

**RECONCILIATION AND RECONSTRUCTION OF POST-GENOCIDE
RWANDA: A SEARCH FOR AN APPROPRIATE ARCHITECTURAL
EXPRESSION**

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this dissertation is my own unaided work. It is being submitted to the School of Architecture, Housing and Town Planning, University of KwaZulu- Natal, Durban, for the degree of the Masters in Architecture, and has not been submitted before for any degree or examination at any other University.

Signed by me - July 2006

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read 'Kairaba', with a stylized flourish above the name.

Josephine Kairaba Mudenge

Dedicated to Jedidiah Mucyo, I love you so much.

*“The challenge of Reconciliation is not how to create the place where one can
‘forgive and forget’. It is about the far more challenging adventure into the
space where individuals and whole communities can remember and change.”*

(Lederach.1997:19)

ABSTRACT

African countries have for a long time undergone a series of problems that include; genocide, racism, economic depression, colonisation, civil wars, and so on. These have left many African societies in hopeless situations that entail considerable intervention. This study will explore the possible causes of conflicts mainly genocide and collective violence, in which the 1994 Genocide in Rwanda will be the main focus. This genocide which led to the massacres of one million Tutsi and moderate Hutus in approximately one hundred days left the entire Rwandan society fragile and divided. It is perhaps the worst of its kind in recent history.

After the 1994 genocide, Rwanda was characterised with a tattered social fabric, dilapidated infrastructure, economic repression, and as a consequence massive refugees displacement into neighbour countries. Despite the tragic consequences of this genocide, the government of Rwanda has been working tirelessly to find lasting peace and reconciliation for its broken and divided society. In order to understand the possible causes of this tragic event in Rwanda, this study will explore the situation in Rwanda in pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial periods, and in this case, the 1994 genocide. This analysis will then become a basis on which tools that can foster peace and reconciliation will be sought.

Architectural expression among others will be explored as a tool that can promote reconciliation and unity among people. As a tool that shapes peoples way of living, architecture will be the emphasis of this study in order to achieve the above these goals. An appropriate architectural expression will thus sought, that which not only acts as medium for the memory of genocide, but also as a tool to achieve reconciliation and reconstruction of Rwanda's broken society.

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CHAPTER 1

RESEARCH BACKGROUND

Rwanda is a land-locked central African country, east of the Democratic Republic of Congo. It has a land area of 26,338km², with its terrain predominantly of grass uplands and hills, and a relief that is mountainous with altitude declining from west to the east. It is the most densely populated country in Africa, with a total population of 8,440,820. The population consists of three ethnic groups, namely; Hutu (84%), Tutsi (15%), and Twa (1%). Rwanda got its independence from the Belgians in 1962, and is currently under a multiparty system of Government. (www.cia.gov, The World Fact book.)

It's believed by many historians that the first inhabitants of Rwanda were hunter gatherers, who are descendants of the Twa. Later, cultivators ('Hutu') and cattle herders ('Tutsi') are believed to have arrived, and small chiefdoms and principalities were established, in which these groups lived alongside each other. The early European explorers believed that Tutsis, who were mainly cattle keepers and the ruling class at the time, were a more superior race; while the Hutus were farmers, and the Twa hunter gatherers. Hutus and Tutsis were closely related ethnic groups who originally lived together in harmony; however it is believed that after colonialism, tension between them increased.

The 1890 Conference in Brussels allocated Rwanda and Burundi to Germany, and after the Second World War, the Berlin Conference allocated Rwanda to Belgium. These Colonial masters also saw the Tutsi class as a superior racial type, which strengthened Tutsi dominance over the Hutus.

Consequently, after Rwanda's independence, the Hutus, who were the majority grouping, came into power, and later felt the need to revenge for many years of domination by the Tutsis. This as a result led to a series of

Tutsi genocides by Hutu governments; the worst of which was the '1994 Rwanda Genocide'. (African Rights, 1995)

In 1994, Rwanda experienced one of the bloodiest genocide the world has ever known, leaving approximately one million minority Tutsi and moderate Hutus massacred by Hutus. This was due to Hutu hatred for the Tutsis, and the need to revenge, which was encouraged by the then Hutu governments in their attempt to remain in power. During the rule of the Hutus from 1960 to 1994, Tutsis experienced discrimination and periodic episodes of violence at the hands of the Hutus. In 1994, Hutus undertook a program of genocide against Tutsis, claiming them to be 'enemies of the state'.

(African Rights: 1995).

After any genocide or a period of collective violence, it is obvious that a great amount of work needs to be done to rebuild infrastructure, and reconcile broken elements of the society. The twentieth century has been a time of growing and competing nationalisms, which has resulted in the loss of life of millions of people. Tragically, during this century, great advances in sciences, in industry, in mass media, and in government organisation, have been employed in the service of war and oppression.

Lorey and Beezley have correctly pointed out that,

'...ten million Africans ... were killed in the Congo Free State of King Leopold II of Belgium between 1880 and 1910. ...the Turkish massacre of the Armenians in 1915, the purges ordered by Joseph Stalin, and two European World Wars, themselves vast episodes of collective violence spanning whole regions and continents, included the systematic extermination of six million Jews and localised atrocities such as the rape of Nanjing. In the period after the World War II the number of episodes of collective violence and new repressive regimes seemed to increase from the killing fields of Cambodia to Argentina's 'Dirty war', South Africa's apartheid, to the Ugandan massacres, to the massacres of Igbos in Nigeria to the Ethiopian killings of Mengistu era.

In China, the anti-Rights campaign and great leap forward of the late 1950's were followed by Cultural Revolution of the 1960's and 1970's. Some countries were torn apart by almost inexplicable internalised violence: Colombia and Rwanda are perhaps the best examples.'
(2002: 1)

Consequently, as Rwandans recover from the terrible world of genocide, they are clutching at the hope that their country and a sense of moral order can be rescued by an act of justice. The prime tasks for national reconstruction in Rwanda should be to encourage a new sense of national identity, in which Hutu, Tutsi and Twa are mutually compatible identities. The task of the Rwandan society is therefore to bring nationhood through unity, reconciliation and justice. This is never the less, not an easy task, and requires considerable attention in order to achieve a new reconstructed and reconciled Rwanda. Following this one may argue that for reconciliation to be achieved, remembrance of past atrocities is vital, if people and entire societies are to be healed.

Minow points out that:

'The treatment of the past through remembering and forgetting crucially shapes the present and future for individuals and entire societies.'
(1998:119)

The memory of an event like genocide can not be easily erased from people's minds. In many other African countries, and around the world, such as, South Africa, Israel, and Yugoslavia, a quest for reconciling the past, the present and the future, has been underway, with the aim of reconstructing their broken societies. Architectural expression among other things has been used to portray the memory of these tragic events, such as apartheid museums in South Africa and a number of Holocaust memorials and museums around the world. In a similar manner, an appropriate architectural expression for the memory of Rwanda's genocide could be of vital significance, as it may become a tool to bring about healing to Rwanda's divided society.

RESEARCH PROBLEM

African countries have for a long time experienced a series of problems, these include; racisms genocides, economic depression, colonialism, famine, civil war, dictatorial governments, HIV and Aids, and so on. The repression and social disruption that many African nations are experiencing today, however, is not be simply a post-independence phenomenon; it is assumed to have been going on for centuries. Three hundred years of dehumanisation, slavery, and over a hundred years of degrading colonisation have preceded thirty years of post-independence malgovernance, repression, and internal wars.

The first and second world war left millions of people dead, the holocaust in Germany that left six million Jews dead, the apartheid in South Africa, genocides in Yugoslavia, Rwanda, are perhaps some of the worst wars and conflicts in human history. These have always resulted in mass displacement of refugees, infrastructural destruction, and economic depression of many of these societies.

These tragic events however have been consistent in Africa more than any where else in the world; in which continuous waves of conflicts from civil wars to collective violence, and sometimes even genocides have been a common scenario. One could argue that the poverty among others has been one of the greatest causes of these conflicts, in which, peoples' need for survival have placed them in positions of conflict. The struggle for power and dominance for example, has also been common to many African states, resulting in dictatorial governments; many of which have been fertile grounds for great conflicts, such as collective violence and even genocides. These have thus created many fragile societies that have been left susceptible to these horrific occurrences.

Rwanda for instance has suffered one of the bloodiest genocide in human history. This genocide occurred in 1994 under state implementation, and like the holocaust resulted in the murder of millions of people. This was largely due to ethnic divisions created among the Rwandese partly by past colonial

governments, and later, by extremist Hutu rulers in their attempt to dominate power. The challenge then becomes whether there could be a way to reconcile and rebuilt these broken societies, as well as prevents these tragic events from reoccurrence in the future.

The reconstruction and reconciliation of broken societies from their past atrocities is therefore vital for many governments in this century. Rwanda government for instance has since 1994, has been striving to achieve unity and reconciliation after seeds of distrust and division characterized its society. It is within this context that a research towards achieving his goals is being carried out.

KEY QUESTIONS

1. In what way can the memory of the 1994 Rwanda genocide be depicted in architecture as a means of reconciling and reconstructing Rwandan society?
 - What led to the 1994 genocide in Rwanda, and how can it be prevented from happening again?
 - What is Rwanda's government policy on reconciliation and reconstruction of its broken and divided society?
 - How has memory after conflict been depicted elsewhere in the world?

WORKING HYPOTHESIS

Following this, my main argument is that architecture could play a major role in repairing the common consciousness of the Rwandese people and, in depicting the characteristics of what has happened in the past.

AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

- To find out whether unity existed among Rwandans before the colonial time, and how this unity was portrayed.
- To find out what the actual causes of the disunity, that led to genocide were.
- To seek a way forward towards the reconciliation and reconstruction of Rwanda after the 1994 genocide.
- To find an appropriate architecture that not only brings about the memory of the genocide, but also provides a platform for healing of victims and hope for a united Rwanda.

DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS

For the purposes of my study these terms have been defined in this Research as follows:

-Genocide refers to the deliberate and systematic extermination of people solely because of their ethnic grouping in this case under state implementation. Rwanda experienced a three-month tragic period in which approximately one million Tutsis and moderate Hutus lost their lives.

-Reconciliation refers to the act of making compatible and uniting that which was originally divided due to past conflicts and atrocities. Rwanda's divided and broken society urgently needs measures that will bring about forgiveness and unity among its divided people.

-Reconstruction implies the task of rebuilding a society that has been affected by past conflict. As a result of demolished infrastructure, Rwanda after genocide requires rebuilding of its physical environment and social economic fabric.

-Memory refers to the remembrance of the past with the aim of informing better decisions in the future. Architectural memory can play vital role revealing the past, as well as, have a vision for an optimistic future.

-Expression in architecture means the physical representation of a circumstance, situation or event, in this case, the tragic event of the genocide, as well as how reconciliation and reconstruction can be achieved through this representation.

-Strategy implies the plan of action to be expressed within an architectural art form towards the attainment of a genocide memorial that will help to heal the victims, as well as, to reconcile them to the perpetrators.

-Ethnicity refers to the state of sharing a common and distinctive racial, national, religious linguistic or cultural heritage. In this case, Rwanda consisted of three ethnic groups, namely; the Hutus, the Tutsis and the Twa.

-Trauma refers to a physical injury, or an emotional wound or shock that creates substantial lasting damage to the psychological development of a person. People from tragic events like genocide usually experience mental disorder from re-occurrences of the past horrors, these occasionally lead to emotional imbalance.

-**Collective Violence** refers to physical force exerted by individuals acting together, for the purpose of violating, damaging, or abusing another group.

-**Holocaust** refers to extermination of about six million Jews by Nazi Germany from 1941 to 1945; other groups like political opponents, the mentally ill, retarded, and other groups held to be generically 'inferior'; such as Germans, Poles, and Russians Gypsies were also killed during this period.

-**'Interahamwe'** means '*those who fight together or those who stand together*' a militia group that took part in the 1994 Rwanda Genocide. These were militia trained by the then government to exterminate the Tutsis and their sympathizers.

-**'Ubuguhake'** refers to the contractual service in which a more powerful person could provide protection for the weaker one in exchange for work. System used in pre-colonial and colonial Rwanda monarchy, termed as a 'patron-client partnership'.

-**'Imidugudu'** refers to clustered housing developments constructed to centralize social services.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE RESEARCH

RPF- *Rwandese Patriotic Front (Rwanda)*

FARG- *'Fonds de Assistance des Rescapés de Genocide' (money for the assistance of genocide survivors) (Rwanda)*

ANC- *African National Congress (South Africa)*

KIST- *Kigali Science and Technology University (Rwanda)*

NURC- *National Unity and Reconciliation Commission (Rwanda)*

TRC- *Truth and Reconciliation Commission (South Africa)*

MINIFRA- *Ministry of Infrastructure (Rwanda)*

GDP- *Gross Domestic Product*

RDP- *Reconstruction and Development Programme (South Africa)*

RLDP- *Rapid Land Development Programme (South Africa)*

CHAPTER 2

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

A. Introduction

This chapter looks at the methods of research used in the study. It sets out the appropriate ways used to carry out the research in order to obtain answers for the research questions.

Study Area and Setting

The study area is Kigali, the capital city of Rwanda. This was used as a sample that is representative of Rwanda as a whole.

B. Research Design

This research has been done by use of both secondary and primary data collection techniques. Secondary data is important for one to find a common ground held by other writers on the subject of the study. Primary data likewise is important for the author to test their hypothesis. This research will also be qualitative in nature due to the broad nature of the topic under study. Under this type of research, views from different target groups will be synthesized to find commonalities.

1. Secondary Data

This research has embarked on a critical analysis of how reconciliation and reconstruction can be achieved after conflict, and in this case the genocide in Rwanda. Others relevant subjects like genocide and memory have also been discussed with information sourced from books, journals, reports, and government reports done by other authors, writers and critics. These ideas, theories and findings have been used as a basis from which primary data collection has been based, and therefore, testing the researcher's hypothesis. This study also includes a critical review of precedents around the world on how memory past conflicts has been depicted and their attempt to create a culture of reconciliation in these places, these include;

- Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington
- The Jewish Museum in Berlin

- Memorial for the Murdered Jews of Europe, Berlin
- The Gold Reef Apartheid Museum, Johannesburg
- Hector Peterson Museum, Soweto
- Shrine of Remembrance, Melbourne

2. Primary Data

The primary research includes informal but structured interviews and field studies. These were conducted with key informants like Directors in the Unity and Reconciliation commission in Rwanda, in 'Ibuka' (an association of Rwandan genocide survivors), and in the 'Gacaca' courts (traditional courts based on Rwandese culture of dispensing justice).

These have helped in giving an insight into the way forward and the current government policy on reconciliation and reconstruction of Rwanda after genocide. Focus group discussions have also been conducted with the aim of investigation the potential for unity and reconciliation of Rwandans despite its horrific past. A set of questions (appendix) was drafted and used as a guide for these informal interviews and discussions.

In order to develop a contextual architecture, this research has also endeavoured to find an architecture that all Rwandans would relate to. There has therefore been a critical study of existing memorial sites has thus been done in order to find positive aspects as well as the gaps in their attempt to create an architecture that is favourable for reconciling and re-uniting Rwandans.

Population of the study (target group)

This describes the target group of the researcher's study. It was to choose target groups that will provide relevant information on this study, these population categories include:

- a. Organisations for reconciliation in Rwanda
 - i. National Unity and Reconciliation Commission (NURC)
 - ii. National Service of the Gacaca Courts
- b. Associations for genocide survivors in Rwanda

- i. IBUKA –means ‘to remember’, an association of Genocide survivors.
 - ii. FARG-‘Fonds de Assistance des Rescapés de Genocide’ meaning, ‘money for the assistance of genocide survivors’
- c. Infrastructural development Institutions in Rwanda
- i. Ministry of Transport (MINIFRA)
 - ii. Aegis Trust Institute, Rwanda
 - iii. Kigali Institute of Science and Technology University (KIST)

This study also contains ideas from two focus group discussions, namely:

- ‘Inteko Izirikana’, meaning the ‘the committee that remembers to perform’, and,
- members of the Gacaca jury in Kabeza cell

Sampling frame and Size

Since the target groups mentioned above constitute a wide population of Rwandans, representatives from these groups were interviewed based on these categories:

- policy makers (those in positions of leadership)
- implementers (the local population)

Interviews were conducted partly by random selection, in the case of implementers, and partly by specified selection; in the case of the policy makers.

3. Other data collection techniques

This is a supplementary method to help the research establish the views of Rwandans by mere observation. This aided the researcher in establishing the behaviour of people towards reconciliation and reconstruction of Rwandans after genocide without necessarily being in direct contact. This study was specifically conducted during the Gacaca Courts proceedings.

The primary data above was then synthesised, and together with the secondary data, a consensus to prove the on the hypothesis was reached.

CHAPTER 3

LITERATURE REVIEW

BACKGROUND HISTORY

This chapter explores the views and arguments of other writers and authors on the subjects of genocide, conflict and reconciliation and reconstruction, and their relevance to this research. It particularly analyses the historical background of Rwanda in order to establish the causes of the conflicts that later led to genocide. Views from these authors on genocide, reconciliation and reconstruction have been used as a backup, with aim of achieving reconciliation of Rwanda after genocide.

CONFLICT IN AFRICA

It can perhaps be argued that the economical, ecological, political and socio-cultural problems that Africa faces are believed to be a result of Africa's economic and political history. Margareta (1993) argues that these problems among others are predominantly due to these factors:

1. Domestic politics: she argues that politics has been and still is largely characterised by authoritarian and fragile governments. These are usually controlled by insecure and selfish politicians whose aim is for personal accumulation of wealth, and absolute control of power. These have subsequently left many African people susceptible to poverty, disease and, political oppression.

2. Cultural erosion: Margareta argues that Africa as a result of colonialism and modernisation today experiences a big erosion of its indigenous social values. The influence of mass media, mass displacement of people from their homelands, and political upheavals; have all encouraged a decline in cultural stability. This crisis has resulted in a collective loss of language, cultural identity and subsequently, the unity of the Africans. (1993)

3. Conflict ridden: it's been evident that more than any continent in the world, Africa suffers extensive division and civil wars. Margareta points out;

"the African continent experiences strong divisive tendencies and actual divisions as a result of her colonial past which created artificial boundaries, languages, and consciousness"
(1993: 13)

She argues that conflicts in Africa are not a result of indigenous languages, but, on the basis of the colonial culture adapted. Different cultures from Anglophone, Francophone, Spanish speaking countries and so on, have resulted into conflicts between neighbouring countries. It is evident that these wars have not only aggravated nature and environmental problems, but have also occasioned the massive displacement of millions of poor people. Margareta continues to argue that;

'...the total number of uprooted people has been estimated at 10 million...useful energies and scarce resources which should have been used for improving general well-being, are poured into military spending and irrational destruction.' (1993:13)

4. Poverty: poverty has been a big factor contributing to conflict in Africa. Africa's economic situation has been at stake primarily due to poor politics and poor management of the few resources available. Sub-Saharan Africa today is faced with stagnating conditions like high inflation, increasing unemployment, declining incomes and deteriorating productive capacity.

Africa also faces the problem of debt crisis; a situation common to other third world countries. According to the World Bank (1989) the ability for many countries to service their debts is weak, and this is reflected in large numbers of debt rescheduling in low-income Africa.

It was also observed that nearly half of rescheduling between 1975 and 1983 were by African countries. (Margareta.1993)

In the first half of the 19th century, it became apparent that significant changes in the pattern of Europe's relationship with Africa were on their way. Africa was beginning to be important for the commodities it could supply directly to Europe. The middle of the century was an era for the explorers, in which their activities became directly connected with the spread of European power by the 1870's and 1880's. As Makenzie argues,

'The traders, missionaries and settlers at this time, operated beyond the limits of European or colonial power, in which they carved out their own domains and established their own law. (1983:6)

This therefore is said to have destabilized the traditional states in Africa disrupting the existing balance that had existed earlier in the century.

European penetration of Africa is believed to have taken a variety of forms, debt-financing and concession-seeking in the North, trade in the West, settlement in the South, and trade and strategy in the East. (Mackenzie. 1983) Ribeiro in his discussion of the expansion of Europe and its effects and impact on the world, expresses the force and violence brought about by this endeavour; he argues that,

'History of man in these last centuries is principally the history of the expansion of the Western Europe, which, constituting the nucleus of a new civilization process, launched itself on all people in successive waves of violence, cupidity and oppression. In this movement, the whole world was taken up and rearranged according to European designs and in conformity with the European interests.' (Tokollo.1993:1)

Tokollo argues that when Europeans encountered natives of the lands they invaded, they found societies living in harmony with their environments, with cooperative and harmonious social relations, a communal social organisation of sharing and partaking. He argues that genocide became the most frequent policy option in settler-colonisation. In Cambodia for instance, the European

colonizers virtually exterminated the native population and brought in enslaved Africans as a substitute labour supply. The Europeans who settled in what is now the United States destroyed perhaps 2/3 of the Native American population, while in South Africa, the Dutch settlers are said to have hunted down the San and Khoikhoi people to the point of extinction.

(Tokollo: 1993)

Given this observation, it could be argued that colonisation disrupted African societies to a considerable extent, resulting in traditional societies and their monarchies to be destroyed eventually. These monarchies which were the basis for the stability, unity and respect among African people, eventually resulted in unstable societies that were susceptible to different waves of conflict.

Likewise, some of the conflicts that led to the 1994 genocide in Rwanda can partly be blamed on the coming of colonisation. It's believed that a social structure based on classification according to race existed in Rwanda before colonisation; this was however exploited and expanded by the colonialists to their own advantage. This is evident in the system brought about by the Belgian colonial government of classifying the Rwandan people, according to ethnic identities, therefore, making them aware of their differences. According to one Belgian doctor, J Sasserath,

'The Hamite (Tutsi) are 1.90 or 1.80 meters tall. They are slim. They have straight noses, high foreheads, and thin lips. The Hamites seem distant, reserved, polite and refined.'

'the Bantu (Hutu) were different people possessing all characteristics of Negro: flat noses, thick lips, low foreheads, brchycephalic skulls. They are like children, shy, lazy and usually dirty.' (www.socialworkafrica.org)

Consequently, Rwandans who were initially united started to identify themselves according to ethnicity, and the connotations that came with each classification. The systematic classification of Rwandans into ethnic identities, by Belgians symbolising Tutsis and Hutus according to physical appearance,

created a platform for discrimination among these two groups that led to severe social conflicts between them.

Later, this ideology of ethnic divisions was later concretised by the post-colonial Hutu governments, in which hate and revenge was incited into the people, and later became the basis from which the 1994 Genocide in Rwanda was carried out.

The argument that colonialism led to the majority of the conflicts in Africa may perhaps be an over generalisation, however, one can't deny that they had a lot to do with the destabilisation of the once-stable African societies. } ✎

Pre-Colonial war.

PRE- COLONIAL RWANDA

It should be noted that Rwanda's historical past varies according to different historians and that the analysis done below is a consensus of views held by them. What appears to have happened is that, about twenty generations ago, one Tutsi clan, the 'Nyiginya' achieved political dominance in central Rwanda. Over several centuries, the 'Banyiginya' formed the core of the state that expanded to cover most of the modern day territory of Rwanda. However, the political institutions that followed were a fusion of Tutsi and Hutu.

Along with their traditions, many Hutu chiefs were certainly assimilated into the ruling class and were thereby given the status of the Tutsi.

(African Rights, 1995)

Before the 19th century, the terms 'Hutu' and 'Tutsi' are believed to have developed a political meaning. Twa, Hutu, and Tutsi roughly corresponded to occupational categories within a single differentiated group, the Banyarwanda. Tutsi were cattle herders, soldiers and administrators, Hutus were farmers, and the Twa were hunter gatherers and a class of potters.

Hutus and Tutsis who were less sharply distinct individuals could, and did move between the categories Hutu and Tutsi as their fortune rose and fell, and intermarriages between them were common. (African Rights: 1995)

In central Rwanda, patron-client ties bound most individuals together in a close-knit hierarchy. The institution of 'Ubuguhake' was the most well known of these. Under this system, a patron gave a cow to his client, and in return, the client performed various services for the patron, in return for protection.

(African Rights: 1995)

Earlier generations of scholars identified the patrons as Tutsis and the clients as Hutus. They also argue that 'Ubuguhake' plus Tutsi control of administration and the supposed 'consensus' that the Tutsi were superior made for a stable and ordered society. As a result of the dominance of cattle as a form of disposable wealth, the cattle chiefs, all of whom by definition are believed to have been Tutsis, were able to dominate most of Rwanda at that time.

In the late 19th century, the Rwandan state became more centralized and authoritarian, especially under king Rwabugiri. He preferred to rely solely on the Tutsi, helping to cement their dominance and thereby making the Hutu-Tutsi ethnic boundary more rigid: One could perhaps argue that in central Rwanda, the crystallisation of Hutu-Tutsi opposition may well have occurred before the colonialist arrived. 'Hutu' and 'Tutsi' identities were defined partly by politics, by occupational status, and partly by ancestry. They were thus not 'pure' ethnic; let alone racial types. (African Rights .1995)

It should be noted that since the focus of this study is the conflict between Hutus and Tutsis, the Twa group has only been highlighted where necessary.

COLONIAL RWANDA

The 1890 Conference in Brussels allocated Rwanda and Burundi to Germany. When the Germans arrived in Rwanda they were obsessed with race, and this had an impact on the life of Rwandans. To the Germans, the Tutsi class was seen as a superior racial type, which strengthened Tutsi dominance over Hutus. The Germans, thus, out of their need for stream-lined administration helped the Tutsi King gain greater nominal control of Rwandan affairs.

It's nonetheless believed, that with the coming of the German rule, Tutsi power weakened through the exposure of Rwanda to capitalists European forces. Money then was seen by many Hutus as a replacement of cattle (a determinant of wealth at that time) in terms of economic prosperity and for purposes of creating social standing. The 'ubuhake' system thus weakened allowing Hutus a slight state of autonomy from Tutsi rule.

After the Second World War, the League of Nations mandated Rwanda and its southern neighbour Burundi to Belgium, as the territory of Ruanda-Urundi. The Belgians are believed to have continued to rely on Tutsi power structure for administration of the country. (<http://en.wikipedia.org>)

It was however believed that there was a major change in the 1950's when the Belgians grew uncomfortable observing the sad plight of the Hutus; they then eventually outlawed the 'Ubughake' and redistributed cattle.

Under European colonisation, a policy of 'ethnogenesis' was also actively pursued; this was a politically-motivated creation of ethnic identities based on socially constituted categories of pre-colonial Rwanda.

At this time the Belgians are also said to have issued ethnic identity cards for Tutsis, Hutus, and Twas. Subsequent to these changes, the Tutsis were slowly removed from their traditional role as masters, while the Hutus were gaining power and freedom from their rule. (<http://en.wikipedia.org>)

With the creation of the ethnicity issue within a social construct of Tutsi superiority and Hutu inferiority, contempt and mistrust eventually permeated the entire society and developed a culture of fear. Subsequently, this contributed to the outburst of violence at the time of Rwanda's independence, in which the situation was reversed and fear among majority Hutu gave way to a fear among the minority Tutsi. (Sellstrom, Wohlgemuth. 1996:11-12)

ETHNIC STRIFE AND INDEPENDENCE

In 1954, King Mutara Rudahigwa, the Tutsi king at that time is said to have been killed under mysterious circumstances: following which political instability and tribal conflict started. In 1959, a Hutu revolt believed to have been encouraged by the Belgian military resulted in the overthrow of the last Tutsi monarchy, who then fled to neighbouring Uganda.

From this time onwards, Hutus are said to have taken over control of Rwanda till independence. The Hutu governments at that time advocated for the superiority of Hutus and the inferiority of Tutsi; in which the latter were labelled 'foreign invaders'. A series of massacres of the Tutsi followed, resulting into many Tutsis fleeing the country for fear of being killed.

From Presidents Kayibanda and Habyarimana (both of who were Hutus) ruled Rwanda from its independence in 1962 to 1994 when the genocide took place. These two rulers encouraged hatred for Tutsis and used them as scapegoats for anything that went wrong within the country. Their governments are also said to have strengthened the system of ethnic identity cards, a practice first practiced by the Belgian colonial government.

Subsequent Tutsi massacres continued throughout the country, and Tutsis were also denied the rights to higher education, which led to the inequality gap between them to increase.

Apart from the 1994 Genocide in Rwanda, other earlier cycles of Tutsi Genocide are said to have taken place in 1959, 1973 and 1979.

<http://en.wikipedia.org>)

THE 1994 GENOCIDE IN RWANDA

In April 1994, within approximately one hundred days, one million Tutsis and moderate Hutus were massacred in Rwanda. These massacres were perhaps on a scale not seen since the Nazi extermination of the Jews. These killings, however, are said to have been about five times that achieved by the Nazi, in a given period of time. Melvern argues that,

“the killing in Rwanda was vicious, relentless, and incredibly brutal. The stories of betrayal, of insensate cruelty, of human suffering, are reminiscent of stories of Treblinka or Babi Yar. But, unlike the Holocaust, far from trying to conceal what was happening, the killings took place in broad day light. The incitement to genocide was broadcast via radio, and people were psychologically prepared for months, and were ordered and coerced to carry out the extermination. In Rwanda, the perpetrators and organisers of the genocide were secure in the knowledge that outside interference would be at a minimum. (2000:4)

The Rwandan genocide to the outside world was perhaps a senseless civil war, or tribal conflict between the Hutu and the Tutsi. However, what happened to Rwanda was carefully planned, and clinically carried out by an extremist group, who used army units and ‘Gendarmerie’ (police), to drive people systematically from their home and assemble them at the pre-arranged places of slaughter.

One of the survivors of the Nyanza Primary School killings narrates;

“the Presidential Guard were watching us from a place that was higher than where we were. Then the soldiers stated firing and threw grenades. Some people tried to break through the military but were struck down with machetes. ‘we were so stunned that no one cried out....it was only afterwards that you heard the voices moaning in agony.... Then the Interahmawe (militia) came in and started killing with the machetes, hammers, knives and spears.’ The people in pain

were told that they would be finished off with a bullet if they paid money. There were children crying over the bodies of their parents....."
(melvern, 2000:4)

Clearly, from the previous analysis of Rwanda's History, genocide in Rwanda did not start in April 1994, but was carried out on a small scale from the time of independence. Ultimately the 1994 genocide in Rwanda was the climax of these massacres, resulting in the death of one million Tutsis and moderate Hutus.

A decade after this tragic event, Rwanda is faced with the challenge of reconstructing and reconciling its broken society. With the victims demanding for justice and the perpetrators seeking for forgiveness, there remains a need to find a balance between these two contrasting but inevitable circumstances.

The role of architecture thus becomes important as tool of reconciling and rebuilding Rwanda's society. The portrayal of the memory of this genocide could be used as a means of reminding Rwandans and the outside world the hostilities and consequences of genocide, and thus preventing its future reoccurrence.

Memory

CHAPTER 4

GENOCIDE AND COLLECTIVE VIOLENCE



Illustration 1 and 2: shows effects of the genocides in Rwanda (left), and in Armenia (right) (www.geocities.com, www.virginia.edu)

'The term "genocide" was introduced by the Jurist Raphael Lemkin, who began a crusade in 1933 to create what was to become a Genocide Convention. As a result of his efforts, on December 11, 1946, the General Assembly of the United Nations (UN) passed a resolution that stated;

"genocide is a denial of the right to existence of entire human groups ...many instances of such crimes have occurred, when racial, religious, political and other groups have been destroyed, entirely or in part." (Staub, 1992:7)

One could argue that the twentieth century has reached great hostility, in which the brutality of human kind has erupted and flowed more expansively than ever before. Repeated episodes of genocide, collective violence, and state-sponsored terror have been on the increase during this century.

In the past eight decades, mass hatred has reached genocide proportions in Turkey, Germany, Indonesia, Nigeria, Bangladesh, Burundi, Cambodia, Bosnia, Rwanda, and many other places around the world. (Kressel: 1996)

Staub's conception of the origins of genocide and, mass killing is based on the theory of motivation and action, called '*Personal goal theory*.' According to this theory, both individual human beings and cultures possess a hierarchy of motives. He believes that individuals and cultures don't always act on their most important motives, but that, circumstances can activate motives lower in the hierarchy. The lower a motive is in an individual's cultural hierarchy, the more extreme the life condition needed to make it active and dominant. He therefore argues that even the intention to commit genocide can't fully evolve without a machinery of destruction. (Staub, 1992)

One could also argue that conflict between language, religion, physical appearances, beliefs and customs of people from different ethnic groups, has been and continues to be the primary source of unrest in the world.

Personal goal theory according to Staub, describes how individuals and cultures select goals to actively pursue, and suggests ways to determine when it is likely that they will act to fulfil them. Staub believes that genocide and mass killings are a result of difficulties in life conditions, like economic, and political crisis, as well as certain cultural pre-conditions that eventually turn a group against another.

Concepts of genocide and mass killings

1. The cultural self-concept of a people greatly influences the need to protect the collective psychological self. A sense of superiority; of being better than others and having a right to rule over them, intensifies the need for dominance and oppression.
2. Collective self doubt is also a motivation for psychological self-defence. When a sense of superiority combines with an underlying self-doubt, a combination of the two may lead to potential for genocide and mass killings.

3. A distinction of a 'them' and 'us' concept, leads to cultural devaluation. Negative stereotypes and negative images of a group can be deeply ingrained in a culture. The members of the 'pre-selected' group eventually become scapegoats and identified as an enemy of the dominant group's well being, safety, and even survival. (Staub, 1992)

This theory was clearly used in the mass destruction of both the Jews and Tutsis during the holocaust and the genocide respectively. The anti-Semitism policy (a hate for Jews), came to fulfil a manufactured desire for revenge as well as an unrealistic perception that Jews were a threat to the Germany government at that time.

Subsequently, the risk of brutality increases greatly when ideologies of hate take steps in dehumanising victims. Hampshire (1989) argues that the use of animal imagery is particularly threatening, as in Nazi depictions of Jews as 'rats' and Hutu references of Tutsis as 'insects'. He believes that such allusions to sub-humanity of enemies can be an early sign of the potential for mass blood shed.

4. Strong respect for authority and strong inclination to obedience are other predisposing characteristics of mass killings and genocide. Staub argues that people who have always been led by strong authorities are often unable to stand on their own in difficult times. Their intense support thus, inclines them to give themselves over to a group and its leaders.

In Rwanda for instance, extremist Hutus emphasized and sometimes created a 'memory' of oppressive Tutsi Overlords. Ideologies of hate therefore, are believed to do more than identify the enemy, but also to incite a lust for revenge. Jews in Germany like Tutsi in Rwanda are said to have valued their nationality, and hardly possessed any power to harm their fatherland. However, Nazi teachings portrayed them as 'demonic' and 'dangerous' foes who had hurt Germany in the past and were determined to destroying her in the future.

As Hampshire has pointed out:

'I have learnt how easy it had been to organise the vast enterprises of torture and of murder, and to enrol willing workers in this field, once all moral barriers had been removed by the authorities.....once the notion of fairness and justice are eliminated from the public life and from people's minds and a bombed and flattened moral landscape is created, there is nothing that is forbidden or off limits, and the way is fully open to natural violence and domination.' (1989:75)

5. Another pre-condition for genocide and mass killing is a monolithic as opposed to a pluralistic culture. In a monolithic culture, there is a limited variation in values and perceptions on life. Strong totalitarian rule enforces uniformity, in which the authorities have power to define reality and shape the people's perceptions of victims. A pluralistic culture, on the other hand, allows for varied conceptions of reality and greater self reliance. Reactions against initial harmful acts are therefore more likely to occur and inhibit the desire for destruction, as opposed to the monolithic culture common in authoritarian rule. (Staub, 1992)

Clearly the condition above was evident in the countries worst affected by genocide, that is; Rwanda and Germany under a Hutu extremist Government, and the Nazi regime of Hitler. Due to state sponsored terror and violence in both these countries; their genocides have been the worst in human history so far.

Likewise, collective violence has been a common occurrence in the twentieth century. A typical example of such violence is South Africa, in which the White apartheid regime enforced political violence on Black South Africans.

Democratic South Africa today faces the multiple legacies of roughly fifty years of apartheid, a social hierarchy and associated political structure that systematically privileged White South Africans of European descent over Africans from indigenous social groups. Black South Africans were denied

political power through the use of institutionalised repression and threat of violence. They suffered arbitrary arrests, beatings, assassinations, and torture. With opportunities for political oppositions, organisations such as the African National Congress took up arms to fight for liberation. The result thus, was a cycle of uprising violence incited by increasing repression. With civilians as targets on both sides, violence was seen as a means of maintaining power and achieving change. *(Lorey, and Beezley, 2002)*

Conflict in Africa over the past years has greatly increased resulting mainly from social economic and political differences. Despite genocide and collective violence having caused devastating effects on some societies, a great need for reconciliation is necessary in order to achieve societal healing.

CHAPTER 5

RECONCILIATION

Reconciliation has remained a controversial and rather debated concept. In general terms as defined by Louis Kriesberg,

'reconciliation is the process of developing a mutual, conciliatory accommodation between formerly antagonistic groups'. It's often understood as the achievements of mutual harmony or togetherness of souls. (Nigger.2001)

One may argue that reconciliation consists of different kinds of justice; one that doesn't seek revenge, but also doesn't countenance impunity. It should accept moral and political responsibility for redressing the needs of the victims, as well as, the need to ensure the perpetrators become responsible members of the society.

Minow (1998), in her comparative study of reconciliation processes, identifies goals that respond to collective violence. Minow's goals include, overcoming the official and social denial, establishing facts, creating a foundation for democracies that respect human rights, restructuring social system torn apart by violence. She emphasizes the need for fostering healing for individuals, groups, victims and bystanders, as well as offenders: acknowledging victims, punishing offenders; and expressing the aspiration that never again shall such collective violence occur.

A. Truth and Reconciliation Commissions (TRC)

The approach taken by South Africa on reconciliation is through the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission. At present the Truth and Reconciliation Commissions exist in South Africa, Rwanda, Argentina, El Salvador, Chile and Guatemala. In South Africa, the TRC illustrates an innovative and promising effort that combines an investigation to what happened and a search for reconciliation. This commission thus provides a

forum for victim testimonies, a process for developing reparations, and a mechanism of granting amnesty for perpetrators who honestly tell of their role in politically motivated violence.

As Minow points out;

'How do we keep the past alive without becoming its prisoner? How do we forget it without risking its repetition in the future? (1998:1)

One could argue that perhaps living after genocide, mass atrocity, totalitarian terror, makes remembering and forgetting no just about dealing with the past, but that treatment of the past can crucially shape the present and the future of broken societies.

B. Rwanda Government's Policy on Reconciliation

It's commonly seen that when a period of authoritarian rule or civil war ends, a state and its people stand at crossroads. One thus asks, *how can a nation of enemies be reunited and its former opponents reconciled in a context of such a violent history? How can the new government prevent such atrocities from being repeated in the future?*

There lies a big challenge for the society, therefore, that while individual survivors struggle to rebuild their shattered past, the society should find a way to move on, and recreate a liveable space of national peace and building reconciliation between former enemies.

The Rwandan Government like any other after a period of conflict has undertaken some measures to reconcile its divided and broken society.

1. Rwanda's National Unity and Reconciliation Commission

Although the idea of a truth commission may seem ridiculously inadequate in the years immediately after the genocide, the slow course of justice and continued hostility between Hutu and Tutsi eventually made it seem a justified and even necessary complement to the process of reconciliation. With the

return of thousands of refugees since 1996, the need to reconcile became inevitable.

The National Truth and Reconciliation Commission (NURC), created under the Parliament law in 1999, aims at organising and overseeing national debates aimed at promoting national unity and reconciliation of Rwandan people.

"It aims also to conceive and disseminate ideas and initiatives aimed at prompting peace, to denounce any written or declared ideas and materials seeking to "disunite" the Rwanda people, to educate and assist in building a culture of tolerance and respect, and to monitor government organs, political parties, leaders, and the general population to gauge whether they respect and observe policies of unity and reconciliation." (<http://ist-socrates.berkeley.edu>)

Its structure includes a program of civic education (including a 'National syllabus' to promote national unity and reconciliation), a program of conflict mediation, and a program of community initiatives.

2. Gacaca Courts

Rwanda Government passed a series of laws since 1996, to establish the Gacaca Courts, intended as complements to other conciliatory measures.

Like the NURC, the Gacaca system stems from a desire to eliminate the burden of caseload upon the domestic justice system and the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR), and to speed up the process of reconciliation within Rwanda.

Aims of the Gacaca Courts include:

- to enable the truth to be revealed about Genocide and crimes against humanity in Rwanda.
- to speed up the trials of those accused of Genocide, crimes against humanity and other crimes
- to put an end to the culture of impunity in Rwanda

- to reconcile the people of Rwanda and strength ties between them
- to revive traditional forms of dispensing justice based on Rwandese culture
- to demonstrate the ability of local communities to solve their own problems
- to help solve some of the many problems caused by Genocide
(www.gov.rw)

The Gacaca system aims to prosecute lesser offenders, in which, it allows them to be judged and sentenced by their peers, and in addition gives their peers the power to levy sentence and judgement. It directs the judges to compile a list of those who died and those responsible for the deaths.

The Gacaca courts are traditional community courts, and theirs structure reflects the notion of the traditional community tribunal. The voting population elects judges, who in turn hear a defendant's case, and then allow the jury, to decide the appropriate sentence. The Rwanda Government thus believes that involving the population in the trials can also contribute significantly to reconciliation. President Paul Kagame is quoted;

“What Rwanda expects from the Gacaca courts is to establish the truth about what happened, to expedite the backlog of genocide cases, to eradicate the culture of impunity and to consolidate the unity of our people... (they) will offer the opportunity for truth to be brought out into the open, shed light on how those in positions of authority and many people were killed through their actions proposed by the government.”
(<http://ist-socrates.berkeley.edu>)

Truth Commissions, however, are not the only way to advance reconciliation, but also include a reparation program to those injured; attention to structural inequalities and basic material needs of victim communities; or by allowing for natural linkages in society that bring formerly opposing parties together.

Following this, one may ask, what role can architecture play in bringing about reconciliation of a society such as that in Rwanda?

It can be argued that architecture can be used as a portrayal of memory of the genocide through the creation of memorials, monuments, or through other artistic responses to mass atrocities that depict what happened. In a desire to redesign hope from the remains of despair, architecture can be used as an art to create space that provide a platform for memory as well as reconciliation of the victims and perpetrators of genocide.

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CHAPTER 6

RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT

INTRODUCTION

According to Tadaro Micheal development is;

'a multidimensional process involving major changes in social structures, popular attitudes, and national institutions, as well as the acceleration of economic growth, the reduction of inequality, and eradication of absolute poverty' (Bryant and White. 1982:3)

One could perhaps argue that many development problems are confined to Africa. According to The World Bank (2000), one African in five lives in country disrupted by conflict. Africa's conflicts are believed to stem from poverty, underdevelopment, and a lack of economic diversity, as well as political systems that marginalize large parts of the population. As a result, these conflicts perpetuate poverty, creating a vicious cycle that can only be reversed by special development efforts, like long-term peace building, and political reform. (The World Bank, 2000).

Bollens (1999) argues that since the 1960's, the scale of world conflicts has shifted from international to interstate, 69 of the 94 wars recorded from 1945 to 1988 have been between interstate conflicts that have sent millions of people displaced from their home countries. Given this observation, one can argue that national building begins with the individual cities, which are unique state in themselves.

Africa thus faces a complex development challenge, in which new governments have paved a path towards the redevelopment of their fragile

and conflict ridden societies. Consequently, improving governance and resolving conflict is the basic requirement for faster development.

A. POST-APARTHEID JOHANNESBURG

In an attempt to reconstruct and redevelop Rwandan society after conflict, Post-Apartheid Johannesburg (illustration 3) has been analysed to give an insight into the developmental approaches that can be used in the reconstruction of post- conflict societies.



Illustration 3: map showing the location of Johannesburg in Gauteng Province-South Africa, (Bollens, 1999:159)

Johannesburg was used as a city in the process of reconciliation and reconstruction after conflict due to these factors:

- it is a place where major clashes between white Afrikaner nationalism collided with the major black political parties,
- it is engaged in a transition process tied to the movement on a broader political front; this allows for a study of urban policy making amidst larger efforts at peacekeeping. (Bollens, 1999)

Johannesburg is the economic power house and largest region in the new democratic South Africa, a country , where over 15,000 people have been killed since the 1980's in political violence between the former white government and the opposition black group, as well as thousands more dead from black-on-black hostilities. (Human rights report, 1993)

Johannesburg is also engaged in intergroup reconciliation and reconstruction of its post-apartheid racial geography after resolution of its core political problem. It is however still faced with massive unmet human needs and income inequalities. The urban landscape of the central Witwatersrand is still characterized by racially segregated townships, cities and in-formal settlements, created directly and indirectly by Group Areas (Illustration 4) Apartheid Legislation.



Illustration 4: shows the group areas in Johannesburg during the apartheid era. (Bollens. 1999:160)

After apartheid, urban leaders in Johannesburg had to engage with a self-transformative and democratising process, a policy development role aimed at repairing and reconstructing Johannesburg's torn fabric, and addressing the vast black-white disparities inherent from apartheid South Africa. Reconstruction programmes were set-up like the provincial Rapid Land Development Programme (RLDP), and Metropolitan Johannesburg's 'potential development areas' program. (Bollens, 1999). These were established to link with project-based housing subsidy to help the urban poor improve their shelter arrangements. The Ivory Park informal settlement (Illustration 5). for example is one of Johannesburg's black townships in Midrand established in 1991. Today, it houses approximately 200,000 people most of who live in shacks. (Bremer, 2004)

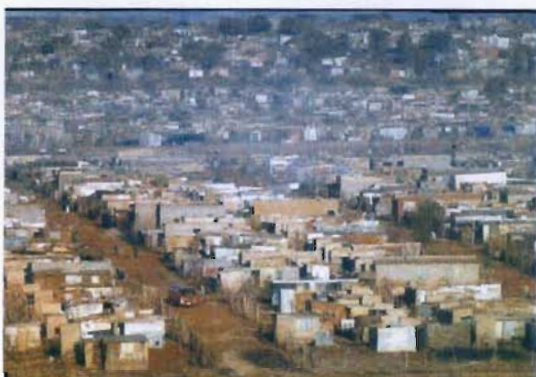


Illustration 5: view across Ivory Park Town Ship, showing the congestion within the housing. (Bremer, 2004:38)

After apartheid the government of South Africa embarked on provision of alternative housing (Illustration 6) to the shacks that characterised black townships. These are commonly known as RDP (Rural Development Programme) housing provided by the government to improve the housing facilities for the formerly disadvantaged group during apartheid period.



Illustration 6: shows a typical RDP housing settlement in the Eastern Cape www.confluence.org

The city planners have engaged with post-apartheid city-building towards reconciliation and normalisation through creation of a compact, functionally and integrated city. This would allow formerly excluded majority from the city life to be brought closer to urban opportunities and neighbourhoods that offer better and wider services.

The city of Johannesburg is now crammed with vibrant economic activities including street trade small scale manufacturing and cross border scale. While middle-class residents have secured themselves behind electric gates, all people once restricted to town ships now crowd the city streets. The city as a result has become more polarised and more diverse than before.

During apartheid roads were seen as sites of resistance and oppression, forced removals, movement of troupes and armoured vehicles, roadblocks, running street battles and so on. Today however, the use of space has

transformed the roads (Illustration 7), streets, pavements not as thoroughfares, but as common grounds for public life. (Bremer, 2004)



Illustration 7: *Pavement hairdressing in Johannesburg city center.* (Bremer, 2004:81)

Johannesburg now has new definition of space; replacing the old, race-based seclusions with new boundaries, identities and enclosures. It is however faced with a high crime rate which has caused a set back in the city's development. Johannesburg like many cities in the world is characterised with increasing decentralisation that has led to a loss of economic activities within City Centers.

Bremer argues that;

'What makes major cities in the world interesting is not who move in it and out of it, but those who live in it. (2004:64)

This has led to suburban sprawl in Johannesburg; in which major retailers, speciality stores, stores serving tourists, offices have now relocated to northern suburbs (Illustration 8) like Rose Bank, Sandton, and Midland.



Illustration 8: *map of Johannesburg showing decentralisation of Office employment from the CBD to the suburbs.* (Bollens, 1999:256)

B. POST-GENOCIDE RWANDA

Rwanda despite the horrific effects of the 1994 genocide has made great effort in reconstructing and developing its socio-economic and political structures. As a result of the genocide in Rwanda, people were displaced and homeless; resulting in massive refugee movements, the economy went through an economic depression that had never happened in Rwanda's history. From 1995 to today, the Government of Rwanda has been working tirelessly towards achieving socio-economic, political and infrastructural development.

1. Political developments

Rwanda before 1994 was under one-party government, this was a dictatorial government which later planned and executed the 1994 genocide. It is evident that most one-party dictatorial governments have always created if not allowed for the occurrence of conflicts, such as, collective violence and sometimes even genocide. A typical example is Hitler's regime in Germany that killed approximately one million Jews, Idi Amin's government in Uganda, as well as Habyarimana's regime in Rwanda.

Rwanda government after 1994 however came under the control of the Rwandese Patriotic Front (RPF), a party consisting mostly of Tutsi that had been living in exile. Today, Rwanda has a multi-party Government that was elected in 2003. This has provided an opportunity for democratic representation of every party in the government's decision making process; thus creating a safe and conducive environment for all Rwandans to live and work together.

2. Economic Development

From 1990, Rwanda was involved in civil war that resulted in genocide in 1994, and a subsequent mass flight of refugees. The effects of these events were severe, and the real annual GDP growth dropped to -10% in 1993, and -49 in 1994. Since 1995 however, Rwanda's economy has been one of the fastest growing in Africa. Its real annual Gross Domestic Product (GDP) growth averaged 7.7% from 1998-2002. This growth was a result of the steady recovery from the steep economic decline of the years before 1995. (www.iss.co.za)

Rwanda today is under the Government of national unity which has achieved considerable economic and infrastructural development. Security has been restored in the country, which has encouraged the return of refugees into their homes and to their normal way of life. The government with considerable assistance from international donors, has rebuilt and expanded rural –urban infrastructure, and has managed to avoid currency depreciation, and consumer price inflation. (www.iss.co.za)

Rwanda government however still faces great poverty levels, with 60% of the population still under the poverty line. The government's long term plan is to transform Rwanda from one of the poorest in Africa, into information and communication technology- based economy. Its short to medium term goal is to recapitalise, boost, and diversify agricultural production.

Rwanda governments approach to economic reform and increased growth is based the following;

1. liberalising trade barriers which have already decreased from 17.5% in 1998, to 11% in 2002. Although this has reduced much needed revenue, it has increased regional trade.
2. proceeding with privatisation of parastatal bodies in Rwanda, by 2003, 30 small parastatals had been privatized.
3. attracting as much foreign investment as possible. (www.iss.co.za)

3. Infrastructural Development

Rwanda today has achieved great infrastructural development, the development of the road networks from urban to rural areas, for instance Gitarama- Kibuye, and the Rwamagana –Kayonza highways. These and many others have facilitated vehicular movement to and from the urban centers, allowing for improved delivery of goods, and for tourist accessibility to originally inaccessible area. Roads (Illustration 9 and 10) in the city center that were once murum are now tarmac which has improved vehicular movement and the overall image of the city.



Illustration 9 and 10: shows roundabout to the city center with tarmaced road (left) and a murum road to Kicukiro suburb in Kigali, there is a proposal to tarmac it

The housing industry before 1994 was under developed and the living condition of the people were unfavourable. This was due to the high poverty levels and the inequality gap the country was experiencing at that time.

Initially the type of housing before genocide was predominantly slums for the urban poor while the middle to upper class built houses that were greatly influenced by Belgium colonial architecture.

These can still be seen in the city centre (Illustration 11), but are however being improved for better living conditions.



Illustration 11: *picture of housing types in Kigali City built before the genocide*

The 1994 Rwanda genocide also led to massive destruction of infrastructure, which has resulted in high costs of rehabilitation or even complete reconstruction. (Illustration 12 and 13). The Parliament Building for instance was greatly damaged by the war and is presently under rehabilitation.



Illustration 12 and 13: *residential house destroyed during the genocide (left), and the parliament building filled with bullet holes.*

The Government of Rwanda has also undertaken a programme of providing better housing facilities (Illustration 14 and 15) for the people, these have centralised social services and improved living. This programme includes resettling of the displaced population in clustered neighbourhoods called 'imidugudu'.



Illustration 14 and 15: shows new housing developments in Rwanda for the middle to upper income in Gacuriro (left), and the lower income settlements in Cyinyinya – Kigali City (right).



Illustration 16: shows new housing developments by the upper income earners in Nyarutarama- Kigali City.

Ten years after genocide, Rwanda' infrastructure is steadily developing, the architecture in the center was originally of a low key, low-rise nature (2 to 3 storey) that were not sufficient to accommodate the increasing economic activity and need for office and retail space. Today however, new high rise office blocks, banks, shopping malls (Illustration 17, 18 and 19) are being built which has greatly changed the image of the city.



Illustration 17 and 18: Shows new office blocks in the city center (left) and a new shopping mall still under construction.



Illustration 19: the new nine-storey commercial bank (BCDI) building completed in 2004 has created a new skyline for Kigali city center.

CHAPTER 7

TRAGIC MEMORY

Introduction

This chapter explores the importance of memory specifically of a tragic event and how it could be exploited to bring about healing of individuals and societies. It also analyses the possibilities for architecture to depict memories through providing a platform for reconciliation and unity of formally divided societies.

One could argue that while some forgetting of a tragic past at an appropriate time is necessary, a complete erasure is neither sufficient nor desirable for reaching or for the consolidation of a descent society. Though specific acts of wrong doing need to be forgotten eventually, a general sense of wrong and the horror of evil acts should never be allowed to recede from collective memory. Such remembering is crucial to the prevention of wrong doing in the future, and without proper engagement with the past, and the institutionalisation of remembrance, societies are destined to repeat, and relive the horror. In choosing to remember therefore, a country will be in a stronger position to build a more stable future, less likely to be threatened by the tension and conflict emerging from shadows of a mysterious past. (Hayner.2001)

To heal entire societies it is important to start with the healing of the individual. The memory of the past does not have to be positive, but rather be able to allow individuals, especially the victims to re-experience the past in order for them to get complete freedom from its bondage. Therapists have argued that by speaking of trauma, survivors regain lost worlds and lost selves. It is crucial therefore, that to survive, the present, one requires courage to confront the past, re-examine it, re-tell it, and thereby re-master its traumatic aspects.

After past atrocities, democratic governments have worked towards achieving of reconciliation and reconstruction of their divided societies. For instance the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) in South Africa.

Architecture likewise can be used as a physical manifestation of the occurrence of tragic events like genocide and collective violence. The events of memory and truth telling can be interpreted in memorial architecture through spaces that provide healing for individuals and whole societies. In Rwanda for instance, memorial architecture as a tool of expression can be exploited to provide hope for the survivors of genocide, in which their stories are recalled in a physical form as well as become a reminder for those who never experienced these traumatic events.

MEMORIAL ARCHITECTURE

One may ask, *does architecture have the power to move and engage, or evoke memory? It has been argued that*

"The museum or memorial is intended to create a setting for the projection of memory onto a built form providing a new linkage between memory and space." (Reconstructing Recollection, 2000:77)

Nations and cities have created memorials in the form of public monuments and sculpture, museums, and days of memory. These have been used to

portray what occurred in order to dispel the secrecy, celebrate the transition, and warn against future recurrences of the atrocities. Radley argues that;

“remembering is something which occurs in the world of things as well as words, and that artefacts play a central role in the memories of culture and individuals.... In the very variability of objects, in the ordinances of their consumption and in the sensory richness of relationships people enjoy through them, they are fitted to be later re-framed as material images for reflection and recall. (1990: 57-58)

In order for memory to stay current, architecture should have the ability to recreate and reframe a tragic event, leaving the visitor moved by the experience of its victims. Kaji-O'Grady (2003) argues that architecture builds on existing environments, but it also helps to shift and change people's perceptions of space and places, and the ideas and histories associated with them.

Memorials can depict memory in either a metaphoric or an abstract way. Metaphoric architecture is interpretive while abstract architecture allows the viewer to make their own interpretation. Perhaps one could argue that both metaphoric and abstract architecture should be balanced in memorial architecture. The former allows one to have a representation of the 'real' event, while the latter is necessary to allow for individual interpretation, and therefore be able to relate to it.

Following this, a country like Rwanda, where the wounds of genocide are still 'raw', memorials should seek to encourage reflection and contemplation which evoke the on-looker, through a balance of both metaphoric and abstract spatial articulation. This then allows the on-looker to become part of the memorial experience.

Laurence and Tonkin (2003:48), have argued that memorials are always about the viewer's own present,

'how would I feel if this happened to me?'

A. Contextual Architecture

It's perhaps possible that an appropriate architecture for a memorial is that best rooted in the culture of the people concerned. This thus makes for a contextual architecture. The new architecture should honour old traditions, yet uplift them with new ideas. Christopher day argues that the past and future need each other. He asserts that the past informs while the future inspires, and at the meeting point is the informed present, a point at which deeds are born. (Christopher day, 1990)

One may ask, *'can there be a creative blend of western technology and traditional forms? What then is authentic architecture?*

'its my belief' says former MIMAR editor Hassan-Uddin Khan, *'that architecture rooted in cultures and traditions must extend them to reflect contemporary concerns and expectations.*

(Pearson's, 1995: 121)

Charles Correa has argues that there is a need to know where we are coming from to know where we are going. (Correa and Frampton, 1996). Like poetry, architecture could peel back the cultural layers and with familiar elements create meanings, create spaces and relationships which set up reverberation that can through time heal, delight, calm, awaken and move the soul.

The need to transform the past is thus necessary to act as a catalyst for the future. This would then lead to a re-awakening of the cultural identity as one of the strongest and most hopeful themes in the rebirth of natural architecture.

B. Healing architecture

It is important that memorial architecture for Rwanda be a place of healing from its broken past. This healing effect can be achieved in a number of ways, for instance, through spatial experience, use of materials, light, water, and textures. These can be used as medium of healing through evoking of emotions, and change of perceptions with the aim of providing hope for the future.

' In a place where the wounds of genocide are still 'raw', we need memorials that encourage reflection and contemplation, which engage the on lookers- a place that encourages reflection, respect and humanity.' (Kigali Memorial Center)

1. Light in architecture

Light and architecture have been related from the beginning of time. The relationship between light and architecture has continuously made evident the dialogue between society and light. Its relationship could be translated literally in architecture, for instance Egyptian and Greek temples, or through abstract expressions of the sixteenth century Baroque architects or the formal, spatial and material qualities of today's architecture.

The most prominent use of light was in the sixteenth and seventh century. The worship of God and the aspirations of the society were the motivating factors. The symbolic imagery of light and dark were the ideal vehicles for the expression of religious mysteries, and were used to inspire devotion. In the Ronchamp chapel by Le Corbusier, light was used as an integral part of the structure, as a historical illusion (to stained glass of the Gothic Cathedral), but also to create an uplifting and worshipful environment.

Poetry and a mystical metaphoric treatment of light can be seen in the works of Ricardo Legorreta, Tadao Ando and Steven Holl. For these architects, light and shadow is exploited to enhance and elevate the experimental qualities of their respective buildings. Legorreta for instance, employs light and shadow with Mexico's equatorial light, and together with his spectacular use of colour to create moving and visually stunning works. Light to him directly addressed the deeper aspects of the history of a place, he points out

' Light and spirituality go together

Light and architecture go together

Light gives value to walls, windows, materials, textures and colours

During hours, days and seasons it changes spaces and is a fundamental tool for shaping our emotional response

Light both natural and artificial can not be ignored, nor used with a technical mind

Light belongs to the heart and to the spirit



Light thus becomes an important architectural element in memorial architecture. Light intensity changes the mood of a place, and thus its interpretation by the viewer becomes important. Dark spaces thus become associated with death, evil, secrecy, while a lit space is associated with transparency, truth, and freedom. The objective of any memorial architecture should be to evoke people's emotions and perceptions for the better thus making the interpretation of light an important consideration in memorial architecture. Consequently memorial architecture in Rwanda faces the challenge of interpreting memory through an appropriate use of light to depict Rwanda's past and its move toward a brighter future

2. Water in architecture

Water and architecture date back to the Greek and Roman times, when the moat was used for protection from the enemy. As one of the elements used in healing architecture, water can be manipulated to create the mood of a place. As Betsky (1995) has argued, water has the power to create tension both visually and actual that is provocative and disturbing. Water in architecture also has the power to tranquilize and instil a peaceful atmosphere. The reflective property of water along with its audiovisual effects of moving water allows for an opportunity to create energy in a space. Betsky has argued;

River



'...water is the continuum of the universe made real, water is a source of life, rebirth, water is the mirror that creates a heterotypic alternative to lived experience.' (1995: 11)

Likewise in Christianity, baptism with water signifies a rebirth of one into a pure Christian. Betsky thus argues that by providing something to drink, by washing wounds, by bringing to life a barren desert land, water becomes the focal point of our activities. Water as such becomes a point of gathering, a source of power, and a place of culture and reflection. Clearly the use of water in memorial architecture could be manipulated to create different atmospheres that evoke the on-looker's emotions.

3. Organic architecture

While an appropriate architectural expression of memory is being sought, it can be argued that organic architecture plays a role in creating a relaxed natural atmosphere that is important in the healing process of individuals.

As Pearson has argued;

'one of the most interesting and deeply philosophical strands of healing design is organic architecture.' (1996:50)

Rudolf Steiner (1861-1925), the founder of anthropology drew his writings on the philosophy of Goethe, who believed that it was primarily through our bodies that we experienced architecture. He thus believes that form has a profound effect on behaviour and feelings. (Pearson, 1995)

Goethe believes that one could imagine a whole plant as the archetypal 'leaf'. Seed, bud, leaf, flower, and fruit are all transformations, yet parts of single organic process. Similarly, a living and organic building grows out of the archetypal idea and changing it, not only to serve different activities, but above all to inspire and nourish the whole person. He believes that by offering choice, the building's form helps to reinforce the individual; which strengthen the self healing process. (Pearson, 1995) The use of colour, light, constriction and

release in organic architecture also stimulates the occupant's sense of feeling and pleasure. ✓ ✱

C. Symbolism in Memorial Architecture

Good +
Bad.

Culture Specific

Along the lines of this research on reconciliation and reconstruction, appropriate symbolism is necessary in which representation of elements of death, memory, hope and unity be carefully considered. Since memorials have an important role of not only depicting the past atrocities, but also rebuilding and reconciling broken societies. The challenge then becomes how this architecture through symbolism can be used to achieve these goals.

Death- Memorial architecture needs to depict the reality of what death is, this will allow the visitor to psychologically become a part of the past event being depicted. Symbols of death therefore should have the ability to evoke emotions, and create empathy from the on-looker with the hope of creating a change of attitude towards such a horrific event.



Memory- Memory is among the primary function of any memorial. One could perhaps argue that to remember is to acknowledge and change. symbols of memory thus become important in memorial architecture, as a constant reminder and therefore, as a preventative measure from re-occurrence.



Hope – This research focuses on reconciliation after conflict; the challenge then is how architecture can become a symbol of hope for the future. Spatial articulation in architecture has the ability to either create a feeling of ease and comfort or of discomfort. Subsequently architecture can explore this ability to shape people's behaviour and perceptions of space through an appropriate symbolic representation of hope.



Unity- in order to reconcile and reunite, memorial architecture faces the challenge of creating symbolic elements that encourage unified interaction within spaces and thus enable the attainment of the above goals. Such spaces created can directly and indirectly allow for formerly hostile groups to feel at ease within them.

According to the system first developed by Greeks, the art of memory was based on the assumption that usual images were not easily remembered, thus the subject of memory was best memorised together with familiar architectural spaces. Memorials thus create spaces where the non-physical is housed and evoked, allowing for the fusion of the viewer's own memories and those offered by the creators. In these spaces, specific memory is physically located to create a direct experience to the viewer in which time could collapse and one joins the past in a truthful and comprehensive way.

Laurence, Tonkin have argued that,

'Memorials are spaces of dreaming, reflection, not otherwise accommodated in our market-world. They present what is absent.'
(2003:49)

CHAPTER 8

PRECEDENT STUDY

Introduction

This chapter explores memorials and museums around the world that embark on sustaining the memory of past tragic events. It includes an analytical study of how architecture and space can be used as a physical representation of the past. This will thus be used as part of the basis to create an architecture that is not only appropriate for the memory of the genocide in Rwanda, but also to help Rwandans to heal from their tragic past.

A. MEMORY OF APARTHEID

Apartheid was the social and political policy of racial segregation and discrimination enforced by white governments in South Africa from 1948-1994. Though this was used as a political slogan of the National party in the 1940's, the policy itself extends back to the beginning of the white settlements in South Africa in 1652. After the primarily Afrikaner Nationalists came to power in 1948, the social custom of apartheid was systematically implemented. (www/africaencyclopedia.com)

The implementation of the policy, which was referred to as "separate development", was made possible by Population Registration Act of 1950, that placed all South Africans into four racial groups: Bantu (black African), white, or coloured (mixed race), and Asian (Indians and Pakistanis).

The system of apartheid was enforced by a series of laws passed in the 1950's, which included among others; limited rights of black Africans to own land, the control of over 80% percent of South Africa land, prohibition of most social contact between races, segregation of public facilities and separation of educational standards, and so on. (www/africaencyclopedia.com)

As anti-apartheid pressure increased within and outside South Africa, the South African government under President F.W. de Klerk, began to dismantle the apartheid system in the early 1990's. Today, the South African government has achieved democracy, and is working towards achieving reconciliation and reconstruction of its once divided society.

1. THE GOLD REEF APARTHEID MUSEUM, JOHANNESBURG

The Gold Reef Apartheid Museum was chosen as one of the precedent studies because it depicts the memory of an important time in the history of South Africa. Like the 1994 genocide in Rwanda, the apartheid era was a period of great denial of human rights that resulted in oppression, and sometimes, even death. The Gold Reef Apartheid Museum was designed by GAAP Architects for Akani Egoli. Located on land reclaimed from a played-out gold mine, its context is a theme-amusement park and a casino. Though the architect attempted to separate the museum from the immediate landscape of pleasure, this site seems to defeat the idea of memorial and contemplation, as one can hear noises from the neighbouring theme park.

Symbolism and movement through the building

The attempt to make separate entrances of 'white' and 'non-white' (Illustration 20) is symbolic of the segregation at the time of apartheid, however, it is apparent that the spatial qualities of the two spaces are almost identical, which is not reflective of the experiences that each of these groups went through during this period.



Illustration 20: Shows the different entrances of the museum.

(Real Communication, 2001:14)

Movement in the museum follows a chronological order of events which is important to understand the apartheid period. The two groups of people originally separated by the entrances are later re-united at the end of a sun slit ramp to symbolise the end of segregation into a new and united South Africa. The exit is also symbolic as one leaves the museum into an open court yard (Illustration 21), showing, contrary to the apartheid period, the freedom that every South African now enjoys.



Illustration 21: *the landscaped courtyard that seeks to demonstrate the movement from the dark past into the brightness of the future.* (Real Communication, 2001:17)

Architectural language and symbolism

The use of raw sloped concrete roofs, floors and long, dimly-lit passages floors, couples with the powerful, often violent, film footage and black-and-white photographs recreate a powerful sense of the dark horrors of apartheid' (Apartheid Museum, Johannesburg, 2003: 25)

The museum is clearly created as a metaphoric space of oppression through spatial and material articulation, this articulation of spaces aims at generating an almost intuitive experience of the displays.

An important part of the museum is to create a feeling of anticipation, this is achieved through layering of spaces allowing one to see through to another area, but not be able to access it. The building thus, has no solid walls that divide spaces. This is symbolic of the segregation during the apartheid period, in which different groups of the population were not allowed to get into some areas. Displays are also placed into wire boxes (Illustration 22) to symbolise the cages of imprisonment.



Illustration 22: *wire boxes representative of cages depict further separation and segregation.*

(Real Communication, 2001:14)

Spatial articulation was also expressed through ceiling heights that were made to compress and release 'visitors bodies' as they move through the museum. Provision is also made for audio visuals (Illustration 23), in which television sets are mounted along the wall to show the visual of the events in the exhibitions. This is an important part of the exhibition because it gives the visitor an insight into what was taking place at that time.



Illustration 23: *television sets for visuals to emphasize the reality of the events*

(Real Communication, 2001:16)

Materials and technology –symbolism

The materials used in the building are generally harsh to capture the hard reality of the time, even the lifts are constructed with rough materials and a stark form is maintained. A harsh dividing wall (Illustration 24) made of rough-packed stone shoved into a stone cage and held together by rusted steel supports franks a sloping ramp down the corridors, next to which, is a face brick wall with small recesses placed along its length; all these made with the aim of evoking emotions.



Illustration 24: *harsh materials such as this mesh and rock fence are meant to capture the hard reality of the time.* (Real Communication, 2001:15)

The 250-seater auditorium that houses visual exhibitions is made of unadorned concrete with wooden panels and benches scattered across the area. All the ceilings (Illustration 25) and finishes have been stripped out and the bare minimum has been left, with stark space and fittings remaining.



Illustration 25: *corridors with no ceiling finishes give an industrial look to the space, as a depiction of the hard times experienced through the apartheid era*
(Anonymous. 2002: 39)

Layering is continued through out the building with no dry wall of solid partitions used. The spaces are, rather layered with different sections looking into each other, with mesh, glass and visual depictions dividing areas.

2. HECTOR PETERSON MUSEUM, SOWETO, JOHANNESBURG

The Hector Peterson Museum located in Soweto, Johannesburg (Illustration 26 and 27) was designed by Mashabane Rose Associates, in memory of a 13-year-old schoolboy Hector Peterson killed in the June 16th 1976 Soweto uprising, against the apartheid regime. The Museum was erected on the site of the uprising and 600meters from the site where Hector was shot.

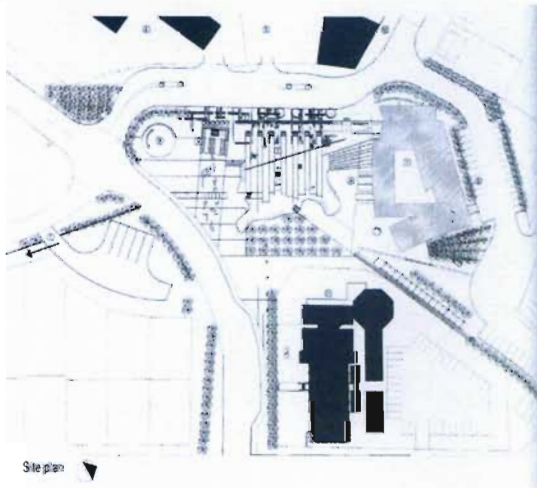


Illustration 26 and 27: shows site plan of the museum within the Soweto landscape and the entrance to the museum.

Architectural language and symbolism

The museum is surrounded by a square, using road kerbs, cobbles and grass-block paving to recall the material quality of the street where the uprising occurred. A cenotaph laid in 1992 is in a lowered space with a small 'weeping' water feature as a backdrop declaring:

'To honour the students who gave their lives in the struggle for freedom and democracy.' (Anonymous. 2003: 32)

The museum is designed as a ramped and flat sequence of spaces that gently rise up around a central void that rises over three floors. There are two floors of exhibition space and one for administration and archive space. The building takes advantage of the 2.5meter drop across the site (Illustration 28 and 29), allowing a third of the bulk of the building to be underground.

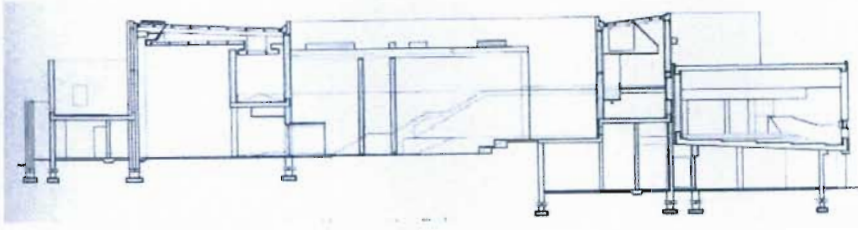


Illustration 28: shows section through the void, ramp and auditorium. (Hector Peterson, 2003: 33)

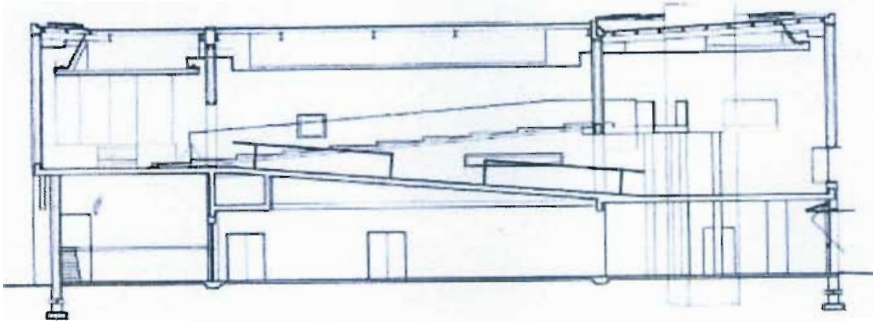


Illustration 29: shows section through main space overlooking the gathering space and the ramp. (Hector Peterson, 2003: 33)

The building is monumental with few openings cut into its façade (Illustration 30 and 31). These openings frame historic places, buildings referred to in the exhibit narrative, the shooting site, the police station and so on. The museum consists of 22 short films, 30 text panels and approximately 100 black and white photographs (Illustration 32) on the monitors spread evenly through out the ramped space. (Hector Peterson Museum, Soweto. 2003)

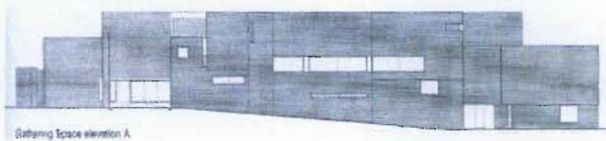


Illustration 30 and 31: shows entrance view and entrance elevation showing the monumental articulation of the museum.

(Max du Preez, 2002: 28,
Hector Peterson, 2003: 33)





Illustration 32: *shows the simple interior of the museum, with the exhibition defining its character.*

(Hector Peterson, 2003: 32)

The museum has a central void that frames the sky and is filled with gravel that makes a noise as one walks amongst individually inscribed granite blocks with the names of 350 uncelebrated and unknown students who died during the uprising. This is meant to create a feeling of unease as one walks through the gravel. Sound then becomes a manipulative element on the visitor's emotions.

Materials and technology –symbolism

The flush-jointed redbrick museum echoes the distinctive 1940s redbrick houses of Soweto surrounding the museum, this then suggests a contextual continuity. Redbrick is used inside and outside and a teak floor finish (Illustration 33) on the inside. Off-shutter concrete, natural steel plate and sheets of glass are carefully separated and used to their most basic and unadorned manner.



Illustration 33: *shows interior of museum with exposed ceiling, teak flooring and red brick that gives a raw finish to the spaces inside. (Max du Preez, 2002: 26)*

Like the Apartheid museum, the Hector Peterson Museum used materials to emphasize the harsh reality of apartheid period. Materials then become of symbolic importance in memorial architecture.

(Hector Peterson Museum, Soweto. 2003)

B. MEMORY OF THE HOLOCAUST

The term 'holocaust' refers to the systematic extermination of approximately six million Jews by the Nazi state and its collaborators; other groups deemed undesirable were likewise persecuted. The chief institution of the Nazi regime of terror from 1933 to 1945 was the concentration camp. The events that resulted in genocide involved bureaucratically efficient segregation, deportation, and ultimate killing of the Jews, who were executed as a central act of the state. (Freed.1993)

1. THE HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL MUSEUM IN WASHINGTON

The Holocaust Museum in Washington occupies a 6878.8m² site in the heart of America's Civic Culture. The Museum is located near the Washington Monument and over looks the Jefferson and Lincoln Memorials. It was designed by Architect James Ingo Freed of Pie Cobb Freed and Partners.

According to Yeal Padan, the function of a Holocaust memorial is to forge a memory of the Holocaust *'that cannot or should not be reused for remembering other material, that is 'to create an 'image' without a future.* (Reconstructing Recollection, 2000)

Symbolism and movement through the building

When one enters they come into the Hall of Witness, there follows three floors of emotional exhibition to the hexagonal Hall of remembrance. The exhibits are in three stages and begin on the fourth floor downwards. These are placed chronologically with the Nazis climb to power on the fourth floor, one descends to the third floor to display the final solution, and then to the second floor that displays the aftermath. (In remembrance, 1993). This downwards movement could be a symbolic representation of the deteriorating situation during these evolving events towards the Holocaust.

The museum has two entrances with one on 14th Street and a separate entrance for groups of visitors at the concourse level on 15th Street (Illustration 34). When groups enter from this entrance, they are forced to come to the Hall of Witness last. This however being the most important part of the memorial as was intended by the architect, is then only seen last instead of first. Plans to change the entry sequence are however underway. (Freiman, 1995)

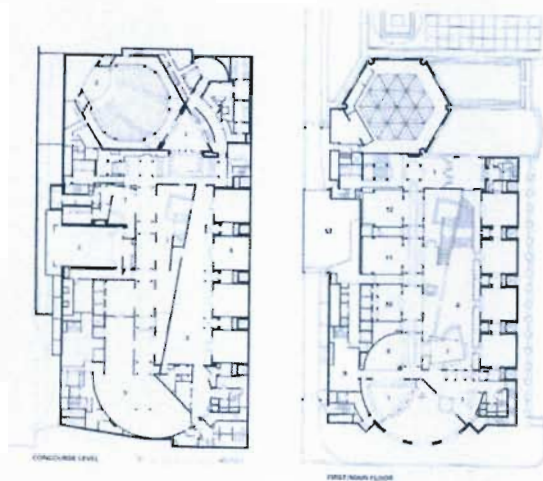


Illustration 34: Plan showing spatial characteristics of the museum.

(Freed. 1993: 64)

- | | | | | |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------|--------------------------------|------------|
| 1 LOBBY | 5 TEMPORARY EXHIBITION SPACES | 9 BOOKSTORE | 13 LOADING | 17 LIBRARY |
| 2 THEATER | 6 HALL OF WITNESS | 10 ELEVATOR LOBBY | 14 PERMANENT EXHIBITION SPACES | 18 CENTRAL |
| 3 EDUCATION/CONFERENCE CENTER | 7 WALL OF NATIONS | 11 COATROOM | 15 HALL OF REMEMBRANCE | 19 ADMIN |
| 4 CLASSROOMS | 8 HALL OF FLAGS | 12 LOUNGE | 16 LEARNING CENTER | |

Architectural language and symbolism

Freed made the memorial fractured, twisted and dislocated as a metaphor of 'destruction' the building was made to speak of the holocaust horrors by means of allusion and metaphor. From his research on the death camps in which the Jews were killed, Freed made the building an as an imitation of the concentration death camps. His aim was for the architecture to forewarn the visitors of the kind of sorrow the exhibits would display.

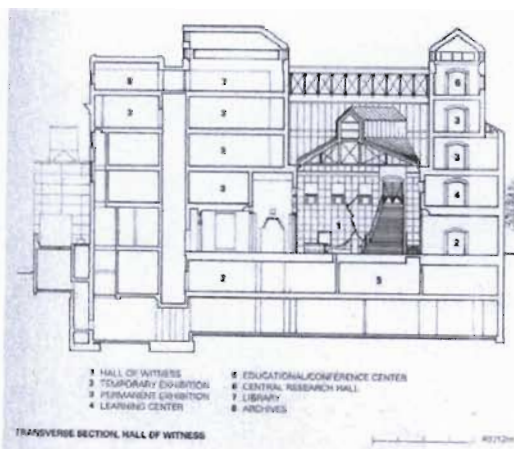


Illustration 35: section through the Hall of witness showing the spatial characteristics of the museum.

(Freed. 1993: 64)

The spaces constrict and release (Illustration 35) the visitor as they move through them, for example the stairway becomes narrow as one approaches the gates of 'Birkenau', a center (Illustration 36) in the concentration camp that was used for extermination. This articulation from wide to narrow spaces can be interpreted as the feeling one has as he or she moves towards his death; the loss of one's right to freedom and life.



Illustration 36: *Stair from hall of Witness to second floor narrows as it reaches a solitary brick arch, representative of the one way rail spur leading to the gates of Birkenau.*

(In remembrance. 1993. 56)

The architect attempted to contextualise the building on its main façade on 14th Street, for instance the curved classicised, roofless limestone screen, made deliberately heavy and overbearing was in reference to its neo-classic neighbour to the south (Illustration 37); the limestone-clad bureau of engraving and Printing built in 1914. (In Remembrance, 993). This architectural language of the building's façade however shows little indication of its unique role as a memorial; since its smoothness contradicts the harsh architecture within the building.



Illustration 37: *the limestone screen of principle façade relating to its context.*

(In remembrance. 1993. 55)

One could argue however that the need to contextualise doesn't have to be

mimicry of the existing context to the extent of misinterpretation. Function of the building in this case, then should take precedent of any other determinant of form.

The three storey atrium in the hall of witness was designed as a stage for observation. The exhibits are displayed a time line of events as three dimension histology of photos and video clips, allowing the visitor to have an almost 'real' representation of the events.

The two storey Tower of faces (Illustration 36) is also a good architectural expression of memory, on to which 1300 photographs are displayed from top to bottom. These represent the massacred inhabitants of a small town, Ejszyszki, and the thus give the visitor an idea of the overall horrific consequences of the holocaust. (Freiman, 1995)



Illustration 38: *More than 1000 photos of Jewish villagers, most of who perished in a single day in Ejszyszki village, exhibited on walls in the Tower of Faces. (In remembrance. 1993. 63)*

The museum also contains a Hall of remembrance (Illustration 39); an empty place with walls clad in limestone cut and laid representative of the ancient tomb. This space originally meant for contemplation on the events just viewed, is not successfully due to its open nature. With people moving in and out of the space, the hall does not allow for privacy and a tranquil environment that is conducive for contemplation.

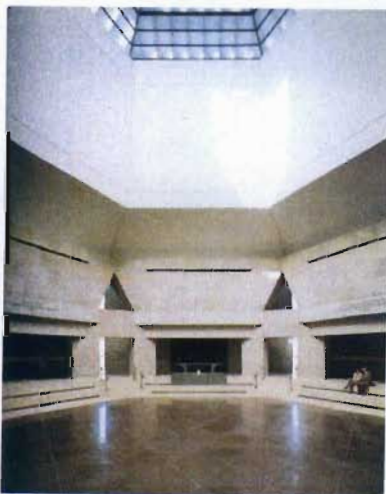


Illustration 39: *the Hall of remembrance clad in limestone, is made to represent the ancient tomb. (In remembrance. 1993. 63)*

Lounges were also placed between exhibition floors as spaces for contemplation. Since these spaces are along the movement of people through the building, their function as contemplation areas is restricted.

The attempt for the building to create an 'imitation' of the holocaust event through space and material articulation does not fully capture the visitors' emotions. There seems to be a lack of manipulative spaces that reveal the actual dilemmas, responses of both victims and perpetrators, for instance, the articulation of spaces through constriction and release, dark and light; creating an anxiety that might have been felt by the Jews as they were being separated to death camps. It is important for the visitor to become part of the past events both emotionally and psychologically in order to impact on his or her knowledge of such an occurrence, and to learn of the holocaust's effects on its victims.

Materials and technology –symbolism

The museum concept was to portray the horrific events of the holocaust as much as possible. This is evident in the materials used representing the the architecture of the concentration death camps. The materials used consisted of industrial construction; a system of steel plates and double angles riveted together (Illustration 40), in filled with loading bearing brick. The play with light through skylights and slotted limestone screens creates different spatial experiences through the memorial.

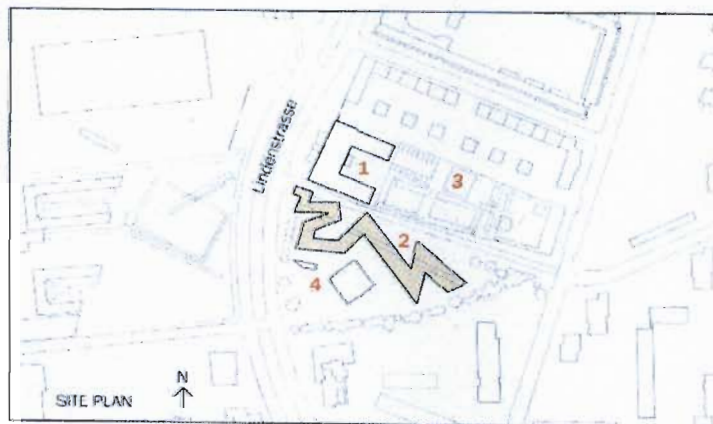


Illustration 40: *the Hall of Witness shows the industrial materials that are used in the museum representative of those in the concentration camps. (Freed. 1993. 62)*

2. THE JEWISH MUSEUM IN BERLIN, GERMANY

The Jewish Museum in Berlin was designed by architect Daniel Libeskind; it sits on 12000m² site as an extension to the Berlin Museum (Illustration 41). Its construction was completed in 1999, but was not opened immediately. For his design proposal, Libeskind asked himself question like; *how to give a void meaning without filling it in? How to give architectural form to the formless and to challenge the very attempt to house such memory?* (Young, 1990)

Libeskind's final design had to undergone changes, like the originally slant walls were made straight, and the complexity of the basement floor was simplified in order to make it constructible and cost effective.



1. Existing museum
2. Addition
3. Existing garden
4. New garden

Illustration 41: site plan of the Jewish museum as it sits as an extension to the Berlin Museum. (Can architecture transform a culture? 99: 84)

Symbolism and movement through the building

The museum is approached from the basement level, in which a number of 'streets' intersecting one another form a world of street corners, that make one feel claustrophobic and isolated. These create disorientation as one first gets into the building. On approach to the ground floor two crucifix-shaped windows revealed the garden of flowers, colour and light. A main stair (figure 7) from the basement accesses the top floor galleries.

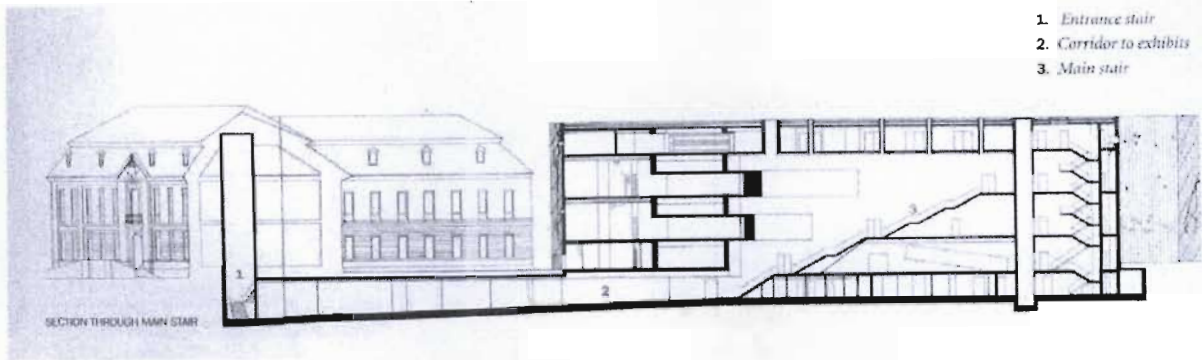


Illustration 42: section through the main stair linking galleries (Micheal, 99:45)

The building's zigzag plan almost creates a 'thoroughfare' as one is forced to move through its parallel walls and consistent voids from beginning to the end. The monotony of these spaces may however not favour visitors' duration of stay and does not allow for spaces of contemplation as one moves through the building.

Architectural language and symbolism

This analysis on the building was carried out without the building's exhibition in place; this has thus limited the level of analytical study in terms of spatial articulation. Overall the architect's concept was to make an architecture that seeks to adopt the 'structure' to the 'subject' itself. The museum design is generated by two intersecting lines, one symbolising *reason*, and the other *the irrational*. The overall zigzag is the irrational line, while the straight but fragmented void is the line of reason.



Illustration 43: the most reverberating spaces are series voids that express the vanished Jewish presence in contemporary Berlin culture.

(Libeskind. 1998:28)

The six fragmented voids (Illustration 44) created within the building have no exhibits, and are symbolic of the vanished presence of the Jews in contemporary Berlin culture. 'Physically *very little remains of Jewish presence in the Berlin*, 'Libeskind explains.

'I *thought that this void that runs through the contemporary culture should be made visible, accessible.*' (German expressionism reborn, 1998:28)

The last of the voids is the 'Holocaust void' meant as an architectural model for 'absence'

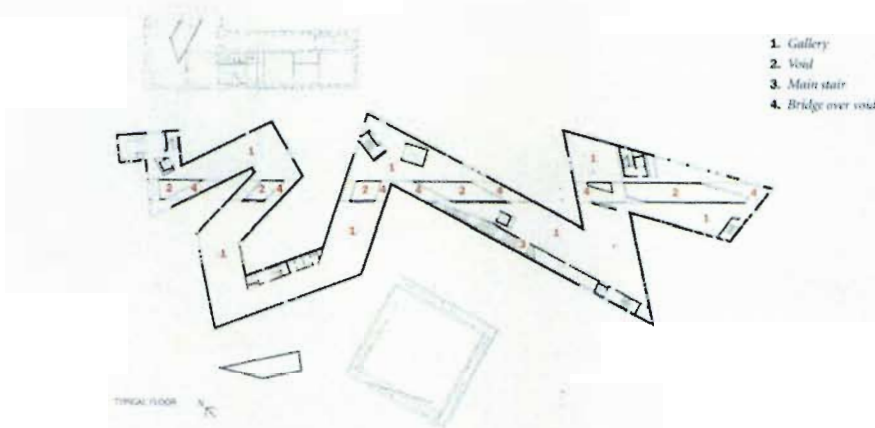


Illustration 44: the museum's zigzag plan shows the acute spaces created that and the fragmented voids within the building.

(Can architecture transform a culture? 99: 88)

The building's zigzag plan, its sloping floors and slit windows that are placed at acute angles in Zinc-clad walls, is meant to reflect the relationship of Berlin and its Jewish community. The Museum is lit only indirectly by natural light that comes through an acutely slanted window up high in the structure, barely visible from the inside.

These random slashed windows (Illustration 45 and 46) were generated by lines drawn by Libeskind on the map between addresses of Jewish Berliners whom he considered to be intellectually and culturally linked.

(German expressionism reborn, 1998). Libeskind's deconstruction notion within the building however, led to sharp edged spaces that were rather unusable, and therefore a waste of space.

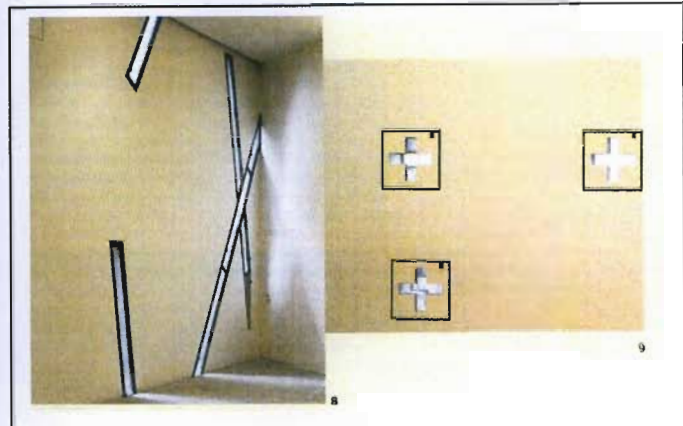


Illustration 45 and 46: *the zinc-clad façade of the museum into which windows have cut at random acute angles, and the artistic effect these lit windows have on the interior of the museum.* (Can architecture transform a culture? 99: 85, 89)

Beside the building, an external 'Garden of Exile' (Illustration 47) has been created as a dense colonnade of 49 square concrete pillars, each topped with a spreading bush. These colonnades are slant to a 10 degree angle to the vertical. This according to Libeskind symbolizes the disorientation experienced by the Jews in exile. He points out;

'we are sheltered in exile, on the one hand, but still somehow thrown off balance by it and disoriented at the same time.' (Young, 1990)



Illustration 47: *Garden of 'Exile with four nine columns with the museum in the background.* (Libeskind. 1998: 28)

Materials and technology –symbolism

The museum does not have strong symbolism in materials and technology used; symbolism is rather strongest in spatial architectural expression. In the Jewish museum unlike the Holocaust museum materials are not used as metaphors. The building has zinc-plated facade, and the interior colours are black, grey and white. The floors are terracotta, and the walls and ceilings are emulsions on plaster. Overall despite the irregularities of the form, the museum is a simple box of consistent height, similar to a rational office building.

3. MEMORIAL TO THE MURDERED JEWS OF EUROPE

This memorial was designed by Peter Eisenman and Richard Serra in a competition in 1997, but has since then undergone several alterations. Constructed in 1999, the memorial is located in Berlin Germany, flanked by the Reichstag, Brandenburg gate, and Potsdamer.

Architectural language and symbolism

The memorial consists of approximately 3500 plain concrete pillars (Illustration 48) slightly slight between 0.5 and 2 degrees, and 900mm apart, the intention was to allow only one person to walk in between them. The height of the pillars varies from ground level to 4500mm according to the variation in the slope of the site.



Illustration 48: *The memorial site showing the dark grey concrete pillars in gridded field of markers.* (Stephens, 2005:120)

These free standing concrete pillars are called 'steles' a Greek term meaning slab, or upright stone frequently inscribed, and used as a commemorative marker in ancient times. (Stephens. 2005) these abstract forms, gridded plan, rolling terrain, adhere to an overriding theme of repetition with displacement to create a tactile and visual experience.

As one moves within the steles the height varies as the ground rises and falls (Illustration 49 and 50) creating a feeling of anxiety to the visitor. The play of light and shadow on the steles also gives the memorial an aesthetic and experiential feel. In his attempt to create to create eschewed direct symbolism Eisenman points out,

'we wanted a 'silent field'- a deafening silence in the age of noise. (Stephens. 2005:126)

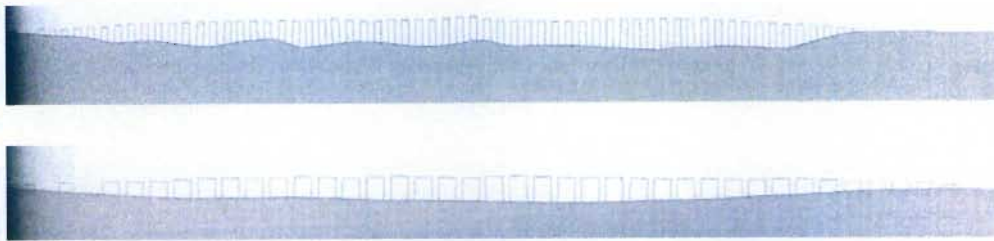


Illustration 49 and 50: shows elevations of the memorial with the change in slope of the site and the height variation in the concrete pillars. (Stephens. 2005)

The idea of the memorial was to become a figurative analogy of a graveyard. It was believed that the graveyard was not only seen as a symbol for mourning but also as a Christian symbol that fitted with the politics of the post-war conservatives. (*Powerful abstraction. 2000*) The graveyard therefore was to become a symbol of mourning for all who died. In the reworked design, the memorial offers itself as a communal event, with spaces assigned for laying of wreaths created to enable communal / political rituals to take place.

The memorial has been described as minimalist due to its simplistic and abstract nature. As has been argued,

'the memorial's minimalist abstraction refuses to provide meaning beyond its name. Memorial for the murdered Jews of Europe. Like minimalism in sculpture, the memorial aspires towards the condition of non-art; it becomes real. It's not a representation of memory so much as it is part of the memory'. (Powerful Abstraction. 2000:62)

This memorial is unlike other conventional memorial that suggest how and what to remember, but rather as one moves through it (Illustration 51 and 52) one's body becomes part of it.

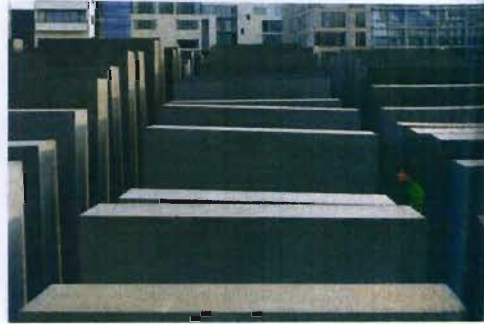


Illustration 51 and 52: *the plain grey concrete pillars, the viewer become part of them.* (Stephens, 2005: 125)

The memorial also consists of an information center that was a latter an addition to the memorial. The center which consisted of an exhibition gallery, seminar rooms, a bookshop and offices (Illustration 53), was placed underground. The ceiling reads according to the contours of the site (Illustration 54), coffer and ribs are made to run the length and width of the pillars.

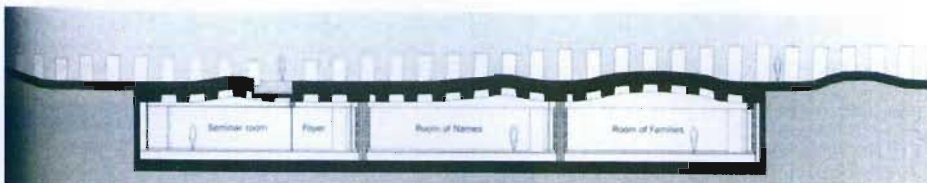


Illustration 53 and 54: *the underground information center, showing the curved coffer ceiling imitating the contours of the site above.* (Stephens, 2005: 127)

Each room slightly unsettling because of the ceiling, the rotated plan (Illustration 55) and the lack of windows is dedicated to particular aspects of the Nazi extermination proceedings. (Stephens, 2005).

The exhibition design reflects the steles, in which sizes and shapes of the display partitions and benches are the same as the steles above.



1. Foyer
2. Room of Dimensions
3. Room of Families
4. Room of Names
5. Room of Places
6. Testimony from Yad Vashem
7. Holocaust database
8. Bookshop
9. Information
10. Seminar rooms

Illustration 55: *rotated plan of the information center with no fenestration, creating an effect death.* (Stephens, 2005: 127)

The information center is literal, explicit and deadly earnest in its tone; while the field of steles is more abstract, open-ended and ambiguous. The upper field becomes a transitional space- a place where the lightness and vitality of the everyday world and the haunting reminders of the past converge. Down stairs however, the seriousness of the past takes over. (Stephens. 2005).



Illustration 56: *the monotony of the steles and the tight spaces in between plays a part in evoking people's emotions.* (Stephens, 2005: 122)

One may ask, *can architecture represent the hideousness of the vent, but not make it so off-putting that people avoid it? How does one deal with such a terrible occurrence so that it is not forgotten?* Memorials should perhaps allow the visitor to recognise the horror, so that they empathize with the victims, this empathy however should not diminish when one leaves the memorial. It should rather foster compassion needed to prevent such events from happening again.

C. SHRINE OF REMEMBRANCE- THE UNDERCORFT DEVELOPMENT

This is a memorial designed by Ashton Raggatt McDougall in Melbourne Australia, created for the memory of Australian soldiers. The challenge was to remember the dead, while recognising those who served and those who continue to serve. The need to depict the nature of war, the impossibility of simple glorification and yet the necessity for formal acknowledgment was a challenge for the architect.



Illustration 57: North Elevation of the Shrine of Remembrance, the new activity is housed in the flanking walls. (Andrew. 2003:52)

The site consists of an existing Shrine of Remembrance (Illustration 57) and the architect had the task of creating an addition administration, display, and educational activity without visually interrupting with the shrine. These new programmes were thus housed under the shrine (Illustration 58), with its geometry reflecting that of the shrine above. The memorial is dominated by symmetry in which the entry courtyard and the garden court are place in a symmetrical location.



Illustration 58: North Elevation of the Shrine of Remembrance, the new activity is housed in the flanking walls. (Andrew. 2003: 50)

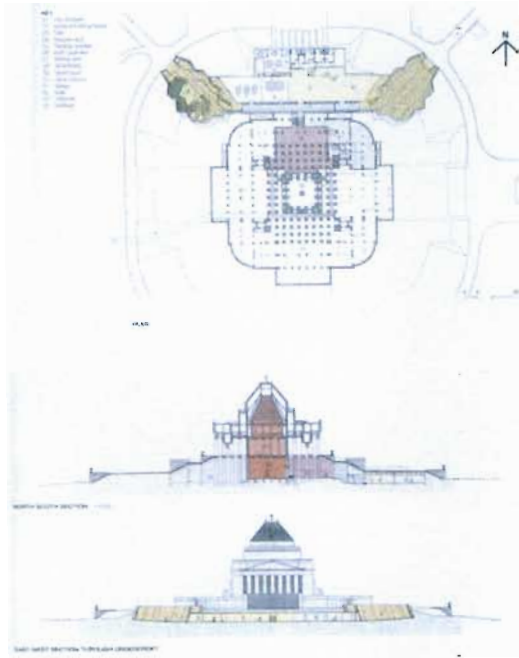


Illustration 59: *plan of memorial showing the connection of the new addition to the existing shrine.*
(Andrew. 2003: 53)

Illustration 60: *Sections through the memorial showing the placement of the addition under the shrine.*
(Andrew. 2003: 53)

The shrine is entered through the new courtyard (Illustration 59 and 60), via a display area in which all the medals marking military activity (Illustration 61) are mounted on a wall running almost the whole length of the addition. The new addition now allows for direct visual connection from the courtyard and garden to the crypt.

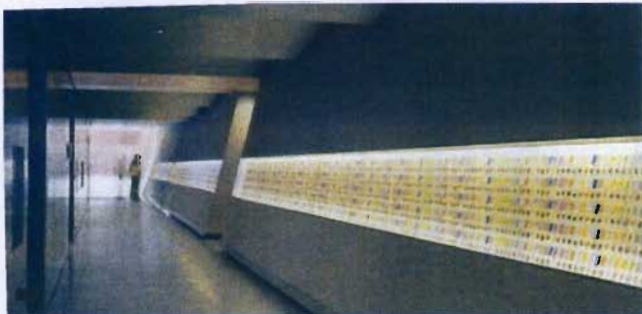


Illustration 61: *View along the Wall of Medals in the entry arcade.* (Andrew. 2003: 52)



Illustration 62: *the Hall of Columns occupies an existing space beneath the shrine opening up a new approach to the crypt.*
(Andrew. 2003: 52)

This connection is important since it opens up the shrine than better than before, and this allows the visitor to move from the wall of medals arcade to the crypt through the original support columns of the shrine (Illustration 62), celebrating the space. The height of the roof combined with the effect of the columns creates a space imbued with certain sanctity, derived from both its position in relation to the crypt and the way the crypt illuminates it.

(Andrew. 2003) McDougall's uses red colour on the walls

(Illustration 63 and 64) in the courtyard as an architectural resolution to memorisation with the words, 'lest we forget' inscribed on them.



Illustration 63: *view form the arcade across the courtyard to the entry.*

(Andrew. 2003: 55)



Illustration 64: *the faceted red wall of the entry courtyard with the 'lest we forget' inscribed across it. (Andrew. 2003: 52)*

The garden is done by landscape architects Rush\Wrights creates a setting of reverence and sobriety. The garden picks the organisational lead given by the walls (Illustration 65, creating a circulation path with places of repose and reflection. The presence of an olive tree in the middle recalls the interplay of war and peace, while preventing any immediate form of glorification. Sobriety is also heightened by the view of the shine afforded by the garden and this heightens the function of the garden as a site of reflection. (Andrew. 2003)

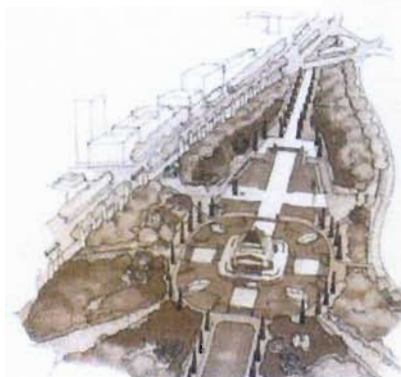


Illustration 65: *Rush\Wright's master plan for the shrine reserve. (Andrew. 2003: 54)*

CHAPTER 9

CASE STUDY

CASE STUDY AREA- KIGALI CITY

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Kigali is the administrative, commercial and legislative capital city of Rwanda and is located in the central part of the country (map appended). It has a population of 603,049 inhabitants, which is 7.1% of the total population of Rwanda. ([www.rwanda gateway.org](http://www.rwanda.gateway.org))

REASON FOR CHOICE

Kigali city was chosen as the researcher's case study area because of its strategic location as the capital. As far as genocide is concerned, all towns were more or less equally affected by it. This is because it was carried out after careful planning by the State with the aim of completely annihilating all Tutsis and moderate Hutu in the country.

Though Kigali did not experience the largest number of Tutsis killed, it was the place where the master planners and executors of the genocide were. This thus made Kigali appropriate as the case study area, since the nature of this research was qualitative. This enabled easy accessibility to the key informants that were important during the data collection. Kigali was also seen as an appropriate case study area due to the need to assess the progress made in economic and infrastructural development since the 1994 Rwanda genocide.

It follows therefore, that since the aim of this study is to find the possibility for reconciliation and reconstruction of Rwanda society after genocide; and this

being in line with the current government objectives, Kigali was seen an appropriate context to test this hypothesis.

DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

As was mentioned in the methodology, this research data was collected using different methods:

1. key informants interviews and general discussions
2. focus group discussions (informal interview in appendix)
3. field studies on memorials sites in Kigali

The data collected was classified into four categories; these have been done in a chronological format due to the historical nature of this research. As is shown in the interview it was imperative that data collection and analysis be historical in order for the researcher to test whether the objectives were achievable.

A. SITUATION OF RWANDA BEFORE COLONIAL PERIOD

Following from the historical analysis of Rwanda in the literature review, it was necessary to conduct interviews and discussions with Rwandans on the issue of unity before genocide. On the issue of the situation of Rwanda before colonial period, the following group were interviewed;

1. 'Inteko Izirikana'- this is an association that is responsible for information on the history and culture of Rwanda. Those interviewed were three (3) in number.
2. Key informants in the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission (NURC), and in the National Service of Gacaca courts. These were three (3) in number.
3. and other Rwandans chosen randomly, these were twenty four (24) in number.

From the groups above the following observations were made:

1. Rwandans (Hutus, Tutsis, and Twas) lived in unity under one king who was the supreme authority.
2. All Rwandans fought together against any foreign invaders that threatened their kingdom.
3. Hutu, Tutsi and Twa were not different ethnic groups, but in fact shared the same language, clans, religion, and culture.
4. All groups intermarried between each other, and as one man sadly commented, '*...during the genocide, my Hutu neighbour who had a Tutsi wife was asked to kill her and their children, since they had Tutsi blood*'.
5. All groups worked together, for instance, if one needed to build a house, they all helped, and if one lost someone, they all left their daily chores and came to strengthen the deceased family.
6. These three groups shared local beer, drinking from the same pot, especially after a day's work, or during times of celebrations. This culture is still prevalent among Rwandese people today.
7. Due to the system of 'ubuhake' (discussed in the literature review) every Rwandan knew his place in society, there was a hierarchy of authority which all Rwanda alike, respected. However some believe that this system placed Tutsis above Hutus, which made Hutus more like servants of the Tutsi leaders. They claim also that this could have begun the tension between these two groups, which was later exploited by the colonialists.

B. POST-COLONIAL DIVISION

As has been argued by most writers in the literature review, the assumption is that ethnic divisions and conflict were encouraged by the colonialist in their attempt to taken over power from the Tutsi kings. Discussions on this subject of division were thus necessary, to find the view held by most Rwandans. These were the observations:

1. During and after the colonial period, Rwandans were classified into ethnic groupings based on status (number of cows) and on physical appearance.
2. Rwandan united culture was destroyed due to these divisions. One of the elderly gettlemen in the Inteko Izirikana commented, '*...the Europeans told the Hutus that Tutsis were not Rwandans.....that they were a foreign race that had come to monopolise power....*'
3. Respect for authority was lost since the system of 'Ubugukwe' which was one of the basis for Rwandan organisational society was discouraged by colonialists. This thus created divisions among the people.
4. After independence, rebellions and uprisings against Tutsi rulers started this lead to subsequent massacre of Tutsis which later led to the 1994 Rwanda genocide.
5. The trust and unity between Rwandans was broken. One of the survivors of genocide comments, '*....we were living as neighbours sharing everything.....when the genocide started, I could not believe he was the one who came to kill us.*' On the other hand, one former prisoner who was released from prison is heard commenting, '*I have a feeling that one day Tutsi might revenge.*'

C. METHODS OF POST-WAR UNITY AND RECONCILIATION

As is apparent from the above observations, the unity of the Rwanda society was greatly damaged by the genocide. As a government goal, reconciliation measures have been underway in order to rebuild the society of Rwanda. On this subject, key informant interviews and focus group discussions were conducted with the following institutions:

1. National Unity and Reconciliation Commission (NURC)
2. National Service of Gacaca Courts
3. Institutions of Genocide Survivors
 - a) 'Ibuka' meaning 'to remember'
 - b) 'FARG'- 'Fonds de Assistance des Rescapés des Genocide' meaning 'money for the survivors of Genocide'

These institutions were thus chosen due to the work they perform in striving to achieve the reconciliation and unity of Rwandans. These observations were made;

1. National unity and Reconciliation Commission (NURC)

This commission is responsible for overseeing all government policy making organisations and guard against any ideologies that promote disunity. This commission strives at achieving reconciliation and unity of Rwandans through training and sensitisation them on the history, culture of Rwanda, and government policies as well as training people in conflict management.

This commission is also responsible for carrying out a rehabilitation programme for former prisoners that have accepted their role in the genocide and asked for forgiveness. It is the commission's task to sensitize them on the becoming responsible citizens.

One of the directors interviewed in the Commission commented however, that reconciliation of Rwandans was not an ultimate goal but a process that would take some time. The Rwandan society has a great task of building mutual trust that has been lost over the years.

2. National Service of Gacaca Courts



Illustration 66: A 'Gacaca' billboard in Kigali city, the Kinyarwanda words are translated *'the truth heals. Tell what we have seen, admit what we have done, and move forward to healing.'*

This is a national programme that among other things seeks to reconcile Rwandans after genocide. These courts take place once every week constitute the local population; which include former prisoners accused with genocide, and the Gacaca jury elected by the local population. These meetings involve collection of information on what happened during the genocide. It also creates a platform for survivors of genocide to meet those that killed their loved ones. Arguments to establish the truth (Illustration 66) is seen to be a common occurrence, as the survivors seek justice, and their former killers seek for forgiveness.

The researcher thus attended a number of such meetings in her home cell in Kabeza- Kigali city, the following points were observed:

1. At least seven members of the jury had to be present for the proceedings to start.
2. All residents of that cell had to be present especially those that were living there during the time of the genocide.
3. Former prisoners accused of committing genocide crimes in that area were also present for the court proceedings. One of these prisoners during an interrogation by the congregation lamented, *'we never thought that we would ever have to answer for what we did.'*

The government policy on reconciliation under Gacaca Courts however, is that as long as one is able to genuinely tell the truth about his or her role in the genocide, he would be forgiven.

4. Survivors during this time asked the accused how and where their relatives were killed and buried.
5. These proceedings also were used to collect data on the property destroyed in the genocide, and by whom. One of the members of the jury who was also a survivor of the genocide one day was given the task of reading out the list of those who were killed in her neighbourhood (including her family), how, and by whom. When I asked how she felt about having to be reminded of this all the time, she answered, *'...every time I do it, it is hard, but I think it is slowly healing me...'*



Illustration 67: A Gacaca courts billboard showing the proceedings, the congregation is on the left and the jury is on the right, the Kinyarwanda words translated are 'truth, justice, and reconciliation.

Through observation of these proceedings, it was evident that due to the deep wounds left by the genocide among Rwandans, the reconciliation process was possible, but that it would require a long time and a united effort to achieve.

3. Associations of Genocide survivors

Data from this association was important for the researcher's data collection since they played a big role in the process of reconciliation of Rwanda as a whole. It was also necessary to establish the kind of assistance given to the survivors of genocide as a means of reconstructing their lives, and providing them with hope for the future. This institution's main aim is to help survivors of the genocide 'to live' after this horrific experience.

FARG is a government body that was started in 1998, with the aim of providing funding for genocide survivors in the field of education, health, shelter, and economic development. It is important to note, that since genocide was a state implemented act, the current Rwanda government has the responsibility of looking after the orphans and widows of genocide. This association has thus achieved education for most orphans of the genocide; they have been provided health services as well as shelter for the homeless.

As part of the government's initiative to provide clustered housing. (Illustration 68, 69, 70 and 71) for its people, it has also made provision for the construction of housing developments for the survivors.



Illustration 68 and 69: shows the housing settlements built for the survivors of genocide in Cyinyinya district (left), and the orphan-headed homes in Kimironko district (right).



Illustration 70 and 71: a typical orphan headed house built by the government (left), one of the orphan-headed homes that has been improved by the owners as their economic capacity increased.

During these discussions, the researcher asked one of the directors of FARG, if this government body, if at all, aided in the government's objective of achieving reconciliation. He commented, '*...how can you ask a hungry person or a child who can not go to school because he has no parents to forgive you who placed him in that situation.....*' He thus argues that, for the government to achieve reconciliation, it was imperative to help the survivors of the genocide to live, by providing these basic needs. This would thus create a conducive environment for reconciliation. The path towards reconciliation of Rwandans however, will not be an easy one. As one of the people interviewed commented, '*....when I see Hutus and Tutsis talking, I know they are lying to each other.*'

D. ARCHITECTURAL EXPRESSION OF MEMORY OF GENOCIDE

As part of the research, it was imperative to explore genocide memorials in Rwanda and their attempt to achieve reconciliation for the Rwandan society. Interviews were also conducted with key informants in Aegis Trust Institute in order to establish how memory can be best depicted architecturally with the aim of reconciling Rwanda's divided society.

The Aegis Trust Institute based in the United Kingdom was created in 2002, to achieve the following objectives;

- the dignity for survivors
- education for the public
- research for decision makers
- focus on long term causes of genocide and long term after math.

This institute is currently responsible for the maintenance of Genocide memorials. Stephen Smith the Director of Aegis Trust is quoted;

'we do not create museums for the sake of museums. We create museums to dignify the past, to ensure the historical record and to provide an educational tool for future generations. The Rwandans have been very bold. We are in the process of creating a museum and memorial center just ten years after the genocide when feelings are still extremely raw...Genocide takes on a new immediacy when sitting opposite a woman with no family and half a face, who tells you she wants to help as she wouldn't want anyone to experience what she has gone through. (www.aegistrust.org)

According to the director of Conflict management in the National unity and Reconciliation Commission (NURC) in Rwanda, memorials are vital to the reconciliation process;

- to help prevent forgetting
- to change people's perception on genocide
- to prevent its re-occurrence
- to be a reminder to the international community

Research was conducted on three memorial sites; of these the researcher was able to visit only two; the Kigali Memorial Center at Gisozi- Kigali city, and Kicukiro-Nyamata memorial site-Kigali city. Murambi memorial site-Gikongoro district (south-west of Rwanda) was the third memorial studied. Though there was no field study done on this memorial, its unique qualities made it worth analysing.

1. KIGALI MEMORIAL CENTER

Kigali memorial center is situated in Gisozi district in Kigali city. This is a site that was chosen by Kigali City Council for the burial of genocide victims massacred in Kigali. It acts as cemetery and a place of remembrance, as well as an educational center. It has eleven sealed mass graves with approximately 250,000 bodies. Each of these mass graves has a black board besides it onto which the identified names of the bodies are written. (www.aegitrust.org)

Symbolism and movement in the memorial

Approach to the museum is meant to be first through the mass graves then up to the exhibition building; this is meant to act a sign of respect for the dead. However, this approach is not clear since there are two entry points. One may come to the exhibition building before noticing the mass graves that are placed below it (Illustration 72). In memorial architecture, entry is of symbolic importance, it's thus necessary that it is clear for any visitor.

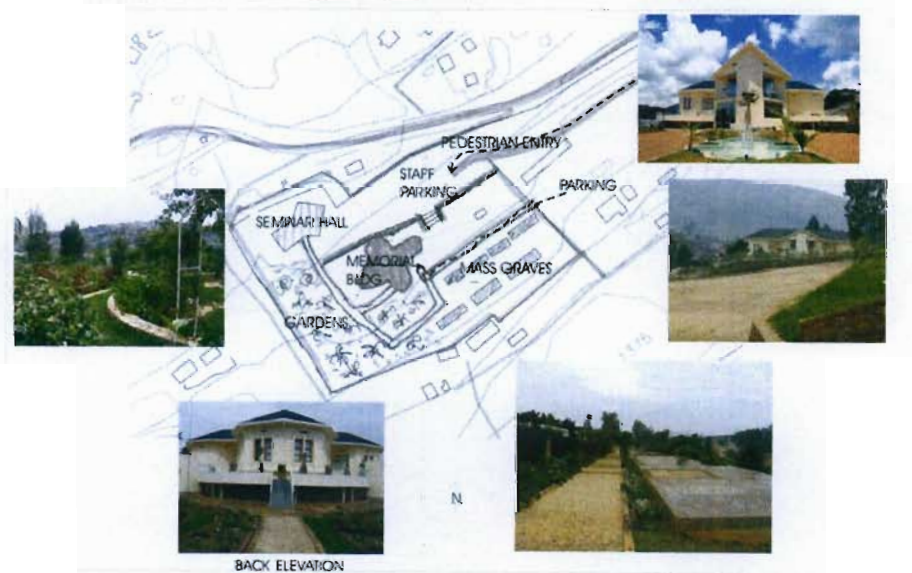


Illustration 72: Site plan showing the memorial with the different entry points.

The memorial consists of three exhibition spaces, the main one being the documentation on genocide, then the children's exhibition, and exhibition on other genocides around the world.

The main exhibitions are placed in a chronological order, starting with *pre-colonial, colonial, independence, genocide, and hope for Rwanda*. This order is essential for the visitor to know the events that led to the genocide. Circulation through this section however, seems to be monotonous as one move along the right side with the exhibition on the left (Illustration 73). Television monitors are incorporated with the exhibits to allow for a detailed understanding of the exhibits. A separate audio visual space is also provided that shows survivors stories.

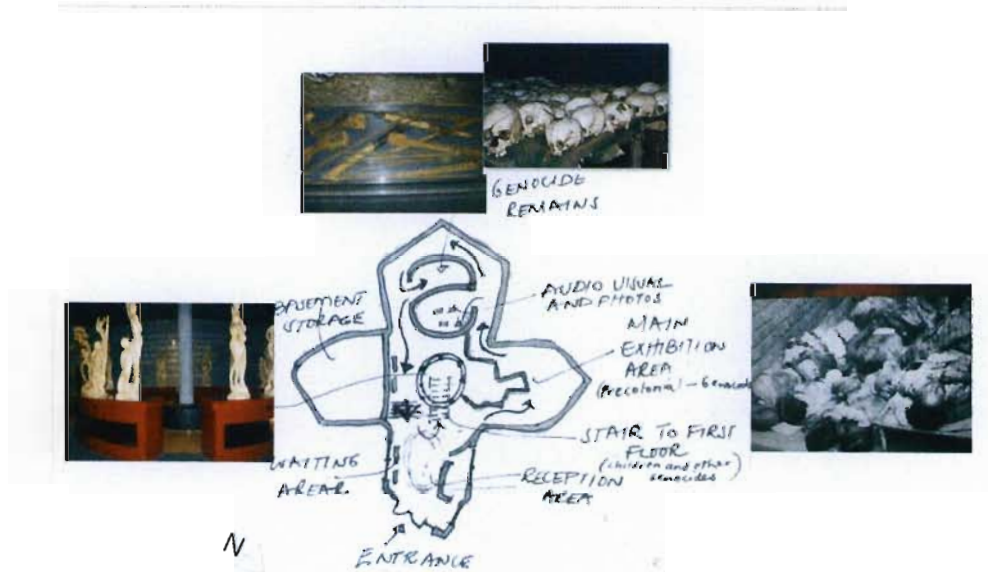


Illustration 73: sketch plan of the semi-basement showing the layout of the main exhibition space and the circulation with the memorial.

One exits from the semi-basement back to the reception, almost as though it were the end, a guide then directs the visitor to the stair leading to the first floor with exhibitions of children lost in genocide, and to other genocides around the world. Exit is meant to be through the children's exhibition to the gardens, but one could also miss it due to its obscure placement. Clearly without the aid of tour guide, one could miss a lot of the important spaces

within this memorial. It should however be self explanatory to the visitor to reduce guided tours.

Architectural language and symbolism

There is artificial lighting in the semi basement, and top floors have both natural and artificial lighting. The windows (Illustration 74) are on the first floor are simple domestic windows shielded from the sun by wall extrusions.



Illustration 74: *the exterior elevation of the memorial building showing the domestic-type windows of the memorial.*

Two stainless glass 'windows of hope' (Illustration 75) in the semi-basement have scenes that depict effects of the genocide, and the steps leading towards a bright end; a notion of Rwanda's vision for a bright future despite its tragic past.



Illustration 75: *shows the stainless glass window depicting hope for Rwanda.*

Illustration 76: *front view of the memorial building, foreground is a fountain and a sculptural light stand that is lit for the seven days during the commemoration period.*

The memorial building

resembles a simple modern villa (Illustration 76) with three circular sections that rotates around a circular pediment with Rwandan sculptural art (Illustration 77). This other than being an aesthetic expression gives the idea of a contemplation space. It however looks clustered by these sculptures and therefore almost distractive from its original intent. This space is also public to every one exiting the semi-basement, defeating its function as a contemplation area.



Illustration 77: *the circular pediment in the center of the memorial.*

Places of contemplation are however provided in the outside contemplation gardens. These are important in memorial architecture as spaces of reflection and recall on what the visitor has just experienced.

Materials and technology –symbolism

Materials are ordinary, have no particular symbolism, carpet and timber floors, stone and plastered walls. Asked why the materials used did not necessarily represent the harshness of genocide, the country Manager of Aegis Trust in Rwanda (a designer by profession) commented that due to the emotional and psychological effects the genocide had on the people, materials were not necessary to emphasize its horrors. He commented that some people get traumatised by the exhibits and that materials were not necessary to create sympathy from the on-looker.

It was noted that some facilities were still missing within the memorial which could have enhanced its function, these included; a library, a café area, counselling rooms, research center and a conference hall, plans to put these additions were however underway.

One of the subjects discussed with the Country Manager of Aegis Trust was on a contextual as well as an appropriate architectural expression for memorial architecture in Rwanda. The mass graves for instance were large concrete pavings, asked why there were no crosses on top, he commented, '*... Muslims don't believe in the cross. We have to represent every body.*'

This then brought about another up question on, how can we create an architecture that all Rwandan relate to? Is there such architecture? To this he answered, '*that is a difficult one.*' It is within this context therefore that a study of Rwandan Traditional architecture was carried.

Rwandan Traditional architecture

Rwandan traditional architecture is a circular beehive-type of dwelling or round house (Illustration 78). This was the dominant architecture until the colonial times when Rwandans adopted European architectural styles. A well maintained example is found at the National Museum of Rwanda in Butare district- South of Rwanda as well as at the king's (umwami) Royal Palace in Nyanza, (on the route from Kigali to Butare)



Illustration 78: a typical roundhouse of Rwandan traditional architecture at the national Museum at Butare. (www.robikent.com)

The house stands at the center of an 8-figure courtyard surrounded by bamboo palisades and thorn hedges with a gate between two pillars made of bamboo. The fore-court 'urugo' (Illustration 79) is for receiving visitors, gathering cattle, and dancing; while the backyard 'igikari' (Illustration 80) contains granaries, annexes and out buildings. The size of the court yards depended on the wealth and status of the family owner.



Illustration 79 and 80: approach to the fore court with view of the main house, and the back yard with a granary. (www.robikent.com)

The main house is dome shaped made of closely spaced cypress poles with the ends buried in the ground. Their tops bend towards the center and are tied in concentric rings of reeds and bamboo (Illustration 81). Additional support to the dome is provided internally by rows of vertical timber posts shaped capitals, fixed to the rings acting as loading bearing elements. The exterior is made of thatch with overlapping bunches of grass tied to the outer frame with banana fibres (Illustration 82).

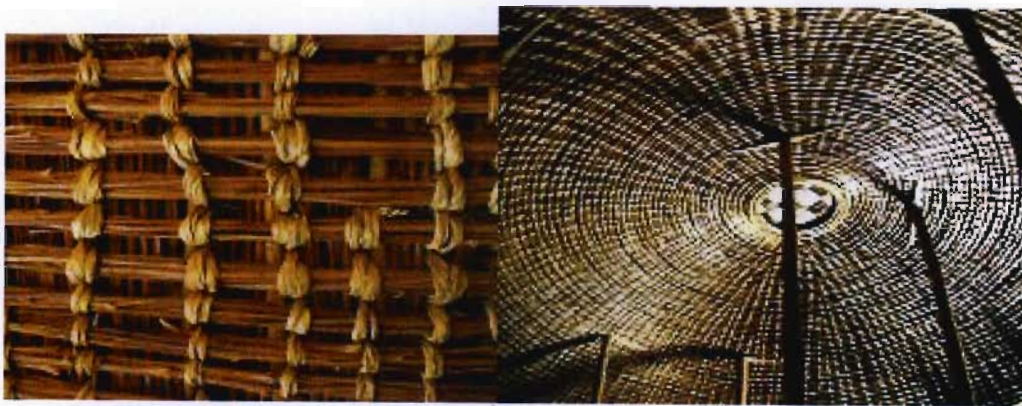


Illustration 81 and 82: the exterior of the house with reeds tied by banana fibres and the circular ceiling with timber posts providing lateral support. (www.robikent.com)

The layout the building is simple and is specific to function. A threshold at the entrance prevents water from entering the house. Spaces are laid out from the most public family living area 'ikirambi' (Illustration 83) to the most private, the bedroom 'uburiri'. At the center of the house if a hearth (Illustration 84), both for warming the house, and for preserving the thatch.



Illustration 83 and 84: the family room with the hearth in the fore ground, and storage space for milk utensils in the background. (www.robikent.com)

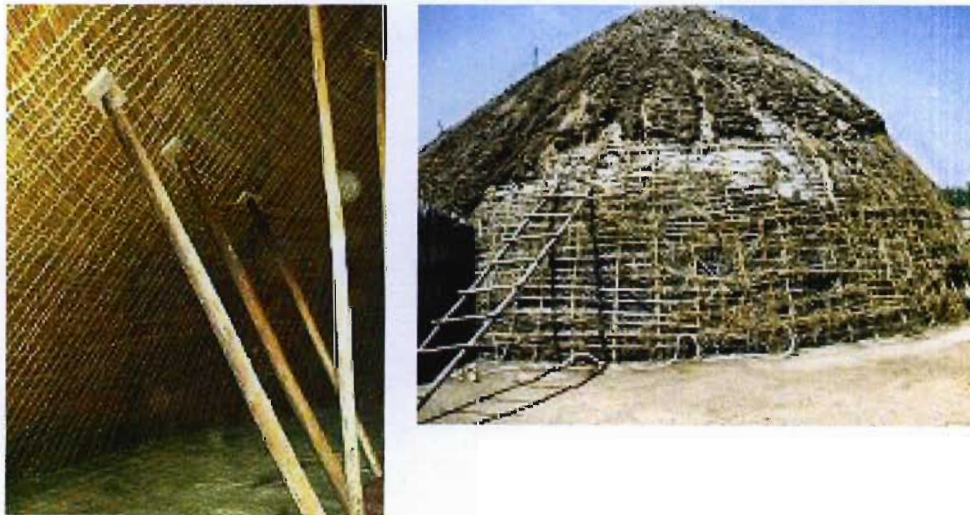


Illustration 85 and 86: shows diagonal timber posts the dome and a traditional house that has been stripped of the roofing grass. (www.robikent.com)

The materials used are also not readily available like reeds, grass and bamboo. (www.robinkent.com) These houses are however no longer built in Rwanda; this is due to the lack of craftsmanship as well as the fire and health hazards (Illustration 85) that are caused by these materials. The thatch is also expensive to maintain as it rots (Illustration 86) after sometime.

One may argue however that though this architecture can't be duplicated, the techniques should be maintained as part Rwanda's contemporary architecture. Perhaps an appropriate architecture could be a harmony between the old and the new architectural styles.

2. MURAMBI MEMORIAL CENTER

This memorial site situated in Gikongoro district (South –west of Rwanda) was significant as part of the case study due to its unique quality as a genocide memorial. This site, on which approximately 40,000 to 50,000 people were massacred on 21st April, was an unfinished Technical school at Murambi (Illustration 87 and 88) in which people came to hide for refugee, but were all killed, leaving only four survivors.



Illustration 87: *the former administration block at Murambi Technical School now used as a genocide research center.* (www50.brinkster.com)



Illustration 88: *blocks of classrooms filled with corpses as part of the memorial.* ww50.brinkster.com)

After the genocide, these were reburied, and 800 of the bodies were preserved in lime (Illustration 89) and are now part of the main exhibition of the memorial. This memorial is perhaps one of, if not the only one that has portrayed memory in such a 'raw' manner, one that is bound to move the

viewer. Perhaps the best form of memory is that in which the viewer is taken back to the time of the event, as Laurence and Tonkin have argued, that memorials are always about the viewer's own present, '*how would I feel if this happened to me?*' (2003:48)

This depiction of memory has thus made the site very symbolic as a place of memory. (www.aegitrust.org)



Illustration 89: *the bodies that have been preserved and exhibited.* (www50.brinkster.com)

The symbolic quality of the memorial is also expressed through the open trenches (Illustration 90) in which the bodies had been dumped after the massacres. This memorial thus becomes the story itself allowing the viewer to get a real feeling of the event.



Illustration 90: *the trench the perpetrators through the bodies in after the genocide still open.* (www50.brinkster.com)

3. KICUKIRO-NYAMATA MEMORIAL

Site is located about fifteen minute drives from the city centre. It was chosen as part of the case study due to its strong symbolism. Two thousand (2000) people were killed on this site, and are buried here today. This thus has strong symbolic importance as a place of memory (Illustration 91). Currently it has mass graves, a monument still under revision, and proposal for a memorial building is still underway. It has a garden of memory to the north of the site.

The site lies along an important route to the proposed new International Airport in Bugesera. This thus becomes a strategic place of memory for both local and international visitors.

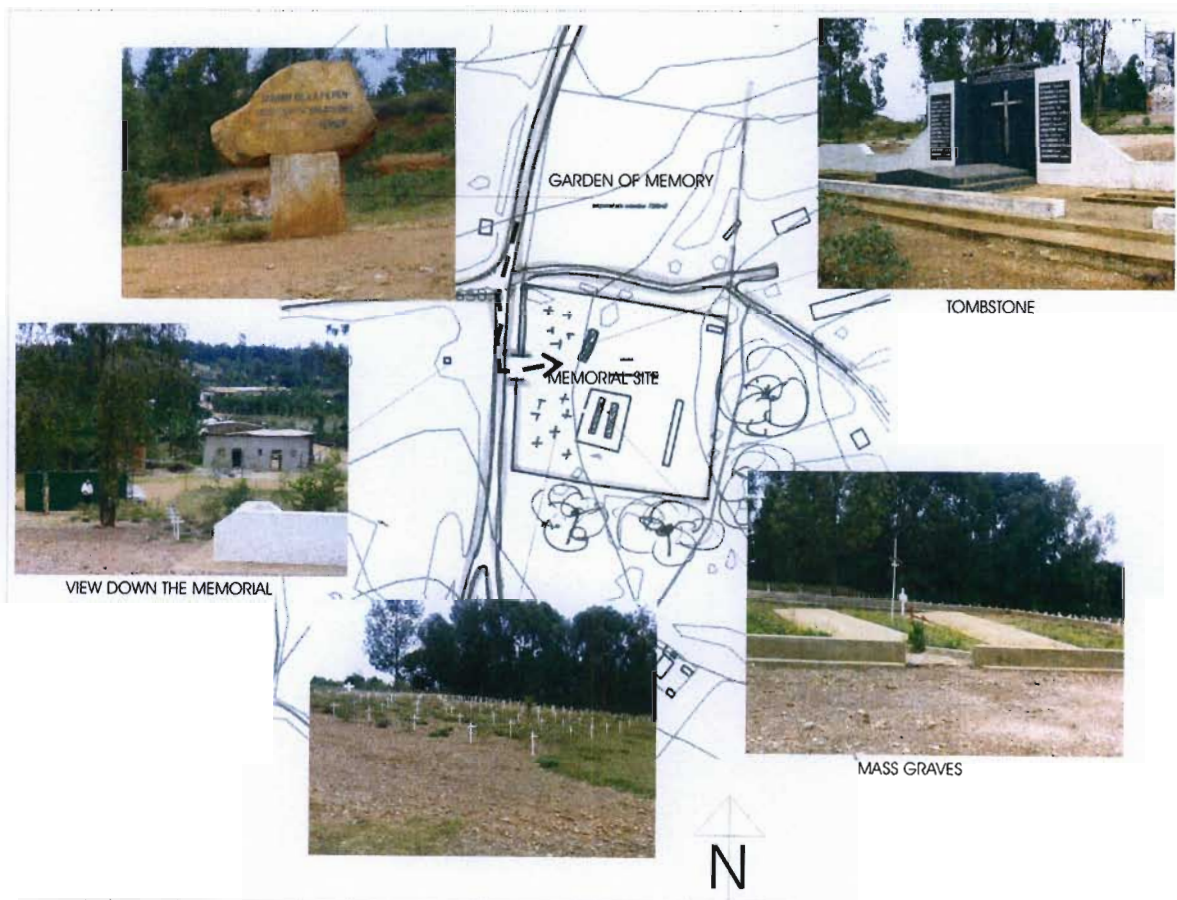


Illustration 91: site plan of the Kicukiro-Nyamata memorial site (www.robikent.com)

CHAPTER 10

CONCLUSION

From the primary and secondary research analysed, the findings on unity in pre-colonial of Rwanda was that unity did exist among all Rwandans, and that Hutu and Tutsis were not different ethnic groupings. It was shown that disunity of Tutsis and Hutus grew over a long period of time from pre-colonial Rwanda, and was later increased by the colonial powers.

This was a result of ethnic conflict based on politically-motivated creation of ethnic identities based on socially constituted categories of Hutu and Tutsi. With the creation of the ethnicity issue within a social construct of Tutsi superiority and Hutu inferiority, contempt and mistrust eventually permeated the entire society and developed a culture of disunity and violence. After the colonial period Hutus are said to have monopolized power and later sought revenge against the Tutsis, leading to the 1994 genocide in Rwanda.

After the 1994 genocide, reconciliation and reconstruction of Rwanda has been among the urgent goals on Rwanda government's initiative. From the secondary and primary data analysed, it has been evident that reconciliation and reconstruction of any society after conflict is a worthwhile endeavour.

Different methods to achieve this have been sought among others, Truth and Reconciliation Commissions, social-political and economic reconstruction, and the use of physical depictions of memory in architecture. Rwanda therefore has the opportunity to maximize on these in order to achieve their desired future.

This study along these lines has focused on how memory in architecture can be used to depict not only the past tragic events but also use it as a platform of reconciling divided societies. It has been evident through the analysis of different precedents that memorials have a strong symbolic message of memory, which when well exploited can create a change of perception of the

viewer, on the subject matter. Following this therefore, one can argue that symbolic architecture on unity and reconciliation can aid in the process of reconciliation among Rwandans. An architecture that each individual is able to relate to, thus providing a platform for individuals and the entire society to heal from their tragic past.

As a concluding remark however, it's important to note that reconciliation is not an ultimate goal, but a process. Rwanda is thus left with the challenge of how best these tools can be exploited to achieve the reconciliation and reconstruction of its broken society, and how the use of an appropriate memorial architecture likewise will play a great role in achieving Rwanda's reconciled society.

Heritage?

RECOMMENDATIONS

Site

- The appropriate architectural expression for reconciliation and reconstruction of Post-genocide Rwanda has been evidently a Genocide memorial. This memorial is to be a place of healing and reconciliation for the people of Rwanda. This will not only be a place for remembrance but that provides hope for Rwandans.
- The memorial is to be placed on a site with strong symbolism to genocide. This makes the memorial more realistic and contextually relevant.
- The memorial like the research will explore three periods in Rwanda's history, namely; Genocide, Hope for Rwanda, Future of Rwanda. This will be placed in a chronological order to allow for the viewer to follow the events in Rwanda's history. This is also intentional as a route or passage of time that allows the viewer especially the survivors to be healed in the process.

Significant

12

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APPENDIX A



Illustration 92: Map of Africa showing the location of Rwanda in Central Africa.

(www.worldatlas.com)



Illustration 93: shows the geographical Map of Rwanda and its neighbouring countries. ([Www. Tiscali.co.uk](http://Www.Tiscali.co.uk))

Questions discussed as a guideline for data collection on the research on Reconciliation and Reconstruction of Post-genocide Rwanda.

- *were the Rwandese people living in unity before the colonial era?*
- *what has been destroyed since then, and to what degree?*
- *what methods can be used to bring about the unity and reconciliation of Rwandans?*
- *what potential does architecture have in bringing about the unity of Rwandans after genocide?*

APPENDIX B

DESIGN REPORT

A GENOCIDE MEMORIAL FOR RWANDA

"RECONCILIATION AND RECONSTRUCTION OF POST-GENOCIDE RWANDA"

KAIRABA JOSEPHINE
2002787585
2006

"The challenge of Reconciliation is not how to create the place where one can 'forgive and forget'. It is about the far more challenging adventure into the space where individuals and whole communities can remember and change."

INTRODUCTION

This project is result of the conclusions and recommendations reached on the research on; 'Reconciliation and Reconstruction of Post-genocide Rwanda: A search for an appropriate architectural expression.'

After approximately one million innocent people were massacred in Rwanda in April 1994, there has been a great need for the reconciliation and the reconciliation of the Rwandan society. It is within this context therefore that a research of this nature, and therefore this project, were undertaken.

This Genocide memorial unlike others of its kind aims at not only depicting the horrific events of the genocide, but also providing a hope and a future for the Rwandan society. Reconciliation and reconstruction thus became the aim and objective of this Project.

SITE SELECTION AND LOCATION

The site for this project is located in Kigali, the capital of Rwanda. This location was appropriate due to the relevance of its context. The site chosen is symbolic because it's an existing memorial, in which approximately two thousand people were killed and buried there. The site has five meters contours which makes it relative slopy. The site is also strategically located along the high way to a proposed new airport.

CLIENT BRIEF

- The client required a memorial that not only depicts genocide, but also heals the Rwandan society.
- The memorial was to become an icon of memory for genocide in Rwanda.
- The memorial was to become a local and global catchment, and a destination place.
- It was to become a research and educational center on genocide
- should generate income
- Should hold at least 200 people at a time.

PROJECT FUNDING

The genocide memorial is to be funded by the Rwanda Government through the Ministry of Youth, Culture and Sports. It will be run and maintained by the Aegis Trust Institute ; an institute contracted to run genocide memorials in Rwanda.

CONCEPT

The genocide memorial's main objective is that of reconciliation and reconstruction and is based on five conceptual ideas:

1. Chronology

The memorial was to show a hierarchy of events in Rwanda. These would be classified in three distinct section; past (genocide), present (hope), and future (freedom and unity)

2. Concept of death in Rwanda

This was important as a determinant of Rwandan cultural values on death. For instance the burial of the dead as well as mourning period.

3. Constant memory

Constant memory was vital at every point of the memorial complex. The idea that the memory of the genocide should always be remembered in Rwandan history to prevent re occurrence.

4. Experiential and mysterious

The memorial complex is to be experiential and mysterious through spatial articulation, evoking the emotions, and anxiety of the visitor to the reality of genocide.

5. Rebirth and healing

This concept is central to the aim of the memorial allowing the visitor to experience a horrific past but be able to move forward to wards a better future.

DESIGN DEVELOPMENT

Chronology

This concept of chronology was development through the three distinct sections of the memorial; the past, present and future. This allowed the visitor to follow the events that led to the genocide as well as the anticipated present and future of Rwanda after genocide. These three spaces exhibit different characteristics expressed through, materials, light intensities, textures, height of the Chronology was also shown through the exhibition in which one moves past the graveyards then to the formal

exhibition different characteristics expressed through, materials, light intensities, textures, height. Of the Chronology was also shown through the exhibition in which one moves past the graveyards then to the formal exhibition on pre-genocide and genocide.

Concept of death in Rwanda

The idea of mourning for the dead for seven days made seven a symbolic number of memory.

This was translated into seven memory towers with faces of the deceased, in which light intensities are varied.

These are placed along the path as one walks through the memorial.

Burial of the dead in Rwandan culture near the home as a sign of respect for the ancestors also determined the placement of the grave yard in the design.

Constant memory

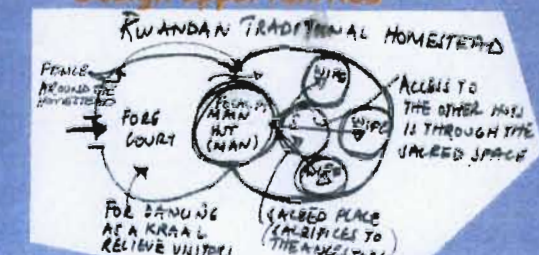
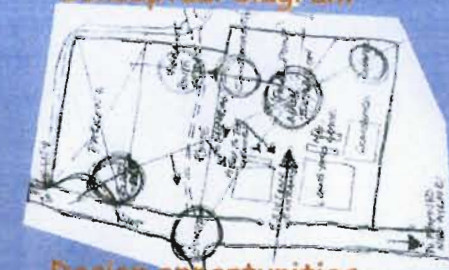
Constant memory in the memorial at whatever point was expressed through a memory wall of name that runs through the memorial complex and ties the whole project together.

Experiential and mysterious

The memorial complex was made with the idea spatial articulation through constriction and release of spaces, light and dark, visible but inaccessible spaces and so on. This was expressed through the 'death tunnel', the exhibition dome and along the path.

Rebirth and healing

This concept was expressed through the movement from the west (death) to the east (birth). The west contained the graveyards and the 'death tunnel', while the east had the contemplation amphitheatre and gardens and the exhibitions on hope. Rebirth was also expressed through verticality, the idea of upward movement, for instance, roofs become secondary to walls and columns. The idea of healing was achieved throughout the memorial complex allowing every visitor to leave with a hope for the future.



Rwanda architectural influences

Other design elements considered

Light

Light became an important element in the memorial, this was used to create the mood of the space for instance in the 'death tunnel'

Natural light filters down the wall of names to highlight it, while the tunnel starts to open to the outside as one approached the exit.

Light intensities are used in the exhibition dome to create the mood of the place, for instance there is more natural lighting in the

Pre-genocide space, while there is less lighting used in the Genocide exhibition space. This is meant to create an idea of death, dark depicted in the space. Lighting is also very important in the seven memory towers, this is used to create a experiences from darker to lighter as one moves towards the exits of the memorial.

Water

Water was an important element in the design of the memorial. This is because water is important as a design element in creating the mood of a place. This was thus exploited in terms of sound, from a rash water fall at the entrance, to flowing stream in the tunnel , to calm water around the contemplation amphitheater.

Water was also important in the concept of healing as the saying goes' water is life'. Its integration in the memorial complex was meant to evoke emotions, create anxiety and to create an atmosphere of calmness.

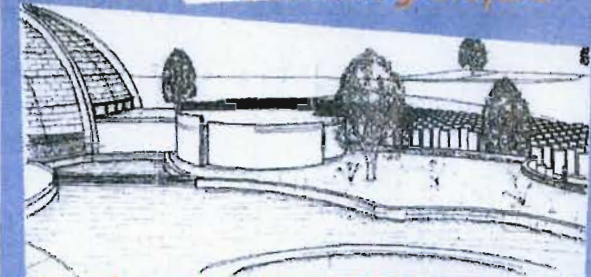
Textures

Textures on floors and walls played an important role in highlighting the characteristics of different spaces in the memorial. Floor finish designs like random cur stone were used in spaces like in the genocide exhibition area to create visual disturbance. Smoother floor surfaces are used in spaces of contemplation and reflection. Radial floor patterns have been used to highlight the

Death tunnel with the wall of names



Exit of tunnel into graveyard



View down the site to the graveyard



Entrance and tunnel

TECHNICAL APPROACH TO DESIGN

The memorial project was into organic forms that sit according to the slope of the site. The materials used were also kept natural to respond to the environment. Stone, timber and concrete were used as a translation of Rwandan traditional materials. Stone was used at the entrance to create a monumental and expressive presence of the memorial. The 'tunnel of death' for instance was made of precast concrete barrel vaults, while all the walls were made from concrete block work. The exhibition dome was roofed with copper with a timber ceiling finish.

ENVIRONMENTAL APPROACH

The site is located close to the equator which creates harsh west and east sun, but minimal north and south sun. The site is east-west facing, this orientation was however necessary to achieve the concept of movement from the west (death) to the east (birth). The building facing the east and west were therefore shaded with timber sun screens as well as the use of louvers in the exhibition dome. The west orientation of the amphitheatre could not be compromised and therefore sun shading had to be introduced to keep the west sun out. The site has dense vegetation and high trees were introduced which reduced the sun intensity.

APPENDIX

Memorials are spaces of dreaming and reflection...they present what is absent. Toshio 2003

SITE LOCATION

Site to be used is in Kigali the capital of Rwanda. The reason for this choice was its contextual relevance to genocide, thus making appropriate as the best site for this memorial.



Plate 1: Map of Africa showing the location of Rwanda in Central Africa (source www.worldatlas.com)

REMEMBRANCE AND CONTEMPLATION ON GENOCIDE

LOCAL AND GLOBAL CATCHMENT- MEMORIAL ICON

CONSTANT REMINDER OF GENOCIDE

RWANDAN SOCIO-CULTURAL VALUES TO BE EXPLORED

ECONOMICALLY SELF-RELIANT

DESTINATION PLACE FOR ALL PEOPLE

TO RECALL THE UNSPEAKABLE

REBIRTH OF THE DEAD- SACRED EXPERIENCE

A PROGRESSION-STORY- UNFOLDING MYSTERY

PLACE OF HOPE AND HEALING

RESEARCH AND EDUCATIONAL CENTER

CONSTRUCTION AND RELEASE, MOOD CHANGES

DEATH IS A SOCIAL EVENT- PLACE OF REUNION- EXTRAVERTED

PROPOSED MEMORIAL SITES IN RELATION TO THE CITY CENTER

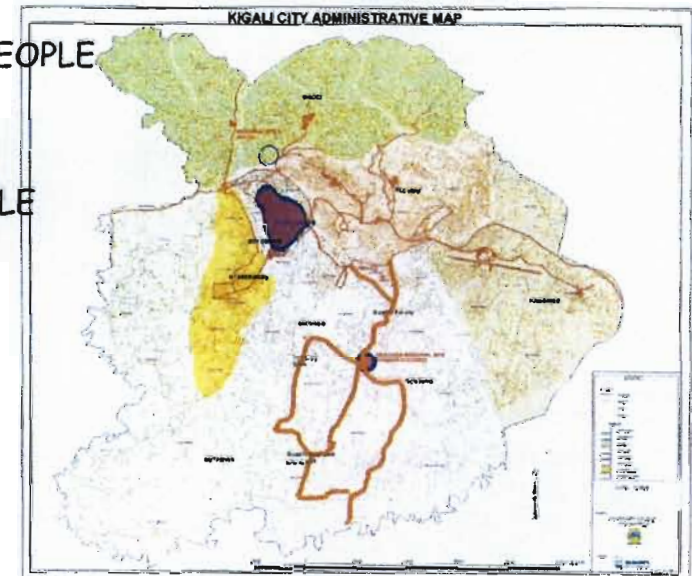
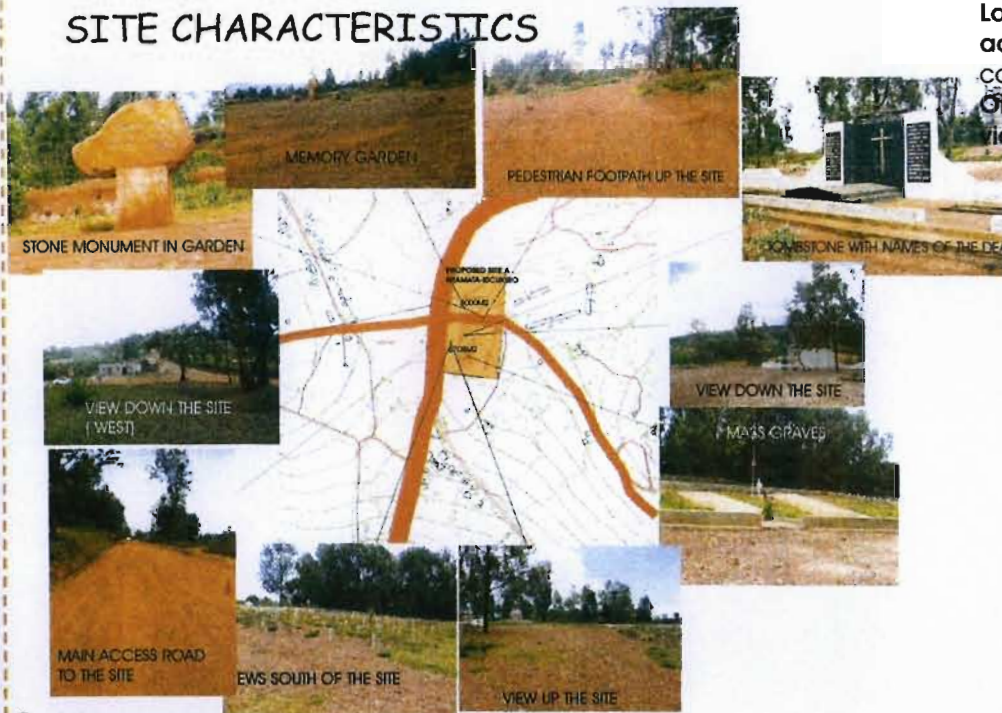


Plate 2: Map of Kigali city showing the Proposed memorial sites in relation to the city

SITE CHARACTERISTICS



Location: Kicukiro district, 20 minutes from the Kigali city center
accessibility: site directly accessed from a main road connecting to the city center and other towns
Orientation: the site is East - West facing
views: has views towards the city and suburbs

site history: The site is the spot approximately 2000 innocent people were killed after being brought by the police to a 'place' of protection. These people thus were buried here and the place became a memorial. A proposal for a memorial building is still under way, and the monument built on site has not been appropriate according to survivors and buried there

SITE ZONING



Positive aspects:

- site is located along the main route to the proposed International Airport at Bugesera, this makes it strategic in its location for both Tourists and the local people.
- Has strong symbolism since it's a site on which genocide took place
- site has a tranquil setting since it's slightly out of town
- site allows for the opportunity to make it a destination point for the visitors.
- Site is near secondary and primary school, opportunity for the memorial to become an educational center

Negative aspects:

- main access from one main road, west of the site.
- Currently accessed from a murram road, to be tamed soon
- possibility that noisy factor will increase with future developments

Reason for choice

Site was chosen as an appropriate memorial due to its strong symbolic importance during the genocide. The site also lies along the route of Kigali City's future development.

- GENERAL RESIDENTIAL
- COMMERCIAL DEVELOPMENTS
- VEHICULAR MOVEMENT
- PEDESTRIAN MOVEMENT
- SITE



ACCOMMODATION SCHEDULE

Memorials are spaces of dreaming and reflection..... they present what is absent. Terkin 2005

**ACCOMMODATION SCHEDULE
A GENOCIDE MEMORIAL FOR RWANDA**

AVERAGE NO. OF VISITORS ON A NORMAL DAY IS 100 PEOPLE
AVERAGE NO. OF VISITORS DURING COMMEMORATION DAYS (7) IS **1000** PEOLPLE; AVERAGE PER HOUR IS 200
PEOPLE
TO ACCOMMODATE APPROX **200** PEOPLE AT ONE GIVEN TIME

Room name	Area description	Number	Area(m2)	Total Area(m2)
1. Entrance foyer/waiting	Foyer to be large enough for a gathering of approx. 200 people (standing) and a reception counter.	1	200	200
1.1 Public WCs - male	Public toilets to serve visitors at the entrance	1 WC, 1 urinal	5	10
- female		2 WCs	5	10
WHBs -male		2	5	10
- female		2	5	10
1.2 staff WCs	To serve approx 5 tour guides (male & females) working in one shift	1 WC	5	5
WHBs		2	5	10
-Disabled WC		1	4	4
-Storage		1	9	9
1.3 admin office and meeting room	Administrative offices for the curator	2	12	24
		Total		292
2. Exhibition space (permanent)	This is main exhibition space comprising of two			

	sections; pre-colonial and colonial, and post colonial and genocide in Rwanda and outside. The two spaces are to be differentiated by level changes, light differentiation. Space to be toured in groups of approximated 50 people at a time to allow for good visibility.	1	700	700
2.2 memory towers	These spaces comprise of voids with walls with photos of the deceased. Should allow easy visibility from both walls and space for circulation in between.	7	12	84
		total		784
3. Resource centre	Library to be a small information center on genocide and related topics.			
3.1 reading area	Informal space to allow for reading and browsing for information	1	40	40
3.2 book shelving area	book shelves to allow for passages in between them	1	30	30
3.3 issue desk	Acts as reception and issues desk, enough circulation in front of it.	1	15	15
3.6 meeting room	Meeting space for the staff as well as small groups of group visitors, approximately 20	1	30	30
		total		115

4. Public WCs - male	Toilets for the public to be centralised for easy accessibility	1 WC, 3 urinal	5	20
- female		4 WCs	5	20
WHBs -male		2	5	10
- female		3	5	15
4.1 staff WCs - male	Staff toilets to be centralised for easy accessibility	1 WC	5	5
- female		1 WC	5	5
WHBs		2	5	10
4.2 staff lounge/ tea room	Large enough to accommodate at least 15 staff members at a time, allow for an atmosphere of relation	1	30	30
4.3 cleaners station	Centralised space for cleaners' relaxation and equipment storage.	1	25	25
total				140
5. Counselling rooms	Spaces to be used throughout the whole year as a counselling center.	3	9	27
5.1 waiting room and reception	Waiting area to be big enough to accommodate patrons and to provide a healing atmosphere for the visitors. To incorporate greenery and open to the outside gardens.	1	30	30
5.2 restrooms	To be big enough to accommodate at least five	2	30	60
total				117
7. Temporary exhibition	Exhibition space for visiting artists, outdoor space that can be covered in bad weather	1	300	300

8. auditorium	Used for seminars and audio visuals	1	200	200
8.1 projector room	At the back of the auditorium,	1	9	9
9. Café	Small coffee and snack shop to accommodate at least 50 people.			
8.1 seating area	Area opens to the outside gardens allows for flexibility and extension.	1	60	60
8.2 kitchen	Small kitchen for preparation of quick snacks	1	40	40
8.3 storage	Storage for kitchen ingredients and equipment, kitchen and storage to become one space.	1	30	30
		total		340
10. Amphitheatre (200 pple+ stage)	Space to be semi-covered in case of bad weather to be flexible for public talks, performances.	1	250	250
11. Tunnel	Tunnel at entrance to represent death and the under world	1	270	270
	TOTAL AREA			2818
12. total circulation (20% of total Area)				564
	OVERALL TOTAL AREA			3382