit for personal belongings left behind by the victims known as the ‘Cries of the Soul’ corner. Plates 33 to 36 serve as an update to the research after the researcher's observational visit in July 2017. The visualisation employed by the HPMM has seemingly been created so visitors can gain a greater understanding of the reality of

the A-Bombing by confronting a tangible experience between themselves, the victims, survivors and the bereaved families (Plates 29 to 36).

Plate 12: Hiroshima Peace Memorial Notice of Renovations

Information from the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum

We are undergoing renovations.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Main Building
April 2017 - July 2018 (tentative)
Closed to visitors.
★The East Building is open to visitors.

East Building

International Conference Center

○ The East Building reopened on April 26, 2017.

Along with the East Building's reopening, we closed the Main Building to continue renovations. When renovations are completed, the Main Building will offer a better understanding regarding the reality of the atomic bombing: the inhumanity of the atomic bomb, the severity and atrocity of the damage wrought by the A-bombing, and the anguish and sorrow of the victims as well as their bereaved families.

1945年8月6日
August 6, 1945

○ Being transferred from the Main Building, some A-bombed artifacts including personal belongings left behind by the victims are displayed on the first floor of the East Building. "August 6, 1945 — Outline of Atomic Bomb Damage"

The Special Exhibition conveys the reality of the atomic bombing in place of the Main Building which is temporarily closed for renovation until 2018. The exhibition presents displays from the Main Building, recently donated personal belongings left behind by the victims, and items from storage.

We hope that visitors will take this opportunity to learn about the reality of the atomic bombing, and imagine the anguish and sorrow of the A-bomb survivors and their bereaved families and thereby affirm their determination to eliminate nuclear weapons and establish a truly peaceful world.

* Plans subject to change. See the opposite side for renovation details.

■ For information about the progress of renovations, contact Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum (Curatorial Division)
Tel : 082-241-4004, Fax : 082-542-7941, <http://hpmuseum.jp/>

2017. 4. 20 Version 10

Photo: R. Clinton

In giving emphasis to a visual experience, the curators of the museum have seemingly drawn heavily upon semiotics. Visitors are drawn into a visual experience of life before the bomb, in a way which engages the visitors by positioning them within a visual setting of life in Hiroshima before the 6 August 1945. All this which builds empathy and familiarity between the visitors and soon to be victims (Obs, 2017k). Indeed, this strategy of interpretation interestingly follows the methods discussed by Smith's (2011) notion of 'registers of engagement'. This is a concept which endeavours to

strengthen the visitor's engagement in the museum and therefore help the museums in moulding the visitors to accept the museum's narrative. Endacott and Brooks (2013) also argue that this manner of engagement creates a historical empathy and encompasses the rebuilding of people's perspectives around the wider historical circumstances in which events such as the bombing of Hiroshima have been acted out. However, Smith further argues that this 'register of engagement' can be coloured by people's positionality, which is informed by knowledge, beliefs and emotions and a willingness to engage with the other (Smith, 2011; Endacott & Brooks, 2013).

Plate 13: Entrance to Hiroshima before the Bombing

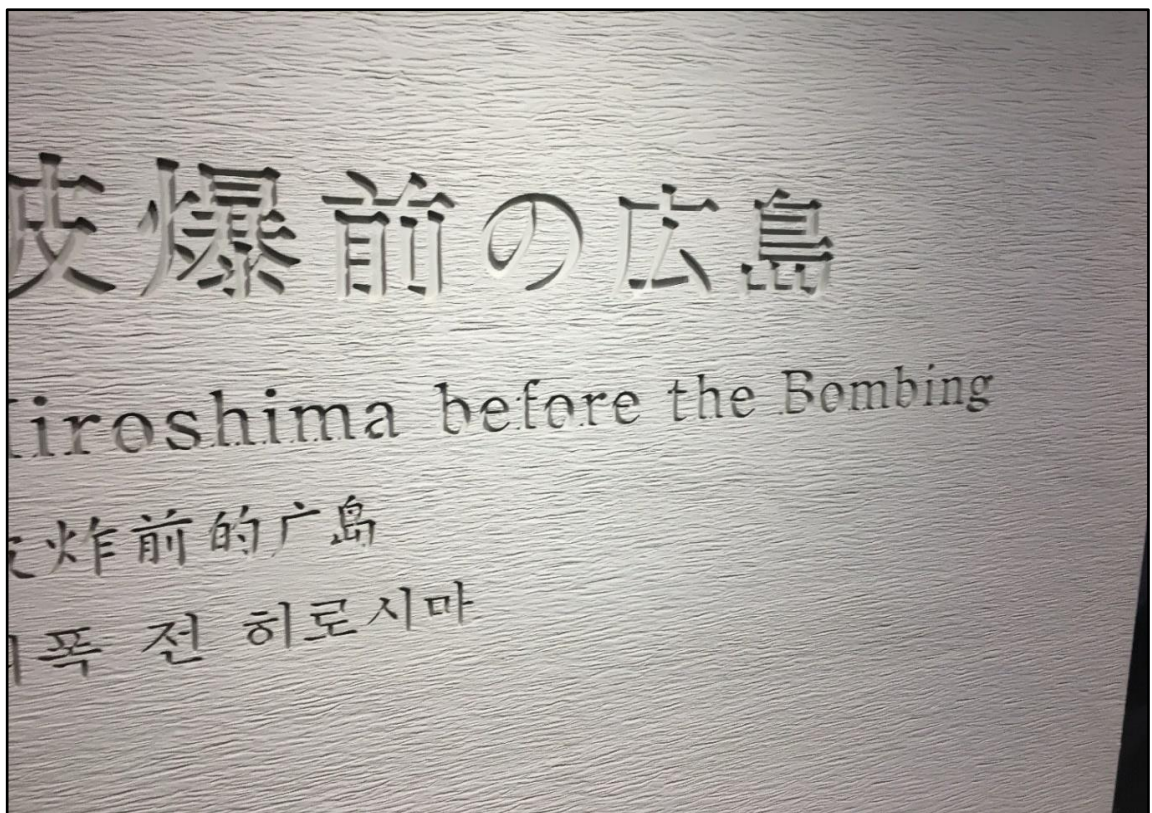


Photo: R. Clinton

Visitors on commencing their tour are first guided through *Hiroshima Before the Bombing*. When examining plates 14 to 26, it is evident that the concept of the registers of engagement and historical empathy is fully engaged in Hiroshima's interpretation. Evidence for this can be seen in Plate 14 where observations found visitors engaging with the narrative via taking photographs and pointing out specific points of personal interest to their companions (Obs, 2017).

Plate 14: Tourists Gaze upon a Panoramic View of Everyday Hiroshima pre 6th August 1945



Photo: R. Clinton

Plate 15: A Sports Day for Local Citizens at Hiroshima's Open-Air Swimming Pool



Photo: R. Clinton

Plate 16: Children Pose for a Picture with their Teacher



Photo: R. Clinton

Plate 17: Entrance to A Lost Way of Life



Photo: R. Clinton

Having witnessed the serenity of Hiroshima before the bombing, visitors are then called upon to become witnesses to the destructive power of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima by wondering through the Museum's *A Lost Way of Life* exhibit through IT animation (Obs, 2017m).

Plate 18: The Fatal Hour



Photo: R. Clinton

It is interesting to note the scale of the projection of the imagery works well at drawing the visitor into the experience. This approach facilitates a near tangible experience for the visitor resulting in the construction of visitor empathy for the museum's focus on victimhood and champion of peace, themes looked at in Chapter 3 section 3.7 (Obs, 2017n).

Plate 19: Tourists Enter the Devastation and Walk Among the Ruins. Note, the Standing Buildings Dispelling the Myth that the Genbaku Dome was the Only Building Standing After the Bombing



Photo: R. Clinton

Plate 20: Among the Ruins of Hiroshima Visitors Can Look Over to the Genbaku Dome now a UNESCO World Heritage Site



Photo: R. Clinton

On reaching the end of the *Lost Way of Life* exhibit visitors are confronted by a vertically projected video which draws the visitors' attention by focusing their gaze upon the city of Hiroshima moments before the atomic bomb is dropped on the city (Plate 21).

Plate 21: An Aerial View: the Showcase Animation of the Annihilation of Hiroshima is About to be Played Out for the Tourist Gaze



Photo: R. Clinton

To add to the suspense darkness falls on the surrounding display, thus focusing the full attention of the visitor moments before the animation starts (Plate 21). The animation starts by zooming in on the daily life of Hiroshima with cars and cyclists travelling along the roads while boats are seen chugging down rivers and pedestrians follow their morning routine. Thus, with the full brightness of colour, the visitors are engaging the with victims (Obs, 2017o) (Plate 22).

Plate 22: Visual Portrayal of the Bombing Event of Hiroshima



Photo: R. Clinton

As the animation pulls back from the daily life on the streets of Hiroshima below, visitors' attention is then switched to the bomb as it descends ever closer to its detonation altitude (Obs, 2017p) (Plate 23).

Plate 23: The Bomb Plunges to its Detonation Altitude of 580 Metres

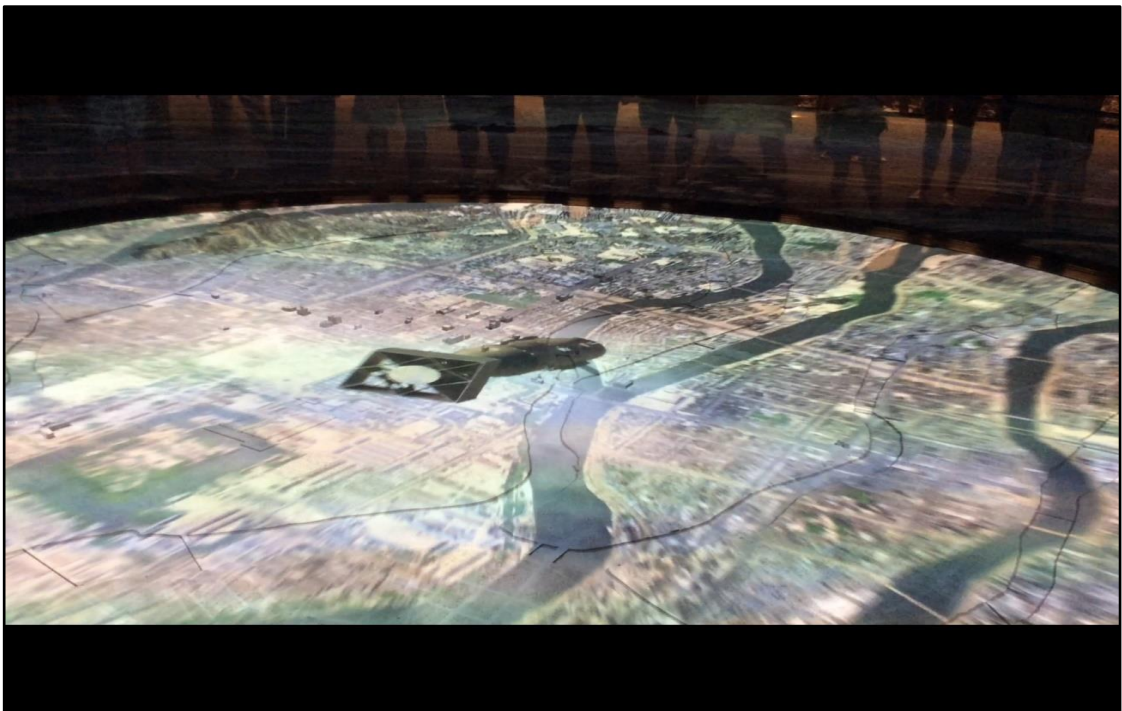


Photo: R. Clinton

The falling of the bomb is then swiftly followed by the release of an all-engulfing shockwave quickly followed by a molten fireball and then the rumbling sound of the explosion (Plate 24).

Plate 24: Animation of the Impact an All-Engulfing Shockwave and Molten Fireball Destroys Hiroshima

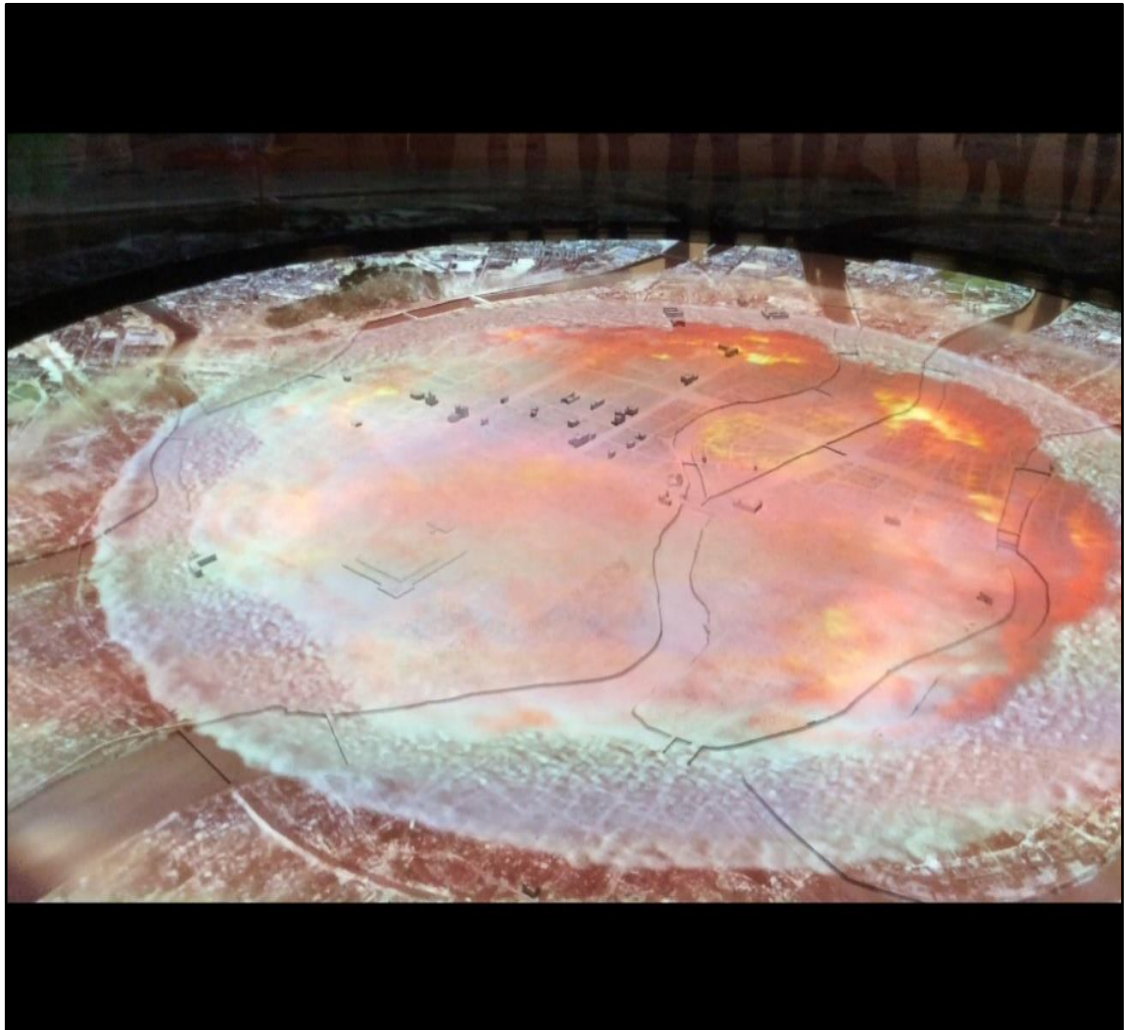


Photo: R. Clinton

To help reinforce the magnitude of the event, the final view the visitor gets from the video stream the casualty figure of 140,000 dead by the end of 1945 (Plate 25).

Thus, curators at the HPMM have delivered a selective pictorial narrative, one which has depicted the everyday life in Hiroshima whilst subconsciously forging potential links between the visitors and the victims of the bombing of Hiroshima. This, consequently, serves to combine to stimulate visitors' emotions and a willingness to engage with the 'Other', whilst illustrating through observations depicted in Plates 14 to

26 the relevance of the theoretical concepts of ‘Registers of Engagement’ and ‘Historical Empathy’ (Smith 2011; Endacott & Brooks 2013).

Plate 25: Overall, Casualty Figures Emerge out of the Ruins to Confront the Visitor with the Human Impact of the Bomb



Photo: R. Clinton

When exiting the *A Lost Way of Life* exhibit, visitors are faced with a display panel which reiterates the concept of Japanese victimhood. This is achieved by referencing the indiscriminate nature of the bomb, following through with a reinforcement of Hiroshima’s stance as an anti-nuclear protagonist and a champion for peace. This then leads the visitors straight into the final staging of Hiroshima’s narrative with the term “No more Hiroshima’s” (Plate 26) (Obs, 2017q).

Plate 26: A Summary Plaque Read on Exiting *Hiroshima before the Bombing* and *A Lost Way of Life* Exhibitions with an Emphasis on the Victims, Concluding with the Slogan ‘No more Hiroshima’s’

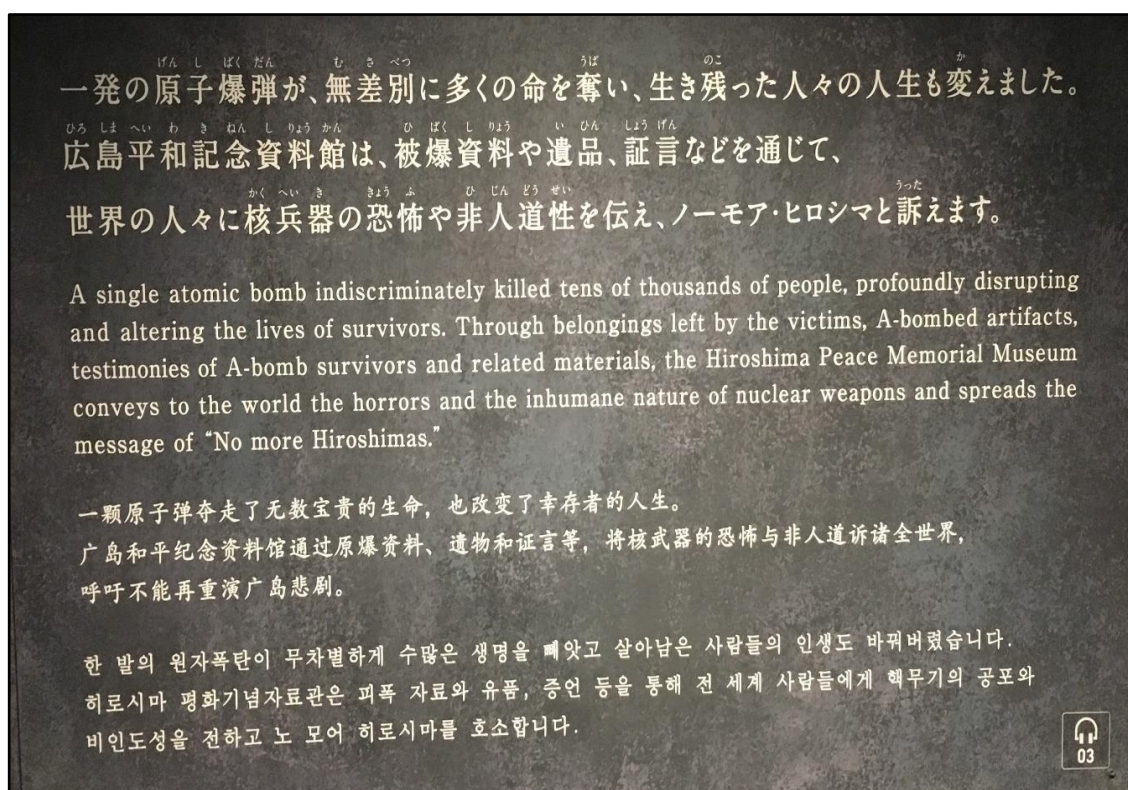


Photo: R. Clinton

The narrative on Plate 26 summarises the *Hiroshima before the Bombing* and *A Lost Way of Life* exhibitions by focusing on the inhumane nature of the nuclear bombing of Hiroshima culminating in the Hiroshima mantra of ‘No More Hiroshima’s. However interestingly, Japan as a nation still seeks the protection of the US nuclear umbrella through the 1996 Joint Statement ‘The Mutual Defence Guidelines’ Chapter 6 (section 6.4 figure 6.3). This in 1998, was subsequently followed by the creation and acceptance of Japan’s National Emergency Law – a law which saw the ending of Japan’s ‘ideal’ of non-aggression through its abandonment of the policy of its armed forces being confined entirely to homeland defence (Green, 2001; Shipilova, 2014). This is the point within the HPMM where the separation of World War II and the nuclear bombing seemingly first becomes apparent. Emphasis is on the inhumane nature of nuclear weapons and the need to spread the message of ‘No More Hiroshima’s. However, conspicuous in its absence is the lack of emphasis on the inhumane nature of war or a call for no more wars. Given that Japan has attempted to further broaden the focus of Hiroshima’s peace message by championing non-nuclear problems, such as human rights, civil wars, the environment,

and cross-border conflicts (Hiraoka, 2015), this last point seems strange. Nevertheless, in championing human rights, civil wars, the environment, and cross-border conflicts, the HPMM has brought a whole new raft of victims' causes for Hiroshima to use further to voice its position as a global champion of peace. Thus, what we see here is an illustration of Hiroshima's links with dissonance heritage (Obs, 2017r).

Plate 27: The President and Prime Minister's Joint Declaration to Test the Bomb on Japan

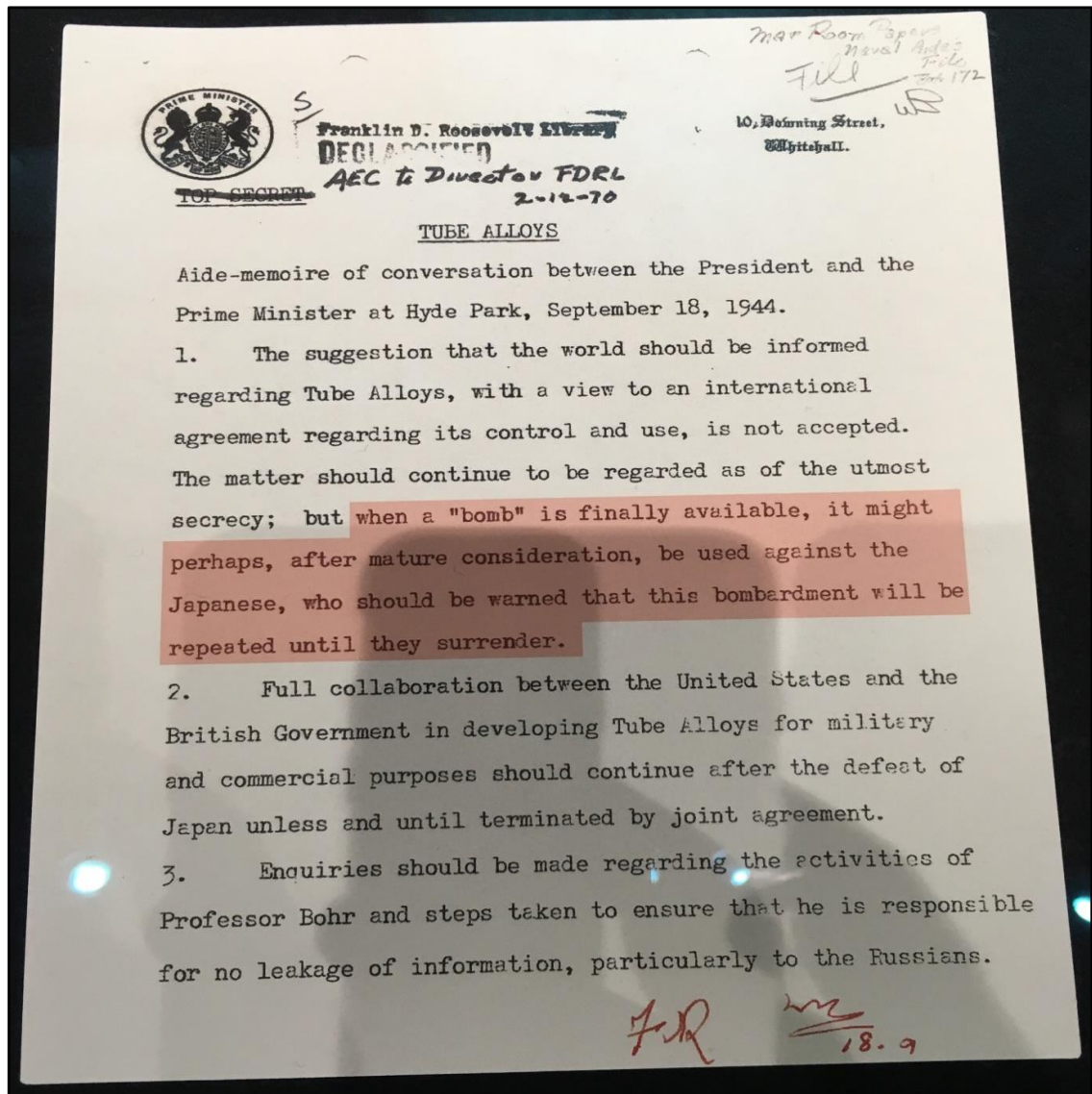


Photo: R. Clinton

Moving forward from the *Hiroshima Before the Bombing* and *A Lost Way of Life* exhibits, visitors are taken into *The Dangers of Nuclear Weapons* exhibition. Much space is given over to the technical aspects of the atomic bomb's development and the decision-making the process followed by the US when deciding to drop the bomb. Examples of these are presented through a significant number of official American documents. One of

them as seen on Plate 27 above is dated as early as 18 September 1944, and illustrates that even though Germany was still fighting and far from surrender, President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Winston Churchill are both seen to have pre-determined that it should be Japan to be on the receiving end of the bomb and not Germany.

Plate 28: Memorandum of the President on the Cost and Likely Success of the Bomb Working

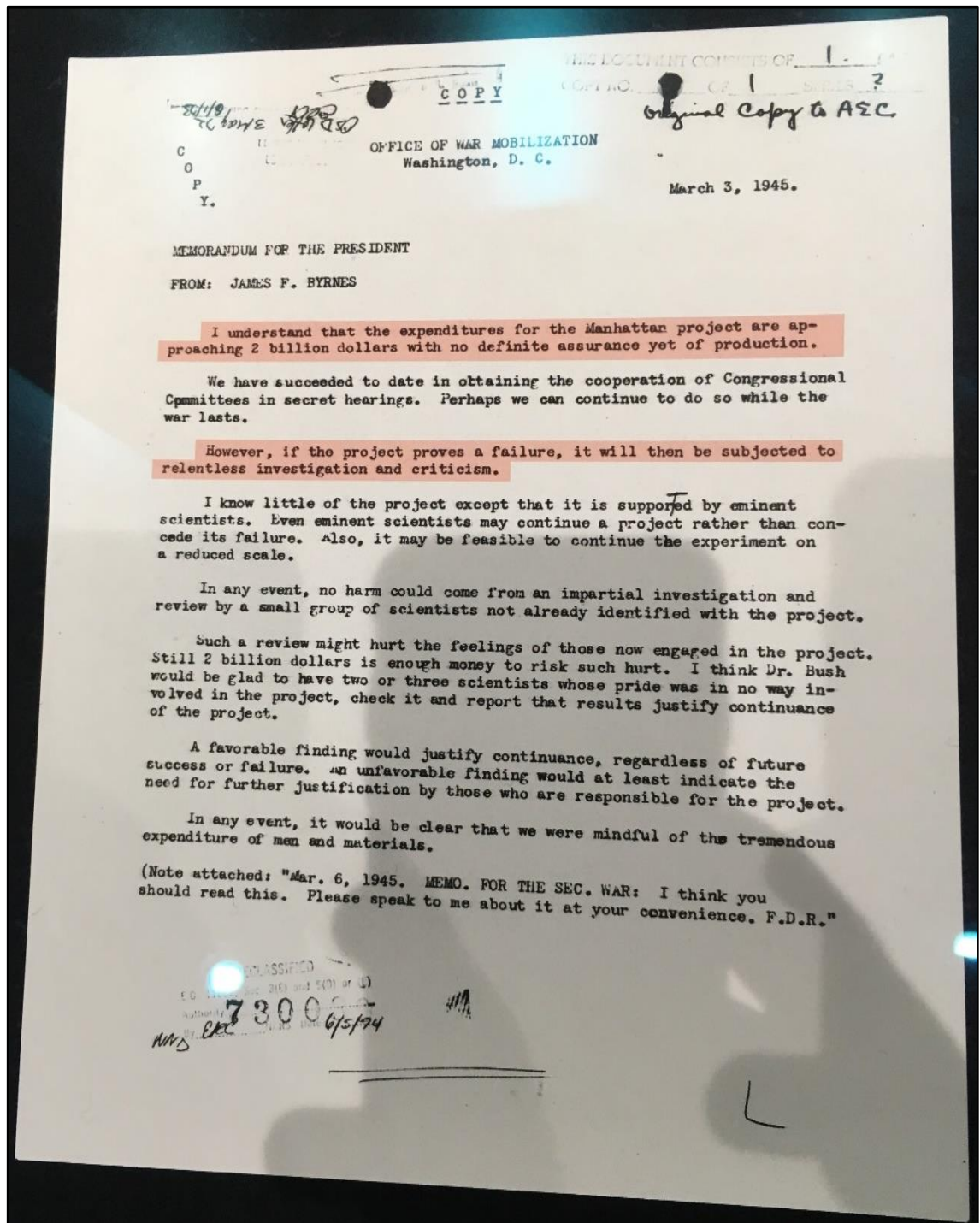


Photo: R. Clinton

This reinforces Said's (1995) view of the entrenchment of the West in their colonial attitudes, insofar as the decision to choose Japan over Germany could, therefore, be attributed to one of a choice of race. In this context, Germans could be viewed as 'Us', and the Japanese were viewed as an 'Other.' Hence, from Japan's perspective, it provides strong indications that the nuclear bombing of Hiroshima was indeed a racial attack on Asians thus supporting Zolberg (1998) Naono (2005) and Shipilova's (2014:207) predisposition that the bombing of Hiroshima was an act of "discrimination that was unnecessary and an inhumane experiment". Therefore, by choosing to display Plate 27 the curators are reinforcing the view of Japan as a victim to its visitors; a point which is further reinforced in Plate 28 which illustrates President Roosevelt's desire for an outcome of the two-billion-dollar investment in developing the bomb (Obs, 2017s).

4.7 Hiroshima Spectrum and Typology Application

When positioning the supply typology of Hiroshima, it is quite clear that the site falls across the categories of a dark conflict site and dark exhibition. Stone (2006) places the supply typology of dark conflict sites as sites that revolve around war and battlefields. However, as previously discussed, the term 'battlefield' has been dismissed in its application to the Enola Gay in Section 4.4 in favour of the term 'theatre of operations,' as advocated by Blank (2010). Also, we have seen that Tunbridge & Ashworth (1996) and Edwards (2000) have pointed out that dark conflict sites are recurrently contentious within their interpretation. This has been demonstrated in Chapter 6 (section 6.4), concerning the contentions in Hiroshima's narrative 1945 – 2000, where the drive by the city of Hiroshima and Japan's government was for a narrative which maintained the 'status quo' of Hiroshima. That is a symbol of Japan's victimhood and a symbol of Japan as a champion of the anti-nuclear movement and global peace. This stance, however, has been repeatedly contested and politicised by various national and local political elites belonging to both the far right and the democratic left (Naono, 2005). Nonetheless, Hiroshima can be confidently positioned within the typology of a dark conflict site, while simultaneously belonging to the category of a dark exhibition due to it fulfilling an educational role (Stone, 2006), although the interpretation is not without its political contentions.

When assessing Hiroshima within Stone's spectrum, as with the Enola Gay, it is a complicated process due to Hiroshima's multi-layered grouping of entities, including Hiroshima's level of political influence, educational values, historical provenance, the

authenticity of artefacts and interpretation, location and distance from time from the event, and the purposefulness of Hiroshima's supply. Having examined Hiroshima, it is clear that there are similarities with the Enola Gay insofar as the supply is politically charged, extremely emotional and steeped deeply within a city that leads the nationally condoned "Hiroshima Narrative". Hiroshima's key function has been managed to act as a focal point of international remembrance, one where the sentiment of 'No More Hiroshimas' is voiced annually on the anniversary of the peace declaration made by the Mayor of Hiroshima. Indeed, when looking at Hiroshima's manner of interpretation to establish the depth of darkness, it conveys some very dark and horrifying images of death and destruction (Obs, 2017s) (Plates 19 to 32 and Plates 33 to 36).

Plate 29: Hiroshima Victim of Radiation: A Man with Burns over the Back and Head



Photo: R. Clinton

Plate 30: Hiroshima Victim of Radiation: A Woman with her Kimono Pattern Burned into her Skin



Photo: R. Clinton

Plate 31: Hiroshima Victim of Radiation: A Soldier with 'Spots of Death' who Died at 9.30 p.m. on 3 September 1945

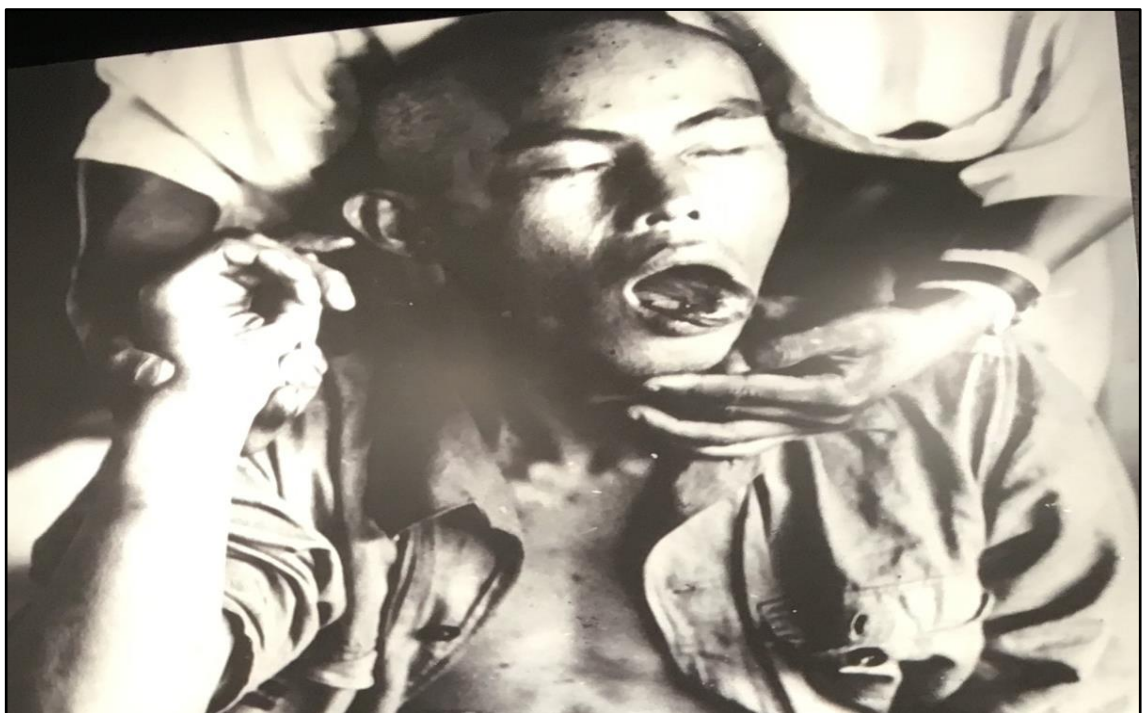


Photo: R. Clinton

Plate 32: Hiroshima Victim of Radiation: A Young Woman who Subsequently Died in the Middle of October 1945

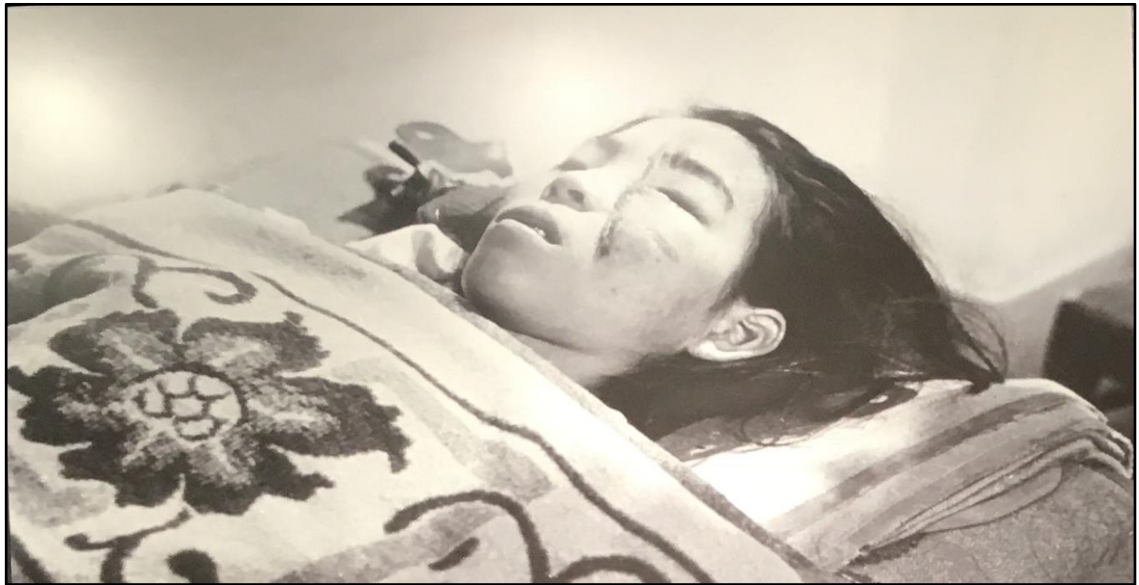
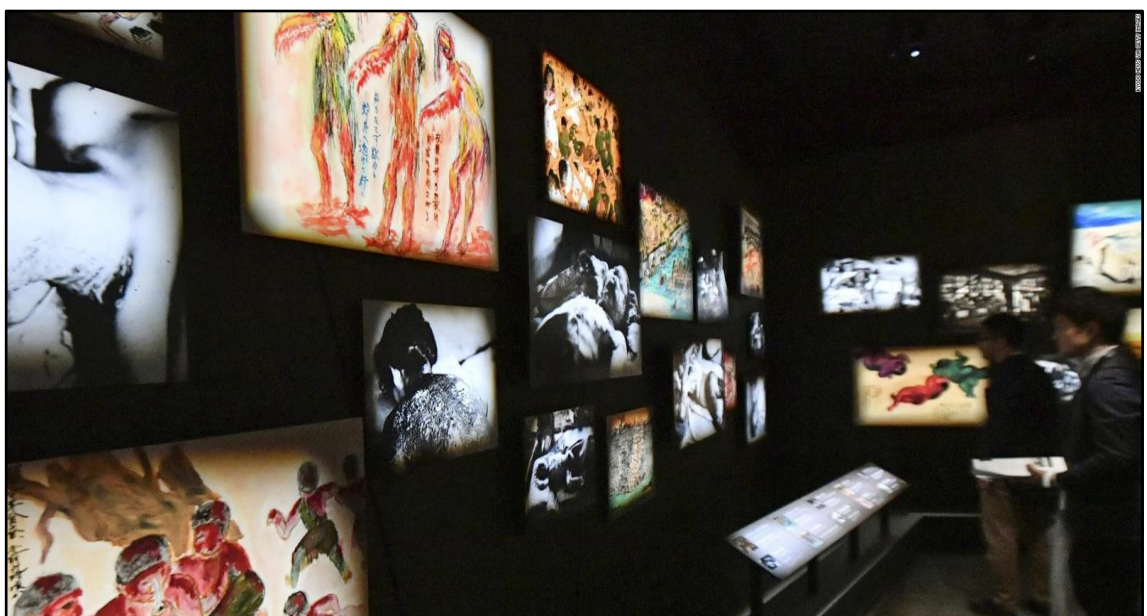


Photo: R. Clinton

Plates 33 to 36 show pictures and photos of victims from the refurbished main building wing which reopened on 25 April 2019 after the researcher's visit to the HPMM and therefore serve to update the research. Pictures are sourced from the Mainichi news coverage of the main wing reopening.

Plate 33: The Paintings Drawn by Some of the Survivors of the Bombing Depict Scenes of Personal Significance of the Individual's Memory of Hiroshima's Bombing



Source: The Mainichi (2019)

The picture top right in plate 33 depicts how many victims' skin melted and dripped like wax from their limbs. This image has become a repetitive theme within the depiction of the bomb's victims, not only at the museum but also in related manga such as Keiji Nakazawa's Barefoot Gen manga.

Plate 34: Artefacts Belonging to Victims are Displayed Alongside their Photographs at the 'Cries of the Soul' Corner



Source: The Mainichi (2019)

Plate 35: Victims' Artefacts are Displayed Alongside their Photographs at the "Cries of the Soul" Corner



Source: The Mainichi (2019)

Plate 36: The Belongings of 23 Children Killed while Engaged in ‘Building Demolition’ to Prevent Fires Spreading in Air Raids, as seen on display at the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum. The Pieces called the “Devastation on August 6,” are Presented Without Comment to Engage with Visitors Emotionally



Source: The Mainichi (2019)

The presentation is highly informative of the victims of the bombing, not only conveying the numbers of those who died as tens of thousands (Plates 25 & 26) but also graphically illustrating the personal suffering through injuries and radiation poisoning by adult individuals (Plates 29 to 32). Interestingly, in addition to the adult suffering, the suffering of the children of Hiroshima is also depicted. However, the images employed depicting children tend to focus not on their injuries but instead, visitors are engaged by the conveyance of children’s narrative via the child victims’ personal artefacts still bearing the scars of the bombing of Hiroshima (Plates 34 to 36). All of this serves as yet another illustration, of the curators’ hand in creating ‘Registers of Engagement’ (Smith, 2011) and ‘Historical Empathy’ (Endacott & Brooks, 2013). Evidence of this can be seen when viewing Plate 36, an image of the exhibit titled “Devastation on August 6,” which as an exhibit presented with no written commentary, seemingly designed engage with visitors emotionally who are by this phase of their visit able to draw on their own newly acquired conceptions to narrate their interpretation. This, consequently, could be argued

through the narrative above has been engineered by the HPMM curators as a practical engagement with the theoretical process of semiotics.

4.8 Summary

When examining the exhibits at the HPMM, it soon becomes apparent that the museum is dominated by images of victimhood and its anti-nuclear stance. However, the one key area which is largely neglected is why Hiroshima was targeted in the first place.

Nevertheless, on turning attention to positioning Hiroshima on Stone's (2006) Dark Tourism Spectrum, due to the magnitude of the event as illustrated above, the HPMM/GD can firmly be placed on the *darkest* category advocated by Stone due first to its proximity to the event being at the actual place of death and destruction and secondly through its educational role as a global warning of the dangers of the atomic bomb for humankind. Nevertheless, additionally, it has been shown that the interpretation at the HPMM is one which perpetuates the narrative of Japan's victimhood and therefore, seemingly helps to maintain Japan's amnesia of its actions during World War II. As such, the Hiroshima narrative has only become stronger, more belligerent and more deeply entangled in political discourse. All of this, as seen through observations, has resulted in the visitors to the HPMM interestingly becoming actors in carrying on that narrative. When combined, this makes Hiroshima's interpretation very politically motivated. Therefore, relevance is given to the fact that, when viewed through a critical lens, the HPMM's position within Stone's spectrum fits firmly within its darkest spectrum, not just for what the museum's narrative interprets but consequently, also for what the museum fails to narrate.

Nonetheless, it can be seen that both sites are indeed inextricably connected to the same watershed event, where both sites have authentic elements, both sites are characterised by silence and ongoing sensitivities to do with being state funded and linking to parts of each nation's particular national narrative the atomic bombing of Hiroshima.

4.9 Reflection 4: Eye Opening

In appraising both the Enola Gay and the HPMM/GD sites within Stone's (2006) spectrum, the theory and empirical research came together. The theory had highlighted that, while both nations through the NASM/UHC and the HPMM/GD had constructed their own narrative, the observations provided the opportunity to identify first, what was absent and silenced and second, both sites' politicised message which resulted what in each site's touristification experience promotes to today's visitor. I found the process of joining of theory and practice quite rewarding; as the observations deepened, so the bigger story began to unfold, and I found myself to be better placed to set the scene for the reader. In addition, this unravelling and positioning of data also served to contribute to the dark tourism literature as it has shown an additional application for inclusion of Stone's (2006) spectrum, by illustrating that sites with silenced histories are just as dark for what they do not say, as much as they are dark for what they do say. I think the one drawback on my observational experience was that I had over prepared on my theory and in parts this had built up some pre-conceptions. However, if I had not spent the amount of time that I did at each site, it could well have led to a less objective analysis. Nonetheless, it was eyeopening to see as I spent more time on site, how my pre-conceptions were smoothed out as I brought the theory and observational data together in my site notes.

Chapter 5

The Enola Gay, America's Hiroshima's A-bombing Narrative: Going Back to the Present

5.1 The Bombing of Hiroshima and its Aftermath: A Historical Overview

Chapter 5 will act as a continuum of the two-narrative approach by focusing on the Enola Gay NASM/UHC. The structuring will move forward from Chapter 4's contemporary positioning of both the sites, by taking the narrative back to unfold the story of how each site became what it is today. Therefore, Chapter 5, will move forward from 1945 to unpack the Enola Gay's historical journey by examining the surrounding contentions of the 1995 proposed Enola Gay 50th anniversary exhibition – *The Last Act: The Atomic Bomb and the End of World War II* – NASM/WDC, through to its 2003 and current inclusion in the NASM/UHC to date.

An essential starting point for the theoretical debate relating to the history of the atomic bombing is Hogan (1996) – *Hiroshima in History and Memory*. This work contains nine critical articles taken from *Diplomatic History* – a journal of record for specialists in the history of American foreign relations. Walker (1990) helps highlight the controversial ideas prompted by Fussell (1981) who promotes a traditionalist viewpoint on events relating to the reasoning behind the decision for America using the atomic bomb on Japan. Essentially, this was done by advocating that the bombing was a valid action as it would/did save untold lives of US service members and reduce of the length of the war. Meanwhile, on the other hand, Feis (1961;2015) argued that the bomb was not needed to force surrender as the war was nearing its end, predicting that the war would have been over by the end of 1945 and that the bomb was used to keep the Russians out of the Japanese conflict. Thus, the bombing of Hiroshima was purely done for political ends. However, Alprovitz (1965), who agrees with Feis's (1961;2015) argument about keeping the Russians out of Japan, further promotes the notion that it was political, but for a different reason. Alprovitz states that Truman used the bomb to act as a lever to thwart the Soviet Union's Eastern European ambitions. Therefore, the debate around the issue of truth/authenticity of interpretation emerges.

The debate behind the ‘true’ reason for the bombing of Hiroshima has progressed to what has become a discourse tangled up in differing political arguments for the cause of the bombing. Consequently, the notion of contested heritage or dissonance is raised, as well as questions about how authentic the interpretation and representation of events at both visitor attractions are and to what degree the interpretation is staged.

However, there are divisions between the traditionalist view that the bomb was dropped primarily for military reasons, and the revisionist view that its inclusion in the US diplomatic arsenal aggravated tensions with the Soviets. Thus, the bombing was political (Walker, 1990). However, with the benefit of hindsight, the bombing did arguably act as a statement of strength, by stemming the Soviet invasion of Japan. However, the consequence of its use for the US went far beyond the ending of the war in the Pacific insofar as the bombing of Hiroshima triggered the beginning of the Cold War, which found the US itself threatened by the very entity of its creation.

Meanwhile, focusing on the Japanese perspective, Bernstein (1995) examined the alternatives of using the bomb, targeting the period between the 10th and 14th of August (the 14th being when Japan finally surrendered). Bernstein helps to convey some of the cultural and political tensions the Japanese were struggling with. These were primarily revolving around Truman’s insistence on unconditional surrender, which almost culminated in a military coup for the Japanese. Bix (1995) and Bernstein (1995) serve as a good starting point to help build insight into Japan’s socio-political perspective relating to its response to the Hiroshima (and Nagasaki) bombing and ending of the War, stating that the Japanese perspective on their surrender agreement is complicated and in itself a contributing factor for understanding the bombing. Thus, both Bix and Bernstein emphasise the need to take a total event perspective, or in other words, a cause and effect including a contemporary political interpretation.

When looking for a greater cultural understanding of Japanese political psychology, Eiji (2000) looks at the historical perspective of Japanese national identity and modernisation. Indeed, Eiji (2000) focuses on Japan’s invention of a national tradition in an increasingly industrialised Japan. Japan wished to become a colonising power moving towards a national mobilisation regime for total war. The aim of this was to replace Western culture in Asia with Japanese culture. Consequently, Eiji’s work can be used as a starting point to help illustrate Japanese political psychology. This political psychology is evident during the debate about the inclusion of the Hiroshima dome as a

UNESCO World Heritage Site. However, with regards to dissonance debates, there are two controversial events. The first event is the 50th anniversary exhibition that showcased the B-29 bomber the Enola Gay at the Smithsonian NASM, Washington, D.C, USA. The second event was the inclusion on the UNESCO World Heritage List of Hiroshima's Genbaku Dome. Dubin (1999) – '*Battle Royal: The Final Mission of the Enola Gay*' – analyses a range of issues relating to the Enola Gay's originally planned exhibit '*The Final Mission*'. Issues were voiced from various World War II veterans' campaigns for displaying the Enola Gay from as early as 1976 to Martin Harwit's (the Director of the NASM from 1987) controversial planned exhibit based on the title '*From Guernica to Hiroshima – Bombing in World War II*'. Harwit's planned exhibit was to focus on the progressive civilian bombing from 1937 to 1945, which angered many traditionalists and veterans as it detracted from the primary focus of the 50th anniversary of Hiroshima.

However, Dubin (1999) pointed out that the Harwit's planned exhibit was just paralleling Nazi atrocities with US actions. Other issues raised are those discussed by Engelhardt (2007), who examines America's self-attitude and the end of American victory culture — stating how the post-World USA was entwined in an anxious Cold War, and by 1975 experienced "Triumphalist Despair" in a post-Watergate and post-Vietnam era resulting in the US searching for a new identity, and questioning its feeling of American exceptionalism. Engelhardt provides a conceptual link between the two Smithsonian exhibitions. First the '*West as America*' and second, the Enola Gay exhibit which in turn highlights how US culture has become split as '*The West as America*' exhibit attempted to portray a more authentic account of the impact of American colonialization of indigenous Indian territory, whereas the Enola Gay exhibit had its authenticity of event stifled. Engelhardt supports his observation by referencing Henriksen (1989) and Dubin (1999) who observed that the US had become a nation split between a "Culture of Consensus" and a "Culture of Decent" (Dubin, 1999:189). Dubin supports this opinion by highlighting a poll taken during the middle of the Smithsonian controversy, which indicated that 57% of those under the age of 50 opposed the bomb, while 55% of those over 50 said they would have dropped the bomb (also see Kohn, 1995 and Prosis, 1998). The points raised above all help to highlight conflicting opinions in the way in which the Enola Gay is interpreted for public consumption, insofar as whose/what narrative gets presented.

Moving to Japan now, Beazley (2009) provides an overview of political issues relating to the UNESCO inscription of the Hiroshima Genbaku Dome as a World Heritage

Site in 1996. These issues are linked with the US government's attempt to silence the Japanese nomination for UNESCO inclusion. Yoneyama (1993) discusses that four years previous to the UNESCO inclusion, political parties within Japan had manipulated heritage to meet their ideologies and memory constructions while disempowering and subjugating the memories and heritage of minority groups. The importance of this is illustrated by Beazley, who notes the reason for America's objections to Hiroshima's World Heritage status is that the US had concerns about the lack of historical representation. In short, it feared that Japan would position the US as an aggressor by focusing on the bombing rather than explaining the circumstances that led to the bombing. As Beazley (2009:34) states:

“The events antecedent to the US use of atomic weapons to end World War II is key to understanding the tragedy of Hiroshima”.

This then serves to illustrate a total event from two different cultural perspectives, and in which cross-cultural politics lead to different perspectives of interpretation. While noting within these cultural perspectives there is indeed a wide variety of stakeholder opinions, there is also a need for a post-disciplinary approach to research. Stone (2011) talks about interpretation and political issues, pointing out that tourism sites for this study provide the chance to “write or re-write history” of the lives and deaths of individuals providing opportunities for “political interpretations of the past events” (Stone, 2011:327).

5.2 The Enola Gay Exhibition/Exhibit (1995-2020)

On 6 August 1945, the US Airforce dropped the world's first atomic uranium bomb codenamed 'Little Boy' on the Japanese city of Hiroshima, followed three days later by the world's plutonium nuclear bomb code-named 'Fat Man' dropped on Nagasaki (Harwit, 1996). Fifty years later, a planned exhibition at the NASM/WDC that would have the Enola Gay as its prime exhibit – *The Crossroads: The End of World War II, the Atomic Bomb and the Origins of the Cold War* – was heavily objected to by various US military veteran groups. Thus, the Enola Gay became a disputed symbol in the USA; for some it was/is seen as the bringer of peace and victory over an aggressor, while for others it was/is seen as a vessel that unleashed the ultimate in human inhumanity, the beginning of the Cold War era and the new nuclear age, and in the mass killing of up to 140.000 civilians in Hiroshima (Linenthal, 1996; Zolberg, 1998; Engelhardt, 2007; Moody, 2015). The original plans for the Smithsonian Crossroads would explore some of the questions

relating to the motivations behind the decision to bomb Hiroshima. However, opposition from pressure groups fronted by the Air Force Association (AFA) vehemently argued that the exhibition script favoured the Japanese by depicting the Japanese as defenders of their homeland and emperor while illustrating very little about Japan's earlier aggression which led to the bombing. Thus, the AFA argued such a defence had been necessary and, in their eyes, the proposed exhibit had cast the US as ruthless invaders driven by revenge. Subsequently, the AFA with political and public support brought about the cancellation of the exhibition, and it was replaced with one that AFA deemed more acceptable. The new exhibition renamed *The Last Act: The Atomic Bomb and the End of World War II* resulted in the Enola Gay being exhibited with little context and sidestepped from a prominent position in the NASM/WDC (Correll, 1994; Boyer, 1996; Linenthal, 1996; Zolberg, 199; Dubin, 1999; Moody, 2015).

5.3 The Last Act – The Atomic Bomb and the End of World War II (1995 Enola Gay Exhibit): Contentions of Display

Martin Harwit, the director of the National Air and Space Museum from 1986 to 1995, offered an original design vision of *The Last Act* Enola Gay exhibit in 1995 which was planned to be displayed in an annexe of the NASM/WDC. The original plan aimed to produce an exhibition that did not focus wholly on the bombing of Hiroshima. Instead, it would focus on asking questions about the morality and effectiveness of America's bombing campaign during World War II in response to criticism about large numbers of non-combatant civilian casualties (Gieryn, 1998; Luke, 2007). Sayle (1996) when discussing Harwit's controversial exhibition just two years later, recalled Harwit's thoughts on the exhibition:

“...not an exhibit about the rights and wrongs of war, about who started what, and who were the bad guys and who were good. It is about the impacts and effects of bombing on people, and on the strategic outcome of conflicts. [...] What are the losses to humans who become the victims -- civilians or military, it does not matter?” (Sayle, 1996).

However, Harwit's vision was short-lived due to external pressures. The original plans for *The Last Act* exhibition were then altered in response to criticism, so that the Enola Gay exhibit focused solely on technical features of Enola Gay restoration and its mission to deliver the bomb to Hiroshima and, crucially, omitting any narrative linking to the civilian casualties which proved to be too historically sensitive. Changes to Harwit's original vision were driven by politics, firstly thanks to pressure various

stakeholder groups, and later politicians (Correll, 1994; Zolberg, 1998; Benton & Watson, 2010; Moody, 2015). Changes were eventually made to the originally planned exhibition titled *The Crossroads: The End of World War II, the Atomic Bomb, and the Origins of the Cold War*. Subsequently renamed as *The Last Act: The Atomic Bomb and the End of World War II* due to the political influence of various veteran organisations, mainly the AFA and other Veterans and military groups, such as the American Legion who stated the plans lacked balance (Zolberg, 1998).

In addition to these stakeholder groups, anxieties were raised as to the feelings and concerns voiced by the families of American aircrew whose loved ones had fought and lost their lives as bomber crews during the war. It was felt by pressure groups that veterans of the bombing campaigns, both over Europe and Asia, were in danger of being demonized. In essence, the memorial message was in danger of being remembered as the US being aggressors, rather than fighting aggressors who had without warning attacked Pearl Harbour, forcing the US into a war they (allegedly) did not want to join. As discourse continued, arguments between interested parties became caught up in the political rhetoric of the 1994 midterm Republican campaign. Dr Newt Gingrich, a Republican politician and prolific writer on American history and politics and co-author of the book *1945* (published in 1995), as well being the 50th speaker of the House of Representatives 1995 – 1999, brought political fighting surrounding the Enola Gay to the full attention of US governors. Sayle (1996) quotes Gingrich as stating:

“...the Enola Gay fight (that between the director NASM, Martin Harwit, the Air Force Association (AFA) and the American Legion) was a fight, in effect, over the reassertion by most Americans that they are sick and tired of being told by some cultural elite that they ought to be ashamed of their country” .

On 19 September 1994, Senate resolution number 257 was endorsed. The resolution related to the Enola Gay exhibit and re-enforced the purpose of the Smithsonian Institute to display compassion to the men and women of America, who had loyally served the US throughout World War II. The resolution advised staying away from attacking the memory of those Americans who were killed in the fight to preserve American freedom. The resolution goes further in its proclamation as to the responsibilities of the NASM by stating that the proposed exhibit was “revisionist [...] offensive [...] and that the NASM had a legal responsibility under Federal law to represent history within the contents of the time” (Government Publishing Office (US),

1994) (Figure 5.1). With the overwhelming victory of the Republicans over both houses of Congress on 8 November 1994, Gingrich promptly exercised his privilege as the newly elected speaker of the house to assign Senator (Colonel) Sam Johnson to the Smithsonian's Board of Regents. Johnson was an old adversary of Harwit and a veteran of both the Korean and Vietnam Wars, where he flew as a bomber pilot and was a POW for seven years in North Vietnam. Thus, Sam Johnson's appointment had the effect of making the Smithsonian Board of Regents much more sympathetic to the AFA and the American Legion, as well as introducing a Republican to the top echelon of the Smithsonian after 40 years of Democratic control of the US Senate and House of Representatives.

Figure 5.1: Senate Resolution 257—Relating to the Enola Gay Exhibit

SENATE RESOLUTION 257--RELATING TO THE ``ENOLA GAY'' EXHIBIT

Mrs KASSEBAUM submitted the following resolution: which was, referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration:

S. Res. 257

Whereas the role of the Enola Gay during World War II was momentous in helping to bring World War II to a merciful end, which resulted in saving the lives of Americans and Japanese.

Whereas the current script for the National Air and Space Museum's exhibit on the Enola Gay is revisionist and offensive to many World War II veterans.

Whereas the Federal law states that ``the Smithsonian Institute shall commemorate and display the contributions made by the military forces of the Nation toward creating, developing, and maintaining a free, peaceful, and independent society and culture in the United States''.

Whereas the Federal law also states that ``the valour and sacrificial service of the men and women of the Armed Forces shall be portrayed as an inspiration to the present and future generations of America''; and

Whereas, in memorialising the role of the United States in armed conflict, the National Air and Space Museum has an obligation under the Federal law to portray history in the proper context of the times: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Senate senses that any exhibit displayed by the National Air and Space Museum with respect to the Enola Gay should reflect appropriate sensitivity toward the men and women who faithfully and selflessly served the United States during World War II and should avoid impugning the memory of those who gave, their lives for freedom.

Source: [Congressional Record: September 19, 1994] From the Congressional Record Online via GPO Access (Government Publishing Office (US), 1994)

On 30 January 1995, the then Smithsonian Secretary Michael Heyman made public the decision to replace the exhibition with a smaller display. The original ideas for the exhibition became substituted for a much smaller ‘low key’ display that merely incorporated the fuselage of Enola Gay and little supporting interpretation of the historical context (Plate 37). It was, however, accompanied by an audio-video presentation that included interviews with crew members of the Enola Gay both before taking off and on their return. The accompanying written displays describing the exhibit were, however, heavily edited resulting in a parochial focus to interpret the positive side of the Enola Gay, which included the history and development of the Boeing B-29 fleet.

Plate 37: The 1995 ‘Sanitised Version’ of the 50th anniversary Enola Gay Display



Source: National Air and Space Museum (2018)

Moreover, a subsidiary part of the exhibition focused on the Enola Gay’s restoration efforts (Atomic Heritage Foundation, 2016). This in effect saw the political neutering of any attempt to present an authentic narrative of the surrounding events that led up to and included the bombing of and aftermath in Hiroshima. However, this level of legislative control of the narrative was only levied towards the Enola Gay and the Smithsonian Institute, a publicly funded body. The new Republican administration had used Federal law to pressurise Martin Harwit into “representing history within the

contents of the time” (Government Publishing Office (US), 1994). Thus, with its political support, the AFA along with the American Legion and other Veteran groups got their way and the revisionists who had been pressing for a more authentic public presentation of the Enola Gay at the Smithsonian lost. Shortly after, 81 members of the House called for the dismissal of the director Martin Harwit. However, in support of Harwit the then president of the Society for Military History, Brig. Roy K. Flint wrote to the board of Regents’ chairman, Chief Justice William H. Rehnquist. Flint (1995 - cited in Sayle, 1996) in his letter expressed his concerns about the level of state involvement in the Smithsonian’s right to interpret its exhibitions and cautioned against the withdrawal of the scheduled *The Last Act* exhibition. Flint further stated that the cancellation in its planned form would deal the presentation of honest history by publicly funded institutions a crippling blow. In essence, Flint is arguing against the censorship of portraying history through the lens of new historicism for one of maintaining the status quo of history. In other words, the situation where the victor writes history has resulted in the Smithsonian presenting old ideas alongside old artefacts in the same old-fashioned way. In the end, Flint’s pleas were in vain, and Harwit was subsequently dismissed.

Nevertheless, as with all controversies, institutional opinions differed and some of the artefacts that were loaned to the Smithsonian for the original Enola Gay, *The Last Act* exhibition, were subsequently loaned to an exhibition – *Constructing a Peaceful World: Beyond Hiroshima and Nagasaki* – held at The American University, Washington DC, with the cooperation of both Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Twenty-five artefacts from the bombed cities were displayed. These included personal objects belonging to the victims, including a charred lunchbox from one victim, a disintegrated children’s school uniform, and a pocket watch stopped at 8:15 AM: the very time the bomb exploded over Hiroshima (New York Times, 1995). These tangible artefacts were aimed at drawing the visitor into a feeling of empathy for the victims (an issue to be further discussed in Chapter 6). All of this helped to convey the ‘authenticity’ of the exhibition along with the individual cost of the bombing. Moreover, fifty exhibition panels were loaned that portrayed graphic photos of corpses, along with images of the scorched bodies of survivors (The Secretariat, 1995). With this exhibition, it was deemed necessary to show the human cost of the bombing, and through the inclusion of authentic artefacts with their accompanying narratives, visitors were able to experience a more authentic insight into the human cost of both atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Arguably,

therefore, the exhibition allowed visitors to question for themselves the rights and wrongs of the US decision to attack Hiroshima with the world's first atomic bomb.

The *Constructing a Peaceful World* exhibition opened on 8 July 1995 and was meant to support the university's nuclear history institute on nuclear war. Thus, the inclusion of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki artefacts was not intended as a replacement for *The Last Act* exhibition, but rather it stood to provide an exhibition on free speech values (New York Times, 1995). However, the discourse surrounding Harwit's dismissal also followed the exhibition at The American University, Washington, D.C. In response to the exhibition, a spokesman for the American Legion (the largest veterans' group in America), Phil Budahn, made a statement commentating on differences between free speech in government agencies and being oppressed by the state as opposed to the freedoms experienced within higher educational institutes to express a fuller account of facts. Budahn stated:

“The Smithsonian is a Federal agency supported by taxpayer money, and rightly or wrongly, what it portrays is seen as the US version of history. At American University, those constraints do not apply” (Budahn, 1995).

However, Budahn's statement seems to contradict the involvement of the American Legion's actions, insofar as they themselves applied pressure on the US government to review and suspend Harwit's *The Last Act* exhibition while serving as an acknowledgement that *The Last Act* exhibition had indeed been censored. It is, however, also interesting to note that the American Legion along with other veterans' groups gave no official objections to the exhibition at the American University (New York Times, 1995).

Takashi Hiraoka, the Mayor of Hiroshima, was invited to attend and deliver the keynote speech at the American University and inaugural opening of the *Constructing a Peaceful World* exhibition. In his speech entitled *Hiroshima of Hope – Towards a World Free of Nuclear Weapons* Mayor Hiraoka took an anti-nuclear stance and expressed the need to abolish nuclear weapons. However, Hiraoka first made a political gesture by stating that he had not gone to America “to criticise the US or demand an apology” (The Secretariat, 1995:5). Instead, Hiraoka argued the world should learn from its history and that it is through having an understanding of history that the future can be understood. In doing this, he was advocating that interpretive narratives should reflect an authentic account of an event. With this notion of recognising and learning from the past, Hiraoka

was accompanied by several ‘Hibakushas’ (atom bomb survivors), who in addition to the displays loaned out by Hiroshima and Nagasaki, served to give first-hand testimony of their own experiences of the bombing. This enabled Hiraoka to bring yet another tangible dimension to the American University’s exhibition – to re-enforce the authenticity of the event and to enhance the exhibition visitor experience. Moreover, by bringing several ‘Hibakushas’, it can also be seen to have served to consolidate the victims’ perspective of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, as well as re-enforcing Japanese victimhood culture on a global stage.

The exhibition at the American University seemed on the surface to mirror original sentiments of Harwit’s original vision of *The Last Act*, as it bore witness to the effects of the nuclear bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. However, while bearing witness to its impact, the exhibition also shone a light on bias and the degree of interpretation that focused solely on the effect of the bombing at the cost to the cause of the bombing, which in an itself gave rise to even more discourse from groups representing the American Chinese community. Even though the exhibition had no remit to convey an entire narrative of both cause and effect, its focus became solely occupied on the effect. Thus, Hiraoka stated:

“The world should learn from its history and that it is through having an understanding of history that the future can be understood” (The Secretariat, 1995:5).

Hiraoka as Hiroshima’s Mayor can be seen here to have been economic with the narrative within the use and sentiment of his speech. While his speech may have been outwardly directed for American consumption, it failed to reflect an authentic history and overlooked Japan’s territorial aggression which, arguably, was ultimately the cause of the atomic bombings.

Worthy of note is the Chinese Americans, who in expressing their right to freedom of speech presented their counter exhibition (Gallicchio, 2007) also called *Constructing a Peaceful World: Beyond Hiroshima and Nagasaki*, within the grounds of the American University D.C. campus. Their exhibition, though, did illustrate Japanese atrocities in China dating to Japan’s invasion of Manchuria, 18 September 1931 to 27 February 1932 and the Second Sino-Japanese War, 7 June 1937 to 2 September 1945, and included the Nanking massacre (Gruhl, 2006). The purpose of the American Chinese exhibition was to illustrate that there were a lot more victims besides those of just Hiroshima and

Nagasaki. This was re-enforced through a statement made by a spokeswoman from the Chinese exhibition, who pointed out that over thirty million Chinese citizens were killed in China by the Japanese before the bomb was dropped on Japan (Gallicchio, 2007). The exact figures for Chinese deaths resulting from Japan's occupation are, however, difficult to substantiate. Nonetheless, it is a widely held view that up to 20 million Chinese could well have died, a figure supported by the National World War II Museum in New Orleans, which suggested 3 to 4 million Chinese military deaths with a total of 20 million civilian and military deaths (The National WWII Museum, New Orleans, 2018). Meanwhile, Mitter (2013:119) puts the death figure at between 15 to 20 million.

Fifteen years on from the Enola Gay's 50th anniversary exhibition in 2010, Benton & Watson (2010) reflected on the controversy of how the original exhibition was reformed entirely during its design phase due to the pressures from the AFA, veteran groups and the US government. They concluded that concerning America's act of bombing Hiroshima, Americans felt that they were the victims of Japanese aggression, having been drawn into the war by the bombing of Pearl Harbour on 7 December 1941. Thus, the bombing of Hiroshima as an act to end the war in America's favour was justified when they stated that:

“The stronger the level of public admiration for something, whether it be military aeroplanes or Renaissance paintings, the more difficult it becomes to question these values” (Benton & Watson, 2010:141).

Benton & Watson make this statement having discussed dissonance relating to the Enola Gay exhibition at the NASM/WDC. One thing is clear, however, even after 15 years following the controversies of the originally proposed exhibition and that of the sanctioned 50th anniversary exhibition, there was still as much public interest in the controversial decision in 2010 as there was in 1995 (Benton & Watson, 2010). Also, it is worth noting that even given the distance in time from Benton & Watson's (2010), Sodei (2018) still supports their findings on Americans' attitudes. Sodei (2018:5) goes on to state that while Americans see the atomic bomb as a terrible weapon, as its use on Hiroshima and Nagasaki had shown them, they still viewed the bomb that ultimately ended an even more horrifying war as positive, and that “any historical fact that diminished the presentation of the atomic bomb as a liberator from the war represents an uncomfortable reality that is difficult to reconcile”.

5.4 US Object to Hiroshima's Inscription as a World Heritage Site

This section will serve to outline the stance US had against UNESCO's advisory body, the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) before the inclusion of Hiroshima's Genbaku Dome on the World Heritage List. The opposition of the US and China was driven by their view that the Japanese were the active aggressors in World War II, resulting in the US themselves being victims of Japan. However, the US had the added conundrum of not wishing to be seen as the aggressor, the ones who were formally the victimisers of Hiroshima.

The atomic bombing devastated everything in a two-kilometre radius killing up to 70,000 instantaneously with a total estimated 140,000 citizens dying due to the effects of radiation poisoning (Wu et al., 2014). Through Hiroshima's reconstruction process, the Dome was preserved as a memorial. In 1993, Hiroshima's city hall requested its inclusion as a World Heritage nominee but was initially overruled by the Japanese government on the grounds it was not listed under Japan's 'Cultural Properties Act', and at the time was, according to the qualifying criteria for inclusion, simply not old enough to be taken into account (Wu et al., 2014). Following petitions from various pressure groups, the Japanese government changed the criteria for nominations to be designated a 'Cultural Property' and the nomination received governmental support. In the application to the Bureau of the World Heritage Committee, both Japan's national and Hiroshima's local governments did not need to change much of the framing of Hiroshima's narrative for the application. This was because much of the existing language reflected Japan's post-war yearnings for Hiroshima to become an international symbol of peace and also fulfils the requirements laid down by UNESCO (1996a).

“Firstly, the Hiroshima Peace Memorial, Atom Bomb Dome, stands as a permanent witness to the terrible disaster that occurred when the atomic bomb got used as a weapon for the first time in the history of humanity. Secondly, the Dome itself is the only building in existence that can convey directly a physical image of the tragic situation immediately after the bombing. Thirdly, the Dome has become a universal monument for all humanity, symbolising the hope for perpetual peace and the ultimate elimination of all nuclear weapons on earth” (UNESCO, 1996a).

The US openly opposed the nomination of Hiroshima and made representations with a statement as outlined in Figure 5.2 below.

Figure 5.2: Statement by the US of America During the Inscription of the Hiroshima Peace Memorial (Genbaku Dome)

ANNEX V

STATEMENTS BY THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA DURING THE INSCRIPTION OF THE HIROSHIMA PEACE MEMORIAL (GENBAKU DOME)

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

“The United States is dissociating itself from today's decision to inscribe the Genbaku Dome on the World Heritage List. The United States and Japan are close friends and allies. We cooperate on security, diplomatic, international and economic affairs around the world. Our two countries are tied by deep personal friendships between many Americans and Japanese. Even so, the United States cannot support its friend in this inscription. The United States is concerned about the lack of historical perspective in the nomination of Genbaku Dome. The events antecedent to the United States' use of atomic weapons to end World War II are crucial to understanding the tragedy of Hiroshima. An examination of the period leading up to 1945 should be placed in the appropriate historical context. The United States believes the inscription of war sites outside the scope of the Convention. We urge the Committee to address the question of the suitability of war sites for the World Heritage List.

Source: UNESCO (1996b)

However, the US was torn between maintaining cordial relations with Japan and reacting to domestic tensions relating to Hiroshima's possible inscription as a World Heritage Site. The US delegation focused their protests on the way in which the Japanese government framed the interpretation of Hiroshima's Genbaku Dome. Beazley (2010) argues that in the view of the US government, the Second World War is seen as a 'Good War' – or a Just War - and the bombing of Hiroshima was a necessary act to halt the Japanese aggression in the Pacific. For the US, in order to uphold this framing, it was vital to them that the interpretation of Hiroshima's Genbaku Dome reflected the US side of events and, in so doing, help achieve a balanced perspective relating to the cause of the event. When the US strategy failed to accomplish this, the US delegation chose to distance itself from the outcome of Hiroshima's Genbaku Dome inscription onto the list of World Heritage Sites. This was a controversial time for the US administration; they were anxious about having to deal with domestic pressure and were set on preventing any backlash following the controversy in dealing with the Enola Gay exhibition – *The Last Act* 1994/95 – to which Hiroshima's nomination closely followed. With this in mind, the US representation was unable to condone the recommendation for inscription, due to concerns about the lack of historical context which the US believed would misrepresent the role played by the US in the dropping of the atomic bomb. In the US, the bombing of Hiroshima is commonly viewed as the act/point in time which resulted in the ending of

World War II and, subsequently, delivered victory to the US over the Japanese (Beazley, 2010).

The US Government believed that without an account of the events leading up to the bombing, the bombing would be presented as an isolated incident of the war in which the US was the victimiser, which would offend the American public (Beazley, 2010). At the same time, the US was eager to maintain good relations with Japan due to the Chinese increasing their economic influence in the region. Therefore, the US were cautious over damaging relations with Japan over something as Beazley states as ‘mundane’ as *world heritage*. The US statement stemmed from the political mood and unfortunate timing. Had the Enola Gay episode not occurred in close proximity, the US government may well have been more inclined to support the nomination for the Hiroshima Genbaku Dome to be inscribed on the World Heritage List. Though Hiroshima Genbaku Dome was inscribed as a World Heritage Site in 1996 (Chapter 6, Figure 6.6), the Japanese government had stated they wished they had applied sooner. A team representing the ICOMOS visited the monument previously in 1993 for assessment, suggesting the Japanese government had desired to present the nomination at the 1994 Convention in Phuket. This would have resulted in a possible inclusion in time for the 50th Anniversary commemorations. However, at the time, the Japanese ICOMOS division and the Japanese government had pondered the notion of a joint nomination with the Trinity Site in New Mexico, together with the US (Beazley, 2010).

However, the US division of ICOMOS moved away from the idea:

“The Japanese showed considerable curiosity about the National Register status of the Trinity Site and its inclusion in the US indicative list of potential World Heritage nominations. It was at this site that the US atomic bomb was tested prior to its military use in World War II. At this time, nothing is being done to nominate this site to the World Heritage List” (US/ICOMOS, 1995).

According to Beazley’s discussions on a joint nomination of the Trinity site in New Mexico and Hiroshima’s Genbaku Dome never made it past NGO-level. There had been no formal state discussions around a joint proposal, although some US delegates might have been aware of the suggestion (Beazley, 2010). Either way, the US stance was that their delegates were to oppose the suggestion throughout the convention. Concerning Hiroshima’s Genbaku Dome inscription, while the US opposed its inclusion, they did express optimism that something which was related to warfare and political victimiser

conflicts should be transformed into the opposite. Specifically, they believed it could be used as a symbol of advancement and peace instead of war stating that:

“It is hoped that the nomination will assign significance of the site in the context of the long historical evolution of human warfare rather than the specific military conflict of which it was part. While accepting the enormous symbolic value of the Hiroshima Dome” (US/ICOMOS, 1995).

5.5 Section Summary

The section above has highlighted key historical aspects which have been paramount in formulating the Hiroshima’s A-bombing narrative from the US perspective to the visitors of the Enola Gay NASM/UHC. The following section now seeks to analyse the themes identified from the empirical research undertaken at the NASM/UHC.

5.6 Finding and Discussion: An Interview Analysis

This section now commences with analysing curators’ and participants’ views from the NASM/UHC Enola Gay Exhibit. Overall, this section will draw the complex threads from both the observation and interviews. The thematic components for this research will be identified, explored and analysed in detail (Table 5.1).

Table 5.1: Empirical Data Themes: NASM/UHC Enola Gay Exhibit

NASM/UHC	Data Theme Title
Theme 1	Is heritage a politicised tool for government?
Sub-Theme	a) The Enola Gay: A silent past
Theme 2	Silencing the facts: The absent past
Sub-Theme	a) The Enola Gay: Dulling of Authenticity
Theme 3	Touristification at The Enola Gay & Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum
Sub-Theme	a) Values and meanings in the visitor context: the Enola Gay

To further facilitate a deeper understanding of the topic, critical exploration of the semi-structured interviews was undertaken to ascertain the perspectives of visitors and professional curators on their opinions relating to the objectives of the research. Key

quotes from the participants are utilised, which provide a vital underpinning to the central themes extracted from the interviews. The quotes are in the interviewees voices to keep the interviewee alive within the analysis while underpinning the thickness of the participants' understanding of the topic area; this will also apply to the interview analysis in Chapter 5 (section 5.7) and Chapter 6 (section 6.9).

5.7 Is Heritage a Politicised Tool for Government? The Enola Gay Exhibit

By way of beginning a discussion with participants about their perceptions, particularly of those from the Smithsonian curators, all were asked if the heritage they represented was a politicised tool for government. A common argument emerged from the interviews that the Enola Gay exhibit is a politicised tool for government. According to one of the two curators from the NASM/WDC. The quote from the curator (C-EN01) their voice reverberates somewhat reluctantly yet submissively hinting at the shackles that inhibit the freedoms of speech for the Smithsonian curators. While recognition is given to the American people that the war was a moral war, their overall conclusion was that the event was a terrible thing:

...I always say you have to tell both sides of the story when I realised that is exactly what was not possible because when you put the American story along with what happened on the ground, it looks like you are questioning allied war heads. You sound as though you are trying to equate the deaths in Hiroshima and Nagasaki with allied war deaths or something and that's exactly what you cannot do. I mean if ever there, I mean, on one side, you had people who were sending six million fellow human beings up the smokestack, and on the other side, you were dealing with the people who gave you the Rape of Nanjing, the Burma railroad and atomic death carnage. And that was the problem the horror of Hiroshima and Nagasaki is so deep, so hard, so cutting that you can't deal with it if you are gonna talk about allied side...It was a moral war but we were terrible to do that (C-EN01) (Transcript Appendix 3 B1)

This, therefore, raises questions as to whether the Enola Gay is a politicised tool for government. To address these issues, several sub-themes related to the politicisation of the site which emerged from the research are now considered, broadly exploring the extent to which the site has become influenced by politicisation.

5.7.1 The Enola Gay Exhibit: A Silent Past

When examining the visitors' perceptions as to whether or not the Enola Gay is a politicised tool for government, the majority of the participants did consider the Enola Gay as a politicised exhibit, one participant stated:

Oh Yeah! Everything is politicised, our nuclear weapons, the idea that we would launch a nuclear bomb and make use of it... They would probably have thought it would not be as bad as it was. There was a good chance they would have prepared for it. Maybe even the Japanese, because they were working with the Germans developing their weapons, could have developed a bomb first and it could have been used against us who knows. (EN023)

The participant above appears to be recalling retained knowledge drawn from experiences other than the Enola Gay exhibit, as what they have stated does not come from any of the information panels. However, the legitimacy of their answer rests in the fact that the answer was given in the presence of the Enola Gay acting as the catalyst which stimulated the response given. Their concluding argument being supported with their assumption that if the Germans or Japanese had the bomb, they would have used it and therefore as an American, legitimising the use of the bomb while also making it clear they believe it to be politicised. However, some participants, while generally believing the Enola Gay was politicised, point out that they would like to be more informed on the history surrounding the lead up to the bombing of Hiroshima.

War is all political...the plaques we have looked at, they are pretty dis-informational, very superficial information...the story is being kept quiet for some reason...it is definitely being played down, and the plane is almost lost. Look at it, it's such a big plane, but it's almost lost in this display... there is no information telling the history of this plane; the plane is politicised when you start to see what's missing, now that's interesting when you think of just what's not been shown. (EN032)

Here, the participant emphasized the lack of information on the Enola Gay. It was observed by the participant that the information on the Enola Gay is superficial and that for the participant it did not provide sufficient information. Rather, the impression the interpretation had given was that the Enola Gay's history had been played down/silenced. The participant had no answer for this lack of historical narrative, but did raise the question almost intuitively 'who knows why'?

Generally, then, it became evident from the interviews that the majority of the participants see that the Enola Gay has been a politicised exhibit, an insight due not so much to what the Smithsonian choose to say about the plane, but rather due to what is not said about the plane's history. In short, it was found that the Enola Gay's interpretation was neutered, illustrating the imposition and implementation of Senate Resolution 257. This was done so as to protect the surviving men and women of America, who had loyally served throughout World War II, along with those Americans who were killed in the fight to preserve American freedom, from having to confront the historical sensitivities of their actions. In doing this, the museum was protecting the US from the image of themselves being the victimiser of the Japanese. Nonetheless, in protecting both US military personnel and the image of the US, it conversely denies the visitor the opportunity to understand the enormity of the impacts the bombing of Hiroshima had. Therefore, this further emphasises the fact that heritage, in the case of the Enola Gay, is indeed a politicised tool for government.

Yet, in contrast, some participants stated that they did not believe the Enola Gay to be politicised:

I don't think so its politicised, I mean this particular one I don't think it does. I personally wasn't aware it was even here. You know for me this is great. How can it be politicised? There is nothing but this great big beautiful plane. (EN021)

Politicised no, showcasing it here it's just another piece of aviation history rather than something that has changed hundreds and thousands of lives. (EN022)

No, I've never heard or seen anything too much of that, When I saw it, I kind of felt I bumped into it. I think it could be displayed more prominently. (EN029a)

Interestingly, the participants who expressed there was no politicisation had failed to make any connection to the absence of any significant narrative to the Enola Gay's role in dropping the bomb, as itself is, political. Yet, the focus in their answers was one of almost abject indifference to the magnitude of Hiroshima's bombing. Nevertheless, EN029b who stated no to the question did go on to express why the participant believed it so, by stating:

No, not now but I think it was... That's when people were really upset. Me, I say show the doggone thing, tell them what it is, what it did, people should know about this event in our history. They should be telling the kids this stuff...our government killed thousands of people, you imagine that.
(EN029b)

When listening to the interviewees it became evident that the majority of visitors felt the Enola Gay exhibit was politicised. In fact, even those visitors who did not see any political influence on its interpretation still thought that its interpretation should not be silent about its past. Instead, they believed that the Enola Gay should have its full history narrated.

I think genuineness and open honesty is important to know what happened. We need to be genuine and be honest about it. Don't hide it anymore.
(EN021)

5.7.2 Silencing of Facts: The Absent Past – Curators' Perspectives (NASM/WDC)

Within both the NASM/UHC and the HPMM/GD, there is little to no representation of the historical events which lead up to the bombing of Hiroshima by the US. As previously noted in section 5.3 and Chapter 4 (section 4.5), the Enola Gay narration focuses exclusively on its technological aspects as illustrated through Plates 3 to 5 whereas the HPMM/GD narration only offers a tentative glimpse of a selective history of Hiroshima before the war as discussed in Chapter 4 (section 4.6/4.7) and Chapter 6. All this illustrates that in both cases, politically and institutionally, there is a common culture between the two sites to maintain a certain level or silence on each of their respective pasts. For the US, this is the amnesia that they killed so many civilians in the bombing, and for Japan, their amnesia shrouds their acts of aggression in Asia which led up to Hiroshima being targeted. Thus, the bombing of Hiroshima has and is being dulled down, therefore, leaving each site's authentic touristification experience for their respective visitors, wanting:

*I should say more about it, but the way it is displayed it's an aircraft of the South East Centre...the basic decision in the case of the Enola Gay was to treat it like every other plane...Out there we display aeroplanes as display storage ...I have tried to change it and the designers argue against it...but directors always dislike the idea...I would certainly talk about the numbers of deaths but that wouldn't do much because the numbers are so high that people couldn't grasp it...you could never talk about that sort of thing honestly. What they kept saying was well show more dead marines and people who died in the Pacific, show more of that (C-EN01)
(Transcript C-EN01 Appendix 3 B2)*

From the curator's comment above, the theme that emerged was that the curator of the NASM believed there is a case for enhancing the historical narrative of the Enola Gay, but this 'is' held back by the directors.

Interestingly, the curator acknowledged that the remit of the Hazy Center is just to display aeroplanes as display storage. A mantra voiced throughout the discussion and referred to as a sticking point for any historical interpretation of the Enola Gay. Additionally, it became apparent that the one major obstacle for any future development of the Enola Gay was having any acknowledgement of the true scale of the combined deaths suffered by the citizens of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in comparison to US combatants. The figures for the total number of US combatants dead or missing is 41,592 US army ground troops in the Pacific theatre of war, with an additional 23,106 Marine casualties giving a combined killed or missing in action figure of 64,752 US combat personnel (Budge, 2016). In contrast, there was an estimated combined figure for Hiroshima of 140,000 (Lijima, 1982; UNESCO, 1996b) and 70,000 for Nagasaki (Selden, 2015), giving a total of 210,000. This is a death ratio of 3.5 to 1 comparing nuclear bomb victims to a total US Pacific combatants. All of this is seen as being sensitive when arguing the US was fighting a Just War. Further, re-enforcing of C-EN01's perspective came from the second curator (C-ENO2) who stated that:

The thing is there is no context...there is no historical context. I am being totally frank with you. I think it is in some way the failure of the museum to be objective in a serious way in which the Enola Gay is treated. But I also understand why it would be so politically difficult for this museum to try that. (C-ENO2)

Acknowledgement is made here from highly respected and published individuals within the NASM curators team, that indeed there is a silencing of facts which is creating an absent past in the narrative revolving around the Enola Gay's role in the bombing of Hiroshima. However, the poignant element around both curators' opinions was their belief that the directors were wrong, but they fully understood the political sensitivities of why their opinions were silenced. However, as professionals, they were totally frank and emphasised they did not necessarily condone it.

5.7.3 Silencing of Facts: The Absent Past, Visitors' Perspectives: Enola Gay

When asking the visitors if the Enola Gay exhibit conveys the historical events leading up to and including the bombing of Hiroshima, it became apparent there was a division of opinion. A small minority were not concerned with the history of the event:

No, I don't think it needs more emphasis. I think if anything, they should focus more on the pilots or the crew that had to carry out the mission that is where the focus should be, on the people that carried out the mission.
(EN024)

The participant response showed a desired shift in attention away from the bombing (victims) and thus the idea of commemorating the human cost of bombing or that of Americans as victimisers, to one giving emphasis to the need to focus on the aircrew which one could read as emphasising the US fighting a Just War. Interestingly, another participant shone a different light on the question by distancing the aircraft away from the event, stating that:

It just shows a reminder of how the bomb was delivered...It had nothing to do with the decision to bomb Japan. It's sort of like a gun, in that respect, I mean a gun won't get up on its own and shoot somebody, a person has to make that decision to pick it up, take aim and fire. (EN034)

While participant EN034 observed that the Enola Gay does not convey the historical events leading up to the bombing of Hiroshima, their attention became more driven in defending the aircraft. This defence was achieved through them comparing the Enola Gay to a gun, arguing that the Enola Gay bore no direct responsibility for dropping the bomb on Hiroshima, rather it was a human decision. This is an interesting point as it states the perspective of the participants was one where they viewed the history of the bombing was a people's history and not that of an aircraft. All of this started to become an emerging theme as EN034's statement led to a direct connection with the opinion of participant EN024. This participant had also promoted the desire for a focus on the people of the event, that is the aircrew and those responsible for the mission, or as EN034 states the people who took aim and fired. Yet, interestingly, nothing was mentioned about the victims, which would imply the perspective of both participants was one focused upon the American story.

However, a few participants answered differently, for example EN023 was content that the past should not be raked up:

I really don't see a lot in the display that really points out much of the real events and history of it, but then I thought maybe that's good not to make such a big deal out of it, you know raking up the past...Maybe it makes people feel more comfortable that they don't know about all the history, about all these items in the museum...this is just part of the story of the US of development of technology... (EN023)

While participants EN029a and EN030 just accepted that the museum was an aviation museum and not so much of a historical events museum. A viewpoint which echoed the sentiment of the curator (C-EN01) (Transcript C-EN01 Appendix 3, B2).

Here in the NASM, it's a museum for displaying aircraft and talking about aircraft. You're talking about the development of armaments, of the development of killing machines, that's where you are going that's not what this museum is. (EN029a)

I think it's still just a marker. See it says here it's a B-29 Superfortress...it's certainly a symbol of power and scientific progress at the time and here we are in an aircraft museum not a history of events museum. (EN030)

Nonetheless, their opinions were eye-opening and illustrated that not all visitors value access to the wider historical picture in their visitor experiences.

Yet, it soon became clear that majority of participants expressed opinions that much more information should be included of historical events revolving around the bombing of Hiroshima. This, thus, challenges the status quo regarding the politically driven silencing of facts that has resulted in the Enola Gay having an absent past within its narrative:

For me it doesn't, for me, it's ok because I know the history...I am surprised there isn't more information, there should be more recognition of its place in history. (EN021)

It's kind of slim as it is, I mean you can only get so much information on the plaque here. I'd like to see more; I'd like to see a larger exhibit. Just the aeroplane and a larger exhibit... it's not factual, not enough there is

not enough information of how it came to be caught up in the whole thing ...it would be wonderful. (EN017)

A lot of people were killed in the Pacific fighting, troops and civilians, and we just let that go! We cannot have something up like this and ignore the facts behind it because we need to remember this thing. Number one: it happened and number two: we can see how terrible it all was and we really got to do something that it shouldn't happen again this needs much more space to tell the dirt behind all its shininess. (EN018)

Yeah, I think we need additional markers to show what led up to the decision, how and why the decision was made to use that weapon. That kind of weapon was only used two times. It's good to have additional information of what led up to the Enola Gay dropping that bomb. (EN034)

I think it doesn't really do much as an exhibit only for the fact there are a couple of plaques here which is a small representation. And look people aren't reading, look they're not being told by someone you know I doubt they understand the significance of this piece. While it's a big aircraft, the exhibit it's very small, isn't it! The actual writing is on the wall for such a big event of the world. (EN011)

I look at this here; it shudders me to think of the complexity of life...But I don't see it, here there is almost nothing, and there should be. It's like they have swept its past under the carpet. (EN029b)

On analysis, the comments made above by participants EN011 and EN029b are perhaps the most poignant of comments, with EN011 implying the lack of information was signalling the death of history. EN029b openly shared the same sentiment by stating the NASM/UHC had swept its past under the carpet. Together, these illustrate the institutional mothballing of history, and with this silencing, there is indeed a danger that future generations of visitors will be increasingly unaware of the magnitude of the dilution of America's role in the bombing of Hiroshima. Hence, due to the political influence, the principle issue of the disconnection of the visitor from the meaning of difficult history is ever present within the Enola Gay's interpretation, which, in itself increasingly adds weight to the Enola Gay's level of darkness (Stone, 2006). Nonetheless, from the participants' comments, the research has highlighted that there is a desire for keeping alive history:

It is in this particular setting with all the other aircraft. They are looking at aviation, so they are not really looking at its history...I think it should

show more. History is very important, even if you don't like what history tells you. I mean geees history is why we are here living as we do now...It was an event to end the war to stop the killing for both sides. So, I think if someone doesn't know what this plane was used for, they should know. They should know this side of its history. (EN022)

The participant above makes some interesting points which can be used to connect those participants that feel there is a need for the Enola Gay exhibit to place more emphasis on the historical events leading up to, and including, the bombing of Hiroshima. With those participants who accepted the fact that there is little emphasis on the events leading up to and including the bombing, from their comments, it was evident that there was some empathy with the opinion that the NASM focus is firmly on the technical advancements in aviation, and that is what you get in an aviation museum. Subsequently, others reflected the view that the Enola Gay was just an object like a gun; it caused the death of thousands of people but ultimately it is people's actions that carried out the bombing.

Significantly, when analysing the context of the responses illustrated, there was an overwhelming prevailing attitude amongst participants that the Enola Gay exhibit and the NASM are, from the visitors' perspectives, silencing the facts through sweeping its past under the carpet. At this point, it is interesting to note the US had itself objected to Hiroshima's World Heritage status discussed in Chapter 5 (section 5.4) on the basis of its lack of historical representation, fearing that Japan would position the US as an aggressor by focusing on the bombing rather than explaining the circumstances that led to the bombing. And, yet, as has been illustrated above, this doctrine is not adhered to by the US at the Enola Gay exhibit at the NASM/UHC in its interpretation of the US's side of the story.

5.7.4 Dilution of Authenticity: Curators' Perspective (The Enola Gay)

The findings thus far show the Enola Gay's role in the bombing of Hiroshima is shrouded and gagged by a narrative blinkered by its technological prowess. For the unknowing visitor, information of the aircraft's past is, thus, muted. When asking the curators to what extent the authenticity is important for conveying information in the interpretation of the Enola Gay, the replies were as follows:

...In my words in 1994 and in 1995 was that Americans were afraid to look under the mushroom cloud image for half a century...you need to see

underneath the mushroom cloud and see what happens when a bomb goes off overhead...The Enola Gay is an icon, and the definition of an icon is that you don't have to explain it...the arguments for not trying to do more interpretation of the exhibit because whatever you tell people about an icon, that aeroplane, they come about their own view of it...I think now if you can do a real exhibit about the aeroplane and what happened, then you pretty much got to tell the whole story. But I also think that you can do what we do and that is just put it up there and let people bring whatever they bring to the story...It's just that they have to bring the message with them. (C-EN01)

The curator's answer came in three parts, starting by linking back to the ill-fated exhibition entitled *The Crossroads: The End of World War II, the Atomic Bomb and the Origins of the Cold War*, which was an attempt by the NASM/WDC to deliver an objective account of the bombing of Hiroshima. Nevertheless, as the curator commented *Americans were afraid to look under the mushroom cloud* (C-EN01). The original plans for the Smithsonian *Crossroads* exhibition, as explained in section 5.2 would have explored some of the questions relating to the motivations behind the decision to bomb Hiroshima from the standpoint of presenting a critical reflection of the military and political discourse surrounding the decision-making process that brought about the bombs used on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. However, as illustrated in section 5.3, there was considerable opposition from pressure groups, C-EN01's 'Americans', and the subjective view of the AFA who vehemently argued that the exhibition's script favoured the Japanese by depicting themselves as defenders of their homeland and empire while illustrating very little about Japan's imperial aggression i.e., the events which led to Hiroshima bombing. This, as argued by the AFA had made such a defence necessary, and in their eyes, the proposed exhibit would have cast the US as ruthless invaders driven by revenge. Subsequently, the AFA, with political and public support, brought about the cancellation of the exhibition for one that the AFA deemed more acceptable. The new exhibition renamed *The Last Act: The Atomic Bomb and the End of World War II* resulted in the Enola Gay being exhibited with little context and sidestepped from a prominent position in the NASM/WDC (Correll, 1994; Boyer, 1996; Linenthal, 1996; Dubin, 1999; Moody, 2015). This was subsequently followed by the curator (C-EN01) justifying the Enola Gay's current display and their equating the Enola Gay as an Icon and as such is does not need interpretation. This led into their third explanation that, as it stands, it has a huge impact left alone for people to bring their own interpretation with them. Therefore, it was shown that on the issue of authenticity, while the Enola Gay itself is undoubtedly

authentic, interestingly, the term ‘authenticity’ did not appear in the answers, rather, arguments were made regarding why an authentic interpretation was not present. This led onto a statement about how and why the interpretation of Hiroshima’s bombing is left to visitors themselves to bring along their own subjective interpretation. Interestingly, this statement covers two key points: the first is it explains away the lack of interpretation and secondly it re-affirms how the institution abides by Senate Resolution number 257.

On asking the same question to the second curator, they replied:

You know that’s why we are here, to be authentic as curators...So, we would like to have original objects...One thing the Enola Gay has is its own charm. It has its own interest, but we can’t do much about its history, either. Its lack of space or lack of political will...It was a next generation strategic four-engine bomber B-29 designed to be high altitude with pressurised cockpit with the crew sitting with oxygen masks... it was not designed to drop the atomic bomb. (C-EN02)

The observation on this point is C-EN02’s engagement with his profession; the statement was said with a tone of belief in that their purpose as a curator was to be authentic. Yet, the Smithsonian can be seen to have stripped the Enola Gay of its unique presence in American and nuclear history at its physical point of contact with the NASM/UHC visitors. There is no aura of grandeur within the museum for the Enola Gay and no hint of celebrity status. However, while it was acknowledged that the Enola Gay had its own charm, visitors are left to stumble upon the fact that the aircraft in front of them (Plate 6), is the aircraft that dropped the world’s first atomic bomb on Hiroshima. For which C-EN02 reluctantly recognised there was neither the space nor political will to convey an objective interpretation. The conversation resigned itself instead to the recounting the technical aspects of the B-29 Superfortress. Thus, while the notion of presenting an authentic representation is championed, in reality, it has been shown through the interview this notion is more of a personal desire than an institutional actuality.

5.7.5 Dilution of Authenticity: Visitors’ Perspectives (The Enola Gay)

When addressing the same question to the visitors of the importance of authenticity with regards to the interpretation of the Enola Gay, their responses were:

You can’t question things that happened 80 years ago like that, it just happened...Facts, I don’t think it’s listed anywhere...well it’s important to convey them, but they’re not being misleading if they’re not saying anything, but you probably do want to have a lot of contexts...people can

see and they may think objectively about it what was happening at the time. Authenticity comes in many forms right, so if you are in Japan, you are going to have a lot more different viewpoint for what's authentic for the US or the UK or Germany right. (EN030)

What this participant is illustrating is the rise of Golomb's (1995), Herbert's (1995) and Schouten's (1995) 'thoughtful consumer'. The participant gives a reasoned answer placing authenticity within an analytical framework of perspectives while advocating there should be a more holistic interpretation but recognising issues of national bias.

I think everything should be done to allow people to make an informed decision. I mean right or wrong; it happened. It's history, it can't be changed. (EN023)

I think it is authentic as a plane it's the Enola Gay...but for the narrative of the bombing No!...for history, it's not really authentic, is it?...I think we need real truth...the real thing what happened in the war and why it happened...you have to ensure that the legacy of what happened isn't lost. (EN027)

I much prefer to see the authentic to be fact-based and no sweeping over the truth...A lot of people come to curator's conclusions based on information they are given and that information most of the time is all slanted towards the victor trying to tell a nicer story than what really happened...I think you're better off making a statement of facts in the long run. Otherwise, people make conclusions about what they thought was going on at the time; you should only find truth in a place like this. (EN034)

If I didn't know the name of the plane was the Enola Gay and if I hadn't read about the horrors of Hiroshima, I wouldn't know anything about it. I didn't see any real information here, so they are not showing anything authentic relating to the cause and effect of the bombing, of the Enola Gay bombing Hiroshima, which is a shame. How will people learn about it in the future? (EN029)

Well for the little that is here it's what, our side of it. It's not balanced; it's quite a shame really there is no more. The plane is authentic for sure but its story, well maybe not! (EN032)

Through the quotes above, it is clear that authenticity has been diluted. The research shows that within the context of the Enola Gay's current exhibition there is an overwhelming desire to see a much more authentic representation of the events leading up to and following the bombing of Hiroshima. The research revealed that significant

numbers of the participants expressed the demand for more information. Also, it was observed that participants were very aware of the need to preserve the full narrative for future generations. All of which illustrated visitors were in general ‘thoughtful consumers’ who value authenticity. But there were still a few participants that held onto the view it was an aircraft in an aircraft museum and for a full historical account of its past they support the curator's stance that visitors should bring their interpretation:

If you are someone who does not know the importance of those words on the nose plate, they will just say ‘OH’ look what a big plane. They won’t say this is the one, this is how it started. You have to bring that information with you, and I am ok with that. (EN012)

5.7.6 Curators’ View: Values of Meaning in the Visitor Context - The Enola Gay Exhibit

In curator C-EN01’s comments there is no reiteration of the technical innovations of the Enola Gay, no more linking back to the plaques which position the Enola Gay as just another aircraft representing a B-29 Superfortress. This time the viewpoint leans towards American exceptionalism, with their comment that it was the victors’ point of view conveyed at the NASM/UHC. Hence, the value in the interpretation seems to be one that showcases American greatness in its achievements in aviation. Therefore, it seems the NASM is conveying American nationalism as a medium for American nation-building. Hence, by saying nothing, the NASM/UHS allows the visitor to indulge in their subjective idea of Americas greatness without having the stimulus to question the greatness.

Here it’s the victors’ point of view these are the aeroplanes that won World War II. Right alongside the Enola Gay, we have the aeroplanes that lost the war (laughs ironically) ... This little bomber rules over all the other World War II aeroplanes, and again, that’s not intended, it’s just a result of the fact that it’s the bigger aeroplane on exhibit. Still, psychologically it does overshadow all the others. (C-EN01)

The second curator of the Enola Gay exhibit (C-EN02) supports his colleague C-EN01 on their reflection on the purpose of the exhibit when they explained:

Because there is minimal labelling, you can read any message you want to read into it. Clearly the victim perspective, the Japanese perspective, is totally missing. So, you can look at that aeroplane and think of yourself as one of the crews sitting in the cockpit and as you’re sitting in the cockpit think of it from the US veteran perspective. You can think of it as a

technological accomplishment, but one thing you can't do is have anything out regarding the bomb and all that. If any perspective comes through at all, it is the victor perspective. We dropped the bomb; we won the war. That's the message that people want to hear. (C-EN02)

On analysing the emphasis given to the value of meaning to the visitor, The Enola Gay can here be seen as a symbol of victory, almost to the point where the sensitivities over the bombing are pushed aside for a representation leaning towards an interpretation of a Just War. When C-EN02 stated “we dropped the bomb and won the war and that’s what the people want to hear”, the question needs to be asked just who are ‘We’ and who are the ‘People’? Are they today’s generation of Americans as the ‘We’, and are the ‘People’ the general visitors or the stakeholder groups influential in bringing about Senate Resolution 257?

Therefore, when addressing the value and meaning of the interpretation of the Enola Gay, for the curators, it can be surmised that both are in agreement with each other. From their perspective, due to the political lockdown on the Smithsonian’s ability to render a broader perspective of the Enola Gay, the exhibit will, for the foreseeable future, be one that says nothing, and yet says everything for the people who are able and want to draw on their own subjective narrative for interpreting what the Enola Gay represents to them.

However, when discussing the purpose of the Enola Gay at the Smithsonian, both curators did touch on the topic of the Enola Gay being showcased in another standalone exhibit away from the Smithsonian. Curator C-EN01 commented on how they were on the board of the Manhattan National Park, and they were planning to draw in the three sites of Hanford, Los Alamos and Oakridge together in a narrative that will showcase the development of the atomic bomb and the role each location played in the bombing of Hiroshima. One point made by C-EN01 was that the intentions are to include a much broader picture, one which would cover the impact upon Hiroshima and Nagasaki:

A part of what we'll talk about will be the delivery of the bomb. When we had the last advisory board meeting, representatives from Hiroshima and Nagasaki were there. They have been part of the planning process, and the decision has always been in one way or another at the new national park that we will talk about what happened in those two cities. But exactly how that will be done remains to be seen. (C-EN01)

On asking C-EN01 if they thought that the Enola Gay would find a more fitting position within the Manhattan National Park, their response was a little surprising given the logic of the question:

Do you think actually the Enola Gay should be pulled out there and given there would be a significant linking with the Manhattan project, we haven't thought about that. The problem is there isn't any place in the new park where the Enola Gay would fit. (C-EN01)

While, the idea was viewed positively it seemed that unexpectedly the idea had not been tabled or mentioned however the excuse of size was put forward for its exclusion, which is a bit of a contradiction given they are planning a new Manhattan National Park and the US government had spent in C-EN01's own words:

Billions which was an inconceivable amount. At the time they developed the bomb, they built three cities and they did it so somebody could create fissionable material that you could put in a lunch box, I mean that was the product of all that. (C-EN01)

However, C-EN02 gave a more pragmatic response to the Enola Gay having its own stage by expressing that:

It would be interesting if it were in its own context, but you know it's always viewed as one of our Crown Jewels...one of the most important artefacts that we own. There is no way that we are gonna give it up or send it elsewhere to be exhibited. ... The Enola Gay as an artefact was used for a long time to argue for another place other than the Washington Center. We needed these large aircraft which didn't fit downtown as a symbol to why we needed yet another entire building. (C-EN02)

Here, then, the Enola Gay's value and meaning to the Smithsonian itself can be seen as curator C-EN01 states as an icon, and as curator C-EN02 states as an artefact that was used to sell the concept of the Steven F. Udvar Hazy Center to the Smithsonian NASM sponsors. C-EN02 continued:

You can't sell infrastructure for donors just to put down units. They want a new museum, so we made it the Hazy Center using the Enola Gay among others to justify the need for the Hazy Center. We made it more museum-like...it's got a shop it's got an Imax; it's got the facilities of a museum. It's got the size of a museum and it's kinda gold plated version of a

standard air museum which has largely, traditionally been an aeroplane hangar with aeroplanes. (C-EN02)

Interestingly, C-EN01 again commented on how the Hazy Center was initially designed as a warehousing centre for aircraft storage agreeing with C-EN02, but explaining:

If we break the precedent with the Enola Gay, you know sorta Pandora would be out the box, and the Hazy Center would become something that it's not now, and we don't have the time and energy to do X Y or Z with it. Our designers recognise what would happen...They're facing the need to replace all the exhibits in this building [Smithsonian NASM Washington D.C] and they're worried I think about the workload. If we start now at the Hazy Centre, we will be in a state of collapse in two to three years, so I hear your argument and I agree with you, but there it is. (C-EN01)

For the foreseeable future, it appears that the Enola Gay and its narrative is for political and economic reasons not moving in any direction. However, the curators themselves were open to the idea of placing the Enola Gay in its own arena within the confines of the NASM but, were aware that, due to the financial costs of the pending refurbishments of the NASM/WDC, the museum will be forced into a period of economic austerity which in itself will see the NASM slumber through the 75th anniversary of the bombing of Hiroshima.

On asking the curators the last question 'do you think the Enola Gay's historical significance is in danger of getting lost to the next generation?', C-EN01 (Appendix 3, B 3) gives hope insofar as they believe the historical significance of the Enola Gay as an exhibit, due to its links to the first atomic bomb, will secure its place in history for future generations because of the atomic bombs association with the Cold War as a device that secured world peace. Curator C-EN01 then went on to illustrate how it becomes easier to interpret events the further away you get from them, stating this was because of how curators/historians view of events change with time thus linking to new historicism. All of which skirts on the concepts of chronological distance when dealing with the dilemmas facing interpretation and thus indicating that, with time, the Enola Gay may well receive a fuller interpretation. However, on the other hand, curator C-EN02 responded to the question by stating:

There is no change in sight nothing is going to happen, I mean it's going to be a different generation, a different era of work...World War II has

survived as an important artefact of American memory unlike World War I. I guess it's still lies in part because it's seen as the liberator and historic victor who brought freedom and peace. The Nazis and the growth of the Holocaust has reinforced the importance of World War II as a historical event. So, World War II seems destined to last (C-EN02)

Fundamentally, the research showed that both curators believe the Enola Gay has a future as an exhibit/artefact that will stand the test of time. However, C-ENO2 also expressed the opinion that:

There are young people walking out there; they don't know the historical background. And we don't do anything to help them understand the history of World War II or how we ended up using the bomb, there is nothing. (C-EN02)

When C-EN02 links back to the youth and makes the point that the NASM/UHC does not engage them, and C-EN01 reasons that the narrative will change due to the impact of distance in time on how it changes how events are seen. It becomes eminently clear through analysing the opinions of C-EN01 and C-EN02, as well as the points discussed in Chapter 3 (section 3.6), that a fundamental problem could well face the Enola Gay's interpreters. In this technological age, with the growth of Edutainment, it is all too easy for the learner to turn off from engaging more deeply into the narrative presented to them. Rose (2016) when discussing risk, apathy, irrelevance and passive empathy states that when the learner (the heritage visitor) perceives that history which is presented at a given site is not relevant to them, their response will be one of indifference. Therefore, without a broader interpretation of the Enola Gay, the NASM/UHC may, on the one hand, have successfully diluted the Enola Gay's importance to its contemporary visitor, but, on the other hand, it is in danger of washing out any meaningful substance for the next generation. In doing this, it is thus, assisting the US to silently slip another era of its sensitive history into its historical amnesia.

5.7.7 Values of Meaning in the Visitor Context: The Enola Gay Exhibit

When the visitors to the NASM/UHC were asked the question relating to the values and meaning that the Enola Gay exhibit held for them, it was found that there was a common consensus that the Enola Gay represented an historical event of global significance:

It highlights a period in history, you know, like a significant historical event, and it's a very famous aeroplane in US history, World War II history. (EN023)

About the end of the war, the biggest piece of machinery used to end it, yeah, simply, basically the end of World War II with Japan it's exactly that. It's a historical marker for a particular moment in American history. (EN030)

The plane that dropped the atomic bomb first which brought that era of the Cold War into the world...to remind us of history. (EN031)

To keep the history alive, so we don't forget and hopefully, so we don't repeat so that we can all learn lessons, so we don't repeat the mistakes of our past. After all, that is what museums are for! (EN016)

The global significance of the Enola Gay was undoubtedly for its role in dropping the first atomic bomb in the eyes of the participants, with the majority expressing this view. However, a minority of interviewees believed that its value/meaning for them was that the Enola Gay was, indeed, just a piece of aviation history. This, then, seemingly supports the NASM's current interpretation of the aircraft, and its philosophy for neglecting any meaningful interpretation of the bombing of Hiroshima.

It was a tool, and it was a weapon, and they used it like any other tool or any other weapon. It's an aircraft in an aircraft museum, humans used it. For me it's its technological advancement that is important that's its value for me and for aviation. (EN013)

However, significantly, the research revealed that for the majority of participants, the exhibit plays a great role in the museum, and there were concerned that the presentation lacked any significant narrative. For example:

I have always wondered what I would think if I actually saw the plane that dropped the very first one...I read an interview with the pilot. They took a very cut and dried manner; they had to do a job, and they did it...I had kind of mixed emotions. For me, it's part of history...my dad flew B-24 liberators, so I feel like I have some kind of emotional attachment. I think I was going to come here and see. I was going to wrap my head around what happened and understand it. I don't understand it any better, having stood here taking pictures of it and having sat here looking at it and thinking about it. It just looks like an aeroplane to me; its history is lost. (EN012)

In analysing the EN012's response, it is clear they felt some personal attachment to the aircraft, and they had brought their own understanding of the history surrounding the Enola Gay. However, the participant did seem disappointed that there was no special position for the aircraft within the NASM/UHC whereby a fuller narrative would have been very much welcome.

Given the points raised above, the aim was to focus on analysing the value and meaning of the Enola Gay exhibit for the visitors. The participants concluded the Enola Gay's global significance was for its role in dropping the first atomic bomb. The majority expressed the desire that the Enola Gay should be given its own space as a standalone exhibit, to provide the opportunity for a much more informed visitor experience, such as the one mentioned by curator C-EN01 relating to the Manhattan National Park. However, there were a few participants who believed the Enola Gay exhibit's value/meaning was just as a piece of aviation history, and should not be politicised into an exhibit for its history. As EN021 stated:

I don't think we need to take this and make it a political statement. I mean there are enough artists (political activists) who take their own creativity and do that you know. I don't think we need to take the relics because if we start with one it won't stop, it won't stop. (EN021)

The opinion of participant EN021 supports the notion of the curator that the Enola Gay's exhibit C-EN01, who previously expressed concerns that giving more recognition to Hiroshima's bombing would just open up a Pandora's box (Appendix 3, 3B). In relation to this point, participant EN014 expressed the opinion:

It's in this museum as a bomber, as one of the premier bombers in World War II, and that shows some tremendous advancements of what happened in aircraft development. So, I think it is in the correct museum. I think probably other people would wish it wasn't in this museum at all. There are probably other people that would see it in the museum as more of a show of how we ended up winning the war. There are probably other people who might see it as a kind of project thing, look at the horror of the war, and we can't let that happen again. People are just gonna want to recruit it for their own cause so just leave it be. (EN014)

Similar to curator C-EN01, the participant's sentiment above also emphasises that the Enola Gay should not be treated any differently to the other aircraft. Their reasons for believing this are focused more on the aim of achieving a notion of neutrality insofar as they implied if you do not do anything with it, it cannot be manipulated by one faction or

another. This, then, gives some vindication for the positions of the curators. However, both EN021 and EN014's opinions were representative of only a small proportion of the participants interviewed, with the vast majority believing that the Enola Gay's narrative should indeed be staged to give an authentic representation of its historical role in Hiroshima's A-bombing. This is seen in the extracts below:

It's like, this is the plane that dropped the bomb, next plane, let's go ...It needs its own place to tell its part in the ending of the war. This type of thing is bigger than any doubts that what was done needs hiding. The young people need to know what a nuclear attack is like. Look at Iran and North Korea and look at whom we have in the White House. People need to remember when you play around with nuclear weapons, no one wins. (EN018)

Less of the mechanics and more of the people involved: Oppenheimer, Einstein's letter to Roosevelt and how it led to the Manhattan project which advanced the Atomic Age. If you didn't know what [the Enola Gay] is, you may just walk right past it without even realising what it is you're looking at. (EN020)

I think it needs to be treated a little more historically, it should have its own hall... it needs people to focus on it from all over the globe as to the cost of war. It should reflect the horror of the nuclear bomb, but then we dropped it and then that would be like showing the world how nasty we could be so it's a dilemma. Build it into a national topic area that schools should teach about anti-war. There should be more interaction with video clips of people from the time the American side and the Japanese side. (EN034)

It has a majesty of its own. It has such a significance in such an event in world affairs, and this particular plane could now play a significant role again in telling people what's happening. It should be prominently displayed, may be on its own, its big enough I reckon, and people would then stop and say, 'hey what's this about?' And maybe just learn something to take away with them, isn't that what museums are about? [...] It should have more of the story told but hey we're in an aircraft museum and not a history of the war museum. Maybe, it's in the wrong place! (EN028)

The research at the NASM revealed that emphasis was given to how in its current location the touristification of the Enola Gay was inept at fulfilling an objective account of the Enola Gay's role in the A-bombing of Hiroshima. This, participants, as thoughtful consumers argued, ran contradictory with their views of a museum's purpose. This consequently runs in direct contradiction with the curators' views that as an icon, people

will bring their own interpretation. Yet, when looking at the interpretations of sites of touristic interest, there is an increasing emergence of construction of narratives which favours numerous stakeholders' perspectives. Also, often, these stakeholders are becoming dominated by the most powerful and most influential stakeholders, resulting all too often in the dilution of truth within the narrative presented to the public. For the Enola Gay, the study revealed how dissonance driven by political pressure has resulted in an exhibit that seemingly falls below not only the curators' expectations of authenticity but also the expectations of a significant proportion of visitors.

Furthermore, it is important to note that opinion was repeatedly voiced that the Enola Gay could play a substantial role in mediating the full horrors of a nuclear attack upon a city such as Hiroshima to future generations. This view was also argued by the curators, who linked to the political instability brought on by the nuclear threats of Iran and North Korea. However, this was seen by the curators to serve an additional value as it would serve as a warning against the consequences of nuclear war to a generation who has no recollection of such event or even that of the Cold War. Also, it would deflect attention from the sensitivity of America's role in the A bombing of Hiroshima, for one where the next generation of Americans would focus on what was relevant to them, meaning the Cold War. Therefore, the curators see that with the passage of time, the Enola Gay's future will be secured in public memory not so much for its links with Hiroshima but for its links with yet another Just War, the Cold War. Thus, when the older generation passes, it seems it is hoped Hiroshima's memory will also slip into unconsciousness.

This then, vindicates the darker level (Chapter 4 section 4.4) on which the Enola Gay can be classed as a dark tourism attraction. There are two compelling arguments for this classification. First is its links to the destruction of Hiroshima and the subsequent deaths of 140000 of its inhabitants. Second is the level to which the curators have had to yield to political pressure to sidestep the historical sensitivities that a more objective interpretation would unveil. And this is the prospective of showing that the way America ended World War II was not as Just as the Just War Americans, through nation-building, are led to believe.

5.8 Section Summary

This section has shown a comparison of views from both the curators and visitor participants for the Enola Gay exhibit NASM/UHC in relation to a range of questions that

resulted in the identified themes section 5.6. (Table 5.1). What follows below is a summary of section 5.7 findings applied to the themes.

Is Heritage a Politicised Tool for Government? It has been shown that there are considerable levels of political control over the management/curator interpretation within NASM/UHC. This opinion was held by both curators, although the depth of discussion and level of acknowledgement that the sites were politically orchestrated varied and tended to depend upon the extent to which each curator was willing to go beyond the official rhetoric of the NASM. For the Enola Gay, the majority of visitors believed that in one way or another, the Enola Gay's narration about the bombing of Hiroshima had been superficial and played down by the NASM/UHC and that the decision to neglect its past was politically driven.

A Silent Past: The findings illustrated an equal degree of historical silence. On both sides, this silence was very loud. For the US, the depth of silence was matched by the level of Japanese amnesia insofar as the Smithsonian NASM Hazy Center has neglected any narrative which illustrates any reference to the consequences of the bombing for the civilians of Hiroshima. In doing this, it has allowed the NASM/UHC to avoid any national sensitivities of its involvement in the civilian casualties of Hiroshima's A-bombing. Nonetheless, visitors to the Enola Gay believed that the narrative is biased in favour of each site's nationalistic narrative, with visitors preferring to see a more rounded historical narrative that reflects the reasoning for the bombing of Hiroshima, as well as the consequences of the bombing for Hiroshima, rather than each site being politically channelled into a mono narration.

The Dilution of Authenticity: Authenticity has been shown to have been historically selectively diluted for the Enola Gay, with the narrative being driven subjectively by external stakeholder representation independent to the NASM/WDC. This was seen to drive a high level of dissonance in the earlier 1995 50th anniversary exhibition, and resulted in Senate Resolution 257 governing the Enola Gay's interpretation as one which merely focuses on its technical attributes.

Touristification Value and Meaning: Overall, the Enola Gay exhibit's representation has little to do with its role in dropping the first atomic bomb. There is no real historical narrative of the lead up to or the consequences of Hiroshima's bombing, instead of the NASM/UHC prefers the visitor to take their interpretation with them. However, it was found overwhelmingly, that the vast majority of visitors expressed the

desire for a more authentically objective, broader narrative. The preferred narrative is one that reaches to subsequent generations of visitors who may not have any previous understanding of the Enola Gay's role in World War II history and atomic history. Desires were expressed that the Enola Gay should have its own space, either within the NASM/UHC or in an associated museum linking the Enola Gay to the broader context of the Manhattan Project. This is in direct contrast to the Smithsonian's policy of silencing and diluting its narrative for the sake of maintaining American exceptionalism to its domestic market.

5.9 Reflection 5: The Need For Time

The interview phase of the field trip was very interesting at the NASM/UHC/WDC. To start with the curators were both eminent in their roles at the NASM which made the anonymity process important. Indeed, during the interview process, they were very open and frank in their discussions. I would like to think that this openness had been brought about through the time I had taken to get to know the curators. I had read their work and had learnt some of their history within the organisation, thus, over six months I had built up a good rapport. Both were probably at the back end of their career and both spoke with confidence. The interviews were very relaxed and took place in their own offices at NASM/WDC. In splitting my field work between the NASM-WDC and UHC I became aware of the complexities between each site, which helped to reinforce some of the theory and also some of the points raised in not only the curator interviews but also in some of the visitor participant interviews too. If I had not gone to the WDC site it would have led to the research being less rigorous. As a result, I would not have fully appreciated the need to not just focus on the people being interviewed (the curators) but also the need to understand the institution they represent in order to fully understand what then influences the interviewees. This proved to be a valuable lesson at not only the NASM but also at the HPMM and I soon realised the more time I spent at each site the more I noticed. In fact, thanks to time spent there, with the Enola Gay at the NASM/UHC I could see it was a side show and not a main act like the exhibits at the NASM/WDC, which supported the theory and the interviews but would not have been witnessed by myself if I had not visited both sites.

Chapter 6

The HPMM/GD, Japan's Hiroshima's A-bombing Narrative: Going back to the present

6.1 Introduction: Going back to the future - the HPMM/GD

This chapter will focus on the contentions in Hiroshima's narrative leading up to Hiroshima's/Genbaku Dome's inscription on the UNESCO World Heritage List, (UNESCO, 1996b) and how it presents Hiroshima's atomic bombing today. A critical account of the HPMM/GD's representation of the Hiroshima's atomic bombing will be presented through applying the key theoretical principles discussed in Chapter 3 to the empirical research drawn from the interviews of the participating curators and visitors. Thus, as with chapter 5, this chapter will demonstrate how both sites drawn together through one event give two different narratives driven by and committed to the rhetoric of nation-building, resulting in both nation's past historic sensitivity being silenced.

6.2 Japan's Hiroshima Narrative: Towards a Victimhood Ideology?

The politically-laden concept of victimhood has become hereditary and used as a tool to bind together the Japanese people into a national collective (Lim, 2010; Schäfer, 2016). This national collective has over time unified generations into the blind consumption of the Japanese people themselves being a nation of victims (Lim, 2010; Schäfer, 2016). This adoption of victimhood has helped Japan to locate itself in the struggle between global opinion and Japan's view of itself, as to who had experienced the most suffering – thus aiding Japan's conscience to offset the acknowledgement of its accountability for acts undertaken during World War II. Indeed, Lim states that the epistemological dualistic joint guilt and guiltlessness enables nations who have suffered defeat to turn towards victimhood. Moreover, through cultivating the notion of a collective memory of innocence, a nation can construct resilience and sense of solidarity as self-decreed victims.

Japan as a victim nation has its roots in two key strands: one, emanating from Japan's leadership highlighted by the US, and the second through the bombing of Hiroshima. Through the war crimes trials and US occupation policies, the US, in an

attempt to rid the Japanese citizenship of guilt, sought to convince the general population that they – the populace – were victims of the war and were victimised through the actions of their militaristic leaders. However, unlike the German populace, who had swiftly detached themselves from Hitler, the Japanese through popular support and involvement of established networks of the political elite did all they could to protect Emperor Hirohito and, subsequently, Japan's integrity (Judt, 2005). Support from the populace for the emperor was unyielding. Indeed, through history, the monarchy had created a class-based system that had subjugated the lower classes, oppressed women, and encouraged and conscripted the populace to fight for the Japanese elites and their colonial ambitions in Asia. As Hirohito survived the war *untouchable*, the Japanese people felt little responsibility for Japan's actions during the war and were seemingly all too ready to avoid looking outside the narrow boundaries of their victim consciousness (Bix, 2008).

From its conception as a memorial commemorating the nuclear bombing of Hiroshima, the Genbaku Dome had two vital political functions. Firstly, it allowed Japan to foster cultural amnesia, which facilitated a national loss of memory that would allow Japan to use the atomic bombings to act as a focal point to position itself as a victim of World War II. Secondly, as a victim, the notion of a memorial appealed as it would provide a platform whereby the nation of Japan could consciously legitimise its disregard for its wartime misgivings (Schäfer, 2016). In turn, this reflects the concept highlighted by Schäfer as Japan's 'A-bomb nationalism'. A-bomb nationalism echoes the conviction of countless Japanese that, like the nation, they too have been the victims of World War II. Thus, Hiroshima, alongside Nagasaki, can be held up by the Japanese as events that have raised Japan's political consciousness, whereby Japan positions itself as a victim (Yoneyama, 1999). This victimhood consequently benefited the Japanese nation by providing a platform to champion Japan's moral high ground; one that has given Japan sole entitlement to be the premier influence in the movement for nuclear disarmament. In doing so, it has given Japan a unifying national myth – one where memories of conquest could be justifiably submerged. However, it was not until 1952 with the end of Japan's occupation by the US, and with it the end of American censorship politics, that Japan was able to formulate its own post-war national identity (Schäfer, 2016). Indeed, Emperor Hirohito first forged Japan's political association with victimhood, when he, in his radio address to the nation, communicated the Japanese surrender to the people on 15 August 1945. This was the first time that Japanese officialdom equated to the Japanese to the term 'innocent victims', when describing those killed and injured in Hiroshima and

Nagasaki. Moreover, Hirohito can also be seen to lay the foundations for Japan's future involvement and leadership in promoting the anti-nuclear movement, by implying that Japan had a duty towards humanity to surrender, for if they did not, the world would bear witness to the destruction of human civilisation (Orr, 2001). Hirohito stated:

“The enemy has begun to employ a new and most cruel bomb, the power of which to do damage is indeed incalculable, taking the toll of many innocent lives. Should we continue to fight, it would not only result in an ultimate collapse and disappearance of the Japanese nation, but it would also lead to the total extinction of human civilisation” (Butow & Reischauer, 1954:248).

From the start of US occupation, the political leadership of Japan under the governance of Prime Minister Hagashikuni took a conservative stance of expressing a wish for reconciliation between Japan and the US. In an interview for the associated press, Hagashikuni made it known that Japan and the US as past adversaries could move forward. Hagashikuni stipulated that Japan could forget Hiroshima and Nagasaki if the American people in return could forget Pearl Harbour (Orr, 2001). Orr draws this information from the Japanese periodical *Asabi Shimbun* published on 26 September 1945, only 42 days after the surrender of Japan and 24 days after the signing of the surrender documents on board the American battleship USS Missouri anchored in Tokyo Bay. This was a strong statement to make at the time as the full consequence of the bombing – that is, the exact cost citizens of Hiroshima and Nagasaki had paid then was still an unknown. However, it was also viewed as an attempt by Japan to lessen any move for retribution that the Americans may have been harbouring given the fact that the Battleship USS Missouri had anchored in Tokyo Bay. This would have been a symbol of power used to re-enforce the US position of strength to the Japanese. Also, the statement could be seen as an attempt by the Japanese to defuse allegations of blame and involvement in war crimes, by attempting to use the atomic bombing to hold over the US to defend itself against being accused of atrocities.

However, once Japan was occupied, and the purge of Japan's wartime leadership achieved, the remaining conservative political elite took a more conciliatory approach (Dower, 1999). Hence, Japan leaned towards a post-war victim culture and gathered political sanctioning alongside that of the Emperor. Japan had been beaten in war, stripped of its territory, occupied by its adversary, who subsequently set about restructuring its traditional governing institutions, and excluded them from membership of the newly

formed United Nations. All of this gave the Japanese cause for resentment. This increased Japan's impetus, as the Japanese gained via the events of the Cold War, a more comprehensive understanding of the consequences of the atomic bombing both at home and on the international stage.

In 1951, Kuno Osamu (cited in Doyle, 2015;2017) on recognising Japan's powerlessness saw an opportunity for Japan to forge out a role for itself as a champion for nuclear control. This apparent control came through asserting Japan's nuclear history as a victim and its nuclear neutrality, stating that it was the US and the Soviet Union that possessed atomic bombs, not Japan. Osamu made the case that, for the world, there was no danger that Japan would become a victimiser. There would be 'No More Hiroshima's'. Here, Osamu was taking advantage of Japan's moral high ground as the victim of the nuclear attack. Using the fact that Japan had been disempowered and that Japan could be bearing witness to their victimhood, they used that victimhood as an empowering tool to promote movements against increasing nuclear proliferation by the two emerging superpowers of the Soviet Union and the US. This then provided Japan with a sense of control, as it provided a moral voice, one they could use to assist less powerful nations. Thus, for Japan, being a victim of the A-bomb allowed for Hiroshima and Nagasaki to be held up as essential symbols, giving claim to Japan's pacifist nationalism and, as a result, raising its profile within the world as a pacifist nation and not as an aggressor (Kuno, 1951 cited in Doyle, 2015;2017). Japan then took the opportunity to step out of the shadows of being a global bystander to playing a global role in anti-nuclear movements as a peacemaker within a fractured world.

In 1954, nine years after the nuclear attacks on Japan, America's nuclear weapons policy once again impacted Japan. A US atomic bomb test on the Bikini Atoll in the Pacific Ocean contaminated a Japanese tuna fishing vessel named Lucky Dragon Number 5, resulting in the death of one of the fishermen. In turn, the event instilled fear that fishing stocks were also contaminated, which reignited public and political discourse to the threats and vulnerability of Japan to nuclear weapons. This reinforced Japan's notion of victimhood, and served as the impetus for the establishment of the public Hiroshima memory in 1954 and thus, positioned Hiroshima as a *memoryscape* (Schäfer, 2016). However, in positioning Hiroshima as a memoryscape, Schäfer points out that the official positioning that initially outlined Hiroshima's memory to this day had already begun at a local level between 1945 and 1949, and was fostered by victims' families, local politicians and the municipalities. At that time, the memoryscape was being formulated through a

need to commemorate the deaths of locals' loved ones, and was not a stance that the broader nation took. Consequently, due to the scale of death of the atomic bombings, there was a call for a public commemoration of the victims of the bomb. As such, this public commemoration manifested itself as a collective wish for peace. Couple this with the emergence of the anti-nuclear movements in Japan, which was further stimulated by the Bikini Atoll incident, the regional feeling turned into a national which witnessed Japan as a nation being the victim and not just two cities.

Importantly, victimhood as a social phenomenon of the A-bomb within Japanese culture can be seen through aspects of the medium of Manga (Japanese cartoon books that originated during the mid-1900s). Initially, Manga was unsympathetic to the victims of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, although 1945 to 1954 was the emerging period of the illustration of the A-bomb within Manga. The first illustration was a character called *Pikadon*, a comical character often getting into destructive mischief. The link with the A-bomb is in the character's name. In post-war Japan, *Pikadon* was the name given to the A-bomb, with *Pika* meaning dazzling flash of light, and *don* meaning the roaring sound of an explosion (Ichiki, 2011). The drawing of parallels between a mischievous boy and the A-bomb metaphors can, arguably, be rationalised since at that time the Japanese were under the occupation of the US and the censorship regulations imposed rules. These censorship rules resulted in a situation which meant that Japanese citizenship was mostly ignorant of the full extent of the damage caused by the A-bomb in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Consequently, this resulted in the term *Pikadon* becoming used as a metaphor to sidestep censorship rules and carry a political message to the population.

In 1954, following the Bikini Atoll incident, the depiction of the A-bomb in Manga took a more sinister approach. Manga illustrations played to the convictions of the anti-nuclear movements. Victims in Hiroshima of the atomic bomb became demonised and, in doing so, were used to serve as a warning of the hazards of nuclear fallout which helped to inform its readers of the threat to society that nuclear weaponry posed (Ichiki, 2011). Rather than depicting survivors of the A-bomb as victims, storylines were often negative when Manga depicted the A-bomb victims. Indeed, victims were often shown as villains or socio misfits that preyed on young girls. In part, this was done to warn society that the victims were outside the social norm due to their exposure to radiation and served as a warning that relationships with victims of radiation should be shunned. During the mid-1960s, this demonization began to give way to a representation of A-bomb victims as weak. These depictions often showed characters that underwent tragic

lives due to their exposure. Ironically, the masculinity of the terms ‘little boy’ and ‘fat man’ were names given to the bombs that devastated Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

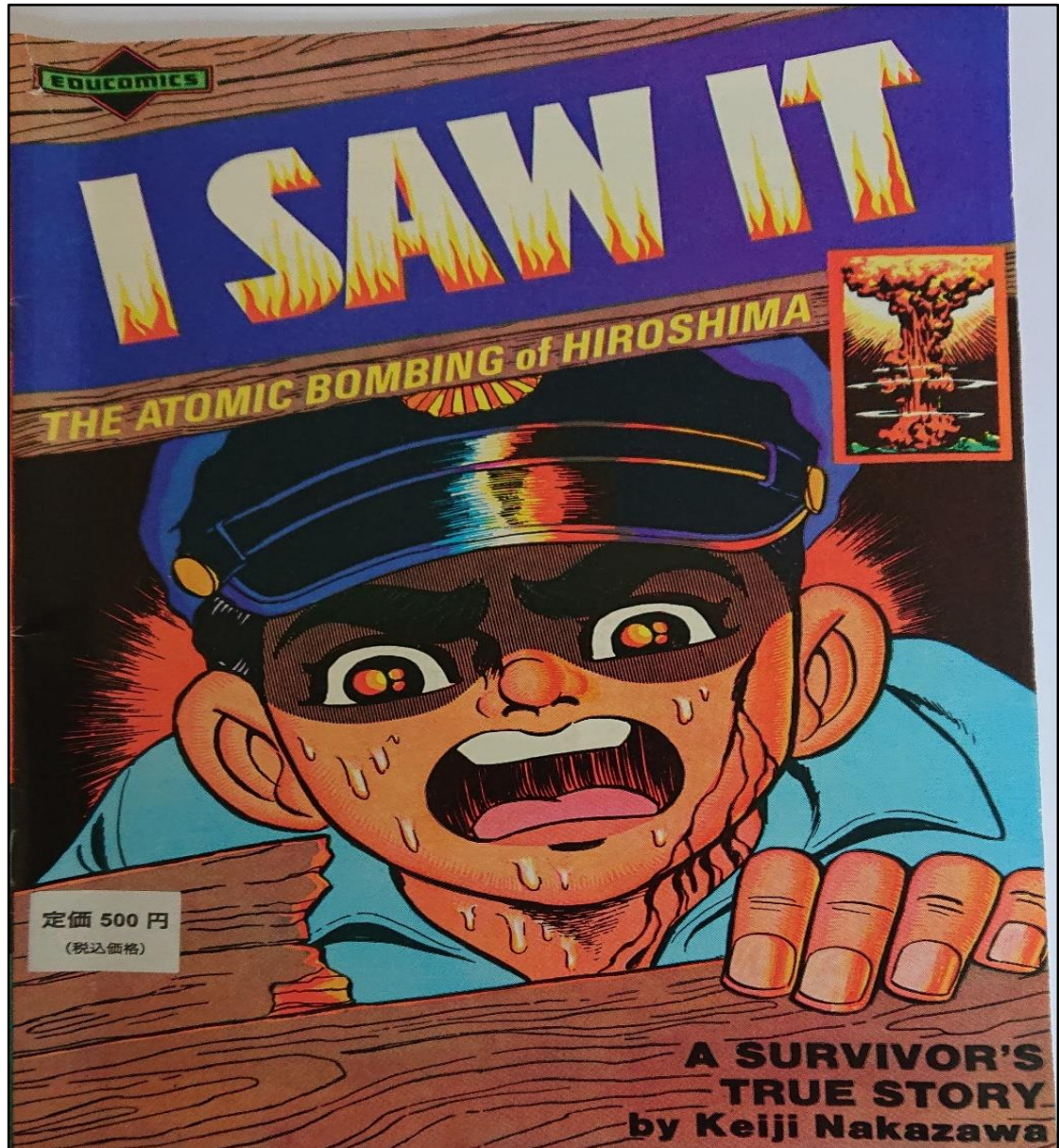
This change in attitude in the way victims were depicted reflected how attitudes had been formed and had changed to a higher level of understanding of the bombing. As time lapsed, the war became a distant memory and storylines began to reflect A-bomb diseases such as leukaemia, which affected emerging generations. With this in mind, the Manga served as a medium that informed its readers and conveyed the notion of national victimhood culture and went on to manifest its narrative into a period known as the ‘Genbaku Manga’ in 1973 (Ichiki, 2011) – *Genbaku* in Japanese means Atomic Bomb. This genre was targeted at young male readers and focused on graphic storylines that depicted the epicentre of Hiroshima. The Manga author Keiji Nakazawa was himself a victim of Hiroshima and viewed his Manga as an educational vessel.

By 2010, Nakazawa’s comics featuring a character called Barefoot Gen (Hadashi-no Gen) had a circulation of 10 million and had been translated into 11 languages and adapted into novels, dramas and movies (Ichiki, 2011). Nakazawa’s Manga texts were also used in schools to educate pupils at junior high and grammar school level, thus further conveying a national victimhood culture. Ito (2006) found that out of 152 schools 89.5% had copies of Nakazawa’s Hadashi-no Gen comics, chosen due to their truthful illustration of the epicentre in Hiroshima. Manga, then, can act as media by which the notion of atomic victimhood has been continually re-enforced and handed down to subsequent post-war generations. As such, Manga production and consumption have aided the creation of the aesthetic framework by which Japanese ethical and cultural beliefs have been moulded into a national belief of atomic victimhood (Takayuki, 2010).

It is interesting to note that while Nakazawa’s Manga was eventually published in 11 languages, the road to this broad circulation was never far from controversy. With Barefoot Gen genre firmly placed in Manga, war memory depicting A-bomb victimhood was initially only intended for domestic circulation. However, the first Manga to be translated into English (Plate 38) for a foreign market was Barefoot Gen and it was aimed specifically at the US, the nation responsible for dropping the bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki (Kazuma, 2010). Barefoot Gen was translated for the American market by Japanese and US volunteers in 1976, by a group calling themselves Project Gen (Schodt, 1996;2014). This undertaking to enter the US market was led by the intention to convey Barefoot Gen’s forceful message, but in 1976 this venture into the US was catastrophic

for the publishing company as the Manga did not sell. There have been several arguments put forward for this failure.

Plate 38: Manga: A Medium for Victimhood



Source: Nakazawa (1982)

However, the prime reason for the failure was the fact that the storyline was based too much on political lines/motives concerning the consequence of the bombing of Hiroshima for a US audience who saw themselves as victims of Japanese aggression through Japan's surprise attack on Pearl Harbour before any declaration of war. An act which many Americans felt to be abhorrent and which led to Roosevelt's famous 'Day

of Infamy' speech where he stated that the American people would win through and that the US would:

“...defend ourselves to the uttermost but will make it very certain that this form of treachery shall never again endanger us” (National Archives, 2001).

Roosevelt's last few words suggest a sense of foreboding given the outcome of the war, one where Japan ultimately felt the full force of the US industrial might and a will for vengeance by its people, who at that time saw themselves as victims.

When looking at the contemporary interpretation of the term victim, it is becoming increasingly apparent that the idea of victimhood is primarily based upon a politically appropriated concept, and often legally ratified reflecting a secular stance. In comparison to the old-fashioned religious interpretation, where the term 'victim' was viewed as a consequence of ruthless aggression, the secular term victim had become viewed with a divine acceptance as an essential sacrifice undertaken by individuals or societies. What is mutual to both the secular and religious concepts is the understanding that victims, either as a group or as individuals, have no choice in their fate and are wholly innocent. In the case of Hiroshima, this notion allows the victims an opportunity to hold the moral righteousness, while allowing the perpetrators the opportunity to fall back upon the religious belief that the bombing was a necessary sacrifice (Williams, 2012).

Williams goes on to testify that when looking at memorial museums such as the one in Hiroshima, for a contemporary audience it has come to be expected that memorial museums more than any other establishment are required to be ethically focused when entrusted with the role of educating the public through their representation and interpretation of events (Williams, 2012; also Moscardo, 2015; Yoshida et al., 2016). Additionally, this should be explicitly adhered to even to the point where the level of awareness gets directed towards marking acceptance in some cases of the full potential of human-made disasters, atrocities and acts of war, and no matter how intolerable, such events may be to the public, and no matter how uncomfortable it makes governments feel (Williams, 2012; Moscardo, 2015).

Concerning Hiroshima, the event can be viewed as being on an unprecedented scale. As such, the HPMM/GD has become a formative memorial museum, one which represents the story of the event through facilitating settings and employing the

memoryscape within the Peace Memorial Park and exhibits within the confines of the museum to enable visitors themselves to contemplate the issues put before them (Su & Teng, 2018). Williams also discusses the level to which uncomfortable issues should be raised depending on the event and nature of the site and stated that for the visitor, contemplation could raise questions to the visitor and of the visitor. Questions related to notions such as blame; who were the perpetrators? Who are/were the victims? Is the perpetrator still to be blamed? Alternatively, are the victims still to be blamed? Are the victims still suffering? Moreover, how can the event be put right? (Williams, 2012). All of these questions form many further questions that in a world of the contemporary consumer needs addressing.

In considering these questions above, more specifically who were the perpetrators and who are/were the victims, it raises a considerable amount of dissonance surrounding the HPMM/GD. In contemplating these questions, visitors from the West may well ask themselves about their own social identity, raising issues of self-reflection as to which side they perceived themselves as belonging to. This perception can be self-reflective regarding whether they see themselves as a victim, as they too are members of humanity, or as a perpetrator due to their belonging to a social group who either directly or by the association of just being Western carried out the bombing and therefore, fall on the side of the perpetrator. This gives rise to further questions, such as, how victim groups perceive Western visitors, and whether the victim groups are indeed judging the Westerners (Williams, 2012). If what Williams is saying is true, then this process in itself could provide yet another opportunity by which the host can further consolidate their stance as victims.

Williams goes on to support his ideas by linking to a phenomenon called *Identity Politics*. Identity Politics is related to socio movements joined by cultural experiences of either real or perceived injustices. It is this phenomenon of Identity Politics that lies at the heart of memorial museums. It is even more relevant at memorial museums located at the places where events took place and further encourages a stance where memorial museums focus on 'Us and Them' messages to the visitor. In this case the 'us' are the national citizens and the victims, and 'them' are the foreigners or perpetrators.

In framing the event, the bombing of Hiroshima became viewed as an act that went beyond the rules of conventional fighting from the victims' point of view. However, from the perpetrators' point of view (US), the rule of conventional fighting from the

Japanese forces was nothing near their interpretation. The Japanese had not signed the second Geneva Convention of 1929 and did not treat prisoners of war according to the conventions with the national agreement. In addition to this, they were signatories to neither of The Hague Conventions 1899 or 1907 (Force War Records, 2018).

The bombing of Hiroshima has raised much debate relating to the view that it was an unnecessary and excessive use of force upon Japan. Nevertheless, there is still the question as to just who the victims are when concerning Hiroshima. Is it the Americans, who were attacked without any declaration of war being handed to them by Japan at Pearl Harbour, and who viewed this attack as excessive Japanese aggression? They were, after all, subsequently dragged into a war they had been trying for so long to avoid. Alternatively, is it the Japanese, who suffered what has been argued to be a disproportionate show of force with the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki? They became victims as a result of their choice to surrender in order to save countless Japanese and American lives that would have been lost had the US landed troops on the Japanese homeland to force them to surrender by conventional means (Newman, 1995). One thing that is sure though, is that post-World War II, the inherent notion of the Japanese psyche of self-sacrifice for the nation took a turn and manifested itself as the idea of victimhood (Montville, 1990). This was primarily driven by Japan, in order that the Japanese people may position themselves in the struggle between global opinion and their own as to who had experienced the most suffering. This then aided Japan's own conscience so as to offset Japan's acknowledgement of its accountability for acts undertaken during World War II (Lim, 2010).

Montville (1990) presents victimhood as a state of mind relating to the individual and the collective that arises when hostile and aggressive political outsiders destroy traditional conventions. It is these conventions that give individuals a social perception of safety and dignity by belonging to a group. Thus, victimhood becomes typified by a sense of utmost and steadfast grave susceptibility (Montville, 1990). The inference that victimhood is related to a social sense of vulnerability is very apt when concerning Japan. This vulnerability can be seen to be caused by the occupation of Japan by the US, and through the US atomic testing at the Bikini Atoll. However, today it is somewhat ironic that Japan relies on the US for the protection of its nuclear umbrella as a deterrent against enemies including China, Russia and North Korea (Orr, 2001).

With Hiroshima, the Japanese as a collective have suffered an all-consuming historical event. This consumption of history is showcased by the Peace Memorial/Genbaku Dome which was awarded the status of World Heritage Site in 1996 after the 50th anniversary, and Japan uses the Dome to act as a visual symbol and to act as a beacon in the world's eye, prompting Japan as being at the centre of the anti-nuclear movement. The site is used each year to reinforce Japan's contemporary identity as a victim. Indeed, the memorial may act as an attempt to politicise the event in favour of promoting Japan as a victim of the war. However, to this end, it is notable that within the memorial there has always been a distinct absence of recognition of the reasoning behind the bombing of Hiroshima. It is also noteworthy that the concept of the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park gained approval by the US who was, at that time, an occupying force and who, at the time of occupation, promoted the opportunity to develop the epicentre into the peace park before the World Heritage status was awarded. It is also worth highlighting, therefore, that throughout this process, Japan's citizenship, overall, were hugely ignorant as to the full extent of the destruction and loss of life of the bombing due to American censorship. Nevertheless, 30 years post-occupation, the 1984 Peace City Construction Law gained approval through a local referendum which, in turn, gave rise to the construction of the memorial to represent the reconstruction of Hiroshima's post-war identity as a peace memorial city (Williams, 2012).

The mythology of Japan's victimhood was born out of Japan suffering the devastation of the US's emerging nuclear might. However, through the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Japan was presented in hindsight with a medium by which it could retreat behind a smokescreen and could detach itself from its wartime aggression (Orr, 2001). In 1966, Japan's atomic victimisation gained more impetus with the award of the Noma Prize (an award given annually to outstanding publications in Japan) for the book *Black Rain (Kuroiame)* by Masuji Ibuse. *Kuroiame* is a book which dwells on Japan's post-war predicament. In the decades that followed, Prime Minister of Japan Sato Eisaku received the Nobel Peace Prize for his vision in declaring that Japan would live by, and abide by, three non-nuclear principles, which dictated that Japan would not possess nuclear weapons, produce nuclear weapons, or allow the introduction of nuclear weapons onto its sovereign territory (Abrams, 1997). However, as Abrams also observed in contradiction to this, previous Prime Ministers namely, Ichiro Hatoyama, had given the US Japan's assurance of cooperation that it would allow for the housing of nuclear weapons if approached by the US. This earlier statement became viewed as an attempt by

Japan to maintain its alliance with the US to further secure American protection following the Treaty of San Francisco signed on 28th April 1952, by helping Japan to secure and safeguard its position as an American protectorate. Thus, Japan positioned itself firmly under the American nuclear umbrella as an effective deterrent given the threats posed by communism in the East from China and Russia (Orr, 2001).

The irony in this and perhaps one of the reasons for Prime Minister Sato Eisaku's (1954/72) re-evaluation on Prime Minister Ichiro Hatoyama's (1954/56) agreement is that Prime Minister Hatoyama was condoning the utilisation of nuclear weapons as a viable threat by Japan towards its prospective enemies. However, in doing this Hatoyama can be seen to have moved Japan away from total victimhood, because Japan had signalled it would be willing to condone the use of atomic force for its protection. However, as Japan had shown it was willing to use the US in doing so, Hatoyama in his actions can be interpreted as acknowledging that the use of atomic force was conceivably just, although this would have implications for Japan's recognition for the reasoning for the US bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and its conceived position as a victim.

Nevertheless, Japan further associated itself as a victim throughout the 1950s via the anti-nuclear 'Ban the Bomb' petition movement. This fostered the notion of victimhood by politicising the term and employing it. In this way, progressives opposed the move for remilitarisation. However, this pacifist nationalism and its image of victimhood proved inadequate in convincing non-Japanese of the sincerity of the pacifist movement, given that most of Japan's civilian population had little knowledge of Japan's wartime aggression against its neighbours, allied soldiers and allied prisoners of war while the rest of Asia did (Asahi Shimbun, 1994).

The research will now turn to examine contentions concerning the proposed Enola Gay's 50th anniversary (1995) exhibition – *The Last Act: The Atomic Bomb and the End of World War II* – through to its inclusion in the NASM/UHC from 2003 to 2019. Additionally, contentions in Hiroshima's narrative leading up to the HPMM/GD inscription on the World Heritage List (UNESCO, 1996a), and the HPMM's interpretation will also be examined. Moreover, the study will examine the 'Kagaisha' aggressors corner affair, a key contention in Japan's recognition of the cause of the bombing of Hiroshima (Naono, 2005) and a potential issue in touristic narratives.

6.3 Hiroshima: 'Becoming a World Heritage Site'

The Enola Gay exhibit is amongst a multitude of other exhibits at the NASM/UHC where the emphasis is on preservation and displaying of aviation and space artefacts. However, the HPMM/GD is purpose built to commemorate victims of the first atomic bomb, but more significantly has become a site of homage to the anti-nuclear weapon movement in general. Indeed, during Japan's wartime surrender, the country was able to use the atomic bombing to portray itself as an innocent victim alongside the people of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and, subsequently, Japan positioned itself as being in the vanguard of the anti-nuclear movement (Orr, 2001).

Consequently, the atomic bombing became viewed as a national experience in which Japan was unique as the only nation to experience such a destructive force. This led to the adoption of the phrase 'Yuitsu Hibaku kokako' – *the only country that has experienced atomic bombing*. This further moved the emphasis away from the people of Hiroshima and Nagasaki as being the few, and those who had directly experienced the bombing of Japan, to one where the perspective of experience become shared by the collective (Shipilova, 2014). This in effect further served to nationalise the atomic experience for all the Japanese people. Moreover, this has led Japan to use Hiroshima, along with its commemorative infrastructure, as an icon to remind the Japanese of the collective memory of their victimhood which, in turn, acts as a component by which Japan's national identity is re-enforced by its people (Smith, 2013).

However, as previously discussed, during the post-war years the people of Hiroshima and Nagasaki were not viewed at a national level with any real warmth. Indeed, quite the contrary, since victims were viewed as being infected, demonised and were even used to serve as a warning to the hazards of nuclear fallout. Thus, national Manga literature portrayed the bombing victims as villains and social misfits. This served as a warning for Japanese society at large that the victims of Hiroshima (and Nagasaki) were outside social norms, and due to their exposure to radiation, relationships with A-bomb victims were to be discouraged. This, in turn, resulted in the victims of the bombings being shunned by Japanese society whilst also being used as a unifying force for Japan (Ichiki, 2011).

However, this is not to say that other areas/cities of Japan did not suffer during the war. Dower (1996) highlighted the fact that while Hiroshima (and Nagasaki) experienced horrendous casualties, so did 66 other Japanese cities. With the war

accounting for an estimated total Japanese killed of three million aircrew, soldiers, sailors and civilians. Shipilova ponders on this by asking why the Japanese, in general, would accept the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki as their own experience, when it was something that they had not directly experienced themselves.

6.4 Contentions in Hiroshima's Narrative (1945 – 2000)

For the Japanese, Hiroshima has become a focal point for an unprecedented national experience and the central feature of a “national self-perception” (Shipilova, 2014:194). However, a key question remains – how did Hiroshima evolve into a centre for peace, resulting in the development of the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park and Museum which we see today? In 1946, Hiroshima saw its first commemoration ceremony, which not only acted as a focus for commemoration but also served as a focal point for peace. The mayor of Hiroshima fronted the ceremony, but as Shipilova states, it was an initiative driven by Hiroshima's citizens and funded separately to the local authority budget. However, Shipilova appears to neglect the reasoning for this. In all essence, given the American occupation of Japan, the ceremony, if organised directly through the political institutions of Hiroshima, could have been viewed as a slight on America. Hence, in organising the event through its citizens under the organisational name of Hiroshima Peace Festival Association, the Hiroshima Prefecture by linking the commemoration to a *peace festival*, was able to de-politicise the bombing, a measure which was actively encouraged by the occupying Americans. Furthermore, in what is seen as a controlling gesture, American officers attended the Peace Festival for three successive years, where subsequently speeches were delivered on behalf of SCAP (Supreme Commander of Allied Powers) commander General MacArthur (Shipilova, 2014). SCAP, however, as an acronym not only referred to the Supreme Commander of Allied Powers but also signified the whole occupation government department in Japan from 1945-1952.

In 1949, Hiroshima was granted the status of ‘Peace Memorial City’, largely through the efforts of Hamai Shinzo (Hiroshima's Mayor from 1947-1955), and Yamada Setsuo (a member of Hiroshima's prefectures House of Councillors). With this raised status, Hiroshima was able to draw upon additional aid from the government (Shipilova, 2014). However, there has been much discourse relating to Hiroshima being awarded the title of ‘Peace Memorial City’. This mainly focuses on the speed at which the award was granted, from the first public airing of the idea on 10 May 1949 to the award being granted

just three months later on 6 August 1949, under Article 219 of the Hiroshima Peace Memorial City Construction Law (Norioki, 1999).

All of this raised questions about how such an important act could be awarded so quickly with so little public consultation. Norioki concluded that the speed in which the decision had come about was due to some special agreement between the SCAP General MacArthur, Hamai and Yamada, thus further supporting the idea of US support and encouragement for the de-politicisation of Hiroshima and its atomic bombing insofar as the US being the aggressor was concerned. From 1947, representatives for the Prime Minister started to attend the Peace Festival; however, this was short-lived and from 1949 through to 1955 central government sent no representatives. This move has been seen as the central government sending a message that they were less interested in the event. By 1952, the Peace Memorial Park was completed and commemorations have been held there on 6 August every year since. By 1954, the HPMM was also completed. In the same year, the Autonomous Peace Diplomacy Initiative was adopted by the then Prime Minister Hatoyama Ichiro, but no references were made to any nuclear subjects (Shipilova, 2014).

In 1955, three years after the US withdrew their occupation of Japan, control of the commemoration and Peace Festival was taken over by the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park, which cut its links with the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Association for being politically too 'far left' and having an anti-nuclear stance. However, in 1957, two years after the US withdrawal, Japan saw the first official government call for the ban on nuclear weapons testing, voiced by the new Prime Minister Kishi Nobusuke (Shipilova, 2014). This was an act that came three years after the Bikini Atoll incident that had rocked Japan in 1954. Although the national government appeared to step back a little from engaging directly in moulding the Hiroshima narrative, the mayors of Hiroshima actively promoted the local experience while framing the narrative as an international warning against the threats of nuclear war, while at the same time consolidating Japan's sense of uniqueness and their belief in shared victimhood. A stance illustrated by Mayor Shinzo Hamai Peace Declaration of 1953 (Figure 6.1).

Figure 6.1: Mayor Shinzo Hamai: the City of Hiroshima Peace Declaration 1953

It is eight years now since that most tragic day.

The citizens of Hiroshima will vividly remember the atomic desert created by the A-bomb. It was unimaginably terrible. Moreover, the scars of the crime perpetrated by that single bomb still linger among us. They warn us of the terror of war. This all-important lesson teaches us that we must not use weapons against each other. We must not destroy ourselves.

It was the great achievement of science to develop atomic energy. However, it has brought us to a crossroads: we can either turn toward destruction and annihilation or the common welfare of mankind.

On this occasion, the eighth anniversary of the atomic bombing, undertake to inform the world over and over again of this truth. We make a vow to the souls of the A-bomb victims that we will renew our devoted efforts towards the establishment of world peace.

August 6, 1953

Shinzo Hamai
Mayor
The City of Hiroshima

Source: Hamai (1953)

An interesting observation here is that the peace declaration does not mention the perpetrators of the bombing – that is, ‘The USA’. Instead, its focus was targeted directly towards nuclear weapons as the principal danger to humankind. By the end of the 1950s, Hiroshima had positioned itself to become integrated into the narrative of Japanese society. However, although at this stage integration gained support through instances like the Bikini Atoll, its narrative was not yet integrated into the official public memory at a national level. Nevertheless, Hiroshima had managed to put in place (through the financial benefits of being granted the status of ‘Peace Memorial City’) a fully developed commemorative infrastructure. In turn, this allowed Hiroshima to emerge on the world ‘Cold War stage’ with a political agenda of an anti-nuclear champion (Shipilova, 2014).

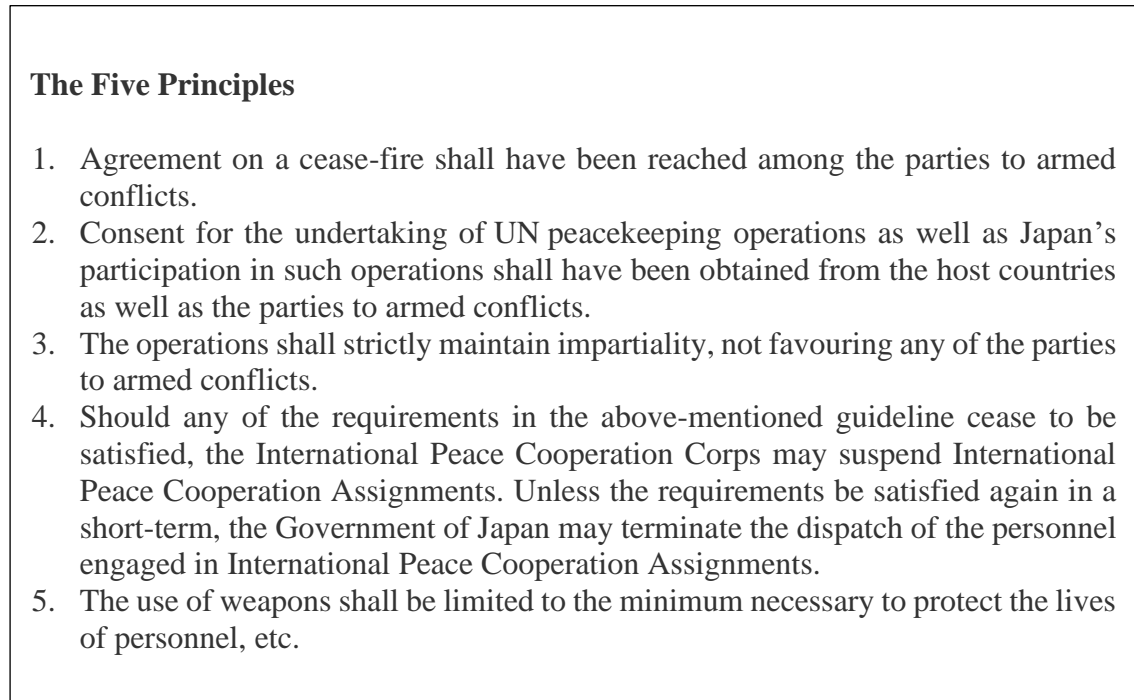
The 1960s saw increased interest in Hiroshima in the official national narrative with the Prime Minister Eisaku Sato’s speech including the term ‘Yuotsu Hibaku Kokka’ (Sato, 1964 cited in Shipilova, 2014:201). A phrase interpreted as meaning Japan was “the first and only country that experienced atomic bombs”. Indeed, by 1964, the phrase was used in official policy, indicating the beginning of an official adoption of a Hiroshima

atomic narrative. Importantly, this was a narrative that positioned Japan on the international stage for disarmament and peace, while also positioning Hiroshima within Japan as an icon for a Japanese mindset of uniqueness. This further helped to create acceptance by differing political groups of a unifying Japanese “national identity and healthy nationalism” (Shipilova, 2014:201). Consequently, a discourse emerged which created a unique role and a mission for Japan – where Japan was able to stand tall and warn the world about the evils of nuclear war. However, even though they shunned the idea of the nuclear arms race, Japan still sought the protection of the US nuclear umbrella, while somewhat hypocritically declaring to the world the dangers of nuclear weapon proliferation (Kim, 1973). Additionally, the official narrative projected by Japan’s national and local governments avoided any link to the Okinawa revision to Hiroshima’s Museum and Peace Park. In doing this, it avoided the embarrassment of discussing the perceptions of Hiroshima’s nuclear perpetrator the US whilst also avoiding any other international issue for which one could read Japan’s war atrocities and, thus, avoiding any public politicising of Hiroshima.

Nonetheless, the official Hiroshima narrative was adopted and since 1965, high ranking officials representing the Prime Minister have attended annual ceremonies at both Hiroshima and Nagasaki. In 1971, Prime Minister Sato attended for the first time, and within ten years the commemoration of the anniversary of the bombing of Hiroshima had become a custom which continues to this day. Through the whole of the Cold War period, Hiroshima has stood as an icon for the anti-nuclear movement. As the Cold War era came to an end, Japan had to come to terms with its projected image as a peace-loving nation. The world had changed from the dark days of the end of World War II, and Japan found itself in a situation where it had become a tremendous economic success. Yet, through Japan’s narrative as a ‘peaceful country,’ it had made little physical contribution to the new world order. In turn, Japan reflected on itself and reconsidered its foreign policy relating to security issues, from one of affording only material and monetary backing, to peace programmes (Shipilova, 2014). In response, the government passed the International Peace Cooperation (PKO) Law in 1992, which enabled Japan to deploy troops outside its sovereign territory for the first time since World War II. This resulted in Japan having to re-examine just what being a ‘peaceful country’ meant. However, while the law allowed the Japanese to send their troops on UN peacekeeping operations, the five rules/principles (Figure 6.2) by which Japan would operate are quite restrictive and position Japan as a friend to all, as opposed to an enforcer. Six years later in 1998, in

response to the increasing military modernisation of China and the nuclear threat posed by an ever-volatile North Korea, Japan was forced to reassess its past and reconsider its relations with its surrounding neighbours.

Figure 6.2: Japan's Five Principles for UN Peacekeeping



Source: Secretariat of the International Peace Cooperation Headquarters (2016)

This forced Japan to first re-assess its imperial conquest in Manchuria and the Asia Pacific region in World War II and its role as a perpetrator, and secondly, in response to Japan's reflections and the growing strength of China and North Korea. Japan consequently realised its need to bolster its position in the region and subsequently reaffirm its ties to its old adversary the US, by drawing much closer military links and dependency (Shipilova, 2014).

To add weight to this new era of closer ties with the USA, Japan made sweeping changes to Joint Statement 'The Mutual Defence Guidelines' in 1996 (Figure 6.3).

Figure 6.3: Joint Statement U.S.-Japan Security Consultative Committee Completion of the Review of the Guidelines for U.S.-Japan Defence Cooperation New York, New York

IV. ACTIONS IN RESPONSE TO AN ARMED ATTACK AGAINST JAPAN

Bilateral actions in response to an armed attack against Japan remain a core aspect of U.S.-Japan defence cooperation.

When an armed attack against Japan is imminent, the two Governments will take steps to prevent further deterioration of the situation and make preparations necessary for the defence of Japan. When an armed attack against Japan takes place, the two Governments will conduct appropriate bilateral actions to repel it at the earliest possible stage.

2. When an Armed Attack against Japan Takes Place

(1) Principles for Coordinated Bilateral Actions

(a) Japan will have primary responsibility immediately to take action and to repel an armed attack against Japan as soon as possible. The United States will provide appropriate support to Japan. Such bilateral cooperation may vary according to the scale, type, phase, and other factors of the armed attack. This cooperation may include preparations for and execution of coordinated bilateral operations, steps to prevent further deterioration of the situation, surveillance, and intelligence sharing.

(b) In conducting bilateral operations, U.S. Forces and the Self-Défense Forces will employ their respective defence capabilities in a coordinated, timely, and effective manner. In doing this, they will conduct effective joint operations of their respective Forces' ground, maritime and air services. The Self-Défense Forces will primarily conduct defensive operations in Japanese territory and its surrounding waters and airspace, while U.S. Forces support Self-Défense Forces' operations. U.S. Forces will also conduct operations to supplement the capabilities of the Self-Défense Forces.

(c) The United States will introduce reinforcements in a timely manner, and Japan will establish and maintain the basis to facilitate these deployments.

Source: U.S.-Japan Security Consultative Committee (1997)

Subsequently, in 1998, the creation and acceptance of Japan's National Emergency Law witnessed the end of Japan's 'ideal' of non-aggression through its abandonment of its armed forces being confined entirely to homeland defence (Green, 2001; Shipilova, 2014). An interesting point, however, seems to be the conflicting narrative within Japan between the national government of Japan and that of Hiroshima's local authority. The then Mayor of Hiroshima, Takashi Hiraoka, stated in his 1997 peace declaration: "Hiroshima specifically calls upon the government of Japan to devise security arrangements that do not rely upon a nuclear umbrella" (Hiraoka, 2015).

Changes in national policy that Japan made in response to the ending of the Cold War resulted in Japan reassessing its self-identification as a non-aggressive peace-

promoting nation, to one which fitted more appropriately with border security. In turn, a crisis in Japanese politics ensued concerning Japan's established identity. However, as for Japan, their needs had changed and these changes were outlined by Japan's Prime Minister in both domestic and international speeches. The policy speeches repeatedly stressed the need for Japan to play an active role in world politics and, therefore, raise the profile of international cooperation as an all important aim of Japan's foreign policy, which fundamentally re-adjusted Japan's national narrative. Nevertheless, as far as Hiroshima was concerned, there was no change in the direction of the national narrative regarding how the story of Hiroshima's victimhood was conveyed at an official level. Official speeches still followed nuclear weapon related concerns and rarely acknowledged Japan's role in the Manchuria invasion or World War II in depth, preferring to follow the rhetoric narrative of Japan belonging to an imagined community of innocent victims, while fostering the amnesia of its colonial and brutal past (Naono, 2005). However, attempts were made for a more clear acknowledgement of Japan's war past, and it is to this that this study now turns.

6.5 Acceptance of Cause: The 'Kagaisha' Aggressors Corner Affair

In 1985, the city of Hiroshima exhibit planning committee made up of local scholars, *hibakusha* (The surviving victims of the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki), journalists and city officials put forward plans for the renovation of the Peace Museum. Several groups lobbied for the inclusion of Japan's colonial past, otherwise known as the "history of the kagai" (aggression). Up until then, the focus of the Peace Museum had been solely focused on Hiroshima's victimhood. Arguments first arose after the committee concluded that the inclusion of Japan's kagai could impact on Hiroshima's iconic slogan 'No More Hiroshimas' (Naono, 2005; Shipilova, 2014). However, after some deliberation, the Mayor's Office announced that the city would give serious consideration to including the narrative of Hiroshima's history as a major military base, and in 1987, the city of Hiroshima answered favourably. They chaired a meeting which included fourteen citizen groups and put forward their plans for the inclusion of exhibits to show Hiroshima's past as an aggressor by including a Kagaisha (aggressors) Corner (Naono, 2005).

It was stated that the Kagaisha Corner would be an area within the new East Building of the Peace Museum and would focus on two main themes. The first would be an area for questioning Japan's war accountability towards its neighbours, while the

second would discuss the social and historical circumstances of Korean Hibakusha. The Korean Hibakusha were forced labour groups and pre-war Korean community residents in Japan drafted into the Japanese service who were resident in Hiroshima and Nagasaki at the time of the atomic bombings. This group had suffered an estimated 40,000 casualties (Ichiba, 2000), yet Japanese discourse fused around Japanese victimhood in a “nationalist mythologisation” (Orr, 2001:6) that bolstered a victim consciousness account fixed on ethnic Japanese victims and survivors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki at the cost of non-Japanese hibakusha (Orr, 2001; Ropers, 2015). Subsequently, the announcement of the Kagaisha Corner resulted in outrage from right-wing nationalists, bereaved family members of the atomic bomb victims, and some hibakusha. Within days of the announcement, the city council received frequent protest calls, condemning letters, and protesters all demonstrating the inclusion of the Kagaisha Corner.

Counter arguments included demonstrations claiming that the new museum would be politicising a sacred landscape belonging to the victims and hibakusha. Indeed, the local Hiroshima director to the Great Japan Patriots Party, a far-right political group commonly known as the GLP, contested the city’s plans on the basis that the Pacific War could not be deemed as a war of aggression (Naono, 2005). With increased political pressure from nationalist groups and conservative council members within Hiroshima, the city council reconsidered their plan. As the pressure mounted, in December 1987, Nishimura Toshizo – a leading conservative Liberal Democrat council member – voiced concerns during the 6th meeting concerning the planned development for the Museum. Nishimura Toshizo stated that “the conspiracy to classify our fellow countrymen as victimisers would leave a deep scar on Japanese children” (Toshizo, 1987 translated in Naono, 2005:234).

Consequently, in March 1988, city officials issued a confidential reply to the GLP and other right-wing protesting organisations, stating that the city's position on the Pacific War would follow the lines laid down by the Conservative Prime Minister Takeshita Noboru. This stated that “whether the war in the Pacific was a war of aggression or not should be determined by historians of the future generations” (Noboru, 1988 translated in Naono, 2005:234). This then implied that Hiroshima’s exhibit planning committee/city of Hiroshima would not be inclined to include the Kagaisha Corner in the plans of the new museum. Despite those liberal groups requesting that Japan’s aggression should be included, the city officials’ response was to change their mind. This was done on the grounds of having to take into consideration the possible consequences that the inclusion

of Japanese aggression could bring into question Hiroshima's legitimate claim as a victim.

Thus, to include a 'Kagaisha Corner' might open up Hiroshima to claim that:

“...the atomic bombing was an inevitable outcome of such aggression? That interpretation would contradict our intention to convey the Spirit of Hiroshima; moreover, we are afraid that such interpretation would disturb the souls of the atomic bomb victims” (Naono, 2005:235).

On both accounts, parallels can be made when looking at reasons not to push forward with the official declaration of intent to include the Kagaisha Corner. The declaration made by Prime Minister Takeshita Noboru focused on future generations, while the city response focused on the souls of the victims. Thus, it that the exclusion of the Kagaisha Corner was a justification for both the political right and left, so maintaining Hiroshima's status quo once more.

Nonetheless, a statement was made that Hiroshima did have a duty to communicate the reality of the atomic bombing, including the historical facts of Hiroshima being a Castle Town, Major Military Base, a Centre of Education, and an Atomic Bomb city. However, while this may convey compromise, there was a subtle caveat added in that cases identified as being of historical significance were to be included and interpreted not through a critical eye, but rather through the general eye of a citizen's perspective (Naono, 2005). Soon after this statement, the debate over the planning of the new museum was put to rest (temporarily), and the Hiroshima exhibit planning committee disbanded and never met again. The planning of the building structure and the content was undertaken by the museum staff, and once finished a new panel was formed: a writing committee made up of several local academics of which only one had previously served on the exhibit planning committee.

Arguments over the new museum's exhibit had focused on how to advance the spirit of Hiroshima in a world that had become increasingly volatile within the memoryscape of Japan's Pacific War exploits. While, there was to be no Kagaisha Corner incorporated into the new peace museum, officials who were sympathetic to the Left's move for a Kagaisha Corner through the vehicle of the annual peace declaration did raise the issue of Japanese aggression. However, this was short-lived. In 1991, the newly elected Mayor Takashi Hiraoka of the Japanese Socialist Party gave public recognition in

his peace declaration that Japan was a perpetrator and incorporated apologies to the affected peoples of Japan's aggression by stating that:

“Japan inflicted great suffering and despair on the peoples of Asia and the Pacific during its reign of colonial domination and war. There can be no excuse for these actions. This year marks the 50th anniversary of the start of the Pacific War. Remembering all too well the horror of this war starting with the attack on Pearl Harbour and ending with the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, we are determined anew to work for world peace” (Hiraoka, 1991).

However, this endeavour to rewrite the victim-perpetrator relationship through the adding of Japan into the role of perpetrator was omitted from the annual peace declaration from 1996 to 2018. There was just one exception in 1999 where an eight-word section of a sentence mentioned: “the evil that Japan as a nation perpetrated” (Akiba, 1999). Indeed, it is interesting to note that 1999 was Mayor Hiraoka's last year in office.

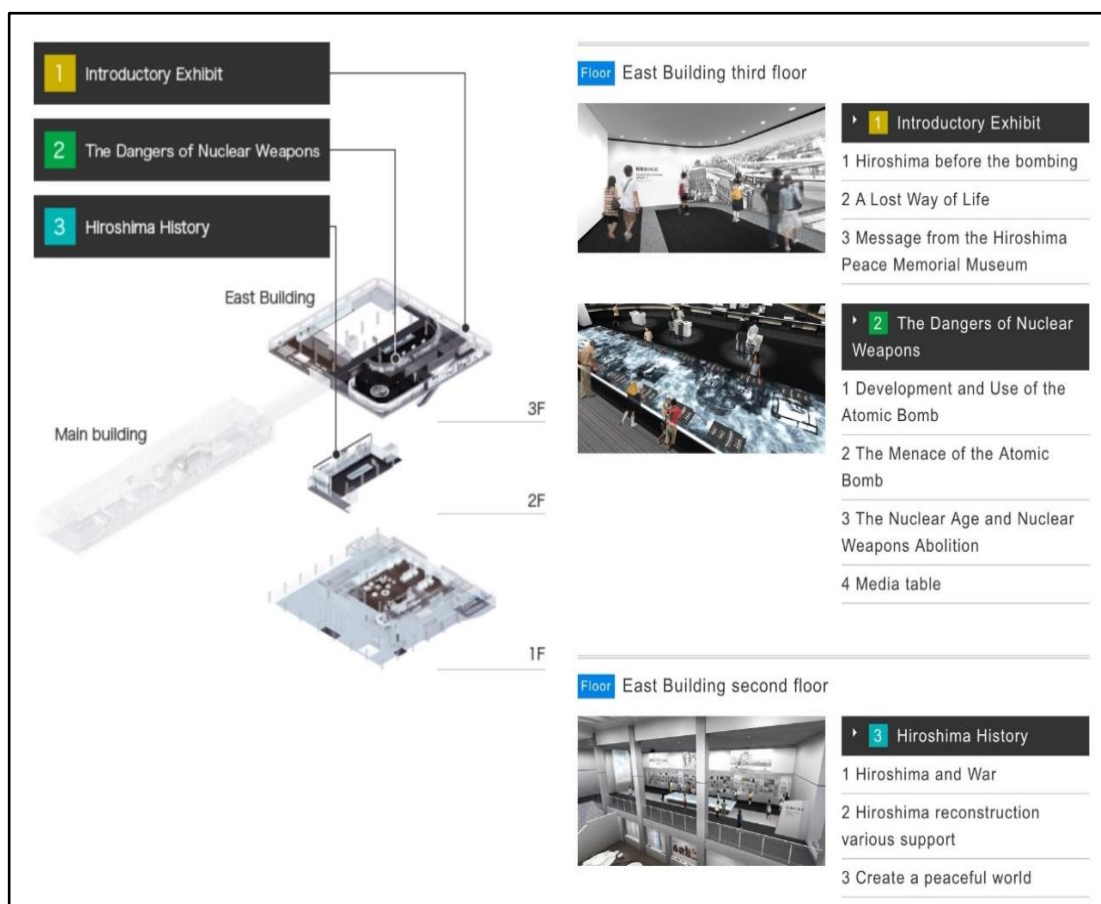
At the first meeting of the panel writing committee in March 1993, the discussion revolved around explaining the *for*s and *against*s of presenting Japan's wartime history within the New Peace Museum. Three months later in June, a second meeting was held to discuss how Japan's role should become included. However, just like the exhibit ‘planning committee’, the panel ‘writing committee’ held a similar position with its view on Japan's colonial past. Consequently, they arrived at a similar conclusion when faced with the conundrum that if they were to include such history, how they would convey the ‘Spirit of Hiroshima’ without indicating the action of dropping the bomb. A view that was recognised to be held by many Asians who believed that the bombing of Hiroshima led to the liberation of Asia from the Japanese.

Moreover, this, in turn, contradicted the view held by many Japanese that the bombing was indeed a racial attack on Asians (Naono, 2005). Consequently, it was deemed unwise to convey Hiroshima in the context of the victim versus the perpetrator. Instead, they decided to describe the reality of Korean forced labour and Hiroshima's function as a significant military centre by taking a seemingly objective approach. Subsequently, Mayor Takashi Hiraoka in September 1993 proclaimed that the exhibition theme for the new Peace Museum would be changed from one that showed the history of Hiroshima before and after the bombing, to one which showcased Hiroshima and the war. Naono goes on to state that this allowed Hiroshima and Japan to “explicitly place the

atomic bombing in the context of the war, not in an abstract ‘Hiroshima History’. Thus, this would allow for the Spirit of Hiroshima to remain intact” (Naono, 2005:236).

In December 1993, Mayor Hiraoka emphasised that representation of Hiroshima before the bombing would be illustrated by interpreting the formation of the Fifth Division of the Imperial Army in Hiroshima to after the Sino-Japanese War and Hiroshima’s military industrialisation. This allowed Hiroshima to be viewed within the twin traits of a victim and a victimiser by looking at the lives of the citizens of Hiroshima. In contrast to earlier protests in 1987, the December 1993 announcement did not arouse any public anger from the political right or any hibakusha, which Naono reasoned was largely due to the raised prominence of accounts of public discourse during the early 1990s of Japanese aggression throughout the war. In June 1994, the new East Building of the Peace Museum opened. The new space housed three critical themes spread over the second and third floor (Figure 6.4).

Figure 6.4: Floor Plan of the June 1994 New East Building Hiroshima Peace Museum



Source: Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum (2018)

The third floor was dedicated to both the introductory aspect of the exhibit which focuses on three themes: firstly, *'Hiroshima before the bombing'*, secondly *'A lost way of life'* and finally, *'Message from the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum'*. The second section focuses on *'The Dangers of Nuclear Weapons'* and examines the development and use of atomic bombs. It also examines *'the menace of the atomic bomb'* and the *'nuclear age and nuclear weapon abolition'* with a dedicated *'media table'*. On the second floor, there are smaller sections dedicated to both *'Hiroshima and War'*, as well as *'Hiroshima reconstruction various support'*. *'Hiroshima History'* is the section that substituted the aforementioned Kagaisha Corner and comprises three sections under the heading *'Create a peaceful world'* (Figure 6.5).

Figure 6.5: East Building – Permanent Exhibitions/Index of Areas, Sections, Topics

1 Introductory Exhibit	2 The Dangers of Nuclear Weapons	3 Hiroshima History
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▸ 1-1 Hiroshima before the bombing <hr/> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▸ 1-2 A Lost Way of Life <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▸ 1-2-1 No item <hr/> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▸ 1-3 Message from the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▸ 2-1 Development and Use of the Atomic Bomb <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▸ 2-1-1 Developing the Atomic Bomb ▸ 2-1-2 The Atomic Bombing of Japan ▸ 2-1-3 The Atomic Bombing of Hiroshima ▸ 2-2 The Menace of the Atomic Bomb <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▸ 2-2-1 The Atomic Bombs Dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki ▸ 2-2-2 The Explosion ▸ 2-2-3 Heat ▸ 2-2-4 Blast ▸ 2-2-5 Radiation ▸ 2-3 The Nuclear Age and Nuclear Weapons Abolition <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▸ 2-3-1 Nuclear Development and Proliferation ▸ 2-3-2 Effects of Nuclear Weapons Testing ▸ 2-3-3 Preventing Nuclear Proliferation ▸ 2-3-4 The Global Movement for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapons ▸ 2-4 Media table 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▸ 3-1 Hiroshima and War <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▸ 3-1-1 Hiroshima before World War II ▸ 3-1-2 Life in Hiroshima during the War ▸ 3-2 Hiroshima reconstruction various support <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▸ 3-2-1 Post-bombing Turmoil and the Start of Reconstruction ▸ 3-2-2 Reconstruction and the Peace Memorial City Construction Law ▸ 3-2-3 Assistance for A-bomb Survivors ▸ 3-3 Create a peaceful world <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▸ 3-3-1 Hiroshima City's Commitment ▸ 3-3-2 Grassroots Peace Movements ▸ 3-3-3 Inheriting and Conveying A-bomb Experiences ▸ Media table

Source: Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum (2018)

The struggle to develop the new East Wing of the Peace Museum was a battle between the left-wing internationalists and the right-wing nationalists. It was a battle, then, between those whose focus was to insert narratives of Japan's imperial colonialism, thus formulating an acceptance of their interpretation of a counter-narrative in Japan's national history, and those who chose to deny accusations of Japan's colonial past. The result was a compromise with no clear victory. Yet, Hein & Selden (1997) argued that some people held the view that the outcome of getting the inclusion of the *History of Hiroshima* was a

victory as it at least highlighted discourse surrounding the development from the 1980s to the mid 1990s.

Indeed, examining the writing and rewriting of Japan's and Hiroshima's memories and development is imperative when concerning the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Japan's role in Manchuria and World War II. Given the fact that Hiroshima stood for an anti-nuclear world, there was only one mention in political speeches over the past few decades (in 1994) which serves to demonstrate there was no attempt to update the Hiroshima narrative to fit in with evolving political events. Instead, there was persistence in presenting the notion of collective victimhood with a move towards widening this inclusion to other *hibakusha* victims (including victims of other nuclear disasters/nuclear tests such as the victims of the Chernobyl nuclear disaster in 1986). As illustrated by the then Mayor Takashi Hiraoka in his peace declaration on 6 August 1998, "many people throughout the world today still suffer from the aftermath of nuclear tests and other exposure. Their plight, together with Hiroshima's experience, makes the issues we face in this nuclear age explicit" (Hiraoka, 1998). In addition to this, attempts were made to further broaden the focus of Hiroshima's peace message by championing non-nuclear problems such as human rights, civil wars, the environment and cross-border conflicts. All of this brought a whole new raft of victims' causes, which Hiroshima can use to further voice warnings.

This juxtapositioning going on between Japan's national government and the city of Hiroshima's political elite, was reflected in two of Japan's leading newspapers –the Asahi and the Yomiuri – which reflected differing opinions. The Asahi, a left-wing newspaper, endorsed the anti-war nature of Japan's post-war construction, while also opposed the acceptance of Japan's 'National Emergency Law' as well as of what it called the 'collective self-defence of Japan'. In contrast, the Yomiuri took a centre-right stance and supported the perpetuation of Japan's refusal to admit to the war crimes committed against its Asian Pacific victims (Fackler, 2014). During the 1990s, the Yomiuri made no efforts to re-evaluate the group of victims. Instead, its main focus was to warn about the global threats of nuclear weapons by raising the issue of the need for Japan to consider its nuclear solution, and called for Japan to pull back on its anti-nuclear sensitivity. The Asahi, on the other hand, tried to re-examine the victim-perpetrator structures by tackling war accountability and stated that if Japan says 'Hiroshima' it should firmly acknowledge being a perpetrator (Asahi Shimbun, 1993). The problem with this left versus right

juxtapositioning was that it led to irregularities for the city of Hiroshima's political elite in the way they presented the Hiroshima narrative.

The first one of these irregularities was how on the victims' side there had been no attempt to redress the Hiroshima narrative between the interrelations concerning the victim and perpetrator. In 1996, Takashi Hiraoka, Mayor of Hiroshima, was reluctant to talk about any of Japan's responsibility for World War II during an exhibition on the atomic bombing, arguing instead that to do so would detract attention from the contemporary nature of nuclear problems (Asahi Shimbun, 1996). The second irregularity was seen in the 1990s, where attempts were made to question Japan's government on its responsibility for the bombing of Hiroshima, and its stance on re-addressing the issue of defining who or what amounted to being a 'perpetrator.' All attempts to rectify these issues failed to make any headway because publically no support was forthcoming to put together a public agenda to support the motion (Asahi Shimbun, 1994). Other issues to be raised in this period were long-lasting issues of discrimination towards the Hibakusha – the victims of the bombing. Still, both the Asahi and the Yomiuri media efforts, although holding common ground, failed to get the public conscience to view them more sympathetically. This, then, highlights yet another contradiction in Hiroshima's narrative when applied to its domestic victims (Asahi Shimbun, 2001).

By 2000, both the Asahi and the Yomiuri newspapers had shifted their attention away from perpetrator-victim rhetoric to one of the Hibakusha (victims) with the Asahi Shimbun (2001) stating that the Hibakusha were in fact beyond dimensions of perpetrator-victims and stressed that the Japanese loathed the bombing but had no anti-American feelings (Asahi Shimbun, 2001). Instead, both newspapers focused their attention on the differences between how Japan and the US projected their assessments of the bombing of Hiroshima. They went as far as attributing the US as the perpetrator while the finger was never directly pointed at the US. Accusations were made that the bombing was a result of "racial discrimination and was unnecessary and an inhumane experiment" (Shipilova, 2014:207). Criticisms were voiced towards the US for neglecting to express any remorse for the bombing; however, this ran into some contradiction insofar as criticism was also made of Japan for not expressing remorse for its actions in Manchuria and World War II (Naono, 2005).

Since 2000, evading the subject of the perpetrator has grown into a new angle that suggests an absolute and unmatched character of the Hiroshima experience. Hiroshima

has been called the ‘Great Teacher’ yet has at no time assumed to take the path of revenge against the US, and has instead become the most ardent of cities in its promoting a non-nuclear state both at home and overseas (Asahi Shimbun, 2004). Eventually, the issue of perpetrator was shunned, which was considered in Hiroshima to be a positive achievement as it enabled the Hiroshima narrative to maintain the political status quo. However, distant memories that unfavourably contest narratives of Japan’s victimhood are exposed to politico-destructive influences which curb their unsympathetic potential. By publically acknowledging Japan’s past conquests and articulating remorse, Japan’s officials and politicians alike endeavour to detach the country from its true past instead of “seriously reflecting upon and attempting to redress the suffering of those formerly colonised and subjected to military violence” (Naono, 2005:238).

The bombing of Hiroshima has created memories for both Japan and the US, resulting in the production of narratives of nationhood in both countries and resulting in a cross-cultural political interpretation of Hiroshima from both perspectives. From Japan, there are the victims’ narratives, while the US projects an image of righteousness as the defender of freedom and democracy, all of which has served both Japan and the US to help obscure histories of state violence.

6.6 Hiroshima’s Inscription as a World Heritage Site

Hiroshima’s Genbaku Dome was a contested nomination for World Heritage Status, as the site dealt with politically sensitive issues not only within Japan but also within America and China, both of whom had suffered attacks by the Japanese and had suffered considerable casualties. In 1996, Japan put forward the Hiroshima Peace Memorial (Genbaku Dome) for inclusion on the World Heritage List based on a technicality. In short, the ruined structure of the Genbaku Dome had survived the atomic bombing on the 6 August 1945 and subsequently met the criteria for authenticity.

The ICOMOS evaluation found that the building had no architectural significance as such, and instead recommended inscription of the Hiroshima Peace Memorial for its associative values to such a globally significant event. The Committee listed the Genbaku Dome as “exceptional” (UNESCO, 1996a). Figure 6.6 below outlines the statement of the Genbaku Dome inclusion to the World Heritage List in October 1996.

Figure 6.6: Advisory Body Evaluation (ICOMOS)

WORLD HERITAGE LIST	Hiroshima	No 775
Identification		
Nomination	Hiroshima Peace Memorial, Genbaku Dome	
Location	Hiroshima Prefecture	
State Party	Japan	
Date	28 September 1995	
Justification by State Party		
<p>Firstly, the Hiroshima Peace Memorial, Genbaku Dome, stands as a permanent witness to the terrible disaster that occurred when the atomic bomb was used as a weapon for the first time in the history of mankind. Secondly, the Dome itself is the only building in existence that can convey directly a physical image of the tragic situation immediately after the bombing. Thirdly, the Dome has become a universal monument for all mankind, symbolising the hope for perpetual peace and the ultimate elimination of all nuclear weapons on earth.</p> <p>Note: The State Party does not make any proposals concerning the criteria under which the property should be inscribed on the World Heritage List in the nomination dossier.</p>		
Category of Property		
<p>In terms of the categories of property set out in Article 1 of the 1972 World Heritage convention, the Genbaku Dome is a monument.</p>		
History and Description		
<i>History</i>		
<p>In 1910 the Hiroshima Prefectural Assembly decided to build the Hiroshima commercial Exhibition Hall to promote industrial production in the prefecture. Work started on a site on the eastern side of the Motoyasu river, to the designs of the Czech architect Jan Letzel, in 1914 and was completed the following year. In 1933, its name was changed to the Hiroshima Prefectural Industrial Promotion Hall.</p> <p>When the first atom bomb exploded over Hiroshima at 8.15 am on 6 August 1945, causing the deaths of 140,000 people, this building was the only one left standing near the hypocentre of the bomb blast, albeit in skeletal form. It was preserved in that state when reconstruction of the city began and became known as the Genbaku Dome (Atomic Bomb Dome). In 1966, Hiroshima City council adopted a resolution that the Dome should be preserved in perpetuity.</p> <p>The Peace memorial Park, in which the Dome is the principal landmark, was laid out between 1950 and 1964. The Peace Memorial Museum in the Park was opened in 1955. Since 1952, the park has been the scene of the Hiroshima Peace Memorial ceremony, held annually on 6 August.</p>		

Description

The Hiroshima Prefectural Industrial Promotion Hall was a three-storey brick building with a five-storey central core topped by a steel-framed elliptical dome clad with copper. It covered 1023 m² and stood to a height of 25 m. The exterior walls were faced with stone and cement plaster. The dome was reached via a staircase located at the central entrance.

The main building, which is situated some 150 m from the hypocentre of the explosion, was almost completely shattered and gutted: the roof and floor collapsed, along with most of the interior walls from the second floor upwards. However, because the force of the blast came from almost directly above, the foundations of the core section of the building under the dome remained standing. The remains of the fountain that had stood in the Western-style garden on the south side of the hall also survived. In its present form, the building preserves in every detail its exact state after the blast.

Management and Protection

Legal status

The Hiroshima Peace Memorial, Genbaku Dome, is designated an Historic Site under Article 69 of the 1950 Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties. This stipulates that Historic Sites should be appropriately managed by the owner or relevant local government authority, that permission must be sought from the national Government for any alterations or restoration affecting the existing state, and that the national Government may provide technical guidance and subsidies for repair work and management.

Management

The property is owned by the City of Hiroshima.

Matters relating to the 1950 Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties are the concern of the National Agency for Cultural Affairs (Bunka-Cho). Other bodies participating in the management of the monument are the council for the Protection of Cultural Properties and its Committee of Experts, the Ministry of construction, Hiroshima Prefecture and its Board of Education, and the Board of Education of the City of Hiroshima.

A management office operated by the City of Hiroshima located in the Peace Memorial Park is responsible for the daily management of the Dome. The City assigns specialists for the preservation maintenance of the Dome and carries out a survey every three years to monitor the degree of stability of its structure and its general condition.

The Peace Memorial Park within which the Dome is situated is managed in accordance with the City Parks Law and the Byelaw for the Parks of Hiroshima. There is a buffer zone around the Dome within which no structures may be erected other than park facilities (which are limited to 12% of the total area of the park). The City has also set up regulatory guidelines relating to the environment around the Park which control all construction in the surrounding area.

Conservation and Authenticity

Conservation history

The objective of all work on the Dome is to preserve it in its condition immediately after the atomic bomb blast. Work was carried out in 1967 and 1989-90 as a precaution against collapse caused by deterioration as a result of weathering. This has involved the use of epoxy resins as binding agents and steel reinforcement where the risk of collapse was believed to be serious. A little rebuilding of the deteriorating masonry structure also took place, using the original bricks.

Following the 1989-90 work, it was decided to carry out monitoring at three-yearly intervals to check for peeling cement plaster, deteriorated masonry joints, corrosion of reinforcing plates, deterioration of synthetic resins, and the extent of subsidence or inclination.

Authenticity

The authenticity of the Genbaku Dome is not open to challenge: the ruined structure stands exactly as it did after the atomic bomb exploded on 6 August 1945. The only interventions since that time have been minimal, designed to ensure the continuing stability of the ruins. This may be likened to work carried out on archaeological sites around the world.

Evaluation

Action by ICOMOS

The Hiroshima Peace Memorial, Genbaku Dome, was visited by an ICOMOS expert mission in August 1993. It is also known to several members of the ICOMOS Bureau.

Qualities

The overriding significance of the Dome lies in what it represents: the building has no aesthetic or architectural significance per se. Its mute remains symbolise on the one hand the ultimate in human destruction, but on the other, they communicate a message of hope for a continuation in perpetuity of the worldwide peace that the atomic bomb blasts of August 1945 ushered in.

Comparative analysis

There is no comparable building anywhere in the world.

Recommendation

That this property be inscribed on the World Heritage List, exceptionally, on the basis of **criterion vi** alone:

The Hiroshima Peace Memorial, Genbaku Dome, is a stark and powerful symbol of the achievement of world peace for more than half a century following the unleashing of the most destructive force ever created by humankind.

ICOMOS, October 1996

Source: UNESCO (1996a)

The inscription of a Second World War heritage site was controversial. In 1979, the Bureau of the World Heritage Committee had agreed to inscribe Auschwitz- Birkenau (former Nazi German concentration camps) onto the World Heritage List. This was also implicated in a controversy revolving around stakeholder perspectives and pressure

groups. Nevertheless, the German Hitlerian genocide camps were included based on criterion VI with emphasis being made that:

“Auschwitz-Birkenau, a monument to the martyrdom and resistance of millions of men, women and children, is not a historical museum in the usual sense of the word; it bears irrefutable and concrete witness to one of the greatest crimes which have been perpetrated against humanity the example by excellence, which undeniably elucidated an essential aspect of the historical phenomena which is Hitlerism” (UNESCO, 1978).

At the time when granting Auschwitz – Birkenau World Heritage Status in 1978, the Bureau of the World Heritage Committee agreed to limit the inclusion of other sites of a comparable type, stating that there was a need to maintain its symbolic position as a testimonial to all victims of Auschwitz. It was cited that Auschwitz should remain in isolation as a category among cultural properties as a witness to terror and pain and as an example of great courage, emphasising that, all other sites that have suffered a great catastrophe should be symbolised through Auschwitz (UNESCO, 2012). However, as can be seen with the inclusion of Hiroshima’s Genbaku Dome some 18 years later, a new precedent was set on how these kinds of nominations are handled within the convention. This opened the doors for such sites to stand, not as one in isolation but in unison as individual sites united in their commemoration of great catastrophes.

6.7 Section Summary

The section above has highlighted key historical aspects which have been paramount in formulating the Hiroshima’s A-bombing narrative from Japan’s perspective to the visitors of the HPMM. The following section now seeks to analyse the themes identified from the empirical research undertaken at the HPMM.

6.8 Findings and Discussion: An Interview Analysis

This section now commences with analysing the curators’ and visitors’ views from the HPMM/GD. Overall, this chapter will draw the complex threads both from observation and interviews. The thematic components for this research were identified, explored and analysed in detail (Table 6.1 below).

Table 6.1: Empirical Data Themes HPMM/GD

HPMM/GD	Data Theme Title
Theme 1	Is heritage a politicised tool for government?
Sub-Theme	a) Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum: A politicised commodity
Theme 2	Silencing the facts: The absent past
Sub-Theme	a) Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum: Dulling of Authenticity
Theme 3	Touristification at The Enola Gay & Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum
Sub-Theme	a) Values and meanings in the visitor context: Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum

6.9 Is Heritage a Politicised Tool for the Government: Hiroshima?

6.9.1 Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum: A Silent Past/A Politicised Commodity

In comparison to the Enola Gay, the HPMM/GD can also be seen to have its interpretation of the bombing of Hiroshima fall under the influence of government for political purposes. Thus, the political ideology found in the NASM/UHC, of preserving national righteousness at the cost of narrating an objective perspective appears to be fluid across the political cultures of both the US and Japan.

Throughout the interviews with the curators of the HPMM, they were both very candid in the level of engagement. It soon became apparent to the researcher that unlike their American counterparts who seemingly spoke quite freely and had little hesitation in expressing their personal views, Hiroshima's curators were the exact opposite. They chose to restrict their answers to either one that projected a positive light for the HPMM or would refer to the official mandate of the prefecture government of Hiroshima's objectives relating to the purpose of the HPMM/GD stating:

Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum was established by the Hiroshima Municipal bylaw of the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum. This was enacted in 1955 and revised in 1994. Its objective is described in Article one of the bylaws which says- Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum shall be established to convey to the world facts of the atomic bombing, and to contribute to the abolition of nuclear weapons and realisation of lasting world peace. (C-HO2)

On asking the question to the curators of the HPMM/GD, about whether there are any political considerations taken into account when developing the exhibits within the HPMM, one curator (C-H02) replied:

The Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum develop exhibits and displays them to meet its objectives described in answer one. (C-HO2)

In these responses, links to the theme ‘Heritage a politicised tool for government’ are evident when the focus is given to the direction of the narrative driven by Hiroshima’s Municipal by-law enshrined by the governance of Hiroshima’s prefecture authority. It is interesting to note the reference made to the bylaw being: *revised in 1994*. C-HO2 related to the time frame when Hiroshima’s prefecture was seeking to gain inclusion into the World Heritage list for the Genbaku Dome, as illustrated in section 6.6. This led to the adoption of the phrase ‘Yuitsu Hibaku Kokako’ meaning ‘the only country that has experienced atomic bombing’. This, in effect, signalled a national moving away of the emphasis from the people of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, as being the few, those who had directly experienced the bombing of Japan, to one where the perspective of experience became shared by the collective (Shipilova, 2014). This in effect served to nationalise the atomic experience for all Japanese people, which illustrates the level of governmental control over the running of the HPMM/GD.

Moving from the curators’ perspectives, the visitors’ perspectives were less candid. When asked to what extent they thought the HPMM/GD conveys events that resulted in the bombing of Hiroshima, participant HO45 stated:

I think it shows the story, how the people lived there and the sadness after the bombing...I think it was an over wrecking of America to bomb Japan with the atomic bomb...I think it was hard for the Japanese people...and I am wondering why they used the atomic bomb I don’t understand the reaction, they knew the capability and they went ahead and used it. (HO45)

While HO45 discusses their despair as to why any nation would bestow such an act of violence upon another nation, analysis can be made of the conscious contribution the HPMM’s, interpretation has had upon participant HO45. Participant HO45 seemingly appears to be registering Japan’s victimhood while positioning the US as the victimiser. Therefore, when curator C-HO2 stated that: *HPMM shall be established to convey to the*

world facts of the atomic bombing, the actual sentiment conveyed by the HPMM of Japan is one only of Japan having experienced an atomic bombing, rather than being an actual aggressor of World War II. This victimised image of Japan has led the country to often use Hiroshima with its developed commemorative infrastructure as an icon to remind the Japanese of the collective memory of their victimhood, while unifying Japanese national identity (Smith, 2013; Shipilova, 2014). Alternatively, participant HO55 took a different approach to the question and commented on the facts that were missing:

I mean history is written by the winner, but here the loser has written it, and they turn the facts in terms of what they experience. When there are two sides, and a side changes the facts, facts change for both sides. You see the devastation inside this place you sort of walk hand in hand with it...know a lot of Chinese were killed by the Japanese, but they don't mention that side of things. They forget very easily; this bombing shook them up, the war came home to them... you just get the one view, Japanese city gone, Japanese children gone, Japanese women gone. It makes me feel sorry for them all, as a human I ask, why did all this happen, but I can't see an answer to that here. So, on leaving, I have more questions. The history is very controlled. (HO55) (Transcript HO55 Appendix 6 B1)

When analysing participant HO55's statement above, it is clear that the curators have engaged the visitors' levels of historical empathy through the rebuilding of peoples' perspectives around the gaining of knowledge and understanding of the circumstances in which events have been acted out. Visitors then contextualise the possible motives, beliefs and emotions which, creates the register of engagement. The register of engagement is coloured by people's positionalities, which are informed by existing knowledge, beliefs and emotions and a willingness to engage, all of which seems to have been experienced by HO55. Through engagements with the HPMM visitor interpretation (Plates 13 to 36, section 4.6) the participant's engagement registers a feeling of bias within the interpretation of Hiroshima's A-bombing where Japan's portrayal of its victimhood comes at a cost of Japan silencing its war sensitivities (HO55).

This links to US concerns voiced in opposition to Hiroshima's inscription as a World Heritage Site. This is that the US was unable to condone the recommendation for an inscription due to their concerns about the lack of historical context, which the US believed would misrepresent the role played by the US in the dropping of the atomic bomb. The US Government believed that without an account of the events leading up to

the bombing, the bombing would be presented as an isolated incident of the war in which the US was the victimiser (Beazley, 2010). Interestingly, participant HO61a observed:

Yeah, Yeah there were Americans with me in the museum and you know they were going oh no, it's obviously biased towards the Japanese...I thought yeah, yeah, I feel it's right, I feel that it should be in that perspective...You know I don't know, but sometimes the censorship of information is made out to be such a big thing for particular countries... I liked the focus on primary resources and lots of meetings minutes and personal diaries and things, particularly from the US...The decisions we let our governments make for us have real human consequences and real human victims as well. (HO61a)

From the participants' comments, reference is made to the conflicting perspectives and historical cultural sensitivities to representation. First, by linking to the viewpoints of the Americans who the participant above observed stating the narrative of the HPMM had a Japanese bias. Second, surprisingly, the participant agreed with the Americans but for different reasons, believing it should be from the Japanese perspective. This is understandable given HO61a's reference to the presentations of primary resources in the form of meetings minutes and personal diaries which portray the US as an aggressor. Evidence of this is illustrated in Plate 15, and shows the President of the United States' and Prime Minister of Great Britain's joint declaration to test the bomb on Japan as far back as 1944. This successfully aids Hiroshima's endeavour to rewrite the victim versus perpetrator narrative.

Interestingly, participant HO61a then immediately introduces the topic of censorship, implying that the American visitors observed could not understand how for some, censorship created concern. This instantly illustrates how heritage can be a politicised tool for government as discussed in Chapter 3 given that the City of Hiroshima Government owns MPMM/GD, and in effect governs its interpretation with an eye on positioning Hiroshima to the world as the 'Great Teacher'. A teacher which has not taken the path of revenge, but instead, has become the most ardent of cities in its promoting of a non nuclear world (Asahi Shimbun, 2004), serving at the same time to detach the country from its military sensitivities. It was to this detachment from military sensitivities that the American visitors which participant HO61a cited could well have been hinting.

6.9.2 Silencing of Facts: The Absent Past Hiroshima

Selective memory within Japan's political elites as discussed in Chapter 3 (section 3.7) has its roots firmly entrenched in Japan's post-war psyche. Unlike Germany, whose government took an open and critical role of its involvement in the war Japan has politically crafted a highly effective level of ambiguity when confronted with calls for an acknowledgement of wartime aggression by its wartime victims.

6.9.3 Silencing of Facts: The Absent Past – Curators' Perspectives (Hiroshima's Peace Memorial Museum/Genbaku Dome, Hiroshima, Japan)

When discussing the issues of historical representation with the curators at the HPMM, throughout the interviews curator (C-HO2) seemingly followed an official line in his narrative whereas interestingly, curator (C-HO1) generally appeared a little less conformist in his responses.

C-HO2 when asked to what extent the HPMM interprets the events leading up to the bombing replied:

Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum is categorised in terms of a historical museum. When developing exhibits, we take account of the historical facts to such an extent that standard historical museums are supposed to do.
(C-HO2)

While C-HO1 stated more frankly that:

Pre the bomb is not so detailed; problem belongs to Hiroshima City who controlled the museum. There is an issue that they are not very confident about discussing what brings the bomb, but the museum does show life before the bombing in Hiroshima, showing civilian life and Hiroshima's link to Japan's military war effort. (C-HO1)

When asked if there were any plans to show any historical context, curator C-HO1 replied:

Renovations, artefacts including survivors' clothing, drawings paintings by survivors and many more pictures. This is what is planned for the current restoration that is ongoing and are due to be exhibited in 2019.
(C-HO1)

The renovations discussed here are now in place and are illustrated in Plates 33 to 36 Chapter 4 (section 4.7). Once more, these latest 2019 additions illustrate the techniques the HPMM continues to employ to further perpetuate the victimhood of Japan by maintaining its manipulation of the visitors' emotional engagement. In doing this, it maintains the museum's role as a political tool for government, while silencing the facts of the absent past which are the events leading up to Hiroshima's A-bombing.

At the HPMM, the research found that while curator C-HO2 championed the official line, the other curator, C-HO1, was a little more indirectly open, and almost apologetic in their tone in explaining it was Hiroshima City who controlled the museum. Thus, it became patently clear that like the NASM/UHC, the HPMM/GD is through enforced policy, concealing and silencing the facts insofar as the narrative of Japan's war sensitivities are absent from the narrative of its past due to the political hand that controls it. To which C-HO1 argues:

Pre the bomb is not so detailed; problem belongs to Hiroshima city who control the museum. There is an issue that they are not very confident about discussing what brings the bomb. (C-HO1)

The following section will now examine the results of the research relating to the visitors' views about the site's silencing of the facts of its absent past.

6.9.4 Silencing of Facts: The Absent Past, Visitors Perspectives: The HPMM

When asking the question to the visitors of the HPMM about whether they think the Hiroshima Peace Memorial should interpret events leading up to the bombing of Hiroshima. Interestingly, it soon became apparent that more participants visiting the HPMM did not really challenge the HPMM's interpretation and were in acceptance with the position promoting the HPMM/GD as a centre for world peace:

There's a lot that could be included here, but it's not the place. The only neat thing is it's the place where the bomb happened, so to focus on the aftermath is right. (HO50B)

Yes and no, this being a memorial for peace, it is not really necessary to show what Japan did. It doesn't say how the Americans were bad in doing this. It gives a general perspective that war is bad, and we should not drop atom bombs. I think they should focus on peace. (HO48)

That was in the back of my mind, but I wasn't questioning anything that was up there...some things are best just left. (HO58)

That would be interesting, I wasn't expecting much on that just because I am seeing this museum in Japan. I know sometimes there is controversy when your country started a war, sometimes it's a bit too controversial to grasp it was anyone's fault, especially when it's something like this. You don't want to involve politics. You don't want to detract from the horror of it by saying how they started it kind of thing. It sounds like nit-picking. I appreciate an outsider point of view, but I understand why the time before the bomb is not focused on. (HO61a)

Well, I don't think it's an information session on World War II. I think it's what it says a Peace Memorial...But pretty much like every war in the history of humanity, the events that led up to something like this are decided not by civilians but by politicians. Focus is on the event and the aftermath, having less of the build-up gives less opportunity of politics in the interpretation. It's understandable rather just to be focusing on the future rather than the past. (HO61b)

Nevertheless, while many participants supported the HPMM position as illustrated above a significant number of participants expressed opinions that there should be much more coverage of events that lead to the bombing of Hiroshima.

We should have more; I was reading about the view of America up there. It was about the development of the atomic bomb, but it didn't say the American view. There is more stated about the effects and less about the events leading to it. They should mention the other side. I think this museum they are hiding this side. They are standing at the victims' side and not mentioning the gross things they did. But then that would lead to less impact when they show this is what we got from the bomb. (HO52)

Before and after! If bomb not drop Japan might continue war with neighbours and might not accept unconditional surrender and stay in China and continue big harm even if finished with war on America. America wanted to stop war by drop atomic bomb. Big museum here says one side, Japan victim. But Japan attack China and air raid many Chinese people dead and Korea made museum and show everything. Japan show only atomic bomb, Japan is victim only, but many situations that Japan attacks China, many things linked, and you think they should show this linking, YES. American decision was terrible. But if Japanese people had atomic bomb first and have the ability to bring bomb to China or something Japanese military might drop bomb to another country. It is easy to blame America, but if Japan have had atom bomb, Japan might drop the bomb first. You have to think two ways or three ways. (HO55)

They wrote it up as the way they want you to see it from their perspective, that is very wrong. What has happened is not a great way to end the war. They push you towards this as peace museum. To show what peace is all about, you have to show what war is all about. True, they show the effects of the bomb very graphically and very expertly done they almost bring that life size, but Japan entered willingly World War II, they wanted to extend their conquest beyond China. Japan before World War II were occupying vast parts of China, look what they did in Nanjing that was before your World War II many more people killed in Nanjing than here and they did it. They show just a little bit of that. To learn about peace, you have to say all what war is and not just say look what they did to us. (HO42)

When analysing the participant responses above, opinions culminated in the view that Japan 'IS' promoting a 'victim' image of Japan through Hiroshima. Overall, well over half of the participants expressed opinions reflecting this sentiment, which in effect validates much of the theory in the literature relating to Hiroshima being a politicised commodity promoting Japan as a victim of World War II. This, in turn, legitimises Japanese victimhood as an integral strategy within heritage interpretation for nation-building purposes. As illustrated in section 6.2 for the Japanese, the politically led notion of victimhood has evolved to become hereditary and used as a tool to bind the Japanese people together into a national collective. This national collective has, over time, unified generations into the blind consumption of the Japanese people being a nation of victims. This adoption of victimhood has helped Japan to position itself in the struggle between global opinion and Japan's view of itself as a nation that had experienced the most suffering. Consequently, this allowed Japan's conscience to offset Japan's acknowledgement of its accountability for its wartime sensibilities, thus conforming to Lim's (2010) statement that the epistemological dualistic guilt and guiltlessness enables nations who have suffered defeat to turn towards victimhood. Moreover, through cultivating the notion of a collective memory of innocence, a nation can construct resilience and a sense of solidarity as self-decreed victims.

Interestingly, a small number of participants expressed the need for a more rounded, broader range of stakeholder perspectives for inclusion within Hiroshima's Interpretation:

Like Pearl Harbour, or the way the Japanese treated POWs. I am from Sweden, Sweden was neutral, we don't get lessons connected to the war. So, the things between Japan and the US, I would have liked to have more information like the beginning of the war and what led up to Hiroshima being bombed. (HO54)

The truth could be interpreted differently, I mean the general facts are the same, Hiroshima got bombed that's a fact, but the experiences are different from each side of the conflict. So, in today's world here, we see how the children suffered, but we don't know why children suffered during the war, it is not accented well enough, it's not here. The reason there shouting for disarmament should be told openly. (HO46)

It needs more on why this all happened, absolutely! Look where we stand - in Hiroshima itself; It must be authentic to be credible. I am from Germany; we must deal with the Holocaust. Have you been to Berlin? Have you seen the Holocaust Memorial? We have stood up and recognised our shame on what Germany did to the Jewish peoples; this is important to build back the nation. Japan government must do this they need to show their blame very much in this. If people are not told of why things happen, they will just go and repeat them. (HO43)

Fundamentally, the opinions expressed above support the literature in Chapter 3 (section 3.6) that deals with the dilemmas facing interpretation when illustrating controversies in museums and sites of historical significance. This literature confirmed that museums and sites can all too often dim the reality of historical facts when dealing with the interpretation and presentation of a nation's sensitive past. For the HPMM, this dimming process has seemingly been its focus by preserving and presenting a narrative which generally focuses on Hiroshima's bombing as an event and post event. This is a point which was subsequently demonstrated through the participants' responses, where the findings revealed the majority of participants believed that there should be more attention given to the inclusion of events leading up to the bombing of Hiroshima.

Nonetheless, displays that endeavour to present sensitive histories will often provoke arguments around the true meaning of the history as well as how the history is best represented. In addition, institutions also run the danger of placing those engaged in developing history for exhibits, the curators and historians, under the spotlight of public scrutiny in such ways that can test an institution's authenticity Chapter 3, (section 3.8). However, through the opinion expressed by participant HO43 above, it was shown that not all controversy is necessarily negative, and as Rose (2016) argues, that public controversy can have a positive usage to motivate public engagement. This is because it is through this public engagement, that forums are created through which dialogues can challenge and change cultural understandings and political positions. This in turn assists in nation-building rather than museums silencing or dimming down the facts and thus creating an absent past such as that demonstrated at the HPMM, which has been shown

within the thesis to have had its historical narrative moderated by a politicised commodification.

6.9.5 Dilution of Authenticity: Curators Perspective (Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum)

On asking the same question to the curators of the HPMM regarding the extent to which authenticity is important in conveying information in the interpretation of the HPMM, the replies were as follows:

The Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum in terms of historical Museum. When developing exhibits, we take into account the historical facts to such an extent that standard historical museums are supposed to do. If you need more specific comments on this matter, please question me again with a concrete definition of “authenticity”. (C-HO2)

As previously commented on, the response from C-HO2 seemed rehearsed; however, it was interesting to note two main points. The first was made when stating that the HPMM was a standard historical museum. This statement can easily be refuted given the Peace Memorial Museum’s association with a World Heritage site, and therefore it is clearly not a standard museum. However, as discussed in Chapter 3 (section 3.3) when discussing principles of interpretation standardisation linking to authenticity, it was seen how in September 2008, UNESCO’s *Ename Charter* gained ratification through the ICOMOS International Committee on Interpretation and Presentation of Cultural Heritage Sites (ICIP). This then formed a benchmark for international standards in the interpretation and presentation of cultural heritage sites (ICOMOS, 2008). The outcome theoretically has implications for the international standardisation of interpretation at World Heritage Sites. Interestingly, curator C-HO2’s second point related to interpreting historical facts to a fitting standard. One would presume that it would be the *Ename Charter* guidelines relating to authenticity which would be adhered to:

“Respect of authenticity of cultural heritage sites, by communicating the significance of their historic fabric and cultural values and protecting them from the adverse impact of intrusive interpretive infrastructure, visitor pressure, inaccurate or inappropriate interpretation” (ICOMOS, 2008).

However, when examining Japan’s heritage policy directed at heritage sites within the literature in Chapter 3 (section 3.9), it was seen that the policy states that the principal aim is to maintain the integrity of individual sites. Yet, this raises the question as to what

extent Japan can be held to account when looking at the HPMM. This is especially relevant since Japan, after all, has a well-documented record of denial when *'telling the truth'* and being authentic in its accounts of its own actions in both in Manchuria and in the Pacific.

From the analysis of this part of the interview made by the curator C-HO2 above: *If you need more specific comments on this matter, please question me again with a concrete definition of "authenticity."* The term 'authenticity' is instantly questioned.

The Japanese perspective on heritage authenticity as discussed in Chapter 3 (section 3.9) has been shown in the literature to be a complex anomaly considering the many studies relating to authenticity. These tend to have been written from a Western-centric stance, which has mostly neglected to investigate how authenticity appears through an Asian lens. However, when looking at authenticity from a Japanese perspective, one first needs to recognise that the Japanese, along with many other Asian countries, do not have appropriate words within their languages that directly translate into the Western/Eurocentric interpretation of the term 'authenticity.' This then makes the term 'authenticity' from within the cultural heritage outlook of Japan a word that is 'difficult to understand' in comparison to the Western perspective (Ito, 1995; Akagawa, 2016). This presumably is why curator C-HO2 asked for a more solid definition as they fully understood the complexities of the interpretation of the terms between Eastern and Western cultures. Interestingly though, this line of reasoning could also be linked to subjective and objective authenticity, which would be an element common to both the East and West when it comes to interpretation.

When asking the same question to the curator C-HO1 at the HPMM, the participant replied:

First of all, people should know what happened under the bombing. What the bombing brought to the local people. We have to interpret events under the mushroom cloud. But we can't compare the bombing to the events before the bombing again, here problem belongs to Hiroshima City who controls the museum. (C-HO1)

This response merely reinforced what had become a mantra of the politicised direction the HPMM was steered in, where heritage is a politicised tool for a government which chooses to silence the past by diluting its authenticity through the institutional failure to compare the bombing to the events leading up to it.

6.9.6 Dilution of Authenticity: Visitors' Perspective (Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum)

As illustrated in Chapter 4 (section 4.6), pictorial exhibits or stage artefacts (Obs, 2017L) highlight how the HPMM's narrative is being transmitted by the curators. Generally, curators occupy positions of power and influence and are thus able to present their institute's chosen message by selectively staging events through carefully chosen artefacts/displays. Thus, curators become agents, not of their own objectiveness, but the producers of their institute's politically subjective intentions manifested in their interpretations constructed with the aid of semiotics (Kreuzbauer & Keller, 2017).

Semiotics, when fully understood by those constructing museum exhibits, can be used to help the visitor to process the messages displayed and help the exhibitor to present the narrative they want to be received by the visitor. With this knowledge, curators can present images with political undertones that the subconscious receptors of the visitor pick up through the semiotic process. This in itself employs a complex set of analytical processes based on the social nurturing and interaction within the specific culture of the visitor. When curator C-HO2 of the HPMM was asked to what extent semiotics is actively engaged in when developing exhibits, they replied:

We do not utilise semiotics in an intended way. However, the day August 6, 1945, and time 8:15 a.m. already serves semiotic roles either alone or together to indicate the atomic bombing and the damage caused by the bombing at least in Japan. We intend to take this into account when writing narratives, and at the same time, we take special care so that a particular material should not be too symbolic. (C-HO2)

From the outset, it became clear that there was a significant contradiction with the curator C-HO2's statement. On the one hand, they clearly state they do not use semiotics, yet they instantly follow this by explaining the semiotic role August 6, 1945, and time 8:15 a.m. has within Japan's cultural identity. This was particularly striking when linking this statement to Plate 18 Chapter 4 (section 4.6) which shows a clock positioned at the entrance to the *Fatal Hour* exhibition with the face depicting the time of 8:15 a.m. accompanied by the date August 6, 1945. Interestingly, with curator C-HO2 openly stating the semiotic value of the date and time, this inclusion can be classed as an intended use of semiotics employed in the use of nation-building through victimology for the domestic visitors, but for international visitors there would be no semiotic register.

The use of semiotics was further evident through observations made within the ‘Hiroshima before the bombing’ exhibit, and the *devastation on 6th of August* exhibit (Plates 13 to 36). A claim that can be supported through the comments of the participants visiting the HPMM, who testified to the impact the exhibits in the museum had on them. One participant refers to the museum as ‘emotional’ remembering how the narrative follows the emotional trail forward:

It’s very emotional, I think it means well. I have a lot more respect for it the other side of the story. Understanding the bigger picture where this all began is also needed. Here you see terrible events that happened. Casualties, how many people died, they look at the effects like a few days after the bomb, like the burns and the pressure from the blast and even, many years after where people died from cancer because of radiation exposure like how people were tortured. So, if they can show the tortured way after the bombing, they can show the bigger picture, they can be more authentic with a bigger picture of ‘why’ it happened. (HO47)

The journey for the visitor is one where the curator takes the visitor and leads them by the hand around the exhibits. In the exhibits they have been graciously presented with the harrowing life and deaths of the tortured victims, and the participant above acknowledges their pain. Nevertheless, whilst they acknowledge the legitimacy of the victims’ journey, the participant ends by questioning the point that if the victims’ journey can be followed after the bombing, then why can the museum not also illustrate why Hiroshima was bombed. In doing this they are questioning and highlighting the limitations of Hiroshima’s authenticity within the context of the question of whether authenticity/genuineness is important in the interpretation at the HPMM.

Thus, the research illustrates how, for many visitors, an authentic narrative means an inclusive narrative of the big picture, or to put it simpler, inclusion of the ‘why’ (the reasons ‘why’ Hiroshima was bombed) as well as the ‘what,’ (the things that happened as a consequence of Hiroshima’s bombing) a theme which is further illustrated below:

Authentic! I think it is nothing like I learnt at school in India, I learnt the Japanese were fighting in Burma heading for India and us Indians were fighting with the British in Burma to protect India. I learnt the Japanese were fanatical fighters who committed countless brutalities in China, the Philippines, Korea, as well as Burma. And I didn’t see that here. It says it’s a museum to peace and they are promoting themselves as the City, ‘No More Hiroshima’s’ you see the letters like the mayor attending all the cities around the world that are making nuclear bombs saying ‘No More

Hiroshima's'. they do a good job of showing you how far spreading the atomic bomb is that looks authentic, and the pain it caused their people. But nothing about the pain they gave out. You must learn from your history; you must not hide it. It's a half show, and that has surprised me...there is authenticity here but is very much blinkered. (HO50)

It, looks authentic, it would be interesting to widen the perspective, it's says one story really and there are two stories so then it's subjective. Here happened the end of the war and Japan is pointing to this and saying look what happened to the Japanese. But in war, there are two sides of the coin. So authentic snapshots of a part of a bigger picture is what we see. But that part of the picture sure looks real like what really happens when an atomic bomb went off. They have a clock up there, it says the date and the time when the bomb went off, that's something else up there the way they show life on the streets then you see the bomb coming down then bang the destination, it's effective, but you get that feeling. But not much on Pearl Harbour. It seems to me the main thrust of the museum is to show the Japanese are the victims, So, it is authentic, and it isn't. It tells you what happened, but I would like to see why it happened. (HO49)

Participant HO49 above illustrates how the HPMM, within its interpretation, re-enforces Hiroshima's national memory as an international image which has a profound impact on the definition of places of memory. Carr (2018) argues that the nation as a state with a distinctive existence exists first and foremost in the imagination, an artefact comprising various elements chosen to fit that imagination. Elgenius (2011) argued that symbolism plays a fundamental part when it comes to a nation constructing its national building process. For Japan, this would be the adoption of victimhood through the atomic bombing of Hiroshima, which serves a vital symbolic political function by providing a platform whereby the nation of Japan has created a Japanese symbol to build the concept of 'A-bomb nationalism.'

This finding supports the literature insofar as demonstrating that the HPMM is indeed being selective in its narrative by consciously choosing to promote the national memory of its victimhood through its focus on the consequence of Hiroshima's bombing and therefore, actively neglecting the 'why' narrative. Interestingly, participant HO49 can be seen as a representative of the 'thoughtful consumer'.

The research has shown that the majority of participants held the view that the HPMM was authentic in its representation of the bombing narrative, however they all expressed concerns that they would like to have seen a broader and deeper narrative relating to the history of *why* such a thing happened. Thus, the research illustrates, as with the interpretation of the Enola Gay, the HPMM's authenticity/genuineness is also diluted.

6.9.7 Curators' View: Values of Meaning in the Visitor Context: The Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum

The Hiroshima curators when asked the purpose of the exhibit concerning its value and meaning characteristically persisted with their official narrative, which resulted in some repetition. Nevertheless, C-HO1 made it clear that:

It is important that we don't compare the bombing to the events leading up to the bombing you know...It's about helping nuclear disarmament, you asked about victims before and I said victims are not Japanese, victims are civilians all over living under the threat of the mushroom cloud. In the 1990s mayor of the city announced praise and hopes for nuclear disarmament by making three non-nuclear principles into law with the hope of denuclearization of the Asia Pacific region and the first mention of support for non-Japanese A-bomb survivors. (C-HO1)

The Peace Memorial Museum's name says just what it's about; it is for peace; it is very important to convey to younger generations for a better understanding. This began in the 1970s to help unite Japan people. As I said before the civilians of Hiroshima were the victims, not the Japanese. All we can do under the guidance of Hiroshima municipal governance is to convey the horrors of using A-bomb through using Hiroshima to show the world and all generations, the impact of such a bombing. (C-HO1)

The same question was put to the second curator C-HO2 who stated:

The ultimate responsibility of the museum lies with the city, and the city is bound by bylaw Article 1. This article states the Museum is to convey to the world the facts of what happens when an atomic bomb is dropped on a city and this museum it's value is to show the world and to contribute to the abolition of nuclear weapons and to help realise world peace. (C-HO2)

C-HO1 re-affirms that the value of the HPMM is as a political tool, through which government reaffirms its position to promote nuclear disarmament and as such, advertently discounts the inclusion of the events which led up to the bombing of Hiroshima. While maintaining the link with victimhood, the statement reveals a darker side to post-war Japanese culture. When linking back to the literature in section 6.2 of this chapter, it was shown how the concept and re-enforcement of victimhood as a socio phenomenon equating to the direct victim culture could be seen through aspects of the medium of Manga.

C-HO1 states: *you asked about victims before and I said victims are not Japanese, victims are civilians all over living under the threat of the mushroom cloud.* When stating victims are not Japanese, C-HO1 is referring to the victims being the citizens of Hiroshima as depicted in the early Manga. Additionally, when expressing the importance of conveying the message to younger generations to create a better understanding of the 1970s, C-HO1 is, in effect, referring back to the start of the de-demonisation process of A-Bomb victims during the ‘Genbaku Manga’ period in 1973. This was period in time when a deeper acceptance of A-bomb victims was promoted and also utilised as a tool to further promote a wider collective notion of Japanese national victimhood (Ichiki, 2011). Therefore, C-HO1 makes it eminently clear that the value and meaning of the HPMM is one that allows the government, both local and national, to promote the notion of Japan’s victimhood to an international audience. In doing this, it is maintaining its political amnesia of Japan’s own sensitive history through diverting its energy to illustrating the devastation under the mushroom cloud, a sentiment also conveyed by C-HO2.

6.9.8 Values of Meaning in the Visitor Context: Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum

When the question of the meaning and value of the HPMM was raised to the participants, not surprisingly the findings revealed that the vast majority believed that the HPMM represented a promoter of nuclear disarmament and peace. In addition, it served to convey the need to pass the knowledge down to the next generations and express their appreciation of the level of technology they were able to engage with. Also, participants expressed the value of perspectives insofar as they may not have seen or been aware of the exact scale that the impact of the bombing had on Hiroshima’s citizens’ and appreciated the international perspective their visitor experience had given them.

I have always had an image of Hiroshima which is being conveyed to us as devastation. I wanted to see like the city of the South Land; I also wanted to feel the message. I think it’s very good for most parts; it’s quite an approachable message that nothing is too complicated, I think atomic bombs should not be made. (HO53)

It’s to make sure we never forget what happened and that is shouldn’t happen again ...Somehow it was at the forefront of my mind the historical context, the events that all happened before Hiroshima, the A-bomb, Enola Gay, I have seen the Enola Gay a few years back, and you don’t have all this side of the bombing. It is both fascinating, it’s a sobering thing, When you start moving around the exhibits it’s as though you are on a conveyer

belt, you suddenly find yourself going through one bit then the next bit, but you feel like you have not moved anywhere. Then all of a sudden, I was downstairs and looking all at these. For me, it's extremely sobering, (HO43)

First, they're more open here now, to see the presentation side of things it's a bit more visually powerful since I was last here. I think a big aspect was gaining perspective. Half the time you get stuck in a bubble and you look at the world around you and you don't see very far and never get to know where you began where you grew up and so being able to see the international perspective of the actions your country's taken are eye-opening. (HO50)

For me, it's a lesson, a new journey, a tragedy or just even a negative experience in events with a positive outcome. Rather than Hiroshima being this ultra-nationalistic sentiment, it's become an area of peace, and I think that I would love to see that attitude of peace spread across the world. I think that it's a very, very special place. That's the message I will convey to everyone I talk about it. (HO61)

It's interesting to see how they lived before, and after the atom bomb, I think they very quick to rebuild all the house and the city. I'm very interested in the World Wars, so very interested in the Japanese culture, and it was a must have to see. it goes through the heart, you see the pictures, and you feel with it. It's very sad, and I am fighting tears why this all happens here, they don't tell but it sad to see the people. Atomic bombs are bad things. like it says on t-shirts and in the Museum 'no more Hiroshima's. (HO45)

Overall, the visitation by the participants was valued as one which soaked up the message projected by the City of Hiroshima, which controls the HPMM. The majority of participants expressed the desire for a more objective total inclusion of the events leading up to the A-bombing of Hiroshima to give a balanced reflection of the event. However, on the whole they walked away believing the Japanese to be victims and that nuclear weapons were a bad thing and should never be used. As such it can be seen that for the HPMM management their subjective political message has been successful in diverting attention from Japan's war sensitivities.

However, while these may be the views held by a significant majority of participants, a small minority were less won over by their managed touristification experience at the HPMM. Questions were raised relating to the lack of inclusion of a more balanced message, which was an important element in their visitation experience and the

overall meaning of the message they walked away with, a sentiment which participant HO59 represents well:

They only touched on some of what led up to it and isn't what led up to it a big part of it? I understand the extent of the responses to the bombing but then where do you start? I mean how deep do you go there? Going deep on the impact the bomb had on the civilians, but doesn't anybody ask why all this happened. Shouldn't it be made more balanced; the atom bomb stopped the war. Think about that the message here is no nuclear weapons and I admire and believe that too but what about the message don't start a war? (HO59)

To answer your question for me it's don't play with fire, you'll get burnt, and its value is look this is what happens if you do play with fire. It's sort of half the story so yeah, I suppose it's half the value it could be. I have visited the Yasukuni Shrine that's where the Japanese honour their war dead, and I read they had several war criminals honoured there. They were convicted at the war tribunal; now there's a conundrum. (HO59)

6.10 Summary

This section has shown a comparison of views from both the curators and visitor participants for the HPMM/GD in relation to a range of questions that resulted in the identified themes section 6.8. Table 6.1. What follows below is a summary of section 6.9 findings applied to the themes.

Is heritage a politicised tool for government? As with the Enola Gay exhibition, considerable levels of political control over the management/curator interpretation were found within the HPMM/GD. This opinion was also held by both curators, although the level of discussion and acknowledgement tended to depend upon the extent to which each curator was willing to go beyond the official rhetoric of the HPMM.

Additionally, it was found that in Hiroshima, the visitors believed that due to the museum's focus on the aftermath of the bombing, the narration has been slanted towards portraying a message of victimhood in favour of the Japanese. Thus, the HPMM's interpretation was also viewed as being politically driven to distance Japan from its wartime sensitivities.

A silent Past: The findings illustrated an equal degree of historical silence. On both sides, this silence was very loud. This was evident at the HPMM in the way they have neglected the narrative that would explain the background behind the cause of the

bombing of Hiroshima. However, it was found this silencing served Japan in its nation-building as it allowed Japan to avoid any awkward acknowledgement relating to its wartime sensitivities. Yet, as with the visitors at the NASM Enola Gay exhibit, visitors at the HPMM also believed that the narrative is biased in favour of its nationalistic narrative. This resulted in the visitors preferring to see a more rounded historical narrative that reflects the reasons for the bombing of Hiroshima and not just the consequences of that bombing.

The Dilution of Authenticity: Authenticity has been shown to have been selectively diluted. Historically, the HPMM strives to portray an authentic/genuine representation of the consequences of the bombing of Hiroshima. However, this narrative was found to be diluted given Hiroshima's representation is being politically influenced to portray Hiroshima and Japan first as a victim, and second as a champion of peace. In doing this, it is once more projecting attention away from Japan's wartime sensitivities.

Touristification Value and Meaning: At the HPMM, visitors focused on the message conveyed by the overall experience of the aftereffects of the bombing of Hiroshima, and overwhelmingly agreed that the museum does fully portray a message of peace. However, there was a belief that Hiroshima's narrative was biased and acted to cover up Japan's wartime sensitivities and that Hiroshima's narrative should include a broader narrative to include a more objective perspective and include the *why* side to Hiroshima's A-bombing by the US within the HPMM. This call for a dual perspective representation was felt necessary on the grounds that, by understanding the causes of war, future wars may be avoided.

6.11 Reflection 6: Keeping It Human

Transcribing, I had totally underestimated the time it takes to transcribe an interview. I had the intention to interview in the day and transcribe at night, but I found it took me around three hours to do my first transcribe of a 17-minute visitor interview. I listened to a section of recording, wrote some down then re-listened and repeated the process back and forth. As I had set my sample size to be 32 interviews per site, I soon realised the full scale of the task. Luckily, all my recordings were done digitally, and with a bit of research I managed to download some software which made the process much more manageable as I was able to control the playback speed to match my typing. This solved the problem of rewinding and reduced the transcribing time by half. As a researcher, I had learnt a valuable lesson about the process of data recording and also about the reality of just how time-consuming the recording analysis of a research project can be.

This process in itself also led to the question of how I was going to undertake my thematic analysis. I attended the NVivo training sessions and had resolved originally to go the technological way. However, as I progressed with the training my mind changed, and I decided to use the software more as an aid to the coding process as I found the system to be a little too clinical to the point where the thickness and subtle nuances within the uploaded transcripts were being lost when using its analysis. Therefore, I made the decision to simply use the software to organise and structure my own analysis of the data into respective theme files. In the end, this proved to be a more enriching process as it allowed me to go over my transcripts multiple times, which in itself furnished me with a greater level of understanding of the richness of data within each transcript. But this also caused a drawback, as I found myself surrounded by so much rich data, I found it hard to edit the quotes down to the key points. This initially resulted in some long quotes being used within the thesis. Nonetheless, in doing so, my aim was to try to maintain the richness of the voice of the participant. I believe the discussion which leads up to a point can have almost as much value as the point itself because it allows the reader to see where the opinion is coming from, thus adding to the thickness of the data. However, I do recognise the value of being more succinct in using quotes, and post viva I have subsequently limited the length of quotes in order to get straight to the point and save time and space.

Chapter 7

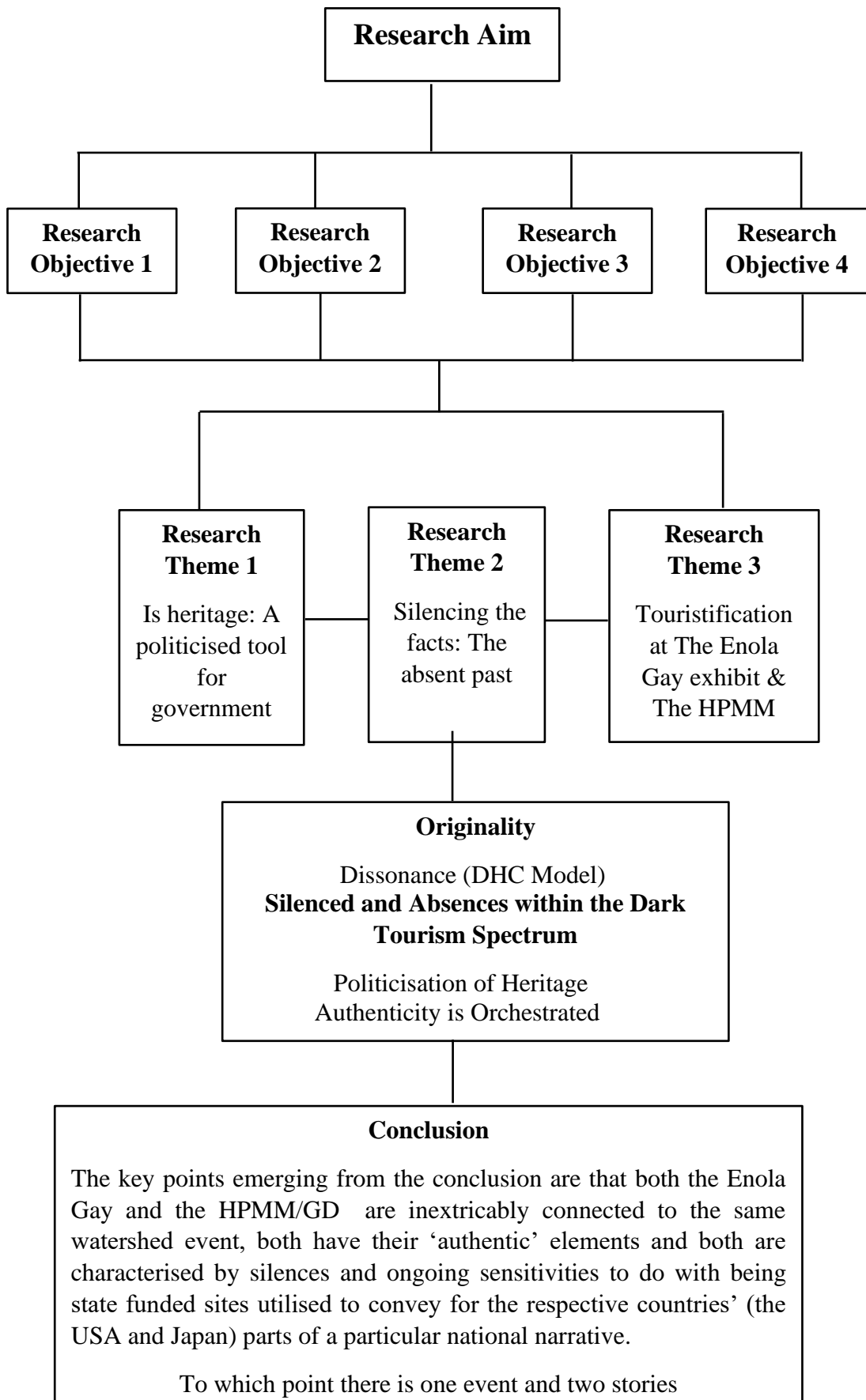
Conclusion

7.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to extract conclusions from the research and to demonstrate the original contribution to the dark tourism literature by helping to understand the extent to which narratives of dark tourism sites are politicised and the subsequent impacts upon authentic interpretation(s). Moreover, this chapter also identifies opportunities for future research, along with a personal reflection on the researcher's PhD 'journey'. Attention now turns to provide a summary of this thesis, followed by an illustration to demonstrate the extent to which four underlying research objectives as repeated below have been achieved.

- i) To critically examine the historicity of touristification of the 1945 atomic bombing at Hiroshima, Japan.
- ii) To compare and contrast touristification dynamics and cross-cultural interpretations of the 1945 atomic bombing at the Peace Memorial Museum/Genbaku Dome (Hiroshima, Japan), and the Enola Gay exhibit at the Smithsonian National Air and Space Museum, Steven F. Udvar Hazy Center (Chantilly, VA, USA).
- iii) To analyse concepts of dissonance heritage and dark tourism as conceptual frameworks for the touristification of the atomic bombing at Hiroshima.
- iv) To evaluate critical issues of politicisation and authenticity associated with interpreting the atomic bombing at Hiroshima, specifically from both Japanese and American perspectives.

Figure 7.1: Blueprint for Originality



7.2 Summary of the Thesis

Chapter 1 set out to introduce the thesis, offer a research rationale, and to state the research aim, objectives and research question. The introduction acted as a guide to the thesis by outlining its framework, as well as offering a brief account of the literature pertinent to the study.

Meanwhile, Chapter 2 set out and explained the philosophical approach and methodology adopted in this thesis. Additionally, the chapter justified the research methods used to meet the aim and objectives of the study, emphasising the work follows an inductively based, interpretive approach.

In Chapter 3, the work drew together relative theories to lay down the grounding of the underlying key concepts to be analysed and set within the framework of the empirical research. Specifically, the research analysed dissonance, heritage, and dark tourism as conceptual frameworks for the touristification of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima. In doing this, it illustrated how heritage is increasingly packaged for consumption within the tourism industry by exhibiting the darker side of a nation's past. By achieving this, it illustrated how the work offers an original contribution to the dark tourism literature by pushing the boundry of the dark tourism spectrum by demonstrating that sites with silenced histories are just as dark for what they do not say, as for what they do say. In addition, sandwiched between the dissonance, heritage, and dark tourism debates, are the theories relating to interpretation, nation building and authenticity.

Chapter 3 then initiated in depth discussions on theories relevant to the dynamics of tourism interpretation and its subsequent use in the representation when interpreting contentious issues in the construction of nation-building. Following interpretation, authenticity was proven to be an area full of contentions. Distinction was given to objective authenticity, the originality/genuineness that resides in the sites, as well as the subjective or existential authenticity of what visitors made of each site. Consequently, work on authenticity also focused on the cultural differences of interpretation of the term 'authenticity' from an East/West perspective. Finally, to help conceptualise the cultural differences when looking at authenticity, the work of Edward Siad in 1995, was used to illustrate the East/West positionality through his discussion on Western concepts of Eastern cultures. The work then concluded by leading the reader back to the discussion on dark heritage and dark tourism as a lead into Chapter 4. Thus, Chapter 3 provided a

thick level of grounding of the key theories through which the reader is better able to engage in the empirical side of the research.

Chapter 4 set the scene for the reader by drawing from the observational findings/primary observations in the field. The work follows a two narrative approach drawing two separate sites together. Emphasis was given to both the Enola Gay's NASM/UHC and the HPMM/GD's current touristification background and positioning within a dark tourism spectrum, thus illustrating some of the complexities of applying Stone's (2006) model. In addition, it also illustrated its usefulness in how, through political governance, each site's historical wartime sensitivities are silenced through controlling their absence. The discussion then moved on to illustrate how each site represents this silenced narrative today, through applying the key theoretical concepts discussed in Chapter 3 to the observational research undertaken both at the Enola Gay NASM/UHC and the HPMM/GD. Thus, Chapter 4 provided a contemporary analysis through engaging with narrative-building.

From this point, the reader is taken back in time through Chapters 5 and 6, to where the story begins, and is drawn back to the present to illustrate 'how' and 'why' both sites portray the Hiroshima bombing as they currently do.

Chapter 5 acted as a continuum of the two narrative approach by focusing on the Enola Gay NASM/UHC by taking the narrative back to unfold the story of how the Enola Gay became exhibited as it is today. Hence, Chapter 5 unpacked the Enola Gay's historical journey by drawing on the key contentions raised in Chapter 3 and applying them to the main issues that surrounded the contentions of the 1995 proposed Enola Gay's 50th anniversary exhibition – *The Last Act: The Atomic Bomb and the End of World War II* – NASM/WDC, through to its 2003 and current inclusion in the NASM/UHC to date. On achieving this, the research was able to analyse the thick data gained from the empirical interview phase of the research in relation to the identified themes illustrated in section 5.6 table 5.1.

Having unpacked the historical journey, attention then turned to analysing the interviews undertaken in the shadow of the Enola Gay NASM/UHC. It was here where the absent narrative was shown to have considerable levels of political control over the management/curator interpretation. This point was picked up on by the majority of visitors to the Enola Gay exhibit, who believed that, in one way or another, the Enola Gay's narrative about the bombing of Hiroshima was politically driven, superficial and

played down by the NASM/UHC. This, in effect, allows the NASM/UHC to avoid any national sensitivities of its involvement in the civilian casualties of Hiroshima's A-bombing. However, it was also found that visitors to the Enola Gay would prefer to see a more rounded historical narrative to illustrate the US justifications for the bombing, alongside some illustration of the consequences of the bombing of Hiroshima. Furthermore, when addressing issues of authenticity, authenticity was shown to have been historically diluted for the Enola Gay, due to its narrative being driven subjectively by external stakeholder representation independent to the NASM/WDC, resulting in Senate Resolution 257 governing the Enola Gay's interpretation to one which merely focuses on its technical attributes. Finally, when looking at the *touristification value and meaning*, it was concluded that the Enola Gay exhibit's representation has little to do with its role in dropping the first atomic bomb. Instead, it was found the NASM/UHC prefers the visitor to take their interpretation with them. Yet, it was also found that the vast majority of visitors expressed the desire for a more authentically objective, broader narrative. However, any likelihood of this being achieved is, for the foreseeable future, very slim due to the historical sensitivities.

Chapter 6 as with Chapter 5 acted as a continuum of the two-narrative approach. Hence Chapter 6, unpacked the HPMM/GD historical journey by drawing on the key contentions raised in Chapter 3 and applying them to the main issues that surrounded the contentions within Hiroshima's narrative leading up to Hiroshima's/Genbaku Dome's inscription on the World Heritage List (UNESCO, 1996b) and how it presents Hiroshima's atomic bombing today. On achieving this, the researcher was able to analyse the thick data gained from the empirical interview phase in relation to the identified themes illustrated in Table 6.1. Thus, as with Chapter 5, Chapter 6 demonstrated how both sites, drawn together through one event, give two different narratives driven by a commitment to the rhetoric of nation-building, resulting in both nations' past historic sensitivities being absent through being silenced.

Overall, it was found through the interviews, like with the Enola Gay exhibition, considerable levels of political control over the management/curator interpretation were present within the HPMM/GD. Additionally, it was observed that in Hiroshima, the visitors believed that due to the museum's focus on the aftermath of the bombing, the narration has been slanted towards portraying a message of victimhood in favour of the Japanese. Also, as with the Enola Gay Exhibit, the HPMM/GD, too, was found to have an equal degree of historical silencing with the HPMM/GD having neglected any

narrative that would explain the background behind the cause of the bombing of Hiroshima. This allowed Japan to avoid any awkward acknowledgement relating to Japan's wartime sensitivities in favour of maintaining its nation-building narrative. This in turn led to the issue of authenticity where it was found that while the artefacts were indeed authentic/genuine. The authenticity and genuineness of the narrative, while factually correct, was indeed diluted, not for what they say but for what they do not say about the events leading up to the bombing of Hiroshima.

Consequently, the interpretation was found by the participants to portray Hiroshima and Japan first, as a victim and second, as a champion of peace. Finally, when looking at the *touristification value and meaning* in Chapter 6 it was clear that visitors overwhelmingly believed the artefacts to be genuine and agreed the HPMM/GD fully portrays a message of peace. However, it was also apparent that visitors did believe a broader narrative was necessary to include a more objective perspective by including the 'why' side to Hiroshima's A-bombing by the US within the HPMM. This is because it was believed that by understanding the causes of war may future wars be avoided and therefore the inclusion of the 'why' would, in itself, sit well with the 'No More Hiroshima's message.

7.3 The 1945 Atomic Bombing and its Historicity (Research Objective 1)

To critically examine the historicity of touristification of the 1945 atomic bombing at Hiroshima, Japan.

When examining the issues raised in research Objective 1, Chapters 5 and 6 critically considered the historicity of touristification of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima by analysing contentions related to the establishment of the HPMM/GD and the Enola Gay exhibit at the NASM/UHC as particular dark tourist sites. Furthermore, the theme of dissonance continued, particularly from historical interpretations of each site. Indeed, the study demonstrated that in both the Enola Gay's narrative and that of the HPMM, high degrees of dissonance are entrenched in their historical as well as contemporary interpretations. As illustrated, in Chapter 6, Hiroshima has become a focal point for an unprecedented national experience and the central feature of a "national self-perception" (Shipilova, 2014:194). This led to Japan adopting the phrase 'Yuitsu Hibaku Kokako' – *the only country that has experienced atomic bombing* – making Hiroshima one of Japan's foremost heritage attractions domestically and internationally. Moreover, it has been shown how this has led Japan to use Hiroshima within its commemorative

infrastructure as an icon to remind the Japanese of the collective memory of their victimhood. In doing this, Hiroshima is acting as a political component by which Japan's national identity is reinforced to its people through the integral strategy of employing heritage interpretation for nationhood.

It was demonstrated in the literature that how during the post-war years, the people of Hiroshima were not viewed at a national level with any real warmth. This then gives potential support to the idea that the politicisation of Hiroshima was more likely to have been used politically to help save face for Japan's surrender. This was done by illustrating Japan's victimhood, rather than having been used for the commemoration of the 140,000 largely civilian victims of the bombing. Thus, what emerged from the observation research was that the interpretation of the exhibits was dominated by a heavy focus on the aftermath of Hiroshima's bombing. In particular, the research established that the exhibit's narration was viewed as being politically influenced due to the high level of the portrayal of Japanese victimhood compared to any realistic portrayal of Japan's wartime aggression and is indeed, being used as a politicised commodity through promoting Japan as a victim of the war. This view was also supported by the interview research, in which the majority of the participants visiting the HPMM viewed Hiroshima as a victim of the war.

Also, a consensus by the participants was established that if the HPMM/Japan had some recognition of its wartime historical sensitivities, the museum would be better placed to help the Japanese nation on its path to reconciliation with its neighbouring countries. Thus, the museum would also be better placed to legitimise further the museum's role as a standard-bearer for the anti nuclear movement and a peace-loving nation.

However, the literature review identified that through the 'Kagaisha' (Aggressors Corner Affair) that any inclusion of Japan's wartime sensitivities would be politically impossible as it would be viewed as unpatriotic and, subsequently, position the Japanese as victimisers. This would thus call into question Japan's notion of its victimhood. This point that was vehemently expressed by the Conservative Prime Minister Takeshita Noboru who stated that "whether the war in the Pacific was a war of aggression or not should be determined by historians of the future generations" implying that it was not a question to be addressed (Noboru, 1988 translated in Naono, 2005:234). Further, it seems that this is a view that still resonates through the HPMM's interpretation today. Indeed,

the research revealed that even in the foreseeable future, it is highly unlikely that there will be any inclusion of Japanese sensitivities and that for the meantime the image of Japan as a victim will persist. Here then, once more, Hiroshima's interpretation can be seen to be politically directed through the political intervention of the controlling hand of the Hiroshimas prefecture's House of Councillors. In doing this, they are silencing a large proportion of Japan's wartime past.

Just as the HPMM is politicised so is the Enola Gay's interpretation at the NASM/UHC through Senate Resolution 257 and the controlling hand of the government-appointed board of regents as demonstrated in Chapter 3. Supporting this notion, the observational analysis revealed that this politicised intervention has led to a suppression of the Enola Gay's past for two key reasons. First, the Enola Gay itself was found to be presented within the Smithsonian's World War II aviation exhibits instead of having its own display. Secondly, its interpretation was seen to be too focused on its technological contribution to aviation. It became evident through both the observations as well as from the interviews that the NASM was heavily lacking in its historical interpretation of the Enola Gay's participation in the bombing of Hiroshima. Consequently, it has been established by the research that both sites' narratives through their interpretations have indeed been played down. The consequence of this is the imposing of silence on both sites' pasts.

7.4 Dilemmas of Touristification and Interpretation (Research Objective 2)

To compare and contrast touristification dynamics and cross-cultural interpretations of the 1945 atomic bombing at the Peace Memorial Museum/Genbaku Dome (Hiroshima, Japan), and the Enola Gay exhibit at the Smithsonian National Air and Space Museum, Steven F. Udvar-Hazy Center (Chantilly, VA, USA).

Objective 2 of this thesis was to generate further understanding of the dynamics of interpretation and its subsequent use in the representation when interpreting contentious issues in the construction of nation-building. In so doing, the aim was to further legitimise and illustrate politicisation of site interpretation. To facilitate this, Chapter 3 of this thesis illustrated the dynamics of heritage interpretation and nation-building within the realms of interpretation and stakeholder perspective management by examining dissonance.

The review of the literature illustrated that semiotics within interpretation presents an array of analytical data and acts as a tool that grasps an image, strips it down

and tracks the way it works with broader systems of meanings, including visual cultural meaning (Rose, 2014). Semiotics, if rightly understood and constructed by those who are in charge of constructing museums, can help facilitate curators to present an exhibitors' message in such a way that the visitor is unaware that the message has been sent to them. Thus, with the help of semiotics, curators are easily placed in positions of influence to present images with political undertones that the subconscious receptors of the visitor pick up through the semiotic process.

Significantly, it was established through the interviews conducted with the curators of the HPMM that semiotic theory had not consciously been employed as an interpretative tool within the HPMM's interpretation. However, the empirical research revealed through primary observations Chapter 4, (section 4.6) that semiotics did indeed play a substantial role in the HPMM's interpretation and was arguably utilised as a political tool to convey Japan's victimhood to its visitors. This, thus, linked to the theme "Is heritage a politicised tool for government". Indeed, the research revealed that visitors to the HPMM were subject to semiotic influences through the HPMM's graphic use of its visually interpreted experience of before, during and after Hiroshima's bombing.

Consequently, it was found that for the curators, this tactic was observed to build empathy and familiarity between the visitors and victims of the bombing of Hiroshima. As a result of curators using interpretation, it was revealed that they were able to manufacture a visitor experience that engaged the visitors' 'registers of engagement', thereby strengthening the visitors' reception to having their opinions moulded to buy into the museum's narrative. Thus, the research demonstrated that the HPMM is politically charged to convey a Japanese victim culture and to be a champion of the anti-nuclear movement. Subsequently, it was found that this narrative of victimhood and champion of the anti-nuclear movement was a common belief of the participants once they had experienced the museum's interpretation. Hence, the research supports the common academic belief that using semiotics in an exhibit does, indeed, create a successful process of persuasion, which in this case has been shown to convey Japan's nationalised victimhood.

When focusing on the concepts of interpretation and nation-building in the literature review in Chapter 3, it was illustrated that interpretation to date has never been far from having its share of controversy. That is, interpretation acts as a medium that depicts the rudimentary art of telling the story of an object or a place. All of this results

in suppliers choosing just what heritage gets interpreted for a visitor's touristic consumption and that interpretation is, thus, able to be contested by any number of stakeholders vying to acquire the best possible interpretation of their consumer group's perspectives (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996; Ashworth & Isaac, 2015).

The bombing of Hiroshima is a tragedy for both the US and Japan. In each case, the literature and findings have demonstrated that their interpretive narrative is entrenched with a deep undertone of dissonance. This dissonance on both sides is politically manipulated to fit within each nation's social and spatial memoryscape to influence a symbolic interpretation, thus promoting the conceptualisations of a nation.

The findings revealed that overall visitors to the HPMM believe that, while the museum shows a realistic representation of the consequences of the bombing of Hiroshima, they nevertheless expressed that its historical narrative was biased in favour of projecting Hiroshima's and Japan's victimhood. This led to a significant number of participants concluding that they would prefer to see a more rounded historical narrative that would reflect both the reasoning for and consequences of Hiroshima's bombing.

Additionally, throughout the interviews, many participants at the NASM/UHC were firm in their opinion that the Enola Gay exhibit was surprisingly lacking in its historic narrative relating to its role in the bombing of Hiroshima. It was expressed by several participants that if they had not already known about the Enola Gay, they would simply have walked past it. As a result, the interview participants collectively expressed views that much more information should be evident relating to the historical events of the Enola Gay's involvement in the bombing of Hiroshima. Thus, it was established that, just like the HPMM, the Enola Gay exhibit too had had its past silenced.

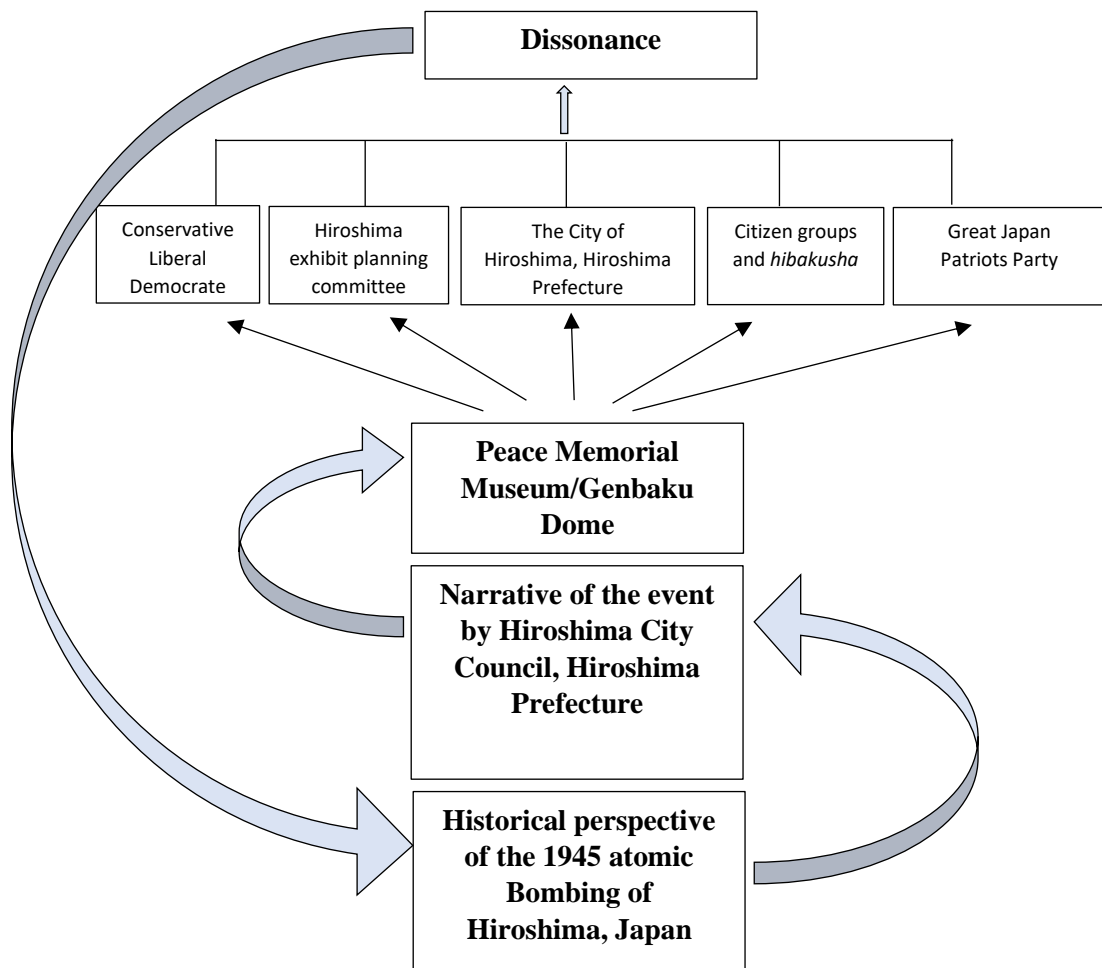
As demonstrated both the NASM/UHC and the HPMM narratives have been shaped by a substantial amount of dissonance amongst their respective stakeholder groups. Dissonant heritage is "concerned with how the past, when interpreted/represented as a tourist attraction, may, for particular groups of stakeholders, be distorted, displaced, or disinherited" (Sharpley, 2009:13). Dissonant heritage, typically, is recognised with the assertion that heritage is not only a creation of contemporary interpretations shaped by the narratives of history (Ashworth 2017) but also that these contemporary interpretations of the past can cause further dissonance as they revive both memories and reactions. This study reflects the common academic belief that while heritage is indeed a product of history, it has the potential to stimulate dissonance through its contemporary

interpretations. The research has revealed that in both case studies in Chapters 4, 5 and 6, high levels of dissonance were evident. In Chapter 3, it was discussed how Seaton's (2001) Heritage Force Field model could be used to identify potential stakeholder groups. Additionally, Sharpley's (2009) Dark Heritage Governance model illustrated how to manage and reduce the potential for dissonance. Subsequently, it was observed that neither model had provided an explanation by which dissonance occurs. To address this gap within the literature and help illustrate the process by which dissonance in interpretation can occur, an original model, the Dissonance Heritage Cycle (DHC) (devised by Clinton and Singh-Mokha), was developed in Chapter 3, figure 3.3. Thus, this study strives to add to the growing body of dissonance research by examining its process.

The model depicted in Figure 7.2 below is an adaptation that demonstrates the Dissonance Heritage Cycle at the HPMM. While Figure 7.3 likewise demonstrates the application of the Dissonance Heritage Cycle at the NASM, Hazy Center to the Enola Gay. This application of the Dissonance Heritage Cycle at both sites, the HPMM/GD and NASM, illustrates how dissonance takes place within the particular heritage site but is equally transferable to any contested heritage setting.

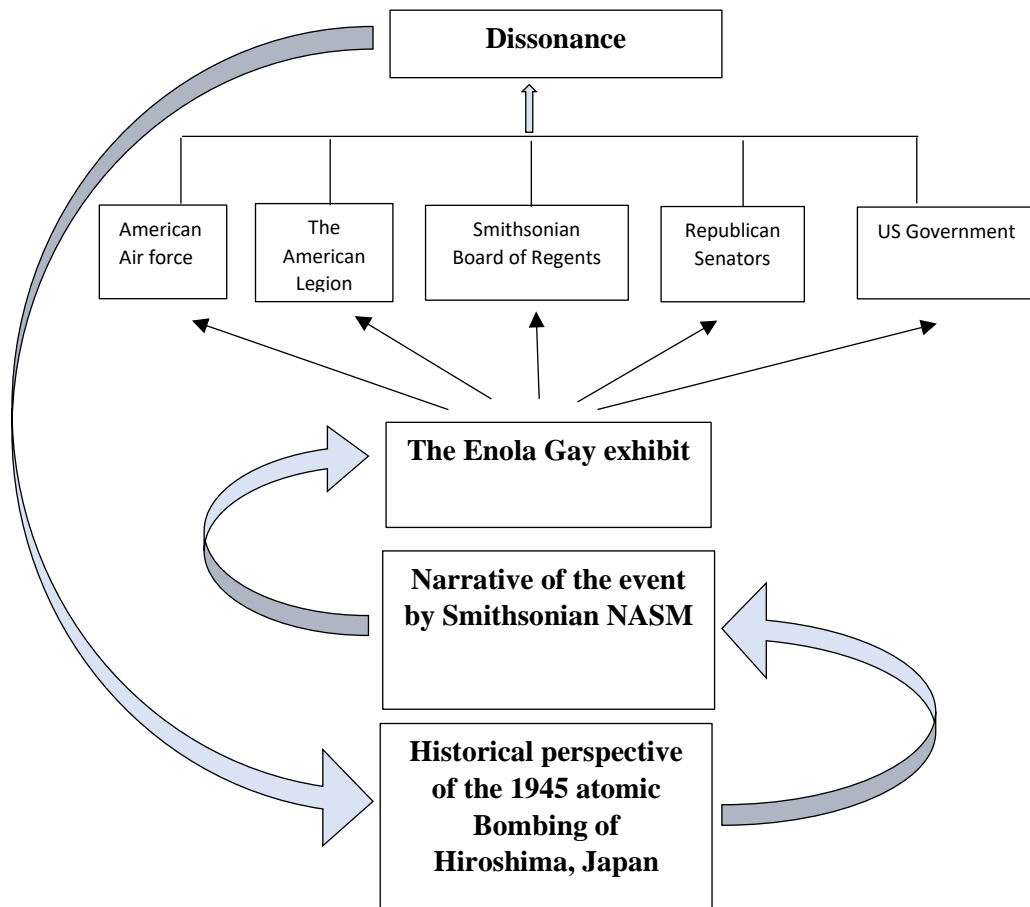
The DHC model, when applied to the HPMM/GD (figure 7.2), commenced with the historical perspective of the interpretation of the bombing of Hiroshima, which then led to the narrative of the event formulated by the Hiroshima City Council, Hiroshima Prefecture. This narrative then materialised as a heritage product, which in this case is the HPMM/GD. This then led to contentions among stakeholder perspectives including those of Conservative Liberal Democrats, the Hiroshima exhibit planning committee, the City of Hiroshima, Hiroshima Prefecture, citizen groups and hibakusha and the Great Japan Patriots Party. These contentions resulted in dissonance as illustrated in Chapter 6. This dissonance, then, leads to a review of a historical perspective. Nonetheless, with numerous stakeholders, this dissonance can get caught up in a repeated cycle until an agreement is achieved. However, this in itself may result in either a compromise in representation or a representation forged by a dominant group, thus, continuing the dissonance cycle.

Figure 7.2: The Dissonance Heritage Cycle at Hiroshima’s Peace Memorial Museum



Similarly, when the DHC model was applied to the Enola Gay exhibit (Figure 7.3), discussions began with the historical perspective of the interpretation of the Hiroshima bombing, which then led to the narrative of the event formulated by the NASM. This narrative then materialised as a heritage product, which in this case is the Enola Gay exhibit. This then led to contentions amongst stakeholders’ perspectives comprising those of American Air Force, The American Legion, the Smithsonian Board of Regents, Republican Senators and the US Government. As illustrated in Chapter 5, a high level of dissonance prevailed among these stakeholder groups. This dissonance then led to a review of a historical perspective. Nonetheless, with numerous stakeholders, this dissonance can get caught up in a repeated cycle until an agreement is accomplished.

Figure 7.3: The Dissonance Heritage Cycle at the Enola Gay exhibit, Smithsonian NASM



However, this in itself may result in either a compromise in representation or a representation forged by a dominant group. This, in turn, illustrates how the DHC can subsequently assist in the validation of the notion that heritage supply has opposing meanings for different groups, therefore making heritage by its sheer nature dissonant (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996). Thus, the dissonance cycle continues.

7.5 Dissonance Heritage and Dark Tourism (Research Objective 3)

To analyse concepts of dissonance heritage and dark tourism as conceptual frameworks for the touristification of the atomic bombing at Hiroshima.

As discussed above, the literature review aimed to appraise dark tourism within specific political ideologies and, in so doing, offer an integrated theoretical and empirical analysis of politicised visitor sites. To examine empirically the extent to which the concepts of dark tourism and politicisation interrelationships exist in the authenticity and cross-

cultural tourist (re)presentations of the 1945 atomic bombing of Hiroshima, Japan, it was first deemed necessary to consider the concepts of dissonant heritage and dark tourism. This was both generally and in the specific context of the Enola Gay exhibit at the NASM/UHC along with the HPMM/GD, from both a theoretical and empirical perspective. In doing so, it shaped the foundation of the thesis by introducing the literature on dissonant heritage and dark tourism both in general and within the context of the dual case studies as mentioned above and reflects Objective 1.

As discussed, heritage consists of links between origins and the past which societies inherit and utilise in the present. Heritage forms the individuals we become, who we are as a community, and who we are as a nation. Indeed, in terms of nationhood, heritage can “cause entire societies to coalesce in solidarity or collapse in disunity” (Timothy, 2018:382). Either way, heritage as a medium for touristification can either memorialise significant accomplishments and idealistic occasions or, increasingly, be packaged for consumption within the tourism industry. It is here that the tourism industry has been exhibiting the darker side of the individual, community or national past (Timothy, 2011; Hartmann, 2014; Dalton, 2015; Timothy, 2018). It was noted by Ashworth and Tunbridge (1990) that dissonance is inherent in all form of heritage and by 1996, Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996) had established the concept of dissonant heritage. In doing this, they suggested that dissonance is implicit in the commodification process in the establishment of place, products and in the substance of narratives. Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996) stated heritage supply has opposing meaning for different groups, therefore making heritage by its sheer nature dissonant.

Subsequently, the research has revealed through the interviews with curators of the Enola Gay that there was indeed a large amount of dissonance surrounding the narrative of the Enola Gay. This consequently has impacted on the professionalism of the curators and the Smithsonian Board. The curators, while delivering an official interpretation, did not believe in the narrative produced by the museum. In fact, it was found through the interviews that the curators had, indeed, wished to challenge the historical consciousness of their visitors and wished to discuss within the exhibit various doubts and debates that historians had been wrestling with through the dissonance generated leading up to the 50th anniversary. However, unfortunately, as discussed in the literature review, due to political pressures they are unable to do so.

As noted in Chapter 3, when examining the concept of dark tourism, it was found that the academic term itself is one embroiled in dissonance. Increasing attention has been paid within the literature to the use of the term ‘dark’ which is used to describe sites/destinations either as sites of actual death or associated with “death, suffering and the seemingly macabre” (Stone, 2006:146). It was demonstrated how the term ‘dark tourism’, although broad in its range of themes, has become a widely accepted umbrella term for any form of tourism which is somehow related to death, suffering, atrocity, tragedy or crime. To that end, this research has revealed that the categorisation of dark sites can be particularly complicated due to the nature of dark attractions being extremely varied, with significant differences between sites connected to death and suffering, and those sites that are actual places where death and suffering have occurred. In response, academics have categorised some sites as either ‘primary sites’ or ‘secondary sites’ while, other sites and attractions are categorised by the varying degrees or shades of darkness in recognition that dark tourism products were multi-faceted, complicated in their design and purpose, as well as being diverse (Stone, 2006). However, it was illustrated how the *depth of darkness* of a site can alter as a consequence of a variety of influencing factors such as new product developments, consumer preferences, marketing approaches, media manipulation and political influences. This ‘darkness’ depth can also be impacted on by developments in interpretation and presentation driven by new historical narratives, or by advancements within interpretive technologies.

Through the observational analysis, the research revealed that the City of Hiroshima, Hiroshima Prefecture has developed a Peace Memorial complex including a memorial park, Peace Memorial Museum and Genbaku Dome. On positioning Hiroshima within Stone’s 2006 spectrum, it was found that the HPMM/GD can firmly be placed in the darkest category for two key reasons. First due to its proximity to the event and estimated 140,000 death tolls; second due to the museum’s graphic interpretations of its exhibits that depict the consequences of an atomic bomb on both Hiroshima and its occupants. Through observational research, the HPMM was seen to be delivering a range of exhibits employing techniques and technologies that assist in delivering an educational role as a global warning of the dangers of the atomic bomb for humankind. Nonetheless, it was also observed that these exhibits have been politicised (a theme that runs throughout the thesis and is discussed in objective 4), thus further legitimising the HPMM’s place on Stone’s darkest category. Hence with increasing chronological

distance from the bombing of the Hiroshima, the HPMM has persisted in maintaining and presenting Hiroshima's and Japan's dark history.

On the other hand, it was evident through the findings that within one set of legitimate typology parameters, the Enola Gay would fit firmly into the darkest shade, while in another set of legitimate typology parameters, it would also fit firmly into the darker spectrum Chapter 3 (section 3.11, figure 3.6). The observational analysis revealed that with the Enola Gay has a high degree of political influence guiding its moderate interpretation of its past, it currently does not function as a focal point for remembrance linking to the bombing of Hiroshima. Rather, it is presented as an example of a B-29 Superfortress which also happened to be the one which dropped the first atomic bomb on Hiroshima. In assessing its typology and categorisation of darkness, according to Stone's spectrum, through observations, distinctions were made about the Enola Gay's association with death and suffering and its lack of subsequent interpretation driven by the high degree to which the Enola Gay's notoriety has been politicised. Conversely, it was concluded that as a site associated with death, the Enola Gay would fit firmly within the categorisation of a dark tourist exhibit. However, as the research revealed its historical narrative relating to its role in bombing Hiroshima has been politically silenced, therefore giving the Enola Gay a more sinister edge and thus it can be categorised within the darkest shade of Stone's spectrum. Hence, this study supports the common academic belief that dark tourism products are multi-faceted and complicated in their design and purpose. Thus, the work illustrated an original contribution to the dark tourism literature by pushing the boundry of the dark tourism spectrum by illustrating that sites with silenced/absent histories are just as dark for what they do not say as for what they do say and thus, provided another category for inclusion.

7.6 Politicisation and Authenticity (Research Objective 4)

To evaluate critical issues of politicisation and authenticity associated with interpreting the atomic bombing at Hiroshima, specifically from both Japanese and American perspectives.

As identified in this thesis, many studies have highlighted the relationship that exists between heritage and its politicisation (Light, 2017:284). This research revealed that for both the Enola Gay exhibit NASM/UHC and the HPMM, dissonance for both sites is politically charged. It emerged from the empirical phase of the research (both from the observations and interviews) that for the Enola Gay exhibit, its politicisation was due not

so much for what the Smithsonian chooses to say about the plane's history, but rather due to *what is not said* about the plane's history. More specifically, what emerged from the research was that the Smithsonian Institute has been able to enforce the politicised legislation of Senate Resolution 257, not by discussing the Enola Gay's role in bombing Hiroshima, but instead by choosing to ignore its connection with the bombing of Hiroshima, which in effect has silenced the Enola Gay's past by making its past absent. This point emerged as one of the main themes Chapter 5 (section 5.7.1 and 5.7.3). Thus, it was evident that dark tourism in the case of the Enola Gay is a politicised tool for government.

Following this the empirical research also revealed that the HPMM/GD was too seen to have its interpretation of the atomic bombing subjected to political influences for government purposes. It was found that the feeling conveyed at the HPMM was one which focused on Hiroshima and Japan as only a victim of World War II, even though Japan had been an aggressor. Subsequently, it was established that the HPMM through numerous politicised pressures as illustrated within the literature has indeed, purposefully nurtured its image as a victim of World War II. Thus, this victimised image of Hiroshima is employed by Japan as a politicised tool by which Hiroshima can serve a national function of nation-building. This is achieved by Hiroshima using its developed commemorative infrastructure as an icon to repeatedly remind the Japanese of the collective memory of their victimhood. In doing so it is unifying Japan's national identity and offering a healthy sense of nationalism. Thus, in addressing the theme 'Is heritage a politicised tool for government' it was established that both the Enola Gay exhibit and the HPMM have been highly politicised by their respective governments.

Moving forward, the research, subsequently explored the extent to which both sites have diluted their historical narrative. During the empirical phase of the research, the Silencing of the facts - The absent past' comprising the sub-themes of i) The Enola Gay: Dulling of Authenticity; ii) Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum: Dulling of Authenticity was identified as one of the key themes, and was found to be driven by political ideology.

Authenticity is an idea that is continuously evolving. As demonstrated in Chapter 3 (section 3.8), there are significant differences between the cross-cultural perceptions of authenticity in Japan (East) and the US (West). As established within the literature (section 3.9), when analysing the concepts of authenticity from a Japanese (Eastern)

perspective, this thesis indeed recognised that there are two main contentions when examining the term authenticity within the context of heritage sites. The first contention belongs to the academic debate among tourism scholar in the West surrounding the discourse relating to the acceptance of a single unifying interpretation of the term authenticity (Reisinger & Steiner, 2006). The second contention is the fact that the Japanese have no word for authenticity by which a single definition can be translated into a concept that would mirror the given definitions in the West. This results in a situation whereby culturally, the Japanese are unable to appreciate the concept of the term authenticity from a Western perspective (Akagawa, 2016; Ito,1995). Indeed, this point was confirmed within the empirical research which revealed that both curators at the HPMM avoided addressing the issue of authenticity, with one curator requesting a concrete definition of authenticity, while the other chose to overlook the term in favour of referring to historical facts.

On the other hand, for the NASM, interestingly, the term ‘authenticity’ for one of the curators was not brought up in their answer. Instead, the importance was given by the curator that an authentic interpretation for the Enola Gay was difficult. In contrast, the other curator openly expressed the view that to be a curator is to be authentic and thus, was the reason they were employed at the NASM/UHC. Hence, when looking at authenticity surrounding both the HPMM and the Enola Gay, the findings revealed that there is a significant difference in elucidating the term from the Japanese cultural perspective (Eastern) and the US cultural perspective (Western). The findings have been established within this thesis that the probability of achieving a standard interpretation that can be used across cultures is unlikely due to diverse outlooks within academia and numbers of regionally and politically aligned institutions charged with the governance of heritage. All of these have been shown to have their favoured interpretations of authenticity. This essentially can confuse the visitor when visiting and consuming (dark) heritage interpretations. For example, visitors to the HPMM viewed the museum’s narrative as one which hides the events which lead up to the bombing. Therefore, its interpretation is shown to be inauthentic as there is no recognition of why Hiroshima fell victim to the US nuclear bombing. In comparison, the Enola Gay exhibit’s minimalist approach acts as a shroud to mute its narrative of the events which led up to and include the effects of the bombing of Hiroshima. Therefore, for the knowing and unknowing visitors, the research has shown that the Enola Gay interpretation too, is inauthentic.

Yet, in both cases, the research found that participants to both sites expressed a need for a more authentic representation of the events leading up to Hiroshima's bombing. It was perceived by the visitors that authenticity or genuineness is paramount, particularly for (dark) heritage sites such as the HPMM/GD and the Enola Gay exhibit NASM/UHC that have a global significance with a need to inform and educate rather than entertain. Therefore, the narrative needs greater authenticity as visitors to both sites believed that a broader inclusion of why events happened, as well as what happened would provide a deeper and more genuine degree of authenticity within heritage sites. Interestingly, this view additionally illustrates the concept of the 'thoughtful consumer' (Martin & Mason, 1993; Golomb, 1995; Herbert, 1995 and Schouten, 1995), and their view that authenticity holds a much higher value for individual tourists than in previous times. This is a point which, as the research has shown, should now be a note for concern for future heritage curators when devising their exhibits.

Nonetheless, the research revealed that visitors to the Enola Gay expressed the desire that the Enola Gay itself should be exhibited as either a standalone exhibit within the NASM/UHC or indeed be cooperated into the wider memoryscape of the sites associated with the Manhattan Project. This then serves to illustrate a key finding from the research. In contrast, at the HPMM, participants were less won over by the touristification experience at the museum. Questions were raised relating to the lack of inclusion of a more balanced message that presented Japan's wartime history which was viewed as necessary to shine a light on the reasoning Hiroshima had indeed become the victim of the world's first atomic bombing. The research has, thus shown that the visitors to such sites have expressed a desire that when dealing with sites of global significance both the 'why' and the 'what' should be represented to the visitors and that the total narrative is an important element. If this is not conveyed, it could be lost for future generations. Thus, it has been established by the research that the degree to which both sites' narratives have been historically played down as a result of politicised pressures imposed by governmental directives has resulted in each site's historical narrative being politically channelled into a mono-narrative which indeed shrouds its authenticity.

7.7 Original Contribution to the Literature

The research in this thesis has been instrumental in broadening the breadth of understanding and knowledge within the field of dark tourism. In doing so, it has made a contribution to the dark tourism literature by pushing the boundary of Stone's (2006) dark

tourism spectrum by illustrating that sites with silenced/absent histories are just as dark for what they do not say as for what they do say and, thus, providing another category for inclusion into the model. Specifically, the category for sites subject to being politicised for internal and external nationalistic reasons. Additionally, the dual case study has added an original contribution to the literature as it offered the opportunity to undertake a cross-cultural analysis of one event with two different sites resulting in one story with two narratives impacting two nations. In doing so, through empirical research, this thesis makes a further original contribution by extending the understanding of a cross-cultural, political interpretation of Hiroshima from both the US and Japanese perspectives. Subsequently, the findings suggest that while politically, the US government projects an image of righteousness as the defender of freedom and democracy, the NASM guards this image by failing to present any depth of interpretation relating to the lead up and aftermath of the bombing of Hiroshima. Japan, on the other hand, vociferously projects an image of a peace-loving nation subject to overwhelming victimisation (Huong et al., 2018); all of which has served both Japan and the US to help obscure histories of state violence.

Also, this study has examined the concept of dissonance by critically exploring the extent to which dissonance exists at both sites. It has shown how dissonance is ever-present in stakeholder groups with vested interests in participating in the decision-making process of just ‘whose’ perspective and ‘what’ information is narrated to the visiting public. To which end the research has contributed to knowledge and comprehension of dissonant heritage both generally and within the realms of dark heritage and dark tourism by offering an additional and original perspective on how the cycle of dissonance is indeed a continual process. Explicitly, it has established the Dissonant Heritage Cycle model Chapter 3 (Figure 3.3) supporting Seaton’s (2001) Heritage Force Field model and Sharpley’s (2009) model of Dark Heritage Governance which can be used to illustrate the cycle of dissonance not only at the Enola Gay exhibit NASM/UHC and the HPMM/GD but any other heritage site that narrates a contested heritage. Thus, the study has contributed an empirical dimension to the discussion surrounding the knowledge of the cycle of dissonance at sites of contested heritage/dark tourism.

Additionally, the research has demonstrated that notably, individuals are increasingly aware of the value of authenticity; however, it was shown the term authenticity is one full of contentions. The first contention belongs to the academic debate among tourism scholars in the West surrounding the discourse relating to the acceptance of a single unifying interpretation of the term authenticity (Reisinger & Steiner, 2006).

The second contention is due to the fact that in Japan, the Japanese have no word for authenticity by which a single definition can be translated into a concept that would mirror the given definitions in the West (Ito, 1995).

Furthermore, the research highlighted visitors to both sites expressed an understanding that the narratives presented to them were indeed politically charged. The findings suggest that rather than just being subjected to a staged experience, visitors wanted to engage in a more inclusive narrative that illustrates not only ‘what’ happened but also ‘why’ it happened. This, in turn, suggests the rise of a new ‘thoughtful consumer’. The research has, thus, shown that in the instances of both case studies for this ‘thoughtful consumer,’ authenticity holds a much higher value than in previous times.

7.8 Future Research Directions

Further research should be undertaken to assess the significant difference in elucidating the term authenticity from the Japanese and Western cultural perspective. In other words, when looking for a uniform interpretation for the term authenticity, the probability of achieving a uniform standard interpretation is unlikely due to different academic outlooks and regional institutions governance of heritage, all of which have been shown to have their interpretation of authenticity. As such further research should be undertaken to better understand the cross-cultural East/West perspectives of authenticity to help better comprehend the different nuances between cultures.

Similarly, research should be undertaken to distinguish just what the purpose of a museum should be. Is it to portray an authentic representation of facts? Or are they just to entertain the visitor who is expected to experience what is presented and to make up their mind of the message presented based on their own knowledge-base as suggested by the Smithsonian curators? Alternatively, is their purpose just to act as a political tool to present an image directed by governments in the interest of nation-building? Additionally, with the presented Dissonant Heritage Cycle model, research should be undertaken within emerging sites of contention so that a clear understanding of the evolutionary stages of dissonance can be assessed and thus help test the Dissonance Heritage Cycle model findings that dissonance is a recurrent cycle when a heritage site has numerous stakeholders. Furthermore, there needs to be a much broader understanding of the cross-cultural difference when employing the phrase authenticity, although this may be difficult to achieve due to the various governing global and international institutions. However, its value to research and the supply sector of heritage can only serve to add clarity to a

situation which has, without a doubt, become a foggy area. As heritage sites go forward, the visitor experience is becoming increasingly questioned and scrutinised by the visitor, who, it has been found, is increasingly becoming a ‘thoughtful consumer.’ Therefore, research should be applied to new and emerging contested sites to better understand this thoughtful consumer’s need for authentic representation of contested narratives.

Additionally, it was also identified that the term dark tourism was itself found to be embroiled in dissonance and that its conceptualisation had become contested to its position within heritage and tourism in general, to which both sites could be classified as dark heritage (Biran et al., 2011:823) or just as easily fall under the umbrella term ‘Dark Tourism’ which was the chosen option for this research. Moreover, even within the realms of dark tourism, contentions were identified, which questioned the very existence of there even being such a thing as a dark tourist. Stone (2018) stated that there is no such thing as a dark tourist. However, the research showed that this statement could well be premature as it was identified that further cross-discipline research is required.

7.9 Limitations of the Study

Notwithstanding the original contributions of the study, the research is not without its limitations. When linking to the concept of dark typologies, it was found that due to the multi-layering of factors that make up a typology, there is no one standardised model to categorise the depth by which an existing or prospective dark tourist site can be categorised. Rather scholars have tended to fall back on Stone’s (2006) Dark Tourism Spectrum model for want of anything better, as was the case when making the classifications for the Enola Gay and the HPMM. Indeed, Stone himself makes it clear that there are limitations with his model of which scholars should be aware.

Finally, when carrying out the interviews, it was clear that the curator participants from the Smithsonian NASM were open, however, when reflecting on the interviews conducted with curators from the HPMM, the curators tended to speak in an official capacity, fully mindful of themselves as official representatives of the museum. As such, the researcher found that when interviewing the curators at the HPMM, they were generally more disposed to offer a more fixed, narrower answer to the questions. At times, the researcher found the experience frustrating as he was not able to probe more deeply into responses given by the curators representing the HPMM. As a result, it was difficult and challenging to gain an informal, relaxed insight into the questions.

7.10 Reflection on PhD Journey

The decision to embark upon my PhD journey was largely driven to two key factors: one personal and the other professional. The personal aspect was driven by a story told to me by my mother, some 23 years ago as she kindly and proudly wrote out a cheque for my master's course fees at the University of Birmingham for me to study for an MSc in Tourism Policy and Management, as it turns out under the wrathful eye of Dr Brian Wheeler whose unique vision has been an inspiration. As mom handed me the cheque, she then began to tell me a story of how back in the early 1960s, a gypsy fortune teller had knocked on her door and offered to read mom's hand. On doing so, the gypsy proclaimed, "One of your children will become a doctor, they will not be a Doctor of Medicine but a doctor of Philosophy". In 2003, sadly, mom died; but that story has always been in the back of my mind and thus motivated my drive to undertake and succeed in my PhD.

Professionally, as a University lecturer, the institution, I work for began to promote staff development, so here was my opportunity to engage in some higher-level research on a part-time basis for which my fees would be paid. As a tourism lecturer, I had my topic area channelled to that sector, as an undergraduate of ancient history, I knew I wanted to link the tourism to heritage. Further, as someone interested in politics and war, I knew I wanted to incorporate their interrelationships from an interpretation perspective, which led me to the field of dark tourism/dark heritage.

I then set about considering a suitable supervisor. My strategy was quite simple, and was to identify the best in the field and go to see them. To this end, I narrowed it straight down to Dr Phil Stone and Prof Richard Sharpley at UCLAN. I then searched for their next conference appearances and attended. During the lunchtime break, I introduced myself and discussed some of my ideas for a PhD proposal. Over the next few months and with Phil's guidance, my ideas were formed, and my proposal was accepted.

At the beginning of my PhD, I soon realised that the research was not just going to be about learning the topic I had chosen, but would be more about the way I developed as a researcher. I found I was constantly reflecting on how I was addressing theoretical concepts related to my topic area. Also, I realised I was bucking the norm of following a systematic approach to my research. For me, as someone living with Dyslexia, this was my natural state. Once I had worked out my chapter themes, for me it was natural to pick the most interesting chapter and start from there. While for some, this approach may look

erratic however for me, it acted as a motivational tool and a learning block insofar as my logic dictated that it would be easier to develop a higher level of analysis sooner by choosing what I saw as the most interesting chapter to develop first. Moreover, my adopted strategy provided a writing experience whereby once I had written two chapters, I was then confident I could accomplish the rest using a more conventionally logical approach. At this point, I would like to thank my supervisor Phil for being supportive and open to this approach.

As my journey progressed, even though I had suspected that the process of undertaking a PhD would be challenging, I was somewhat unsuspecting of the breadth of challenges that it would pose in maintaining my work-life balance. Support from my work was limited to the payment of fees and the time to attend meetings with my supervisor. Apart from that, there was no concession to my 19 hours a week teaching time. Thus, it soon became apparent that while for me, my PhD was a primary commitment, for my workplace, it was secondary.

The hurdles I faced provoked varying degrees of emotional and mental responses. Many were uplifting as I managed to achieve set goals while others resulted in feelings of disbelief in my ability. Nevertheless, as time moved forward, these moments of disbelief began to dissipate, leaving a prevailing sense of achievability.

As I became more consumed with my PhD, my life had gone from one of work, rest and play to one of work, work and work. At this stage, I became conscious that my PhD journey had begun to change the person I had been. As my work gathered momentum, I found that I had stepped back from my normal life and was increasingly removed from my family and friends. I had found that the further into the PhD journey I travelled, the more the journey consumed me. I discovered that the PhD had become the very thing that defined me. While I was learning from the research, I was also learning a lot about myself, my ability to apply myself and overcome obstacles, to listen to criticism and to question myself.

It has provided me with the opportunity to travel to wondrous places, see sites of global significance and talk to some wonderful people. In this way, my PhD has broadened my mind and made me a more rounded person. Yet, I cannot claim credit for achieving this all myself. Throughout my journey, I have been lucky enough to meet with individuals that have given me the encouragement, motivation and support necessary to

reach the end of the PhD journey. To all of them, I give my unrelenting thanks and give credit in my acknowledgement section at the beginning of this work.

As the final phase of my PhD journey approached, previous anxieties began to reappear as the impending deadline grew nearer. This apprehension also ran parallel with a pending sense of change. While I was not in a situation where I was faced with having to venture out into the workplace as I was already employed, the change in mind-set my PhD journey had taken me through brought about a realisation that over the past six years, I had invested a considerable amount of time and personal finances. To which end, I want a return on my investment. My journey has furnished me with a high sense of achievement and given me a higher degree of confidence and ability than what I started my journey.

Therefore, as I move forward, I shall take my experience and PhD and use them to create opportunities. For me, I will not be sitting at the same old desk doing the same thing as before. For this PhD student, he is going to venture out into a new world.

7.11 Reflection 7: Post-Viva Reflections

I knew I was over the word count, but this had been reasoned on the grounds that there were two case studies. Nonetheless, what unfolded during the viva was that the work needed re-structuring into a mono narrative, and while I was at it, how about changing the whole structure.

Looking back at the viva, it was not what I had expected. I had revised all my chapters and was expecting to be asked questions around my interpretation of the findings and their relation to the theory and the process of research, which, to a limited degree it was. However, it was not the main theme of the viva. Instead, with the formalities of the introductions completed, the discussion started to revolve around my Journey and structure of the work. This discussion on the structure was a little confusing as I had presented the work in a traditional manner and had never thought about taking a different approach.

Subsequently, passing the viva and armed with a modification list, my PhD Journey headed off to deal with my major revisions to address repetition, re-position chapters, divide chapters, and unite my key concept chapters.

Continued

In addition to the physical re-structuring, was the narrative restructuring. This seemed more daunting than the physical restructuring, as it was a little unconventional and left me at the beginning somewhat bewildered, as I had only ever positioned my work within a conventional thesis style.

After a brainstorming session, using numerous pages of flip chart spread across the walls, I began to see some clarity in just how I was to progress. My aim and objectives focused on one event shared by two nations with two separate narratives. It became clear that what I had to do was to take a narrative-building approach that takes the story and unfolds it to the reader by first presenting them with the present-day. This was then followed up by taking the reader back in time to a period from where the stories first emerged, in order that the narratives could be traced to the present. This allowed for two parallel, yet different, narratives to be embedded in their own chapters. In moving the narrative forward from an historical perspective to a contemporary one, it allowed for the theory to unfold to be reinforced by the empirical evidence to substantiate the conclusion.

Having gone through this process I have learnt, there is more than one way to present a narrative and that the struggles of writing a PhD are much more than demonstrating a theory. It is about being able to look back and identify how things could be done differently but more so, it is about looking forward to having the confidence, skills and contacts to start to think about publishing.

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Appendix 1

Consent form for Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum, Hiroshima, Japan and Smithsonian, NASM, Hazy Center, Chantilly, VA, USA.

CONSENT FORM



Title of Study: The Politicisation of 'Dark Tourism': A Cross Cultural Analysis of Interpreting the Atomic Bombing of Hiroshima.

Date

Name, position and contact address of Researcher:

Robert Clinton

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Tel: +44 7505037769

Gender M / F Age Group 20 – 30 – 40 – 50 – 60 60+

Please initial box

I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet, dated for the above study and have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily.

I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving reason up and to the end of June 2018.

I agree to take part in the above study.

I agree that my data gathered in this study may be stored (after it has been anonymised) in a specialist data centre and may be used for future research and will be handled in accordance with the terms of the Data Protection Act 1998.

Please tick box

Yes

No

I agree to the interview being audio recorded.

I agree to the use of anonymised quotes in publications.

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 a copy of the final thesis electronically, please give an email address here

Name of Participant

Date

Signature

Name of Researcher

Date

Signature

Appendix 2



Information sheet

The Politicisation of 'Dark Tourism': A Cross Cultural Analysis of Interpreting the Atomic Bombing of Hiroshima.

This research is looking at the opinions of people who visit museums that commemorate 'dark events' (events that involve death and or suffering). The museums in this research project are linked to the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945.

I want to interview you because you have just visited the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park and Museum.

If you agree to take part, I will ask you some questions about this museum and about the exhibits that you have seen. It should take between 7 and 10 minutes in total.

What is the study about?

This study explores how heritage presentations within 'dark tourism' visitor attractions interpret death and tragedy. In particular, this research focuses on museum interpretations of the 1945 atomic bombing of Japan, and the visitor experience thereof.

Two sites have been selected for the study – the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum (Japan) and the Enola Gay Exhibit National Air and Space Museum (USA).

What will you need to do?

To answer a series of questions to me about your museum experience today. You may answer all the questions asked as fully as you wish. You may also decline to answer any questions if you so wish.

What if you agree to the research but then change your mind?

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 June 2018.

The data you provide will be stored at the University of Central Lancashire, UK for 5 years from the end of the project and will then be destroyed.

How will the information be used?

Any information collected during the interview will be coded and anonymised. Information collected will only be used for this research and demographic data, including any subsequent articles and or conference presentations. Your name/identity will not be used in any reporting material.

The role of the interpreter

The interpreter will have no access to any of the collected data. The role of the interpreter is simply to convey questions and answers between the researcher and you.

The benefits of taking part in this study

By taking part, you will greatly assist a research project that aims to give a greater understanding of how heritage is experienced within dark tourism interpretations. You will be part of this project by giving your valued opinions and helping me evaluate two comparative cases: the Enola Gay exhibit at the National Air and Space Museum, Washington DC, USA; and the UNESCO world heritage site at Hiroshima, Japan.

If you decide to take part, you will be given this information to keep and be asked to sign a consent form.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Robert E Clinton

Contact information

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For further information about this project, please either contact myself or you can contact my Director of Studies at the University of Central Lancashire, UK, Dr Philip Stone at pstone@uclan.ac.uk

THANK YOU

Appendix 3 A

Interview Questionnaire Schedule for Curators of the NASM/WDC.

Full title of the project – The Politicisation of ‘Dark Tourism’: A Cross Cultural Analysis of Interpreting the Atomic Bombing of Hiroshima

Name –

Position held

Q. 1) What is the purpose of the exhibit?

Q. 2) To what extent is the authenticity important in conveying information in the interpretation of the exhibits & how is authenticity maintained?

Q. 3) To what extent is semiotics actively engaged when developing exhibits?

Q. 4) Do any stakeholder groups have input in the developing of the exhibits?

Q. 5) Who is responsible for the overall developing and maintenance of the exhibits?

Q. 6) How are the exhibits approved prior to been showcased?

Q. 7) Are there any political considerations taken into account when developing the exhibit?

Appendix 3 B

Curators of the NASM/WDC interview quoted transcripts

1) *I always said you know all we are trying to do is tell the whole true story. You know we will be honest with the Manhattan Project and the crew and the training, developing the bomb, building the B-29s, delivering the bomb, but are we also going to talk about what happens when a bomb goes off at 1800 feet above your head...I always say you have to tell both sides of the story when I realised that is exactly what was not possible because when you put the American story along with what happened on the ground, it looks like you are questioning allied warheads. You sound as though you are trying to equate the deaths in Hiroshima and Nagasaki with allied war deaths or something and that's exactly what you cannot do. I mean if ever there, I mean, on one side, you had people who were sending six million fellow human beings up the smokestack, and on the other side, you were dealing with the people who gave you the Rape of Nanjing, the Burma railroad and atomic death carnage. And that was the problem the horror of Hiroshima and Nagasaki is so deep, so hard, so cutting that you can't deal with it if you are gonna talk about allied side...I have a little lunch box full of carbonized rice and green peas, and the little girl's lunch box it was, the parents they never found the daughter. They found the little lunch box that was so white-hot that it put the Enola Gay in the shade. That's the problem the emotional quality if you talk about what happens when a bomb goes off 1800 feet above your head. The emotional quality of that is so white hot that again inevitably people question that decision to do it. It was a moral war, but we were terrible to do that (C-EN01)*

2) *I should say more about it, but the way it is displayed it's an aircraft of the South East Centre. For example, we have it up on jacks so we can put planes under it. It also gives it the advantage of giving you a really dramatic view from the mezzanine walkway. But the basic decision in the case of the Enola Gay was to treat it like every other plane out there. We distinguish between the Mall Museum and the Hazy Center, down here we tell people, we do interpretive exhibits. Out there we display aeroplanes as display storage, all of them. When you're out there, you know its displayed like every other aeroplane out there. I have tried to change it and the designers argue against it. In the case of the Enola Gay I have said you know the very least we have the Little Boy and Fat Man. Why don't we put them out, we can put them down on the floor, they are not very big, but directors always dislike the idea. But yeah, I would put the bombs out and I would certainly talk about the numbers of deaths but that wouldn't do much because the numbers are so high that people could grasp it. You could never do that in 1994-1995, you could never talk about that sort of thing honestly. What they kept saying was well show more dead marines and people who died in the Pacific, show more of that. The honest truth was that the losses in those two cities are higher than the total number of American deaths in the whole of the Pacific. More people died in those two cities. Now certainly if you count the number of people who died of disease and you throw in the Chinese and the South Asians then the*

numbers are closer. But if you're talking about just combat troops, more people died in those two cities than did the fighting in the Pacific war. (C-EN01)

3) *No, I don't, people in 1994 1995 said well you know it's veterans they're dying off. There's so few left, they're the ones that don't want you to underscore the atomic bombing of Japan wasn't true. The opposition to the Enola Gay show was political, it really wasn't generational...the Cold War was over, Berlin Wall had fallen, Germany was unified, the Soviet Union it looked like it was going down on their knees. What I thought was the real impact of history on what happened at the Enola Gay show had more to do with the fact that the fear of the bomb was dissipating. People were beginning to say, Wow! maybe the bomb saved lives and then by Golly! maybe it shaped the post-World War for the best. The fear of the bomb prevented the atomic war kinda. So, I don't see how it will lose its historical significance, but remember, we're historians and what I am saying to you is that it's easier to interpret after the war, after 1994, both the interpretations and the way which we look at it changes. (C-EN01)*

Appendix 4 A

Interview Questionnaire Schedule for Curators of the HPMM/GD.

Full title of the project – The Politicisation of ‘Dark Tourism’: A Cross Cultural Analysis of Interpreting the Atomic Bombing of Hiroshima

It is a deep and sad part of human history that is commemorated with in the grounds of Hiroshima’s Peace Memorial Park and Museum. As the 75th anniversary approaches and the numbers of survivors steadily diminish, and we see increasing numbers of higher educated world citizens visiting the sites death and suffering and asking deeper questions as to what lead to such a catastrophe?

Q1) What is the intended experience you wish the visitors to the Hiroshima Peace Memorial and Museum to take away with them once they have visited the site?

Q2) How important is preserving the truth to future generations of events surrounding events leading up to as well as after the bombing of Hiroshima?

Q3) To what extent does the Hiroshima Peace Memorial and Museum interprets events leading up to the bombing of Hiroshima?

Q4) Are there any plans now or in the future to develop or further develop any references to events leading up to the bombing of Hiroshima?

For example:

The political and scientific dissonance in America relating to their decision for dropping the nuclear bombs on Japan.

The dissonance between the military and political factions in Japan relating to the decision to end the war.

The impact upon Japans culture

Q5) Do you think the Hiroshima Peace Memorial and Museum shows Japan as:

- a victim of the war
- a participant of war

Q6) To what extent does Hiroshima advanced reconciliation between Japan and the United States and how does it foster reconciliation between the two nations?

Q7) With the distance of time from the bombing of Hiroshima getting longer and longer how do you think Hiroshima’s Peace Memorial and Museum should showcase the bombing of Hiroshima to the future generations of japans youth, would you make any changes if so, what would they be?

Appendix 5 A

Interview Questionnaire Schedule for Visitors of the Smithsonian NASM/UHC

Full title of the project – The Politicisation of ‘Dark Tourism’: A Cross Cultural Analysis of Interpreting the Atomic Bombing of Hiroshima.

Name –

Gender –	<input type="text" value="M"/>	<input type="text" value="F"/>	<input type="text" value="Other"/>		
Age –	<input type="text" value="20-30"/>	<input type="text" value="30-40"/>	<input type="text" value="40-50"/>	<input type="text" value="50-60"/>	<input type="text" value="60+"/>

Q. 1) To what extent do you think the Enola Gay exhibit at the National Air and Space Museum convey events that resulted in the bombing of Hiroshima?

Q. 2) Do you think the Enola Gay exhibit should interpretive events up to the bombing?

Q. 3) To what extent you do you believe that facts are being conveyed in the exhibits interpretation?

Q. 4) Do you believe that the America was the victim of World War II?

Q. 5) Do you think the Enola Gay exhibit shows America as a victim of the War?

Q. 6) Is authenticity / genuineness important in the interpretation of the Enola Gay exhibit?

Q. 7) To what extent do you view the exhibits authentic?

Q. 8) What do you think the purpose is of the Enola Gay exhibit at the National Air and Space Museum?

Q. 9) What role do you see the memorial holding for you?

Q. 10) To what extent do you think the Enola Gay exhibit facilities reconciliation between the USA and Japan?

Q. 11) Do you think that the Enola Gay exhibit is politicised?

Appendix 6 A

Interview Questionnaire Schedule for Visitors of the HPMM/GD

Full title of the project – The Politicisation of ‘Dark Tourism’: A Cross Cultural Analysis of Interpreting the Atomic Bombing of Hiroshima.

Name –

Gender –	<input type="text" value="M"/>	<input type="text" value="F"/>	<input type="text" value="Other"/>		
Age –	<input type="text" value="20-30"/>	<input type="text" value="30-40"/>	<input type="text" value="40-50"/>	<input type="text" value="50-60"/>	<input type="text" value="60+"/>

Q. 1) To what extent do you think Hiroshima Peace Memorial Genbaku Dome convey events that resulted in the bombing of Hiroshima?

Q. 2) Do you think the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Genbaku Dome should interpretive events up to the bombing?

Q. 3) To what extent you do you believe that facts are being conveyed in the exhibits interpretation?

Q. 4) Do you believe that the Japan was the victim of World War II?

Q. 5) Do you think the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Genbaku Dome shows Japan as a victim of the War?

Q. 6) Is authenticity / genuineness important in the interpretation of the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Genbaku Dome?

Q. 7) Do what extent do you view the exhibits authentic?

Q. 8) What do you think the purpose is of the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Genbaku Dome?

Q. 9) What role do you see the memorial holding for you?

Q. 10) To what extent do you think the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Genbaku Dome facilities reconciliation between the USA and Japan?

Q. 11) Do you think that the Enola Gay exhibit is politicised?

Appendix 6 B

Visitors of the HPMM/Japan interview quoted transcripts

1) *I think they are telling the truth; I mean history is written by the winner, but here the loser has written it, and they turn the facts in terms of what they experience. When there are two sides, and a side change the facts, facts change for both sides. When you are here, is it right to drop the bomb, the bomb on the other side, is it right! I think facts are in the interpretation. I think the real facts are a lot of people died because of the devastation, and you see the devastation inside this place you sort of walk hand in hand with it. I know about Nanjing; I am from Taiwan. I haven't been to the museum at Nanjing so I can't comment a lot but one thing I do know a lot of Chinese were killed by the Japanese, I think more than here, but they don't really mention that side of things. I think they forget very easily; I think this bombing shook them up here, the war really came home to them, but they don't mention that they did a lot of really bad things too. And that in this place, really you just get the one view, Japanese city gone, Japanese children gone, Japanese women gone. Yes, it makes me feel sorry for them all as a human I ask myself why did all this happen, but I can't see an answer to that here. So, on leaving, I have more questions. The history is very controlled; they say Hiroshima is for peace; No more Hiroshima's' but just who is saying this, whose voice is it we are reading. I know that the Japanese killed lots of people. The Chinese government point their finger at Japan, the Korean government point their finger too. So, what side do you trust because I don't have enough information, that's what gives me more questions? What else can I say a lot of people died because of the war, so it seems to me the focus should be to not do war in the first place then you won't get this sort of thing happening will you. (HO55)*