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An investigation into the role of design in shaping Euro-Western experience & interpretation of the post genocide memoryscapes of Cambodia and Rwanda

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Landscape Architecture at Lincoln University

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abstract

Bearing witness to tragedy, the aftermath of genocide often resides quite evidently within the landscape. A potent container of memories and representation, the landscape provides both a symbolic role in which to honour the victims and give survivors a place to mourn and remember, but is also often infused with the tensions of post-genocide life.

The memoryscapes of the Cambodian and Rwandan genocides illustrate these contested concerns explicitly. The case study sites investigated in this study - the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum and the Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre in Cambodia, and the Kigali Memorial Centre in Rwanda - each express today (consciously or unconsciously) design strategies that engage the Euro-Western visitor. Termed Euro-Western ‘cues to connect’, encountered and existential phenomenological data is analysed in relation to design interpretation and the affective cognition of meaning.

Finally, considered in relation to Berlin’s Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe, post genocide memorialisation is analysed in its ability to connect through time and culture - through its ability to transpose interpretations and evolve as the needs of society change.

KEY WORDS

In undertaking research such as this, many people have questioned why I, a landscape architecture student from New Zealand would be impelled to explore such a tragic topic. Genocide is an incomprehensible tragedy that continues to plague the human race and test the boundaries of our ‘civilized’ human culture. It is a situation that persists throughout our modern ‘globalised’ world, attacking communities and people, without order, expectation or prediction. New Zealand offers separation - a type of physical dislocation that provides an opportunity for objective perspective and free thought. We are all part of a world where genocide occurs, and we are also part of a world where, with the increase in communication and popular knowledge, ordinary people become sufficiently aware of events in the larger context, therefore able to assume personal responsibility for history. Genocide is no longer considered a civil or tribal problem that happens somewhere other than here. Genocide is a human problem – a human tragedy.

In one instance, I feel this research to be completely inadequate, to be too late. Focused in the aftermath, should our efforts be not in the direct prevention of such tragedy, in trying to understand the process that leads to genocide? This research however does offer, I believe, an important discussion. Considered within the premise that the purpose of genocide memorials is to firstly honor the victims and those directly affected by genocide, but also imperatively, to engage future generations and those who did not experience the tragedy first-hand, a better understanding of the design, experience and subsequent interpretations of post genocide memoryscapes are, I believe, vitally important to the greater discussion of understanding the connection between man and meaning in the landscape – and perhaps also, contributing to the global discussion on strategies that may aid the prevention of genocide.
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Don't let shit like this ever happen again! Please!

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1.1 BACKGROUND

Landscape architecture, as introduced by John Dixon Hunt in his article ‘First Principles or Rudiments’, “is a fundamental mode of human expression and experience” (Hunt, 2000, p. 8). Through exploring various aspects of ‘landscape’, specifically looking at the case of post genocide memoryscapes, this study aims to begin a discussion on how contemporary memorials to human inflicted tragedy are designed, experienced and interpreted within the global world of today.

It has long been accepted that ‘landscape’ is a reflection of society and culture, the physical manifestation of man and his environment. Underlying this however, is the belief that landscape architecture can critically engage the ‘self’ – to not simply be a “reflection of culture but more an active instrument in the shaping of modern culture” (Corner, 1999, p. 1). Through an examination of the physical, emotional, experiential and interpretative qualities of site, this research investigates the potential of design to engage the mind and heart. Landscape is therefore both ideological and emotional, as Corner states “Landscape reshapes the world not only because of its physical and experiential characteristics but also because of its eidetic content, its capacity to contain and express ideas” (Corner, 1999, p. 1).

In conducting field research in Cambodia, Rwanda and Germany during 2007 and 2008, the practice and evolution of post-genocide memorialisation, and the experience and interpretation there-of, was considered in relation to three very different societies attempting to manage their genocidal pasts - their landscapes of tragedy. By looking at memorialisation of the Rwandan genocide over the past 15 years, and its complex and multifaceted context in relation to what has occurred in Cambodia during three decades of post-genocide development, and in Germany longer than that, several important aspects of memorialisation and interpretation emerge that offer new insight into understanding the representation and expression of post-genocide memory, memorial design, and the role design plays in shaping Euro-western experience and interpretation of international genocide sites. Although very different culturally, politically and historically, the genocides that occurred in Rwanda, Cambodia and Germany, and the memorials that arose in their wake, beg for more critical analysis, interpretation and comparison (Cook, 2006, p. vi).
The core assumption adopted within this study, from which my research is positioned, was introduced by Sarah Steele in her 2006 referred paper titled ‘Memorialisation and the Land of the Eternal Spring: Performative practices of memory on the Rwandan genocide’, who suggests that genocide memorialisation has moved beyond being a primary ritual practised by the victim/survivor community, to today becoming a compulsively practiced ritual for the international community, reflecting the contemporary view that genocide is a grave crime against humanity as a whole (Steele, 2006). Recognising this idea to be particularly relevant within the context of modern developments in mass media, advanced communications and the extensive opportunity for travel, growing tourist interest in the nations of Cambodia and Rwanda is considered here in terms of the experience and interpretation of genocide memorials, where, as Paul Williams suggests, international visitors may have little previous or personal connection with the specific events and victims represented (Williams, 2004a, p. 208).

Today, infused with tensions of post genocide society, memoryscapes to genocide have both a symbolic role in providing a setting in which to honour and remember the victims, but are also seen today to support the idea that genocide memorialisation has moved beyond the victim community to having an elevated significance within the international context. While it might readily be assumed that the embedding of memory in post-genocide landscapes would represent the needs of victims and survivors – that it would be their right to remember in a way that is meaningful to them – the many competing pressures in post genocide societies see memory and representation become contested concerns, a collection of forensic exhibits, a place for international education, or even a commodity by way of tourism.

Concerned particularly with the practice of memorial design, the process of interpretation, and the shaping of Euro-Western ‘engagement’ with site and context, this study aims to investigate the key research questions of:

- Why do we design memorial sites the way we do?
- How do Euro-Western visitors experience memorial sites to genocide in countries very different to our own?
- How do Euro-Western visitors interpret genocide memorials within nations which are very different to our own?
- How do Euro-Western visitors connect with memorials to tragedy, with which they may have little personal connection?

Chapters two to five sets out the contextual and methodological background for Chapters six, seven and eight which investigate these core research questions through a three step phenomenological critique of ‘encountered’, ‘existential’ and ‘hermeneutic’ enquiry.
1.3 INTRODUCTION TO KEY RESEARCH THEMES

Using the case study sites of Cambodia and Rwanda, engagement with site will be analysed in relation to Euro-Western interpretation of the national memorial sites, the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum and the Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre in Phnom Penh, Cambodia, and the Kigali Memorial Centre in Kigali, Rwanda. Woven through this study, the key research themes of ‘Global Memory and Tourism’, the ‘Internationalisation of Memorial Design’, and the ‘Transposition of Interpretation through time and culture’ will be investigated in relation to Euro-Western experience and interpretation of the post genocide memoryscapes of Cambodia and Rwanda. Drawing upon both ‘on-site’ and ‘follow-up’ field research, and the vast discourse and analysis written in relation to the memory, design and interpretation of memorialisation in the West, specifically in relation to the established landscape of the Jewish Holocaust, this study will look to investigate how Euro-Western visitors ‘connect’ with the national genocide memorials in Cambodia and Rwanda.

A fact of contemporary life, globalisation and the consequential internationalisation of landscape and design is today an unavoidable reality. Significantly effecting the form and function of design, Adam states “The challenges of globalisation are relentlessly shaping architecture’s relationship with society and culture” (Adam, 2008, p. 74). This study, focusing on the three key research themes is a study that crosses many conventional disciplinary boundaries and tests the limits of traditional design research. Situated within the context of genocide memorialisation, this research looks at the broad issues of why we memorialise, how we memorialise, and how we then experience and interpret those memorials. Investigated in relation to the growing tourist industries in Cambodia and Rwanda, Euro-Western interpretation of these post genocide memoryscapes will be investigated, and will specifically look at the extent to which global memory and the internationalisation of memorial design engage international visitors, shaping an affective cognition of meaning. This research will also investigate the extent to which memorial design can transpose interpretation, moving and evolving, connecting with people through time, culture, religion, and political backgrounds.
A design critique-based thesis, this study develops a three-step phenomenological enquiry to investigate the design, experience and site interpretation of Euro-Western visitors to the three case study sites in Cambodia and Rwanda. Utilising Juan Pablo Bonta’s (1979) three steps for gathering information about people’s interpretation of architecture, a framework for the methodology is developed and will be discussed in detail in Chapter five. Introduced briefly here however, Bonta believes that as human beings, we have a certain natural or acquired sensitivity to architecture, art and design that can be called upon, particularly in the role of ‘designer’ as ‘researcher’. Undertaken in isolation from the input of others however, the shortcomings of this method are obvious insofar as we would be forced to act in a double capacity – as the source, and as the processor of the data collected. With the obvious disadvantage of this method undertaken in isolation from others, the second source suggested by Bonta consists of field studies. The advantage of this method in conjunction with that of the first, is that there are additional sources of information, external to the researcher and thus relatively independent. The final source for gathering information about people’s interpretation of architecture, space, and design, consists of a deep reading of established literature. The method of enquiry will therefore be threefold, and will develop a phenomenologically based study focused on gaining an in-depth understanding of the design and Euro-Western interpretation of the post genocide memoryscapes of Cambodia and Rwanda.

Memorials by their very nature as social constructs are infused with the tensions of man by way of political, economic, social, cultural and religious agendas. Through a series of exercises that gather information on the design and interpretation of the genocide memorial sites, I explore, how these spaces ‘connect’ with man, deterred or not by the traditional boundaries of time and culture.
1.5 LIMITATIONS OR JUSTIFICATION OF STUDY

As a New Zealand citizen brought up with the luxury of security, stability and peace, distanced geographically from the raw threat of war, it is not possible to understand fully, from a Rwandan or Cambodian perspective, many of the issues discussed in this research. In addition, the limited time I was able to spend on site, language and political difficulties, and ‘human ethics’ complexities, meant I was not able to interview locals for my research. For this reason, the decision was made at the outset, to investigate the design, experience and interpretation of genocide memorial sites in Cambodia and Rwanda from the Euro-Western perspective, from the outside ‘tourist’ perspective. Rather than a limitation or restriction as such, this perspective was embraced as a new step forward in the contemporary discussion surrounding memorialisation and its interpretation. In a world that grows smaller with every day, international interpretation is a real and significant issue for nations such as Cambodia and Rwanda, as more and more industry is developed around the tourism sector, and more pressures are placed on the memoryscapes of countries surviving in the aftermath of genocide.
This thesis builds on the discussions outlined above by way of key research themes presented in chapters two and three. Chapter two investigates globalisation and tourism in relation to memorialisation, specifically looking at issues of global memories, and the international terrain of memory. Chapter three investigates the process of memorialisation and introduces the issue of interpretation, exploring specifically the broad issues of memory and memorial design, design interpretation and the transposition of interpretation through time and culture. Further discussion on design interpretation will be detailed in Chapter five as part of the methodology.

Chapter four introduces the case study sites in Cambodia and Rwanda. Reviewing both context and site, Chapter four records the history and contemporary memory of the genocides in Cambodia and Rwanda. Introducing the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum and the Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre in Cambodia, and the Kigali Memorial Centre in Rwanda, this chapter introduces the relationships between history, memory, and memorialisation within the landscape.

Chapter five demonstrates the methodology, introducing key aspects of the research method including case study method, design critique (including Bonta’s Anatomy of Architectural Interpretation, 1974), and phenomenology. Outlining the three-step phenomenological method, this chapter details the ‘encountered’, ‘existential’ and ‘hermeneutic’ modes of enquiry, outlining both the theoretical base and practical application of each mode.

Chapter six investigates the subject of ‘memory layers’, and the design of site, introducing the politicisation of memory and memorial design. Using the case study investigation of Berlin, the first section of this chapter looks at the layers of representation in relation to Germany’s memoriescape during the post-war period. Specifically investigating the Sachsenhausen Memorial and Museum and Peter Eisenman’s 2005 Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe, this chapter considers memorial development within Germany over the past 60 years, and the political, social and cultural issues that have arisen. Continuing on to explore the situation in Cambodia and Rwanda, aspects of the political, social, cultural and economic agendas influencing the memoriescapes of these two nations is discussed. Finally this chapter looks at, by way of encountered phenomenological enquiry, the internationalisation, or Westernisation of genocide memorialisation in Cambodia and Rwanda.

Chapter seven investigates Euro-Western experience of space, site and self, in relation to the case study sites, considering the key research theme of global memory, explored by way of existential phenomenological enquiry.
Chapter eight explores the *interpretation* of site, and particularly looks at the key research theme of the transposition of interpretation, or in other words, the movement of meaning. Comparing each case study site from Cambodia and Rwanda, dominated by textures of preservation, documentation and education, with Berlin’s Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe, Chapter eight explores the ability of design to connect with people through time and culture.

Finally, Chapter nine seeks to discuss the key findings and discussions introduced and investigated throughout this research. Extending the discussion introduced by Steele (2006) around international participation in the rites and rituals of genocide commemoration, this research asserts that genocide memorialisation can no longer be seen only as a right of the victim/survivor community (although this is a vital and immensely important aspect), but today – primarily through the influencing aspects of globalisation - has become also a right for the international community, as genocide is today understood as a human problem, unbounded by time, geographic location, ethnicity, or religion, and that through the processes of mass media, the proliferation of popular knowledge and today’s ease of travel, we can all assume responsibility, at some level, for the tragedy of genocide.
Chapters 2 & 3 introduce the key research themes in a series of discussions orientated around Memorialisations, Globalisation, Tourism, Memory, Design and Interpretation.

Chapter 4 introduces the Case Study sites of Cambodia & Rwanda.

Chapter 5 introduces the mode of Field Research.

Chapter 6 is an introduction to genocide memorial design, detailing the ‘encountered’ phenomenological enquiry into the design of site at the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, the Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre, and the Kigali Memorial Centre.

Chapter 7 details the ‘existential’ phenomenological enquiry carried out with Euro-Western visitors to the three case study memorial sites investigating site experience.

Chapter 8 is a hermeneutic phenomenological enquiry discussing design interpretation and the ‘movement of meaning’.

Fig. 1.1
Thesis Framework Diagram
1.7 SETTING

The terror of genocide is something we should never know. The planned and deliberate extermination of one group of human beings by another seems inconceivable in our modern ‘civilised’ world. To understand the madness of genocide, governments, institutions and scholars throughout the world have devoted much time and effort to the research and analysis of genocide, making particular reference to aspects of social, political and economic circumstance observed around the process of genocide. In terms of genocide memorialisation, attention surrounding the design and discourse of history in relation to the Jewish Holocaust has also been widespread throughout much of the Western world. In relation to Cambodia and Rwanda however, the phenomenon of genocide memorialisation has received little comment (Williams, 2004b, p.235).

Research and analysis of the Cambodian and Rwandan genocides today focuses primarily around issues of cause and effect. Most scholars of the Khmer Rouge reign for example have focused on the major questions relating to how Pol Pot and the Khmer Rouge took power, what the ideas and motives were that led to the ultra-Maoist regime, and who the victims were. Similarly, those studying the Rwandan genocide have examined why political elites in one of the world’s poorest countries sought to exterminate the minority Tutsi, how they succeeded in wiping out 75% of these people in the space of 100 days, and what the prospects are for reconciliation in the tiny east African nation (Cook, 2006, p. v.). From the gas chambers of the Nazi Holocaust to the Killing Fields of Cambodia, to the mass graves of the Rwandan genocide, Susan Cook from the Yale Institute of Genocide Studies suggests that it is often those spatial details of state-sponsored mass murder that become emblematic of the evil itself, and able to best express the madness of genocide (Cook, 2006, p. 296). The living space of a physical location, a place within our landscape where genocide has taken place, or where genocide is memorialised are haunting reminders of our capability as human beings to perform unthinkable atrocity. It is for this reason that memorials attain such significant status in the aftermath of genocide. They reveal themselves as places where truths are laid out in terms of chosen narratives, where it is revealed what happened through documentation, and through this we are confronted with the very stuff of memory – in all its contradictions and complexity, but with the insistent need to remember. While, in the past, much analysis has sought to understand the scope and character of the Cambodian and Rwandan genocides, any comparative analysis of the form and function of their memorialisation has been notably absent (Williams, 2004b, p. 235).

The research undertaken within this study will not challenge the established literature written in the aftermath of these tragedies, as much as build on it, by using new research methods, theoretical approaches and critical analysis to advance investigation into aspects of memorialisation and design interpretation, and in particular, the way design responds to, reflects, and shapes, the complex relationship between man and meaning. This study goes beyond the ‘conventional’ genocide research topics outlined above, looking in-depth at the
contemporary issues of globalisation and tourism, memorial design and development, and the important sub-act of visitor interpretation.

In developing the context for this study, many memorial sites were researched and visited. From the traditional and static stone World War I and II memorials in New Zealand pronouncing a narrative of sacrifice, justice and peace, to the New Zealand Memorial in London commemorating our shared heritage and sacrifice during times of war as well as our unique identity as Aotearoa. From the politically controversial War Crimes Museum in Ho Chi Minh City, explicitly detailing the crimes of the USA during the Vietnam War, to the quiet Jewish Museum in Venice. From the Church of Bones in the Czech Republic town of Sedlec, where thousands of skeletons adorn and decorate the inside of the Ossuary, to Eisenman’s field of concrete stelae which is the 2005 Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe situated in central Berlin. From the experiential qualities of Libeskind’s Garden of Exile and Emigration at the Jewish Museum in Germany, to the stark documentation of Nazi crimes documented at the Sachsenhausen Memorial and Museum in Oranienburg. From the UK Holocaust Centre founded by the Aegis Trust in Nottinghamshire, to Andy Goldsworthy’s Garden of Stones at the Jewish Museum in New York City. From ‘Ground Zero’ and the 2007 September 11 commemorations in New York City, to the humble plaque set into the grass in Embankment Park to the victims of the London Underground Bombings. From the Ann Frank House and memorials to homosexuals and gypsies in Amsterdam, to the post genocide memoryscapes of Cambodia and Rwanda, extensively visited and analysed within this project. This research has indeed taken me around the world seeing the very worst of humanity – to see the tragedy of man.
chapter two

global memories & tourism
Today, with the increase and ease in travel, and with the rise in tourism, many Euro-Western travellers are seeing the world, and as has been stated earlier, experiencing nations in the aftermath of genocide, and as such are seeing, experiencing, and interpreting genocide memorials created within these nations. “Modern tourism proves that the experience of different places, is a major human interest” (Norberg Schulz, 1980, p. 18). The chapter that follows will focus on the key research theme of global memories and tourism, setting the context for which case study research will be discussed and analysed. Initially introducing the issue and definition of ‘genocide’, this chapter will specifically look at issues of globalisation and tourism in relation to memory and memorialisation. Beginning with a discussion on the paper crane – the international symbol of peace, and its global understanding - this chapter will then illustrate the effects of globalisation, specifically mass media, global communications and international travel in relation to memorialisation, illustrating the Christchurch Firefighters Reserve as a local exemplar for the process and practice of contemporary memorialisation, as it relates to globalisation. Finally this chapter will discuss the concept of heritage tourism, and will particularly explore the phenomenon commonly described as ‘dark tourism’. 
The act or process of genocide, that is core to the context in which this research was undertaken, is today defined by the United Nations Office for the High Commissioner of Human Rights, as an act committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial or religious group (Office for the High Commissioner of Human Rights, 1948). Sixty years on, since the United Nations ‘Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide’ was adopted in 1948 however, violent acts of genocide, resulting in mass death have proceeded virtually unabated, with a grim record of international response (Power, 2002, p. 85). Discussion over the definition and use of the word genocide is a complex and highly debatable topic in itself. Within this study I use the word ‘genocide’ as outlined below, specified by the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR), and relate it within this study specifically to the crimes committed in Cambodia, under Khmer Rouge reign during 1975-79, in Rwanda, during April – July 1994, and in Nazi Europe during 1936 to 1945, with specific reference to the Jewish Holocaust. This research will show that genocide is a human problem that persists in the modern day as part of our ‘civilised’ world unbounded by time, culture, race or religion. Today, with the increase in global media and ease of world-wide travel, many Euro-Western travellers are seeing the world – are seeing nations in the aftermath of genocide - and are experiencing memorials to international tragedy.

2.2.1 GENOCIDE – HISTORICAL ORIGIN & DISCUSSION ON DEFINITION

The word ‘genocide’ was first coined by Raphael Lemkin, a Pole, who lost forty-nine members of his family during the Holocaust. He believed that “in the aftermath of the Turkish “race murder” of the Armenians and of Hitler’s extermination campaign against the Jews, the world’s “civilized” powers needed to band together to outlaw crimes that were said to “shock the conscience.”” (Power, 2002, p. 85) Prior to Lemkin coining the term ‘genocide’, “the systematic targeting of national, ethnic, or religious groups was known as “barbarity,”” (Power, 2002, p. 85) a word that Lemkin believed failed to convey the true horror of genocide. In 1948, largely on Lemkin’s insistence, the United Nations General Assembly unanimously passed the Genocide Convention - one of the first major achievements of the United Nations. Genocide, as stated by the United Nations Office for the High Commissioner of Human Rights, is defined by Article II of the ‘Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide’, as any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial or religious group, as such:

(a) Killing members of the group;
(b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
(c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
(d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;
(e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group. - (OHCHR, 1948)

Since the Convention was adopted however, genocide has proceeded virtually unhindered (Power, 2002, p. 85).

2.2.2 A WORLD & CENTURY OF HUMAN INFLECTED TRAGEDY

The world today could be described as a violent and frightening place, with the human-inflicted tragedies of war, genocide, and terror attacks continuing to plague the lives of many. Genocide is a highly contentious issue, and to this day, disagreement about form and function continues around the highly debateable topic. Extended debate on definitions is beyond the scope of this research, but in order to provide an informed and meaningful definition for the case study sites of Cambodia and Rwanda, the following discussion outlines human inflicted atrocities that have, over the past century presented themselves as human tragedies on the world stage.

In 1915, Turkey set about to fix the ‘Armenian problem’, and as a result over one million people died. The Nazi crimes which followed twenty years later, left six million Jews and five million other ‘undesirables’ dead. In 1969, the Nigerian government are believed to have starved and murdered the Ibo people of Biafra. Two years later Pakistan responded to a Bengali autonomy movement in East Pakistan by sending in its army and as a result over one million people died. In 1972, some one hundred thousand Hutu died under the Tutsi led government in Rwanda. The period of 1975-1979 saw 1.7 million Cambodians killed by execution, starvation, disease or forced labour. In 1987-1988, Saddam Hussein aimed to wipe out Iraq’s Kurdish population, and in 1992 Bosnian Serbs began systematically eliminating Muslims and Croats in Bosnia. Some 200,000 people were killed in the three-and-a-half-year war. Two years later the Rwandan genocide began and saw 800,000 Tutsi and moderate Hutu killed in just 100 days.

Genocide is indeed a human problem – not just an African or a Cambodian problem, but a problem that persists in the modern day, as part of our civilised world unbounded by time, culture, race or religion. As Astrid Schmeing states “The Holocaust is not simply a historical detail that can be left behind as an enduring possibility that must to [sic] be avoided, however. It is a matter of the human condition, rather than a national, German issue” (Schmeing, 2000, p. 61).

Section 2.3 below will look at the creation of ‘global memories’ that today inform our ‘pre-understanding’ of the world as Euro-Western citizens. Exploring the creation and spread of memory surrounding the Japanese origami paper crane as an international symbol of peace, the discussion on how global memory, and the proliferation of that memory, manifests itself in terms of international memorialisation is considered. Section 2.4 will then discuss the issue of globalisation and tourism.
‘Global memories’ is a term used within this study to denote memories of world events that through time stand as ‘markers’ within contemporary society. In terms of global memories in relation to world tragedies, the 1945 atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki has defined, for post-war generations, a moment in history that will stand forever as a human tragedy in which more than 200,000 people were killed, and continue to die from radiation-related illness. From that tragedy however came a renewed dedication for world peace and today the traditional Japanese origami paper crane is folded by children all over the world as a symbol of world peace.

When I visited Hiroshima, the [Memorial] park was blanketed with colorful paper cranes, which were heaped by the thousands on park benches and on the sides of buildings and draped on and across sculptures . . . Against the hard, grey-and-white block buildings of the memorial, the brightly coloured cranes bore the imprint of children’s hands and spoke to a hope for a peaceful world emerging from the ashes of atomic ruin. As I walked around the site, I came across a pile of cranes sent by middle school kids from Littleton, Colorado, the site of the Columbine High School massacre only a few weeks before (Blake, 2002).

2.3.1 **GLOBAL MEMORY & A THOUSAND PAPER CRANES**

In Japan, legend says that a person who folds a thousand origami cranes will live a long life. The crane, a sacred bird, lives for a thousand years and if a sick person folds a thousand cranes, that person will get well. The legend however took on new meaning in 1955, when Sadako Sasaki, a twelve-year-old girl who was exposed to radiation during the bombing of Hiroshima on August 6 1945, contracted the ‘A-bomb’ disease - leukaemia. Just two years old when she, and half a million other people experienced the catastrophic event of the world’s first atomic bomb, today, sixty-four years on over 200,000 names appear on the memorial cenotaph that is situated at the centre of the Hiroshima Memorial Peace Park. While in the hospital, Sadako attempted to fold 1,000 cranes in hope of getting better and as a sign of her want for world peace. On 25 October 1955, after folding 644 paper cranes Sadako lost her battle with leukaemia, but today her legacy lives on through the form of the simple origami crane – an international symbol of peace.

*In late September and early October of 2001, I joined other mourners in visits to the makeshift memorials to the WTC [World Trade Centre] attack victims erected in New York's Union Square . . . Flags and patriotic songs, antivar and antiracist banners, signs demanding vengeance and signs imploring forgiveness, prayer cards, poems and letters written to loved ones and strangers alike, handmade models for monuments,*
heartbreaking “missing” posters, the intense perfume of scented candles, incense and mounds of flowers, rhythmic drumming by Buddhist monks, performances by Juilliard cellists and the sounds of quiet weeping briefly claimed the park as a site for collective grief and reflection . . . There, amid the xeroxed photos of loved ones, burning incense, poems and prayers, were Sadako’s cranes, hundreds and maybe thousands of them -- a peace garland laced lovingly across tree branches and through the chain-link fences of the park (Blake, 2002).

Coming, for the first time across the crane consciously on September 11, 2004, a single paper crane lay silent at the Christchurch Firefighters Reserve in New Zealand, on part of the sculpture by Graham Bennett, made from remnants of the World Trade Centre (photo 2.1). Three years later, on June 28th 2007 I again came across the paper crane, this time hanging inside the memorial stupa at the Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre in Cambodia (photo 2.2), and again, on August 25th 2007 hanging on one of the furnaces at Sachsenhausen Memorial and Museum, a former German Concentration Camp (photo 2.3). The story of Sadako and the message of peace symbolised by the paper crane has today become a ‘global memory’.
Photo 2.2
Paper cranes, hang in the memorial stupa at the Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre
Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre
Photo by Author, June 28, 2007

Photo 2.3
Paper cranes hang in the furnace chambers at Sachsenhausen Memorial and Museum
Oranienburg, Germany
Photo by Author, August 25, 2007
Today, we are part of a world where genocide occurs, and we are also part of a world, where, with the increase in global communications ordinary people are adequately aware of events happening throughout the world. With advanced information technologies and the increased ease in disseminating instantaneous information worldwide, we all hold, as Martin states, responsibility for state action, “It is only in the modern world, with the increase in communication and popular knowledge, that ordinary people have become sufficiently aware of events in the larger context to assume personal responsibility for history. As participants in mass production, we have become involved in and, indeed – as the violence of conflict has shifted inexorably towards civilian populations – responsible for, actions of state” (Martin, 2000, pp. 30-31). The paper crane today stands as an international symbol of peace. Folded by children all over the world, thousands of paper cranes are sent around the globe every year, to governments, to individual members of parliament, to international organisations, churches, schools, to sites of recent or historic tragedy, and to memorial sites - as a symbolic wish for peace.

2.3.2 GLOBAL MEMORIES & MEMORIALISATION

Nations within the West have become loaded with symbolic sites, dates, and events that provide a kind of social continuity that contribute to the collective memory, and establish spatial and temporal reference points within societal groups (Osborne, 2001, p. 3). In recent years however, the critical view of memorialisation has become increasingly complex as a result of globalisation. The memory of the Jewish Holocaust has spread, with Jewish refugees and survivors, with films, books, and school history lessons, to every corner of the world. Often less constrained than Holocaust memory projects in Europe and Israel, less restrained from political, aesthetic and religious structures, memory projects in the USA for example abound in style, content and interpretive approach. As James E. Young discusses, “In America, the motives for memory of the Holocaust are as mixed as the population at large, the reasons variously lofty and cynical, practical and aesthetic” (Young, 1993, p. 284). Just as, over the last 60 years, the memory of the Jewish Holocaust has spread the world over, the years since September 11, 2001, has seen the phenomenal spread of international memory relating to the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Centre in New York City.

2.3.2.1

GLOBALISATION & THE EVENT OF 9/11

The attacks of September 11, 2001 stunned the world, and it has been said that the USA, and indeed much of the world, is now standing at a juncture of history; that, on that date, the world changed forever (Sturken, n.d.). On the second anniversary of the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Centre, Kofi Annan, the UN Secretary-General spoke at a commemorative ceremony, "Today we come together as a world community because we were attacked as a world community" (UPI, 2003).
The events of September 11, 2001, re-defined and intensified a variety of political, social and cultural themes within the global arena (Simpson, 2003, p. 237), that have significantly influenced and affected the scope and mode of its memorialisation. They revealed that globalisation is a two edged sword, where the same technologies that so-call ‘empower’ our lives, can indeed turn into lethal weapons in the wrong hands. There are bitter arguments in various arenas as to whether or not globalisation has in balance improved the lives of people around the world. Many believe that globalisation is an environmental, cultural, political and religious disaster, with ‘terrorism’ a direct result. “Terrorism is no longer widely viewed as only a local mode of political violence. It has become an organizing theme for action in the global arena” (Simpson, 2003, p. 237). In his article ‘Baudrillard, Globalization and Terrorism’, Douglas Kellner suggests that there is no question that terrorism, like trade, extends beyond national borders. “The [terrorist] attacks evoked a global specter of terror that the very system of globalization and Western capitalism and culture were under assault by “the spirit of terrorism” and potential terrorist attacks anytime and anywhere” (Kellner, 2005). Since the events of 9/11 and the subsequent ‘war on terrorism’, French cultural theorist and philosopher Jean Baudrillard, has written a series of reflections on the contemporary moment, evoking both excitement and controversy within the theoretical world of globalisation, culture, and memorialisation. “In Baudrillard’s view, the 9/11 attacks represented “the clash of triumphant globalization at war with itself” and unfolded a “fourth world war”: “the first put an end to European supremacy and to the era of colonialism; the second put an end to Nazism; and the third to Communism. Each one brought us progressively closer to the single world order of today” (Baudrillard: cited in Kellner, 2005). As a result of the attack on the World Trade Centre all that remained of the world’s two tallest buildings, and nearly 3000 lives, was a mountain of deformed steel and concrete. “Like the bones of the saints, the remains of the buildings are imbued with charisma” (Simpson, 2003, p. 237). Once a symbol of great Western culture and tradition impelled by globalisation and capitalism, the World Trade Centre remains were at this moment an entangled conglomerate of physical and emotional tragedy, a visible reminder of the fragile and delicate nature of humanity.

One of the most remarkable things about the events of September 11 has been the extent and degree of their memorialisation. Immediately after September 11, thousands of people in New York and around the world set out to capture the meaning of that day through artistic and creative expression (Haupt, 2002; cited in Simpson, 2003, p. 236). “In the intervening months, thousands more have joined the effort, resulting in what may turn out to be the largest creative response in history to a single day's event” (Haupt, 2002; cited in Simpson, 2003, p. 236). Poetry, prose, dance, architecture, landscape architecture, photography, soundscapes, TV, popular music, theatre, comic books, film, painting and sculpture. People from all corners of the world have grappled with the attacks and their aftermath, and in the process have begun asking many questions about the process of memorialisation within the globalised world today.
Christchurch, New Zealand, a city situated over 15,000 kilometres from New York, is home to a sculpture constructed from remnants of the World Trade Centre. Graham Bennett’s 2002 ‘memorial sculpture’ sits on the central city riverbank – the focus of the city’s ‘Firefighters Reserve’ (photos 2.4 & 2.5).

Nearly 2,800 lives were lost at ‘Ground Zero’, 343 of which were New York firefighters. The world watched as live television footage showed entire city brigades entering the smoke-filled stairwells of the towers against the immense tide of people desperate to leave. In the graphic scenes of that day beamed by satellite to countries all over the world, the understanding of what firefighters do for a living was more than ever before understood by millions of people. The number of New York firefighters killed was more than twice that of the entire Christchurch Fire Brigade (Shiels, 2003, p. 8). While the events of September 11 were still bitterly fresh in people’s minds, it was announced that Christchurch would host the 7th World Firefighters Games in 2002 – to be renamed the Memorial Games in honour of those firefighters lost at Ground Zero in New York. As part of the hosting tender, Christchurch Mayor Garry Moore proposed that a reserve be created in honour of the fallen firefighters of September 11, and for all firefighters from around the world who had died in the line of duty, to be dedicated during the opening of the Firefighters Games (Shiels, 2003, 12). A piece of vacant greenspace adjacent to the Central City Fire Station was selected as the location for the Reserve, and included in the land was a small piece of river-bank that formed the apex of the triangle site - where the Madras and Kilmore Street bridges meet - a site to locate a memorial sculpture. Several pieces of steel from the mountain of rubble salvaged at Ground Zero were gifted to Christchurch from Mayor Bloomberg for the commemorative sculpture (Sheils, 2003).

Wayne Rimmer, landscape architect, was employed to create the Firefighters Reserve, and Graham Bennett, a local sculptor and artist, was commissioned to create the memorial sculpture. (Shiels, 2003) “This sculpture won’t be beautiful. It can’t be beautiful if it is to succeed. Everyone will bring a different experience to it, and it’s these different perspectives, this interaction, which make any work valid. The events which lie behind this work transcend any attempts to label it” (Bennett, 2002; cited in Shiels, 2003, p. 34). Within the design proposal, Rimmer and Bennett successfully acknowledged that an important consideration to address when creating the international commemorative space and memorial sculpture within the New Zealand context was its relationship to the traditional custom of indigenous culture in New Zealand, and the people of Christchurch. Reverend Manawaroa Maurice Gray, kaumatua and representative of Te Runaka ki Otautahi o Kai Tahu, presented the concerns of Ngai Tahu people regarding the use of such steel from a site of death near an important historic, and culturally specific site, central to which was the cultural paradigm of the Maori world which holds that you “cannot reconstruct life from something that has died” (Gray, 2002; cited in
Shiels, 2003, p. 28). Gray suggested that any use of such materials must undergo thorough rituals to acknowledge the land and all who had settled it previously; specifying that certain procedures must be followed, specifically ordering a ceremony embodying traditional and Christian elements be conducted to acknowledge the arrival of steel in the container that all associated with the project were to attend. Also, the site was to be spiritually cleansed and dedicated, with a koru design placed at the foot of the steel and three ti-kouka (cabbage) trees to be placed nearby (Shiels, 2003, p. 28). Other requirements were to bury any filings left over from working of the steel, landscaping with native vegetation, and placing two halves of a piece of pounamu (greenstone) in the water adjacent to the site – one half representing Mauri or physical life-force, and the other named Te Mauri-a-Roko representing the Life-force of Peace. Finally, Gray suggested the planting of a native tree to be called Te Hohou Roko or the Ultimate Peace (Shiels, 2003, p. 28).
Now physically linked to what some would call the defining world event of this generation, the city of Christchurch is intrinsically united with Ground Zero in New York. Rather than a mediated connection solely through international media, Christchurch is now the guardian of a remnant of that single tragedy which has now escalated into the international phenomena of 'global terrorism', and the reciprocal, 'war on terrorism'.

Two thousand and four, and the third anniversary of the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Centre saw the completion of the Christchurch Firefighters Reserve. The site today has provoked much discussion and debate in both local and global conversations with respect to politics, religion, economics, globalisation, remembrance and commemoration. As discussed by Paul Williams, memorials are an important aspect in the processes that follow human inflicted tragedy, for more than just their built form. "Debate over the form and meaning of new [and old] memorials can be an important way to broach complex and difficult subjects. In the new Jewish Museum in Berlin, for instance, when Daniel Libeskind designed an intentionally inhospitable building in order to interrogate, for the first time in postwar Germany, the history of the Jews in Germany and the repercussions of the Holocaust, an intense debate erupted over questions of guilt, culpability, and forgiveness" (Williams, 2004b, pp. 248-249). Intensely political, the events of September 11 are now fundamentally represented within the New Zealand landscape. Graham Bennett’s memorial sculpture and the surrounding reserve provoke a range of emotions, inviting both individual and collective responses of interpretation. Seen by some as a commemorative space to think about those firefighters who have died in the line of duty, others have drawn from the space a sense of protest and opposition, connecting international political issues such as anti-American and anti-war sentiments with the reserve and sculpture. On January 27, 2003 for example, the memorial
sculpture and reserve were vandalised by anti-war protesters. As anger over the United States-led strike on Iraq intensified, slogans such as ‘You Get What You Deserve’, ‘You Reap What You Sow’, and ‘USA + UK = Axis of Evil’ were spray-painted on and around the memorial, as well as throughout the reserve – a use for the site that the Christchurch City Council had never envisaged (Booker, 2003, p. 28). This act of vandalism, although damned by many, indicates that residents have taken notice of their landscape, and in doing so have themselves become critically aware of the international context represented by this memorial.

Graham Bennett’s memorial sculpture and Wayne Rimmer’s Firefighters Reserve stand within the cultural and physical landscape of New Zealand as markers of our modern time. Together an expression of the international processes of globalisation, terrorism, and human tragedy, the Christchurch Firefighters Reserve is now a site for collective remembrance and individual contemplation; a commemorative space which is sure to evoke self questioning and critical contemplation which will resonate through future generations as the uncertainties of the world gain momentum. Although officially dedicated to those firefighters from throughout the world who have died in the name of their profession, it is impossible to separate the events of September 11 from the commemorative site. Focused on the memorial sculpture made from World Trade Centre steel, the space is both psychologically and physically orientated to that defining event. In finding reference to Ground Zero, many visitors to the Christchurch Firefighters Reserve may question its relevance in the New Zealand context. As has been outlined throughout this study so far, the international phenomena of globalisation no longer allows for such tangible boundaries to be drawn with reference to memorialisation.
Historically, individual nations have held sets of meanings and interpretations about particular people, places and events which were often developed into memorials and commemorative spaces to reinforce peoples' identification with specific social values, and in doing so, creating a collective national identity (Osborne, 2001). ‘Globalisation’ however, is a term that came into popular usage in the 1980s to describe the increased movement of people, knowledge, and ideas, as well as goods and money across national borders – and has led to an increased interconnectedness among the world’s populations: environmentally, economically, politically, socially and culturally. As William Wishard suggests, globalisation is far more than non-Western nations adopting free markets and democratic political systems. “At its core, [globalisation] means that the full scope of western ideas and modes of living are gradually seeping into the fabric of the world” (Wishard, 2002). In essence, globalisation is about identity. It goes to the very psychological foundations of a people (Wishard, 2002). One of the biggest effects of the process of globalisation has been to make us more aware that the world itself is a locality, a singular place (Featherstone, 1995). Apparent not only in the images of the world as an isolated entity in space, or by the dominance of mass media, Earth in the 21st century is understood also in the sense of humanity’s fragility, openness to destruction and universal unrest. Tourism today allows for and supports this permeable world, a world that is fully accessible to those who have the will and means to explore it.

Wealth and freedom, and the perceived educational opportunities offered by travel are all facets that have seen the process of tourism develop through time. Lennon and Foley (2000) state that defining elements of ‘modern’ tourism have included “ideas of universalism, classification and the liberal democratic state” (Lennon & Foley, 2000, p. 7). They go on to discuss that the growth of tourism to Europe and the USA has arisen simultaneously with a growth in global communications (Lennon & Foley, 2000, p. 7). An entire and multi-disciplinary area of study itself, tourism, is discussed by Colin Hall, in his book titled ‘Introduction To Tourism: Dimensions, and Issues (2003), as having many definitions. Collating a list of common elements, Hall defines some common characteristics as

- Tourism is the temporary, short-term travel of non-residents along transit routes to and from a destination;
- It can have a wide variety of impacts on the destination, the transit route and the source point of tourists;
- It can influence the character of the tourists; and
- It is primarily for leisure or recreation, although business is also important.

(Hall, 2003, p. 8)

It has become clear that tourist interest in recent tragedies is a growing phenomenon in the twenty-first century (Lennon & Foley, 2000, p. 3). Within the scope of this research, international travel to sites of tragedy by Euro-Western tourists is considered with reference to
the case study sites in Cambodia and Rwanda. “Visiting sites which could be said to be connected in some way to death (e.g. murder sites, death sites, battlefields, cemeteries, mausoleums, churchyards, the former homes of now-dead celebrities) is a significant part of tourist experiences in many societies” (Lennon & Foley, 2000, p. 4). The specific tourism study of ‘dark tourism’, ‘black tourism’, or ‘grief tourism’ as it is sometimes known, describes the practice by which tourists visit international sites of tragedy. Using the recent tragedy of 9/11 as an exemplar, the concept of ‘dark tourism’ is expressed through the subsequent visitation of thousands of tourists to Ground Zero every year, from the world over. A complex and debatable topic in itself, a introductory discussion on the heritage and dark tourism industries is useful to set the broader context of the evolving nature of tourism in relation to memorials.

2.4.1 HERITAGE & DARK TOURISM

Not seeking to enter a philosophical debate over the use of the term ‘dark tourism’, a complex study that is investigated in detail by other scholars, I refer here to the significant features of dark tourism as outlined by Lennon and Foley. The first major feature of dark tourism is that the recent rise in global technologies has played a major part in creating an initial interest in many sites of tragedy throughout the world (Lennon & Foley, 2000, p. 11). As has been discussed earlier, our ease of access to media has made many sites around the world dedicated to memorialising tragedy, a ‘real’ experience for many. The 2004 movie, for example, ‘Hotel Rwanda’, introduced to many people around the world the 1994 genocide that had occurred 10 years previously. A second feature of dark tourist sites is that they themselves appear to introduce anxiety and doubt about modernity (Lennon & Foley, 2000, p. 11). It is this concept, the very fact that the advancements and growth we have made as a civilisation are directly related to the cause of many modern tragedies including genocide, that the idea of dark tourism has grown as a tourist ‘type’. In essence, this feature of dark tourism is about the disillusionment of modernity, in other words, modernity, the very process that has seen us develop as a species, has also provided the means for genocide and other human inflicted tragedies to occur. The last major feature of dark tourism is that educative elements of dark sites are often accompanied by elements of comodification and a commercial ethic which accepts that visitation (whether purposive or incidental) is an opportunity to develop a tourism product (Lennon & Foley, 2000, p. 11).

Ashworth and Hartmann (2005) note that this rise in visitation to sites of tragedy has also resulted as a rise in the steady growth of the broad category of what has been called ‘special interest tourism’, where tourists on vacation pursue personal interests that they also have at home (Ashworth & Hartmann, 2005, p. 4). They note that personal interest in history has fuelled an enormous growth in heritage consumption, and as part of this has seen a dramatic rise in visitation to sites of historical interest during ‘leisure’ time (Ashworth & Hartmann, 2005, p. 4). A second cause described by Ashworth and Hartmann for the dramatic rise in dark tourism, is due to the trend called ‘place-specific tourism’: a site of tragedy can “transform an otherwise unprepossessing “anywhere” into a very notable “somewhere”” (Ashworth &
Hartmann, 2005, p. 5). This attempt to explain the concept of dark tourism, and the rise thereof in recent years, can be aligned with the heritage industry as a whole – at its core is a personal need for self-understanding and identity, which provokes curiosity (Ashworth & Hartmann, 2005, p. 5). “If the tourist is posing the question ‘what extraordinary feeling can I experience at this site or facility?’ then sites of atrocity would seem particularly apposite because of their strong emotional associations” (Ashworth & Hartmann, 2005, p. 5).

### 2.4.1.1 The Interpretation of Tragedy & Time

An important dilemma for tourism, and one which is considered within this study in relation to memorialisation after genocide, is the extent to which a chronological distance can be effected between the event for which the memorial site may be celebrated and the present. Sensitivities abound, and although these may differ across cultures, there appears to be a certain ‘global’ format which accommodates mass tourism from the ‘West’. “It appears to be acceptable to visit death sites immediately following the events themselves to ‘show respect’ for the dead and to mourn” (Lennon & Foley, 2000, p. 10). For example, the 9/11 attacks on the World Trade Centre saw millions of spontaneous memorials emerge in the immediate aftermath at Ground Zero, around New York, throughout the USA, and indeed around the globe, as images and information were beamed to every corner of the world. Lennon and Foley go on to describe the idea, that for some time after that immediate outpouring of grief, bewilderment and spontaneous memorialisation, it seems “unseemly to offer any kind of attempt to interpret events at the site itself – particularly if this involves what can be construed as ‘exploitation’” (Lennon & Foley, 2000, p. 10). Over time, formal memorials are likely to be erected and visited by those on a dedicated pilgrimage, by those who are passing through, or by those who are merely curious. What takes longer however, as Lennon and Foley state “is any form of interpretation of the events” (Lennon & Foley, 2000, p. 10). Core to the investigation undertaken within the aims of this research, that is to explore the role of design in shaping Euro-Western experience and interpretation of international genocide sites, this issue of interpretation after tragedy will be discussed in detail in the chapters that follow specifically relating to the interpretation of memorial design – form, function, and meaning.
2.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter has focused on the key research theme of global memories and tourism that, along with Chapter three, will set up the detailed context from which the case study research is analysed. As this chapter shows, the phenomenon and process of globalisation has far-reaching and complex ramifications for the issue of Euro-Western experience and interpretation of international genocide sites. As has been outlined above, and will be discussed in more detail relating specifically to the case study sites throughout this study, globalisation and the extensive proliferation of knowledge and communications through mass media, when considered in relation to human tragedy, and specifically genocide, today informs much of our ‘pre-understanding’, ultimately shaping the way we interpret the world as a whole. The study that follows specifically looks at Euro-Western pre-understanding of the tragedy of genocide through the global memory of Nazi crimes in Europe from 1936-1945, particularly through the expression and proliferation of global memory of the Jewish Holocaust, exploring its influence in shaping Euro-Western experience and interpretation of international genocide memorial sites in Cambodia and Rwanda. The term ‘pre-understanding is used here to mean a person or group’s ‘historicality of background’ and is discussed in further detail within Chapter five.
chapter three
memorialisation & reflections of the tragic
3.1 INTRODUCTION

Memorials are among the earliest artistic creations by mankind. Tonkin and Laurence (2003) state that, in the 21st century “We are in the midst of a worldwide obsession with memorializing that has been unequalled since the age of the dictators” (Tonkin & Laurence, 2003, p. 48). Monuments, history museums, memorial museums, public sculptures, commemorative sites and memorial landscapes are created and dedicated to the commemoration of the past. Today, at an unparalleled moment in history, spaces dedicated to the commemoration of the past are found throughout the world, and Tonkin and Laurence add, “and usually [commemorate] a past involving violent death” (Tonkin & Laurence, 2003, p. 48).

This chapter extends the contextualisation of this study introduced in Chapter two, and grounds the enquiry within the established discourse of memorialisation and design interpretation. Focused on introducing the key research areas of memorial design and design interpretation, this chapter extends the investigation of this study through the continuation of contextual discourse contributing to the discussion on the role of site design in shaping Euro-Western experience and interpretation of international genocide memorials. Through an introduction to the terms ‘memorscape’, ‘memorial form’, and ‘memorial texture’, this chapter continues the discussion on the process and practice of design interpretation, as described by Juan Pablo Bonta in his defining work ‘An Anatomy of Architectural Interpretation’, published in 1974.
3.2 MEMORY & MEMORIALISATION

Sarah Steele of Flinders University School of Law, suggests “that, as the corporeal form of 'memory', memorialisation is a complex and multifaceted process, which acts as a ritual, a sacred behaviour authorising a connection to the past, and a rite of passage, wherein narratives impressed on the site promote metamorphosis in the present and future” (Steele, 2006, p. 2). As memory is not a static process but one that is continuously reconstructed, memory as a concept that is represented via memorials has come to present various challenges for those working within the field of memorialisation.

3.2.1 MEMORY & MEMORIALISATION - A DISCUSSION ON DEFINITION

Memory is much more than the recall of past stimuli. “It involves emotion, will and creativity in the reconstruction of the past to serve present needs” (Field, 1999; cited in Naidu, 1994, p. 5). As opposed to history that is revised through time seeking to gain understanding in all its complexity, memory is passed through generations and often coalesces in places, objects, sites and memorials (Blight, 2002). The French philosopher Serge Thion suggests, as opposed to memory, history is the reconstruction of the past based on documents and material evidences. Memory on the other hand, is a tale of the past based on personal remembrance and subjective feelings (Thion, 1993, pp. 181-182). With regard to a study such as this, where the effects of time, politics, economics and culture are seen to shape, direct and dictate the representation and interpretation of history, the ‘message’ portrayed through memorial design is often better described as ‘memory’ rather than ‘history’, as multiple levels of remembrance and interpretation have taken place through time.

Arthur Danto, philosopher and art critic wrote “We erect monuments so that we shall always remember, and build memorials so that we shall never forget” (Danto, 1998, p. 153). Paul Williams, in his 2007 book Memorial Museums describes how some scholars distinguish between ‘memorial’ and ‘monument’. He writes, although “some writers distinguish between memorials and monuments based on their political function – memorial often signifies mourning and loss, whereas monument signifies greatness or valour – we often see measures of both in any single structure, making this distinction fuzzy” (Williams, 2007, p. 8). Within this study therefore, I use the term ‘memorialisation’ as an umbrella term for anything that serves the ‘memory’ of a person or event. Memorialisation may therefore proliferate in numerous forms from permanent expressions such as cemeteries, museums, art works, transcripts, literature or film, or as impermanent gestures such as ceremonies, theatre, song or dance (Steele, 2006, p. 3).
As will be discussed in the chapters that follow, the aims and objectives of memorialisation are far-reaching, complex and multi-levelled. Often spaces influenced by external pressures ranging from local expectation to national and international politics, memorials, in the context of time and culture must speak to visitors from this, and future generations who do not ‘know’ through immediate experience. “It is the very intensity of human emotion evoked by the memory of atrocity that renders it so effective as an instrument in the pursuit of various political or social goals” (Ashworth & Hartmann, 2005, p. 3). Waging war on forgetting however, whatever the ‘memory’, is a key task of all memorials where different concepts and representation collide (da Costa Meyer, 2006, p. 47). As Paul Goldberger, architectural critic for The New Yorker discussed on the 2006 WNYC Show ‘What Have We Learned: Memorial’, creating a memorial is enormously challenging because you need to create a physical form that conveys emotion and meaning, and yet at a time when our society is so fractured and so factionalised, its very difficult to find a form that has the authority and the sense of a common language that a memorial really needs to have to be meaningful. For Goldberger, the most important thing about a memorial right now, is that it tells a story that is meaningful to those who do not have memory of the event, of course not forgetting or disrespecting those family and friends directly affected also. The memorial needs to be able to speak to generations who were not there. . . it must speak in a public way for the next generation who will not have been there, who will not have those memories (WNYC – New York Public Radio, 2006). James E. Young, Professor of English and Judaic Studies at the University of Massachusetts Amherst agrees . . . the memorial needs to serve both a personal function – a place for the families to come and mourn, but it also needs to serve a civic role or a civic function for people who were not there, and for generations who don’t have direct memory of the event (WNYC – New York Public Radio, 2006). The construction of memorials within societies who have experienced tragedy is often rationalised by this need for education of future generations. “This preservation-for-education practice sees remains, objects and sites . . . as capable of instructing and unifying the society around knowledge of what has come before” (Hughes, 2006, p. 271). In the words of Alex Krieger, a child of Holocaust survivors, and professor of architecture, active in the creation of Boston’s Holocaust memorial:

"It’s not for my parents that I pursue this endeavour. . . . This memorial will be for me. Because I was not there, and did not suffer, I cannot remember. Therefore, I very much need to be reminded. This memorial will be for my six-month-old daughter, who will need to be reminded even more. It will be for her children who will need to be reminded still more. We must build such a memorial for all the generations to come who, by distance from the actual events and people, will depend on it to activate [memory] (Krieger; cited in Young, 1993, p. 285).

Remembrance of genocide continues to resist representation however, and Mirzoeff, Professor of Arts and Comparative Studies at Stony Brook University, suggests that in doing so, threatens to retreat into invisibility (Mirzoeff, 2005, p. 37). It is within this complexity of remembering and forgetting that Ereshnee Naidu, of the Centre for the Study of Violence and
Reconciliation, in South Africa states, that “by actively constructing and attempting to ‘represent’ the multiple stories of victims and survivors of conflict that memorialisation has the promise of promoting human rights” (Naidu, 2004, p 5). Whatever shape a memorial or commemorative space assumes within our global society today, it must address what Marion Weiss calls ‘the terror of forgetting,’ - the fear that lies behind all memorials. “They must ask you and subsequent generations to re-evaluate the event in your own culture and your own time” (Kulman, 2001).

Outlined below is a description on terms pivotal to the discussion that follows within this study. Describing the key research concepts of ‘memoryscape’, ‘memorial form’ and finally ‘memorial texture’, the discussion below will highlight the use, context and meaning attributed to each term within the presentation of research that follows.

3.2.3 MEMORIAL FORM & TEXTURE

The term ‘Memoryscape’ refers within this study to the encompassing approach to the physical representation of memory in relation to a specific geographic or cultural area. Likened to the term ‘cultural landscape’, in the effect that it is often the physical expression of multiple external influences, the memoryscape, when considered in relation to the physical expression of memory is often a highly emotive, political, or social statement. Below is a discussion on memorial form and memorial texture, two concepts introduced within this research to describe the phenomenon of memorialisation.

3.2.3.1 MEMORIAL FORM

The Viennese modernist architectural theorist, Adolf Loos, once said “that the only true architecture, the only pure architecture, was that of the memorial – one which had no function other than memory” (Loos; cited in Heathcote, 2006, p. 50). As has been established, we are today in the midst of a worldwide obsession with memorialisation “From the crosses and flowers left by the roadside as transient memorials to the accidentally dead, to the transformation of “the world’s largest building project” – the rebuilt World Trade Centre – into a huge functioning memorial, everywhere are found new spaces dedicated to the commemoration of the past” (Tonkin & Laurence, 2003, p. 48). Focused here on ‘designed form’ in terms of both built work and space, four types of ‘permanent’ ‘memorial form’ have been identified, that are referred to, and discussed in detail throughout this study – ‘mass grave’, ‘monument’, ‘museum’, and ‘memorial landscape’.

A ‘mass grave’ is the term given here to a place containing multiple, usually unidentified human remains. Mass graves are commonly associated with, or are, memorial sites.

A 'monument', as discussed by James E. Young, is a subset of memorials: “the material objects, sculptures, and installations used to memorialize a person or thing” (Young, 1993, p.
Paul Williams defines a ‘museum’ as an “institution devoted to the acquisition, conservation, study, exhibition, and educational interpretation of objects with scientific, historical, or artistic value” (Williams, 2007, p. 8). A ‘memorial museum’ however, is a subset within museumification and relates specifically to a “kind of museum dedicated to a historic event commemorating mass suffering of some kind” (Williams, 2007, p. 8). It is this ‘type’ of museum form that is considered within this study.

The term ‘memorial landscape’ is identified here to describe a specific and bounded physical location, designed or allocated to serve a commemorative function. The term ‘memorial landscape’ is used here to describe a memorial space that provides opportunity for remembrance and commemoration that may be either directed or undirected. Interpretation of site may be experienced through sensory components that extend beyond the traditional orientation of the ‘visual’. Figure 3.1 below illustrates the relationships between the proposed components of memorial form, discussed within this study.

**MEMORIAL AS FORM**

![Diagram of Memorial Forms]

**MEMORIAL TEXTURE**

To introduce the concept of ‘memorial texture’, I turn to Susan Cook, Linguistic Anthropologist and comparative genocide scholar who, in undertaking research in Rwanda during 2000, observed three activities relating to the remembrance of the 1994 genocide – preservation, documentation and memorialisation. As stated above however, I use the term ‘memorial’ or ‘memorialisation’ within this study as an umbrella term that encompasses any and all practice of commemoration, of which preservation and documentation are part. I therefore propose to use these two activities of preservation and documentation, introduced by Cook as individual ‘memorial textures’, alongside two additional memorial textures - education, and abstraction / non-representation. Outlined below is a brief introduction to the use of each term within the limits of this study.
In her 2006 article ‘The Politics of Preservation in Rwanda’, Cook relates the act of preservation to that of restoration, introducing the idea that preservation entails making necessary changes to revert something to a previous state that can then be maintained. She states “Preservation entails halting the natural processes of change and actively maintaining something in a frozen state – a sort of dynamic stasis” (Cook, 2006, p. 296). She continues, “With reference to the aftermath of genocide, then, preserving genocide sites entails making decisions about what to preserve (bodies, buildings, weapons, documents), and at what moment in their history. As a field of practice and study, the preservation of genocide sites is located at the intersection of historic preservation/restoration and forensic anthropology” (Cook, 2006, pp. 296-297). As crime scenes of international interest, genocide sites often contain important ‘first-hand’ evidences that need to be retained and preserved.

Documentation, as stated by Cook, is the effort to establish an authoritative account of a particular event or events based on primary sources, and may serve a legal, scholarly, or political purpose. “Usually conducted by trained scholars, documentation projects are most often aimed at establishing the facts of a particular event or period so that they may be studied, analyzed and established for posterity” (Cook, 2006, p. 298). Together these two memorial practices are listed under the term ‘memorial texture’, alongside the additional proposed practices of education and abstraction/non-representation. These two additional textures are described below in relation to the limits of this study.

Education is the third memorial texture introduced in this study, and relates to the process of learning, or the acquisition of knowledge. Often an ‘outward’ consideration in memorial design, the educational opportunities presented by a memorial project are far-reaching, influenced by societal, cultural, political and economic agendas. In terms of genocide memorialisation, educating visitors about the event or people concerned is often a key consideration and can take many forms. There is today however a growing consensus that education for the prevention of genocide is essential to contributing to both the reduction of human rights violations and the building of a free, just and peaceful world (United Nations, 1997, p. 5). Human rights education, as defined by the United Nations, refers to the training, dissemination and information efforts aimed at the building of a universal culture of human rights through the imparting of knowledge and skills and the moulding of attributes which are directed towards:

(a) The strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms;
(b) The full development of the human personality and the sense of its dignity;
(c) The promotion of understanding, tolerance, gender equality and friendship among all nations, indigenous peoples and racial, national, ethnic, religious and linguistic groups;
(d) The enabling of all persons to participate effectively in a free society;
(e) The furtherance of the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.

(United Nations, 1997, p. 5)
As this study will show, all three memorial textures discussed so far are continually at risk of succumbing to political, economic and societal pressure. ‘Realist’ in appearance, this study will show that memorialisation oriented around the memorial textures of preservation, documentation and education resist a critical level of interpretation, in their outward claim to provide evidentially correct data, particularly by way of on-site information, and presentation of first-hand evidences.

The fourth memorial texture proposed within the scope of this research is that of abstraction / non-representation. Discussion about these concepts within design professions are on-going and diverse. With regard to the representation of tragedy in design and architecture, Tonkin and Laurence, in their 2003 article written for Architecture Australia, describe how contemporary memorials today reflect a shift in memorial design, from realist to abstract (Tonkin & Laurence, 2003, p. 49). Such memorials are part of the larger restructuring of the sense of space, time, memory and identity, in our age of mass media, and globalisation. Figure 3.2 below illustrates the relationship between preservation, documentation, education and abstraction/non-representation under the umbrella term of memorialisation.

MEMORIAL AS TEXTURE

![Diagram](image)

Fig. 3.2

The ‘Memorial Development Model’ outlined below indicates the relationship between ‘Memorial form’ and ‘Memorial texture’. Referred to and developed throughout the course of this study, the Memorial Development Model is ultimately used as a tool to express the relationship between memorial design and memorial interpretation, as will be discussed below.
3.2.4 THE MEMORIAL DEVELOPMENT MODEL

As the diagram above, figure 3.3, indicates, memorial form and texture have a corresponding relationship in that the practice and extent of memorial texture depends on the memorial form. For example this research proposes that a memorial site such as a mass grave is primarily orientated around the memorial texture of preservation, whereas a memorial site such as a memorial museum includes three memorial textures - preservation, documentation and education. Fulfilling different roles and needs, memorial form, and therefore texture is seen within the research undertaken in this study to ultimately inform site interpretation. This concept will be discussed in detail throughout the study that follows.
Today, the frequent social act of memorialisation – the physical embodiment of memory – the physical expression of life and death (Tonkin & Laurence, 2003, p. 48), sees ‘tragedy’ investigated as a genre of design, of cultural process. A genre that has historically been deep rooted in literature, the contemporary memorialisation of tragedy today demands a broader perspective. Placing the design of architecture and landscape in a wider historical and cultural context, cultural significance and individual interpretation is better understood. “The romantics thought that memory bound us in a deep sense of the past, associated with melancholia, but today we think of memory as a mode of re-presentation, and as belonging ever more to the present. The instigator, the designer, the viewer – each individual must take on their own death and mortality” (Tonkin & Laurence, 2003, p. 48). Considered in this way, the act of design interpretation with regard to memorialisation therefore means memorials are indeed as much about the present as they are the past.

Making ‘tragedy’ visible through memorialisation is a task that has seemed difficult to approach within the framework of traditional memorial design. The design and subsequent interpretations of a memorial is critical to the development of a ‘post tragedy’ narrative. Described below is an introduction to the literature and established discourse regarding design interpretation.

### 3.3.1 Design Interpretation - A Discussion on Definition

As will be discussed throughout this study, the interpretation of design changes with time, which shows that the ways in which forms are perceived never depend solely on the forms themselves, or can be simply equated with what the designer wanted to communicate.

“Interpretation becomes semiotically more relevant than the design or creation of the form. Designers may have definite intentions about meaning, but they cannot assume that form will be interpreted with the same code as the one operating at the time of designing” (Bonta, 1974, p. 75). The word ‘interpretation’ is used in many situations to describe a range of things. From the Online Oxford English Dictionary, the word ‘interpretation’ means “the action of explaining the meaning of something” or “an explanation or way of explaining something” (Oxford Dictionaries, 2009). In terms of site design and critique, ‘interpretation’ is used here to describe a particular ‘view’ of something – whether that be of space, design, architecture or art. Interpretation of design is often influenced by what Martin Heidegger termed ‘pre-understanding’, a concept that acknowledges the fore-structure of understanding that precedes and grounds any activity or interpretation, or what we bring with us, unreflectively to a reading, in the case of design (Payne, 1997, p. 440).
3.3.2 DESIGN & THE TRANSPOSITION OF INTERPRETATION

Architectural historian William Whyte (2006) suggests that architecture — and the interpretation thereof — comprises a series of transpositions, where meaning is ascribed not merely through ‘reading’ a design as simply a language tool, but understanding its changing meaning, or transposition, through time — from concept, design and construction to multiple interpretation. Whyte’s argument rests upon three assumptions. The first is that architecture, like all meaningful human action, is capable of being understood. Secondly, architecture and architectural interpretation involve a wide range of media and genres, and lastly, as a structure evolves through time, from conception to construction and then to interpretation, both the intention of the creator and the meaning comprehended by the interpreter may change (Whyte, 2006, pp. 154-155). “These three assumptions provoke two conclusions. First, that the historian [critic] should attempt to understand the evolution of a building as a series of transpositions: with meaning in each transposition shaped by the logic of the genre or medium in which it is located. Second, it can also be argued that these multiple transpositions – these manifold texts – together make up the work of architecture itself” (Whyte, 2006, p. 155). Whyte concludes that the role of design critique is to indeed trace these transpositions, and in that way uncover the many meanings of design, “architecture should not be studied for its meaning, but for its meanings” (Whyte, 2006, p. 153).

Juan Pablo Bonta, former professor of the Universities of Buenos Aires, and Maryland, elected in 1974 to work with Mies van der Rohe’s German Pavilion at the Barcelona Exposition (1929), to show how meaning is ascribed to architecture over time, through the transpositions of interpretation. Identifying nine categories of interpretation from ‘blindness’ through ‘dissemination’ to ‘re-interpretation’ Bonta’s anatomy of architectural interpretation introduces a process of design critique where the meaning of design is investigated through, not what architecture should mean, but what it actually means for real people in real time, and furthermore, about the ways in which designs reach their meaning (Bonta, 1974, p. 57). A detailed discussion of Bonta’s Anatomy of Architectural Interpretation will be outlined in Chapter five.
Genocide, by its very nature is a highly controversial and sensitive topic that for many goes beyond what we think possible as human beings. A grave reality however, genocide is part of our world, and is part of us as human beings. Genocide memorialisation, the process by which memory and commemoration of such tragic events manifests itself in a physical location, is therefore also a highly debatable topic.

This chapter has explored the broad context in which genocide memorialisation and memorial interpretation are located. Setting definitions and investigating the key research threads of memorialisation and design interpretation, this chapter has explored the process and practise of memorial design, and has also introduced the concepts of design interpretation and the transposition of interpretation through time, by looking at the work of Bonta and Whyte. A design critique-based thesis, this, like Chapter two before it, has laid the foundation stone from which many of the key discussions stem in relation to case study investigation regarding the post genocide memoryscapes of Cambodia, Rwanda and Germany that follow in the chapters to come.
Chapter Four

Cambodia & Rwanda
A Review of Context & Site
4.1 INTRODUCTION

Outside Cambodia and Rwanda, and Asia and Africa in general, "the phenomenon of genocide memorials has received significant attention, particularly as part of the vast discourse on the historical memory of the Jewish Holocaust" (Williams, 2004b, p. 235). It is arguable that more than other genocides, the Cambodian and Rwandan cases have remained in the shadow of the Jewish Holocaust, both in the Western historical consciousness, and also in more critical discourses (Williams, 2004b, p. 235). “That the study of memorials. . . has been focused on those related to the Holocaust reflects, of course, their number, variety, and importance in Western nations” (Williams, 2004b, p. 235). This study however is focused on the post genocide memoriescapes of Cambodia and Rwanda. Through the intensive analysis and critique of the case study sites, my research has gained extensive insights regarding the effects of global memories and tourism on memorial design within post genocide nations, and how that design then shapes Euro-Western experience and interpretation of the genocide sites. This chapter will illustrate the complex contexts in which the case study sites are located, setting up the circumstance from which analysis will occur in the chapters that follow. Introducing the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum and the Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre in Cambodia, and the Kigali Memorial Centre in Rwanda, this chapter specifically introduces the relationship between history and memory, and memorialisation.

While, in the past, much analysis has sought to understand the scope and character of the Cambodian and Rwandan genocides, “any comparative analysis of the form and function of their memorialisation has been notably absent” (Williams, 2004b, p. 235). This chapter provides the context for the research conducted at each case study site, by first presenting a summary of the most commonly agreed perspectives on the sequence of events around the history and genocidal period of each case, and secondly, I situate this history within the unfolding connections to that time, in the less tangible dimension of memory, stressing the contingent and vulnerable nature of the post genocide memoriescape.
Cambodia, bordered by Thailand to the west, Laos to the north and Vietnam to the east, is located in South-East Asia and has a population of 14 million people. Forming the once powerful Khmer Empire that ruled much of the Indochinese Peninsula during the 11\textsuperscript{th} to 14\textsuperscript{th} century and responsible for building the Angkor Temples (photos 4.1), Cambodia today suffers extensively from poverty and disease.

Cambodia has a long and complex history that is captured by authors such as David Chandler and Ben Kiernan. In his 1985 book titled ‘How Pol Pot came to Power’, Ben Kiernan, professor of International and Area Studies at Yale University, outlines a passage written by a French missionary in 1751: “The Cambodians have massacred all the Cochinchinese
that they could find in the country. The Khmer king, the missionary reported, ‘gave orders or permission to massacre all the Cochinichinese who could be found, and this order was executed very precisely and very cruelly; this massacre lasted a month and a half; only about twenty women and children were spared; no one knows the number of deaths, and it would be very difficult to find out, for the massacre was general from Cahon to Ha-tien, with the exception of a few who were able to escape through the forest or fled by sea to Ha-tien. Of the 'numerous' Vietnamese in Cambodia before 1751, no survivors could be found’ (Kiernan, 2004, pp. ix-x). Hostilities between Cambodians themselves, and also between Cambodians and their Lao, Thai, and Vietnamese neighbours, have occurred consistently throughout history.

A complex and telling history, Cambodia dominated Southeast Asian affairs from the ninth to the 15th century. Internal local wars however, weakened their leadership and they lost control of much of their territory. Becoming a French colony in 1867, Cambodia remained so until the 1954 Geneva Accords (Marchak, 2003, p. 228). Before the Second World War, Cambodia was a highly taxed, quiet, and simple corner of the world. With Japan’s defeat in WWII by Allied forces in 1945, “the reimposition of French colonial rule in Vietnam and Cambodia provoked armed resistance in both countries from communist led Viet Minh and nationalist Khmer Issark forces” (Kiernan, 2004, p. xx). Part of the French colonial empire, eighty percent of Cambodia’s population were comprised of Buddhist, rice-growing peasants. In 1954, the first Indochina War resulted in French defeat by Viet Minh forces, affording Cambodia full independence under King Norodom Sihanouk, who adopted a foreign policy of Cold War neutrality (Kiernan, 2004, p. xxi).

In 1964-65, when the United States escalated their offensive in the Vietnam War, Cambodia had little hope of retaining the peaceful lifestyle that had afforded it in the recent past. Its borders became increasingly vulnerable to rice smuggling which bankrupted the Sihanouk government, and the increasing waves of refugees fleeing Saigon (Ho Chi Minh City) across the Cambodian border, led the United States, President Nixon, in 1966, to order extensive B-52 bombing raids of Cambodia’s border areas to stop the flow of Viet Cong soldiers across the border for food, training and rest (Kiernan, 2004, p. xxii).

In 1967, the situation worsened again, and civil war broke out in the countryside. Pol Pot’s ‘Communist Party of Kampuchea’ mounted an insurgency, provoking military reaction. With the combination of this, bombing by America, the rice smuggling trade and floods of refugees from Vietnam, Sihanouk’s regime was unable to handle the impact of the Vietnam War, especially the economic crisis, and the continued US bombing. With the support of the United States, General Lon Nol (the then head of opposition in Cambodia) overthrew Sihanouk in March 1970, becoming himself president. He renamed Cambodia the Khmer Republic (1970-1975) (Kiernan, 2004, p. xxii).

The fall of Sihanouk in 1970 was not easily accepted by the peasantry, and the overthrow of his government led to significant uprisings against the Lon Nol government. Repression followed, and as political positions within the Cambodian society became increasingly
polarised, peasants in some areas of the country joined the Khmer Rouge forces (Marchak, 2003, p. 229). Sihanouk, in exile in Beijing, joined forces with the Khmer Rouge, led by Saloth Sar – or Pol Pot as he would become known. Lon Nol’s army quickly massacred thousands of the country’s ethnic Vietnamese residents, and three hundred thousand more fled back across the border into Vietnam, setting a precedent for the intensified ‘ethnic cleansing’ that was to come (Kiernan, 2004, p. xxii).

It has been argued that both the Sihanouk and the Lon Nol governments were corrupt, and unequal in their distribution of opportunities and wealth. Buddhism supported this ruling class through the concept of Karma stating that the only way to gain status, power, or wealth was to be born into it. Politics consisted of exchanges between those members of the ruling class, and little or no input was considered from those outside this clique. The majority of Cambodia’s population remained in rural areas as traditional peasants. By the end of the 1960s however, 21 percent of the country’s population lived in urban centres and semi-urban regions - with Phnom Penh, the capital, holding ten per cent. As commercial employment did not grow in balance with the city’s population, this concentration of people soon represented a large group of unemployed people. With the arrival of civil war in 1970, and increased bombing in the rural areas by the USA, this urban migration increased (Vickery, 1984).

The USA congress ended the bombardment of Cambodia in August 1973, and left the opposing Cambodian armies - the Khmer Rouge based in rural areas, and the Lon Nol republican forces bases in the cities – to fight out the last two years of war themselves. After initial urban euphoria, the Khmer Republic had been swallowed up by corruption with the increasingly narrow military dictatorship of Lon Nol. In the rural areas, projecting the genocide to come, the Khmer Rouge too, like the Lon Nol soldiers, turned on their Vietnamese allies, killing nearly all communist returnees from Hanoi. They also stepped up the violence against Vietnamese civilians, ethnic Thai, and other minority groups (Kiernan, 2004, p. xxiv).

On April 17, 1975, after defeating the Lon Nol government, and ending the five year civil war, the Khmer Rouge entered Phnom Penh, and deported its two million residents into the surrounding countryside. With the installation of ‘Year Zero’, the genocide began.
4.2.1 GENOCIDE IN CAMBODIA

On the morning of April 17, 1975, the Khmer Rouge army, under the control of Pol Pot, marched every occupant of Cambodia’s capital, into the countryside to become workers in a nationwide prison farm (Williams, 2004b, p. 234). “People were forced at gun points [sic] to leave their home with few personal belongings without knowing any certain destination” (Liev, 1998). The Khmer Rouge child comrades herded the crowd out of Phnom Penh, providing no food or shelter. On foot, people were forced to move towards their family villages, to the remote countryside. These journeys could take up to three to six months. On reaching the destination village, people were put to work building dams and irrigation systems, and planting rice. “Thus began the period referred to as “Year Zero,” the attempt to propel Cambodia into a pure communist state and radically alter traditional Cambodian society” (Bit, 1991, p. xvii).

In the three years, eight months and 20 days of Khmer Rouge control, cities were emptied to create vast slave labour camps. The population lived terrorised lives, and suffered continuously at the hands of child soldiers, prison guards, torturers and executioners (Bit, 1991, p. xvii). “As the Khmer Rouge took control of the country under the leadership of Pol Pot, stringent rules of conduct were imposed on the lives of its people. Cambodia was renamed Democratic Kampuchea and a four-year purge began in which the Khmer Rouge regime tried to eliminate all signs of the educated classes. The goal was to create an agrarian society” (Rosin, 2005, p. 7).

This mass evacuation marked the beginning of a genocide that would kill 1.7 million people, nearly one quarter of the country’s population. All aspects of material life were eliminated – money, markets, wages, and private property. Universities, schools, banks, cultural institutions, government buildings, and places of religious worship were abolished. Education and religious practices were prohibited and the use of foreign and minority languages were criminalised. Families were disbanded. “Under the rule of Pol Pot’s Democratic Kampuchea regime, Cambodia was a wretched landscape of absence and loss” (Williams, 2004b, p. 234).

The Khmer Rouge upended the Cambodian world in various ways. Children had to work like adults. Adults, given instructions like children, were treated like animals. Animals received better rations than workers. Adults became so alienated from the regime that young children became the only hope for the Khmer Rouge revolution to reproduce itself. Children were employed as militia, to spy on their families, and as soldiers and executioners. The Khmer Rouge hoped to use children as the basis of a new society without memory (Kiernan, 1997, p. xvii).

The regime ended in January 1979, with the invasion of 100,000 Vietnamese troops into Phnom Penh, ending its two-year war with the Khmer Rouge, and marking too, the end of the genocide in Cambodia. By late afternoon on January 7, 1979, Vietnamese troops occupied Phnom Penh. “Aside from a few hundred prisoners of war and other people . . . who were in hiding, waiting to escape, Phnom Penh was empty” (Chandler, 1999, p. 1).
With the fall of Pol Pot, Cambodia exploded into the world’s consciousness. A small country largely isolated from Western view, suddenly became an arena for some of the most terrifying images (photo 4.6) produced anywhere during the 20th century (Bit, 1991, p. xiii).

Photo 4.2
Post-mortem photo and mug-shot of S-21 prisoner
Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum
Photo by Author, 2007
4.3 CAMBODIA: PRESENTING HISTORY

4.3.1 CASE STUDY SITE (a):

TUOL SLENG GENOCIDE MUSEUM

In the days following the Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia, soldiers began to spread out throughout the decimated city of Phnom Penh. On 8 January, in the southern sector of Tuol Svay Prey, two photojournalists who had accompanied the Vietnamese invasion came across the Khmer Rouge Security Prison 21 (photo 4.3). Drawn by the odour of decomposing bodies, the photographers entered the site, and captured an image of Cambodia that would awaken the world (Chandler, 1999, p. 2). In the southernmost building, the two Vietnamese photojournalists came across the corpses of several men recently murdered (photo 4.4). “Some of the bodies were chained to iron beds. The prisoners’ throats had been cut. The blood on the floors was still wet. Altogether the bodies of fourteen people were discovered in the compound, apparently killed only a couple of days before” (Chandler, 1999, p. 3).

Photo 4.3
“Exterior View of Building in the Tuol Sleng Compound”
S-21, Cambodia
(From Veneciano & Hinton, 2007, p. 100. Courtesy of the Documentation Centre of Cambodia)

Photo 4.4
A photo presented on the wall of a ground floor cell at the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum as one of the images taken by the photojournalists on discovery of S-21
Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, Cambodia
Photo by Author, 2007
In the early 1960s, when Cambodia was ruled by Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Tuol Sleng was built as a high school. It was named after Ponhea Yat, a Cambodian king associated with the foundation of Phnom Penh. After Sihanouk was overthrown in 1970 (the event that sparked Cambodia’s civil war) the school took the name Tuol Svay Prey – meaning ‘hillock of the wild mango’ (Chandler, 1999, p. 4). During Khmer Rouge reign, the school was used as a security prison – S-21. Through this period, an estimated 17,000 – 20,000 people were imprisoned here. Although S-21 was just one of many prisons that operated around Cambodia, it is often referred to as the most important, as many of those imprisoned and tortured there, and inevitably murdered, were cadre who were accused of betraying the revolution (Ledgerwood, 2002, p. 106). Nearly all of the 17,000 – 20,000 prisoners were transported 20km to the outskirts of Phnom Penh, to Choeung Ek - the ‘killing fields’ - and executed. Just seven people are known to have survived Security Prison 21.

With the fall of Pol Pot on January 7, 1979, and the Vietnamese discovery of S-21 in the days after, the former school and prison was subsequently transformed into a national genocide memorial site that is today known as Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum. “Sensing the historical importance and the propaganda value of their discovery, the Vietnamese closed off the site, cleaned it up, and began, with Cambodian help, to examine its voluminous archive” (Chandler, 1999, p. 4). Tuol Sleng, the name of an adjoining primary school, and meaning ‘hillock of the sleng tree’- the fruit of which is poisonous, was given to the museum. (Chandler, 1999, p. 4). The Vietnamese had found an important Khmer Rouge interrogation and documentation facility. “Documents found at the site soon revealed that it had been designated in the DK [Democratic Kampuchea] era by the code name S-21. The “S,” it seemed, stood for sala, or “hall,” while “21” was the code number assigned to santebal, a Khmer compound term that combined the words santisuk (security) and nokorbal (police). “S-21,” and santebal, were names for DK’s security police, or special branch” (Chandler, 1999, p. 3).

In February/March 1979, Mai Lam arrived in Phnom Penh to begin work on the design and construction of the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum. A Vietnamese colonel who spoke fluent Khmer, Lam had extensive experience in legal studies and museumology, having already completed the Museum of American War Crimes in Ho Chi Minh City (now called the War Remnants Museum). He was given the task of organising the documents found at S-21 into an archive and museum, effectively turning S-21 into a museum of genocide. Today, the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum covers roughly a city block, and is surrounded by a warren of alleys in central Phnom Penh. Inside the gates, the view looks like any other high school; “five buildings face a grass courtyard with pull-up bars, green lawns and lawn-bowling pitches” (Maguire, 2002) – see figure 4.2 and photo montage 4.5. The realisation of the tragic use of this school however, soon becomes exceptionally apparent to those who visit.
Fig. 4.2
Plan view of the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum
Cambodia
Drawn by Author

Photo 4.5
Photo montage of the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum
Cambodia
Photo by Author, 2007
On entering the museum complex, visitors, once having paid the US$2 entry fee, approach the 14 graves of prisoners left at S-21 by the fleeing Khmer Rouge (photo 4.6). Inside Building ‘A’, individual interrogation rooms are presented with an iron bed (photo 4.7), and some with a photo (as in photo 4.4) depicting one of the last 14 prisoners found dead by the invading Vietnamese, “torture instruments are still there, and the floors are still stained faintly with blood. . . years later” (Ledgerwood, 2002, p. 105).
Meticulously documented, the Khmer Rouge kept full and detailed accounts of each prisoner detained at S-21. From the initial mug-shot and the confession obtained, to the post-mortem photograph. Building ‘B’ consists primarily of the ‘facing death’ photographs (photo 4.8). “From this room you enter a second room of photos, and then a third” (Ledgerwood, 2002, p. 105). On an upper floor, and exhibition titled ‘Stilled Lives’ is housed (photo 4.9).
Building ‘C’ is covered in barbed wire to stop prisoners committing suicide (photos 4.10 and 4.11). Hurriedly broken into tiny individual cells (photo 4.12), prisoners were kept separately, unlike the mass detention rooms that typified much of the prison complex.
Building ‘D’ is a mixture of many museum elements. It houses more photo boards, a series of exhibitions, the display of torture equipment, victim skulls and paintings depicting torture and death scenes by S-21 survivor and artist Van Nath. Visitors can also view a short film about Cambodia and the 1970’s genocide.
4.3.2 CASE STUDY SITE (b):

CHOEUNG EK GENOCIDAL CENTRE

Originally a Chinese cemetery, Choeung Ek was operated by the Khmer Rouge as a killing site and burial ground during the genocide. Between 17,000 and 20,000 people are believed to have been executed here, most victims being former prisoners of S-21. “Choeung Ek is but one of more than 500 killing fields that have been located to date” (Williams, 2004b, p. 240).

Photo 4.14
Entry gate to the Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre
Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre, Cambodia
Photo by Author, 2007

Photo 4.15
‘Exhumed’ Pits
Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre, Cambodia
Photo by Author, 2007
The site, discovered in 1980, was transformed, according to David Chandler, under Vietnamese guidance into a tourist site. (Chandler, 1999, p. 139). Eighty-nine mass graves were exhumed out of an estimated total of 129 (photo 4.15), and 8985 individual skeletons were removed. The site design, also overseen by Mai Lam (who also held responsibility for creating the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum), is centred on the 30m high Memorial Stupa designed by Cambodian Architect Lim Ourk and constructed in 1988 (photo 4.16 - 4.17).
In the months prior to 1988, Lim Ourk produced three possible stupa designs for the site, “inspired by the sublime architectural forms of the Royal Palace of Cambodia in Phnom Penh” (Lim Ourk, personal communication; cited in Hughes, 2006, p. 274). Rachael Hughes, from the University of Melbourne, in her 2006 article ‘Memory and Sovereignty in Post-1979 Cambodia: Choeung Ek and Local Genocide Memorials’ states: “His three designs varied in height, roof structure and degree of carved detailing. The tallest, most decorative “stupa” design was chosen by the municipal committee. According to Lim Ourk, the final decision of the committee members was made with the local people of the Choeung Ek area in mind, considered to be rural folk with traditional tastes” (Hughes, 2006, p. 274). The ‘stupa’, considered a sacred structure in Buddhist architecture, usually contains the cremated remains of a greatly revered and respected individual (Hughes, 2006, p. 273). The memorial stupa at the Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre however is stacked with more than 8,000 un-cremated bones and skulls arranged by sex and age (Williams, 2004b, p. 240). “Many skulls are cracked because axes were used to bludgeon most victims, a method that saved valuable bullets. Rusted hammers, saws, shears, hoes, and leg chains lie on the floor of the stupa” (Williams, 2004b, p. 241). Today, the Choeung Ek memorial stupa “is an inescapably postmodern monument” (Hughes, 2006, p. 274). Disturbing to both Cambodians, and non-Cambodians alike (albeit for different reasons), Lim Ourk’s memorial stupa is an assemblage of multiple cultural and religious architectural forms, transformed under the dilemma of how to memorialise genocide? (Hughes, 2006, p. 274) The rest of the site is made up of a series of grassy and covered grave pits, a pre-Khmer Rouge orchard, and a conservation dyke that protects the memorial site from natural flooding processes.
Bordered by the Democratic Republic of Congo to the west, Uganda to the north, Tanzania to the east, and Burundi to the south, Rwanda is a land-locked country in East Africa and is home to approximately ten million people. With a total land area is 26,340km$^2$, Rwanda is less than half the size of Scotland (Booth & Briggs, 2006, p. 3). With a turbulent and highly complex history that includes war, colonisation and genocide, Rwanda today supports the densest population in Africa and like Cambodia suffers from extreme poverty and disease.

Rwanda’s earliest inhabitants, it is believed, were the pygmy ‘hunter-gatherers’ – ancestors of today’s *Twa* who form roughly 1% of Rwanda’s population. Gradually they were joined by the Bantu speaking ‘farmers’ who were spreading throughout Central Africa around 700BC, seeking good land to farm. These new comers became known as *Hutus*. Finally came the ‘cattle raisers’ who became known as *Tutsi* (*Tutsi* – meaning ‘owners of cattle’). Tutsi, whether by conquest or by natural assimilation, emerged as the superior group in the forming hierarchy (Booth & Briggs, 2006, p. 7).

The origins of the division between Hutu, Tutsi and Twa, that had key influence on the 1994 genocide, is still debated today. Oral history however portrays a feudal society with Tutsi, the ‘cattle owners’ occupying a superior status within the hierarchical structure that formed, both in the social and political situations. Hutu became ‘clients’ of Tutsi, and Twa had various functions as potters, dancers and music makers in the royal court (Booth & Briggs, 2006, p. 8). Hutu formed the population majority in both Rwanda and Burundi, with the minority Tutsi comprising about 10-15 per cent of the total population in Rwanda (Marchak, 2003, p. 199). It is important to realise, that the terms Tutsi and Hutu were not used as racist terms, and may not even have been used as ethnic terms, before the colonial period: “Some observers have concluded that there is no racial distinction at all between these two peoples; the racist implications were, in their opinion, entirely created by the Belgium overlords during the twentieth century” (Marchak, 2003, p. 200). The labels of Hutu, Tutsi and Twa were socio-economic categories within the clans, which could change over time in relation to personal circumstances. Under colonial rule, the distinctions were made racial” (Kigali Memorial Centre, 2004, p. 9).
In 1885, under the name Ruanda-Urundi, Rwanda and Burundi were assigned to Germany as a part of German East Africa - no European at that stage however had ever stepped foot on Rwandan land. On May 4, 1894, the German Count Gustav Adolf von Gotzen entered Rwanda, crossing the country to reach the eastern shore of Lake Kivu. Booth and Briggs describe how, “En route he stopped off at Nyanza where he met the ‘mwami’, King Rwabugiri – apparently causing consternation among the watching nobles when he, a mere mortal, shook the sovereign by the hand. They feared that such an affront might cause disaster for the kingdom. At this stage the ‘mwami’ had no idea that his country had officially been under German control for the past nine years” (Booth & Briggs, 2006, p. 9).

Germany was surprised to find that their new colony of Rwanda was a highly organised country, with tight effective power structures and administration. Leaving these in place, Germany chose to rule through these already clearly established and effective divisions, “believing that support for the traditional chiefs would render them and their henchmen loyal to Germany” (Booth & Briggs, 2006, p. 11). Germany however, had little time to ‘make its mark’ in Rwanda, as in 1916 Belgium invaded Rwanda and Burundi, occupying the countries until the end of WWI, when they were subsequently officially entrusted to them by the League of Nations mandate in 1919 (Booth & Briggs, 2006, p. 11).

In its adjoining colony of the Congo, Belgium had full control, but for Ruanda-Urundi it remained responsible first to the League of Nations and then after 1945 to the United Nations Organisation. Annual reports had to be submitted and no important changes could be made without agreement from above. Despite these constraints, and despite the fact that Ruanda-Urundi had far less potential wealth than the Congo, Belgium took its charge seriously, and by the time of independence some 40 years later its material achievements (in terms of increased production; public services such as roads, schools and hospitals; and buildings and administrative infrastructures) were considerable. In terms of human beings it did far less well, as later events demonstrated (Booth & Briggs, 2006, pp. 11-12).

Belgium colonial policies led to a highly centralised and efficient bureaucracy in Rwanda. It also however, exacerbated hierarchical differences, and destroyed the cushions that had made the prevailing hierarchy tolerable. In 1934, the Belgians used ownership of cows as the criterion for determining race because the actual physical differences between Hutu and Tutsi were too variable for accurate identification, and high intermarriage rates obscured whatever differences might have once existed (Marchak, 2003, p. 200). Gerard Prunier, a French academic and historian specialising in East Africa, acknowledges that the two groups probably did have different origins at some remote period. But, like many contemporary scholars, he argues that the differences were/minimal compared with the similarities. Identity cards specifying ethnic group were issued to every Rwandan from 1932. “[T]he colonial powers turned the labels into racist terms and treated the two groups differently, creating, in effect, ethnic identities where they were not previously consequential” (Marchak, 2003, p. 200).

Belgian policy abruptly changed in the mid-1950s. After longstanding support for Tutsi rule, and in response to pressures for democratisation from both Catholic missionaries and the
United Nations Trusteeship Council, they increased educational opportunities for Hutu and began a process of social reform (Marchak, 2003, p. 206). “Tutsi chiefs objected, Hutu leaders rebelled against them, and the deaths on both sides were brought to an end only by the intervention of Belgian troops” (Marchak, 2003, p. 206). Conflict continued to simmer as the country moved to self-rule in 1959. In 1962 both Rwanda and Burundi gained independence, and the Rwandan monarchy was overthrown in favour of a Hutu-dominated regime.

Atrocities and other gross violations of human rights organized and carried out by the governments of the day continued throughout the 1960s and 1970s. Government repression against Rwandans who remained inside the country escalated and intensified, irrespective of ethnic identity. The independent press was suppressed. Political opposition was harassed, to the extent that deputies representing opposition politicians in the First Parliament had all been killed by 1966 and Rwanda was soon declared a one party state (Ndahiro, 1994).

An estimated 600,000 to 700,000 Tutsi went into exile in neighbouring countries between 1962 and 1964. Episodes of violence erupted in 1963, 1966, 1973, and then repeatedly in the early 1990s. During this 30 year period, exiled Rwandan’s established the RPF (Rwandan Patriotic Front), a revolutionary army bent on regaining control of Rwanda (Marchak, 2003, p. 206).

By the late 1980s in Rwanda, there were grave economic problems in an overpopulated country with an insufficient food supply. Land tenure became a central issue, and President Habyarimana encountered challenges to his dictatorship from several directions. Tutsi exiles in the RPF recognised the crises in Rwanda as providing a platform suitable for an invasion. Times were tense. Gerard Prunier states, in his 1998 book ‘The Rwandan Crisis: History of a Genocide’, “The game was not two-sided as the later tragic events in Rwanda have tended to make onlookers believe, but in fact three-sided, between the Habyarimana regime jockeying for survival, the internal opposition struggling to achieve recognition, and the Tutsi exiles trying to make some sort of a comeback” (Prunier, 1998, p. 99).

Mounting pressure on Rwanda from the United Nations to stop its human rights abuses came together in what was called the Arusha Peace Accords. Signed by Habyarimana and his government, and the RPF, “Rwanda was to have a transitional government leading to a democratically elected government” (Kigali Memorial Centre, 2004, p. 14). French troops were to be replaced by UNAMIR [United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda], and the RPF and Rwandan army were intended to integrate, demobilise and disarm (Kigali Memorial Centre, 2004, p. 14). The transitional government however was never established, and Habyarimana entered into the largest ever Rwandan arms deal with a French company for $12 million, with a loan guarantee from the French government (Kigali Memorial Centre, 2004, p. 14). On April 6, 1994, President Habyarimana and President Cyrien Ntaryamira of Burundi, after signing the Arusha Peace Accords, were shot down in their plane on approach into Kigali. By 10 o’clock that night roadblocks had been set up throughout Kigali. By July 1994, Rwanda was on its deathbed.
4.4.1 GENOCIDE IN RWANDA

When Paul Kagame claimed that “never again” has now become “wherever again” he was saying that the post World War II settlement comprising of the United Nations and its various treaties and conventions have failed in their most basic premise - that it would prevent the reoccurrence of mass genocide (Mirzeoff, 2005, p. 36).

Responsibility for the attack on Habyarimana’s plane is still to this day disputed, but despite the disagreement over who shot the plane down, it is widely agreed that this action ignited the flame that had lain smouldering for many years, rearing its head from time to time, into full-blown genocide of the most brutal kind in 1994. “The slaughter was not, as Western media tended to present it, an instantaneous uprising of frightened peasants. On the contrary, death-lists had been distributed before the assassination of the president, and the militias had been trained to begin the killings immediately following it. For the most part, the massacre was conducted in an organized and orderly fashion” (Marchak, 2003, p. 209). Listed in advance, Hutu moderates were the first victims of the genocide. The next, Tutsi leadership and opposition party members, the Prime Minister, and other high-ranking officials. (Marchak, 2003, p. 208). Churches and mission compounds where Tutsis and moderate Hutus had sought refuge became killing grounds. “Throughout the attacks, the government-owned radio station and a private station, Radio Mille Collines, urged the killers on. In some regions, Hutus were ordered to kill Tutsi neighbours on pain of death for their own families” (Marchak, 2003, p. 208). Killings were carried out at speed and with devastating efficiency (Steele, 2006, p. 2).

In the absence of UN troops, which had been withdrawn early in the conflict following the targeting of assistance mission staff and troops, close to three quarters of all Tutsi in Rwanda were killed, along with thousands of Hutu, Twa, and foreign citizens. Whilst the UN had conceded that genocide was being committed in April 1994, UN forces were not deployed to the region until late June (International Peace Academy 2004; cited in Steele, 2006, p. 2).

In July 1994, 100 days after Habyarimana’s plane was shot down, the RPF finally broke the extremist regime, and ended the genocide that had seen between 800,000 and one million people killed. With the invasion of the Rwandan Patriotic Front in July 1994, Rwanda saw millions of Hutu soldiers and extremists flee across the border to displaced person and refugee camps in neighbouring countries (Berkeley; cited in Mills & Brunner, 2002, p. 107).
4.5 R W A N D A : P R E S E N T I N G   H I S T O R Y

4.5.1 C A S E   S T U D Y   S I T E   (c)

K I G A L I   M E M O R I A L   C E N T R E

Opened on the 10th anniversary of the genocide in 2004, the Kigali Memorial Centre was built as a joint venture by the Kigali City Council and the UK based, non governmental, charity, the Aegis Trust. Including a museum, a series of mass graves (that now hold over 258,000 genocide victims), commemorative gardens, education centre and archive, the memorial serves multiple objectives (Steele, 2006, p. 6). Born primarily out of a need to move and bury the million victims in the aftermath of genocide, most of Rwanda’s memorials today are focused around mass burial sites.

The main building (photo 4.18) houses three permanent exhibitions, including an exhibition that documents the genocide in 1994, an exhibit dedicated to children, and an exhibit on the history of genocide internationally. As well as these exhibits, the centre displays artwork by local artists. The first series of sculptures (photo 4.19) by Rwandan artist, Laurent Hategekimana are crafted from regional wood and produced by locals. Employing traditional Rwandan, as well as contemporary styles and designs, the sculptures represent the three stages of the genocide exhibit: before, during and after the genocide (Steele, 2006, p. 7). The second artwork, titled ‘Windows of Hope’, is made of stained glass by Ardyn Halter, the son of a
genocide survivor who was commissioned by the Aegis Trust to create the stained pieces of artwork for the Centre (Steele, 2006, p. 7).

Outside the main building there are eleven mass graves, which were established shortly after the genocide to offer a place for bodies from around Kigali to be re-buried (photo 4.20). More graves are being constructed presently, as victims are still being found. “The Kigali City Council undertook to relocate the thousands of bodies from around the city to a ‘single place of burial where victims could be laid to rest with dignity’. . . The graves are concrete, three metre deep crypts filled with coffins filled with victims’ remains. Because of the difficulty in identifying individual remains, the majority of coffins contain multiple victims, being ‘symbolic of the dignity that Kigali wishes to afford to its dead’” (Kigali Memorial Centre 2004, cited in Steele, 2006, p. 8).
The gardens within the memorial complex provide a place for contemplation and quiet reflection (photo montage 4.31). Set on Gisozi Hill across from the bustling streets of Kigali City, the gardens, map terrace, and memorial wall, with its engraved names of victims “not only provides survivors with a place to mourn lost loved ones, but also provides a site which confronts the individual to consider the scale of the genocide. By leaving some of the graves open for viewing, the non-Rwandan is directed to consider the magnitude of violence, indicating an additional desire for the graves to serve as educational and warning devices as well” (Steele, 2006, p. 8).
4.6 CONCLUSION

Outlining the basic accepted historical narrative of events in Cambodia and Rwanda, this chapter has introduced the three case study memorial sites of the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, the Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre and the Kigali Memorial Centre, and the contexts in which they sit - both historically and today. Discussed and analysed in relation to the key research aims in more detail in subsequent chapters, this chapter has laid the foundation from which analysis investigating the internationalisation of memorial design in Cambodia and Rwanda, and also Euro-Western interpretation of these memorial sites, can occur.

Specifically looking at the design of site, and the subsequent Euro-Western interpretations that manifest from site experience, Chapter five that follows will establish and present the methodology adopted to carry out the field research in Cambodia and Rwanda.
chapter five

design critique
& interpretation
5.1 INTRODUCTION

The practice of design interpretation is the process by which a view or perspective – an understanding of design - is reached. Juan Pablo Bonta (1979) suggested that we have three types of sources in gathering information about people’s interpretation of architecture, and within the chapter that follows, the methodology for gathering this information, specifically investigating Euro-Western interpretation of the post genocide memorial sites in Cambodia and Rwanda, is undertaken through the development and application of Bonta’s three stages. Setting up a series of on and off site investigations, the method of ‘introspection’ is applied by a development to David Seamon’s theory of ‘first person’ phenomenology, the method of ‘field studies’ is applied by Rolf von Ekartsberg’s theory of ‘existential’ phenomenology, and finally Bonta’s third stage in gathering information about people’s interpretation of design is undertaken as a ‘hermeneutic analysis’. A design critique based thesis, this study enlists the case study method to provide a basis from which a detailed analysis of contextual and site relationships will be analysed. This chapter will outline the theory and practical application of the three-step phenomenological mode of enquiry adopted within this study.

As has been established in previous chapters, memorial design and the process of memorialisation are highly influenced social practices, entwined in the demands of political, social and economic agenda. Returning to the core assumption outlined in Chapter one, that the practice of genocide memorialisation has today moved beyond merely being a ritual for the victim population, to today gaining greater significance and interest for the international context, this chapter will outline the methods by which an understanding into how post genocide memorial sites in Cambodia and Rwanda are designed, experienced and interpreted by Euro-Western visitors, is gained. Specifically this chapter will,

- establish the method used to gain insight into the design of memorial sites in Cambodia and Rwanda, specifically with regards to designing for Euro-Western ‘connection’,
- establish the method used to gain insight into Euro-Western experience of site; and lastly this chapter will,
- establish the method used to gain insight into Euro-Western interpretation of the post genocide memoryscapes of Cambodia and Rwanda.
5.2 THE CASE STUDY METHOD

Becoming increasingly common in studies of Landscape Architecture, the case study method is widely used in many professions today, from law and medicine to planning and architecture (Francis, 2001, p. 15). In his 2001 article ‘A Case Study Method for Landscape Architecture’, Mark Francis, professor of Landscape Architecture at the University of California, Davis, suggests that “Case study analysis is a particularly useful research method in professions such as landscape architecture, architecture, and planning where real world contexts make more controlled empirical study difficult” (Francis, 2001, pp. 2-3). One of several modes of undertaking research within the design profession, Robert Yin, suggests that the case study method, in general, is “the preferred strategy when “how” or “why” questions are being posed, when the investigator has little control over events, and when the focus is on a contemporary phenomenon within some real-life context” (Yin, 2003, p. 1). The case study method allows the development of a deep understanding of complex issues, adding strength and rigour to research. It emphasises detailed contextual analysis and is used today in many disciplines as a viable and preferred research method, making use of its qualitative qualities to examine complex situations and provide the basis for an extension of ideas and analysis of relationships, particularly when there is a desire to understand complex social phenomena (Yin, 2003, p. 2). For research in landscape architectural studies therefore, the case study method has, in recent years, become a common and preferred approach to carrying out research.

There are however critics of the method believing that case study methodology, and its dependence on a single case, renders it incapable of providing a generalised conclusion: “Critics of the case study method believe that the study of a small number of cases can offer no grounds for establishing reliability or generality of findings” (Soy, 1997). Case methodology is also sometimes considered microscopic, because of the often small number of cases it undertakes. Others also believe that the intense exposure to study of the case can bias the findings, while others dismiss case study research as useful only as an exploratory tool (Soy, 1997). Yin, along with other proponents of the method however, argue today that the relative size of a case study sample does not transform a multiple case into a macroscopic study. The goal of the case study method should establish the parameters, and then should be applied to all research. In this way, even a single case could be considered acceptable, provided it met the established objective. Susan Soy, states “[t]he advantages of the case study method are its applicability to real-life, contemporary, human situations and its public accessibility through written reports. Case study results relate directly to the common reader’s everyday experience and facilitate an understanding of complex real-life situations” (Soy, 1997).

For use in landscape architectural studies, the case study method is also valuable in terms of theory building and critique. For theory, Francis suggests that “While not always used this way, case studies can be instrumental in developing new theories related to landscape architecture. They not only describe projects or places but can also explain and predict future action” (Francis, 2001, p. 3). For critique, the process essential for any profession to develop and
advance, “Case studies can . . . inform ongoing intellectual debates and critical discussions” (Francis, 2001, p. 3).

Within the context of this research, a comparative case study critique, using the mode of phenomenology, is adopted between the post genocide memoryscapes of Cambodia, Rwanda and Germany, in relation specifically to national memorial sites in Phnom Penh, Kigali and Berlin. The comparative case studies approach is particularly useful in this situation, due to the opportunity it provides for comparison across projects.
5.3 Design Critique & Interpretation

It has long been accepted that architecture and landscapes possess meaning: to be more than mere structure or space (Whyte, 2006, p. 154). The practise of design critique is introduced here primarily as a mode for understanding the meanings of design through man’s lived experience. Under-pinned by the process of interpretation, design critique, in the context of this study, is best understood as a vehicle for conveying connection and of marking significance in the landscape. As Bonta puts it, “Interpretations – like forms themselves – fulfil a cultural, historically conditioned role. We interpret buildings in certain ways because in so doing we can throw some light upon aspects of the world in which we live” (Bonta, 1974, p. 72). In practice however, design critique has many functions and many modes – it is not a simple matter of declaring a work ‘good’ or ‘bad’, although the exercise of judgement does have its place within design critique. Nor does it simply reiterate what the architect thought she or he was doing (Clark, 2004, p. 18). Design critique allows for the creative process that brings varied types of knowledge and experience to bear on a work, it opens a project to the wider world, to a wider community, changing and relating to cultural and societal difference throughout time (Clark, 2004, p. 18). The creation of meaning therefore, is not just about the intended meaning stated by the designer at conception. The meaning of design is created and recreated with every individual experience, with every different reading that brings to the design a different set of pre-understanding, cultural background, and generational time. “As a building is planned, built, inhabited, and interpreted, so its meaning changes” (Whyte, 2006, p. 153).

Understanding the creation of meaning in our landscape today, is about understanding the relationship between man and the environment. “Places and people are inseparable. Places exist only with reference to people, and the meaning of place can be revealed in terms of human responses to the particular environment” (Violich, 1985, p. 113). Likewise, understanding the process of critique is about understanding the process of interpretation. Creating meaning and connection that is unbounded by language, culture, religion or class, design interpretation is an immensely creative process, that has the ability to create connection and meaning to design through time, and across traditional boundaries. Juan Pablo Bonta states, “Architectural history as we know it has been written tacitly adhering to the crudest version of the paradigm of communication: all the attention has been focused on the design of new forms, none on their interpretation. It is high time to realize that, even within the limits of the paradigm of communication, there should be a history of meanings, not only a history of forms” (Bonta, 1979, p. 232). It could be said therefore that the practice of design interpretation becomes semiotically more relevant than the design or creation of the form itself. “Designers may have definite intentions about meaning, but they cannot assume that form will be interpreted with the same code as the one operating at the time of designing” (Bonta, 1974, p. 75). Introducing Bonta’s interpretive analysis of Mies van der Rohe’s Barcelona Pavilion to illustrate this concept, nine stages of interpretation were recognised from ‘blindness’ and ‘pre-canonic responses’ through to the ‘official interpretation’, ‘dissemination’ and finally ‘re-interpretation’. Acknowledging the process and importance of design interpretation in its
ability to ‘connect’ man with meaning through time and culture, the method of enquiry outlined in Sections 5.6, 5.7 and 5.8 below, is about establishing an opportunity to gain better insight into Euro-Western interpretation of the post genocide memoryscapes of Cambodia and Rwanda.

5.3.1 BONTA’S ANATOMY OF ARCHITECTURAL INTERPRETATION

In undertaking an investigation into the ‘historic’ interpretation of Mies van der Rohe’s Barcelona Pavilion, Bonta sought to understand how meaning and significance was ascribed to the work over time, by reviewing the available reactions recorded (Bonta, 1974, p. 57). Finding that much had been written in response to the Pavilion, Bonta found that the judgements only partially coincided and made sense only if one classified them into a number of categories. Identifying nine categories of architectural interpretation, each characterised by a certain consistency in the way the authors and critics had interpreted the building, it became apparent to Bonta, that categories of interpretation follow each other according to a certain internal logic. “They may occasionally overlap in time, and some texts may have to be considered as belonging to more than one stage. However, each of them seems to typify a certain stage in people’s interpretation of, or response to, a new architectural form” (Bonta, 1974, p. 57).

Outlined below is a brief introduction to each stage of architectural interpretation described by Bonta in his seminal work titled, ‘An Anatomy of Architectural Critique’ (1974).

5.3.1.1 BLINDNESS

Today, Mies van der Rohe’s Pavilion is considered one of the major modern architectural achievements of the modern movement. Not always the recognised international style that we see and now readily understand, the Barcelona Pavilion was in the 1920’s a new and unfamiliar style in architecture. Departing from the architectural norms of the time, understanding the Pavilion meant moving away from the culturally established patterns in which it sat at that time: “When a work of architecture or art departs from culturally established patterns, it is not enough to see it in order to understand it. A process of collective clarification must take place, meaning has to be verbalized, and new interpretive canons are to be set up. This takes time” (Bonta, 1974, p. 58). In 1929 however, only but a handful of the million visitors to the Expo noticed the Pavilion. “Failure to perceive the building’s value should not be attributed simply to lack of enlightenment of the crowds as opposed to the finer discrimination of scholars. Reputable critics who visited the exhibition, representing the most distinguished architectural magazines of the time, were just as insensitive” (Bonta, 1974, p. 57). In the case of the Barcelona Pavilion, initial interpretation of the building took a few weeks. Establishing the new patterns and getting them accepted however took decades. While this work was being
done by some, the perception of those who did not participate in the process is described by Bonta as ‘blindness’ (Bonta, 1974, p. 58).

5.3.1.2
PRE-CANONIC RESPONSE

Although response to architecture and design need not be positive, in the case of the Barcelona Pavilion many writers took a positive position from the first moment. “Because of sensitivity, similar artistic affiliation, or perhaps simply because of friendship with the architect, many writers took positions in favour of the Pavilion” (Bonta, 1974, p. 58). In terms of a negative reaction however, a pre-canonic response can also reflect disapproval (Bonta, 1974, p. 60).

Bonta suggests that in principle, pre-canonic interpretations are the most creative ones. “Facing a new form for the first time (or facing an old form from a new angle, as if it were new) the interpreter is left on his own to find its meaning” (Bonta, 1974, p. 66). Before being constrained by the definition of a canon, there is a phase of openness, during which a range of interpretations occur. Bonta explains, “In principle, a pre-canonic response cannot be communicated; each person must re-create it in direct intercourse with the form. (Bonta, 1074, p. 66).

5.3.1.3
OFFICIAL INTERPRETATION

Official interpretation is based on a single source’s authority rather than on consensus. “It seems to be half-way between pre-canonic and canonic: constructed individually like the pre-canonic, yet accepted by the community, like the canonic” (Bonta, 1974, p. 66). Put forward by a person, organisation or institution that has special authority or qualification, the official interpretation stage, is based on the recognition of the authority of the ‘official interpreter’ (Bonta, 1974, p. 61). In his speech at the opening ceremony of the Pavilion, Bonta states that Dr Von Schnitzler explained his country’s purpose in presenting the Pavilion; “We have wanted to show here what we can do, what we are and how we feel today. We do not want anything more than clarity, simplicity and integrity” (Von Schnitzler; cited in Bonta, 1974, p. 60). Thus, the building, at this stage, was proclaimed to symbolise Germany’s post-war appeasement – an important message at that stage in European history (Bonta, 1974, p. 60).

Mies, as the architect, also had a voice in constructing the official interpretation. In 1928 he wrote in ‘Die Form’, “We are right in the middle of a transformation, a transformation that will change the world. To demonstrate and to promote this transformation will be the task of future exhibitions. They will have a productive effect only if we can succeed in casting a clear light on this transition. They will acquire meaning and justification only if the central problem of our time – the intensification of life – becomes the content of the exhibitions” (Meis, 1928; cited in, Bonta, 1974, p. 60). The designer’s ability to influence people’s view through their ‘official interpretation’, just as that of another authoritative source within a population of
people, is often an important factor in establishing the canonic interpretation. As will be seen, in my research the official interpretation of a genocide memorial has an enduring dominant effect on the process of design interpretation, and therefore on the long-term movement of design meaning through time.

5.3.1.4
CANONIC UNDERSTANDING

A canonic interpretation develops when a particular interpretation crystallises, when an interpretation is collectively developed and a social consensus is met (Bonta, 1974, pp. 62-66). “The reiteration of the pre-canonic response leads to the establishment of a canon. Individuals learn the meaning, rather than construct or reconstruct it themselves” (Bonta, 1974, p. 66). Canonic interpretations are said to be shared by a whole community, or at least by an identified group (Bonta, 1974, p. 62). When Reyner Banham, Arthur Drexler, Peter Blake, Leonardo Benevolo and Vincent Scully published their critiques of the Pavilion during 1960-61, for example, a certain interpretation crystallised. Traits of interpretation from the previous years at this point acquired a cohesion they had not previously had, and were received with a consensus: “So strong was the impact of the interpretation that for more than a decade nothing else could be said about the Pavilion” (Bonta, 1974, p. 61).

It is important to note at this stage, that the commonly stated declaration that Mies’ architecture “speaks for itself” is obviously a myth. “Neither Mies’ architecture nor anyone else’s can speak for itself; it always requires a collective effort of interpretation” (Bonta, 1974, p. 67). The ultimate incorporation and meaning of architecture and design in culture, is the result of the work of the ‘experiencer’ - the interpreter, no less than of the designer (Bonta, 1974, p. 67).

5.3.1.5
CLASS IDENTIFICATION

To understand ‘class identification’, Bonta states that in 1966, Bakema said “that he did not really understand the Barcelona Pavilion until he visited the Lake Shore Drive apartments in Chicago and perceived the ways in which the inner and outer spaces flowed together” (Bonta, 1974, p. 67). The interpretation of the Barcelona Pavilion became inseparable from the International Miesian Style, for example analysing the Tugendhat House was an indirect way of understanding the Pavilion (Bonta, 1974, pp. 67-69).

Interpreting a design ultimately amounts to seeing it as a member of a class. “This occurs when one identifies a set of features which can also appear in other works, and which thus become the definition of the class” (Bonta, 1974, p. 69). Class identification is essential for architecture and design to have an effect on future events and generations. “Pieces which are seen as unique, non-repeatable phenomena will become, for that very fact, inconsequential” (Bonta, 1974, p. 69).
The idea of ‘class identification’ with regards to genocide memorialisation is one which will be discussed in detail during later chapters. As this study will show, the effects of politics and globalisation have resulted in a world-wide phenomena of ‘class identification’ with reference to genocide memorialisation that some might call ‘Holocaust identification’. The internationalising of memorial design to tragedy is an important issue that will be discussed in the chapters that follow.

5.3.1.6 DISSEMINATION

Dissemination occurs when the “canonic interpretation reaches the wider public” (Bonta, 1974, p. 69). During the last ten years of Mies’s life, the media was flooded with news, photographs and books about his life and his work. “If one scans this voluminous material for further insight into the Barcelona Pavilion, one cannot but feel discouraged by the sterile repetition of concepts, over and over again” (Bonta, 1974, p. 69). Entering this new phase of interpretation, one understands that many writers base their work on other writings, unlike the interpretational stages outlined above, where first-hand experience was favoured (Bonta, 1974, pp. 69-71).

The dissemination of a particular ‘canon’ or ‘class’ with regard to interpretation is an issue in our modern world of mass media, the international language of English and multiple communications, that sees ideas spread throughout the world in a matter of sometimes minutes or seconds. With regard to the focus of this research, the dissemination of memorial interpretation is no different. Guide books, travel shows, the internet and popular press all amount to the easy dissemination of knowledge and interpretation the world over. Again, the phenomenon of the dissemination of interpretation will be discussed in the chapters that follow, with specific regard to the case study locations.

5.3.1.7 GRAMATICALIZATION & OBLIVION

Once a canonic interpretation becomes established, it is difficult to think of, and see, the design in other ways, but it also becomes tedious to keep repeating the same points (Bonta, 1974, p. 71). “Interpretations, like forms themselves, are prone to wearing out” (Bonta, 1974, p. 71). Bonta suggest that judgements too often repeated become subject to what he calls, ‘grammaticalization’ and ultimately the loss of meaning (Bonta, 1974, p. 71). This stage of interpretation leads to the inclusion and notation of the design less frequently, and then even silence. In the case of the Barcelona Pavilion, even the most sensitive critics began to lose interest (Bonta, 1974, p. 71).

Interpretations, like designs and forms themselves are discarded not only because we get bored with them, but because they cease to fulfil their initial role. New interpretations more closely linked to the contemporary society inevitably arise over time as a substitution for the old, less
relevant interpretations (Bonta, 1974, p. 72). This concept of the transposition of design interpretation through time, to relate to the needs and challenges of the present generation, is one that will also be explored in detail during the sections and chapters that follow.

5.3.1.8
META–LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS

Meta-linguistic analysis, as introduced by Bonta defines the very process of interpreting interpretation, precisely the interpretive act that Bonta undertook with the analysis of literature written in response to the Barcelona Pavilion, and described within this section so far. “The very process of interpretation that was described so far can become subject to analysis. The texts themselves, rather than the building, become at this stage the object of the discourse” (Bonta, 1974, p. 72).

5.3.1.9
RE–INTERPRETATION

The ninth stage of Bonta’s ‘Anatomy of Architectural Interpretation’ is termed ‘re-interpretation’, and rather than being seen as the final stage of interpretation, Bonta suggests it be seen as the beginning of a new series of stages – a kind of re-birth of the work. “Interpretations are not atemporal, but are conditioned to a certain cultural role, illuminated by a definite set of values and interests which become predominant at a given point in time. It is thus to be expected, not only that old interpretations should fade when the original interests change, but also that novel interpretations, adjusted to new interests, should arise” (Bonta, 1974, p. 73).

Often fulfilling a cultural and historical role, design interpretation over time can be as fluid as design itself. What Bonta has shown, by his extensive meta-linguistic analysis of literature and critique written in regard to the Barcelona Pavilion, is that we are always translating design, and transposing interpretations thereof, by reading its message in the present, by exploring its multiple reference to society over time. This study uses the mode of phenomenology to investigate contemporary Euro-Western experience and interpretation of the case study sites in Cambodia and Rwanda. The sections that follow outline and discuss both in terms of theory and practical application, the method considered and ultimately applied to the case study field research carried out within this study.
Developed in the twentieth century, phenomenology is a relatively new branch of philosophy that understands and describes a world where people and their environment mutually include and define each other (Bognar, 1985, p. 183). Phenomenology is a philosophy in which it is assumed that knowledge does not exist independently of man - that knowledge must be gained through man’s lived experience of the world (Relph, 1970, p. 193). In the simplest terms, David Seamon, Professor of Architecture at Kansas State University states that “phenomenology is the interpretative study of human experience” (Seamon, 2002b), but is quick to note that this definition, however, is oversimplified and does not capture the fuller meaning or range of phenomenological inquiry. Below is a brief introduction to phenomenology as a philosophical methodology, and its current application as a qualitative methods approach to landscape architecture.

The history of phenomenology is both multifaceted and complex. Emerging initially as a philosophical method to challenge quantitative deductive study, phenomenology is the descriptive investigation of conscious phenomena, both subjective and objective (Sanders, 1982, p. 353). The term “phenomena”, as used here, “is derived from the Greek verb, which means to show oneself or to appear” (Sanders, 1982, p. 354). Herbert Spiegelberg (1982), a leading voice in phenomenological scholarship, describes the historical roots of phenomenology as a movement rather than a discrete period of time, continuing to re-interpret its own meaning (Spiegelberg, 1982, p. 1). Laverty states that this distinction is important as it reflects the view that phenomenology, and our understanding of it, are not stationary, but rather dynamic and evolving, even today (Laverty, 2003, p. 3).

The concept of phenomenology is often referred to as having been initially formulated by Edmund Husserl at the beginning of the 19th century. He “criticised psychology as a science that had gone wrong by attempting to apply methods of the natural sciences to human issues, and charged that these pursuits ignored the fact that psychology deals with living subjects who are not simply reacting automatically to external stimuli, but rather are responding to their own perception of what these stimuli mean” (Laverty, 2003, p. 4). Husserl viewed human experience as the source of all true knowledge in the world, and subsequently, values and personal meanings gathered through reflection became valid and acceptable knowledge (Mezga, 1993, p. 67). Husserl termed phenomenology, “a science of essences” (Mezga, 1993, p. 67), and with this line of reasoning, “pursued the true meaning beyond life experiences through reflection, and a return to uniquely human qualities such as value and emotion” (Mezga, 1993, p. 67).

Husserl did propose however that beneath the changing flux of human experience and awareness, there are certain invariant structures of consciousness which he believed the phenomenological method could identify. As Seamon explains, “Because Husserl viewed consciousness and its essential structures as a pure “region” separate from the flux of specific experiences and thoughts, his style of phenomenology came to be known as “transcendental””
Soon, other phenomenological thinkers, such as the German philosopher Martin Heidegger and French philosopher Maurice Merleau-Ponty, began building on Husserl’s initial ideas and began formulating their own thoughts about phenomenology. Heidegger and Merleau-Ponty moved Husserl’s theory of pure intellectual consciousness to the realm of history and embodiment, arguing that such transcendental structures were questionable based on speculative cerebral reflection, rather than on actual human experience (Schmidt, 1985; cited in Seamon 2002b). As a philosophical tradition therefore, phenomenology has evolved, and continues to do so today through the work of many scholars in many different areas of study.

Conceived as a study into the nature and grounds of knowledge, phenomenology is primarily concerned with the reorientation of science and knowledge along lines that have meaning and significance for man. Although there is considerable debate about the exact nature of phenomenology, most scholars today seem to agree on at least three basic issues: “first, the importance of man’s “lived-world” of experience; second, an opposition to the “dictatorship and absolutism of scientific thought over other forms of thinking”; and third, an attempt to formulate some alternative method of investigation to that of hypothesis testing and the development of theory” (Relph, 1970, p. 193). Seeking to make explicit the implicit structure and meaning of human experiences, phenomenological study is the search for ‘essences’ that cannot be revealed by ordinary observation (Sanders, 1982, p. 354).

Phenomenology has today been cautiously introduced to, and adopted by a number of design and sociological professions. Offering, what Seamon calls a ‘useful conceptual language’ to reconcile the difficult tensions between feeling and thinking, phenomenology, is today timidly and sporadically adopted by Landscape Architecture, and other design based disciplines, which at their core guide and create the person–environment relationship. The hope is that the phenomenological approach to design critique offers the design disciplines, and in this case, Landscape Architecture, an innovative and new way of looking at the person-landscape relationship, and for identifying and understanding its complex, multidimensional structure. Outlined below is a brief overview of the history, key concepts and authors of phenomenology, relating to the landscape and interpretive issues that this study is focused.

5.4.1 FEATURES OF THE PHENOMENOLOGICAL PARADIGM

Phenomenological methodology is widely accepted to fall within the wider conceptual and methodological rubric of qualitative inquiry. Phenomenology has been associated with other qualitative methods such as symbolic interactionism, in other words, as Patton states, perspectives assuming “methods that take the researcher into and close to the real world so that the results and findings are ‘grounded’ in the empirical world”, with distinction to “theory generated by logical deduction from a prior assumption” (Patton, 1990; cited in Wapner, Demick & Yamamoto, 2000, pp. 66-67). Although both phenomenology and
symbolic interactionism examine symbols, objects, experiences and interpretations that give meaning to a particular group, symbolic interactionism typically emphasises the more cognitively derived layers, rather than the phenomenologist’s instinctive, intuitive, emotional and interpretive perspective (Seamon, 2002b). Outlined below, are features key to the phenomenological method.

5.4.1.1

**INTENTIONAL ANALYSIS – NOEMA & NOESIS**

Husserl used the term ‘intentionality’ to refer to the relationship between an object (or experience) and the appearance of the object or experience to consciousness. Using the Greek terms ‘noesis’ and ‘noema’, he indicated the intimate relationship between, intentionality as total meaning of what is experienced (noema), and the mode of experiencing (noesis). ‘Essences’, Husserl believed are derived from an ‘intentional’ analysis of the correlation between the object or experience as perceived (objective perception) called noema, and the (subjective) reflection of those perceived experiences, known as noesis, (Sanders, 1982, p. 354).

“If noema is described as the what of experience and noesis as the how of experience, then essence may be described as the ‘why’ of experience” (Sanders, 1982, p. 357).

5.4.1.2

**PRE UNDERSTANDING**

William Blake once said, “If the doors of perception were cleansed, Everything would appear as it is. . . .” (Blake; cited in Howett, 1993, p. 61). Catherine Howett, Professor Emerita in the School of Environmental Design at the University of Georgia, considers these lines from Blake to represent a familiar theme of visionary poetry – “the poet’s sense that our customary ways of looking at the world actually blind us to the reality of what is there, waiting to be known intimately and rapturously” (Howett, 1993, p. 61). She continues, “But what is meant by “the doors of perception” that must be “cleansed” if we are to see truly? Is it our eyes only? Do we perceive the world by seeing it, or is our vision just one among many “doors of perception” that can be awakened to a new and more vivid experience of the world?” (Howett, 1993, p. 61).

The concept of ‘pre-understanding’ is the historicality and meaning in a culture or group that is present before we understand. It is part of our “historicality of background” (Laverty, 2003, p. 8). Laverty explains that “Pre-understanding is not something a person can step outside of or put aside, as it is understood as already being with us in the world” (Laverty, 2003, p. 8). Heidegger stated that nothing can be encountered without reference to a person’s background understanding (Laverty, 2003, p. 8), culture, and therefore an individual’s ‘pre-understanding’ – a historicality of background - significantly determines the nature and character of the ‘doors of perception’ that an individual will employ as part of the process of experiencing a space, engaging an environment or interpreting a situation.

Claiming that to be human was to interpret, Heidegger stressed that every experience involves interpretation – interpretation that is inevitably influenced by an individual’s background.
Phenomenology as methodology assumes that when people ask certain questions, they do so burdened with ‘mental baggage’, pre-determined assumptions that separate the ‘researcher’ or ‘interpreter’ from the ‘truth’ about things. At its core, and in its ‘pure’ form, the phenomenological approach allows the researcher to go beyond the limitations of culturally restricted patterns, structures and thought, and seek out ‘pure’ understanding, through alternative perceptions that otherwise would be blinded from view.

5.4.1.3

QUESTIONING

For Hans-Georg Gadamer, questioning is an essential aspect of the phenomenological method and therefore of the interpretive process, as it helps make new horizons and understanding possible. He states that “Questioning opens up possibilities of meaning, and thus what is meaningful passes into one’s own thinking on the subject” (Gadamer, 1997, p. 368).

5.4.1.4

ÉPOCHÉ

Key to the phenomenological approach, and as a strategy offered as part of the methodological path, époché, as Husserl termed it, allows “the temporary suspension of all existing personal biases, beliefs, preconceptions, or assumptions in order to get straight to the pure and unencumbered vision of what a thing “essentially is”” (Sanders, 1982, p. 355). Often referred to as ‘bracketing’ or ‘bracketing out’, parts of the experience are left constant but out of consideration. “The bracketed matter does not cease to exist; rather, it is temporarily put out of action” (Sanders, 1982, p. 355). This phenomenological procedure is used if one wants to bring another part of an observation into focus (Sanders, 1982, p. 355).

Laverty states that Husserl proposed that bracketing out the outer world, as well as individual biases is needed to successfully achieve contact with essence. “This is a process of suspending one’s judgement or bracketing particular beliefs about the phenomena in order to see it clearly” (Laverty, 2003, p.6). Hans-Georg Gadamer, a phenomenologist influenced by the work of both Husserl and Heidegger, although not opposed to methods to increase our level of understanding and to overcome limited perspectives, was emphatic in his stand that methods are not totally objective, separate or value free from the user. Unlike Husserl, Gadamer viewed bracketing not only as impossible, but attempts to do so manifestly absurd (Annells, 1996; cited by Laverty, 2003, p. 11). He believed that understanding, and therefore interpretation, are intrinsically based on our historicality of being, and all understanding involves some prejudice.
The final major feature of phenomenology as methodology to be discussed is ‘eidetic reduction’ and is at the heart of phenomenological scholarship. Accomplished through the use of intuition and reflection, eidetic reduction has been likened to extracting the attar of the rose:

As each petal of the blossom is removed, another is fully revealed. The layers of the petals, blended one with the other into a potpourri, yields the attar – the essence of the rose. Each layer revealed by the eidetic reduction successively yields experience, then reflection of experience, until the invariants of experience yield the essence of meaning, that which is constant (Brooks, 1980; cited in Sanders, 1982, pp 355-356).

5.4.2 PHENOMENOLOGY AS METHOD

A difficulty inherent in using a phenomenological approach in research is directly related to the fact that phenomenology has not yet developed an agreed methodology. Spiegelberg stated that there are as many styles of phenomenology as there are phenomenologists – a situation that makes it difficult to articulate a thorough and accurate picture of the tradition (Seamon, 2002b). As Mezga observes, “In terms of methodology, one can best describe the current status of phenomenological research as eclectic and fluid. No single, uniform methodological procedure has received universal acceptance. This has been because of both the infancy of the paradigm and the wide range of backgrounds of the researchers” (Mezga, 1993, p. 68).

Key to the phenomenological method “is the notion that objects take on meaning only in terms of a person’s intentions, emotions, and goals” (Mezga, 1993, p. 68). Therefore traditional design concepts such as space, place, scale, form, line, and colour, cannot be interpreted in established or conventional quantitative terms, and “[i]nstead, they must be seen in a personalised, affective fashion” (Mezga, 1993, p 68). Further, as Mezga explains, “Distance becomes affective, a type of emotional connectivity. Space becomes a network of concern, and history is seen both as events and as a conscious restructuring of group social memory. Place is viewed not as a collection of objects and events, but as a repository of meaning” (Mezga, 1993, p. 68). In addition to the inherent lack of methodological direction and the phenomenological encompassing of pre-understanding, the phenomenological method ultimately varies also according to the particular phenomena being researched and the perspective through which the study is approached.

Although an ‘orthodox procedure’ does not exist for phenomenological researchers, the primary aim for the phenomenological method is, as Relph explains, “to provide a means of investigation through which the “lived-world” of man’s experience can be restored to a place of prominence in our thinking” (Relph, 1970, p. 194).
In an article written for the ‘Canadian Geographer’ (1970), Relph proposes a three-step phenomenological procedure. The first step in this method entails the identification and careful description of the objective phenomena under study, without making prior assumptions: “an attempt is made to recognize and describe the “essences” of the thematic structures of perception associated with the particular phenomena being studied. This involves, first, a careful description of these phenomena without making prior assumptions about them, and the investigation of the “general essences” of these phenomena” (Relph, 1970, pp. 193-194). Second, the various detailed meanings attached to the objective phenomena and their interrelationships are identified and assessed. “[H]ere it is recognized that the way an object or fact is perceived depends on the intentions of the perceiver toward the object as well as his experience regarding it, and that to understand an object it is necessary to examine these different perceptions of it” (Relph, 1970, p. 194). Finally, “changes in consciousness or attitudes toward the phenomena [over time] are noted and evaluated” (Mezga, 1993, p. 68).

Patricia Sanders (1982), in an article titled ‘Phenomenology: A new way of viewing organizational research’ offers an alternative four step approach to Relph’s phenomenological procedure. Level one, as she refers to it, is description, where the phenomenon is revealed through experience, identifying and describing the qualities of human experience and consciousness. Level two is the identification of themes or invariants that emerge from the descriptions. “Themes refer to commonalities present within and between narratives. Themes are identified based on the importance and centrality according to them rather than on the frequency with which they occur” (Sanders, 1982, p. 357). Level three is the development of noetic/noematic correlates, where the comparison allows for subjective reflections on the emergent themes. “Noetic/noematic correlates represent the individual’s perception of the reality of the phenomena under investigation. Interpretation of these correlations is fundamental to the identification of essences or of what an experience “essentially is”” (Sanders, 1982, p. 357). The final step in the procedure “is the abstraction of essences of universals from the noetic/noematic correlates” (Sanders, 1982, p. 357).

Both offering a significant contribution to the development of phenomenological methodology, Relph’s ‘phenomenological procedure’, and Sanders’ ‘phenomenological research model’ provide a framework from which a phenomenological methodology for landscape architectural critique may evolve. Returning now to Bonta’s suggestions on gathering information about people’s interpretation of architecture, where he suggests a three step process of introspection, field studies, and analysis of text or documents, the mode of phenomenological enquiry can be seen to fit well within the practice and process of design critique in landscape architectural studies.
For Duane Mezga, professor of landscape architecture at Michigan State University, phenomenology is a problem-solving approach which focuses on the everyday world of people’s immediate experiences, the lifeworld. “It investigates, describes, and examines individual actions, memories, perceptions and thoughts” (Mezga, 1993, p. 68). In landscape architecture he suggests, “this necessitates an exploration of experiences of space and place and related aspects of one’s lifeworld, unavailable to the rigours of objective inquiry” (Mezga, 1993, p. 68). The profession of landscape architecture supports the notion that people are not separate from their world – they are immersed through an invisible net of bodily, emotional, spatial and environmental ties. People are physical beings who must establish and identify themselves spatially and environmentally (Seamon, 2002a). “Materials in space are used as the connection between body and meaning, between mind and memory. This is the stuff of architecture in its most eloquent” (Tonkin & Laurence, 2003, p. 49). The potential application of the phenomenological paradigm in landscape architectural studies is extensive. To date however, the degree and nature of those possible applications remain limited (Mezga, 1993, p. 68). “The scarcity of substantive, integrative studies between involved fields including landscape architecture, humanistic geography, and the social science discipline, has led to phenomenology remaining a questionable commodity to practitioners and researchers in landscape architecture” (Mezga, 1993, p. 68).

Drawing on the insights of scholars discussed above, this investigation will explore phenomenology as a mode of landscape architectural critique. A three-step phenomenological method is therefore developed and presented here based upon:

- an ‘encountered’ phenomenological enquiry (based on the ‘first-person’ approach) to investigate the design of site, specifically with regard to designing for Euro-Western connection
- an ‘existential’ phenomenological enquiry to investigate the experience of site for Euro-Western visitors, specifically with regard to site elements identified at the ‘encountered’ stage of enquiry, and finally,
- a ‘hermeneutic’ phenomenological enquiry to investigate the interpretation of site by Euro-Western visitors.

The method outlined below does not aim to prove or disprove a particular hypothesis. Through adopting a phenomenological methodology, three stages of enquiry were set up to prompt human response to design, to allow for an investigation into the role of design in shaping Euro-Western experience and interpretation of genocide memorial sites in Cambodia and Rwanda.
5.5 ‘ENCOUNTERED’ PHENOMENOLOGY - INVESTIGATING THE DESIGN OF SITE

Central to the first-person phenomenological approach, as introduced by David Seamon in his 2002 online article ‘Phenomenology, Place, Environment, and Architecture: a review of the literature,’ is the researcher using their own firsthand experience of the phenomenon as a basis for examining its specific characteristics and qualities, focusing on the interconnections of human environmental experience, including such qualities as sound, space, texture, light, and movement (Seamon, 2002b). In his 1985 phenomenological study of the contrasting qualities of several Dalmatian towns with varying spatial layouts, Francis Violich adopting a first person approach, and using the techniques of sketching, mapping and journal entries, immersed himself in each place for several days in an attempt to ‘read’ or reveal the sense of place. Undertaking an intuitive reading of each town, Violich aimed to identify the environmental qualities which frame and reference sense of place (Violich, 1985).

First person phenomenology is often used as a starting place from which the researcher can bring to awareness specific qualities and attitudes (sometimes referred to as biases) they have at the outset when interpreting the phenomenon, while gaining an in-depth on-site understanding of the site. In this sense, if the researcher has access to his/her own experience of the phenomenon, first-person research can offer clarity and insight grounded in one’s own lifeworld. Central to this approach therefore are the phenomenological features of ‘pre-understanding’, ‘epoché’ and ‘eidetic reduction’, outlined earlier in section 5.4.1, where the researcher works to avoid the preconceived and ‘taken-for-grantedness’ of the site and experience. Spiegelberg, 1982, cited in Seamon, 2002b suggests that the researcher attempts to meet the phenomenon in as unprejudiced way as possible so that it can present itself and be accurately described and understood. Phenomenological research, and in particular where the reductionist method is used is one of the most demanding operations which requires utter concentration on the object or experience without being absorbed in it to the point of no longer looking critically (Spiegelberg, 1982; cited in Seamon, 2002b). The development of the first-person approach into what I have termed here the ‘encountered’ approach is a direct result of the nature and context of the case study sites investigated within this research, and will be discussed in detail below.
5.5.1 ‘FIRST-HAND TO ‘ENCOUNTERED’
PHENOMENOLOGICAL ENQUIRY

Following the conventional reductionist approach commonly utilised in the first-person method, through the removing of physical, cultural and emotive layers, and ‘bracketing out’ pre-understanding and knowledge, it was quickly acknowledged that this approach was not appropriate for the examination and critique of the case study sites considered within this research. As Stephen Smith of the Aegis Trust states:

*It seems important to me that any response to human tragedy should be made in as human a way as possible. That means thinking about the consequences for those caught up in it. It means putting yourself into their shoes and grappling with the dangers, struggling with the consequences. To respond to such a tragedy as an intellectual exercise with a duly-processed analysis is not enough, and indeed is arguably inappropriate if it is the only response. On the other hand, simply to react emotionally, without facing the inherent challenge it poses, is to escape the consequences in a different way* (Smith, 2002, p. 41).

My attempt to carry out a ‘conventional’ first-person phenomenological critique, where the mode of ‘bracketing out’ pre-understanding, and personal bias and belief, to achieve the aim of ‘seeing’ the ‘universal pure essence’ as aspired to in the ‘eidetic reductionist’ theory of phenomenology, proved to test the limits of the ‘traditional’ approach. It is useful to note here however that not all phenomenologists believe in or adopt the epoché/bracketing elements of first-person phenomenology, returning here to Gadamer who viewed ‘bracketing out’ as impossible in the practical sense, and absurd in the scholarly sense, believing that interpretation is intrinsically based on our historicity of being. As Smith discusses above, to respond to such a site in an intellectual way with a strict mode of method and analysis is indeed inappropriate if it is the only response. Spending time on site, developing my thoughts and observations, an appropriate variation of the first-person approach, when interpreting memorials to tragedy, was developed, and is presented here as an ‘encountered’ phenomenological enquiry.

The case study sites in Cambodia and Rwanda were set from the start to test the limits of the first-person approach, due to the very nature of their being as sites of death. The ‘encountered’ approach to phenomenological enquiry however, does follow the frame of first-person phenomenology in that at its core it seeks to ‘see’ and understand place. By focussing this enquiry on Euro-Western experience and interpretation of site, the encountered phenomenological enquiry is framed by investigating the concept of site design for Euro-Western ‘connection’.
The ‘encountered’ approach to phenomenological site critique adopted and developed for this investigation includes the tasks listed below:

1 **Offsite** (to be worked on throughout study period)
   - The development of a reflective journal consisting of research notes, thoughts and references relating to the process and specific elements of memorialisation to tragedy, particularly with reference to the West.

   The aim of this journal is to record the personal journey: to write down thoughts, to analyse and question in a free and unmediated way. Useful through the process of phenomenological research, the journal allows past thoughts and interpretations to be easily accessible.

2 **Onsite**
   - Undertake a pre-interpretive site familiarisation visit
   - Undertake a series of intensive site identification and interpretation visits that include a focus on
     - the detailed documentation of each case study site, and
     - the identification of key site and design strategies

   The usefulness of the familiarisation site visit is twofold. On the one hand it decreases any underlying anxiety related to undertaking research in unknown circumstances, and on the other, it allows for an unmediated experience with site where researcher becomes ‘tourist’ in this instance, which is an experience that can be drawn upon later, contributing to the overall understanding of site and experience for Euro-Western visitors.

3 **Offsite**
   - Produce a detailed site description, making particular reference to key site and design strategies, including sketches, photographs and written text.

   The documentation of the ‘encountered’ phenomenological critique is best undertaken off-site for several reasons, including the drawing of unwanted attention from site managers that could threaten to bias the interpretation, reaction from other visitors that could make them uncomfortable and self-conscious in their experience of the site, and lastly, allowing the freedom of space and time for reflection and contemplation.

As with first-person phenomenology, encountered phenomenology is primarily an understanding of site derived from, what David Seamon calls ‘a world of one’. However he states, *the researcher must find ways to involve the worlds of others* (Seamon, 2002b), and it
is this point that brings us to the second step in the phenomenological enquiry - the ‘existential’ mode.
The aim of ‘existential’ phenomenological research, as defined here, and introduced by Rolf von Eckartsberg (1998), is to understand and generalise through analysis, the experiences of specific individuals and groups involved in actual situations and places. For von Eckartsberg, the heart of the existential mode of phenomenology is “the analysis of protocol data provided by research subjects [participants] in response to a question posed by the researcher that pinpoints and guides their recall and reflection” (von Eckartsberg, 1998, p. 21). Specifically he speaks of four steps that are outlined by David Seamon (2002b):

- identifying the phenomenon [or experience] in which the phenomenologist is interested
- gathering descriptive accounts from respondents regarding their experience of the phenomenon
- carefully studying the respondent’s accounts with the aim of identifying any underlying commonalities, and
- presentation of findings.

5.6.1 THE ‘EXISTENTIAL’ PHENOMENOLOGICAL METHOD

The existential phenomenological approach makes one important assumption in its claim for generating generalisation. The approach assumes a certain equivalence of meaning for the participants whose experience the researcher explores. In other words, the claim is “that people in a shared cultural and linguistic community name and identify their experience in a consistent and shared manner” (von Eckartsberg, 1998, p. 14). The common aim of existential research therefore is that the individual accounts, when carefully studied and considered collectively, “reveal their own thematic meaning-organization” (von Eckartsberg, 1998, p. 29). Tania Shertock, in her article titled ‘Latin American women’s experience of feeling able to move toward and accomplish a meaningful and challenging goal’, in the book ‘Phenomenological Inquiry in Psychology’ (1998) believes that procedurally this claim means that respondents must have already had the experience under investigation, and be able to express themselves clearly and coherently in spoken, written, or graphic fashion, depending on the particular tools used for eliciting experiential accounts. Ideally also, the respondents will also feel a spontaneous interest in the research topic, since personal concern can motivate the respondent to provide the most thorough and accurate lived descriptions (Shertock, 1998, p. 162) – a situation that proved true within this study into Euro-Western experience in Cambodia and Rwanda, as few visitors approached turned down the invitation to participate after the aims of the project had been outlined.
The inquiry therefore, is not carried out on a random sample of subjects representative of the population to which findings will be generalisable, “Rather, some respondents will be more appropriate than others because of their particular situation in relation to the phenomenon studied” (Seamon, 2002b). Following this model, a three-step ‘on-site’ exercise, and a two-step ‘follow-up’ exercise was designed, and enlisted the participation of Euro-Western tourists either having already visited in days prior to, or intending to visit the case study sites, and speaking competent English.

5.6.1.1

PRACTICAL APPLICATION OF THE EXISTENTIAL
PHENOMENOLOGICAL ENQUIRY

The ‘existential’ approach to phenomenological enquiry as adopted within this study includes the tasks listed below:

1. Offsite (before the site visit has taken place)
   - Completion of a Questionnaire to establish an understanding of the respondents background in terms of such things as, country of origin, age, level of education, as well as motivations and expectations of site and experience, giving insight for the researcher into participants ‘pre-understanding’.

   The aim of this exercise is for the researcher to gain a basic overall understanding of the participant.

2. Onsite
   - Photographs – respondents are asked if they intend to photograph their site visit. If so, they are given a disposable camera and asked to take a second photo with the disposable camera of the same image they take with their own camera. The disposable camera is then returned to the researcher after the site visit.

   The purpose of the photo exercise is to give the researcher an understanding of several things relating to the participant’s experience of the site, namely; the direction and sequence in which they discovered the site, the site features that impelled them to take a photo, and to give the researcher an overall impression of the ‘memory image’ of each participant’s experience.

3. Offsite (After the site visit has taken place)
   - Mental-map – respondents are asked to complete a hand-drawn ‘re-called’ map of their site experience.

   The inclusion of the photo-taking and mental-map exercises is pivotal to the researcher’s understanding and future ability to draw out commonalities and generalisations relating, in this
case, to Euro-Western experience of international genocide sites. Offering a window into another individual’s frame of vision and experience, the photo-taking and mental-map exercises allow for an analysis of themes – a ‘graphic vision’ of experience.

4 Follow-up (3-6 months post site visit)

- Participants who agreed to participate in the follow-up stage were emailed a follow-up questionnaire and discussion exercise.

The follow-up stage of the existential phenomenological research is important to the researcher’s better understanding of how participants’ ideas relating to site and experience develop after leaving the case study location, having had time and space to reflect independently on their experiences.

Appendices A – D outline the existential phenomenological exercises set up by the research and undertaken by each of the participants. For the purposes of anonymity, participants were each given a code, and are referenced as such in the chapters that follow. Participants at the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum are coded with the letters ‘TS’ before a number. This system is also used to code participants at the Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre (shown as CE and then a number, such as CE3) and the Kigali Memorial Centre (shown as KMC and then a number, for example KMC12).
Put most simply, hermeneutics as Robert Mugerauer states is the “theory of interpretation” (Mugerauer, 1994, p. 4). Hermeneutics is particularly used in the interpretation of texts. “The key point hermeneutically is that the creator of the text is not typically available to comment on its making or significance, thus the hermeneutic researcher must find ways to discover meaning through the text itself” (Seamon, 2002b). Rolf von Eckartsberg describes the process:

One embeds oneself in the process of getting involved in the text, one begins to discern configurations of meaning, of parts and wholes and their interrelatedness, one receives certain messages and glimpses of an unfolding development that beckons to be articulated and related to the total fabric of meaning. The hermeneutic approach seems to palpate its object and to make room for that object to reveal itself to our gaze and ears, to speak its own story into our understanding (von Eckartsberg, 1998, p. 50).

5.7.1 THE ‘HERMENEUTIC’ PHENOMENOLOGICAL METHOD

The aim of this ‘hermeneutic’ phenomenological research is to discover meaning through interpreting text (‘text’ may include literature, art, performance, song, design, or space, amongst others). In this case, the hermeneutic enquiry refers to the interpretation of texts and built works, including further analysis of the encountered and existential enquiries, as well as the additional analysis of scholarly publications, written in relation to the case study sites.

5.7.1.1 PRACTICAL APPLICATION OF THE HERMENEUTIC PHENOMENOLOGICAL ENQUIRY

The ‘existential’ approach to phenomenological site critique within this study includes the tasks listed below:

1. Offsite (before the site visit has taken place)

   □ Study and further analyse the reflective journal, data collected and site description, as part of the ‘encountered’ phenomenological enquiry including an analysis of photographs, sketches and film footage.

   □ Study and analyse further the ‘existential’ phenomenological data revisiting the phenomenological feature of ‘intentional analysis’, using the idea of
‘noesis’ and ‘noema’ to bring to light the relationship between the mode of experiencing and what is experienced.

Study and analyse key literature written in relation to the design, experience and interpretation of the case study sites, contextualising the literature, and grounding the narrative with reference to field research data and the key research themes investigated in this study.

5.8 LIMITATIONS & RESTRICTIONS

Limitations with carrying out phenomenological field research in Cambodia and Rwanda proposed many potential research limitations. Foremost, the opportunity to visit the case study sites before developing the methodology was not possible within the scope of this research. Second, the potential for Euro-Western tourist involvement, particularly in terms of recruiting appropriate numbers, was not known before arriving on-site. Finally, the predictable unpredictability of carrying out research within developing nations was also at the forefront of possible restriction. A detailed analysis of the limitations and restrictions encountered during the field component of this research, particularly with regard to the ‘existential’ phenomenological enquiry are detailed in Chapter seven.
Building on Bonta’s three-step method for acquisitioning information regarding people’s interpretation of architecture, this study develops a three-step phenomenological enquiry into the experience and interpretation of Euro-Western tourists to the three case study sites in Cambodia and Rwanda.

Presented in Chapter six, the encountered phenomenological enquiry carried out by the researcher aims to situate a close reading of site, with which the existential data will be compared as a basis for discussion. Outlining the design of site, Chapter six investigates the politicisation of public memory and memorialisation, using the exemplar of Germany’s memoryscape to the Jewish Holocaust, and then considers, in detail the subject of Westernisation of public memory and memorialisation. Describing elements of site and context that engage with Euro-Western visitors, the encountered enquiry establishes site theme and content expressed through the post genocide memoryscapes of Cambodia and Rwanda that engage the Euro-Western visitor.

The existential enquiry, presented in Chapter seven, enlists the participation of Euro-Western tourists, and aims to gather information primarily through graphic accounts, regarding the experience of site. Carefully studied by the researcher, the participants’ accounts are analysed with the aim of identifying any underlying commonalities or differences with regard to the identified base established during the ‘encountered’ enquiry.

Lastly, the hermeneutic enquiry will be presented in Chapter eight, and will call upon data collected in the first two stages of the phenomenological enquiry, and will also consider the text and graphic representations already established around the case study sites by scholars and theorists, predominately from Western nations, using the established landscape of Berlin’s Holocaust memorials as a base for analysis.

The aim of undertaking a phenomenological enquiry like that detailed above is not to set about identifying or solving a hypothesised issue, but to create a situation in which data collected by way of documented experience can actually speak for itself, showing the researcher what is important, different and interesting. Through undertaking extensive literature based research prior to the field studies, certain issues in terms of memorialisation, memorial design, site experience, and interpretation with regard to Euro-Western visitors to international genocide memorials became apparent, such as what we memorialise, why we memorialise, and how we memorialise, each offering interesting and related discussion. By then constructing a series of ‘encountered’ and ‘existential’ phenomenological exercises, as outlined above, a situation was created that would ultimately let the data show itself to the researcher.

Through a series of analytical readings of the data collected, what emerged was a strong statement regarding how the international memoryscapes of Cambodia and Rwanda engage
Euro-Western visitors, and how that design language then informs experience, and ultimately Euro-Western interpretation of site. Chapters six and seven detail the data collected, and this is presented within the frame of what I have termed within this study ‘Euro-Western cues to connect’ – the site features and themes played out and presented on site in Cambodia and Rwanda that speak to the Euro-Western visitor through the established pre-understanding we have with regard to the ‘global memory’ of the Jewish Holocaust. Chapter six firstly describes the issue of politicising memory using the example of the evolving memoryscape of Germany’s public memory of the Jewish Holocaust, specifically looking at the Sachsenhausen Memorial and Museum, and Peter Eisenman’s Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe. It then outlines the political and social situations surrounding the creating and construction of Cambodia and Rwanda’s post genocide memoryscapes. Finally, Chapter six will look at the Westernisation of memorial design in Cambodia and Rwanda, and outlines in detail, through data collected during the ‘encountered’ phenomenological enquiry, the identified Euro-Western ‘cues to connect’ at each of the three case study sites, offering a comparative discussion on site theme and content, drawing upon the representation of design themes, strategies and features common in Western memorialisation.

To reiterate, this study did not set out to test a hypothesis right or wrong, as much as it set out to ascertain issues surrounding aspects of contemporary genocide memorialisation that are important and significant today. This study set out to make explicit the implicit structure of meaning of Euro-Western experience of genocide memorials in Cambodia and Rwanda, revealing by way of encountered and existential phenomenological enquiry, a comprehensive critique of site design and site engagement. Offering what David Seamon calls a ‘useful conceptual language’, the three-step phenomenological mode of enquiry aims to overcome the difficult tensions between feeling and thinking, and the often difficult expression of these human responses through written, graphic and photographic technique.
chapter six

layers of memory & euro-western ‘cues to connect’
the design of site
6.1 INTRODUCTION

In their 2000 book ‘The Politics of War Memory and Commemoration’, T.G Ashplant, Graham Dawson and Michael Roper state “During the last two decades there has been a proliferation of public interest and concern throughout the world in the various cultural and political dimensions and phenomena of war memory, and in the forms and practices of war commemoration” (Ashplant, Dawson & Roper, 2000, p. 3). Identifying a number of key features, that are particularly relevant in the West, Ashplant, et al., suggest that firstly, the most powerful proliferation of war memory and commemoration has been the manifestation of visible memory of the Holocaust, from museums, documentaries, film and education curriculum. Second, victims, and social groups affected through suffering, injustice or trauma, have become increasingly prepared to demand public recognition of their experience and persecution. A third feature is the enhanced profile of anniversary commemorations – an ‘anniversary boom’ fuelled by the public media. Lastly, Ashplant, Dawson and Roper believe that public concern with the memory of war has been stimulated in the recent past by what Jeanne Vickers has termed ‘the explosion of ethnic strife’, fought between peoples in the name of ethnic, social, religious or cultural differences (Ashplant, et al., 2000, pp. 3-5). An issue that presents itself both in history books as well as each night on the news, the reality, fragility and ‘closeness’ of genocide to us all as human beings is one reason, additionally to those already discussed, why today we see a rise in Euro-Western tourism to international sites of tragedy.

Discussed in detail within this chapter, the post genocide memoryscapes of Cambodia and Rwanda exist today to fulfil the requirements of focused and specific agenda. Chapter six will introduce the idea of the politicisation of public memory using the example of Berlin’s memoryscape to genocide over time, before considering the factors that have directed the creation and evolution of memorial design in Cambodia and Rwanda. Through analysis of the ‘encountered’ data collected on and off site, specifically looking in depth at site description, Section 6.3 will introduce the concept of Euro-Western ‘cues to connect’, and describe in detail, how the design of the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, the Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre and the Kigali Memorial Centre inform and direct Euro-Western engagement with a space and event set quite distant from their everyday lives.
In its function as a political tool, memory and memorialisation are likened directly to social remembering and forgetting. In post-conflict areas, for the purpose of re-writing national narratives, memory is used to select and distort the past to serve present political interests (Cairns & Roe, 2003; cited in Naidu, 2004). Memory is, as is especially the case with genocide, often written by the victors, and memorials therefore, as outward expressions of public memory, assume an important social role. Not only do memorials have the ability to unify a nation after tragedy such as genocide, but, on the other hand, also have the ability to further segregate a nation, identifying individuals and groups as ‘victims’ and others as ‘perpetrators’, further separating a society. After WWII ended for example, the conservatives argued against the attitude of the Allies, who mounted posters in Germany’s cities featuring a photograph of a scene in an Extermination Camp, and as part of their ‘re-education’ programme headed each poster with the words “You Are Guilty”, “for the simple reason that a rational, individual approach to responsibility made it difficult to mourn the nation’s own dead” (Schmeing, 2000, p. 63) - including the soldiers who had perished on the eastern front (Schmeing, 2000, p. 65). As a result, the ‘Western’ or at least ‘Christian’ position of ‘all dead are equal’ was tentatively adopted (Schmeing, 2000, p. 65).

6.2.1 GERMANY & THE MEMORYSCAPE OF THE HOLOCAUST

Time passes, and so with it, knowledge, witness and first-hand connection. For Germany, sixty years of post-genocide society seems to have resulted in a renewed and strengthened dedication to the development of its memoryscape dedicated to the Jewish Holocaust. Today we see in the German landscape a progression of time, and memory. Depicted clearly through the creation of memorials, Germany has moved through many stages since 1945 and the end of Nazi rule. From the preservation of Concentration and Extermination Camps such as Sachsenhausen, Dachau, and Ravensbruck, to Jochen Gerz and Esther Shalev-Gerz’s anti-memorial titled ‘Monument against Fascism’, in Hamburg, to Eisenman’s 2005 ‘Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe’, Germany has crossed many thresholds and confronted the international memory of the Jewish Holocaust in many ways over the last 60 years.

6.2.1.1 SACHSENHAUSEN MEMORIAL & MUSEUM

While athletes and visitors from all over the world were participating in the 1936 Berlin Olympics, just 20km north, Sachsenhausen Concentration Camp was being transformed into what Heinrich Himmler called a ‘thoroughly modern concentration camp’ (Dommaschk, 2005, p. 2). The first Concentration Camp in Prussia, Sachsenhausen had originally been set up in an
old brewery in the centre of Oranienburg as early as March 1933. In July 1934, under the SS (Schutzstaffel – the protection squad of Adolf Hitler), the brewery camp was closed and a new camp erected on the periphery of Oranienburg. “As the concentration camp serving the Reich capital, it was to be a model for the SS” (Dommaschk, 2005, p. 4).

The new Sachsenhausen Concentration Camp (photo 6.1) initially housed 10,000 prisoners, and also acted as the command headquarters for the SS Death’s Head Units where they received their ideological and military training in preparation for their subsequent deployment as guard detachments in the Concentration Camps around Germany and throughout Europe. (Dommaschk, 2005, p. 4). By 1938, the camp was overcrowded and extensions were made, with the total number of barracks rising to 68. “Originally designed to hold 146 people each, there were occasionally over 300 prisoners per barrack after war broke out” (Dommaschk, 2005, p. 6).

![Photo 6.1](Sachsenhausen Concentration Camp Oranienburg, Germany Photo by Author, 2007)

Sachsenhausen was not an Extermination Camp like Auschwitz-Birkenau for example. Sachsenhausen was a ‘preventative detention camp’, to which the Gestapo took people it regarded as political enemies of the National Socialist regime, or those it persecuted for social, biological or racial reasons (Dommaschk, 2005, p. 8). Of the more than 200,000 inmates held at the camp between 1934 and 1945, tens of thousands died as a result of extreme abuse, malnutrition, execution and medical murder. Soviet and Polish troops invaded the camp on 22/23 April 1945.

The second chapter in the history of Sachsenhausen began soon after the camp’s liberation, in August 1945, when the Soviet Secret Service transferred its ‘Special Camp No. 7’ to Sachsenhausen. “It was here that those who had occupied official positions in the Nazi state apparatus, the Nazi party and its sections as well as members of police battalions and concentration camp guards were imprisoned” (Dommaschk, 2005, pp. 11-12). Remaining
operational until 1950, 12,000 out of a total of 60,000 people imprisoned at Special Camp No.7 are believed to have died (Dommaschk, 2005, p. 12).

The German Democratic Republic (1949-1980) began erecting the Sachsenhausen National Memorial in 1957, and it operated as such from 1961 - 1990. During this time, Sachsenhausen’s past as a camp run by the Soviet Secret Service was completely concealed. “The memorial was to serve solely as a reminder of the concentration camp” (Dommaschk, 2005, p. 18). The national memorial obelisk titled the ‘Tower of Nations’ (photo 6.2) is approximately 40 metres high and was the central memorial and emblem of the Sachsenhausen National Memorial. Eighteen red triangles are mounted on the obelisk’s peak representing prisoners’ main countries of origin. “The triangles were mounted in remembrance of Sachsenhausen’s political and foreign prisoners which wore a red triangle on their uniform” (Memorial and Museum Sachsenhausen, n.d., http://www.stiftungbg.de/gums/en/lageplan/legendemovie.swf).

The German communists and the part played by the Soviet Union in the military downfall of the National Socialists was always a central part of the German Democratic Republic’s culture of remembrance. These ideas are further represented by Rene Graetz’s sculpture in front of the ‘Tower of Nations’, titled ‘Liberation’ (photos 6.3 & 6.4), which depicts two liberated prisoners standing next to a Red Army soldier (Memorial and Museum Sachsenhausen, n.d., http://www.stiftung-bg.de/gums/en/lageplan/legendemovie.swf).
This ‘Socialist realist’ monumental style of memorialisation such like the ‘Tower of Nations’ and Graetz’s ‘Liberation’ that developed in the Soviet Union during the 1930’s can also be seen exhibited in the Cambodia-Vietnam Friendship Monument in central Phnom Penh (photos 6.5 & 6.6). Erected in the 1970’s, during Vietnamese occupation, the Friendship Monument is
strongly reminiscent of the central monument at the Sachsenhausen Memorial created under the German Democratic Republic. Featuring the heroic scene of a Vietnamese and Cambodian soldier together with a Cambodian mother and baby (representing Cambodian civilians), the monument today is used occasionally as a site of protest. In fact, on July 29, 2007, just a day before these photos were taken, a bomb (causing little damage) was left at the base of the memorial.

For the Sachsenhausen Memorial, like all spaces of public memory throughout the territory, leaders of the German Democratic Republic were primarily interested in propaganda –
‘historical policy’ – not in preserving the traces of history and making them visible in public view. As a result, the process of demolition and elimination of ‘some’ history occurred. Sachsenhausen National Memorial, operating for 29 years as such, was designed to make a heroic statement of the communist resistance in Europe. “The historical topography was transformed by the systematic re-organisation of the site and its conversion into a monumental glorification of the defeat of SS rule” (Dommaschk, 2005, pp 19). As a result, entire groups of victims were disregarded and actively forgotten, and it was only after international protest that a small exhibit presenting the plight of the Jewish victims was hurriedly erected in the Jewish Barracks 38 and 39, which had been reconstructed from parts from other barracks. After the reunification of Germany in 1990, the German Democratic Republic memorial at Sachsenhausen became the ‘Sachsenhausen Memorial and Museum’ in 1993 and today houses 13 permanent exhibitions which cover, in a more complete way, the camp’s 21 year history, from 1936 - 1957.

Like many Concentration and Extermination Camp Memorials around Germany, Sachsenhausen today stands as a preservation, documentation and education centre for thousands of students, visitors and tourists every year. Between 1988 and 2005 however, the discussion continued to rage over a new proposed national memorial for Germany to be specifically dedicated to the murdered Jews of Europe, which was to be located in central Berlin. Acting as the catalyst for a wide ranging debate concerning the way in which Germans related to their Nazi past and the Holocaust, Eisenman’s ‘new generation’ memorial, located away from one specific site of tragedy is today titled ‘The Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe’ and was officially opened on 10 May 2005. Offering the opportunity for a renewed look at the process of memorialisation and memorial design, the creation of Eisenman’s Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe forms a key discussion on design interpretation within Chapter eight. Below however is an introduction to the history and design of site.
The site, covering an entire inner-city block is surrounded on three sides by busy streets, housing, and foreign embassies. On the west side, the site faces the Tiergarten – Berlin’s largest park. It is located near the Reichstag, the Brandenburg Gate and Potsdamer Platz, all of which can be seen from the site (photo 6.7). Reworked, from an early competition-winning design by Peter Eisenman and Richard Serra, the memorial today is, on the ground plane, a moving topography of 2711 stelae, and underneath, a ‘documentation’ centre.

Important here to explain the history and context of the memorial to better understand its place and position within contemporary Berlin life, the original Eisenman/Serra design (photo 6.8) was to fill the whole city block with stelae - right up to the street boundaries where people were forced to either cross the road to avoid the memorial, or enter it as an individual since no two people walking can fit side-by-side in the narrow corridors. As Astrid Schmeing describes,

'It is not a representation of memory so much as it is part of memory. It is an unconventional memorial that does not suggest how to remember. A conventional memorial would perhaps provide a figure to be ‘looked at’. The figurative object, witnessed by the observer’s external perspective, would provide a sense of wholeness of ‘completion’, which would suggest ‘how to remember’. This memorial, however, refuses
to do so. There is no figure, and one does not even face an ‘object’. Instead, the individual moves within and inside the components of the memorial. One’s body becomes involved as a part of it, and the memorial is only complete when faced by each, single participating observer. Any form of memory transported to it by the observer becomes part of the memorial (Schmeing, 2000. p. 62).

Photo 6.8
“Holocaust-Mahnmal, first-stage competition model (1997)”
(http://mj.oxfordjournals.org/cgi/content/full/kjn015v1/F4)

Photo 6.9
“Aerial view of a model of the new Eisenman 2 scheme. Here, the site has been reduced to include fewer pillars and to allow for the mandatory pavement and adequate circulation. To the left is the proposed site for the American Embassy; in the middle of the block is a bank building by Frank Gehry, and at the end an art and science building by Oswald Ungers. On the right is a proposed office block”
(From Schmeing, 2000, p. 64)
Under a conservative government at the time however, Eisenman and Serra were asked to rework their design, a request that saw Richard Serra resign from the project. The requests, made by the government of the time, ultimately changed the focus of the memorial from a singularly individual experience, to a more civic or collective experience as expressed by more traditional forms of memorialisation. Eisenman was asked to reduce the number and height of the stelae, so that they would become less dominant, and offer the opportunity for pedestrians to walk comfortably around the periphery of the site, giving them more choice as to whether to enter or not. He was also asked to integrate trees, a space for buses to park, and also a designated area to lay wreaths (photo 6.9). As a result, the changes would “allow pedestrians to stroll along its edges and perceive it as an object from outside” (Schmeing, 2000, p. 63) – in the way ‘traditional’ memorials are viewed. With the new proposed changes, and the ability for the memorial to be now comfortably viewed from the outside, the reminiscent form of a graveyard (photo 6.10) today allows for a politically motivated, universal mourning for all who died, without laying blame on the individual (Schmeing, 2000, p. 65).

Despite the compromises and adjustments outlined above however, the memorial today still allows for the possibility of a modernist reading of individual experience, self reflective interpretation and infinite meanings, at extremes with the traditional memorial focus of one expression, of one reading, and will be discussed in more detail alongside interpretation of the post genocide memoryscapes of Cambodia and Rwanda in Chapter eight.
6.2.2 CAMBODIA & THE MEMORYSCAPE OF GENOCIDE

Although we do not know the internal discussions that went into the design of the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum during 1979 and the 1980’s, Mai Lam, the Vietnamese specialist on researching battles and war crimes, in charge of overseeing the development of S-21 into a Genocide Museum, gave an interview on the subject on March 1, 1995, conducted by Sara Colm in Ho Chi Minh City, and cited by Judy Ledgerwood in her 2002 article ‘The Cambodia Tuol Sleng Museum of Genocide Crimes: National Narrative’. After creating the Vietnamese Museum of American War Crimes in Ho Chi Minh City, Mai Lam worked in Cambodia from 1979 - 1988 creating the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum and Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre. Describing himself as a ‘researcher’, his goal, or ‘duty’ as he put it, “was to research what happened, to provide the proof of DK crimes, and therefore an understanding of what happened to average Cambodians” (Mai Lam personal communication in interview conducted with Sara Colm, 1995, cited in Ledgerwood, 2002, p. 108).

The master narrative of the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, as discussed by Judy Ledgerwood (2002), associate professor of anthropology at Northern Illinois University, states that the story is told through the eyes of the successor state – the People’s Republic of Kampuchea (1979 – 1993). It “tells of a glorious revolution stolen and perverted by a handful of sadistic, genocidal traitors who deliberately exterminated three million of their countrymen. The true heirs to the revolutionary movement overthrew this murderous tyranny three years, eight months, and twenty days later” (Ledgerwood, 2002, pp. 103-104). She continues, “Providing evidence to the outside world that the invasion by the Vietnamese army was indeed a liberation was the primary concern of those who designed Tuol Sleng as a museum” (Ledgerwood, 2002, p. 108). When asked during the interview if Tuol Sleng was modelled after any other museums, Mai Lam said that he had travelled to Germany, Russia, France, and Czechoslovakia to research other museums. A 1980 report by the Cambodian Ministry of Culture, Information, and Propaganda also confirms help from East German specialists (Sara Colm, 1995, cited in Ledgerwood, 2002, pp. 108-109).

Evidence that the museum was indeed designed for foreign consumption is evident in both history and, as we will see in Section 6.3, is also evident today. Opening first on January 25, 1979 to foreign journalists from socialist countries, these were the first official visitors to the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum. Mostly orientated towards members of the fraternal socialist parties abroad, tours were focused “to convince them of the extent of Khmer Rouge atrocities” (Ledgerwood, 2002, p. 108). A 1980 report issued by the Ministry of Culture, Information, and Propaganda said that the museum was “used to show the international guests the cruel torture committed by the traitors to the Khmer people... The centre was not open to the public, but for the international guests and participants [sic] only” (Ledgerwood, 2002, p. 108). The memo also noted “the need for bright lights in the rooms so that the foreigners can take pictures easily. Requests are made for more workers who speak French and English in order to help with research and preparation of documents for publication” (Ministry of Culture, Information, and Propaganda, 1980, cited in Ledgerwood, 2002, p. 109). Today at the Tuol
Sleng Genocide Museum there are English and French speaking guides, and on-site information in the form of information boards and pamphlets written in English, French and Khmer. On July 13, 1980, however, the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum did open its gates to the Cambodian public. In the first week, the museum had 32,000 visitors, 1930 of them foreigners (Ledgerwood, 2002, p. 108). “From January to October 1980 . . . the museum had 320,214 visitors: 11,000 foreigners and 309,000 Khmer” (Ledgerwood, 2002, p. 108).

While foreigners saw evidence of atrocities, many Khmer, particularly in the first two years of the museum’s operation, were coming to view the photos to search for missing relatives. They were also, of course, searching for meaning, for some explanation of what happened. A visit would not have been as easy task; people who went through the museum in the first year said that the stench of the place was overpowering. But still they came, standing in line for hours to file through, carefully checking each photo (Ledgerwood, 2002, p. 110).

Figuring prominently in state publications for national and international consumption, the ‘official’ interpretation of the Genocide Museum was quickly standardised. “Some of the earliest visitors to the museum just wrote that they had visited and signed their names; but soon the writings echoed almost precisely the rhetoric of the state publications” (Ledgerwood, 2002, p. 111), with the most prominent phrases emerging as; “Cambodians wanted to remember the criminal acts of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary-Khieu Samphan clique”, secondly, “that the purpose of this remembering is to prevent the return of the Khmer Rouge to power”, and third, the phrase, “ chheu chap” – an agony that seizes you physically, emotionally and spiritually (Ledgerwood, 2002, p. 111). The central message of the government was, under Vietnamese control, “you must support us because to fail to do so will result in the return to power of the Khmer Rouge” (Ledgerwood, 2002, p. 112). Today, the role of the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum as evidence of Khmer Rouge atrocities and justification for Vietnamese invasion is accepted across both national and international boarders. “Genocide and death, as displayed at Tuol Sleng, have become the national narrative, the biography of Cambodia as a nation” (Ledgerwood, 2002, p. 116).

Not much has changed at the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum since its initial conception in 1979. Arranging the narrative to fit the requirements of the People’s Republic of Kampuchea, and its Vietnamese mentors, Mai Lam created a memorial museum, and indeed a memoryscape for Cambodia, that, at its core provided ‘evidence’ of the crimes committed under the reign of the Khmer Rouge. Much like the role of the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, the Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre also “serves to illustrate “typical evidence” of mass political violence” (Hughes, 2006, p. 270).

As well as the two national memorials to the Cambodian Genocide, the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum and the Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre, Cambodia is spotted with local level memorials that mark the sites of mass graves and former Khmer Rouge sites of significance. In a 1983 government memo, dated October 5, and cited in Hughes (2006), their construction during the 1980’s, organised by the Ministry of Information and Culture, called for “municipal and provincial officers to inspect local genocide sites, prepare statistical data on the sites,
create a “file of evidence” on genocidal crimes committed in the area and to report this information to the Ministry” (Ministry of Information and Culture, RPK, 5 Oct 1983, memo No. 3123; cited in Hughes, 2006, p. 277).

The officers are also instructed to widely encourage local people to “carry onward their vengeance” about the “crimes and suffering” by preparing “memorial sites” to “the victims of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary regime (Ministry of Information and Culture, RPK, 5 Oct 1983, memo No. 3123; cited in Hughes, 2006, pp. 277-278).

According to the two page memo, Hughes states that “at least one memorial was to be completed in each province or municipality prior to the fifth anniversary of National Liberation Day on January 7, 1984” (Ministry of Information and Culture, RPK, 5 Oct 1983, memo No. 3123; cited in Hughes, 2006, p. 278). On 14 October, 1983, another memo was released that reiterated that the construction of memorials to the victims of the genocidal regime was an important historical matter of national and international note (Ministry of Information and Culture, RPK, 5 Oct 1983, memo No. 3123; cited in Hughes, 2006, p. 278).

Hughes also notes that the uniformity in age, and form (predominantly using the stupa) of more than 80 memorials throughout Cambodia suggests that the government directives were carefully followed. “Almost without exception, local memorials contain (or once contained) human remains” (Hughes, 2006, p. 279). Further evidence that the genocide memorials in Cambodia are today also strongly directed towards the international visitor is today found on the official Choeung Ek website, where the outline of a new preservation policy states, “In order to preserve the remains as evidence of these historic crimes and as the basis for remembrance and education by the Cambodian people as a whole, especially future generations, of the painful and terrible history brought about by the Democratic Kampuchea regime against the people and territory of Cambodia for national and international tourists in the future, the government issue the following directives:

- All local authorities at province and municipal level shall cooperate with relevant expert institutions in their areas to examine, restore and maintain existing memorials, and to examine and research other remaining grave sites, so that all such places may be transformed into memorials, with fences, trees and informative plaques for both citizens and tourists; the Ministry of Culture and Fine Arts and the Ministry of Tourism shall issue further technical guidelines, and shall appoint expert officials to work together with the local authorities on this issue.

Circular on Preservation of remains of the victims of the genocide Committed during the regime of Democratic Kampuchea (1975-1978), and preparation of Anlong Veng to become a region for historical tourism

(http://www.cekillingfield.com/preservation.htm)

Below (photo 6.11) is a local memorial in Kandal Province. Victim remains exhumed from the mass grave that surrounds, are stacked within the memorial stupa. For many Cambodians the genocide memorials that are today still so strongly focused on the retention of victim remains,
are not places that are readily visited, and sit in an uncertain state between not being wanted (due to Khmer Buddhist belief that the remains of the dead must be cremated in order to allow the spirits to be re-born) and being needed as a source of first-hand evidence for genocide trials. Chey Sophera, Director of the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum stated that removing the skulls at the museum would “end the fear [Cambodian] visitors have while visiting the Museum” (Hughes, 2003, p. 188).
6.2.3 RWANDA & THE MEMORYSCAPE OF GENOCIDE

Today like in Cambodia, the Rwandan countryside is dotted with hundreds of genocide memorials mostly orientated around sites of mass graves. The national genocide memorial, the Kigali Memorial Centre, stands on Gisozi Hill and is the final resting place for more than 258,000 victims of the 1994 genocide. “Whilst the site was borne out of the necessity to do something with massacre remains around Kigali (with public health demanding that bodies be moved or buried), one can deduce that the project has evolved to serve various political and ideological endeavours (Mistiaen 2004, p.W1; cited in Steele, 2006, p. 6). A highly complex case study, the development of the Rwandan memoryscape to genocide must consider the fact previously discussed in relation to Germany’s approach to remembering the dead: that memorialisation can result in the inevitable labelling of victim and perpetrator groups. In a country where ethnic division and genocide ideology still run deep, the process of memorialisation in Rwanda runs the risk of handicapping government efforts to ensure safe cohabitation and reconciliation (Cook, 2006, p. 306). “Indeed, the Centre clearly was formed in line with the official Rwanda Government perspective, which holds that preservation and constructed memorialisation should be pursued to serve an agenda of national reconciliation and to educate individuals (both Rwandan and non-Rwandan) with the aim of ending genocide and establishing a culture of peace” (Mistiaen 2004, p.W1; cited in Steele, 2006, p. 6).

The international community also has a stake in the memorialisation processes in Cambodia and Rwanda. Cook (2006) outlines the fact that, international courts want to use the remains from genocide sites as physical evidence in genocide trials. She also notes that “international visitors to post genocide Rwanda want to witness the horror of what happened there by viewing the authentic remains of the violence. . . and [t]hose with a desire to make the world understand the scope of the tragedy that befell this small nation wish to keep the physical remains of the killing on display as a testament to what they experienced” (Cook, 2006, pg. 293). The UK based Aegis Trust, as has been discussed previously, has directed the development of Rwanda’s national genocide memorial “largely out of a desire to provide a record of history so as to educate and thus prevent future genocides” (Mistiaen 2004, p.W1; cited in Steele, 2006, p. 6). This is in contrast to survivors’ motives, which “have largely been to construct a site to mourn relatives” (Mistiaen 2004, p.W1; cited in Steele, 2006, p. 6). Today, the Kigali Memorial Centre officially aims to be an ‘international’ centre, where all exhibits and information are presented in Kinyarwandan, French, and English. The Aegis Trust states that the Memorial Centre was designed and directed in this manner as the memorial “deals with a topic of international importance, with far-reaching significance, and is designed to engage and challenge an international visitor base” (Aegis Trust; cited in Steele, 2006, p. 8).

Unlike the memorials in Cambodia there is no disagreement that the Kigali Memorial Centre is strongly aligned with the Jewish Holocaust, and other genocides that have occurred throughout the world during the 20th century. Devoting an entire room to ‘Genocides of the World’, including a map of the world on an outside terrace, and including text and facts that strongly align Western powers with the genocide in Rwanda, international visitors to the Kigali
Memorial Centre are constantly asked to consider their place, in this place, far removed from the comfort of home. The Memorial Centre recognises the basic fact that genocide plagues millions of people around the world, unbounded, as has been stated, by geographic location, culture or religion.

Entering into a political debate into the role and specific intention of the Rwandan government to align the 1994 genocide with that of the Holocaust is beyond the scope of this research, the results of such an arrangement being both complex and far-reaching. Steele suggests however, that considering many Rwandans express no desire to re-live the trauma through varying artefacts, clearly the form and function of the Kigali Memorial Centre is designed to reach future generations and non-Rwandan audiences. “[T]he structure of the museum clearly reflects a trend in Western, specifically Holocaust, museums” (Steele, 2006, p. 7).
6.3 Tourism & the Memory of Genocide

International tourism is vitally important to both Cambodia and Rwanda’s economic futures, however, to date both countries have developed little in terms of organised and well maintained tourist infrastructure. In 2007, Cambodia had a total of just over two million international visitors (Sopheareak, & Vanny, 2008), while Rwanda had approximately 40,000 visitors, with a government aim of reaching 60,000 for 2009 (Mazimhaka, 2007, p. 4).

For Cambodia, the existing tourist circuit is primarily dominated by the Angkor Temples in the northwest province of Siem Reap, with the capital city of Phnom Penh lacking any real developed tourist infrastructure (Williams, 2004a, p. 205). While run-down colonial buildings add charm and interest for the Western visitor, and the Mekong River a place of much geographical interest, the city itself houses few tourist attractions. Apart from the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum and the Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre, Phnom Penh houses just three other ‘listed’ attractions - the Royal Palace and Silver Pagoda, Wat Phnom, and the National Museum (devoted to Khmer fine arts). For a government critically concerned with the outward projection of stability to international visitors, the city attractions of the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, and the Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre occupy an uneasy place in the city’s tourist geography. It is difficult to ignore the reality that genocide provides a specific tourist experience in Cambodia – one that has a feeling of danger that allows the visitor to imagine themselves as adventurers (Williams, 2004a, pp. 206-207). In our modern world today, these landscapes of evil are increasingly attracting international visitors (Koonz, 1994, p. 259). Providing an emotional experience of the horror that gripped Cambodia during the 1970s, the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum and the Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre today offer international tourists an engagement with a site and reality that most have no previous personal connection with (Williams, 2004a, pp. 207-208).

The primary feature of Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek is their untouched appearance. Tourists to other sites of genocide have become accustomed to artefacts and buildings presented “as is” that are, in fact, heavily mediated. Roped sections, glassed walls, guides and docents, restricted areas: all are parts of a typical, and passive, encounter with the “real thing.” By contrast, at Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek the general absence of guards and other visitors provides the opportunity to explore – to one’s nervous limits (Williams, 2004b, p. 242).

In April 2005, after almost 20 years as the general manager of the Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre, Neang Say revealed to the Cambodian media that a plan to privatise the site, turning over Cambodia’s management to a Japanese company so it can be transformed into a revenue-generating tourist attraction, was in motion. According to Say, a contract signed on March 18, 2005, by the new operator, JC Royal Co, is expected to ‘increase revenue for the state and develop and renovate the beauty of Choeung Ek killing fields’. The successor company, JC Royal, “is to pay the municipality of Phnom Penh $15,000 a year. In return, it will be allowed to jack up entrance fees, charging foreign visitors up to $3 instead of the current 50 cents” (Doyle, 2005). The 30-year deal, which came into effect on April 1, 2005, was kept secret until
Neang Say spoke to the media. In an interview with ‘Time International’ (Asia ed.) Say said, “I want the world to know that Cambodia has become a place where they use the bones of the dead to make business” (Say, cited in Doyle, 2005).

For Rwanda, 15 years since genocide has seen the nation develop into one of the safest countries in Africa today. Tourist numbers are still small compared to other African nations, but tourism is an important and rapidly growing industry for Rwanda. Today primarily centred around the mountain gorillas located in the Volcanoes National Park that borders Uganda, 13,000 visitors came to Rwanda to see the gorillas during 2006 (Whitlaw, 2007). The strictly regulated visitor numbers (set to just over 20,000 per year) that are granted permits to visit the endangered gorillas has seen Rwanda recently look to other sites to attract international visitors, as they have an ambitious goal of 70,000 visitors by 2010 (Whitlaw, 2007).

With regard to Rwanda’s national genocide memorial, the tri-lingual and cultural form of the Kigali Memorial Centre clearly demonstrates the desire to engage international visitors. Offered as an afternoon ‘stop’ on the official Kigali City Tour, the Memorial Centre, along with the site of the killings of the Belgium UN soldiers at the start of the 1994 genocide, is visited alongside the Kigali Institute of Science and Technology, the Parliament Buildings, a traditional pottery workshop and other local sites. “Surveyed Rwandans have indicated no desire to view artefacts and images from the violence, thus indicating clearly that the Memorial’s current form reflects both a desire to reach and attract the international community” (Steele, 2006, p. 9).
As has been established, the practice of memorialisation is an intensely complex process where tensions of politics, economics, religion, culture and time manifest. Presenting themselves as a public and collective expression of memory, the genocide memorials visited within the context of this research have offered an opportunity to look in-depth at the influences and tensions placed upon the post genocide memoryscapes of Cambodia and Rwanda. While conducting site visits to the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum and the Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre in Cambodia, and the Kigali Memorial Centre in Rwanda additional memorial sites were also visited as part of the ‘encountered’ enquiry and contextual study of this research. Introduced below is a documentation of design strategies and site features from the three case study sites, as well as additional examples from other memorial sites in Cambodia and Rwanda, with a strong focus on identifying those site elements that engage Euro-Western visitors, primarily due to their familiar manifestation within the tradition of Western memorialisation that forms part of our ‘pre-understanding’ or ‘doors of perception’ for experiencing and interpreting genocide memorials.

One key aspect to the expression of public memory in Cambodia and Rwanda is the issue of ‘Westernisation’. Serge Thion states, that the paradigm of genocide, for the West, is still very much centred on the Holocaust. “Jews and Khmers do not mourn and bury the dead in the same way and there is a risk that our Western concept of “memory” could be entirely irrelevant to the Khmers who obviously have their own. I wish we may not succumb to the temptation to force our views on them, as we already do in so many other fields” (Thion, 1993, pp. 181-182). In Cambodia, Lam constructed a history through the design of the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum and the Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre that denied the Khmer Rouge any socialist credentials. He created an exhibition that “encouraged viewers to make connections between the DK [Democratic Kampuchea] regime and Tuol Sleng on the one hand, and Nazi Germany and what Serge Thion has called the “sinister charisma” of Auschwitz on the other” (Chandler, 1999, p. 5). An on-site information board at the Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre states, “Even in this 20th century, on Kampuchean soil the clique of Pol Pot criminals had committed a heinous genocidal act. They massacred the population with atrocity in a large scale. It was more cruel than the genocidal act committed by the Hitler fascists, which the world has never met”.

For the West, the genocide that unfolded in Rwanda in 1994 was watched each night on the television by millions of people around the world. The Rwandan genocide, for this reason along with the extensive proliferation of documentaries and films in the 15 years since, and the shocking magnitude of the killing that took place, has sparked an interest in many Westerners regarding Rwanda, and has seen Western aid, particularly in the form of money and professional services spill into the East-African nation. The national memorial in Kigali is no exception.
Outlined below is an analysis of site features and design strategies from memorial sites in Cambodia and Rwanda that were recognised by the researcher as engaging with Euro-Western visitors through an intensive analysis of the ‘encountered’ phenomenological enquiry. Whether through comfort or contention, through consciousness or unconsciousness, the memory layer that is considered here is that which relates to the established Euro-Western experience of memorialisation in the West.

Sections 6.4.2 and 6.4.3 below, identify key design themes and key site content commonly experienced within the Western culture of memorial design (particularly with reference to the experience of Western memorialisation of the Jewish Holocaust), and that were identified at genocide memorials in Cambodia and Rwanda, using the term ‘cues to connect’ to described this phenomena. Some designed and some un-designed, some purposeful, others not so, elements of site are considered here as offering levels of identification and ‘connection’ for Euro-Western visitors and are outlined below within the categories of ‘cues to connect – theme’, and ‘cues to connect – content’. The format of each sub-section below, introduces a site theme or content element, highlights its use and appearance in Western memorialisation or Western culture, and then offers site exemplars of its proliferation at memorial sites in Cambodia and Rwanda.

6.4.1 APPLYING THE ‘ENCOUNTERED’ PHEMENONOGICAL METHOD

As has been established within Chapter five, the attempt to carry out a traditional ‘first-person’ phenomenological enquiry at the case study sties in Cambodia and Rwanda, was developed into what is termed within this research, an ‘encountered’ phenomenological enquiry where a detailed site documentation process was undertaken and where pre-understanding and personal bias by way of emotive thought or reaction were accepted, noted, and considered within analysis undertaken. What emerged, and became the focus of analysis for the research presented here, is the concept of Euro-Western ‘cues to connect’. Derived from the term ‘cues to care’ introduced by Joan Nassauer, professor of landscape architecture at the University of Minnesota, in her 1995 article ‘Messy Ecosystems, Orderly Frames’, and used to illustrate how, when placed within a social landscape of ‘care’, ecologically valuable habitats become visible through the frame of human intention, and culturally acceptable through the familiar cultural language of landscape ‘care’ (Nassauer, 1995). Nassauer realised that to get people to engage with a site, it was necessary to have something familiar for them to identify with – a cue (Nassauer, 1995). Used here, the ‘cues to connect’ defines those design strategies or site features at genocide memorials in Cambodia and Rwanda that, either consciously or unconsciously engage Euro-Western visitors with site. By placing the ‘distant’ or ‘less familiar’ history expressed within the narrative of the case study sites, within pre-understood and culturally acceptable ‘Western’ frames, the narrative of memorial sites in Cambodia and Rwanda become more assessable to the Euro-Western visitor in terms of site experience and interpretation. The term is used within this research to establish a base, a footprint of the design
of each of the three case study sites, from which analysis of the ‘existential’ data that investigates the role of design in shaping Euro-Western experience of genocide memorial sites, can be considered. ‘Cues to connect’ are categorised within this study in terms of design theme and design content, and are presented below as follows:

CUES TO CONNECT - THEME

- New beginnings
- Connecting Site & Context
- The Vastness of Death – Names and Faces
- Giving Identity – Names and Faces
- Shock and the Reality of Death
- The International Style and ‘The Everyday’
- The Internationalisation of Genocide
- The Colour of Life – The Colour of Death
- The Fragrance of Beauty and Death
- The experience of Fellow Euro-Western visitors

CUES TO CONNECT - CONTENT

- Death and Torture Equipment
- The Display of Victim Clothing
- Victims’ Belongings and Artefacts
- The Graveyard
Below, is an introduction to the key ‘themes’ expressed at genocide memorial sites in Cambodia and Rwanda. Specifically this research will identify Euro-Western ‘cues to connect’ that became apparent through the ‘encountered’ phenomenological enquiry carried out by the researcher.

6.5.1 NEW BEGINNINGS

The octagon is an architectural and symbolic statement that crosses both the Jewish and Christian faiths. An important and prominent figure in both the Christian and Jewish religions, the eight sided form has manifested itself in religious representation in a range of ways throughout time. In the Jewish faith, eight is the number that symbolises salvation and regeneration, and is associated with the eighth letter of the Hebrew alphabet called ‘Chet’ which has the symbolic meaning of ‘new birth’ or ‘new beginning’. In early Christianity, eight was the number which symbolised the resurrection of Jesus Christ and the formation of the New Covenant (McGough, n.d). The eight sided form can today be seen prominently in European religious architecture such as the Florence Baptistery (photo 6.12), built between 1059 and 1128, and also in religious form, such as the church font used in the baptising of Christian children.

In relation to genocide memorials that were researched and visited as part of the case study and contextual components to this study, the octagon is a prominent form in the architecture of several genocide memorial sites, including the ‘Hall of Remembrance’ at the US Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington DC (photo 6.13), Beth Shalom - the UK Holocaust Centre (photo 6.14), and two significant memorial sites in Rwanda, the Kigali Memorial Centre (photo 6.15) and the Murambi Technical School Memorial (photo 6.16).
Photo 6.13
Hall of Remembrance
US Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington DC

Photo 6.14
The eight sided octagon form, present in the architecture of the UK Holocaust Centre
Laxton, Nottinghamshire, UK
Photo by Author, 2007

Photo 6.15
The octagon form present in the architecture of the Memorial Centre
Kigali Memorial Centre, Rwanda
Photo by Author, 2008

Photo 6.16
The octagon again apparent in the architectural form
Murambi Technical School Memorial, Rwanda
Photo by Author, 2008
Stephen Smith, co-founder of the UK Holocaust Centre, Beth Shalom, states that the Centre aims to challenge non-Jews in general, and the Christian faith in particular, in response to the Jewish Holocaust (Smith, 2002, p. 77). The eight-sided octagon form that dominates the architecture has both the Hebrew meaning of ‘new birth’, and the ‘Christian’ meaning of the resurrection and new covenant, which, in the Bible is used to refer to an epochal relationship of restoration and peace following a period of trial and judgement, a theme that seems appropriate to the phenomenon of genocide memorialisation. Developed in conjunction with the UK based genocide prevention charity the Aegis Trust (who founded the UK Holocaust Centre), two memorials visited in Rwanda also present the same octagonal architecture – the Kigali Memorial Centre on Gisozi Hill (photo 6.15), and at the Murambi Technical School Memorial near Gikongoro in south-west Rwanda which marks the site where 50,000 people were murdered in 48 hours during the 1994 genocide (photo 6.16). The Kigali Memorial Centre, a completely ‘new’ building designed as a co-ordinated project between the Kigali City Council and the Aegis Trust, and the Murambi Technical School Memorial, that through the assistance of the Aegis Trust has added an octagonal architectural form as part of the site redevelopment, sees both memorial sites in Rwanda bear the eight-sided form as an intrinsic part of the architectural communication. Bringing Christianity to Rwanda during the colonisation of Africa, more than 85% of Rwandans today define themselves as Catholic. The Christian symbolism therefore represented by the octagonal form of the memorial buildings sits comfortably within the cultural landscape as part of the ‘Christian’ rhetoric; but also somewhat awkwardly within the cultural traditions of the Rwandan civilization as an African society.
6.5.2 CONNECTING SITE & CONTEXT

Connecting site with context is a design issue that presents itself very differently at memorial sites in Europe, Cambodia and Rwanda. For the Concentration and Extermination Camps in Europe, the genocide memorials in Cambodia, and also for many of the local level memorials in Rwanda (many located at sites of mass killings, commonly in churches and schools), the issue of responding to context is vastly different from that of a purpose-built memorial away from one specific site of tragedy, such as the Kigali Memorial Centre, or the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe in Berlin.

For memorial sites in Cambodia and Rwanda focused on preserving genocide sites and mass graves, the priority of site sits in its ability to retain evidence. For the Kigali Memorial Centre however, the purpose-built complex allows for an ‘outward’ dialogue with the context in which it sits. The architectural octagonal form introduced earlier as symbolically referring to the restoration and peace following a period of trial, is particularly potent when viewed across the valley from the city. Orientated to face across the valley and towards the city of Kigali, views projected from the Memorial Centre itself, bounce to and fro, back and forth from the city (photos 6.17 & 6.18, and figure 6.1). Through the design, location and orientation of the memorial site, a dialogue has been set up between memorial site and city, with a powerful symbolic message of new beginnings.

![Diagram of the Kigali Memorial Centre portraying its outward relationship with the surrounding context](image_url)

**Fig. 6.1**

Diagram of the Kigali Memorial Centre portraying its outward relationship with the surrounding context
Kigali Memorial Centre, Rwanda
Drawn by Author, 2009

![View from Kigali city towards the Memorial Centre on Gisozi Hill. The octagon architectural form can be seen from many parts of the city](image_url)

**Photo 6.17**

View from Kigali city towards the Memorial Centre on Gisozi Hill. The octagon architectural form can be seen from many parts of the city
Kigali, Rwanda
Photo by Author, 2008
Different to the Kigali Memorial Centre in Rwanda, that actively encourages the consideration of context by those who visit the memorial, the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum in Cambodia does the opposite, and continually, through the nature of site, rebounds any attempt to connect with the surrounding context back onto site. There is a reciprocal dialogue in Kigali where city speaks to memorial, and memorial speaks to city through the design and orientation of the site. In Cambodia however, the reality that the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum was not purpose built as a memorial, as the Kigali Memorial Centre was, and the fact that it was originally a high school built within an existing Phnom Penh suburb during the early 1960’s has resulted in the site having its back to the surrounding community, to its context. Remnants of prison life are obvious at every turn, and the large dominating barbed wire fencing that surround the site (photo 6.19), along with bars on each window (photos 6.20 & 6.21), offer little opportunity for dialogue or connection with its immediate context (figure 6.2).
Photo 6.19
Boundary fence of the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum
Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, Cambodia
Photo by Author, 2007

Photo 6.20
View from one of the upper rooms at the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, out onto the surrounding neighbourhood
Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, Cambodia
Photo by Author, 2007
View from one of the upper rooms at the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, out onto the surrounding neighbourhood
Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, Cambodia
Photo by Author, 2007
6.5.3 THE VASTNESS OF DEATH – NAMES & FACES

The oldest and most common form of a memorial is the gravestone, acting as a marker, a remembrance point for someone who has passed, recording, at least, their name (Jackel, 2005, p. 122). Memorialising the memory of large numbers of dead however is a tradition that has today gained much significance as war, genocide and terror attacks plague the world. Offering many examples in the West, this type of memorial that lists the names of vast numbers of dead is today part of a memorial tradition common within the realm of memorialising war and tragedy. Calling upon examples such as the Arc de Triomph in Paris, World War I and II memorials throughout allied nations and Maya Lin’s Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Washington D.C (photo 6.22), the importance of naming the dead in Western nations is shown.

The importance of naming the dead within a culture or people that have suffered tragedy, is well represented by the efforts made by Yad Vashem in Israel where the names of three million Jewish Holocaust victims have been collected. Understanding the importance of these names in telling the story of the Holocaust and the persecution of Jewish people in Europe, approval was granted as part of the development of the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe in Berlin, to access and use the names collected at Yad Vashem within the documentation Centre beneath the field of stelae. Never before has another institution been granted permission to use the names database. “The belief was that the names of the murdered Jews of Europe should be gathered in two prominent places: in the land of the victims and in the land of the perpetrators” (Jackel, 2005, p. 123).

Like the victims of Nazi genocide crimes during WWII, almost no victims of the Cambodian or Rwandan genocides have their own grave or gravestone stating their name or date of birth or
cause or date of death. In Rwanda, each local memorial site (photo 6.23), along with the national genocide memorial in Kigali (photo 6.24), is attempting to name the dead, and list them in stone at the memorial sites. For the national memorial in Cambodia, the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, photos that were taken of prisoners at S-21 on arrival have been developed and displayed within the memorial site, as well as by the Yale University Genocide Studies Programme who has created a online database of the images. As one scrolls through the thousands of images however, few have names.

Like the lists of names on memorials, the use of victim photos at genocide memorials around the world is relatively common (see photos 6.25 – 6.28), especially with regard to the display of Holocaust victim photographs. Similar to the long lists of names, the sheer numbers of victims represented by thousands of photos has a direct and emotive effect on all who view. The rooms filled with ‘facing death’ mug-shots at the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum for example (photos 6.29 & 6.30), and the photo bays at the Kigali Memorial Centre (photo 6.31) where relatives of victims can bring photos of loved ones, together embody a strategy to represent the vast number of genocide victims.
Photo 6.25
Victim photos at the Topography of Terror
Berlin, Germany
Photo by Author, 2007

Image removed due to copyright

Photo 6.26
The Tower of Faces, US Holocaust Memorial Museum
Washington DC, USA
(From Branham, 2000, p. 56)

Photo 6.27
The fifth Void & “Fallen leaves” by Menashe Kadishman
Jewish Museum, Berlin, Germany
Photo by Author, 2007
"Sam Pivnik, a survivor of Bendzin, Poland, stands by the images of 653 people from his home town, most of whom perished."
Beth Shalom, UK Holocaust Centre, Laxton, UK
(From Smith, 2002, p. 100)

Photo 6.28

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

Photo 6.29

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

Photo 6.30

Faces of victims
Kigali Memorial Centre, Rwanda
(From Kigali Memorial Centre Website, http://www.kigalimemorialcentre.org/old/centre/exhibition.html)
6.5.4 GIVING IDENTITY – NAMES & FACES

As well as communicating the vastness of death, the inclusion of victim photographs and victim names can also offer an opportunity to identify and individualise each victim. Room three of the underground documentation centre of the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe for example, is dedicated to the projection of the names of Jewish Holocaust victims. One after another, onto the bare room walls, the names of the three million victims collected by Yad Vashem are projected, while each victims recorded biographies are heard (photo 6.32).

![Image removed due to copyright](Image)

**Photo 6.32**
The presentation of known names of victims
Documentation Centre, Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe, Berlin, Germany
(From Quack & Von Wikken, 2007, p. 47)

The US Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington DC, has extended the use of names so that each visitor, before entering the permanent exhibition is given an identification card that explains the story of a Holocaust victim or survivor of the event. Personalising the museum experience for each visitor, this strategy encourages visitors to connect with the victim on the identification card which they carry with them through the exhibition, connecting information presented in the exhibition with the experience of “their victim’s” story.

For international visitors to the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum in Cambodia connections may be made with victims through individual victim circumstances portrayed in ‘facing death’ photographs. For example the ‘facing death’ photo of mother and baby (photo 6.33), or the battered and beaten boy (photo 6.34), on display within the memorial site.
Photo 6.33
Facing death - Mother and child
Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, Cambodia
Photo by Author, 2007

Photo 6.34
Facing death
Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, Cambodia
Photo by Author, 2007
The Church of Bones in the Czech Republic town of Sedlec is a European example of the display of human remains, a site which was also documented and considered during this research. A Cistercian monastery founded in the 12th century, the associated cemetery is believed to have existed from the mid 13th century. The Abbot of the Sedlec Monastery, Heidenreich, is said to have brought a handful of earth from the grave of the Lord in Jerusalem and to have scattered it over the cemetery in the Ossuary grounds around the 13th century. The earth in the cemetery thus became part of the Holy Land and people wished to be buried there from all over the country. Thousands of people were also buried in the cemetery during the great plague of 1318, when it is said 30,000 bodies were buried there. Work began on the All Saints cemetery chapel at the beginning of the 14th century and bones from abolished graves were piled up within the chapel. After many alterations to the display and presentation of the bones, the wood carver Frantisek Rint was, in the 18th century, commissioned to decorate the interior of the Ossuary using the human bones (photos 6.42 – 6.44). It is estimated that the skeletons of 40,000 persons were used to decorate the Sedlec Ossuary (Kulich, undated).

The confrontation of bones presented at The Ossuary in Sedlec seems vastly different to experiencing the human remains displayed at memorial sites in Cambodia and Rwanda. Partly due to the greater period of time removed, and the fact that these people died mostly natural deaths due to old age or sickness, the bones on display at the Sedlec Ossuary, although a bizarre experience, seems calm. The experience of bones on display at genocide memorials in Cambodia and Rwanda however is a vastly different and ‘retching’ experience.

The ability to shock Euro-Western visitors appears an easy and deliberate task at memorial sites in both Cambodia and Rwanda, with the inclusion (or exploitation as some would say) of human remains. Again representing the raw reality of death, and again the vastness of killing, human remains, in the form of skulls, bones, and semi-preserved corpses are all a key part of the design of memorial sites in both Cambodia and Rwanda. Photos below portray a 30 year old blood stained floor at the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum (photo 6.35), the memorial stupa at the Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre where exhumed bones are sorted, categorised and presented by age and sex (photo 6.36), the protrusion and appearance of bone fragments, teeth and clothing out of the ground at the Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre (photos 6.37 & 6.38), and the semi-decomposed, preserved corpses on display at the Murambi Technical School Memorial in Rwanda (photos 6.39 - 6.41).
Photo 6.35
Blood stained floor in one of the ground floor torture rooms
Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, Cambodia
Photo by Author, 2007

Photo 6.36
Skulls on display in the memorial stupa
Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre, Cambodia
Photo by Author, 2007
Bones, teeth and clothing can be seen protruding from the ground
Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre, Cambodia
Photo by Author, 2007
Photo 6.39
Semi decomposed, preserved corpses lying on display
Murambi Technical School Memorial, Rwanda
Photo by Author, 2008

Photo 6.40
A baby on display
Murambi Technical School Memorial, Rwanda
Photo by Author, 2008
Photo 6.41
Bones of those exhumed bodies that were not preserved in lime
Murambi Technical School Memorial, Rwanda
Photo by Author, 2008

Photo 6.42
Skulls and bones on display
The Ossuary, Sedlec, Czech Republic
Photo by Author, 2007
Photo 6.43
Skulls and bones on display
The Ossuary, Sedlec, Czech Republic
Photo by Author, 2007

Photo 6.44
Skulls and bones used to decorate the interior of the church
The Ossuary, Sedlec, Czech Republic
Photo by Author, 2007
6.5.6 THE INTERNATIONAL STYLE &
‘THE EVERYDAY’

As noted previously, the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum was a high school before it became S-21 under Khmer Rouge rule. Today, everything about the architectural appearance of the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum speaks of its former use as a school. From the modernist architectural form (photos 6.45 & 6.46) of four, three storied concrete classroom blocks, reminiscent of many schools built in the international style throughout the world during the mid 20th century, the semi-enclosed concrete staircases at either end of the classroom blocks, the long outdoor corridors (photo 6.47), and the courtyard layout, today, Euro-Western visitors to the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum are able to instantly respond to the form, making the raw reality of the site even more sinister.

Photo 6.45
The ‘international’ style of 1960’s architecture, reminiscent of many schools built during this era in the west
Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, Cambodia
Photo by Author, 2007

Photo 6.46
A ‘typical’ school-yard structure
Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, Cambodia
Photo by Author, 2007
The former use of S-21 as a high school is again apparent in the large detention rooms of the upper floors of the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, as classroom blackboards still hang at the front of each room (photo 6.48). A bed, a place for rest and relaxation, is sharply contrasted here by its use during torture.
At the Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre, day-to-day life goes hand-in-hand with the experience of the ‘Killing Fields’. A ‘Pepsi’ drink Kiosk (photo 6.49), lunching area (photo 6.50), souvenir shop (photos 6.51 & 6.52), local children playing (photo 6.53), noise and laughter from the school next door (photo 6.54) and school children participating in a parade celebrating the onset of the rainy season (photo 6.55), the juxtaposition of life and death, and the extraordinary and the ordinary is blurred. The addition of a bright green ‘welcome mat’ as one approaches the memorial stupa housing the bones of thousands of genocide victims, is again a stark connection for any Euro-Western visitor (photo 6.56).
Photo 6.51
Souvenir shop
Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre, Cambodia
Photo by Author, 2007

Photo 6.52
Souvenir shop sign
Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre, Cambodia
Photo by Author, 2007
Photo 6.53
Kids playing
Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre, Cambodia
Photo by Author, 2007

Photo 6.54
The school next door to the ‘Killing Fields’
Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre, Cambodia
Photo by Author, 2007

Photo 6.55
Children from the school next door participating in a parade to celebrate the start of the rainy season
Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre, Cambodia
Photo by Author, 2007
The ‘English language’ welcome mat. Choeng Ek Genocidal Centre, Cambodia
Photo by Author, 2007
6.5.7 THE INTERNATIONALISING OF GENOCIDE

Direct in-text reference to the West by way of comparison with the Holocaust and Nazi crimes, as is the case at the Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre (photo 6.57), or with reference to European and Western involvement, or lack of, during the genocide in Rwanda, as is the case with the Kigali Memorial Centre, make direct connection between the genocides in these foreign nations and the Euro-Western visitor. Also at the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, and the Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre, the inclusion of the photo of David Lloyd Scott (photos 6.58 & 6.59), an Australian caught off the coast of Cambodia, imprisoned at S-21, and presumed killed at Choeung Ek, makes for a clear and direct connection for Euro-Western visitors to the memorial sites in Cambodia. The major on-site information board at the Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre reads: “It was more cruel than the genocidal act committed by the Hitler fascists which the world has ne ver ver met”
For the Kigali Memorial Centre, as well as the clear documentation of the various roles that Western nations took during the 1994 genocide, including the arms deal with a French company worth $12 million, with a loan guaranteed by the French government (Kigali Memorial Centre, 2004, p. 14), and the blatant inaction of the United Nations, the connection with Euro-Western visitors is also encouraged by the inclusion of an entire exhibition titled ‘Wasted Lives’ that documents and presents genocides from around the world, namely Namibia, Armenia, Nazi Germany, Cambodia and the Balkans. Also present at the Kigali Memorial Centre, relevant to the Euro-Western experience of site, is the world map terrace as you enter the memorial complex through the main gate (photo 6.60). Able to locate any nation that a visitor may originate from, the map shows how close we all were during the 1994 genocide, and reiterates the message inside that we are all responsible for what happened through our inaction.
Photo 6.60
World map terrace
Kigali Memorial Centre, Rwanda
Photo by Author, 2008
6.5.8 THE COLOUR OF LIFE – THE COLOUR OF DEATH

The colour white in Western tradition, is associated with concepts of peace, innocence, purity and life. Often used in religious and cultural ceremonies, white is the colour of marriage, and the symbol of neutrality. Used in the memorialisation of death throughout the West, the colour black also has strong symbology in Western cultures and can be seen to be used in numerous examples of memorialising death. Common and intrinsically identified by Euro-Western cultures, the use of the colour black at sites of death and tragedy is an inherent part of our culture, and has the ability to consciously or unconsciously inform our interpretation. Having the opposite meaning in Eastern cultures, it is the colour white that is associated with ‘evil’ or death, and its use on the lower portion of the memorial stupa at the Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre offers an interesting cultural conflict in terms of Euro-Western experience and interpretation (photo 6.61).

Photo 6.61
The colour white has been used to adorn the lower portion of the Memorial Stupa at the Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre that houses the remains of 8000 Khmer Rouge victims
Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre, Cambodia
Photo by Author, 2007

Rwanda, a dominantly Christian nation, has also adopted the colour white (or near shade thereof) to adorn their national genocide memorial (photo 6.62).
White is the colour of the entire Kigali Memorial Centre complex
Kigali Memorial Centre, Rwanda
Photo by Author, 2008
The inclusion of the frangipani tree on site is very significant in Cambodian culture who associate the tree with death. For Euro-Western visitors however, the frangipani tree has very different connotations of beauty and fragrance to a point where many beauty products include extract from the frangipani tree. The use of the frangipani tree on site at both the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum (photo 6.63) and the Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre (Photo 6.64) again offers an interesting juxtaposition in terms of Euro-Western interpretation, where fallen flowers during site visits in June, July and August 2007 had been picked up and placed on site objects (photos 6.65 - 6.67). A practice that may not occur in everyday Cambodian society.
Photo 6.65
The frangipani flower left on a bed used for torturing prisoners during interrogation
Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, Cambodia
Photo by Author, 2007

Photo 6.66
A frangipani flower left beside the ‘facing death’ photo of a young female prisoner
Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, Cambodia
Photo by Author, 2007

Photo 6.67
A frangipani flower left in an on-site ‘comments’ book
Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, Cambodia
Photo by Author, 2007
6.5.10 THE EXPERIENCE OF ‘FELLOW’
EURO–WESTERN VISITORS

Comments left by Euro-Western visitors in visitor books at the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum and graffiti written on the inner walls of buildings made up a series of on-site expressions left by visitors. Below, photo 6.68 shows an open visitor book with comments written in both Khmer and English.

![Photo 6.68](image)

One of the comments books at the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum
Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, Cambodia
Photo by Author, 2007

Graffiti written on the walls of the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum also showed a stark connection with site for Euro-Western visitors, through personal histories, identity, comparison, compassion and pre-understanding. Photo 6.69 states “They learn nothing about the history, I can say that, I am a German’. A connection made with personal identity, history and pre-understanding, this photo portrays clearly an example of Euro-Western connection with site.

![Photo 6.69](image)

Graffiti – ‘They learn nothing about the history, I can say that, I am a German’ – 21/02/05
Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, Cambodia
Photo by Author, 2007
The comment made in photo 6.70 is an example of visitors struggling to comprehend and come to terms with the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, its history as S-21, and the realisation that genocide is an unpredictable and indefinable human problem.

Photo 6.70
Graffiti – ‘The pain of man’s inhumanity is unbearable – Wayne’
Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, Cambodia
Photo by Author, 2007

Photo 6.71 shows a series of comments written and scratched into the wall under one of the stairwells. The comment ‘Don’t let shit like this ever happen again Please!’ stands out as one that represents much that is said in both the visitor books and other graffiti around the site.

Photo 6.71
Graffiti – ‘Don’t let shit like this ever happen again Please!’
Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, Cambodia
Photo by Author, 2007
Often found in grouped areas, graffiti such as this may speak of support for one another’s comments, or debate them. In an archived visitors comment book stored at DC-CAM (the Documentation Centre of Cambodia) a series of comments between visitors for instance reads:

“Cambodia will never move forward unless they deal with this history. Why don’t the big shots like Bush and Blair help, instead of starting another war?” - Ireland 7/2/2003

“Good point”
“Because people are being tortured to death in Iraq as we speak”

“I really enjoyed seeing this prison. I would like to see more pictures of dead piles of bodies” – Chris 7/7/2004

“You forgot to say you were American
“Sick fucker, I wish I believed in hell when I encounter deranged humans such as you”
“This is the same mentality as Pol Pot. You will eventually meet Pol Pot in hell”
Below, is an introduction to the key ‘content’ elements expressed at genocide memorial sites in Cambodia and Rwanda, specifically identifying any Euro-Western ‘cues’ that became apparent through the ‘encountered’ phenomenological enquiry carried out by the researcher.

### 6.6.1 Death & Torture Equipment

The inclusion of torture and death equipment as part of a memorial site is an approach commonly seen in the Concentration and Extermination Camp memorials throughout Europe which are primarily orientated around the acts of site preservation and historical documentation, as in the image below of the crematorium oven at Sachsenhausen Memorial and Museum (photo 6.73). For Euro-Western visitors to memorial sites in Cambodia and Rwanda, the inclusion of death and torture equipment, even if that visitor has not directly experienced a visit to a Concentration or Extermination Camp memorial site for example, is a chilling experience, and I argue, can be a ‘connected’ experience, due to the vast proliferation of knowledge surrounding the fate of victims of the Nazi regime during WWII within Western cultures.
At the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum in Cambodia, the inclusion of death and torture equipment in the memorial courtyard is doubly disturbing. ‘The Gallows’ (photo 6.74) used for torturing prisoners during interrogation, have been adapted from the existing playground equipment that today stands as a testament to the former use of the site as a high school before Khmer Rouge occupation of Cambodia. Numerous pieces of torture equipment are also displayed within the buildings of the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum (photos 6.75 & 6.76).

Photo 6.74
Playground equipment used as torture equipment during the operation of S-21, Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, Cambodia
Photo by Author, 2007

Photo 6.75
Torture equipment
Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, Cambodia
Photo by Author, 2007
In Rwanda, the Kigali Memorial Centre is set away from one specific site of tragedy, and was instead set up as a place for the burial of victims killed during the genocide in the Kigali area. Today, development as the memorial centre associated with the mass graves, sees a factual account of the genocide presented to visitors through mixed media applications. For local memorials however, the raw utensils left, or collected from nearby villages, roads and fields, offers visitors a raw connection with genocide. Machetes for example lie on church pews at the Ntarama Church Memorial 20km from Kigali (photo 6.77).
6.6.2 THE DISPLAY OF VICTIM CLOTHING

The display of victim clothing has been a central focus in Holocaust memorialisation throughout Europe, especially as part of the preservation of Concentration and Extermination Camp memorials. “The magnitude of the process of killing is . . . communicated by the tattered prisoners’ clothing” (Williams, 2004a, p. 201). A strategy that ‘humanises’ the victims as individuals, with a message of ‘like you and me’, clothing and other belongings have been used for many years at Holocaust memorial sites throughout Europe. The display of clothing at case study sites in Cambodia and Rwanda offers a direct point of connection for Euro-Western visitors, and is an occurrence in many memorial sites, both local and national in Cambodia and Rwanda. The idea to include victim clothing at memorial sites, I believe, occurs sometimes out of design strategy, for example the display of ‘evidence’ as is the case at the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum (photo 6.78), and sometimes out of not knowing what to do with them, or not having the resources to deal with them in a different way, as is the case for many local memorials in Rwanda (photos 6.81 & 6.82). Pieces of ‘first-hand evidence’ that may be called upon or used in the trial of genocide perpetrators in the future, victim clothing also certainly has an evidential use. Whatever reason however for the inclusion of victim clothing at memorial sites in Cambodia and Rwanda, the display of blood-soaked victim clothing indeed acts as a ‘cue to connect’ for the Euro-Western visitor by almost offering an international language of suffering – a language that is understood by all humans regardless of culture.
Clothes on display at the base of the memorial stupa that also displays the skulls and bones of 8000 victims exhumed from the mass graves at Choeung Ek

Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre, Cambodia
Photos by Author, 2007

Victim clothing has slowly emerged from the ground at Choeung Ek as natural processes move and erode dirt that once covered them

Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre, Cambodia
Photos by Author, 2007
Clothes on display at the Murambi Technical School Memorial that is also working with the Aegis Trust to develop the memorial site into a national genocide prevention centre.

Murambi Technical School Memorial, Rwanda
Photo by Author, 2008

Victims’ clothes hanging from the rafters
Ntarama Church Memorial, Rwanda
Photo by Author, 2008
6.6.3 VICTIM BELONGINGS

Like the inclusion of victim clothing at memorial sites, the display of victim belongings and artefacts from the genocide also humanises the victims as individuals and connects visitor with victim without the use of language. Again, commonly used within Concentration and Extermination Camp Memorials throughout Europe (photo 6.83), the display of victim belongings act as proof and first-hand evidence, as well as offering the opportunity for cross-cultural connection with visitors from other nations. A design act to identify victim to visitor, as in the case of the display of Rwandan identification cards at the Kigali Memorial Centre (photo 6.84), or for example the problem of not knowing what to do with the mountain of cooking utensils, water containers and other numerous belongings left by victims killed at the Ntarama Church (photo 6.85), the display of victim belongings again speaks of an international and human language, where Euro-Western visitors can connect with the victims and survivors of genocide.

Photo 6.83
Prisoners’ shoes on display at the Majdanek Concentration Camp Memorial
Majdanek, Concentration Camp Memorial, Poland
(Photo by Donald Woodman: in Young, 1993, p. 129)

Image removed due to copyright

Photo 6.84
ID Cars on display
Kigali Memorial Centre, Rwanda
(From Kigali Memorial Centre, 2004, p 47)
Victims belongings left at the Ntarama Church Memorial 20km from Kigali
Ntarama Church Memorial, Rwanda
Photo by Author, 2008
6.6.4 THE ‘GRAVEYARD’

The ‘graveyard’ is a feature within the landscapes of many cultures, an international landscape of death perhaps. Whether viewing the individual graves of the fourteen dead prisoners found at S-21 after Vietnamese invasion (photo 6.86), or the mass graves at the Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre (photos 6.87 & 6.88), the Kigali Memorial Centre (photos 6.89 & 6.90), or the thousands of mass graves throughout Cambodia and Rwanda, some identified, others not, Euro-Western visitors connect with death through the external expression of the grave. Identified symbolically by some who interpret the field of stelae which is the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe, as ‘graves’ (photo 6.91), the graveyard is indeed an intrinsic part of the European, the Cambodian and the Rwandan culture, and is therefore identified and understood by Euro-Western visitors in Cambodia and Rwanda as a landscape of death.

Photo 6.86
The graveyard for the 14 prisoners found dead at S-21 by invading Vietnamese troops
Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, Cambodia
Photo by Author, 2007
Photo 6.87
Exhumed mass graves
Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre, Cambodia
Photo by Author, 2007

Photo 6.88
Covered mass grave pit – ‘Mass grave of 166 victims with out heads’
Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre, Cambodia
Photo by Author, 2007
Photo 6.91
Concrete Stelae
Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe
Berlin, Germany
Photo by Author, 2007
As social constructs, genocide memorials fulfil a range of roles, from being a political tool and social statement, container for first-hand evidences, history receptacle, burial ground, commemoration space, education centre and tourist attraction, the purposes and functions of memorial sites in Cambodia and Rwanda are no exception. Various forms of visual symbols that ultimately enlighten and direct experience for Euro-Western visitors act as ‘cues’ for international tourists, and have been identified and discussed within the ‘encountered’ research presented in this chapter. Each case study site utilising a selection of identified ‘cues’ attempts, either consciously or unconsciously, to engage the international visitors through the use of what I have termed ‘cues to connect’. For the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, the use of photos representing the ‘vastness of death’ is a key tool in engaging the international visitor through both its connection as a strategy commonly found with Holocaust memorialisation in the West, and through the sheer ‘human’ element of the display. The theme of ‘shock and the reality of death’ is another ‘cue’ consistently utilised at the Museum, with its inclusion and display of torture equipment and paintings depicting death scenes. Offering on-site and pamphlet information in Khmer, French and English, the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum can engage the Euro-Western visitor in a number of ways, appealing to the pre-understanding and memorial traditions common in our society.

For the Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre, the idea of ‘shock and the reality of death’ is again a key theme. Humanising the experience as to communicate with all visitors beyond any language or cultural barriers, the display of human remains at the Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre is certainly an experience that ‘touches’ all who visit. Located within a context of ‘everyday’ Cambodian life, the Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre is positioned within a rural community on the outskirts of Phnom Penh. The sharp contrast of life today represented by the voices of hundreds of children from the school next door, to the mountain of human remains lying static and voiceless in the memorial stupa, the Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre is a space like no other when compared to examples of Western memorialisation. Framed within those humanising aspects however, like the display of victim clothing at the base of the stupa, or the clothing piled up at the base of the ‘Killing Tree’, and juxtaposed by the children playing under the shade of thatch, or the family cow tied to a nearby tree, the experience of the ‘surreal’ and the ‘everyday’ living side-by-side as represented at the Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre is one which certainly engages the mind of the Euro-Western visitor. Here death is identified and amplified through the frame of the ‘everyday’. Here, the certainty of death is framed within the uncertainty of life – an unusual perspective in Euro-Western culture.

For the Kigali Memorial Centre, a place designed and managed with the help of a UK charity, the representational Western religious expression through symbolic architecture defines, from the outset, an approach of memorialisation that communicates with the international visitor as much as the local. Stephen Smith states: ‘Memorials bring respect to the dead, but are not just
about the past. Survivors today are deeply wounded. Memorials are an acknowledgement of their loss” (Aegis Trust, undated). He also states that “Memorials are also important for the international community and for policy makers to reflect on our past failures, to prevent genocide, and about our responsibility to protect those who remain under threat, both now and in the future” (Aegis Trust, undated). The strong and outward narrative of the Kigali Memorial Centre, internationalising genocide as a human problem frames the Rwandan Genocide, in an obvious and easily understood rhetoric for Euro-Western visitors.

This chapter has shown that the design of site at each of the three case study locations can, and does, engage the Euro-Western visitor at some level through both site themes and content. Retuning to the issue outlined at the start of this chapter of the politicisation of public memory and memorialisation, this encountered research has shown that the memorial sites in Cambodia and Rwanda do indeed fulfil a purpose of more then mourning the dead and remembering the tragedy. They are places infused with the pressures of post genocide society, where Western visitation and experience of these landscapes fulfil both political and economic goals through engaging the Euro-Western tourist with site and context. For Cambodia, the official narrative of justification for Vietnamese invasion continues to project strongly on site. For Rwanda, the official narrative of internationalising responsibility for the 1994 genocide also dominates site design and ultimately tourist experience.

Within Chapter seven, the results of this encountered enquiry carried out by the researcher will form the base from which analysis of the existential phenomenological data provided by Euro-Western participants, is compared and discussed. Building a layered discussion about memorial design and Euro-Western interpretation, Chapters six, seven and eight shape the core discussion on data collected at the ‘encountered’, ‘existential’ and ‘hermeneutic’ stages of enquiry, ultimately informing the discussion and conclusions drawn in Chapter nine.
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.
7.2 THE EXPERIENCE OF SITE DESIGN &
EURO-WESTERN ‘CUES TO CONNECT’

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 memoriescapes 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

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![Fig. 7.1](image)

Schedule of participant research
Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, Cambodia

### Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre

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![Fig. 7.2](image)

Schedule of participant research
Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre, Cambodia
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 7.10
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 7.20
Human teeth emerge from one of the tracks
Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre, Cambodia
Photo by CE2, 2007

Fig. 7.8
Site layout expressed through side elevation and perspective sketches
Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre, Cambodia
Drawn by CE9, 2007

Covered Grave

Memorial Stupa

Information Shelter

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

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

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 'outward' nature of the Kigali Memorial Centre
Kigali Memorial Centre, Rwanda
Drawn by KMC21, 2008

The subtleties of the space were impressive. In my mind a memorial needs to be a sacred place in itself, a place where one can reflect and feel at peace. The site was not large and was not grandiose, but the area was well laid out with courtyards and views of the surrounding area.

The centre was well laid out in a circular fashion so that you could retrace your steps and see the path you had taken. It was a healing way to walk through to visiting the site. The path led you through the courtyard and the memorial and back to the entrance.

The view of Kigali in the distance is placed at the heart of the memorial centre. The hills that Kigali city is set on.

**Fig. 7.14**

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

**Fig. 7.15**
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.
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
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 genocidalry 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.
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
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.

Photo 7.67
The display of victim clothing at the base of the memorial stupa
Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre, Cambodia
Photo by CE2, 2007

Photo 7.68
The display of victim clothing at the base of the memorial stupa
Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre, Cambodia
Photo by CE3, 2007
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 E U R O - W E S T E R N E X P E R I E N C E O F S E L F

7.5.1 S Y M B O L I S M & R E A L I S M

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 soothe 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 7.79
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](http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/6/61/Auschwitz_gate_%28tbertor1%29.jpg)

*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](http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/f/fd/Auschwitz_gate_%28tbertor1%29.jpg)

*Auschwitz entrance gate* (http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/f/fd/Auschwitz_gate_%28tbertor1%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

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*Fig. 7.23*
Map depicting ‘symbolic’ elements through language of the site and site context
Kigali Memorial Centre, Rwanda
KMC22Post, 2008
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).
chapter eight

connecting with tragedy through landscapes of memory

euro–western interpretation of site
8.1 INTRODUCTION

Landscapes today throughout the world are undeniably marked by the atrocities of 20th century genocide, a stark statement of the human condition, emphasising the point that genocide is a human problem, unbounded by physical, cultural or political boundaries. These sites persist as markers of memory, painful reminders of the human capability to kill, but perhaps also hopeful warnings for future generations, both local and global. Set within the cultural landscape, genocide memorials are today emerging as key sites of tourism. Bringing into sharp tension the interface between international and local communities, politics and education, and between economics and ethics, this research has, based on the idea that genocide memorialisation today holds a position of interest and significance within the international setting, investigated how memorial sites in Cambodia and Rwanda engage the Euro-Western visitor on both a cognitive and affective level. Today, as the world grows ever-smaller, the opportunities offered to us to engage the international landscape are many and far-reaching. Memorials, infused by this tension of the local and the global, offer highly concentrated places in which to investigate the processes of design and experience, and of design interpretation.

As proposed in the introduction to this study, this research aims to investigate Euro-Western experience and interpretation of the post genocide memoriescapes of Cambodia and Rwanda – two nations very different to each other, and two nations very different to Western communities. This chapter primarily looks at the process of design interpretation using the case study memorial sites as grounds for investigating the process of interpretation, specifically examining the relationship between design and the creation of individual consciousness and meaning. Returning to the three key research themes, global memories and tourism, the internationalisation of memorial design, and the transposition of interpretation through time and culture, this chapter will explore the idea of connecting with tragedy through landscapes of memory. Against the backdrop of Berlin’s treatment of the public memoriescape of the Jewish Holocaust, the design, experience and interpretation of Cambodia and Rwanda’s national genocide memorials will be investigated in terms of Euro-Western engagement and connection through site. This chapter will primarily ask how, through time, memorial design and interpretation may offer one opportunity to bridge the gap between past, present and future - between what happened, and how we know it in the present, between one generation and the next, between one culture and another, connecting time, space and self with the tragedy of genocide that on the surface seems distant and remote from our everyday, but in reality is a sad part of the human condition.
The memorial landscapes of Cambodia and Rwanda stand as representations of a public grief process engrossed in the demands of society, politics, and economics, directed to serve the specific needs of society surviving in the aftermath of genocide, and the multiple pressures, both internally and internationally that dictate the form and function and narrative told. The Holocaust, for example, as Stephen Smith states “has not always been the prominent part of the cultural landscape it is today” (Smith, 2002, p. 117).

Initially, in 1950, Yad Vashem was created and emerged as the memorial that provided a necessary and important focus for survivors and Jewish communities the world over. It was then perhaps the Eichmann trial in Jerusalem in 1961 that started the development of public discourse in the light of the Holocaust. “This first happened in Israel, and was followed by a slow but steady stream of responses from a variety of places and disciplines” (Smith, 2002, p. 117). This, of course, did not happen all at once, there were milestones along the way. In 1978 President Jimmy Carter instituted the United States Holocaust Memorial Council which, fifteen years later, resulted in the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. That same year, Kitty Hart-Moxom took a British film crew to Birkenau, and for perhaps the first time, a survivor described what had happened to her in the camp (Smith, 2002, p. 118). The fortieth anniversary of the liberation of the camps in 1985 was given television and radio time. When in 1988 Elisabeth Maxwell organised an international conference entitled ‘Remembering for the Future’, hundreds of scholars from around the world attended, and the field of Holocaust studies took another step forward, with the world consciousness growing further. Then came the museum and education facilities (Smith, 2002, p. 118). In Europe, the situation was more complex, with continental Europe divided. “West German children learned history, history, history. Polish children learned that Auschwitz was the site of the martyrdom of Poland under the Nazis. The Soviets learned about the greatness of the Red Army in its heroic struggle to overthrow fascists who were murdering Soviet citizens. And the British learned virtually nothing” (Smith, 2002, p. 119).

Today, across the world, an ever-widening community attempts to break down the barriers between people and their memories, and for European nations, places of remembrance and mourning the Holocaust have for over sixty years now, focused around the former Concentration and Extermination Camps, mass graves, and sites of execution and torture. As the war generation disappears, what yesterday and today could be narrated by first-hand witnesses must tomorrow be passed on through history: “There is a shift underway from personal memory, individually certified, to a collective memory transmitted by knowledge” (Thierse, 2005, p. 15). The importance of retaining the Concentration and Extermination Camp Memorials throughout Europe is therefore vitally important as spaces to experience the actual place of suffering - to offer a place to be close to the dead. Dr H.C. Paul Spiegel, President of the Central Council of the Jews in Germany states, “Here immeasurable suffering was inflicted.
on the members of families, relatives, friends and countless nameless victims. Here we were humiliated by our neighbours and fellow Germans, betrayed. And millions of us were murdered in the most cruel and horrible manner. Nowhere are we nearer to the dead, nowhere is there a more direct and comprehensive access to the atrocities perpetrated by the National Socialists than at these authentic sites” (Spiegel, 2005, p. 26).

The relative peace that much of the West has experienced in the late 20th and early 21st century has meant many of us today, born after World War II, have been cocooned in a relatively safe world. How do we then, visualise and tangibly conceive a tragedy such as genocide? As has been discussed throughout this study, the world we live in today is vastly different to that of any other time in history, where global communications, extensive media, the proliferation of popular film, and access to travel are more prevalent than ever. For example, KMC6 a participant at the Kigali Memorial Centre wrote, “before I came to Rwanda I only had very little knowledge about the genocide – mostly from the movie "Hotel Rwanda". The affiliations that citizens of most Western nations today have with the Jewish Holocaust, and Nazi crimes during World War II is far-reaching and, as this research shows, defines our experience (either consciously or unconsciously) as Euro-Western citizens of genocide throughout the world. The existential phenomenological enquiry showed that even if participants had not visited a Holocaust Memorial site first-hand, they consistently still made reference in the questionnaire that they expected their experience of the genocide memorial sites in Cambodia and Rwanda to be similar. The Holocaust is today part of our pre-understanding as Euro-Western citizens with ‘Holocaust imagery’ today prevalent in our everyday. “The "spectre” of Auschwitz has largely resulted from an interesting combination of formal education, social myth and creative artistic endeavour” (Writing, 1988; cited in Mezga, 1990, p. 20). Mezga (1990) suggests that popular film, documentaries, novels, non-fiction accounts, poetry, sculpture, art, theatre and news accounts, have all attempted to touch upon the same aspect of the Auschwitz phenomenon (Mezga, 1990, p. 20). “[T]hey have contributed to an evolving set of mental images and expectations which over time have become “Auschwitz” (Writing, 1988, Landsman, 1985; cited in Mezga, 1990, p. 20). Mezga states “the vast majority of people's images or expectations have been formed through second-hand or indirect experiences” (Mezga, 1990, p. 20). As participant CE8 wrote, “My experience with genocide memorials only consisted of the experience I have had in Europe; visiting Hollocaust museum, jewish historic museum, Anne-Frank house, camp Westerbork. We learn a lot about it during our school career. The genocide that took place in Cambodia during the Khmer Rouge regime gets less attention. Ofcourse you see movies and some television documentaries. But this was the first time I visited a non-European memorial of genocide/war.” And KMC21Post, a participant in Rwanda wrote, “I have been to Cambodia and a concentration camp outside of Munich. The surrealness of the events occurring at those places was similar.”
Returning to Bonta’s ‘Anatomy of Architectural Interpretation’ (1974), the ‘official interpretation’ of site put forward by the respective governments of Cambodia and Rwanda, today continues to dominate the experience and interpretation of Euro-Western visitors to genocide memorial sites. From tourist pamphlets, web-site information, guide books, exhibitions and the didactic nature of site design itself, the experience of Euro-Western tourists to these memorial sites seems certainly directed by the ‘official’ interpretation.

For Rwanda, the genocide memoryscape that we see today emerged primarily from a need to bury the victims of the 1994 genocide, with each community bringing the dead to locations allocated for mass graves. A site located at Gisozi was initially allocated to house the genocide victims from Kigali. With the co-operation of the Aegis Trust however, the site that today houses over 258,000 victims is part of the Kigali Memorial Centre, which has the official aim to “educate Rwandans in a culture of humanity and to advance the cause of ending genocide in Africa and the world” (Ministry of Higher Education, Scientific Research and Culture, 1996; cited in Cook, 2006, p. 304). Steele states, “the direct participation of Western consultants and Holocaust survivor artists in the construction of the site, the integration of tri-lingual exhibits and the inclusion of materials that seek to involve and engage an international audience suggests that it is not simply an unintended product of Western participation in the building of the Centre, but rather a reflection of a desire to engage a broader visitor base” (Steele, 2006, p. 9). This approach deconstructs the genocide in Rwanda as a ‘tribal’ problem: “By highlighting that genocide is not a symptom of African barbarity, but rather a violence that has been perpetrated in many societies these displays seek to break down ethicised narrative” (Steele, 2006, p. 8). As KMC6, a participant at the Kigali Memorial Centre, wrote, “The visit has been an unforgettable experience... Seeing young Rwandans afterwards I always asked myself if they are the "result" of rape and I felt extremely uncomfortable walking through time because I felt guilty for the European behavior before and during the genocide.” The idea of the Rwandan government promoting an ‘official interpretation’ of the memorial site in Kigali of ‘genocide as human problem’, not ‘genocide as Rwandan problem’, and that the entire world must step-up and take responsibility for what happened there in 1994, is an issue that has been discussed previously in this research. The comments made by KMC6 would support the idea that this ‘official’ interpretation is succeeding at some level in terms of Euro-Western interpretation of the memorial site.

Today still struggling to manage genocide ideology, especially in Rwandan schools, the Rwandan government and Aegis Trust were acutely conscious of creating a memorial that educated on the overall process of genocide - the facts and the figures, the personal stories and narratives, and also the international context of genocide during the 20th century. The
government, in attempting to stem the flow of genocide ideology is actively working to create a genocide education programme which will eventually be aided by the educational facility of the memorial centre. Participant KMC24Post noted, “I just think it’s interesting how the cruelty of most of the murders was not mentioned. The cutting off of arms and legs and leaving people to bleed out. Murdering whole families one by one so they all have to watch. It’s not about anger though I suppose. Although I am in no position to say one way or the other. The memorial doesn’t seem to take sides. It is just presenting it all. Hutu should be able to visit to.”

For Cambodia too, the official interpretation put forward by Vietnam seeking approval for their invasion and subsequent occupation of the war-torn nation continues to direct interpretation of the national memorial sites today. The Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, like the Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre are still primarily orientated around issues of preserving ‘first-hand’ evidences that will be inevitably called upon during the current genocide trials. In the strategic move by the then Vietnamese/Cambodian government to gain justification for invasion and occupation, journalists and photographers were given the opportunity to travel throughout Cambodia, see the mass graves and devastation, visit the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, and take their stories home. As Ledgerwood observes, “The theme of foreigners promising to return to their countries to tell people what “really” happened in Cambodia remains a dominant one throughout the years that visitors were signing the Tuol Sleng books”, (Ledgerwood, 2002, p. 110) an action that fitted well with the intentions of the government of the time.

Although this tone of returning home and telling the story of Cambodia is still prevalent within the visitor books at the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, some comments have begun to turn to today, and connections are indeed being made with the world as a whole, and humanity as a whole, collapsing the traditional boundaries of time and culture. With the terrorist attacks of 9/11, and the West’s ‘war on terror’ in Afghanistan and Iraq, the tone of some inserts in the visitor books from Euro-Western visitors speak of a globalised world hampered by the reoccurrence of tragic action. For example one visitor wrote in 2004: “The USA supported the Khmer Rouge. Now they have their own S-21 in Guantanamo where they keep and torture people without trial.” (9/8/2004). And another, “Cambodia will never move forward unless they deal with this history. Why don’t the big shots like Bush and Blair help, instead of starting another war?” (Ireland, 7/2/2003). And another, “Hitler, Pol Pot, Milosovecic, whos next? (Bush?)” (2002). Like much of the graffiti written and scratched into the walls of the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum (see Section 6.5.10), Euro-Western visitors appear to be connecting with site, despite the restrictions and constraints placed by the specific and singular narrative told. Below, is a discussion on how Euro-Western visitors to the post genocide memoriescapes of Cambodia and Rwanda are engaging with site and context through what I have termed here, ‘the shock and reality of death’, ‘the collapsing of time and space’ and ‘Euro-Western cues to connect’.
8.3.1 SHOCK & THE REALITY OF DEATH

Participant CE15 wrote of the Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre, “This appeared to be a very raw, still real site with so much evidence of what happened here . . . It brings real life tragic information to the visitors and is a great education. Very sad. Shocking and so hard to believe.” The shock and reality of death expressed by the memorial sites in Cambodia and Rwanda seem to instinctively ‘speak’ to visitors, including foreign visitors such as Euro-Western citizens, through the ‘human’ expression of death and brutality. As sites of immense ‘human’ tragedy, the human responses of shock and sadness seem an innate reality of site and context that automatically engage the ‘human self’. An obvious response, the field research conducted as part of this study supports the notion that the expression of ‘death’ resonates with man across cultures, as each visitor considers their own mortality, and that of their family, friends, and community.

8.3.2 THE COLLAPSING OF TIME & SPACE

The destruction to the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum caused by 30 years of underfunding, or indeed today no funding, sees the museum physically collapsing due to extensive mould and decay. A major factor in supporting the ‘un-mediated’ appearance of site, where traditional boundaries of time, space and culture collapse, Euro-Western visitors to the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum are actively invited to experience, and encouraged to visualise prisoner life at S-21 as it would have been under Khmer Rouge control. Portrayed clearly through photographs taken by Euro-Western participants, this ‘insider–outsider’ experience (discussed and illustrated in detail in Chapter seven) was one had by many visitors who participated in the existential research. The human remains protruding out of the soil at the Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre also supports and reinforces the ‘unmediated’ appearance of memorial sites in Cambodia, leading to an opportunity for Euro-Western visitors to make connection with the genocide, not only through the experience of horror and atrocity, but more importantly through the ‘human tragedy’ expressed by site. CE3 wrote of their experience at the Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre, “Impossible to fathom how events such as this could happen in such recent times and how humans can inflict such pain and suffering to others.” CE13 Post, another participant to the Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre wrote, “It is humbling and tragic and sad that this kind of thing goes on and the rest of the world lives on self absorbed, oblivious, not acting . . . It is a tragedy that humans can do this to others . . . I feel it is important that we remind ourselves of what has happened, to remember those who suffered, and consider those who continue to suffer, and to have a sense of the grief of the Cambodian people as I believe as human beings, we share in that grief on a level if we don’t realise it…”

The Kigali Memorial Centre in Rwanda does not offer to the same extent the ‘raw’ unmediated first-hand experience such as that at the Cambodian memorials, but is best described as a logical and ‘dignified’ memorial. KMC4 wrote: “The Kigali Memorial Centre is a place of high dignity. The exhibition about the history of Rwanda and the genocide is implemented in a room with dim light. Everything is build up in a circle, perhaps for symbolising that the end
might be another beginning – one has to remember and be aware that something like that never happens again." For Euro-Western visitors however, used to this ‘distanced’ and technologically mediated style common in our Western museums, do find themselves engaged with site, in contrast to the more confrontational experience in Cambodia. Details of the brutal killings and reality of life in Rwanda during the genocide are portrayed through graphic photography and touch-screen panels that show interviews with survivors in three languages. KMC21Post wrote, “The subtleties of the space was impressive. In my mind a memorial centre should be a peaceful place. It should not stand out terribly from its surroundings. It should be a place where someone can explore and feel at ease. . . The centre was well laid out in a circular fashion so that you could continue along the path of the story and images in a holistic way. It was a fitting way to walk through a history that must come full circle. The people and the culture can only find itself again by re-learning the ways that it once was.” Comments made with reference to the symbolic circular design of the main exhibition space again reinforces the concept that Euro-Western visitors are indeed connecting with the site and genocide through design.

The air-conditioned Kigali Memorial Centre is a far cry from the damp, humid and disorganised sites in Cambodia, where human remains can be accidently scuffed with the foot as one treads tentatively through the ‘killing fields’ at the Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre, or deliberately touched in the open displays. KMC4 writes about the Kigali Memorial Centre, “The exhibition gives comprehensive information about the genocide and no one can stay unaffected by what he sees there. But the peaceful garden outside helps to bring ones feelings back to balance. Although the graves on the premises of the Memorial are mass graves, they possess a high degree of dignity due to the careful architecture of the memorial. It is a perfect place to pray for the victims and to remind people what terrible things can be caused by hate.” Acknowledging the all-encompassing human issue of ‘hate’ that offers the root of genocide and so many other human atrocities in the world, KMC4 shows that the experience of visiting the Kigali Memorial Centre offers more than just the ‘distanced’ experience expressed through the mediated memorial. Visitors to the Kigali Memorial Centre undeniably recognise, and are purposefully directed to the wider issues represented by the memorial. KMC2 writes, “It [is] something that has a great impact on one personally and might help prevent future genocides or at least recognize the beginnings of one.”

The genocide in Rwanda happened just 15 years ago, and the signs of atrocity are evident everywhere you turn. From the truck loads of genocide perpetrators in their pink uniforms being transported to the field each day for work, to the rusty-red clay roads meandering up each hill so reminiscent of killing scenes depicted in films of the Rwanda genocide, to the numerous mass grave sites dotting the countryside, each with the sign ‘Never Again’. Participant KMC24Post depicted the idea of genocide and the everyday in the passage she wrote: “I almost feel like the country is a memorial in itself. I hate that I do it, but when I’m walking through the city or Nyamirambo or looking down at a valley, I almost always find myself wondering about the people who were murdered there. I imagine corpse lined streets
and well, you get the idea. It’s not that I’m haunted by it in any way or it scares me, I just can’t stop thinking about it.”

As described by participants throughout the existential research, the horror of genocide itself clearly connects with Euro-Western visitors through its very nature as an unfathomable, barbaric, ‘un-human’ tragedy inflicted by the choices of man. Encouraged to participate in the phenomenologically commanding visualisation of living through genocide, the memorial sites in Cambodia and Rwanda add to this sense of human fragility - of man’s capability to kill. In addition to this underlying narrative presented through the mindful thought of almost anybody visiting a nation surviving in the aftermath of genocide, is the added layer of ‘designed’ Euro-Western ‘cues to connect’. Identified and introduced in Chapter six, and described in detail in Chapter seven through the discussion of existential phenomenological data collected, the phenomenon and practice of Euro-Western ‘cues to connect’, and their ultimate direction in shaping Euro-Western interpretation of memorial sites in Cambodia and Rwanda is discussed below.

8.3.3 EURO–WESTERN ‘CUES TO CONNECT’

Analysis of the existential data has shown in detail throughout Chapter seven that Euro-Western visitors respond at some level to ‘cues’ that engage our ‘pre-understanding’ of site and context, principally through our understanding of the culture and tradition of memorialisation within the West, particularly with regard to memorialisation of the Jewish Holocaust. Each case study site fulfilled at different levels ‘pre-determined’ culturally formed expectations for the participants. Explored through an investigation of the experiential qualities of site, Euro-Western connection with place and people was seen to cross the boundaries of culture and geographic location.

In terms of site design, the issue of whether or not the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum was designed and developed to resemble a ‘Holocaust’ memorial is an issue argued positively for by French sociologist Serge Thion. He argues “that parallels to Nazi camps were deliberately constructed when the museum was ‘refurbished’ by Vietnamese experts, in an effort to attract part of the sinister charisma of Auschwitz” (Thion, 1993, p. 182). Whether this is accurate or not, (as we will never fully understand the internal discussions that went on in Cambodia and Vietnam when the memorial was being constructed) elements of site design at the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, as well as the Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre, clearly emanate certain Euro-Western ‘cues to connect’. For the Kigali Memorial Centre, a memorial built for the 10 year anniversary of the genocide in 2004, the memorial complex would undoubtedly resonate with Euro-Western themes due to the input and direction provided by the UK based Aegis Trust.

Below, this research will discuss the site and contextual interpretations of Euro-Western visitors promoted through site design at the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, the Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre and the Kigali Memorial Centre, and will consider what is ‘realised’ in terms of personal ‘connection’ through design interpretation. Again, as Tonkin and Laurence
describe “each individual must take on their own death and mortality. In this way, memorials are always about the present, and can only be “read” in relation to the viewer’s own present – “How would I feel if this happened to me?”” (Tonkin & Laurence, 2003, pp. 48-49).

Experiencing the vastness of death in Cambodia and Rwanda during the periods of genocide is an aspect of site that almost all participants responded to. Similar to the familiar long lists of war dead found on traditional stone monuments or fields of infinite white crosses in war cemeteries throughout the Western world, the sheer numbers of dead portrayed through the lists of names, rooms of photos, or the continued extension of mass graves, strongly engaged the Euro-Western visitor. The phenomenologically powerful statement made by the experiential qualities of torture equipment also proved to engage the Euro-Western visitor. Much like the retention and display of crematorium furnaces in Concentration and Extermination Camps throughout Europe, the sheer rawness of unimaginable circumstances again was shown to resonate with Euro-Western visitors, who recorded primarily through photos, their mindful engagement with these site artefacts. The display of victim belongings, such as is also commonly seen at Concentration and Extermination Camp memorials throughout Europe, was also shown in this research to engage the Euro-Western visitor. Different to seeing the ‘altered’ human appearance of a human skull for instance, victim clothing, unchanged in appearance from the time it was worn by the victim, echoes a ‘realness’ with Euro-Western visitors who can connect, through this most basic and ‘everyday’ human item.

Another ‘cue’ to connect for Euro-Western visitors is the graveyards associated with each of the memorial sites. Again, a reality for all human beings, death and its representation through the ‘graveyard’ narrates the story of human loss, regardless of cultural difference. For the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, the graves to the last fourteen victims found at S-21 could be described as strongly resembling a European graveyard. Its uniform rows of elevated concrete white graves narrate a familiar story of death to the Euro-Western visitor. For the mass grave sites at the Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre, and the Kigali Memorial Centre, death, an inevitably end for all human beings also communicates a story we all understand.

In terms of the provision for information gathering, which was, for most Euro-Western participants a primary goal, each site fulfilled this agenda at different levels. For example, some Euro-Western participants, who are used to being ‘fed’ information from every direction, through every media possible, appeared to find the Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre difficult to interpret. For example CE13Post wrote of the Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre, “This site could have been so much better signposted and explanations would have helped me get a lot more from the visit. I found S-21 much better in this regard.” The extreme un-mediated appearance of the Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre also proved difficult for many participants to comprehend. CE6 also stated “when I visited the Memorial [Choeung Ek], I couldn’t feel any special atmosphere. It looks more like a place just to get money from tourists…. I find it sad, because it should be only (or mainly) a memorial. The text, information are very light, and I
couldn’t really realise how big was this killing field. I don’t even know tonight how many people died in Cambodia because of Khmer Rouge.” The inclusion by many participants of photos portraying both ‘object’ and ‘caption’, by way of on-site sign at the Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre supports this notion of participants striving to collect information, to visually document aspects of site important to their experience and remembrance. The clean, ‘distanced’ and mediated appearance of the Kigali Memorial Centre however proved more satisfactory in terms of fulfilling the ‘informational’ experience of the visit for Euro-Western visitors. For example KMC6 wrote, “Very well set up museum! The horror is presented very well, I think it is not too much but enough to make you understand the horrific genocide. I liked the set up way / path you have to follow. The videoclips are good. They give you a time out from reading the boards and personalize the genocide. I liked the set-up: background info, genocide itself, life after the genocide. I liked the fact they only asked for donations and no entry fee. They might even get more money out of it as people like to give money to such a well organized museum and leaving the museum you are in a money spending mood after seeing what happened to the people. The pictures and stories of the individual children upstairs stayed in my mind the most.”

8.3.4 BONTA & THE DESIGN INTERPRETATION OF POST GENOCIDE MEMORYSCAPES

Clearly able to connect across culture today, this research has shown that the post genocide memoryscapes of Cambodia and Rwanda engage the Euro-Western visitor through multiple ways, including the on-site designed ‘cues’ that respond to our cultural pre-understanding. Returning to Bonta’s Anatomy of Architectural Interpretation (1974), by placing the theory of ‘cues to connect’ within the nine stages of interpretation, the visual and cultural ‘cues’ discussed in detail in Chapters six and seven, have indeed become, in terms of Euro-Western interpretation, the ‘canon’ – the interpretive phenomena that develops when a particular interpretation crystallises, when an interpretation is collectively developed and a social consensus is met (Bonta, 1974, pp. 62-66). With canonic understandings, “Individuals learn the meaning, rather than construct or reconstruct it themselves” (Bonta, 1974, p. 66). In this way, through ‘knowing’ the canon of memorialisation in the West, and in particular memorialisation to the Jewish Holocaust, ‘Euro-Western cues to connect’ identified either consciously or unconsciously by visitors to the memorial sites in Cambodia and Rwanda engage Euro-Western tourists with site and context through a language of expression that they accept and understand. This canon, shaped and to this day supported by the ‘official interpretation’ offered by those involved in the creation of each case study site, has today, through the global processes of media, knowledge transmission and travel identified Holocaust memorialisation as a ‘class’ of interpretation, and has been disseminated throughout the world as a universal tool for interpreting the memorialisation of genocide.
Considering the above investigation therefore, the discussion continues below as an extension to the existing enquiry, and looks at the ability of memorial design to transpose these ‘connections’ or cultural engagements, through time. Acknowledging the idea that the needs of society change and evolve through time, the investigation continues by exploring the extent to which post genocide memoryscapes can evolve with the changing needs of society, and in so doing, secure their place within the cultural landscape for years to come.
In terms of coming to ‘know’ tragedy through memorial design, the attempt to make architecture speak is common, and ‘architecture parlanté’, a term coined in the late nineteenth century, dominates genocide memorialisation as has been seen in each of the case study sites in Cambodia and Rwanda, where site design and content have focussed strongly on the didactic, where interpretation is directed, and thought bounded within a particular memory. In Berlin too, this genre makes a significant appearance in many memorials. Berlin’s most recent memorial however, Eisenman’s (2005) Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe, rejects this literal speech or architectural parlanté, which Eisenman believes, leaves the visitor little freedom for interpretation (da Costa Meyer, 2006). It is towards this issue of freedom of thought, and the promotion of individual interpretation that this study now moves. As James Young believes, monuments that resist or oppose transformation - the transposition of interpretation - risk losing their significance to future generations (Young, 1993). Unlike a piece of architecture or public art however, a memorial to genocide does not fit into the normal expectations of design interpretation due to the immense historical, cultural and emotional significance. For the ‘traditional’ genocide memorial often located at a ‘sacred’ site, and orientated around issues of preservation and documentation, any attempt at individual design interpretation is difficult, and may even be inappropriate. With the opening of Eisenman’s Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe in 2005 however, an exciting opportunity was given to explore the possible interpretive potential for an ‘abstract/non-representational’ memorial ‘layer’ within the Berlin landscape of Holocaust memory. Figure 8.1 below illustrates the relationship between memorial form and texture with regard to each of the sites discussed within this research. Reiterating the idea that the post genocide memorial sites of Cambodia and Rwanda focus on issues of preservation, documentation and education, the diagram below also illustrates the example of Berlin’s post genocide memoriescape, and in particular, the addition of Eisenman’s Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe.

Fig. 8.1
Memorial Texture and Form – Cambodia, Rwanda and Germany
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8.4.1 Design Interpretation & the Movement of Meaning

In addition to illustrating the relationship between memorial form and texture, figure 8.2 below illustrates diagrammatically the proposed investigation into what I have termed here the ‘movement of meaning’ through time, through an ‘openness’ or less-bounded memorial design that allows for, or encourages the practise of individual ‘pre-canonic’ interpretive response. As can be seen from the diagram, traditional memorials that generally include mass graves, monuments, and museums, that are orientated around the textures of preservation, documentation and education, limit, by their very nature as representations of actual place, artefact and factual information, the interpretation of site for visitors, often limiting interpretation to that of the ‘official interpretation’ of the time. Memorials however that encompass the design strategies of abstraction and non-representation may offer the best possibility to investigate the ‘movement of meaning’ within genocide memoryscapes, a type of memorialisation that has, until now, been almost solely orientated around representational memorialisation where individual self-reflective interpretation was not possible or even appropriate.

Fig. 8.2
Memorial Form and texture, and the movement of meaning

In terms of design interpretation, the very nature of Cambodia’s national genocide memorials, one being a former prison, and the other a killing field, are ultimately spaces emerging from real use in real time. Bonta’s initial interpretive stages of ‘blindness’ and ‘pre-canonic interpretation’ therefore were not present for either local or international visitors. From March 1979, when the museum was first opened to foreign journalists and diplomats, a strong ‘official interpretation’ stamped its mark and placed issues of documentation and preservation at the forefront of site interpretation. This research has shown that international visitors today are...
strongly directed towards seeing the memorials in the ‘official’ light, set alongside the canon established by ‘Holocaust memorialisation’. Achieved through information pamphlets collected at the ticket kiosk, through travel guides and tourist brochures, through text on site, and at the core of this research, through the memorial design itself, and interpretation of Cambodia’s post genocide memoryscape, has today moved through ‘canonic’, ‘class identification’ and ‘dissemination’ stages of interpretation, all dominated however by the ‘official interpretation’ offered in 1979. Below, figure 8.3 considers the national memorial sites of the Toul Sleng Genocide Museum and the Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre as they stand today, 30 years after the fall of Pol Pot, in relation to the key design issues considered within this research of design form, memorial texture, and the ‘movement of meaning’.

As has been discussed, the Kigali Memorial Centre was purpose built in conjunction with a Western charity. Stephen Smith of the Aegis Trust has stated that his aim for the development of the Centre in future years is to move and develop with the changing needs of society. He states of the Kigali Memorial Centre, “Very often in front of the word ‘museum’ comes either ‘permanent’ or ‘static’. This museum is neither permanent nor static, it’s a dynamic conversation between this community and that building and what will happen is, I would hope, is that when we come back after 15 years, 20 years after the genocide, 25 years after the genocide, if you find the same museum there, I shall be very disappointed. Its got to change, its got to evolve, its got to emerge with the narrative that comes out of the people that are flowing through it” (Smith; cited in Aegis Trust, n.d.). Today however, the still relatively young memorial site of the Kigali Memorial Centre sits within a generation of Rwandans who were directly affected by the 1994 genocide. Focused therefore on aspects of documentation and education, the texture of the memorial today certainly seems ‘appropriate’ especially in the current light of issues with genocide ideology in Rwandan schools. A place to bury the dead in
a dignified and sanitary manner, a place for family and friends to mourn the victims, a place for school groups to go and learn about the process of genocide, both in Rwanda and internationally, and a place for international visitors to learn and pay their respects to the 258,000 victims buried on site, the 800,000 victims killed in total during the 1994 killings, and the millions of genocide victims worldwide. As above, figure 8.4 illustrates the national Rwandan memorial site of the Kigali Memorial Centre in relation to the key design issues considered within this research of form, texture, and the ‘movement of meaning’ over time.

Sixty years of post genocide development has seen the German memoryscape of genocide and Nazi crimes primarily contribute to a landscape of preservation and documentation of first-hand evidences. In 2005 however, with the creation of Peter Eisenman’s Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe, a question was answered that had persisted in both German and international society for 60 years - ‘what room would Germany allow the memory of its Nazi past, and the Jewish Holocaust?’ On the 10th of May, 2005, the answer was laid in stone with the opening of the new memorial in central Berlin. It was stated by the American Judaic Studies specialist James Young, that no other nation had ever undertaken an experiment to “reunite on the stony subsoil of the memory of its crimes, or to place the remembrance of these crimes in the geographic centre of its capital” (Young, 2005; cited Thierse, 2005, pp. 14-15). With the opening of Eisenman’s memorial, a new step forward in genocide memorialisation was taken - a new layer of expression developed, and a new generation of memorial realised that communicates the memory of the Jewish Holocaust. Peter Eisenman, at the opening ceremony of the memorial said, “Our purposes have been twofold. First was to establish a permanent memory, to record what has been in this capital city. Second, and perhaps more importantly, was to begin a debate with the openness that is proposed by such a project, allowing future generations to draw their own conclusions. Not to direct them what to think,
but allow them to think” (Eisenman, 2005b, pp. 30-31). Thus, the official interpretation is that there is no given narrative or symbolism. “Visitors are . . . thrown back on their own resources. There are no instructions for the proper or ‘correct’ use” (Schlor, 2005, p. 45).

Bearing no single entrance, no centre, no endpoint, and no explanation, the memorial stands today as a prompt for individual interpretation. This openness, this awareness that the needs and challenges that face society change with time, and thus must evolve, continuing to connect and challenge people from different places and different times, is core to this research. Dr Spiegel, at the opening ceremony of Eisenman’s memorial, spoke of the importance of retaining and appreciating the memorial sites focused on preservation and documentation, “It would be not only regrettable but a downright scandal if these sites of remembrance over the longer term were to pay a price for the creation of the Holocaust Memorial [Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe]” (Spiegel, 2005, p. 26). Indicating the importance of historical layers within the memoryscape Spiegel continues, “without historical memory, without the authentic places of annihilation, every abstract memorial will, in the long run, lose its effect as a sign against forgetting” (Spiegel, 2005, p. 26). The Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe when considered within the wider memoryscape of Germany today will stand for years to come as a point of remembrance - a centre for memory. Located in the heart of Berlin, the memorial represents the very boundary of human civilisation. “May it contribute to keeping alive the memory which threatens to grow dim as the voices of the contemporary witnesses to the Holocaust fall silent” (Spiegel, 2005, p. 27).

The Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe has signalled a new approach to the memorialisation of genocide. Removed from a specific place of tragedy, the Memorial offers today space for ‘pre-canonic’ or self interpretation. Forming a key public space as much as a Holocaust Memorial, the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe stands as a world leader in a new generation of genocide memorialisation. The information centre, required by the Berlin Council, was carefully designed into the site to minimise any disturbance to the Memorial’s field of stelae. A point of contention for Eisenman, and indeed Richard Serra who chose to leave the design team after this directive was put in stone, the information centre today extends the stelae of the field into the substructure of the information centre below “provoking a continued state of reflection and contemplation once inside” (Eisenman, 2005a, p. 11).

This is a new generation memorial, where the ‘informational’ didactic layer of ‘architectural parlante’ is layered with a non-representational space for ‘willed participation’ by the visitor, for contemplation and for reflection, that when considered along Bonta’s stages of architectural interpretation, a ‘pre-canonic response’, the most individually powerful of all understandings, is initiated time and time again. Below, figure 8.5 illustrates the placement of Sachsenhausen Memorial and Museum, and the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe, again with regard to the key design elements considered within this research – form, texture and the ‘movement of meaning’.
Returning to the actuality that most Euro-Western participants to the case study sites in Cambodia and Rwanda stated that they had little specific knowledge of the genocides in those nations prior to visiting them and their memorial sites, the idea that memoryscapes of genocide must become ‘layered’ landscapes, is reinforced, where sites of preservation and documentation are translucently layered beside sites of education – and where these important and didactically focused sites, giving an informational base as needed, are layered with sites of memorialisation where abstract and non-representational space for connection in the present is encouraged.

Resisting different or ‘alternative interpretations’, the memoryscapes of genocide in Cambodia and Rwanda today have a certain inertia due to their singular burden of particular memory focused on preservation, documentation and education, that actively resist ‘different’ or evolving interpretations. The less ‘burdened’ narrative of the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe is more open to the movement of meaning. Able to rely on the many documentative memorials already located throughout Europe, the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe has the comfort of knowing that the particular story of the Jewish Holocaust and Nazi crimes will forever be told didactically through these memorials where first-hand evidences are kept, leaving it to fulfil a space, a public space in central Berlin where man is not ‘told’ what to think, but where man is encouraged to think, making personal connection and engaging with site in an individually meaningful way.
As this research has shown, obvious and genuine connection was certainly made by participants to the ‘traditional’ information based case study memorial sites considered within this research orientated around issues of preservation, documentation and education. Amplified emotion, directed by a pre-understanding formulated by the Western experience of the Jewish Holocaust and Nazi crimes during WWII, the sheer shock at the magnitude and raw reality of genocide, and ‘being in time’ experiencing the site, context and people directly affected by the tragedy of genocide, Euro-Western participants today indeed find connection, both through collective and personal pre-understanding and on-site experience. Restricted to some extent by the limits of interpretation constrained by relevance in time, language and an ever-changing society, the memoryscapes of Cambodia and Rwanda, may, I believe, run the risk of being mired in the ‘information and education’ mode, unchanging with the world around them. There is also a risk that today’s media-drenched world which offers information at the press of a button is hampering the passage into a form of representation which requires more of the visitor – asking that they not simply stand, stare, and store, but that they become cognitively and emotionally involved. Vitally important to the landscape of memory, these sites will always be sacred and pivotal places within post genocide nations, but as is today seen with the hopes and expectations of Berlin’s Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe, ‘new’ generation memorials, dedicated to the practice of self reflection and individual interpretation in the present, that challenges the ‘everyday’, may have the greatest ability to prompt ‘the self’ – individual reflective self-interpretation. When read as a layer of memory, with that of the established memoryscape, the memory of the Jewish Holocaust will stand firm in our ever-changing world, speaking through generations, culture, ethnicity and religion.
chapter nine

the marking of memory
& the right to remember
9.1 INTRODUCTION

As was introduced in Chapter three, the modernist Architect Adolf Loos believed that the only true and pure architecture was that of the memorial, as it had no function other than memory (Heathcote, 2006, p. 50). He also said, architecture is about monuments and graves, “that an individual human life could be commemorated by a stone, a slab, a cross, or a star” (Eisenman, 2005a, p. 10). This simplicity of course ended with the Holocaust, with Hiroshima, with Cambodia, Rwanda, 9/11 – the mechanisms of mass death. Individuals today can no longer be certain to die an individual death, and architecture can no longer therefore remember life as it once did. “The markers that were formerly symbols of individual life and death must be changed, and this has a profound effect on the idea of memory and the monument” (Eisenman, 2005a, p. 10).

This research is a design critique based thesis looking at the memorialisation of genocide in the three very different nations of Cambodia, Rwanda and Germany. Often thought of in traditional terms, the process of critique may attempt to render a piece of art or architecture - a design - successful or not in terms of achieving its stated aim. In terms of genocide memorialisation then, should a ‘successful’ memorial therefore be critiqued in its ability to achieve the ultimate goal - to prevent genocide? Investigated in these terms, this study would have indeed shown that no memorial to genocide could be deemed a ‘success’, as the planned and deliberate mass killing of man, by man, continues throughout the world. With this said, this research did not expect to use the process of design critique in these terms, but aimed to start a conversation about the ways in which memorial design might begin to engage the mind and heart of those who visit, and as such, work towards developing a better understanding of how future generations and those who do not ‘know’ the tragedy first-hand may come to engage with it in the landscape through space and built form. Also realising my limitations as a ‘distanced’ researcher from the people and places directly affected by the genocides of Cambodia and Rwanda, my research was cautiously planned to turn what could be described as a ‘limitation’, into a positive contribution to the conversation relating to genocide memorialisation. As such, this research looks specifically at the issue of memorial design, and what role site design plays in shaping Euro-Western experience and interpretation of post genocide memorialisation in Cambodia and Rwanda, as the tourism industry, vital to the economy of these emerging nations, develops.

This chapter will outline the key findings of this research, and will then discuss the implications of the findings for those involved in the practice of memorialisation – from the communities surviving in the aftermath of genocide, to the designers and scholars involved in the creation of memorial space and discourse.
9.2 KEY FINDINGS

This research has reinforced the contemporary conviction that genocide is a human problem unbounded by time, geographic location, culture or religion. It is a problem we are yet to understand fully, and as such it is a problem we seem unable to prevent. In our global world of instant information, we today assume responsibility for actions committed throughout the world merely through our ability to 'see'. With this assumed responsibility, the core assumption established in Chapter one was that genocide memorialisation has moved beyond being a primary custom or ritual for the victim/survivor community, to today attaining a privileged position within the international context, where the act and process of genocide is viewed as a grave crime against humanity. Highly relevant to today within the contemporary context of modern developments in mass media, advanced communications and a growing tourist interest in emerging nations, this research has specifically investigated how memorial sites in Cambodia and Rwanda engage the Euro-Western visitor who may have little previous or personal connection with site and context (Williams, 2004a, p. 208).

Firstly, the research undertaken within this study has shown that the process of genocide memorialisation moves through identifiable stages in time that respond to the needs, expectations - and as this research has reinforced - the political, social and economic pressures present in a nation surviving in the aftermath of genocide. Analysis has shown that in the immediacy following tragedy there is a deep need to document and preserve evidences – to retain the actual places of tragedy, to provide spaces for burial, and to retain first-hand artefacts and evidentially significant items. This research demonstrates through the 'Memorial Development Model' - and examined with reference to Berlin’s public memoryscape of the Jewish Holocaust - the idea that as a community moves through the aftermath of genocide, the public expression of that process is expressed through the development of its memoryscape, from a landscape of preservation, documentation and education, to today including memorial sites of abstraction and non-representation.

The case study research carried out in Cambodia and Rwanda has clearly illustrated the initial stages of this process, where memorial sites are explicitly shown to respond to the contextual conditions of time and place in which they sit. This study has shown for example, through an analysis of Cambodia’s memoryscape of genocide, that the form and function of memorial sites in Cambodia are undoubtedly a result of the complex political situation of the nation today, that has not seen for 30 years, any justice relating to the crimes committed against humanity during the 1970’s. Similarly, research undertaken in relation to Rwanda’s memoryscape to genocide again revealed a parallel between societal and political needs, and the subsequent public expression of memorial form and function.

In addition to the vast and complex contextual situations in which this research was located, the core research issue around tourism, and experience of international visitors was considered by way of phenomenological enquiry. Returning to the 1993 article ‘Phenomenology and Auschwitz: seeking practical application of the paradigm in design analysis’, Mezga states,
“Auschwitz facilitates outsider participation and is acknowledged as a substantial repository of meaning. It carries an identity of shuddering emotional impact, providing an environment where attached meanings far exceed the collection of objects which constitute its physical structure” (Mezga, 1993, p. 69). This research has shown that the post genocide memoryscapes of Cambodia and Rwanda also act as ‘substantial repositories of meaning’ – potent containers of memory. Like Auschwitz, the raw reality of death presented through the memorial sites in Cambodia and Rwanda undeniably carry also ‘an identity of shuddering emotional impact’. For Euro-Western tourists considered primarily in this study, site elements common to all human civilisations such as skulls, bones and clothes presented on site in these foreign nations, proved to cross traditional cultural and linguistic boundaries - connecting the ‘human’ self to site and context – through the intrinsic reality of death, and what it is to be human.

Another key finding of this research which relates to Mezga’s observations of Auschwitz, is the complex idea relating to ‘site and the attachment of meaning’. Mezga suggests that the experience of Auschwitz provides “an environment where attached meanings far exceed the collection of objects which constitute its physical structure” (Mezga, 1993, p. 68). Through field data analysis this research has explicitly shown that the design of memorial sites in Cambodia and Rwanda express certain on site ‘cues’ that allow, or perhaps encourage, the culturally specific attachment of meaning, in this case through our pre-understanding of the Jewish Holocaust. For Cambodia and Rwanda, nations very different to that found in the West, these ‘cues’ act to connect the Euro-Western visitor with, for most, a ‘foreign’ site and a ‘foreign’ context. It is through this process of site interpretation that the attachment of individual meaning comes to ‘exceed’ the actual physicality of space. I propose that it is primarily through these two experiential mechanisms – the ‘human’ connection with reality, and the individual attachment of meaning - that Euro-Western visitors to memorial sites in Cambodia and Rwanda come to engage with site.

Finally, as an extension discussion to the field research, this study suggests that post genocide memoryscapes purely orientated around issues of preservation, documentation and education – here represented by the current post genocide memoryscapes of Cambodia and Rwanda - may risk losing their significance within contemporary society if they do not evolve with the needs of society around them. For Berlin, the memoryscape of genocide remains, 60 years on, dominated by sites of preservation and documentation. With the opening of Peter Eisenman’s Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe in 2005 however, the opportunity was given to consider and analyse the design strategies of abstraction and non-representation in relation to the built form of genocide memorialisation. Extending beyond the expected ‘stand and stare’ relationship between visitor and memorial as commonly experienced in visually dominated sites of traditional memorialisation, this research suggests that the ‘being in time’ of the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe goes beyond the established expectations of memorial experience. Not telling the visitor what to think, but instead encouraging each visitor to ‘just’ think, the ability of memorial design to facilitate individual thought and self reflection is a compelling issue for those involved in the design and theorising of genocide memorialisation.
Having far-reaching implications, genocide memorialisation is an extreme example of the political, cultural and economic complexities that surround the process of memorial design in the world today. Highlighting in a globalised setting the profound ramifications of memorialisation and its interpretation for those involved or affected by its expression, this research has highlighted the need to be vigilant within the future discourse and practise of memorial design and development, particularly in the aftermath of genocide. The design of built memorial works is one that carries with it significant and complex realities for those involved in the design, discourse, experience and engagement with genocide memorialisation.

The first implication identified through this research that must be considered within any future discourse or practice of genocide memorialisation is that memorials have the ability within post genocide communities to either build or destroy any sense of unification or reconciliation, as was discussed by Susan Cook in relation to Rwanda (Cook, 2006). On the question of whether commemorative works might handicap efforts at peaceful cohabitation in Rwanda, Cook found that the implications of memorialisation for the victim/survivor community were complex, with memorial design having a profound effect on the way a society survives and develops in the aftermath of genocide.

A second implication to consider with regard to memorial design, and related to the issue identified above, is what place the memory of genocide should be given within a post genocide landscape. As Sabrina Van der Linden a Holocaust survivor stated at the opening of the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe, “I do not believe in the collective guilt. And if I may paraphrase the great writer and an exceptional man Elie Wiesel: ‘The children of the killers are not killers. We must never blame them for what their elders did. But we can hold them responsible for what they do with the memory of their elder’s crime’” (Van der Linden, 2005, p. 37). By placing the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe at the heart of Germany’s capital, a debate was sparked that has in some ways transcended the designed memorial form itself – a debate that continues to challenge visitor and scholar alike about what place contemporary German society should allow the memory of the Holocaust and Nazi Crimes committed during WWII. In 1998, German novelist Martin Walser cited the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe in his public condemnation of Germany’s ‘Holocaust industry.’ In the speech given on 11 October 1998 as he accepted the Frankfurt Book Fair Peace Prize, Walser decried the exploitation of German disgrace for present purposes, criticising Berlin’s latest proposal as ‘monumentalising’ and continuing Germany’s ‘ceaseless presentation of shame’ (Frontline, 2005). By placing a memorial to the Jewish Holocaust in the heart of Berlin - a public memorial and public space that is experienced as part of the everyday - the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe has tested the limits considered so far by the established discourse surrounding memorial design, and provides an opportunity for the critical extension to discourse relating to the expression of memory in the landscape.
A third ramification to consider in relation to genocide memorialisation is that the form and meaning of a memorial can be an important way to broach complex and difficult subjects within a post-genocide community, prompting critical social debate. Justin DeRose and Ekaterina Haskins suggest that it is a memorial’s faithfulness to being ‘multiform’ and a ‘forum for open debate’ that renders a memorial meaningful – as different to a site that encourages collective affirmation (DeRose & Haskin, 2003). As Paul Williams suggests, memorials are important not only as completed structures, but as a process for public questioning (Williams, 2004b, pp. 248-249). With regard to Daniel Libeskind’s Jewish Museum in Berlin for example - a building that aimed through design to interrogate the history of Jews in Germany - Williams comments that “an intense debate erupted over questions of guilt, culpability and forgiveness” (Williams, 2004b, p. 249) - in other words - a forum for open social debate. James Young suggests, a memorial should aim “not to consol but to provoke; not to remain fixed but to change; not to be everlasting but to disappear; not to be ignored by passersby but to demand interaction; not to remain pristine but to invite its own violation and desanctification; not to accept graciously the burden of memory but to throw it back at the town’s feet” (Young, 1993, p. 30). Drawing on the work of Juan Pablo Bonta, this research has shown that in the context of genocide memorialisation in Cambodia and Rwanda, memorial sites may run the risk, through appealing for ‘collective affirmation’ - through the universal acceptance of the ‘official interpretation’ - of losing their ability to construct a forum for public debate, as the primary interpretive response is dominated by one officially led understanding.

A fourth important ramification for memorial design that is particularly pertinent in the ‘connected’ world of today, and is a core issue of this research, is how the international visitor, who may have little previous or personal connection with site and context, engaged through site experience and interpretation of the post-genocide memoryscapes of Cambodia and Rwanda. This study has shown that what might be termed a documentative approach to memorial design - such as that seen primarily in Cambodia and Rwanda - are understood by their basic informational, photographic and symbolic imagery, by what they stand for, and rely significantly on visual and thematic ‘cues’ to transcend cultural and linguistic boundaries. The Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe however, at the other extreme, offers no specific or ‘told’ visual or cultural ‘cues’ in which the international visitor can understand or experience the site. An individual’s experience of the memorial grants no didactic understanding – “there is no goal, no end, no working one’s way in or out” (Eisenman, 2005a, p. 12). In this context there is only the living memory of the individual - knowing the past through its manifestation in the present (Eisenman, 2005a, p. 12). In an article written about the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe for the German newspaper Die Zeit, Italian philosopher Giorgio Agamben offers an interpretation of the memorial, where, he suggests the underground information centre embodies the ‘memorable,’ just as memorials focused around preserving and presenting first-hand evidences, photos and text might. With reference to the field of stelae above however, Agamben believes the ‘pillars’ manifest the ‘unforgettable’ (Benjamin, 2005). In this context the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe presents a new idea of memory, as distinct from the traditional archival, historical and symbolic nature commonly presented
through didactic representation, or the actual lived space – the ‘memorable’. The Memorial to
the Murdered Jews of Europe - the silence of the field of stelae - denies closure and becomes,
what Agamben terms, the ‘unforgettable’, challenging the visitor to comprehend the experience
as part of an individual dialogue between man and meaning, transcending the traditional need
for visual, linguistic and cultural ‘cues’. It is an experience you can’t explain, or separate the
‘self’ from.

The final issue considered within this research that has important implications for anyone
involved in the process of memorialising genocide, is the ability of memorial form to allow for
the ‘movement of meaning’ as the needs and expectations of society change and evolve around
them. Through the research undertaken in this study a generalised process of memorialisation
in the aftermath of genocide has been identified and discussed. Acknowledging that the nations
and cultures of Cambodia and Rwanda are very different to that of Germany, the Memorial
Development Model introduced in Chapter three, and discussed in further detail in Chapter
eight, is proposed as a tool for discussion, and not as a ‘prescribed’ approach or process which
‘will’ or ‘should’ be followed by Cambodia or Rwanda, or any other nation surviving in the
aftermath of genocide. It does however offer an interesting opportunity grounded in the actual
built space of a post genocide community to critically focus discussion around the aims and
realities of memorial design and the process of genocide memorialisation over time. Memorial
design framed by what Agamben describes as the ‘unforgettable’ traverses time and place,
moving and evolving with society. In this reality, the meaning of the memorial only exists with
the connection of man in his/her immediate and individual lifeworld.

Differences in approach seen in the built form and interpretation of genocide memorials in
Cambodia, Rwanda and Germany, indicate that the post genocide memoryscapes of each
nation are undoubtedly immersed in the processes of political, emotive and social realities of a
community existence after genocide. This research, grounded in actual designed space within
post genocide communities has highlighted the compelling relationships between memorial
design and reconciliation, the representation of memory, and critical social debate within post
genocide communities. This research has also shown that with the added complexities of
tourism and time, the relationships between memorial design and interpretation are critical
implications to consider in the design and discourse of contemporary genocide
memorialisation.
9.4 IMPLICATIONS FOR PHENOMENOLOGY AS METHODOLOGY

A key finding of this research was that the three modes of phenomenological enquiry demonstrated within the method - ‘encountered’, ‘existential’ and ‘hermeneutic’ - give an in-depth and unique ‘human understanding’ of the way man experiences landscapes of tragedy.

The mode of ‘encountered’ phenomenological enquiry offered in-depth, meaningful and expressive descriptions of each site under enquiry. Using the collective media of photographic, film and textual records, the ‘encountered’ approach to design interpretation - where pre-understanding and knowledge of site and context are placed alongside in-depth descriptions focused on the design and experiential qualities of site - illuminated issues and concepts that were ‘important’ or ‘significant’ when considering Euro-Western experience of site.

The ‘existential’ mode of phenomenological enquiry provided an expansive and relatively unmediated view into the experiences of space, site and self of Euro-Western visitors to the case study sites. The three ‘on-site’ and two ‘follow-up’ exercises that provided information by way of text, graphic and photographic expression of site experience and interpretation proved effective in elucidating the experience and attached meanings of others.

The ‘hermeneutic’ mode of phenomenological enquiry was interpreted widely, and focused on an interpretive discussion around the development of post genocide memorialisation. Enlisting the discourse of key scholars and designers, the hermeneutic enquiry developed unrestrictedly in response to key issues identified as a result of the encountered and existential enquiries.

The methodology also expanded the ideas of Bonta’s Anatomy of Architectural Interpretation. Bonta’s framework offers an approach with which to rigorously address the concept of design interpretation through time, and has proven through this research - research that is grounded in a very different context to his seminal work undertaken with a meta-linguistic analysis of the Barcelona Pavilion - to be a useful tool across the design professions, where an investigation into the ‘meaning’ of landscape or architecture is sought.

The implications of this research for the future development of phenomenology as a rigorous and legitimate mode through which to conduct design critique across the design profession is also an important result of this study. Providing a wealth of relatively unmediated information, the phenomenological method of design critique illuminated what was important in the broad issue set at the outset of this study, which aimed to investigate the role of design in shaping Euro-Western experience and interpretation of genocide memorialisation in Cambodia and Rwanda. Revealing the multiple ‘meanings’ of design and experience through layers of graphic, photographic, and text based response, the phenomenological method outlined in the study offers the future of landscape architecture, and other design industries involved in the
relationship between man and meaning, an enduring, flexible and innately intimate method of enquiry
9.5 FUTURE DIRECTIONS:
HUMAN RESPONSE & MEMORIALISATION

Through the process of this investigation, several important and interesting issues have arisen that have been assessed as exceeding the limits set for this research, but that would offer interesting future directions for the continuation of research surrounding genocide memorialisation. This investigation has, to date, looked at the site design of genocide memorials, and Euro-Western interpretation of the post genocide memoriales of Cambodia and Rwanda. The response and interaction of local communities however – perpetrator and victim groups – would provide an extension to this research not so far considered, offering insight into the relationship between collective ‘grief’ and public memorialisation. Introduced here is the idea that as a society moves through stages of grief after tragedy, so too does the public memoryscape - developing perhaps in response to the collective grief - offering an outward and public view.

Grief historically has been looked at in an individualistic way, but here, the idea of memorialisation as response to a society’s collective grief is proposed. Understanding that both the grief and memorialisation processes are highly complex, and resist by their very nature a concise or rational analysis, this idea is not intended to offer a conclusive analysis or comparison, but to spark a conversation on how memorial form and texture may be looked at as a response to grief that arises from mass death, and in this case, genocide. The Kubler-Ross model describes, in five discrete but inter-related stages, the process by which people deal with grief and tragedy. The model was introduced by Elisabeth Kubler-Ross in her 1969 book “On Death and Dying”, and introduces the concept known as ‘The Five Stages of Grief’ (Kubler-Ross, 1969). The stages - denial, anger, bargaining, depression and acceptance - are set here alongside the memorial textures as introduced in this research. The model presented below, figure 9.1, suggests a new investigative tool into considering the possible relationship between physical representation of public memorialisation, and ‘collective’ grief.
Introduced in the model above (figure 9.1), the relationship between the Kubler-Ross model of the grief process and the expression of memorial textures as identified within the Memorial Development Model is presented. By looking at the process of grief, in relation to the dominant memorial texture expressed in the national memoryscape of a nation surviving in the aftermath of genocide, the relationship between collective ‘grief’ and ‘memorial response’ may be discussed. For example, preserving evidences as ‘proof’, such as the case for Cambodia over the past 30 years, may develop in response to issues of denial by certain groups with a particular agenda to ‘forget’, or future generations who ‘do not know’. By clearly documenting the event, victim groups can know that their suffering will be seen by those who witness the first-hand documentation provided by the processes of preservation and documentation - proof. Education as a memorial texture may respond to several stages of the grief process, namely ‘denial’, ‘anger’ or ‘bargaining’, as a community comes to terms with what happened. Expressed within the case study of Rwanda, the Kigali Memorial Centre is seen to respond clearly to the external issue of current genocide ideology within surviving communities, and particularly anger for what happened. Finally, the concept of memorialisation focused on abstraction/non-representation is best illustrated within this research by the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe. As Germany has come to accept its genocidalry past (whether through choice, necessity or other means) the memoryscape of genocide has responded accordingly. ‘Less burdened’ perhaps by the raw and immediate emotion that is seen to so strongly direct the quite tangible actions of memorial form in the first three stages of the Memorial Development Model, there appears through time, to be possibility for the broadening out of memorial response – a parallel between acceptance and abstraction/non-representation.

This relationship between collective grief and memorial response, although also explicitly effected by the external tensions of politics - both national and international - society, religion
and economics. I believe warrants further investigation, and would offer a structured framework in which to consider ‘local’ perceptions and beliefs around memorial design.
9.6 CONCLUSION DISCUSSION

Samantha Power states “More than a half century has passed since the Genocide Convention came into effect, and genocide has proceeded virtually unabated. Press coverage of the atrocities has generated outrage, but it has generally been insufficient to prompt Western action” (Power, 2002, p. 85). It is one thing to talk about genocide, the raw mechanics, the overwhelming statistics, the hopelessness of a world repeating itself time and time again, a wish for prevention - these factors can all be described, spoken and heard. However how can those who don’t know genocide in the first instance attempt to understand the reality, to make a personal connection, to be able to reflect, to realise, to know?

Investigating the differing modes of memorialisation within this study I believe that memorials to genocide must focus on the universal concept of social consciousness, where man is willing to participate in the active engagement of mind and heart, and where ‘meaning’ is not limited by time or culture. Genocide is a human problem, and as such it is an issue that must be confronted in ‘as human a way as possible’. The ‘being in time’ that built genocide memorialisation offers the visitor, has the ability to connect man and meaning through the critical human process of self reflection.

Some might say that genocide memorialisation in Cambodia and Rwanda should be aimed completely and uncompromisingly at the populations of those nations, providing them with places to mourn, remember, commemorate and learn. The reality is however that genocide memorialisation is today developing under the opportunities, expectations and pressures asserted by the globalised world. Genocide memorials have become key tourist sites and hold a significant and privileged position within the international context. Through the placing of the memorials on a global stage it becomes clear that a primary right to memory for the victim community does not exist within the complex context of post genocide society today. With this said however, this research has shown that there is opportunity through the visitation of international tourists to engage and connect man with site and context, and in so doing, provide a broader cognition base for the future dialogue of genocide prevention and responsibility.

Returning to the introduction of my research, it has long been accepted that ‘landscape’ is a reflection of society and culture, the physical manifestation of man and his environment. Corner has suggested that underlying this however, is the belief that landscape architecture can critically engage the ‘self’ – to not simply be a “reflection of culture but more an active instrument in the shaping of modern culture” (Corner, 1999, p. 1). Through my investigations of the post genocide memoryscapes of Cambodia, Rwanda and Germany – the visual, emotional, experiential and interpretive qualities of tragic space – the potential for design to engage the mind and heart becomes clear. The design of landscape has the ability to shape aspects of our modern world, encouraging people to step outside the everyday, to challenge their perceptions of life, and our role in the world, to increase awareness, and most importantly
to awaken our consciousness to the realities of the world we live in. The developed assumption of my work, building on that of Steele (2006) who highlighted “that genocide memorialisation has attained such a privileged position in the post-genocide international community that it has moved beyond merely being a . . . ritual for the victim/witness and their community, becoming a compulsively practiced . . . ritual for ‘international society’” (Steele, 2006, p. 1), this research has investigated the idea that genocide memorialisation has in fact become a right also for the international community to participate in. Believed at the outset of this research that catering for the international visitor at memorial sites in Cambodia and Rwanda was ethically compromising, the process of this investigation has shown the need for international involvement and interpretation at international genocide sites. Genocide is a human problem, and as such we must all take responsibility for genocide in the world. I do believe however, that to retain integrity and meaning, memorial design must attempt to enter the ‘unforgettable’, where visitors are not only engaged through the shocking visual reality of mass death which may easily become exploited, but to be engaged critically in self consideration.

Different cultures carry with them the baggage of time, politics, culture and religious belief. The power of memorials therefore must come in their ability to speak through time, to shift in meaning as generations and time change, to engage man in a self-reflective way, where individual pre-understanding and personal circumstance is drawn out and actively contemplated regardless of background. In conclusion, I believe that the design of post genocide memoryscapes should be about healing; to not emphasise the injustices of one group upon another, but to emphasise the human tragedy of genocide. As Wolfgang Thierse stated at the opening of the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe on 10 May 2005, “That is how it can be. That is the intent. Not a kind of negative nostalgia but a commemorating of the victims that obligates us for the present and future: to a culture of humanity, of recognition, of tolerance in a society and country in which we can dare to be different as human beings and not be afraid” (Thierse, 2005, p. 17).

Aegis Trust. (n.d.). Our Memory; Our Future: Creating the Kigali Memorial Centre [DVD]: Aegis Trust.


Blake, C. N. (2002). Mourning and Modernism After 9/11: the twin towers were symbolic tombs for urban life long before Al Qaeda struck. The Nation, 275(9)


Heathcote, E. (2006). Architecture - No thanks for the memories Once hailed as the the highest expression of tragedy, has the memorial now descended into farce?; [SURVEYS EDITION]. *Financial Times*, 50.


* Indicates a change of title since field research was undertaken
Information Research Sheet

You are invited to participate as a subject in a project entitled:

Project Name: Memory, Place & Reflections of the Tragic
BUILDING PEACE IN A TERRREIGN OF TERROR*

• The aim of this project is to better understand:

  How the post-genocidal memorial landscapes of Cambodia and Rwanda reveal the role of design in shaping Euro-Western experience and interpretation of international genocide sites.

• Your participation in this project will involve:

  1. completing a questionnaire (10 minutes)
  2. taking a series of photos while on site (No extra time)
  3. sketching a hand-drawn map of the site (10 minutes)

• As a follow-up to this activity, you will be asked to:

  Agree upon a time and place for the researcher to collect: questionnaire, camera and completed map

  Time: ____________________________________________

  Place: ____________________________________________

This research is anonymous, and you will not be identified as a respondent without your consent. No names will be used in any published material relating to this research, but as follow-up enquiry may be sought, names identified on the consent form would be useful for communication.

You may at any time withdraw your participation, including withdrawal of any information you have provided. If you complete the consent form and research however, it will be understood that have consented to participate in the project and consent to publication of the results of the project with the understanding that anonymity will be preserved.
• **In the performance of the tasks and application of the procedures, there are risks of:**

   Engaging with the memorial site in more detail than might normally have been experienced, may lead to some additional emotional stress

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The results of the project may be published, but you may be assured of the complete confidentiality of data gathered in this investigation: the identity of participants will not be made public. To ensure anonymity and confidentiality the following steps will be taken:

- Completed consent forms which ask for a name, will be kept separately from the data collected at all times in a secure place
- Data will be kept in a secure place while in the field, during analysis, and also after the completion of the study, until such time as it is destroyed

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**The project is being carried out by:**

*Name of principal researcher*  
Shannon Davis

*Contact details*

P.O Box 84,  
Landscape architecture Dept,  
Lincoln University,  
Canterbury,  
New Zealand

*Email:* daviss3@lincoln.ac.nz

I am pleased to discuss any concerns you have about participation in the project.

*Name of Supervisor*  
Jacky Bowring

*Contact Details*

P.O Box 84,  
Landscape architecture Dept,  
Lincoln University,  
Canterbury,  
New Zealand

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This project has been reviewed and approved by Lincoln University Human Ethics Committee.
Questionnaire

You are invited to participate as a subject in a project entitled:

Project Name: Memory, Place & Reflections of the Tragic
BUILDING PEACE IN A TERREIGN OF TERROR*

Please note:

• There is no right or wrong way to answer these questions

• There is a blank page at the end of this questionnaire if you wish to use it for further discussion of your experiences

• Please complete this Questionnaire BEFORE visiting the memorial site

Date of site visit: Site Name: Kigali Memorial Centre

• Background Information

Age:

☐ 16 – 17
☐ 18 – 25
☐ 26 – 35
☐ 36 – 45
☐ 46 – 55
☐ 55 and over

Gender:

☐ Female
☐ Male
Highest level of education gained:

________________________________________

Nationality:

________________________________________

Country in which you are living:

________________________________________

• **General Travel Information**

How experienced a traveller do you consider yourself?

- [ ] Very inexperienced
- [ ] Fairly inexperienced
- [ ] Average experience
- [ ] Fairly experienced
- [ ] Very experienced

• **Rwanda Travel Information**

Date of arrival in Rwanda:

________________________________________

Planned duration of stay in Rwanda:

________________________________________

Planned duration of stay in Africa:

________________________________________

Total duration of overseas trip:

________________________________________
Have you visited Rwanda before this trip?

_______________________________

What is your reason for travelling to Rwanda?

_______________________________

_______________________________

_______________________________

How many people are you travelling with?

_______________________________

Who are you travelling with? [i.e Family, friends, tour group]

_______________________________

What major tourist sites/activities have you already visited or undertaken in Rwanda?

_______________________________

_______________________________

What major tourist sites/activities are you planning to visit or undertake in Rwanda?

_______________________________

_______________________________

What tourist sites/activities have you already visited or undertaken in Kigali?

_______________________________

_______________________________

What tourist sites/activities are you planning to visit or undertake in Kigali?

_______________________________

_______________________________
How would you rate your knowledge of the Rwandan Genocide?

- [ ] No knowledge prior to planning trip or arriving in Rwanda
- [ ] Very little knowledge
- [ ] Some knowledge
- [ ] Good knowledge

• Site Visit Information

Is this your first trip to the Kigali Memorial Centre?

Please briefly explain why you have chosen to visit the Kigali Memorial Centre?

Have you seen the films (please tick)

- [ ] ‘Hotel Rwanda’ (2004)
- [ ] ‘Sometimes in April’ (2005)
- [ ] ‘Shooting Dogs’ (2005)
- [ ] ‘Beyond the Gates’ (2005)
- [ ] Any other films or documentaries depicting the Rwandan Genocide please list

Is your visit to the Kigali Memorial Centre part of an organised tour?

- [ ] Yes
- [ ] No
How did you learn that as a tourist you could visit the Kigali Memorial Centre?
[e.g. tourist brochure, moto driver, word of mouth from family or friend, internet, tour guide, etc]

What (if anything) do you hope to achieve from your visit to the Kigali Memorial Centre?

Are there any sites around the world that you would imagine the experience of the Kigali Memorial Centre to be similar to?

• **Tourism Information**

Have you visited any other genocide memorial sites in Rwanda?

Have you visited any other genocide memorial sites throughout the world? [e.g. in Cambodia, Yugoslavia, Holocaust Sites/Museums etc.]
Have you visited any other memorial sites to human induced tragedy (other than genocide) around the world? [e.g. Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the World Trade Centre, World War I and II Sites/Memorials/Museums etc.]

- **Follow-up Information**

Can the researcher contact you in 3-6 months time with a brief follow-up questionnaire?

- Yes
- No

If so, please provide me details of your

Email address
Hand-Drawn Map

You are invited to participate as a subject in a project entitled:

Project Name: Memory, Place & Reflections of the Tragic
BUILDING PEACE IN A TERREIGN OF TERROR*

Please note:
- There is no right or wrong way of drawing this map. Please communicate to me, in the best way you can, your memory and experience of the site.
- Please complete this part of the research AFTER you leave the memorial site.
- You may include text, symbols, poetry, or any other form of communication.
- There is extra space on the final page for further discussion if you wish to use it.

I encourage you to include any information - written or drawn - to best explain to me your EXPERIENCE of the site. You may want to include such things as thoughts, reactions, emotions, or descriptions – in written or drawn form to contribute to your map.

PLEASE REMEMBER there is no right or wrong way of doing this exercise!

Date of site visit: Site Name: Kigali Memorial Centre
Hand-drawn Map
Follow-up Questionnaire & Discussion Question

You are invited to participate as a subject in a project entitled:

Project Name: Memory, Place & Reflections of the Tragic
BUILDING PEACE IN A TERRIGN OF TERROR*

The aim of this project is to better understand:

How the post-genocidal memorial landscape of Rwanda reveals the role of design in shaping Euro-Western experience and interpretation of international genocide sites.

QUESTIONNAIRE

Since your visit to Rwanda in Jan/Feb 2008, have you returned to Rwanda again?

☐ Yes
☐ No

If so, did you visit Kigali Memorial Centre again?

Since leaving Rwanda, have you watched the films/documentaries depicting the Rwandan genocide?

If so, which ones?
How would you rate your knowledge of the Rwandan Genocide before your site visit to Kigali Memorial Centre?

- No knowledge
- Very little knowledge
- Some knowledge
- Good knowledge

Do you feel that your site visit to Kigali Memorial Centre contributed to a growth in your knowledge of the Rwandan genocide?

- Yes
- No

If so how?

________________________________________________________________________

After your site visit to Kigali Memorial Centre, did you seek out further information about the Rwandan Genocide?

- Yes
- No

After your site visit to Kigali Memorial Centre, did you seek out further information about Genocide in general?

- Yes
- No

Since your site visit to Kigali Memorial Centre, have you visited any other memorials to Genocide, or other memorials to human induced tragedies around the world?

- Yes
- No

If so, which one(s) and why?

________________________________________________________________________

If not, do you plan to in the future, as a result of visiting Kigali Memorial Centre?

________________________________________________________________________
How would you rate your knowledge of the Rwandan Genocide 3 months on after your site visit, and trip to Rwanda?

☐ No knowledge
☐ Very little knowledge
☐ Some knowledge
☐ Good knowledge

What was it about the Kigali Memorial Centre that had the deepest effect on you?

----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

What site features had the greatest impact on you?

----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

Since your trip to Rwanda, have you talked to friends, colleagues or family about your visit to Kigali Memorial Centre?

☐ Yes
☐ No

Since leaving Rwanda, have you looked back through the photos you took at Kigali Memorial Centre?

☐ Never – I haven’t wanted to
☐ Never – I haven’t got round to it
☐ A few times
☐ Often

If so, why did you choose to look at them
(e.g. to show family or friends, to re-live the experience, to remember details and information)

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Would you encourage your friends/family to visit Kigali Memorial Centre if they were planning a trip to Africa in the future?

☐ Yes

☐ No

Why?

__________________________________________________________________________

__________________________________________________________________________
DISCUSSION QUESTION

While undertaking field research in Kigali, I met a Rwandan man named Fredrick. Fredrick was a child of just eight years old when the genocide broke out across Rwanda. Fredrick’s family lost everything during the genocide. Their home, their jobs, their possessions. Many of his family members were killed. Today, Fredrick is a successful, educated man, living and working in Butare. I met his mother, sisters, friends and nephews. Extremely interested in my research, Fredrick wants to know how Euro-Western visitors to Rwanda understand what happened there during the genocide. He wants to know what international visitors think of the Kigali Memorial Centre.

Framed within a letter, please write to Fredrick, describing your experience of the memorial.

You may like to include the following

• What your expectations were before your visit
• How you felt while visiting the memorial
• How you felt after your visit
• What did you take away with you from your visit – information, knowledge, sadness?
• What do you feel about Rwanda, and what happened there during the genocide
• How has the visit effected of changed you today?

(Please note: the letter will not be sent to Fredrick – all information given will be treated as confidential and read only by the researcher and supervision team)

Dear Fredrick . . . . . .