

Peace Tourism at a Dark Site:

Emotional experiences in Hiroshima



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ABSTRACT

This study contributes critical understandings regarding emotional experiences of peace tourism to dark places such as in the city of Hiroshima, especially the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum (HPMM). An atomic bomb was dropped on the city of Hiroshima, Japan on August 6, 1945. Ever since, the city of Hiroshima is determined to share its desire for a nuclear-weapon-free world. In this respect the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum (HPMM) was established in 1955. To explore tourists' emotional experiences, I draw on the concepts of dark tourism, peace tourism and emotional geographies. Methodologically speaking, I have employed qualitative research methods, namely in-depth interviews, participant observation and autoethnography to collect information. In this thesis I analyse information from 13 participants, from approximately 35 pages of fieldwork diary, and 400 photographs taken during my Hiroshima fieldwork, February – March 2014. Based on a critical and interpretative analysis of the information, I discuss three main themes which have emerged from my study. First, I contend that peace education is embedded in tourism practices and enmeshed with emotions when visiting traumatic places. This results in emotional and educational tourism experiences through which awareness is raised for world peace, which is aptly illustrated in the case of HPMM in the city of Hiroshima. Second, I argue that tourists experience shocking emotions when being confronted with the dark exhibits on display. Third, I argue for the importance of emotional experiences and lasting feeling in tourism as I contend that tourists indeed *feel* lasting feelings, which they negotiate in their critical thoughts about war and peace. I conclude that the act of travelling to and emotionally experiencing dark sites in Hiroshima positively contribute to tourist's critical thinking about war and peace. Such reflexive experiences, wherein awareness is raised through emotional experiences, is part and parcel of peace education. I call for increasing attention to research on tourists' lasting feelings after visiting places of darkness in order to further explore potential consequences of dark and peace tourism towards consolidating peace.

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1. INTRODUCTION

In this thesis I aim to contribute critical understandings of tourists' emotional experiences of peace tourism to dark places in the city of Hiroshima, Japan. The main research question I tackle is: How and in what ways do tourists emotionally experience peace tourism to dark places such as Hiroshima, and how does this affect tourists' thinking and feeling about peace and darkness?

To explore emotional experiences of visiting a place of atomic disaster so known like Hiroshima, I bring together two concepts, *peace tourism* and *dark tourism*. Peace tourism refers to international travel contributing to increased mutual understanding and trust between people of different cultures (D'Amore, 1988). Through peace tourism, sensitivity to and respect for cultural differences are encouraged as *peace education* becomes incorporated in tourism policy and practice (Higgins and Desbiolles, 2013). In this project I examine how tourists perform peace education, and I connect this with emotional experiences of touring Hiroshima, a dark tourism place where the atomic bomb was dropped during World War II. In doing so, I explore the ways in which the concepts of peace tourism and dark tourism can explain tourism experiences in Hiroshima, especially at the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum (HPMM). The focus is on HPMM, because it is through this museum that the city of Hiroshima intends to raise awareness for world peace.

Hiroshima is considered a unique case for peace tourism, as it illustrates "tourism's potential to create awareness-raising in the spirit of global citizenship for peace" (Urbain, 2013, p. 147). This Japanese city is also linked to dark tourism (Funk and Cooper, 2013), as it offers memorial places related to mass death, often visited by tourists. From a theoretical perspective, the act of travelling to and visiting places in Hiroshima related to the atomic bomb could indeed fit within the dark tourism framework. Dark tourism refers to visiting places connected to atrocities, death and disasters (Sharpley and Stone, 2009). In Anglophone academic literature of tourism, research on tourists' emotional experiences in nuclear-affected places such as Hiroshima remains limited (Biran et al., 2011; Sharpley and Stone, 2009). Emotional experiences in tourism cannot be neglected, as emotions are catalysts for performing places of darkness (Buda, 2014). In this respect, I critically examine tourists' emotional experiences of peace and 'nuclear darkness' as they tour the HPMM in Hiroshima.

To explore emotional experiences in dark and peace tourism, I draw on geographies of emotions (Anderson and Smith, 2001; Davidson and Milligan, 2004; Wood and Smith, 2004) and focus on the emotional dynamics between and amongst tourists and place. As I combine three conceptual approaches: dark tourism, peace tourism, and emotional geographies, the aim of this project is to uncover a range of emotional experiences so as to offer a comprehensive understanding of the 'Hiroshima experience'.

Every year on August 6th, the city of Hiroshima holds a Peace Memorial Ceremony. During such a ceremony, the Mayor of Hiroshima issues a Peace Declaration directed towards the world at large (City of Hiroshima, 2001). During the first Peace Declaration ceremony in 1947, Mayor Shinzo Hamai, said:

What we have to do at this moment is to strive with all our might towards peace, becoming forerunners of a new civilization.

Let us join together to sweep from this earth the horror of war, and to build a true peace.

Let us join in renouncing war eternally, and build a plan for world peace on this earth.

Under this tower of peace, we hereby make a declaration of peace. (Hamai, 1947)

Hiroshima calls upon the world's citizens and governments to work towards world peace and the abolishment of nuclear weapons. In this respect the HPMM was established in 1955. In the Peace Declaration of 2012 (1947 is above), the Mayor declares that Hiroshima is "determined never to let the atomic bomb fade from memory, we intent to share with ever more people at home and abroad the *hibakusha* (the explosion's surviving victims) desire for a nuclear-weapon-free world" (para. 5).

The goal of the HPMM is to contribute to peace building and peace maintaining in Japan and beyond, and emphasise the awareness of a much needed world peace (HPMM, 2011). The museum hopes to help tourists understand the scope of the events in Hiroshima and their traumatic effects. In doing so, Kenji Shiga, current director of the museum, hopes that 'everyone will think about what they can do to help build a peaceful world' (HPMM, 2011). Sharing Hiroshima's experiences and keeping alive the memory of the events, the museum also hopes to educate tourists in peace and war matters.

In this thesis, the focus lies on the ways in which tourists experience peace and darkness in Hiroshima, and connecting this to the concepts of dark tourism and peace tourism. It could then, perhaps, become clear if visiting Hiroshima, especially the HPMM, helps towards stronger feelings against nuclear weapons and for world peace. To explore this I employ qualitative methods such as in-depth interviews, participant observation and autoethnography. Thus, my thesis contributes to critically understanding tourists' emotional experiences in peace tourism to dark places. This is showcased in the example of the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum and the entire city of Hiroshima. This project argues for the importance of emotional experiences in visiting dark places. I conclude my thesis by calling for further research on tourists' lasting feelings after visiting places of darkness in order to explore potential consequences of dark and peace tourism towards consolidating peace.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW/CONCEPTUAL BACKGROUND

2.1 Peace Tourism

In 1988, D'Amore argued that tourism might be the best instrument in promoting peace in the world by contributing to a better understanding between nations. International travel, in D'Amore's view, promotes trust and understanding between people of different cultures. Different interpretations of the concept of peace make it important to understand how peace is defined in this view. The author mentions a positive and a negative definition of peace. Negatively defined, peace is the absence of war. In this *negative peace*, war is regarded as the opposite of peace. When considering not war, but violence as the opposite of peace, the definition of peace changes to a *positive* one where the absence of violence to humanity as well as the environment is key.

Regarding this, Galtung (1969) provides an extended explanation for the concept of violence, rejecting the narrow view of violence as "deprivation of health [...] at the hands of an *actor* who *intends* this to be the consequence" (p. 168). It is then argued that violence should be defined as "the cause of the difference between the potential and the actual" (Galtung, 1969, p. 168). This means that violence is present when existing problems – such as hunger, diseases, low life-expectancy – could potentially be avoided. Positive peace is also connected to social justice, indicating the positive aspect of the definition. The distinction between positive and negative peace seems to be acknowledged and adopted in peace tourism literature, with Kim and Crompton (1990) adopting this view in order to describe the potential of tourism in achieving positive peace in North and South Korea. Blanchard and Higgins-Desbiolles (2013) also make use of this in the introduction of their book "Peace Through Tourism", employing the same definition of positive and negative peace, whilst acknowledging that it is not conflict, but violence that is the problem. Conflict reveals life's injustices, and adopting a peace perspective of this positive view on conflict contributes to an understanding of positive peace (Blanchard and Higgins-Desbiolles, 2014).

Explaining interactions between foreign countries, the concept of *two-track diplomacy* is sometimes cited in order to explore the potential of tourism in peace matters. Davidson and Montville (1981) explain track-one diplomacy as being the official and traditional track, consisting of diplomacy through official channels, such as government leaders. They argue that *track-one diplomacy* is what often gets countries into conflict by the necessity of government leaders to take on a firm stand, as "government leaders cannot risk the chance that adversaries will misperceive reasonableness as a sign of weakness and thus be tempted to be even more aggressive" (p. 155). *Track-two diplomacy*, on the other hand, is unofficial, non-structured interaction: "its underlying assumption is that actual or potential conflict can be resolved or eased by appealing to common human capabilities to respond to good will and reasonableness" (p. 155). One example of track-two diplomacy is cultural exchange.

In peace tourism literature, it is argued that tourism is a strong instrument through which cultural exchanges can take place. In the context of North and South Korea, Kim and Crompton (1990) emphasize the role of tourism in reducing the level of tension in conflicts by creating mutual understanding and trust. It is also pointed out that tourism, in spite of being an example of cultural exchange in track-two diplomacy, “cannot be an absolute alternative to traditional track one diplomacy” (Kim and Crompton, 1990, p. 364). Tourism should instead be considered an initiator, a catalyst through which a positive climate can be achieved wherein successful track one diplomacy can take place. This is in line with Davidson and Montville’s (1981) argument on two track diplomacy that “both tracks are necessary for psychological reasons and both need each other” (p. 155). In a similar way as Kim and Crompton, D’Amore (1988, p. 154) concludes that:

millions of daily person-to-person encounters are potentially a powerful force for improved relations among the people and nations of the world – relations which emphasize a sharing and appreciation of cultures rather than the lack of trust bred by isolation.

More recently, D’Amore (2010) further elaborates on this as he reintroduces the idea of a *global family*. He stresses that the only way to solve global crises, and bring an end to war, is by believing and acting upon the idea of planet earth as our one common home and us sharing one common future. Although formulated slightly different, Blanchard and Higgins-Desbiolles (2013) are proponents of these same ideas, arguing that “we must begin to envision tourism in the context of human rights, justice and international citizenship” (p. 2). While the aspects of human rights and justice also correspond with the conditions of positive peace, it is *international citizenship* that correlates with a global family as mentioned by D’Amore. *Global citizenship* and *international citizenship* are used interchangeably in this context, referring to: “the courage not to fear or deny difference; but to respect and strive to understand people of different cultures, and to grow from encounters with them” (Ikeda, 1996, as cited in Urbain, 2013, p. 146). Or, as Blanchard and Higgins-Desbiolles (2013) point out: “respect for difference lies in processes of cross-cultural communication” (p. 4), for which it is needed to encourage a sensitivity to and respect for cultural difference through the embedding of *peace education* in tourism policy and practice.

In effectively employing peace education, human security can be stimulated through international citizenship. Thus, peace education can be considered as an important addition in encouraging global citizenship and should consequently be included in the process of “harnessing tourism as a social force” (Urbain, 2013, p. 147) towards positive peace. Hiroshima is a great such example whereby peace education is embedded in tourism.

Urbain employs the example of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, which she mentions as being unique cases “in terms of illustrating tourism’s potential to create awareness-raising in the spirit of global citizenship for peace” (p. 147). Here, she mentions how the intentions of the city of Hiroshima are to raise awareness and enhance capacity to think about war and peace in our interrelated world. These intentions are, indeed, in line with the concepts of peace education and global citizenship as a way towards achieving positive peace as explored earlier in this chapter.

Tourists in Hiroshima visiting the HPMM and other atomic bomb related places may learn about the atrocities of war and come in direct – as well as indirect – contact with atomic bomb survivors and victims. This way, information and experiences are shared at the memorial places in Hiroshima. The tourist experience in Hiroshima is an emotional one, as it causes visitors to change the direction of their lives (Urbain, 2013). Herborn (2014) shares a similar personal emotional experience regarding his visit to the Hiroshima and Nagasaki Peace Memorial Museums. These experiences relate to claims that tourists travelling dark tourism sites have a life-changing experience (Biran et al., 2011).

To explore tourist experiences in Hiroshima in connection to war, peace and nuclear weapons, I claim that emotional experiences are important in the process of peace tourism. The power emotions have on people is argued by geographers Davidson and Milligan (2004) stating that: “emotions can clearly alter the way the world is for us, affecting our sense of time as well as space. Our sense of who and what we are is continually (re)shaped by how we feel” (p. 524).

Anderson and Smith (2001) also point out the relevance of emotional experiences, stressing the importance for an awareness of how emotional relations shape society and space. “Understanding emotions is crucial to properly appreciate how lives are lived, histories experienced, geographies made and futures shaped”, argue Wood and Smith (2004, p. 533).

These aspects are important in this study, as research is focused on how history and tourism geography are emotionally experienced at the HPMM and its vicinity, focusing on how tourists experience and feel peace.

As may be clear now, one of the center pieces regarding the atomic bomb disaster memorial sites in Hiroshima is the Peace Memorial Museum. Museums indeed play a crucial role in presenting and interpreting time (history) and space (geography) in peace tourism.

Exploring the role of shaping public memory of Japanese memorial museums dealing with the 1931-1945 Asia-Pacific War, Yoshida (2004) makes a distinction between three kinds of museums (p. 16):

1. Museums that either glorify the war or romanticize the sacrifices of deceased soldiers.
2. Museums that greet visitors with strong antiwar messages.
3. Museums that avoid controversial issues such as the moral evaluation of the war.

Museums of the second kind, which fit best in the concept of peace tourism, started increasing in numbers in the early 1990's in Japan. Interestingly though, as an apparent reaction to this, the number of museums of the first kind also increased (Yoshida, 2004). Although neither those authors glorifying the war, nor those supporting strong antiwar messages, are dominant in Japanese society and public opinion, Yoshida states that peace “museums continue to play an important role in educating youth” (p. 20). He further argues that “teachers in elementary, junior high, and high schools often take students to peace museums that exist not only across Japan but also in other Asian countries” (p. 20). This indicates again the connection between peace education and peace tourism, argued before as being an important part of the process towards positive peace through tourism. This is also acknowledged by Herborn (2014), who argues that “respectful inter-faith and cross-cultural communication should be part of peace education and the subject matter of peace museums” (p. 68). The author uses concepts such as cross-cultural communication and peace education to refer to the important role peace museums play within the broader subject of peace tourism.

Peace museums in specific places should have local content exhibited from different points of view, which should then be related to universal perspectives on peace (Herborn, 2014). These peace museums are likely to frame things differently from museums that accept war as inevitable. Instead of creating a frame in which war or military response to violent attacks are justified, Herborn (2014) pleads for framing such violent attacks as a crime against humanity requiring international co-operation and the strengthening of international law. This view corresponds with Urbain's (2013) claim that “when confronted with a place of trauma, there is a crucial difference between stating that ‘this will never happen to us again’ and ‘this will never happen again to humanity’” (p. 149). It is the latter statement that is in line with a sense of global citizenship and an important framing aspect for peace museums. Peace museums are, therefore, an important part of peace tourism, being places of peace education through emotional experiences in a dark place where disasters have happened. In the following I explore the concept of dark tourism in relation to peace and emotional dynamics.

2.2 Dark Tourism

Dark tourism is defined as “the act of travel to sites associated with death, suffering and the seemingly macabre” (Sharpley and Stone, 2009, p. 10). The practice of dark tourism understood as commodification of death, suffering and tragedy is considered as the antithesis of the consumption of pleasant places (Wight, 2005). Wight contends that academic debate focuses on issues such as the management of dark sites, interpretation of these sites and the motivation of the public to visit. Researchers so far have examined tourists visiting dark sites from different perspectives. Kang et al.

(2012), for example, examined visitor motivations and experiences, focusing on the benefits for management and design of dark tourism sites. While Sharpley and Stone (2008) emphasize a fascination with death as the main motivation for visiting dark sites, Biran et al. (2011) found that tourists' main motivations to visit Auschwitz are to have an educational or emotional experience, suggesting a potential connection with the peace tourism framework.

Wight (2005) specifically draws on Rojek's (1993) description of *schandenfreude* - taking pleasure in the misfortune of others - as a common motivation for tourism to dark sites. The concept of dark tourism includes visitation of various sites, such as graveyards, battlefields, museums, sites of murder or disaster and even homes of deceased celebrities or houses of horror. Several types of categorizations are offered to better understand the broad scope of dark tourism (Sharpley and Stone, 2009). One categorization, as suggested by Seaton (1996), is based on the difference in motivations for visiting a dark tourism site. This categorization is applied by Sharpley and Stone (2009), as well as by Wight (2005) in illustrating the diversity of dark tourism motivations. The 5 categories are as follows (Sharpley and Stone, 2009, p. 15-16):

1. Travel to witness public enactments of death.
2. Travel to see the sites of individual or mass death after they have occurred.
3. Travel to memorials of internment sites.
4. Travel to see evidence or symbolic representations of death at unconnected sites.
5. Travel for re-enactments or simulation of death.

Hiroshima is an actual site of mass death, which occurred in 1945, and there are several memorial sites and a museum in place for tourists to visit. Thus, tourism to Hiroshima might fit best in the second category. Regarding dark places, Miles (2002) suggests making a distinction between dark and darker ones, based on the difference between a site being an actual place *of* death or a place *associated with* death. In this perspective, Hiroshima could be seen as a darker place, being an actual place *of* death.

Different views exist on the need for authenticity, correct historic interpretation and representation. Wight (2005) notes that "the consequences of manipulating interpretation (based on political and social agendas) in order to provide a visitor 'experience' at dark sites can belie the actual events that took place there" (p. 123). Some critical views are mentioned regarding exhibitions for lacking balance and historical context and for simply playing on emotions (Uzzell, 1992, and Fernandez and Benlloch, 2000; in Wright, 2005). In line with Herborn's (2014) view, interpretations at peace museums should, to a certain degree, meet peace tourism goals. That is, achieving an appropriate

balance between emotional experiences and peace education so as to successfully promote global citizenship, while also creating lasting feelings of peace for tourists.

There is increasing academic interest in emotional experiences in dark tourism (Biran et al, 2011; Buda et al, 2014; Buda, 2015). Biran et al. (2011) contend that tourists in Auschwitz, a dark tourism place of death, suffering and tragedy, mostly interpret their visit as an educational and emotional experience. These claims indicate the potential for peace tourism in travelling to dark places.

Emotional encounters while touring a dark site of death, disaster and atrocities can cause tourists to experience shock (Buda, 2015). The degree to which a tourist experiences shock depends on their level of knowledge about the place, as Buda (2015) argues shock “is a blend of feelings, emotions, perceptions and sensations prompted when crossing the fun/fear, safety/danger and peace/war boundaries” (p. 127). The concept of shock may prove useful in exploring tourists’ emotional experiences in Hiroshima, as visitors will be confronted with matters of peace and war, as well as the human suffering caused by the atomic bomb.

Emotional experiences of visiting dark sites may also lead to some tourists thinking about fundamental questions regarding their own life and, especially, death (Lantermann, 2007; Whalley, 2007). Dunkley et al. (2011) argue there remains much scope for further qualitative in-depth studies of experiences in dark tourism. She then provides insight into the experiences of tourists visiting World War One battlefields, illustrating how emotional experiences can potentially be life-changing experiences. This again emphasizes the importance of understanding emotional experiences in tourism. Buda et al. (2014), in researching danger-zone tourism as a form of dark tourism to specific sites in Jordan and the West Bank (Palestine), reinforces the argument that emotional experiences in tourism cannot be neglected. She does so by demonstrating how feelings and emotional experiences in tourism – and the actions caused by it - impact tourism and tourists in multiple ways. Touring dark places can cause a widespread effect when strong feelings and emotions are involved, as Buda et al. (2014) illustrates. She argues the importance of feelings and emotional experiences in tourism as “these are the catalyst for action” (p. 108). As dark tourism visits ‘have profound implications for the visitor soon after the actual visit’ (Sharpley and Stone, 2009), I argue that it is important to consider the lasting feelings of visitors after their dark tourism experience.

As Buda et al. (2014) insist, emotions should not be ignored in dark tourism studies and the emotional approach can be applied to many forms of tourism. In agreement with this, and as emotions can very well be the most important factor in changing the way we see the world and in shaping society, I aim to contribute critical understandings of tourists’ emotional experiences in peace tourism to dark places in the city of Hiroshima, especially the HPMM.

3. METHODOLOGY & CASE STUDY

In this chapter, I first provide a short historic account of Hiroshima, as well as an overview of the research area in order to place the data collection process in context. In this methods chapter, I elaborate in general on the choice of qualitative methods used, after which the process of data collection and analysis is explained in separate subchapters for each method employed. I then reflect on the ethical issues encountered during this research project, as well as on the entire methodological process.

3.1 Death and disaster brought by ‘Little Boy’

On August 6, 1945, an atomic bomb – code-named Little Boy – was dropped on Hiroshima in Japan by the Air Forces of the United States Army. This happened at the final stages of World War II, when the war in Europe had already ended, but the Pacific War continued. As a part of WWII, the Pacific War had the Allied powers fighting against the Empire of Japan in the Pacific and East Asia. It is generally considered that the Pacific War started in December 1941 when Japan entered the stage by invading Thailand, as well as targeting British possessions in South East Asia and attacking several U.S. military bases, among which the well-known attack on Pearl Harbor. Japan did not surrender after they were given an ultimatum on July 26, 1945, and thus the United States chose to use an atomic weapon in an attempt to end the war. Three days later, on August 9, the United States dropped another atomic bomb, this time on Nagasaki in Japan. Consequently, on August 15, Japan announced their surrender, ending World War II.

It is estimated that, in Hiroshima, 140.000 people had died because of the bomb by the end of 1945 (HPMM, 2011). The deaths and suffering did not stop there. Five to six years after the bombing, an increased number of survivors contracted leukaemia and after ten years, survivors began contracting different kinds of cancers at a higher rate than normal. The bombs heat rays and blast also destroyed 90% of the 76.000 houses in the city at that time.

3.2 Dark sites in Hiroshima’s Peace Park

I have visited Hiroshima for 4 weeks in 2014 to gather the necessary data. I arrived at the airport in Hiroshima on February 3rd and departed on March 2nd. I spent six nights in a hotel within walking distance of the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park (HPMP), where most of the memorial sites, including the museum, are situated. I spent the other nights in a host family in Hiroshima, only a short bus trip away from the bus stop at HPMP.

Most of my time collecting data was spent in the park, with locations of most importance to my research noted in Figure 1 below. This photo was taken from my hotel room, showing the proximity of the research area in relation to the hotel where I was lodged. The focus in this project are

international tourists in Hiroshima and in particular those visiting the museum. The Tourist Information Center (TIC) near the museum also proved to be an important place for me to take a break, conduct interviews and talk to the employees.



Figure 1. Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park. (Source: Meijer, 2014)

Figure 1 shows the position of the HPMM in the park. The museum consists of two connected buildings. The museum tour takes visitors through both buildings by means of a bridge, which is clearly visible in Figure 2. Visitors can only use the entrance located in the East Building (Figure 2) and the exit at the end of the Main Building.

The East Building (Figure 3) displays historic events and information regarding multiple aspects connected with the Pacific War, atomic bombs, as well as the destruction and rebuilding of Hiroshima city. This building has a spacious layout and is well lit. The first thing to notice for visitors is an introductory video constantly playing at the start of the route, which had loud dramatic music and a voice explaining in 3 minutes what has happened in Hiroshima regarding the atomic bomb.



Figure 2. Japanese schoolchildren in front of the East Building entrance. (Source: Meijer, 2014)



Figure 3. History and formal information inside the spacious East Building. (Source: Meijer, 2014)

The East Building is connected to the Main Building through a bridge, which can clearly be seen in Figure 2. The overall atmosphere inside the museum changes at the start of the main building. The building itself is mainly made up of four smaller rooms (Figure 4) with dim lighting and no sounds or music playing at all, as compared to the East Building, which is essentially comprised of one large, spacious and brightly lit area. In here, lots of artefacts are on display, as well as photos, letters and

stories. The main focus throughout the Main Building is on human suffering, with the exception of the third room, which focuses on structural damage (Figure 4).



Figure 4. Overview of the four rooms in the Main building. (Source: Meijer, 2014)

The division of the museum, and of the exhibits and stories in it, in largely two parts (East Building and Main Building) seem to be reflected in the behavior of tourists visiting the museum. That is, the exhibit line in the East Building focuses on history and information, and the Main Building displays artefacts, photos, stories etc. Besides that, there is a clear distinction between the sections within each building, as visitors seem to be affected differently from room to room. Feelings and emotions are mixed in the first two larger informational sections. For the most part, people are quiet or whispering, moving slowly and with care, allowing other people the space to read as well. Some, however, do not seem to take the time to read anything, as they just walk by or only look at the photos. Others talk in a loud voice or even laugh at the very beginning. It seems to never get really quiet in this building, as there are always some visitors talking. Further analysis and discussions regarding tourists' experiences inside the HPMM based on participant observation, interviews and my researcher's diary can be found in chapter 4.

The Genbaku Dome (Figure 1 and Figure 5) was the only structure left standing in the area where the atomic bomb exploded and is now a UNESCO World Heritage site which is preserved in the same state as right after the bombing (UNESCO, 2015). The Dome is a reminder of the atomic bomb disaster and situated near the HPMP.



Figure 5. Genbaku Dome. (Source: Meijer, 2014)

The park, where the HPMM and TIC are located, is also home to a large amount of memorials related to the atomic bomb disaster and its victims. A small selection of memorials is depicted in Figure 6. However, for reasons to be mentioned later, I found that tourist activity was concentrated mainly in the HPMM and, to a lesser degree, at the Genbaku Dome.



Figure 6. Some of the monuments found in the HPMP. (Source: Meijer, 2014)

3.3 Methods

For this project I have used a range of qualitative methods such as interviews, participant observation and autoethnography, so as to gain a better understanding of tourists' emotional experiences of peace at dark tourism sites in Hiroshima related to the atomic bomb disaster. The methods also allow for a better understanding of how the HPMM performs as a peace museum, as the way things are framed within the museum is documented as well. By triangulation, reliability of gathered data through the various methods can be tested, as well as help building a richer picture of the research results (Nightingale, 2009). As a result, it has provided a richer qualitative database, allowing for better interpretation and, thus, better understanding of the collected data on emotional experiences.

3.3.1 In-depth, Semi-structured, Interviews

I have chosen to conduct in-depth, semi structured interviews for this research. Results in this form of qualitative research come from words and meanings, rather than statistics (Valentine, 2005). The aim of an in-depth interview is in line with the aim of this research: to understand how individual tourists experience and make sense of certain aspects in their lives, in this case the confrontation with mass disaster and death by visiting the HPMM and its surroundings. Having chosen for semi-structured interviews, the aim was for an interview to be more as a conversation than as an interrogation. By asking open questions, the interviewee is given a chance to give an in-depth answer and talk about the subject from any angle he or she wants (Longhurst, 2009). The interviewer can ask more questions about the topic, as a way to delve even deeper into the issue.

Important to this research is the fact that interviews do not have to be the sole used method in research; the method lends itself rather well in conjunction with autoethnography (Scarles, 2010) and participant observation (Valentine, 2005).

I audio recorded the interviews with my phone's recording function. By recording the interview, an interviewer has a better chance of fully focusing on the interview instead of having to take notes (Valentine, 2005; Longhurst, 2009). Another advantage of this is that the interview can be better analysed since statements cannot be wrongly memorized this way (Valentine, 2005). Before conducting an interview, the interviewee had to give consent for the audio recording of the interview by way of signing a consent form (Annex 1).

Recruiting on site has been the method I used to recruit participants. This method involves making contact with potential participants at a site or location that is relevant in some way to the research (Longhurst, 2009). In order to allow for meaningful conversations, it was important to recruit those tourists who are able to converse in English or Dutch and have visited the HPMM during their time in Japan. As recruiting was prohibited in the museum itself, the recruiting process existed mostly of

strolling around the HPMP, initiating conversations where possible. In addition, posters (Annex 2) were created which explained my situation and offered tourists the chance to contact me in case they would like to participate. These posters were placed in sight at two locations: one at the TIC within the HPMP; and one at an international office in Hiroshima's city centre, where international students and residents often come for language lessons and information for their stay in Japan. To make tourists perceive me as a trustworthy researcher, business cards were provided where needed. The business cards provided my personal information, including contact details. This way, it also allowed respondents to contact me at a later time in case they had questions or remarks regarding the research, whilst also allowing to participate at a later time in case the tourist was short on time.

A general interview guide (Annex 3) was created for interviews with tourists. The interview guide provided me with a tool to keep focus on the questions which are important to address my research questions. Whenever a conversation would stray too far from the designed themes and topics, the guide proved to be helpful for getting back on track. Also, when an interview flowed naturally through the relevant subjects, it was helpful as a reminder for getting back to some unmentioned details on the interviewees' experiences, this way gaining a more detailed understanding of the respondents' experiences. The main body of the interview guide is divided in several sections, each relevantly linked to my main research question. Throughout these sections, feelings are a recurring aspect of the questions, intended to evoke open, meaningful and emotional responses. The first section is related to tourists' motivations and expectations *before* their visit to the HPMM in context of the war and, especially, the atomic bomb attack on Hiroshima. The second section is aimed at capturing the tourists' emotional experiences *during* their visit. Lastly, the third section is intended to gain insight in lasting feelings, thoughts and opinions *soon after* their visit.

For this study, I involved 13 participants (Annex 4): six of these participants were international tourists, two are TIC employees, two employees of the museum's exhibition office, one French student, and one Japanese family. Note that some participants have chosen to not disclose all personal information asked for. Interviews are conducted with 10 of the 13 participants (Annex 4). The exhibition office is located in an off-limits section on the second floor of the HPMM's East Building, where most of the HPMM employees are situated. The location of the recordings differ, with three interviews conducted inside the TIC, one in a restaurant, one inside the exhibition office and, lastly, one on a bench in the HPMP. Appointments were made for the interviews with the TIC and museum employees, which allowed me to think about and write down interview questions. Questions were asked relating to their jobs, whilst also involving their observations and interpretations of tourist experiences regarding their visit to the HPMM and its surroundings.

While I recognize and acknowledge the limitation of this study resulting from the use of 10 participants in interviews and, as such, generalisations cannot be inferred from the findings, I argue that there is merit in exploring individual emotional experiences of tourists travelling to a dark tourism site such as Hiroshima. Similar studies have been conducted by Buda and McIntosh (2013) and Dunkley et al. (2011), for example. In Buda and McIntosh (2013) the case of one tourist imprisoned in Iran is explored, while Dunkley et al. (2011) argue for increased use of qualitative methods to gain deeper and more critical understanding of tourist emotional experiences in dark tourism.

All audio recordings were clear enough to transcript. The transcripts were written earlier this year in Word documents, whilst adding notes and codes at the same time, as well as afterwards. In comments, links are made between the several interviews, as well as between the interviews and relevant data collected through other methods, such as the researcher's diary and participant observation.

3.3.2 Participant Observation

I conducted participant observation at the HPMM during the timeline indicated above February – March 2014. In this iconic place for peace education and promotion, evidence of the gruesome atomic bomb is displayed so as to raise awareness of the destructiveness of wars and to insist on global peace. While not disclosing my intentions beforehand, I would explain it to anyone asking. As stated as an advantage by O'Leary (2010), in addition to what participants say in interviews, observation allows a researcher to observe what participants actually do and how they actually act. This way, I could see, hear and feel the studied environment as a whole. Being in the same place as participants, it allowed me to get a better sense of how they see, hear and feel peace in relation with the surrounding environment.

A limitation of participant observation is that little can be known about the underlying factors in someone's behaviour or the attitudes, motives, and explanations (Parfitt, 2005). That limitation does not necessarily present a significant problem, as observations are used as an enrichment of, and in combination with, the gathered qualitative information from interviews and the researcher's diary.

Three observation sessions have been held inside the HPMM, each lasting for approximately 2,5 hours. Starting on 10 February 2014, the sessions took place on three subsequent days, of which two in the morning and one in the afternoon. An observation plan was made after I had already spent several days in the museum to get familiar with its information and exhibitions, as well as its overall layout. During these days, almost all of the museum has been documented through photographs. The historical information, as well as letters, models, artefacts and museum layout have been

photographed. Additionally, one video observation is shot, showing the HPMP for 7 minutes from one location. This was done to capture the sense of being there, as well as showing the people, and the number of people, strolling through the park.

My participant observations were semi-structured, guided by a plan, so as to allow me to somewhat deviate if something deemed interesting and relevant occurred. In my plan I identified two locations inside the East Building and four rooms in the Main Building of the HPMM, each selected spot providing a good overview of the items on display and the visitors. I then spent 15-30 minutes at each location, depending on the characteristics of the location. The decisive factors in this were the amount of exhibits, the size and the nature of the room. During the observation, I sat down with my notebook in hand, noted the time, date and location and shortly explained the current situation. After that, I wrote down as much as possible. The number of visiting tourists, what they watch exactly, how they seem to react to certain encounters at the museum, the aspects of the exhibitions themselves and the layout of the museum rooms are, among other things, aspects that have been observed. In between the notes, where relevant, notable events were linked to photos concerning the location or artefacts at which the event took place. Taking photographs had become an important part of my participant observation. In order to not disregard my own feelings throughout the process, I kept note of my own thoughts as well in a separate section of the observation notebook.

The written text in the observation notebook has been typed out in Word documents earlier this year. This way, it is structured more clearly. Besides being clear and having a safe backup, it allowed for coding and adding comments, which made it more convenient to link the observation data to photos, interviews and my researcher's diary.

3.3.3 Autoethnography - Researcher Diary Keeping

I have kept a diary, recording personal data during the time of research. This way, I have been able to keep record of research activities and record personal feelings and emotions experienced as part of the research process (Meth, 2009). According to Meth (2009), these diary accounts often provide important insights into the methodological practices shaping the overall argument of the research, for example, why particular methodological choices were made and not others. Shaw (2013) also discusses the place of autobiography and autoethnography in tourism research and how to usefully utilize personal knowledges that have presented themselves during the research.

Shaw's mention of a conscious and deliberate self as research participant is particularly interesting regarding this study. Using the self as a deliberate research participant, I am able to reflect on my own experiences as being a researcher and a tourist. The gathered information provides a basis for

more critical appraisal of the researcher's engagement in the research itself. In this respect I am in agreement with Shaw (2013), who argues that:

It seems a little disingenuous to ignore our memories, or pretend that they belong to someone else. Worse still is the act of brushing them aside because researchers need to maintain a professional separation between us, and them (the 'real' participants) (Shaw, 2013, p. 3).

Since it is important to be able to write down thoughts at any moment, a separate notebook was necessary to take with me whenever I went out for research or other purpose. Additionally, a Word document on my laptop dedicated to the diary was kept for when I was at the hotel or host family, providing a more convenient and faster way of diary keeping.

As an important part of ethnography in this project, my host family provided me with meaningful discussions during the time of my stay in Hiroshima. In part, this is reflected in the fieldwork diary. Being with a host family greatly altered and enriched my sense of being in Hiroshima, as it helped me to better understand common cultural norms and values. The family taught me a great deal about Hiroshima and showed me impressive places, common in the regular life of Hiroshima citizens. Places that I would have never thought of visiting otherwise.

The final merged diary consists of 23.500 words, typed out in one Word document. In addition to written text, photos and video are also part of the diary, with references made to photos where relevant. There are 4 video diary entries, with a total playback time of 45 minutes. The written diary can also be used, up to a point, in conjunction with the observation material, since a lot of overlap exist. Also, thoughts about conducted interviews and observation experiences can be found in the diary.

Since an ethnographic and reflexive approach is aspired in this project, diary keeping done during my time in Japan is an important part of this research.

3.4 Ethical Considerations

Confidentiality and anonymity are two of the main ethical issues in research which involves people (O'Leary, 2010; Longhurst, 2009; Martin & Flowerdew, 2005). Respondents were informed that they can quit participating anytime they want. It has also been made clear that all the data collected will remain secure on my computer. Besides that, anonymity will be maintained by using pseudonyms for the respondents' names and other personal information involved in the results. The mentioned information is provided in a consent form, along with information on the research aim, its contents and what is expected of the participant.

By distributing business cards to potential participants, it allowed them to get in contact with me

without immediately having to disclose their personal details. This also allowed respondents to contact me at any time regarding questions about the research and its methods.

Concerning the informational poster placed in the TIC, the person in charge has been asked for permission, after which she decided to place the poster directly at the counter, together with some of my business cards.

The in-depth interviewing method required consideration about possible ethical issues. Longhurst (2009) mentions the possibility of interviewees expressing sexist, racist, or other discriminatory views and the need for researchers to think carefully about such situations, should they arise. While such views were not expected in this study, there was still a chance for such a situation to arise. The topic is, after all, one of conflict and war, it being connected to atomic bombing during World War II. Since people come to visit Hiroshima from all around the world, all with their own cultural backgrounds, the possibility of different points of view on the topic had to be taken into account. This is also the point where the importance of thinking about different cultural contexts arises. Regarding concern for cultural differences and diversities it is useful to be aware of people's different positionalities, but also my own researcher positionality, that is "a person's position within the midst of complex, shifting and overlapping political, economic, cultural, social, sexual, gendered, and racialized processes" (Longhurst 2009, p. 583). I had to keep in mind that different people are differently situated; differences in opinions and historical knowledge exist and I have to always treat the interviewees respectfully.

While ethical considerations were considered beforehand, contact with possible participants in this project developed without any problems. However, an unclear situation did arise in the interview with the museum exhibition office employees. During the interview, some questions were made personal, asking the interviewees what their own thoughts and opinions were regarding the museum exhibition, as well as their thoughts on visitor behaviour. Answers from these questions were sometimes unclear, as previous – more formal – answers were repeated at these times and they looked somewhat uncomfortable. While this may be because there was just some miscommunication, as seems to be the case when listening back to the audio recordings, it may also be that it was difficult for them to talk about such personal feelings in a professional atmosphere, since they were at work and the interview took place in the office. This is a situation to take into consideration when trying to understand the meanings of the interview data.

Regarding this method, one other previously made consideration came to light. Beforehand, it was difficult to assess the situation inside the museum concerning the recruitment process for interviews. It was unclear if the museum rules would allow for this to take place inside the museum and, even when allowed, if I – as well as potential participants – would feel comfortable doing so. After visiting

the museum it was clear that the tense atmosphere did not allow for any comfortable communication and there was also a sign at the exit that said it was forbidden to do so.

Regarding the participant observation method, several aspects had to be considered. O'Leary (2010) mentions a few things about the researcher-respondent relationship regarding this. For one, outcomes may be different when people know they are being watched. I needed to consider whether the behaviour of observed people can be expected to be natural or not. On the other hand, the method in this study resembled a covert approach to data collection, meaning I did *not* tell the observed that they were being watched for research (Cook, 2005, ch. 10). However, visitors were free to ask me what I was doing and I would then explain my situation. A potential problem is the lack of informed consent, an issue that can be overcome by giving convincing assurances related to the physical, mental and emotional welfare of the observed and observer (O'Leary, 2010). No such issues came up during my time of observation though, as observing and writing was mostly done sitting down in resting areas of the museum, a relatively peaceful environment. Also, no personal information can be obtained from the descriptions made in the observation report and no full frontal photographs were made of the observed people, meaning there are no confidentiality or anonymity issues present in this method.

The last consideration made beforehand was placement of the informational posters in an attempt to recruit participants. The initial idea was to place these in the hotel and the museum. After asking the hotel and museum personnel, my request was denied at both places. Respecting their decisions, no posters were placed in these locations. However, the TIC employees helped me instantly after explaining the meaning of my research.

In the end, just some of the ethical considerations made beforehand came forward during the time of research. There have not been any issues concerning these situations, as they were prepared for and handled professionally.

3.5 Reflection on Hiroshima fieldwork

My one-month fieldwork in Hiroshima was, by and large, successful. Within a short time span I managed to engage with 13 people, conduct face-to-face interviews and discussion as well as e-mail correspondence, write 23500 words of fieldwork diary and take 400 photographs. Beyond these measures, my outlook on tourism, research and life in general has been forever altered and enriched. Like any other project, mine as well encountered some limitations upon which I briefly reflect in the following.

Firstly, the setting itself proved to be a considerable problem concerning recruiting participants. My time in Hiroshima was limited to, effectively, less than 4 weeks. The process started in February, one of the colder months and not the most crowded period, especially regarding international, English and/or Dutch speaking tourists. Moreover, it was colder than usual, with snowfall causing the city centre and Peace Park to be inaccessible from where I was situated for some days. It also meant that even less tourists were present in the Peace Park, making it difficult to find participants on these days.

On better days, there were quite some tourists strolling through the park, though most of them were Japanese. Setting up appointments and taking interviews posed to be a considerable challenge due to the fact that, for most tourists, Hiroshima, the HPMM and HPMP were just a quick stop on their larger travel schedule. This meant that most people did not have time for an interview because they had to leave again soon after their visit to the museum, spending only little time in the Peace Park area and close to none in the city itself.

A second point of attention concerns the interview setting. Beforehand, the idea was to conduct interviews in a relatively neutral and quiet setting or in locations such as coffee shops or lunchrooms. These places can help with creating a comfortable atmosphere as well as provide clear audio recordings (Longhurst, 2009). In practice, however, there was no opportunity for this at times. There was, for instance, an interview on a bench in the park. Since it started out as a regular conversation and flowed naturally into an interview, it seemed a bad idea to interrupt the conversation in order to move elsewhere. In the end though, the recording turned out to be great. Another interview was held in the TIC, which was usually very quiet, but turned out to be quite noisy during the interview, as is also evident from the audio recording.

What turned out quite well at times are the notes on the interviews made afterwards and written in the diary. The notes offer insight in the overall feeling I had at those moments, also reminding me of the setting and non-verbal cues such as body language.

Thirdly, the unexpected event of becoming ill turned out to be a considerable problem for the data gathering process. During the third week in Hiroshima, I have been in bed for almost a full week because of illness from food poisoning, as was diagnosed by a doctor in the Hiroshima Hospital. My fieldwork consisted of mainly talking to the family members who hosted me, and looked after me. In spite of these setbacks, tourism fieldwork for my thesis was undertaken, interviews and discussions conducted, photographs taken, and my research question tackled and answered.

4. Discussions

In this chapter, I analyze the data and provide discussions linking the data to the theories presented in chapter 2. Three individual subchapters are distinguished to further elaborate on the three main themes which emerged from the data analysis. These are: peace education through tourism, emotional dynamics in dark (tourism) rooms, and lasting feelings of peace.

4.1 Peace education through tourism

During my fieldwork in Hiroshima I encountered two groups of high school pupils from the U.S., and France, respectively, visiting the museum. The French group studies Japanese and one of their goals was to learn more than mere historical facts from textbooks. This came to light in later e-mail contact with Claire, one of the French students who contacted me a few weeks later, as she explained *“we all heard about the atomic bomb but as we are European we just studied it as an historic fact not as a traumatic fact ”* (Claire, personal communication, March 6, 2014). The educational motivation is enmeshed with the emotional, deeper drive of emotionally experiencing ‘the traumatic fact’ decades after it happened, as the intensity of the event still persists in Hiroshima. The experience as described here supports Biran et al.’ (2011) claims that tourists’ main motivations and experiences in Auschwitz, considered as a dark tourism site, are related to having both an educational and emotional experience.

As noted in my researcher’s diary, the American students were led by one senior man, probably their teacher. They sat in the museum’s visitor lounge and had a notable emotional conversation. Later, when outside, I explained my position to the man, wondering if I could have an exchange of thoughts and emotions with the group. Even though some in the group - who overheard our conversation - nodded and sounded positive, the man told me they were still emotionally processing the visit in the museum and that he would talk to them about it later. I could understand that, since I saw *“the group was looking down a bit and looked very serious”* (Meijer, fieldwork diary, February 17, 2014). Considering this was a group of American students, and taking into account the historical connection between the U.S. and Japan, in particular, Hiroshima, an educational and emotional experience is easily understood. This supports Biran et al.’ (2011) arguments concerning the emphasis on the educational and emotional dimensions of the dark tourism experience. The students’ reactions strongly suggest their emotional engagements with the stories presented at the museum.

Based on my participant observations and fieldwork diary, perhaps the most notable visitors in the HPMM and HPMP are the groups of Japanese school children (see for example Figure 2). During the first day of observation on February 10th about a hundred school children came in during the first half hour. It is worth mentioning that, after that, no more were seen in the museum. The same goes for

the other days, though there were less school children on those days. They are mostly laughing and talking out loud, rushing through the museum, seemingly not really paying any attention to the information in this part of the museum. Peace museums are important in educating youth (Yoshida, 2004), indicating the connection between peace education and peace tourism. Many schools throughout Japan take trips to the HPMM with their pupils in order for them to learn about the historical events and its impacts on the city and its inhabitants.

Aside from the aforementioned formal ways of peace education organised by education institutions (primary schools, high schools, universities), some tourists take the opportunity to educate themselves through visiting the HPMM. As Anthony said, a British tourist in his 50's who travels a lot: *"Well, the main reason [to come to Hiroshima] was to see the Dome, the museum, mainly it's just a sad case, all the futility of it all"* (interview, February 20, 2014). He continues:

"I like to visit as many places as I can which interest me. Not through a macabre reason or anything like that, it's just a purely personal interest. I mean, you know, you build up your own sort of education. You know, it's like anything really, the more you see, the more you learn. And you can learn from different cultures and how they react." (Anthony, interview, February 20, 2014)

For him, it's an interest, his way of educating himself. Having visited more places like this, as Anthony indicates, he basically knew what experience to expect, emotionally, in his visit to the HPMM. Interestingly, while using the word 'macabre', Anthony's outward explanation for his reasons to travel are not connected to any *dark* motivations, such as taking pleasure in the misfortune of others, as mentioned in other articles (Wight, 2005). Instead, his declared motivation closely relates to peace tourism ideas, wherein education is regarded as an important factor towards consolidating peace (Urbain, 2013). The educational aspect also came up in an interview with an Australian couple in which Matt, a 24 year old electrician, explains that his expectation was *"seeing and learning about what the city was like and what the aftermath of it was, things like that and, yeah, how the bomb works"* (Matt, interview, February 18, 2014).

Having visited similar places in the world, the British tourist Anthony says he basically knew what he would see in the museum. When he visited Hiroshima, he just came over from South Korea, where he had visited the war memorial museums in Seoul. There, he learned about how the Japanese had abused the Koreans in the Second World War. The museum in Hiroshima does mention this abuse, but not in much detail. Anthony on storytelling in the museum:

"And you can learn from different cultures and how they react. I mean, it's interesting to see the wording on certain aspects in the museum. You know, there was one thing where, in those days, the

Japanese were an aggressive force. [...] But it was a nice way of putting it, for the benefit of now. And quite frankly, they've done the best they can." (interview, February 20, 2014)

Anthony already mentioned that these visits are for self-educational purposes. Adding this, he seems to be aware of and accept the fact that storytelling is done with specific purposes in mind, agreeing with the way this subject is handled in the Hiroshima museum. He makes it quite clear, by repeating this several times, that the museum in Hiroshima was not very shocking to him:

"No, I really think they've done it rather well. I mean, it really is. I mean, when you see the hair and you have the fingernails and the skin. But in, you know you go to the one in Vietnam and, God, they've got fetuses of children and, you know, with this in a park where they destroyed things and the parts of bodies are in, babies are in formaldehyde. It's more of an impact than this." (interview, February 20, 2014)

Anthony's opinion that storytelling in the museum is successfully done in order to meet its purposes connects well with Herborn's (2014) plea for peace museums to frame violent attacks as a crime against humanity requiring international co-operation and the strengthening of international law.

Having visited many such museums, and coming from a museum with such horrific exhibitions, it is understandable that the relative impact the HPMM had on him is quite low. Aside from this, he says that he was better prepared for this visit, since he had already read a lot about it and, thus, knew what to expect, corresponding with Buda's (2015) description of shock and that the degree to which a tourist experiences shock depends on the level of their knowledge about the place. Interestingly, a shocking moment occurs as Anthony did have a tear in his eyes when he first saw the Genbaku Dome, as he shares after admitting he does sometimes get emotional when he visits such places. This indicates Anthony did experience shock as manifested by the tears in his eyes. At this point, Anthony is very open and honest, and he explained how this was the third time he had to cry during his travels because of how emotional he got at those moments. Considering the power of emotions to shape our sense of who we are, as well as alter the way the world is for us (Davidson and Milligan, 2004), moments like this may very well be closely connected to his self-educational drive to travel the world, visiting similar places. Anthony's peace through tourism experience was rather shocking yet "educating" as he himself states.

On the other hand, for Thomas and Jill the educational experience is linked to sorrow. Thomas, a 26 year old technician, and Jill, a 24 year old call center operator, are an Australian couple I interviewed inside the TIC. Thomas thought the experience *"was gonna be pretty grim"* (interview, February 20, 2014) and also shares Jill's expectation that it would be a *"pretty confronting"* (Jill, interview, February 20, 2014) experience. These expectations suggest emotional aspects also play a part in their

considerations for visiting the museum. Their experience turned out to be educative and about feelings of peace.

Jill: *"Yeah, don't know, I kind of wasn't expecting so much a push for anti-weapons and like, I didn't realize how involved the city would be and how much they wanted that. Like, it makes sense, but I didn't really realize that that's what it was gonna be. Such a focus of the museum, which was lovely. It was so much about peace."* (interview, February 20, 2014)

Thomas: *"It was way better than I was expecting it to be. More informative, better set out than what I was expecting. I didn't think that it would be that much [...] But I wasn't expecting it to be that in depth. But, you know, it was pretty good."* (interview, February 20, 2014)

For Thomas and Jill, the museum was set out to be informative, with a strong focus on peace. This suggests the museum successfully employs peace education, which, according to Blanchard and Higgins-Desbiolles (2013), should be embedded in tourism policy and practice in order to encourage a sensitivity to and respect for cultural difference.

Additionally, when asking about the second part of the museum, more emotional responses were given. Thomas, for instance, seemed to have difficulty expressing himself when saying: *"Well, the second part, it was pretty confronting. As you'd suspect I suppose. That's what I thought the whole thing would be. I didn't realize that it was going to lend so much towards peace, or whatever, beforehand. But, yeah, I don't know. I don't know what to say"* (interview, February 20, 2014).

Immediately after asking what emotions came up during these encounters, Thomas, again with some difficulty in expressing himself, says: *"Sorrow. I don't know..."*. This suggests a similar importance of both education and emotion as found in tourist experiences in their visit to the HPMM and again indicates a balance between the museum providing historical information as well as an emotional and confronting experience.

Based on the experiences of the TIC employees, Kenji and his boss Midori, American tourists share emotional experiences similar to the American students mentioned before. Tourists sometimes show up worried before entering the museum, concerned about being blamed for the disaster. Afterwards, they would come back and share their experiences and thoughts. This might again indicate motivations to learn about the traumatic events as being more than just historical facts, as they realize it will be an emotional experience.

Clearly, the emotional and educational dimensions of the dark tourism experience at the HPMM are strongly represented among the respondents. In peace tourism literature, the educational aspect is considered as crucial in the experience during the visit, as peace education is an important addition in raising awareness and stimulating global citizenship (Blanchard and Higgins-Desbiolles, 2013;

Urbain, 2013). Emotional experiences, then, are regarded as a crucial aspect within this process, as emotions can change how people see and interpret the world (Davidson and Milligan, 2004), as well as alter the way lives are lived (Wood and Smith, 2004) and act as catalysts for action (Buda et al., 2014).

The emotional experiences explored here closely match the museum's goal to help tourists understand the scope of the events in Hiroshima and their traumatic effects (HPMM, 2011). It is also evident that emotions are intertwined with the peace education dimension in dark tourism. Through emotional experiences in education, it is the museum's hope to raise awareness for peace (HPMM, 2011). Peace education is a necessary component in the process of harnessing tourism as a social force towards positive peace (Urbain, 2013; Blanchard and Higgins-Desbiolles, 2013). As indicated in chapter 3, the museum's east building mainly focuses on informative education, while the main building offers an emotional experience, either through shock, sorrow or confrontation. The participant observations I conducted in the HPMM can help provide more insight into tourists' emotional experiences as the dark tourism site.

4.2 Emotional dynamics in dark (tourism) rooms

In this sub-section I take the readers through the dark tourism rooms at the HPMM's main building. Dark tourism because the museum presents artefacts related to death, disaster and atrocities (Sharpley and Stone, 2009). The museum's main building consists of four, darker or lighter lit rooms.

The first room is fairly small, with dim lighting and no sounds or music playing at all. The first thing to see in this room are wax models of 3 people (see Figure 7), badly burned, wild hairs and skin hanging from their arms. But mostly, there are artefacts of people who died in the bombing, such as pieces of clothing, watches that stopped working at the same time, sandals and a tricycle (see Figure 7). Two opposite walls are covered with huge black and white photos (see Figure 7) of the destroyed and burnt down Hiroshima after the atomic bomb was dropped.



Figure 7. Artefacts found in the first room of the Main Building. (Source: Meijer, 2014)

Visitor emotions are strikingly different here when compared to the east building. Overall, people walk more slowly here and heads are down. They are taking their time in a slow moving line in order to see all the artefacts here and read the stories that go with them. Most are very quiet, whispering when they have something to say. No one in line has been seen smiling in this room, with the notable exception of a small group of schoolchildren rushing through. There was a woman here who seemed shocked, as she was keeping her handkerchief to her nose, eyes clearly red and seemingly wiping away tears. It is in this room that Matt, the 24 year old man from Australia, had his first emotional encounters in this place:

“there are a few things, like the schoolboy that died, that was pretty emotional. [...] You actually seeing the shirt of someone who died from radiation poisoning and the burns, it was quite sad. [...] The second part was a bit more confronting. And then the statues of people with their skin dripping off of them.” (Matt, interview, February 18, 2014)

I had a similar reaction concerning the wax figures, as I wrote in the diary: *“3 models of people with melting skin impressed me a lot, the gruesome image really hit me emotionally”* (Meijer, fieldwork diary, February 5, 2014). Interestingly, these figures will be removed from the museum in the renewal project, which came to light in an interview with two employees of the museum exhibition office, Tengo and Ayumi. The exhibition division is in charge of all things related to the exhibition. Their main job is to *“maintain the permanent exhibit and update permanent exhibit and those special exhibitions and collect A-bomb related materials”* (Ayumi, interview, February 28, 2014). The

interview helped gain insight in the way the museum works, as well as in how all visitors, including Japanese, broadly think about the museum. For the museum renewal project, it is important to know what visitors think about the museum as it was at that time. Two methods were applied in order to gain such insight. First, a corner with a notebook was set up at the very end of the main building where visitors can write impressions or respond to the exhibits. Second, a questionnaire was distributed among the visitors. Both were important for the museum employees to understand what their visitors think and feel. As Ayumi says: *“Some people write that this exhibition is very impressive or is not impressive. You know, visitors can write. So we can feel which exhibits is [sic] more impact or more strong [sic] power to the visitors. So we can get information [...] for the renewal project”*.

Corresponding with my findings, some visitors mentioned in the museum notebook and questionnaire that the wax figures leave the strongest impressions on them. The reason for their removal is that *“some A-bomb survivors say the model doesn’t express the horror of nuclear weapons. Or the reality of atomic bombing is much more worse [sic] than the wax figures”* as Ayumi explains (interview, February 28, 2014). This shows that atomic bomb survivors still play an important role in the museum exhibition policy. Judging from these findings, the exhibits here effectively raise awareness by emotionally confronting visitors about the victims’ physical suffering, meeting an important condition in the process of peace through tourism. However, concerning the wax figures, some atomic bomb survivors argue it does not sufficiently capture the traumatic effects of burn victims.

The second room shows the effect the bomb had on buildings, as well as showing more clothes and items belonging to people who died. Apart from that, there are several photos on display of burn victims (see Figure 8). The lights in this room are also dimmed and no sound or music is played. Here, people mostly have a saddened facial expression. Looking at the photos, one man expressed himself by saying *“woaahh”* several times, seeming shockingly impressed by what was shown, indicating how the experience of shock can manifest itself in multiple ways. A woman, holding her hand to her cheek, sighing and hiding her face. After a minute, she starts crying and sniffing a lot while watching the exhibits in this room, indicating the visit is, to her, a shocking and emotional experience. During the third observation on 12 February 2014, I noticed a woman crying in this room. As it happened also with Anthony, shock manifests itself in the shedding of tears while visiting Hiroshima. Overall, there was a sense of visitors feeling sad and watching intrigued and, when seeing the photos, somewhat disgusted. Visitors seem to be made aware of the gruesome circumstances through an emotional experience.



Figure 8. Photos of burn victims found in the second room of the Main Building. (Source: Meijer, 2014)

In the third room, the atmosphere seems to loosen up slightly, as the only artefacts on display here are actual pieces of buildings affected by the bomb (see Figure 9). Also, the lighting in this room is brighter than in the previous two rooms and feels more spacious. Whilst there are still no smiles to be seen here and there are mostly serious facial expressions, visitors talk louder here. Most people stroll along calmly here, not standing still a lot, moving on to the next room. This indicates that, in particular, the confrontation with human suffering causes the required emotional response in order to effectively create awareness for the severeness of the A-bomb disaster. My own observations are in line with the museum's findings from their questionnaire and visitor's corner notebook, as Ayumi explains: *"Most of the visitors said we should focus on more belongings of victims or more photographs to describe the sorrow of the victims"* (interview, February 28, 2014). Partly based on those outcomes, there will be a focus on more atomic bomb related objects, more on belongings of victims and more photographs in future exhibitions. This also corresponds with previously mentioned emotional end educative experiences. The renewal plans further illustrate the museum's goal of raising awareness for peace and its hope to help tourists understand the scope of the events in Hiroshima and their traumatic effects (HPMM, 2011). Also, Ayumi states that the east building will also be improved with modern equipment and interactive information panels.

In this regard, several authors (Uzzel, 1992; Fernandez and Bennloch, 2000; in Wright, 2005) critique some museum authorities for manipulating visitor emotional experiences. However, as the focus of the renewal will not only focus on more human suffering, but also on an increased accessibility of the

information in the East Building, it remains to be seen if the critique regarding the appropriate interpretation of the historical context will hold any ground after the renewal. Thus, Herborn (2014) contends that it is crucial to correctly frame peace museums in order to achieve their goals of tourists feeling peace.



Figure 9. The Main Building's third room showing photos and artefacts of structural damage. (Source: Meijer, 2014)

The fourth and last exhibition room has been a very crowded place during all my observations. There is an extensive amount of information on the workings of radiation and its effects on the human body. Besides that, there are photos of radiation victims (see Figure 10), showing the diversity of symptoms that come from radiation sickness. The lighting in this room is dim again, only coming from the lights shining on the information and photos. No lights on the ceiling are turned on. Most visitors are whispering, not talking out loud. Visitor movement is especially slow where symptoms are on display, while notably walking by a lot faster where radiation is textually explained. People watching the symptoms clearly have sad looks on their faces. Fiona, an 23 year old Australian woman, expressed her feelings in this section as follows: *“parts about the effects of radiation were quite confronting. Even, not just the people who burned, but all of the after effects. The sickness on the skin, and...”* (interview, February 18, 2014), indicating she was made aware of the atomic bomb's long term effects victims suffered from. During my third observation stint, the sadness around affected me as well, as I felt very uncomfortable observing people in this last room, noticing ever increasing sadness compared to previous days.



Figure 10. The fourth room in the Main Building with photos and information on radiation victims. (Source: Meijer, 2014)

After visiting the fourth room, for the 24 year old Jill from Australia, a connection was made for her between education and the emotions of anger and frustration, in turn effectively raising awareness. In the east building, she read about how dropping the bomb, to her, was being treated like a research project. Whilst acknowledging that “we got so much information about radiation science out of it” (Jill, interview, February 20, 2014), she also says it made her “quite frustrated, even angry” and “devastated that one country can do this to another, to anyone”. Jill demonstrates the power of emotion in this process, as she first learned about the decision-making process prior to dropping the atomic bomb, after which she later was emotionally confronted with the horrific consequences for the victims, raising awareness and causing her to see the world, historical events and people’s actions in a different light. This stresses the importance of emotional dynamics in the process of peace through tourism. It also suggests that the concepts of emotional experiences, peace education and raising awareness are inseparably connected in the Hiroshima experience.

Marije, a 28 year old medical doctor from the Netherlands whom I interviewed for this project, had a similar experience. One of her main feelings is a conscious sense of being in the places where certain events actually happened. She mentions this as a recurring feeling, explaining that she has visited several concentration camps in Europe and that “those thing happened there. So, the feeling of being in that specific place and then seeing what’s around you and that it happened there” (Marije, interview, February 18, 2014). This exemplifies how emotions can affect our sense of space

(Davidson and Milligan, 2004) as well as have an effect on how histories are experienced (Wood and Smith, 2004). The main building was, to her:

pretty impressive, especially seeing the before and after models [of Hiroshima city]. And I didn't know how big the scale of it all was beforehand. That, indeed, within a range of two kilometers, well, everything was burned down and almost no buildings were left standing [...] And also, maybe I first thought it was more about the radiation, but it was also just the bomb itself that really had such power and burned so much in the surroundings. So I was very impressed by that [...]" (Marije, interview, February 18, 2014).

Here, again, it seems to be a sense of being in a specific place and imagining scale and surroundings of when the bombing took place. She shares a similar thought when talking about the size of the bomb, of which she thought the relatively small size of 3 meters was *"also very impressive"*. Another thing that impressed Marije was the number of people who died from radiation sickness in the months after the atomic bomb disaster. She accounts this interest to her medical background. The facts surrounding this sickness were new to her, as she says: *"I wasn't really aware of that. So I thought that was, well, bizarre to see"* (Marije, interview, February 18, 2014). Clearly, Marije's experience is another example of how peace education through emotional experiences led to a raised awareness of the events that took place and the scale of the disaster, as well as being consistent with the museum's goals.

It is implied that important conditions as mentioned in peace tourism literature are met, namely that peace education and raising awareness through emotional experiences are necessary components in the process of harnessing tourism as a social force towards positive peace (Urbain, 2013; Blanchard and Higgins-Desbiolles, 2013). I argue that the emotional experience and the feelings that may last are crucial to understand this process, as Davidson and Milligan (2004) state that *"our sense of who and what we are is continually (re)shaped by how we feel"* (p. 524). The power of emotion in shaping society (Anderson and Smith, 2001) and futures (Wood and Smith, 2004) is key if the goals of the HPMM are to be accomplished. In that regard, it is necessary to understand the lasting feelings of tourists after their visit. Peace tourism ideas and conditions can help understand the data by contextualizing the tourist potential of promoting global citizenship through trust and understanding between people of different cultures (D'Amore, 1988).

4.3 Lasting feelings: "It's something you can't forget".

For Claire, the French student who visited Hiroshima with her classmates, and others with whom I talked, visiting the HPMM and Hiroshima was an experience that one cannot easily forget. To her, it

“feels like we’re just trapped in a world that would never deal with something without fighting, it seems like the world will always be a far cry from peace” (Claire, personal communication, March 21, 2014). She thinks it is naive to think talking can resolve everything. However, she does regard her visit as being important. While she felt sadness, *“it was worth it because it’s something you can’t forget and this disaster must be graved in our memories”* (Claire, personal communication, March 6, 2014), which is exactly what the museum hopes to achieve. She acknowledges the difficulties of dealing with complex conflicts, whilst also expressing her hope for the world to one day be mature enough to abolish war.

Claire then explained a strengthened opinion against war. During the month after her visit, she describes war as *“something omnipresent, something awful”* (Claire, personal communication, March 21, 2014) and is of the opinion that *“our mentalities should have evolved (in a good way)”* (Claire, personal communication, March 25, 2014), meaning people should be capable of resolving conflicts without war. She compares her strengthened opinion as follows:

“[...] it was like when I saw for the first time Neda’s death during the Iranian riots in 2009, actually I’m Persian and, at first, I took the demonstrations seriously but then I started to feel anger...I think it was kind of the same feeling [...]”. (Claire, personal communication, March 21, 2014)

Thoughts and feelings similar to Claire’s came forward among other interviewees regarding the lasting feelings of visiting the HPMM and its surroundings. For 26 year old Australian Thomas, nothing changed about his ideas of nuclear war: *“I don’t think it’s changed my ideas of nuclear war or anything like that [...] I don’t think it should happen”* (interview, February 20, 2014). Thomas’ partner Jill, however, thinks she will definitely think about her experience at the museum again, saying it *reinforces* the idea that *“it was the stupidest idea to start getting involved in nuclear war”* (interview, February 20, 2014). This reinforcement of an already established opinion against war also occurred with Matt, who – together with Fiona – sees himself as a pacifist whose aversion to war has been reinforced by his visit to the museum.

Clearly, the visit left behind considerable lasting impressions amongst the respondents. Considering these results, the Hiroshima experience seems to positively relate to the goals of the museum and meets the peace tourism conditions of effectively employing peace education to raise awareness and to let people think about matters of peace and war. This supports the claims that the experience of a visit to a dark tourism site lead visitors to think about fundamental questions regarding their own life and death (Whalley, 2007; Lantermann, 2007).

The conversation with Anthony brought up more context regarding the lasting feelings of the visit. As mentioned before, Anthony tends to visit places like this everywhere he travels: *“It’s just building up*

your own education" (interview, February 20, 2014). As a relevant reasoning behind this, Anthony continues: *"And I think more people see [sic] these sort of things, the more profound an impact it would have on them. I mean, it's so sad. And the worst thing is, it still goes on"*. What can be derived from this is that he thinks visiting these places can positively contribute to a more peaceful world by leaving lasting feelings and memories for those who visit dark tourism sites such as in Hiroshima. However, when later talking about war in general, Anthony brings up the following:

Well what I said earlier, it's just futile. It's just absolutely terrible [...] And whatever we see here it won't do any good, it's just human beings, it's a natural reaction to fight each other sadly, and it's been going on for, since man [sic] was first here, wasn't it. It's just power, people want power. It's like the First World War, I could never understand that, I mean they, there was the king of England and the tsar of Russia, they were cousins. Wouldn't you have thought they could have a chat to each other and, and all those millions of men, millions died. (Anthony, interview, February 20, 2014)

Here it seems he feels it is hopeless to think war will ever end. Defining the reaction to fight and the yearn for power as natural, he himself seems to be longing for an impossible situation. The last sentence makes his viewpoint even more apparent, thinking how pointless the death of millions of people has been and that it would have been better to engage in conversation rather than war. Still, the interview ended similarly as it began, with Anthony thinking this kind of travelling could contribute something to peace: *"I think it does. I think it gives people a balanced perspective on the horrors of war"* (interview, February 20, 2014).

In line with the concept of two-track diplomacy (Davidson and Montville, 1981), Anthony's belief that this kind of tourism can positively contribute to peace can be better understood as track-two diplomacy, which assumes that unofficial, non-structured interaction can resolve or ease actual or potential conflicts. In addition, Claire's thinking that talking alone cannot resolve all conflicts is in line with Kim and Crompton's (1990) idea that tourism "cannot be an absolute alternative to traditional track-one diplomacy" (p. 364). Instead, it is argued that the cross-cultural exchanges encountered in tourism can potentially create a positive climate in which successful track-one diplomacy can take place. Without being able to assess the contribution of the Hiroshima experience to consolidating peace, the act of travelling to and emotionally experiencing dark sites in Hiroshima does seem to positively contribute to tourist's critical thinking about war and peace by offering a reflexive experience wherein awareness is raised through emotional experiences by effectively employing peace education. The discussed cross-cultural exchanges are a necessary component towards mutual understanding and global citizenship (Blanchard and Higgins-Desbiolles, 2013).

In an interview with the TIC employees, Kenji makes a distinction between Japanese and international tourists arriving in Hiroshima: *“I think, for Japanese tourists, they come down to Hiroshima just for sightseeing. But most of the foreigners come for the...How can I explain?...Not mainly just [sic] for the sightseeing. They feel some sympathy for the victims of the A-bomb”* (Kenji, interview, February 19, 2014). Midori then adds to this why most Japanese tourists mainly come for sightseeing, explaining that they study the history of Japan in school, as well as coming to Hiroshima with a school trip to study what has happened there. These school trips were also mentioned by Yoshida (2004) and frequently seen during my fieldwork in the HPMP, as is evident in my observations inside the museum, recorded in my fieldwork diary.

“Some of them [international tourists] come to the information desk and they explain to us the Memorial Museum [sic]...for some of them is [sic] very hard, to see the photo or the display, but not all of them” (Kenji, interview, February 19, 2014). Here, Kenji makes it clear that foreign tourists sometimes share their emotional experiences. Midori then adds more context to this:

“We can’t judge, but uhm, foreign visitors, just like he said, they share what they saw, that what they felt at the museum visiting, as they visited the museum. After they visiting, they come and then they share their experience [...] The impact, you know, they had, as they visited the museum...they saw the pictures and explanation and the real, you know, things. Like the watch stopped at 8:15h, sort of thing. That will really hit or strike them. And they were so overwhelmed, they will be like speechless, so sad or so shocked. Then, maybe, they won’t maybe share the feeling they had. Then they come here and then tell them.[...] So I think, it’s so great to be here, to be heard from the real voice, the real feeling from the visitors”. (Midori, interview, February 19, 2014)

Midori openly shares how she thinks and feels about tourists, importantly adding that it is a good thing that foreigners come to visit Hiroshima and that they *“really welcome them and encourage them to visit here”* (interview, February 19, 2014). According to her, tourists sometimes are overwhelmingly sad or shocked and in need of sharing these emotional encounters. The notion of sharing is an important aspect in reaching global citizenship, as *“respect for difference lies in processes of cross-cultural communication”* (Blanchard and Higgins-Desbiolles, 2013, p. 4). Therefore, the suggestion that museum visitors feel the need to share their experiences, as well as engage in dialogue with the Japanese TIC employees, indicates the lasting feelings of the Hiroshima experience may be an important step towards mutual understanding.

TIC employee Midori expressed the idea that tourists who visited the museum feel the need to share their experience. Knowing that, it makes sense that she welcomes people from abroad to visit the museum, as she thinks that will connect to other people and, in turn, motivate more people to visit the area. That way, she hopes *“they can see both sides, before, and then the present. And then they*

could feel the joy of having peace” (Midori, interview, February 19, 2014). This open and welcoming attitude is necessary in order to promote global citizenship, as it lowers the threshold for international tourists to come visit Hiroshima and go through the emotional experience it offers, subsequently contributing to mutual understanding. Midori explains *“that everyone, even the survivors really, really want the people, especially maybe American people, come here to see what really had [sic] happened”*, indicating her position in this is shared by more Japanese people. Later on in the interview, Midori shared her feelings and thoughts on tourists and travelling:

“Every time I think and then I’ll be thankful for them coming to Japan, as a trip, and then they choose to come to Hiroshima [...] so, the Peace Memorial Park and then the museum will be one of their destination [sic], is [sic] very thankful and very important, I think. And then, for me, if I pay a lot of money to go abroad, I want to do what I want to do, for fun or sightseeing. But coming here, it’s not just fun. Sometimes you feel so much to see [sic] the museum. But lot of people choose to come here to the museum, visiting here, I think it’s really thankful [sic] choosing to come here. [...] I can’t really say ‘thank you’ directly, but through their service at the tourist information center, [...] they would feel: ‘oh, this is so [sic] pleasant information center to come’, then that would be so nice, you know, we are helping for [sic] those tourists, especially coming to Hiroshima, Peace Memorial Park.”

(Midori, interview, February 19, 2014)

Evidently, the ‘Hiroshima experience’ indirectly means a lot to Midori, as she so openly expressed here. Considering dark tourism as the antithesis of the consumption of pleasant places (Wight, 2005), visiting Hiroshima is once again connected to dark tourism when Midori says that *“coming here, it’s not just fun”*. Knowing, from her own experience, how visits to memorial places of death and disaster can affect people in the way it did her, she feels she should do the same. This is evident from two examples as Midori continues talking. First, she says: *“If I have a chance to go to Germany, I will really, really, visit there [Auschwitz] if I can”* (interview, February 19, 2014). Also, she has visited the USS Arizona Memorial, located at Pearl Harbor. As she previously mentioned how American tourists feel worried about visiting Hiroshima, she felt the same when visiting this memorial place: *“And then, you know, Japan attacked America at Pearl Harbor. So for me, it’s such a decision to go to the Arizona Museum, as a Japanese. So the same feeling that [...] American tourists, coming here, and ask me: ‘Would I be okay to visit the museum?’ So maybe he or she felt the same way, kind of anxious or feeling worrying”* (Midori, interview, February 19, 2014).

Midori’s example emphasizes the importance of emotional experiences in dark tourism and exemplifies the close connection with peace tourism in Hiroshima. Midori shows how tourists’ emotional experiences and lasting feelings in Hiroshima not only affect the tourists themselves, but also have the power to connect to others, in this case Midori of the TIC. Regarding this, Buda et al. (2014) show a similar connection, arguing the importance of feelings and emotions in tourism as

“these are the catalyst for action” (p. 108). Midori feels thankful for those who have had the Hiroshima emotional experience of war, suffering and the city’s call for peace. Consequently, Midori being affected by others’ lasting feelings led to her ‘action’ of visiting the Pearl Harbor memorial place, which gave rise to a mutual affection as she now better understands how American tourists in Hiroshima feel. Knowing how it can positively affect the people it concerns, it also fed her motivation to visit similar places if the opportunity for it arises. Through this process, Midori can indeed be considered as an example of global citizenship.

5. CONCLUSION

The aim of this thesis was to contribute critical understandings regarding tourists' emotional experiences in peace tourism to dark places in the city of Hiroshima, especially the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum. The main research question I answered in this project is how and in what ways do tourists emotionally experience peace tourism to dark sites in Hiroshima? To this end, I have employed multiple qualitative research methods, namely in-depth interviews, participant observation, and autoethnography.

In the particular context of touring the Hiroshima dark sites connected to the atomic bomb, through autoethnography and in-depth interviews, a strong connection between emotional experiences and peace education is showcased. Either through formal and informal educational experiences, the tourists interviewed for this project experienced Hiroshima as traumatic events, rather than merely as historic facts. Peace education is embedded in the Hiroshima experience through emotional experiences, corresponding with the findings of Biran et al. (2011) that tourists travelling to Auschwitz – being a dark tourism place of death, suffering and tragedy – mostly interpret their visit as an educational and emotional experience. In this specific case of dark tourism, there are no direct signs of Sharpley and Stone's (2008) emphasis on a fascination with death as the main aspect in visiting dark sites. The connection to the peace tourism framework, then, is that peace education is considered as an important addition in raising awareness and stimulating global citizenship (Blanchard and Higgins-Desbiolles, 2013; Urbain, 2013). The emotional and educative dimensions of the dark and peace tourism experiences explored in this project closely match the museum's goal. This is to help tourists understand the scope of the events in Hiroshima and their traumatic effects and to raise awareness for peace through emotional experiences in education (HPMM, 2011).

I also took the readers through the dark tourism rooms at the HPMM's main building based on participant observation, in-depth interviews and autoethnography. My observations indicate that, through emotional experiences, museum visitors experience shock in multiple ways. I have witnessed some tourists crying. Alternatively, saddened facial expressions, body language and spoken expressions indicated tourists experiencing shock. The participant observations and interviews indicate that the emotional and educational experience of being confronted with human suffering effectively raises awareness for the severity of an atomic bomb disaster. The information collected and analysed in this thesis show that the HPMM is effectively framed as a peace museum (Herborn, 2014) and connects with the HPMM's goal of creating awareness for peace. Moreover, important conditions as mentioned in peace tourism literature are met, namely that peace education and raising awareness through emotional experiences are necessary components in the process of

harnessing tourism as a social force towards positive peace (Urbain, 2013; Blanchard and Higgins-Desbiolles, 2013).

Sharpley and Stone (2009) state a dark tourism visit can 'have profound implications for the visitor soon after the actual visit' (p. 108). In this regard, several authors (Biran et al., 2011; Buda et al., 2014; Herborn, 2014; Urbain, 2013) contend the importance of emotional experiences in tourism studies, as well as demonstrate how emotional experiences in touring dark places can be a catalyst for action, or even cause life-changing experiences. To this end, I argue that it is important to consider the lasting feelings of visitors after their dark tourism experience. Considered from a peace tourism perspective, an appropriate balance of emotional experiences and peace education is crucial in order to successfully promote global citizenship through visitors' lasting feelings.

The experience of visiting dark sites lead visitors to think about fundamental questions regarding their own life and death (Lantermann, 2007; Whalley, 2007). My own findings indeed emphasise that some tourists such as the French student Claire and the British man Anthony express their lasting feelings in critically thinking about war and peace. Australian tourists Thomas, Matt and Jill see their aversion to war reinforced. Lastly, as a Japanese woman working in the Tourist Information Center, the example of Midori emphasizes the importance of emotional experiences in peace tourism to dark sites in Hiroshima connected with the drop of the atomic bomb, as she exemplifies the potential of the Hiroshima experience in stimulating global citizenship. Midori connects the emotional experiences offered in touring Hiroshima with dark tourism – "*coming here, it's not just fun*" – as well as the peace tourism framework, in that she can be considered a global citizen.

The discussions in this project demonstrate that dark and peace tourism in Hiroshima contributes to tourist's critical thinking about war and peace by offering a reflexive experience wherein awareness is raised through emotions and peace education. In agreement with Buda et al. (2014), I argue that emotional experiences are important in tourism studies. As such, through this project, I contribute critical understandings of emotional experiences in peace tourism to dark places in Hiroshima connected with the drop of the atomic bomb.

Having connected peace tourism, dark tourism and emotional geographies in touring Hiroshima, I argue that further research necessitates a multidisciplinary approach. This research emphasizes that emotional experiences cannot be neglected as being an important constant factor in tourism. In further research, a larger-scale project with more in-depth focus on particular emotions such as anger and sadness could be considered, possibly employing follow-up interviews in order to further capture the potential of peace tourism through actions caused by tourists' lasting feelings and life-changing experiences.

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ANNEX 1. CONSENT FORM

Consent form for the research ‘Touring Hiroshima: Affectual Encounters at a Dark Site’.

1. I have read the information form about the research. I have the opportunity to ask additional questions, whenever needed. It is my own choice to participate in the research.
2. I am aware that participation is completely voluntary. I am aware that I may withdraw and discontinue participation at any time before, or during, the research. I do not have to give a reason for this.
3. I understand that the researcher will not identify me by name in any reports using information obtained from my participation, and that my confidentiality as a participant in this study will remain secure. Other recorded data, such as audio recordings, will be stored safely on the researcher’s protected notebook.
4. I give my permission to use the resulting data for the intentions as mentioned in the information form.
5. I have read and understand the explanation provided to me. I have had all my questions answered to my satisfaction, and I voluntarily agree to participate in this study.

Name participant:.....

Signature:

Date: __ / __ / 2014

.....

I declare to have fully informed the participant about the mentioned research.

If, during the research, information comes to light that might influence the respondent’s consent, I will inform her/him of this in time.

Name Researcher: Jan Johnnie Meijer

Signature:

Date: __ / __ / 2014

.....

EMOTIONS IN TOURIST EXPERIENCES IN HIROSHIMA

Hi. My name is Johnnie Meijer. I am a graduate student at the University of Groningen, the Netherlands. As part of my Master's Thesis I research tourists' experiences at Hiroshima's memorial sites.



Source: <http://ayembee.deviantart.com/art/Hiroshima-21427376>

If you are a tourist in Hiroshima and would like to share your experiences with me, please contact me by email or phone.

JOHNNIE.MEIJER@GMAIL.COM

or

J.J.MEIJER.4@STUDENT.RUG.NL

Phone +31646064106

ALL INFORMATION GATHERED IS CONFIDENTIAL. ANONIMITY ASSURED. PARTICIPANTS HAVE THE RIGHT TO WITHDRAW AT ANY TIME. THANK YOU. LOOKING FORWARD TO MEETING YOU.

ANNEX 3. INTERVIEW GUIDE

| Theme | Questions |
|------------------------------|---|
| Opening | Are you travelling alone? Probably initiates stories about travel companionship. |
| | Is this your first time in Japan (and Hiroshima)? |
| | On what kind of trip are you? (Roundtrip Japan, world trip, leisure, business, etc.) |
| | What other places have you visited (or do you plan to visit) in Japan? |
| Motivation | Why have you taken this trip? |
| Knowledge before visit | What did you know about what happened in Hiroshima regarding the war and the nuclear bomb attack before coming here? |
| Feelings of this | Can you tell me how you feel about this when you think about these events? |
| Expectations | Have you had any expectations for this trip? If yes – What sort of expectations? Are they met? If no – Why not? |
| | Have you thought about feelings, emotions or reactions this trip might provoke in you? If yes – What feelings, emotions, reactions? If no – Have you had any other thoughts about this trip? |
| Experiences during visit | What places have you visited in Hiroshima that are connected with the nuclear bomb disaster? Why did you choose to visit these places? |
| | Could you tell me about the visit? How did you experience it? What impressed you the most? (Site/sight/texts/items/etc.) How did this make you feel? What were your thoughts? (Etc. Keep the conversation going where needed. Try to focus on feelings and the places that evoked these feelings) |
| | Were there any aspects that changed your experience for better or worse? (Amount of visitors/time/noise/travel companions/etc.) If so – how? |
| Experiences soon after visit | Do you feel like your opinions and thoughts regarding the war, peace and nuclear weapons have changed? As compared to before the visit How do you feel about peace and nuclear weapons now? |
| | Has the visit left you in a different emotional state? Has the trip impacted you emotionally? Have your overall feelings and thoughts changed your stay in Hiroshima in any way? If so – How? If not – Could you tell me what your overall feelings and thoughts have been during your trip? |
| | How would you characterize your encounter with the city of Hiroshima as a place of war and peace? |
| Local encounters | Did you encounter any locals, whether Japanese visitors or tour guides? If so – How would you describe these encounters? Did you experience any individual or collective feelings that you shared, had in |

| | |
|---------|---|
| | <p>common or distanced you from them?</p> <p>If yes – Could you tell me more about this?</p> |
| Closing | <p>How would you describe your trip in Hiroshima?</p> <p>Are there any other places left you're going to visit in Hiroshima?</p> <p>Are you visiting any other places in Japan after Hiroshima? If so, where?</p> |

ANNEX 4. LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

| Number | Name(s) | Age | Country of Residence | Occupation | Interview Location | Interview Date |
|--------|------------|-----|----------------------|----------------------|-------------------------------|---|
| 1. | Matt | 24 | Australia | Electrician | Tourist Information Center | 18-02-2014 |
| 2. | Fiona | 23 | | Radiographer | | |
| 3. | Marije | 28 | Netherlands | Medical Doctor | Restaurant | 18-02-2014 |
| 4. | Kenji | - | Japan | TIC Employee | Tourist Information Center | 19-02-2014 |
| 5. | Midori | - | | TIC Team Manager | | |
| 6. | Thomas | 26 | Australia | Technician | Tourist Information Center | 20-02-2014 |
| 7. | Jill | 24 | | Call Centre Operator | | |
| 8. | Anthony | 50+ | United Kingdom | Antiques salesman | On a bench in the HPMP | 20-02-2014 |
| 9. | Tengo | - | Japan | Museum exhibition | Museum exhibition office | 28-02-2014 |
| 10. | Ayumi | - | | office employees | | |
| 11. | Claire | - | France | Student | Online, emails correspondence | Discussions from 6 to 25 March, 2014 |
| 12. | Nagamine ♂ | - | Japan | - | Host family member | Discussions from 5 Feb to 2 March, 2014 |
| 13. | Nagamine ♀ | - | | - | | |