Tracking Discourses of Occupation and Genocide in Lithuanian Museums and Sites of Memory

By

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Abstract

Tourism visits to sites associated to varying degrees with death and dying have for some time inspired academic debate and research into what has come to be popularly described as 'dark tourism'. Research to date has been based on the mobilisation of various social scientific methodologies to understand issues such as the motivations of visitors to consume dark tourism experiences and visitor interpretations of the various narratives that are part of the consumption experience. This thesis offers an alternative conceptual perspective for carrying out research into museums that represent genocide and occupation by presenting a discourse analysis of five Lithuanian museums which share this overchig theme using Foucault's concept of 'discursive formation' from '*Archaeology of Knowledge*'. A constructivist methodology is therefore applied to locate the rhetorical representations of Lithuanian and Jewish subject positions and to identify the objects of discourse that are produced in five museums that interpret an historical era defined by occupation, the persecution of people and genocide. The discourses and consequent cultural function of these museums is examined and the key finding of the research proposes that they authorise a particular Lithuanian individualism which marginalises the Jewish subject position and its related objects of discourse into abstraction. The thesis suggests that these museums create the possibility to undermine the ontological stability of Holocaust and the Jewish-Lithuanian subject which is produced as an anomalous, 'non-Lithuanian' cultural reference point. As with any Foucauldian archaeological research, it cannot be offered as something that is 'complete' since it captures only a partial field, or snapshot of knowledge, bound to a specific temporal and spatial context. The discourses that have been identified are perhaps part of a more elusive 'positivity' which is salient across a number of cultural and political surfaces which are ripe for a similar analytical approach in future. It is hoped that the study will motivate others to follow a discourse-analytical approach to research in order to further understand the critical role of museums in public culture when it comes to shaping knowledge about 'inconvenient' pasts.

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Abbreviations

BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
KGB	Komitet Gosudarstvennoy Bezopasnosti (Committee for State Security)
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CSR	Corporate Social Responsibility
IWMN	Imperial War Museum of the North
LCC	Low Cost Carrier
MGV	Museum of Genocide Victims
MP	Member of Parliament
NKVD	Narodnyy Komissariat Vnutrennikh Del (People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs)
SPSS	Statistical Packacke for the Social Sciences
VGM	Vilna Gaon Museum
UK	United Kingdom
USA	United States of America
USHMM	United States Holocaust Memorial Museum

Acknowledgements

down the pub after Hugh's lectures (and ever since) to pick over our new-found enthusiasm for various post structuralist thinkers.

This thesis is dedicated to Hamish Alexander Douglas Wight – Always missed and very much loved.

Author's Declaration

1   Introduction

1.1.   Orientation and Rationale

The initial motivation to progress PhD research to explore representations of human tragedy in museums and sites of memory stemmed from an early, undergraduate interest in 'dark tourism' with its origins in 2003. This was at a time when academic and mainstream media interests in the subject were developing at some pace following its introduction to academic parlance by pioneering authors such as erstwhile colleagues Lennon and Foley (1996) and Seaton (1996) who, being classically educated, preferred the term 'Thanatourism' to describe what he saw as a growing fascination, and the development of economies, around death as heritage[1]. I carried out some of my own empirical research using the concepts advanced by these 'early' authors (see Wight, 2006, Wight and Lennon, 2005, and Wight and Lennon, 2007) at around the same time as a 'second wave' of academics began to rethink, and to some degree challenge, some of the concepts that had been advanced in the mid-1990s (see for example Stone and Sharpley, 2008). The ideas and concepts that are central to dark tourism have undoubtedly captured many imaginations and the volume and variety of academic outputs continues to grow. As a consequence, the 'story' of dark tourism has reached an interesting moment in its evolution as approaches to research into the phenomenon are reaching a formative stage in terms of epistemological and methodological focus.

Some of the more salient authors in the 'second wave' of literature that emerged in the 2000s (see for example Kang and Lee, 2011, Stone, 2011 and Stone and Sharpley, 2008) take the view that visitor motivation, attraction typologies and the interpretation of dark tourism sites merit a centre stage position through social scientific research and the creation and subsequent challenging and repositioning of frameworks, categories and 'types' of dark tourism. One might say that a fetishization has developed around the ontological stability of the topic and so, arguably, the possibilities to test a wide range of empirical and epistemological approaches

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[1] A portmanteau of 'Thanatos', the demon personification of death in Greek Mythology and 'tourism'

to this unique form of cultural consumption remain partially explored and the subject may be condemned to forever exist as the source of a definitional debate. There is an ostensible preoccupation with the pursuit of 'meaning' and wrestling for control over 'ownership' and the fixity of definition. Countless signifiers have been offered in the literature to describe what is ultimately (aside the odd nuance in terms of imagining which part of the 'marketplace' is being referred to or which particular motivation has tempered an interest in 'consuming') the same signified form of cultural consumption. Dark tourism seems to remain the most salient description and it is certainly the preference of the mainstream media in the United Kingdom. Seaton's (1996) thanatourism is, however, preferred by many of the 'second wave' academics, particularly by Stone and Sharpley (2008) with their twinning of the two terms in the title 'Dark Tourism: A Thanatalogical perspective'. Yet confirmation of this kind of definitional 'naval gazing' can be sought via a cursory glance over recent literature which has espoused such transgressors as, the surely ontologically unstable, 'black tourism' which appears in, for example, Podoshen (2012) or another media favourite; 'grief tourism' (Stone and Sharpley, 2008). Subsequently, morbid tourism, disaster tourism, black spot tourism and even 'phoenix tourism' have all joined the list (UCLAN, 2014), in what Seaton (2012) has called a growing fascination with the endless production of DIY-tourism adjectives.

The conceptualisation argument when it comes to dark tourism is not in retreat, and in the meantime, the variety and volume of empirical research that has been undertaken to date has been produced based upon, and perhaps limited to, the kinds of social scientific methods and methodologies that are typically associated with the wider arena of tourism research methods, such as positivist statistical based research, interviews and participant observations *inter alia*. Examples of recent empirically focussed literature include Podoshen's (2013) qualitative mixed method approach to music and dark tourism, Kang's (2010) mixed method study of 'experiences' at Jeju Park in South Korea and Banyai's (2010) qualitative interview analysis of 'Dracula tourism' visits to Bran Castle in Romania. A sweep of postgraduate research titles in

the British library confirms the trend towards 'management' concepts and social scientific research approaches. What is ostensibly absent from the literature is a rigorous conceptualisation of the salient issues that have been written about from a philosophical perspective and specifically from the cultural-studies perspective of post structuralism. Specifically, following the pioneering work of Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996), museums and heritage sites, as particular cases in point have received little attention in what might be termed the 'dark tourism literature'. There remains much to explore in the specific area of the power of heritage, and particular in its ability to create cultural identities at the level of the heritage site and of the destination. Heritage is a politicised process that is often legitimated through financial and tacit state support (Smith, 2006) and through the 'expert' cataloguing of knowledge into consumable formats. Heritage is thus a powerful articulation of cultural authority which becomes naturalised, in for example guide books and tourist information publications (*Ibid*) and which can therefore drive definitions of communities and cultures through such commercial processes as tourism and through the consumption of 'official' interpretive environments such as national and state sponsored museums and sites of memory. Whilst previous research has approached this issue to some degree, based on discourse analysis (see for example Siegenthaler, 2002 and Podoshen, 2013), much of this research has based on Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) or content analysis with no explicit focus on post structuralist thinking and cultural theory.

I therefore leave the definitional argument to others and instead take up with the challenge of suggesting an alternative approach to empirical research (not in general, but in what one might call 'dark tourism') that I hope will add to the available epistemological choices for exploring 'sites' (museums in this case) themed unambiguously around death and suffering. This PhD thesis therefore reports on research undertaken in Lithuanian museums themed around occupation, and specifically the human consequences of occupation. Lithuanian museums, as a unit of analysis have received some attention in the context of dark tourism

(see McKenzie, 2013 and for a Foucauldian discursive treatment see Velmet, 2011). Yet the nation's 'occupation' museums have not yet been collectively analysed as a unique heritage 'product' using Foucault's concept of discursive formation which is explained in detail in chapter 4. Indeed, I can be quite certain, at the time of writing, that clusters of museums sharing a common theme in *any* destination context have yet to be analysed in this way and this is perhaps because such clusters are rare. Lithuania (and in fact the other two neighbouring Baltic States) appears to have found a market niche for heritage that is themed around Soviet Occupation as later chapters suggest. Indeed, McKenzie (2013) notes that a key component of the tourism agenda following the return to independence of Lithuania, and the other two Baltic States, was to interpret the nation's history of, mainly Soviet occupation to a growing volume and variety of inbound visitors.

Lithuania has been chosen as a unit of analysis for this research based on observations I made together with my colleague in earlier published research (see Wight and Lennon, 2007) that suggested that representations of 20th century wartime history in museums in the nation's capital city, Vilnius were to borrow from Lennon and Foley (1996:76) '…at best selective and, at worst, deceptive'. My aim ever since has been to revisit Lithuania and this issue of selectivity more rigorously using a conceptual framework and based upon some 'new'[2] units of analysis. Central to this aim has been the motivation to explore the heritage representations of the various communities that were, and still are, stakeholders in the nation's turbulent 20th century history; an era defined by occupation, the subverting of culture and the deaths of hundreds of thousands of Lithuanians, including swathes of its Jewish population. The argument about selectivity evolved out of this early observation that there seemed to be what Smith (2006) might call an 'authorised heritage discourse' at play in Lithuania. That is to say, a number of interpretive themes and concepts appeared to be repeated in the nation's museums and heritage sites that interpret occupation, and some communities and individuals

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[2] In the sense that they were not analysed in the 2007 paper I authored with John Lennon.

appeared to be much more important, and more visible than others. Ethnic Lithuanian genocide and the brutality of Soviet invaders, for example, seemed to be reinforced in these museums and sites and memories, whilst Jewish Holocaust appeared waxen and vague and the centrality of this chapter of the nation's recent past was seldom contested through heritage. The latter point was troublesome and raised questions about the role of language and interpretation in constructing knowledge in heritage environments. Such a form of enquiry seemed important given that '...the discourse of heritage not only establishes who has the power... to define and 'speak for' the past, but (it) is also a process that continually creates and recreates a range of social relations, value and meanings about both the past and the present' (Smith, 2006:42). One of the aims was therefore to take a closer look at the heritage process to identify how identifies were constructed, and by whom and with what consequences.

To return to the knowledge creation role of this PhD thesis, therefore, this work is developed as a contribution towards the epistemological horizon surrounding museums and sites of memory as examples of dark tourism and it is with the advancement of knowledge in the constructivist, postmodern school of thought that my work has been concerned. At the time of writing, no other published research has viewed the phenomenon of visits to Lithuanian 'occupation' museums and sites of memory through the lens of Michel Foucault's discursive formation which is elaborated upon in detail in the methodology section and introduced briefly below. This research therefore strengthens the concept of 'selective interpretation' (Wight and Lennon, 2007) which has been defined as the process of creating multiple constructions of the past (Schouten, 1995) whereby history is never an objective recall of 'truth', but is instead a selective interpretation, based on the ways in which we view ourselves in the present through the lens of cultural consumption. The thesis develops upon the concept of selectivity specifically by introducing a Foucauldian discursive analytic (see chapter 4) to understand selectivity as a discourse which 'creates situations, objects of knowledge, and the social identities of and relations between people and groups of people' (Fairclough and

Wodark, 1997 cited in Brown and Humphreys, 2006:4). It therefore proposes that museums and heritage sites can be approached as texts, invested with ideologies and constituted in discourse and able to be approached and analysed as specific cases in which emerge complexities of social meaning. The analytical framework proposed suggests these spaces can be understood as networks of signifiers which articulate and disperse cultural meaning. Their discourses are bound by discursive regularities which at once enable and restrict constructions of truth often through the privileging of particular subject positions. The research is offered as a means to analyse how discursive practices at the level of the destination and in the consumptive context of museums can come to shape definitions of local realities. The research is therefore produced as a contribution to knowledge of and about selective interpretation in museums and sites of memory as manifestations of dark tourism, and as perhaps the first methodological and philosophical attempt to understand selectivity in dark tourism using the concepts from Foucault's *Archaeology of Knowledge*. I would suggest that this will be the first study to harness the concept of discursive formation to analyse the imagined destination as articulated in museums that present inconvenient histories.

The research is therefore unique in three respects:

1. It applies a Foucauldian discursive analytic to museums and sites of memory that present challenging or inconvenient histories

2. It takes an analysis of museums achieved in the way described above and discusses the political and hegemonic implications for the formation of a wider destination identity. It is not purely a study of museum discourse or of tourism discourse in isolation. The former is approached as a surface of emergence in the wider discipline of the latter

3. It contributes the first discourse analysis of Lithuanian museums and sites of memory to the literature and extends knowledge around museums, applied Foucauldian

discourse analysis and, to a lesser degree, to the already conceptually- saturated field of 'dark tourism'.

1.2. Research Aim and Conceptual Orientation: Foucault and Discourse Analysis

The aim of the thesis is to undertake a Foucauldian discourse analysis of Lithuanian museums and sites of memory themed around 20th century Soviet and Nazi occupation. Specifically, I have approached these occupation-themed museums as the types of intertwined cultural practices that Louis Althusser might have referred to as 'ideological state apparatuses' (Richter, 2007) that see power and knowledge combine albeit in a cultural, rather than purely political context. The research philosophy views the exhibition as a dispositive discursive model that can serve to educate and produce a kind of 'idealised' knowledge according to the rules of discourse. The data that have been analysed are therefore '…talk; not what the talk refers to, but the talk itself' (Frohmann, 1994, cited in Radford *et al*, 2011: 256). What is crucial, therefore, to the analysis is the application of Foucault's perspective of discursive formation to isolate the regularit<u>ie</u>s that constitute discourse by examining means of classification, exploring the principle of dispersal and by examining types of speech, commentaries and the functions of authors within the specific 'discipline' of the exhibitions encountered. Simply put, I have set out to interpret and apply a conceptual framework to make sense of the *rhetoric* of Lithuania's occupation-themed museums to understand the extent to which certain subject positions (such as the victimised ethnic Lithuanian) are favoured whilst others remain either marginalised or appropriated into dominant discourse. The thesis presents an exploration of the specific objects of discourse that are produced, and limited in some cases, in the rhetoric of the exhibitions that were encountered to suggest how visitors might come to 'know' occupied Lithuania.

The sites that form the unit of analysis in this study are therefore conceptualised in the post structuralist sense as powerful texts, invested with ideologies and meaning and apt to construct particular subject positions and discursive objects at the expense of others based upon the strategic choices they make in articulating history, and in deciding what history to articulate. Foucault's concept of discursive formation from *'Archaeology of Knowledge'* is central to this endeavour and is applied philosophically and (to the extent that it can be) methodologically, to view museums as producers of meaning with a role in shaping destination image formation. The thesis is not, however a body of work that is explicitly produced to add to knowledge around 'destination image' as it exists as a silo of knowledge in the literature within a particular (typically management) paradigm. Instead I have sought to 'trial' Foucault's analytical method as a way to examine museums as 'surfaces of emergence'; sites that simultaneously produce, limit and legitimate discourse, with *implications* for future research that might focus on further parsing the rhetoric of destination image.

The thesis is offered as an alternative method to the typical social scientific approaches that have been hitherto preferred for understanding how museums and sites of memory communicate ideologies and concepts as part of what might be termed the dark tourism cultural industry or 'product'. Specifically, the sites that are analysed form interpretations of wartime tragedy between the years of 1940 and 1990; an era defined by Soviet Annexation, interrupted in 1941 by three years of Nazi German occupation. Five such sites[3] are included in the analysis and these were visited between May 2006 and June 2011. Since the museums themselves are the 'texts' that have been analysed they therefore constitute the 'data' that the analysis is based upon. This approach resonates with Bal's (2006) suggestion that museum discourse analysis should involve a search for contested meanings, contradictions and ambiguities so that the discursive formation itself can be identified based on considerations of multimedial 'speech acts' which transcend objects, images, sounds and narrations. Much of

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[3] Grutas Park (Druskininkai), the Vilna Gaon State Jewish Museum (Vilnius), Panerai Memorial (near Vilnius), The Museum of Genocide Victims (Vilnius) and Kaunas 9th Fort Museum.

the 'material' evidence is therefore photographic but is also in formats such as museum visitor leaflets and publications and based on the empiricisms of experience. Becoming familiar with the museum environments themselves during field visits both as autonomous operations and as thematic collectives has been important in amassing a 'plurality of texts' requiring patience and attention to detail.

Applying discourse analysis in this thesis has therefore been about analysing these five museums individually and collectively with attention paid to how each prefers to select, control, organise and classify meanings through exhibits and non-material data formats, such as guided and self-directed tours. All of the interim findings that I have published as part of the journey towards the completion of this thesis have been incorporated into the analysis to give some credibility to the rigor of a body of work based on an epistemological approach which has historically been criticised in the past for the inevitability of researcher subjectivity and the reluctance it is commonly accompanied by to declare method, for fear of 'prescribing' Foucault. The sites are considered to form part of a wider, and more elusive 'archive' of knowledge about Lithuanian occupation signified by a number of other, non-physical cultural signifiers such as tourism marketing narratives, guide books, television, film the 'web presence' of historical Lithuania and theatre, all of which offer the potential to carry out future discourse analytical research to test the 'material repeatability' (a concept explored later referring to the confirmation of constant discursive rules in statements of discourse in a given field) of the findings that are offered in this work based on examining a partial field of discourse.

The study is produced, and therefore strictly limited to the context of an international, English speaking perspective and, as such, only English written and spoken texts were subjected to analysis alongside other non-textual language signifiers such as monuments, art and the interpretive choices inherent in exhibition spaces. The rationale for this approach, and what I suggest simultaneously strengthens and weakens it as a methodological strategy, lies within the observation that visitor numbers to Lithuania from the UK and Europe are increasing as a

result of a growing number of budget airline routes that have been exchanged over the last two decades in and out of Vilnius and Kaunas in particular. Indeed recent figures reflect that visitor numbers from the UK, Lithuania's sixth largest market, were up 21% in the first quarter of 2011 and overall visitor numbers had increased by 39% at this time (Vilnews, 2013). The country is often viewed as a relatively 'new' destination as far as UK markets are concerned and so it is a timely moment to start to analyse 'Lithuania' in the specific context of the destination as a signifier of meaning consumed by a growing volume of inbound (English speaking in many cases) visitors who, at least, have the option of interfacing with the high profile heritage sites that are considered within this piece of work.

The thesis contributes towards understanding the evolution of an 'emerging' destination and may have implications for the other Baltic States which border Lithuanian and which have also developed a significant number of 'occupation' themed tourism experiences. The conceptual approach is informed by the theory that '…*the physical terrain of 'place' is like a blank canvas upon which a series of representations are layered producing a destination that is uniquely identifiable*' (Staiff, 2000:1). The thesis also takes some orientation from Macannell's (1976) theory of 'place markers' and considers that visitors do not in any empirical sense *see* destinations; rather they experience a number of 'must see' symbolic markers of destinations, the sum of which is considered to embody the myth of the destination often referred to as the destination image. The theory, of course depends on the acceptance of what remains an *invitation* to see destinations and it is recognised that visitor interpellations into the discourses that are set out within this thesis depend on an initial level of interaction with the sites which articulate them. A further ontological premise is that tourism, and heritage sites, as part of this industry, is fundamentally a language of authentication (Lindholm, 2008). Attractions, including museums and heritage sites can be considered as signifiers (MacCannell, 1976)) that create, in the form of images and artefacts and so forth, the signified: the visited destination.

Such sites offer various, often incongruous narratives about destinations and they are amongst the more popular activities that leisure visitors engage in[4].

It is therefore with the discursive 'power' of museums and sites of memory that I have been concerned with and those that are analysed are treated as 'statements', or basic units of discourse, that belong to a wider 'discursive formation'. Whilst not always in putative agreement, the regularity of these dispersed statements constitutes a 'body of knowledge'. Foucault conceptualises discourse as not just a linguistic system or 'clump of text' but as a system reinforced by the deeds, or the 'praxis', of institutions to constitute whole practices which discipline not only the targets of `talk' but also the capillary conveyors of it: the talkers themselves (Macdonnel, 1986, cited in Hollinshead, 1998:281). The thesis accepts the post structuralist position that signification and meaning are both only understandable in terms of how particular words or signs interrelate.

I have been careful not to stake a claim to having presented a 'complete' analysis of the discursive field which I have set out to study. Rather, I offer an analysis of a partial field of discourse for quite pragmatic reasons which are explored in the methodology section. I therefore offer an analysis of a limited number of sites that have been identified, visited, profiled and explored using the 'archaeological' lens over a period of some 5 years. Future research might cast a wider net to consider the extent to which the regularities that have been captured through this analysis can be found in other cultural contexts.

1.3.   Structure of the Thesis

The current chapter (one) provides a broad introduction to the thesis and identifies the key research aims and rationale and it discusses the conceptual orientation of the research. The

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[4] Without digressing too far into a discussion of tourist 'typologies', it is accepted that not all 'tourists' follow agendas that comprise visits to heritage sites.

second chapter introduces dark tourism as a concept[5] with a critical focus on literature and the development of philosophical and methodological research approaches that have been undertaken to date. I reflect over these research approaches and suggest a number of knowledge gaps that might be filled. The purpose of this chapter is to provide a justification for the inclusion of Foucauldian discourse analysis as a hitherto largely absent yet useful philosophical lens in the literature through which to view the consumption of death-as-culture in order to broaden the conceptual horizons. The chapter contains three distinct sections as follows:

- An analysis of philosophical and methodological approaches to dark tourism

- An analysis of the role of heritage sites (including museums) in interpreting histories that relate to death/suffering

- An analysis of the ethics of consuming cultural experiences themed around death

The third chapter presents an analysis of museums as unique sites for articulating cultural narratives generally, and in relation to death as a thematic choice[6]. I begin to introduce some of Foucault's terminologies and ideas in this chapter as they relate specifically to heritage sites as 'heterotopias' and 'surfaces of emergence' in the articulation of meta-narrative at the level of cultural consumption. The origins of museums are discussed as are the rhetorical strategies that they deploy in constructing historical 'truths'. The chapter critically reviews existing Foucauldian research into museums which has hitherto predominantly been grounded in genealogy and the tracing of historical conditions that have given rise to the various societal roles that museums have occupied in history. The chapter also locates a space in the literature for the development of research based unambiguously upon the concept of discursive formation to interrogate museum discourse at specific case-levels.

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[5] This chapter presents some discussion from a paper I authored which appears in *Journal of Vacation Marketing* (Wight, 2006), a book chaper in work titled '*The Darker Side of Travel: The Theory and Practive of Dark Tourism*' and a book chapter in a work titled '*Battlefield Torism'.* Permission to use these narratives is presented in Appendix 2.

The methodological chapter (chapter four) proposes an analytical, constructivist approach to research informed by Michel Foucault's *Archaeology of Knowledge* as a means to analyse museums and sites of memory as 'text'. It takes some orientation from the post structuralist position that museums are spaces in which knowledge and power exist and in which social authority is acquired by influencing ways of 'seeing truth'. It is also informed by Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's (1998) suggestion that in the museum objects are not 'found', they are 'made' and given value as statements in a discursive field of cultural knowledge that organises the context in which materials are seen. The chapter proposes a philosophical approach to locating and describing the 'rules of formation' (Foucault, 1969) that produces objects of discourse and subjectivities in museums. The concept of discursive formation is explored in detail as a means to map the discursive image of Lithuania articulated through the language of the museum exhibition.

The analysis is developed across two chapters (five and six). Chatper 5 explores the interpretive context of the five museums that were visited across the duration of the research process and it offers a synopsis of the history that each is themed around, without staking a claim to having offered a fixed version of this historical era. The ensuing chapter then reflects over the dominant and marginalised subjectivities that are maintained in these sites and it suggests that the interpretive practices within each can be considered 'statements', or basic units of discourse, that belong to a wider 'discursive formation'. Whilst not always in putative agreement, these dispersed statements constitute a 'body of knowledge' and they are bound by regularities. They work together to articulate a rhetorical discourse of occupation and genocide which at once privileges and marginalises particular subject positions and objects of discourse. The chapter suggests that these museums can be regarded as social constructs presenting a teleological view of history and the nation that sees independence and social-

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[6] This chapter presents some discussion from a paper I co-authored in *Tourism Management* (Wight and Lennon, 2007). Permission to use this narrative is evidenced in Appendx 2.

political progress as the hard-fought rewards from a period of occupation defined by the suffering of ethnic Lithuanian victims and martyrs. It further suggests that the troublesome discourse and metonymic guilt of Holocaust is removed from this intellectual terrain and appears instead as a rarefied discourse of survival, rescue and redemption all routinely constructed through images and narrative mostly in the present day.

The conclusion, presented as chapter 7, interprets the key finding and suggests that the museums that have been analysed authorise a particular Lithuanian subjectivity, which marginalises the Jewish subject position and its objects of discourse into abstraction. As spaces of cultural hegemony, they create the possibility to undermine the ontological stability of Holocaust and the Jewish-Lithuanian subject which is produced as an anomalous, 'non-Lithuanian' cultural reference point. The implications of the research are given some reflection in terms of how the findings contribute to knowledge in the literature and how the methodological approach might be embraced as a means to further understand the ways in which knowledge is simultaneously shaped and limited in museums as defining statements of public culture.

1.4.   Dynamic Strategy

The route towards finalising this PhD has been the subject of what might be described as an 'unfixed' strategy and there are implications for the somewhat atypical format, certainly of the initial chapter, and so some background orientation is perhaps useful. Originally, I set out to complete this project at Glasgow Caledonian University under the supervision of Professors Hugh O' Donnell and John Lennon. This strategy later changed to match what was ostensibly a more logical route to PhD through publication, since I had begun (from 2006) to author and submit some papers and research outputs to journals and to academic peers who were putting together edited volumes. I left Glasgow Caledonian University in 2011 to take up a Lectureship at Plymouth University. Soon into my tenure I discovered that PhD through publication was

not an available route to completion since the regulations of the university were such that only members of faculty with a minimum of seven years of continuous service were offered this option. The challenge, therefore, in the intervening time between accepting this post and the lapsing of the registration period, has been to finish what I set out to achieve by articulating the finished 'product' in a format that was not the one that I had been developing my narrative around up until 2011. The task was therefore to compile a PhD thesis that would be largely informed (to the extent of around 30% in the end) by the publications that I have produced over the last 7 years. The majority of these have fed into the various sections that are presented and in particular into the literature review and the analysis[7]. The remainder of the narrative is 'new', in the sense that it was produced between 2012 and 2014, and much of this is developed around the theoretical and methodological chapters of the thesis.

The initial stages of the literature review therefore has, at times, the look and feel of 'publication work' (work which is nonetheless interconnected) and the consequence is that the analytical approach begins to take shape early on in the thesis. It is perhaps fitting therefore that a body of work that is based on a Foucauldian analytic should break with the typical conventions of an ordered, 'disciplined' thesis structure. It is my hope that this thesis is unique not only because of the approach that has been adopted, but because of the fact that the format reveals a progressively developed, incrementally conceptualised body of knowledge and methodological approach within a single document. I hope to later be able to reflect over my own experiences of reacting to an imposed change of strategy to benefit others in pedagogical settings who might be contemplating a similar dilemma. Although the written format altered dramatically during the final 2 years of registration, the approach to developing knowledge to feed into the thesis did not and I continued to pursue what had become a habitual strategy for progressing my PhD during the final months; contributing to conferences and publications. Even part of the findings section of the thesis is based on a recent (2013)

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[7] Permission to use these publications in this way is presented as Appendix 2.

conference contribution and pubished article in the journal *Acta Turistica*, and aspects of the

theoretical discussions that were produced latterly have also been advanced for publication.

2 Dark Tourism: Philosophical and Methodological Evolution

2.1. 2.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the concept of dark tourism with a focus on the salient philosophical and methodological approaches to understanding this unique form of cultural consumption. Philosophical approaches to researching dark tourism are focussed on in particular, since the wider purpose of the thesis is to develop upon the epistemological horizons around this area of study based on the identification of a rationale to develop discourse analysis as a more salient methodological approach to study cultural articulations of death. The chapter therefore reflects over research approaches to date with a view to identifying specific knowledge gaps that I will later address. The chapter finds a place for the inclusion of Foucauldian discourse analysis as a means to understand dark tourism as a form of cultural consumption.

As a preamble to the initial exploration of themes and concepts below, it is worth offering the suggestion that the terminologies given to tourism and heritage sites associated with tragedy and human suffering as a core theme ('dark tourism', 'thanatourism' and so on) appear to remain perfunctory discourses of academia that seem to exist without the consent or collaboration of the tourism sector. This is confirmed to an extent by McKenzie's (2011:123) interviews with a number of 'Soviet Nostalgia' tourism attractions in the Baltic States, none of whom felt that their 'product' should be classified as dark tourism. Indeed, there is the suggestion of a pejorative shade to the term and although websites and journalism articles on the topic (see Coldwell, 2013 and Paris, 2013 for recent examples) continue to legitimate dark tourism as a unique form of consumption, these are not commercialised websites or publications and their authors are, thus far, usually commentators with occasional input from an 'industry voice'. I have yet to come across anything like a collaboration of war museums, memorial sites and death camp visitor centres convening, trading under and interpolating itself into the concept of 'dark tourism'. The term seems very much of the academy, and ostensibly

not of the marketplace. It is a term that has its origins in, as Seaton (2012) suggested at a recent symposium on Dark Tourism, the process of academics creating 'DIY-tourism' niches by selecting an adjective and bolting 'tourism' onto the end, to create a new pseudo-scientific contribution to an already burgeoning stock of previously acknowledged academic tourism terminologies such as sports-tourism, health-tourism, wellness-tourism and so forth. The thin end of the wedge, it would appear, has plenty of space to yield. Dark tourism therefore remains free floating in this respect and apt to receive a number of differing meanings. Nonetheless, there remains much to say about the types of heritage sites that have so far been discussed in literature and the appetite of commentators and observers to uncover more about them will no doubt continue to fuel discussions and debate.

The intention of this thesis is to produce knowledge that is not so much recognisable as a contribution to the evolving paradigm of the pseudo-subject of dark tourism and its fascination with 'management' and understanding visitors and their motives and constructions of meaning about death and dying. Rather, the nature of the knowledge that is produced has more to do with understanding museums as meaning-makers at a wider destination level using a Foucauldian discursive analytic. The fat end of the wedge; the wider body of knowledge I seek to contribute to, is therefore the conceptualisation of destinations based on analysing one of the component parts that coalesces with others to create destination image. People, as units of analysis, and their motives are not central to this study at all. It is towards the development of an understanding of the power of narrative in museums that present challenging ideas and themes that this thesis is concerned. Texts, signs and symbols are the units of analysis and discourse theory is the vehicle of analysis. This approach is, as this chapter discusses, at odds with, but certainly complimentary to, the evolving dark tourism paradigm which now, more than ever, self-consciously organises itself as a strand of knowledge concerned with understanding people and their perceptions of the narratives they encounter, and their

motivatons to encounter them, rather than attempting to understand the narratives themselves and where they come from.

2.2.   Methodological Approaches to Dark Tourism

Whilst a great deal of tourism literature contemplates the marketing and consumption of pleasant diversion to pleasant places (Strange and Kempa, 2003), a number of authors (see for example Beech, 2000; Cole, 1999; Lennon and Foley, 2000 and Seaton, 1996; 1998) have explored the antithesis of such creeds; the commodification of death, suffering and tragedy. The nexus between war, death, tragedy and tourism according to Seaton (1998: 131) is a phenomenon which has existed for centuries as a unique form of travel to locations '...*wholly, or partially, motivated by the desire for actual or symbolic encounters with death*'. To date, research into dark tourism as a form of cultural consumption has examined the movement of visitors to sites associated with recent and historic incidences of death. Classification frameworks for such sites have been offered in the literature (see Lennon and Foley, 2000 and Smith, 1998 for examples) into, for example, a binary of 'primary' sites, such as holocaust camps and sites of celebrity deaths and 'secondary sites' offering interpretations of events away from the physical spaces at which these originally occurred. Seaton (1998:131) examines the significance of the latter category (secondary sites, such as museums and memorials) and suggests five motivations for travelling to these as:

1. Travel to witness public enactments of death

2. Travel to see sites of mass or individual deaths after they have occurred

3. Travel to internment sites of, and memorials to, the dead

4. Travel to view material evidence/symbolic representations of particular deaths

5. *Travel for re-enactments or simulations of death*

Some contention surrounds the issue of a chronological context for dark tourism attractions. Lennon and Foley (2000) pursue research into dark tourism sites associated with events that are within 'living memory' and they dismiss, as ontologically tenuous, those that are not, whilst Seaton (1998) suggests that the phenomenon is a present day manifestation of cultural practices that have existed for centuries such as organised pilgrimages and visits to 'cabinets of curiosity'. Other early contributors to the dark tourism paradigm include Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996) and Dwork and Van Pelt (1997) who explore the reticence of some destinations and cultural groups to confront 'dissonant' or contested heritage and they focus attention on dilemmas linked to the authenticity of the past and the visitor experience at dark heritage sites. Dissonance, in a heritage context refers to the contestation over particular landscapes or objects which can often lead to a plurality of interpretations (Dwok and Van Pelt:*bid*). A further contextualised definition for this thesis is offered by Smith (2006) who suggests that dissonance is integral to all heritage since the the showcasing of interpretive objects and landscapes is ultimately an expression of identity and 'not just who you are, but also who others are not' (*Ibid*:192). Further interest stemmed from the idea of dissonance particularly in relation to the management and manipulation of cultural landscapes to accommodate tourism activity, with reference to how death, war and tragedy as heritage 'products' should be interpreted, and indeed sold as 'experience' to visitors. The management of 'dark' sites is contentious (Stone, 2012) as is the issue of how histories and 'truth' should be presented to visitors to these sites. The motivations to visit dark tourism sites have also been considered in the literature (see for example Seaton, 1996 and Yuill, 2003) and amongst the suggested motivations are curiosity (Lennon and Foley, 2000) and education (Strange and Kempa, 2003 and Smith, 1998). Rojek (1993) suggests that amongst these motivations might be some form of voyeuristic enjoyment or 'schandenfreude' (taking pleasure in the misfortune of others).

The definition of dark tourism has also been extended to visits to prisons (Strange and Kempa, 2003) and labour camps associated with World War II (Beechm 2000). The geographic reach of the research in terms of case examples of dark tourism that have been analysed takes in the UK and Europe, Vietnam and Cambodia (Henderson, 2000), Japan (Siegentahler, 2002), Africa and the United States (Shackley 2001 and Strange and Kempa, 2003). Research approaches have included Beech's (2000) tendency towards the longitudinal, chronological approach advanced by Seaton (1998) in his suggestion that the phenomenon of dark tourism (in particular, the selection of military buildings as tourism sites) is far from being a new idea since every major European city of mediaeval or earlier origin boasts a defensive wall or castle and these feature quite typically in conventional 'city tours'. From a marketing perspective, Kotler (1994, cited in Beech, 2000) suggests the dark tourism 'product', and particularly visits to European Holocaust sites, can be analysed in terms of niche segments and visitor typologies. He suggests that two distinct visitor types can be identified that are buying quite different experiences with unique product life-cycles. The first of these are survivors, for whom the product lifecycle will come to a natural conclusion in the early decades of this century as raw emotion and memory become diluted over time. The second of these is the 'leisure' tourist for whom the product lifecycle is less predictable and more of a function of marketing efforts. Beech (2000) suggests lessons which can be drawn from his analysis of holocaust camps as tourist attractions including observations that interpretation serves to complement a purely commemorative aspect of the attraction and the motivation of visitors to 'dark' sites is difficult to classify and makes an unrealistic assumption that all who visit such sites are tourists indulging in some form of leisure activity. He further suggests that, as tourist attractions, former concentration camps are not in any broad sense directly comparable with other tourism products yet over time, some of these sites may *become* conventional attractions as memories fade and using this logic, Culloden Battlefield in Scotland might be considered one such example.

Smith, (1998:205) develops on the last of Beech's observations arguing that war is a penetrating societal involvement that is:

> *"So deeply imbedded in human activity and memory that despite the horrors and destruction (and also because of them), the memorabilia of warfare and allied products... probably constitutes the single largest category of tourist attraction in the world"*

Smith presents an ethnography of Americans (from the United States) in relation to the phenomenon of dark tourism using a discursive methodology and she describes the emergence of this kind of tourism over time using a Foucauldian genealogical approach that accentuates the importance of war in discursive formations and the possibility that there is, and will always be, an intrinsic relationship between war and tourism. The concept of discursive formation is central to this thesis, and is the subject of a comprehensive methodological discussion in chapter 4.

2.3.   Philosophical Approaches to Dark Tourism Research

Philosophical approaches to academic research in dark tourism often take orientation from the broader literature base associated with tourism management based on social scientific research. In particular, the motivations of visitors to such sites and their interpretations of the narratives and exhibitions within have been examined based on this kind of empirical research over recent years (see for example Banyai, 2010, Kang, 2010 and Podoshen, 2013). These, largely positivist research strategies have developed alongside academic enquiry into the principles and unique challenges of 'managing' dark tourism sites in particular in terms of authenticity and 'truth' and the moral dilemma associated with commercialising death. Research has been based on the assumption that management stakeholders in what is implicitly the dark tourism 'sector' face complex dilemmas in terms of how to bring history closer to visitors whilst remaining objective and 'true' to the themes that they represent (see for example Hollinshead, 1999 and Horne, 1984). Positivist inquiry has been a popular means

to understand the social realities of both visitors and managers (see for example Cohen, 2011, Stone, 2012, Stone and Sharpley, 2008 and Yuill, 2003). Commonly adopted methodologies in research into dark tourism have also embraced qualitative inquiry including cumulative case studies (Lennon and Foley, 2000), discourse analysis, semiotic and hermeneutic analysis (Siegenthaler, 2002) and structured questionnaire design which sees some overlap between interpretivism and positivism (Austin, 2002, Wight and Lennon, 2005). Little research has been undertaken based upon cultural theory and the use of postmodern/post structural critical enquiry and it is to this deficit in knowledge that the current thesis attends.

Postmodernism as a social phenomenon is often viewed as a practical manifestation of the European intellectual movement of post structuralism (Grassie, 1997). Popular post structuralist theorists (for example Foucault, Lyotard and Baudrillard) espoused ways of thinking that rejected the intellectual meta-narratives of modernity, such as Marxism and feminism. Post structuralism has been described as a system of thinking that is 'as eclectic in its sources as it is syncretic in its expressions' (Kumar, 1995: 103). This approach to philosophy considers that there is a random, directionless flux across all sectors of society where boundaries are dissolved and a postmodern condition of fragmentation is emerging. It is problematic to provide a universally accepted definition of the theory whilst insuring against postmodern criticism and contradiction. However an appropriate definition for this thesis may be that found in Hewitt and Osbourne (1995: 28) describing the postmodern society as:

> "….One in which the image-reality-representation problematic is no longer in
> operation, as we know reality is now hyper-real…. Image and reality are somehow
> as one …. A one dimensional universe which is image saturated and
> simultaneously freefloating and authentically unreal"

Grassie (1997) suggests that postmodernism and deconstruction are often misunderstood by their detractors and overstated by their proponents. This dichotomy is inherent in what is described as an inaccessible philosophical language tempered with confusion over what

postmodernism does and does not represent. The term 'postmodern' has been labelled a pejorative in the English language (Protevi, 1999) implying that a liberalist cadre of privileged intellectuals have overturned modernity and capitalism and its views and announced the revolutionary postmodern age which is inaccessible to the less intellectually privileged. In this way these intellectuals may simply be mirroring the endless repetition of the fashion and culture industry, thereby contradicting their own philosophical viewpoints (*Ibid*). Indeed, it has been suggested (Wodward, 2002:51) that postmodernism is 'an entirely nihilistic philosophy centred on the repudiation of value and meaning' and aligned against the popular platitude that 'nothing is sacred any more'. The definition of what is legitimately referred to as tourism activity has widened to include almost every dimension of human culture. Such expanding horizons of cultural pluralism can be considered as characteristic of the postmodern landscape. Postmodernist form (in culture, literature, film and visual art) encompasses pluralism, the crossing of boundaries, themes and genres (Berger, 1980) and the combining of elements from popular culture with modern forms.

Hollinshead (1999:268) considers late Australian social critic Donald Horne's attempt to show how tourism (in a wider context) matters in a postmodern contemporary society:

> *"As an important performative broadcasting medium to advance logics of production where the invented culture can be seen to be real through manipulation of the micro-management of presented detail"*

It is the political and social context of the representation of holocaust camps and other dark attractions that has arisen as a persistent concern in academic literature (Lennon and Foley, 2000; Seaton, 1999 and Smith, 1998)*.* Hollinshead (1999) argues that tourism is a means of production in which the themes and sites viewed are cleverly constructed narratives of past events that can manipulate tourists to become involved in configurations of present day political power. Such a manipulation is commented on in Dobbs (1999, cited in Strange and Kempa, 2003:387) with reference to visitation to 'defunct' penal institutions such as Alcatraz.

He suggests, from the point of view of the tourist, that '…once we can imagine this deprivation (incarceration), we learn to cherish freedom'.

Tunbridge and Ashworth, (1996, cited in Beech 2000:37) reflect over this argument in the context of the management and manipulation of holocaust sites as tourist attractions in observing:

> *"…the different forms of tourism development that have taken place at the different concentration camps …. and how this is in a large part due to the various actions of the various political masters in the period since 1945"*

The consequences of manipulating interpretation (based on political and social agendas) in order to provide a visitor 'experience' at dark sites can belie the actual events that took place there. For example, Lennon and Foley (2000:52) comment on the misquoting of statistics on signage (now removed) at Auschwitz:

> *"…the famously incorrect inscription in twenty different languages on the black sarcophagus at the end of the railway line in Birkenau noted that 'four million people suffered and died here at the hands of the Nazi murderers between the years 1940 and 1945.'"*

Such criticisms assume that the imparting of 'authentic' information is critical to the successful functionality of dark sites. Yet proponents of postmodern thought may counter-argue that accuracy, in this context, is inconsequential since interpretation, including signage seeks only to defend historical truth in historical contexts. Issues of accuracy may be purely peripheral to underlying wider political and social priorities in schools of postmodern thought (Hollinshead, 1999) and may be inconsequential. Langer (1998:26) calls for clarification of responsibilities in memorialising holocaust attractions in asking:

> *"To whom shall we entrust the custody of the public memory of the Holocaust? To the historian? To the survivor? To the critic? To the poet, novelist, dramatist? All of them recreate the details and images of the event through written texts, and in so doing remind us that we are dealing with the represented rather than unmediated reality"*

The relevance of postmodern/post structuralist philosophies in framing dark tourism as a form of cultural consumption with a unique set of moral complexities and moral panics is therefore clear and relates in particular to interpretation and the issue of how histories and 'truth' should be articulated and whose interests are served by such articulations. The issue of interpretation is explored in the ensuing paragraphs.

2.4.   Interpreting Death through Heritage

Interpretation in the heritage context has been defined as a set of communication techniques with varied degrees of effectiveness which can be used to convey particular messages to groups of people (Uzzell, 1992). Interpretation in this sense is an adjunct to the communications industry and so the heritage industry can be said to be 'in the business of mass communication, and the boundary between museums and media, and that between reality and fantasy, between myth and mimesis in both sets of institutions is becoming increasingly blurred, increasingly indistinct' (Silverstone, cited in Uzzell, 1992:138).

Horne (1984, cited in Hollinshead, 1999:271) develops on the argument of the use of interpretation at tourism attractions and destinations as broadcasting media to influence visitor understanding and perceptions in reflecting that:

> *"...when peoples, nations and even whole continents are made real or authenticated in or by tourism they constitute ideologically constructed places and iconologically appropriate spaces; imagination and re-imagination in the business of tourism and representation and evocation in public culture are so frequently coterminous agendas"*

The memorial operation has been described in the heritage context as self-contained, and detached from daily life (Young, 1993). It has been suggested that the illusion of memory will always be there to remind us and that we take leave of these memories and return only at our convenience so that the memorial does our memory work for us (*Ibid*). Such agendas have been the subject of academic inquiry into the representation of culture (or ideologically constructed culture) at dark tourist attractions. For example, Lennon and Foley (2000)

comment on the highly emotional contagion effect that the Auschwitz 'visitor experience' has on the visiting public. The authors point out that much of the tour taken by the visiting public has been constructed to maximise audience engagement. For example, the famous gate with signage above reading '*Arbeiten Macht Du Frei*' ('work will set you free') has been imported from its original position to a location near the end of the tour to create a 'high' (or perhaps low) point and a controversial conclusion to the 'experience'. Other artefacts and structures have been imported from various peripheral sections of the camp and set out in such a way as to create a 'chronologically correct' tour amounting to a slow crescendo of increasingly challenging interpretation. Indeed Lennon and Foley (*Ibid*) note that the 'main gate' into the camp is in fact some five kilometres into the site of the original site as it was 'found'.

It is the manipulation of interpretation and consequent visitor reactions through the enforcing of various political and social agendas inherent in interpretive techniques that concern realist and Marxist authors such as Horne (1984, cited in Hollinshead, 1999:271) who states:

> "*Such rapid and repeated projections of the authenticities of the public culture of peoples, of places and of pasts have an almost untraced potential in the contemporary age to bedazzle and bewitch 'the modern pilgrims' of tourism*"

Horne (*Ibid*:271) argues that 'projected' authenticity can make all kinds of visitable objects dangerously transcendent and even 'silly, deadening or deprived'. He suggests that the seeing of people and places can prodigiously be used to arouse sincere and genuine curiosity about the world, or it can spread its own 'wanton and material sickness'. Whitmarsh (2001) takes the argument into the context of British war museums questioning the preference of these institutions to present technological marvels, such as tanks and aeroplanes whilst too often eschewing the human costs of war. Such museums, he suggests, have traditionally exhibited technology, not only because it confers major military advantage and social progress, but also because it represents a safe, sanitised version of war and is 'easy to digest' for visitors. The technological parameters may be more easily managed and presented since they can be

precisely measured and are seldom the subject of moral debate. The author points out that military uniforms are also predominantly on display in order to further represent the legerdemain of warfare in museums. Uzzell, 1989 (cited in Whitmarsh *Ibid*: 5) records his astonishment at ubiquitous exhibits of uniforms in war museums stating that it is '...*as if the most remarkable thing about so many thousands, if not millions of people killed in battle is the clothes in which they died*'.

To develop on dilemmas over the uses of interpretation and dilemmas over authenticity, some authors have explored tourism discourses that are linked to visitor interpretation at dark tourism sites at the level of the marketed destination. For example, Siegenthaler (2003) carried out Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to analyse the salient representations of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in Japanese guide books. His observations of the various images and texts exposed the centrality of what he called 'site sacralisation' in the sense that both destinations are advertised as 'sacred' places and victimhood is never referenced. The bombings themselves are seldom referred to in the guide books and are instead presented as events outside of time or historical circumstance. Interestingly, Siegenthaler concludes that the guide books respond to attitudes surrounding the sites that they cover. If juxtaposed with research into western dark tourism sites, he suggests, a key difference is that interpretation in the West tends to elicit visitor reactions (as a form of 'reactive interpretation') whereas in Japan, and specifically in terms of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, reactions to tragedy inherent in discourse in various genres dictate subsequent representations in such formal narratives as guide books. Some further approaches to methodology in the pursuit of knowledge around dark tourism are explored below.

2.5. Extending the Methodological Lens: Constructing Narratives of Death

A research paradigm has therefore developed around dark tourism focused on the application of often prescriptive, social scientific methods to understand issues such as visitor motivation and visitor interpretations of themes, exhibits and narratives. Yet, a challenging issue that remains is the theorist/practitioner divide; that is to say, there has been no obvious major development in the tourism marketplace to suggest that heritage sites themed around death interpellate themselves as 'dark tourism' attractions. Whilst some evidence for this exists in localised contexts (economies of scale are evident in organised battlefield tours of Northern France and Belgium for example), the results that are returned from a cursory search of internet resources remain dominated by media, academia and stakeholders often arguing over titles and definitions for what is ultimately the same cultural practice. In any case, what is perhaps now required is a new philosophical approach based on constructivism, and specifically a discursive analytic, that develops the scope of academic enquiry in a new direction to recognise the significance of rhetoric, language, myth and meaning, all of which are crucial to understand dark tourism as a form of cultural consumption. The following section offers some discussion of dark tourism as it occurs specifically within museums and sites of memory since it is upon this specific interpretive context that the analysis in ensuing chapters will focus. I initially focus on interpretation and the representation of subjects and objects in tourism rhetoric and museums, as a strand of such rhetoric, before going on to discuss the issue of ethics in consuming cultural experiences in museums and sites of memory.

2.5.1 Interpretation and Representation in Dark Tourism

Hollinshead (1999) suggests that when people, nations and culture are made 'real' through tourism they represent ideologically constructed places. Discourses of people and cultures promoted through tourism are often criticised for being part of a staged authenticity of

culture, and visitors are essentially directed towards what, and how to appreciate through compelling marketing language and imagery. As a result of the immense power of tourism to create meaning, '…. travel can be enlightening, silly, deadening or deprived' (Hollinshead, 1999: 272). Observations have also been made on interactive environments that provide 'reality' for visitors. For example, at the *New Museum at the John F Kennedy Library* where the use of television footage and newsreel is central to the interpretation and secondary to this are spurious artefacts:

> *"… objects on display (which) are not authenticated and it is difficult to know, for example, whether the desk in the Oval Office is the authentic one JFK sat at"* (Lennon and Foley, 2000: 81).

Disney World has been considered the ultimate showcase for postmodern tourism (see for example Cypher and Higgs, 2001 and Cubitt, 2000). The essence of this attraction is to create an illusion of a fictionalized, perfect world conforming closely to people's desires and inviting them to escape their containment in physical reality. Disney World creates ideological visions of American capitalism and political history and draws the visitor into a world of eternal celebration (Hollinshead, 1999:21). Visitors journey through symbolic, objective and material worlds which are carefree and fantastic and they transcend the mundane normality of life.

As Davis (2001:127) puts it,

> *"Disneyland displays many of the characteristics of postmodernism: the emphasis on image and façade, the juxtaposition of different styles and symbols from different places and times; and a need for the viewer to suspend reality and enter the hyper-real world".*

Horne (1992, cited in Hollinshead 1999: 269) expresses his concern over the narrowness of the mentality of travellers and of the tourism industry's leaders. He also complains of the gross failure of tourism planners and practitioners to *"…collectively yield genuine enlightenment of, and about the world".*

These kinds of Baudrillardian hyper realities are manifestations of postmodernism and central to their success are the power of images and texts to construct experiences at the level of the destination and the individual visitor experience. One of the aims of the tourism industry is to market images of 'authentic' cultures (Silver, 1993) whilst insuring that these images can be easily verified during travel. As Silver (*Ibid*: 303) points out '*…authenticity is not necessarily determined by gaining a genuine appreciation for another culture, but rather by verifying a marketed representation of it'.* Indigenous peoples are frequently represented in brochures as having static cultures which are largely unchanged by Western colonialism, economic development and the activity of tourism itself (*Ibid*: 303). For example, entire cultural facets of nations are almost always missing from brochures presenting images of third world countries. Since the tourist expects to see primitive indigenous cultures, industrialization and politics are often overlooked altogether and, instead, a pastoral myth is presented to visitors via images and narrative. The 'marketed culture' offered is therefore easily realized as expectations are kept within a narrow focus, often excluding major cultural and political, problematic aspects of the country. These expectations are inherent in Western discourse in, for example the marketing aesthetic of rural tourism which is cleansed of problematic features such as cars and industry (Wight, 2008).

Prejudices and expectations are formed in such a fashion in the context of dark tourism sites when viewed as indicative units of culture within wider populations or 'destinations'. The myth of warfare, for example is projected in and by films, novels, games, the media and folklore, amongst other cultural iterations, which are laden with meaning and which often lead to contestation over histories (Cole, 1999). Nonetheless the visitor experience provided is an easily realised marketing concept that is a 'constructed' cultural tourism interface. The Holocaust is one such example of tragedy which has entered into culture as an 'experience' that can be consumed in a number of formats, such as in theatre, film and through tourism visits, and this is given some consideration below.

In Christian theology, the question of whether there is a mode of human language in which to adequately speak of God is a classical and perennial motif (Steiner, 1998). This constitutes the linguistic-philosophical sphere of hermeneutic theology. As Steiner (*Ibid*: 154) puts it:

> *"Prayer **to** God does not present a problem; discourse **about** God (is) a very nearly insoluble one"*

A similar linguistic property is clear in discourses surrounding the Holocaust with dilemmas over how to adequately speak of the event, and equally as complex an idea, how not to speak of it (Foley and Lennon, 1996). Despite almost half a century of moral panic surrounding the 'adequate' memorialisation of the Jewish Holocaust in Europe, the fact remains that at the end of the twentieth century the Holocaust was clearly and prolifically being 'bought and sold' (Cole, 1999). The practice has continued and the phenomenon is evidenced by prolific investment in Holocaust memorials and museums in the United Kingdom and United States of America towards the end of the last century and beyond, and by the popularity and consumption of a number of related box office hits such as *the Pianist* and *Schindler's List*. Cole (*Ibid*) draws a clear distinction between the elusive historical process that was the Holocaust and the myth (or otherness) of 'Holocaust'; that is to say the versions of Holocaust that have continued to evoke strong sentiments amongst European audiences for decades in a way that transmits and reinforces the societal values of the nation in which it has been 'packaged'. Examples of these 'versions' of Holocaust include: theatre productions, plays, games, and literature. These commonly exist apart from the historical event. The media further colours the meaning of tragedy and introduces and configures moral arguments within societal discourses. For example, various Holocaust writers have become increasingly concerned with patenting Holocaust ideas and guarding their own first and second hand 'versions' of the Holocaust. To borrow from Lopate (cited in Cole, 1999:4):

> *"…in my own mind I continue to distinguish between the disaster visited on the Jews and 'the Holocaust'. Sometimes it seems that the 'Holocaust' is a corporation headed by Elie*

Wiesel, who defends his patents with articles in the Arts and Leisure section of the Sunday Times"

These contested versions of history are meta-historical constructions comprising documented, consistently established occurrences and they create iconic 'other' histories. The argument is developed by Cole (*Ibid*) in his deconstruction of the many cultural icons that have grown around Holocaust, for example, Anne Frank and Auschwitz, into strands of discourse that holistically maintain the 'myth' that has, at some stage, become dominant in popular cultural beliefs about 'Holocaust'. Cole acknowledges that 'myth' is a highly problematic term since it intimates 'Holocaust revisionism' (the denial of the Holocaust or claiming that the Holocaust was little more than exaggerated wartime propaganda). Instead the term 'myth' is used to refer to the rhetorical representation of events in popular discourse, manifest in, for example, plays, films and more relevantly, museums. In the case of Auschwitz, Cole (1999:97) warrants that:

> *"...more than any other place, 'Auschwitz' has come to symbolise everything about the 'Holocaust'. 'Auschwitz' is to the 'Holocaust' what 'Graceland' is to 'Elvis'. Everyone comes to 'Auschwitz' with differing expectations, yet everyone walks through the exhibits at 'Auschwitz-land' together. "*

The argument suggests that entire circumstantial facts, communities, villains, heroes, personalities and appearances can become estranged from places associated with death and can be appropriated into cultural myths for mass consumption. In the case of Ann Frank, for example, Cole (*Ibid*) explains how this 'Holocaust icon' was desexualised and Americanised in plays and other popular cultural formats and refashioned to create the brand of 'Ann Frank' available for consumption in a range of languages, for many different cultural palates[8]. Indeed, he suggests that 'Jewishness' has been gradually disconnected from Ann Frank and the historical context of Jewish tragedy appears waxen and irregular, particularly in American discourses. The Holocaust has therefore arguably become a peripheral reference point for its popularised version. It is often myth, not unmediated paradigmatic fact that is popularised and

consumed through cultural experiences when it comes to viewing history through the post structuralist lens. Museums, as cultural vehicles of exteriority for the re-telling of such myths, constantly catalyse and reaffirm the discourses of myth to audiences. Indeed, there is a growing awareness that museums are institutions in which power and societal identities are contested (Whitmarsh, 2001). The nation's collective memory of war often forms part of its self-image and it is the ever altering societal attitudes to war, such as re-evaluating and contesting the past, that are reflected in commemorative environments as this thesis will later suggest.

To develop on the idea of myth and selectivity in historical narratives from a tourism perspective, Siegenthaler's (2002) content analysis of guidebooks exploring the 'official' narratives of Hiroshima and Nagasaki as iconic sites of the human cost of warfare is an example of discourse analysis to understand the representation of death and tragedy. Chandler (2002) posits that such analyses offer the promise of a systematic, comprehensive and coherent study of communications phenomena as a whole, not just in instances. Discourse analysis, of the type undertaken by Siegenthaler can provide a unifying conceptual framework which seeks to look beneath the surface of the observed in order to discover the underlying organisation of interpretive media. Such a method reminds us, in terms of linguistics, that we are always dealing with signs, not with an unmediated objective reality (*Ibid*). Discourse analysis is particularly useful to explore how and why particular histories are constituted (see for example Chronis, 2005 and Salamone, 1997). The formats that such rhetoric can take are varied and not limited to text and images. Indeed many 'dark' attractions can be described as organic recreations of history that function through interpretation and commentary, including 'living' or 'live' heritage which involves the bringing to life of history through acting, re-enactments and visitor interactions (Schouten, 1995). Histories are therefore given context and meaning in various interpretive formats and discourse analysis, including Critical Discourse

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[8] Theatrical productions based on the story of Ann Frank, for example, are still frequently performed with various alternative

Analysis (CDA) facilitates an understanding of the dominance and marginalisation of certain voices and subject positions in such environments. This kind of methodological approach has therefore been useful for parsing the rhetoric of cultural experiences in a dark tourism context. In applying this kind of methodological approach, such sites can be conceptualised as ideological constructions of the past. A fundamental strength of CDA in particular, in a dark tourism context may conceivably be the unique focus of the subject area. According to Chandler (2001) locating texts within specific cultural contexts serves to situate them in historical perspective and alerts us to diversities of events when examining variations in discourse. CDA as a methodological approach enables the researcher to make telling observations about the image-rich polyglot of dark tourism sites (Johnstone, 2008). The section below takes this discussion of interpretation in the direction of museums and sites of memory as particular cases in point.

2.5.2 Museums, Death and Horne's Public Culture

In the midst of a critique of concepts relating to the role of heritage and museums as 'place makers', it is appropriate to conceptualise museums and to understand their evolution as spaces of cultural spectacle. Maleuvre (1999) offers some useful discussion in this regard conceptualising museums as producers of historical images which are shaped and maintained in sacralised, static environments. Museums were not however always regarded as protectors of art and history. The first great art museums of the 18th century were met with complaints and they were viewed as institutions which destroyed the life of history and culture. The reinvention of history, as it was taken to be, was viewed as a threat to historical meaning and the museum subverted authenticity by facilitating the movement of artworks and artefacts from their original locations to artificial spaces in which such objects could no longer be 'lived with' (*Ibid*). The museum is now a volatile strand of cultural discourse constituting a place for civic membership and social identification to be carried out.

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endings, depending on the country in which the play is shown.

Horne (1984) describes the museum experience as a journey through many different 'dreamlands' which can never be altogether understood. He suggested that preferred versions of reality tend to suit preferred groups and serve to legitimate a particular social order. Tourists consuming Europe's key sights, he suggests are interacting with symbols that interpret the world in such a way as to justify the authority of the minority over the majority. He suggests that each society acknowledges a unique version of what 'reality' might be and that such 'languages of legitimacy' vary by culture and by age. He further suggests that the age of modernity was dominated by the metanarratives of religion, whereas the postmodern era is dominated by legitimating languages of nationality, economic growth, social class and revolution. Horne also deconstructs the concept of the nation state and, specifically, how this is maintained at the level of discourse. He suggested that public culture is like a mirage that floats over a society, purporting to be the visible end of its national life, serving some interests and suppressing others (Horne, 1994). His theories are an appropriate addition to a thesis that is concerned primarily with the maintenance of destinations through discourse systems accessed by the visiting public. Such a public is, after all, accessing a version of public culture in consuming the 'must see' heritage sites which they are sign posted towards by tourism marketing narratives. Horne's collection of work spans analyses of 'the great museum' as an institution that responds to a lust to rediscover the past and tourism behaviour as a means to satisfy a fundamental search for meaning and self-regeneration. This concept of cultural consumption describes a complex organisation of voluntary journeys that is a present day configuration of what were once medieval pilgrimages to encounter the shrines of dead saints (Horne, 1984). He describes a 'ceremonial agenda' defined by ritual, cliché and tautology (*Ibid*:10):

> "In Italy one must see Rome. In Rome, one must see the Vatican. In the Vatican Museum
> ... there is both ceremony and a controlled hysteria as the Sistine Chapel is approached;
> then, before the moment of entry, a taped voice exacerbates the tension by calling out
> for solemnity... Inside, everyone is talking. They have arrived"

Importantly, in conceptualising the 'great museum', the appropriation of the past can be viewed as an activity defined by 'false clues' (Horne, 1986). Museums are static representations of the sacralised relics of privileged contemporary ruling groups. For Horne (1984:10), in trying to reconstruct the past 'we merely make the best we can of it'. The observation is echoed in Dann (1996) in observing that destinations, and the place markers that coalesce to represent these, are static representations of the 'extraordinary' that seldom provide clues as to prosaic histories. In seeking out the past, one must in effect have discovered it already in existing stereotypes. The 'destination' is the sum of these stereotypes consumed in a ritualistic, tautological way. Staiff (2000) develops these concepts in suggesting that for a place to be produced for tourism consumption, it must first be marked out and defined and then commoditised and consumed as a discrete existential experience. Using this train of thought, the 'place' is not therefore an autonomous material entity, but is a tourism praxis identified by a series of discourses which have become inseparable from the physical place. It is within this context that Lithuania is later examined as a unit of analysis; not as a material place, but as a 'destination' constructed, in part, by museums and heritage sites which have chosen to communicate to the visiting public certain preferred narratives of nationhood, supported financially and politically in some cases by the Lithuanian government (Wight and Lennon, 2007). It is within this conceptual framework that the 'destination' is defined.

Of further importance in the context of the analysis in later chapters is Horne's (1984) conceptualisation of inventing the past. Within this theoretical framework, heritage objects are invested with meaning, which in some cases 'would have astounded their originators' (Ibod: 29). At the heart of this idea is anachronism and the concept that the present is used to explain the relics of the past. The meanings ascribed to the past are subsequently used to justify aspects of the present or to justify beliefs about how things ought to change. The museum therefore can be conceptualised as a space in which visitors can contemplate objects

which have been transformed into monuments which symbolise people, social class, events, epochs, styles and ideas. Interestingly, Horne offers a particular treatment of the form and function of Communist relics in Communist Russia and environs (having produced much of his work during the 'Soviet era' of the Baltic States and also during the era that came to represent the final epoch of Soviet rule). In his analysis, Soviet museums and monuments depict a journey of modernity, and specifically they celebrate social class uprisings throughout history. So vividly was class conflict represented through Communist state museums that Romania dedicated four museums in Bucharest to the topic; each representing a different 'era' (Horne, 1984:61). The Museum of History in Moscow's Red Square set aside three rooms to depict the importance of the greatest popular uprisings in Russian history.

Hollinshead (1999) offers a summary of the critical impact of Horne's ideological manuscripts on the 'legerdemain' of tourism. The author appears to be suggesting that Horne's work is influenced by theories from the Frankfurt School through a conceptualisation of tourism around ideas of historical materialism, referred to by the author as a form of 'evocative material symbolism'. Horne, he argues, is suggesting that everywhere 'myths' are utilised in tourism to legitimate social and economic power where tourism is part of the 'propaganda industry'. Certain moments in history are rescaled in reverence as `golden ages', and 'charmed' objects or subjects are 'bedecked with the illusion of everlasting life' (Horne, cited in Hollinshead, 1999:273). Crucially, Hollinshead suggests that part of Horne's ideology conceptualises tourism as a device to mainstream and then manage and maintain 'normal culture'. Indeed Horne (1998: 273) observes that:

> *"...frequently states create or invent a `mirage' of a public inheritance about which they enforce steady conformity and by which they deceptively broadcast the existence of common values. Thereby, they `regulate' communal life"*

The example Hollinshead offers from *The Intelligent Tourist* is Horne's observation that In Fiji, the state government projects an indigenous, 'Fijian' culture which overlooks the fact that almost 50% of the population are of 'Indian' stock (Hollinshead, 1999: 273). Horne's work

describes an intricate calibration between the 'viewable story' and 'tellable place' which will be developed later in the thesis in the context of the 'rules' of the discourses that create the destination image of Lithuania.

Horne (1992, cited in Hollinshead, 1999) views contemporary tourism as 'festival' and 'celebrated event' and considers that it conquers territories, storylines and populations through the power of the Eurocentric imagination. Museums as cultural operations are amongst the primary vehicles of public-culture tourism. They are institutional apparatuses of societal beliefs and values in which memory, and in particular the memorialisation process provides visitors with security, authority, legitimacy and identity in the present (Whitmarsh, 2001). Such memory is projected thorough the interpretive rhetoric of museums; a language that is always someone's version of history, and therefore not someone else's who may nonetheless be a stakeholder in what is being presented (Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996).

Museums typically showcase objects which are freighted with meaning and present themes to the visitor individually, as exhibits, and collectively, as institutions using exhibits as cumulative units of interpretation. In the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM), for example, the exhibits that convey themes do so using brick, limestone and exposed architectural concrete and pipes which serve to simulate the appearance of the World War II Jewish ghettos, the camps and their crematoria (Jones, 1999). With relevance to the semiotic power of such an environment the author notes that:

> "*Although these architectural features, and their possible meanings, are evident... these signs are not perceived in isolation, but in the context of other sign systems.... Visitors to the museum enter the architectural structure but are immediately confronted by artefacts*" (Jones, 1999: 60)

The rhetorical, interpretive environment of the museum is therefore rich with signs and symbols and is fertile ground for the undertaking of semiotic analyses as another aspect of the post structuralist lens. Interpretation, in the form of written signage, imagery and narrative,

including tours, signify the thematic discourse of the museum. The proximity of artefacts, and the way in which they are laid out (the 'proxemics') convey singular meaning as artefacts of the time (Jones, 1999), but they also accentuate the inter-relatedness of the wider exhibition through the use of interpretation and spatial arrangement. This idea is revisited later in the thesis using Foucault's concept of discursive formation.

Deutschlander and Miller (2004) suggest that language constitutes, rather than reflects reality and language is used by in museums strategically to accomplish an objective or set of objectives. A case in point is the Imperial War Museum in the UK. The chronological distance discussed by Lennon and Foley (2000) is relevant here in hypothesising that the type of language used depends on how recent or how long ago the event took place and depends as much on the chronological passage of large scale cultural rhetoric. The initial purpose of the Imperial War Museum was to function as 'a memorial to those who died and suffered in the First World War' (Imperial War Museum, 2006) whereas now the museum asserts it '…concentrates on all conflicts concentrating on British and Commonwealth involvement from 1914 to present' (*Ibid*). The latter signifies more strongly the implications of 'imperialism' in the rhetoric of the museum and this reflects, to some degree, the passage that the discourse of war commemoration has taken in the UK since the museum opened. As Dann (1996: 4) reflects, 'discourse reinforces "praxis" and vice versa' suggesting a dialectic, or continuum of discourse between producer and consumer that is directly influential to the visitor experience of a given time'. Moral anxieties over the 'human cost of war' have perhaps, in this way, been transferred from consumer to institution, and vice versa and the Imperial War Museum of the North, Manchester is perhaps another example.

The Imperial War Museum opened its Manchester branch in 2002. The exhibition was initially intended to differentiate the imperial war museum experience by introducing human suffering as a concept through interpretation of events as recent as the September 11th 2001 attacks on

the World Trade centre in New York. A sample of visitors (Wight and Lennon, 2005) provided mixed responses when articulating how the museum experience made them feel and what it made them think about. Responses recorded in terms of the latter variable included perceptions about terrorism and the Iraq war as well as thoughts about World Wars I and II and these were invariable across age groups. It is perhaps the rhetoric of interpretation within the museum and the organisation of 'experience' that brings these emotions to the surface (Wight and Lennon, 2005). These in turn, although not alone, contribute to a cultural discourse of war. The Imperial War Museum, institutionally, showcases twentieth century conflict involving Britain and the Commonwealth. War is commonly associated with imperialism, racism, nationalism, patriotism and unquestioning sacrifice of life (Whitmarsh, 2001). War museums would therefore seem, hypothetically at least, to signify such concepts, yet the interpretation within the Imperial War Museum (in London and Manchester) defies these emotional contagions preferring to confer a sanitised history of war based on a celebration of the technologies of warfare and by exhibiting such tendentious displays as pristine uniforms, 'as clean as the day they were issued' (Whitmarsh, 2001:24), gleaming tanks and other technological 'marvels'. Indeed, the IWM has projected an ambiguous and controversial message from the start. The war dead are frequently portrayed in the IWM as (Hamilton, 1994, cited in Whitmarsh, 2001:24).:

"… the courageous, the heroes who made the supreme sacrifice. There is nothing to raise questions about the appropriateness of this sacrifice, of its necessity or the conditions under which it occurred"

The language of museums exists in a unique system of signs such as texts, imagery and narrative that holistically showcases the historical 'myth' for mass consumption (*Ibid*). Death and warfare as heritage is part of the knowledge economy and such heritage is a social construction with ideologies firmly locked into the language of the tourism experience. Dominant cultural and political ideologies create specific place identities (Graham, 2002) and heritage can take a variety of official and non-official forms. The institution of the Imperial War Museum remains focussed on the technology of warfare through sanitised interpretation. The

discourses that are nurtured via such an institution are therefore sanitised and shaped to some degree by the absence of particular aspects of war, such as death, and a preference for the technologies of war, for example tanks and weapons, and for interpreting the mundane (clothing). This observation is also revisited later using the concept of the 'statement' as a unit of discourse. As will later become clear, statements are always in deficit so that all that might be said about a particular theme in a museum environment is never said and instead a particular subject position comes to dominate and comes to produce a selective object of knowledge. Such an argument raises issues about the morality of interpreting what might be viewed as selective histories. The section below therefore reflects over some of the ethical complexities that face museums and heritage sites themed around death, focusing specifically on the example of contested narratives of national tragedy and disgraced monuments which are two of the salient themes discussed later in the thesis.

2.6.   'Consuming' Death as Heritage: An Ethical Discussion

This section discusses the cultural conditions which have supported the emergence of ethics and morality as discourses of international tourism and reflects over some of the ethical implications of authorising certain narratives of national tragedy over others through the rhetoric of heritage. Museums, monuments and visitor centres are discussed in the context of twenty first century 'moralised' tourism activity. Ideas put forward by Horne (1986) in relation to heritage as 'public culture' as drawn upon. In particular, I have reflected over some of his observations about legitimating public culture through the dream-factory (Horne, 1986) of tourism to conceptualise the morality of selling narratives of national tragedy as part of the cultural industries. The initial paragraphs below introduce some discussion around ethics and the commercialisation of 'dark narratives' and later paragraphs reflect over the application of these theories to the marketplace using Grutas Park in Lithuania as a case in point. The argument suggests that dark tourism may well be one strand of a contemporary discourse of

'moral tourism' and that the activity is perhaps in itself a tastefully distinct travel choice of the western tourism consumer.

Amongst the more established and documented dilemmas of dark tourism academia are ethics and the morality of selling provocative and 'sensitive' narrative through heritage to the touring and visiting public (see Lennon and Foley, 1996 for some of the initial debate around this). Some consideration of the concept of ethics is therefore a useful starting point in adding to the analysis. Ethics have been conceptualised as a set of rules and principles that claim authority to guide the actions of groups and communities (Singer, 1994). The term can, however, also refer to the systematic study of reasoning about how we ought to act and finding a rational way of how we ought to live (*Ibid*). Whilst not limited to religion (ethics exist in all human societies), ethics and morality are increasingly discussed in terms of religious morality (Sarup, 1993) [9]. Ethics and 'morality' suggest a stern set of duties that require subordination of natural desires in order to obey the 'moral law' (*Ibid*). The twentieth century saw philosophers such as Foucault and Habermas (see Rabinow, 2000) approaching the question of the origin of ethics as something inaccessible. Since Charles Darwin, there has been a widely supported scientific theory that offers an explanation of the 'origin of ethics'. The attempt to draw implications from evolution led to 'social Darwinism' (now 'unfashionable'). Ethics are not static concepts and the history of moral philosophy has involved systemising, defending, rethinking and recommending concepts of behaviour over time (*Ibid*). There are numerous schools of thought and literature on ethics, as a broad subject, is abundant. What is perhaps important in the context of dark tourism is suggesting a conceptual ethical framework for the analysis of selling provocative narratives of national tragedy in heritage settings. The study of the commercialisation of heritage of a 'dark' theme is perhaps concerned with two obvious

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[9] This point however merits some brief acknowledgement in the context of commercial heritage but, in particular, in terms of religiously and ethnically dissonant heritage sites, such as Auschwitz Visitor Centre which is invested with narratives of Polishness, Jewishness and German, Roma and Sinti narratives of tragedy (amongst others). Each of this visitor 'types' seeks to legitimate 'truth' from what is a contested cultural resource.

elements of ethics or morality (Wight, 2009) as follows, yet it is acknowledged that there are likely to be more:

1) business ethics and the extent to which businesses within the heritage industry which communicate a 'dark' narrative to the visiting public consider their practices to be ethical

2) personal morality and the extent to which these often provocative narratives are received and are acceptable according to the moral principles of visitors from widely varying cultural backgrounds.

Of relevance to this thesis is some consideration of business ethics since the topic covers the heritage industry, a collective for a number of largely commercial endeavours. The term 'business ethics' has been described at the extreme as an oxymoron in the corporate world since some argue that morality is intrinsically absent in capitalist entrepreneurial ventures (Butcher, 2003). Yet the issue of business ethics is a prominent topic attracting attention from a number of communities of interest, such as consumers, pressure groups and the media. Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) is a dominant strand of the discourse of business ethics and has been coined to refer to the tacit process of communicating a legal and institutional corporate framework within which a duty of care, to people, the environment and employees amongst others, is implied (Crane and Matten, 2007). Dark tourism has not been fully elaborated upon in this context since there are at least three problems (Wight, 2009) in communicating the social responsibility of these types of heritage sites, particularly sites of contested heritage, and these are:

1. The esotericism in the scope of what is morally acceptable to various communities of interest. Is there a fixed approach to 'care' or responsibility that must be demonstrated? What for example is the most responsible way to admit visitors to, say,

Auschwitz Visitor Centre and Museum in compliance with the moral codes of the relatives of prisoners and victims of brutality but also in compliance with the moral codes of other visitor types such as sightseers and transient visitors, Polish visitors, Sinti visitors, young visitors and so forth? Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996) simplify the argument to the idea that 'all heritage is someone's heritage, and therefore logically, not someone else's'. Conflicts of interest are common in heritage but more morally charged where the narrative is provocative and contested.

2. Can it be ethical to adopt another's national tragedy and embed it with new national discourses? Cole (1994) discusses this in the context of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum which he argues 'Americanises' European Jewish tragedy, repackaging 'Holocaust' for American consumption in theatre, film, tourism and heritage.

3. Such sites, after all, typically serve as reminders of the consequences of social *irresponsibility.*

Discourses of 'corporate social responsibility' are, however present in the language of many of the operations that are accepted as part of what has been called the business of dark tourism. Williams (2008:131) remarks upon this in observing the morally guided mission statements of some seven memorial museums around the world. To offer two examples the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum in Japan has the following mission; 'that no one else should suffer as we did', whilst the Terrorhaza in Budapest exists 'to research, document, educate and ensure remembrance of this Holocaust'. Ethics, viewed as an evolving discourse in thought systems, have come to the fore as a result of the disintegration of sociocultural homogeneity (a condition of modernity) and the consequent relativisation of values, morals and lifestyles which together contribute to the 'postmodern condition' (Gardiner, 1996). Since the late 1970s, historiography theorists have challenged the assumption that history should be driven by the assembling of large historical truths into grand records of fact and interpretation.

The progress of modernism, according to McGregor (2003), manifested itself in material progress; the production of 'things' and the development of a massive amount of objective and value free scientific knowledge. Post-modern thinking, conversely, is based upon a relativist theory of knowledge and the belief that there are no certain single 'truths' about the world, only questions with infinite answers, each as valid as the next. As discussed earlier, postmodernism assumes that individuals conduct their own narrative, or reality depending on different communities of knowledge. Ethics are part of this narrative and codes of morality are the governing systems of all communities of knowledge (*Ibid*). Michel Foucault in his latter works developed an alternative to modernist ethics defined by self-delineated, rather than externally imposed, criteria. From the perspective of a western society, 'ethical' tourism behaviour is a product of the individual decisions of tourists. Tourism consumer choices are a mark of ethical distinction (in a Bourdieuvian sense) and it has been suggested that preferences are made in opposition to the 'Other', usually 'mass' tourist (see Munt, 1994).

To continue with the tourism analogy, so-called 'mass tourism' has come under assault ever since Thomas Cook was accused of 'dumbing down' travel by opening up travel opportunities to an underclass imagined to be incapable of cultured behaviour (Butcher, 2003). Mass tourism continues to insult the advocates of a number of niche holiday markets united by their antipathy to the vulgar 'package tourist'. Postmodern alternatives to mass tourism are thriving and include ecotourism (considered the ultimate ethical oxymoron by critics), sustainable tourism, community tourism and adventure tourism amongst others (Butcher, 2003). The emergence of 'alternative tourism', the pursuit of unusual destinations, experiences and activities, has been noted by a growing number of academics (see for example Urry, 1990 and Uzzell, 1992) and is a term increasingly summonsed to describe a kind of travel-catharsis amongst the Western petite bourgeoisie (Horne, 1984) who wish to feel more worldly, educated and enlightened. The ethics of travel and tourism continue to be challenged since

tourism is seen as a major economic engine that can wreak havoc on the environment, tempering and influencing host communities in destinations imagined as culturally sensitive or unenlightened (see Krippendorf, 1999 for a well-articulated argument). Cheong and Miller (2000) discuss tourism ethics in terms of a normalising discourse (what is acceptable or not acceptable) and an 'inspecting gaze' influenced by the manipulation of imagery in tourism marketing. Jenkins (2003: 306) develops on the power of 'image' that influences 'the inspecting gaze' in tourism in suggesting that texts, such as paintings, photographs, landscapes and words, can be taken to represent 'discourses' or knowledge frameworks that embrace certain combinations of narratives, concepts and ideologies which vary between cultures, classes and races.

As Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996) observe, a common justification for preserving surviving artefacts and sites relating to the past is the contribution these make to the construction of an accurate record of what has occurred. Authenticity is, therefore, a value judgement, and the removal or absence of 'authenticity' renders such sites and objects worthless. The ethical concern posited by Tunbridge and Ashworth is that whilst monuments and historic sites are in the custodial charge of individuals and institutions with a 'resource based' definition of their task, heritage producers use a 'demand based' definition and are thus responding to the appetite of the consumer for 'authenticity'. Consequently, accusations of over-interpretation, triviality, dishonesty and distortion or elitism and rigidity are levied at heritage producers (Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996). Heritage is, ultimately, a personal affair and each individual constructs heritage based on personal life experiences providing anchors of personal values and stability. Critiques of heritage are based on such personal expectations. The curiosity of people and their determination to access ever more narrative through tourism encounters has encouraged a seemingly endless supply and demand continuum of individualistic 'niche' tourism experiences often carried out in opposition to the 'Other' mass tourist.

It has been suggested that tourists turn to recollections of 'experience' and 'authentic' tourism encounters and usually 'alternative tourism' is understood to involve some kind of search for authenticity (*Ibid*). There is a growing contentious debate in cultural theoretical academia (summarised well in Edensor, 2002) over the extent to which authenticity matters yet there is no shared understanding of the concept of authenticity. One of the primary concerns of the tourism industries is to market images of authentic cultures whilst insuring that these images can be verified at the point of consumption. As Silver (1993: 303) points out, '...*for tourists authenticity is not necessarily determined by gaining a genuine appreciation for another culture, but rather by verifying a marketed representation of it'*. The author observes that indigenous people are frequently represented in brochures as having static cultures which are largely unchanged by Western colonialism, economic development and the activity of tourism itself. Entire cultural facets of nations are almost always missing from brochures presenting images of third world countries. Since, as tourists, we expect to see primitive indigenous cultures, industrialisation and politics are often overlooked altogether in marketing discourses, and instead a pastoral myth is presented that is free from the troublesome discourses of everyday life and the mundane. The simulation of the marketed culture is therefore easily realized as expectations are kept within a narrow focus, often excluding major cultural aspects of destinations. These expectations are inherent in tourism discourses and the images will almost always appeal to the Eurocentric. For example Silver (*Ibid*) discusses marketing literature depicting Tahiti in which 'exotic' women are photographed in 'primitive dress', frequently barely clothed.

The new consumer sensibility widely heralded in the business press is the 'experience economy' (Pine and Gilmour, 2011). This world of mediated, staged and multi-sensory experience, an increasingly unreal world, gives rise to a public that desires 'authentic' and 'real' experiences. Hewitt and Osbourne (1995: 28) describe the postmodern tourism space as:

"…one in which the image-reality-representation problematic is no longer in operation, as we know reality is now hyper-real…. Image and reality are somehow as one …. A one dimensional universe which is image saturated and simultaneously free floating and authentically unreal"

Importantly, however, 'authenticity' as it is used in the language of tourism marketing must be understood as a matter of perception; a judgment made by the consumer which is linked to self-image, and the desire to purchase goods or services that are closely aligned to that self-image. Authenticity is, in this sense, simply a discourse that legitimates travel, and other consumer choices. Dark tourism, and the intimated 'dark tourist', displays some of the traits of the 'alternative tourist' particularly because a central motivation to engage in dark tourism is encountering 'truth' and 'reality' and the search for new, or 'rare' knowledge and experiences. Horne's (1984 and 1986) theories of tourism as a signifier of public culture and the role of tourism in nation building lend themselves to developments in the field of tourism ethics. Horne's work would suggest that dissonant heritage 'products' and contested memorial sites are as much about reflecting cultural discourses of the present as they are about educating visitors as regards the past. Horne (1984: 29) summarises this as follows:

"Anachronism is the very essence of tourism: The present is used to explain the relics of the past, then the meanings given to the past are used to justify aspects of the present, or to justify beliefs about how things should change."

Tourism, according to Horne (*Ibid*) takes its place amongst the many other ingredients of public culture, for example, 'the news', with its 'personality cults and acts of political theatre', the movies, paperbacks, magazines, pop music and television soaps and these are also referred to by Horne as 'dream factories' which create more narrative in a week than was ever available to past societies in a year or a lifetime. For Donald Horne, to walk through a museum or experience a memorial site is to be exposed to the carefully selected narratives of the nation state. Visitors contemplate objects transformed into monuments commemorating entire social classes, events, styles and ideas which are now (according to Horne's own simile intimating the re-investment of narrative and context into once functional artefacts) like dead

coral which has been painted. The sites themselves can be legitimated by the buying of souvenirs and post cards. For Horne, monuments and museums are a source of enlightenment and it is through the 'edutainment' role of the museum that public culture is learned and interpreted to externals. This thesis later considers how certain themes and histories are given a privileged role within Lithuanian museums based on the concept of discursive formation.

Away from the discursive analytical method for the time being, Horne (1984) also discussed narratives of tragedy and atrocities in museum contexts and observed how such institutions can prefer to portray tragedy in particular, selective ways; for example, the portraying of Jewish people, of the Holocaust era, as either 'heroes' or 'victims'. Cole (1999) breaks down the same argument into classifications of museum interpretation by gender so that 'victimhood', for Cole, is feminine and 'gallantry' and heroism are masculine. For example, the evasively named 'Museum of Art in the Concentration Camp', set up in the Jewish Quarter of Prague, is a testament to the 'gallantry' of the Jews in Terezin in the Czech Republic. The sheer amount of art that was produced in the camp has remained the artefact of choice in speaking to the generations in tones of gallantry and resistance. Conversely, there are numerous other European Holocaust museums most of which project a narrative of Jewish 'victimhood' preferring to display artefacts and photographs of incinerators and queues of victims waiting to be hanged, shot or gassed, and the consequent piles of the dead (Cole, 1999). Horne (*Ibid*: 244) believes, however, that Holocaust victims are, through the lens of the museum:

> *"… merely innocents who were massacred. With a clear eye, one can see the concentration camp museums not as monuments to the dead, but to the sufferings of passivity… to the tourists on a horror pilgrimage, however, all this can seem exceptional – something that ended with the Nazis."*

These ideas present dilemmas for the caretakers and consumers of sites remembering national and ethnic tragedies. A common debate discussed in literature is the legitimating of 'truth' and whether or not a total-truth can be can accessed when visiting dark tourism sites, (or indeed when watching films themed, for example, on actual accounts of genocide. Visitor centres and

museums, including those that focus on death and killing as core themes, can be considered as texts which are invested with narratives that favour particular statements, or versions, over others. Exhibits, interpretation and the organisation and displaying of artefacts and media are not culturally or politically neutral phenomena. An important observation to make here is the accessing and verification of Hollywood 'myths' in experiencing dark tourism sites. A '*New Statesman*' travel article discussing 'must see' sites in Cracow, Poland observes the reactions of tourists walking past the gates of the Deutsche Emailwarenfabrik (Oskar Schindler's enamelware factory). As the article's author observes:

> …'crocodiles' of American tourists filed past the wall where a red coated girl is seen by Schindler (in the Hollywood Blockbuster Schindler's List) from horseback on a hilltop. Tourists wept. Here she fell! (Grant, 2006: 41).

For visitors, the Schindler tourism experience legitimates and is legitimated by a Hollywood narrative of hyper-reality that the local tourism industry is unlikely to dispute. Grant (*Ibid*:42) describes one strand of discourse around Jewishness accessed by tourists in 'Jewish Cracow'. What the writer seems to have accessed in visiting the old Jewish quarters of Cracow, with a guide, is a hyper-real theme park of 'Jewishness' with restaurants offering 'traditional Jewish cuisine' and floor shows with cabaret acts performed by 'Swiss blonds' performing to parties of tourists 'dissolving into easy tears to renditions of *Mein Yiddishe Momma'*. She suggests of the total Jewish narrative which she describes as a hybrid of 'Hollywood Holocaust' and contemporary Polish Jewishness that:

> "…they (the state) wanted to keep a simulacrum of the past alive, a hologramatic replica. It was as if Britain had ethnically cleansed its entire Asian population but you could still go and eat a 'genuine' balti at a Birmingham curry house run by a Welshman, and listen to sitar music played by Scottish blondes" (*Ibid*, 2006:41).

The 'authenticity' craved by contemporary tourists can easily be delivered yet 'ethical' concerns come to the fore of academia and the media when the 'narrative' that is accessed through tourism encounters is offered or accepted as 'truth' when entire cultural references

are missing. Whether or not such ethical concerns are recognised by or important to 'the tourist' remains un-researched. What this thesis is later concerned with is how 'truth' comes to be displayed as an articulation of power and knowledge in museums when they are conceptualised at the level of discourse as 'institutions of (knowledge) confinement' (Bennet, 1988:1).

Horne (1984:14) views authenticity as 'the special magic of museums' and Cole (1994) elaborates on this idea in the context of Holocaust memorials and museums. What is important within commemorative settings in what Cole (1999: 164) refers to as the 'Shoah Business' (the commercialisation of Holocaust narrative in museums and film and so forth) is that '...it is not that this is the 'kind of' barracks that inmates at Auschwitz lived in, but that that this is 'one of' the barracks that Auschwitz inmates lived in'. The author refers to a display in the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum and makes an interesting contribution to the 'ethical' debate in noting the American 'repackaging' of the Holocaust which is inherent in the Holocaust museum in Washington DC, for example, and also in Americanised narratives of Anne Frank in film and theatre. There is something surprising, notes Cole, about this adaptation of what is someone else's history and something incongruous about American Jews, disassociated through choice with Israel, and neither survivors nor the children of survivors, talking of 'Jewishness' in terms of 'Holocaust' and 'Israel'. Yet the Holocaust museum in Washington DC, together, of course, with Hollywood, theatre and other 'dream factories', continues to perpetuate a competing national narrative; an adapted 'Americanised Holocaust'; an atrocity that took place on foreign soil and within a European historical context. The issue throws open the debate over the esotericism in the scope of what is morally acceptable to various communities of interest.

The Washington example can be viewed in terms of ethical 'dissonance' and in particular the way in which the content of the messages contained within the interpretation of such heritage

could mean recipient groups must incorporate contradictory ideas into their psychological constructs (Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996). These contradictory ideas are explored in further detail in the final throws of this section in a discussion of 'disgraced monuments' in Grutas Park, Lithuania as an example of a multi-ethically 'coded' heritage site with resonance for a number of visitors depending on age-group, origin and 'taste'.

2.6.1   'Disgraced Monuments' and Moral Panic

It has been argued (Wight and Lennon, 2007), that heritage has selective appeal to communities depending on the code of morality of host societies and their subcultures. The Vilna Gaon Jewish Museum in Vilnius for example reports failure in its historical attempts to attract interest (with the ultimate goal of growing visitation) from schools and other community institutions, arguing that such community groups are uncomfortable with the issues presented (Wight and Lennon, 2006). The geographic proximity of the museum to the Lithuanian 'Genocide' museum and the fact that visitor numbers to the latter are overwhelmingly higher is an interesting observation in terms of the appeal, and contestation, of 'genocide' to visitors and also in terms of the extent to which visitors, particularly indigenous Lithuanians, are comfortable in environments dealing with indigenous 'genocide' and those dealing with 'Jewish Holocaust'. The latter sits awkwardly in Lithuanian public culture and makes the concept of genocide a contested term in memorial sites (Wight and Lennon, 2007).

Other Lithuanian dissonant heritage examples provide further useful units of analysis to contribute towards an understanding of ethics in the context of dark tourism. Grutas Park, near Druskininkai, to take one such example, is a recent addition to Lithuania's 'dark' heritage landscape. The site is one of the units of analysis which is considered later in this thesis through the lens of a Foucauldian discursive analytic. Here it is discussed away from the context of discourse to develop on a discussion of ethics. Grutas Park has been well profiled internationally in travel magazines and on the World Wide Web and tourists from both

Lithuania and overseas continue to visit in numbers of around 700 per day (Baranauskas, 2002). Upon entering the site, a weatherproof bulletin board displays a number of letters of protest from Lithuanian locals and organisations registering disgust at the construction of 'this Stalinworld' (a parody of Disneyland and what Donald Horne might refer to as 'decorative exhilaration'). Comparisons can be made between Grutas Park and Hollinshead's (1999) description of Disney World, since in both cases the visitor enters a place of suspended reality encompassing symbols, features and structures, which are considered out of context with 'real life'.

The park itself comprises of an exposition of some 86 Soviet sculptures and statues spread across 20 hectares of land (Kussi, 2008). Since opening, the attraction has welcomed some 400,000 visitors. It is considered as something of a spectacle and an eccentric cultural reference in Lithuanian and a moral panic has arisen around its popularity in terms of the extent to which it might trivialise history or create nostalgia for the Soviet era. As Kussi notes, behind the satire there is a perceived 'serious mission' to Grutas Park and one of its ostensible aims is to reveal 'the truth' about Soviet ideology and the human damage it inflicted. As one travel journalist puts it (Worker, 2012:1):

> *"Beneath the humor there is a method at work. Preserving these mementoes of the dark Communist past keeps that era alive for future generations to see, ensuring that the spectre of Soviet domination never returns."*

To some extent, the memorialisation of locations such as Grutas Park serve to contain the memories, experiences and power associated with a former regime. However, they lend themselves also to an 'authenticity' of the artefacts and objects housed within them, something which visitors clearly value (Wight, 2008). The heritage process has heralded the death-knell of the ideology of the oppressive regime and a triumph over its reign. The survival of the site though contested by visitors with varying identities which are verified by the experience is clearly vital to a number of 'activists' who are simply not prepared to allow the

old oppressors to forget what happened in Lithuania at their hands. Grutas Park provides an example of an apparent Western trend to continually revalue the Eastern European past through the recycling and appropriating of icons of communist ideology, similar to the popularity of the ubiquitous Hammer and Sickle t-shirt and Central Committee of the Communist Party (CCCP) 'hoodies'. By devitalizing the power and the threat that communism once posed by assimilating its iconography into popular culture the triumph of West over East is reaffirmed and celebrated. Grutas Park fits in with the emerging paradigm of dark tourism in provoking reactions to the past and in offering an example of contested heritage with a theme of human suffering. For tourism marketers, and certainly for the owner of the site, issues of morality and ethical debates are the lifeblood of the operation as word spreads of the site and its multi-faceted messages. Contested narratives create the tourism 'pull factor', or the novelty, as the Western visitor increasingly seeks 'experience' and ever more narrative to make a personal judgement regarding the issues that are communicated and to judge 'truth' and 'authenticity' subjectively. Further analysis of Grutas Park is provided in chapter 4.

Tourism activity therefore offers a rare, observable form of ethical behaviour. Tourists 'vote with their feet' and, as such, demonstrate in visiting 'dark' heritage sites that these are morally acceptable spaces to occupy. Ethical discourses linked to the production and consumption of contested heritage sites are shaped and maintained by many voices. The issue of remembering tragedy and oppression in heritage sites, and specifically, to whom we entrust memory, is at the centre of academic debate surrounding 'truth' and 'appropriate' or 'authentic' narratives broadcast by dark tourism sites. This panic amongst analysts is perhaps not explicitly echoed in the behaviour of the 'dark tourism' consumer, who, by virtue of experiencing dark tourism sites, continues to consume.

This section of the literature review has suggested that dark tourism, as a broad terminology for a number of heritage sites broadcasting national tragedy, displays some traits that hold

appeal for the 'alternative tourist'. This is particularly the case because central to the consumption of 'dark tourism' is encountering 'truth' and 'reality' and the search for something new. The curiosity of people and their determination to access ever more narrative through tourism encounters has encouraged a seemingly endless supply of individualistic tourism experiences often carried out in opposition to the Other 'mass' tourist. Dark tourism fulfils some of this demand in offering topical, thought provoking and contestable narratives that carry a message, however provocative, of education. Such heritage sites also commonly proffer messages of social responsibility, not unlike 'ecotourism' and other tourism 'niches' invested with discourses of morality. Heritage, like ethics, is ultimately a personal affair and each individual constructs heritage based on subjective life experiences providing anchors of personal values and stability. For tourists visiting themed tourist sites where national identities (with narratives of tragedy strong amongst these) are on display, it is difficult to avoid being drawn towards interpretation such as signage, guidebooks, staged spectacles and purposefully constructed tours. Yet each visitor, upon encountering heritage, sets the parameters for the level of engagement with the issues, and the extent to which narrative is 'morally acceptable' is similarly personalised. Presenting narratives of national tragedy to tourists is simply another way that the tourism industry exploits and commercialises 'the unique' for the 'distinguished' consumer; another way of 'differentiating' destinations to hold greater appeal for the discerning client. These performative narratives legitimate the metaphor of the nation state as 'exotic', 'authentic' and 'dark' and ultimately attractive.

The extent to which subjective morality is profoundly traumatized, or, conversely, legitimised and vindicated, by visiting dark tourism sites depends on how far people are willing to go as tourists to accept that 'truth' is accessible by consuming heritage. Truth, as the latter section of discussion suggests, depends on a number of ethical codes that have become embedded through cultural background, religious or secular beliefs and exposure to various other cultural narratives. The later stages of the thesis will also suggest that 'truths' are contingent and

depend upon the privileging of certain subject positions at the expense of others. Cultural experiences are personal and each individual constructs a unique experience according to a personal ethic. Postmodernity has no place for such a thing as a 'universal truth' and the moral panic that comes with the production and consumption of 'dark' heritage only adds to the appeal of these sites as visitor attractions.

2.7.   Concluding Remarks

Before turning to the epistemological and methodological principles of discourse analysis, it is a fitting juncture at which to introduce an analysis of museums and sites of memory. This chapter has discussed some of the key concepts in relation to the consumption of dark tourism experiences. It has profiled the salient research approaches in the literature and has discussed some of the ethical arguments that have grown around the commoditisation of death using examples from the UK, Europe and Lithuania. It has begun to introduce the idea of museums and sites of memory themed around death as discourse in suggesting that such sites are invested with particular ideologies and meanings that are often based upon selective 'truths' about the histories they represent. The next chapter sets the analytical context for the latter sections of this thesis by initially considering the societal 'role' of museums and their evolution from institutions of modernity through to more recent, post structuralist critiques of these institutions as cultural articulations of power and knowledge. The conceptual direction of the thesis takes shape in the ensuing chapter before a philosophical and methodological approach to Foucauldian discourse analysis is produced ahead of a chapter dedicated to analysis.

3   Museums, heritage and the Privilege of Representation

"*There is a very simple sense in which a public culture is not a representation of society, and that is that certain kinds of people will simply not be seen in it*" (Horne, 1986: 1732)

3.1.   Introduction

This chapter conceptualises museums and sites of memory in advance of developing a discursive analytical perspective, in the ensuing chapter, to understanding how and why certain representations of people, ideas and histories are privileged, or otherwise absent or contested, in such institutions. A synopsis of the evolution of museums is presented[10] before a critical discussion of the ways in which these and other associated heritage experiences produce narratives of culture is developed. Museums are conceptualised as cultural vehicles for the articulation of narrative and meaning before a more focussed treatment of postmodern and post structuralist theory is presented in the ensuing chapter. The latter section of the chapter addresses the issue of confronting 'inconvenient' pasts in museum environments and a discussion of the dilemma over selectivity and the privileging of certain narratives that this inevitably provokes in such contexts is given some examination. The chapter proceeds from the conceptual premise that heritage has an important role to play in defining the identity and collective memory of individuals and cultural groups and museums and sites of memory are one means through which such concepts find form. From a wider destination-discourse point of view, such institutions can be conceptualised as powerful and hegemonic entities since they produce an 'authorised' discourse of public memory which is given legitimacy based upon the kinds of accepted intellectual and 'expert' input that have come to define the heritage industry. The objects of heritage discourse are created within a 'technological grid' (Scheurich, 1997 cited in Graham, 2005) which, as well as revealing meta-narratives and 'total histories' about privileged groups also produces and places limitations upon problematic groups. The idea has resonance with Foucault's approach to challenging 'truth' by approaching it as

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[10] This discussion is not protracted, since it is not with the presentation of a 'total history' of the museum that the thesis is concerned and the point, which is about the representation of themes in museums as a discourse of memory must not be marginalised through a dominance of historical detail.

discursive formation (a concept discussed in the ensuing chapter) which seeks to uncover the productive power of discourse in creating the museum object[11]. The issue of control over heritage is conceptualised as belonging to a wider political power-struggle in which the interests of particular groups are represented unequally. The chapter therefore examines the power of heritage and museums in producing their 'objects of discourse' by initially situating these spaces in a wider context of governance and ideology, before reflecting over the implications of selective interpretation at a micro, museum, level and the ways in which such selectivity reinforces, and is reinforced by, a wider historical discourse. The context of 'dark' heritage is initially re-asserted to shape the scope of the discussion before some of the wider aims of the chapter are introduced.

As previously discussed, although a body of knowledge has developed around what has come to be known as 'dark tourism', much of what has emerged tends to focus around contesting and recalibrating definitions, concepts and sub concepts. In terms of research, there has been a dominance of social scientific enquiry into the motivations of visitors and their perceptions of the kinds of heritage exhibits and sites of tragedy which they have chosen to engage with. Only a few academic outputs that approach the topic of controversy specifically in museums and sites of memory from a cultural theoretical point of view have been produced. Part of the appeal of creating new knowledge around such a topic is therefore based on this observation. Of the academic outputs that are available and which are woven around a cultural train of thought, some suggestions have been mooted as to why the pursuit of enquiry into such controversy is useful. Riviera (2008) reflects over how the nation state might come to terms with reputation-damaging events such as wars and mass genocide and, crucially, how countries approach the public remembrance of 'taboo' events in institutions of memory such as museums and heritage sites, if such remembrance occurs at all. She suggests a three-fold

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[11] The 'object' in museum discourse analysis does not refer to the physical object (the artefact) to be encountered within the physical space of the museum. It is instead the object of *discourse*; the way in which narratives have been constructed and have been given legitimacy as things that can be spoken about in particular ways by particular people in museum rhetoric. In discourse these people can be said to be part of an actantial structure.

challenge to authoritative agencies in terms of the public remembrance of 'less than glorious' pasts and these are that:

1) Such events may be embarrassing to those sponsoring, or participating in remembrance, or to those being remembered,

2) These pasts might be emotionally charged due to their association with casualties or other misfortunes,

3) Such events, and by implication, the commemorative spaces that mark them, might be contested and might hold the potential to incite conflict.

Each of these has some resonance with the early stages of the research that was conducted towards completion of this thesis. 'Holocaust', as the most salient of 'inconvenient' national memories in Lithuania, and specifically in its museum environments, will later be discussed as something that ethnic Lithuanians in particular have sought to avoid confronting in commemorative environments (Wight and Lennon (2007). The Vilna Gaon State Jewish Museum in Vilnius have recorded only a smattering of footfall from ethnic Lithuanians in their visitor records, and none of the many local schools that were invited to visit had, at the time of writing, in 2006, accepted the offer. Although uncorroborated through comprehensive research, senior management within this museum attributed these 'disappointing' levels of visitation to a collective guilt around Nazi collaboration[12] and this is discussed later. Much of the literature on sale in the museums that were visited tends to approach the issue of Nazi collaboration and Holocaust as 'ethnic tragedy' and in some cases, these memories are, or have in the past been, omitted altogether in contexts in which one might expect to encounter them, such as in Ninth Fort Museum with its adjacent Jewish mass-grave and Holocaust memorial sculpture. The latter site has been the subject of multiple reinvestments of meaning

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[12] This issue is discussed in detail in the next section but by way of clarification, there are historical records which document that some citizens in the many European counties (and erstwhile Russian states) that were occupied by the Axis Powers collaborated with their occupiers during World War II and committed some of the worst crimes and atrocities of the Holocaust. It is this historical narrative that appears (where it does appear, as it sometimes does not) as something quite irregular in Lithuanian museums that interpret this era.

by a range of variously politically motivated curators over the course of the 20th century. These are discussed in more detail in a later chapter, but they merit some brief coverage here to illustrate that it would be logical to assume that taboo memories pose moral challenges for institutions that purport to carry out the task of remembering the past.

Williams (2008) suggests that the contested meanings behind sites that commemorate inconvenient histories make them as much emblematic of an uncertain future as a challenging past. He suggests that levity and derision are amongst the commemorative strategies that are deployed by authoritative agencies and he uses Grutas and Sorbibor statue parks in Eastern Europe as examples of how this is attempted. In terms of the broader issue of remembering inconvenient histories, Riviera (2008) notes that most academic enquiry into the representation of the past is concerned with how events are interpreted to *domestic*, rather than international audiences. In an increasingly globalised society, she argues, the value of overseas trade and tourism are important in the sense that nations give an account of their histories and cultures to overseas visitors via museums and sites of memory, amongst other cultural media, and such accounts are crucial towards the creation of a positive destination image. The argument is relevant to the rationale of this thesis, since it is with the specific ways in which meaning is produced and showcased to overseas visitors to Lithuania that it is concerned. As Riviera (2008) puts it, international perceptions of 'other' political, social cultural environments are important at a national level to secure continued foreign investment. Lithuania is currently at an important juncture in this regard since it is currently one of the fastest growing economies in the European Union and the United Nations Human Development Index regards it as 'a very high human development country' (Trading Economics, 2013). How then are these inconvenient, troublesome events of the past represented in the great museums and cultural sites of memory dispersed throughout Lithuanian? What rules govern the telling of the past to international visitors? Whose history is told? Whose is not? What particular scripts of national identify are preferred? It is with an

exploration of these ontological questions that the latter stages of this thesis are concerned. The discussion below however sets out to conceptualise the museum as a central actor in the creation and portrayal of culture and people and the power implications of such portrayals are discussed with particular reference to how museums and sites of memory contribute to a wider destination discourse which is also constructed by such media as guide books, television programmes, films, theatre, social networking interactions and novels. The extent to which museums exert control over visitors, against the antithetical argument that visitors construct subjective narratives through memory work, is also explored. The ensuing chapter then takes the thesis in the direction of a Foucauldian discursive analytic against which to form an analysis of the specific museums and sites of memory that were encountered towards the completion of this research. The latter chapter presents an epistemological reflection over the cultural theories that are initially introduced below and it will ground the study within the context of post structuralist theory.

3.2.   The 'Great Museum'

For the purposes of this thesis, museums are considered as central and tangible aspects of popular culture and statements of national identity that are encountered by destination visitors and which can therefore be conceptualised as belonging to a wider, touristic discourse of national identity (Beerli and Martin, 2004). Conceptually, the approach is one of discourse analysis and so there is a deliberate avoidance of what Smith (2007) describes as a fascination with the framing of heritage purely in terms of marketing and consumption. Instead, the museum is analysed in terms of its role in governance and ideological character (Henning, 2006). Based initially on the work of Michel Foucault, Antonio Gramsci and Pierre Bourdieu and later on contributions from authors such as Caol Duncan, Douglas Crimp and Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, the development of critical perspectives has approached museums as sites:

"...for the classification and ordering of knowledge, the production of ideology and the disciplining of a public" (Henning, 2006: 1).

Such theories have suggested that cultural 'products' such as museums can be conceptualised as spaces that represent narratives of progress which make the present seem more natural and inevitable. Lord (2006) in her foreword to a special edition of *Museum Management and Curatorship* challenges the academic community to ponder how philosophy can help us to think about museums and how these institutions can contribute to philosophical thinking. She complains that across the wealth of published knowledge relating to museums, very few thinkers have approached the institution philosophically, noting that the tendency of the academy is to focus keenly on curatorship, management, policy and revenue generation. Since museums and sites of memory are the central units of analysis within this thesis, and given that the aim is to bring a philosophical understanding to these in a specific geographical and theoretical context, some focussed conceptualisation of these kinds of institutions is appropriate.

Museums have been active in shaping knowledge for some 600 years (Hooper-Greenhill, 1992; Horne, 1994) and, until quite recently[13], the accepted view of the identity of museums as nationalistic temples of culture was preferred. Such a fixed concept may have arisen out of the context of nineteenth century modernity, during which enlightenment rationality and narratives about 'objective truth' began to replace medieval, religious approaches about the nature of knowledge (Smith, 2009). The era was defined by the rise of European colonial expansion and a shared concept of progress that saw emphasis placed on celebrating ethnic and cultural identity and European claims to technical and cultural superiority. The urbanization that was brought about by 19th century industrialisation saw the emergence of the nation state and of the mercantile middle classes which evolved alongside new meta-narratives of nationalism to legitimate these processes. It is perhaps during this era that the

rise of heritage and of the museum as an ontologically stable proposition has its roots. This 'New Modern Europe' (Smith 2007) came to be expressed in monuments that were to be cared for and managed for the edification of a now culturally sensitive middle class public, able to abreact within interpretive spaces that narrated and reaffirmed European national identity, taste and achievement. Walsh (1992, cited in Smith, 2007) suggests that museums may have developed as a consequence of these narratives of progress and achievement and as a way to celebrate them. Cultural identities found forms of expression as embedded narratives within national exhibitions and collections to be celebrated by a burgeoning middle leisure-class.

The museum, then, came to be at once a regulator and mediator of social and national identity and of the historical progress of each. It is also at this time that the supporting concept of 'conservation' arose as a discipline to be practiced by museum stakeholders and monuments and buildings became the subject of a growing roll of legislation that ensured their protection and legitimated their cultural place in society (*Ibid*). Other disciplines, invested with a professional 'expertise' over the material artefacts of culture emerged, such as archaeology and architecture. The fact is well acknowledged that museums were, traditionally and in the context of the era of modernity in which they were conceived, spaces in which the working classes were 'civilised' by diverting idle and deviant minds towards more acceptable forms of learning and eliciting a form of reverence at the magnificence of a God-created, modernist world (Forgan, 2005). The conservation ethic also supported the development of a pastoral role for museums and memorial sites which would serve to educate the public about the value and meaning of cared-for historic spaces and objects (Hooper-Greenhill, 1989). Such values came to be institutionalised in the founding of organisations such as the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB) in 1877 (Smith, 2007) and out of the conservation ethic emerged a discourse of heritage in the late 20th century at a time when the management and conservation of the past appeared as two inter-dependent legitimate technical processes that

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[13] Smith (2007) discusses how the evolution of mass heritage tourism alongside an economic rationalist discourse about museums as experiential products took shape in the 1990s reducing the process of engagement with heritage to simple consumption.

marked the commercialisation of memory and nostalgia in the public sphere (Smith, 2007). Critiques began to emerge soon after and museums came under criticism for representing a partial, commoditised and 'mythical' past (Merriman, 2000) legitimating the cultural and political dominance of those that brought them into the cultural sphere.

It is during the 20th century that the centrality of education in museum environments came into being and the museum cluster became a key element of the tourism sector (Van Aalst and Boogaarts, 2002) and therefore an itinerary point with a wider roll call of cultural experiences. It is the 'experience' itself, in the sense that Pine and Gilmour (1999) have described it (as an evolution from agrarian, through to a service and finally to an experience based economy) that has come to occupy the imaginations and remits of professionals in the museums sector who are increasingly tasked with commercialising, and increasing access to, and dwell time (Heath and Vom Lehn, 2009) within, the institutions of which they are ambassadors and leaders. The museum as an institution of dialogue is an idea which has evolved alongside this shift in the political and strategic position of such institutions. As Merriman (2000) notes, the role of the public in museums has been revised dramatically during the later stages of the 20th century in the sense that museum visitors have come to be perceived as active participants, as opposed to docile recipients, and even collaborators in the process of interpretation. The subjectivity of visitors is increasingly recognised as a legitimate concern to the extent that:

> "*A display of classical sculptures in Britain will mean something quite different to a similar display in Greece, and will be interpreted quite differently by Greeks in Greece, Greeks living in Britain, British tourists in Greece, and British people in Britain*" (Merriman, 2000: 305)

The shift in museums' values towards their re-emergence in the postmodern era as institutions of dialogue certainly dovetailed with the growth of the 'cultural industries' which span (in addition to museums at the thin end of the wedge) music, television, cinema, publishing, leisure and tourism (Urry, 1995). The binding commonality in all of these forms of media is that they are considered to exert powerful representations of the histories and cultures of places and they are increasingly the subject of a growing stock of legislation and control. The

dilemma across the development of cultural theory, from the Frankfurt school of thought through to the development of post structural thinking, is the extent to which such institutions can be considered to produce a 'total history' or 'truth' for the consumption of the public and how this public 'receive' or challenge such knowledge either as docile or critical consumers or somewhere in-between (*Ibid*).

Two important questions arise out of the fact that museums are politicised. The first is that if the cultural industries are so instrumental in producing versions of history and culture and if these organisations are increasingly the subject of shifting cultural policies, what is, and what has been or will be, the political and cultural agenda of the ruling classes that decide this policy and, second, to what extent are these influential in the narratives that are produced in spaces such as museums? The agenda may be no more mercurial that Urry suggests in reflecting that the re-presentation of an area's history and its culture are viewed as strategies that are purposeful in attracting inward investment and new managers and employees. The motivations may therefore be strongly, but innocently influenced by the contents of regional strategies brought about to develop the economic strength of the areas they are bound to. However, from the point of view of social capital, Horne (1986) reminds us that in any presentation of a public culture, through any of the media discussed earlier, certain people, traditions, societal taboos and other inconvenient cultural scars are likely to be absent altogether. What is clear is that the museum in its contemporary incarnation has a challenging task on its hands and must serve 'many masters' (Hooper-Greenhill, 1992) yet the role of the museum as a place in which 'we come to know new things and where our perceptions may radically change' (*Ibid*: 2) makes it a fascinating object of analysis in understanding the nature of such 'knowing' and the motives and strategies for deploying knowledge. These strategies are later approached conceptually as discursive formations, and they are quite tangible, describable phenomena, but for now, the task at hand is to produce some background understanding of the museum as a vehicle of cultural meaning.

3.3.   Representing Objects of Knowledge

Edensor (2002) separates the museum from other symbolic national spaces which are based on less didactic forms of instruction, such as kitsch, exportable forms of national identity like the 'over-coded' Irish pub with its constructed version of Irishness. He conceptualises the museum in a tourism context as one of the quintessentially didactic, experiential 'rewards' visitors can expect for choosing a particular destination. The museum, he suggests, stages the nation for education and entertainment purposes and the staging of nations is a long-standing aspect of national culture that can simultaneously appeal to and instruct visitors to destinations. For Urry (1995) museums add to the range of burgeoning consumer choices when selecting holiday destinations as part of a shift away from 'old tourism' (the package holiday) towards a form of 'new tourism' (a post-Fordist form of consumption) which is segmented, flexible and customisable. Edensor (2002) cites, as an example of nation-staging, the Great Exhibition of 1851 which was launched to inspire a sense of patriotic pride about the British Empire amongst mostly British audiences. Of interest is the author's observation that the museum in particular served, and serves, to elicit a specific kind of regulated performance from its visitors; a phenomenon that Bennet (1995, cited in Edensor, 2002) describes as a 'new norm of public conduct'. The argument has immediate resonance with Hooper-Greenhill's (1989) discussion of the role of museums in Foucault's concept of the disciplinary society. Although Foucault's thesis on 'discipline' is not the immediate theoretical focus of this work, it is relevant to note that the modernity movement discussed above took place in an era that, for Foucault, saw the emergence of the disciplinary technologies such as schools, hospitals and military barracks all of which served as 'specialised spaces' in which the inhabitants could be confined and controlled as 'docile beings' separate to the external population. The evolution of museums, in France at least, followed the French Revolution as a condition of emergence for a new institutionalised 'truth' in the shape of the public museum (Hooper-Greenhill, 1989).

As Foucault reflects (1984:131):

> *"The great haunting obsession of the nineteenth century was, as we know, history; themes of development and stagnation, themes of crisis and cycle, themes of the accumulation of the past, the big surplus of the dead and the menacing cooling of the world"*

As museum collections took shape during the nineteenth century, objects were removed from their original physical and cultural contexts and were rearranged in new contexts as 'statements' proclaiming 'the tyranny of the old and the democracy of the new'. Foucault views museums as concepts of human geography and described them as heterotopias of space (Dehane and De Cauter, 2008). He introduced the term, based on a much broader definition, in a lecture given to architects in 1967 and defined heterotopias as institutions or spaces that could be considered to 'interrupt' the ostensible continuity of 'normal' everyday spaces. Specific examples include (Dehane and De Caiuter, 2008:3) schools, military service, honeymoons, psychiatric institutions, prisons, cemeteries, theatres and cinemas, libraries and museums, fairs, carnivals holiday camps, brothels and cruise ships. The authors remark that the extent of these examples both point to the reach of the concept but also point to the frailty of an encompassing definition. From the perspective of museums and sites of memory as heterotopias, these can be understood to be spaces where '…all the other real sites that can be found within the culture are simultaneously represented, contested and inverted' (Foucault, 1986, cited in Barrera, 2009:23). They are 'spaces of difference' that are central to culture but they map the evolution of cultures by building a 'general history' that interprets events, not according to any unifying laws or principals but by functioning as 'spaces of dispersion' (Lord 2006). Conceptualised as such, the museum can be said to reveal as much by what it includes, and how, as by what it excludes. It is with the concept of dispersion that the latter stages of this thesis is chiefly concerned, but the museum is a strong metaphor for Foucault's concept of genealogy which, as a discipline seeks to look beyond the commonly accepted dominant cultural ideologies of the past to try and understand the conditions of their possibility. Lord (*Ibid*) suggests that the museum as a heterotopia undermines the possibility

that objects can be ordered according to a stable set of rules. Rather the museum is a space in which the system of representation between words and objects is revealed to be a contingent representation.

Crimp's (1995) discussion of the museum as part of an avant-garde archaeology of knowledge is a fitting place to continue with the conceptualisation of the interpretive positions of museums as features of a wider destination discourse. He describes the postmodern museum as an institution that represents the foreclosure of the 'archive' of modernism and insists upon the evolution of radical new collections that accumulate and organise data and information in transformative ways. Wallis (2003, Cited in Sanders, 2007) suggests that museums are central to the ways in which culture is constructed and that they are principally concerned with sorting and classifying knowledge. The argument has resonance with Foucault's central thesis in *Discipline and Punish;* that museums are disciplinary institutions that 'define and regulate difference' with some control over the pitching of narrative and discourse to a visiting public. Museums have further been contextualised as dynamic social and cultural institutions that produce meanings, subject positions, value-judgements of knowledge and historic and aesthetic merits for consumption through experience (Sanders, 2007). Smith (2007) suggests that museums and other heritage sites are simply 'cultural tools' that facilitate, but are not absolutely central to the heritage process, which itself is about constructing the past through multiple narratives (*Ibid)*, not all of them bound up in physical environments. The museum can therefore be contextualised as a 'technology' of cultural reproduction with the power to produce narratives of class, elitism, nationalism and race. It has been suggested that the museum puts objects, concepts, ideas and political ideologies on display for the contemplation, inspection and consumption of a visiting public under the inspection of the museum 'authority' (Sander, 2007). The latter argument can be located within an early construct of critical theory that approaches and criticises culture as something that serves straightforwardly instrumental ends (Garland, 2010). Late critical theorists such as Fukuyama

(1992, cited in Garland, 2010) have suggested that we have reached the 'end of history' and are doomed to circumnavigating the past through retroactive imaginary nostalgia, pastiche and kitsch and the implication is that the cultural institutions, such as museums, are the stages upon which such postmodern fictions now play out. The broader context for this argument in a destination sense is Urry's (1990) post-tourist; a 'visitor' freed from the constraints of high culture and able to amass a kind of Bordieuvian cultural capital comprising of a range of accumulated commoditised experiences, aware of the playfulness of kitsch yet reserving the right to appreciate the socially revealing artefact. The post-tourist approaches the museum as one of a multitude of texts and narratives with the knowledge that it is 'inauthentic' and is as socially contrived as the Irish Pub; yet it remains sacred, if it needs to be. Urry (1990) suggests the role of the post-tourist is self-consciously child-like and each consents to being told where go and for how long in socially organised process of production and consumption. In this metaphor, the 'great museum' as a hegemonic device of cultural elite meets a role-distanced consumer who approaches its narrative as another strand of popular culture. The Holocaust, the Great War and the world of art are approached in much the same way as one might approach the Hollywood movie.

In terms of the cultures that are represented in museums and sites of memory, Durrans (1992) reflects over the internal and external trends of museum ethnography as 'the voice of its author'. He criticises the museum for distorting and masking the oppression of the cultures they purport to represent and he is concerned about who has the power to represent whom and the purpose of that representation. Interestingly, in the broader context of this thesis, the author does not consider the museum that takes as its *central* strand of narrative, issues of cultural oppression and even genocide. Nonetheless, from an internal point of view, Durrans offers an analysis of the treatment of the artefact and how it comes to be contextualised within a particular story, or discursive formation, as a result of some unseen process of decision making and the allocation of meaning to the material objects that come to be

assigned roles in a particular collection. These, in turn come to play a role in delivering meaning to other objects that have been assigned a place in the same narrative. He is further concerned about the extent to which these roles can be justified. Durrans (1992:11) reflects that:

> "Most curators probably see their role as acquiring, displaying and preserving material objects to assist the present or future understanding of the contexts from which the objects themselves derive. Some indeed will anguish, but not usually to the extent of paralysing their work, over what such 'understanding' might amount to".

There is therefore a tension around the extent to which ethnography, as 'told' to a visitor can be taken at face value as amounting to the voice of its author. If all is fabricated; the artefacts, however the roles assigned to them; however interpreted; are certainly not. Smith (2009) notes the importance of the heritage process in the creation and maintenance of the identities of various groups and suggests that these groups are therefore often compelled to want to have a say in how they are represented through the discourses of heritage and museums. Importantly she notes that the identities and the subsequent discourses of people in past and present configurations that are maintained through heritage interpretation are not part of a closed, internal system and they do not belong purely to those that have created them. Rather, they carry implications and consequences for the identity of these individuals since they are part of much wider social, cultural and political networks. Smith does not say if she sees heritage as a product of such networks, or if heritage reinforces the broader discourses within them, but it is nonetheless clear that heritage and the narrative it creates must be approached critically as a construct of a world that exists independently of the present. Museums in particular and their collections are increasingly subject to claims and counter claims about cultural authenticity; a dilemma particularly associated with Ninth Fort Museum; one of the units of analysis of this study that is later profiled as part of a discursive formation. To continue with Durran's treatment of ethnography as the voice of its author, it is suggested that 'consumerist politics' (that which Urry conceptualises as 'the gaze') have combined with the success of capitalism to push museums away from focussing on their 'field' and collections as key concerns to answering the assumed needs of visitors in a market-orientated world. Of

key interest in the context of this thesis, however, is Durran's observation that the visiting public do not consume resources for the same reasons and that the offer of doubt in museums is as important as the offer of knowledge to provide a distinctive 'experience' in the marketplace. The multiple motives of visitors to such museums are further problematised by the perceived ostensible contestation over the legitimate meaning of visits to museums and heritage sites; a dilemma that Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996) conceptualise as 'dissonant heritage'.

The latter term describes the consequences and problems of the market segmentation of heritage which means objects are multi-interpreted by domestic and touristic audiences for whom the ownership of heritage is a point of contestation so that '…the creation of any heritage actively or potentially disinherits or excludes those who do not subscribe to, or are embraced within, the terms of meaning attending that heritage' (Graham and Howard, 2008:3). Central to this concept is a recognition that an analysis of heritage is not about directly engaging with a study of the past, but is instead based on the contention that heritage objects and their interpretation are selected according to the demands of the present and these are 'bequeathed to an imagined future' (*Ibid*:3). Ashworth (no date) reflects over the extent to which identities can be deliberately engineered through the creation of heritage landscapes. He suggests that the idea of collective identity and collective heritage have become central to public sector planning in the West and that there may be scope for the past to be manipulated in town planning and for identity and meaning to be ascribed to what would otherwise be any number of insignificant, unordered objects that are not 'waiting to be discovered' but which can be invested with meaning when ascribed a role within an arrangement, such as in the shape of an itinerary or a tourist map.

The notion is also central to the concept of the museum but the difference is that the doubt around the extent to which meaning can be engineered in townscapes is removed since the

objects contained within museums and sites of memory have been deliberately arranged with the purpose of playing a role within a total narrative. Although museums and museum exhibitions make meaning out of objects and stage narratives for the visiting public, they also have dream-like or 'magical' qualities which can work in ideological ways (Horne, 1984). Henning (2006) suggests that whilst this notion has resonance with the well-established argument that museums turn visitors into 'subjects' (or 'docile beings' to borrow a Foucauldian description) the mythic and fantastical qualities of museums and heritage experiences and the wandering and fantasising they allow might also facilitate a sense of freedom. Such a notion also gives rise to the possibility that museum visitors are, far from being docile and biddable, completely unpredictable and museum spaces may well have impacts on their audiences that are not intended by curators and designers. The author sets museums apart from other cultural experiences such as television and film, with their ostensible ability to interpellate subjects into narratives through unconscious identification, in suggesting that the museum experience is about following a logical narrative, or itinerary, to 'enact' the exhibition narrative. The transient expendability of this understanding of experience is captured effectively in Lennon and Foley's (1999) discussion of the US Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington. Visitors to the exhibition are issued with identity cards and for the duration of the experience are invited to take part in a ritual walk whereby they 'live' the script of the personal story of a victim during the Holocaust. Upon exiting the museum the visitor is confronted with dozens of discarded identity cards strewn on the ground perhaps marking the point at which the visitor 'performance' in co-creating the experience comes to an end; an ordeal culminating with indifference.

Museums and sites of memory must, however, be understood as institutions that are increasingly the subject of regulation and policy controls. They 'belong' to what can be considered 'the heritage industry' and their location within the wider arena of politics means that they have come into being as increasingly power-invested cultural and social institutions.

Through to today their purpose remains the subject of controversy with moral panics over issues such as funding, maintenance and their role in communities. One such moral panic that is salient in museum debates is the power relation role of museums and the fact that such power is typically quite firmly in the hands of the 'collecting subject' (Hooper-Greenhill, 1992) who ultimately exerts almost conclusive discretion over what is viewed, how it is viewed and when it is viewed. Hooper-Greenhill (1989) notes that in the public museum, the producer of the experience is typically unseen and located in the private spaces of the building whilst the consumer of the experience is located in the public area, implying a power relation that is calibrated to privilege the 'work' of the museum, in the format of knowledge that is catalogued and inventoried and passively consumed. This latter point about passivity is an important one and Smith (2009) suggests that there is an implied, perhaps essential, format for consuming the message of museums and sites of memory in an uncritical and passive way. Indeed, she suggests that for heritage to 'work' certain conventions and codes must be present and that it is conceivably the consumption of the heritage aesthetic with its familiar format and codes of practices, rather than the heritage 'message', which is essential for heritage sites to draw crowds. However, she goes on to criticise this view of the visiting public as 'empty vessels' who passively consume heritage experiences and suggests that this viewpoint can again be traced back to the ways in which heritage is 'managed' by an expert cadre of memory-custodians with a 'conserve as found' ethic that views heritage as something to be kept tidy for passive admiration.

Museums have been conceptualised as spaces in which to contemplate the transformed object which has been recast as a monument to entire persons, social classes, events, epochs and ideas (Horne, 1984). Interactions with these narratives are almost always curtailed and their meanings are restricted to the creative will of the curator. In this sense, the museum can be viewed as a powerful performative entity. Because of, what Hooper-Greenhill calls 'blind history', it is difficult to accommodate a plurality of histories and this gives rise to a lack of

historical specificity. The search for origins, and of histories and concepts in the museum environment, according to the author, is a search for similarities, rather than difference and such a conceptualisation gives clues as to how one might apply a Foucauldian discourse analytic to identifying discursive formations, and the circumstances which give rise to these in museums; particularly those that operate inside the same national border, interpreting the same historical periods. As Hooper-Greenhill (*Ibid*) notes, Foucault's targets are not institutions, theories or ideologies, but 'practices' and the conditions that make these acceptable at a given moment in time.

To return to the legitimating of narratives in museums, Smith (2007) speaks of the consequences of what she has termed an authorised heritage-discourse. Amongst these is the problem that authorising the past implies that there are legitimate spokespersons, and therefore illegitimate spokespersons, for such as a rhetorical device as the past. The vagueness of the past, she argues, means that it becomes a mediated discourse that is the subject of 'expert' judgements by archaeologists and historians amongst others. The innate value of heritage as a manifestation of a valuable past, she argues is culturally bound and is seen to be an aspect of history that must be managed only by those with the requisite knowledge and this is an embedded assumption in discussions about museums and sites of memory. Such an approach to memory-preservation carries the suggestion that museums are invested with values, ideologies and meanings that are nothing more than an interpretation of the past and this argument is reflected over comprehensively in the following paragraphs, particularly from the point of view of the implications of museum narratives of inconvenient pasts as part of a wider destination discourse.

3.4.   Inconvenient Pasts and the Privilege of Interpretation

The museums cluster in the west is increasingly accepted as a key aspect of the tourism sector (Van Aalst and Boogaarts, 2002) and museums and sites of memory are central to the

development of destinations that seek to differentiate their touristic appeal based unambiguously upon culture and entertainment. It is not uncommon to find spatial clusters of museums in cities in particular offering the cultural tourist reasons to create structured itineraries specifically around the exploration of museum collections. Lithuania's capital; Vilnius is an example (discussed later) of such a destination with its concentration of hegemonic, culturally dominant, and subaltern, minority ethnographic and national collections situated within less than a mile's radius. The essence of tourism (particularly in destinations that seek to differentiate based on culture) is an association with attractions (Winter, 2006), and national and ethnographic museums, strong amongst these, have a role to play in constructing and maintaining the imagined communities which they produce and interpret to visitors. Cultural and ethnographic museums in particular have a role to play in terms of inventing and interpreting identities around destinations and some cultural theory, (particularly that which has been advanced by Anderson, 1991 and Kapferer, 1998, cited in Winter, 2006) would suggest that national identities are never fixed and inherent aspects of society; rather they are the product of the effects of power that produces, defines and classifies people and entire cultures according to certain models of classification. It is further suggested that such models of classification, and the museum is certainly implied here, can emphasise 'difference' in a commercial, global tourism marketplace in such a way that culture becomes central to the creation of nations. Macannell, 1999 (cited in Winter, 2006) suggests that the tourism industry produces a number of signifiers in the form of tourist 'experiences' that reinforce and confirm the myth of the imagined nation as it is promised in marketing literature and media. As Meethan (2006) suggests, whatever the form of tourism that is indulged in, people always consume tourist experiences with a set of expectations derived from a range of media including brochures, television programmes, the web and others that are not mentioned by the authors such as films, social media narratives and novels. Experiences, or 'matrices of possibility', he suggests can be organised around the discourses of place that are produced through multisensory cues from such signifiers as guidebooks and

websites. The importance of, and the motivation behind the staging of the imagined nation, certainly as far as tourism stakeholders are concerned, is to create a salient, marketable, and ultimately profitable narrative about cultures and people for the consumption of visiting tourists. Yet the process of nation building must be understood as a discipline in its own right and one that takes place based upon the inclusion and privileging of certain groups and individuals at the expense of others that remain invisible or, at best, restricted in the imagined public culture of institutions of memory (Horne, 1986). Tourism, as a form of consuming narratives of place privileges some narratives whilst simultaneously restricting others and, as this thesis later suggests, museums, as part of the discourse of the destination have a part to play in producing such selective interpretations.

As a consequence of the privileging of certain narratives over others, the way in which the past is represented in museums has come under extreme critical scrutiny and contention has arisen around the extent to which the museum, a product of a white, western, imperialist, modernist attitude, can remain a relevant institution in societies that are increasingly culturally diverse (Merriman, 2000). The development of museums was thought to both enhance the civilisation of the public and also to construct national and cultural identities (Dai Rong, 2006). It has been argued that the museum played a particularly central role in shaping the legitimacy of colonial ancestry and in today's post-colonial setting the relation of the colonial and the colonised lives on in the form of cultural colonialism (*Ibid*). The 'winning' culture in this power relation can be viewed as the one that is created and maintained in popular culture by the dominant, yet at times anonymous, political power of the day. The development of such public institutions in particular in former communist countries like Lithuania is an interesting and stark metaphor in this respect, not just for exemplifying that dominant and marginal discourses in museums can be separated and described, but also for understanding the emergence of post-modern critiques of the rationality and 'truth' with which museums have long been associated. The 'voice' of the museum is made mercurial in the recalibrating of entire collections, and the

facelifts that are given to the buildings[14] that house them to construct new ethnic myths and identities; practices that can be said to challenge the old certainties of modernist thought including origins, progress, traditions, and values that were once associated with museums (Merriman, 2000). In observing changes to the way museums represent the past, such certainties are replaced and post-modern thinking can be clearly understood in the context of museums studies as such institutions come to represent and reflect rupture, disorder and chaos (Merriman, *Ibid*).

In this sense, the museum can be approached as something powerful, but also as something that can increasingly be externally challenged with varying degrees of success by the 'subaltern' (a term used to describe those communities and individuals that are not usually given a voice in the displays and narratives that are encountered). Merriman provides an example in reflecting over protests in the 1990s by the black community in Ontario about the way in which the colonial 'experience' was represented in certain museum collections with its one dimensional focus on the looting of the empire. It is perhaps because museums are contested in this sense that sites of memory have been described as statements of moral uncertainty (Williams, 2007). It is perhaps also for this reason, or as a consequence of it, that contemporary museums tend to place a strong emphasis on the 'visitor experience' and responding to a consumer interested in 'co-creation' and interaction, rather than a docile, transient 'visitor' (Henning, 2006)[15].

Forgan (2005) suggests that museums have traditionally stood at the intersection of scientific work and public display and that the extent to which museums can be understood to create, shape and reinterpret knowledge has been the subject of discussion for some time. He further

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[14] The next chapter introduces the Museum of Genocide Victims in Vilnius and Ninth Fort Museum near Kaunas; both of which have been the subject of significant internal and external aesthetic alterations to fit in with the wider ethos and 'mission' of the collections that they house.

[15] These latter terminologies are the product of recently evolved terminologies that emerged around the time that New Labour implemented policies (including free entry to museums) to increase access to culture, including museum collections. The museum experience by the late 1990s was something to be 'enhanced' and 'supplied' to a discerning leisure consumer.

suggests that museums have a particularly high profile role to play in major metropolitan centres where they were intentionally clustered (typically to interpret the grand narratives of modernity including sciences and the arts) in many cases as part of a formal urban design to enhance the urban landscape and to impress and educate visitors. He suggests therefore that, as far as the development of urban museums is concerned, location and expertise were intentionally co-located to build trust in a unique, authoritative knowledge format. Interestingly, it has also been suggested that the emergence of non-urban museums, particularly in Europe and Eastern Europe, may have been planned in part to promote the re-emergence of once-submerged nations and nationhood (Forgan, 2005) and to re-emphasise the region as legitimate and formal. Nonetheless, it is a compelling argument to suggest that nations, regions, towns and cities open museums as badges of ethnic, cultural, political and intellectual identity, and the types and styles of museums are often informed by ideological and geopolitical imperatives.   However, the suggestion that the museum visitor becomes involved in, or perceives of hegemonic political or cultural statements about identity has received criticism from Cuno (2011:45) who challenges cultural theory and critical analysis in asking:

> "Do you think that the nearly ten million people who visit the Louvre every year experience it as "the site of symbolic transaction between the visitor and the state" where "in exchange for the state's spiritual wealth, the individual intensifies his attachment to the state" as Duncan and Wallach would have us believe? Is that your experience? ... I suspect if your experience is anything like mine, your thoughts are on those ancient and distant places, on the people who made those things and looked on them wonder as you are doing"

Yet Duncan and Wallach (1978) remind us of the centrality of a Marxist, and later Bourdieuvian perspective to the interpretation of museum collections in suggesting that individuals respond to directive interpretation in different ways according to their acquired levels of education, culture and class. However, they also note that the physical structure of such spaces imposes on all visitors equally, and that in view of the fact that museums are to some extent 'scripted' (by interpretive narrative and spatial layouts that direct a physical experience) visitor experiences in such institutions are always likely to be conceptualised to

some degree as ritualised and directed. The idea has resonance with what art historians might call an iconographic programme (Duncan and Wallach, *Ibid*) that sees signifiers within museums, such as narratives, images and other objects, create the signified; the 'voice' of the museum which gives meaning to the objects encountered. Regardless of the arguments that have been produced around the 'influence' of museum interpretation, what is clear is that interpretation 'works on' visitors to some extent since the active imagination is invariably confronted with directive narrative[16] and there are immeasurable variations in the ways that meaning is received. Uzzell and Ballantyne (2007) add a layer of complexity to the debate in conceptualising controversial heritage (or 'heritage that hurts') as a form of 'hot interpretation. They suggest (as do other authors such as Siegenthaler (2002) and Miles (2002)) that interpretation can transform opinion and heal anger and it can facilitate reconciliation in communities that have been divided by the events of history. Yet the argument fails to take account of tensions around the authorship of museums and interpretation and Smith's (2006:276) concept of an authorised heritage discourse that 'naturalises itself to such an extent that it cannot see that competing discourses either exist, or, if they are perceived, that they have any legitimacy'. Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996) present a challenging dilemma in suggesting that all heritage as is someone's heritage, therefore logically not someone else's. Selectivity is therefore a complex issue in heritage interpretation and when used in the context of this thesis it makes reference to both the selectivity in the articulation of narratives in museums and sites of memory and the selectivity of engagement with such narratives in terms of the memory work that museum visitors engage with. The former aspect has been given coverage up to this point and so it is with the latter aspect of visitor selectivity that the paragraphs below are concerned with.

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[16] In some cases, museum collections can create engaging visitors experiences based on the complete absence of directive narrative. The Auschwitz museum outside Krakow in Poland is an example, with its un-interpreted glass cabinets of human hair, spectacles and prosthetic limbs, amongst other powerful signifiers of genocide. These are nonetheless, part of a planned physical visitor journey and can be viewed as 'texts' in their own right from a post-structuralist point of view.

It has been suggested that interactivity and innovative exhibitory techniques are central to what many (certainly in the UK) within the cultural business sector refer to as the visitor experience and such experiences are seen as instrumental in bringing visitors 'closer' to the narrative that they encounter (Pine and Gilmour, 2011). The museums and galleries sector, in the UK at least (Heath and Vom Lehn, 2009), has been the subject of radical change over the last 20 years in terms of how they approach visitors and the growing necessity for revenue generation. The change can be summarised as a revision of values, away from the sanctity of objects and collections to be admired at arm's length in sanitised, sacralised, almost religious, environments towards the sanctity of consumption, central to which are visitors, their experiences and their spending power. This shift towards what Suchy (2005) calls 'emotional value' has culminated in a museums sector which has begun to imitate the kind of operating strategy that has historically been employed within the visitor attractions sector (Fyall *et al*, 2008) and its preoccupation with providing an 'excellent visitor service' and remaining competitive and profitable within the wider marketplace of leisure consumption. Experience, then, in the museum environment is the sum and substance of museums and visitor interpretation, which is so central to experience, is the strategy through which meaning is articulated to audiences often based on the political or cultural agendas of the exhibitors. As Hollinshead (1999) argues, tourism and heritage consumption within it is a unique means of production whereby the sites and the themes within these can be conceptualised as cleverly constructed narratives of past events which can manipulate tourists to become involved in configurations of political power. The argument is at odds with the earlier discussion in relation to the set of assumptions that have been made in the literature about the predictable role that museum visitors play in interpretive experiences and the suggestion that such visitors are to some extent passive, docile consumers of information. It is representative of a broader debate between the post-structuralist and Frankfurt schools of thought in the sense that the former would support that multiple subjective interpretations of exhibited

cultures are likely whilst the latter would counter that the cultural industries are insidious and can exert a powerful influence over attitudes and perceptions of reality.

Previous work (Wight and Lennon, 2004 and Wight and Lennon 2006) has outlined the centrality of interpretation in the context of museums and sites of memory that interpret challenging histories. Interpretation is the primary means by which museums communicate with visitors and it is through interpretive media, including everything from text through to interactive media, that memory and audience engagement becomes selective and syncretic.

As Ham and Krumpe (1996:2) argue:

> "Interpretation, by necessity, is tailored to a noncaptive audience- that is, an audience that freely chooses to attend or ignore communication content without fear of punishment, or forfeiture of reward… Audiences of interpretative programmes … freely choose whether to attend and are free to decide not only how long they will pay attention to communication content but also their level of involvement with it"

Yet museums can be said to deploy 'selective interpretation' (Dominic, 2000 and Rowehl, 2003) in articulating narratives to the visiting public. The idea stems from what Uzell (1989) originally referred to as 'hot interpretation' to describe the process of creating multiple constructions of the past whereby history is never an objective recall, but is rather a selective interpretation, based on the way in which we view ourselves in the present (Schouten, 1995).

As Crang (1993:341) notes:

> "The past is not an immutable or independent object. Rather it is endlessly revised from our present positions. History cannot be known save from the always transitional present….there are always multiple constructions of the past"

Graham (2002:2) in the context of heritage concludes:

"….if heritage is the contemporary use of the past, and if its meanings are defined in the present, then we create the heritage that we require and manage it for a range of purposes defined by the needs and demands of our present societies"

Central to the concept of 'hot' interpretation is the idea that subjective emotions influence the visitor experience to the extent that we are selective in the way that we process information. In the museum context, the term has been used to describe how visitors interface with highly emotive narratives. Reactions to such narratives, which certainly include concepts such as genocide and human suffering, are complex, highly individual and strongly influenced by personal values, beliefs, interests and memories (Uzzell and Balantyne, 2007). These can elicit varying degrees of emotional arousal and it has been suggested that recognising the subjectivity of experience contradicts any suggestion that absolute objectivity is a realistic concept in museum interpretation. Uzzell and Balantyne suggest that interpretation can stir and provoke personal memories at heritage sites which produce what might be described as challenging and taboo narratives of death, disaster, battles and human suffering (amongst others) particularly in instances where the history that is being interpreted is within close temporal proximity (Lennon and Foley, 2000) and thus likely to stir strong emotions amongst the survivors and close relatives of people for whom the narratives that are being consumed are real memories.

Lennon and Foley (2000) make reference to selectivity in their observations of interpretation focussed on 'dark' heritage in the Channel Islands. Specifically, the authors note the key role of the state in sending a small minority of the British Jewish Community in the Channel Islands to their deaths and profiting from sales of their businesses. This aspect of British history, according to the authors receives very little coverage in terms of interpretation. Instead, the narrative focuses on what might be considered 'safe' and less culturally taboo aspects of behaviour during occupation for example, on events such as liberation and entertainment. Lennon and Foley (2000:76) conclude:

"Currently what exists (in terms of interpretation in Jersey) is a selective perception and level of interpretation that is, at best, misguided and, at worst, deceptive"

Central considerations in selective interpretation are issues of cultural consumption and heritage commoditisation. Such formats of narrative delivery in exhibition-environments are apt to receive criticism for excluding minority groups and rendering invisible troublesome or marginal discourses with implications for the morality of selling the past (Dominic, 2000). Horne (1986) reduces this dilemma to a binary analysis of 'winners and losers' and notes a number of examples away from the immediate context of dark heritage. For example amongst the losers are male homosexuals whom he notes were, until recently (in the early eighties by Horne's reckoning), unrecognised in the puritan public cultures of the west's liberal democratic societies. In Hollywood, certainly up until the 1960s the idea that husband and wife might share the same bed was taboo and under the western myth of 'family values' up until the 1980s, the single parent household, the poor and entire art forms and intellectual styles were also completely absent from the public culture (*Ibid*). [17] Interestingly, he notes that the way in which such people are constructed by the public culture sits within what Scheurich (1997 cited in Graham, 2005) describes as a grid of social regularities and is unlikely to represent the way in which they would wish to be seen and often such groups and individuals are constructed as problematic or eccentric, appearing only as lovable entertainers, sports stars, victims or criminals. Their construction is both epistemological and ontological since the public culture constitutes who the problem group is and how they can be seen or known as problematic (*Ibid*). The concept is subjected to greater reflexivity in the ensuing chapter which introduces, amongst other Foucauldian concepts, the idea of marginality in the creation and maintenance of objects of discourse in a given time and place (in this case the object of discourse is second world war conflict and the Holocaust as it is constructed in present day Lithuania).

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[17] Horne approaches the public culture as manifest in the myths, legends and aspirations of society which fine expression in what he describes as the 'dream theatres' of society that produce meta-narratives of class and culture. Examples include 'the news' and certain rituals (such as Christmas shopping) and pilgrimages (such as tourism). For Horne, our most prominent of communal festivals is watching television.

3.5.   Concluding Remarks

One of the tasks of taking a critical approach to museums is therefore to undertake a closer examination of the ways in which people and cultures are ordered and classified and to reveal at a broad level that such classifications are never anonymous and, in individual instances to suggest why certain definitions and classifications have been preferred whilst seeking to reveal and to understand who and what has been omitted, transformed or invented in the design of memory and for what reasons. Nation-building and cultural identity must therefore be subjected to scrutiny and approached with the kind of scepticism that is advocated by post-structural thinking, with its rejection of meta-narratives, total histories and the unity of texts that embody the assumptions of modernity and structuralism. The ensuing chapter therefore builds towards a structured argument around these concepts based on the articulation of a discursive analytic against which to frame an analysis of Lithuania's ethnographic and cultural museums.

4   Towards a Foucauldian Discourse Analytical Method

4.1.   Introduction

This chapter proposes an analytical approach which is informed by Michel Foucault's *Archaeology of Knowledge* to analyse museums and sites of memory as texts in which knowledge and power exist and in which social authority is acquired by influencing ways of seeing truth. Conceptually, the chapter suggests that objects in museums are not 'found' but rather they are 'made' (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998) and given value as statements in a discursive field of cultural knowledge that organises the context in which materials are seen. The chapter proposes a philosophical approach to locating the 'rules of formation' (Foucault, 1969) that produce objects of discourse and subject positions in museums. The concept of discursive formation is central to the analytical approach that is suggested. The chapter begins by contemplating post structuralism as a philosophical lens for considering culture. The research strategy is then elaborated upon and the methodological limitations are discussed.

The chapter ultimately develops an analytical discursive framework, which is informed by Michel Foucault's *Archaeology of Knowledge*; a work that is broadly accepted in the literature as his only attempt to speak to methodology. A proposed analytical strategy which is a contextualised interpretation of Foucault's 'archaeology' is then applied to an analysis of data sources or 'surfaces of emergence' (Foucault: 1969: 45), upon which I suggest that part of the discursive production of Lithuania in transition takes place. Although *Archaeology of Knowledge* is accepted in the fields of the social sciences and the humanities as Foucault's only explicitly analytical method (Anderson, 2004; Shiner, 1982 and Neal, 2006) he 'wrote provocatively to disrupt equilibrium' and sought to avoid being 'prescribed' (Graham, 2005:2) and there is, as such, no universally acknowledged resource to access that prescribes and generalises Foucault's work on 'archaeology' into a portable methodology. Indeed it is widely acknowledged that Foucault himself was against *any* form of global theorising (Sarup, 1993) and any totalising approach to analysis and systemisation. Although this point perhaps appears

elusive and even protectionist (there is a perceived reticence amongst scholars of Foucault to 'declare method' for fear of appearing to be prescriptive, but there is also a perception that adopting a Foucauldian approach necessitates the production of what has been considered to be an opaque, inaccessible language of terminologies) it is unlikely that Foucault would have wished to bequeath a poisoned chalice to the academic community. Indeed, others have made convincing intellectual commitments to the 'application' of this body of work to studies of culture and of the leisure sectors (see for example Bryce, 2009; Graham, 2005 and O'Donnell and Spires, 2012). Foucault was nonetheless intentionally provocative in his writing style, rejecting the notion of dictating 'how things ought to be'. This reluctance is perhaps unsurprising given that his life work was produced based on the central assertion that history cannot be viewed as a seamless evolution of knowledge that can be ordered and categorised. The dominant perception of Foucault's work is that he was fundamentally concerned with examining disorder and 'ruptures' in societal knowledge and the way in which he achieved this was to examine 'the document' as a product of powerful societal actors who choose which fragments of history could be left behind in the advancing of knowledge.

When one is confronted, therefore, with the task of identifying a methodology when conducting research based on discourse analysis, there are a number of challenges in interpreting the approach. For a start, discourse analysis need not be concerned with people since the core unit of analysis is invariably 'text' and other non–discursive domains such as institutions and events; which of course does not explicitly discount the capturing and analysis of snapshots of the spoken word, but which *can* explicitly be based upon analyses of rigorously conceptualised texts which may include units of analysis such as documents and broadcast media but which can also include more abstract forms of text, such as the arts and museums that are authorised as texts by post structuralist schools of thought. It is Jacques Derrida who is credited with first redefining the boundaries of the text. Wilson (2012) captures the Derridean post structuralist approach to the text in noting that the property of 'being a text' is assigned by the reader and so the text does not constitute an inherent property. Texts, in the

context of this body of work are museums and sites of memory approached as discursive practices and this point is elaborated upon later in the chapter. Although Foucauldian discourse analysis is my preferred approach for this body of work, it is prudent to emphasise the caveat that I, like others before me, do not articulate an *essentialist* approach to Foucault, perhaps because there is no such thing. It is however a *suggested* approach, and one that is put to the test in a specific context.

Although a discussion of limitations is produced in more detail later, one of the central limitations (which should be identified from the outset) in analysing what Foucault terms surfaces of emergence (the authorities that give weight to discursive constructions which, in this case are museums and the authorised and marginalised discourses of genocide) is recognised by Bryce (2009: 182) who notes:

"The scope of this (Foucauldian discursive) study is necessarily more restrictive than that covered by the body of secondary historical scholarship I surveyed (Foucault's ouvres on social institutions such as the clinic and the penal system) so I cannot claim in my own analysis of current primary cultural material to offer a comparable survey of the whole discursive field"

The 'field' in Bryce's thesis is the discursive production of Turkey in Western media sources and the limits to the analysis are imposed by the need to make pragmatic choices about which materials, or 'units of analysis' in empirical terms, to analyse within the lifespan of a PhD registration and so the outcome of these choices place restrictions on any discourse analysis since each will always produce a 'partial study'. I have been faced with a similar set of choices in terms of which, and how many museums and sites of memory in Lithuania (and the ancillary texts that each produces such as books and visitor interpretation guides) might be appropriate to advance an analysis of 20th century conflict in Lithuania in museums and sites of memory. The decision as to *which* sources to analyse and how many was straightforward in the sense that the count of viable, commercial heritage sites of articulation in Lithuania which interpret 20th century conflict is finite. However it ought to be acknowledged that the thesis nonetheless

presents an *incomplete* study of the wider discursive production of Lithuania 'the destination', as encountered subjectively by visiting, English speaking tourists since it is based on analyses of museums and sites of memory as signifiers in the formation of a signified Lithuania; but of course museums are only a single strand of tourism narrative that exist amongst many others in constructing the imagined destination of Lithuania. The field of discourse that produces the object of Lithuanian 'double genocide' in museums and sites of memory can therefore be considered as, at worst, comprehensive but the wider field of discourse; the 'discipline' of tourism discourse that produces 'Lithuania', the destination, remains a partially examined 'positivity' in the wake of this study.

I have therefore set out to suggest a framework for the application of Foucault's 'archaeology' as a methodological strategy for analysing museums and sites of memory. In so doing, I have taken some orientation from previous operationalised 'archaeologies' by authors such as Graham (2005) who applied 'archaeology' to education, Radford *et al* (2011) who applied the concept to libraries, Bryce (2009) who studied destination discourses based on 'archaeology' and O'Donnell (2012) and O Donnell and Spires (2012) who applied the framework to various cultural contexts including the televised Super Bowl and the 'Tartan Army' in Scotland. The approach also recognises that there are differences between what Foucault terms 'archaeological' discourse analysis and 'genealogical' discourse analysis (Johnstone, 2008). The former is a framework for understanding the regularity and dispersion of discursive statements whilst the latter analyses continuity and discontinuity in terms of the historical evolution of discourses. The two cannot easily be separated if the aim is to analyse a complete archive[18]; something which Foucault suggests can never be achieved. However, I have made an attempt to present a partial but comprehensive analysis of the discursive production of Lithuania in museums based almost exclusively upon archaeological discourse analysis since the aim has been to identify 'statements' and the modes of enunciation, or rules, that they are bound to. Genealogical analysis does however emerge in parts of my analytical discussion and in

particular, those parts that refer to discontinuity and 'ruptures' in the discursive production of Holocaust.

The immediate discussion below therefore offers a contextualised discussion of post structuralism as the epistemological framework for the development of new knowledge in the field of museum and dark tourism studies and it then proceeds with a reflection over the application of the concepts and philosophical framework espoused in *Archaeology of Knowledge* to analyse specific surfaces of emergence for the discursive production of Lithuanian 'double genocide' in museums and sites of memory. It culminates with the profiling of Lithuania as a destination and the museums and associated texts which represent the units of analysis for the study are then introduced and profiled.

4.2. Discourse and Post Structuralism

It has been suggested that the production of national identities are articulated by a complex method of address which emerges out of discursive and performative modes of communication[19] (Burgess, 1992) articulated through various media[20] such as films, novels, television, the arts and museums. They provide ontological categories for how objects of discourse can come to be known. Discourses do not simply reflect social meaning but they also constitute such meanings (Fairclough, 1993, cited in Smith, 2004). Discourses are also constructed through the 'speaker's' position within any discipline such that their institutional position can be mapped out through discourse analysis (*Ibid*). Foucault developed the metaphor of 'archaeology' to trace the development, but not the origins of knowledge and in so doing he developed the notion of the 'archive' which he defined as the set of discursive 'rules' in a given discipline that define and delimit what is 'sayable'. An 'archaeology' of

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[18] The term refers to all of the material traces that are left behind by a particular historical period

[19] They are discursive because we are dealing with media representations of imagined identities and they are performative because they are, ultimately, representations but they can disrupt narratives of identity.

[20] As will later become clear, Foucauldian analysis approaches such media as 'surfaces of emergence'; the units which articulate statements of discourse.

museum discourse therefore necessitates digging through the layers of knowledge (*Ibid*) and meaning that are inherent to the discursive practices deployed by museums to explore the 'archive' and thus to be able to identify how museums produce the objects and subjectivities of their discourse. Central to the undertaking of archaeological discourse analysis is to develop an understanding of the 'material effects' or discursive practices of discourse which reveal 'knowledge reproduced through practices made possible by the framing assumptions of that knowledge' (Clegg, 1992, cited in Smith 2004: 64). For example, at a broad level the discipline of exhibiting privileges visitor interpretation which in turn privileges practices such as guided tours (which are pedagogical practices and thus arguably hegemonic in nature) and a range of technical preferences such as signage, interactivity and so on, for articulating the objects of their discourse in privileged contexts that are inherent to the practice of exhibiting. It is acknowledged however that one of the key criticisms of Foucault was that he 'reduces everything to discourse' (O' Farrell, 2005: 80) and overlooks popular discourse[21] in his analyses. Foucault however countered that any analysis of knowledge as a closed anonymous field of discourse is futile and it should be understood that discourse analysis is about linking popular cultural articulation to other practices, institutions and social relations. In a study of museums, this is cetainly about understanding the wider conditions that authorise particular discursive practices in cultural 'products'.

Foucauldian discourse analysis is therefore applied in this thesis to attempt to identify a regularity amongst what are essentially irregular and dispersed museum statements that speak to '20th Century Lithuania under occupation' as an object of discourse at key sites of articulation. The approach to achieving this is articulated in this section with the ultimate aim of setting out a framework for describing the rules and dimensions, or 'materiality', of a discursive formation that is organised through a number of interlocking discourses delivered via various complementary modalities of enunciation. These discourses are conceptualised as

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[21] Such discourses are typically analysed using more scientific forms of enquiry such as Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) or positivist research with its pursuit of 'truth' in the words of the scientifically researched subject. Such an epistemological strategy is at odds with archaeological discourse analysis.

(Foucault, 1969: 45) 'surfaces of emergence', or spaces for the articulation of discourse, that produce an imagined Lithuania which is presented to external visitors as part of a wider construction of destination identity[22]. As such, museums and the narratives that each produces are broadly approached as sign systems, not through a semiotic lens, but from the perspective of archaeological discourse analysis. The epistemological orientation of such an analysis is constructionist and can be located, albeit somewhat unwillingly, amongst the broader theoretical horizon of post structuralism. The analytical section of the thesis argues that museum articulations of '20th Century Lithuania under occupation' represent a discursive formation that might be called 'double genocide' constructed as an archive of dominant and deviant ethnic discourses. The narratives of museums and sites of memory are conceptualised as statements in the wider discursive practice of tourism, a field that might require a lifetime of analysis to describe. Through an analysis of how Lithuania imagines itself at key sites of articulation, the argument that this chapter builds towards identifies an uneasy museum-production of ethnic difference by inscribing an ethnic 'outside' (Jewish subjectivity) in relation to the national ethnic 'inside' (Lithuanian subjectivity) (Burgess, 1992) towards the discursive production of a national identity for the present. The thesis therefore suggests there are winners and losers in the presentation of 20th century Lithuania in transition and that a 'propaganda of normalcy' (Haywood Rolling Jr, 2003) can be identified in the discourses of the museums analysed particularly through two competing narratives of 'genocide' that are deployed via different ideological strategies.

Whilst this chapter is not intended as a pedagogical, 'textbook' narrative on post structuralist theories (the aim is specifically to conceptualise the museum as 'text' as a constitutive imperative for discourse analysis) it is nonetheless appropriate to develop an epistemological foundation upon which to construct a framework for the application of Foucauldian discourse analysis to museums and sites of memory. Any synopsis of postmodern and post structuralist

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[22] This is not the same thing as 'national identity' although it might have a bearing on it. To study destination identity is to study the discursive practices of heritage and tourism to understand how the destination might come to be 'known' in the kinds of environments (like museums) that Foucault has called heterotopias.

approaches to research should include the qualification that each is sceptical of rational certainty, objective 'truth' and total histories and each transcends the 'logical tidiness' (Nicholls, 2009) of empiricism and hermeneutics. Post structuralism recognises the power of discourse to shape objective reality and it can produce fictive, epistemological objects like race and sexuality as well as 'real', ontological objects such as class. Postmodernity, a movement that evolved alongside the intellectual movement of post structuralism in the fields of the arts and culture, is formed on the basis of a critique of Habermas' idea of progress and the emergence of the modern sciences that evolved from the Renaissance (Walsh, 1992). The latter is a description of the intellectual evolution of the modernity movement with its claims to the possibility of enlightened objective truths and facts and man's role within the world (*Ibid*). Modernity promised an intellectual rational advancement based on gradual but perpetual improvement and faith in mankind's ability to manipulate and harness the environment to the greater benefit of society (Grenz, 1996). Such ideas of progress influenced epistemological approaches towards concepts such as language, religion and, particularly in the 19th century, arts and the sciences with their ability to initiate positive intellectual change away from the pessimistic viewpoints towards history that had so dominated up until the 1700s (Walsh, 1992). The twin grand narratives of the sciences and the arts found a form of expression in the early museums that emerged in the philosophical societies in the 18th century (Walsh, 1992).

Modernity and the intellectual movement of structuralism that evolved alongside it authorised that all forms of 'meaning production' including ethnographies, interviews, journals, narratives and museums could be viewed as texts (Hall 1992, cited in Wright, 2003) and this tradition has evolved under the post-structuralist intellectual movement into a number of contemporary approaches to textual studies including cultural studies and discourse analysis. Ifversen (2003:60) notes that discussions of textuality have been going on for some time now, and questions have been raised in the context of discourse analysis, including;

- What is meant by 'text'

- How does history manifest itself in texts

- What is the relationship between the two parts of the chiasm

Crucial to the discussion of these questions is the recognition that textuality has developed based upon a constructivist premise that contains ontological claims about the relationship between language and reality (Ifversen, 2003). Discourse theory, according to this author combines this constructivist premise with a theory of language.

Textual analysis therefore attends to much more than analyses of coherent, structured and written sentences (Johnstone, 2008). Various analyses of 'texts' can be carried out through discourse analysis depending on the desired research outcome, for example, narrative analysis, rhetorical analysis, semantic and semiotic analysis. Each provides a different focus, and each is normally dependent upon the objective of analysis (Van Dijk, 1998). Examples of discourse can include conversation, news reports, lessons and teaching and Email but they can also include non-textual signifiers upon which interpretations can nonetheless be formed. Derrida's deconstructionism suggests that certainty in textual analyses is not possible since the text is the subject of a number of competing interpretations (Grenz, 1996). Deconstructionism therefore epitomises the rejection of infallible and rationalist truths, which have been replaced with an understanding of the text as something that is contingent upon a multiplicity of interpretations (Sarup, 1993). Derrida's approach is viewed as a critique of Saussure's earlier theory of language and meaning, which was based on the structuralist and semiotic disciplines that attempted to identify the underlying structures of societies (*Ibid*). Such disciplines saw the development of schematic analyses of culture and its defining practices such as marriage, which was the subject of analysis in the work of Claude Levi-Strauss (Mason, 2010). These structuralist approaches have been deployed methodologically in museum studies in for example Pearce's (1992) discussion of Saussure's theory of binary oppositions between the dominators and the dominated in museum collections although the simplistic dualism of this

analysis has been criticised (Blickstein, 2009). Foucault also suggested a particular approach to criticising the 'text' and the historical continuity which it presents in a closed system. From a post-structuralist perspective, museums, approached as texts and based on Foucault's constructivist critique can be viewed as unstable 'surfaces of emergence'. These are modes of articulation through which the objects of discourse are produced, and they are subject to shifting conceptions of knowledge. The idea is captured comprehensively in Hooper-Greenhill's (1992) analysis, which discusses how the systems of thought that defined the Renaissance, Classical and Modern *epistimes* initiated changes in approaches to museum exhibitions. The principles of rarity and novelty, for example, which defined the Renaissance saw the evolution of cabinets of curiosity (Mason, 2010), whilst the enlightenment of the classical era saw collections arranged along taxonomic lines. Finally, the modern era saw the transformation of the museum to a political-historical material used to 'civilise' populations. The analysis resonates with Seaton's (1999) commentary on the cultural evolution of an age-old fascination with the macabre from the enlightenment period through to the present day commercialisation of battlefields and other 'thanatouristic' sites. Hooper-Greenhill's work and later Tony Bennet's (1995) discussion of the evolution of museums in the nineteenth century represent philosophical treatments of the concept of museums based to a large extent on Foucault's *Discipline and Punish* and *The Birth of the Prison.*

What I have been unable to locate in literature searches is an example of the application specifically of Foucault's concept of the discursive formation to museums as surfaces of emergence for the discursive production of clearly delineated discourses. The remainder of this chapter therefore sets out an approach to 'doing' Foucauldian analysis in the specific context of analysing narratives of conflict and human suffering in Lithuanian museums and sites of memory. It articulates how the collections, displays, narratives and ancillary texts found within these museums, and summarised to some degree by Mouliou's framework, can be approached as the modalities of enunciation for the discursive formation that is later defined. As a consequence, I also seek to delineate a bespoke approach to carrying out

Foucauldian discourse analysis in the specific context described to perhaps support future research that seeks to apply a constructionist approach to museum discourse analysis. Specifically, I have set out to offer a new approach to the study of dark tourism, or thanatourism, [23] and to the study of museums and sites of memory which can be considered units of analysis within the wider pseudo-discipline. My approach suggests a means of analysing the discursive production of 'dark histories' in the exhibitory environments in which they are to be found. The chapter then goes on to present a framework for adapting 'archaeology' to a partial study of a field of knowledge (Lithuania under occupation) in museums. Archaeological discourse analysis is therefore discussed below, beginning with a broad interpretation and culminating a in a suggested, bespoke approach to its application in a study of museums and sites of memory.

4.3.   Analytical Strategy: Archaeological Discourse Analysis

Medina (2011) offers a comprehensive argument for the application of a Foucauldian epistemology to the study of remembering and forgetting which are the binary choices faced by any institution or author of a cultural media resource producing a narrative of history for public consumption. Foucault placed the practice of remembering and forgetting in the context of power relations and sought to analyse not only *what* is remembered and forgotten, but *how* and by *whom* with what ultimate *consequences* for culturally hegemonic practices. Medina (*Ibid*) acknowledges the strength of Foucault's genealogical investigations for addressing the 'mainstream invisibility' of suppressed knowledge and he suggests that such knowledge can be given insurrection through critical interrogations of the kinds of epistemic hegemonies (the exertion of influence over how the objects of discourse are known) and mainstream 'truths', such as 'official' histories, that museums can produce as discursive objects. The aim of Foucauldian archaeology and genealogy is therefore to analyse the

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[23] According to the initial descriptions of these terms (produced by Professors John Lennon, Tony Seaton and Malcolm Foley) before they we appropriated and redefined as deterministic, facile concepts.

constitution of knowledge and discourse in a particular field at a given time. This is a philosophical strategy that first emerged in the work of Nietzsche (see Sarup, 1993), for whom genealogy was a critique of modern morality as a product of power relations (*Ibid*). Nietzsche applied his analysis to Christianity and aesthetic morality and distinguished '…a way of life (rather than a 'belief') or 'practice' which is specifically associated with Jesus" (Geuss, 1994: 279). His contention was that Christianity could be said to exist following a set of antecedently existing practices which, as they evolved were attributed specific interpretations which in turn imposed new meanings on Christianity. His influence on Foucault's thinking is immediately obvious given the focus of the latter's *ouvre* on histories of the systems of thought (Foucault's Professorial title at Le College De France). Foucault's elaboration of Nietzsche's genealogy sought to '…desubjugate historical knowledges; to set them free' (Foucault, 2003, cited in Medina, 2011: 12).

Foucault's genealogy can therefore be said to liberate a counter-history by examining experiences and memories that are not given representation in 'official histories' so what is produced is a memory that is against the grain and one which is not compatible with the available and legitimated historical narratives of a given time. The goal of genealogy is to affect a 'vibrant pluralism' (*Ibid*) by tracing the discursive formations that authorise particular forms of knowledge and power. Two common genealogical questions are (Dreyfus and Rainbow, 1992) 'how are discourses used?' What role do they play in society?'. Genealogy therefore recognises that discursive practise produces epistemological and power effects which, for Foucault are interdependent, since his central premise holds that where there is knowledge, there is power. Crucially, the genealogical approach does not suggest that the oppressed subjects of discourse are powerless and ignorant victims (such a portrayal simply reinforces the dominant ideologies of discourse) but rather, these oppressed groups are viewed as having had their power and knowledge demeaned and arrested (*Ibid).* Foucault instead initiates the idea that the role of genealogy is '…to engage in an immense and multiple battle … not one between knowledge and ignorance, but an immense and multiple battle between knowledges

(in the plural) that are in conflict because of their very morphology, because they are in the possession of enemies, and because they have intrinsic power effects' (Foucault, 2003, cited in Medina, 2011: 13). Medina concludes by suggesting that the battle about which Foucault spoke is concerned with resisting what is omitted, or at best distorted, in official histories and giving power to lost voices and the forgotten experiences of the past from the perspective of the present. In Gramscian terms, the metaphoric battle that Foucault describes is about the suppression of the subaltern (Gaskell, 2012); the social group located outside of the hegemonic power structure. Smith (2006) suggests that, because heritage is a statement of identity, and thus a rejection of alternative identities and of absent individuals and communities, confrontation between groups that are signified through heritage is almost inevitable.

The analysis in this thesis takes some of its orientation from this epistemological position. It takes further orientation from the assumption that museums are spaces in which knowledge and power exist and in which social authority is acquired by influencing ways of seeing 'truth'. It is also informed by Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's (1998) suggestion that in the museum objects are not 'found', they are 'made' and given value as statements in a discursive field of cultural knowledge that organises the context in which materials are seen. The approach is not semiotic because the epistemological lens is concerned not with studying metaphor and symbolism, but with locating and describing the 'rules of formation' (Foucault, 1969) that produce objects of discourse and these facilitate the mapping of a discursive formation. Central here is an acknowledgement of Lacan's theory of the gaze described by Bryson (1998 cited in Casey, 2003) as a collective submission of the retinal experience to the socially agreed descriptions of an intelligible world. The epistemological position further holds that the visual world is a cultural construction in which all social beings participate (*Ibid*) and in which the subject-object relationship is mediated by a 'screen', which in terms of museums and sites of memory refers to all forms of narrative and interpretation that combine to deliver a contextualised and directive experience. Yet these devices also '…distance the viewer from the

artefact by predetermining its cultural value' (*Ibid*: 3). In addition, the complexities of the individual subject that are referred to here are acknowledged as crucial mediators in the formation of conclusions about the meaning-making process in the museums that are studied. A Foucauldian approach to research is therefore useful for '…revealing a vibrant plurality of epistemic perspectives which always contains some bodies of experiences and memories that are erased or hidden in the mainstream frame works that become hegemonic after prevailing in sustained epistemic battles' (Medina, 2011: 11). The following paragraphs therefore mobilise an analytical strategy for examining museums and sites of memory as examples of such mainstream frameworks in the public culture of Lithuania.

Andersen (2003) notes that an analytical strategy is not composed of a set of methodological rules, but rather of an approach that addresses how the epistemologist intends to construct and harness the observations of others to the object of his own observations. An interpretative framework of the central concepts in *Archaeology of Knowledge* is therefore presented in this section to bring context to their orientation in a study of museums as sites of articulation within a discursive formation. Before doing so, however, it is worthwhile noting that plenty of interpretations of *archaeology* have been produced in broader contexts and in multi-disciplinary settings. Williams (2005) provides a summary of the application of Foucauldian archaeology and genealogy and cites several examples of research into multiple fields including:

- Sociology and Hall and Dugay's (1966, cited in Williams 2005: 19) existentialist study of modern understandings of the human subject.
- Feminist theory and the life work of Judith Butler who problematised the concept of 'woman' with the aim of unlocking up new ways of understanding self and gender
- Critical psychology and Parker's (2004, cited in Williams, 2005: 21) genealogy of the evolution of discourse analysis following a shift in emphasis in psychology away from laboratory experiments and towards language

- Education and Tambouku's (2003, cited in Williams, 2005: 22) genealogy of the discursive production of women in education

As the above summary would suggest, the deployment of *Archaeology* has been applied in a range of fields including in the social sciences and in psychiatry and this is perhaps unsurprising given that these areas embody the central fields of enquiry across Foucault's life work. Nicholls (2008) applied *Archaeology* to physiotherapy practice focussing on the range of disciplinary technologies deployed by practising physiotherapists. Of interest is his interpretation of the text which '…includes any utterance or form of expression that plays a role in forming or moderating what can be thought, said or done at any one time' (*Ibid: 32).* This understanding of the text is developed to reveal an interpretation of the 'statements' of discourse, which combine to create 'the text', as utterances which make some sort of truth-claim. The particular knowledge, he suggests which is embraced as 'truth' at any given moment is the product of a discursive formation which describes statements, subjects, objects and thematic choices. Discursive formations therefore define the totality of 'all effective statements' (*Ibid*:32). Statements are the most fundamental units of analysis in archaeological enquiry since these create objects, subject positions and concepts and they render these 'visible' and thus they can be analysed. There are discursive 'rules', however that govern the visibility of statements and rules that make some of them authoritative, and expressed as statements, and there are rules that make others deviant and therefore excluded from statements (O' Donnell and Spires, 2012).

The latter discourses can be conceptualised as sites of discursive resistance. For example Kundu (1999) discusses how feminist discourses have insufficient social power to appear in the institutional practices of the range of museums that she studied but they nonetheless offer a 'space of resistance' in opposition to the dominant subject positions of femininity. This thesis later points to a similar situation in terms of the discursive production of 'Holocaust' in Lithuanian museums and sites of memory in which the anomalous discourse of Holocaust

(although it is never labelled as such in the institutions that are analysed) can be conceptualised as a site of discursive resistance. Graham (2005) identifies the behaviourally disordered child, who 'chooses' to make the wrong choices, as a troublesome discourse in the field of pedagogy. What is crucial to the understanding of how the objects of discourse appear or are excluded from, or constructed as problems through statements is an understanding of the 'surfaces of emergence' of these objects; '...the authorities that give weight to discursive constructions' (Nicholls, 2008:32) and the way such objects are classified and ordered into 'grids of specification'. For Nicholls, one of the objects in his discourse analysis was the treatment bed as a site of tension that legitimated 'touch' in the medical clinical setting. The subject positions around this object involved an analysis of who is authorised in the profession of physiotherapy to speak of these objects and how these subject positions place practitioners in differing relations to the objects of discourse. Nicholls' (*Ibid*) interpretation of the concept of discursive concepts and strategies led him to observe and analyse the legitimating of practice and compliance with a set of clinical norms in practising massage therapy. Nicholls therefore takes his methodological orientation from the four 'basic principles' of Foucault's discursive formation summarised by Balasak (2010: 7) as:

- **Objects**: discursive objects are not pre-established and fixed concepts. Rather they are formed and shaped by the statements that are made about them. *Archaeology* is not concerned with the origins of the objects of discourse, but with their emergence in history (their 'surfaces of emergence)

- **Enunciative Modality**: Here Foucault is concerned with considering who is speaking *about* the object and what conditions allow the speaker to make their assertions. To address this it is necessary to focus not only on the subject, but the institutional platform from which they make the statement which gives it legitimation. For Foucault, it is the enunciative modality that constitutes the subject, rather than the other way around. For example, a Member of Parliament (MP) making a statement in

the House of Commons is constituted as a powerful actor not by what he says, but by his legitimated position of discursive power in the seat of government.

- **Concept**: Why does the statement actualise certain concepts over others and what are the rules for their conceptualisation?

- **Themes or strategies:** the grouping of statements around notions of practice that situate people in relation to the concepts that these statements construct. These are the social norms that define the subject position.

Foucault's archaeological framework has also been used as an analytical and philosophical lens in cultural studies (see for example Lord, 2006 and Hooper Greenhill, 1992). However there are fewer bodies of work in the specific fields of cultural studies and tourism that have harnessed Foucault's philosophies and fewer yet which have mobilised the ideas in 'archaeology' in particular to identify and describe specific discursive formations and the rules that govern these which '…define, limit and form the things that are 'sayable'' (Foucault, 1991 cited in Smith, 2004). Indeed, very little of the literature produced around *archaeology* attempts to put the theories that are advanced by Foucault into operation, preferring instead to focus on interpretations of what was meant by this or that concept in what remains a terminally contested work. However Radford (2002) reflects that a discursive formation is not an intangible philosophical concept that is accessible only to post-modern scholars. Discursive formations are real and can be seen, touched and experienced because the objects that they comprise of are material objects that have material effects.

O' Donnell and Spires' (2012) analysis of the discursive image of America produced through the televised Super Bowl[24] is perhaps a milestone example of research which has both articulated an approach to identifying discursive formations and which has espoused a detailed and practical discussion of how one might identify and describe the 'rules' of a discursive formation. In their paper, the authors analyse ten consecutive televised Super Bowls (between

1999-2008) to map the discursive image these present of the United States of America (USA) as a society characterised (through the Super Bowl) by fun, opportunity and enterprise 'carried out under the protection of the state and military'. To do so the authors look for 'systems of dispersion' which have 'no single author' but which consist of statements emanating from a wide range of often anonymous sources' (*Ibid*, 2012: 4).

They note that, despite the internal oppositions and contestation that takes place within a discursive formation, these remain bound together and possible to individuate based upon their 'regularities' and 'rules of formation' which govern the objects of their discourse, the manner of their enunciation and the concepts and thematic choices of the whole. These rules, according to Foucault's philosophy constitute '…conditions of existence (but also of coexistence, maintenance, modification and disappearance) in a given discursive division' (Foucault 2002, cited in O'Donnel and Spires, 2012: 4). Importantly they are guided by Foucault's approach to discourse analysis and in particular the notion that discourse need not be textual or discursive in nature and may refer to institutions, political events and processes, each of which can be defined by specific forms of articulation. They analyse various discursive sites which articulate the discourse of 'America at Play' and these include game commentary, adverts, pre-game shows, the national anthem, the half-time show, the sideline interviews and the on-screen graphics *inter alia* (anything that gives the discourse an 'effect in the real') and describe a number of competing discourses including affluence, community and celebrity all of which are found to dominate the televised version of the Super Bowl at the exclusion of a range of absent 'dissonant' voices such as sexual misbehaviour and the prohibitive cost of the events for fans. Crucially, their research offers an example of an operationalised methodology that applies the concepts in *Archaeology* to a partial but specific field of enquiry[25]. The study also gives clarity in terms of how one might identify what is signified by the various terminologies that Foucault introduced. For example, 'enunciations' are identified as

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[24] The annual American Football championships of the National Football League (NFL) in the USA.

[25] Foucault only applied *Archaeology* as a retrospective 'method' to the scientific fields of psychiatry and punitive systems.

commentary, adverts and ancillary productions of the Super Bowl such as pre-shows. Statements are identified as the functions of existence that limit how the Super Bowl speaks about an American society characterised by 'fun, opportunity and enterprise', and the discourses that are authorised by the Super Bowl are given identities such as 'affluence'.

I have therefore taken some orientation from a range of previous 'operationalised' research using *Archaeology* in other disciplines such as health and the social sciences but I take stronger orientation from studies that might be considered 'closer to home' in the sense that they are produced in the context of cultural studies. O' Donnell and Spire's (2012) approach has been influential as well as research produced by Bryce (2009), Radford *et al* (2011) and Graham (2005) who, like O' Donnell and Spires have identified discursive formations in a partial field of knowledge and who, also like O'Donnell and Spires, have presented suggested approaches to operationalising *Archaeology* as part of their contribution to the literature. Crucially, I have sought to suggest an interpretation of *Archaeology* as an analytical framework for tracking museum narratives (despite its elusiveness as a prescribed approach) since, for a methodological strategy to work, it must at some point, free itself from the rhetoric of taboo around 'applying' Foucault and make an attempt to do so, if only to give some structure to the articulation of analysis and findings. I have articulated an approach to applying Foucault in the section below.

4.4.   Archaeological Discourse and Museums/Sites of Memory

Despite the acknowledgement that *Archaeology of Knowledge* was not intended as a methodological prescription (Foucault himself never applied it to a 'research problem') it has nonetheless proved useful, and usable, in analysing discourse without pursuing a structuralist or rationalist approach, such as that which might be invoked by critical discourse analysis (Andersen, 2004). Amongst the commonalities that exist between most published studies that have harnessed archaeological discourse are the following key concepts (*Ibid:* 8)

- The *statement* which can be considered to be the 'atom', or smallest unit of discourse. Foucault is elusive about a final definition but published studies tend to approach the statement as a meaning that follows the 'agreed codes' (Foucault, 1969:104) of a wider discourse. To identify a discourse, those involved in its production must be 'talking about 'the same thing', by placing themselves at 'the same level' or at 'the same distance', by deploying 'the same conceptual field'' (*Ibid:* 126). However, as Andersen (2004) points out, statements are themselves the product of discourse analysis. It is therefore the discourse analyst that defines statements (based on observing 'agreed codes') *through* discourse analysis and hence the analyst 'constructs the regularity of the dispersion that is the discursive formation' (*Ibid*: 8). The statement and the rules of its formation are therefore proposed by discourse analysis.

- *Discourse* which is the total articulated body of formulated statements and this is also referred to as the 'archive' in archaeological discourse analysis

- The *Discursive formation* which is a system of dispersion for statements. The 'rules of formation' describe the regularity in these statements.

A key concept in Foucauldian thinking and one which is central to the philosophy of this thesis is the 'discursive formation', or system of knowledge. This can be viewed as a body of anonymous, historical rules and statements which emerge in the time and space of a given period; what Foucault terms an 'episteme'. To identify a discursive formation in the context of museums and sites of memory is to contextualise the museum and its interpretive practices as 'enunciations' (Foucault, 1972) and to attempt to identify some regularity in their irregularity as dispersed statements that create, and are created by, the objects of their discourse. Radford *et al* (2002) offer a useful metaphor for understanding the discursive formation in suggesting that anyone seeking to understand the concept should imagine being in a library facing a collection of books arranged on the shelves. The books are arranged in a specific format, typically according to the proximity of their subject matters. Attempting to understand

why the books are arranged in this way is similar to attempting to understand a discursive formation in contemplating narratives and texts. The books, to elaborate on what is a useful metaphor, have been arranged in a particular order according to the preferences of 'qualified' people who possess the requisite and legitimate levels of knowledge and authority to be able to authorise such an arrangement. Such actors also exert some control over which titles are to be 'de-accessioned' (no longer included in the collection). There is something beyond the books themselves, suggest Radford *et al* (2002) that enables the cataloguer to group titles in particular ways. As Foucault (2002: 38) himself wrote: 'whenever between objects, types of statement, concepts or thematic choices, one can define a regularity (an order) we will say, for the sake of convenience, that we are dealing with a discursive formation'.

Museums and sites of memory can be approached based on such an epistemological strategy in the sense that objects, and narratives such as tours and ancillary directive visitor texts, are deployed and arranged in a particular order, again, according to the legitimated preferences of the curators and exhibitors who also make decisions as to what objects and narratives should *not* be displayed. It follows that ethnographic artefacts and narratives in museums can be viewed as objects that are classified according to the frameworks of knowledge that allow them to be understood. However, museums, just as libraries, as statements of discourse, do not operate in isolation. Neither do they produce narratives that are in putative agreement. Rather they can occur as dispersed statements that are nonetheless part of a rule-bound discursive formation constituting a 'body of knowledge' that authorises certain discourses at the expense of others. In museums such bodies of knowledge might exist as anthropological, aesthetic or educational discourses (Hall, 1997).

The concepts and terminologies that appear in *Archaeology* which are central to the pursuit of a discursive formation are given some contextualised interpretation in the table below. These concepts appear at various junctures throughout the ensuing analysis and so it is useful to offer an interpretation of their meaning as they apply to an analysis of museum and heritage

discourse. The purpose of this table is not to appropriate these terminologies into a finite or deterministic framework, but rather to offer a contextualised interpretation of the key concepts in archaeology in such a way as to create more access to them in a study that seeks to develop an understanding of museums and sites of memory as discursive practices.

Table 4.1: Terminologies and concepts from *Archaeology of Knowledge* and their proposed contextualised deployment in a study of museums and sites of memory (adapted from Foucault, 1969 and O' Donnell and Spires, 2012)

Concept from Archaeology of Knowledge	Broad definition	Application to this study
The statement	The smallest 'unit' of discourse; albeit an unstable unit. It is defined according to its field of use in discourse analysis. The statement is produced and described in the process of discourse analysis. O'Donnell and Spires (2012) identified 'community' and 'competition' (amongst others) as statements in the field of the televised Super Bowl. These emerge on 'surfaces' such as game commentary and advertisements. Discourse can be understood as the plural of the statement.	The museum is a statement of discourse and it can also be analysed as an autonomous discourse comprising of statements (although Foucault saw any analysis of the latter position as 'futile'). The museum conceptualised at the level of the statement can be identified as a visual appraratus of signs and symbols (for example written and visual visitor interpretation, and the arrangement of objects, sometimes called 'proxemics' by exhibitioners) to which a status of knowledge is ascribed. The question here is how can 'occupied Lithuania' come to be known in Lithuania's museums and sites of memory? One might ask this question in relation to *all* museums or in relation to museums outside of Lithuania but this is a partial study of a clearly delineated field. The statement is governed by 'rules'. For example, there are an inherent set of rules governing the ways in which genocide can and cannot be spoken about in Lithuanian museums. These rules only become obvious following an accumulation of familiarity with their surfaces of emergence. Statements may be repeated, but their materiality (their nature and the rules of their formation) in exhibitory environments varies. They nonetheless refer to the same object of discourse (for example the discursive production of women, or of the technology of warfare in the field of battlefield museum discourse). Finding regularity amongst the irregularity of statements is the purpose of archaeological discourse analysis.
The archive	The archive refers to systems of statements and the rules that govern their formation, correlation and	Understanding the archive involves an interrogation of how the objects of museum discourse can come

	transformation in a given place and time (Nicholls, 2009)	to be used (or ignored) in systems of statements. For example, the museums analysed in this study deploy discourses according to particular laws governing what can and cannot be said about, for example, Soviet occupation. This analysis comes into more focus the further back the analyst is prepared to go with a series of texts. In this study (and in most) it remains partially defined.
Enunciation	The discursive conditions under which something can be said and the position from which it can be said. O' Donnell and Spires (2012) refer to modalities of enunciation including commentary and advertisements.	The modalities of enunciation will include exhibitions but also guided tours and other directive visitor information such as guide books and interpretive narrative that accompanies the tangible objects that are displayed (all in the English language in this case).
Discursive Formation	The system for the dispersion of statements discussed earlier in the chapter	A discursive formation refers to the discursive practices in which memory is produced in a field of knowledge. In this case discursive formation refers to the particular ways in which knowledge is produced around an imagined version of occupied Lithuania and the associated human costs. It refers to the rules that impose limitations and mandates on what can and cannot be spoken about in the museum environment. This is typically dependent on exposure to an entire 'field' such as the fields of psychiatry and of the justice system that Foucault reasoned around. For this study, the field of an imagined Lithuania is partially studied through an examination of its production in museums and sites of memory.
Material repeatability	For Foucault the statement has to have a substance, a support, a place, and a date and when any of these requisites change, the statement too changes. O' Donnell and Spires (2012) discuss the 'structural realignments' that the discourses they identified were subject to following the September 11th 2001 terrorist attacks on the USA. The discourses of community and the role of the state in particular had taken on new enunciative modalities in a USA that	The variables of importance for this study are place, substance and support in relation to the bearing these have on the statements that are identified. For example, the use of the term genocide and the avoidance of the use of the term 'Holocaust' are examples of irregularity that have a bearing on the statement. Temporal nuances are not identified in this research but they may be in future research, particularly in the light of events such as EU

	had taken on radical new political discourses in the light of these terrorist attacks.	membership which might have a bearing on the way in which the identified discourses are deployed.
Knowledge	Refers to the discursive 'conditions of possibility' for what is generally understood to be objective or subjective 'knowledge.'	This is essentially how the discursive practices of museums are understood as knowledge. What is required here is discourse analysis itself to explore the discursive production of an imagined Lithuania according to its deployment in museums.
Surfaces of emergence	The surface effects that bring about new knowledge. Bryce (2005) in his study analysed broadsheet newspapers to examine the discursive production of Turkey in Western Media. O' Donnell and Spires (2012) explored adverts, television pre-shows and commentary *inter alia* to explore the discursive production of the USA in the televised Super Bowl. The commonality between approaches is that a wide range of texts spread over a broad horizon should be examined (Nicholls, 2009) to carry out discourse analysis although the fact that only a 'partial study' (Bryce, *Ibid*) of a field can be achieved is a realistic caveat and a constant research limitation.	The heritage/museum version of Lithuania as *discursive formation* is complex and consists not only of the exhibits and narratives themselves, but also of guided tour commentaries, visitor guides and books that are authored and sold by the sites along with non-textual statements such as memorials, statues (and the contexts in which they are placed) and graphics. A number of discourses emerge out of these; some authorised and some limited in discourse and thus 'deviant'.

The above table therefore suggests a framework for applying *Archaeology of Knowledge* as an analytical lens to understand discourse in the Lithuanian museums and sites of memory that are the subject of my analysis. It will therefore be used, not to be deterministic or to 'oversimplify the subtle nuances in Foucault's approach' (Nicholls, 2005: 39) but to remain true to this approach whilst being clear about how it *might* be used in the specific context of this study. This framework is therefore intended as a way of understanding and deploying the key concepts associated with archaeological discourse analysis to studies of museums and sites of memory in other spaces and times. It is an invitation to an interpretation of Foucault's concepts in '*Archaeology'*.

The research strategy has also been informed by the key methodological propositions advanced by Nicholls (2008). These propositions are essentially a set of principles that the author suggests might be instructive in carrying out discourse analysis and their deployment in this study lends some methodological rigour to a thesis that is based purely on textual analysis in terms of its methodology. The first of these propositions is to engage with a 'plurality of texts' requiring patience, attention to detail and an accumulation of source material, or, in the case of this research, an accumulation of experiencing source materials that cannot be physically 'collected', but which can be experienced and recorded (in my case as publications along the route to PhD completion). Whilst the next section of this methodology, below, reflects over the practical approach to undertaking primary research for this thesis it is pertinent to acknowledge here that all of the 'high profile[26]' sites that articulate narratives of 'Lithuanian at war' were visited and experienced in their entirety as autonomous sites of articulation. In this sense, the aim was to map the terrain (*Ibid*) upon which knowledge is formulated. Foucault's use of geological metaphor to explain how to approach knowledge is usefully interpreted by Nicholls who suggests that excavating beneath the surface of

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[26] I refer here to all of the museums and sites of memory that were visited. Each of these appear (although seldom prominently) in most English language guidebooks and visitor information texts that promote Lithuania and so they made it onto the final shortlist of units of analysis and they are analysed as 'experiences'. The ancillary texts that were available from each were also analysed such as information leaflets, printed visitor guides and books that were considered to offer extended (certainly partisan) narratives and interpretations of some of these sites.

discourses means considering a wide range of texts (museums and sites of memory and their ancillary narratives in this case) spread over a broad horizon (a broad geographic horizon in this case) based on a range of source materials.

The second of Nicholls' propositions is to focus on 'local, material practices' (2008:37). Here he cautions the researcher away from seeking the effects of discourses in 'grand theories and ideologies' and suggests exploring texts 'in the locations where oppression, forms of discipline, regulations and constraints, binaries of separation, claims of originality, and self-evident truths are present' (*Ibid*: 37). He suggests therefore focusing on the 'immediacy of events' in the conduct of the practices that are being analysed. The advice has resonance with Bryce's (2005) caveat that an analysis of a complete discursive field is unrealistic so the units of analysis and the research strategy must be limited but clearly designated. This study is therefore restricted to museums and sites of memory as statements themselves in the broader, as yet uncharted discursive production of the destination identity of Lithuania, yet a discursive formation with its own set of rules and practices can certainly be described in the heritage context that has been accessed as a primary cultural unit of analysis. Nicholls further suggests the researcher should 'seek out places where material practices are inscribed, documented or stated, and focus on practices that seem obvious or taken-for-granted' (2008: 38). Museums offer one such field of analysis. Finally, Nicholls counsels that one should attend to the 'ruptures, fissures and tensions' on the surface of discourses and instead of seeking out thematic continuities that only serve to reinforce the progressive outlook of history, we should explore new discursive forms by 'problematising tensions, fissures and ruptures that might otherwise appear to be continuous discourses' (2008: 38). The ensuing discussion suggests much about the presence of troublesome discourses and variation across statements and discourses in the texts analysed.

4.5.   Research Strategy

The analysis to follow has been developed following visits and extensive contact within five ethnographic museums that interpret 20th century wartime occupation and human suffering. These museums and sites of memory are accepted as legitimate sites for the articulation of such narratives since they are profiled in many of the popular points of reference for inbound, English speaking tourists, such as Lonely Planet, Trip advisor, the Lithuanian Tourist Board and its approved leaflets and brochures and even on the pages of Ryanair's in-flight magazine. They can therefore be considered legitimate signifiers of the signified destination of Lithuania in so far as they are on the 'tourist radar'. Together, they offer what can be considered a dispersed narrative of wartime occupation and human tragedy in Lithuania. However, this analysis which is based upon an 'archaeological' interpretation of these sites remains a partial study of the wider discursive production of occupied Lithuania that might be found in, for example, films, novels, television and theatre. The thesis therefore provides a comprehensive discourse analysis of occupation and war articulated through the discursive practices of heritage, but it must be considered also as a limited study that does not look beyond museums as surfaces of emergence but it offers a foundation upon which to develop further research around the wider discursive field that it addresses. The sites that are studied can be framed as an extreme case used to highlight particular phenomenon in a dramatic fashion (Howarth and Torfing, 2005, cited in Letts, 2009).

The study has its origins in 2005 following an initial phase of research that set out to juxtapose two conflicting museum narratives of 'genocide' in Lithuania's capital, Vilnius[27]. At the time, the adopted research philosophy was interpretivism and the work (which was published in *Tourism Management* in 2007) had no specific conceptual orientation. It nonetheless laid the foundations for what was to become a longitudinal study of the discourses of war, genocide

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[27] The Museum of Genocide Victims was juxtaposed with the Vilna Gaon Jewish State Museum in terms of their narrative productions of 'truth' in relation to Nazi occupation during World War II (Wight and Lennon, 2006).

and occupation in the territory which is now called Lithuania, but which was, during the course of the events upon which the museums analysed base their narratives, for a long time, part of the Soviet Union as an occupied formerly autonomous political territory. The units of analysis were therefore extended following the results articulated in Wight and Lennon (2007) to the following sites which together represent the units of analysis for the study, along with the many ancillary texts that are associated with each such as guided tours, books and directive visitor literature such as guidebooks and information leaflets:

- The Vilna Gaon Jewish State Museum, Vilnius (an anomaly in the midst, as will be made clear)

- The Museum of Genocide Victims, Vilnius

- Panerai Memorial, near Vilnius

- Ninth Fort Museum, near Kaunas

- Grutas Park, Druskininkai

It is important to note that the 'texts' for this study are the museums themselves and as the 'authors' of discourse they are conceptualised as discursive practices that circulate and disperse discourse, and, in keeping with Foucault's philosophy, none of these is approached as the 'originator' of a discourse. In addition to analysing the museums themselves, however, other textual resources were collected and these are considered to be instrumental components within the discursive practice of the museums (Foucault might analogise these as 'sentences' that belong to statements). They are more than simply subsequent to an analysis of museum discourse since they are instrumental in *producing* this discourse.

They include:

- Guide books and leaflets

- Written visitor interpretation (photographed)

- Guided tours given in English: I was given permission to record only one of these at Ninth Fort Museum

- Unguided tours: an alternative to the above form of directive, interactive visitor interpretation. I participated in unguided tours of all of the museums and guided tours of some. There was no systematization to this – it simply depended on what was available at each museum.

- Non-textual visitor interpretation: photographed and including images, graphics, monuments and other artefacts and their spatial location and deployment in wider discursive contexts.

- Books and other printed formats offering extended narratives of the themes on display: these include those that are authored, sold and thus 'authorised' by the owners and other directorial stakeholders of the constituent museums in which they were obtained

- Newsletters and other correspondence that I subscribed to

- Articles in the media about the museums and sites of memory

Visits to, and analysis of these sites and the ancillary texts that were collected took place between 2005 and 2011. In terms of a strategy for fieldwork, several hundred photographs of exhibitions, visitor interpretation and other artefacts were taken, and remain available, in digital format, and a wide range of ancillary texts were collected and analysed. For pragmatic reasons, only a selection of these resources are appended to this thesis. I have made available some of the most salient images and photocopied texts that facilitate specific observations and analyses and which give the reader greater orientation in the section to follow. It is however important to note that discourse analysis is only made possible based on extensive interactions

with a broad horizon of texts and so the discursive formation that is later described defines the rules of formation of an object of discourse that is found across the wide range of printed and non-printed texts encountered.

Early visits to two of the museums listed above were undertaken with the specific objective of carrying out interviews with senior members of staff from the Museum of Genocide Victims and the Vilna Gaon Jewish State Museums. It is acknowledged however that these interviews took place prior to an epistemological revision that saw interpretivism replaced with a constructivist approach that places value on an analysis of the 'text' over an interpretation of human behaviour. The reason for the ethological realignment of philosophical and methodological strategies was linked to an erstwhile search for an appropriate epistemological lens that could be used to subject museums narratives themselves (not museum narratives according to the subjective conclusions of others in a research population) to meaningful analysis. It was also of course a consequence of the supervisory process of the PhD and the agreement that was reached on a suitable philosophical and methodological approach to undertake the study. This epistemological revision is located in the chronological evolution of publications upon which part of this thesis is produced. The table below maps this methodological journey towards the deployment of a dominant research strategy for this thesis and it also maps the chronological order in which the units of analysis for this research (the various museums and sites of memory) were visited:

Table 4.2: Mapping the evolution of a Philosophical Approach and Research Strategy for Analysing Museum Narratives of War and Occupation in Lithuania

Publication	Authorship	Unit/s of analysis	Date	Philosophical approach	Research Methods
'Selective Interpretation and . Eclectic Human Heritage in Lithuania' in Tourism Management Volume 28, Issue 2	With Prof. J J Lennon	The Vilna Gaon State Jewish Museum (including Panerai Memorial and the 'Green House' and the Museum of Gencocide Victims)	2007	Interpretivism with some implied discourse analysis and no fixed conceptual underpinning	Qualitative interviews with some attempt at textual analysis
'The Legerdemain in the Rhetoric of Battlefield Museums: Historical Pluralism and Cryptic Parti Pris' in Battlefield Tourism. Chris Ryan (Eds),	Sole author	N/A	2007	Some implicit application of discourse analysis with no fixed conceptual underpinning.	None
Competing National Narratives: An Ethical Dimension, in Shedding Light on Dark Tourism, Richard Sharpley (Ed),	Sole author	Grutas park	2009	Constructivist and based on discourse analysis albeit without a comprehensive conceptual underpinning.	Discourse analysis implied
Conference Paper: Myth, Rhetoric and Human Tragedy in Lithuanian Museums and Sites of Memory. Presented at *Myths of Tourism* in Zadar, Croatia.	Sole author	Ninth Fort Museum	2013	Post-structuralist, Constructivist approach based on Foucauldian Archaeological Discourse Analysis	Foucauldian Archaeological Discourse Analysis
This thesis	Sole author	All	2014	Post structuralist constructivist approach	Foucauldian Archaeological Discourse Analysis

In undertaking discourse analysis, a systematic approach might focus on discovering "how; under what conditions, and for what reasons discourses are constructed, contested and changed" (Howarth, 200, cited in Letts, 2009). A case study approach is therefore considered an appropriate way to 'locate the articulatory practices' (*Ibid*) of the museums and sites of memory that are the subject of analysis. The case study as a research strategy is a commonly preferred methodology for examining phenomena in community, psychology and sociology in situations where the researcher has little control over events (Yin, 1994). Case study analysis is often used in examinations of contemporary events where behaviour cannot be manipulated, but can be analysed and understood by incorporating other qualitative methods, such as direct observation and interviewing (Yin, 1994, Kenny, 1984). The modern case study draws from a number of other disciplines including the clinical methods of doctors and casework techniques adhered to in social work. Explanatory case study design is used purely to provide an initial overview of the sites that were analysed. It is an approach that therefore serves a transient purpose to articulate the context of each of these autonomous discursive spaces to the reader before developing an holistic archaeological discourse analysis that identifies a discursive formation based on particular enunciative rules of formation governing the discourses of an imagined version of occupied Lithuania. As such, the findings chapter of this thesis is developed across two sub-chapters. The first of these introduces and analyses the five museums and sites of memory that were visited and encountered as primary units of analysis in this research, and the second findings sub-section presents a discourse analysis of these sites and the material representations of the histories that they articulate. The latter section will specifically examine the rules that impose limitations and mandates on what can and cannot be spoken about in the museum environments and texts encountered.

The exhibitions that are introduced in the ensuing chapter are explored individually in terms of how each prefers to select, control, organise and classify meanings. As concept 'apparatuses' (Richter, 2007) each is produced uniquely in a complex performative

environment encompassing, amongst others, the material location, the exhibitory space and use of objects, obvious connections to external social-consensus building institutions such as local and central government and their cultural policies, the concept of subject and object, the ennobling of objects, the extent of visitor passivity/activity, opportunities for subsequent action by visitors, the financial support received by each, the people who commissioned each project, the narration of the display, any gaps in the display (in terms of absent subjects and objects) and the finer details of the performative environment including lighting, labels and sound. Bal (2006) has also suggested that analysing museum discourse might involve a search for contested meanings, contradictions and ambiguities and that the discursive formation itself can be identified based on considerations of multimedial 'speech acts' which transcend objects, images, sounds and narrations. None of the exhibitions are approached as anything more than sites of interpretation and none is acknowledged as offering a totality of history. The aim of the ensuing chapters is instead to parse the rules of discourse that lend a continuity to the ennobling of the subjects and objects that are thematic to this small group of museums and sites of memory. At the heart of the analysis is the discovery of who is speaking and on behalf of whom and of which ideologies are visible. The analysis also seeks to explore the extent to which the exhibitions suppress certain voices. There are no claims to completeness but there are claims to the usefulness of discourse analysis as a means to raise questions about the accepted truths and myths that emerge and fade within the wider discourses of destinations.

The analysis to follow therefore begins by offering an explanatory profile of each museum as an individual entity before their rhetoric, in terms of writing, speech and aesthetics, is analysed individually at the level of the statement and collectively at the level of discursive formation. The profiles are informed by reflections over the site visits that took place between 2004 and 2012. The fieldwork approach involved comprehensively cataloguing, through photography, each exhibitory environment and to take tours where they were

available. Tours, images and interpretive narrative were approached as 'text'. All, or certainly most, English language interpretation in the form of signage and narrative that accompanied photographs and objects was photographed for later reference. A full catalogue of images has been backed up to an external drive (an Apple 'Time Capsule') and this catalogue can be made available upon request. It is likely that I will publish it to a social media site such as Flickr as a reference point to include in future publications. Visit to the museums and sites of memory were made between May 2006 and July 2012 and each visit was followed up with a publication. This activity is charted in Table 4.2 presented earlier in this chapter. Finally, a number of methodological limitations were encountered during the process of data collection and these are reflected over below.

4.6.   The Methodological Limitations and Ethical Management of Archaeological Discourse Analysis

The very practice of discourse analysis necessitates its own central weakness which is that analysis is unavoidably based to some degree on subjective observations (albeit informed through theory and adherence to a systematic research strategy) and interpretations of phenomena, as opposed to following one of the more typically prescriptive research strategies offered via interpretive and positivist routes to knowledge creation (Yin, 2010). Foucault accepts a social constructionist position which holds that knowledge is not simply a reflection of reality. Rather, he views 'truth' as a discursive construction and various regimes of knowledge therefore legitimate what is true and false (Jorgensen and Phillips, 2002). Since no claims are made to revealing the legitimacy of discourses (assertions which come as close as they can to revealing a 'truth') identified through discourse analysis, a key limitation is that competing claims to alternative discourses that might be identified by another researcher examining the same cultural phenomenon are always possible (Powers, 2001). Such a limitation is not however the unique preserve of discourse analysis since the refutation of

findings is a common occurrence in all social scientific, and scientific research. In addition, the results of discourse analysis can never be 'generalised' to other situations, other discourses, or other communities or individuals (*Ibid*: 64). Any hunches or hypotheses made about discourse must be tested using an appropriate analytical method. For example, if I suspect, as I do to an extent, that occupation themed museums in the other Baltic States of Latvia and Estonia produce similar subject positions and discursive objects as those that I have identified in the Lithuanian context, I would need to apply the same rigorous analysis to these institutions as I have to my Lithuanian 'project' before making any conclusions. Powers (*Ibid*: 64) also suggests that discourse analysts anticipate that their work could 'raise the consciousness' of both the reader and of the stakeholders practising within the context of the discourse that is analysed in many cases to '…reduce oppression and provide alternate speaking positions'. In other words, there may be an agenda (perhaps a political or cultural one) underpinning the analysis undertaken. One of the dangers suggested by this limitation is that resistant discourses become co-opted, or are not seen by those for whom the analysis is intended. It is probably a great challenge for anyone that attempts to analyse discourse to remain impartial as a subject and to deny the existence of 'truth' in the manner that is requested by Foucault.

In terms of the chosen methodological strategy, I have opted to look for discourses only within a particular institutional context and only within a finite number of these. Bryce (2009: 183) adds a pertinent methodological caveat in suggesting that the consumption of particular cultural media (newspapers in his case; museums in mine) is by no means a 'majority pursuit'. Museums, like newspapers assign themselves a particular mission, but one which only holds appeal for those that subscribe. What I have therefore explored in undertaking this discourse analysis is, as Bryce (*Ibid*: 183) puts it an *invitation* to a discursive experience and one which depends on subscription to the kind of heritage experiences I have described in the ensuing chapter. The museum, as with other cultural experiences invites its visitors into a unique and intimate subject position, or consciousness in relation to the themes that it suggests. To some

degree therefore, an assumption is made in this research that each visitor is interpellated into the kind of subject position which I myself recognised myself within in experiencing these museums both through the lens of theory and as a 'regular' consumer without a research agenda. In terms of the scope of the research, I opted to examine museums and sites of memory as 'surfaces of emergence' in producing discourses of and about occupation in 20th century Lithuania. I therefore offer a partial analysis of what is doubtless a wider 'positivity' in relation to this cultural reference point and there are manifold other formats which might have been, and could later be, explored which circulate similar discursive tropes to many cultural consumers. These are likely to be found anywhere that there exists a point of connection between Lithuanian culture and 'international', English speaking, cultural consumers. Most of these points of connection in the present day are likely to exist as tourism experiences and might include city tours, guide books (of national and international provenance but all necessarily based on Lithuania's recent history of occupation) and online market facing resources that sell tourism experiences based on a particular marketed 'promise' about Lithuanian culture and history. Other examples that are perhaps less easy to research using discourse analysis, simply because there are not enough of them currently, include English language television documentaries and other 'non-fictional' televised accounts (Michael Palin visited Lithuania in 2009 and spoke to occupation and genocide as museum themes), theatre and 'the news' all of which may offer potential discursive spaces to explore in future.

In terms of the ethics of discourse analysis there are no people to 'protect' in any proactive or retroactive sense as far as the research strategy goes. There was no requirement to consider the rights of participants since the analysis is based purely on an analytical treatment of the consumption of heritage as 'text'. The argument about ethics in discourse analysis of this type resides in how knowledge is produced and the location of findings between the two poles of advocacy (the manufacturing of option) and objective reflection. As Wrbouschek (2009:41)

puts it, if discourse, as identified through research, is understood as a kind of truth articulation then in 'pointing to these facts' the researcher effectively situates himself inside an act of truth constitution which is itself contingent on discursive origins. The 'risk' therefore in carrying out discourse analysis is constructing and advocating 'truth', rather than offering an understanding of how power constitutes discourse, knowledge and subjectivities in a given phenomenon. As Jorgensen and Phillips, (2002:15) put it 'because truth is unattainable, it is fruitless to ask whether something is true or false. Instead, the focus should be on how effects of truth are created in discourses'. If there is a practical adherence in this research to a code of 'researcher ethics' therefore, it is in forming conclusions that I acknowledge as being limited to the analytical method out of which they arise. My aim has not been to replace the discourses I have found with others and this argument is explored further in the ensuing chapter which articulates the analysis that has been undertaken based upon the methodological approach outlined in this chapter.

Finally, I cannot stake a claim to having analysed *all* of the heritage based texts and narratives that interpret this period of time throughout Lithuania since I may well have overlooked any number of smaller scale, remote sites of memory, or planned sites, that may well exist but which have not been hitherto profiled in either tourism marketing literature or acknowledged by the Association of Lithuanian Museums. As is not uncommon[28], a number of sites of war crimes or museums that interpret the events of 20th century occupation may well remain unmarked by visitor interpretation, or by history, and cannot therefore be considered in my analysis. Such sites cannot be viewed as belonging to the 'archive' that is pragmatically defined for the purposes of producing this finite study. In addition, my analysis remains limited to a partial field of discourse but also by the availability of options in terms of heritage sites in Lithuania that interpret and articulate aspects of 20th century occupation.

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[28] It is a quite well known fact that the *Führerbunker* in Berlin (the air raid shelter that Hitler too refuge in during the final days of World War II) remains largely unacknowledged by visitor interpretation. It is not yet officially part of the heritage 'product' in Germany.

5 Orientation to Five Lithuanian Museums and Sites of Memory Articulating Genocide

"It is because reality cannot be recorded that that realism is dead. We do not imitate the world, we construct versions of it." (Robert Scholes).

5.1. Introduction

This chapter, and the next presents what is offered as a Foucauldian archaeological discourse analysis of Lithuanian Museums and sites of memory based upon the conceptual approach explored in the previous chapter. This chapter sets out an analysis of the discursive activity of Lithuanian museums, limiting the approach to a study of 5 sites of memory that represent the most 'visible'[29] heritage attractions which interpret genocide and occupation and which are therefore thought to contribute to some extent to the identity of an emerging destination in receipt of a growing number of inbound visitors. The aim is not to effect a *comparison* of these sites, but to identify a regularity of themes, or 'statements' which require some identification in advance of applying the concept of discursive formation.

The chapter begins by offering an apercu of a history of the 20th century occupation of Lithuania before presenting a profile of the museums and sites of memory that were analysed and approached as sites that belong to the same conceptual 'archive'. The ensuing chapter then sets out to parse the rhetorical representation or 'myth' of 20th century human tragedy in these sites of articulation using a Foucauldian perspective. The present chapter therefore offers a context-setting prelude to the discourse analysis produced in the next chapter by providing some discussion of the historical context of the era that is interpreted in the museums that are analysed, and by introducing and profiling the putative content each of these museums in order to better understand their thematic regularities, and how these might come to interact in the context of discursive formation. The aim of the historical synopsis is not

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[29] They are 'visible' in the sense that they appear in many of the country's official tourism marketing publications such as in guides and leaflets accessible from Tourist Information Centres. Not all actors in public culture enjoy such visibility as the concluding section to this chapter posits.

to stake a claim to having presented the *official* history of this period of time. A summary, however, is a necessary condition of my analysis since it provides the context of the visitor interpretation and associated narratives that have been accessed.

The aim is to examine an exhibitions-based version of history that represents one discursive discipline amongst many others that make Lithuanian wartime occupation their subject matter. Other examples that might be ripe for future analysis include films, books, political discourses, social media discourses, academic or popular cultural histories and theatre. I have therefore set out to examine the mediated histories that exist at the level of discourse specifically in Lithuanian museums and sites of memory which offer English, and non-textual, or aesthetic narratives of the nation's recent history of occupation. An 'archaeological' analysis of an exhibited history is later produced with the aim of locating and defining a discursive formation around genocide and occupation in museums. Crucially, my aim is not to assert a doxic argument that tries to replace what is analysed with a 'better' discourse and I leave it to others, and probably to the contemporary and future scholars of history as a discipline, to use their historical method to interpret and disturb the wider debate over the 'accuracy' of what is doubtless a contentious historical period. The task at hand remains bound by the need to carry out a pragmatic piece of research based on a systematically structured strategy and so the narrative below is not comprised of a protracted and descriptive account of the historical era that is the subject matter for interpretation in the Lithuanian museums analysed. Rather it takes up the task of conceptualising these narratives as discursive practice through the language of exhibition.

I begin therefore by summarising the historical context to the visitor experiences that are considered before going on to introduce the museums and sites of memories that form an interpretation of these events in various formats such as exhibits, tours, booklets, leaflets and multimedia. These museums and sites of memory have been analysed as 'surfaces of

emergence' in the articulation of a version of Lithuania as a nation defined by genocide, occupation and conflict; all traces of the past used to define a teleological journey towards present day Lithuania. The implications of this latter aspect are the subject of discussion in the ensuing, concluding chapter. Some narrative within this chapter, and the next is adapted from a co-authored article in *Tourism Management* titled *'Selective Interpretation and Eclectic Human Heritage in Lithuania'* and it is with the permission of the journal's Editor, Chris Ryan, and the co-author John Lennon (see Appendix 2) that these sections have been introduced.

5.2.   Lithuania: The Interpretive Historical Context

The museums and sites of memory that were visited and analysed in the compilation of this thesis were identified as appropriate 'surfaces of emergence' in which to examine conflict-related discourse because they interpret a complex era in the history of Lithuania during which the nation came under two overlapping periods of occupation; first by the Soviet Union in 1940 and then by Nazi Germany between 1941 and 1945 (Rūstis, 2001). What appears to be widely accepted is that both periods of occupation saw large-scale unrest and persecution and both are defined by loss of life on a massive scale through human intervention. The former era began with the mobilisation of Stalin's secret police apparatus (the NKVD which later became the KGB) which set about abolishing Lithuanian laws, restricting religious practice and imposing Soviet policies and laws (Kaszeta, 1998). This period of occupation also saw the levying of exorbitant taxes on farmers and the dissolution, through arrest, deportation and imprisonment in Siberia in many cases, of anti-Soviet political groups (Rūstis, 2001); actions which ultimately galvanised the support that the Nazis received upon their arrival in Lithuania. The latter era of Nazi occupation resulted in the deaths of some 80% of the Lithuanian Jewish population which is estimated to have stood at between 210,000 and 250,000 before occupation (Dina, 2002). Nazi German occupation lasted for some 5 years and overlapped with the nation's reoccupation by Soviet forces in 1944 marking the beginning of a new period of

partisan resistance which culminated in guerrilla warfare and resulted in the deaths of some 130,000 Lithuanians (TrueLithuania, 2013). These events are explored further below but it is because of their temporal proximity and because of the enduring controversies and debate over the facts that each are defined by, and in particular, the extent to which Lithuanians collaborated in the mass murder of Jews under the auspices of Nazi occupation, that makes this period of time in particular an interesting one to examine in the discourses of Lithuanian museums that interpret the recent past to Lithuanian and international visitors. The analysis is developed as an interpretation of what the English speaking visitor is presented with and this is acknowledged as both a limitation since none of the Lithuanian texts were analysed, and a Lithuanian 'perspective' is therefore not offered, and, a unique strength since the study is quite specific in this regard and offers an interpretation of these sites as specific signifiers of identity to 'overseas' English speaking visitors and tourists.

5.2.1   'Double Occupation'

The Republic of Lithuania is located in Eastern Europe on the coast of the Baltic Sea bordering with Latvia to the north, Belarusia to the east and south, and to the south-west with Poland. The population is approximately 3.5 million (Countrymeters, 2013) and Vilnius, the capital, has a population of 803,304 (City Population, 2013). The Old Town of Vilnius is the nation's historical centre and is one of the largest capitals in Eastern Europe. Vilnius also represents the largest administrative centre in Lithuania comprising all major political, economic, social and cultural centres. The city has been described as the most architecturally beautiful Baltic capital (*Ibid*). Lithuania is the largest Baltic State and the only one to have enjoyed any period of sustained independence, emerging as a unified state in 1316 under the rule of Grand Duke Gediminas (Bousfield, 2004). Much later, the country was devastated by the Great Northern War of 1700-1721 involving conflict between Poland, Lithuania, Russia and Sweden who fought for sole control of the entire region. The state subsequently fell into Soviet hands by the end of the eighteenth century, yet Russia's collapse in World War I enabled the Lithuanians to re-establish their independence. From 1864 the Lithuanian language and alphabet were

banned and the so-called Grazdanka Lithuanian, based on the Russian alphabet, was introduced. During this time the cultural identity of the country went into a state of paralysis with casualties such as language, land and cultural ties amongst others (Lopata, 1993). Lithuania only began to recover some of its identity towards the end of the 19th century during the period known as the 'Spring of Nations'. It was during this time that a struggle for national culture and restitution of writing spread over the greater part of the country and there was an upsurge in the emergence of pressure groups, such as the 'Book Bearers', who fought for self-education rights and cultural survival (Puisyte, 1997).

The Kingdom of Lithuania gained independence by decree of the erstwhile German Tsar in 1918, yet the threads of independence began to weaken by 1939 when fascist Germany annexed Klaipeda and the surrounding region (Laučka, 1986). In July 1940, the country became largely annexed by the USSR and the successive German occupation in the years to follow eradicated the majority of Lithuania's Jewish population (Bousfield 2004 and Lopata, 1993). The first Soviet Occupation of Lithuania commenced in 1940 with the formation of a puppet government by Soviet forces that had capitalised on the opportunity to invade following an amendment to the German-Soviet Boundary and Friendship Treaty transferring Lithuania to Soviet governance (Kaszeta, 1988). A rigged election followed during which all non-communist candidates were intimidated and silenced. The emergent 'People's Diet'; the erstwhile title of the communist controlled parliament, 'asked' for the termination of the Lithuanian Republic in order that the nation could become annexed by the Soviet Union (Suziedelis, 2011). On August 3, 1940, the Soviet Union formally annexed the Lithuanian nation, arresting opponents to the newly formed Communist government and suppressing the role in the state of the Roman Catholic Church. Between 1940 and 1941 some 19 members of the former Lithuanian cabinet and 25 ranking members of other political parties were deported (*Ibid*) and some 15 priests were executed for conducting religious services. All of the city's banks and financial services were nationalised with no subsequent offer of compensation and the Lithuanian Litas (which

remains the national currency today) was discontinued (*Ibid*). Perhaps the most devastating aspect of the era was the deportations that took place in June 1941 that saw the NKVD remove what they viewed as the remaining resistance figures to the full communization and 'Russification' of the country (Kaszeta, 1988). Some 23 groups were shortlisted, along with their close relatives, for deportation including all former members of legislative bodies and political parties, army and police officers and judges, mayors and, perhaps bizarrely, hoteliers and restaurateurs. A swathe of the nation's population found themselves at risk of prosecution, torture or deportation (*Ibid*). Kaszeta suggests that during the first wave of deportations in 1941 around 30,425 deportees were sent to the remotest regions of the Soviet Union inside one week. Some 7,777 children were amongst this number and it 'is an accepted estimate' (Kaszeta, 1988:1) that around 75,000 Lithuanians (about 2% of the population) were executed, imprisoned, deported or exiled over the ensuing 12 months. Passive resistance emerged in the cultural realms and Lithuanians protested by voting for a popular cartoon character in elections and portraits of Lenin and Stalin were taken from public spaces. The occupation was interrupted on June *22,* 1941 as Hitler's Germany advanced into the Soviet Union routing the Red Army as they proceeded. Resistance groups, buoyed by the advancing 'liberators' mobilised themselves and set about declaring independence. Kaszeta (*Ibid*) suggests that for a brief time, most Lithuanians believed that the republic has been liberated and restored to them. It was not long, however until the German occupiers picked up with the type of oppression that Lithuanians had grown used to at the mercy of the Soviets.

Nazi occupation was therefore initially met with relief and optimism amongst Lithuanians, with many celebrating what they believed was an event which would mark the end of a regime of Soviet terror that was only just beginning to gain momentum. The occupation took place in the summer of 1941 in spite of a freshly counter-signed nonaggression pact between the two nations. Beginning with the annexation of the Memel-Klaipeda territory, the country was gradually incorporated into the Reich Commissariat Ostland (Reichskommissariat Ostland), a

German civilian administration covering the Baltic States and western Belorussia (USHMM, 2013). This took place at a time when the Jewish population of Lithuania had swelled following an influx of refugees from German-occupied Poland to reach about 250,000, or 10% of the population. The early days of Nazi occupation gave Lithuania's political classes further cause for optimism and administrative institutions were permitted continued tenure and this included the initially uninterrupted beginnings of a movement in Kaunas to re-establish the nation's independence (Dina, 2002). The movement lasted little over six weeks and saw the local government in Kaunas issue a handful of anti-Soviet and anti-Semitic laws and decrees that were only partially enacted. Volunteer forces, known as the Tautinio Darbo Apsaugos Batalianos (TDA) were mobilised in an effort to re-establish the national army yet they ultimately fell under the command of the Nazi occupiers and it is reported that they were instrumental in the executions of Lithuanian Jews at the site now known as Ninth Fort; one of the central units of analysis in this thesis (USHMM, 2013). Perhaps the most contentious aspect of this period of Lithuanian history is the extent to which this kind of collaboration took place. Dina (2002) notes that up until the events of the Holocaust Lithuania had been one of the highest profile centres of Jewish culture and learning with a population of up to 250,000. Holocaust in Lithuania has been described as unique since the extermination of the Jewish community was not staggered as it was elsewhere in Europe, with ghettoisation, deportation, concentration, and so on, but rather it is reported to have begun almost immediately with the elimination of some 1,500 Jews at the hands of Lithuanian partisans (Dina, 2002, USHMM, 2013). Dina (*Ibid*) suggests that mass executions took place mostly in Kaunas, at what is now 'Ninth Fort' museum, outside Vilnius at Panerai and in rural Rollkommando Hamann. The genocide rate of Lithuanian Jews at some 95–97% was amongst the highest in Europe and this has been attributed to wholesale Lithuanian collaboration with German occupying forces (*Ibid*). It has been suggested that Jews were held widely responsible for the occupation of the Soviet regime and that this sentiment was capitalised upon by Nazi propaganda (Senn, 2001). What is increasingly accepted, but remains particularly contentious and controversial, is that

the populations of German-occupied countries and regions to varying degrees collaborated with the occupying German authorities in the mass execution of local Jewish populations (USHMM, 2013). It has been suggested that Estonian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Ukrainian, and ethnic German collaborators in particular had a significant hand in killing Jews throughout eastern parts of Europe. Involvement varied from guarding the perimeters of execution sites (USHMM, 2013) to having a direct hand in murdering Jews.

By the summer of 1944 the Nazis were in retreat and the Soviet army were once again on the offence, invading Lithuania, recommencing mass deportations and orchestrating mass murder at a far more devastating rate than before. Over the course of the ensuing ten years, some 130,000 of the population were deported to Siberia and other remote Soviet areas and many subsequently perished (Kaszeta, 1998). However, this second Soviet occupation was met with violent resistance as tens of thousands of Lithuanians armed themselves in preparation for conflict with the occupying forces (Senn, 2001). Thus the Partisan anti-Soviet war in the name of Lithuanian independence began in 1944 and during this time some 22,000 Lithuanian partisans and their supporters lost their lives fighting against the Soviet army and NKVD units (Kuodyte and Tracevskis, 2004). The partisans enjoyed almost universal support from Lithuanian citizens who had little doubt as to the intentions of the Soviets and who had limited options for the future should they refuse to flee, join the Soviets or join the resistance.

Kaszeta (1988) describes the structure of Lithuanian resistance as similar to an inverted pyramid. The first layer consisted of active partisans known as the 'Forest Brothers' who were armed with captured German and Soviet weapons. The second layer consisted of passive fighters who were also armed yet less active in terms of attacking the enemy. The third layer consisted of supporters who provided supplies, shelter and intelligence to active fighters. Membership of partisan groups was diverse and included priests, professors, school children and teachers. The partisans sought to disrupt as far as possible the operations of the Soviets in

order to return the country to its people (Kaszeta, 1998). Yet the NKVD was increasingly brutal in its efforts to combat the partisan resistance and they often tortured and executed those that they caught[30] (Kuodyte and Tracevskis, 2004 and Kaszeta, 1998). Their brutality extended to the friends and relatives of partisans who were frequently imprisoned or deported to labour camps in Siberia. It is estimated that by the end of occupation some 300,000, or one in ten Lithuanians had been deported, largely to starve the resistance of popular support (Kaszeta, 1998). In 1950 the resistance became unified under the title of 'The Movement for Lithuania's Struggle for Freedom' (MLSF) and remained active in nine districts. A drop in membership forced the MLSF to change their strategy from engaging in guerrilla warfare to the mass sabotaging and infiltration of Soviet farms (Harmon, 1990). Only a handful of determined members remained in the forests to battle occupying forces and in 1952 the resistance largely died off, deciding to demobilize in favour of passive resistance. Passive members of the MLSF remain in existence today (Kaszeta, 1998).

5.2.2   Controversy, Moral Panic and a Taboo Past

The history summarised above is a complex one and, from a cultural perspective, and thus a cultural heritage point of view, elicits debate around what Riviera (2008) describes as the challenge of how to publically remember taboo and embarrassing histories. Whilst this analysis is not primarily concerned with accessing and analysing the wider archive of cultural discourse around these histories[31] it is nonetheless relevant to examine the popular cultural debate for a moment to understand the conditions for the emergence of a thematic heritage discourse of occupation. What is interesting about the above historical snapshot (which is by no way complete) and what underlies the motivation to study this history at the level of museum discourse is the manner in which it is manifest, not just in museums, but in the public culture and popular discourses of this nation which is increasingly seen as a country in transition making progress towards a new European identity. The complex events that spanned the early

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[30] The Museum of Genocide Victims; one of the units of analysis for this research is one of the sites in which torture and killing took place

to late 20th century in Lithuania have effects on the modern day particularly in terms of how they emerge and are maintained in political and cultural discourse. Katz (2012) articulates neatly a growing resentment, and, what he suggests is a marginalised media discourse, towards the sitting government's ostensible pursuit of a narrative of 'double genocide' which finds form in various state supported cultural practices such as Lithuanian Independence Day which permits neo-Nazi marches and in the funding of 'official' museum collections such as the Museum of Genocide Victims. Katz's argument typifies a growing moral panic around the idea that Holocaust is being gradually 'written out' of history and he speaks of a suspicion of what is viewed as a right wing 'accepted history' of World War II which speaks on behalf of a number of marginalised voices; not least the Jewish populations of the Baltic states.

Katz (2012: 1) defines the moral panic around the nation's turbulent past of occupation as:

> *"...a complex of interrelated developments that has included the tendency, in the Baltics and Ukraine particularly, to turn the local Holocaust murderers into "national heroes" (by virtue of their having been "anti-Soviet"). It reached a crescendo in Lithuania in 2011 with a series of government sponsored events to honour the Lithuanian Activist Front*."

He goes on to suggest that the marginalisation of victims and survivors of Baltic Holocaust has achieved the desired level of 'equivalence' between Nazi and Soviet crimes 'in the collective imagination of Europe's right wing'. These, doubtless contestable observations are important in understanding the conditions under which museums discourses continue to emerge and I will return to them later to explore their manifestations in the language of exhibitions. For now, Table 5.3, below is offered to provide a summary of the historical context of the events that are of relevance to the interpretive reach of the museums and sites of memory analysed in this chapter.

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[31] Later research might examine the production of such discourses in such media as newspapers and television

Table 5.3: Summary of historical events in Lithuania relevant to the interpretive reach of the sites analysed

Time Period	Historically recorded events
1911-1920	1913 - First Jewish Museum founded 1914 - Outbreak of World War I and arrested development of Jewish Museum 1919 - Revival of Jewish ethnography and culture 1920 Jewish Museum re-established
1921-1939	1939 – Outbreak of World War II and the commencement of Holocaust activity claiming the lives of some 97% of Lithuania's Jews
1940-1949	1940- Lithuania annexed by Soviet Union/Jewish Museum loses independent status 1944 – A Jewish Museum is established in Vilnius 1949- Jewish Museum (Vilnius) liquidated by Soviet Resolution and stripped of values and status
1941-1950	1941 – German invasion of Russia Soviet rebellions occur across Lithuania/Resistance movements created 1944 – Lithuania established as a Soviet Republic/Many Lithuanians flee the country/Country stripped of heritage, culture and population/10 years of partisan fighting commences/Jewish museum established in Vilnius One of the biggest and longest guerrilla wars in Europe commences 1949 – Circa 350,000 deported to Siberia by his time/Churches formally shut down and Priests deported/Vilna Gaon museum stripped of its title and context
1951-1960	1956 – World recognition of Lithuania as a Soviet Republic/Lithuania has lost 30% of its population including Jews and ethnic Lithuanians
1961-1970	Throughout this time Soviets develop Lithuania through acts such as nationalising industry, and creating a production economy
1971-1980	1980 – A renaissance of Jewish Heritage in Lithuania facilitated by Gorbachev's Perestroika reforms
1981-1990	Late 1980s – Perestroika Reforms allow re-opening of Jewish Museum 1990 – Independence declared
1991-2000	1991 – Soviet statues and icons removed including the Statue of Lenin from *Lukiskiu Aikste (Lenin Square)* 1995 – Lithuania language restored with mixed reactions (many had accepted Russian as their first language)
2000-	2003 – Vilna Gaon plays an important institutional role in

	commemorating and celebrating Jewish culture and heritage. Collections are the subject of on-going renovation and improvement. A large learning and awareness resource is established incorporating seminars, tolerance centres and international exhibitions. The government begin to recognise the extent of WWII collaboration and apologies are made. The museum continues to report low visitation from locals.

The historical snapshot above therefore provides the interpretive context to the museums and sites of memory which were accessed between 2005 and 2012 during what was a period of primary research accumulation towards the completion of this thesis. Foucauldian discourse analysis provides the analytical lens through which these have been considered. In order to develop this analysis, some orientation of these heritage sites and a closer look at what, and how they interpret history is necessary before examining their narratives at the level of discourse. The next section presents an overview of these institutions, beginning with some discussion of the development of tourism in Lithuania which has culminated in recent increases to the number of inbound visitors facilitated by a rise in the number of routes that are served by Low Cast Carrier (LCCs) airlines.

5.2.3   The Emergence of a Tourism Product in Post-Occupation Lithuania

Prior to independence from the Russian Federation in 1991, tourism in Lithuania followed traditional patterns of centrally planned leisure activity. It was during this period that Lithuania was part of the larger, centrally planned Soviet economy which operated according to five-year state plans. Such patterns of tourism in centrally planned economies have been well documented (Shaw, 1979 and Hall, 1991). A strong emphasis was placed on spa and sanatorium based leisure which Lithuania was naturally positioned to benefit from, and subsequent resort development of spa facilities at Birstonas and Druskininkai occurred. Other planned activities included state organised group tours and excursions to explore the capital, Vilnius, and the Baltic Sea resorts at Palanga and Klaipeda. Lithuanian hotel and sanatoria stock which were developed by the state in the period between 1950 and 1975 saw some deterioration and dating of facilities following independence. However, many of these facilities remain fully operational although levels of service, quality and maintenance are all problematic.

Following independence in 1991 the most significant growth has been in tourism visits to the capital and this follows a developmental pattern for analogous emergent destinations which sees tourism development concentrated in a similar way (Lennon, 1996). These cities are seen as ideal short break destinations for leisure tourists and their government and administrative functions serve to catalyse business tourism. Consequently, like Estonia and Latvia to the north, Lithuania is progressing with capital city bias in tourism development. Meanwhile, other parts of the country are struggling to preserve identity and maintain even healthy domestic levels of visitation (OECD, 2012). Many of the problems discussed by Jaakson (1996) in the context of Estonia in relation to overdevelopment of the capital and its heritage areas have clear resonance with Vilnius.

The growth in tourism in Lithuania has followed a series of economic reforms that have been enacted since independence and the transition towards a market economy. Lithuania inherited the complicated legacy of over 50 years of centralised Soviet planning and in 1991, upon independence the Russian Federation introduced massive increases to the prices of energy and raw materials exported to Lithuania with consequential hyper-inflation, downturns in living standards and a decline in industrial output. A programme of economic stabilisation, privatisation and free market reform helped create a supportive environment for the introduction of monetary policy and the reintroduction of the Lita which was pegged to the Euro in 2002. Privatisation has resulted in the transfer of state assets to the private sector via voucher schemes and cash sales. In addition, agricultural land is now 40-50% privately owned although significant hardship remains in this sector (Baltic Database, 2002). Tourism constitutes one of the fastest developing growth areas of the Lithuanian economy. There are over 600 firms involved in tourism contributing some 5-6% of Lithuanian GDP (Lithuanian National Tourism Statistics, 2004). The benefits of EU membership have done much to raise the profile of the Baltic States and Lithuania is likely to see major development of the capital, with slower development in the rural and coastal municipalities.

McKenzie (2013) notes the emergence of 'Soviet nostalgia' as a unique form of heritage that emerged in both Latvia and Lithuania, yet curiously, not in Estonia, during the mid to late-1990s. Guides such as the Lonely Planet began to profile attractions such as the Karosta Military Prison and the Pension Ligante Nuclear Bomb Shelter in Latvia and the Museum of Genocide Victims and Grutas Park in Lithuania. Each of the governments of the Baltic States, as part of an overt emphasis on rebranding their earlier identities as three of the richest Republics of the Soviet Union, funded the creation of a museum (The Museum of Genocide Victims is the Lithuanian example) to interpret their shared experiences of Communism (*Ibid*:118). These heritage experiences were classed as 'cultural tourism' in official government tourism literature and 'day visitors' (many originating from transient cruise ships) dominated footfall statistics (*Ibid*:122). Lithuania, according to McKenzie (*Ibid*:122) placed the least emphasis on rebranding, believing that its identity was naturally more powerful that its neighbours' and tourism marketers with government support emphasised the nation's historical and cultural sites as strong pull factors. 'Soviet Nostalgia' tourism took a central role in Latvia and Lithuanian in particular and the volume of sites that can be identified as belonging to this particular form of heritage consumption continues to grow.

In terms of established museums and heritage sites, Lithuania has around 40 art galleries including the National Art Gallery (Association of Lithuanian Museums, 2013), nine 'national' (state funded) museums about 42 'local government museums' of miscellaneous thematic origins. The National Museum of Lithuania contains what is probably the largest repository of cultural heritage in the country[32] whilst the Lithuanian Sea Museum in Klaipeda is perhaps the most popular museum for families (*Ibid*). In terms of what might be collectively isolated as a conceptually linked group of ethnographic/cultural museums that interpret occupation and

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[32] Although, having visited this museum to consider its relevance in this study a decision was made to discount in from the analysis on the basis that most of the interpretation focuses on events, people and culture from before the 20th century such as the prehistory of the Balts and the 'origins' of the nation.

human suffering in the 19th century there are at least 5 'recognised'[33] institutions and these are:

1. The Museum of Genocide Victims

2. The Vilna Gaon State Jewish Museum

3. Grutas park

4. Ninth Fort Museum and Memorial

5. Panerai Memorial Site

Each of these is profiled below individually before they are collectively viewed through the lens of Foucauldian archaeological discourse analysis. It is pertinent to note that each of these sites has been included, to varying degrees, according to the extent to which visitor interpretation and other ancillary narratives were available to analyse, based on their clear individual aim to provide an interpretation of the period of time summarised at the beginning of this chapter. The sites are therefore approached as the kinds of intertwined cultural practices that Louis Althusser referred to as 'ideological state apparatuses' (Richter, 2007). This concept views the exhibition as a dispositive discursive model that can serve to educate and produce a kind of idealised knowledge according to the rules of discourse. What is crucial therefore to their examination is the application of Foucault's perspective of a discursive formation that can isolate regularities in an otherwise disordered discourse by examining means of classification, by exploring the principle of dispersal and by examining types of speech, commentaries and the functions of authors within the specific discipline of the exhibition.

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[33] These are given legitimacy as official museums by the Association of Lithuanian Museums but also by less 'official' sources such as tourist guidebooks and websites that list the nation's cultural heritage sites.

5.3. Museums and Sites of Memory in Lithuania that Interpret Occupation and Related Themes

Introductions to the museums profiled below are not *uniformly* presented since more data was accessible for some (and notably for the first two, which were analysed together for an early research paper in the process of this research and are produced as uniform case studies) than others, and not all of these sites offered guided tours and such a neat packaging of knowledge presentation would not be commodious to a Foucauldian analysis anyway. As previously discussed, fieldwork involved participation in tours where they were available, and self-guided tours, and to approach such tours as core articulations of knowledge at each site. The exhibitions were comprehensively photographed in terms of objects, images and English language signage and narrative that accompanied images, objects and landscapes. The profiles below introduce the sites and the later analysis incorporates examples of written, spoken and purely 'aesthetic' texts into the observations that are made.

5.3.1 The Museum of Genocide Victims

Location and Background

The Museum of Genocide Victims (henceforth MGV) as a unit of analysis offers much towards an understanding of discursive formation. The site is quintessentially Lithuanian in the sense that its message about history and many of the rules that authorise the objects of its discourse (Lithuanian occupation) first became evident whilst visiting the site. As is the case with all of the profiles that are produced in this section of the chapter, it is examined here initially in a non-discursive context in order to build a profile of the *prima facie* 'message' that it conveys through its interpretive tools. The building itself is positioned on the outskirts of the Old Town of Vilnius overlooking the former *Lukiskiu Aikste*, or 'Lenin Square'. A statue of Lenin once stood in the centre of this square pointing towards the museum, its main purpose being to serve as a palpable warning of the fate that awaited those who opposed the Soviet regime. The statue was ceremoniously removed in 1991 after a failed coup which precipitated the final breakup of the Soviet Union and can now be found in Grutas Park (Bousfield, 2004). The

square on which the MGV is situated has played a long and infamous role in the history of Vilnius and was perhaps an obvious location for a museum themed around Soviet occupation. Following the 1863-64 local uprising against the Russians, a number of rebels were publicly hanged in the square and atrocities would later be committed by Soviets on Lithuanian nationals in the same site. The MGV building (see below) was initially built to serve as the city court house (Bousfield, 2004) and during the first Soviet occupation of Lithuania in 1940 it was taken over by the NKVD (the former name for the KGB). The following year the building became a Gestapo headquarters during the German occupation and more recently (from 1944) it played host to incarcerated political prisoners who were held and subjected to various physical and psychological torture techniques in the basement (Bousfield, 2004). The building remained as a KGB headquarters until 1991, shortly after independence.

Figure 5.1: Photograph of the Museum of Genocide Victims (KGB) formerly used as a KGB Prison (Author's own image)

The MGV as it exists now was established by order of the Minister of Culture and Education and the President of the Union of Political and Deportees in October 1992. Later, in 1997, the museum was renovated and in March of the same year the Government handed ownership to

the Genocide and Resistance Research Centre of Lithuania who remain the curators. The museum houses a collection of artefacts, documents and photographs themed around repression against Lithuanians by the occupying Soviet regime between 1940 and 1990 (MGV, 2004). The narrative is largely themed around anti-Soviet and anti-Nazi resistance and it articulates this period of time from the perspective of Lithuanian 'Forest Brothers'; partisans engaged in a struggle for freedom and victims of what the museum refers to as genocide.

The Main Exhibition

One of the most notable features of the MGV is the exterior brickwork of the building (see below) upon which are etched the names of various victims of KGB interrogation and murder. However, this feature does not overshadow the strikingly controversial selection of provocative and macabre exhibits to be found within the building. Narratives of occupation and conflict in the museum are overwhelmingly violent and bloody and there are more photographs of dead partisans than living and many of the rooms are presented as prison cells that have ostensibly been preserved as they were found. Much of the exhibition is an articulation of conflict based on mundane objects such as clothing and weapons and an audio commentary in the form of a cassette-guided tour which directs attention most keenly towards the cruelty of the NKVD; achieved most obviously by reconstructed torture cells and violent imagery.

Figure 5.2: Images of slain Partisans articulate a bloody occupation (*Author's own image*)

The exhibition asserts itself as an interpretation of Lithuania between 1940 and 1941 and of the history of armed resistance between 1944 and 1953 and it is, holistically an interpretation of Soviet repression including the deportation of Lithuanians and subsequent KGB activity between 1954 and 1991. The prison remains largely preserved in its pre-1991 state and visitors can expect to see the rooms of the duty officer, the search and finger printing rooms, a padded cell where prisoners were tortured, solitary confinement cells and some 19 detention cells. Temporary thematic exhibitions operate in some cells (MGV, 2003) such as 'The Armed Resistance'. Over 220,000 volumes of documents were discovered in the building relating to KGB activity (MGV, 2003) and these have been placed in the Special Archives of Lithuania (LYA).

Interpretation and the Presentation of tragedy

The cassette-narrated tour of the museum offers commentary on the basement (prison cell) section of the museum. Each cell presents a unique exhibitory theme and most still contains original furnishings and graffiti etched onto the walls by prisoners. Another cell is filled with shredded documentation of interrogation and intelligence which the KGB did not wish to share with the public and consequently destroyed prior to their evacuation in 1991. The museum curator claims that this shredded documentation is authentic and that it is on display in order to represent the KGB's recording and subsequent censorship of the sheer scale and volume of crimes committed against prisoners. Various equipment and technology is on display such as an old typewriter and communications radio transmitter used by duty officers.

Other cells display texts and photographs of famous prisoners who passed through (or died in) the museum. These include the Catholic Bishop Borisevicius, shot in the basement in 1946; and partisan leaders Jonas Zemaitis and Adolfas Ramanauskas who survived for years in the forests of Soviet Lithuania before their capture and execution by the KGB in the mid 1950's (Bousfeld, 2004). A recent BBC (British Broadcasting Corporation) report contained an interview with former prisoner Juozas Aleksiejunas who was tortured with sleep deprivation by the KGB just before the end of World War II in the building as it existed then (Lane and Wheeler, 2004). One cell in the museum remained closed at the time of visiting, apparently because it contained human remains which were pending removal. The basement is presented as the culmination point in the tour and it marks an area of the building in which condemned prisoners were taken to be shot and bullet holes remain discernible in the concrete facade of the room. In experiencing the MGV the visitor is presented with what might be described as a gradual crescendo of challenging and violent narratives and imagery, which (as will later be discussed) can be conceptualised as a hegemonic discursive practice to privilege the domination of one historical discourse to the exclusion of others.

The Heritage 'Identity' Assumed by the MGV

The MGV is a relatively young museum funded by the Resistance Research Centre of Lithuania. The museum marked its twentieth anniversary in 2012 and has become an established tourist attraction in Vilnius. Indeed the MGV welcomes some 12,000 visitors each year (MGV, 2003) and of these, about 47% are visiting as part of a group and 50% of these groups are schoolchildren representing half of all group visitors.

The museum's ethos is set out in a visitor information brochure obtained during a visit in 2005 and it declares that:

> *"One of the museum's objectives is to show the crimes (sic) of the Soviet Regime and to immortalise the freedom fighters and the victims of the Soviet Genocide" (MGV, 2003)*

Given the museum's role as an arm of the Genocide and Resistance Research Centre, one of their objectives is to market and distribute publications related to the themes within the exhibitions. A museum representative advised that four ancillary volumes have been published in Lithuanian and translated by Museum specialists. A further publication (Whosoever Saves One Life) is the only book that addresses the Holocaust and it concentrates on what is described as the 'brave actions' of ethnic Lithuanians who risked their lives to save members of the Jewish community from their fate. There is no mention of collaboration between Lithuanian nationals and the occupying Nazis.

The table below offers a summary of the interpretive themes and representations within the MGV.

Table 5.2: Salient interpretive themes at the Museum of Genocide Victims (KGB)

Theme	Representation
'Genocide'/Human Suffering	Permanent exhibitions of • Artefacts, photographs, maps, texts relating to Soviet crimes • Violent and bloody interpretation under a theme of victimhood portrayed with imagery, torture rooms and narrative • The basement execution room with authentic artefacts and bullet holes • Amplified sense of suffering through audio-tour with 'high' (or 'low') points.
Lithuanian armed and unarmed resistance to Soviet Repression	• First and second floor exhibitions displaying texts, photographs and other relevant materials. • Publications available in English and Lithuanian • Uniforms and technological displays • Education for school groups and visitors
Lithuanian victimhood and innocence	• Graphic Violence and bloodshed • Publications including 'Whoever Saves one Life' focussing specifically on the *rescuing* of Jews by Lithuanians (my emphasis)

The rhetoric of 'genocide' is immediately notable in the imagery and narrative of the MGV and even in a non-discursive context it appears immediately eccentric, particularly given the notable absence of any acknowledgement of Jewish Holocaust within the interpretive coverage of the exhibition. Indeed, 'genocide rhetoric' has been the subject of recent disquiet amongst Holocaust commentators in a wider discursive context. The former Secretary-General of Medicins Sans Frontieres comments in a relatively recent BBC article on genocide in Darfur (BBC, 2005) that:

> *"The term (genocide) has progressively lost its initial meaning and is becoming dangerously commonplace. Those who should use the word never let it slip their mouths. Those who unfortunately do use it banalise it into a validation of every kind of victimhood."*

At the level of interpretation, contention surrounds the appropriation of such rhetoric (and perhaps the fact that it is not extended into any contextualised representation of Jewish tragedy which took place in the middle of the two periods of Soviet occupation). The

accusation that comes from commentators such as Katz (2012) is that a nation which itself has been implicated in facilitating Jewish genocide on a massive scale cannot seriously hope to inscribe into history such an official and selective rhetorical memory of ethnic genocide in popular discourses such as books, films, television and heritage sites. Yet, interestingly, visitation to the MGV was (at the outset of this research project) considerably higher than visitation to the Vilna Gaon State Jewish Museum (discussed next) suggesting that 'genocide' may have a certain allure or affinity for a visiting Lithuanian public who might abreact more easily within an interpretive environment that does not challenge them to consider a more holistic, and perhaps even shameful viewpoint of history, which implicated their ancestry in murder. Whilst this point is speculative and does not speak to Foucault's ideas of discourse; massive variation in visitation between the MGV and VGM has nonetheless raised some interesting questions that might motivate future research. The observation certainly resonates with comments made by Siegenthaler (2002) in noticing (as part of his discourse analysis) the constructions of victimisation and sacralisation that embed themselves in the discourses of 'dark' sites depending on the cultures and communities in which they are authorised and consumed. The discussion is developed in the later analysis of discursive formation.

5.3.2 The Vilna Gaon State Jewish Museum (comprising the 'Green House' and Panerai Memorial Site)

The Vilna Gaon State Jewish Museum (henceforth the VGM) is a unique unit of analysis within this research since it can be considered as a site of discursive resistance (Nentwich and Hoyer, 2012); a terminology that is elaborated upon further into the analysis. Through its exhibitions and publications and so forth, this institution poses a challenge to the hegemonic positioning of the other museums in the analysis as 'official' sources of history by locating itself within a discourse of Holocaust and Jewish tragedy and this is discussed in detail later in the analysis. The VGM challenges visitors to contemplate the horrors of Holocaust and Lithuanian

collaboration and involvement in genocide crimes against Jews on Lithuanian soil. It also uses Holocaust as a rhetorical device to create meaning around present day Jewish culture and values in Lithuania. The Holocaust Exhibition, or 'Green House', a branch of the VGM is near the centre of Vilnius on 12 Pamenkalnio Street and is presented below.

Figure 5.3: The Holocaust Museum, or 'Green House' (*Author's own image*)

This 'Green House' is situated off the main thoroughfare with limited signage (there is only one sign visible from the street) and has 'perhaps never been found by chance by a visitor to the Lithuanian capital... (since it is located) in the midst of the highly visible state-supported jungle of Holocaust-obfuscating institutions' (Katz, 2010).

The museum houses exhibitions in four other locations as follows:

- The Jewish Community Centre at Pylimo Street comprising various exposition halls

- The Panerai Holocaust Memorial which opened in 1960 to commemorate victims of mass killings during the Second World War. It is located on the actual site of the killings.

- The Tolerance Centre at Naugarduko Street

- The Jacques Lipchitz Gallery in Druskininkai

The Museum views its role as caring for Jewish culture and traditions and not as an institution focussing on the single issue of Holocaust and this offers an interesting juxtaposition to the other museums studied which *do* favour single-issue rhetoric through interpretation. The first Jewish Museum was founded in 1913 (VGM, 2005) as a result of the efforts of the Society of Lovers of Jewish Antiquity. These activities along with the development of the museum were abruptly halted by the outbreak of the First World War in 1914. The Jewish Museum was re-established in 1920 and on the eve of the Second World War, the museum housed over 3,000 objects and some 6,000 books as well as numerous artefacts, letters, memoirs, photographs and newspaper issues (VGM, 2005).

When Lithuania was annexed by the Soviet Union in 1940, the VGM was put under the control of the Peoples Commissariat (Ministry) of Education and lost its independent status before being handed over to Soviet Lithuania's Academy of Science (VGM, 2005). A number of Jewish institutions were liquidated around this time and Jewish communities, along with the Hebrew language ceased to exist with staff and leaders from many Jewish institutions being either arrested, or dismissed (*Ibid*).

The Holocaust Exhibition

The Holocaust Exhibition (or 'Green House') introduces visitors to Jewish history and houses a collection of documents containing details of the Holocaust in Lithuania. Amongst these are documents authored by commanders in the 'Einsatzgruppen[34]' reporting on the results of their activities. As well as documentation, the museum holds permanent exhibitions on the Holocaust, long forgotten posters of the Ghetto Theatre, numerous models and photographs of the Great Synagogue, Purim dolls and other historical memorabilia (VGM, 2005). Interestingly the exhibition also honours ethnic Lithuanians who 'rescued and hid Jews' from

their German captors during the time of the Holocaust. Neither the VGM nor the MGV acknowledges Lithuanian collaboration, but the motives of each for abstaining from this rhetoric are quite different[35] as later analysis will suggest.

Some volunteers in the museum are either first or second generation survivors of the Nazi Holocaust, or are directly descended from survivors. Their collective research has resulted in numerous publications, including a listing of Vilnius Ghetto prisoners, a guide to the Jewish community in Vilnius restorations of historical memory and the assembling of a Judaic library. The museum is featured on the Jewish Art Network, an international Internet art gallery which assists the VGM in terms of heightened coverage of their robust collection of Jewish art work (VGM, 2005).

Visitation

The VGM (at the time of visiting) had begun to collect data on visitors, and reportage of this data is published in the museum's periodical newsletter. Figures were based on the results of data collection undertaken by staff at the three branches of the museum: The Holocaust Museum, the exhibitions at the Pylimo Street address and the Ponar branch comprising Panerai Memorial. Visitors to the Tolerance Centre are not included since this was closed during most of 2003 (VGM, 2004). Total visitor figures for 2003 based on data collection at the three main sites total 12,500 from some 44 different countries. The museum estimates (VGM, 2004) that they are commonly visited by historians, politicians, public figures, students and those seeking information on genealogy.

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[34] Mobile Nazi death squads

[35] Analysis of interviews undertaken toward the completion of early studies into these sites (published in *Tourism Management)* suggested that one of the aims of the VGM was to develop its visitor base and encourage visits from ethnic Lithuanians. The museum, conscious of the tension around 'collaboration' sought to interpret the present day values of the Lithuanian Jewish community, rather than to challenge visitors about these memories. The MGV are self consciously committed to interpreting Lithuanian genocide at the hands of Soviet oppressors based on the rhetoric of victimhood. This ethos 'sells' and mirrors other cultural discourses as visitor figures might suggest.

Various Lithuanian schools, colleges and other social institutions who had been invited to the museum to learn about the Holocaust and contemporary Jewish culture had replied declining such invitations. It is speculative to form any conclusion on the basis of these observations, yet it is worthy of consideration given the superficial level of visitation by ethnic Lithuanians to the museum. Other factors to consider are the lack of signage, the lack of marketing campaigns and the elusiveness of the museum's branches (there are in fact five, yet these are not consistently advertised in tourist informational sources).

Interpretation and the Presentation of Tragedy

The museum has existed, in its present state and location for 14 years and exhibitions and artefacts are reflective of stagnant and dated techniques. Written narrative is predominantly in Lithuanian with limited English translation. Signage and artefacts are preserved in casing or behind protective covers and there is no use of interactive technology. One of the primary aims in upgrading the museum, at the time of writing, was the '*Catastrophe*' (Holocaust) Exhibition yet this work was progressing slowly due to a lack of funding. The majority of the exhibits within the Holocaust Museum are photos, documents, art and sculpture which combine to:

> "*…reveal the terror of the Holocaust, life in the Ghettos and (to reflect upon) armed and spiritual Jewish resistance in Lithuania*" (VGM, 2004)

Some improvements to the interpretation of the former Jewish Ghetto in Vilnius have been developed in 2005 including narrative and signage surrounding key buildings and historical landmarks in the area. The museum asserts that its aim is to develop historical consciousness of Lithuanian society, distorted under Soviet Rule.

As an excerpt from a VGM promotional leaflet notes:

"The absence of knowledge about history, culture and annihilation of Lithuania's once largest minority, the Jewish people, has resulted in misleading stereotypes" (VGM, 2004)

The museum perhaps sees its role as the primary centre of historical expertise on Jewish life in Lithuania and its revival.

The table below provides a summary of interpretation through the representation of various themes which the museum tackles. The representation of these themes is grounded in observations made during visitation.

Table 5.3: Salient interpretive themes at the Vilna Gaon Lithuanian State Jewish Museum

Theme	Representation
Holocaust/Human Suffering	Permanent exhibitions of • artefacts including the remains of victims (bones) • photographs (including themes, such as children and the Holocaust), • documentation (of Nazis and of Jewish victims) • Panerai Memorial (the site of mass executions of Jews on the outskirts of Vilnius.
A celebration of Jewish culture and Heritage	• Travelling exhibitions • Artwork, including the Jewish Art Network Internet galleries • Conferences • Education for schools/other institutions and the wider public
Jewish culture and the future	• Publications • Seminars • Education
'Living History'	• Walking Tours • Panerai Memorial • Artwork

Notably, it is the balance of interpretation that varies between the VGM and the MGV. The latter approaches Holocaust as Jewish tragedy and the role of ethnic Lithuanians within this narrative is to intervene and 'rescue' victims. Whilst Lithuanian Nazi collaboration appears in

the rhetoric of the VGM, Lithuanian intervention (to rescue, rather than to kill) is also present but, as early interviews with the secretariat would suggest, perhaps only to create a 'safer' interpretive environment for visiting Lithuanians. The museum representative interviewed during the early stages of this study suggested that there may be some sense of collective guilt and apathy amongst locals surrounding engagement with the umbrageous issue of the Holocaust. Indeed, at one stage in the interview she suggested that indigenous Lithuanians felt it may be 'inappropriate' to visit such a museum.

5.3.3   Panerai Memorial (visited in 2004)

Panerai is a small, unattended, thinly interpreted memorial site located to the north of Vilnius. It is included briefly in this analysis as an extension of the above introduction to the VGM since it is part of the same parent museum and part of a dispersed collection of Lithuanian Jewish heritage which is maintained across multiple sites in Lithuania and it is one of two sites in this analysis where 20th century war crimes took place and where people were executed (the second is Ninth Fort Museum). The memorial marks a site that saw the execution of some 100,000 Jews (representing the majority of victims), Poles, Roma, communists and Russian prisoners of war between July 1941 and April 1944 (Historvius, 2013). It has been suggested that towards the end of the World War II the Nazis attempted to destroy much of the evidence of genocide at the site and a group of prisoners was made to exhume and destroy many of the corpses (*Ibid*).

The museum itself opened in 1960 and in 1985 a permanent museum building was introduced to the site and the exhibition was modernised. The burial pits were renovated and commemorative stones were introduced with visitor interpretation in Russian and Lithuanian only. The site in this sense offers little to the analysis beyond a contemplation of the aesthetics of the exhibition and specifically, the pits into which prisoners were shot and photographs of prisoners being murdered. Documents such as Nazi military orders authorising the crimes that took place at the site, as well as clothing, shoes and prisoners' work tools offer an interpretive

aesthetic that transcends the multi-lingual interpretation (none in English) that can be accessed by visitors. It was only following Lithuanian independence and after some lobbying from the Jewish community that visitor interpretation in Hebrew was introduced to acknowledge the deaths of some 70,000 Jews at the site (Historvius, 2013).

Figure 5.4: Panerai Memorial (*Author's own image*)

The site is included in the analysis since it is one of two exhibitions with a complex history of development that has closely mirrored in its interpretive development the shifting political terrain in Lithuanian over recent years in terms of the extent to which Jewish tragedy has been authorised as a legitimate discourse in political and popular culture. It is also one of only two sites that authorise Holocaust as an object of discourse, discussed later. Throughout the period of Soviet occupation, any discourse of Jewish tragedy was impossible, and in terms of commemoration was only marginally obvious at this site and at Ninth Fort in Kaunas. Both sites have therefore been inscribed with discourses that have appeared, altered and disappeared over the course of the past 70 years or so and both have resonance with a Foucauldian perspective since they represent what can be conceptualised as the 'properties of discourse' (Foucault, 1969: 75). They represent and determine, as objects of meaning, who has the right speak, the ability to understand and the capacity to invest such discursive properties with discourse. A struggle with Lithuanian national identity, as the section below will illustrate, has always been mirrored by a struggle with memorials and objects of public memory.

5.3.4   Grutas Park

Grutas Park is another example of the mobilisation of discourse through the manipulation of the context of objects within the public gaze. The site, near Druskininkai opened on in 2001 and is home to a number of 'disgraced' Soviet statues, including statues of iconic figures such as Vladimir Lenin and Joseph Stalin. Controversy ascended throughout the nation as a number of Lithuanian nationals expressed outrage, protesting the construction on the grounds that it would 'bring back haunting memories of one of the most horrifying periods of Lithuanian history' (Baranaukas, 2002: 18) and would 'disgrace the memory' of those quarter million Lithuanians who were arrested, killed or deported' to the wastelands of Siberia under Communist rule. The controversy was further fuelled by the fact that the proposed location for Grutas Park was a site nearby Grutas Forest where Lithuanian partisans fought and lost a long and bloody war against the Red Army for a number of years.

Figure 5.5: Grutas Park and the caricaturing of Soviet ideological figures (*Author's own image)*

The outrage was contested as other Lithuanian communities supported the idea behind Grutas Park, arguing that it would contain a valuable historical lesson for future generations of

Lithuanians to experience (*Ibid*). This past, as unsettling as it was, should not, according to erstwhile proponents, be abandoned. Despite the controversy and since Lithuanian law allowed the development, Viliumas Malinauskas, (the Lithuanian entrepreneur behind the project whose fortune was made from selling canned mushrooms) proceeded with plans and bought a number of Soviet relics scattered throughout the country to be displayed in the heritage site (*Ibid*).

Grutas Park has subsequently been well profiled internationally in travel magazines and on the World Wide Web and tourists from both Lithuania and overseas began to visit in numbers of around 700 per day (Baranauskas, 2002). Upon entering Grutas Park, a weatherproof bulletin board displays a number of letters of protest from Lithuanian locals and organisations registering disgust at the construction of 'this Stalinworld'. Comparisons can be made between Grutas Park and Hollinshead's (1999) description of Disney World, since in both cases the visitor enters a place of suspended reality encompassing symbols, features and structures which are considered out of context with 'real life'. Alongside these documents are listed figures of the number of Lithuanians exiled and killed at the hands of the Communists. Exhibits within the park include a cattle car, of the type used to transport deportees to the Siberian Tundra, a small zoo, with no apparent relevance to the broad 'theme' of apparently ridiculed totalitarian relics, and a collection of some seventy sculptures including the 'Totalitarian Circle' where statues of Lenin, Stalin, Marx and other are displayed together (Baranaukas, 2002: 18).

One of two statues of Lenin in Grutas park captures the former leader in a pose pointing towards what used to be a KGB prison (in its original location in Lukiskiu Aikste or 'Lenin Square') and is now the Lithuanian Genocide Museum. The statue was removed after the failure of an attempted coup in Moscow prosecuted by hard liners in 1991. It was wrenched from its pedestal using a crane which lifted and 'swung him high in the air' (Baranaukas, 2002) in a scene conjuring images of the unseating of Saddam Hussein's statue by US troops and Iraqis in 2003. Joseph Stalin's statues have also been relocated to Grutas Park. Following his

death in 1953, Stalin was denounced for being responsible for the deaths of countless millions of his own people and his statues were removed. Vincas Mickevicius' statue is also displayed in Grutas Park. Mickevicius had a hand in organising the Lithuanian Communist Party and was a leader of the party in 1918.

The park's entrepreneurial founder has argued that the atmosphere allows Lithuanians to put their tragic past behind them by 'combining the charms of a Disneyland with the worst of the Soviet Gulag' (Cable News Network, 2001). Critics of the park have described it as 'tacky' and argue that such a past should not be exploited for 'cheap show business' (Cable News Network, 2001). Interestingly, the idea for Grutas Park was put to tender by the Lithuanian Ministry of Culture in 1998 (Williams, 2007), giving rise to further moral panic surrounding the Government's apparent obsession with the 'care' of such symbolic remnants of an unwished regime.

The 'disgracing' of monuments as a cultural manifestation of moral panic is not a new gesture and similar heritage sites have been filled with disgraced monuments in Russia and Budapest (a totalitarian art museum in the latter case) and post-Apartheid Africa where monuments of erstwhile canonical icons from the Apartheid era were stockpiled in *'Boerassic Park'* (Coombes, 2003:18). Indeed, Coombes discusses the phenomenon in detail noting:

> *"…the fate of public monuments under successive regimes in the former Soviet Union and the apparently endless cycle of monumental sculptural programmes celebrating the favoured leader of the moment followed inevitably by their iconoclastic dismantling and removal… In Russia it has always been the case that a struggle with the past was realised through a struggle with monuments"*

Moscow Park has even had its own Museum of Totalitarian Art at which similar scrutiny (observed of Grutas Park) has been levelled. Williams (2007) observes how the relocation of city sculptures to parks and other suburban locations has a number of effects, not least that the monuments are 'banished' from their original locations which were chosen in order that the monuments could exert significant ideological power. A further effect may be the future

perception of such sites as a form of 'reverse propaganda' (Williams, 2007) and an expression of a commitment to forging closer affiliations with the West and Central Europe through a visible denunciation of the political past.

In terms of non-Lithuanian, and non-Eastern European tourist perceptions of heritage sites such as Grutas Park it is likely that without having experienced the statues and monuments in their original context, they become signifiers of something experienced as caricature (Williams, 2008). For indigenous Lithuanian visitors to the site, it is unlikely that there is any power symbolised by the 'Lenins' and' Stalins' that they encounter as their presence has no current influence on their day to day affairs. Indeed, there is a certain humour in corralling displaced monuments into a heritage spectacle and intimations of the postmodernity of dark tourism (Lennon and Foley, 2000: 5) are evidenced in such a gesture as 'anxieties over the project of modernity are introduced'.

The statues in Grutas Park are symbolic of the failure of modernity and they elicit antagonistic criticism from a broad political spectrum. They are symbolically loaded and can be farcical, gruelling, earnest or nostalgic to visitors. They are at the heart of 'anachronism' in tourism and cultural landscapes (Horne, 1984) since the meanings they give to the past are used to justify the present and belief about how things should change. In terms of the ethics of presenting such a site to the visiting public, Grutas Park has been established in a country which has in many respects come to associate museums and monuments with blunt propaganda (Williams, 2008: 7) and so the site may be viewed by some Lithuanian communities as the final chapter in a long era of subverted cultural values and coerced political obedience. The site itself is a caricature of an entire era remembered as a time of subverted values and culture. It is in this sense a perpetuation of the ideologies which it caricatures. It's inclusion in this analysis is appropriate since it is a major heritage-based articulation of Lithuanian in transition and it perhaps, for Lithuanians at least, represents the death-knell of the ideology of an oppressive regime and a triumph over its reign.

5.3.5   Ninth Fort: Kaunas

Ninth Fort was not originally embraced as a unit of analysis in this thesis but, quite surprisingly, it emerged as perhaps one of the richest sources of data since analysis of its exhibitions, texts and monument confirmed much of what was already tentatively emerging as the rules of a discursive formation for Lithuanian occupation in museums and sites of memory. Ninth Fort is a space of memory contestation since it simultaneously hosts a museum which interprets both Soviet occupation and 'genocide' and a mass grave which is estimated to contain the bodies of some 30,000 victims, mostly comprising of Jewish victims, murdered in many cases by local Lithuanian collaborators (see Suziedelis, 2011 and Rosin, 2013). It is therefore a site in which a constant struggle for domination takes place and a space that offers one of the most salient examples of visible 'regularities' within the discourse that is analysed. It is '…a space of multiple dissensions; a set of different oppositions whose levels and roles must be described' (Foucault, 2002, cited in O'Donnell and Spires, 2012). Central to the analysis of this museum therefore is the ambiguity and contestation around 'genocide' which is evident in its evolution from a military stronghold at the turn of the 20th century when it was built into an NKVD prison and then a site for the mass murder of Lithuanian Jews and finally into a museum for remembering 'the victims of fascism'. Yet, as will become apparent later, at the level of discourse, narratives of occupation are bound by the rules of a discursive formation and they privilege particular articulations over others. Two interesting areas of focus are the monument at the site which has been quite unfixed in terms of what it has stood for since it was unveiled in 1984 the years and the museum which focuses on interpreting Lithuanian Soviet occupation and, to a lesser degree, Nazi occupation and Holocaust.

Figure 5.6: Memorial to the 'Victims of Nazism' at Ninth Fort (*Author's own image*)

In 1958 Kaunas' 9th Fort was established as a recognised museum and the first visitor interpretation was introduced in 1959 based around four of the prison cells which exhibited narrative in relation to 'Nazi occupant crimes' throughout Lithuania (Museums of Lithuania, 2003). In 1960 investigations began to identify the mass graves around the museum building and an interpretive picture emerged of the events which had taken place at this site and the identities of the victims. The administrative custodians at the time were the Soviets and the victims, although later identified as being mostly Jewish, were remembered as Soviet 'victims of fascism'. A monument to commemorate 'the victims of Nazism' was introduced in 1984. A memorial for the more than 30 thousands Jews murdered in the Ninth Fort during the years of the Nazi occupation was unveiled in 1991.

5.3.6 Selectivity and Forgetful Memory: Initial Remarks on Museum Interpretation

Although each of the museums in the analysis are autonomous entities, they are collectively delegated the task of remembering and are thus comparable in terms of their role in the governance of what constitutes the past in popular culture. The approach to articulating

history in the collective archives of these museums might be termed 'selective interpretation' (Dominic, 2000; Rowehl, 2003). Also referred to as 'hot interpretation' (Uzzell, 1989) this has been defined as the creation of multiple constructions of the past (Schouten, 1995) whereby history is never an objective recall of the past, but is rather a selective interpretation, based on the way in which we view ourselves in the present.

Work I undertook with my colleague some years earlier (Wight and Lennon, 2007) confirmed a level of selectivity in Lithuanian sites of memory in Vilnius and we suggested at the time that an accepted 'national memory' is authorised through the discourse of genocide at these museums whilst the moral complexity surrounding the section of history dealing with collaboration and Jewish Holocaust was a national blind-spot and an absent discourse in Lithuanian occupation museums. This selective discourse is evident in all of these museums, with the possible exception of Grutas Park, and, as an object of discourse it has emerged and been transformed within a common space of fixed norms around knowledge. A museum rhetoric of a country united in a bloody and prolonged nationalist struggle against the Soviets is authorised alongside a marginalised rhetoric of ethnic Jewish tragedy. There are therefore two quite distinct 'genocides' at the level of discourse and this observation is developed in the ensuing chapter which applies the concept of discursive formation to the sites that have been introduced above.

6 An Archaeology of Occupied Lithuania in Lithuanian Museums and Sites of Memory: 'Double Genocide'

6.1. Introduction

This chapter reflects over the dominant and marginalised narratives of human tragedy produced in the heritage sites that are introduced in chapter 5 and it suggests that the interpretive practices within these can be considered 'statements', or basic units of discourse, that belong to a wider 'discursive formation'. Whilst not always in putative agreement, these dispersed statements constitute a 'body of knowledge'. They work together to articulate a rhetorical discourse of occupation and genocide which is constructed according to a set of anonymous regularities which at once privilege and marginalise particular subject positions and particular objects of discourse. Central, therefore to developing an understanding of the museums and sites of memory introduced above as constructions of culture is Foucault's concept of discourse and the formations to which discourses belong as systems of dispersion which cannot be attributed to a single author but which consist of 'statements' deriving from a range of often anonymous sources. Foucault also argues that that discourses occur not in isolation, but as formations so that several discursive statements constitute a 'body of knowledge'. The museums above can be collectively approached as a 'grid of specification' (Foucault, 2002: 46) or an 'ordering of concepts constructed within the discourse' to produce a 'body of knowledge' which constitutes aspects of society and the people within society (Powers, 2001: 57). The objects of the discourse are ostensible historical 'truths' prescribed by exhibitions and the subject positions are the often anonymous voices that create and support these discourses whilst at the same time limiting other ways in which the discursive object (which is genocide in this case) might be constructed.

When considering these occupation-themed museums as discursive formation it is important to bear in mind that the internal cohesion of the formation is not dependent upon putative

'agreement' between the statements that are identified. Indeed, contradictions and debates certainly exist, yet despite such internal oppositions a discursive formation is defined by 'regularities' or 'rules of formation' which individuate it and which 'govern the objects, modes of enunciation, concepts and thematic choices of the whole' (O Donnell and Spires, 2012). Such discursive practices can be located based on a "...delimitation of a field of objects, the definition of a legitimate perspective for the agent of knowledge and the fixing of norms for the elaboration of concepts and theories" (Foucault, cited in Bouchard, 1977:199). For Foucault, these practices order societal procedures and control, select, organise and redistribute discourse (Letts, 2008: 15) whilst structuring how reality is commonly perceived in a way that acknowledges particular preferred meanings that establish "regimes of truth" (Foucault, 1984:74). Based on Foucault's thinking, any historical context exists based upon a grid of knowledge that makes possible 'every discourse and every production of statements' (Eribon, 1991 cited in Letts, 2008: 16) which authorise the possibilities for the production of discourse. It is to the identification of these 'regularities' that the analysis below turns to first to establish the 'cross formulations and... space for coexistence' (Jansen, 2008 :110) that they create. The 'intrinsic' contradictions (Foucault, 1972) that occur within the partial archive of discourse that is mapped (such as the articulation of genocide with no single referent) are viewed not as 'appearances to overcome (but as) objects (of discourse) that are described' (Foucault, 1972 cited in Jansen 2008: 110). The aim of the analysis is therefore not a doxic challenge to the rhetoric that has been encountered, but an attempt to identify some order to the production of knowledge within a closely defined institutional context.

In terms of the analysis below then, discourse analysis is used to explore what is being represented as knowledge and how such knowledge is constructed according to the various kinds of evidence that are used and the various subject positions from which these emerge. I also explore the narratives and voices that are left out of discourse; those that are foregrounded and backgrounded in the 'language culture' of the museum. The analysis seeks

to explore what is made problematic in museum discourse and what is not and to explore alternative meanings that are ignored or set apart as anomalous or incompatible, such as exhibitions of holocaust and genocide. I also explore what narratives appear joined together. For example, Lithuanian Genocide is always an accompaniment, or a 'reminder' to narratives of Jewish Holocaust, but the reverse is never true. The analysis sets out to explore the specific interests that are being mobilised and those that are not and the subject identities that are made possible through the various ways in which individuals, groups and cultures are constructed as realities. Of interest to this analysis are the realities that are normalised and those that are pathologised, or treated as 'abnormal'. Discourse is therefore approached in this section as a culturally constructed representation of reality as opposed to an exact copy. The aim is to map the 'periodic persistence' (Foucault, 1972) of rules that govern the enabling of discourses through contemporary exhibitions themes around occupation and the genocides of occupation in Lithuania. Of interest therefore is what it is possible to talk about in museum rhetoric and what it is not possible to talk about according to the taken for granted rules of inclusion, such as violence and victimhood as thematic representations of Lithuanian genocide, and the taken for granted rules of exclusion, such as the ostensible invisibility of Holocaust. Such discourses construct what it is to know Lithuanian occupation in museum environments and they can therefore be conceptualised as surfaces of emergence that govern as categories of knowledge and assemblies of texts that which can and cannot be talked about when knowing history through the lens of the exhibition. I begin by suggesting how the discursive formation might be imagined as a binary opposite discourse of genocide, before offering an analysis of statements at the level of discourse that authorise particular ways of constructing Lithuania in the museum environment.

6.1.1   Discursive Formation: Lithuanian 'Double Genocide'

The heritage-based discursive formation that is suggested in this section might be termed 'Double Genocide' in the sense that the museums analysed overwhelmingly articulate two quite complex and competing discourses of genocide which coexist and operate based on general rules of inclusion and exclusion. Any discursive practice constitutes a field of knowledge which, in a Foucauldian framework is 'the space in which the subject may take up a position and speak of the objects with which he deals in his discourse' (Foucault, 1972: 201). Taken at its broadest level, this discursive formation is produced based upon a subject position that overwhelmingly favours and invests resources towards a version of occupation which has ethnic Lithuanian victimhood at its heart. This version has been divested of what is a problematic and deviant narrative of Holocaust and more specifically, divested of any discernible construction of Lithuanian collaboration with occupying Nazi forces to collaborate in the mass murder of Jewish Lithuanian citizens during World War II. It is important to insert the caveat that there is no *denial* of Nazi collaboration in the discourses of the museums that have been studied. Much more important for this analysis are the specific strategies or 'enunciative modalities' (Foucalt, 1972) that are deployed to *articulate* collaboration.

As the analysis below reveals , the discourse of Nazi collaboration in Jewish genocide is only enabled if it is countered and balanced with a discourse of Lithuanian victimhood and this was found to be the case with exhibits, tours, images and multimedia and with leaflets and other printed texts that are made available to visitors in the English language. In place of this 'hidden object' of analysis is a more salient discourse of what Stone (2004) might call 'Lithuanian National Memory' which focuses keenly on a quintessentially nationalistic struggle (one that is purely 'Lithuanian' in terms of ethnicity) and the eventual triumph of Lithuanians over their Soviet and German oppressors who occupied the country, on and off in the case of the Soviets, between 1940 and 1991. The official discursive formation of the museum version of

occupation is therefore based on these two quite distinct and competing versions of 'genocide' and they are quite tangible and observable in the various exhibitory strategies encountered as the discussion below reveals. O' Donnell and Spires (2012) remind us that there is nothing remotely metaphysical about discourse and the statements which mobilise discourses have an absolutely physical existence. In addition, it is perhaps no surprise that the material history of genocide remains quite problematic in popular culture in Lithuania, and it is this wider cultural archive of 'double genocide' that has authorised the emergence of and maintained the museum-based discursive formation for knowing the history of Lithuanian occupation. This knowledge is of course 'partial and situated in terms of time and place and in the context of a specific situation' (Wright, 2003:42) but it provides insights into the maintenance of a set of cultural conditions that perhaps contribute towards the wider concept of 'the destination' since they are conditions that are articulated in spaces that are part of a wider cultural/tourism 'product'.

Two organising discourses of genocide are therefore identified below as an authorised Lithuanian genocide articulated as an eccentrically gory and violent victimhood and a problematic, rarefied discourse of Jewish 'ethnic tragedy' which is articulated largely in the context of the present day (looking forwards rather than backwards) as a contemplation of emancipation and reconciliation. These 'statements' therefore embody a discursive formation or 'body of knowledge' in themed Lithuanian museums and sites of memory and they are bound by a set of anonymous, yet observable rules and conditions of existence that favour limited strategies of enunciation over all other available strategic possibilities. The statements produce meaning about both versions of human tragedy with 'effects in the real' (Graham, 2005) since they are encountered as part of a wider 'heritage product' by international visitors. The period of time in which the Holocaust occurred is framed within a wider Lithuanian-ethnic context of resistance and triumph over external oppression. The discourses that are central in enabling the discursive formation are identified and analysed. Photographs and texts that

were captured during the field work element of this research at each of the five sites of memory are introduced occasionally to exemplify occurrences of specific discourses and appendices 1 and 2 present further examples of the articulation of genocide organised into discursive statements.

6.1.2 Violence, Victims, Culprits and Blame: The Enabling of an Imagined 'We'

Ethnic Lithuanian victimhood is all-pervasive in the sites analysed. Indeed, within Lithuanian museums that interpret 20th century wartime human tragedy the constructed discursive object is framed within the rhetoric of an eccentrically violent and bloody resistance against Soviet occupiers (1940-1941 and 1944-1991) either side of what is a more muted and certainly problematic German occupation (1941-1944) that contains the particularly troublesome discourse of Lithuanian-Nazi collaboration. To some extent, the museums and their exhibits are organised as a nationally and ethnically conscious sensibility to understand the past. As Ibrahim (2009:96) reflects '...trauma needs an audience to bear witness, to work through the catharsis and to consign it to the annals of history where it can be repeatedly revisited'. Such is the case with Ninth Fort Museum and the Museum of Genocide Victims with their arresting, yet carefully deployed displays of atrocity and violence which produce the discursive object of the imagined ethnic Lithuanian genocide victim. As shall become clearer later, in the case of Grutas Park (with its disgraced monuments' serving as poignant reminders of a struggle with Soviet occupation) this nationally conscious sensibility is about interpreting the demands of the past on the future through a language of symbolism.

The Romas Kalanta exhibition[36] in Ninth Fort Museum (see figure 5.4.2a below showing his charred remains) is a fitting place to begin in discussing the construction of an intransigent

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[36] Kalanta was a Lithuanian student who immolated himself in public in 1972 to protest against the Soviet regime.

rhetoric of victimhood surrounding the 20th century, occupied ethnic Lithuanian. Kolnata's exhibition is typical of the enabling of a violent and bloody version of Lithuanian oppression which, in the museum environment is a teleological condition of the transition to independence in 1991. Put simply, in museum discourse, contemporary Lithuania would not have been a possibility without violence and sacrifice. Kolanta is an extraordinarily powerful example of the 'material repeatability' (Foucalt, 1972) and archetypal construction of violence and sacrifice. Romas Kalanta was a school pupil who on May 14th 1972 immolated himself with a can of petrol and some matches on 'Liberty Boulevard' in Kaunas in protest against Soviet Occupation (Palach, no date). In Lithuanian popular culture he has come to be embraced as an iconic figure for freedom and independence and in 1990 his grave was registered as a local historical monument. He was posthumously awarded the First Order Vytis Cross Medal soon afterwards (Daškevičiūtė, 2012). His story is presented as an exhibit in Ninth Fort Museum as part of a wider chronologically ordered narrative of the Lithuanian journey towards independence in the early 1990s. Kalanta, alongside other archetypal Lithuanian victims encountered in the Museum of Genocide Victims represents a defining characteristic of the propositional construction of the occupied-Lithuanian victim but more importantly, it is the particular aesthetic in which he and other symbols of Lithuanian genocide are constructed which sheds light on an emerging discursive formation bound by regularities and rules of formation which govern the 'thematic choices of the whole' (O' Donnell and Spires, 2012: 4). Occupied-Lithuanian identity is characterised in all of the museums encountered through a powerful aesthetic of violence and sacrifice and such a discursive strategy reminds us we are dealing with a statement that is used, repeated and 'enunciated in the same way...sharing a common system of conceptualisations (with) similar subjects or theories' (Jansen, 2008: 109).
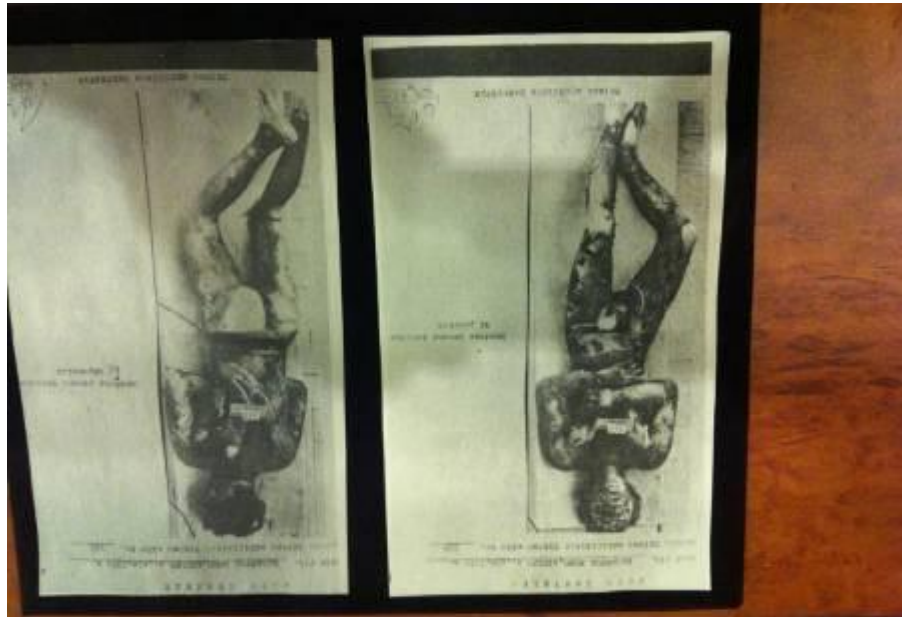
Figure 6.1: The remains of Romas Kalanta (a Lithuanian struggle in 9th Fort Museum is always a bloody struggle) *Author's own image*

Two further examples of the regularity of gore and victimhood in constructing Lithuanian genocide are presented below and Appendix 1 provides further visual examples captured during field work. Presented individually, these images reveal little and indeed few visitors would be surprised to happen upon the thematic choices of death and violence in museums that promise to interpret atrocity. However from a Foucauldian point of view, what is important here is to recognise propositions and logic in *groups* of signs since '...these units may always be characterised by the elements that figure in them and by the rules of construction that unite them' (Foucault, 1972: 120). The rule in this case is the fetishisation of the aesthetic of gore which appears exclusively when ethnic Lithuanian Genocide is spoken about. In addition Wright (2003) notes, specifically from a cultural industries point of view that subject positions in discourse are produced based upon a set of choices that are made about how to construct meaning using a range of written narrative and images that are restricted by their repertoires as meaning-making tools (such as language, film angles and in this case exhibitory strategies). Nearly all of the exhibitions in the MGV, and at Ninth Fort use a language culture that affirms the discursive properties of Lithuanian occupation as a

monotonously bloody affair (see Figure 6.2 below and Appendix 1). The regularity of violence to construct victimhood is particularly conspicuous since it sits in stark contrast to the absence of any similar aesthetic in interpretations of Jewish genocide which (as is later identified) is constructed around a framing discourse of the present and in a rhetorical context of emancipation and cultural consolidation.

Figure 6.2: The aesthetic of gore: an unidentified Lithuanian victim 'martyred' at Ninth Fort

(*Author's own image*)

Figure 6.3: The aesthetic of gore as an imperative for enabling Lithuanian Victimhood (*Author's own image*)

The Museum of Genocide Victims (MGV)[37] in particular is a space in which the discourse of 'victims and culprits' is all pervasive. Again, the aesthetic that enables this discourse is conspicuously violent, graphic and bloody in its depiction of resistance against a rapine Soviet occupier.

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[37] The title of the museum alone provides clues as to its broader rhetorical strategy for articulating knowledge

Figure 6.4: Objects (as well as images) associated with violence and victimhood are the aesthetic of choice for constructing the imagined Lithuanian under occupation (*Author's own image)*

Figure 6.5: Gore and the visual aesthetic of victimhood accompany most narratives of Lithuanian Genocide. Holocaust in the same (ethnocentric) museums is victimless and bloodless in contrast (*Author's own image)*

The exterior of the museum (see Figure 6.6 below) is etched with the names of martyred Lithuanian nationals who perished as 'victims of Soviet Terror' and it provides an initial clue as to the thematic choice of victimhood that is elaborated upon inside. Interestingly, no Jewish 'genocide' victims from the same era are acknowledged.

Figure 6.6: The exterior of the Museum of Genocide Victims with the names of martyred Lithuanian Partisans etched into the brickwork (*Author's own image*)

Lithuanian genocide is re-affirmed in the MGV as a bloody affair framed within a discourse of victimhood at the hands of Soviet aggressors. As the later discussion of Holocaust will confirm, it is the construction of an aggressor (the Soviets) that sits in contrast to the absence of such a subject position in the exhibitory language of Jewish genocide. Narrative from one of the displays reproduced below is typical of the rhetoric of Lithuanian victimhood deployed in all of the museums encountered:

......

Victims of the Soviet Terror (sic) J Rauckis and A Navickas, Birzai, June 1941

......

Conversely, Jewish mass murder, where it is present, is routinely *not* 'genocide' at all, and certainly not 'Holocaust'; a taboo term that would be unimaginable in these museums. Indeed, this epoch of Jewish history is almost always bloodless and victimless. Crucially, and for

contrast, Lithuanian antagonists and collaborators in Jewish murder are always anonymous and some examples of this are provided below (more examples are presented as Appendix 1). The object in each sentence is emphasised to exemplify the anonymity of both victims and perpetrators and the emphasis in each case is my own.

......

These fetters were used for chaining __prisoners__ of the ninth fort

......

Cartridge cases which were used for shooting __people__ in the Ninth Fort in 1944

......

Bones and aches (sic) of __people__ perished and burnt in IX Fort in 1941-1944

......

Exhumation of the remains of __Soviet Prisoners of War__ in 1959

......

IX fort's wall, near it __people__ were shot in 1943

......

Slaughter at the 'Lietukis' garage in Kaunas, June 26th 1941

......

__People__ shot by the Nazis in Skapiskis (Kupiskis r.) in 1941

......

Reburying of the remains of __people__ shot by the Nazis in Pasepetys (Kupiskis r.)

......

This camp (branch of Buchenwald concentration camp) was established during World War II. There were murdered (sic) more than 10,000 __people__

......

Auschwitz-Birkenau. Nazis murdered about 1.5 million __people__ from different European Countries among them some __Lithuanians__ in this camp during World War II

......

All of the above are examples of visitor interpretation notices that accompany exhibits of Jewish genocide in Ninth Fort Museum, a place which is also a site of internment for several hundred murdered Jews and other victims of the occupation. In these, and in other cases, the hegemony and regularity of the Lithuanian 'victim' is privileged since all of the museums and sites of memory encountered, with the exception of the two State Jewish Museum sites, deploy a rhetoric of binary opposition that sees Jewish genocide constructed as an 'other' tragedy of anonymous perpetration and Lithuanian genocide constructed as an 'official' tragedy that names both protagonists and antagonists at individual and collective levels. Indeed, in the third statement above, the bodies that were exhumed from the mass site of internment peripheral to 9th Fort, are ascribed an identity of 'Soviet Prisoners' which accounted for only a small percentage of what were mostly Jewish victims recovered from the grounds surrounding 9th Fort. The last sentence in particular is interesting, since it points to another of the 'regularities' of the discursive formation that sees Lithuanian victimhood enabled as a necessary condition of any iteration of Jewish victimhood. The victims of Auschwitz Birkenau, a Polish camp that is situated out with Lithuania both geographically and culturally and one that is metonymical of Jewish Holocaust, are accounted for as 'people' ascribed in part with a Lithuanian identity. An interesting contrast emerges when this interpretive narrative above is contrasted with visitor interpretation that accompanies the characterisation of the Lithuanian genocide victim, who is not just ascribed a subject position, but is also characterised as the victim of an identified aggressor; the Soviet occupying forces. The excerpts from exhibitions below are offered as examples and again I have added emphasis in places to point out where identity and other emotive emphases are ascribed to Lithuanian victims:

......

*The former Deputy Prime Minister **K Wieskas** was arrested by the NKVD in June 1940 and detained at Kaunas Prison. He was executed not far from Bigosov railway station in Belorussia in June 26th 1941*

......

*Three young brothers Palaikiai and 10 other people **tortured** by the NKVD*

......

*76 Prisoners of Telsiai prison were **cruelly murdered** in the Rainiai forest on June 24th, 1941*

......

***Lithuanian deportees** at work in the woods of Krasnoyarsk*

......

*The funeral of the political prisoner **Jonas Enceris**. Igarka, 1953*

......

*The **merciful sister Z Kaneviciene** was **raped and tortured** by the Soviet Soldiers*

......

*Peasants P Janjunas, J Petrauskas from Papille village (Akmene district) **murdered** by the retreating Soviet troops, June 26th, 1941*

......

*The widow of a doctor, A. Gudonis from Panevezys by **her husband's body**. A Gudonis was **martyred** by retreating Soviet soldiers June 26th, 1941*

......

What is striking here is the construction of a subject position that sees the ethnic Lithuanian under occupation imagined as a 'victim' who is given an identity at both the collective (see statement 3 and 4 above) and individual level (all remaining statements). Almost all of the elements of the discourse of victimhood are mobilised in the same space in the examples above and these occur 'in an absolutely routine manner' (O Donnell and Spires, 2012: 10) and it is these 'repeated articulations of the discourse that are important in keeping it active' (*Ibid*: 10). In addition, Lithuanian victimhood is quantified (see statement 2 and 3) and this is an enunciative rule that is not associated with the construction of Jewish genocide at the level of the collective or the individual. What is more, a specific crime act ('cruel' murder) is also

identified and ascribed to the Lithuanian genocide victim (see statement 3), yet the fate of the anonymous Jewish genocide victim is conditioned only as the consequence of an anonymous force. As mentioned earlier, what is also salient is that Lithuanian genocide is consistently bloody and violent, whereas Jewish genocide is typically bloodless and blameless. This cultural specificity is a clear example of the tangible 'statement' to which Foucault refers since it exemplifies the use of language and visuals to constitute meanings and subject positions in an institutional context in which individuals, groups and cultures are constructed as 'realities' with 'effects in the real' (Graham 2005). A discursive treatment of genocide in this sense might view the museum as what Merleau-Ponty (1993 cited in Lord, 2006:1) as a 'mediative necropolis' which has the power to enlighten through its central project to reveal 'conceptual systems' and political orders through selective representation. The exhibits and interpretation that construct the imagined Lithuanian victim lend themselves to a patriarchal discourse of resistance and a '…remembering in gendered terms (of a nation once) strong masculine and active' (Cole, 1999: 127). Oddly, much of the textual narratives that interpret this discourse have been arranged in front of exhibits of clothes and equipment ostensibly belonging to members of the Partisan anti-communist resistance movement (Partisanas) and this resonates with exhibitory strategies deployed in other national war museums "as if the most remarkable thing about so many thousands, if not millions of people killed in battle is the clothes in which they died" (Uzzell, 1992:59).

Crucially, any discussion of Jewish genocide in Lithuania is articulated separately and within its own unique conditions of existence that include, as a necessity, a parasitic discourse of Lithuanian victimhood and the earlier example of the authorising of a Lithuanian identity to victims at Auschwitz Birkenau is a case in point. In addition, constructions of Jewish genocide are produced as a narrative of 'Other' ethnic tragedy and the role of the war-time Jewish Lithuanian is enabled only as an eccentric anomaly within an imperative framing discourse of Lithuanian genocide which is the principal narrative construction of almost all of the museums

encountered. The nation's ethnic (Lithuanian) museums, as units of discourse have, as Stone (2004:34) puts it, 'disregarded the complexity of difference in order to propagate a heroic narrative of communist resistance'.

In the wider context of all of the museums that were analysed it is interesting to note the ostensibly peripheral role of Jewish tragedy, never 'Holocaust', to the more obvious central strand of discourse, which is Lithuanian oppression. The events took place simultaneously during the 1940s but the latter construct dominates as a framing discourse and the former is marginalised at best, and absent at worst. Of further interest is the use of the term 'genocide' in a Lithuanian context (Wight and Lennon, 2006) and the simultaneous absence of the term 'Holocaust'. The mass murder of Jews is denied the term 'Holocaust' in Lithuanian museum rhetoric and Jewish tragedy instead appears as an objective 'Other' ethnic tragedy that is not as important. This is discussed further down in the section on Holocaust.

6.1.3   Monuments as Constitutive Meaning Makers

Monuments merit some discussion as legitimating 'statements' in the discursive formation of Lithuanian national victimhood and resistance that has been identified not least since it is through monuments, ceremonies and scholarly works that 'collective memory is publically inscribed and sustained through instruments of public opinion' (Blickstein, 2009: 17). The monuments themselves are considered to be discursive regularities, not just in terms of their material inclusion at the various sites analysed but in terms of the mercurial symbolic cultural role they have played in signifying the political-national identity of Lithuania over the last 6 decades. Grutas part in Druskininkai near Kaunas is a relatively recently established memorial site that has aroused more curiosity and public controversy than any other tourist attraction in the country's touristic history (Wight, 2009). It opened on April 1st 2001 (April Fool's Day) and word soon spread that the site was to play host to a number of 'disgraced' soviet statues, including statues of Lenin, Stalin, and other prominent communists, which had been removed from prominent positions in Lithuanian cities in the nineties, and in particular from Vilnius, and

put into indefinite storage by the sitting government. Controversy ascended throughout the nation as a number of Lithuanian nationals expressed outrage, protesting the construction on the grounds that it would 'bring back haunting memories of one of the most horrifying periods of Lithuanian history' and would 'disgrace the memory' of those quarter million Lithuanians who were arrested, killed or deported' to the wastelands of Siberia under Communist rule. In terms of its perpetuation of the discursive formation, the site can be conceptualised as symbolic of the death-knell of the ideology of the oppressive Soviet regime and a triumph over its reign. Grutas Park is the quintessence of museum and memorial site discourses of Lithuanian struggles with the Soviet regime and it reaffirms the discourse of Lithuanian martyrdom and resistance evidenced in particular at Ninth Fort and the Genocide Victims museums by capturing the symbolism of statues in a context that sees them ridiculed and stripped of symbolic power.

As I have previously reflected (Wight, 2009:142):

> "Grutas Park provides an example of an apparent Western trend to continually revalue the Eastern European past through the recycling and appropriating of icons of communist ideology (similar to the popularity of the ubiquitous Hammer and Sickle t-shirt and Central Committee of the Communist Party (CCCP) 'hoodies'). By devitalizing the power and the threat that communism once posed by assimilating its iconography into popular culture the triumph of West over East is reaffirmed and celebrated."

Grutas Park is in some senses unique when compared to the other units of analysis discussed since its interpretive context is limited to individuals and their roles in recent history immortalised as statues that have undergone a journey of shifting meaning according to the conditions of knowledge in which they have existed. Initially the physical spaces which most of these statues were situated were prominent positions within Lithuanian cities, mostly in Vilnius, and in this physical and hegemonic context they signified the domination of the Soviet regime and some (such as Stalin's statue which was positioned in one of the city's main squares pointing towards the NKVD prison) served as particularly powerful symbolic reminders of the control that the Soviets exerted over the nation and its people. Once relocated to

Grutas Park in Druskininkai in the 1990s they became tourist attractions, divested of symbolic power and reinvented as caricatures of a once powerful invader. They serve now as reminders of the ultimate triumph of Lithuanian independence yet they continue to evolve as objects of shifting significance as they age and become less meaningful as their original context weakens with age.

The monument at Ninth Fort Museum is a further example of the transition of meanings that are ascribed to statuesque objects in this discursive formation. The museum site itself has variously been a fortress, a prison and a place of execution for Lithuanian Jews. Latterly it was a prison that existed through until 1948 before it was designated as a museum in 1958 (Museums of Lithuania, 2009). The Soviets were the original custodians of memory and meaning at the museum site and they prepared it with some basic interpretation to memorialise 'fallen Soviet citizens', despite its location in close proximity to a mass internment site containing the bodies of some 300,000 murdered Jews (*Ibid*). Later, it was recognised as a site of Jewish tragedy and a monument was erected to mark the spot where (as the signage that interprets the site itself articulates) "*Nazis and their assistants killed more than 300,000 Jews from Lithuania*". The narrative again reaffirms the discourse of anonymous perpetration as the 'assistants' are afforded anonymity and the events are produced as something outside of 'Holocaust'. The narrative of Jewish tragedy is produced within the wider context of another, more dominant narrative of Lithuanian ethnic tragedy which is a convenient, 'sensible' national tragedy. The museum reveals what Hall (1997) describes as a power struggle between those *subjected* to an objectified classification and those *promoting* the classification and it is this framing of genocide as a discourse that is materially repeated within the museums that were encountered.

<u>The Imagined 'Lithuanian under occupation'</u>

It has been well documented that ethnic Lithuanians collaborated with the occupying Nazis during the Second World[38] War (Piotrowski, 2007; Sutton, 2008) to put to death, or to facilitate this process, a sizeable proportion of the Lithuanian-Jewish population (see the earlier discussion in this chapter). Whilst Lithuanian collaboration in not a consistently absent subject position in the museums and sites of memory that were analysed, although in the specific cases of the Museum of Genocide Victims and Grutas Park it is totally absent, this subject position, where it is enabled converges with a counter-position enunciating the intervention of Lithuanians to *rescue* Jews from the 'true' perpetrators; the occupying Nazis. The image below (Figure 6.7) is a scan of the contents page of 'Whoever Saves One Life', a book on sale at the Museum of Genocide Victims and published by the 'Genocide and Resistance Research Centre of Lithuania', and it provides a striking example of how the imagined 'Lithuanian under occupation' is constructed, characterised and dispersed as a regularity in themed museums and sites of memory as 'authorities of emergence, delimitation and specification' (Foucault, 1972: 49). This also provides an example of the discursive reach of museums which are not simply spaces for exhibiting, but which also advocate histories through ancillary texts such as books, websites and visitor information publications.

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[38] Importantly, this is not something that is unique to Lithuania and similar acts of collaboration with the Axis Powers were recorded in many other countries such as the other two Baltic States (Estonia and Latvia) and in Albania, Belgium and France to name only a few. Later research might see an examination of heritage in some of these countries using a similar research strategy and this is mooted in the conclusion section.

Contents

Figure 6.7: The contents page to 'Whoever Saves One Life'. A title on sale at the Museum of

Genocide Victims in Vilnius and Ninth Fort Museum in Kaunas (*Author's own image)*

What is striking about the above excerpt, is its resonance with what Foucault has termed the

'rarity' of the statement and the idea that statements are always 'in deficit' and they depend

on the available vocabulary of a given time and space. Any analysis of the statement is tied to

an archaeological analysis that provides an 'historical snapshot' (Jansen, 2008: 109) and which

therefore offers a limited 'system of the present' and which exposes the 'gaps, voids, limitations and disagreements' (*Ibid*) in an archive of knowledge. In this case, the above example constructs the Lithuanian under occupation based on the 'relatively few things that *are* said' (Foucault, 1989). As 'O Donnell (2012) reflects, two different discourses have produced two different discursive objects of occupied Lithuania. The central characterisation in the construction of the war-time ethnic Lithuanian is armed and violent opposition to the occupying authorities and, even beyond this, by heroism and intervention in an objective Jewish 'tragedy' to intervene in Jewish tragedy and rescue its victims. The ethnic Lithuanian, far from having an identity of guilt ascribed to him is instead interpellated into an imagined *Lithuanian* (not Jewish) struggle for 'the Freedom of Jews'. What is interesting is that the Lithuanian that is characterised here retains the same construction of masculine heroism that is ascribed to him in the rhetoric of Lithuanian genocide which represents the framing discourse and the 'continuity' of the wider discursive formation of double genocide which has been identified and described earlier in this chapter. The construction of the War Time Lithuanian Jew is explored below as the second enabling feature of 'double genocide' and it is this characterisation which produces a quite different object of discourse.

6.2.   Abstract 'Jewish Tragedy' and Discursive Resistance

Debates around the memorialisation of Holocaust have entered into an important era in public and popular discourse as the last remaining survivors and first hand witnesses grow older and the prospect of a bequeathed heritage looms; one that will inevitably see (Bartov, 1986 cited in Lindenberg (2013:1):

> "...everyone, whether scholars or the lay public, gentiles or Jews, the offspring of the victims or the descendants of the killers...able to 'experience' the event only vicariously, through documents or memoirs, photographs or material remains, films or television".

Ibrahim (2009) notes how the representation of Holocaust as a language of the exhibition represents a unique 'challenge' for interpretive institutions since it has grown to become such

a powerful rhetorical device in popular culture and one that often fetishises the kind of 'total history' of Jewish wartime experiences that Hollywood and other experience industries have helped to create and modify. The term Holocaust is such a powerful trope that instances of its retroactive application have emerged in media discourses to refer to other genocides which *preceded* World War II (Renov's (2005) observation of this in the context of the Armenian genocide is an example) to signify the enormity of genocide crimes. In addition, screen culture has come to play a central yet troublesome role in the maintenance and reaffirmation of Holocaust rhetoric as a 'trivialising and corrupting force that is seen as a vehicle that cannot help but produce unsatisfactory representations' (Shandler, (1999) cited in Ibrahim, 2009:96). An example is Cole's (2000) discussion of the depiction of Oskar Schindler in the now iconic Hollywood film *Schindler's List* in which the archetypal 'Holocaust Jew' can be encountered as a discursive product of popular culture. The same author also offers a discussion of Ann Frank as an appropriated American discourse. Through such cultural constructs as film, theatre and television, Holocaust 'the brand' has therefore come to be obsessively invoked (Renov, 2005). However, as the analysis below will suggest, Holocaust has also come to be particularised and rarefied as a discourse bound to certain conditions of existence in museum environments which articulate discourses of Jewish tragedy at the level of the nation state. Holocaust is a troublesome discourse wherever it emerges and the discourses identified below exemplify this in the museum context. The salient discourses construct an anonymous Jewish tragedy in Lithuanian museums and sites of memory.

6.2.1   See no Evil Hear no Evil: Absent Holocaust

When contemplating the constitution of Jewish tragedy in the units of analysis that were examined, the resonance with Foucault's thinking becomes clear in terms of observing how 'discourses set limits which enable particular practices of signification (whilst) constraining others' (Kindu 1998: 72) and in terms of how museums 'deploy relations of power through their choices and actions' (*Ibid*: 72). All of the sites that were profiled with the exception of the Vilna Gaon State Jewish Museum sites enabled a 'rarefied' knowledge of 'ethnic Jewish

tragedy' in which the archetypal signifier of 'Holocaust' is never mobilised. This discursive strategy is a striking example of how these museums have stepped into the wider, national discourse of 'genocide' commemoration in which Holocaust remains troublesome and inconvenient. Simply put, neither Holocaust nor genocide would *ever* be visible within a present day Lithuanian-museum articulation of Jewish history, since the conditions of possibility simply do not exist. Rather, there are two salient 'rules' that are clear when considering how this tragedy is constructed and these are firstly, the *limited* number of images to support interpretation and, secondly, the material repeatability in the aesthetics of the images that are presented, which sit almost exclusively in stark contrast to the recurrence of gore and violence that enables visitors 'to know' about Lithuanian genocide as an object of discourse. The images and narratives that *are* presented construct a discourse of consolidation and emancipation framed within a present-day context. It is not the physical act of violence that is enabled within these discourses, but the assumed ways in which these atrocities are dealt with in modern day Lithuanian politics and culture; a culture that is constructed in museums without corroboration from the silenced Jewish subject. All subject positions in the ethnic Lithuanian museums that were visited are framed within the same nationally conscious subject-sensibility that privileges Lithuanian genocide as the enduring object of discourse. It is the ethnic Lithuanian voice that speaks about Jewish tragedy, not the voice of the Jewish victim. This voice is 'self-sufficient and self-confident, looking down from an indisputable position of strength' (Cirakman, 2005, cited in Bryce, 2009:84). As Crimp (1993, cited in Kundu 1998: 71) reflects 'by displaying the products of particular histories in a reified historical continuum, the museum fetishizes them'. The discursive regularity of absent Holocaust is exemplified in the following images and texts which, again, may not produce much meaning as isolated exhibits within this analytical account, but which considered in their wider discursive context can be seen as clear examples of 'material repetition' and aesthetic strategies from which knowledge of a rarefied Jewish tragedy in Lithuanian museums emanates.

Figure 6.8: The Jewish identity is constituted in the present day as a discourse of progress and reconciliation (*Author's own image)*

The above image which presents a montage of 'former prisoners', never 'Holocaust' survivors, or 'genocide victims', in various *present day* contexts is absolutely routine in the sites that were analysed and is therefore a testament to the contingency of discourse. Another is presented below, juxtaposing groups of survivors, never 'murdered victims', alongside historical family photographs.

Figure 6.9: Another instance of the discourse of progress, survival and reconciliation (*Author's own image*)

Such images are typified by the visual construction of the Jewish identity[39] as a referent in the present day. 'Genocide' is implied, but never referenced and discourses of progress, reconciliation, rescue and survival are deployed in contrast to the routine enunciations of victimhood, death and violence that are favoured in the construction of Lithuanian genocide with its unambiguous referencing of specific individuals, specific numbers of victims, specific genocide crimes and a specific collective ethnic identity. Again, the perpetration of crimes against Jews in the 20th century is anonymous, but so too are the victims themselves. This observation is perhaps most powerfully exemplified by the interpretive narrative that accompanies the Holocaust memorial at Ninth Fort. The memorial is photographed in the two images below and the words '...In Remembrance of the Victims of Fascism' (figure 6.10) are

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[39] in a genocide context of course – these images, after all, appear in 'genocide' museums

visible on the plaque that marks a mass site of Jewish internment. Figure 5.5.1d reveals a rare reference to a perpetrator (Nazis) but not Lithuanian collaboration. The victims are simply 'people'. The ambiguity in the signifier immediately limits the contemplative boundaries of the signified.

Figure 6.10: Anonymous victims; anonymous perpetrators (*Author's own image*)

Figure 6.11: Anonymous victims and a rare reference to perpetration (but not to collaboration). The sign reads 'There, near this wall, Nazis shot and burned *people* in 1943-44). The emphasis is my own (*Author's own image*)

It is the *absence* of certain images and certain narratives and the enabling of others that embodies the regularity in the discursive strategy of 'double genocide' which is produced based upon 'a group of rules that are imminent in a practice and define (the object's) specificity' (Foucault, 1972: 51). Statements about genocide are therefore 'in deficit' when it comes to all that might be said about this period of history and the construction of this theme is enabled and limited in specific ways that maintain 'Jewish tragedy' in a particular social practice in exhibitions that limit its existence to the discourses of reconciliation, survival and modern day progress. This observation resonates with Foucault's explanation of the statement as something that does not simply emerge to 'rend the fundamental silence' of something not known (Bryce, 2009: 264) but something which has 'some basis, some wider functional interpretive framework upon which to designate that object as something *to be known* in a quite specific way (*Ibid*: 264).

The images below capture rare examples of historic imagery from the era in which Jewish genocide took place (or soon afterwards). Of interest here are the affirmations of anonymity as a discursive regularity (the members of the 'committee below' are not given an ethnic identify and they are not victims in any sense of the context they are constructed within) and the absence of violence and crime that are deployed to enable understandings of Lithuanian genocide.

Figure 6.12: In search of a referent: Ambiguous Jewish Identities on display in Ninth Fort

(*Author's own image*)

Figure 6.13: Reconciliation and survival enabled through exhibits (*Author's own image*)

The enabling of survival and escape as constitutive discourses of the Jewish story (once again

anonymous in terms of ethnicity in this example) are exemplified further in the image below:

Figure 6.14: Survival and escape as part of the Jewish story (*Author's own image*)

Another of the regularities of this discursive formation is the juxtaposing of Lithuanian genocide with Jewish genocide and the limiting of contemplations of aesthetics to the former. A striking example of this is the presence of an NKVD torture chair at the exit to the Jewish exhibition in Ninth Fort. Jewish genocide is not permitted an autonomous space for contemplation and the visitor is reminded of the 'real' victim as they exit this space. The chair is shown in the image below.

Figure 6.15: A reminder of the 'real' victims. A KGB torture chair is positioned at the exit to the Jewish Exhibition at Ninth Fort (*Author's own image*)

A further limitation imposed by the practice of signifying Jewish genocide is the displaying of mundane objects such as jewellery and clothing as though all that is remarkable about this period of Jewish history are the belongings of the Jewish people that lived, and died, through it. The image below is a typical example:

Figure 6.16: The Jewish story is often accompanied by mundane objects (*Author's own image*)

Foucault described discourse as something that is characterised by 'rarity' (O Donnell and Spires, 2012) based on the premise that *everything* can *never* be said in terms of what *could* be stated and therefore statements are always in deficit since 'relatively few things *are* said' (*Ibid*). The framing discourse of what is termed in a non-discursive context as 'Holocaust' is a strong example of the application of this proposition. The material repeatability of Holocaust, that is to say, the places in which it is discussed, and the substance of its discussion, frame it as an objective 'ethnic tragedy' and, as discussed in the earlier analysis of 'Victims, Culprits and Blame', the central element in the construction of absent Holocaust is the absence of a subject in all enunciations of 'perpetration' and the absence of an object in terms of giving Jewish victims an ethnic identity beyond 'people', 'prisoners' and 'victims'. Lithuanian collaboration in the mass murder of Jewish citizens during 1941-1944 is therefore a troublesome and complex discourse in the current 'body of knowledge' that is given legitimacy in the nation's ethnic museums. The observation has resonance with Hall's (1997:23) discussion of Foucault's discursive formation in noting that such a formation refers to the:

"...systematic operation of several discourses or statements constituting a 'body of knowledge', which work together to construct a specific object/topic of analysis in a particular way, and to limit the other ways in which that object/topic might be constituted."

In the case of Ninth Fort Museum and the Museum of Genocide Victims in particular, Lithuanian collaboration in the fate of the Jewish population is absent and is replaced by a discourse of Lithuanian heroism that remembers instances of Jews rescued by heroic Lithuanian nationals. These museums therefore hide as much as they reveal and they legitimate a wider national discourse[40] that sees any narrative of Jewish Holocaust viewed with some suspicion and unease.

6.2.2 The Vilna Gaon State Jewish Museum as a Site of Discursive Resistance

'Genocide' is everywhere in Lithuanian ethno-centric museums, but only 'Lithuanian Genocide'. Holocaust and Lithuanian collaboration in the mass murder of Jews is not constitutive of the discursive object. Heroism, in terms of Lithuanian interventions to help members of the Jewish community on the other hand is permitted as a discourse of 'double genocide'. Of interest too is the eschewing of Jewish heritage by the state in the sense that the Green House Exhibition and Panerai Memorial are self-funded entities [41] which depend on donations and revenue generated from visits to remain operational (Wight and Lennon, 2006). The Green House Museum, at the time of visitation, had received no visits from state schools or other educational institutions despite the museum's campaigns to raise awareness of Jewish heritage at a national and local (Vilnius) level.

As the analysis up to this point has observed, any exposure to Jewish genocide in Lithuanian ethno-centric museums is bound by a discursive regularity that repeatedly obfuscates

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[40] evidence of which perhaps comes from the fact that the state Jewish Museum has had no school visits since its inception

Holocaust and instead produces Jewish Genocide as an object of discourse *only* alongside competing and parasitic narratives of Lithuanian oppression and victimhood. The only occupation-themed museum in Lithuania which breaks many of the rules of this 'discursive regime' (Brown and Humphreys, 2006: 1) of 'double genocide' is the Vilna Gaon State Jewish Museum. The idea of a Jewish museum that is operated and staffed by Jewish Lithuanians including the relatives of survivors of the Holocaust presenting a contrasting version of 'genocide' is not surprising. The museum is approached in this analysis as an anomaly amongst the core units of analysis and as a space of 'discursive resistance' to the fields of power in which the dominant discursive formation of 'double genocide' is produced and maintained. Crucially, it is within the VGM, and specifically, the 'Green House' Museum and Panerai Memorial, that 'Holocaust' is unambiguously produced as a second, competing object of genocide discourse. The VGM reminds us that discourse can be 'a site of both power and resistance, with scope to evade, subvert or contest strategies of power' (Gaventa, 2003:3). The two sites that were visited challenge the official, hegemonic 'national' memory of Lithuanian occupation and each presents a counter claim to the dominant position of the state-funded museums in the analysis all of which have found ways of enabling an object of knowledge (genocide) that is divested of the inconvenience of Holocaust and Lithuanian collaboration. The VGM breaks at least four of the rules of the Lithuanian discursive formation of genocide and these are:

1. The referencing of Holocaust as a crime against the Jewish population of Lithuania

2. The identification of Jews as a victim-group at both the collective and individual level

3. Referencing numbers of Jewish Holocaust victims

4. Articulating Jewish Holocaust through the aesthetic of violence and crime

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[41] This was the case at the time of visitation

To lead with the first of these, the images below[42] exemplify the referencing of Holocaust as a counter-claim to the object of analysis that has hitherto been discussed in the sections above.

Figure 6.17: Joseph Levinson's *The Shoah* available in translated formats and on sale in the 'Green House' (source: Katz, 2010)

The term Holocaust is itself used arbitrarily to interpret the museum' exhibits and in so doing, the Green House and Panerai challenge 'the focal points around which a vision of national identity (is) forged ... with a sense of a shared past' (Cooke, 2000: 449), which the other museums analysed seek to articulate as an object of discourse.

The image below is particularly striking since it provides an example of the identification of Jews as victims of crimes (executions) and it references Lithuanian-Nazi collaboration in

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[42] Many of my own images were lost following irreparable damage to a hard drive. I have therefore acknowledged the provenance of those that I have used in this analysis that are not originals. There is no intended significance surrounding the fact that some of these are black and white images.

perpetrating these crimes and in so doing it breaks with two of the regularities of 'double genocide' that were discussed earlier in the analysis.
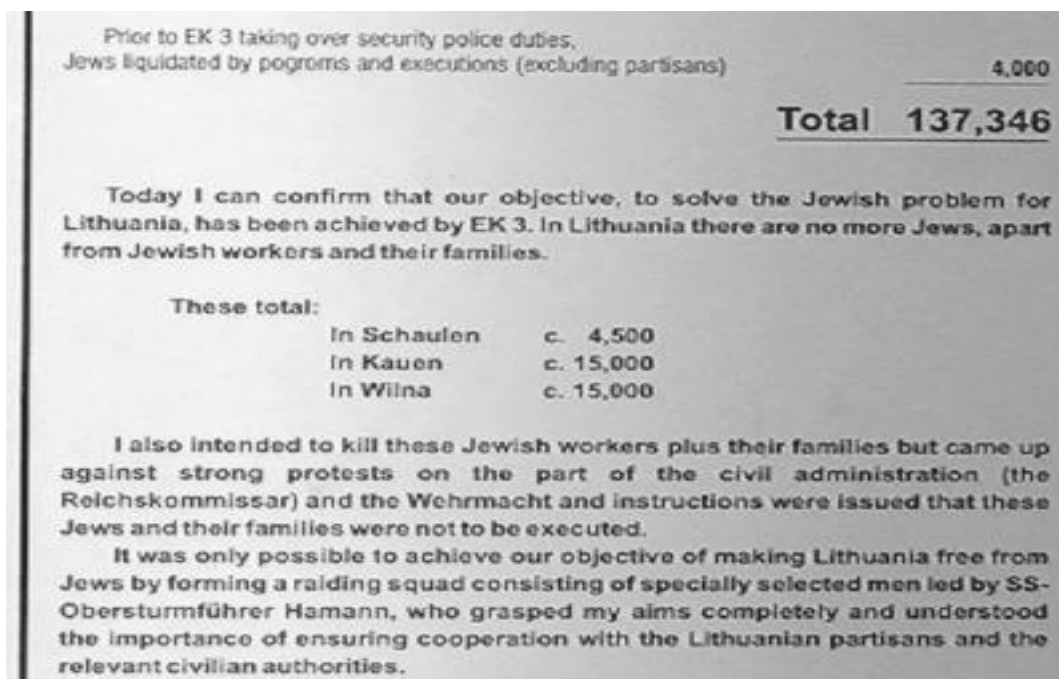
Figure 6.18: Translated text from Einsatzkommando Commander Karl Jaeger (Source: Katz, 2010)

The identification of the Jewish community in Lithuania as an autonomous victim group at the level of the collective and individual is evidenced in figure 6.19 below:

Figure 6.19: Edited volume on display in the 'Green House' (Source: Katz, 2010)

The enabling of Holocaust as an act of violence is exemplified in the images below.

Figure 6.20: Holocaust victims in the VGM (Source: Katz, 2010)

Figure 6.21: Another violent aesthetic of Holocaust (Source: Katz, 2010)

Panerai Memorial reinforces the regularity of a Holocaust crime act through the interpreting of 'death pits' into which Jewish victims were shot (see figure 6.22 below).

Figure 6.22: Panerai legitimates Holocaust as a counter-narrative to Lithuanian Genocide

(Source: Katz, 2010)

Finally, the museum makes reference to specific numbers of victims, including an image of a 'complete list of executions' of Jews in Lithuania during December 1941 (see Figure 6.23 below). The aim of this analysis is not to debate the number of victims (the museum commemorates 200,000) but to note upon the absence of named and numbered victims as a discursive regularity in ethnocentric Lithuanian genocide museums and the counter-discourse of naming and numbering victims as a strategy of discursive resistance in the VGM. As Horne (1996: 175) puts it in terms of favouring particular actors in staging public culture:

"Even in the more restricted sense of 'facts and figures', a public culture will not be a representation of society, partly because those who control the public construction of 'facts and figures' may, simply, lie but also because there are prevailing assumptions about which facts and figures matter".

Figure 6.23: Chronological tabulation (poor visibility acknowledged) of executions of Jews by town in December 1941 (Source: Katz, 2010)

The discourses of the VGM challenge the paradigm of 'double genocide' since they reference the same ontological event (occupied Lithuania) as the power regime they seek to undermine. In Foucauldian terms, as respective sites of power and resistance, these museums can be said to exist 'as conditions of possibility for each other' (Butz and Ripmeester, 1999:1) and, far from being binary opposites they are conceptualised as a 'multiform production of relations' (*Ibid*) that are just as susceptible to disagreement as to an overlap of discursive strategies. However clearly the VGM, as a marginal voice in the construction of an imagined Lithuanian past represents a 'site of dissension, and therefore of resistance and opposition to, as well as reproduction of dominant views[43]' (O Donnell and Spires, 2012: 19). Such sites of resistance

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[43] The fact that the VGM and its narratives *are* marginalised is a reaffirmation of the dominance of 'double genocide' as a regularity.

routinely risk failure or appropriation (*Ibid*) and the possibility of simply being ignored. It is perhaps not a surprise that the physical premises of the Holocaust Exhibition is difficult to find within Vilnius since the site does not enjoy the same level of support in tourism marketing media as its counterparts that also enjoy financial support from central government. The VGM as a museum of occupation and of genocide therefore represents an ideological and spatial effort to circumvent the power of the ideologies and discourses espoused by the state-supported ethno-centric museums that were encountered and analysed. Crucially, from a Foucauldian perspective, power and resistance are ontologically inseparable and they exist as 'conditions of possibility for the other' (Butz and Ripmeester, 1999). The consequence in terms of discourse is the production of two objects for 'knowing' occupied Lithuania and this proposition is discussed below before a conclusion discusses the implications of this thesis from a range of practical and philosophical perspectives.

6.3. Discussion: Two discursive objects for knowing 'Occupied Lithuania' as a strand of Culture

Museums and exhibitions have been described as sites of cultural contestation (Waxman, 2004). It is worthwhile viewing such contestation in museums as a discourse that legitimates and is legitimated by the wider set of cultural conditions in which they exist. These conditions, according to a Foucauldian perspective authorise certain ways of constructing objects of knowledge. A post structuralist approach to understanding museums might view such institutions as apparatuses of a disciplinary society (Conn, 2000) which combine the practices of collecting, classifying and displaying objects as exercises in power to produce knowledge. This knowledge is inscribed in what Bourdieu has called a 'field of power' (Blickstein, 2009:16) that is the subject of competing interests. Far from advocating a Frankfurt-School classification of museums as insidious and coercive propagandists that 'cow' visitors into submission (*Ibid*), this, Foucauldian approach instead suggests that museums are part of an anonymously authored and perpetuated cultural hegemony that places visitors on the side of power; inviting

them to step into the discourses that they articulate as a form of authoritative knowledge about the nation and its past. In terms of the articulation of knowledge about Lithuanian Occupation, the museums that were analysed for the purposes of producing this thesis have derived power by reifying particular categories of knowledge around a rarefied discursive object. Specifically, they have derived much of their 'persuasiveness' from the material repetition, and exclusion of statements across the sites that were analysed. Such discourses play a parasitic role in relation to articulations of Jewish Holocaust since the latter is never permitted the same kind of privileged and autonomous space as the former.

This kind of reasoning resonates with Deleuze's (1988, cited in Graham 2005:9) discussion of the 'positivity' of knowledge in a particular domain since "the statement always defines itself by establishing a specific link with something else...something foreign... something outside". Yet, as Butts and Ripmeester (1999) suggest, there is little space for 'resistance' in a web of power in which the dominant and marginalised voices are integrated and inseparable. The positivity (the taken for granted ways of 'knowing') of double genocide *depends* on the irregularities, contradictions and dispersal of 'genocide' as a contested object of discourse in these museums. Holocaust is always present, but never named and its appearance as a somewhat unremarkable adjunct to the meta-narrative of Lithuanian genocide invests the latter discourse with power and ideological credibility as a timeless-truth. Holocaust can therefore be said to occupy a site of discursive exclusion that has been appropriated into a body of knowledge that favours and privileges the discourse of Lithuanian genocide.

The analysis has therefore evidenced that a body of knowledge has been created through the articulation of several discourses or 'statements' of history produced as a material culture within Lithuanian museums and heritage sites themed around occupation. Rather than existing as separate autonomous entities, these sites are viewed in Foucauldian terms as texts that are constituted in discourse and which articulate 'complexes of social meaning' (Kress, 1955, cited

in Brown and Humphreys, 2004: 4). Like other organisations, they are socially constructed through discourses which create 'situations, objects of knowledge and (thus) social identities' (Fairclough and Wodak, 1977 *Ibid*: 2006:4). Through their language-rhetoric, they simultaneously enable and restrict certain understandings about their reconstructed pasts, perceived presents and anticipated futures. Their epistemic claims to authoritative knowledge must thus be considered to be 'contingent, socially conditioned and the product of discursive formations' (Conn, 2000). As 'statements', these museums are part of what Taborsky (2000) has termed the cultural 'consensus' of a society. Just as societies share a common language, they also have in common a set of cultural assumptions that are articulated through institutional practices. As part of a discursive analytic, it is not the *material* nature of these assumptions that matters but the 'process of their production' (Jansen, 2008) and how they reflect and maintain social reality by producing meaning. In discussing discursive formation it is the rules of formation that are central to meaning-making and it is through the mapping of rules that it is possible to identify consistency despite disagreement and variation. The absolute exclusion of dissonant narratives (Holocaust and all of its implications such as violence, victimhood and perpetration) from the rhetoric of occupation in Lithuanian museums 'forecloses (this) unwanted expression' (O' Donnell and Spires (2012: 18) and the repeatability of Lithuanian 'genocide' ritualises a hegemonic site of knowledge production, creating a dominant ideology in terms of how Lithuanian occupation can come be known, in this case by English speaking visitors. This observation is made with the caveat that 'no discourse or discursive formation simply acts as a conveyor belt where hegemonic values are passed on without resistance to a passive population' (*Ibid*: 19) yet they favour the dominant voices in the wider historical discussion of 20th century occupation in Lithuania.

The museums and sites of memory that have been analysed in this chapter are therefore conceptualised as social constructs presenting a teleological view of history and the nation that sees independence and social-political progress as the hard-fought rewards from a period

of occupation defined by the suffering of ethnic Lithuanian victims and martyrs. The troublesome discourse and metonymic guilt of Holocaust is removed from this intellectual terrain and appears instead as a rarefied discourse of survival, rescue and redemption all routinely constructed through images and narrative mostly in the present day. The universal discourses associated with Holocaust and discussed by Ibrahim (2009) such as evil, victimhood and crucially 'non-comparability' (there are no 'Holocausts', only *the* [ontologically constant] Holocaust) are replaced with a particularised discourse of 'Jewish Tragedy' that authorises a remarkably unique discursive object bound by thematic regularities. This rarefied discourse not only marginalises the Holocaust subject position as it appears in other popular cultural archives but it also authorises an ontological parity ('Double Genocide') between Lithuanian and Jewish tragedy as discursive objects for knowing genocide in 20th century Lithuania.

Earlier in the thesis I drew upon Radford et al's (2011) metaphor of the library as a way of understanding the concept of discursive formation. Radford suggested that to grasp the concept of discursive formation it is helpful to consider the allocation of books within libraries to particular sections and to attempt to understand the rationale behind these allocations and what they mean for knowledge and for subject positions. The ordering and classification of knowledge within museums has many parallels to Radford's library analogy and can reveal as much about both the manner in which the discursive object can be thought of and talked about as the positions of the subjects that articulate these objects of knowledge. As Hall (1997) suggests, it is the museum and its internal struggles that shape how material cultures are produced and encountered. There is an interconnection between power and the visibility of the exhibition and this encounter is not a naturally occurring one. Rather, it occurs in the multi-sensory aesthetic and text-rich environment of what power and knowledge 'guides us to see' (*Ibid*: 195). The extent to which what is seen in museums is encountered as 'evidence' is not made clear in this study (no social-scientific research was conducted and a study of this type cannot grasp the extent to which visitors consent to the discursive image of Lithuania

under occupation), however 'seeing' the antagonists and the victims of a constructed genocide and not 'seeing' another victim group from the same era inevitably raises questions about the discursive object and the power actors that legitimate their material construction as knowledge. Put another way, material knowledge about Lithuanian genocide can only be 'seen' if the visitor steps into a discourse that uses this object of discourse as a means to order and classify knowledge to the exclusion of all other ways of knowing. The way in which power/knowledge is joined to the visual world of the museum/heritage site can produce 'effects in the real' (Graham, 2005) which find form in what Horne (1986) has described as the public culture. It is this aspect of destination 'visibility' that the implications of the above analysis are concerned with and whilst the thesis remains centrally concerned with the application of a Foucauldian discursive analytic to understand heritage sites as meaning-makers, it is useful to discuss some of the implications of the analysis at the level of materiality. In other words, developing an understanding of discourse production at such sites is useful only if the implications for visitor interpretation can be given some consideration in terms of how they might shape the image of a destination.

6.4.   Concluding Remarks: Lithuanian Occupation Museums as Public Culture

Away from the language of discourse, Horne (1986: 173) reminds us that there is:

> "...a very simple sense in which a public culture is not a representation of a society, and that is that certain kinds of people will simply not be seen in it"

He goes on to cite the example of the absent male homosexual in the public cultures of liberal-democratic nation states up until the latter stages of the 20th century. For Horne, the public culture produces 'winners and losers' and 'missing persons' and he reminds us that the way in which people appear in culture is not necessarily the way in which *they* would wish to see themselves.

He suggests that (*Ibid*: 173)

> *"...if they belong to some unfavoured group, when they do appear, it may be only as entertainers ... or as victims or as criminals or as lovable clowns or calculating villains"*

Holocaust, and specifically Holocaust actors as referents, in Lithuania appears as one such deviant group in the cultural terrain of the nation's heritage attractions as visible strands of public culture and their role in the material history of occupation that is produced through heritage is restricted to that of victims of an 'other', anonymous antagonist. The Jewish 'story' in such institutions continues to occupy the archive of 'official history' purely as a wan footnote to Lithuanian genocide and Russian antagonism. As Henning (2006: 130) puts it, 'to the archive is delegated the task of remembering' yet never can the task of remembering be separated from the apparatus of governance and the archive of the state.

Such a selective approach to interpretation evidences the power of 'not being there' (*Ibid*: 173) and strengthens the 'copyright' of the Lithuanian story. These museums are constituent parts of the hegemonic fabric of Lithuanian identity; an identity which is increasingly available to a growing number of inbound, English speaking visitors. Such visitors in seeking out the past, whilst recognising that not all of them do, 'discover' it through existing stereotypes such as the *old town*, the dignified *squares* the *market place,* the *festivals* and *tournaments* and of course the *great museum* (Horne, 1984: 27). They can be said to follow a ceremonial agenda (*Ibid*) that closely satisfies the ordered instructions of the guide book and the direction given by those that have come before. The museum can undoubtedly be located on this cultural horizon of stereotypes and can therefore legitimate what comes to be accepted conceptually as 'the destination'.

In the context of this thesis, such sites, and therefore the destinations that lend them legitimacy, are viewed as socially constructed units. The destination to which these museums 'belong' can therefore be viewed as 'a historically produced structure which is experienced

and represented through different administrative, economic and cultural practices' (Saarinen, 2004:165). Heritage and museums have been conceptualised in this chapter as a dispersal of statements bound by particular regularities. Yet these sites can, themselves be considered to be statements that belong to the much wider discursive formation of 'destination' which cannot be captured and analysed within a single study of this scope, but which will inform the direction of future research that I will undertake. They do not operate in isolation from the wider power structures of which they are a part and indeed they construct their knowledge and practices based upon the conditions of existence that are authorised by the culture to which they belong and contribute towards the production of. They are as much part of a discourse of region as they are of a discourse of culture and in this sense they are part of the discursive formation of 'Lithuania' as produced for the consumption of visitors. What will be of interest in the future is a consecutive period of discourse analysis that maps the wider discursive production of Lithuanian through such sites of discourse as regional literature, television shows, social media sites, movies and the arts, to the extent that these are available in English[44]. In the meantime, this thesis has set out to offer a fresh conceptual approach to carrying out research into dark tourism by presenting a discourse analysis of Lithuanian occupation-themed museums using Foucault's concept of discursive formation from '*Archaeology of Knowledge*'. The extent to which this has been achieved is given consideration in the ensuing, concluding chapter which reflects over the epistemological implications of the research undertaken for the various knowledge domains I have constructed my arguments across and for the methodological debate around Foucault, discourse analysis and dark tourism.

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[44] I intend to start learning the Lithuanian language shortly after submitting this thesis and this is motivated out of the desire to appreciate the more tacit discourses of occupation from a Lithuanian language perspective.

7   Conclusion

7.1.   Introduction

My interest in producing a body of work on Lithuania and its heritage 'product' themed around occupation has its roots in a visit I made to the country's capital, Vilnius, in 2005 encouraged by my erstwhile colleague and academic supervisor Professor John Lennon. They also have their origins in a personal interest in dark tourism[45]; a subject I read at undergraduate level and which I applied as a concept to understanding visitor encounters with exhibits in the Imperial War Museum of the North, Manchester. I also authored, and co-authored a number of research papers on the consumption of these types of cultural experiences and these have informed some of the content in this thesis. One of these discusses 'selective interpretation' in two of Vilnius' occupation-themed museums to draw attention to the ostensible absence of certain subject positions in articulations of wartime history (Wight and Lennon, 2007). As Ruta Puistye (the collections manager I first spoke to in 2005 when I visited the 'Green House Museum in Vilnius) put it (approximately), how can Lithuanian culture place so much emphasis on celebrating the valour and sacrifice of the Partisan 'Forest Army' engaged in resistance against their Soviet aggressors when so many of them turned the same guns on their Jewish neighbours during the years of Nazi occupation? There seemed to be something worthy of further exploration about Horne's (1984) observations about the 'power of not being there' (in public culture) and this fuelled my motivation to carry out research. My interest endured beyond this initial phase of research and I wanted to find a way of further understanding the extent to (and the means through) which our interactions, as visitors, with museum collections and heritage sites are limited to the contexts in which we find them and therefore to the *persuasiveness* of a certain 'language of heritage' constructed through various rhetorical strategies. I discovered Foucault's work in 2006 and saw immediate potential to harness his

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[45] ...and one which has evolved to become something quite different. I offer my work as a contribution to the early, 'first wave' concept of dark tourism (coined by John Lennon and Malcolm Foley) and Thanatourism (coined by Anthony Seaton) in terms of speaking to both interpretation and selectivity. Dark tourism, empirically at any rate has 'matured' into a 'management' subject viewed through the lens of social sciences and positivity. In submitting this work, I hope to offer another framework for understanding it and one which broadens the possibilities for empiricism without the fetishisation of surveys, interviews and generalisability and so on.

thinking to create a more scholarly and rigorous attempt at conceptualising the units of analysis, along with some new ones, which I had tried to make sense of the previous year.

With such an ethos in mind, this PhD thesis has presented an account of the subsequent efforts I have made to apply a particular type of post-structuralist thinking to an analysis of museum discourse in the context described and so this work represents the stage I have reached so far in pursuing this. As with any Foucauldian archaeological research, it cannot be offered as something that is 'complete' since it captures only a partial field, or snapshot of knowledge, bound to a specific temporal and spatial context. The discourses that have been identified are perhaps part of a more elusive 'positivity', which continues to emerge across a number of cultural and political surfaces. It is my intention to turn to these other surfaces in due course in my post-doctoral years, perhaps through an analysis of tourism literature or of tours and other performative forms of tourism consumption, or, should I one day learn to speak the Lithuanian language, in film, television and theatre. For now, this concluding chapter sets out, not to replay, or summarise the previous chapters, but to offer some suggestions about what the holistic body of work means for the disciplines that they speak to, and how they make methodological and philosophical contributions to studying a specific manifestation (genocide and occupation in museums and sites of memory) of what might be considered 'dark tourism', examined as a cultural phenomenon. The discussion in this concluding section therefore reflects over the epistemological contribution of this thesis to the domains of knowledge to which it might be said to 'belong', and it reinforces the contribution that the thesis makes to knowledge, as an operationalised Foucauldian discourse analysis of the rhetoric of genocide and occupation in museums and sites of memory. I offer conclusions in terms of the study findings themselves, and what they add to the literature, and I reflect over the research strategy that has been undertaken in terms of its potential uses in research, and in terms of its key methodological limitations. I also make some criticisms of Foucault's

thinking as a means of analysing exhibitions and heritage and I consider how future research might develop based upon the current body of work.

7.2.   Key Findings

Foucauldian, and other post structural approaches to discourse analysis, including Derridean and Bourdievian approaches, offer a means to challenge 'truth' and they can be useful to question and conceptualise truth-claims as rhetorical practice. As Humes and Bryce (cited in Graham, 2005: 3) note '...the search for clarity and simplicity of meaning is seen as illusory because there will always be other perspectives from which to interpret the material under review'. As a theoretical standpoint then, post-structuralist critique is an interpretive analytic that takes orientation from some form of epistemological standpoint to challenge power and knowledge and to question meaning. Much work has already been undertaken to critique the museum as a broad institutional concept using genealogical approaches to review their evolution from private collections through to nationalistic temples of culture. Authors such as Crimp (1993) Hooper-Greenhill (1992), Conn (2000) and Bennett (1998) have explored the concept of the museum as an institutional articulation of power. Only a handful of authors (see Blickstein, 2009, Dominic, 2000 and Wight and Lennon, 2007) have provided a case treatment of specific museums as 'selective' authorities of knowledge. There is, at the time of writing, no published research that has applied Foucault's concept of discursive formation from '*Archaeology of Knowledge*' to specific museums or to a collection of museums which articulate ideas around a shared theme. It is to this gap in knowledge that my research has attended. It is the application of the concept of discursive formation itself which is 'new' as a methodological strategy for understanding genocide and occupation museums as forms of cultural consumption, as opposed to simply offering additional analysis about these in terms of how they are managed or conceptualised.

My research has therefore been based on a constructivist, Foucauldian analytic deployed as a lens through which to view museums and sites of memory as the staging grounds of culture

that deploy authoritative discourses, which at once limit and legitimate various subjectivities and discursive objects. From a methodological perspective, the concept of discursive formation can be used to explore the cultural function of museums as spaces for shaping knowledge. Based on this method I would propose, as a conclusion to this thesis that the five Lithuanian occupation-themed museums I have analysed authorise a particular Lithuanian individuality which marginalises the Jewish subject position and its objects of discourse into abstraction. These museums create the possibility to undermine the ontological stability of Holocaust and the Jewish subject position, which is produced as an anomalous, 'non-Lithuanian' cultural reference point.

'Double genocide' as discursive formation is therefore at once both a space of national identity formation, and of historical 'truth' contestation. This research has analysed 'occupation' in five museums as a series of statements which have been grasped 'in the exact specificity of their occurrence (to) determine their conditions of existence (to) fix at least their limits, establish their correlations with other statements that may be connected with it, and show what other forms of statement they exclude" (Foucault, 1972 cited in Hevia, no date: 1). To locate the statement is to define the conditions of its specific existence (Jansen, 2008). This study has analysed what is said as 'statement' in the museum environment about two narratives of genocide as discourses which come to shape what is it to 'know' Lithuanian occupation in a particular interpretive setting. These narratives have consequences in the non-discursive, 'real world' context since they are cultural signifiers of a nation in transition which eschews its turbulent and in some cases 'inconvenient' past in favour of shaping its evolving identity as a member of the European union around a selective historical narrative, free from troublesome cultural reference points. Most of the museums, with the exception of one; the Vilna Gaon State Jewish Museum, enjoy state financial support, and so most can be considered as sites of authoritative knowledge production which have tacit state support ascribed to them. Yet all are institutions that 'possess the power of knowledge which may further dominate the shaping

of the public's ideologies and beliefs of what to be considered the truth' (Dai Rong, 2006:3).

Each can be considered as belonging to what Horne (1986) has conceptualised as the ethereal 'public culture' which 'floats above the nation like a mirage'. They are therefore hegemonic cultural resources and stakeholders in protecting and 'naturalising' national and political interests. To develop on Horne's metaphor, these museums and sites of memory can be considered as narratives that do not operate in isolation. They belong to other discursive formations, and to a wider 'archive' of knowledge. They belong to a bigger 'mirage' of occupation that has not been explored in this thesis but which would include media texts, theatre, film, television, plays and other complex cultural statements and memes which are ripe for future exploration.

In chapter 4, I presented a table (table 4.1) outlining an interpretation of salient concepts from 'Archaeology of Knowledge' to inform the direction of my analysis. An adapted version of the table is reproduced below (see table 7.1) to summarise the key findings of the research and to demonstrate how the concepts from *Archaeology of Knolwedge* have been synthesised and interpreted. Again, the aim here is not to 'prescribe' Foucault, or to determine how others might apply these concepts to research in future. Rather, it is included to reinforce how I have mobilised a specific framework for understanding the concepts of 'Archaeology' to produce a unique analysis of museums and sites of memory. The adaptation to the original table is the addition of a new column to demonstrate how these concepts have been synthesised. Specifically, the study has approached five thematically grouped Lithuanian museums and heritage sites as 'statements' or speech acts that articulate a rarefied and dispersed 'field of knowledge' about 20th century occupation and genocide in Lithuania. The most salient treatment of this concept in the thesis is the delimited articulation of what is implied as, but never titled 'Jewish Holocaust', in contrast with the much more dominant and privileged ethnic Lithuanian subject position of victimhood. The study also finds that the 'archive' represents the spaces from which these statements emanate and in which they become rarefied and

bound by discursive regularities. Enunciations have been identified in this study as the various speech acts through which statements emerge, within the narrow context of the exhibition-environment. Enunciations were the most tangible aspects of the study that could be experienced as tours, narrative, images and experiences. The discursive formation has been identified as the very practice of the production of discourse within the specific context of the museum. This practice is bound by discursive regularities which limit what can, and cannot be known about the themes on display, to a specific field of knowledge. Further research is required to explore other cultural practices with thematic resonance to the sites analysed in this thesis to explore the extent to which the discursive formation that has been identified is 'materially repeated' in other places, and at other times in the future. Future surfaces of emergence may include city tours (and specifically ghetto tours) of the Baltic state capitals and visitor guidebooks printed in English.

A synthesis of Foucauldian discourse analysis has therefore been applied in this thesis to arrive at two sets of findings. The first of these relates to the museums and sites of memories that have been analysed, and the second of these relates to the use of Foucault as a methodological and ideological lens through which to view heritage of this kind. To summarise the finding in relation to the museums themselves, the thesis has identified a discursive regularity amongst a partial 'archive' of knowledge dispersed throughout five museums that speak to '20th Century Lithuania under occupation'. Put simply, the representations of the histories that are the central interpretive themes within these spaces have been conceptualised as socially constructed phenomena based on the assumptions of Foucault's thesis. A key criticism of this finding however is that it may be approached (as Foucault's ideas has been approached) as nihilistic, and blind to the possibility that the 'truths' on display in these museums may well be accepted by the communities that they claim to represent, and need not therefore be challenged. Nonetheless, the narratives that are deployed in these spaces can be said to represent a discursive formation that I have termed 'double genocide'

since they produce two competing genocides in such a way as to privilege one (ethnic Lithuanian genocide), whilst maintaining the other as deviant (Jewish Holocaust). Within this field of knowledge, a national ethnic 'inside' is articulated in relation to an ethnic 'outside' (Jewish subjectivity) towards the discursive production of a rarefied national identity that suits the present day culture of Lithuania. In terms of the findings in relation to the use of Foucault's *Archaeology of Knowledge* to parse the rhetoric of occupation and genocide in Lithuanian museums, there are two salient observations to make. The first is that the ideologically informed methodologies suggested by authors such as Bryce (2009) and O'Donnell and Spires (2012) have been useful points of reference in producing a framework for capturing, and deploying *Archaeology of Knowledge* in such a way as to examine narratives of genocide in exhibitions and heritage settings. No other study, to my knowledge, has developed and deployed such a framework in this manner, and it is this claim to originality that underpins the value of the methodological strategy I have proposed. The second is that the thesis creates a basis from which to develop future research of the type that is discussed later, in section 7.5.

To summarise the findings into a potted synopsis for the contemplation of future researchers and museums and heritage stakeholders, it has been argued in this thesis that:

- Museums and sites of memory, when they can be logically approached as a thematic collective, can be said to produce a rarefied 'field of knowledge' around the ideas and concepts that they 'reveal'. They depend on each other, and the wider cultural conditions they support, and are supported by, to maintain this field of knowledge.

- It is the interpretive themes within the museums analysed that are repeated (in images and through visitor interpretation) with sufficient frequency to understand how they limit the 'ways of knowing' 20th century narratives of genocide in Lithuania. This knowledge is rarefied and socially constructed.

- The knowledge produced within these cultural institutions is maintained within (and informed by) a particular set of cultural conditions which can change over time. Future research will be useful in identifying any changes to the 'material repeatability' of genocide that this thesis has described.

- Tours, guide books, images, interpretive texts and other directive narratives have been analysed as units of data (or 'enunciative modalities') to drive forward an analysis of discourse in heritage settings, and the framework proposed by the thesis may be useful to inform future research that seeks to conceptualise heritage, in a Foucaldian sense as 'text'.

- The above findings are restricted to the conditions in which they were 'found' (specifically, in five Lithuanian 'genocide' museums between 2005 and 2012) and future research will be useful to identify the extent to which they remain intact, as time progresses, and as new institutions of memory emerge in Lithuania.

These findings and the nature of their emergence, from a synthesis of the concepts in *Archaeology of Knowledge* are mapped out in table 7.1, below.

Table 7.1: Key Findings, and their emergence from a synthesis of concepts from Archaeology of Knowledge (adapted from Foucault, 1969)

Concept from Archaeology of Knowledge	Synthesis of this concept into a methodology for this study	Key finding in relation to this study
The statement	The museum is a statement of discourse and it can also be analysed as an autonomous discourse comprising of statements (although Foucault saw any analysis of the latter position as 'futile'). The museum conceptualised at the level of the statement can be identified as a visual apparatus of signs and symbols (for example written and visual visitor interpretation, and the arrangement of objects, sometimes called 'proxemics' by exhibitioners) to which a status of knowledge is ascribed. The question here is how can 'occupied Lithuania' come to be known in Lithuania's museums and sites of memory? One might ask this question in relation to *all* museums or in relation to museums outside of Lithuania but this is a partial study of a clearly delineated field. The statement is governed by 'rules'. For example, there are an inherent set of rules governing the ways in which genocide can and cannot be spoken about in Lithuanian museums. These rules only become obvious following an accumulation of familiarity with their surfaces of emergence. Statements may be repeated, but their materiality (their nature and the rules of their formation) in exhibitory environments varies. They nonetheless refer to the same object of discourse (for example the discursive production of women, or of the technology of warfare in the field of battlefield museum discourse). Finding regularity amongst the irregularity of statements is the purpose of archaeological discourse analysis.	Crucial to understanding the discursive production of 'double occupation' in Lithuanian museums and sites of memory has been the process of mapping the interpretive themes within these, and noting their interactions and overlaps. The taken for granted ways in which history is interpreted at these sites have been approached as 'discursive regularities' which are repeated across the surfaces (the museums) in the analysis. Since these regularities *are* taken for granted they are placed within a field of power. The articulation of what is implied as, but never titled 'Holocaust' is an example of the statement in this context, as is the privileging of Lithuanian genocide in the same archive.
The archive	Understanding the archive involves an interrogation of how the objects of museum discourse can come to be used (or ignored) in systems of statements. For example,	The accumulation of the statements that are identified and described in the analysis reveals the extent, and the limits of the archive of knowledge of, and about 20th

	the museums analysed in this study deploy discourses according to particular laws governing what can and cannot be said about, for example, Soviet occupation. This analysis comes into more focus the further back the analyst is prepared to go with a series of texts. In this study (and in most) it remains partially defined.	century occupation in Lithuania. These museums, by giving routine preference to particular interpretive themes reveal '…a desire to contain all times, all ages, all forms, all tastes in one place' (Foucault, 1998, cited in Lord,2006:4). Soviet occupation and Holocaust come to be known within the material context of this archive.
Enunciation	The modalities of enunciation will include exhibitions but also guided tours and other directive visitor information such as guide books and interpretive narrative that accompanies the tangible objects that are displayed (all in the English language in this case).	The analysis has focussed on all available enunciative modalities such as the various tours and objects of interpretation that were encountered. These provide a descriptive quality that constructs Lithuanian occupation as an objective of discourse which is limited to an interpretive context which at once privileges, and restricts particular narratives.
Discursive Formation	A discursive formation refers to the discursive practices in which memory is produced in a field of knowledge. In this case discursive formation refers to the particular ways in which knowledge is produced around an imagined version of occupied Lithuania and the associated human costs. It refers to the rules that impose limitations and mandates on what can and cannot be spoken about in the museum environment. This is typically dependent on exposure to an entire 'field' such as the fields of psychiatry and of the justice system that Foucault reasoned around. For this study, the field of an imagined Lithuania is partially studied through an examination of its production in museums and sites of memory.	The museums and sites of memory that have been analysed in this chapter represent a specific field of knowledge which, itself, *is* the discursive formation. The analysis has identified the regularity statements in these exhibitory environments. The discursive formation allocates discourse to a particular category of knowledge, such as, in this case, Lithuanian genocide, with its unique visual descriptors and Jewish tragedy, with its contingency on a 'present day', victimless interpretation. What is more, these statements depend on each other for credibility and legitimacy and they are routinely repeated for this reason. Discourse is constituted based upon these regularities and can be described as discursive formation.
Material repeatability	The variables of importance for this study are place, substance and support in relation to the bearing these have on the statements that are identified. For example,	The space of support for the production of 'double genocide' is the museum environment itself. The substance of material repeatability is the exhibition, the

	the use of the term genocide and the avoidance of the use of the term 'Holocaust' are examples of irregularity that have a bearing on the statement. Temporal nuances are not identified in this research but they may be in future research, particularly in the light of events such as EU membership which might have a bearing on the way in which the identified discourses are deployed.	tour and the other accompanying narratives that have been accessed. It is the *meaning* of Holocaust, and of Lithuanian genocide that is repeated in these spaces; that is to say, the ways in which particular material objects are treated through interpretation, visibility and invisibility.
Knowledge	This is essentially how the discursive practices of museums are understood as knowledge. What is required here is discourse analysis itself to explore the discursive production of an imagined Lithuania according to its deployment in museums.	Knowledge of, and about Lithuanian 20th century occupation is limited to the conditions of possibility for its emergence in the context of the museums analysed. The analysis in this thesis is restricted to these museums in terms of how they construct the past.
Surfaces of emergence	The heritage/museum version of Lithuania as *discursive formation* is complex and consists not only of the exhibits and narratives themselves, but also of guided tour commentaries, visitor guides and books that are authored and sold by the sites along with non-textual statements such as memorials, statues (and the contexts in which they are placed) and graphics. A number of discourses emerge out of these; some authorised and some limited in discourse and thus 'deviant'.	The context in which knowledge has been located in this study is the museum environment. This authoritative context is therefore the surface of emergence to which the analysis is limited. Future research might look elsewhere for confirmation of the discourses that have emerged through this analysis. The study is also limited to an English language context.

7.3.   Key Contributions: Selective Interpretation and Museums and Sites of Memory as 'Dark Tourism'

As with any thesis, there is a requirement to suggest how the research might impact upon the wider topic into which the knowledge that has been created 'fits'. At the outset of this thesis a number of observations were made about the kinds of epistemological and methodological approaches which have, to date, dominated the literature in relation to the cultural consumption of heritage themed around death, dying and human suffering *inter alia*. This form of consumption, to digress from the task at hand for a moment, has multiple signifiers (dark tourism, thanatourism and morbid tourism and so on) and fetishizing which descriptor works best has been a philosophical preoccupation of academics seeking to understand this form of consumption since it first emerged as a concept with one or two suggested descriptors in the 1990s. I have left this discussion to others to pursue and have argued elsewhere (see Wight, 2008) that 'dark tourism' as described in the literature is perhaps best viewed simply as another form of Bourdieuvian niche consumption, and it is as such part of the literature around 'cultural capital' and the amassing of experiences amongst a western petite bourgeoisie 'post tourist' (Urry, 1990) seeking ever more individualistic experiences, such as culinary tourism and ecotourism and so on. In this sense, one of my arguments is that there is no such 'unique' motivation to discuss and no moment of consumer interpellation into the consumption of an academically constituted 'dark tourism'. Indeed, my own research into visitor motivations to visit the IWMN, Manchester as a case in point was inconclusive (Wight and Lennon, 2005), reflecting that some visitors elected to experience the museum because they could smell food being prepared in the museum restaurant or because they were shopping at the nearby Lowry Centre. There was no suggestion of a fascination with warfare, death and contemplating the human cost of war.

To return to the task of locating my research from this thesis on an epistemological horizon for future research into the consumption of heritage themed around death, it is to the pursuit of research into what my colleague and I have previously called (Wight and Lennon, 2007) 'selective

interpretation' (crediting Uzzel's (1989) concept of 'hot' interpretation as a source of inspiration) that I offer this research approach and these findings. Interpretation, in this context refers to the practice of interpreting phenomena *to* visitors, in much the same was as Tilden (1957) describes, as opposed to visitor interpretations *of* phenomena and specifically, the assigning of subjective meaning to exhibitions and so forth. Selectivity has been defined as the process of creating multiple constructions of the past (Schouten, 1995), whereby history is never an objective recall of 'truth', but is a selective interpretation, based on the way in which we view ourselves in the present. My colleague and I first observed this kind of selectivity in 'genocide' museums in Vilnius, Lithuania and we suggested at that time that (Wight and Lennon, 2007:528):

> *'The moral complexity surrounding the section of history dealing with collaboration and the Jewish holocaust is accentuated in the way in which this history is now re-interpreted in the country's 'dark' tourist attractions. The selectivity is evident in most of the city's key museums (including the Lithuanian National Museum which has no Holocaust interpretation) and represents only that which is easy for the host population to consume. The idea of a country united in a bloody and prolonged nationalist struggle against the Soviets is compromised by a period of some five years during which the same people turned on their Jewish neighbours.'*

What was absent from our analysis at the time was a philosophical and methodological orientation and therefore a conceptual approach for understanding 'selectivity' in museum interpretation. This work has sought to attend to this conceptual deficit by introducing a post structuralist, Foucauldian discursive analytic to understand selectivity as a discourse which 'creates situations, objects of knowledge, and the social identities of and relations between people and groups of people' (Fairclough and Wodark, 1997 cited in Brown and Humphreys, 2006:4). The research has proposed, as an approach to understanding the consumption of museums and sites of memory themed around occupation and genocide as manifestations of dark tourism, that such sites can be approached as texts, invested with ideologies and constituted in discourse. Such sites are thus able to be approached and analysed as specific cases in which emerge complexities of social meaning and, collectively, at a destination ('heritage product') level they can be understood using the concept of discursive formation as networks of signifiers which articulate and disperse meaning. Their discourses, although not in

putative agreement are bound by particular discursive regularities and statements which are in deficit so that all that might be said, is never said. They at once enable and restrict understanding and they are thus 'representational technologies' (*Ibid*:4), which construct, maintain and recalibrate social realities. The research approach, based on the concept of discursive formation is therefore offered as a means to analyse how discursive practices at the level of the destination and in the consumptive context of tourism can come to shape definitions of local realities. I therefore offer this research as a contribution to knowledge of and about selective interpretation in museums and sites of memory as manifestations of dark tourism, and as an alternative methodological and philosophical way to understand selectivity in this context.

In noticing a gap in the literature in relation to methodological approaches to dark tourism, I decided to pursue research away from the conventional 'comfort zone' of interpretivist and positivist philosophical research strategies and to take up the challenge of a social constructivist approach. Foucauldian philosophy has appeared before in discussions of museums (see Hooper-Greenhill, 1989 and Crimp, 1985), but these discussions have been genealogical in scope and have therefore been concerned with examining ruptures in history and the various conditions of emergence which have supported the changing societal role of museums through the ages. There has been some tangential usage of Foucault in the literature relating to dark tourism. Stone (1998) for example applied the concept of 'heterotopia' to a reflective discussion of Chernobyl and Lennon and Foley (2000) in their seminal thesis make some mention of his work in describing the tourist gaze. What has hitherto not emerged as a research approach is the concept of discursive formation from Foucault's *'l'archaeologie'* to develop an understanding of museums and sites of memory as discursive regimes and spaces for the authorship of social identity. It is rare to find any examples of Foucauldian 'method' anywhere in the context of museums possibly because of Graham's (2005) observation about the reluctance of scholars reading Foucault to

'declare method' since the man himself was wholly unhappy about the prospect of his work being reduced to a replicable, deterministic research method.

Yet primary research has been undertaken in the past which has been based on discursive formation. Examples are Radford et al's (2011) study of de-accessioned books in libraries, Bryce's (2009) study of Orientalism in tourism literature and O'Donnell and Spire's (2012) study of the televised Super Bowl. Each of these has been based on the idea of the formations to which discourses belong as systems of dispersion consisting of statements bound by regularities and rules of formation which govern thematic choices and subjectivities. I therefore hope that the application of a Foucauldian analytic to a 'sample' of cultural resources has tended to the absence of this research approach as a primary lens of enquiry in examining museums and sites of memory as manifestations of dark tourism. The approach has been useful to consider museum narratives as representative of a cultural effort to come to terms with a 'reconstructed past, a perceived present and an anticipated future' (McAdams, 1996 cited in Brown and Humphreys, 2006:5). Discourse analysis can therefore become a useful research strategy to apply at a destination level as with this research but also for application to other thematic phenomena in the context of the consumption of 'dark' heritage experiences, such as former Nazi concentration camps and battlefield tourism experiences. Anywhere there exists a thematic network of cultural materials there exists an opportunity to question the ordering of knowledge and the role of power. Museums, and other sites linked to dark tourism consumption are spaces of cultural hegemony and therefore represent fertile ground for the application of a discursive analytic. Other approaches to future research are suggested below alongside a discussion of some of the methodological limitations which I acknowledge within my work.

7.4. Study Limitations

The methodological limitations to this research (and therefore its central weaknesses) have been discussed in some detail in chapter 4. To develop upon these, it is worthwhile considering the

wider limitations of this autonomous piece of research. As previously acknowledged, one of the key criticisms levied at the application of a Foucauldian analytic is the risk of researcher subjectivity which remains despite adherence to a systematic research strategy. In addition, there can be no claim to generalisability with this, or any other discourse analysis and even in cases where there is a strong assumption of the 'repeatability' of discourse, it is necessary to analyse each cultural situation individually, as a unique space of power and knowledge. A further limitation is that competing claims to alternative discourses (or attempts to replace discourses with better doxic 'alternatives', despite the fact that no discourse can be said to be 'real') might nonetheless arise (Powers, 2001). Further, there is always a danger of reducing all cultural phenomena to linguistic construction, thereby detracting from the 'effects in the real' (Graham, 2005) of cultural experiences. Both Holocaust and Lithuanian genocide are very real. This thesis has simply attended to an analysis of how each has been socially constructed within exhibitory environments that have been conceptualised as cultural 'texts' which offer multiple readings. The themes that they represent are heart-breaking and remind us of the worst of mankind's capabilities, regardless of how they are presented in exhibitions.

A further, particular context-specific weakness of this discourse analysis is its focus on a finite pool of cultural resources which can never be taken to represent 'official Lithuanian culture' or indeed cultural policy. In selecting these units of analysis, a pragmatic choice was made and it is recognised that what has therefore been accessed is a *partial* field of discourse that offers opportunities for consecutive research projects, but I stake no claim to having offered a completed analysis of a 'positivity' or 'archive' of cultural knowledge around the topic I have explored. Discourse analysis receives criticism for its culmination in a nihilistic relativism (Raskin, 2001). That is to say, if there is no such thing as a 'correct' or valid interpretation of text then the process must forever remain a purely academic and even trivial exercise. My findings are therefore not accompanied with any claims to having accessed the better, or best reading of the museums that I have accessed. However, a systematic approach to 'applying' Foucault has at least

been followed so that a valid claim to having critically assessed knowledge and power in a museums and heritage context using rigorous analysis can be made and my findings might later be tested using the types of primary research enquiry I have eschewed. Discourse analysts also receive criticism for portraying a world that exists independent of the language that constructs it. However, as O' Donnell (2012:19) reflects 'not all, of course is discourse' and visits to museums as well as encounters with other cultural commodities can be seen purely as inconsequential and fun forms of entertainment.

As previously discussed, I have been careful not to make the assumption that the sites I have analysed, or indeed that any kind of heritage is tacitly consumed, or even consumed at all. What I have explored in undertaking this discourse analysis is an *invitation* to a discursive experience and one which therefore depends on consumption occurring in the first place. In addition, I might have followed any number of alternative post structuralist trains of thought and my steadfast focus purely on Foucault must therefore be seen as simultaneously an inherent strength and a missed opportunity. I might have followed a Baudrillardian, semiotic approach to examine these museums as simulational environments at the level of the sign and signifier. I might have applied a Bourdievian philosophy to consumption by intercepting consumers of these museum experiences to say something about the extent to which they viewed what they were doing as a form of cultural capital (to revisit my conjectures about motivations at the beginning of this chapter). I might have turned to other relevant concepts here such as to a situationist 'psychogeographical' approach of the type that Seaton (2012) suggested may be an appropriate epistemological lens for dark tourism. Such an approach might offer a useful strategy for future research to examine the consumption of urban dark heritage, in Vilnius for example, as a space of cultural awareness raising. The allure of Foucault and of the discursive formation was, in the end the most appealing concept to put into operation, in no small part because what I suspected I had accessed in consuming all of these heritage experiences in Lithuania was not 'truth' at all, but

someone's version of it, and one in which some people, communities and histories simply 'weren't there'.

7.5.   Future Research

As to future research during my post-doctoral years, it would be presumptuous to speculate what research *ought* to be carried out to develop upon what I have offered in this piece of work. However there are some areas that certainly might logically merit exploration through research and these are likely to be found anywhere there is a space for the consumption of Lithuanian historico-cultural 'products' by international, English speaking consumers. As I have suggested earlier, most of these opportunities are likely to exist as tourism experiences and might include city tours, guide books, theatre and television and online market facing resources that sell tourism experiences based on a particular marketed 'promise' about Lithuanian culture and history. There is undoubtedly an obvious opportunity that is presented in the wake of this study, which is to test the extent to which 'genocide/occupation heritage' of the type described in this thesis is accessible in the neighbouring Baltic States of Latvia and Estonia. As mentioned earlier, McKenzie (2013) has noted the emergence of 'Soviet nostalgia' as a unique form of heritage in both Latvia and Lithuania, yet curiously, not in Estonia. It would therefore make sense to track the discourses of victimhood and ethnic genocides in Latvia, where the cultural conditions appear ripe for analysis, and to perhaps then extend the reach of this type of academic enquiry into other European countries, such as Poland, with its cultural terrain of dissonant heritage symbolised most powerfully by the Auschwitz visitor centre. It would also make sense to carry out a similar interrogation of 'occupation heritage' in the museums of western European countries, which were, at one time, occupied by Nazi forces, such as France, Belgium, the Netherlands and Spain.

I am also interested in extending the application of Foucauldian discourse analysis to Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) in order to interrogate social constructions of Lithuania on social media sites such as Facebook. I am already a member of a 'Lithuania' page on Facebook and potentially have access to several hundred research participants should I want to understand their

constructions of this 'emerging destination' either in terms of its heritage, or in terms of its wider 'image' as a nation in transition. Chapter 4 also reflected over some other cultural references that are perhaps less easy to research using discourse analysis, simply because there are not enough of them currently. Amongst the examples given were English language television documentaries and other 'non-fictional' televised accounts of 20th century Lithuanian history. Regardless of the direction in which I take this research, I will remain an enthusiastic spectator of Lithuanian public culture for the remainder of my years and I will enjoy trying out new 'dark' heritage experiences (and revisiting the 'old' ones) as they emerge in Kaunas and Vilnius and perhaps in the other two Baltic States. I am keen to book myself into Karosta Prison in Latvia for a weekend, if only to perhaps go in search of what I suspect will be an absent NKVD subjectivity.

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Appendix 1: Selected Images and Texts from the Sites Analysed

"This is the place where Nazis and their assistants killed more than 30,000 Jews from Lithuania and other European Contries" (Ninth Fort Musem)

"Eternal Remembrance of the Victims of Fascism" (Ninth Fort Musem)

"Occupants and Collaborators: The First Soviet Occupation" (title on sale at the MGV and Ninth Fort. ('Collaborators' here are colaboroators in Soviet war crimes')

KGB interrogation (of Lithuanian prisoners). A display adjacent to the Jewish Ghetto exhibition.

Kaliniai - lavonų degintojai, -1943 metų gruodžio 25-osios naktį pabėgę iš IX forto

Prisoners-corpse burners escaped from the Ninth Fort on the night of December 25, 1943

Jewish 'escape and survival' but never destruction/murder (Ninth Fort)

The Forest Brothers: Genocide victoms (Museum of Genocide Victims)
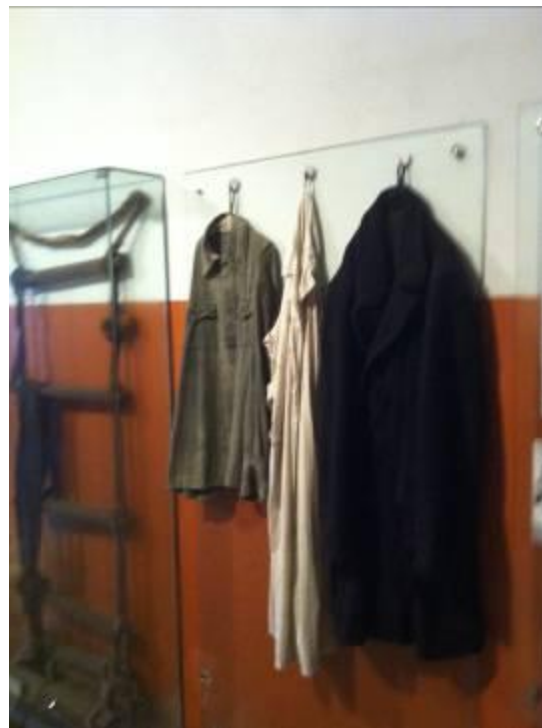
Jewish Ghetto exhibits at ninth fort. Clothes and possessions compre with bloodshed and victimhood in the adjacent exhibition interpreting Russian occupation (Ninth Fort)

A recreated cell in the Jewish exhibition (Ninth Fort)

Jewish rescue/reconilliation (Ninth Fort)

A preference for interpreting the mundane: 'Money used in the ghettos' (Ninth Fort)
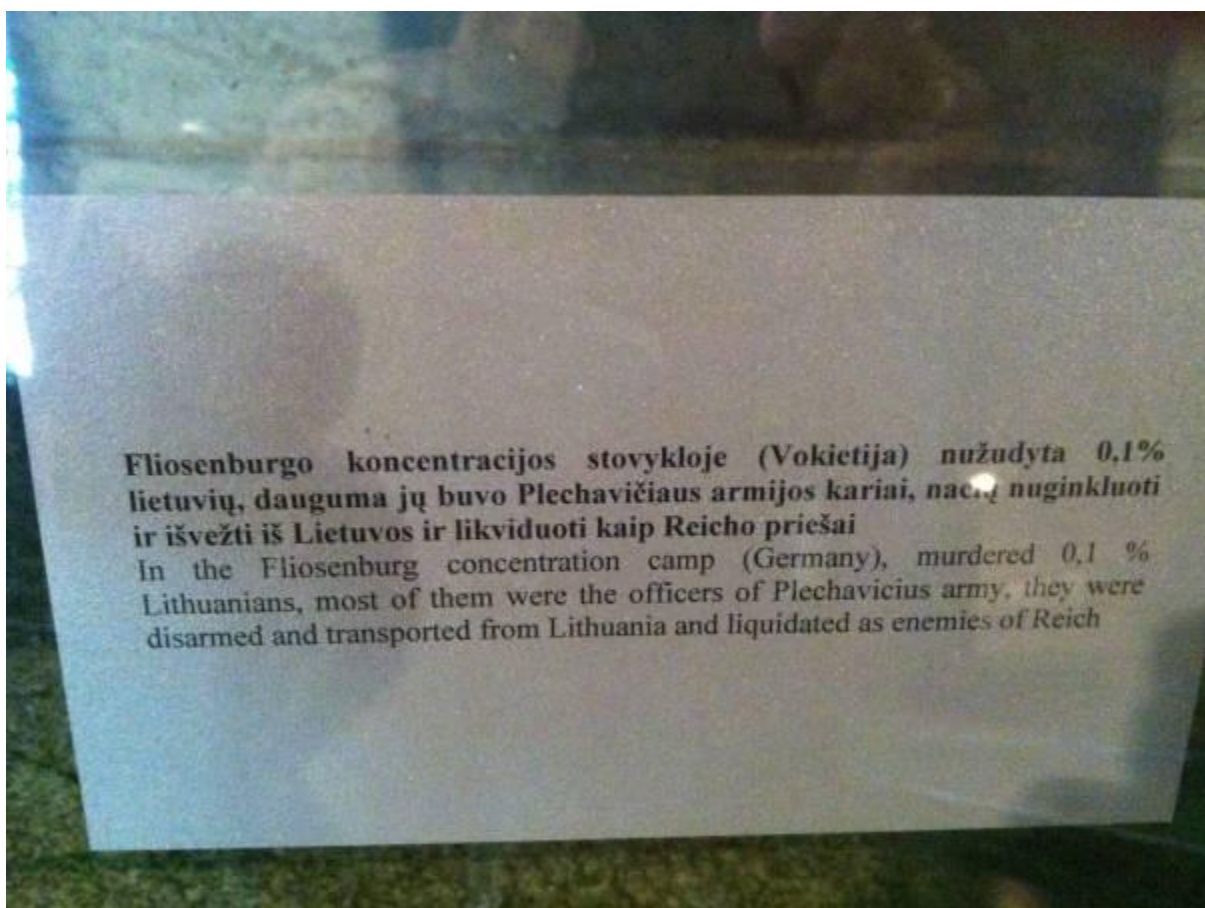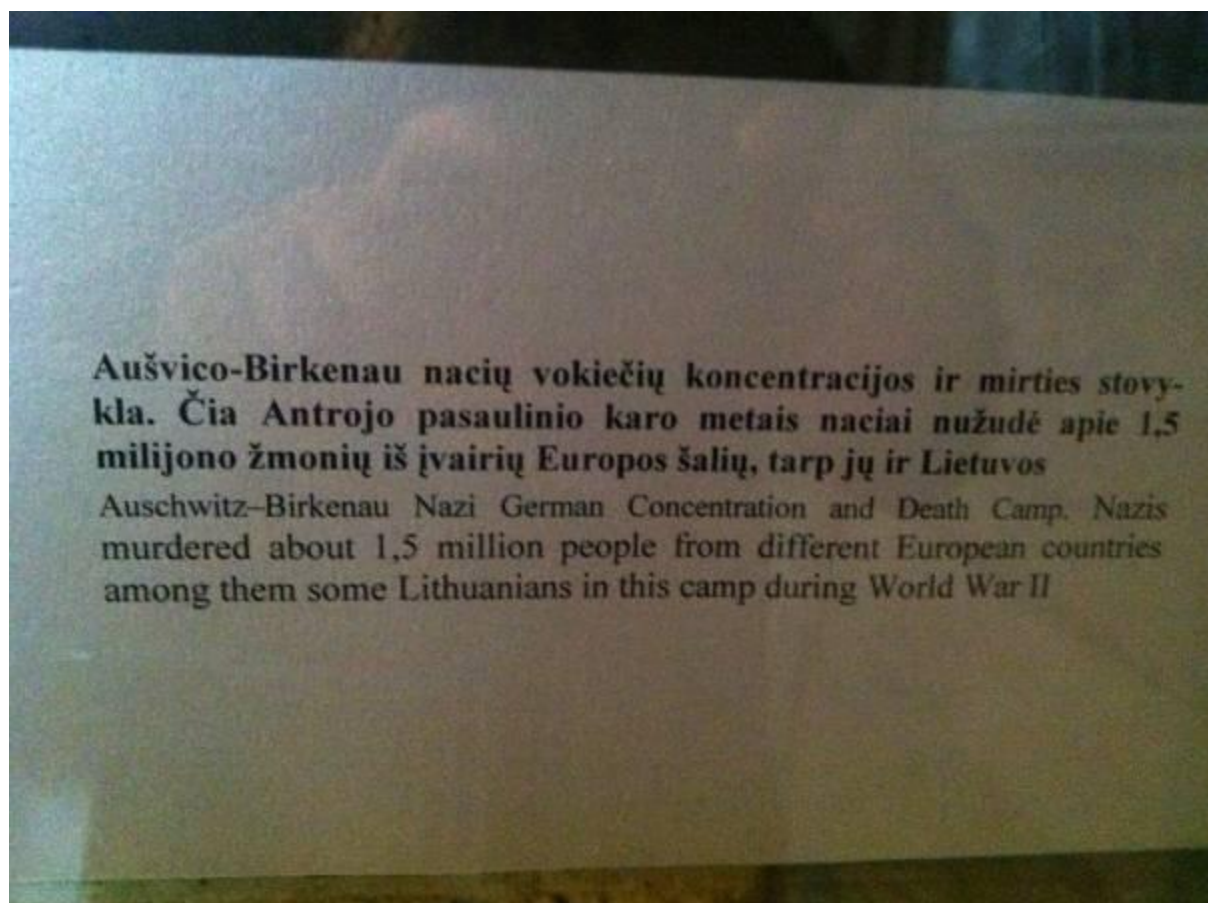

Jewish reconciliation in the present (Ninth Fort)

Fliosenburgo koncentracijos stovykloje (Vokietija) nužudyta 0,1%
lietuvių, dauguma jų buvo Plechavičiaus armijos kariai, nacių nuginkluoti
ir išvežti iš Lietuvos ir likviduoti kaip Reicho priešai
In the Fliosenburg concentration camp (Germany), murdered 0,1 %
Lithuanians, most of them were the officers of Plechavicius army, they were
disarmed and transported from Lithuania and liquidated as enemies of Reich

Lithuanians as victims of the Reich, above and below (Jewish victimhood is absent) (Ninth Fort)

Aušvico-Birkenau nacių vokiečių koncentracijos ir mirties stovy-
kla. Čia Antrojo pasaulinio karo metais naciai nužudė apie 1,5
milijono žmonių iš įvairių Europos šalių, tarp jų ir Lietuvos
Auschwitz–Birkenau Nazi German Concentration and Death Camp. Nazis
murdered about 1,5 million people from different European countries
among them some Lithuanians in this camp during World War II

Appendix 2: Evidence of Permission to Incorporate Published Work

<u>Correspondence with Philip R Stone</u>

27 January 2014 14:50

Hi Craig,

Yes, I shall be happy for you to proceed on the basis you have outlined below, as long as the work/chapter is correctly sourced/cited within your PhD thesis.

Hope that helps

Best wishes
PHIL

Dr Philip Stone PhD MA BA(Hons) PGCE PGDip
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Facebook: www.facebook.com/darktourism
Twitter: https://twitter.com/#!/dark_tourism
Tumblr: http://drphilipstone.tumblr.com/

Sent Items
21 January 2014 16:22
Dear Philip

I am getting close to handing in my PhD thesis and I have formally requested an examination date. Since some of what I am using is based upon previous publications (although it's not a PhD *through* publication) I have been seeking permission from the various journal editors and editorial people that have accepted my work into publication format to recreate some of this writing in my thesis.

I would therefore like to formally seek permission from you (and from Richard Sharpley perhaps) to include text from my 'morality' chapter in 'the Darker Side of Travel'. An email response would be great and the idea is that this would be appended.

Hope to hear from you soon!

Best wishes

Craig

Correspondence with Julie Glasss, *Journal of Vacation Marketing*

20 January 2014 21:59

You replied on 20/01/2014 22:00.

Dear Craig

Thank you for your email and wishing you a very happy new year!!

I have confirmed with the Editor-in-Chief and he is happy for your article to appear in your PhD thesis.

Best regards

Julie

Julie Glass

Executive Assistant to the Deputy Vice Chancellor

Southern Cross University, PO Box 157, Lismore, NSW, 2480

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Editorial Manager

Journal of Vacation Marketing

E | jvm@sagepub.co.uk

Sent Items

20 January 2014 10:24

Dear Julie

I hope you are well and enjoyed the Christmas break which now seems so long ago!

I am getting in touch today to seek the permission of the Editor of *Journal of Vacation Marketing* to incorporate into my PhD thesis the text from a paper I authored which appears as follows in JVM

A. Craig Wight. Philosophical and methodological praxes in dark tourism: Controversy, contention and the evolving paradigm *Journal of Vacation Marketing April 2006 12: 119-129, doi:10.1177/1356766706062151*

It would be great if you could get back to me on this and do let me know if there are any queries.

Yours sincerely

Craig Wight

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Correspondence with Professor John Lennon, Glasgow Caledonian University

Lennon, John [J.J.Lennon@gcu.ac.uk]

29 August 2013 17:32

Apologies it is fine

Sent Items
29 August 2013 17:26

Are you ok with this John? I'm using the content that I wrote but still need evidence of permission.

C

Sent Items
28 August 2013 10:41

You replied on 29/08/2013 17:26.
Hi John

I'm including the following text at the start of the chapter I'm currently finalising in my PhD, but I need to ensure you're happy with it. Can you let me know? Narrative as follows:

Some narrative within this chapter is adapted from a co-authored article in *Tourism Management* titled *'Selective Interpretation and Eclectic Human Heritage in Lithuania'* and it is with the permission of the journal's Editor, Chris Ryan, and the co-author John Lennon than these sections have been introduced.

C

Correspondence with Professor Chris Ryan, Editor of *Tourism Management*

Christopher Ryan [caryan@waikato.ac.nz]

Actions
To:

Craig Wight

17 June 2013 20:53

Dear Craig

With reference to your inquiry and the article:\

Selective Interpretation and Eclectic Human Heritage in Lithuania.published in Tourism Management, 2007 (volume 28 pages 519 - 529)

No problem - and I am sure you will be successful in your doctoral thesis

best wishes

Chris

--
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Visiting Professor - Institute of Tourism, Beijing Union University, www.buu.edu.cn/
Fellow of the International Academy for the Study of Tourism www.tourismscholars.org/