Harnessing the potential of Tourism to Historical Conflict Sites in Advancing Peace: Reflecting on the Past and Inspiring the Future

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Index

1. Introduction

The project "Harnessing the potential of Tourism to Historical Conflict Sites in Advancing Peace: Reflecting on the Past and Inspiring the Future", led by UNWTO and the Government of Flanders, had the overall aim of supporting peacebuilding and peace-keeping while contributing to sustainable development through ethical tourism and heritage.

With over one billion people crossing international borders every year, tourism has become one of the major socioeconomic activities of our time, as it engages people of practically all nations and from every corner of our planet, either as hosts or as guests. Through its undisputable role as a mind-broadening educational experience, it can become a powerful transformative force that reduces prejudice, distrust and hostility and brings a significant contribution to building a more harmonious and peaceful world. In addition, tourism has the ability to help communities to value their place in the world, their cultures and traditions and their environment. This helps build self-esteem among local communities, which is particularly important in those that have suffered from any form of conflict.

Among other initiatives, the ongoing commemoration (2014-2018) of the centenary of the First World War has provided an opportunity to reflect on the past and to draw lessons for the future about the importance of upholding a culture of peace.

"Tourism and peace" has become an emerging field of action and research since the 1980s, although many of the central ideas from this field are far from new, given that tourism has long been thought of as a way of promoting peace and mutual understanding. The exact nature of this relationship is not clearly understood, and there is need for empirical research investigating precisely how tourism can promote peace (Mouffakir and Kelly 2010), as well as the impact that tourism may have on peace processes (Wohlmuther, Wintersteiner, 2013).

The overall aim of the Project has been to support peacebuilding and peace-keeping while contributing to sustainable development through ethical tourism and heritage. Therefore, this Project focuses on how the combination of ethical tourism and heritage provide the means for widening and deepening international understanding and changing the way young and older generations think about war and peace.

The transformative aspect of tourism as an agent of peace has been the scope of the research, with a focus on analyzing best practices at post-conflict sites. The lessons learnt from relevant cases across the globe should be spread around the world enabling other countries to share

good practices and successful experiences in harnessing the transformative power of tourism in building more harmonious and peaceful societies.

The concrete objectives of the project were focused on researching places around the world where visiting a space related to a historical conflict is possible. The final aim was to identify transportable actions from diverse post-conflict sites that could be interesting and useful for other places and sites at the international level, as well as to develop a set of ethical guidelines on tourism to post-conflict sites that could be relevant at the operational level.

In the same way, the project is also conceived as a first step on a lengthy path toward promoting peace-building and human rights at visiting post-conflict sites. In this sense, the results are also meant to be of use in diverse areas like policy recommendations or standard-setting for stakeholders.

The proposed Ethical Principles on Tourism to Post-Conflict sites could be interesting and adapted in the future for specific stakeholders and interested sectors, including public and private sector site managers, tour operators and other service providers, host communities and visitors, in order to create a suite of visitor experiences to historical conflict sites.

On the same line, identified transportable actions can promote formulating policy level recommendations that can be used by public authorities that have historical conflict sites and cultural landscapes on their territory, enabling and inspiring them to develop a peace-sensitive public policy framework, that links ethical tourism and heritage with other policy areas, such as culture, media, scientific research and education.

During the different phases of the Project and through the interviews and field-visits, the Project also promoted debates and awareness-raising among site managers and stakeholders on the role of tourism for promoting peace-building at the researched sites.

Ultimately, this project was a step toward communicating strongly the value and contribution that ethical guidelines and a peace-sensitive public policy framework can make to extending peace-building and developing tourism.

To this end, a Forum of Funding Partners (Flanders Government, Basque Government and Government of Norther Ireland and the Ulster University) and a Research Consortium (Ulster University and University of the Basque country) was created[1].

[1] See Annex II for more information.

2. Background on the subject: Tourism and Peace-building – Literature Review

'We face a deficit of tolerance. Tourism brings people together; it opens our minds and hearts'
(UNWTO, 2016).

2.1. Building 'Peace' after Conflict

Before exploring the relationship between peacebuilding and tourism, it is important to define what we mean by 'peace'. Peace is perhaps a somewhat elusive concept and inherently complex to define. It is, as many have argued, more than simply the absence of (cultural, structural, direct) violence (see Galtung, 1969). It is a process that requires work; peace regresses and progresses across time and space (McDowell and Braniff, 2014) and is inexorably complex to quantify in any meaningful sense. It is not necessarily static and can as Brickhill (2015) observes mean different things to different stakeholders in a conflict. What looks like peace to one person can look very different to another (Richmond 2014). Ross (2011), Koopman (2017), Shimada (2014) and Williams (2015) have argued that peace, like war, can occur at different scales, places and times.

The transition from conflict is an overtly challenging and often arduous process for societies engaged in armed warfare or emerging from violent pasts or periods of protracted division. Despite the diversity and range of mediators in the arena of peace-making and peacebuilding, the process of making peace has not necessarily become any easier through time. Transitioning from conflict is a process that is permeated with expectation and promise. Surkhe et al. (2000) suggests that peacemaking has 'past and present' functions in that it must not only end conflict, but lay the foundations for a convivial and peaceful future. The common expectation of peacemaking and peacebuilding is that civil society will be engaged in the process and contribute to the delivery of some kind of enduring peace. This expectation as Steenkamp (2011) suggests is however almost an elusive task. For Sisk, neither peace nor war is the 'natural state of the world'. Peace processes therefore face considerable challenges and are rarely configured as a 'line in the sand' which achieves infinite resolution.

While the rhetoric of peace-making and peacebuilding is grounded in aspirations to 'resolve' conflict, in reality there is more of a commitment to 'transforming' it. The former term refers literally to methods that alter the nature of the conflict from violence to some other means (Lederach, 1997). In transforming these relationships, interests and discourses which support

the continuation of violent conflict, these methods operate at a number of levels from the individual to the state and can involve structural change affecting injustice and inequality in the social structure as a whole (McDowell and Braniff, 2014).

2.2. Tourism and Peacebuilding

Tourism according to Farmaki (2017:528) is a phenomenon 'entrenched in social structures, networks and behaviours'. The complex relationship between tourism and peace has been a subject of discussion from the 1920s. Wohmulther and Wintersteiner (2014) note that the idea that tourism could be used to underpin and harness peace was raised principally in the aftermath of the Great War. At the opening of the International Congress of Official Associations, for Tourist Propaganda at The Hague in 1925 tourism was encouraged to help people better understand each other in order to achieve the aspiration of peace (Ibid). It is now widely accepted that tourism is a major driver of peace in societies transitioning from conflict. This is based on the 'contact hypothesis', the premise of which is that increased contact between and across peoples can foster cross-cultural understanding and diminish hostilities. Nevertheless, despite the common-sense appeal of the contact hypothesis, Salazar (2006: 330) notes that '[P]eace-through-tourism ideas seem sustained more by the sweet dreams and rhetoric from the industry representatives than by fine-grained empirical research and academic theories'. Mouffakir and Kelly (2010: xxv) likewise lament the existence of a field of study which is limited, 'hypothetical and opinion based'. It is accepted that more fine grained empirical analysis is requited to understand the precise relationship between tourism and peace (Wohlmulther and Wintersteiner 2014).

Bourdieu (1984) has written at length about the importance of networking to strengthen economic and social capital that is so often depleted in the aftermath of conflict. Fostering and nurturing global networks through tourism is a key component of this, as tourist visits create relationships across continents and share knowledge and experiences when they return home. According to D'Amore (1998:153) tourism operates at the most basic level of 'track-two diplomacy' in spreading information about 'personalities, beliefs, perspectives, cultures and politics of one country to the citizens of another'. He continues: 'if properly designed and developed' tourism has the capacity to 'bridge the psychological and cultural distances that separate people of diverse races, colours, religions and stages of social and economic development'. The World Tourism Organisation (WTO) and the EU have long upheld the idea that tourism such as it is wedded to social structures and behaviours plays a formidable role in

nurturing and encouraging peace. Kelly's (2012) work outlined four areas where tourism could potentially try to intersect with peacemaking:

1. Intergroup contact
2. Ethical concerns (respect for the environment and human rights)
3. Positive impact of tourism on the negative aspects of globalisation (poverty eradication)
4. Awareness raising among suppliers and consumers by codes of conduct, peace parks, and tourism educators (cited in Wintersteiner and Wohulther 2014, 44).

In the Handbook for Peace and Tourism, Wintersteiner and Wohulter (2014: 53) advocate for a 'peace-sensitive' approach to tourism which should be focussed on:

1. Conceptualising tourism as an experience of the 'other', and of otherness in general. This may open the minds of people and teach them that the world has more to offer than just one model of living. This represents a critically revised and limited version of the contact hypothesis;
2. Incorporating mutual cross-border tourism to pay attention to the narratives of the other side, and eventually overcome their strict opposition;
3. Using peace tourism to learn from the history of war and the history of important peacemakers.

2.3. Sites of Conflict as Places of Memory and Heritage

Episodes of conflict, war, ethnic division or systematic oppression or discrimination can be found in the history of almost every society**.** The scars of a painful past can take multiple forms and are represented through a variety of different places and institutions (Williams and Reives 2008), from sites of killing, genocide and massacres to burial grounds, civil and political prisons, and museums which archive both conflict artefacts and the testimonies, experiences and narratives of those who have suffered. These sites can become became expressions of private, local and national grief as well as symbols of unity, identity and heritage. Heritage can be a highly politicized process which is subject to contestation and bound up in the construction, reconstruction and deconstruction of memory and identity (Whelan 2003). According to Barahona de Pinto et al. (2001), memory is a 'struggle over power and who gets to decide the future'. Those who yield the greatest power therefore can potentially influence,

dictate or define what is remembered and consequently what is forgotten. Remembering the past is an essential part of the present and is important for a number of reasons. Not only is it inexorably tied to our sense of identity, but it is an inherent part of the heritage process as we remember the past 'in the light of our (present) needs and aspirations' (Walker 1996: 51). Without memory, a sense of self, identity, culture and heritage is lost. Through remembering, we create and suppress cultures and traditions, as memories are 'conflated and embellished' (Lowenthal 1985, 1). Identities are validated as well as contested while the adoption and cultivation of an aspect of the past serves to reinforce a sense of natural belonging, purpose and place (Lowenthal 1985: 2). As Foote observes 'Times change, and as they do, people look back on the past and reinterpret events and ideas. They look for patterns, for order, and for coherence in past events to support changing social, economic, and cultural values (Foote 1998: 28). For Longley (1994: 69) remembering the past is critical. It is a means whereby communities 'renew their own *religio*: literally what ties them together, the rope around the individual sticks'. Individuals, groups or communities in society all tend to remember different aspects of the past, but they tend to do so in diverse ways and with alternative methods.

John Brewer (2006), writing about the role of memory within peacebuilding suggests that it serves three key objectives:

1. Remembering can help correct distortions of the past which fostered divisions in the first instance;
2. A pluralist approach to remembering that incorporates memories of the 'other' society can collectively move forward;
3. The recovery of memories, which were formally denied or avoided can unify rather than divide.

The presentation of conflict narratives can sometimes be deeply challenging in societies emerging from suffering, conflict and division. Sites of conflict are often highly emotive and politically charged. Some are sites where people died or were injured which as well as acknowledging loss and grief speak to competing claims to victimhood. Others serve to legitimize violence and contest the other. A number of sites are cultural, using history and heritage to reinforce identity. How best to navigate this history is intrinsically difficult and these challenges are not unique. For some, sites of conflict constitute a form of difficult heritage. Confronting difficult heritage (see Logan 2007) is often an overwhelming task but is not without precedent. Grodach (2001) writing about the role of conflict heritage in former Yugoslav states suggests that acts of warfare and experiences of conflict not only influence the

form and meaning of sites of key historical and/or cultural significance, but also have the ability to construct new places of meaning and importance. Everyday places, the sites of people's lives assume new meaning during conflict; they are often transformed and take 'heightened symbolic meaning, value and emotional significance'; and evolve as 'heritage' (McDowell 2008, 68). And while many of these sites are decidedly local and potentially speak to continued division within societies, they are of interest to an external audience who are increasingly drawn to exploring aspects of conflict. At the crux of many forms of remembering is the central content of the need to not forget. Memories that are encapsulated in some kind of way remind future generations of the horrors of warfare and its devastating effects so that it perhaps will not be forgotten. The learning that takes place in sites of suffering and violence lends then to this idea that there are important lessons that tourism could potentially harness.

2.4. Tourist Interest in Sites of Conflict

Individuals have always had an interest in the sites, places and institutions of conflict and suffering. Interest in places such as battlefields, according to Seaton (1996, 2010), has existed for centuries[2]. This is an interest that has become more diverse as the tourist industry evolves. At the turn of the century, Smith (1998) suggested that sites associated with conflict and war had become the single fastest growing tourist attraction. Such sites, as Stone and Sharpley (2008) suggest, are a subset of tourist interest in the wide ranging sites of death and suffering which characterise the dark or *thanatourism* (see Stone 2013). The discourse surrounding this type of tourism is complex and has important implications for both the tourist industry and our understanding of visitor intent. Lennon and Foley (1996) coined the term dark tourism to describe interest in the production and consumption of sites of death and suffering while Seaton introduced the term thanotourism to capture an interest in spaces where people lost their lives. Others have documented 'grief tourism' (O'Neill 2002), slavery-heritage tourism (Dann and Seaton 2001), tourism centred around sites with associations to the Holocaust (Tonner 2008), and sites of disasters or terrorism. Stone and Sharpley (2008) suggest that the motivations for tourism across the spectrum of 'dark tourism' varies widely, from morbid fascination (Tarlow 2007), to a sense of identity, survival, or education.

A number of authors have found the label of 'dark tourism' problematic. Muzaini (2007 et al, cited in Sharpe and Strange (2008) for example suggest that the connotations of dark tourism can privilege the visual and experiential over the need for historical rigour. Lisle (2004)

[2] Seaton, 'War and Thanatourism', pp. 130-158.

meanwhile refutes the concept of 'dark tourism', arguing that it denies the tourist any 'capacity for moral engagement or reflection'. She suggests that the concept of 'dark tourism' is perhaps not the most useful term to describe the marketing, commodification and consumption of sites with difficult or challenging narratives and perhaps overlooks the fact that such sites can provide opportunities for tourists to play more productive role in peacebuilding than others have suggested. She argues that in places transitioning from conflict such as Northern Ireland and Cambodia, tourists can move beyond their traditional roles of simply absorbing the environment that they find themselves in. Lisle (2005) favours the term 'political tourism' to describe the type of tourism that can take place in and around conflict sites and suggests that increasingly tourists are interested in learning more about the dynamics of conflict. Tourism initiatives in and around conflict sites should not simply be about tourists gazing at a particular site which may have been associated with violence or warfare at some point. Rather they should be framed as important conduits in propagating important messages about conflict and peace. Such initiatives therefore place tourists in more politically active roles than traditional forms of tourism permit. Stein (1996), discussing the role played by tourists in the arena of conflict and peacebuilding, suggests that tourists have the capacity to intervene in conflict[3]. For Clarke, tourists are encouraged to 'see for themselves' the lessons of the conflict, make a moral judgement about the validity of that narrative, and take it back with them, to share with others (cited in McDowell 2008). A number of scholars and those within the industry have pointed to sites of conflict heritage as a potentially integral strand to both development and peacebuilding in post-conflict societies (see Boyd 2000, for example). As Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996) contend, 'atrocity [is] one of the most marketable of heritages and one of the most powerful instruments for the transference of political or social messages'. Thus the narrative is extended and externalised. For Lisle, tourists are almost as mediators, sometimes having unprecedented access to sites than others from the place that they are visiting. They learn about the dynamics of conflict and take their experiences home with them which externalises and spreads the narratives of conflict.

There are a number of ethical issues that must be considered surrounding the production and consumption of conflict narratives for tourism. The negotiation of conflict sites and symbols for commercial, cultural, political or educational purposes raises important questions about the integrity of the sites themselves, how narratives are represented in a way that

[3] Luna Stein, 'Political Tourism in Palestine: Book Review', at http://www.stanford.edu/group/SHR/5-1/text/lstein.html

acknowledges plurality and are sensitive to trauma and suffering, as well as how contestation is managed and discussed.

3. Research process

As mentioned in previous chapters, the aim of the research phase was to identify transportable actions from diverse post-conflict sites that could be interesting and useful for other places and sites at the international level. This research on different sites would help, in a second phase, to develop a set of ethical guidelines on tourism and visits to post-conflict sites.

To this end, the two internationally based research teams of the consortium designed a research methodology to achieve the stated and agreed aims and objectives, which included:

- Identification of key and emblematic cases around the world on the promotion of tourism and visits to a post-conflict site.
- Critical content analysis of tourism strategies/policies at in situ sites for the understanding of the rationale for present visitors and audiences, ethical guidelines framing the commodification of specific sites and the explicit or implicit role that peacebuilding or peace promotion plays at each site.
- Identification of transportable actions, best practices and main challenges and controversies.

3.1. Identification of sites

The project leaders (UNWTO and Flanders Government) created a ground-line to identify which conflict sites and landscapes should be covered by the Project. One of the main ideas was that if conflicts are relatively recent, an objective reflection of events is often more difficult to achieve. Equally, less recent conflicts where ancient feuds and antagonisms have been largely buried can re-emerge by the use of inappropriate and partial narratives.

Finally, it was agreed that the Project was expected to cover any sites and landscapes that have the following characteristics:

a) The site or landscape still provides the basis of evidence for creating the conditions and circumstances in which the conflict occurred.
b) There is architectural and archaeological evidence that reveals the physical points of reference for explaining history.

c) The conflict, even if it does have current resonance, can be the subject of mature objective reflection (if not, the site must be a place of potential mutual reconciliation).
d) The historical evidence is verifiable and the conflict represented a significant event within or between nations.
e) Accessibility to the site or landscape can be organized (with appropriate investment).
f) Visiting the site or landscape by young or old, by those connected with the site locally or through relatives that have died there or simply with an interest in History will reflect and learn from the quality of the experience.
g) The conflicts that occurred a long time ago can be included, providing they fulfil the other criteria.

As a first step, the Research Consortium identified a long list of conflict-related sites subject to be considered for the study. This long list contained 33 sites, balanced from a geographical and a typological perspective, with these characteristics:

- 6 sites from Asia and Pacific region; 6 sites from Europe and North America region; 9 sites from Africa region; 8 sites from Latin America and Caribbean region; 4 sites from Arab States region
- Diversity on the type of site: cultural landscapes, monuments, archives, historical buildings, memorials, etc.
- Diversity on the type of conflict: World Wars, civil conflicts, ethnic conflicts, conflicts from colonization processes, slavery, fighting for human rights processes, etc.

UNWTO, in coordination with other UN agencies and relevant stakeholders, validated the list and proposed the final shortlist, to be object of the study and analysis during the research phase: the first long list was reduced to a shortlist of 10 historical conflict-related sites, balanced from a geographical and typological diversity.

The final list of 10 historic-post conflict sites are:

i. Hiroshima Peace Memorial (Japan). Built in 1914, the Genbaku Dome, located in the Hiroshima Peace Park, is the only structure to have survived the atomic bombing of the city on 6th August 1945. A UNESCO World Heritage Site since 1996, the importance of the site is that it bears testament to the most destructive force unleashed by humanity, and has become a powerful symbol of peace (WHC/UNESCO). The atomic bomb killed 70,000 instantly, with a further 70,000 dying that year. By 1950, the estimated death toll stood at 282,000 (Rhodes

1995), and Hiroshima had become emblematic of the destructiveness of atomic warfare. Post-war reconstruction combined the civic need for collective sorrow and remembering with tourism development, and from as early as 1947 the peace dimension of this was evident (Schafer 2016). The Genbaku Dome and Hiroshima Peace Museum receive over one million domestic and international visitors combining educational travel, remembrance and conventional mass tourism (Yoshida et. al 2016). Nagasaki will also be considered when studying this site, due to the historical link between both cities.

ii. Tuol-Sleng Genocide Museum (Cambodia). The Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum is located on the site of the former S-21 Prison and Interrogation Centre, Phnom Penh, Cambodia. On this site, an estimated fifteen to twenty thousand people were detained, interrogated, tortured and in many cases killed by the Khmer Rouge Regime (Chandler 1995). The museum attests to the killings of an estimated 1.5 to 2 million civilians (approximately one fifth of the country's population). The museum features archive material, paintings and photographs (including of Cheung Ek killing field) of those who passed through S-21, as well as an exhibition of implements used to torture and kill inmates. Following its discovery, S-21 was almost immediately designated as a museum. The UNESCO Memory of the World Register inscribed the Museum Archives in July 2009 to honour their historical importance. The archive contains photographs of over 5,000 of these prisoners, as well as "confessions", many extracted under torture, and other biographical records of prisoners and prison guards and officials in the security apparatus.

iii. Stari Most – Mostar Old Bridge Area (Bosnia and Herzegovina). Mostar's Old Bridge area is a World Heritage site, famed as both an architectural wonder, and as a symbol of reconciliation following the cessation of the Bosnian War (1992-95) in which hundreds of thousands died. The Sixteenth Century Bridge was built by celebrated architect *mimar* Harjuddin, and lasted until 1993 when it was destroyed during the Bosnian war. The bridge and environs consisted of diverse and multi-cultural architecture reflecting influences of Islam, Judaism and Christianity. The broken bridge symbolised the destructiveness of war, and the divisions which remained after the conflict. Under international sponsorship and supervision, the bridge was meticulously reconstructed using original stone salvaged from the river below, and reopened in 2004. The reconstructed Old Bridge and Old City of Mostar is a symbol of reconciliation, international co-operation and of the coexistence of diverse cultural, ethnic and

religious communities. The bridge is a source of civic pride to *all* of Mostar's diverse communities, and has been pressed into service as a symbolic reunification of a divided society, as well as serving as a key tourist attraction (Grodach 2004). Tourism has become increasingly important in Mostar, and the city welcomes an estimated 350-450,000 visitors annually (Pestek and Nikolic 2011).

iv. Auschwitz-Birkenau. German Nazi Concentration and Extermination Camp (Poland). Between 1942 and 1945 Auschwitz-Birkenau was the scene of systematic imprisonment, torture, starvation and extermination of between one and one and a half million people, with estimates suggesting that up to 90% of the dead were Jewish. Roma, Polish, Communists, homosexuals and many others were also imprisoned and killed by the Nazis. The Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum commemorates and memorialises the crimes committed here, and the suffering of those imprisoned within the notorious camp. As the symbol of the holocaust (Partee Allar 2013) – a vivid testimony to the 'inhumane, cruel and methodical effort to deny human dignity to groups considered inferior' (WHC/UNESCO), the site is a designated World Heritage Site (1979). The museum features a permanent exhibition containing artefacts seized from those imprisoned, as well as a national exhibition featuring monuments and artefacts representing the various nationalities who died at Auschwitz. Auschwitz II-Birkenau, the death camp, contains the ruins of the infamous gas chambers as well as the Auschwitz Holocaust Memorial. Auschwitz attracts around one million visitors per year, where most visitors' principal motivation is educational.

v. Island of Ireland Peace Park and Round Tower (Messines Belgium, Flanders). The Island or Ireland Peace Park and Round Tower, located in Messines, Belgium seeks to memorialise the dead of the 10th (Irish), 16th (Irish) and 36th (Ulster) Divisions of the British Army, and to promote peace in Ireland through recovering a shared history. The Park was jointly unveiled by the Irish President Mary McAleese, British Queen Elizabeth II and Alfred, King of Belgium. The Peace Park and Round Tower feature on the itinerary of commemorative visits to the region (Iles 2006), and young people from both nationalist and unionist backgrounds have participated in cross-community visits, staying in the onsite Peace Village.

vi. Robben Island (South Africa). Robben Island, South Africa's most famous cultural and tourist attraction (Shackley 2001), was inscribed on the World Heritage List in 1999. For much

of its recent history, Robben Island served as a prison, with its most famous inmate being South African President, Nelson Mandela (along with other African National Congress leaders). Due to this, it has become a powerful symbol of apartheid and the struggle for equality. Declared a South African National Monument in 1996, Robben Island Museum was opened by Mandela in 1997, although its hasty inception against a backdrop of rapid and profound social change meant that the site initially featured limited facilities and a somewhat narrowly authored narrative (Strange and Kempa 2003). The Museum offers concessionary tours for disadvantaged groups (Corsane 2006), as well as employing ex-prisoners as guides. Today, the Museum incorporates the whole island, with visitors invited to reflect on its various histories. The key attraction remains Mandela's cell in Cell Block B. Approximately 2,000 visitors per day – and more than 10% of all domestic visitors to the Western Cape – make the trip to Robben Island (Shackley 2001).

vii. Kigali Genocide Memorial Centre (Rwanda). The Kigali Genocide Memorial Centre, located in Gisozi, Kigali, commemorates the Rwandan genocide (1994). Over a period of 100 days an estimated 800,000 (mostly Tutsi) were systematically killed by Hutu military, militia and peasants, amidst a policy of western non-intervention (Melvern 2000). The memorial features a burial garden for 250,000 genocide victims, and a museum containing three exhibitions: 1994 genocide; wasted lives and children's' room. The main exhibition is curated by the Aegis Trust (a British anti-genocide NGO), and as such the museum falls slightly outside of the post-conflict 'One Rwanda' policy, which effectively prohibits discussions or expression of ethnic identity (Hohenaus 2013). The site's purpose is commemorative and educational, and sits strongly within the 'never again' paradigm. Following the almost total collapse of the tourism sector in 1994, Rwanda now receives an estimated 30,000 international visitors per year, mostly eco-tourists seeking encounters with the mountain gorillas, although many are also interested in genocide commemoration sites.

viii. Ex ESMA Memory Site Museum and Espacio Memoria y Derechos Humanos (ESMA) (Argentina). Between 1976 and 1983, during the last military dictatorship in Argentina, thousands of people were detained, interrogated and tortured in clandestine concentration camps, the largest of which was Escuela de Mecanica de la Armada (ESMA) (the Navy Mechanic's School). The ESMA Site Museum, as historical site, is material and physical testimony to these human rights violations. This was the most emblematic centre in South

America in terms of the size of the building, its location at the heart of the Autonomous City of Buenos Aires, the fact that Navy officers lived there together with the detainees-disappeared, and the concentration camp-like features of imprisonment and extermination. The 44 acre site now serves as museum commemorating the crimes and terror of the dictatorship, with the site also being used by twenty eight rights groups, and some naval presence (Bell and Di Paolantonio 2010). Visits to parts of the site, including the notorious Casino de Officiales require pre-booking and must be accompanied, although the interpretive process is envisaged as interactive. In addition to conventional memorialization, ESMA hosts regular community events, with a purported aim of interpreting the past through creative means. The majority of visitors to the site are Argentinian.

ix. Alamein Memorial (Egypt). The Alamein Memorial commemorates the Commonwealth soldiers who fought and died in the North African campaigns of the Second World War (1939-45). It is the burial site for approximately 7,240 soldiers, mostly from the Battle(s) of El Alamein (1942), the decisive battles of the campaign. A visitor centre is open daily. Although El Alamein is the largest war cemetery in North Africa, 'war', 'dark' and 'peace' tourism remain underdeveloped in Egypt – and advocates claim that development offers both economic benefits, and can help societies to process traumatic pasts (Attia et. al. 2015). In addition to the Commonwealth memorial, the area around El Alamein is also home to memorials commemorating Italian, German, Greek and Libyan soldiers.

x. Aqaba Fort (Jordan). The fort was built between 1510 and 1517, as attested by the Arabic inscriptions inside the monumental gateway, and was used as a *khan* (travellers' inn) for pilgrims on their way to Mecca. Different historic times are reflected and important moments in History, like the Arab revolt (1916) and the I World War also left testimony on this site. The fort is open daily and entrance is free. Adjacent to the fort is the Aqaba Archaeological Museum. Tourism makes a major contribution to the Jordanian economy, accounting for approximately 14.7% of the country's GDP in 2008 (Al Haijja 2011), and is presented as a major peace dividend (Lynch 1999).

3.2. Analysis process

With the aim to identify best practices on promoting tourism and peace-building processes at site level, the Research Consortium prepared a 4 part research process:

1. Desk study: this included a documentary review, analysis of available information per site and compilation of articles. Through gathering information for each site, the aim was to compile as much information as possible regarding initiatives on visitors and peace-building.
2. Interviews with site-managers and other stakeholders: utilization of semi-structured interviews and short questionnaires with heritage interpreters and site managers.
3. Focus on the practical applicability of the pre-identified transportable actions by carrying out an extensive review at selected field visits and meetings with stakeholders and focus groups.
4. Identification of best practices, transportable actions, challenges and controversies at site level. These conclusions would also be the basis for the proposal on Ethical Guidelines.

In order to identify key aspects on the work at sites for promoting a culture of peace through visits and tourism, different areas and approaches where considered for the analysis of the sites:

- Typology of the site
- Background and context of the site (historical facts, conflict information, as well as current development at tourism sector)
- Contact information and institutions in charge of its management
- Possible links with United Nations System
- Main ideas on Tourism and Peace at the site
- Information about visitors
- Services for tourism
- Main programmes of work at the site
- Presentation of memories to audiences
- Participation of local communities in the management and/or preparation of memories
- Cooperation with public and private sector
- Best practices
- Main challenges and controversies
- Etc.

On another hand, in order to get a deep understanding of the tourism and peace-building interrelation from the responsible people at the sites, some additional approaches where considered during the interviews:

- Background and experiences within the heritage sector
- Previous work on peace-building processes
- Personal point of view on the role that museums and sites could have to contribute to peace
- Audiences: diversity and reaching new visitors
- Possibility to have controversial narratives/exhibits at the site
- Opinion on the possible usefulness of a code of ethics for post-conflict sites

All the sites where contacted and participation was entirely voluntary. Different stakeholders participated both at the identification of responsible people and site managers, as well as responding to questionnaires or being interviewed[4].

During the Project, two sites were identified for a more in-depth analysis by a field visit: Auschwitz (Poland) and Ex ESMA Site Museum (Argentina), where meetings with a diversity of stakeholders were held, including authorities, site managers, victims and relatives, local communities, NGO and associations, etc.

[4] List of participants in Annex II.

4. Information sheets per site

During the research process, diverse information and data from sites was compiled, in order to identify working processes, best practices and common challenges.

4.1. Hiroshima Peace Memorial (Japan)

Name and country	**Hiroshima Peace Park and Genbaku Dome** **Nagasaki Peace Park and Atomic Bomb Museum**
Type of site	Memorial (Genbaku Dome - Hiroshima), museum (Peace Museum - Nagasaki) and surrounding parks (Hiroshima and Peace Park- Nagasaki)
Brief description	Built in 1914, the Genbaku Dome, located in the Hiroshima Peace Park, is the only structure to have survived the atomic bombing of the city on 6th August 1945. A UNESCO World Heritage Site since 1996, the importance of the site is that it bears testament to the most destructive force unleashed by humanity, and has become a powerful symbol of peace. The atomic bomb killed 70,000 instantly, with a further 70,000 dying that year. By 1950, the estimated death toll stood at 282,000 (Rhodes 1995), and Hiroshima had become emblematic of the destructiveness of atomic warfare. Post-war reconstruction combined the civic need for collective sorrow and remembering with tourism development, and from as early as 1947 the peace dimension of this was evident (Schafer 2016). The Genbaku Dome and Hiroshima Peace Museum receive over one million domestic and international visitors combining educational travel, remembrance and conventional mass tourism (Yoshida et. al 2016). Nagasaki was also considered when studying this site, due to the historical link between both cities.
Web address	Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum http://hpmmuseum.jp/
Link with UN System	UNESCO World Heritage Site http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/775 UNITAR Offices located in Hiroshima: https://unitar.org/hiroshima/unitar-office-in-hiroshima
Background and context	At 8.15 on 6th August 1945 the US dropped an atomic bomb on the Japanese city of Hiroshima. The destruction of the blast was unprecedented – with 70,000 people killed instantly. All of the buildings within the blast radius were destroyed, with the exception of the Genbaku Dome, which survived as fires raged through the city. Radioactive fallout was responsible for a further 70,000 deaths by the end of the year, and by 1950 the death toll was estimated to be 282,000 (Rhodes 1995). Three days later, a second atomic bomb was dropped on Nagasaki. Approximately 140,000 died either immediately or as a result of radioactive fallout. With the cessation of the Second World War, and the forced de-militarization of Japan, Hiroshima, a city which prior to and during the Second World War had a 'strong military character' (Yoshida et. Al. 2016: 333), was devastated and had lost its function. Due to the sheer scale of the devastation, Hiroshima, along with Nagasaki, became imbued with an unparalleled infamy bearing testimony to the most destructive forces to have been unleashed by humanity. Until the end of the American occupation of Japan (1952) public debate regarding the bombs was heavily censored, although commemorative memorials drew considerable numbers of visitors to both Hiroshima and Nagasaki. When the Americans withdrew, mediations and discourses of the destructiveness became more overt, and both cities

became must-see destinations (Siegenthaler 2002). Schafer (2016: 354) argues that from the outset the 'nuclear wasteland promised a potential goldmine for a tourism industry'. Specifically, such a landscape was both distinctive and authentic. Post-war reconstruction combined the civic and national needs for collective sorrow and remembering with tourism development, and from as early as 1947 the peace dimension of Hiroshima was evident (Schafer 2016). Indeed, much of the city's rapid reconstruction was undertaken under the umbrella of the 'Hiroshima Peace Memorial City Construction Law' (1949). A clause of Japan's pacifist post-war constitution, the 1949 Law provided the framework for 'the construction of the City of Hiroshima as a peace memorial city to symbolize the human ideal of the sincere pursuit of genuine and lasting peace'

(http://www.city.hiroshima.lg.jp/www/contents/1418094048249/index.html).

While much of the city was rebuilt from scratch, the stark semiotics and authenticity of the Genbaku Dome positioned it as the symbolic landscape of the bomb, and after much public debate it was decided that it should be left standing as a permanent memorial (Yoshida et al. 2016).

Since 1945, both cities have been marketed and branded as symbolic of the destructiveness of atomic warfare, and have been heavily incorporated into the construction of a post-war Japanese national identity rooted in pacifism. Hiroshima, as the first city to endure atomic bombing, the vastness of its death toll, the symbolism of the Genbaku Dome, and the emphasis on tourism development is more closely associated with the destruction of atomic warfare than Nagasaki. Although the latter remains a hotspot for atomic tourism, Tumarkin (2005: 186) notes Hiroshima's status as an exemplar *traumascape*:

> *Ever since the images and descriptions of the Hiroshima devastation became part of the public imagination, every scene of massive devastation, everywhere in the world, has been inevitably compared to Hiroshima. The Ruins of Hiroshima have become the lens through which other sites of mass destruction and death can be witnessed and remembered* (Tumarkin, 2005, p. 186).

Following the end of the US occupation (1952), the Genbaku Dome took on great significance in Japanese national imagining. Nairn (1997) notes the Janus faced nature of nationalism – looking at once to the past and to the future. In Japan, this took the form of a collective remembering and memorialisation of the war dead, while looking to a pacifist future as enshrined in the country's constitution. To this end, from its inception the Genbaku Dome was conceived, not as a war memorial but rather as a *peace* memorial. The erection of the Hiroshima Memorial Cenotaph (1952), atomic Bomb Memorial Exhibition Hall (1955) and Children's Atomic bomb Monument reinforced the city's association with the atomic bombing, and increased its attractiveness to both domestic and international tourists – numbering over two million annually by the 1960s (Rosenthal 1965). Over the years the Hiroshima Peace Park was established in the area surrounding the dome, cementing the city's association as an International City of Peace. The Genbaku Dome itself was inscribed onto the list of World Heritage Sites under the criterion as a 'stark and powerful symbol of the achievement of world peace for more than half a century following the unleashing of the most destructive force ever created by humankind' (http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/775). This status confirmed the branding of Hiroshima as a city of atomic destruction, and of international peace.

Hiroshima Peace Memorial (Genbaku Dome) – World Heritage site ***(whc.unesco.org)***

The Hiroshima Peace Memorial (Genbaku Dome) is the only structure left standing near the hypocenter of the first atomic bomb which exploded on 6 August 1945, and it remains in the condition right after the explosion. Through the efforts of many people, including those of the city of Hiroshima, this ruin has been preserved in the same state

as immediately after the bombing. Not only is it a stark and powerful symbol of the most destructive force ever created by humankind, it also expresses the hope for world peace and the ultimate elimination of all nuclear weapons. The inscribed property covers 0.40 ha in the urban centre of Hiroshima and consists of the surviving Genbaku Dome ("Genbaku" means atomic bomb in Japanese) within the ruins of the building. The 42.7 ha buffer zone that surrounds the property includes the Peace Memorial Park.

The most important meaning of the surviving structure of the Hiroshima Peace Memorial is in what it symbolizes, rather than just its aesthetic and architectural values. This silent structure is the skeletal form of the surviving remains of the Hiroshima Prefectural Industrial Promotional Hall (constructed in 1914). It symbolizes the tremendous destructive power, which humankind can invent on the one hand; on the other hand, it also reminds us of the hope for world permanent peace.

Tourism and peace – main ideas

In 2015 the Genbaku Dome and Hiroshima Peace Museum received 1,495,065 visitors (including 334,798 school trip students and 338,891 international visitors). Yoshida (2016) notes that visitor itineraries are diverse, combining educational travel, remembrance and conventional mass tourism (Yoshida et. al 2016). In many ways such tourism could be conceptualised as 'dark' (Lennon and Foley 2000), or *thanatourism* (Seaton 1996) – concerned with the touristification of death and disaster, and the act of travel to 'sites of death' (Stone 2013). This attests to a paradox of both cities, in that their principal attraction is dark and uncomfortable for their citizens. In Nagasaki this has been negotiated through prioritising culture and discursively downplaying the role of the bomb. Hiroshima's trajectory has been different, with the city extensively branded as a 'peace city', and with investment in the promotion and development of peace tourism. The motivations for visiting Hiroshima are not the same as those of other dark tourism sites. While some people may come to view the destruction of the city, many other visitors are actively involved in the peace movement.

Peace tourism, broadly defined, involves a belief that tourism can contribute, in various ways, to peace. The relationship between peace and tourism is complex and not yet clearly understood. Salazar (2006: 330) draws attention to the idealism of peace through tourism, wherein:

'[I]deas seem sustained more by the sweet dreams and rhetoric from the industry representatives than by fine-grained empirical research and academic theories'.

Some years later, Moufakkir and Kelly (2010: xxv-vi) echo this in their depiction of a field which is limited, 'hypothetical and opinion based'. Wohlmuther and Wintersteiner (2013) note that although peace and tourism have been enthusiastically coupled together in rhetoric since the 1980, the evidence of the link is inconsistent. Following a period of scepticism and disinterest in the 1990s, the agenda has been approached with renewed interest – and a field of research is beginning to emerge, although there remains much work to be done. Wohlmuther and Wintersteiner (2013: 31) speak instead of peace sensitive tourism, which they describe as more modest than 'peace through tourism'. Peace sensitive tourism shares similar ethical principles to alternative, sustainable and responsible tourism, and emphasises a culture of peace. They note the necessity of respect, social and cultural inclusivity, sustainability and social justice. What this means is that peace sensitive tourism is concerned with something more than negative peace (the absence of war), something approaching and surpassing positive peace (the absence of structural violence, the embedding of social justice) – to use Galtung's terms.

Tourism in Hiroshima is influenced heavily by a culture of peace. In the words of the City's Peace Promotion Division:

> As the first city in the world to be atomic-bombed, the City of Hiroshima must pass down the efforts of the forerunners who worked to build a city of peace, and continue to remain a city that aims to realize the wish for nuclear weapons abolition and lasting world peace. For this purpose, individual citizens must

	inherit and share the experiences of *hibakusha* (atomic bomb survivors) and their wishes for peace, and spread them to the world, so that policymakers from various countries can sympathize with these wishes. As noted above Hiroshima has been effectively branded as a peace city through concrete spatial referents (Vanolo 2008) including memorials and museums and through events branding (Kavartzis and Ashworth 2005) – with an annual calendar of peace themed events. Discursively, most attractions are prefixed by Peace (as opposed to War), while the city itself is Japan's International City of Peace. Beyond the discursive, in 2015, there were 35 new peace projects, and the Mayor of the City designated the year as a time to share the desire for peace (Yoshida et. al. 2016).
Information about visitors	Genbaku Dome and Hiroshima Peace Memorial receives more than 1 million visitors annually.
Services for tourism	• Entry to Peace Park is free; Peace Museum open daily (50 yen admission) • Good and wide information at the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum website (information on hours and admission, access, guide services, map, etc). Also in English.
Main programmes	***Measures to have visitors share Hiroshima's desire for peace*** U.S. President Barack Obama's visit to Hiroshima G7 Foreign Ministers' Meeting in Hiroshima Promoting the "Hiroshima for Global Peace" Plan (promotion of plan for lasting global peace devised by Hiroshima prefectural (local) government.) Hosting UN Disarmament Fellows (project which encourages diplomats to become disarmament specialists). Training for domestic journalists (educational programme aimed at increasing media knowledge and interest in Hiroshima and anti-nuclear movement.) Mayors for Peace internship program (invite and host junior officials who encourage home cities to increase civic lobby for disarmament). "Peace and Exchange" youth support program **(**opportunities for young people from Mayors for Peace member cities to visit Hiroshima and encourage reciprocal visits.) Children's Peace Assembly (assembly of local and visiting children invited to send out message for peace). ***Measures to properly pass on the reality of the atomic bombing to future generations*** Training official A-bomb Legacy Successors (due to ageing population of *hibakusha* c. 80 years, younger individuals trained to accurately communicate experiences) Offering A-bomb Legacy Successor lectures (free lecture programme at Peace Memorial Museum). Improving preservation measures for a collection of materials at Peace Memorial Museum Collecting A-bomb artifacts Supporting Volunteer staff at Peace Memorial Museum

Recording and utilizing videotapes of hibakusha testimonies

Sharing hibakusha testimonies with students visiting Hiroshima

Providing hibakusha testimonies to audiences abroad through video conferences

Peace-study workshops

Redevelopment of the Peace Memorial Museum (major renovation underway, due to reopen 2018)

Peace Memorial Museum special exhibition at the former Hiroshima branch office of Bank of Japan, etc.

Cataloging A-bomb related footage

Hiroshima Peace Volunteer Program

Creation of Peace Memorial Museum Workbooks (production and distribution of c. 250,000 workbooks for students and teachers visiting Peace Memorial Museum).

Preserving A-bombed buildings and structures for future generations (Education programme and subsidies for preservation of affected buildings and treatment for trees).

See detailed information on:
http://www.city.hiroshima.lg.jp/www/contents/1418094048249/index.html

Peace Declaration
Public authorities promote a yearly renewed Peace Declaration. Every year on August 6, the city of Hiroshima holds a Peace Memorial Ceremony to pray for the peaceful repose of the victims, for the abolition of nuclear weapons, and for lasting world peace. Following official information: "this is part of Hiroshima's effort to build a world of genuine and lasting world peace where no population will ever again experience the cruel devastation suffered by Hiroshima and Nagasaki".
http://www.city.hiroshima.lg.jp/www/contents/1317948556078/index.html

Presentation of memories to audiences

- In many ways representations at both Nagasaki and Hiroshima heavily influences by Japans' pacifist post-war constitution.
- Locally, both sites were identified as potentially lucrative from tourist perspective at an early stage.

Participation of local communities

- Efforts are made at both sites to incorporate stories of *hibakusha* (bomb survivors).
- Outreach and engagement events offer opportunities from school students to visit sites.
- Many of the programmes detailed above involve exchange visits, allowing a sustained period of contact between Hiroshima residents and visitors.

Cooperation with public and private sector

Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum is a Public Museum, related to the City of Hiroshima.

Best practices

- Emphasis on peace as opposed to commemoration of war marks Hiroshima and Nagasaki as distinctive.
- Clear focus on the site as a place for promoting peace-building for present and

future generations from public authorities.

Main challenges / Controversies

The association of Hiroshima, Nagasaki and Japan in general with peace has not been without controversy. Critics have argued that an emphasis on peace downplays and overlooks Japanese aggression during the war. Specifically, in focussing on victimhood and suffering at the atomic bomb sites it has been suggested that Japanese society has engaged in a collective 'forgetting' of its own war time aggression (Siegenthaler 2002). These criticisms were explicitly voiced by US and Chinese UNESCO delegates during consideration of the Dome's designation as a World Heritage Site in 1996. The US argued that memorialization neglected historical contextualization:

> The United States is concerned about the lack of historical perspective in the nomination of Genbaku Dome. The events antecedent to the United States' use of atomic weapons to end World War II are key to understanding the tragedy of Hiroshima. Any examination of the period leading up to 1945 should be placed in the appropriate historical context (http://whc.unesco.org/archive/repco96x.htm#annex5)

China drew attention to Japanese aggressiveness.

> During the Second World War, it was the other Asian countries and peoples who suffered the greatest loss in life and property. But today there are still few people trying to deny this fact of history. As such being the case, if Hiroshima nomination is approved to be included on the World Heritage List, even though on an exceptional basis, it may be utilized for harmful purpose by these few people. This will, of course, not be conducive to the safeguarding of world peace and security. For this reason China has reservations on the approval of this nomination (http://whc.unesco.org/archive/repco96x.htm#annex5)

Tourism *per se* has also been the source of controversy, particularly in Hiroshima. During the city's reconstruction extensive re-aestheticisation of the city to further improve its tourist appeal saw the displacement of riverside dwellers, resulting in familiar tension between the needs and rights of locals and tourists. Moreover, as early as the 1960s the 'touristification of the bomb' was criticised by international sources (Schafer 2016), while Lifton (1967) detailed discrepancies between the tourist-driven development of Hiroshima and the traumatic experiences of the *hibakusha*, suggesting that their experiences were exploited and commodified. Something similar was also evident in Nagasaki, again to a lesser extent. Finally, there have been criticisms of Japanese treatment of *hibakusha,* both in terms of the stigmatisation of nationals (often linked to misguided understandings about the hereditary and/or contagious nature of illnesses associated with radioactivity), and the denial of rights to non-Japanese *hibakusha* (many Koreans engaged in forced Japanese labour were also victims and survivors of the bombs).

Transportable actions

- Emphasis on peace rather than war is symbolically important.
- Outreach and calendar of events to maintain relevance of site.
- Programmes which involve sustained contact between visitors and local residents are most likely to contribute to culture of peace.
- Participation of *hibakusha* (bomb survivors) and local community.
- Diversity of pedagogical activities, identified per age and/or sector (i.e. journalists).
- Good information on line for visitors to the Museum (in English).
- Commitment of public authorities by supporting the museum on its role for promoting peace.

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Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum

Museum History

1945	August 6	An atomic bomb detonates at approximately 600 meters over downtown Hiroshima. Severely devastated, Hiroshima became the world's first city to be attacked by an A-bomb.
	August 6	The Hiroshima Peace Memorial City Construction Law is promulgated after receiving over 90 percent support in Japan's first public referendum.
1949	September	The A-bomb Reference Material Display Room (A-bomb Memorial Hall) is established in the Hiroshima Central Public Hall. This is the first public display of atomic bomb materials.
1952	March	It is decided that, under the Hiroshima Peace Memorial City Construction Law, the Peace Memorial Hall, Peace Memorial Museum, City Auditorium, and the Cenotaph for the A-bomb Victims will be constructed in Peace Memorial Park as reminders of the past and contributions to a future of lasting peace.
1955		The Peace Memorial Hall and the Peace Memorial Museum open. The volunteer citizen group A-bomb Materials Collection Support Association (now, A-bomb Materials Preservation Association) leads an effort that involves many Hiroshima residents in the gathering of materials related to the atomic bombing.
1958		The Hiroshima Restoration Exposition is held in and around the Peace Memorial Museum.
1975		In order to repair the aging structure and keep the materials from deterioration, the first large-scale renovation occurs and the exhibits are redesigned.
1991	August	A second renovation occurs and a large-sized model and big-screen videos are installed.
1994	June	Peace Memorial Hall is renovated to improve its functions of display and storage, and to provide more space for peace education. After its renovation, the Peace Memorial Hall reopens as the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum (East Building). ■East Building…Hiroshima before the A-bombing, Development of the A-bomb and its dropping, Nuclear Age, Hiroshima's Peace Promotion Activities ■Main Building…Artifacts including belongings of the A-bomb Victims and Photographs.
2006	July	The Main Building was designated as the first national important cultural properties among the architectural buildings which were constructed after World War II.

2012	November	The Schmoe House opens as an annex of the Museum at 1-2-43 Eba-nihommatsu, Naka-ku, Hiroshima City.
2014	March	Renovations to the East Building and Main Building are launched.
2017	April	The East Building reopens after the renovation and the Main Building is temporarily closed. ■The East Building comprises three exhibitions: “Introductory Exhibit,” “The Dangers of Nuclear Weapons,” and “Hiroshima History”.

4.2. Tuol-Sleng Genocide Museum (Cambodia)

Name and country	**Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum (Cambodia)**
Type of site	Museum and commemoration centre for Cambodian genocide (1975-79)
Brief description	The Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum is located on the site of the former S-21 Prison and Interrogation Centre, Phnom Penh, Cambodia. On this site, an estimated fifteen to twenty thousand people were detained, interrogated, tortured and in many cases killed by the Khmer Rouge Regime (Chandler 1999). The museum attests to the killings of an estimated 1.5 to 2 million civilians (approximately one fifth of the country's population). The museum features archive material, paintings and photographs (including of Cheung Ek killing field) of those who passed through S-21, as well as an exhibition of implements used to torture and kill inmates. Following its discovery, S-21 was almost immediately designated as a museum. The UNESCO Memory of the World Register inscribed the Museum Archives in July 2009 to honour their historical importance. The archive contains photographs of over 5,000 of these prisoners, as well as "confessions", many extracted under torture, and other biographical records of prisoners and prison guards and officials in the security apparatus.
Web address	**Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum** http://tuolsleng.k4media.com/en/ **Sleuk Rith Institute** (formerly DC-Cam) http://www.cambodiasri.org/
Link to relevant documents online	http://www.cambodiasri.org/ http://gsp.yale.edu/case-studies/cambodian-genocide-program
Link with UN System	Part of the **UNESCO register on Memory of the World**. http://www.unesco.org/new/en/communication-and-information/memory-of-the-world/register/full-list-of-registered-heritage/registered-heritage-page-8/tuol-sleng-genocide-museum-archives/#c188357 Also part of the **UNESCO Memory of the World and Human Rights Programme**: http://www.unescobkk.org/news/article/what-are-human-rights-archives/ **Cooperation with UNESCO Office in Cambodia.** See for example: renovation 2009-11. http://www.unesco.org/new/en/culture/themes/museums/museum-projects/archive/unesco-supports-a-project-of-preservation-for-the-tuol-sleng-genocide-museum-premises-and-its-archives-to-keep-alive-the-memory-of-cambodian-history/

Background and context

In 1975 Maoist Khmer Rouge regime emerged victorious from the five year long Cambodian civil War (1970-75) which had comprised a loose alliance of communist forces (Viet Cong, North Vietnamese and Communist Party of Kampuchea) against firstly the Kingdom of Cambodia, and thereafter the US and South Vietnamese backed Khmer Republic Forces. Following victory, the Khmer Rouge established Democratic Kampuchea (DK). The regime instituted a radical series of social reforms which saw forced de-population of urban areas and the collectivisation of agricultural production. Khmer Rouge leaders sought a return to an entirely self-sufficient agrarian mode of production as the vehicle for creating a classless society. Faced with virtually impossible production targets, conditions were harsh, and it is estimated that between one and 1.5 million people died as a result of famine, forced labour and misdiagnosed and mistreated diseases (Chandler 1999: vii). Amidst such hunger, acts such as picking fruit or engaging in fishing were labelled private enterprise, and were punishable, in severe cases, by death. As many as 200,000 people, accused of betraying the revolution, were summarily executed as class enemies. This group included non-Khmer ethnics, intellectuals, speakers of foreign languages, return migrants and, allegedly, those who wore glasses (see Vickery 1984). In total it has been estimated that as between one fifth and one quarter of Cambodia's pre-revolution population had been killed by 1979 (Tyner et al 2014).

Fuelled by a doctrine of permanent revolution which emphasised counter-revolutionaries and enemies within, the Khmer Rouge regime established a series of approximately 200 detention centres, of which the most important was Tuol Sleng in Phnom Penh (Ledgerwood 1997). Prior to the revolution Tuol Sleng had been a secondary school. Following the forced de-population of Phnom Penh the site was converted into a centre for detention, interrogation, torture and, ultimately execution of supposed enemies of the revolution. The renamed S-21 complex was functioning by June 1976, under the control of Kain Geuk Eav (Comrade Duch) – answerable to Son Sen (Deputy Prime Minister and responsible for national security). S-21 was a secret facility, known only to high ranking members of the Angkor (Organisation), to staff, and to inmates. Guards, mostly young men in their late teens and early twenties were forbidden from talking to prisoners, and it is quite probable that they were unaware of the crimes that inmates had been accused of. The same is arguably true of the *Santebal* (secret police), who arrested suspects accused of betraying the revolution, with high profile cadre being taken to S-21 (less important inmates were taken to other facilities). Initial processing often involved photographing detainees and obtaining detailed biographies, before questioning proper would begin. This involved interrogation and torture, again accompanied by thorough record keeping. Having obtained detailed confessions, the final phase of detention involved transfer some fifteen kilometres to the killing field at Choeung Ek were prisoners were executed and buried in mass graves. It is estimated that more than 14,000 people were detained at S-21, with only seven known survivors (Ledgerwood 1997: 84-85).

The Khmer Rouge regime was defeated in January 1979 by invading Vietnamese forces, and Tuol Sleng was discovered in the empty Phnom Penh shortly thereafter. When discovered, it contained the bodies of fourteen recently killed detainees, as well as documents, instruments of torture and detention. Vietnamese military officials recognised its importance as a key Khmer Rouge facility, and began piecing together the site's history. Within days its existence had been made public to journalists from sympathetic socialist countries, and by 25th January a small number were invited to

witness the site. By March 1979 Mai Lam, a Vietnamese colonel and curator of the Museum of American War Crimes had been appointed to organise the documents and turn the site into a museum and organised tours were available.

The Museum

The Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum in Phnom Penh, Cambodia, conserves in a safe way all the archives containing prisoner's photos, confessions, biographies and Khmer rouge magazines.

This museum is a site of a tragic history that the Cambodian people and the worldwide community should not forget. Nearly 15,000 prisoners were held in this former high school that the Khmer rouge Regime transformed in the prison S-21 from 1975 to 1979.

For a sustainable conservation of the archives, which were inscribed on UNESCO's Memory of the World Register in 2009, staff safety and improving visitor conditions, the museum buildings and infrastructure have been repaired without altering the historical vestiges of the Khmer rouge Regime. However, this work will continue and the archives will be digitalized.

Source: UNESCO

Tourism and peace – main ideas

With social and economic liberalisation in the early 1990s Cambodia began to develop as a tourist destination (Cheang 2008). Growing regional and domestic stability has led to steady rise in international tourism, with growth every year apart from 1997. The establishment of the Kingdom of Cambodia, the development of an emerging constitutional democratic monarchy, and in particular the defection of the last remaining Khmer Rouge rebels between 1996 and 1999 has led to the perception of the country as a trendy destination (Benzaquen 2014: 791). Between 2000 and 2007 the number of tourists quadrupled, from 466,000 to over two million (Beech 2009: 217). As of 2015 Cambodia received 4.75 million visitors, generating US $3.012 billion (https://www.siemreap.net/forum/topic/cambodia-tourism-statistics-2016/). Cambodia remains a poor country, and tourism, unsurprisingly has been identified as a growth area. Rapid development has outpaced policy, and the aggressive promotion of destinations such as UNESCO World Heritage Site Angkor Watt witnessed a 10,000% increase in visitor numbers between 1994 and 2005 (Winter 2008). This has caused considerable conservational and economic pressures.

"Genocide tourism" was identified as a potential growth industry since 2001, when Prime Minister Hun Sen, himself a former Khmer Rouge member (Human Rights Watch 2015), proposed to 'turn all genocide sites into tourism offices' (quoted in Henderson 2007: 248). The exact details of what this would entail are not spelt out, although Henderson reports concerns about the commodification of the genocide, and a fear of the emergence of Khmer Rouge theme parks. Such fears have not materialised in much of Cambodia where, to date most genocide sites are under-developed in terms of either memorialisation or tourism (Sion 2011). As Tyner et al (2014: 291) note '[o]nly those sites that conform to the present government's position for spatially and temporally framing the violence are recognized'. The principal sites promoted by state tourism authorities are the killing field at Choeung Ek

and the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum.

As noted above Tuol Sleng was converted into a museum almost immediately following the defeat of the Khmer Rouge (January 1979). During the remainder of 1979 the site was declared off-limits to Cambodians, with only international visitors permitted to attend. On July 13 1980 the museum was opened to the Cambodian public, and received 32,000 visitors during its first week. By October 1980 309,000 Cambodians had visited, along with 11,000 internationals (Ledgerwood 1997: 88). Many of the Cambodians who visited came initially to seek information about disappeared family members, and consulted the archived photographs to this end. International visitors came to bear witness to the horrors of the Khmer Rouge regime, and to convey the stories back to their home countries. From its outset the propaganda function has been subject to scrutiny, with allegations that the museum was a vehicle used to gain international legitimacy for the Vietnamese backed PRK regime. It was also implicated in domestic legitimation of the regime, while its authenticity has also been subject to critique (Ledgerwood 1997; see section 4 for details).

Over time Tuol Sleng's popularity as a tourist attraction has increased and the museum has developed from one motivated by propaganda and education through 'shock and awe' to more recognised standards in-keeping with 'worldwide memorial institutions' (Benzequean 204: 795). Specifically, the raw and brutal aesthetics of Mai Lam's original exhibition has slowly been professionalised, amongst others through the work of the Documentation Centre of Cambodia (DC-CAM). DC-Cam, a Yale University funded research institution (now independent as the Sleuk Rith Institute) assisted in the documentation of Tuol Sleng's archives, and has worked with the museum to develop more nuanced, and less overtly ideological exhibitions (Benzaquen 2014: 795). A UNESCO funded renovation in 2009-11 saw the replacement of the grizzly human skull map of Cambodia (Lam's conception) with a photograph, along with the removal of blood stains leftover from the Vietnamese discovery.

Tuol Sleng also gained international recognition and prominence between 2009 and 2010, when Comrade Duch, the governor during the site's use as S-21 became the first Khmer Rouge leader to be prosecuted by the UN-Cambodian Extraordinary Chambers of in the Courts of Cambodia (ECCC, or colloquially, the Khmer Rouge Tribunal: https://www.eccc.gov.kh/en). The museum not only served as the backdrop to the trial, but also provided some of the evidence required to secure conviction. As part of the ECCC an outreach programme brings parties of 300 visitors from the Cambodian countryside to Tuol Sleng every Tuesday and Thursday (https://www.eccc.gov.kh/en/articles/30-years-searching-answers-missing-relatives-found-s-21). From controversial origins, some commentators have noted that Tuol Sleng now plays an important role in post-conflict Cambodian memory (Benzaquen 2014), while others argue that it continues to privilege 'particular narratives about political legitimacy' and remains 'skewed in favour of the dominant political narrative initiated in 1979' (Tyner et al 2014: 286-7).

	The museum has recently developed and expanded its educational and outreach programme. Specific programmes are organised into three streams – 1. Internal; 2. Outreach and 3. Training. For full details see: http://tuolsleng.k4media.com/en/education/ Following UNESCO's information: "This unique memory site is one of the only museums in Cambodia to focus on contemporary history. Moreover, through school visits, it plays a fundamental educational role for young people and students. Preserving and safeguarding the memory of this place is a way to foster a culture of peace and dialogue and prevent historical tragedies like this one from happening again." (http://www.unesco.org/new/en/culture/themes/museums/museum-projects/archive/unesco-supports-a-project-of-preservation-for-the-tuol-sleng-genocide-museum-premises-and-its-archives-to-keep-alive-the-memory-of-cambodian-history/)
Information about visitors	2 million visitors per year, mostly international.
Services for tourism	Free admission for Cambodian nationals, $5 non-Cambodian citizen. Open every day: 08.00-17.00
Main programmes	The museum has recently developed and expanded its educational and outreach programme. Specific programmes are organised into three streams – 1. Internal; 2. Outreach and 3. Training. 1. INTERNAL PROGRAM These activities are organized on the museum grounds for visitors and include: White Lotus Room: Provides a space for peaceful reflection, features two daily performances of traditional Cambodian music and Smot chanting Activity Room: A space primarily for secondary school students to develop their understanding of the Khmer rouge period through interactive learning and research. Testimony Programme: records testimony and allows survivors of S-21 to share stories with the public. Activity guidebook: offers information about exhibits on display in Tuol Seng. Aimed at secondary school students. Lectures and Talks: museum provides talks and lectures for a variety of audiences. Student orientation: 20 minutes presentation for schools, NGOs and government departments. Pubic talks: Expert led lecture series on Cambodian history. TOUR GUIDE: 2. OUTREACH PROGRAM: Museum runs a four week outreach programme in which they visits schools,

	students visit the museum and devise and present research. 3. TRAINING: Committed to strengthening the capacity of its own Education team, Cambodian students and recent graduates, the Museum arranges training programs on a variety of subjects and skills. Some examples include a Capacity Building Workshop for Tour Guides, Proposal Writing, Practical Research Methodologies, and Oral History Collection. In 2016, the museum will provide a series of soft skill training in leadership, management and administration.
Presentation of memories to audiences	• Historically the representational process was closely tied to ideology and linked to the governments of regimes in PRK and Vietnam. • More recently, the museum has worked closely with Sleuk Rith Institute (formerly DC CAM) to arrive at representations which are less overtly ideological and more nuanced. The emphasis on shocking imagery of gore has also faded.
Participation of local communities	• Tuol Sleng has community outreach programmes which aim to engage a wide audience. • Admission is free tom Cambodian nationals to maximise accessibility.
Cooperation with public and private sector	• Museum is embedded into complex organizational structure. • Currently within Cambodian Government's Ministry of Culture and Fine Arts
Main challenges / Controversies	Since its inception as a museum Tuol Sleng has been controversial. Following the literature on the subject, three particular and interlinked criticisms have been attached the museum, namely: • Highly ideological role in legitimating Vietnamese intervention and the emergence of the new state • The authenticity of the display • The commodification of traumatic history. Regarding the first criticism, it is undeniable that following the defeat of the Khmer Rouge Tuol Sleng was a useful propaganda tool. Capturing and conveying the horrors of the Khmer Rouge regime's reign to a critical international audience was intended to legitimise Vietnamese presence in Cambodia, which had been 'condemned as an invasion China and the USA' (Tyner et al. 2014: 283). Moreover, despite the establishment of the People's Republic of Kampuchea – it was its forerunner Democratic Kampuchea which retained international recognition at the UN. The decision to preserve Tuol Sleng, then, must be viewed in the context of its potential role as a key institution for mediating the Khmer Rouge's terror, and legitimising both the PRK and Vietnamese intervention. This explains the haste with which the museum was established – the decision to preserve the site was almost instantaneous, with organised tours offered from March 1979 – tellingly such tours were initially only available to foreign visitors. Ledgerwood (1997: 89) argues 'there is evidence to suggest that museum was designed primarily for foreign consumption', citing a Propaganda Report (1980: 3) which insists on

the need for bright lighting to aid foreigners taking photographs. Virtually all of the authorities on Tuol Sleng are in agreement regarding its utilization as a vehicle of international legitimation. Hughes (2003: 26) notes that 'national and international legitimacy of the People's Republic of Kampuchea hinged on the exposure of the violent excess of Pol Pot'. Tyner et al (2014: 285) note that the Tuol Sleng's original intention was neither educational nor contextual, but rather concerned with affecting 'separation between crimes of Khmer Rouge and the newly installed government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea'. Dunlop (2005: 164) concurs, noting a principal function intended to 'provoke outrage through a primarily sensory experience rather than to enlighten'.

Linked to this is the issue of internal legitimation of the new socialist PRK state. The museum's first curator, the Vietnamese colonel Mai Lam previous curatorial appointment at the Museum of American War Crimes involved a Manichean narrative of American aggression and Vietnamese resistance. In Cambodia such a narrative was problematic. For all of its failings, DK (like the PRK and Vietnam) was not only supposedly a socialist regime; the foundational myth of the new state centred on the revolutionary victory of 1975. Moreover, it was not a foreign aggressor, but ethnic Khmer who had killed, tortured and terrorised against their own people. The official PRK narrative implicated a 'genocidal clique' of key Khmer Rouge leaders (often Pol Pot, Nuon Chea and Ieng Sary) as being wholly responsible for genocide, for betraying the revolution and the people Chandler (1999). Part of this narrative involved the representation of Pol Pot and his 'genocidal clique' as fascists. In light of this, it is unsurprising that Mai Lam visited both Western and Eastern Europe, studying and drawing his inspiration from Holocaust museums and memorials, including Auschwitz. The narrative arrived at enabled the portrayal of the revolution as genuinely socialist, thus legitimating the fledgling PRK. The genocidal clique explanation, however, has had two further consequences. Firstly, it has provided an exoneration of former Khmer Rouge members, many of whom formed the backbone of the new PDK regime (Linton 2004), as well as subsequent incarnations. Secondly, it has had serious legal consequences in apportioning guilt or identifying suspects for prosecution in the UN-Cambodian ECCC.

Related to each of the above are further issues concerning the authenticity of the exhibitions at Tuol Sleng. While no one denies that the Khmer Rouge regime saw mass death, the exact figure is subject to contestation, and Tuol Sleng's claim of 3 million (Ledgerwood 1997: 84) is located at the upper end of estimates. Likewise, the museum mentions a figure of as 'many as 20,000' detainees when judging the numbers killed at S-21. The initial exhibitions reinforced this narrative of mass, Holocaust-esque genocide. Although there was little text at Tuol Sleng, 'Khmer Rouge atrocities were translated into a language fitting the new ideological context and political agenda….through a selected set of iconic artefacts' (Benzaquen 2014: 793). Initial exhibits were selectively presented to maximise horror – notable examples being the skull map, and the preservation of blood stains from the bodies of those actually detained at S-21. Tyner et. Al. (2014: 284) note that while the museum demonstrates and bears witness to the fact that the crimes took place, the

exhibition's format ensures that the question of why goes unanswered. A lack of text strengthened the suggestion that artefacts, devoid of interpretation bore irrefutable evidence to the 'truth' of the genocide. Writing of a different context, Crew and Sims note this is a generic illusion of representation, wherein political concerns are obfuscated through the power of the artefact:

> The problem with things is that they are dumb. They are not eloquent, as some thinkers in art museums claim. They are dumb. And if by some ventriloquism they seem to speak, they lie ... once removed from the continuity of everyday uses in time and space and made exquisite on display, stabilized and conserved, objects are transformed in the meanings they may be said to carry. (Crew & Sims 1991:159, cited in Crang 2003).

Ledgerwood (1997: 89) notes that while Tuol Sleng's history as the site of S-21 is irrefutable, a question arises as to whether 'crafting Tuol Sleng as a "genocide" museum superseded and distorted preserving S-21 as it existed in DK times'. The question here hinges on the authenticity of the artefacts and the politics of representation amidst such an overtly ideological context. It is worth noting that in recent years the museum, aided by DC-Cam and UNESCO has sought to curate more nuanced exhibitions.

The third and final controversy, namely the commodification of traumatic history and genocide goes well beyond Tuol Seng and represents an issue for Cambodian society in general. Concern regarding the possible emergence of tourist-focussed Khmer Rouge theme parks supposedly increased amidst reports of 'a Khmer Rouge Experience Café offering a themed 'menu of 'rice water and leaves' delivered by waitresses 'dressed in the black fatigues worn by Pol Pot's guerrillas''[5] (Henderson 2007: 248). Although it is noted above that outright theme-parkization has not occurred in Cambodia, sites such as Tuol Sleng have been criticised for developing a mass-tourism outlook, including expensive entrance fees and the development of a cottage industry of souvenirs (although entrance is now free for Cambodian visitors). The killing field at Choeung Ek, has drawn sharper criticism. Here, contestation of memorialization has centred on the privatization of the site – under a new arrangement the site is managed by Japanese company JC Royal. Sion (2011) notes that this arrangement has seen the commodification of human suffering, literally embodied by presentations of skulls packaged for a tourist gaze, in the interests not of memorialization but of profit making. She concludes by noting that the 'killing fields are a source of profit whose beneficiaries are neither survivors nor relatives of the victims' (Sion 2011: 6).

Importance of tourism for peace-

Since this is currently the only museum in Cambodia focusing on recent history, its role as a key agent to foster a culture of peace and dialogue among visitors is undeniable.

[5] An online search reveals that media covered the story of the short lived History Café, opened and closed in 2005. http://www.abc.net.au/news/2005-10-02/cafe-closed-after-reviving-pol-pot-memories/2115354. A more recent themed café appears to have opened in Siem Reap: http://www.reuters.com/article/us-cambodia-porridge-idUSKBN19A0ZH. Accessed 09/08/2017.

building	
Transportable actions	• Working with different stakeholders and institutions in order to avoid overtly ideological representations/narratives aimed at legitimating political order. Since working with DC-CAM and UNESCO, the exhibition at Tuol Sleng has become less ideological and more nuanced. • Support and cooperation with UN system, mainly UNESCO. • Work with international human rights organisations – in the case of the prosecution of Comrade Duch, Tuol Sleng assisted by allowing access to its archives. The prosecution of Duch may have enabled some closure for families and loved ones. • Be aware of sensitivities involved in striking balance between commercialisation and commemoration. Free admission for Cambodians is a good idea; while commercialisation and souvenirs on the site could be controversial at some point. • Outreach activities to maximise educational impact of museum.
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4.3. Stari Most – Mostar Old Bridge Area (Bosnia and Herzegovina)

Name and country	**Stari Most – Mostar Old Bridge Area (Bosnia and Herzegovina)**
Type of site	Historic town
Type of conflict	Ethnic // civil conflict
Brief description	• In the 1990s conflict at the former Yugoslavia the bridge was destroyed • Symbolic power and meaning of the City of Mostar – symbol of coexistence of communities from diverse cultural, ethnic and religious backgrounds Mostar's Old Bridge area is a World Heritage site, famed as both an architectural wonder, and as a symbol of reconciliation following the cessation of the Bosnian War (1992-95) in which hundreds of thousands died. The Sixteenth Century Bridge was built by celebrated architect *mimar* Harjuddin, and lasted until 1993 when it was destroyed during the Bosnian war. The bridge and environs consisted of diverse and multi-cultural architecture reflecting influences of Islam, Judaism and Christianity. The broken bridge symbolised the destructiveness of war, and the divisions which remained after the conflict. Under international sponsorship and supervision, the bridge was meticulously reconstructed using original stone salvaged from the river below, and reopened in 2004. The reconstructed Old Bridge and Old City of Mostar is a symbol of reconciliation, international co-operation and of the coexistence of diverse cultural, ethnic and religious communities. The bridge is a source of civic pride to *all* of Mostar's diverse communities, and has been pressed into service as a symbolic reunification of a divided society, as well as serving as a key tourist attraction (Grodach 2004). Tourism has become increasingly important in Mostar, and the city welcomes an estimated 350-450,000 visitors annually (Pestek and Nikolic 2011).
Web site	Agency "Stari grad" http://www.asgmo.ba/ The Agency has been established with a view to protect cultural-historical heritage and natural heritage of Mostar, and it has been entrusted with implementation of management plan and responsibilities regulated in the World Heritage Convention. Additionally, it prepares proposal of development programs and policies, as well as economic, cultural and other activities with a view to reinvigoration of the zone, as well as coordination with cultural, educational, touristic and related institutions.
Link with UN System	Old Bridge Area of the Old City of Mostar is a World Heritage Site since 2005 (first World Heritage site in Bosnia and Herzegovina). Different restoration projects with UNESCO. See more information on: http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/946
Background and context	*Source whc.unesco.org* The historic town of Mostar developed in the 15th and 16th centuries as an Ottoman frontier town and during the Austro-Hungarian period in the 19th and 20th centuries. Mostar has long been known for its old Turkish houses and Old Bridge, Stari Most, after which it is named. The current name, Mostar, was mentioned for the first time in 1474 and derived from "*mostari*" - the bridge keepers. The essence of centuries-long cultural continuity is represented by the

universal synthesis of life phenomena: the bridge and its fortresses – with the rich archeological layers from the pre-Ottoman period, religious edifices, residential zones (mahalas), arable lands, houses, bazaar, its public life in the streets and water. Architecture here presented a symbol of tolerance: a shared life of Muslims, Christians and Jews. Mosques, churches, and synagogues existed side-by-side indicating that in this region, the Roman Catholic Croats with their Western European culture, the Eastern Orthodox Serbs with their elements of Byzantine culture, and the Sephardic Jews continued to live together with the Bosniaks-Muslims for more than four centuries. A specific regional architecture was thus created and left behind a series of unique architectural achievements, mostly modest by physical dimensions, but of considerable importance for the cultural history of its people. The creative process produced a constant flow of various cultural influences that, like streams merging into a single river, became more than a mere sum of the individual contributing elements.

Between 1992 and 1995 the town was badly damaged during the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina and much of the urban centre was left in ruins and the Old Bridge destroyed. The destroyed bridge falling into the water of Neretva became one of the poignant images of the war (Björkdahl and Mannergren 2016). In 1995 the Dayton agreement was signed, ending the 1992-1995 Bosnian conflict.

The Old Bridge was rebuilt shortly after the war as part of the international reconstruction efforts (the reconstruction began on September 29, 1997), and many of the edifices in the Old Town have been restored or rebuilt with the contribution of an international scientific committee established by UNESCO. Following UNESCO, the Old Bridge area, with its pre-Ottoman, eastern Ottoman, Mediterranean and western European architectural features, is an outstanding example of a multicultural urban settlement. The reconstructed Old Bridge and Old City of Mostar is a symbol of reconciliation, international co-operation and of the coexistence of diverse cultural, ethnic and religious communities.

With the “renaissance” of the Old Bridge and its surroundings, the symbolic power and meaning of the City of Mostar - as an exceptional and universal symbol of coexistence of communities from diverse cultural, ethnic and religious backgrounds - has been reinforced and strengthened, underlining the unlimited efforts of human solidarity for peace and powerful cooperation in the face of overwhelming catastrophes.

The bridge and peace-building processes

It is important to take into account that the bridge took on a more complex image following its destruction and reconstruction. It is simultaneously a theme of different historical narratives, a competing memory site, a contested monument, a glorious past, a horrific recent past, a site of everyday practices and a tourist spot (Björkdahl and Mannergren 2016).

In Bosnia-Herzegovina, where no single ethnic group completely dominates the social and political agenda, the bridge metaphor has become central to contemporary formulations on a new Bosnian identity. One of the strategic sites both during the war and in negotiating reconciliation between ethnic factions in Bosnia is the city of Mostar.

Prior to the war, Mostar was composed of roughly one-third Muslim, one-third Croatian and one-fifth Serbian populations, while Muslims formed a slight majority in the city and Croatians in the villages surrounding the urban area. Today, the city’s population is comprised of primarily Muslims and Croatians, due in part to Serbian displacement during the war. During and

after the war, Mostar has been the central site of confrontation between the Bosnian Croatian nationalist party and Bosnian Muslims.

Mostar has assumed its pivotal role in demonstrating the possibility of reconciliation, not only because of its central position in the war and its pluralized population, but because it contains some of the Balkans' most precious architectural treasures. (…) While much of this unique architecture was destroyed during the fighting, the reconstruction process has provided the opportunity to re-evaluate the use and meaning of many of Mostar's historic sites. (…)

The bridge is a source of pride for members of all religious and ethnic groups in the region, lending material significance to the metaphor of the bridge in the Balkans and long playing a central role in framing how local and distant groups experience the city and its culture. Particularly following the war, the bridge has absorbed the imaginations of residents, journalists, aid organizations and tourists alike. In post-war Mostar, Stari Most was transformed from an outstanding relic of Ottoman architecture to representing a bridge between cultures. The historic preservation and reconstruction processes gathering around the bridge assume a crucial role in negotiating peace in and through the formation of a new Bosnian identity based on the concept of "bridging" cultural difference and romanticizing Bosnia's multicultural past. Additionally, a new social and ethnic-national identity is becoming entwined with economic revitalization and tourism. (…)

The symbolic redefinition of Star Most is a positive force in resolving perceived differences and generating economic revitalization. However, this reinterpretation embodies the difficulty of rewriting history and the dangers of creating group identity dependent in large part on tourism.

The demolition of Stari Most and the rebuilding process provide an opportunity for local groups to redefine the significance of the bridge. Prior to the War, the bridge was indeed a point of pride and a landmark in Mostar. In addition to its historical and cultural significance as an ancient engineering and artistic achievement and its more recent significance as a symbol of multicultural union, Stari Most has also gained notoriety as a war-torn site (as it happened to other war related sites, assigning them special status and opening the sites for potentially new use and interpretation). Nowadays, more often than not, some international articles contain inaccurate information that only serves to sensationalize not only the post-war rebuilding process, but also daily life in Mostar. The actual front-line in Mostar, the Bulevar Narodne Revolucije, while not as symbolically potent as the river, remains nonetheless devastated. Additionally, the boundary between East and West Mostar is not as impermeable as these accounts describe. Still, the precise extent to which people keep to one side or the other is difficult to gauge accurately (Grodach 2002).

The reconstruction of the bridge depicted a heterogeneity and multiplicity of coexisting narratives projected onto the bridge. The international community projected a narrative that emphasized the bridge as reconstruction both material and social connections between the two communities (Björkdahl and Mannergren 2016).

Since its destruction, it has taken on new and more intense significance as a symbol of a bridge between cultures, a symbol of Bosnia-Herzegovina's "multicultural past". However, mention of the bridge as a symbol of Bosnia's diverse cultural heritage does not appear until after its destruction.

The symbolic reinterpretation of the bridge is an adaptation of a central landmark to the present to counter ethnic nationalism and to achieve social

and economic stability in the face of recent catastrophe. As a memory, the bridge's symbolic strength is more powerful than ever.

Source: Grodach (2002) 'Reconstituting identity and history in post-war Mostar, Bosnia-Herzegovina'. City 6(1):61-82

On the other hand, to many Mostarians the Stari Most is important for reconstituting Mostar's identity in the post-war years, but not as envisioned by international donors as a symbol for reconnecting the two communities on each side of the river. Other bridges open to traffic across the Neretva perform this function in the everyday. The Bosniak local narrative emphasizes that Stari Most connects the Bosniak community on the eastern riverbank with its foothold on the western bank, rather than connecting the Bosniak and Bosnian Croat communities (Björkdahl and Mannergren 2016).

One local narrative projected on to the bridge plays on the global, cosmopolitan narrative and is manifested through a massive stone positioned on the bridge bearing the inscription "DON'T FORGET". The stone was put up by a member of the army of BiH's "cultural brigade" as a protest against the war, similar to the famous cry "NEVER AGAIN!" Like many material objects this stone holds symbolic value and as such it is contested. Beyond what some Mostarians interpret as "pop culture" with a message mainly there for tourists consumption, the stone carries a specific local provenance and meaning that predate the growth of international tourism in city, as it appeared before Mostar was demilitarized by international peace-keepers in 1996 (Björkdahl and Mannergren 2016).

To many Mostarians from both communities the Stari Most is still more a symbolic representation of the war that of peace. Thus the bridge reveals multiple narratives making and remaking the meaning of the place (Björkdahl and Mannergren 2016).

It is identifiable that the replication of the Ottoman construction provides a space of renovation not reconciliation. While symbolically and socially important to the city, the bridge does not actively facilitate reconciliation, nor does it act as a space for reconciliation to occur in the everyday. Linking the reconstruction of Stari Most with social reconciliation may be representative of some international and local views. However, it is important to note that municipality divisions spatially established at the time of the reconstruction of Stari Most are congruent with the 1992-1995 conflict divisions, and as such, foster a spatial narrative which is disjointed from the institutional staging of Stari Most as symbol of reconciliation (Forde 2016).

Reconstructing the bridge could also have an opposite effect, of further dividing the city and thus constructing a symbol of that division. The existence of the bridge speaks loudly to the fact that even though the infrastructure has been rebuilt; the connections between the communities do not automatically coincide (Nordtvedt 2006).

Spatial transformation and peace-building in Mostar
(Based on ideas from: Björkdahl, A., Kapplen, S. (2017), Peacebuilding and Spatial Transformation. Peace, Space and Place, Routledge.)

"Mostar has been one of the places where the imprints of war have turned into deep scars on the social landscape of a once multi-ethnic city. It became the site of some of the most serious violence and destruction in the region (…). Historic monuments, cultural property and religious buildings were deliberately targeted during the war to destroy the memory of the city".

Following Björkdahl and Kapplen, "conflict and peace are performed through

everyday practices, and thus can be changed through altered spatial practices". In this sense, they consider that Mostar is an example on how "a divided city can develop shared places through the materialization of ideas of togetherness and resistance to an ethnic gaze on the urban space".

There are diverse local and civil associations, as well as other type of initiatives in Mostar, to promote peace-building processes. Among others, institutions like the Youth Cultural Centre Abrasevic, "produces a non-conventional place for peace to avoid the overwhelming presence of ethnicity in the city".

Tourism and peace – main ideas

Prior to the Bosnian War, Mostar attracted approximately 1 million tourists annually. By the 1960s, the Yugoslavian government had taken an active role and encouraged tourist to take day trips from the Adriatic coast to view Stari Most (Grodach 2002). Tourism in Bosnia and Herzegovina in last 20 years has been affected by special circumstances: war, aggression, refugees, transition, etc. Overall, there is a fact of a general decline in demand for travel comparing to the situation before the war, so the need of repositioning Bosnia and Herzegovina in the tourism market has been identified. (Kürsad Özlen, M., Poturak, M. 2013)

An increasing number of war galleries, war souvenirs, bookshops selling books and films about the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina now surround the bridge and they guide foreign visitors by providing a script of how to read the bridge. (Björkdahl and Mannergren 2016).

The popular attraction of the reconstructed bridge is notable as a stage of memory for the conflict through the international definitions of the symbolism behind the reconstruction, staged as a "symbol of reconciliation". The narrative of the reconstruction of Stari Most is internationally sanitized and romanticized in its symbolism and purpose. Through the space of performance and consumption which surrounds the bridge, the staging of the bridge can be regarded as a "Disneyization" (Forde 2016).

On the other side, site managers consider that "the symbolic power of the Bridge is really a big one. In addition to architectural value, value of a monument, historical value, the Old Bridge has an emotional value as well (…) In order to comprehend its value and the power of that symbol, you must visit it by all means".

Following the words of the Director of Agency "Stari grad", "Heritage in Bosnia and Herzegovina plays a particular role and has a particular importance as a place of merging influences from the East and the West. In spite of all the ideological, religious and national clashes, economic turmoil and cultural history of Bosnia and Herzegovina constitutes a kid of a rarity (…) That unity in diversity of the cultures and civilization constitute particularity of the cultural-historic heritage of Bosnia and Herzegovina and it bears witness about the true possibility of living together and the concept of peace".

From this Agency, they consider that heritage sites "represent the best promoters of the conception of peace and all the other positive values from the past with a moral for the future". From this perspective, "the heritage represents a bridge among diverse nations and as such, it promotes peace, and our institution (Agency Stari-grad) has a task to protect the peace".

The Agency informed that "tour guides are connected with numerous tourist agencies in the city of Mostar, Bosnia and Herzegovina and neighboring countries and they have certificates proving they have passed (specializaed) exams for certified tour guides and those certificates were issued by the

	Federal ministry of tourism and environment".
Information about visitors	• Visitors are domestic tourists, foreign tourists and the citizens of Mostar, following Agency's information • In 2017 there were about 1.5 million tourists in Mostar.
Services for tourism	• The Old Bridge itself is open and free for visitors. • Some fees for the entrance into certain facilities, monuments, etc., notably in the private sector (houses belonging to individuals and families, for example. The Museum of Herzegovina charges for entrance into its museum space. • Mostar and its environs have tourist services, with all type of accommodation and restaurants. • Tourists looking for different type of visit (historical tourism, cultural tourism, natural tourism, religious tourism, etc.) are present. • Agency "Stari grad" web page bilingual in Serbo-Croatian and English (www.asgmo.ba)
Main programmes	Conservation of cultural and natural heritage as a source for peace-building.
Presentation of memories to audiences	• Following the Agency Stari-grad: "The manner in which the narratives and the monuments of heritage are presented rests upon exclusively ethical principle, namely, presentation of historical facts in spirit of peace". • This Agency does not consider that the narratives and exhibits have been controversial. The Agency just refers to "some particular cases with tourist guides who did not respect code of ethics and who are not under Agency's supervision".
Participation of local communities	• Following site manager's words: "The participation of local community and in projects for the promotion of peace reflects in the restoration and revitalization of the cultural-historical heritage facilities with a view to develop tourism and tourism projects". • There are many different associations involved in peace-building processes (intercultural associations, youth associations, etc.)
Cooperation with public and private sector	• Agency "Stari grad" is a city administrative organization established in 2005 by the City Council of Mostar, with a view to promote the preservation of the World Heritage site and the remaining cultural-historical heritage of the city of Mostar. • Cooperation with different administration level and project in collaboration with different agencies (federal, cantonal, etc.). • There is a cooperation with private sector in light of launching activities on the restoration and preservation of the facilities in private ownership which are located in the zone of the national monument "Historical city area of Mostar and Bragaj". • Cooperation with tour guides and tourism sector. • International partners (through UNESCO and others).
Best practices	• Main best practices: restoration and revitalization of the cultural heritage facilities, in protection and in proper conservation of the site. Pilot Cultural Heritage Project with the restoration of the Old Bridge in its focus, which has been implemented in the joint work of the City of Mostar, World Bank, UNESCO and the governments of Bosnia and Herzegovina. • Getting UNESCO's support and protection for the site.
Main challenges /	• Following Agency Stari-grad, "main challenges about tourism and peace for the future is a positive promotion and improvement of all

Controversies	the values of the monuments of cultural heritage, exchange of positive experiences and the sustainable development".
Importance of tourism for peace-building	• Agency representatives consider that the growing number of tourists to Mostar and surrounding area is a "positive factor for the development of peace in the region".
Need of ethical guidelines	The Agency Stari-grad works with a code of ethics. Following the Director: "Taking into account the specificity of cultural-historical heritage in Bosnia and Herzegovina which has been frequently destroyed and in areas where conflicts and wars took place, code of ethics bears extreme importance in presenting historical facts without war-mongering character, with a view of presenting truth and promotion of peace". They also relate to the ICOM's code of ethics (2004):
Transportable actions	• Reconstruction of a bridge that was a key element to the identity of local community • Heritage considered as a key element to promote peace-building • Inscription of the site on the World Heritage List, in order to highlight its importance as a heritage site and to receive international support • Social landscape and spatial conception must be also considered in post conflict sites: promoting spaces for coexistence can be important for peace-building • Places generate new representational meaning: need to take into account the different meanings for the bridge, before and after its destruction (now it is an international symbol of multicultural coexistence, when it was not necessarily before; different meaning for local community) • Close cooperation with tour guides, in order to promote a common discourse around the site
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4.4. Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum. German Nazi Concentration and Extermination Camp (Poland)

Name and country	**Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum. German Nazi Concentration and Extermination Camp (Poland)**
Type of site	Site Museum
Type of conflict	Concentration and extermination camp – II World War
Brief description	Between 1942 and 1945 Auschwitz-Birkenau was the scene of systematic imprisonment, torture, starvation and extermination of between one and one and a half million people, with estimates suggesting that up to 90% of the dead were Jewish. Roma, Polish, Communist and homosexuals were also imprisoned and killed by the Nazis. The Auschwitz-Birkenau museum commemorates and memorialises the crimes committed here, and the suffering of those imprisoned within the notorious camp. As the symbol of the holocaust (Partee Allar 2013) – a vivid testimony to the 'inhumane, cruel and methodical effort to deny human dignity to groups considered inferior' (WHC/UNESCO), the site is a designated World Heritage Site (1979). The museum features a permanent exhibition containing artefacts seized from those imprisoned, as well as national exhibitions featuring monuments and artefacts representing the various nationalities who died at Auschwitz. Auschwitz II-Birkenau, the death camp, contains the ruins of one of the infamous gas chambers and serves as an open air exhibition. Birkenau is also the site of the Auschwitz Holocaust Memorial. Auschwitz attracts over one million visitors per year (over two million in 2016), with most visitors' principal motivation being educational.
Web address	Auschwitz-Birkenau State Musuem www.auschwitz.org
Link with UN System	Inscribed on the World Heritage List (UNESCO) since 1979. More info: http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/31
Background and context	*Source: whc.unesco.org* The fortified walls, barbed wire, platforms, barracks, gallows, gas chambers and cremation ovens show the conditions within which the Nazi genocide took place in the former concentration and extermination camp of Auschwitz-Birkenau, the largest in the Third Reich. According to historical investigations, 1.5 million people, among them a great number of Jews, were systematically starved, tortured and murdered in this camp, the symbol of humanity's cruelty to its fellow human beings in the 20th century. Auschwitz-Birkenau was the principal and most notorious of the six concentration and extermination camps established by Nazi Germany to implement its Final Solution policy which had as its aim the mass murder of the Jewish people in Europe. Built in Poland under Nazi German occupation initially as a concentration camp for Poles and later for Soviet prisoners of war, it soon became a prison for a number of other nationalities. Between the years 1942-1944 it became the main mass extermination camp where Jews were tortured and killed for their so-called racial origins. In addition to the mass murder of well over a million Jewish men, women and children, and tens of thousands of Polish victims, Auschwitz also served as a camp for the racial murder of thousands of Roma and Sinti and prisoners of several

European nationalities.

The Nazi policy of spoliation, degradation and extermination of the Jews was rooted in a racist and anti-Semitic ideology propagated by the Third Reich.

Auschwitz-Birkenau was the largest of the concentration camp complexes created by the Nazi German regime and was the one which combined extermination with forced labour. At the centre of a huge landscape of human exploitation and suffering, the remains of the two camps of Auschwitz I and Auschwitz II-Birkenau, as well as its Protective Zone were placed on the World Heritage List as evidence of this inhumane, cruel and methodical effort to deny human dignity to groups considered inferior, leading to their systematic murder. The camps are a vivid testimony to the murderous nature of the anti-Semitic and racist Nazi policy that brought about the annihilation of more than 1.2 million people in the crematoria, 90% of whom were Jews.

The archaeological remains at Auschwitz bear testament to how the Holocaust, as well as the Nazi German policy of mass murder and forced labour took place. The collections at the site preserve the evidence of those who were premeditatedly murdered, as well as presenting the systematic mechanism by which this was done. The personal items in the collections are testimony to the lives of the victims before they were brought to the extermination camps, as well as to the cynical use of their possessions and remains. The site and its landscape have high levels of authenticity and integrity since the original evidence has been carefully conserved without any unnecessary restoration.

Therefore, Auschwitz – Birkenau, commemorates the deliberate genocide of the Jews by the Nazi regime (Germany 1933-1945) and the deaths of countless others, with the site itself bearing irrefutable evidence to one of the greatest crimes ever perpetrated against humanity. It is also a monument to the strength of the human spirit which in appalling conditions of adversity resisted the efforts of the German Nazi regime to suppress freedom and free thought and to wipe out whole races. The site is a key place of memory for the whole of humankind for the holocaust, racist policies and barbarism; it is a place of our collective memory of this dark chapter in the history of humanity, of transmission to younger generations and a sign of warning of the many threats and tragic consequences of extreme ideologies and denial of human dignity.

Description of the site

The current World Heritage Site is a 191.97-ha serial property – which consists of three component parts: the former Auschwitz I camp, the former Auschwitz II-Birkenau camp and a mass grave of inmates – where the most important structures related to the exceptional events that took place here are located and that bear testimony to their significance to humanity. It is the most representative part of the Auschwitz complex, which consisted of nearly 50 camps and sub-camps.

The Auschwitz Birkenau camp complex comprises 155 brick and wooden structures (57 in Auschwitz and 98 in Birkenau) and about 300 ruins. There are also ruins of gas chambers and crematoria in Birkenau, which were dynamited in January 1945, as well as remains of the prototypal gas chamber in Auschwitz. The overall length of fencing supported by concrete poles is more than 13 km. Individual structures of high historical significance, such as railway sidings and ramps, food stores and industrial buildings, are dispersed in the immediate setting of the property. These structures, along with traces in the landscape, remain poignant testimonies to this tragic history.

The Auschwitz I main camp was a place of extermination, effected mainly by depriving people of elementary living conditions. It was also a centre for immediate extermination. Here were located the offices of the camp's administration, the local garrison commander and the commandant of Auschwitz I, the seat of the central offices of the political department, and the prisoner labour department. Here too were the main supply stores, workshops and *Schutzstaffel* (SS) companies. Work in these administrative and economic units and companies was the main form of forced labour for the inmates in this camp.

Birkenau was the largest camp in the Auschwitz complex. It became primarily a centre for the mass murder of Jews brought there for extermination, and of Roma and Sinti prisoners during its final period. Sick prisoners and those selected for death from the whole Auschwitz complex – and, to a smaller extent, from other camps – were also gathered and systematically killed here. It ultimately became a place for the concentration of prisoners before they were transferred inside the Third Reich to work for German industry. Most of the victims of the Auschwitz complex, probably about 90%, were killed in the Birkenau camp.

The Auschwitz camp complex has survived largely unchanged since its liberation in January 1945. The remaining camp buildings, structures and infrastructure are a silent witness to history, bearing testimony of the crime of genocide committed by the German Nazis. They are an inseparable part of a death factory organized with precision and ruthless consistency.

At Auschwitz I, the majority of the complex has remained intact. The architecture of the camp consisted mostly of pre-existing buildings converted by the Nazis to serve new functions. The preserved architecture, spaces and layout still recall the historical functions of the individual elements in their entirety. The interiors of some of the buildings have been modified to adapt them to commemorative purposes, but the external façades of these buildings remain unchanged.

In Birkenau, which was built anew on the site of a displaced village, only a small number of historic buildings have survived. Due to the method used in constructing those buildings, planned as temporary structures and erected in a hurry using demolition materials, the natural degradation processes have been accelerating. All efforts are nevertheless being taken to preserve them, strengthen their original fabric and protect them from decay.

Many historic artefacts from the camp and its inmates have survived and are currently kept in storage. Some are exhibited in the Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum. These include personal items brought by the deportees, as well as authentic documents and preserved photographs, complemented with post-war testimonies of the survivors.

Tourism and peace – main ideas

- The motives for visiting Auschwitz are grouped by Biran et al. (2008) into four factors: "see it to believe it" relates to interest in seeing the site out of a need to believe that such atrocities really happened; "learning and understanding" highlights interest in being educated about WWII and Auschwitz; "famous death tourist attractions" relates to general interest in sites of death; and "emotional heritage experience" is composed of motives linked with one's desire to connect with his/her heritage and have an emotional visiting experience.
- Interviewee confirmed that even those whose visit is motivated by tourism (e.g. guidebooks) have profound reactions to the site.

Interviewee noted that no one who comes to the site leaves entirely unmoved.

- Biran et al. (2008) conclude that, overall, educational motives are the foremost reason for visiting the site. The findings suggest that tourists' motives are varied, and include a desire to learn ad understand the history presented, a sense of "see it to believe it", and interest in having an emotional heritage experience. It also indicates that interest in death is the least important reason for the visit. These findings demonstrate that the motives for visiting Auschwitz are similar to those for visiting a "regular" heritage site, based on educational motives and emotional involvement.
- According to a 2012 survey released by the Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum, the vast plurality of individuals who visited the site (33.2 per cent) did so in order to obtain "knowledge of the history of the camp" (Whigham 2014).
- Since information about History can be received through books, we can assume that visiting the site gives an emotional and affective experience, which is a key point of knowledge, which cannot be obtained through books or classroom lessons.
- Interestingly, while both research and the Auschwitz Institute stress the educational and commemorative purposes of the site as opposed to the macabre, it remains strongly associated with 'dark tourism' (Lennon and Foley 2000) and 'thanatourism' (Seaton 2010).

Information about visitors

- In 2016, 2,053,000 people from all over the world visited the sites of the former Auschwitz and Auschwitz II-Birkenau camp, which are under the care of the Museum. It is a record in the almost 70-year history of the Museum. Increasing number of visitors since 2001 (see table below).
- In 2016, the guides conducted tours for 310,716 people, who visited the Memorial individually and not as part of an organized group.
- Constant o-operation with teachers from all over the world affects significantly the increase in the number of study visits of young people.
- In 2016, 11,200 young people attended the study visits, which constitutes a 100% increase in the last two years (the Museum is not recommended for young children).

Services for tourism

- Admission to the grounds of the Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial is free of charge. The entry cards should be reserved on visit.auschwitz.org. For better understanding the history of Auschwitz they suggest a visit with an educator.
- The fees are charged for engaging a guide. Visitors in groups are required to engage an Auschwitz Memorial guide. There is also possibility for individual visitors to join a guided tour, lasting approximately three and a half hours.
- The grounds and buildings of the Auschwitz I and Auschwitz II-Birkenau camps are open to visitors. The duration of a visit is determined solely by the individual interests and needs of the visitors. As a minimum, however, at least three and a half hours should be reserved.

- It is not recommended that **children under 14** visit the Memorial
- The Museum is open all year long, seven days a week, except January 1, December 25, and Easter Sunday. You can start the visit in the following hours*:
    - 7:30 AM - 2:00 PM December
    - 7:30 AM - 3:00 PM January, November
    - 7:30 AM - 4:00 PM February
    - 7:30 AM - 5:00 PM March, October
    - 7:30 AM - 6:00 PM April, May, September
    - 7:30 AM - 7:00 PM June, July, August
- Good information on line: www.auschwitz.org
- There is an electronic booking system at visit.auschwitz.org. Following managers' information, "thanks to the system, it has been possible to create appropriate and safe conditions for exploring the historical and preserved space of the former camp"
- Guided tours are available at 20 different languages.
- There is a virtual tour on www.auschwitz.org
- In matters of transport logistics, visitors are provided with parking lots along the infrastructure.
- To preserve authenticity – and solemnity, guides in Auschwitz communicate with groups via audio and earphones. This helps preserve silence which may be undermined by vast number of tourists on site. Due to the vast openness of Birkenau, this system is not needed.

Main programmes

Tours and visit to the site

- In 2016 73% of the visitors were guided around the Memorial by one of the Museum's 286 guides-educators, who recount the history of Auschwitz in nearly 20 languages.
- In addition to the various forms of visiting with educators, they have a new option of an in-depth six-hour tour in German for individual visitors. *(information from the Auschwitz Memorial Report, 2016).*

Exhibitions

- Currently (2017) they are creating a new main exhibition. Due to the need to ensure the continuity of tours and the necessity for the comprehensive conservation of historical buildings, the exhibition will be completed in three stages between the years 2021-2025.
- Temporary exhibitions: "The Liberation", an open-air exhibition documenting the first weeks after the liberation of the camp; "Auschwitz. Factory of death", technical drawings and architectural plans from the documentation of the camp complex.
- Traveling exhibitions: in 2016 they were presented 45 times in different countries.

Educational activities

- The International Center for Education about Auschwitz (ICEAH) and

the Holocaust has been created, with more than 15,000 participants in its programs during 2016.

- The Center also coordinates the activities of over 300 volunteers, trainees and interns from all over the world who, by assisting in the daily work of the Museum, got to know more about the Memorial and its history.
- Long-term educational programs, like the International Summer Academy "Auschwitz – History, Memory and Education", with the aim to explore various aspects of the Holocaust history, innovative teaching methods, and conduct study visits in other memorial sites.
- Interdisciplinary postgraduate studies on "Christian-Jewish Relations".
- Exchanges between Polish and Dutch teachers, to discuss the most effective methods of working with young people
- Constant o-operation with teachers from all over the world affects significantly the increase in the number of study visits of young people.
- The Old Theater building will be by 2019 the new headquarters of the ICEAH and the educational activities, with an auditorium, multimedia lecture halls, exhibition spaces, a library and a workstation for independent research work.

Working with the media

- Specific seminars for journalists with practical tools for journalistic work related to the subject of Auschwitz and the Holocaust.
- Creation of a special application "Remember", which can be downloaded and installed in a computer, for 16 languages. The aim is to help in the prevention of the use of concepts falsifying history.
- Specific website press.auschwitz.org, to assist the media in their daily work by providing information.

Publications

- The Museum currently lists more than 300 publications in over a dozen languages.
- Online bookstore: books.auschwitz.org

Research

- Research Center at the site.
- The work of historians is fundamental to the educational activities conducted by the Museum.
- The largest part of the research is dedicated to victims. Other issues were: perpetrators, infrastructure of crime, post-war memorial.

Archives

- Huge work on documentary and archives.
- In 2016, the Archive collections were enriched with 175 more documents (including 125 originals).
- Digitalization process initiated in 1991, the Museum has scanned more than 80% of its entire documentary resource.

	Collections • In the Memorial they store and preserve terms originating from the camp and the part of the property brought here by Hews condemned to extermination. Thousands of personal belongings 8shoes, suitcases, pots and pans, prostheses, visual art, etc. • Discovery and recovery of more than 16,000 personal items belonging to victims of Auschwitz in 2016, derived from archaeological works carried out in the camp. Information on-line • The primary source of information about the history of Auschwitz on the Internet is www.auschwitz.org. In 2016, the website recorded more than 43 million page views. • The website contains a virtual tour. Press Officer spoke about the importance of this for conveying story of Auschwitz to new audiences – particularly those located far away (interview mentioned S American interest in online tours). • There are online lessons. • Active at social media.
Presentation of memories to audiences	• Visiting Auschwitz with an educator provides the full possibility of discovering the authentic space of the former camp and the fate of the victims of the German Nazi concentration and extermination camp. *(information from the Auschwitz Memorial Report, 2016).* • Following managers' information, it is noticeable the significance which is attached to the preparation of a young person for an emotional experience like visiting the camp. *(information from the Auschwitz Memorial Report, 2016).* • Studies indicate that Auschwitz holds different meanings to people of different ethnicities and religious beliefs. This is reflected in the wide appeal of this site to a variety of people (Biran, A., Poria, Y., and Oren, G., 2011). Interview revealed that this is the case – although there are obvious themes – education, commemoration etc. • As it also happens in other sites (like ESMA, Argentina) a recommendation concerning age for visitors is made: "it is not recommended that children under 14 visit the Memorial".
Participation of local communities	• Following information from the World Heritage Centre (UNESCO), it was recommended in 2006 that education and awareness-raising programmes for local communities to be included as a preliminary phase in the implementation of the management plan for the site. In 2008 the recommendation focused on continued efforts to be made on developing a common ground between stakeholders. • The main sites sit beyond the town of Oświęcim. There is a noticeable sense of disconnect between town and museum. Buses appear to be most common method of travel to site, and these arrive via busy highway and deposit visitors within grounds of museum. Of those who arrive via train, most travel directly to museum. • Considering vast number of visitors to site, economic benefit is not overly visible. There is a hotel near museum, but apart from this local tourism provision seems underdeveloped (perhaps something

	to be expected given sensitive nature of site) • On the site there is a bookshop, giftshop and several places to purchase snacks. • It is unclear how local residents negotiate legacy and infamy of Nazi era.
Cooperation with public and private sector	• The most clear example of a public-private cooperation in Auschwitz is The Auschwitz-Birkenau Foundation, created in 2009, with the goal to manage the Endowent Fund (120 milion Euros). Thanks to the fund, they are able to secure the former camp buildings, ruins and archives, as well as original items from the victims. • Support of 36 States, individual Pillars of Remembrance and private individuals as donors. • Some issues with private tour companies who advertise and promote Auschwitz in an insensitive manner. In Krakow it is noticeable how Auschwitz is presented as one in a list of must-see attractions (along with the salt mines at Wieliczka).
Best practices	• Dialogue between various stakeholders in terms of memory, and the establishment of partnerships has helped to address some of the controversies attached to the politics of memorialization. Strongest partnership with Yad Vashem, Jerusalem. Invitations to share resources, attend reciprocal conferences and research seminars helps ensure feelings of inclusivity for many stakeholders. The key purpose of these behind the scenes dialogues is to promote a culture whereby victimhood is not contested along zero-sum lines. • Auschwitz has its own research department, and is a leading centre for high quality scholarship into and research into the Holocaust, World War II, anti-Semitism, etc. The department's members collaborate with a wide range of international academic institutions.
Main challenges / Controversies	• Major challenges have arisen in recent times regarding management of tourism numbers. Interviewee confirmed this to be a dilemma – how to balance desire for accessibility and mission to appeal to wide audience with preserving solemnity of site. Use of earphones for guided parties is a strategy aimed at addressing this (see above). • The commercialization of Auschwitz (elsewhere referred to as the Holocaust industry) has also proved problematic. At the Museum, overt commercialization is kept to a minimum. The interviewee noted that the Museum avoids direct marketing campaigns and advertising, although does accept placement in guide books etc. Lack of marketing means museum per se appears non-commercialized (as does free admission). Beyond its confines, aggressive commercialization and commodification is evident: • "There will be problems at the edge of two spheres – the sacred and the profane. Whatever happens at the Memorial, you come to the cemetery like site. You come to the place where people were murdered, you see their physical remains. But there is a sphere of profanity outside. Finding the compromise between the two is difficult. Around the site we have some control over what happens. But, when we take about Krakow – the tourist industry linked to it – this is out of our control." • This points to a problem seemingly ubiquitous within former conflict sites, namely, a desire to maximize visibility, accessibility and visitor numbers, while seeking to preserve authenticity. • Other issues concern politics of remembrance and various controversies regarding ownership of suffering. Post 1945, Auschwitz was remembered primarily as a place of Polish national

	suffering at hands of Nazis. Since 1991, emphasis has been much more on Jewish suffering and Holocaust. Recently there have been efforts by various groups to stake their claim to ownership of suffering – e.g. homosexuals lack right to host revolving exhibition, unlike 'national' victims. The museum today works hard to promote shared remembrance, stressing a message that commemoration is not zero sum. • Museum stresses that this is an ongoing consultative process.
Importance of tourism for peace-building	• Auschwitz promotes peace in two main ways: 1. A unique place in making people aware of danger of conflict. A warning against the danger of extreme ideologies. Testimony to the horrors of how this can end up. 2. Auschwitz is also a place where memories can coexist – to promote an awareness that commemoration of one group does not exclude any other memories. Peace of memories thus very important. • Examples given include March of Living – when Jewish diaspora march from Auschwitz to Birkenau – this supposedly does not detract from anyone else's memory. Importance of visiting site (educational perspective): • Auschwitz also promotes peace because it represents a unique turning point in European history, after WWII move away from bilateral relations and towards multi-national relations. Post-war realization of sheer horrors of war, as encapsulated by Auschwitz, galvanizes European commitment to peace. • At Auschwitz visitors can experience extremes of humanity – victims and perpetrators. • Experience authenticity – the gas chambers victims died in, the railways that victims arrived on. • Images of the site will stay with visitors in a way that text or teaching won't. • Importance of emotional experience added to by being on site: • "You can read books about this place. You can read Primo Levi – in Ireland. But when you come here with this book, the book starts living, because, you can see the sites. This is the power of authenticity of this place'. (Pawel Sawicki) • This mirrors research into motivations for visiting and the effects that the site has on visitors.
Need of ethical guidelines	• Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum recognizes the arguably unique sensitivities of the site under its care, and as such is conscious of its ethical duties. • Working closely and collaboratively with other stakeholder organizations ensures that this code is broadly acceptable.

Transportable actions

- Holistic concept and understanding of the site: from the research, to the conservation of the site, including educational activities, visitors services, archives and cooperation with other sites.
- The guides are considered as educators, not just as tourist guides, and they are taken as a key person in the visit experience (hence encouragement of their use). Guides undergo extensive training and continuous updating of skills and knowledge.
- There is a clear aim to have long-term educational activities, including postgraduate studies.
- There are volunteers and interns from all over the world, collaborating in daily routines of the site.
- Specific work with media and journalists, in order to eradicate concepts falsifying history and supporting journalists by providing information.
- Traveling exhibitions, which allow people from all over the world to know more about the site, without visiting Auschwitz.
- Being a World Heritage Site provides international (UN) protection and puts the site into a wider perspective.
- Consideration of the site per age: not recommended to children under 14.
- Many services and facilities for visitors and tourists: guided tours in 20 languages, possibility to book on line the visit, etc.
- Good online information and website.
- Support from individual donors to fund the programs and conservation of the site.
- Recognising that the memories of Auschwitz are plural and occasionally contested, the Museum works alongside other relevant stakeholders to promote understanding and commemoration (e.g. Yad Vashem; US Holocaust Museum; International Auschwitz Council etc.)

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4.5. Island of Ireland Peace Park and Round Tower (Messines, Belgium)

Name and country	**Island of Ireland Peace Park and Round Tower, Messines, Belgium**
Type of site	Memorial – park
Brief description	Commemorative site for soldiers from 36th (Ulster), 16th (Irish) and 10th (Irish) Divisions of British Army, many of whom fought at Battle of Messines during the Great War. The Ireland Peace Park and Round Tower, located in Messines, Belgium seeks to memorialise the dead of the 10th (Irish), 16th (Irish) and 36th (Ulster) Divisions of the British Army, and to promote peace through recovering a shared history. It features on the itinerary of commemorative visits to the region (Iles 2006), and young people from both nationalist and unionist backgrounds have participated in cross-community visits to the site.
Web address	The International School for Peace Studies http://www.schoolforpeace.com/
Background and context	During the First World War soldiers from the 36th (Ulster Division) and 16th (Irish) Division fought side by side in a series of battles including the Battle of Messines, a forerunner to a the Third Battle of Ypres (Passchendaele). Along with the 10th (Irish) Division, they were part of British War Secretary Kitchener's initially all-volunteer New Army. The 36th (Ulster) Division was essentially an incorporation of the Ulster Volunteers, a Protestant Unionist militia formed in 1913 in response to the Home Rule Crisis. The 16th (Irish) Division was predominantly made up of Catholic Nationalist Irish Volunteers who entered the British Army at the bequest of the Volunteer's leader, the MP John Redmond. During the War, the political climate in Ireland had been transformed as a result of the Easter Rising of 1916, when republicans rebelled against British rule. Although the Rising was crushed within a week, the execution of rebel leaders at Kilmainham Prison fostered anti-British sentiments, and culminated in Sinn Fein's emergence as the largest Irish party in the 1918 General Election. The first official commemorations of the Great War occurred in the summer of 1919, with parades in Belfast and Dublin exciting mixed responses. While Belfast's parades passed off smoothly, Dublin's were marked by deep ambivalence; some people cheered, while evening time saw scuffles break out amongst civilians and soldiers. With the outbreak of the Irish War of Independence and subsequent Partition of Ireland (1921), remembrance of the Great War in Ireland was to become increasingly polarised along lines of ethno-national identification. In terms of permanent memorialisation, the Ulster Tower, a memorial erected 1921 to commemorate the losses of the 36th (Ulster Division) and 'Sons of Ulster in other forces', was the first to be constructed on the Western Front. The memorial was funded by public subscription, and its location is testament to the emerging importance of the Somme in Ulster Protestant identity. Described as the 'archetypal event in [Ulster] loyalist psycho-history' (Foster 1995: 334) the Somme was constructed as the 'epitome of Ulster loyalty to Britain' (Viggiani 2014: 132), and gallantry of the 36th (Ulster) Division at the

Somme became emblematic of the 'blood sacrifice, or the debt that Britain owed' to the people of Ulster (Graham and Shirlow 2002: 88). By the time the Belfast Cenotaph was unveiled in 1929 at City Hall, the event was almost exclusively attended by Protestant unionists (Jeffrey 1993). The Somme remains prominent in loyalist commemoration, recalling, as it does, a 'golden age of unionism', which did 'not become polluted by the industrial slaughter of Flanders, but is in fact thickened by it' (Brown 2007: 712).

On the contrary, although a memorial to the Irish soldiers killed in the Great War was first proposed as early as 1918 (Johnson 2003: 84), ambivalence within the 1920s Irish free State meant that the project was unrealised for many years. Iles' (2008) uses the term 'official amnesia' to characterise this period, although by 1929 the Irish government had agreed, in principle, to create a memorial on a 25 acre site at Islandbridge (Johnson 2003: 108). The out of town site is indicative of the decentring of the Great War in Irish memory, and represents a 'path not taken' by the fledgling State (Rigney 2008), whose commemorative focus shifted to the struggle for Irish independence. The proposed opening of the Islandbridge site 1938 was delayed due to the impending threat of war (Rigney 2008: 91), and a period of indefinite postponement ensued. In the post-war period families of ex-service personnel conducted unofficial memorial services, although by the 1970s the garden, monuments in which had withstood two unsuccessful IRA bomb attacks had fallen into disrepair.

The character of remembering Ireland's war dead began to change from the 1980s, when a 1987 IRA attack on a Remembrance Day Commemoration in Enniskillen drew widespread condemnation from politicians on both sides of the border (Myers 2010). Graham and Shirlow (2002: 899) note that three subsequent events signalled a transformation in attitudes, the presence of Irish President Mary Robinson at Dublin Remembrance Day in 1993, the eventual completion, including full funding by the Irish state of the Islandbridge in 1994, and the ceasefire in northern Ireland. Myers (2010) also implicates tentative republican participation in commemoration services, as well as a series of symbolic engagements by the Irish state as key elements of the transformation of remembering (Rigney 2008). It was against this backdrop that the Island of Ireland Peace Park and Round Tower was conceived.

Tourism and peace – main ideas

The Island of Ireland Round Tower and Peace Park was conceived in 1996 by Glenn Barr, a prominent former loyalist with links to the Ulster Defence Association (UDA). In conjunction with Paddy Harte, a Donegal based TD (Teachta Dala), this led to the establishment of the Journey for Reconciliation Trust, a cross-border civil society organisation aimed at promoting reconciliation and peace through recovering the shared Irish heritage of the First World War. The Trust raised an initial £20,000 to purchase the land required for the memorial site, near Messines, Belgium, chosen because it was here that the 36th (Ulster) Division and the 16th (Irish) Division fought side by side. Subsequent funding of approximately £500,000 from the British and Irish governments was secured, with an additional £150,000 from the Irish state. Current running costs are jointly met by the Irish and Northern Irish governments, with maintenance subcontracted to the Commonwealth War Graves Commission.

The focal point of the memorial is a pre-Reformation Round Tower, chosen to avoid sectarian connotations of Protestant and Catholic (Myers 2010). The

Tower's height, 32 metres, evokes Ireland's thirty two counties, while the stone used in the construction process, coming from a former British military base in Tipperary along with Limestone from Westmeath is also symbolic. The Park features stone tablets inscribed with prose and poetry from Irish soldiers who fought during the War, as well as a Peace Pledge:

> From the crest of this ridge, which was the scene of terrific carnage in the First World War on which we have built a peace park and Round Tower to commemorate the thousands of young men from all parts of Ireland who fought a common enemy, defended democracy and the rights of all nations, whose graves are in shockingly uncountable numbers and those who have no graves, we condemn war and the futility of war. We repudiate and denounce violence, aggression, intimidation, threats and unfriendly behaviour.
>
> "As Protestants and Catholics, we apologise for the terrible deeds we have done to each other and ask forgiveness. From this sacred shrine of remembrance, where soldiers of all nationalities, creeds and political allegiances were united in death, we appeal to all people in Ireland to help build a peaceful and tolerant society. Let us remember the solidarity and trust that developed between Protestant and Catholic Soldiers when they served together in these trenches.
>
> As we jointly thank the armistice of 11 November 1918 – when the guns fell silent along this western front - we affirm that a fitting tribute to the principles for which men and women from the Island of Ireland died in both World Wars would be permanent peace" http://www.schoolforpeace.com/content/peace-pledge/70

Young people from across Ireland were recruited into the construction process with the aim of promoting reconciliation through contact as well as through revisionist history. The construction process was also intended as a gateway towards employment and apprenticeships for disadvantaged and marginalised groups – Barr had previously been employed in running Youth Training Programmes in Derry (Bell 1990).

The dedication of the Round Tower in 1998 was attended by the Irish President Mary McAleese, British Queen Elizabeth II and the King Albert of Belgium, and was hailed as not only evidence of improved Anglo-Irish relations, but also the first time that the Irish state acknowledged its war dead beyond the island of Ireland (Graham and Shirlow 2002). The Peace Park was extensively remodelled and reopened in 2004, and the ceremony was once again attended by President McAleese. Other notable dignitaries to have visited the park include Sinn Fein's Alex Maskey, who as the first republican Lord Mayor of Belfast also began a process of engaging with Great War commemorations domestically (Myers 2010). A ceremony to mark the centenary of the Battle of Messines was attended by Irish Taoiseach Enda Kenny, Prince William of the United Kingdom, as well as Arlene Foster (DUP), Alex Maskey (Sinn Fein), Dolores Kelly (SDLP) and Doug Beattie (UUP). Despite the ongoing suspension of Northern Ireland's devolved political institutions, the four Northern Irish politicians reportedly travelled together and stayed in the same accommodation. http://www.belfasttelegraph.co.uk/news/northern-ireland/battle-of-messines-centenary-commemoration-political-representatives-from-across-

northern-ireland-and-republic-pay-respect-in-belgium-35800273.html

Current running costs for the Island of Ireland Peace Park are jointly met by the Irish and Northern Irish governments, with maintenance subcontracted to the Commonwealth War Graves Commission. Many of the activities at the Island of Ireland Peace Park are coordinated under the auspices of the International School for Peace Studies (ISPS), based in the Ebrington Centre, Derry.

Services for tourism

- Access to Island of Ireland Peace Park and Round Tower is free.
- Peace Village provides onsite accommodation.

Main programmes

Current and past programmes include:

Island of Ireland Week – June: People from different traditions in Ireland come together in Messines, and the ISPS holds regular events at the Peace Park to promote understanding of their shared history.

Friends of Messines: A commemorative service is held in Inishowen, Donegal (ROI) at Dunree Fort.

Educational programmes: The ISPS offers courses in the following;

- Conflict Transformation
- Leadership
- Youth Work
- Mediation
- Community Development
- Community Relations

Schools Link Programme: ISPS engages schools from all over the Island of Ireland in peace programmes, peace projects and study visits to the Flanders area, with the effect of the programme having a major impact on their lives. On their return home young people now contribute directly to the development of a new peaceful society, where people in Ireland can live side by side and where differences are accepted and respected.

Music and Play: the story of Messines and its historical value towards our reconciliation work has been told in a play about the 16th Irish and 36th Ulster Divisions and the Battle of Messines. A new piece of music has been produced by Richard Laird, Sam Starrett and Tracey McRory telling the story of 14 year old John Condon from Waterford who was the youngest person to die in the 1st World War.

Wall Mural Project: painting of gable wall murals in Messines depicting scenes relevant to the 1st World War, especially the Messines story which can then be replicated on walls in both communities in N. Ireland and the Republic. The first of these was the Battlefield scene of the Unionist John Meeke MM of the 36th Ulster Division treating the wounds of the Nationalist Major Willie Redmond MP of the 16th Irish Division on the 7th June 1917.

Battlefield Tours: The ISPS also runs a series of tours to the battlefields.

7th June Commemoration: ISPS organises annual parade commemorating Battle of Messines Ridge.

See: http://www.schoolforpeace.com/content/current-projects/53

In recognition of their contributions to peacebuilding on the Island of Ireland,

	Glenn Barr and Paddy Harte were awarded the title of Joint Irish Europeans of the Year (1999).
Presentation of memories to audiences	Early decisions taken by Committee led by Barr and Harte. More recently younger visitors follow a short accredited course in Peace Studies (pre-printed format)
Participation of local communities	• Local community support exists. • Strong links between Irish delegation and local dignitaries.
Main challenges / Controversies	Some controversy attached to the funding arrangements for the Island of Ireland Peace Park. The initial building work was deemed substandard, and this explained the requirements for a refurbishment and landscaping within years of opening. The initial £500,000 raised proved inadequate to fund the completion of the park, and Glen Barr claimed in 1999 that an additional £500,000 was required to ensure completion. Although Myers (2010: 265) argues that Irish, Belgian and Northern Irish authorities expressed an interest in assuming responsibility for maintenance, elsewhere it has been alleged that the project has precipitated disagreements about running costs. In a recent interview, Barr claimed that controversies over funding had led to sustained acrimony and fallout amongst members of the Journey for Reconciliation Trust. Secondly, the apparent consensus surrounding the symbolism of the Round Tower and Peace Park belies marked contestations and controversies behind the scenes. During an interview, Barr described ongoing controversies over whether a specific Irish poppy – recognisably different from its supposedly 'British' counterpart – was required. Controversies also attached to the subsequent use of the Park. While Barr wanted to use the site for educational visits, Harte saw its role as primarily commemorative, and argued that it should be set aside for annual remembrance. Thirdly, in terms of the ISPS's School's Programme, although the ISPS website claims that schools from all over Ireland have participated, locations of schools are primarily Northern, and Protestant (only four schools are located in the Republic of Ireland). This may reflect the fact that while Catholics are interested in revisionist histories of the First World War, to a certain extent it remains a predominantly Protestant remembering, bound up with notions of Britishness encapsulated by the poppy and the British legion – the [British] nation's de facto custodian of remembrance (Iles 2008: 201). The extent to which this has changed since the period following Irish independence remains questionable. Although commemorations are now official (Myers 2008), unofficial commemorations have been going on privately and quietly throughout the previous century, as attested by the prevalence of localised memorials and services, and the continued existence of British ex-service personnel's organisations in the Irish Free State. Finally, and linked to this, there remain questions about how the high symbolism of elite political participation percolates down to facilitate genuine conflict transformation. While Myers (2010: 266) notes that the Peace Tower project has 'received patronage from a broad spectrum of Irish people', Graham and Shirlow (2002: 899) note that it is 'tempting to exaggerate the potential for reconciliation'. Jeffrey (2000) has questioned the choice of this location, noting that it is the site of (comparative) victory, thus

problmematising the 'peace' dimension of the Park, suggesting that it perpetuates a myth of military glory. The ownership of the myth and memory of the Great War is of course contested, with paramilitaries, including most notably the Ulster Volunteer Force (which emerged in 1966), seeking legitimacy through tracing a genealogical link to the Ulster Volunteers of 1913 (Graham and Shirlow 2002; Brown 2008). While this represents an extreme of political opinion, for many Catholics, even those whose families have served in the British military, remembrance is far from clear cut, bound up as it is with connotations of Britishness, Orangeism and Unionism.

Transportable actions

- Both interviews stressed the use of historical revisionism – bound up in fact – to deconstruct or bridge what often appears to be incompatible histories.
- Use of authentic historical space to facilitate meetings between communities.
- Personification of shared history – in the form of the story of Major Willie Redmond (IPP MP) and Private John Meek (36th Ulster Division).
- Personification also through story of Winifred Carney (SF candidate and Cumman na mBan member) and George McBride (Ulster Volunteer Force and Orange Order).
- In case of both initiatives claims that use of war to show how conflict leads to destruction and death.
- If challenging material or narratives are to be explored, then it is important that it is not only one party outside comfort zone.

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conflict Northern Ireland.

4.6. Robben Island (South Africa)

Name and country	**Robben Island Museum (South Africa)**
Type of site	Cultural Landscape (Island) and museum.
Brief description	Robben Island, South Africa's most famous cultural and tourist attraction (Shackley 2001), was inscribed on the World Heritage List in 1999. For much of its human history, Robben Island served as a prison, with its most famous inmate being South African President, Nelson Mandela (along with other African National Congress leaders). Due to this, it has become a powerful symbol of apartheid and the struggle for equality. Declared a South African National Monument in 1996, Robben Island Museum was opened by Mandela in 1997, although its hasty inception against a backdrop of rapid and profound social change meant that the site initially featured limited facilities and a somewhat narrowly authored narrative (Strange and Kempa 2003). The Museum offers concessionary tours for disadvantaged groups (Corsane 2006), and employs ex-prisoners as guides. Today, the Museum incorporates the whole island, with visitors invited to reflect on its various histories. The key attraction remains Mandela's cell in Cell Block B. Approximately 2,000 visitors per day – and more than 10% of all domestic visitors to the Western Cape – make the trip to Robben Island (Shackley 2001).
Web address	Robben Island Museum http://www.robben-island.org.za/
Link with UN System	UNESCO World Heritage Site (1999) http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/916
Background and context	Robben Island has served a variety of uses since the 17th Century, including leprosarium (1846-1931), mental asylum (1846-1921), common law prison (1960-1996), as well as a 'village' for prison staff (1960-1966). The Island is most widely known as the site of the maximum security prison used to incarcerate anti-Apartheid leaders. Prominent inmates included the Rivona Trialists (1964), leaders of the African National Congress convicted of sabotage following the discovery of MK (Umkhonto we Sizwe/Spear of the Nation) documents proposing armed, militant insurrection as a means of defeating Apartheid. The trial commanded international media attention, and is widely regarded as an important step towards South African isolation. Eight of the ten accused were sentenced to life imprisonment on Robben Island, including most famously future South African President Nelson Mandela. Due to its association with the leadership of the African National Congress (and, later, leaders of the Black Consciousness Movement), Robben Island became a potent symbol of the injustices of Apartheid. Following South Africa's first democratic elections in 1994 the prison was closed in 1996, and that same year the Island became a South African National Monument. Governance was transferred from the Department of Corrections to the Department of Arts, Culture, Sciences and Technology. In 1996 the Island was declared a National Monument, and in January 1997 the Robben Island Museum was officially opened by President Mandela.

Robben Island was inscribed onto the UNESCO World Heritage list in 1999. It was highlighted that its buildings, particularly those of the late 20th century such as the maximum security prison for political prisoners, witness the triumph of democracy and freedom over oppression and racism. Officially, criterion for inscription include testimony to history, symbolizing the 'triumph of the human spirit, of freedom and democracy over oppression' (http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/916). The narrative of 'triumph' over adversity can be traced to 1993, when the South African Museum Cape Town hosted '*Eaiquithini:* Robben Island Exhibition' (Deacon 2004: 312). Criterion are suggestive of the site's 'intangible heritage' – a categorization which emphasises the non-material basis of heritage (Deacon 2004). Shackley (2001: 395) notes that this is a peculiarly African conception challenges dominant Euro-centric notions of which rest upon architectural value. Intangible heritage is an explicit post-colonial and post-apartheid construction which seeks to reinstate African culture and histories as valuable. Specifically, whereas during the Apartheid era South Africa successive government policy prioritised 'white' heritage, such as colonial-era buildings (Deacon 2004: 312), the post-1994 ANC government sought to instigate a cultural and heritage policy which revalorised native and plural histories which had, until that point, been denied. Intangible cultural heritage has been leveraged in Post-Apartheid South Africa as both a vehicle of nation building, and as a driver of tourist development and growth. The Robben Island Museum, as an 'apt symbol of hope and reconciliation' (Strange and Kempa 2003: 394), has been at the forefront of both.

Institutional framework

Robben Island is legally protected under the World Heritage Convention Act of South Africa, and is a National Heritage site in terms of the National Heritage Resource Act of South Africa (Act No 25 of 1999 The Cultural Institutions Act of South Africa (No 119 of 1998) establishes the criteria by which a Public institution is appointed to oversee the conservation and management of any National Heritage Site. Robben Island Museum (RIM) was thus established in terms of this Act, and is also considered as the Management Authority in terms of the World Heritage Convention Act (Act No1, 1999), under the authority of the Minister of Arts and Culture.

Robben Island Museum (RIM) is the Management Authority for the site and is governed by a council (Robben Island Museum Council), a body nominated by public process and appointed by the Minister of Arts and Culture. The Council has the responsibility of the policy development and is charged with financial accountability. RIM's activities are supported by the Department of Arts and Culture (DAC). Robben Island is legally owned by the Ministry of Arts and Culture through DAC, which owns 99% of the island and the surrounding sea within one nautical mile off the shore. However, other parastatal institutions are also involved in the management of the property (UNESCO WHC, Mission to Robben Island, 2011).

Tourism and peace – main ideas

Post-Apartheid South Africa witnessed strong tourist growth. Government policy sought to expand the country's tourist product through diversifying beyond 'wine, landscape and wildlife' (Shackley 2001: 357) to include culture and heritage tourism. As Davison (1998: 147) notes, amidst South Africa's rapid transition '[h]istorical narratives…that were previously excluded have become politically acceptable, even marketable as part of heritage tourism'.

Robben Island's location off the Western Cape, where tourism remains the country's 'strongest overall product' (Shackley 2001: 358), meant that it has been at the centre of this project (Strange and Kempa 2003: 394). Robben Island Museum is both the 'most symbolically charged site in South Africa' (Davison 1998: 154), and the 'most famous cultural tourism attraction' (Shackley 2001: 355). Deacon (2004: 310) notes 'Robben Island Museum was conceived at a national level as both the gateway to tourism, and thus development, in the new South Africa, and a symbol of hope and memory in the new democracy'.

The transformation of the Island and the inception of the Museum have both been remarkably swift. In the Museum's own words:

> Robben Island has undergone a dramatic transformation from a notorious prison for anti-Apartheid activists, to a memorial and learning centre symbolising the political struggle for freedom and justice (Robben Island Museum 2007: 7)

In January 1997 Robben Island Museum was 'forced to open at a couple of week's notice as a result of political pressure' (Shackley 2001: 356). This hasty inception resulted in Museum beset by limited resources and facilities, questions of access, criticisms of a one dimensional, partisan narrative, conservational concerns, concerns over the commodification of history and other contestations (see section 4.). From the outset RIM, like the post-Apartheid cultural landscape in general had a distinctively biographical character, focussing on Mandela's 'walk to freedom' (Rasool 2000: 17) The strength of the Museum's personality branding – 'driven by the biographical narrative of Mandela's long walk to freedom' (Rasool 2000: 17) ensured its attractiveness as a visitor destination, and has been a cornerstone of the Museum's symbolic brand ever since. Numbers have grown steadily, quickly exceeding the official limit of 265 per day (Davison 1998: 157). Within the first year the Museum received approximately 300 visitors per day. By 2017 as many as 1500 people per day visit the Island. In 2016 the Museum received 364, 021 domestic and international visitors (RIM Annual Report 2016: 10).

Partially in response to earlier criticisms facilities have been upgraded, with a new ferry terminal at Nelson Mandela Gateway, Victoria and Albert Waterfront. The point of departure features an informational exhibition, serving as an orientation and contextualisation for visitors. Exhibitions have sought to move beyond a focus on Mandela's incarceration to encompass a more nuanced narrative of change. Particular exhibitions praised in the literature include 'Cell Stories' which feature biographical accounts from other prisoners (Rasool 2000). More recent initiatives involve developing visitor access at the quarries, sites of hard labour during the prison era. There have also been efforts to highlight the Island's pre-Apartheid functions and histories. While such efforts have been important to broadening the Museum's heritage offerings, as well as playing a part in the material conservation of the Island, Mandela's cell in Prison Block B remains the central attraction, as attested by the fact that it remains the culmination of every tour (http://www.robben-island.org.za/tours#visitorinfo).

UNESCO identified in 2004 the importance on conducting "a comprehensive analysis of the opportunities and constraints for tourism products based on the unique natural and cultural landscape character of the property, with a view to diversifying the visitor experience and ensuring that positive impacts are enhanced and negative impacts avoided or mitigated" (http://whc.unesco.org/en/decisions/212).

Information about visitors	364, 021 visitors in 2016 Busy days during peak season – c. 2,000 visitors
Services for tourism	• Visitors must pay SA R340 (c. £20) for access to Island • Island features accommodation, gift shop and museum comprising permanent and temporary exhibitions. • Information for visitors on line. Further information for people not visiting the site (virtual tour, prisoner stories)
Main programmes	• Guided Tours • Educational visits (subsidised for school children) • Outreach activities
Presentation of memories to audiences	• There is limited information about precise mechanisms by which story is constructed. • Recent attempts have sought to diversify the narrative – focusing on women's stories, other prisoners, and the varied uses of Robben Island prior to Apartheid. • Before that, representations and memorialization at RMI attracted criticism for echoing and buttressing the newly hegemonic state narrative of triumph over adversity and the emergence of the rainbow nation. This narrative was characterized as a "brand" (very focused on international tourism).
Participation of local communities	• In response to criticisms, RIM has tried to become more accessible to diverse publics, through working closely with schools and education departments to arrange subsidised educational visits etc. • Former inmates are formally represented within RIM's governance structure, although claim to be side-lined (see UNESCO 2011). • Due to its island location, RIM is not embedded within community structures (unlike, for example, District 6.) • Spin off tourism e.g. township tours have some economic impact, but questions remain over beneficiaries. • Commentators have noticed the relative divorce between the Island, and the poorer parts of the city. • Some groups cannot afford access fees. • Increasing numbers of people feel alienated from official story of triumph over adversity. They feel that their lives are still characterised by physical and structural violence, and that not enough has changed since 1994. South Africa is most unequal country in world when measured by Gini co-efficient, and has one of the highest rates of murder, as well as very high rates of sexual and domestic violence.
Cooperation with public and private sector	• State Museum • RIM relies on charitable donations from private sources to supplement state funding.
Best practices	• RIM remains and important symbol of post-apartheid unity and remembrance, even as this narrative is falling apart.
Main	Robben Island Museum faces a number of challenges and controversies,

challenges / Controversies	including: • Entrance fees • Trivialisation of history due to commercialization • Close match between historical narrative of museum and official post-1994 narrative (which many feel alienated from) • Issues relating to former prisoners • UNESCO concerns regarding management • High number of visitors and associated conservation of issues As noted above, since its opening in 1997 Robben Island Museum has demonstrated year on year growth in terms of visitor numbers. Although through its association with Mandela and the 'triumph of the human spirit over adversity' the museum has experienced considerable goodwill, it was not immune from criticism. Specific criticisms include commodification and trivialisation of history amidst a context of mass tourism, a disproportionate emphasis on Mandela's biography, issues concerning former prisoners as stakeholders and UNESCO concerns regarding the conservation and management of the site. Robben Island Museum is at once a sacred site, and one geared towards commercial development. This led to contestation in the site's early years. The entrance fee of approximately £10 was criticised as beyond the reach of many South Africans, including families of former prisoners (Shackley 2001). Currently, the entrance fee is 340 SA Rand (http://www.robben-island.org.za/tours#visitorinfo), equivalent to approximately £20. To address this, concessionary fees are available, particularly for school students, and these are available during the off-peak season (May-September).There have also been criticisms of how large numbers of tourists have compromised the authenticity and intangible heritage of the site (Shackley 2001; Deacon 2004), as well as raising conservation concerns for the Island's ecology. The biographical branding of the prison led to a proliferation of Mandela and Robben Island themed souvenirs, including teddy bears, fridge magnets and other trinkets. This has led some commentators to warn of potential kitchification and trivialisation of the site (Strange and Kempa 2003: 387), with Shackley (2001: 359) depicting it as 'part theme park, part shrine and part museum'. Criticisms also arose amidst plans to open conference facilities and increase the overall quality of the accommodation package. More recent management strategies have sought to strike a balance of 'dignified commercialisation' – with the gift shop offering a more modest suite of gifts. Early commentators on the Museum's exhibitions have noted the partisanship of the narrative, and the disproportionate emphasis on Mandela's biography (Rasool 2000). Partially due to the haste of the Museum's inception, the initial narrative has been depicted as unbalanced (Shackley 2001). Specifically, a lack of resources and resulted in early exhibitions which drew heavily on the narratives of former prisoners. This was supplemented with artefacts which formed the basis of Cell Stories, and in 1999 the Museum also curated a Women's exhibition in 1999. While more recent strategies have sought to emphasise the divers and plural histories of the island, the dominant, UNESCO recognised narrative of 'triumph of the human spirit over adversity' prevails 'even as many South Africans' feelings

of disillusionment and frustration in the "new" South Africa mount' (Strange and Kempa 2003: 401). Deacon (2004: 313) notes that the Museum faces a challenge, namely, how to ensure that the symbolic brand – which focusses so heavily on Mandela and the triumph over adversity narrative – is 'sufficiently broad to accommodate shades opinion within its major stakeholders, i.e. former prisoners [while also] accommodating alternative interpretations'. Deacon (2004: 315) concludes that the brand centres on a 'politically driven interpretation of the site, closely linked to the transition of 1994', and argues that this informs the entirety of the Museum's work.

The dominance of this narrative has proved increasingly controversial as the gulf between the rhetoric and realities of post-apartheid South Africa continue to. Whereas post-1994 the ANC promised to govern over a shared rainbow nation, South Africa remains the world's most economically unequal country. It is also characterized by extremely high rates of violent crime, including Africa's highest murder rate. The story promulgated by RIM, which celebrates the liberation activists who now form the backbone of the RIM, arguably not only reproduces the official state narrative, but places it beyond serious critique.

Within the prison complex, tours are guided by former prisoners. This arrangement stems from their early involvement in the curatorship of initial exhibitions, while also aiming to provide employment for some of those most affected by the struggle to overcome Apartheid. Shackley (2001) argues that although this provides employment for some of those worst affected by Apartheid, it has also resulted in psychological trauma as guides are forced to relive their experience, and have little opportunity for alternative employment. There have also been sharp differences of opinion between professional managers at the site and the prisoners, with the latter group claiming that they are rarely included in consultations regarding the Museum's future. They also note generally disparaging views of managers towards former prisoners (UNESCO 2011).

The final concerns centre on UNESCO's own assessments of the Museum's performance as a World Heritage Site. Particular concerns included high staff turnover at senior managerial level, and the Mission noted a 30% vacancy rate at senior level. The team concluded that this was responsible for non-implementation of Integrated Conservation Management Plan (2007) priorities.

Importance of tourism for peace-building

- Robben Island was considered a place to show the symbol of the post-Apartheid "rainbow nation" from the beginning to tourists.
- Interviewees suggested that apart from the narrative related to Apartheid, this site could promote a more holistic approach to current human rights related issues: South Africa has extreme inequalities and faces violence, poverty and lack of access to education. This human rights issues could also be part of the narrative.
- Main part of visitors come via tour guides, which sometimes focus in a simplified vision of the past.
- In addition, as it also happens in other heritage and memory sites, the beneficiaries of this tourism sector are outside of the country and the local communities are not involved in economic benefits

from tourism activities.

- Great promotion of educational activities. E.g. – 80 conferences were held in 2010, and there were 10,000 visits by school age children in 2010.
- It is considered as a site of learning: it has qualities used to help mobilise against apartheid.

Transportable actions

- Robben Island is the very best known symbol at international level on post-apartheid unity and remembrance: importance of iconic sites for preserving a more complex memory of the past
- Getting higher international visibility through the inscription on World Heritage List
- Participation of former inmates as guides in the presentation of the site to visitors: interesting point, which provides the basis of a model for integrating those formerly affected by conflict, but which needs a deep and multifaceted approach to avoid other types of negative consequences for these people.
- Initiatives to include different memories: women's memories, other prisoners, and the varied uses of Robben Island prior to Apartheid.
- Importance in considering not only the success points but also the pending issues to obtain equality and full compliance of human rights.
- Importance of promoting sustainable tourism, in order to avoid any damage to the environment in the Island.
- Educational activities and school visits.

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4.7. Kigali Genocide Memorial Centre (Rwanda)

Name and country	**Kigali Genocide Memorial Centre (Rwanda)**
Type of site	Site Museum and memorial
Brief description	The Kigali Genocide Memorial Centre, located in Gisozi, Kigali, commemorates the Rwandan genocide (1994). Over a period of 100 days an estimated 800,000 (overwhelmingly Tutsi) were systematically killed by Hutu military, militia and peasants, amidst a policy of western non-intervention (Melvern 2000). The memorial features a burial garden for 250,000 genocide victims, and a museum containing three exhibitions: 1994 genocide; wasted lives and children's' room. The main exhibition is curated by the Aegis Trust (a British anti-genocide NGO), and as such the museum sits outside of the post-conflict 'One Rwanda' policy, which effectively prohibits discussions or expression of ethnic identity (Hohenaus 2013). The site's purpose is commemorative and educational, and sits strongly within the 'never again' paradigm. Following the almost total collapse of the tourism sector in 1994, Rwanda now receives an estimated 30,000 international visitors per year, mostly eco-tourists seeking encounters with the mountain gorillas.
Web address	Kigali Genocide Memorial http://www.kgm.rw/
Link with UN System	Along with other genocide sites in Rwanda, Kigali Genocide Memorial Centre is on the tentative list of Rwanda to the UNESCO World Heritage List: http://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/5753/
Background and context	The causes of the Rwandan genocide of 1994 are more complex than crude portrayals of two warring tribes. Ethnic division in pre-genocide Rwanda was bound up with colonial influences, class struggle, regional development disparities including an internal North-South divide and economic shocks (Friedrich and Johnson 2013: 306). Somewhat controversially, Diamond (2005) also implicates over-population as a cause of the genocide. The construction of oppositional ethnic identities in Rwanda can be traced back to colonial influence. German and later Belgian colonists encouraged the origin myth of cattle herding Tutsis as descendants of Nile Valley peoples, and endorsed their apparent racial superiority (as Caucasians) vis-a-vis farming Hutus. As part of a divide and conquer policy, Belgians accorded privileges to the minority Tutsi at the expense of the majority Hutu. Mimicking a European obsession with racial categorisation, both Hutu and Tutsi became legally institutionalised through the imposition of identity cards (Hohenaus 2013: 143). Belgian colonial policy underwent a dramatic U turn in the post-war period, which saw the emergence of a colonial backed Hutu 'emancipation' movement, culminating in the 'Hutu revolution' of 1959 (Tadjo 2010: 381). Following independence in 1962, and faced with a Hutu dominated state, Tutsi rebels and civilians fled to Uganda and other neighbouring countries. The Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) was formed by these exiles, and launched a full scale insurgency in the early 1990s (the Rwandan Civil War). International intervention resulted in the Arusha Accords, which aimed to provide a resolution while legislating for the installation of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR), led by Canadian General Dellaire. Extremist Hutu rejected the moderate approach, and fearing political losses, engaged in a campaign of racist anti-Tutsi propaganda (Hohenhaus 2013). The assassination of moderate Hutu President Juvenal Habyarimana was the

catalyst for the commencement of the genocide, which had already been secretly planned. For 100 days between April and June 1994 an estimated 800,000-1,000,000 people were killed in Rwanda (Tadjo 2010: 379; Aegis trust 2004). Victims of the genocide were mostly Tutsi, while perpetrators (genocidaires) were almost exclusively Hutu. UNAMIR, mandated not to interfere in 'internal affairs' was widely criticised for allowing the genocide to occur (Melvern 2000). The genocide ended when the forces of the Rwandan Patriotic Front captured Kigali, and eventually a nominally multi-ethnic government was established. Fearful of revenge killings, an estimated two million Hutu civilians fled to neighbouring countries (Beech 2009: 219) under the protection of the French-led Operation Turquoise, although many genoicidaires also escaped amidst the confusion (Tadjo 2010).

Both the civil war and genocide had destroyed Rwanda's infrastructure. The population was severely depleted, and widespread rape during the genocide resulted in an alarmingly high HIV rate. Internationally sponsored reconstruction efforts sought to rebuild the ruined country. Considering the sheer scale of this destruction, Friedrich and Johnston (2013: 317) note that the sustained and determined nature of Rwanda's post-genocide recovery has been remarkable. Hohenhaus (2013: 144) refers to Rwanda's recover as an 'economic miracle'. In addition to physical reconstruction the government has engaged in nation building, seeking to foster a Rwandan identity. Beech (2009: 219) notes that 'great efforts have been made to achieve reconciliation between the two groups', and cites an anecdotal example of the public rejecting ethnic labels. Legislation outlawing 'divisionism', dating from as early as 1994, effectively prohibits discussions of ethnicity (Ibreck 2010: 330).

Critics note official denial of ethnicity represents a top down imposition rather than reconciliation per se (Soadaro 2011). As is so often the case, in Rwanda 'public remembrance' has been leveraged to 'cultivate a shared understanding of the past and to construct political legitimacy' (Ibreck 2010: 330). Both of these purposes inform representations and memorialisations of the genocide.

Kigali Genocide Memorial (http://www.kgm.rw/about/)

The Kigali Genocide Memorial is the final resting place for more than 250,000 victims of the Genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda. It honours the memory of the more than one million Rwandans killed in 1994 through education and peace-building.

The Kigali Genocide Memorial includes three permanent exhibitions, the largest of which documents the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi. There is also a children's memorial and an exhibition on the history of genocidal violence around the world. The education centre, gardens, and Genocide Archive of Rwanda contribute to a meaningful tribute to those who perished, and provide a powerful educational experience for visitors.

Following Memorial's information, the memorial has five primary objectives:

1. To provide a dignified place of burial for victims of the Genocide against the Tutsi
2. To inform and educate visitors about the causes, implementation and consequences of the genocide, and other genocides throughout history.
3. To teach visitors about what we can do to prevent future genocides.

4. To provide a documentation centre to record evidence of the genocide, testimonies of genocide survivors and details of genocide victims.

5. To provide support for survivors, in particular orphans and widows.

Tourism and peace – main ideas

Since the 1980s Gorilla tourism has been a source of foreign currency for Rwanda, with visitor numbers peaking at 39,000 in 1984 (Alluri et al. 2013: 108).Following the near-total collapse of tourism in 1994, visitor numbers slowly began to increase as peace returned to the area. As of 2011, tourism is the country's largest earner of foreign exchange, contributing $251million to the Rwandan economy (Alluri et. al. 2013: 108). Tourism in Rwanda continues to be dominated by eco-tourism, with the most popular draw still Mountain Gorillas. However, mirroring general trends of thanatouristic growth (Seaton 1996), visits to genocide sites are becoming ever more popular. Friedrich and Johnson (2013: 309) note that genocide is increasingly incorporated into the Rwandan tourism project' – with tourism *per se* defined as a key area for economic diversification.

Many memorial sites beyond Kigali offer graphic representations of the genocide, featuring disinterred bones and 'thousands of corpses preserved in powdered lime' (Guyer 2009: 157; Tadjo 2010). In addition to visiting sites of genocide 'peace and reconciliation tours offer the tourist the opportunity to meet both the victims and the perpetrators' (Friedrich and Johnson 2013: 309). While as many as four hundred such memorial sites were established to mourn the dead (Sodaro 2011), Kigali Genocide Memorial Centre, established in 2004 under the direction of the Aegis Trust, is the only national memorial. As such, the Kigali Centre is also, unsurprisingly, the most visited genocide site in Rwanda. During its first three months of opening the centre received 60,000 visitors, 7,000 of which were international (Tadjo 2010: 386). While overall numbers have slowed, international visitors have increase. In 2011, the Centre received 63,836 visitors, 42, 3777 of which were international (Friedrich and Johnson 2013: 308). Exact numbers for other sites are not available, although commentators note the relative inaccessibility of such locations (Beech 2009). Since its inception, the Kigali Centre has sought to position itself at the 'centre of Rwandan genocide remembrance' (Sodaro 2011: 72). To this end KMC differs from the hundreds of other genocide memorials which function primarily as sites of localised mourning and remembrance. In addition to this role, the Kigali Centre is envisaged as an educational resource – providing a stark warning about the 'divisions that sparked the genocide'; and as a centre fostering 'reconciliation, forgiveness, and democratic culture' (Sodaro 2011: 78)

As befits an institution directed by an anti-genocide NGO, Kigali Genocide Museum's core message is 'never again'. Kigali Memorial Centre is the burial site for approximately 250,000 victims of the genocide, as well as a museum. Mirroring the official denial of ethnicity instituted in 1994, the museum exhibitions present Rwandans as collective victims of the genocide (Friedrich and Johnson 2013: 313). The Centre hosts three permanent exhibitions: the 1994 genocide; wasted lives and children's' room. The 1994 genocide exhibition features a portrait of pre-colonial Rwanda, with a marked emphasis on harmony and co-existence (http://www.kgm.rw/memorial/exhibitions/). It documents the planned nature of the genocide and features stories of survival and accounts from those who stopped the killings. Sodaro (2011: 81) notes that a 'narrative of unity' positions Rwandans as collective victims, and avoids apportioning blame. The 'wasted lives' gallery documents mass killings in contexts such not recognized under international law as genocide. Finally, the children's gallery features photographs of children who died in the genocide. Although

	not as graphic as sites such as Nyamata, where bones and blood soaked clothes are strewn across a church, or Murambi – where 'hundreds of contorted bodies, often with visible mutilations' have been disinterred and preserved in powdered lime (Hohenhaus 2013: 148-9), the Kigali Centre also has an exhibition of human skulls. The Kigali Genocide Memorial has been praised for placing an emphasis on education as opposed to shock value (Friedrich and Johnson 2013: 305). Welcoming international visitors to the museum not only permits a narration of the genocide, it also encourages critical reflection on the international responsibility. While tourists are moved by the encounter, expressing varied emotions ranging from shock and sympathy to indignation, Friedrich and Johnson (2013: 305) note that the 'critical concern' is how this can become translated into a 'clear "never again" moral philosophy'. In addition to the memorial and museum, the Centre, in association with the Aegis Trust delivers a series of programmes (see below) Kigali Genocide Memorial Centre's mission has been described as 'ambitious' – with plans to develop into 'Central Africa's first genocide studies centre' (Soadaro 2011: 83). Along with genocide sites at Nyamata, Murambi and Bisesero, Kigali Genocide Memorial Centre is on the Rwanda Tentative List for the UNESCO World Heritage List. Despite economic development, Rwanda remains a poor country, and to ensure as many victims and survivors as possible have access to the site admission is free – although tourists can pay for 'photography permits' and 'tour guides'. There is also a gift shop on site. The site's complex funding arrangement of the public-private-partnership – with the City of Kigali owning the land, and the Aegis Trust (in association with international donors such as the William Jefferson Clinton Foundation) taking responsibility for the running costs and operation of the site, means that it sits outside of direct government control. Nevertheless, there have been allegations that the museum reproduces the hegemonic and highly politicised official government narrative of the genocide (Soadaro 2011).
Information about visitors	63,836 visitors (42,377 international).
Services for tourism	• Museum opened daily. Entrance is free. • Information for visiting the museum is available on line and in English. • Library, shop and other services.
Main programmes	The Kigali Genocide Memorial includes three permanent exhibitions, the largest of which documents the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi. There is also a children's memorial and an exhibition on the history of genocidal violence around the world. The Education Centre, Gardens, and Genocide Archive of Rwanda form part of a meaningful tribute to those who perished, and provide a powerful educational tool for visitors (http://www.kgm.rw/). In addition to the memorial and museum, the Centre, in association with the Aegis Trust delivers the following programmes: **Rwandan Peace Education Programme** - mobile exhibition that uses story-telling to share how the Genocide against the Tutsi affected people and how reconciliation is being fostered. To date: 21 visits to communities across Rwanda. (http://www.kgm.rw/education/outreach/) **School Visits** – every year thousands of school students visit the Centre, and

	in addition to completing tour engage in workshops debating 'causes, reality and consequences of the Genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda. They are also taught about the importance of remembering genocide so that it can never happen again'. (http://www.kgm.rw/education/students/) **Debate and Dialogue** – workshops delivered in schools to help students 'think about issues such as the genocide, preserving memory, peace building and reconciliation'. Also includes support for teachers. (http://www.kgm.rw/education/outreach/) **Teacher's Workshops** – one day workshops assisting with genocide pedagogy. (http://www.kgm.rw/education/teachers/) There are also plans in place to develop Central Africa's first Genocide Research Centre.
Presentation of memories to audiences	• The exhibition is curated by the Aegis Trust, a British anti-genocide NGO. • Representations of the conflict are educational and commemorative. • The museum is notably less graphic than other commemorative sites in Rwanda, but has nevertheless been accused of reproducing the hegemonic narrative of the conflict.
Participation of local communities	• Participation could be considered a contentious issue in Rwanda, not least given that many have not received formal justice for what happened in 1994. • The museum engages in outreach and is free, both of which are concerned with maximising accessibility. • Legislation officially concerned with reconciliation makes genuine consultation and debate highly problematic. • The Kigali Genocide Memorial promotes programmes for supporting genocide survivors: "The Kigali Genocide Memorial has a mission to advocate for survivors. As part of this objective, the Rebuilding Lives Initiative originates from the empathy shared with survivors, their association with the memorial and the hardships some of them endure. Rebuilding Lives supports those in need to achieve some improvement in their livelihoods". See more on: http://www.kgm.rw/about/community-support/
Main challenges / Controversies	Although the Kigali Memorial Centre is the national memorial to the Rwandan genocide, it has not been immune from criticism and controversy. On the contrary, both domestic and international criticisms attach to the poetics and politics of representing and memorialising the genocide. Specific criticisms include: • President Paul Kagame's use of genocide memory to legitimize his political leadership • Ethical questions regarding preservation of human remains for tourist gaze • Tutsification of genocide and associated denial of Hutu victims The most serious concern attaches to the use of official memory as political legitimation, and relates particularly to the government of President Paul Kagame (de facto leader since 1994). Under Kagame's presidency, economic growth has been impressive, as have advances in life expectancy and other measures of development. Rwanda has the highest rate of female parliamentarians in the world. Moreover, Rwanda is relatively peaceful and politically stable compared to its regional neighbours. Yet critics argue that Kagame's government is 'borderline dictatorial' regime (Sodaro 2011: 86),

which has suppressed political opposition through numerous human rights infringements (https://www.hrw.org/africa/rwanda). Reyntjens (2004: 177) questions whether post-genocide Rwanda is characterised 'not by democracy and reconciliation but by dictatorship and exclusion'. In response to this criticism, he has been refused entry to Rwanda. Kagame's Rwandan Patriotic Front sought to ensure the 1994 genocide could never be repeated through a policy of official reconciliation and a suppression of ethnicity (Sodaro 2011). Ethnic classifications have been replaced with the generic *banyarwanda* (those who come from Rwanda), and 'divisionism' and 'genocide ideology' have been criminalised. While drafted in the name of reconciliation, this legislation have also been operationalised to imprison a range of political opponents (Ibreck 2010: 330; Human Rights Watch 2008: 42).

Worryingly, the 'never again' discourse promulgated at the Kigali Genocide Memorial – which stresses both the inauthenticity and danger of constructed ethnic identities – is the same principle underpinning the use of such laws. Not only is the Kigali Genocide Memorial Centre, by virtue of its national status, often politicised – it has been implicated in the reinforcement and reproduction of the hegemonic government narrative of the genocide. Critics note that President Kagame utilised 'public remembrance to…construct political legitimacy' (Ibreck 2010: 330), or, more seriously – wielded 'memory of the genocide…to enforce dictatorial policies' (Sodaro 2011: 78). Most seriously of all, it has been alleged that Kagame's grip on power rests entirely on the control of the official narrative of the 1994 genocide. The Kigali Genocide Memorial Centre, as the centre of genocide remembrance in Rwanda, is also at the centre of this controversy.

Other controversies pertain to the politics, poetics and ethics of memorialising the genocide. While the preservation and disinterment of bones and bodies was supposedly intended to bear testimony to the horrors of the genocide (Tadjo 2010: 383), as above this has been implicated in the promulgation of an absolutist official narrative. Aside from the politics of using dead bodies to bolster political legitimacy, such memorials raise ethical questions regarding the tourist gaze. Friedrich and Johnson (2013) note local discomfort with notions of dark tourism and/or thanatourism, and there are concerns regarding the exploitation and commodification of such sites. This is particularly true in a context where many relatives of victims of the genocide have not received formal justice. The burden of cases relative to Rwanda limited judicial resources encouraged the establishment of *gagaca* – traditional forms of dispute resolution, but these have drawn international criticism for fuelling ethnic tensions (Sodaro 2011: 75).

The final controversy concerns the *Tutsification* of the genocide, and how it has been represented at the Kigali Centre. The abolition of ethnicity obfuscates entrenched ethnic divisions in Rwanda, and has been implicated in masking a post-genocide monopolization of political power by Tutsi military (Reyntjens 2004: 187; Bradol and Guibert 1997: 19). Specifically, although official ethnicity has been obfuscated – the vast majority of prominent government positions are now held by minority Tutsi. This partially explains the 2008 renaming of the Rwandan genocide as 'the 1994 Tutsi Genocide in Rwanda' (Ibreck 2010: 339; Friecrich and Johnson 2013: 313). The Kigali Genocide Memorial Centre accepts and promotes this renaming, drawing attention to the 250,000 victims of the 'Genocide against the Tutsi' on its website (http://www.kgm.rw/). While it uses the term genocidaire to delineate perpetrators of the genocide, there remain concerns that Hutu victims of 'war crimes' perpetrated by President Kagame's Rwandan Patriotic Front are neither remembered nor memorialised (Ibreck 2011: 331). Memory is closely linked to justice in this

	regard, and when Hutu opposition leader Victoire Ingabire questioned why slaughtered Hutu were not commemorated, he received an eight year prison sentence for genocide denial and ideology.
Transportable actions	• Focus on education and outreach programmes rather than shock value of exhibitions • Holistic approach: narrative places genocide within international colonial/post-colonial context • Free entry maximises accessibility • Good available information for visitors on line • Programmes to work with genocide survivors at local community • Try to ensure commemoration of victims is broad and not exclusive. • Importance on integrating independent consultants and international experts to overcome ideological representation of genocide. • Importance of considering academics and journalists' criteria and information when preparing narratives. • Try to ensure that museum exhibitions do not reproduce official narratives at expense of others.
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4.8. ESMA Memory Site Museum - Former Clandestine Centre of Detention, Torture and Extermination (Argentina)

Name and country	**ESMA Memory Site Museum - Former Clandestine Centre of Detention, Torture and Extermination, Ex ESMA Remembrance and Human Rights Centre (Argentina)**
Type of site	Group of buildings and Site museum
Type of conflict	Human rights violations during the dictatorship (1976-1983)
Brief description	Between 1976 and 1983, during the last military dictatorship, thousands of people were detained, interrogated and tortured in clandestine concentration camps, the largest of which was Escuela de Mecánica de la Armada (ESMA) (the Navy Mechanic's School). The ESMA Memory Site Museum, as historical site, is material and physical testimony to these human rights violations. This was the most emblematic centre in South America in terms of the size of the building, its location at the heart of the Autonomous City of Buenos Aires, the fact that Navy officers lived there together with the detainees-disappeared, and the concentration camp-like features of imprisonment and extermination. The 17 Ha. site now serves as museum commemorating the crimes and terror of the dictatorship, with the site also being used by twenty eight rights groups, and some naval presence. Visits to parts of the site, including the notorious Casino de Officiales require pre-booking and must be accompanied, although the process is envisaged as interactive and interpretive. In addition to conventional memorialization, ESMA hosts regular community events, with a purported aim of interpreting the past through creative means. The majority of visitors to the site are Argentinian.
Web address	http://www.espaciomemoria.ar/ http://www.espaciomemoria.ar/english.php https://www.argentina.gob.ar/derechoshumanos/museo-sitio-de-memoria-esma https://es-la.facebook.com/SitiodeMemoriaESMA/
Link with UN System	• The site has recently been included in the **Tentative List of Argentina for the World Heritage List** (UNESCO). They are currently working on the documentation to present a candidature, based on the idea of "Nunca Más" (Never More), linking the site with other already inscribed sites related to Human Rights and Memory, like Auschwitz, Robben Island, etc. • Also related to the site, **the International Centre for the Promotion of Human Rights** (CIPDH in Spanish) is a shared project between **UNESCO** and national government (https://es-la.facebook.com/CIPDH.UNESCO/)
Background and context	Source: *http://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/6248/* ESMA is not just one building, but a complex that expands over 17 Ha. and that includes around 35-36 buildings, all in the same neoclassical architectural style, all with white facades and orange tile roofs, and all standing within the boundaries of a brick and wrought iron fence that separates the complex from the busy avenue in front of it. It is located in the heart of one of Buenos Aires' nicest residential neighborhoods, directly alongside Avenida del Libertador, one of the busiest thoroughfares in the entire city. It

is anything but hidden *(Whigham, K. 2014).*

The site where the School of Mechanics of the Navy (ESMA) was operating was ceded by the Deliberative Council of the City of Buenos Aires to the Ministry of the Navy by a decree of 1924 to be used as a military training center. The text stated that before any change in the destination of the facilities the property should return to the power of the City. The ESMA was founded that same year. The land was occupied with several buildings: the School of Mechanics, the Naval War School and the Officers' Casino. There the students entered to races like Electronics, Aeronautics, Naval Mechanics, Technical Operation of Radio, Meteorology, Oceanography, etc. The students were received by technicians, with the option of pursuing a military career or exercising their profession in any other field. Since the 1976 “coup d'état”, one of the most emblematic clandestine detention, torture and extermination centers of the last Argentinian dictatorship was run parallel to this educational center. Throughout the entire period of the dictatorship, ESMA was operating as both a detention, torture and extermination center and as a military training academy.

Between 1976 and 1983, during the last military dictatorship, ESMA premises was a fundamental part of the repressive scheme whose epicentre was in this building, where the Clandestine Centre of Detention, Torture, and Extermination (CCDTyE) operated. Here, the Navy kidnapped, tortured and disappeared more than 5,000 men and women. The serious human rights violations, the systematic plan to steal children born in captivity, and the extermination of prisoners who were thrown alive into the sea during the so-called "flights of death" make this building a symbol of the genocide that took place in our country. It is incontrovertible proof of the State terrorism that inflicted extreme criminal violence on society at large.

The ESMA, as historical site, is material and physical testimony to human rights violations and serves as condemnation, proof and evidence of the acts of terrorism committed. It is a symbol of that past thanks to the voice of survivors and to the claims and unflagging struggle of Human Rights Organizations.

The CCDTyE was the most emblematic centre in South America in terms of the size of the building, its location at the heart of the Autonomous City of Buenos Aires, the fact that Navy officers lived there together with the detainees-disappeared, and the concentration camp-like features of imprisonment and extermination. Its purpose ended up exceeding political and geographical boundaries, and it has become exceptionally valuable universal heritage. A crime against humanity was committed at ESMA.

Those who survived the systematic plan for disappearance of individuals during the last dictatorship in Argentina and Numen Rights Organizations, through successive demands and an unflagging struggle that continues over time, are the heroic voices that told the world what happened in our country from the outset of State terrorism. They have told their story of extreme suffering and successfully identified thousands of missing people who were stripped of their name and kept there under a number. They have decoded the euphemisms used by the perpetrators to hide the extermination of thousands of prisoners in the so-called "flights of death." They have accounted for pregnant women who were kept alive until they gave birth. They have also been able to reconstruct the identities of perpetrators who hid behind false names and those of babies born in captivity and stolen.

In addition, these voices have succeeded in identifying the CCDTyE as a sinister scheme for kidnap, torture, and death. The testimonies attest to the existence of the building, and the building confirms those testimonies through its walls. Such breve words, taken collectively, repeated for forty years at courts both in Argentina and across the world,

are now part of our cultural and historical heritage and political tradition, as well as proof that voices triumph over weapons.

In parallel to this struggle, for more than 30 years, the building was subject to actions and threats aimed at erasing the traces of events occurred here in order to achieve impunity. During the period of repression, the building was subject to constant modification. One of the most notorious modifications was the one conducted in order to hide the evidence of the operation of concentration camps in connection with the inspection carried out by the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights in 1979, as a consequence of reports made by survivors and relatives of the victims. Even in democracy, in 1998, the entire ESMA premises were targeted by politically motivated transformation attempts that would have resulted in the elimination of any trace, element of memory, and court evidence.

The longstanding struggle for human rights in Argentina has turned the country into an international leader in the field and has developed innovative practices, achieving enormous progress in the field of memory, consolidation of democracy, and universal rights. The road they have followed has been understood by the Justices of the Supreme Court of Argentina as a process that cannot be stopped and which adds to the progressiveness of fundamental rights. Since the outset of the dictatorship, survivors, relatives of missing people, and the human rights movement have raised the flags of Memory, Truth and Justice in order to use the recent past as a tool for political and social healing. Thanks to the Argentine experience, the notion of "forced disappearance of persons" has gained recognition as an international crime.

In terms of universal legacies, the struggle of Argentine Numen Rights Organizations gave rise, in 1984, to the Argentine Forensic Anthropology Team (EAAF), a non-governmental entity created for the purpose of investigating disappeared persons cases in Argentina by applying forensic sciences. In 2005, the EAAF produced the first scientific evidence on the existence of the flights of death from the Navy School of Mechanics. Thanks to these analyses, it was possible lo identify the bodies of three mothers of the Plaza de Mayo and of Leonié Duquet, a French nun, which appeared on the coast of the province of Buenos Aires in late 1977. The EAAF projected the Argentine experience to other countries where it conducts world-renowned work on the investigation of human rights violations in contexts of political and state violence.

The unflagging search for the babies born in captivity and stolen carried out by the Grandmothers of the Plaza de Mayo led to the development of the science of genetic identification of individuals across the world. They demanded from the field of genetics studies that would enable the determination of the Grandparenthood Index in order to account for the blood relationship of a person with a given family group, even without their parents' genetic material. The method was later improved through the use of DNA, which ultimately resulted in the creation of the National Bank of Genetic Data, established by a national law approved unanimously by all parties at Parliament, and in the incorporation of the Right to Identity into the International Convention on the Rights of the Child, approved by the United Nations and incorporated into the Argentine Constitution. As of today, 119 children of disappeared persons have recovered their identity. We are still looking for four hundred more.

The Argentine experience is exemplary and unique across the world because there are hundreds of persons responsible for crimes during the dictatorship who are subject to criminal investigations and being tried before national courts for crimes against humanity. The proceedings that were initiated against the three Juntas of Commanders at the time of the democratic transition and were interrupted by all kinds of resistance until 2003 have thus far resulted in 147 judgments, 349 cases still under investigation,

622 convictions, 57 acquittals, and 250 cases dismissed without prejudice or closed due to lack of merit during first instance proceedings; this ratio shows that courts are not exacting revenge, but conducting regular proceedings of Justice, observing due process safeguards and the right to defence.

In 1998, president Menem issued a decree to demolish ESMA, in the name of "reconciliation". The building was not only a reminder of the past but also triggered a demand in the present, asking by its quiet imposition on the cityscape. Menem proposed to replace ESMA with a monument to "national reconciliation", with a beautiful memorial park. But ESMA was well known; the recent confessions, the records of the trial of the military, and the report of the CONADEP Nunca Más (1986), has cited ESMA often enough that it was entrenched in the public imagination as a type of monumental crypt. Opposing the use of the grounds of an atrocity to justify the terms of the present, and urgent mobilization unfolded to prevent the state from undertaking the demolition project. The decree was annulled as a result of a lawsuit launched by rights groups who proposed instead that ESAM should be left standing as a reminder of the crimes committed by the dictatorship. *Bell, V., Di Paolantonio, M. (2009)*

On 24 March 2004, as a political consequence of the struggle of the human rights movement, the Argentine people recovered the property where ESMA used to operate. Although there was some resistance, the Navy slowly and reluctantly abandoned the venue and a number of government and civil society entities progressively occupied and refurbished the place. On 19 May 2015, the President of Argentina, Cristina Fernández de Kirchner, inaugurated the ESMA Site Museum at the former CCDTyE, joined by officials of the national government, governors, judges, authorities from Human Rights Organizations, and representatives of the field of culture. Following this inauguration, the building and the exhibition were opened to the public. The exhibition was made possible thanks to the support of the Argentine Government, to the agreement reached with the main actors of this facts, and to the representatives of the academic, cultural, political and social fields who discussed and agreed on the contents presented, which were later approved by the federal court that is responsible for the custody of the building. The purpose of the ESMA Site Museum is to preserve this piece of history in the world's collective memory, and to keep custody of the most representative and paradigmatic symbol of illegal repression.

Tourism and peace – main ideas

Creation of the Remembrance and Human Rights Centre

At the former Escuela de Mecánica de la Armada, former clandestine centre of detention, torture and extermination, the **Remembrance and Human Rights Centre** was created in 2004.

The recovery of the property formerly occupied by the Naval School of Mechanics (ESMA, as abbreviated in Spanish) is part of the historical battle carried out by human rights organizations in Argentina, starting with the resistance against dictatorship and remaining strong until today. These tenacious actions in pursuit of Remembrance, Truth and Justice were assumed by Argentina as State policies since 2003. (In 1983 there is a trial in Argentina, and it was the first time around the world that a civil court (not military) takes in charge the trial for militaries related to the dictatorship. After it, due to military pressure, two laws of impunity are accepted, coming back to a situation where memory is not considered. Human rights and victims associations continued to fight against the situation. In 2003 the impunity laws were annulled).

The longing of human rights organizations and survivors to recuperate the ESMA

property (symbolic extermination centre during the dictatorship years and place of military resistance and public controversies surrounding the collective memory since the restoration of democracy, in 1983) was accomplished within this context.

In 2004, the Federal Government and the Government of the City of Buenos Aires, with an active involvement of human rights organizations, created the "Remembrance and Human Rights Centre". Both jurisdictions - the State's and the City's- signed an agreement establishing the campus' restitution to the City and the Navy's eviction. At the same time, a mixed commission (city government, national government and representatives of organizations) was created to oversee this process.

The Centre is a public site that works to promote remembrance about the tragedy this society suffered, contributing to the collective comprehension of our past and committed to our society's present problems and needs. It was also conceived as a place to pay tribute to the victims of the civic-military dictatorship.

Multiple political and social institutions and organizations coexist here, working to preserve remembrance and to defend and promote human rights through different perspectives, strategies and methods.

(Information at http://www.espaciomemoria.ar/english.php)

Public institutions

On another hand, following the logic of coexistence among different organizations, there are also some public institutions located at the ESMA site, like part of the Human Rights and Cultural Pluralism Secretary (https://www.argentina.gob.ar/derechoshumanos) or the international institution MERCOSUR Institute of Public Policies on Human Rights (http://www.ippdh.mercosur.int/).

Creation of the ESMA Memory Site Museum

As part of the remembrance activities and policies, the ESMA Memory Site Museum was created on 19 May 2015, by decree of President Cristina Fernandez de Kirchner. The Museum is located in the building called Casino de Oficiales (Officers' Casino), where the former clandestine detention center was located (the other buildings of the ESMA were related to other military activities, including educational activities, but did not have detainees).

The contents and museographic installation were the result of contributions, reflections and comments incorporated after multiple meetings with various actors convened by the National Human Rights Secretariat and the Board of Directors composed of the Human Rights Organizations of the Memory Space. The round of consensuses included survivors, human rights bodies and academic scholars in the field of memory, among many others. The team was composed of museologists, architects, historians, journalists and designers. The curatorship was in charge of Hernán Bisman and Alejandra Naftal, current director of the ESMA Memory Site Museum.

The ESMA Memory Site Museum does not reconstruct the tools of genocidal practices. The Navy provided this empty building in 2004. The information that allowed reconstructing its operation as Clandestine Center was based, mainly, on the testimonies of the survivors offered in the different trials that are developed in the country from the Judgment to the Boards to the present. The decision to appeal to the "script of the Trials" was one of the main choices of the curatorial direction: legal truth is indispensable for the production of social sense and contributes to the construction

of Nunca Más (Never More). The Armed Forces never provided information on what happened to each of the detainees.

The building of the former Casino de Oficiales, where the museum is located, has been a judicial test since 1998. This is why the museum proposal does not alter the building structure or its general state. All the facilities are supported, so that they can be removed and the building remains as it was delivered by the Navy.

(Information provided by the Site Museum managers)

Services for tourism and visitors

- The Remembrance and HR Centre (Espacio de Memoria y Derechos Humanos, ex ESMA) is open from Monday to Friday (10 am – 6 pm). Weekends and Holidays from 11 am – 7 pm.
    - Free entrance
    - There are many cultural activities promoted by different associations in the Espacio, as well as a library and a restaurant
    - Guided tours to visit the whole space
- The Site Museum is open from Tuesday to Sunday from 10 am to 5 pm.
    - Admission is free.
    - There are guided tours during the whole day and information in English.
- Good location with public transport.

Information about visitors

The ESMA Site Museum in numbers:

- More than 82,000 people visited the Museum since its opening in May 2015.
- 16141 high school students.
- 5000 students from tertiary and university institutions in Argentina and the world.
- 6379 visitors participated in the Special Activities
- 24 Embassies and Consulates visited us from different countries.
- The international visitors are still few, and they are always people specifically interested in the history of the site, and with previous information.
- Not tour operators operating at the site for the moment.
- Increasing number of visitors: from January to June 2017, there was a 25% increase in visitors in comparison to previous year.

Main programmes

Remembrance and Human Rights Centre: main activities

Today there are many educational and cultural events, where **the most important one is the creation in 2015 of the Site Museum**, which allows having a specific exhibition that informs about the site (see specific chapter afterwards).

Other activities apart from tours, are research on State terrorism, artistic expressions that from painting, photography, music, cinema and theater recover memories and imaginary, seminars, colloquia and educational events that promote debate and elaboration on the past and present, among other initiatives.

Many different spaces has been also created at the Centre:

- **ESMA Memory Site Museum (look following chapter)**
- Haroldo Conti Memory Cultural Centre: Since its inauguration in 2008, the Conti works as a space for dissemination and promotion of culture and human rights. Cinema, music, theater, visual arts, photography, workshops, guided

tours for schools, seminars and debates are some of his proposals

- Our Children Cultural Space: This Cultural Space opens its doors in the light of the struggle, love, commitment to the life of the Mothers of Plaza de Mayo: this is why it is called "Our Children" and bursts into history with the unquestionable weight of their own history.
- Casa por la Identidad - House for the identity: Abuelas de Plaza de Mayo (Grandmothers') association. Here where many abducted women gave birth to babies who were then taken away and given to other families, replacing their identity, the Grandmothers of Plaza de Mayo have their House. Placed in the former Pavilion of Operations, it transforms a place in which previously it was instructed to sailors, in a space of formation by the human rights.
- Malvinas and South Atlantic Islands Museum: first Argentinian state museum that represents the collective memory concerning the Malvinas.
- National Memory Archive: Its objective is to classify and preserve the documentation concerning State terrorist activities against the Argentinian people.
- 30.000 comrades are present: In the building of Relatives of Disappeared and Detained for Political Reasons, different samples document the years of struggle against the last dictatorship and there is the Space Sports and Human Rights.
- House of the Militancy: The Casa de la Militancia by H.I.J.O.S. is a space for education, communication, participation, political organization and vindication of the struggles of the 30,000 detained-missing comrades.
- Memories of life and militancy: The gardens of the Space host a tour of bid panels that remember histories of arrested militants disappeared in the clandestine center that worked in the ESMA.
- And a long list of different buildings and spaces.

Espacio Memoria offers different **educational proposals** for formal education workers at the initial, primary, secondary and higher level, in the non-formal setting, and / or students of related careers and groups of persons with disabilities, in order to address those issues related to State terrorism, human rights, identity and militancy. More info at http://www.espaciomemoria.ar/noticia.php?not_ID=974&barra=noticias&titulo=noticia

Some of the educational projects are:

- **Jóvenes y Memoria (Youth and Memory). We remember for the future**. The Space has been running since 2011 this program for high schools in the city of Buenos Aires, to promote in the educational field and in social organizations the approach of the last military civic dictatorship and of social problems present linked to human rights.
- **La escuela va a los juicios -** Program "School goes to trials": invites teachers, students (from the age of 16) to participate in this initiative that seeks to promote in the educational field the reflection on the historical, social and political process in which the current Trials for crimes against humanity as a fundamental part of the Memory, Truth and Justice policies implemented in Argentina.
- **Radio La Imposible:** The radio The Impossible works in the House of the Militancy-H.I.J.O.S, and has as its central axis the defense and promotion of human rights, since they consider communication a fundamental right and a

social construction tool.

- **Projects to recover the memory of the victims, like "Memorias de vida y militancia"**, which gathers personal information and pictures of the victims. http://www.espaciomemoria.ar/memoriasvida.php
- Many other educational projects.

ESMA Memory Site Museum: permanent exhibition and special activities

The decision in 2012 to create a Museum with a permanent information was the most significant step concerning Tourism and Peace at the site. In 2012, the building of Casino de Oficiales (where the museum is currently located) was empty, and the only possibility was to visit it with a guided tour. At that time, guides were essential because of the emptiness of the building. Without a guide to explain to visitors what happened, it (was) unlikely that visitors could grasp the full horror of what had occurred within the walls of the place. *Whigham, K. (2014)*

Finally in 2012 there was an agreement among the associations at ESMA and the government to create an exhibition with international standards. An interdisciplinary team was created. On May 19, 2015 the exhibition was inaugurated, with a permanent exhibition.

Structure of the permanent exhibition

- Contents: The museographic proposal has "traditional" interventions through transparent glass panels called Stations, which run in a successive way and with progressive information the three floors of the former Clandestine Center. Each Station synthesizes the most important information about the place, small tracts of first-person testimonies of survivors, documentation and reproductions of objects of detainees-disappeared (the originals are still in the power of the Justice or between the family and personal collections).
- Conceptualization: The museographic setting also has contemporary interventions that appeal to the sensations, emotions, experiences, curiosity, the elaboration and interpretation of the facts and their symbolic load. This is projected through contemporary museographic devices of the latest technology: mapping, holograms, lighting, sounds and temperatures. They aim to transmit and approximate "life", both in the most aberrant aspects of the dynamics of illegal repression and in the aspects of resistance of the people held here.

Educational training

- The museum organizes periodic meetings with middle school teachers to share strategies and ideas in order to improve the students' experience by visiting the Site and reflecting on its usefulness as a tool for non-formal education.

Special Activities

- Temporary exhibitions: Walsh temporary exhibitions at ESMA and on the ESMA Projections on the Wall (2017)
- Memory Week, Memory Night (2016), Museum Night 2015 and 2016, Democracy Week (2016), 1st Teaching Meeting (2017), and on the 9 editions of the 5 o'clock visit (2016-2017).

It is important to underline that for the governing body of the Site Museum there is also participation of former victims of the site.

Presentation of memories to audiences

- The Site Museum managers do consider that it is key to understand the political and civil process of the last dictatorship in Argentina to understand what the ESMA was and what its meaning was. The importance of the heritage and architecture at ESMA is much more appreciated if you are able to understand Argentinian recent history and why today it is a space of memory.
- Therefore, the information about human rights violations in the Site Museum is given in its historical context, in order to help the visitor to properly identify the overall context where the facts happened.
- Due to the Argentinian recent history, the 600 centres of illegal detention during the dictatorship, the baby stealing, 1600 people accused, the current number of 500 people imprisoned, etc., the Museum Director considers that "in Argentina think about memory without justice was very complex. And the whole process of memory, of recovery of spaces and the transformation of these places of repression in places of memory or in museums was accompanied by the processes of justice" ("*En Argentina pensar la memoria sin justicia fue muy complejo. Y todo el proceso de memoria, de recuperación de los espacios y la transformación de estos lugares de represión en sitios de memoria o en museos vino acompañado de los procesos de justicia*").
- Among the 600 illegal detention centres in Argentina, the ESMA is the best well known. It is located in the middle of the city of Buenos Aires, and it has been proved that 5000 people were detained at ESMA; it is also one of the camps where there were more survivors. These people were able to tell their story, which will have an impact on narratives in the exhibition.
- At the Site Museum the voices of the victims are considered as intangible heritage.
- It is important to remember that the military forces never spoke (the Armed Forces never provided information on what happened to each of the detainees), so all the information came through the victims and trough research.
- In 2003 the National Government and the City government signed an agreement and the buildings at ESMA were distributed among human rights associations to become a Memory Centre, once the Navy forces were evicted from the site. The National Memory Archive was created at the time; Conti Cultural Centre, a house for Abuelas de Plaza de Mayo (May Square Grandmothers), etc. **But there was not a master plan, there was not a holistic vision** about what needed to be done concerning Memory at the site. Informants consider that it was like this because it is **"a memory under construction, because the history is so recent and there is still so much to discover".**
- The Museum Director considers that the most important thing they reached **concerning the narratives was the consensus**. The project was presented to stakeholders during 3 years, because they did consider that it needed to have the consensus from all the Argentinians. The contents and museographic installation were the result of contributions, reflections and comments incorporated after multiple meetings with various actors convened by the National Human Rights Secretariat and the Board of Directors composed of the Human Rights Organizations of the Memory Space.
- The round of consensuses included survivors, human rights bodies and academic scholars in the field of memory, among many others. The team was composed of museologists, architects, historians, journalists and designers.

- They did consider that **both the building and the voices of the survivors were the heritage they had**. One of the main characteristics is that the building has not been changed, it stays as it was received from the Navy forces.
- Site manager also emphasizes that the **victims are still alive in this case**, both direct victims or relatives, which impacts on the narrative.
- **The main decision was that, from a curatorial point of view when planning the exhibition, they would just take into account testimonies and information ratified by Justice**. **The decision to appeal to the "script of the Trials" was one of the main choices of the curatorial direction**: **legal truth is indispensable for the production of social sense and contributes to the construction of Nunca Más** (Never More). The information that allowed reconstructing its operation as Clandestine Center was based, mainly, on the testimonies of the survivors offered in the different trials that are developed in the country from the Judgment to the Boards to the present. This generated that is has a historical rigor, which avoids arbitrariness, following museum representatives.
- At the end of the visit and exhibition, **the democracy is highlighted**, so to emphasize the importance of following the law and the democratic system.
- **They also decided to represent the resilience of the survivors**, not just the violations of human rights and perpetrators' methods.
- When creating the exhibition the theme was "So that the comfortable person feels uncomfortable, and the comfortable uncomfortable" *("Para que el cómodo se sienta incómodo, y el incómodo cómodo"*).
- Site managers consider that there is still much to discuss about what to do with the space, it is a work in progress.
- A key question is that at the ESMA Site Museum it is considered that "the contents are not suitable for children under 12 years. From 12 to 15 years, they must be accompanied by an adult". They consider that this decision promotes a specific behavior at the site.
- Certain security measures are taken during the tour in order to preserve its interior, considering that it is material evidence in the judicial trials that are begin realized in the federal sphere. Unlike at former Nazi concentration camps, where the trials of perpetrators ended decades ago, processes of justice are still ongoing in Argentina, so the visitor to this site understands it not only as a historic space, but one that is still actively being engaged with in the public sphere. *Whigham, K. (2014)*
- During the field visit to Argentina (October 2017), many participants in meetings identified that they were facing a "turning points" concerning memory policies. The human rights association were the very first ones promoting the State to get involved in supporting memory initiatives. Nowadays, following some participants, human rights issues must become a State issue, not just associations' or a particular government policy. This new scenario generates new relational values among former victims, relatives, associations and representatives of public institutions.

During the field visit, other spaces related to Memory were visited, in order to get an overall vision of initiatives in situ:

- Argentina has more than 700 former clandestine centers along the country. During the field visit, the former clandestine centre ex Atlético was visited (http://memoriaexatletico.blogspot.com.es/). This centre is promoting archaeological excavations to recovery information from the site, as well as

promoting visits and educational activities.

- The network of former clandestine centres integrates a huge variety of places, with very diverse uses and a very different level of relation to educational programmes or human rights initiatives.
- Therefore, when considering the link of memory and tourism, it would be desirable to underline the role that more iconic and well-known spaces (like the former ESMA) should have to promote a deeper understanding of the historical context and the link between different spaces where historical facts happened.
- As it happens for more sites around the world, the human rights violations and/or conflicts are not strictly related to a single site, but to many different places.
- During the field visit, the Memory Park (Parque de la Memoria) was also visited (http://parquedelamemoria.org.ar/). The Memorial Park and the Monument to the Victims of State Terrorism is a public space of fourteen hectares, located on the coastal strip of the River Plate in the City of Buenos Aires. It stands as a place of memory that combines the forcefulness of a monument where the names of the disappeared and murdered by the repressive actions of the state are inscribed, the critical capacity that contemporary art awakens and the direct visual contact with the Río de la Plata, mute testimony of the fate of many of the victims.
- This Park and the Monument have been very important for former detainees and for victims' relatives: in the Monument to the Victims of State Terrorism are the names of the detainees-disappeared and/or killed by the repressive actions perpetrated by the State in the period 1969-1983.
- This park is not related to a former clandestine centre's space, but to an open and public space, along the riverside. Combination of different type of spaces could be also interesting for memory policies, in order to generate diverse possibilities for people and visitors.

Participation of local communities

REMEMBRANCE and HUMAN RIGHTS CENTRE:

- Multiple political and social institutions and organizations coexist here.
- The governing body is a Public Consortium composed by human rights associations and by public administration.
- To look at the complete list of participants/members at the Centre: http://www.espaciomemoria.ar/integrantes.php

ESMA SITE MUSEUM:

- The contents and museographic installation were the result of contributions, reflections and comments incorporated after multiple meetings with various actors convened by the National Human Rights Secretariat and the Board of Directors composed of the Human Rights Organizations of the Memory Space.
- The round of consensuses included survivors, human rights bodies and academic scholars in the field of memory, among many others.
- It is important to underline that for the governing body of the Site Museum there is also participation of former victims of the site.
- In addition to all the above, it must be stressed that former victims and detainees usually participate in different activities at the Site Museum. During the field visit in this project to ESMA (October 2017), during "La visita de las 5" activity (visit to the Museum with an invited person, related to the site, on a Saturday afternoon), five "grandchildren" who recovered their identity (children born at ESMA) participated as "guides". (See:

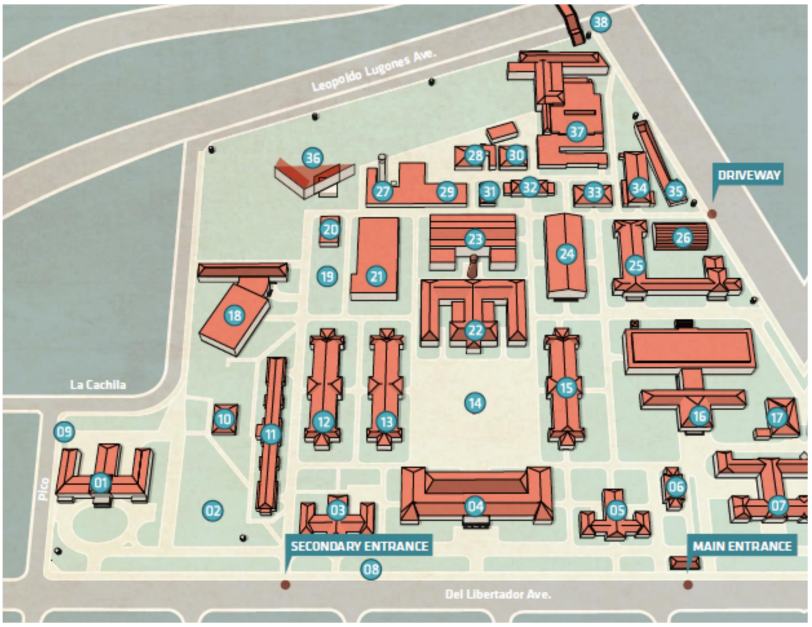
	https://www.facebook.com/SitiodeMemoriaESMA/videos/1293656240781048/) During the field visit to Argentina, site managers and representatives of different human rights associations stressed that there is still a need to "attract" or "engage" some parts of local community, not necessarily related to the human rights movement. A big part of the local and national population has never been to the site (this is also changing thanks to educational activities with schools).
Cooperation with public and private sector	The Public Entity Space for Memory and for the Promotion and Defense of Human Rights is composed of a tripartite Executive Body composed of a representative of the National Government, a representative of the Government of the Autonomous City of Buenos Aires and a representative of the Directory of Organizations Of Human Rights.
Best practices	• Creation of the Site Museum in 2015 could be considered as a best practice, since it allowed the Space to promote an exhibition with the information about the site and an official speech. • Reaching consensus for the exhibition, by integrating different stakeholders is a key stone in the story of the site. • Integrating the human rights associations and victims/relatives associations at the site. • The interaction between civil associations and government (national and city level). • Reaching new audiences: The idea of creating the Museum in 2012 was specifically to reach new audiences, to have more visitors at the Memory and Remembrance Space, and to get a different type of public, mainly the people who had no information about the subject. They were sure, when creating the museum, that the site should be a place for the "not convinced" people, not for the ones that are already familiar with the human rights violations that occurred there. The Argentinian society has a "divided approach" about the recent past, so they wanted to reach the people that did not believe the facts that happened in ESMA. • They are doing a key work generating "loyalty" among teachers, since they do consider that teachers (with students) are the ones that come back. The focus is put on teachers, to get future scholars to visit the site. • Apart from the guided visits, in order to diversify the possibilities for visitors and to get more visitors, they promote specific activities, including cultural ones. • There is also the possibility to visit the site by its own (without a guided tour): the ESMA Memory Site Museum offers good information for visitors who do not want to make the guided visit, and they have created an interesting "figure": the role of the "referente de sala" (referent person at each space). This person is always present at each space of the museum, in order to help the visitor and react to possible questions or concerns during the visit.
Main challenges / Controversies	• There are some funding problems, that impact on having very few dissemination channels (just a Facebook page for the ESMA Memory Site Museum, for example). • Concerning the topic on tourism and peace, the Museum Director considers that all sites of this type need to find an appropriate way to deal with tourism, in order to **scape from the risk of trivialization**, and to avoid the tourism circuits to promote a less "serious" approach to the site.

	• The challenge of being inscribed as a UNESCO World Heritage Site: the idea of inscribing the site on the World Heritage List is not related to getting more visitors and tourists, but getting international protection for the site, to guarantee its continuity for the future. • During the field visit, many participants highlighted the need to have a deeper reflection on their objectives related to tourism at ex ESMA: type of visitors, relation with tourism private sector, massive tourism and/or sustainable tourism were raised during discussions among participants. A reflection on positive aspects of tourism, challenges of tourism, as well as tailoring the tourism sector to this type of memory sites is still a pending issue.
Importance of tourism for peace-building	• The Director of the Museum considers that when people come to the museum they are not looking for information, which you can get through books or films. They come to "live an experience". • Following the interview with the Director, one of the issues to be considered about the topic of tourism and peace is the link with the present: what happens when these sites are testimony of a historical moment but with consequences still in the present times? How do you create the reflection bridge? • They consider that it is important to make the visitors understand that it is not just something from the past that has nothing to do with them, but that the facts have also impact in the present, and they can help current visitors to think about their daily lives. • It is also emphasized that at these sites it is important to work on how to show a dramatic fact without promoting people to leave "heartbroken". They need to generate a message of hope.
Need of ethical guidelines	• The Director considered that, taking into account that the victims of the human rights violations at ESMA are still alive, the issue of tourism at the site, and some narrative ways about reconciliation, transitional justice, etc. are still very sensitive themes for them, and need to work on them. At the Advisory Board (composed by both associations and public administration), they are now starting to discuss the issue about tourism and peace. They do consider it as an important topic. • Reflection of the importance of taking into consideration the particularities of the post-conflict sites so to promote tourism.
Transportable actions	• Recovery of a former military centre (including a former clandestine centre) to become a centre on human rights, where former victims, relatives and associations are present • Creation of a site museum at the former clandestine detention centre, with a public exhibition and information • Participation and coexistence of human rights and victims (former detainees and victims' relatives) associations at a former clandestine military centre • Public/private cooperation: governing body composed by civil society associations (including relatives associations) and public administrations (City and national) • Presentation of memories: the decision to appeal to the "script of the trials", considering that the legal truth is key to build the culture of peace • Narratives: the importance of getting consensus with communities and victims

	• Narratives: the importance of providing the historical context and background when presenting the facts and human rights violations in the past • They aim to transmit not just the most aberrant aspects of the dynamics of illegal repression but also the aspects of resilience of the people held here. • Importance of considering that the history of the site has an impact on the present, and that the presentation of narratives is still a work in progress. • Importance of giving a message of hope at the end of the visit (by highlighting democracy or others). • For the free visits to the space, a referent person at each space could help the visitor with any type of questions or concerns during the visit. • Guides team and museum workers: a highly motivated and committed team is currently working at the Site Museum, which help them to be the best promoters of the site in front of visitors. • High quality videos and films included in the museology proposal • Consideration of the site per age (forbidden under 12, with an adult between 12 and 15) • Linking memory and tourism: it would be desirable to underline the role that more iconic and well-known spaces (like the former ESMA) should have to promote a deeper understanding of the historical context and the link between different spaces where historical facts happened. • Combination of different type of spaces could be also interesting for memory policies (museums, memorials, parks, etc.), in order to generate diverse possibilities for people and visitors. • A reflection on positive aspects of tourism, challenges of tourism, as well as tailoring the tourism sector to this type of memory sites must be considered. • Regular education programmes, with several editions • Focus on teachers, as key stakeholders to get present and future scholars to the site • Importance of keeping the original building as a trace of the past and importance of the physical act of visiting the sites: this type of spaces become emblematic of the human rights violations and promotes the visitor to have a more enriching and emotive experience that allows more significant peace-building processes • Interest in promoting international conservation methods, like trying to inscribe the site as a UNESCO World Heritage Site • The fights of relatives as a universal example: thanks to the Argentine experience, the notion of "forced disappearance of persons" has gained recognition as an international crime (key role of Argentinian associations at UN when promoting the **Convention for the Protection of all Persons from Enforced Disappearance)** • Apart from a museum, there are many cultural activities to promote memory and human rights • Different activities for different type / age of public • Free admission
References	Bell, V., Di Paolantonio, M. (2009) 'The Haunted Nomos: Activist-Artists and the (Im)possible Politics of Memory in Transitional Argentina'. Cultural Politics 5(2) 149-

178.)

Whigham, K. (2014) ‘Filling the Absence: the re-embodiment of sites of mass atrocity and the practices they generate’. Museum and Society 12(2): 88-103



4.9. Alamein Memorial (Egypt)

Name and country	**Alamein Memorial, Egypt**
Type of site	Memorial / Commemorative site
Brief description	The Alamein Memorial commemorates the Commonwealth soldiers who fought and died in the North African campaigns of the Second World War (1939-45). It is the burial site for approximately 7,240 soldiers, mostly from the Battle(s) of El Alamein (1942), the decisive battles of the campaign. An on-site visitor centre is open daily. In addition to the Commonwealth memorial, the area around El Alamein is also home to memorials commemorating Italian, German, Greek and Libyan soldiers.
Web address	Commonwealth War Graves Commission https://www.cwgc.org/find-a-cemetery/cemetery/2019000/el-alamein-war-cemetery/
Background and context	The campaign in the Western Desert was fought between the Commonwealth forces (with, later, the addition of two brigades of Free French and one each of Polish and Greek troops) all based in Egypt, and the Axis forces (German and Italian) based in Libya. The battlefield, across which the fighting surged back and forth between 1940 and 1942, was the 1,000 kilometres of desert between Alexandria in Egypt and Benghazi in Libya. It was a campaign of manoeuvre and movement, the objectives being the control of the Mediterranean, the link with the east through the Suez Canal, the Middle East oil supplies and the supply route to Russia through Persia. The decisive Second Battle of El Alamein (1942), in which German Commander Rommel's Panzer Army was repelled by British forces led by Montgomery, marked a turning point in the North African campaigns. Strategically, the victory prevented Axis powers from accessing the oil reserves of the Middle East to fuel their war effort. The fleeing Panzer Army was forced back to Tripoli, which during the battle had been encircled by Allied troops from Algeria. The defeated Axis armies were eventually expelled from North Africa in 1943. The battle represented the first major victory for Allied Forces since the outbreak of the war, and resulted in an upsurge in morale. British Prime Minister Winston Churchill said of the battle both that it was 'not the beginning of the end, but the end of the beginning', and 'before Alamein we never had a victory, after Alamein, we never had a defeat'. Casualties were heavy during the fighting, with losses on both sides totalling thousands. Unveiled in 1951 by Field Marshall Montgomery, the Alamein Memorial was dedicated to commemorate not just these losses, but also the loss of troops from throughout the Commonwealth who fought in North Africa. The memorial is the burial site of 7367 such soldiers, along with 603 soldiers who were cremated onsite in-keeping with religious convention. El Alamein is also home to memorials commemorating Italian, South African, Greek, German and Libyan soldiers who fought in the campaign, and is the location of the El Alamein War Museum. The site is maintained by the Commonwealth War Graves Commission. EL ALAMEIN WAR CEMETERY contains the graves of men who died at all stages of

	the Western Desert campaigns, brought in from a wide area, but especially those who died in the Battle of El Alamein at the end of October 1942 and in the period immediately before that. The cemetery now contains 7,240 Commonwealth burials of the Second World War, of which 815 are unidentified. There are also 102 war graves of other nationalities. The ALAMEIN CREMATION MEMORIAL, which stands in the south-eastern part of El Alamein War Cemetery, commemorates more than 600 men whose remains were cremated in Egypt and Libya during the war, in accordance with their faith. The entrance to the cemetery is formed by the ALAMEIN MEMORIAL. The Land Forces panels commemorate more than 8,500 soldiers of the Commonwealth who died in the campaigns in Egypt and Libya, and in the operations of the Eighth Army in Tunisia up to 19 February 1943, who have no known grave. It also commemorates those who served and died in Syria, Lebanon, Iraq and Persia. The Air Forces panels commemorate more than 3,000 airmen of the Commonwealth who died in the campaigns in Egypt, Libya, Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, Greece, Crete and the Aegean, Ethiopia, Eritrea and the Somalilands, the Sudan, East Africa, Aden and Madagascar, who have no known grave. Those who served with the Rhodesian and South African Air Training Scheme and have no known grave are also commemorated here. The cemetery was designed by Sir J. Hubert Worthington.
Tourism and peace – main ideas	• Although El Alamein is the largest war cemetery in North Africa, 'war', 'dark' and 'peace' tourism are underdeveloped in Egypt – and advocates claim that development offers both economic benefits, and can help societies to process traumatic pasts (Attia et. al. 2015). • Tourism development has been limited in this region due to, amongst other things, the extensive areas of desert still contaminated by landmines and unexploded munitions. • Visitor numbers to the war memorials of El Alamein are much lower than corresponding figures for First World War battlefield and memorials on the Western Front
Services for tourism	• El Alamein village is home to a number of memorial sites, as well as a Museum of War. • Visiting Information. Opening times: The cemetery is open every day from 07:00 - 17:00. Visitors should note that when the gardeners leave the site at 14:30 the visitors book and register book are also removed. Between 14:30 and 17:00 there is a police guard outside the cemetery. Visitors arriving between these times will be given access, but should bear in mind the absence of the books. • Wheelchair access is signposted.
Main programmes	The site holds commemorative services.
Participation of local communities	• While local communities may benefit slightly from such commemorations, most visitors appear to be organised day-trippers from Alexandria. • Bedouin communities have been negatively affected by landmines left in the area.
Cooperation with public and private	• Landmine clearance undertaken by state and international agencies will potentially permit private sector development in the future.

sector	
Main challenges / Controversies	Victory at El Alamein is remembered as one of Britain's most important and heroic contributions to eventual Allied victory in the Second World War. The battle is commemorated annually, with key anniversaries seeing groups affiliated to service organisations holding services at the El Alamein Memorial. Yet this remembrance masks many of the controversies which attach to the battle. The victory has been implicated, for example, in jingoistic, imperialistic sentiments which characterised post-war Britain, even as the Empire began to disintegrate (Howard 1979). Linked to this is the rather more ubiquitous concern regarding whether or not visits to commemorative signs promote a culture of peace and mutual understanding, or whether such activities glorify war and violence. Somewhat more seriously, the area surrounding El Alamein remains littered with unexploded landmines and munitions deposited by both Allied and Axis fighters during the Second World War. Long after the foreign armies had abandoned the desert, so too the departing forces abandoned deadly explosives which had earned the battlefield the nickname the Devil's Garden (Said). Estimates suggest that as many as 17 million unexploded landmines remained in the desert after 1945. Since then landmines and other munitions have caused upwards of 8,000 deaths (Barlow 1999), mostly nomadic Bedouin herders. Given the oral tradition of record keeping amongst Bedouin, this figure is almost certainly a conservative estimate, and countless more people have been injured over the years. While contributing financially to supranational demining programmes, the governments of the UK, Germany and Ital have so far refused to pay any compensation to those affected by landmines. The Egyptian government has unveiled plans for major development of the underpopulated North West Coast, aimed at increasing national productivity and easing the overcrowding of the Nile Valley. Yet the extent of minefields has seriously impeded regional economic development (Le Bier 2003). At the turn of the millennium, 2,900 square km were contaminated with landmines (Barlow 1999), with more recent estimate suggesting that access to as much as 22% of Egypt's territory is restricted by landmines (UNDP 2016). Approximately 3.5million acres of potentially fertile land has been rendered unusable due to minefields, and has been left uncultivated. Oil exploration has been similarly hindered, despite the speculative existence of reserves totalling1.8billion barrels, along with 8.5trillion cubic feet of gas under the Western Desert (UNDP 2016). Most importantly for the focus of this project, tourism development has been severely restricted by the existence of minefields surrounding El Alamein.
Transportable actions	• Importance of considering the role of tourism for the promotion of a culture of peace at memorial sites related to war. • Importance of including local communities and specific groups: tourism development projects should seek to undertake engagement exercises with nomadic Bedouin community as well as the small resident communities of El Alamein. • Importance of a holistic landscape approach to the site: tourism development should be carefully planned so as not to degrade the natural landscapes of the Western Desert and coast.
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4.10. Aqaba Fort (Jordan)

Name and country	**Aqaba Fort (Jordan)**
Type of site	Historic building
Brief description	Aqaba Fort, also known as Mamluk Castle, was built between 1510 and 1517, as attested by the Arabic inscriptions inside the monumental gateway, and was used as a *khan* (travellers' inn) for pilgrims on their way to Mecca. Different historic times are reflected and important moments in History, like the Arab revolt (1916) and the I World War also left testimony on this site. The fortress is now open to the public, adjoining archaeological museum and public plaza commemorating Arab Revolt. The fort is open daily and entrance is free. Adjacent to the fort is the Aqaba Archaeological Museum (http://www.doa.gov.jo/En/inside.php?src=sublinks&SlID=5170&MlID=5023).
Web address	Aqaba Tourism http://www.aqaba.jo/
Link with UN System	The Fort is located near some UNESCO World Heritage properties, like Petra or Wadi Rum Protected Area See UNESCO World Heritage webpage: http://whc.unesco.org/en/statesparties/jo
Background and context	**Information on Aqaba (region)** Aqaba itself is an historic port located on Jordan's Red Sea Coast. Aqaba Fort, constructed between 1510 and 1517 has long stood guard over the city. Captured from Ottoman control in 1916 as part of the Arab Revolt, the Fort thereafter served as a major supply base for the Revolt. Today, the Fort's significance in the Revolt is honoured by the Arab Revolt Flagpole, which at over one hundred metres high can be seen from neighbouring Israel, Egypt and Saudi Arabia. Likewise, the Fort is surrounded by an open air public square named Arab Revolt Plaza. Admission to the Fort is free, and it is currently under jurisdiction of the Ministry for Tourism and Antiquities. Under Jordanian tourism policy, Aqaba, with its access to the Red Sea was marketed as a resort destination. Its prosperity grew throughout the 1970s and 1980s due to its location as a transit point between Bagdad and Cairo. The imposition of international sanctions on Iraq following the invasion of Kuwait, and the subsequent disruption of the Gulf War led to a '66% decline in Aqaba's trade between 1989 and 1992' (Grey 2002: 315). Following the signing of the 1994 Peace Treaty, Aqaba's border location was identified as a gateway to Jordan, and the city underwent a major construction boom (particularly of luxury 4* and 5*) hotels. Aqaba sits at the heart of the Aqaba Economic Special Zone, and has since 1973 benefited economically from policies designed to accelerate economic development by mobilizing public resources and private development (Al Haija 2011: 98). Legislation passed in 2000 revised the terms of this zoning, de-regulating bureaucratic state governance and replacing it with a quasi-

autonomous board, reducing taxation to maximise attractiveness to foreign direct investment and cutting import tariffs (a large amount of international trade passes through Aqaba, as Jordan's only seaport). This characteristically neoliberal reorganisation of governance mimics development strategies elsewhere, with private development enabled by legislation designed to allow the state to leverage the service sector – including most notably tourism – as a means of weathering economic restructuring (Daher 2005). Aqaba Economic Zone was thus a location for fast track foreign direct investment and fast track development, explaining the rapidity with which it has developed as a resort. In the past decade Aqaba has received investment totalling over US$7 billion, most of which was directed towards tourism development, including the construction of 15 new five star hotels (Al Haija 2011: 94; 99). Aqaba is now Jordan's third most popular location by bed nights (approximately 300,000 people per year).

Background on Jordan and tourism

As the location of many iconic tourist attractions, including five UNESCO World Heritage sites (Petra, Bethany beyond the Jordan, Qusir Amra and Um er-Rasas, Wadi Rum) (http://whc.unesco.org/en/statesparties/jo), Jordan has great tourism potential (Al Haija 2011: 93). Yet tourism has developed more slowly than in neighbouring countries. Gray (2002) notes that modern Jordan was effectively bypassed until the 1920s, while as late as the 1950s it was accessible only to the wealthiest tourists. Despite attempts at forging an autonomous tourism policy, development has long been conditioned by relations with its regional neighbours, including most notably, Israel.

The historic Peace Treaty signed in 1994 (only the second to be signed between Israel and an Arab state) saw an upsurge in tourism. In addition to receiving a cash injection from USAID and debt relief from the US government, it was intended that peace would bring about prosperity, with tourism identified as a key driver of economic development: 'In the context of the 1994 peace treaty, tourism was seen as key to the promotion of open borders and economic cooperation that would both strengthen peace and produce prosperity' (Joffe 2002: xvi) The first and most obvious manifestation of this was increased Israeli tourism. While pre-1994 the number of Israeli visitors to Jordan was officially zero, post-1994 the normalisation of the Israel-Jordan border led to an annual influx of approximately 100,000 Israeli tourists.

In the same period European and North American tourism figures increased by 75% to 359,000, while package tourism, as a whole, tripled (Gray 2002). With increased demand, so an upgraded tourism infrastructure was required, precipitating an unparalleled boom in hotel construction. In particular, the period witnessed extensive hotel building programmes (and associated spin-offs) at key tourist sites such as Petra, Amman and Aqaba. The government encouraged participation in this boom, through working closely with the private sector to direct development. Although the initial boom proved unsustainable (Daher 2005), tourism continues to make a major contribution to the Jordanian economy. In 2008 the Kingdom received 7,200.503 visitors, and the sector as a whole accounted for approximately 14.7% of the country's GDP (Al Haijja 2011). Moreover, tourism continues to be framed as a major peace dividend (Lynch 1999).

Tourism and peace – main ideas	Tourism makes a major contribution to the Jordanian economy, accounting for approximately 14.7% of the country's GDP in 2008 (Al Haijja 2011), and is presented as a major peace dividend (Lynch 1999). Aqaba's border location renders it well positioned to benefit from tourism and to contribute to peace through serving as a space for inter-personal contact between Jordanian, Israeli, Egyptian and Saudi nationals. Aqaba hosted a 2003 Roadmap to Peace Summit attended by Israeli, Palestinian, Jordanian and Egyptian leaders. The city and environs have been physically transformed since 1994, and every day people cross the border – which is only one of three official crossings – between the two countries. While there are numerous opportunities for peace building enterprises, the literature is generally muted in terms of the contributions that tourism hereabouts has made to peace. Where it is touched upon, the idea that tourism can help cement peace is treated critically. Aqaba has also been the location of a number of international peace organisation gatherings, including the 2008 Aqaba Summit of the Seeds of Peace, and the Cycle Race for Peace – an international cycle race featuring stages in Jordan, Israel and the Palestinian territories.
Information about visitors	Number of visitors to Aqaba Fort not available. The city of Aqaba receives 300,000 overnight visitors per year.
Services for tourism	Fort is currently managed by the Department for Tourism and Antiquities. Access to Fort is free. Open daily.
Presentation of memories to audiences	The Arab Revolt Flagpole commemorates the Arab Revolt (1916) and is visible form surrounding countries.
Participation of local communities	Promoting local-driven tourism sector: as it is also the case for many other sites, some authors suggest that a more inclusive participation of local communities in managing tourist attractions and tourism related sector would be sometimes desirable.
Cooperation with public and private sector	Aqaba lies at heart of Aqaba Economic Development Area – space zoned to facilitate public-private partnerships. In practice this has led to establishment of international interests.
Transportable actions	• Adjacent to the fort is the Aqaba Archaeological Museum: a more holistic approach to History can be promoted by linking different type of sites and periods. • A not so well-known site, like the Fort, can benefit from the enormous attraction of iconic tourism sites (like Petra and other World Heritage properties). • Importance of linking the international tourism industry with locally driven tourism services, while encouraging expenditure at sites to benefit local communities. • Monuments in landscapes must be considered as part of a more holistic element: any tourism or development project need to be planned from a landscape approach, including environmental sustainability.
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5. Controversies and Challenges on Tourism and Peace from the sites: Overview

None of the sites surveyed for this research have been entirely immune from controversy and many continue to face challenges. These challenges are diverse in nature, but have been grouped into six broad analytical categories:

5.1. Challenges Associated with the Commodification of Traumatic Histories

The commodification of histories refers to the transformation of memories and heritage into a product for consumption. Challenges relating to this process arose in many sites. This is perhaps unsurprising given that the subject matter of peace tourism often involves commodifying sites and practices associated with the remembering and memorialisation of traumatic histories. Such memories are often considered sacred and must be handled extremely sensitively to ensure they do not fuel contestation. While there is often widespread agreement within post-conflict contexts about the importance of collective remembering, contestation often occurs regarding the precise form this should take. This is particularly when conflict sites are the subject of tourist development.

This research has identified two distinctive types of challenge associated with the commodification process. Firstly, trivialization of history is the process by which the importance of a traumatic history becomes downplayed or lost in the process of commodification. Secondly exploitation, involves contestations regarding the shares of the material and symbolic rewards and benefits accrued from the commodification of history.

a) Trivialization

Trivialisation of history is a process by which the importance and sanctity of a traumatic histories becomes lost or downplayed as a result of the commodification process. It is associated with sub processes including kitschification, Disneyization/Disneyfication and theme-parkization, and can provoke serious contestations. Challenges associated with trivialization were evident at a number the sites.

Robben Island Museum's twin status as a sacred site and one geared towards commercial development left it particularly vulnerable to trivialisation. From the personality branding of the Island in Mandela's image (Kavartzis and Ashworth 2006) there was an easy step to the development of a range of carelessly encoded souvenirs, including teddy bears dressed in

Mandela prison tee-shirts. In its early days RIM was depicted as part shrine and part theme park (Shackley 2001). Amidst criticism that such kitschification represented a trivialisation of the Island's traumatic histories, the Robben Island Museum has now sought to implement 'dignified commercialisation' of the site. This involves, amongst other things, paying careful attention to the integrity of the Robben Island Brand.

Despite its solemn authenticity and infamy, Auschwitz has also generated debate regarding trivialisation. While the Museum itself is extremely careful about marketing and advertising, some tourist companies in Krakow and environs aggressively promote the site as a 'must see' tourist attraction. The custodians of the museum note that they have little use of how representations of the site are utilised by private sector tour operators.

Survivors and NGO representatives in Argentina also raised their concerns during discussions about when the ESMA site was opening to the public for the very first time. Specifically, they were concerned that due consideration of the meaningfulness of the site was required to ensure that opening to the public did not trivialise the history of human rights violations that had occurred at the site.

As the preeminent 'traumascapes' (Tumarkin 2005) of the Second World War, Hiroshima and Nagasaki were amongst the first sites to be commodified and developed into tourist destinations. As early as the 1960s there have been criticisms of the 'touristification' of the bomb (Schafer 2016) which was seen as insensitive to the *hibakusha* (survivors). The authorities in both Hiroshima and Nagasaki are careful to try and promote tourism relating to peace rather than dark tourism *per se*.

Concerns have been raised over the potential themeparkization of the Cambodian genocide. Although Tuol Sleng strives to be more educational than the nakedly commercialised killing field at Choeung Ek both attractions are often part of the same itinerary. There have also been concerns regarding the emergence of a Pol Pot themed café which offers tourists a taste of the genocide (Henderson 2007). Through collaborations between the Yale University initiated DC-Cam and its successor, the Sleuk Rith Institute, Tuol Sleng has sought to offer a less overtly ideological, educationally focussed portrayal of the genocide.

b) Exploitation

Exploitation is the process by which the material and symbolic benefits accruing from the commodification of historical conflict are not shared or experienced by those affected by the conflict. Exploitation implies a moral injustice in this regard. As with trivialisation, concerns regarding exploitation were also evident at several of the sites in question. Perhaps the best

known critique of exploitation arising from the commodification of historical conflict concerns the emergence of a so-called holocaust industry (Finkelstein 2000). Auschwitz management and staff have worked hard to ensure that the Museum is both commemorative and educational, and downplay its touristic and commercial qualities.

In Cambodia, rights to the commercial development of the Choeung Ek killing field have been leased to an overseas private developer. Feelings of exploitation here are intensified by the fact that many high-ranking Khmer Rouge have not only evaded justice, but have also secured high powered positions within subsequent administrations. Indeed, it has even been alleged that some of those who perpetrated atrocities during the genocide have benefited from the subsequent touristification of this period (Sion 2011). On the other hand, archive material from Tuol Sleng played a part in securing a conviction of former S-21 commander Comrade Duch (Benzaquen 2014).

Rwanda faces challenges regarding the use of victims' disinterred corpses and bones, which were first employed to bear testament to the horrors of genocide, but arguably now constitute dark tourist attractions (Friedrich and Johnson 2013). In conjunction with the Aegis Trust (a British anti-genocide NGO), Kigali Genocide Memorial Centre has been pioneering in promoting the educational value of commemoration as opposed to focussing on shock value (Hohenhaus 2013), and has ambitious plans to become a centre for genocide research (Sodaro 2011). Kigali Genocide Memorial Centre is notably less graphic in its depiction of the events and aftermath of 1994 than other sites in Rwanda, and may offer some lessons about ethical remembering.

5.2. Challenges Associated with the Glorification of War

The parameters of peace tourism are perhaps challenged by the inclusion of sites which are much more closely associated with war than with peace. Such sites are arguably examples of more conventional dark or thanatourism (Lennon and Foley 2000; Seaton 2010). Indeed, it could even be argued that the sites represent the glorification of war, rather than the promotion of peace. Notable examples of this include sites associated with Allied campaigns in two World Wars at Messines and El Alamein. Regarding the former, the Island of Ireland Peace Park and Round Tower was conceived with the aim of promoting peace and reconciliation through recovering the shared history of Irish nationalists and unionists fighting side by side at Messines. Specifically, through cross community educational visits nationalists and unionists are invited to consider what unites them, as well as to reflect on the horrors of war. The

context of trench warfare, however, coupled with the fact that the battle was relatively victorious, has raised questions about the propriety of the initiative (Jeffrey 2000). Likewise, the Alamein Memorial, which commemorates the sacrifices of Commonwealth soldiers in the Battles of El Alamein, is arguably symbolic more of one of Britain's 'finest hours' and most decisive victories of the Second World War than of peace *per se*. This is compounded by the fact that the relatively inaccessible memorial, located sixty miles from Alexandria, is visited primarily by military and ex-service organisations. In both cases work is needed on the ground to maintain a focus on peace as opposed to the glorification of war.

5.3. Challenges Associated with Ideological Histories and the Legitimation of the Present

The construction of heritage involves selective preservation of aspects of the past which are deemed important, implying situated standpoints and politics of selection and representation. Given the partial and situated nature of heritage, it is unsurprising that highly ideological narratives can be used to justify the present (Tunnbridge and Ashworth 1998). In several of the case studies previous research points to concerns regarding the use of the past to justify or legitimise highly problematic presents.

In Rwanda, for example, state control of remembrance and commemoration positions the Rwandan Patriotic Front as heroes who ended the genocide, thus buttressing the current administration (Sodaro 2011). Central to this has been a hegemonic narrative of the genocide as presented in sites such as Kigali Genocide Memorial which is intended for both domestic and international consumption. While foreign visitors support the never again message of the Museum, this philosophy also underpins repressive legislation which is used to prevent genocide ideology and divisionism – and has been implicated in the crackdown on political opposition (Reyntjens 2004; Ibreck 2010).

A similarly ideological narrative of genocide was evident at Tuol Sleng, which, at its inception in 1979, was leveraged primarily for propaganda purposes (Ledgerwood 1997). The Vietnamese curator Mai Lam was tasked with creating an exhibition which demonstrated clearly to the world that Vietnamese intervention was not an aggressive invasion, but was undertaken to prevent genocide (Tyner et al 2014). Tuol Sleng's exhibitions, which once included a map made from human skulls, have historically been particularly dark, concerned primarily with capturing the imagination of foreign visitors (Benzaquen 2014). As noted above, in recent times the Museum has collaborated with DC-Cam and its successor the Sleuk Rith Institute to develop

narratives of the genocide which are less ideologically driven. This has also resulted in a 'softening' of the exhibition and a new focus on education.

Finally, in South Africa the Robben Island Museum sits amidst debates about contemporary racial, gender and economic inequalities. The Museum's focus on a few key anti-Apartheid ANC activists, including most notably Nelson Mandela, replicates and reinforces the state narrative of the emergence of the rainbow nation and the triumph of the human spirit. This narrative sits increasingly at odds with the continued inequalities and violence – physical and structural – which are characterise the new post-Apartheid South Africa (Strange and Kempa 2003) and Robben Island Museum has been challenged to address this.

5.4. Challenges Associated with Overdevelopment and Heritage conservation

Some sites have proven victims of their own success in terms of attracting so many visitors that this leads to issues of environmental degradation, and raises challenges for the conservation of tangible and intangible heritage.

Robben Island and Auschwitz are examples of sites which began to attract more visitors than existing management plans could accommodate. Auschwitz received record numbers of over two million visitors in 2016. The chatter of tour groups passing through the cramped rooms of the original accommodation buildings within the camp had threatened to undermine the site's solemnity. This has been partially addressed through the introduction of audio headsets for guided tour parties. In Auschwitz these are now compulsory and effectively minimise noise and disruption, while in the more open and spacious Birkenau they are not used. Since opening in 1997 Robben Island has attracted growing numbers of visitors every year. As the main attraction, Mandela's former cell in Block B of the Maximum Security Prison can attract as many as two thousand visitors per day resulting in potential congestion. Partially in response to criticisms that the story of Robben Island has become too entwined with Mandela's biography, and partially to ease congestion, other aspects of the Island's history have also been incorporated into tours, helping to diffuse and stagger the crowds.

Faced with declining tourist numbers in real terms, Mostar has been aggressively promoted as part of a reimagining and repositioning by the Bosnian authorities (Kürsad Özlen and Poturak 2013). As the iconic centre of this reimaging, the popularity of Mostar's *Stari Most* has led to the emergence of a cottage industry of souvenir stalls and booksellers catering to the numerous visitors (Björkdahl and Mannergren 2016). The over-coded symbolism of the

reconstructed bridge not only obfuscates remaining divisions, but the touristic crossings which are staged at this site have drawn criticisms as inauthentic and Disneyised (Forde 2016).

In Aqaba rapid construction of hotels and associated developments was predicated on optimistic growth projections released following the Israeli-Jordanian Treaty (Hazbun 2002). Such developments have arguably damaged the natural beauty of the short Jordanian coastline, while privatisation of the city's beaches seafront has fuelled popular resentment amongst locals (Grey 2002; Al Haija 2011). Concerns have also been raised that supposed conservation initiatives, concerned primarily with beautification of selected landscapes, represent the commodification of urban cultural heritage, and questions remain as to who is likely to benefit from such programmes (Daher 2005).

5.5. Challenges Associated with the Contested Politics of Victimhood

At several sites the status of victimhood itself has been the subject of contestation, with various interest groups staking competing claims to ownership. When Auschwitz was first declared a Museum in 1947 the predominant narrative was of Polish suffering caused by Nazi ideology. With the dissolution of the Eastern Bloc this narrative has changed considerably. Auschwitz today is the emblematic landscape of the Holocaust (Partee Allar 2013) and is remembered primarily as the place were over one million Jews were systematically executed. Contestation has attached to this, with various other groups whose members were killed at Auschwitz asserting their own traumatic histories. The Auschwitz Museum is at the forefront of exploring how commemorative sites can remain sacred to specific groups while also being shared.

In Japan both Hiroshima and Nagasaki's association with peace has been challenged by claims that this overlooks Japanese wartime aggression and the victimization inflicted on neighbouring Asian countries (Siegenthaler 2002). China and the United States questioned Hiroshima's inscription onto the UNESCO World Heritage List. The discrepancy between the commercial aspects of tourism development and the treatment of *hibakusha* (bomb survivors) has also been questioned (Lifton 1967).

In Rwanda various commemorative organisations have attracted criticism for their complicity in the denial of Hutu victims of genocide and subsequent war crimes. The Kigali Genocide Memorial Centre, for example, has followed government policy in labelling its subject matter 'the 1994 Tutsi Genocide in Rwanda' (Ibreck 2010). This risks reproducing Tutsi monopoly of victimhood, as well as reinforcing the dominant state narrative (Reyntjens 2004).

El Alamein features numerous commemorative sites dedicated to the fallen of both Axis and Allied forces. While the Alamein Memorial commemorates over 7,000 Commonwealth troops who died during the North African campaign, estimates suggest that as many as 8,000 nomadic Bedouain have also been killed by mines left behind by retreating armies (Barlow 1999), with countless more maimed. These deaths are not commemorated or recognised and campaigns for compensation have made little headway. Recent United Nations estimates suggest that as much as 25% of Egypt's territory is affected by landmines (UNDP 2016), which continue to claim victims and hinder economic development more than seventy years after the end of the Second World War.

5.6. Funding and Financial Challenges

Virtually all of the sites included in this research face challenges associated with funding. Management at ESMA have expressed concerns about the relationship between inadequate funding, trivialisation and accessibility which are symptomatic of the field in general. Economic insecurity increases the incentive towards commercialisation, potentially giving rise to further problems. Cases of trivialisation and exploitation are linked not only to profiteering, but to financial insecurity. Faced with austerity and the retraction of funding many institutions must demonstrate their own self-sufficiency and innovativeness if they are to survive. The imposition of entrance fees may address specific funding shortfalls, but this strategy necessarily excludes whole sections of the population (Robben Island and Tuol Sleng have both been accused of this). Similarly, the introduction and promotion of a gift shop might generate some much-needed cash, but the sale of branded merchandise can potentially trivialise historical events held to be sacred (Shackley 2001).

The transnational governance context of the Island of Ireland Peace Park, which is located in Messines but commemorates soldiers from the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland (a devolved region of the United Kingdom), has been the source of ongoing debates regarding operating costs.

The development of Aqaba's tourism industry has been bound up with global funding streams predicated on economic liberalisation of the kingdom (Grey 2002), resulting in tensions between local and global beneficiaries.

As noted above, almost all the sites face challenges associated with funding, with perhaps the greatest being how to strike a sensitive balance between commercial and economic development of a site, and the preservation of its sanctity, solemnity and authenticity.

6. Transportable actions

Since the project aims to make proposals for ethical principles for decision-making, policy formulation, management of sites, as well as for tour-operators, local communities, and other stakeholders related to the issue of tourism and peace, during the research phase best practices and transportable actions were identified at each site[6].

Assembled by topic, the following list details initiatives, compiled actions and approaches that would help stakeholders, decision- makers and organizations to underline the value and contribution that a peace-sensitive framework could have at post-conflict sites to extend peace-building and develop tourism.

6.1. Tourism to post-conflict sites as a source for promoting peace-building

- In order to promote a culture of peace in historical post-conflict sites, it is absolutely essential to have processes of reflection and memory about what happened in the place, and to work with memorialization processes that will help the visitor to understand the events that took place in the place, as well as to build tools for a culture of peace.
- It would be recommendable to:
    a. Take into account the role that tourism and visiting post-conflict sites could have to promote peace-sensitive approaches;
    b. Consider sites to be visited that could be representative of peace-building processes after a conflict;
    c. Formulate and implement policies and actions that promote a peace-building and human rights approach for visiting experiences at this type of site.
    d. Recognise that memorialization at post-conflict sites should be integrated into broader strategies for building democracy and post-conflict strategies[7].
- The main objective of a visitor to a historic post-conflict site is living an experience. *In situ* learning, being in the place where the facts occurred allows the visitor to experience and generate emotional bonds with the place, which in turn can help to deepen a more meaningful and lasting learning.

[6] See specific transportable actions per site in each Information Sheet.
[7] It could be also of interest to consider the Report of the Special Rapporteur in the field of cultural rights, 2014. A/HRC/25/49. http://www.ohchr.org/EN/Issues/CulturalRights/Pages/AnnualReports.aspx

- Creation of site museums at former conflict places (prisons, clandestine detention centers, extermination camps, etc.) could generate can generate a more meaningful visit to places, while being instruments for the promotion of a culture of peace through this type of heritage.

6.2. Human Rights approach and Sustainable Development

- Current experiences at post-conflict sites around the world show that, when taking decisions on tourism policies at these sites, it is important to follow a human rights approach, based on international human rights standards.
- When analyzing a past conflict, the human rights approach would allow managers, guides and tour-operators to present the site and history from a peace-sensitive perspective and with the aim to integrate all the people related to the site and the conflict. This would also prevent new processes of ideological legitimation or the promotion of a discourse justifying violence as a tool.
- This approach would help to focus on human rights violations during the conflict and not on ideologies, theories or other views that can be difficult to reconcile with peace-building processes.
- This will require the managers to also consider and analyze current possible inequalities at the site, redress discriminatory practices, and promote and protect human rights: in order to promote peace-building for the future, ongoing discriminations and inequalities must be also addressed in memorialization processes[8].
- Presenting the conflict and its consequences from a human rights perspective could help the visitor, in addition, to get a positive approach and to foster and sustain hope towards building peace-processes and learning from past conflicts in history.

6.3. Working on presentation of narratives

- At post-conflicts sites, it is common to find different perspectives about the facts and the past, and we can find different interpretations, narratives and points of view of the current impact of the conflict within contemporary society.

[8] This approach also helps to achieve the Goal 16 of the Sustainable Development Goals, dedicated to the promotion of peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development http://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/sustainable-development-goals/

- Examples of post-conflict sites from around the world show that it is necessary to work on the presentation of narratives to visitors. In addition, consideration should be paid to the importance of providing the historical context and background when presenting the facts and human rights violations in the past.
- Due to the particular origin of post-conflict sites, narratives should be debated and decided upon on a case-by-case basis. The principle questions to be asked and debated should be, among others:
    a. what are the goals of the memorialization of the site?
    b. who is it made for?
    c. what will be its impact?
    d. who participates in the establishment of the narrative?
    e. does it include plurality of narratives?
    f. is it proposed from a human-rights approach?
- In order to get a presentation of the narrative which is accepted by the local community as well as the international community, based on a human-rights approach and adapted to visitors, it is important to look at:
    a. Scientific knowledge and integrity in decision-making: history provides the content of experience for the person who visits a post-conflict site. Decisions should be based on, and guided by, the best available knowledge, by promoting research on the conflict and its consequences, including interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary knowledge. It needs to meet the highest standards of research integrity by being impartial, rigorous, honest, and transparent.
    b. Participation of local communities, including possible victims: it is necessary to collaborate between the authorities, citizens and civil society, especially representatives of those directly affected by past events. Local, traditional and communities' knowledge should also be considered.
    c. Reaching consensus among stakeholders: even if consensus of the various actors is often difficult, the synergy between different actors is essential for promoting long-term reconciliation and peace-building.

d. Authorities must assume their key roles and responsibilities in managing the public space as well as developing national tourism and peace-building strategies across territory.

- Working with narratives at post conflict sites should also be considered through the prism of power relations: all voices and perspectives must have their place in creating discourses and narratives, in order to guarantee the diversity of visions, as well as avoiding institutionalisation or dissemination of a single understanding of the past conflict.
- In addition to presenting human rights violations, it would be beneficial to include references to the resilience of the survivors for the narratives.
- Creation of narratives could generate long and/or difficult processes for the local community: elaboration of narratives around human rights violations can force populations to get "out of their comfort zones". Mediators that guarantee the inclusion of all perspectives, and mainstreaming a human rights approach is indispensable to build on an inclusive and plural narrative.
- Discrepancy between local and external perspectives of the site can occur at some places: international perspectives about the site do not necessarily link to the local communities' vision about the past and history. Places generate new representational meanings after a conflict: managers and stakeholders need to take into account the different meanings for the same site and make multiple narratives available for the visitor, in order to avoid imposition of an external memory, by encouraging carefully planned interventions.
- Memorialization at post-conflict sites can facilitate the understanding of present issues related to democracy, human rights and equality. Promoting engagement to peace-building and human rights can help, by linking the facts of the past with contemporary challenges at our society, while promoting hope and mechanisms for the future.
- Initiatives to include different memories are also desirable: women's memories, varied uses of the site during different historic periods, etc.

6.4. Network of related sites: role of iconic sites

- Some of the sites have an iconic image and are very well known within the international arena: as clear and undoubtable attractions, they also need to play a

specific role on guiding the visitors to a deeper understanding of the facts that happen at the site and surrounding spaces. Many of the sites in the research were part of a wider and complex history related to human right violations in the past.

- It would be desirable that these iconic or famous places would also help the visitor to understand the wider reality of conflict and would help to promote visiting other sites, including those that are not as well known internationally or locally, but that may be indispensable to achieving a more complete understanding of the whole past history. This is the case for example of sites like the former ESMA in Argentina and Robben Island in South Africa, among others: their iconic role should make them as "leaders" to lead the way for other smaller sites related to the same historic conflict.
- Promotion of sustainable tourism strategies would also help with diversifying tourism routes to post-conflict sites, allowing to present different sites to visitors.

6.5. Conservation of sites and visiting experience

- Following the example of already existing post-conflict sites, it is evident that the visitors come to these sites to seek a lived experience. They report on interest concerning learning at the site, but we must remember that historical facts are in books and films: the visitor to a post-conflict site is looking for an experience that helps him/her to link, in an emotional way, to the events that occurred at that place.
- Therefore, the cohabitation between the emotional dimension and a distanced analysis for the narrative discourse is also indispensable. Without emotional charge, the impact of the site would be smaller, while without rigorous narrative of the past events, peace-building processes could be at risk.
- Conservation of historical sites, original buildings and landscapes as a trace of the past could be key for presenting the history of the place. The physical act of visiting the site would promote the emotional dimension of the visit, while having a more enriching experience that allows a more significant peace-building process. Due to the fact that these spaces become emblematic, conservation of heritage could therefore be a basic line for these sites.
- In order to guarantee that every person in the present and future has the possibility of living that experience, it is crucial to take into consideration the conservation of the sites, historical places and cultural landscapes that can be the physical witness of the

events that took place. The collective work of heritage managers, conservators and promoters of peace processes is essential in these types of sites.

- Special attention must also be paid to the intangible heritage, common in different communities throughout the world, due to the importance that this heritage may also have for local identities. The different needs that this type of heritage has to continue developing after a conflict need to be considered.

6.6. Participation of victims and affected people from the past conflict and role of local communities

- Addressing the narrative of a post-conflict place is usually focused on the violation of human rights at the site. However, it is important to present to the visitor not just the information related to violations of human rights but also focus on the resilience of survivors.
- As highlighted when talking about narratives, it is imperative to ensure the participation of local community and citizens, especially including those affected by the past conflict, victims and relatives.
- Participation of civil society should be promoted at all stages, including the decision-making process and management of the site.
- Site accessibility should be promoted for local communities or those affected by the conflict. Policies like free admission to the site for everyone or special discounts for local people could help communities to feel involved in the management and conservation of the site.
- Gender issues must be considered, by promoting gender equality and women's participation and empowerment at any tourism strategy at the sites[9].
- Authorities must also consider vulnerable groups, to guarantee their inclusion in participatory processes: inclusivity of all social groups offers a formula to guarantee a human rights approach that links the look to the past with the present.
- The sites where human rights violations occurred hold a continued emotional resonance for former victims and relatives, and these groups have a special connection to such places. While sites should be made accessible to a broader public, spatial

[9] http://ethics.unwto.org/content/gender-and-tourism

conception should pay attention to the value of maintaining specific sections for those most directly affected by conflict and human rights abuses. It is important to include spaces for coexistence and to guarantee specific ways in which former victims can relate to the site, in order to enhance cohesion in contemporary societies. Some sites provide good case studies of what can be achieved through using authentic historical spaces to facilitate meetings between communities.

6.7. Sustainable tourism

- To ensure that future generations are also able to experience the benefits of visiting these sites, it is important that different actors and stakeholders promote a sustainable tourism that takes full account of its current and future economic, social and environmental impacts, addressing the needs of visitors, the industry, the environment and host communities[10].
- Following sustainable tourism strategies, civil society should also be consulted and could participate concerning tourism activity, in order to ensure breadth of involvement and consensus building[11].
- Promotion of locally driven tourism services, while encouraging expenditure at sites to benefit local communities: participation of local communities, and benefit for such communities from the tourism and heritage sector is always important, but even more so at post-conflict sites, where deep issues of identity and coexistence are still tangible in many societies.

6.8. Role of visitors and tourists

- For the purpose of these transportable actions, all visitors are considered, both tourists and excursionists. Tourist is normally referred to a person taking a trip, including an overnight stay to a destination outside his/her usual environment; excursionist is more related to people taking a trip which does not include an overnight stay outside usual environment[12].

[10] http://sdt.unwto.org/content/about-us-5
[11] http://sdt.unwto.org/content/about-us-5
[12] http://cf.cdn.unwto.org/sites/all/files/pdf/a22_16_approval_or_adoption_of_the_convention_on_tourism_ethics_rev.2_en.pdf

- At post-conflict sites there could be a distance between local communities and foreign tourists in terms of knowledge and perception of sites. This should be considered when making decisions for any visitor strategy and presentation of narratives at different levels of previous knowledge.
- Many sites have a diverse offering of guided tours and visits. For the visitors without a guide to the space, a referent person could help the visitor with questions or concerns during the visit.
- As it is the case at other tourism-related places, visitors and tourists should avoid and minimize any harm to local communities and their lifestyles as a principle for their visiting experience.
- Taking into account the human rights violations and human suffering at post-conflict sites, a recommendation concerning the age of visitors could be necessary at some places. Examples around the world do not allow children under 12 or 14 to enter the site, due to the severity of some of the information provided -on the other hand, some sites deliberately emphasise shock value to 'prevent' future genocide.
- It is recommended to carry out a profound reflection on the way in which information about human rights violations is given to the younger generations, in order to focus on values that help to build peace and to move beyond looking at war as a strategy.

6.9. Awareness-raising, cultural activities and communication

- Current examples of good practices at post-conflict sites demonstrate the importance of promoting pedagogical programs at the sites: educational activities should aim at fostering critical thought about past events and learning about the history, thus enriching the visitor experience of the site.
- Promoting long-term educational processes can be important to generate deeper and more lasting knowledge, so that the educational experience is not limited only to the duration of the visit to the place.
- The guides are usually the link between visitors and the site, including all its historical significance. Therefore, specific training for guides at post-conflict sites would be desirable, including peace-sensitive preparation, in order to well develop the potential of guides as peace-promoters.

- Specific initiatives oriented towards the formal education system, as well as to teachers, help the site to promote information and awareness-raising among students at local, national and international level.
- At the same time, a holistic approach, including research of the history, conservation of the site, educational programs, tourism services and communication policies should be considered in an overall way, considering that all of them are necessary for a post-conflict site.
- Promotion of peace-building processes at these sites is not just related to visiting the place where human rights violations occurred: cultural activities and cultural expressions at the sites help to integrate a wider part of the community and engage visitors to the site, while promoting peace-sensitive activities. Cultural activities should be diverse and adapted to different type of public and age.
- Managers of the site should promote accurate communication links which should be available for visitors and for other interested people, including on-line visitors and researchers.
- Taking into account the sensitive issues that could be part of the exhibition and narratives at the site, an appropriate use of language and images in all communications must be considered.
- Media and journalists could also be active stakeholders in order to eradicate ideas and narratives which falsify history, and to help with peace-building objectives.

6.10. Cooperation among stakeholders, including public and private sector and international community

- Public and private cooperation could promote a wider participation and a way for reaching consensus at the site. Governing bodies composed by public administrations and civil society associations, funding donors together with public support, integrating tourism industry stakeholders, and other strategies are considered as good practices at some sites.
- The specific role of tourist operators as possible peace-building actors must be considered, by including them at different steps of the management of the site.

- International cooperation and consideration of the site under international programs (UNESCO World Heritage List or Memory of the World program, among others) highlights the interest in the conservation of the site with international standards, as well as promotes its knowledge across borders.
- Cooperation between different post-conflict sites at national and international level is also desirable in order to share best practices and promote support and collaborative initiatives.
- Common initiatives with other heritage, tourism and educational institutions could also improve knowledge and understanding of sites.

7. Proposal of Ethical Principles

At the crux of UNWTO is a belief that tourism has the capacity for good; that it can contribute to something meaningful. This central tenet provides the framework for tourism development and is at the heart of its Code for Ethical Tourism. Equally, an ethical framework for Museum practice is at the fore of the work of the International Coalition of Museums. It developed its ethical principles in 1986. The ethical principles that emanate from this research project are informed not only by the research findings but by the International Commission of Museum's Ethical Code and the Code for Ethical Tourism developed by UNWTO.

1. Tourism initiatives should seek to preserve, interpret and promote the narratives and experiences of all those impacted and shaped by the conflict that is being represented and remembered at a specific site.

Tourism practices[13] have an ethical responsibility to contribute to the preservation of memories and experiences of past conflicts in our global world. The past needs to be remembered in the hope that it will not be repeated. Voices silenced or disappeared through violence and war should be acknowledged and preserved. Memories of conflict, however painful, should be documented in a peace-sensitive way. This principle feeds into peacebuilding practices. It resonates in part with ICOM Principle 1-that museums should 'preserve, interpret and promote the natural and cultural inheritance of humanity'

2. Communities impacted by conflict should have ownership over their histories and heritage sites. Empowering local actors should be at the crux of efforts to narrate, interpret and market sites of interest to tourists.

The presentation of narratives to tourists should be developed and approached alongside those who have been impacted by conflict and by those who live in close proximity to conflict heritage sites. A sense of ownership and participation is critically important in order to lay the foundations for peacebuilding and sustainable development. This principle resonates with ICOM Principle 5-that museums should 'work in close collaboration with the communities from which their collections originate as well as those they serve'.

[13] The term tourism practices is deliberately used here to indicate the application of the principle at the most general level.

3. Tourist initiatives at conflict sites should offer opportunities for exploring, understanding and challenging difficult heritage.

Dealing with difficult or contested pasts can sometimes be an overwhelming task for conflict heritage sites. Such sites[14] should work towards raising awareness and providing opportunities for a myriad of voices and experiences to be heard. This resonates with Principle 4 ICOM: that museums should 'provide opportunities for the appreciation, understanding and management of natural and cultural heritage'. It also correlates with UNWTO Article 1 that states that tourism should contribute 'to mutual understanding and respect between peoples and societies'.

4. Tourism initiatives at sites of conflict heritage should be: a) sustainable; and b) conserve the integrity of the site or collection in question.

Tourism initiatives have an ethical responsibility to contribute to the sustainable development of the communities and environments that they are located in, and not to compromise the sites themselves in any way. Iconic conflict sites which attract large volumes of tourists have a duty of care and should work to conserve the integrity of the site and the collections or artefacts they hold. This principle resonates with UNTWO Article 3 which suggests that tourism should uphold sustainable development.

5. Tourism initiatives at sites of conflict should directly benefit the communities they intersect with either in economic, social or cultural terms.

Communities should feel not only that they have some ownership in the heritage sites and histories but that they are directly benefitting in some way by tourist visits. Sites of conflict should be mindful that communities are more than conflict and should encourage tourists to explore other forms of heritage. This resonates with UNWTO Article 5: that tourism should be a 'beneficial activity for host countries and communities'.

6. There is a need for balance, nuance and understanding in the negotiation of conflict sites for tourists without diminishing the experiences and truths of communities. The interpretation and narration of sites of tourist interest should reflect historical context and accuracy.

[14] As above, principles are applicable to sites *per se*, not only to particular custodians of sites.

Heritage is often a highly politicised process which can propagate specific ideologies and sustain conflict by other means. Conflict sites should adopt a 'peace-sensitive' approach which should try to avoid partisan and subjective narratives which can serve to intensify division as opposed to reduce it.

7. Initiatives should be mindful of suffering, injury and victimhood. It is critically important that tourism sites respect painful memories and do not re-traumatise victims and survivors.

Any initiatives surrounding tourism at conflict sites have a responsibility to protect and safeguard the right of vulnerable individuals and groups (adopting a Human rights-based approach). Stakeholders have an obligation to work ethically and with integrity. This resonates with UNWTO Article 6 which discusses the obligation of stakeholders and ICOM Principles 7 and 8 which state that museums must operate in a legal and professional manner.

8. Conflict heritage sites should share good practice and work together to develop ethical frameworks for tourism at sensitive sites.

Closer working relationships between and across conflict heritage sites could result in more effective practices. Sites with well-developed initiatives and a long history of tourist/visitor interest should share experiences with developing sites, including through participation in academic research.

9. Tourists to sites associated with conflict should be respectful towards the sensitivities associated with conflict sites.

Conflict sites are often particularly sensitive places, and tourists should be mindful of this. Their behavior should be respectful towards host communities, and they should not act in ways which might reignite or exacerbate conflict or division. The tourism industry can play a part in promoting respectful and responsible behaviors through education. Tourists should acquaint themselves with distinctive cultures, practices and historical narratives before visiting sensitive sites. This resonates with UNWTO Article 1, which emphasizes the iterative nature of respect and mutual understanding.

ANNEX I – References and Bibliography

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ANEX II – List of Participants and researches for the Project

Project leaders

- UNWTO
- Flanders Government (Flanders Department of Foreign Affairs)

Forum on Funding Partners

- Flanders Government (Flanders Department of Foreign Affairs)
- Basque Government (General Secretary on Human Rights, Coexistence and Cooperation)
- Government of Northern Ireland

Research Consortium

- UNESCO Chair on Cultural Landscapes and Heritage - Basque Country University – (www.catedraunesco.eu)
    - Researcher: Ms Maider Maraña
- Ulster University (www.ulster.ac.uk)
    - Researchers: Dr Marie Braniff, Dr Peter Doak and Dr Sarah McDowell

ANNEX III Acknowledgements to participants

This Report was made possible thanks to the support and participation of many individuals, organizations and institutions. We would like to sincerely thank all the participants and all those involved in different moments of the Project.

The information on the sheets per site does not necessarily reflect the views and ideas of informants and participants. Therefore, the ideas contained in this report do not in any way compromise the people interviewed and only reflect the conclusions of the researchers.

1. Hiroshima Peace Memorial (Japan).

Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum (Rie Nakanasghi, Curatorial)

Nagasaki Atomic Bomb Museum (Fumitada Hasi, Deputy Director)

2. Tuol-Sleng Genocide Museum (Cambodia).

Sleuk Rith Institute (Savina Sirik, Deputy Diretor)

Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum

UNESCO Antenna Office, Phnom Penh (Hoklim Bun)

3. Stari Most – Mostar Old Bridge Area (Bosnia and Herzegovina).

Agency "Stari grad" (Mr Miralem Fajic – Director; Mr Dragi Pavlovic)

UNESCO Antenna Office in Sarajevo (Mr Sinisa Sesum, Head of Office)

Ms Milijana Okilj; Ms Azra Hadzic

4. Auschwitz-Birkenau. German Nazi Concentration and Extermination Camp (Poland).

Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum (Mr Pawel Sawicki, Press Officer; Dorota Kuczyńska; Press Officer)

Galacia Jewish Museum

5. Island of Ireland Peace Park and Round Tower (Messines Belgium, Flanders).

International School for Peace Studies (Glenn Barr, Director and Chief Executive)

Jackie Barr, Office Manager

Somme Association/Somme Musuem (Carol Walker, Director)

6. Robben Isalnd (South Africa)

Robben Island Museum (Yolanda Mdutyana, Marketing and Tourism Administrator)

District 6 Museum (Mandy Sanger, Head of Education)

Chrischene Julius, Collections, Research and Documentation Department)

7. Kigali Genocide Memorial Centre (Rwanda).

Kigali Genocide Memorial Centre

Aegis Trust

8. ESMA Memory Site Museum and Espacio Memoria y Derechos Humanos (Argentina).

ESMA Memory Site Museum - former clandestine center for detention, torture and extermination (Alejandra Naftal – Executive Director; Sebastian Schonfeld, Maria Rosenfeldt, Andrés Vinocur – Directors; María José Kahn – International Cooperation; Celeste Orozco – Institutional Communication; ESMA Memory Site Museum´s team)

Human Rights Organizations: Abuelas de Plaza de Mayo – Casa por la Identidad: Paula Sansone; Centro de Estudios Legales y Sociales (CELS) and Memoria Abierta: Valeria Barbuto; Familiares de Desaparecidos y Detenidos por Razones Políticas: Graciela Lois

National Government – Ministry of Justice - Secretaría de Derechos Humanos y Pluralismo Cultural (Claudio Avruj – Secretary of State; Gustavo Peters, Sergio Kuchevazky, Ariel Gomplewicz - Archivo Nacional de la Memoria; Laura Duguine – Coordinator ex-CCDTyE “Club Atlético”)

9. Alamein Memorial (Egypt).

Commonwealth War Graves Commission (Konstantinos Alexandropolous, Support Office)

10. Aqaba Fort (Jordan).

Ms Giorgia Cesaro (UNESCO Amman Office)