chapter seven

the experience of space, site & self

euro–western experience of site
Paul Williams states that the measure of the effectiveness of memorials “lies with the quality of visitor’s often-inexpressible experiences . . . travel to a memorial site nearly always encourages some reflection on why the effort has been made: what have I come to understand? This act is physical as well as cognitive, and is significantly made sense of through the power of place” (Williams, 2007, p. 182). Within the previous chapter the concept of Euro-Western ‘cues to connect’ was established and describes in detail the design of the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, the Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre and the Kigali Memorial Centre, as they engage the Euro-Western visitor. Moving beyond the ‘design layer’ of site, this chapter will describe, in a series of identified themes and experiential qualities core to the creation of consciousness, the existential phenomenological data collected from Euro-Western participants. This chapter will consider the experience of site through an analysis of Euro-Western experience of space, site and self, using the identified ‘cues’ introduced in Chapter six as a base for investigating how design shapes the experiential qualities of place for Euro-Western visitors. In addition to the categories of site ‘theme’ and ‘content’ as introduced in Chapter six, Chapter seven also includes the experiential categories of space and self.
As has been outlined in the previous chapter, the design for Euro-Western engagement at each case study site occurs at different levels, and through different mediums. From architectural form to the display of victim clothing and genocide artefacts, the phenomenon of providing (intentionally or unintentionally) on-site Euro-Western ‘cues to connect’ is a significant aspect to the design of each case study site. Within the sections below, these aspects of design are considered in relation to the ‘existential’ phenomenological data collected from Euro-Western participants at each of the case study sites through on-site and follow-up enquiries. Returning here briefly to the concept of ‘pre-understanding’, this research continues to assert Laverty’s claim that pre-understanding is not something a person can step outside of or put aside, as it is already part of our historicality, our cultural background (Laverty, 2003, p. 8). This chapter therefore analyses the Euro-Western participant data in relation to Western memorialisation, specifically the global memory of the Jewish Holocaust, which informs significantly our pre-understanding of genocide memorialisation.

### 7.2.1 Applying the ‘Existential’ Phenomenological Method

In its simplest terms, phenomenology is the interpretive study of human experience (Seamon, 2002b). As a specific research method, existential phenomenological research has the aim to understand and generalise through analysis, the experiences of individuals and groups involved in actual situations and places (Seamon, 2002b). As has been discussed in Chapter five, access to the researcher’s own experience of the phenomenon under enquiry, through the ‘encountered’ approach can offer clarity and insight “grounded in one’s own lifeworld” (Seamon, 2002b). This understanding however is derived from only the ‘world of one’, and the researcher must find ways to involve the worlds of others. The existential phenomenological approach in the context of this study, utilises the participation of Euro-Western tourists at each of the three case study sites, and enlists their involvement as ‘co-researchers’ in the study, “since any generalizable understanding is a function of the sensibilities of both respondent and researcher” (Seamon, 2002b). The aim of this study - to investigate the role of design in shaping Euro-Western experience and interpretation of the post genocide memoryscapes of Cambodia and Rwanda - will be presented below in generalised terms, specifically looking at the experience of site. Based on this intention, the Euro-Western tourist experience of the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, the Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre and the Kigali Memorial Centre was considered through five tasks that included three ‘on-site’ (Appendices A-C) and two ‘follow-up’ exercises (Appendix D). The tasks requested that participants:
1. Complete a brief questionnaire prior to undertaking their visit to the case study site (Appendix B),
2. Take a second photo with the disposable camera (supplied by the researcher) of the same scene, site, object, space, first taken with their own digital camera,
3. Complete a hand-drawn mental map of the site after they had left the memorial (Appendix C),
4. Complete a follow-up questionnaire (Appendix D),
5. Complete a follow-up discussion question (Appendix D).

Step one, the questionnaire, was developed to obtain a basic picture of each participant, and to better understand the motivations and expectations each had of their visit to the memorial site. Questions were orientated around previous travel experience, level of education, and previous visits to memorial sites. Step two, the photo-taking task, was designed to elicit an understanding of both site movement, and individual site documentation that each participant recorded. As John Urry suggests, tourism is a strategy for the accumulation of photographs (Urry, 1990), with tourist photography being “part of a theatre of narratives and memories” (Baerenholdt, Haldrup, Larsen and Urry, 2004, p. 105). Step three, the map drawing exercise, was used to draw out the basic cognitive and affective components of the site, as perceived by the participant. Cognitive components, as defined here, represent one’s knowledge about the site, while on the other hand, affective components represent one’s emotional response concerned with feeling and meaning attached to a place or experience. In ‘The Dictionary of Human Geography’ (1986), the definition of mental map states “The spatially organised preferences, or distorted egocentric images, of place, mentally stored by individuals and drawn upon as resources in their interpretations of spatial desirability, their organisation of spatial routines, and their decision making transactions as satisfying agents. Mental maps are an amalgam of information and interpretation reflecting not only what an agent knows about places but also how he or she feels about them” (Johnston, Gregory & Smith, 1986, p. 295).

Step four, the follow-up questionnaire, was used to understand post site visit thought – the cognitive and affective qualities of site that participants retained and developed during the post visit period - and step five, the discussion question framed within a request that a letter be written to a local acquaintance in Cambodia or Rwanda describing the participant’s experience and thoughts of the memorial site, was used to allow for an undirected reflective response. It is these ‘memories,’ and/or ‘mental images’ of site experience that are investigated here - considered as phenomenological traces of Euro-Western experience. Analysed through the three categories of, the experience of space, the experience of site and the experience of self, design strategies for Euro-Western ‘cues to connect’ identified in Chapter six are described and discussed in terms of the ‘existential’ response, with the experiential categories outlined below directed by the key phenomenological concern of the power of place as introduced above by Paul Williams. Analysis of the ‘cues to connect’ are categorised within this chapter as follows:
The experience of space is considered below within the analytical categories of

- The Physicality and Experience of Spatial Layout
- The Experience of Context

The experience of site is considered within the analytical categories of

- Experiencing the Shock, Reality and Vastness of Death – Names and Faces
- The Internationalising of Genocide
- Experiencing Distant Symbols and Meaning
- The experience of Torture and Death through Artefacts
- The experience of Victim Clothing
- The ‘Graveyard’
- Site Rules

And finally the experience of self is considered within the analytical categories of

- Symbolism and Realism
- Insider / Outsider
- People and Place

7.2.1.1
THE PARTICIPANTS

The following discussion introduces and typifies the participants in Cambodia:

Male or female, aged between 18 and 35 years old, on their first trip to Cambodia. University educated, participants came from a range of Euro-Western countries including Great Britain, France, the Czech Republic, Australia, New Zealand and from the Netherlands, and were travelling as a couple or a small group of friends. Considering themselves ‘experienced’ travellers, most participants were in Cambodia on holiday as part of a trip that explored other parts of Southeast Asia. Multiple reasons were given about motivation to visit Cambodia including the Angkor temples, wanting a less ‘touristy’ travel experience, and a want to see and learn about a different culture.

Evaluating their existing knowledge of the Cambodian genocide, participants generally considered themselves to have ‘little’ to ‘some’ knowledge of the 1970’s genocide, and had not seen the 1984 film ‘The Killing Fields’.
Visiting the memorials to learn more, or to better understand what happened in Cambodia, participants were not visiting the memorials as part of an organised tour, this being their first trip to the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum or the Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre. Commenting that they expected the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum and the Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre to be similar to a Nazi Concentration Camp experience, participants were likely to have visited some other memorial to human induced tragedy at some point in their life.

Participants of the Rwandan existential research could be typified as similar to that of a Cambodian participant:

Male or female, aged between 18 and 35 years old, this was their first trip to Rwanda. University educated, participants came from the USA, Great Britain, Canada and Germany. Again, considering themselves experienced travellers, participants were either visiting Rwanda as part of an extended trip to Africa, or were visiting as part of a trip that extended to other continents also. Most participants were in Rwanda on holiday, with primary motivation being to see the Gorillas. Participants were primarily travelling as a couple or small group of friends.

Evaluating their existing knowledge of the Rwandan genocide, participants generally considered themselves to have ‘little’ to ‘some’ knowledge of the 1994 genocide, and had seen the 2004 film ‘Hotel Rwanda’.

Visiting the Kigali Memorial Centre to learn more – to gain a greater understanding - no participants were travelling as part of an organised tour. Being their first trip to the Kigali Memorial Centre, participants expected the memorial to be similar to a Holocaust memorial site. Participants were also likely to have visited some other memorial to human induced tragedy.
The number of participants included in the study was concluded once saturation was met. The figures below illustrate the involvement of each participant in terms of completing each of the five existential exercises.

### TUOL SLENG GENOCIDE MUSEUM

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PARTICIPANT CODE</th>
<th>SITE RESEARCH</th>
<th>FOLLOW-UP RESEARCH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>QUESTIONNAIRE</td>
<td>PHOTO EXERCISE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TS2</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TS3</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TS6</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TS7</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TS8</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TS9</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TS10</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TS12Post</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TS14Post</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TS15Post</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TS16</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Fig. 7.1**
Schedule of participant research
Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, Cambodia

### CHOEUNG EK GENOCIDAL CENTRE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PARTICIPANT CODE</th>
<th>SITE RESEARCH</th>
<th>FOLLOW-UP RESEARCH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>QUESTIONNAIRE</td>
<td>PHOTO EXERCISE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CE2</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CE3</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CE5</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CE6</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CE7</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CE8</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CE9</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CE13Post</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CE14Post</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CE15</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CE16</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CE17</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Fig. 7.2**
Schedule of participant research
Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre, Cambodia
Fig. 7.3
Schedule of participant research
Kigali Memorial Centre, Rwanda

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PARTICIPANT CODE</th>
<th>SITE RESEARCH</th>
<th>FOLLOW-UP RESEARCH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>QUESTIONNAIRE</td>
<td>PHOTO EXERCISE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>QUESTIONNAIRE</td>
<td>DISCUSSION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KMC2</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KMC4</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KMC5</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KMC6</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KMC7</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KMC8</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KMC9</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KMC14</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KMC21</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KMC22Post</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KMC24Post</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KMC25Post</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Participant KMC8 and KMC9 were travelling together and chose to use one camera between them

7.2.1.3 LIMITATIONS & RESTRICTIONS

As a comprehensive pilot study was unable to be carried out on-site in Cambodia or Rwanda prior to the first field research trip in 2007, flexibility was at the forefront of the first two weeks in Cambodia. Detailed, pre-site visit planning was identified as the best approach for the smooth operation of data collection on site in Cambodia and Rwanda, but flexibility and an awareness of the ‘un-planable’ and ‘un-predictable’ nature of carrying out field research in foreign and developing nations was appreciated, and embraced from the outset.

Undertaking field research in Cambodia during June, July and August 2007, an allocation of time was budgeted into the programme to allow for identifying and responding to any issues that may arise. Time was also allocated to consult with the supervisory committee about any identified issues, and to alter the field research exercises to mitigate the problem accordingly. Three major issues did arise while carrying out on-site field research in Cambodia and Rwanda, and will be discussed below.

On arrival in Cambodia, Euro-Western tourists were approached at random and asked if they would like to participate in the research. Most responded positively with some having already visited the memorial sites in the days prior, but still wanted to participate. This meant an adaption was necessary as the photo-taking exercise was not possible as they were not returning to the site again. As they were keen to participate research packs were slightly modified by removing the photo-taking exercise, and slightly altering the questions of the
questionnaire to read appropriately for the ‘post-site visit’ participant. Post-site visit participants were then able to complete the other research tasks as per normal. This option was also given to participants in Rwanda. Post site visit participants are presented within the research that follows with the word ‘Post’ after their unique code.

Two limitations were identified with regard to the Rwandan field research. Firstly, it was identified, after completing field research in Cambodia that the fourth initially proposed case study site – the Murambi Technical School Memorial in southern Rwanda - would need to be removed due to the logistical issues, specifically, the location being two and a half hours by bus from Kigali, and the very unpredictable nature of tourist numbers to this memorial. This site was instead included in the contextual site studies undertaken as part of the broader analysis carried out by the researcher. Secondly, it was discovered on arrival at the Kigali Memorial Centre, that photos were prohibited from being taken (due to copyright issues) inside the main exhibition building. This site rule was respected by the researcher and participants and therefore any photos of the exhibitions and artworks inside the memorial presented in this study are images taken from Aegis Trust publications and the official memorial website.

In the presentation of the participant research that follows, please note that the quotations taken from participant exercise sheets are quoted directly, and as such, spelling and grammatical errors have not been corrected, but presented in the form they were received, to maintain the honesty of response. Also, photos taken inside the building complex at the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum are often 'hazy' as participants did not commonly use the flash function provided on the disposable camera.
7.3 **EURO–WESTERN EXPERIENCE OF SPACE**

Below, is an introduction to the experience of space as expressed by Euro-Western visitors to the genocide memorial sites in Cambodia and Rwanda. Specifically the focus here is on relating participants’ experiences on site to the framework of ‘cues’ outlined in the previous chapter.

7.3.1 **THE PHYSICALITY & EXPERIENCE OF SPATIAL LAYOUT**

When considering the physicality and experience of spatial layout at the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, the Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre and the Kigali Memorial Centre, the spatial experience of Euro-Western visitors, as is shown below, differs quite markedly between sites. Participants at the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum were able to elevate themselves on the upper floors of the buildings, visually encapsulating and better able to understand the ‘limits’ of site. Shaping their visual experience and cognitive understanding around the structure offered by the four main buildings and a clear urban boundary, participants without exception, drew their maps of the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum in plan view, with carefully laid out entry point, buildings, grave sites, and boundaries. Ordered and clear, maps drawn of the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum indicated a coherent site understanding in terms of spatial arrangement, configuration, orientation and object relativity (figure 7.4). Also expressed in a clear and precise manner was the direction in which Euro-Western visitors moved within and around the site. Presented below in a series of documented photo view points, the sequence from which participants moved around the site was documented and presented in figure 7.5 and in the associated photographs 7.1 - 7.12. Evident in the sequence in which photos were taken, visitors to the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum moved around the site in a clockwise direction starting at the ticket kiosk, then the 14 graves of the victims found at S-21 upon Vietnamese invasion, and then across to Buildings ‘A’, ‘B’, ‘C’ and ‘D’. What can be best described as an ‘object’ orientated site, the spatial layout was not experienced through transitional space. Site paths were not well represented in maps drawn of the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, and when they were, they were typically drawn as ‘object’ themselves (figure 7.6).
Fig. 7.4
Site layout expressed through plan graphics
Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, Cambodia
Drawn by TS12Post, 2007

Fig. 7.5
Plan view of the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum indicating participant movement around the site
Numbers indicate order of photos taken by participant TS16
Drawn by Author
Photo 7.1
Participant Photo 1
Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, Cambodia
Photo by TS16, 2007

Photo 7.2
Participant Photo 2
Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, Cambodia
Photo by TS16, 2007

Photo 7.3
Participant Photo 3
Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, Cambodia
Photo by TS16, 2007
Photo 7.4
Participant Photo 4
Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, Cambodia
Photo by TS16, 2007

Photo 7.5
Participant Photo 5
Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, Cambodia
Photo by TS16, 2007

Photo 7.6
Participant Photo 6
Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, Cambodia
Photo by TS16, 2007
Photo 7.7
Participant Photo 7
Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, Cambodia
Photo by TS16, 2007

Photo 7.8
Participant Photo 8
Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, Cambodia
Photo by TS16, 2007

Photo 7.9
Participant Photo 9
Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, Cambodia
Photo by TS16, 2007
Photo 7.10
Participant Photo 10
Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, Cambodia
Photo by TS16, 2007

Photo 7.11
Participant Photo 11
Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, Cambodia
Photo by TS16, 2007
Although lacking some coherency in terms of exhibition sequence, the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum is relatively easy to navigate for the Euro-Western visitor. From the outset, visitors are able to negotiate the memorial site in terms of site layout, and are given information (even if uneven and sporadic in parts) with regard to site content. Participants seemed satisfied with the level of information and understanding gained on site, and portrayed this through the object orientated nature of their photos (photos 7.13 – 7.16). Where on-site ‘information boards’ were photographed, they appeared to support the notion that visitors were creating a general informational record of the site (photo 7.17).
Photo 7.13
Object – Building
Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, Cambodia
Photo by TS9, 2007

Photo 7.14
Object – Torture Bed
Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, Cambodia
Photo by TS6, 2007

Photo 7.15
Object – Torture Bed and artefacts
Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, Cambodia
Photo by TS7, 2007
Photo 7.16
Object - ‘The Gallows’
Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, Cambodia
Photo by TS7, 2007

Photo 7.17
Site introduction sign
Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, Cambodia
Photo by TS2, 2007
In contrast to the relatively straightforward experience and interpretation of spatial layout at the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum experienced by Euro-Western visitors, participants to the second Cambodian case study site – the Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre – were faced with multiple levels of spatial ‘confusion’ due to the level of illegibility that characterises many aspects of site experience here. The Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre could only be experienced on the ground plane, and an overall ‘image’ of the site could not be gained at any one time. Maps drawn by participants to the Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre therefore showed considerable confusion towards the same factors mentioned above in response to the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum (figure 7.7).

Space was not well defined and orientation and object relativity were often uncertain. Participants relied heavily on graphic skill and notation to portray site elements clearly (such as the memorial stupa often drawn in elevation or perspective rather than in plan view that to an un-trained eye, may have been difficult to decipher, see figure 7.8). Also in contrast to the experience of the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, maps drawn of the Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre were far more path orientated as can be seen in figure 7.9. At the Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre, once visitors have left the ticket kiosk, the site is open to wander freely. There are few designed pathways for visitors to follow, but over the years ‘stock tracks’ have been created along the top edge of many exhumed mass graves (photos 7.18 & 7.19), and around the larger roof-covered pits. Often referred to as ‘desire lines’, these tracks appear to allow respectful movement around the mass graves – a belief that is proven false as it becomes

Fig. 7.7
Arrows indicate multiple directions during site experience
Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre, Cambodia
Drawn by CE13Post, 2007
clear to each visitor that perhaps the mass graves expressed as rolling grassy pits today, are actually only where bones were exhumed during the 1980’s to fill the memorial stupa, and that they are in fact walking on extended grave areas, as human remains emerge from the dirt tracks beneath their feet (photo 7.20). Overgrown in many areas, visitors find it hard to negotiate the public/private threshold at the Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre. Figure 7.10 shows the vagueness of site boundary expressed in many maps drawn by Euro-Western participants. Figure 7.11 also expresses the public/private uncertainty, where distinct site areas are left off the map, perhaps indicating that they were not encountered and experienced by the participant for the reason of site uncertainty.

![Photo 7.18](Image)

‘Stock tracks’ around the mass grave area
Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre, Cambodia
Photo by CES, 2007

![Photo 7.19](Image)

‘Stock tracks’ along the top edge of exhumed mass grave areas
Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre, Cambodia
Photo by CE2, 2007
Human teeth emerge from one of the tracks
Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre, Cambodia
Photo by CE2, 2007

Site layout expressed through side elevation and perspective sketches
Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre, Cambodia
Drawn by CE9, 2007
Fig. 7.9
Path orientated site map
Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre, Cambodia
Drawn by CE15, 2007

Fig. 7.10
Vague site boundary
Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre, Cambodia
Drawn by CE17, 2007
Lacking sufficient coherency in terms of spatiality and content, Euro-Western visitors to the Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre can be seen to be actively ‘seeking’ further direction and explanation. Portrayed clearly through the theme of ‘object and caption’, participants to the Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre are seen to be actively recording information and explanation about the site by including in their photographs, the information caption boards placed next to site features (photos 7.21-7.24). Where features were not ‘labelled’, participants were less likely to take a photograph.
Photo 7.22
Memorial Stupa – site object
Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre, Cambodia
Photo by CE3, 2007

Photo 7.23
Memorial Stupa – object caption
Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre, Cambodia
Photo by CE3, 2007
Participants at this site were also more focused (than appeared at the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum) on taking photos of on-site signs and information boards, where the feature described in the text, was not included in the photo, as can be seen in the collection of photos taken by participant CE2 (photos 7.25 – 7.33) showing the persistent search for ‘text-based’ information by participants.
Photo 7.26
Entrance sign to the memorial stupa
Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre, Cambodia
Photo by CE2, 2007

Photo 7.27
Sign at the base of the ‘Killing Tree’
Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre, Cambodia
Photo by CE2, 2007
Photo 7.28
Sign on entering the mass grave area
Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre, Cambodia
Photo by CE2, 2007

Photo 7.29
Mass grave sign
Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre, Cambodia
Photo by CE2, 2007

Photo 7.30
On-site information board
Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre, Cambodia
Photo by CE2, 2007
Photo 7.31
On-site information board
Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre, Cambodia
Photo by CE2, 2007

Photo 7.32
On-site information board
Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre, Cambodia
Photo by CE2, 2007

Photo 7.33
On-site information board
Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre, Cambodia
Photo by CE2, 2007
Spatial layout of the Kigali Memorial Centre in Rwanda was again experienced and expressed in a different way to that of the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum and the Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre in Cambodia. The Centre, set on a series of terraces, was surrounded by extensive memorial gardens which offered multiple routes. Unlike visitors to the memorial sites in Cambodia, all visitors to the Kigali Memorial Centre are greeted in the reception of the main exhibition building by a memorial host, and escorted outside to firstly pay their respects to the 258,000 victims buried within the mass graves in the lower terraces. Predominantly expressed in plan view, the multi-dimensionality to this site proved difficult for people to draw and communicate in terms of levels, areas, and the transition between building and landscape. Several participants attempted to only draw the exhibition building, excluding all other site elements such as mass graves, memorial gardens, wall of names, world map and documentation centre. An example of such a map can be seen below in figure 7.12.

Like those maps drawn of the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, the maps drawn of the Kigali Memorial Centre are best described as being object orientated. Although several participants included in their drawing, arrows depicting the circular nature of the main exhibition space on the ground floor of the exhibition building, outer paths were not treated as transitional space for movement, but as ‘object’ (figure 7.13).
Unlike participants to the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum who focused their photos very much around site ‘objects’, and participants to the Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre who focused on ‘information recoding’, participants to the Kigali Memorial Centre, took photos of a range of features that could not be described as either ‘object’ or ‘information’ focused. Photos were taken including mass graves, gardens, memorial building, wall of names, and views of the city. Participants were limited in the photo taking exercise at the Kigali Memorial Centre, due to the ‘no photo’ policy inside the exhibition building.
7.3.2 THE EXPERIENCE OF CONTEXT

In terms of Euro-Western experience of the three case study memorial sites in Cambodia and Rwanda, the relationship with context is best expressed through a comparative discussion of the visual representation. Supporting the notion of ‘new beginnings’ as introduced and discussed in Chapter six, the following analysis and visual data provided through the existential phenomenological phase of site research, supports the notion that site interpretation is indeed shaped by site design, in this instance by design theme.

The Kigali Memorial Centre was consistently represented by Euro-Western participants, through the photo taking exercise as directing an ‘outward’ view from the memorial centre across the valley to the city of Kigali (see photos 7.34 - 7.37). This idea was also portrayed by two participants to the Memorial Centre in the map drawing exercise, with one participant drawing the map of the site in perspective, with the Memorial Centre in the foreground and the hills of Kigali City beyond (figure 7.14). The second participant who drew a map representing this relationship drew the Memorial Centre in plan, and the hills of Kigali in perspective beyond, labelling them with the term ‘Hope’ (figure 7.15).

Photo 7.34
Photo taken from the Kigali Memorial Centre, looking across a mass grave towards the city of Kigali
Kigali Memorial Centre, Rwanda
Photo by KMC14, 2008
Photo 7.35
Photo taken from the Kigali Memorial Centre, looking from the main Exhibition building towards the city of Kigali
Kigali Memorial Centre, Rwanda
Photo by KMC2, 2008

Photo 7.36
Photo taken from the Kigali Memorial Centre, looking across the mass grave terraces towards the city of Kigali
Kigali Memorial Centre, Rwanda
Photo by KMC5, 2008

Photo 7.37
Photo taken from the Kigali Memorial Centre, looking across a mass grave towards the city of Kigali
Kigali Memorial Centre, Rwanda
Photo by KMC8 & KMC9, 2008
The subtleties of the space were impressive. In my mind, a memorial centre, comparison of the building and site to the surrounding city. It should be a place where people can explore and think at home. The site grounds were not extensive and were not grandiose. The area was well laid out with pathways and views to the surrounding area.

The centre was well laid out in a circular design so that you could continue along the path of the story and images in a holistic way. It was a journey way to walk through the history that was now all unclear. The people and the culture are only seen clearly again by retracing the way they once were.

**Fig. 7.14**

The ‘outward’ nature of the Kigali Memorial Centre
Kigali Memorial Centre, Rwanda

Drawn by KMC21, 2008

---

**Fig. 7.15**

Mental Map of the Kigali Memorial Centre in relation to the city of Kigali beyond. Labelled as ‘Hope’
Kigali Memorial Centre, Rwanda

Drawn by KMC22, 2008
The experience of contextual setting for Euro-Western visitors to the memorial sites in Cambodia offered little by way of reference to, or relationship with context. No participants at the two memorial sites in Cambodia made reference to the physical context in which they sit (figures 7.16 & 7.17 and photo 7.38). Few photos were taken of this relationship.

![Diagram of memorial sites in Cambodia](image1)

**Fig. 7.16**
No reference to context
Choeng Ek Genocidal Centre, Cambodia
Drawn by CE8, 2007

![Diagram of memorial sites in Cambodia](image2)

**Fig. 7.17**
No reference to context
Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, Cambodia
Drawn by TS6, 2007
Photo 7.38

Only photo taken by Euro-Western participants that made reference to the surrounding neighbourhood in which the memorial sits.

Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, Cambodia

Photo by TS10, 2007
7.4 EURO-WESTERN EXPERIENCE OF SITE

After the discussion relating to Euro-Western experience of space, the continued discussion of memorial experience is outlined below in terms of the experience of site. Within the categories titled ‘Experiencing the shock and vastness of death’, ‘The internationalisation of genocide’, ‘Artefacts - the experience of torture and death’, ‘The experience of victims clothing’ and ‘The graveyard’, design issues of site and contextual legibility are discussed.

7.4.1 EXPERIENCING THE SHOCK, REALITY & VASTNESS OF DEATH – NAMES & FACES

Just one participant at the Kigali Memorial Centre took a photo of the Wall of Names (photo 7.39). The extensive gardens and numerous paths around the site may have resulted in participants not actually coming across the wall. By contrast, all participants to the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum included in their photographs at least one photo of the ‘facing death’ photos (photos 7.40 –7.46). Several participants to the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum also took photos of photographs on display showing the exhumation of graves at the Choeung Ek Killing fields, which again indicate the vastness of death from the Cambodian Genocide (photos 7.47-7.49).
Photo 7.40
‘Facing Death’ photos
Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, Cambodia
Photo by TS2, 2007

Photo 7.41
‘Facing Death’ photos
Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, Cambodia
Photo by TS3, 2007

Photo 7.42
‘Facing Death’ photos
Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, Cambodia
Photo by TS6, 2007
Photo 7.47
A photo of a photo on display at Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum
Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, Cambodia
Photo by TS2, 2007

Photo 7.48
A photo of a photo on display at Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum
Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, Cambodia
Photo by TS6, 2007

Photo 7.49
A photo of a series of photos on display at Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum
Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, Cambodia
Photo by TS6, 2007
Photos taken by participants at the Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre also represented the vastness of death through the numerous photos taken of victim remains (photos 7.50-7.58). A combination of shock, reality and the vastness of death, these photos are a grim expression of Cambodia’s genocidal past. Conveying an instinctive human reaction, Euro-Western visitors, perhaps like all visitors, are prompted to consider death on a scale so vast it denies words. Being in place at the Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre where up to 20,000 people were executed, and today where nearly 9000 skulls are stacked ‘peering’ out, separated from their skeletons, the phenomenological ‘being in place’ at the Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre, as with the ‘facing death’ photos at the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, proved a powerful tool in connecting Euro-Western visitor with site in Cambodia.

![Skulls on display within the memorial stupa](image)

Photo 7.50
Skulls on display within the memorial stupa
Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre, Cambodia
Photo by CE9, 2007
Photo 7.51
Skulls on display within the memorial stupa
Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre, Cambodia
Photo by CE2, 2007

Photo 7.52
Skulls on display within the memorial stupa
Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre, Cambodia
Photo by CE3, 2007

Photo 7.53
Skulls on display within the memorial stupa
Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre, Cambodia
Photo by CE16, 2007
Photo 7.54
Skulls on display within the memorial stupa
Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre, Cambodia
Photo by CE6, 2007

Photo 7.55
Skulls on display within the memorial stupa
Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre, Cambodia
Photo by CE15, 2007
Photo 7.56
Skulls on display within the memorial stupa
Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre, Cambodia
Photo by CE2, 2007

Photo 7.57
Skulls on display within the memorial stupa
Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre, Cambodia
Photo by CE2, 2007

Photo 7.58
Bones on display
Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre, Cambodia
Photo by CE2, 2007
7.4.2 THE INTERNATIONALISING OF GENOCIDE

No participants took photos of the Westerner, David Lloyd Scott’s photo at either the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, or the Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre, nor did any participants make reference to it on their maps. All participants in Rwanda however, who participated in the photo taking exercise did take a photo of the world map terrace which allows the visitor to locate their country of origin in relation to Rwanda, which is marked by the Rwandan flag (photos 7.59 & 7.60). A position for self consideration, visitors are prompted at this point to think back to where they were in 1994 during the genocide in Rwanda. The power of placing the body, the self, within this microcosmic world heightens the vulnerability of the person.
7.4.3 EXPERIENCING DISTANT SYMBOLS & MEANING

One participant at the Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre took a photo of the frangipani tree (photo 7.61). The selection of the frangipani as the subject of a photograph is unclear, as it is not widely known in the West that the frangipani tree is in fact a symbol of death in Southeast Asian cultures. The frangipani tree did appear in other photos taken at the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum and the Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre, but they were not the focus of the photo such as this one.

![Photo 7.61](image)

Photo 7.61
Photo of the frangipani tree
Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, Cambodia
Photo by TS16, 2007
7.4.4 THE EXPERIENCE OF TORTURE & DEATH THROUGH ARTEFACTS

Like the ‘facing death’ photos, most participants at the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum took photos of the various pieces of torture equipment displayed in the interrogation rooms (photo 7.62 – 7.64). No participants however took photos of the torture equipment displayed together in the purposeful exhibition in Building ‘D’. The sense of items having been just ‘left’ seems to have connected with participants. The palpable relationship to the body – to our bodies – the torture equipment sitting poignantly in these now empty rooms, extends our imagination. They convey a felt pain, a trigger for engagement.

Photo 7.62
Torture equipment on display
Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, Cambodia
Photo by TS7, 2007

Photo 7.63
Torture equipment on display
Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, Cambodia
Photo by TS7, 2007

Photo 7.64
Prisoner toilet
Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, Cambodia
Photo by TS8, 2007
Many participants that took part in the photo exercise at the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum also focused at least one photo around the ‘play equipment’ come ‘torture equipment’ in the museum courtyard. ‘The Gallows’ were photographed by most participants, some of only the structure (photo 7.65), and others with the accompanying information board.

![Photo 7.65](image)

Torture equipment on display
Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, Cambodia
Photo by TS6, 2007

One participant at the Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre also noted the sharp palm fronds used to decapitate victims during the genocide. They not only photographed it (photo 7.66), but included it on their map (figure 7.18).

![Fig. 7.18](image)

Reference to the tree where sharp juvenile fronds were used decapitate victims
Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre, Cambodia
Drawn by CE2, 2007
Photo 7.66
Palm fronds used to decapitate victims
Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre, Cambodia
Photo by CE2, 2007
7.4.5 THE EXPERIENCE OF VICTIM CLOTHING

Surprisingly, no participants at the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum took photos of, or made mention of the victim clothing on display. Located at the end of a room filled with ‘facing death’ photos, the cabinet of clothing is lost amongst the thousands of faces. Two participants at the Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre however photographed the stacked clothing at the base of the memorial stupa (photos 7.67 & 7.68). Also displaying victim clothing at the Kigali Memorial Centre, photos were not allowed to be taken inside by participants, so a measure of this concept is not known at this site.
7.4.6 THE ‘GRAVEYARD’

The graveyard at the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum where the last 14 prisoners who were found by invading Vietnamese troops still lying on the torture beds are buried, is located just to the side of the ticket kiosk in the direction of Building ‘A’. Dignified and ‘white’ the graves are aligned in two neat rows. Very different to the unmarked mass graves that the other 17,000 prisoners are buried in at the Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre, these graves form the first encounter that visitors to the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum have with ‘death’ (photos 7.69 & 7.70).

Several participants to the Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre took photos of both the undulating grassy pits, and the covered and labelled mass graves, like those taken by participant CE3 (photos 7.71 & 7.72). One participant also took a photo of a Chinese gravestone that reiterates the fact that the Choeung Ek Killing Field, now Genocidal Centre, was once a Chinese cemetery (photo 7.73).
Photo 7.71
The undulating ground of an exhumed mass grave site
Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre, Cambodia
Photo by CE3, 2007

Photo 7.72
A covered and labelled mass grave
Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre, Cambodia
Photo by CE3, 2007

Photo 7.73
Chinese gravestone
Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre, Cambodia
Photo by CE9, 2007
The mass graves at the Kigali Memorial Centre were photographed by all participants that took part in that part of the existential enquiry (photos 7.74 & 7.75). As has been discussed earlier, on arrival at the Memorial Centre all visitors are led down from the main reception to the grave terraces by a site host, to pay their respects, before being left to wander through the exhibitions and gardens at leisure. Perhaps out of respect, or perhaps feeling as though they should record the graves, the graves terraces at the Kigali Memorial Centre proved to engage Euro-Western visitors through the experience of site.
7.4.7 SITE RULES

The expression of site rules at memorial sites in Cambodia were included by three participants. The ‘No smiling’ sign observed at the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, was noted in both a participant map and photo (figure 7.19 & photo 7.76). The site regulations at the Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre were also included by participant CE3 (photo 7.77).
7.5 EUROWESTERN EXPERIENCE OF SELF

7.5.1 SYMBOLISM & REALISM

As touched upon previously, with regard to the frangipani tree, symbolism at the Cambodian sites was not readily recognised by Euro-Western participants. As Man Hau Liev writes “Only a Buddhist temple or a place for spirits would plant the frangipani tree. Its flower is used only for funerary proposes. Throughout Cambodia as well as in Southeast Asia no one would plant the frangipani tree at home. Even no one would dare to bring the flower home unless someone dies. The flower is used to decorate the coffin and its scent would sooth the ambiance. Tuol Sleng is one of the places that this planting is appropriate” (Liev, 2008, personal communication). The experience of symbolic aspects of site, such as the use of the frangipani tree, that are not part of Western culture, were not readily expressed by Euro-Western visitors. Cambodia is a country with religious and cultural traditions very different to that of many of those visiting the memorial sites as international visitors, and the mental maps produced by all participants to case study sites in Cambodia adopted a ‘realist’ approach to site and experiential expression, rather than a symbolic or abstracted approach. Seen to be taking steps to further on-site understanding in terms of information, sequential and basic site understanding, Euro-Western participants did not express, through the existential exercises, a level of interpretation different to that from an informational experience. Examples of the realist approach to site experience in Cambodia are seen below (figures 7.20 & 7.21).

Fig. 7.20
A ‘realist’ depiction of site experience
Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, Cambodia
Drawn by TS9, 2007
A less mediated experience than that had by participants at the Kigali Memorial Centre, the memorial sites in Cambodia on one hand give little away in terms of coherent information and sequence, and on the other hand give everything away by displaying the raw reality of death. For participants at the Kigali Memorial Centre, ‘symbolism’, and a more ‘abstracted’ expression of experience was portrayed in maps drawn by two participants. A purpose-built memorial site, that had significant input from a Western organisation, and was built within a culture where the dominant religion is Christianity. Euro-Western participants to the Kigali Memorial Centre were seen to express an additional level of site interpretation, related to the symbolic designed aspects of architecture, site, content, and context. Participant KMC2 for example, depicted in their mental map interpretive aspects of site that were beyond a basic reiteration of informational and sequential experience that was strongly seen by participants in Cambodia. Expressing what I term here ‘a connected experience with self’, KMC2 illustrates aspects of site design such as the ‘black paving’ that greets visitors on arrival to the main exhibition building, the trellis and ‘thorn’ vines, and the sharp front of the main building that indicate a clear experience of site different to that of most other participants (figure 7.22).
Many of these features portrayed in the map drawing exercise were also present in the set of photos taken by participant KMC2 (photos 7.78 – 7.82) who also wrote during the follow-up enquiry “It’s weird but one of the things that I remember is there was a finch flying in and out of the thorny vines covering the stone walkway near the mass grave. To me it was symbolic as the bird showed that life will go on represented by the finch no matter how much strife or evil is in the world which is represented by the thorny vines”.

Photo 7.78
Sharp angle of building facade
Kigali Memorial Centre, Rwanda
Photo by KMC2, 2008
Photo 7.79
Black paving on entry into the memorial Centre
Kigali Memorial Centre, Rwanda
Photo by KMC2, 2008

Photo 7.80
The 'pointed' ends of the trellis
Kigali Memorial Centre, Rwanda
Photo by KMC2, 2008

Photo 7.81
The shadow of the trellis falls on steps down to the mass grave terraces
Kigali Memorial Centre, Rwanda
Photo by KMC2, 2008
Photo 7.82
A broken pot holding a thriving cactus sits next to a mass grave
Kigali Memorial Centre, Rwanda
Photo by KMC2, 2008
Participant KMC2 also included in their photo-taking exercise an image of the Kigali Memorial Centre entrance gate. When placed alongside an image of the gate at Auschwitz, a likeness is seen that seems inappropriate on one hand, but acts as another connection point for Euro-Western visitors, for whom this form is part of our pre-understanding.

Photo 7.83
Participant photograph of the site ‘entrance gate’ to the Kigali Memorial Centre - reminiscent of the entrance gate at Auschwitz?
Kigali Memorial Centre, Rwanda
Photo by KMC2, 2008

Photo 7.84
Auschwitz entrance gate
(http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/6/61/Auschwitz_gate_%28dbertor1%29.jpg)

Participant KMC22 at the Kigali Memorial Centre also depicted through symbolic representation in the map drawing exercise a different level of interpretation than that of the
realist expression of space and site. Through the use of schematic diagramming and language, a connected experience of self is expressed, and, like participant KMC2, a different angle of thought and interpretation is presented (figure 7.23).

**Memorial Garden:**

"Unity, Togetherness
Anonymous, Concrete, Minimalist, New Space
Vegetation, Appreciation, Peace, Life Growing
From Death, Reincarnation"
7.5.2 INSIDENESS/OUTSIDENESS

As Edward Relph explains in his 1976 book titled ‘Place and Placeless’, the manifestations of the difference between inside and outside are many and obvious – the walls of a building, or a town limit sign. In the context of this research, doors, gateways, windows and thresholds become clear as representing the relationship between insideness and outsideness. Lyndon (1962), suggests that basic to place is the creation of an inside that is separate from an outside (Lyndon, 1962; cited in Relph, 1976 p. 49). “From the outside you look upon a place as a traveller might look upon a town from a distance; from the inside you experience a place, are surrounded by it and part of it. The inside-outside division thus presents itself as a simple but basic dualism, one that is fundamental in our experiences of... space” (Relph, 1976, p. 49).

Within the context of this research, the concepts of ‘insideness’ and ‘outsideness’ are best illustrated by photo examples taken by participants at the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum. According to Edward Relph’s terminology, a tourist can be both an ‘insider’ and an ‘outsider’. Through the phenomenon of travel, Euro-Western tourists to the case study sites in Cambodia and Rwanda are, initially, and at the outset, ‘outsiders’. Depicted below are a series of ‘insider – outsider’ experiences at the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum as participants engage self with site – alternatively placing themselves in each role (photos 7.85-7.90).

![Photo 7.85](image1)

‘Insider’ – Participant TS10 considers an aspect of site as an ‘insider’
Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, Cambodia
Photo by TS10, 2007

![Photo 7.86](image2)

‘ Outsider’ – a participant considers the memorial as an ‘outsider’ looking in
Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, Cambodia
Photo by TS10, 2007
‘Insider’ – Participant TS10 considers an aspect of site as an ‘insider’
Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, Cambodia
Photo by TS10, 2007

‘Outsider’ – Participant TS10 again considers the memorial as an ‘outsider’ looking in
Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, Cambodia
Photo by TS10, 2007

‘Insider’ – Participant TS7 considers an aspect of site as an ‘insider’
Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, Cambodia
Photo by TS7, 2007
Participant TS9 however, expressed the ‘outsider’ perspective in four site photographs without representing an ‘insider’ perspective at all, suggesting that the phenomenological process of site experience, placing ‘self’ in ‘site’ was individually monitored and carried out by personal decision (photos 7.91-7.94).
7.5.3 PEOPLE & PLACE

Participants in both Cambodia and Rwanda did not purposefully include people in their photos as you might see in traditional ‘tourist’ photography. According to John Urry, tourist experiences in an alien land are often summarised as a superficial series of memory shots - ‘snap shots’ taken in various locations and of various things (Urry, 2002, p. 150). The very nature of case study sites considered in this study are such that, instead of participants wanting to be part of the ‘scene’, in the way like they might want to be captured standing at the base of the Eiffel Tower in Paris, or in front of Big Ben in London, tourist photography at the genocide memorial sites in both Cambodia and Rwanda actively framed out ‘people’ – including both their travel companions, and also other visitors to the site. Photographs taken as part of the existential research suggest that these memorial sites do not promote the traditional tourist experience.
7.6 CONCLUSION

Difficult to separate oneself from the true tragedy of these sites, this chapter has shown how Euro-Western visitors to the case study sites in Cambodia and Rwanda respond to the ‘cues for connection’ through an analysis of the on-site existential data collected. To reiterate, this study supports contemporary thinking that genocide is a grave crime against humanity in its entirety, and as such, genocide memorialisation has today attained a high level of interest and significance in the international context. This chapter has shown that through the design of site, cultural ‘cues’ can engage people to identify with site, and thus has the ability of engage the consciousness of self, regardless of culture.

Analysed phenomenologically, the sites are powerful tools for connecting Euro-Western visitors to ‘foreign’ place. Attempting to cross traditional boundaries such as culture, language and religion, each site has been analysed in terms of how Euro-Western connection is created and achieved through site design and experience. From the phenomenologically powerful placement of torture equipment in the damp solitary rooms of the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, visitors can test the limits of reality by inserting ‘self’ in ‘place’ and imagine life behind these bars, before retuning to their safe reality of ‘real’ life. From the potent phenomenological experience engaging mind and heart when walking on human remains at the Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre, pushing the limits of conscious comprehension. And finally, from the informational clarity experienced at the Kigali Memorial Centre, where traditional boundaries that allow the ‘self’ to escape the reality of tragedy through a distancing of ‘place’, visitors are confronted with the commanding experience that we are all involved in this tragedy through the placement of ‘home’ on the world map. Our security, our point of difference, our everyday becomes undeniably connected to the existence of genocide. Indisputably, the case study sites of the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum and the Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre in Cambodia, and the Kigali Memorial Centre in Rwanda have proven to be powerful experiences for the Euro-Western visitor.

Outlined in Chapter eight, the design of site and the experience of site for Euro-Western visitors in Cambodia and Rwanda will be considered in relation to design interpretation, specifically the ability of memorial design to transpose interpretation through time. Further analysis and critique of the established memoryscape of Berlin will investigate the less ‘bounded’ memorial, represented here by the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe. Returning to the ‘Memorial Development Model’ introduced in Chapter three, Chapter eight will specifically investigate the movement of meaning in relation to memorial form and texture with regard to the case study sites, considering how memorial design might connect, not only through cultures by emphasising the ‘human’ tragedy of genocide such as the memorials in Cambodia and Rwanda do, but through their ability to connect with man through time, as the needs and expectations of society change. As David Cannadine suggests in his 2008 article ‘Where Statues Go To Die’, just as monuments to those regarded as heroes by one political regime are erected, often those mighty symbols are denounced as villainous by the next, their statues left unloved are carted off to the wilderness (Cannadine, 2008).