

Breaking silence: Documenting individual experiences based on visitors 'book of Kigali Genocide Memorial Centre, Rwanda

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ABSTRACT: This study explored the individual experiences based on more than 1000 records collected from the 2012 visitors' books of Kigali Genocide Memorial Centre, 872 of which were analyzed through the lens of gender. There serve as memory which is a component of transitional justice in post-genocide Rwanda. The main method is the content analysis. The study used also quantitative technique in data entries and classification of themes. The analysis has pointed out who are the visitors, interpretation of their messages and their addressees. The emerged themes of comments are: prayers, lessons, recommendations, remorse and emotions of grief, healing and sympathy. Furthermore, gender and continent of origin have influenced the content of the messages. Based on these findings, the study identifies the need for further research in the field of memory transmitted by genocide memorial sites.

KEYWORDS: addressee, Kigali Genocide Memorial Centre, memory, individual experiences, visitors' book.

1 INTRODUCTION

In 1994 there occurred the genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi in Rwanda, which was qualified as the fastest and most vicious genocide recorded in human history (Human Rights Watch, 1996). The remembrance of this genocide are present in everyday life for Rwandans, thus in the geographical space, with various memorial sites in countrywide.

This study is performed in the context of post genocide period of Rwanda occurred in 1994. In this regards, everyone who read Romeo Dallaire's *Shaking Hands with the Devil* will recall the failure of international community to save Rwandans amidst the fire (Dallaire, 2003). Post-genocide Rwanda has attracted the attention of the media, researchers, human rights activists and international development practitioners. A lot of changes has taken place such as the creation of the National Commission for Unity of Reconciliation (NURC) established by the law N°03/99 of 12/03/1999, the National Commission of Human Rights (NCHR) established by the Law Nr 04/99 of 12/03/1999 modified and completed by the Law Nr 35/2002 of 31/12/2002. This law was finally replaced by the Nr 30/2007 Law of 06/07/2007 that rules the organization and functioning of the National Human Rights Commission according to the Constitution of Rwanda dated June 4th 2003. The GACACA courts established in 2001 and other tribunals have also been engaged in trials and intend to promote reconciliation and advance justice for both perpetrators and survivors. The National Commission for the Fight against Genocide (CNLG) was established in 2008 to keep the respect of human rights and fight against genocide ideology and thus help make the now infamous "never again" a reality. These various ways and efforts put in place to manage the post genocide period are parts of

transitional justice package that combines both retributive (conventional justice) and restorative justice (Gacaca). These measures include criminal prosecutions, truth commissions, reparations programs, and various kinds of institutional reforms (Villalba, 2011). Generally, in the wake of violence and repression, countries rebuild memorials, museums and places of memory where the past is confronted and injustice can be addressed (Hamber, 2010). In that way, in Rwanda, many genocide memorial sites are still being built twenty years after the genocide. Moreover, they are also often inaugurated during the commemoration period of 100 days. In that way, memorial sites serve as places of remembrance, commemoration and burial for the remains of the victims of genocide against the Tutsi (Lakin, 2013). Memorial sites are thus also a way to manage the period after violence.

In this regards Kigali Genocide Memorial (KGM) Centre is one of the memorial sites constructed in Kigali, Gasabo District at Gisozi sector and inaugurated in 2004. KGM centre is deemed as museum and plays a role of conservation and memory of the history of genocide. The memorial comprises three exhibition spaces: the main historical exhibition, a Children's Memorial exhibition and an exhibition on comparative genocide, called "Wasted Lives". Most of the time, visitors to KGM centre are tourists who come to Rwanda to see the flora and fauna, animals, and the nature. As an illustration, Aegis Trust attendance statistics show that more than 40,000 foreigners visited Kigali memorial in 2012 (Gasana, 2012).

Authors and researchers such as Berliner (2005), Halbwach (1950), Durkheim (1967), and Laverne (2005) worked on memory and defined it as the assemblage of what we remember, and gives us the capability to learn and adapt from previous experiences as well as to build relationships. In that way, they state that memory becomes collective when it is shared by a group of people. They therefore draw the conclusion that memory processes involve both the individual and the social group (Laverne, 2005). In this regards, museums are conventionally viewed as institutions dedicated to the conservation of valued objects and the education of the public (Crane, 1997). Some memorial sites for genocide are also qualified as museums and play the triple function of conservation, education and commemoration. Therefore, they serve as tools of memory. Elsewhere, different societies who have experienced genocide, have built and institutionalised memorial sites and museums for history education and commemoration such as YadVashem, the first holocaust site of commemoration inaugurated in 1961, the Armenian Genocide Martyrs' Memorial in Deir ez-Zor completed in 1990 in eastern Syria dedicated to the memory of the victims of the Armenian Genocide, the Smithsonian's Air and Space Museum in USA, the holocaust Memorial Museum in France, the Kigali Genocide Memorial centre in Rwanda (The Holocaust and the United Nations Outreach Programme, summer 2010). Those various memorial sites are visited by men or women organised in group or individually. Usually, they leave comments in visitors' books which are also called guest book, visitor log, and visitors' album. Visitors write their names and addresses, and sometimes remarks, observations and feelings. In reference to communication studies, visitors' books are deemed as medium of communication. interlocutors are the addressor and addressee. According to the dictionary (LoveToKnow Corp, 2014) an addressee is the intended recipient of something or the person to whom a verbal or written statement is to be delivered. the addressors are visitors. In the context of this study and communication sciences, recipient is the equivalent of addressee.

Those comments are somehow kind of individual experiences for each visitor who wrote in the book. Otherwise, they are their memory. Generally, messages left in visitors' book are the result of interaction with the exhibits in the memorial, artifacts and personal experiences of visitors. In this study, individual experiences are the real testimonies or comments written by each visitor. Because of the diversity of visitors and their provenience, they are consequently international and constitute the memory itself.

However, it is interesting to analyse those comments through the lens of gender which is the social and cultural significance attached to those presumed biological difference (WHO, 2014). For example, the names given to babies classify them as girls or boys (Butler, 1990) and permit to recognise who is man or woman through their naming. In addition, the study performed by Frauhammer (2009) on guest books for pilgrimage sites in Hungary where she explores religious practice in visitors books, she states that guests books are called also memory books. In some places, visitors' books contain also drawing or poetry. With the lens of gender, the study pointed out the leading role for women in pilgrimage sites of Hungary.

As such it is important to notice that in Rwanda that many people (both Rwandans and non-Rwandans) make efforts to visit the different genocide memorial sites in the country. These sites play a healing role but they also reflect the real history of the country (Micomyiza, 2012). By examining the KGM's visitors book, this study will discuss how men and women's comments about genocide memorial site differ through visitors' book records.

The objectives of this study are 3: the first is to identify visitors of KGM centre in terms of gender, continent of origin and their occupation. The second is to analyse the content of the messages left by visitors and their recipients and the third one dedicated to examine the correlation between visitors' identities (gender, continent of origin and occupation) and the content of their messages in the visitors' books.

2 METHODOLOGY

According to the review done by Carlos Nunes (2008) on Marshall's work (2006) this study is mainly exploratory and qualitative. Purposeful sampling technique is used. It is based on more than 1000 records, which have been collected from visitors' book at the Kigali Genocide Memorial Centre. We considered only the visitors' books for 2012. Only the visitors whose names show their gender were considered in this study.

For data collection we used document analysis, and systematically reviewed and analysed the visitors' books for 2012 available at the Kigali Genocide Memorial site. The choice for one year is justified by the importance of records available in visitors' books by year. This instrument is not obtrusive and helps to gather a large amount of data at the same time (Bowen, 2009). Observation and interview of some visitors has been used to collect additional information on the existing records.

The major method used in analysis is qualitative content analysis. Rather than being a single method, current applications of content analysis show three distinct approaches: conventional, directed, or summative. All three approaches have been used, especially the conventional content analysis and the summative one in coding and assessing the kind of messages left in the book (Pax Americana Institute, 2012). Comments were organised into themes, to show common aspects of their experiences in visiting KGM centre. They have been helpful to interpret the meaning from the content of text data and thus adhere to the exploratory paradigm.

3 STRENGTHS AND LIMITATIONS

This study has strengths in using unobtrusive data from the visitor's books. It has used statistical methods to examine the relevance of some comments and the proportion in relation to men and women visitors, their occupation and continent of origin. Out of 1014 visitors recorded, we have considered 872 visitors identified as men or women by their names, which constitute a good number for this study. However, we met some constraints in processing the data entries. Some comments were in a language not familiar to us and have not been used. Also, visitors not identified as men or women by naming were not considered. Thus, visitors who were visiting the KGM in groups or family could not be identified. Because of the importance of records in visitors' book, we have considered only one year (2012 records). We consider that the information from 2012 records is limited and not extendable to other years.

4 FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

From the multiple readings of the messages written in the visitor's book, different themes emerged, these included: gender of visitors and their position, their origins, kind of messages such as remorse, prayers, recommendations, emotions of grief, appreciation and addressees.

4.1 GENDER OF VISITORS AND THEIR INVOLVEMENT IN VISITING KGM CENTRE

According to the book, visits recorded are 1014. This section gives a concise report on the visitors and describes the way visiting is organized, whether as individuals, groups, families and couples. Men and women who visited as individuals are 872. They have different occupations and are from different countries the whole world over. However, 35 individuals are not classified because their names did not identify their gender. The majority of the visitors, who wrote in the book, came as individuals and few have visited in groups of friends, as couples, families, working organizations and classmates. In statistical language, records equal N=1014 .

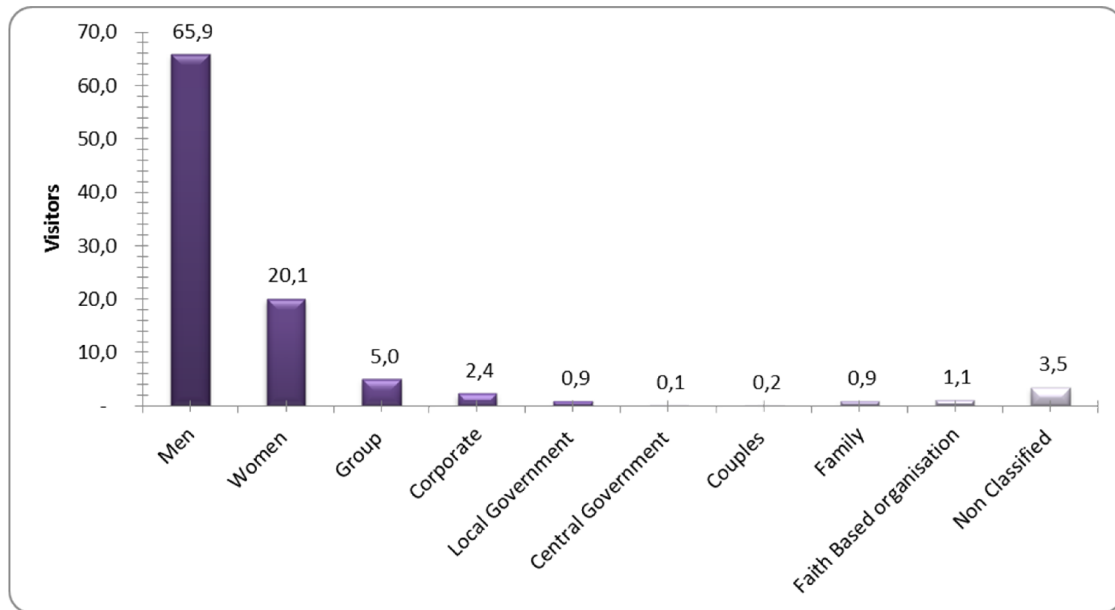


Figure 1. Classification of visitors

Source: made based on the visitors' book 2012 records

Through analysis, the readings show that, out of 1014 visitors recorded, 668 men have visited the memorial, which represents 65.9%. Women visitors have been 204 all the year, which means 20.1% of all visitors. They represent one third of male visitors. Even if visitors came by groups, couples or families, faith-based organizations of men or women, the analysis could not identify who and how many they were. All groups (107) represent 10.5% of all visitors. Lastly, 35 individuals out of 1014 records have not been classified as men or women (3.5%). Briefly, there are more men than women who visited the memorial in 2012. Bearing in mind that in this study we considered only men and women visitors recognised by their names, the figure below details the frequency of women and men visitors along the year.

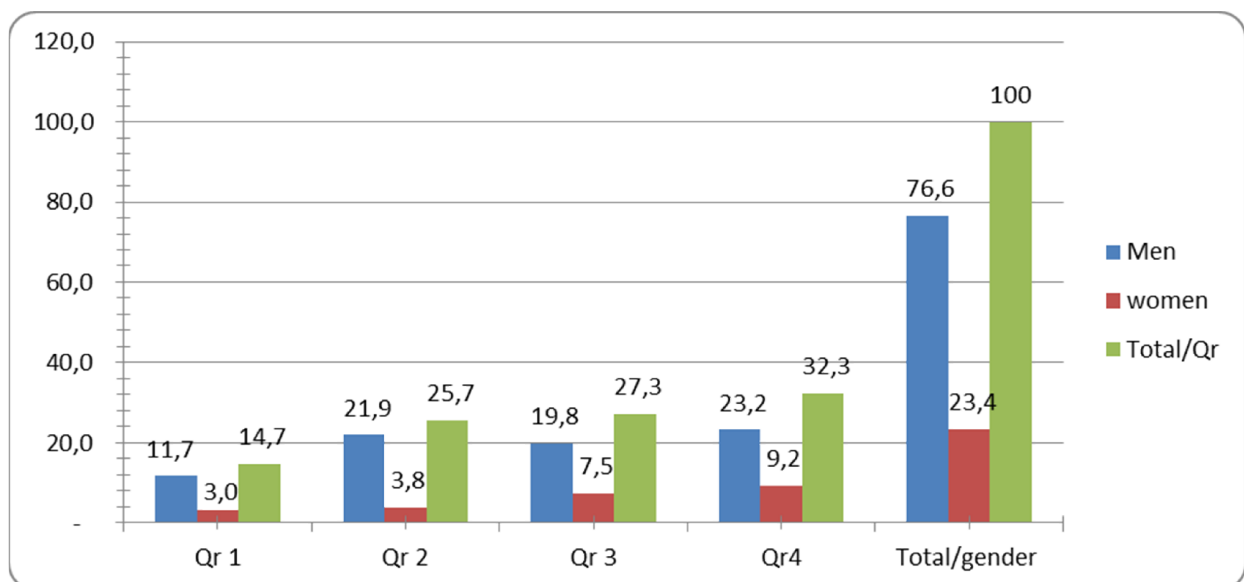


Figure 2: distribution of visitors by the year

Source: based on visitors' book 2012 records

The distribution of visitors along the year goes in a growing order from quarter one up to the end of the year. In that way both women and men visitors became numerous in quarter two, three and four. Quarter 2 starting in April counts the double of visitors came in quarter 1. The reason is that it encompasses the day of national commemoration beginning on April 7th with the flame of hope lit by His Excellency the President of the Republic of Rwanda, Mr. Paul Kagame. Some foreigners are invited to commemorate with Rwandans whereas others come due to their own commitment. Of cause the men visitors (21.9%) are more than women (3.8%) because of their positions in various organisations they represent. The periods of June, July and August, are the period of summer holidays for various European and American countries and thus tourists are many during this period. The continual increase of visitors in quarter 4 seen in October is generally observed among African, European and American visitors. This may be in correlation with the period of autumn holidays for some visitors and the wonderful climate in Rwanda, which attracts many tourists and the KGM historical centre because it is one significant tourist destination. The following section identifies visitors by their continent of origin.

4.2 ORIGINS OF VISITORS BY CONTINENT

Visitors of Kigali Genocide Memorial (KGM) Centre come from all over the globe. The KGM is open 24hours the whole week. After visiting the memorial, the visitors' book is presented to whoever is interested in delivering a message. In analysing the origin of visitors, we have grouped them according to continents. African visitors outnumber other visitors. 48.4% are african men whereas 12.7% are women. UN personality who visited the memorial are only men and have not indicated their country from. In every continent the number for men visitors is superior to that of women. The figure below illustrates where they came from.

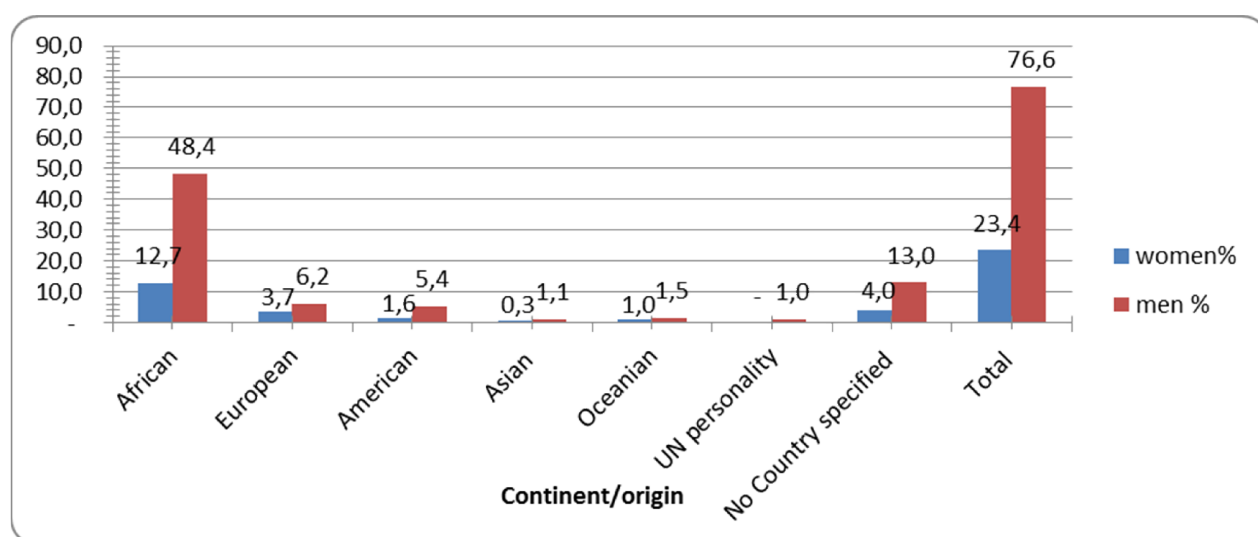


Figure 3: Gender visitors by origin

Source: Based on visitors'book 2012 records

The predominance of African visitors is showed by the analysis among women and men. Men visitors are 48.4% whereas women are 12.7%. They are from Kenya (101), South Sudan (27) Nigeria (15) Ethiopia (14), Uganda (15). Western Africa is represented by Cote d'Ivoire, Senegal, Guinée Equatorial, Guinée Conakry. Rwandan visitors are only 75 including those working in different organisations or ordinary people. The continents less represented is Asia, Oceania and America especially for women (only1.6% from America, 0.3% from Asia and 1% from Oceania). However 13.0% of men and 4% of women have not indicated their country of origin. The proportion of american(5.4%) and european(6.2%) men visitors is almost similar whereas european women were more than american women. Briefly, in every classification women visitors are less than men.

4.3 OCCUPATION/PROFESSION FOR VISITORS

Readings the figure, sum up all occupations of visitors. There are many but not limited to UN position, security agent, pastors, local government, legislature, judiciary, corporate and people working in learning institution. See the figure below.

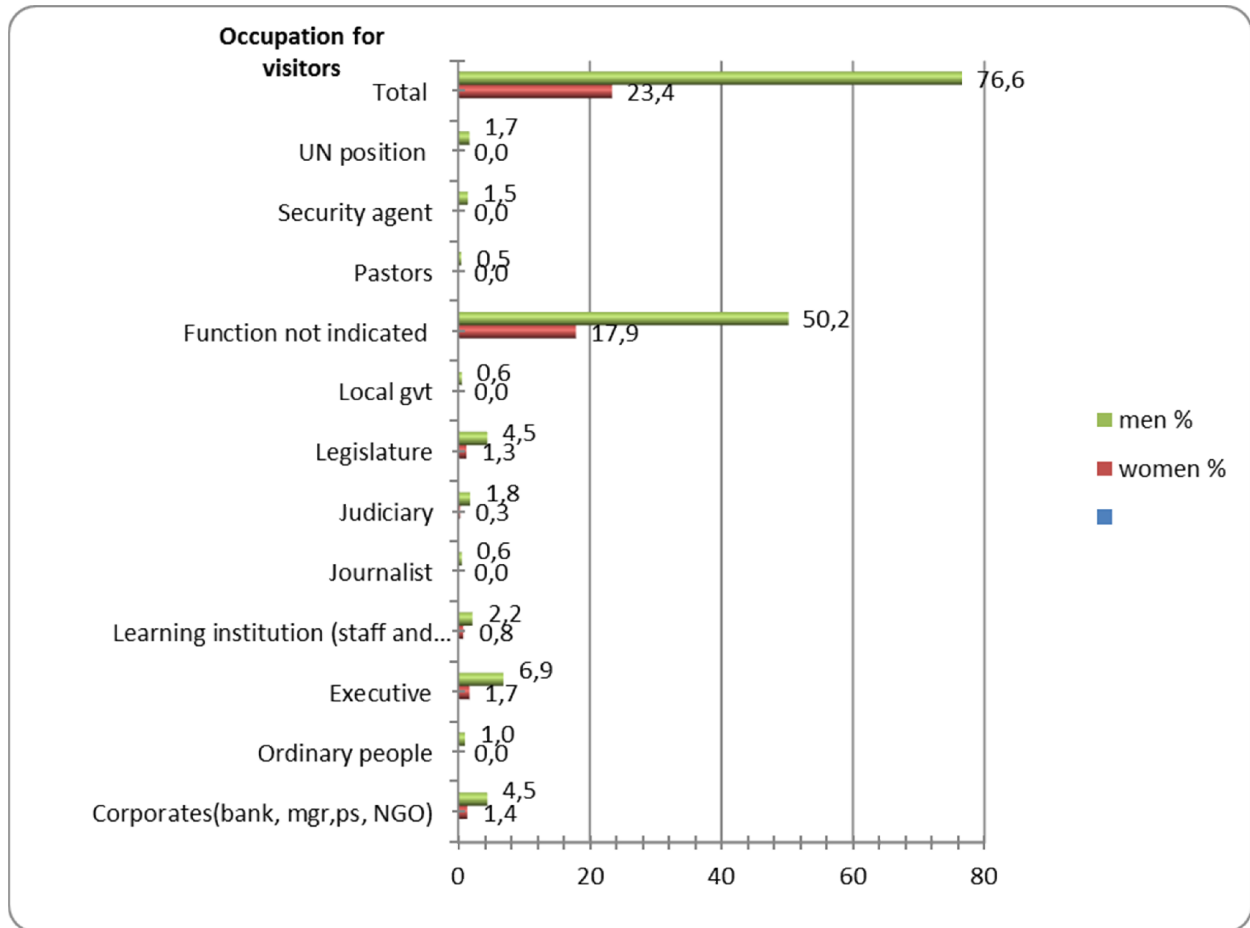


Figure 4: Occupation for visitors

Source: Based on the visitors' book 2012 records

In the visitors' books it is required to indicate the occupation or function when visitors write their comments. Unfortunately, many of them have not indicated their function or position. 50.2% of men and 17.9% of women did not. This attitude for not indicating their function or position is observed on both women and men. However, few of them mentioned their function or position. Through analysis, we found out that, men visitors are well positioned in the executive field (6.8%) and law (4.4%), whereas women are respectively 1.7% and 1.2% in those fields. In the executive field, the positions occupied are often ministers or state ministers and ambassadors. In the legal field, the positions mentioned are members of parliament, speakers or assistants in his/her own respective parliament.

However, some visitors who wrote something in the place for occupation or position indicated only their working organizations or employers and not their exact function. These are mostly men visitors who work at the UN, ordinary people, security agents, people from learning institutions, international NGOs and regional organizations, journalists, and other people from the private sector. In addition, there are also some women who visited the memorial who work in regional organizations such as Mothers of Africa involved in educational charity and midwifery from Ghana; and other women who work in banks and business like Organization of East and Southern African Insurance (OESAI).

This situation of predominance of male visitors appears whereas in Rwanda women have a majority in Parliament, with 51 out of 80 seats in the Chamber of Deputies, which means 64% of seats. Beyond reconciliation and politics, women in Rwanda, nowadays occupy significant positions of leadership in business, education, health and other sectors affecting the everyday lives of Rwandans (James, 2013).

4.4 CONTENT OF MESSAGES IN VISITORS' BOOK

As pointed out by Falk and Dierking (2000), the visitor's experience is not just the result of interactions with the exhibits, but the sum total of his/her constructed personal, social and physical contexts. Visitors do not catalogue visual memories of objects and labels in an academic order, conceptual schemes, but absorb events and observations in mental categories of personal meaning and character determined by events in their lives before and after the visit.

In that way, messages left in visitors' book are the result of interaction with the exhibits in the KGM, artifacts and personal experiences of visitors. Through the analysis of their content, we found that some are expressing heartfelt emotions while others are evaluating the exhibit. The same trend of messages has been observed in analysing Visitor Impression Books at the Bosnian Historical Museum in Sarajevo (Lawnicki, 2013).

In the context of this study, the analysis highlighted a dozen of items and the last classification includes a blank category which mean there is no message or is a signature in the place of message. The graphic below is illustrating this picture.

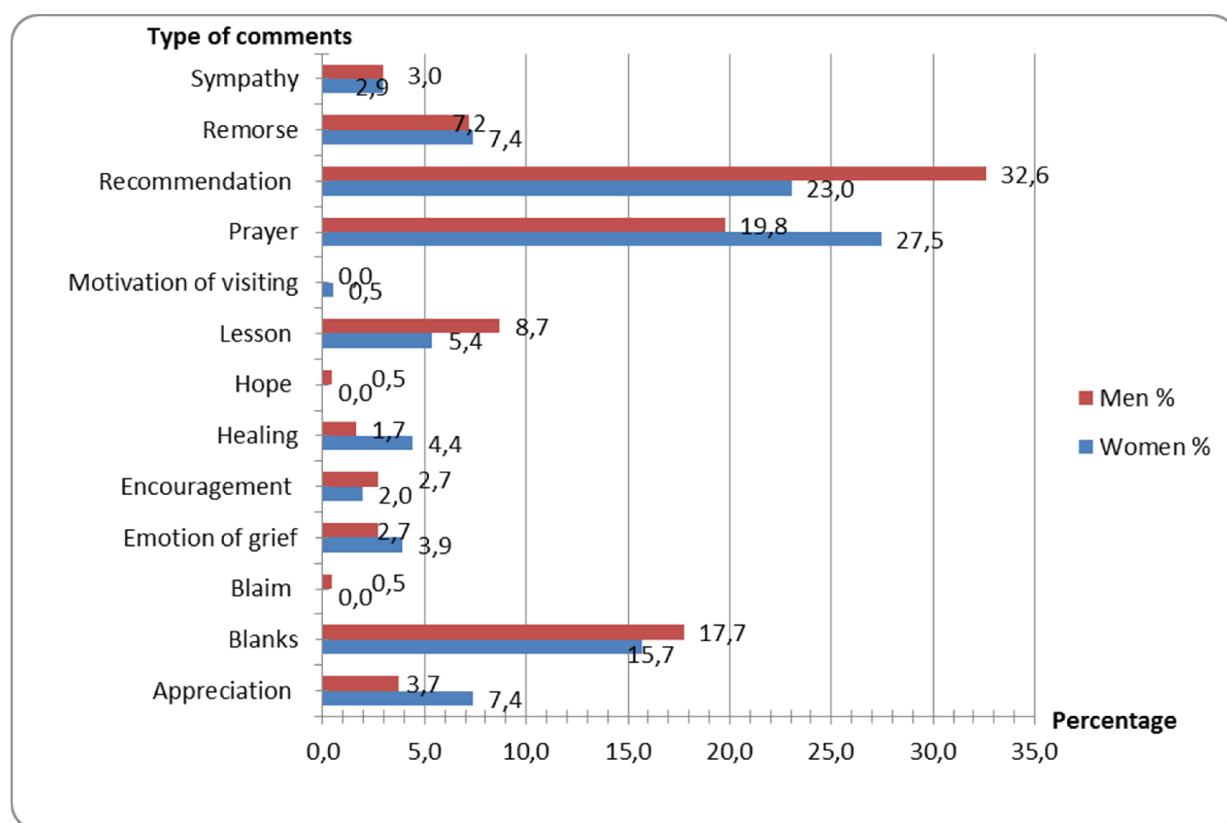


Figure 5: Classification of messages' content by gender

Source: Based on visitors' book 2012 records

This chart illustrates all messages written in visitors book by visitors identified as men and women.

According to guides of KGM centre, it is required to complete the book and give remarks. However, it is not imperative to write in the book and the comment depends on personal experience and interest. Moreover, the visitors' impressions are the result of personal interests, needs, abilities, seen exhibitions and physical environment. Here we see for example that women

visitors mostly express prayers whereas men make recommendations. According to Halbwachs, memory became collective when it is shared by a group of people (Halbwachs, 1950). By this sociological theory, The KGM Center is itself a collective memory for humankind because of what the nature of genocide means to humanity.

In reference to the study performed by Bealby (2014), museum visitors are the focal point in his book working on identity and museum visitor experience. The author's main goal is to provide a practical model that encourages museum institutions to interact with visitors in a manner that is adapted to their needs and identity. Four years after the publication, Falk's model has been applied in museums across the world in the spirit of satisfying visitors' interests (Bealby, 2014). Among individual experiences highlighted in this study are prayers, recommendations, Lessons, remorse sympathy,...

4.4.1 PRAYERS

Out of all emotions expressed by women 27.45% are prayers, whereas in men's expressed emotions only 19.76% are prayers. In other words, women's most important messages are prayers.

Usually, prayers are performed in churches or other places dedicated of worship. In assessing the content, the influence of religion is seen through prayers formulated by visitors. By analysing the content of those prayers we realized that visitors' beliefs are mainly of Christian and Muslim inspiration. Their prayers focused on the resurrection of victims; peace; harmony and forgiveness from God for sins and wrongs for genocide. The examples are the following: *"Where was the rest of the world when Rwanda was in turmoil? May God forgive us from our sins and help us heal and live at peace with one another"* (a man's prayer). Other examples focusing on victims and survivors: *"Lord Jesus Christ remember the innocent deaths of your people. May their souls rest with you in peace. Bless Rwanda."* The other woman prayed for Rwandans in that words: *"My God give you the ability to forgive"* (woman prayer). Other woman prayer is expressed in the words below: *"May the Lord grant all victims the ability and strength to put this behind you. God bless Rwanda."* also, a man visitor says: *"Never! Never again! May Allah bless the souls"*. Through these prayers, visitors expressed the best wishes to victims who died and survivors, to all Rwandans and all humanity. Also, the above prayers tend to reveal religious beliefs. They portray the Christian and Muslim influences. In this regard, Religion plays a significant part in sculpting social behaviours for people in various ways. As showed in the study performed by Fam (2004), in Islamic countries, both men and women must cover their torso and upper legs at all times and in the case of women only their faces may be exposed.

Other prayers focus on encouragement for those still living so that they can move on.

Examples: *"My God give you the ability to forgive"* (woman visitor); *"Where was the rest of the world when Rwanda was in turmoil? May God forgive us from our sins and help us heal and live at peace with one another"* (man prayer);

I pray God for never again in Rwanda even in the whole world (man prayer).

the prayers show that the solution to prevent any such atrocity and to live in post genocide period should be possible with the help of God. Prayers expressed by men and women are a little different. Women's prayers are focusing mostly on restoration of love among people, blessings to Rwandan people; forgiveness; support to orphans and widows; and a strong wish that genocide should not happen again.

Men's prayers are almost similar to those formulated by women. Men ask God to give to Rwandans and their leaders the courage and strength to fight against and prevent any other genocide. Example: *"This is the greatest disaster record I have ever seen. May God give us leaders with wisdom to manage our people/land for the benefit of all humanity, Amen."* (man prayer).

The second is expressed in the following words: *"If we had done something very early, this would have been avoided. God bless Rwanda to be strong and move forward."* Through these prayers, the constation is that men propose concrete action in which they are co-actors with God whereas women express their deep rooted wishes with a full trust in God's capacity and power to handle the situation. This trend to address the struggles to God is observed in the study conducted by Frauhammer (2009) on the guest books of Hungarian pilgrimages, where visitors formulated their wishes showing their struggles. Records clearly showed that not only the holy day of the shrine attracted visitors but also people used to come there around the same time as tourists. Findings also showed the leading role of women in pilgrimage using their numbers and testimonies (Frauhammer, 2009).

4.4.2 RECOMMENDATIONS

After the crimes of the Holocaust became internationally known, the world vowed it would never happen again. But history since 1945 has shown that the international community has stood by, again and again, as genocide unfolds. From

Bangladesh to Darfur, humanity is still struggling to end what Winston Churchill once called a "crime without a name"(Lamb, 2005).

In completing the visitors'book, visitors left some recommendations.

32.6% of the men messages are recognized as recommendations whereas women recommendations are 23.04%. In this regard, recommendations have different emphasis but all are converging to prevent genocide or any other atrocity in the world. It is expressed via different ways which are shaped in the following order.

On one hand, many recommendations are expressing a "never again" wish.

After the Holocaust, the world united behind two simple words: Never Again. These words represent a promise to the past and that future generation will do everything to ensure the horrors of the Holocaust are not repeated. 50 years later, it happened in Rwanda. Many worried people are working every day to prevent it. In that way, every single day, the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum works to fulfil this promise (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2013). In this study, the following recommendation expresses the same idea: *"Never again and vigilant memory"*(man visitor).

On the other hand, the recommendations propose the actions to be taken to prevent any conflict and thus genocide.

In this regards, some messages from the visitors' book recommended that the world ensures that perpetrators are held accountable and reparation is distributed to survivors.

the message below portrays that view: *"genocidaires should be brought to justice wherever they are. Please let us help survivors of genocide"*(a man's recommendation).

Other recommendations focus on unity and harmony to grant peace and prevent any atrocity in the world and construct a better future. The example is below: *"Never again" and may peace and reconciliation reign in this blessed land* (a woman visitor).

Through reading the records, we found out that the KGM centre is deemed as a cultural memory and it contributes to enhance the awareness and foster the effectiveness of never again. The following recommendation is the model: *"This is the first time I have visited a Genocide Memorial. In Zimbabwe, we have had our share of political killings /massacres. My sincere hope is that never ever Africa, and indeed the whole world be subjected to such sensitiveness. It is necessary, establish a similar memorial in our country and say "NEVER EVER"* (an african man visitor).

Women are advancing learning from the past to build a better future. The example is the following: *"Memory might help to build on a better future".*the other is said in the following words: *" Speechless and horrified! Let us never forget what happen in the past. Learn from it and never let it happen again. My heart is with the victims of this times of cruelty".*

4.4.3 BLANKS

Blanks messages are the absence of comments or signatures only in the place of comments. This categorization is borrowed from the study conducted by Lawniki (2013) on the impression of visitors at the Historical Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Sarajevo.

This analysis came out with 17.7% of men blanks whereas women's blanks were 15.7%. In trying to decipher the meaning of blanks messages, we have made an interview with visitors in April 2014 with the assumption that maybe visitors were too shocked. With this interview, we found out that visitors finished visiting the genocide memorial shocked and speechless. In this mood, some visitors prefer not to make a comment or leave their signature only. Women and men have showed the same attitude of not writing a comment or signature only.

4.4.4 LESSONS

8.68% of men messages show that they learnt something from the KGM centre whereas 5.39% of women's messages focus on what is seen in the memorial and addressed to Rwandans, Africans and all of humanity.

All lessons are highlighting the fragility of humanity. For women it is important to preserve and educate youth on what happened and to contribute to world peace. With reference to gender theory that we become men or women through socialisation as the society expects, thus, women lessons suggest that the education is their core task to avoid genocide (Jenkins, 2004). Some lessons are given below: *"A lesson to learn that human rights must always be respected if we do not want a repeat"*(a woman visitor).an other comment expresses that:

"It was an extremely sad experience of how hate and disunity can lead to so much hatred and inhumanity. God heal Rwanda and the children" (a woman visitor). In the same way: *"It is really hurting and every one who saw this should be a peace maker"*. (man visitor)

Briefly, each lesson emphasized living in peace, and reminded us that all people are equal. Men and women views are converging in that they both insist on keeping peace and some actions are proposed to make this lesson of peace effective.

4.4.5 REMORSE

Remorse as a personal regret, is closely linked to guilt and self-directed resentment (Flammarion, 1931). The remorse expressed here are the feeling of visitors who consider that the world failed to protect the humanity. 7.35% women and 7.19% men expressed remorse. Visitors expressed regrets after seeing the reality at the memorial. What is common is that all remorse is the reaction to what is seen in the KGM. Some blame some groups such as western people. The telling in the book reveals that it is: *"a shame on the western world!!?"* (European visitor).

Also, the remorse pointed out the sadness felt by visitors as it is stated in the following comment: *"I am now crying. The words don't exist to describe the unthinkable."*

Moreover, some visitors felt guilty even if they are not perpetrators of genocide against the Tutsi. The following illustration explains more the feeling: *"very moving. A guiltily feeling on my part as we could have stopped this! The west is guilty..."*

In this regards, remorse is again expressed in term of failing to protect human life such as this passage: *"May the memories remind the world what "we" failed to do, protect human life. The world watched this sorry. Thx"*.

4.4.6 APPRECIATION AND ENCOURAGEMENT

Visitors also appreciated the place which gathers the history of the horrific tragedy of 1994 and congratulated the Rwandans for efforts made to end genocide and rebuild the country. Women visitors are more appreciative of this effort than men. 7.35% women expressed their appreciation whereas only 3.74% of men did the same.

However the words used to express it are the same. They encouraged Rwandans to keep it on. Furthermore, they expressed congratulations to the government of Rwanda, to the President, to RDF and Rwandans in general. This appreciation focuses on peace and cohabitation prevailing in the country. *"A beautiful memory of loved ones and a fitting encouragement to us all to strive for peace and a sustainable world."*

In this regard, visitors are recognizing the effort made by the government of Rwanda and consider this memorial as a reminder and a tool to help prevent genocide as revealed in this message: *"I have no words. I am so sorry we didn't help. Thank you for building this memorial to remind us and hopefully prevent this from happening elsewhere in the world again"*.

4.4.7 HEALING AND EMOTIONS OF GRIEF

After visiting the memorial 8.33% of women visitors and 4.34% men visitors come out full of emotions of grief and are speechless. Some expressions illustrate grief: *"I don't ever know what to say"*. Other visitor wrote this: *"No words in any language I know is sufficient to explain the sorrow I feel"*.

Most visitors expressing healing are Rwandans. It is expressed by remembering the victims forever. The sample is: *"We will not forget our brothers and sisters."*

The healing message also expresses the relationship with victims and the commitment for the visitor. The following comment is the prototype: *May their souls rest in peace! We loved them; we lost them at inappropriate time. We will not forget them. Never again!*

In the same way, other visitors find solution for what happened in God who can grant peace forever: *Only God will sweep all his children tears. Peace forever!*

The other solution is love and forgiveness. *"The truth will set you free! Love and forgiveness overcome all."* Many of the messages of healing are monologues.

4.4.8 SYMPATHY

3% of the messages expressed sympathy from both women and men. It went to victims, survivors, and Rwandans in general. Most of the time, the sympathy is expressed in communicating to others what happened to victims and love to survivors in the following words: *"We now have a new understanding of the past, our heads cry out for the victims and we reach out with love to the survivors. Our prayer is a total healing of the great Lord of Rwanda!"*

Moreover, the sympathy is mixed with the visitor expressing love to survivors and recommending it as a way to overcome everything. The example stating that is: *"Life is bigger than death. Love overcomes evil. Thank you for ministering, remain strong as you are. I love you all."*

Through sympathy, we find that visitors put themselves in the shoes of the people who suffered, especially mothers. An example : *"As a human being and a mother, I am sorry for this happened. I pray it never happens again."*

4.5 KIND OF ADDRESSEES

An addressee is the intended recipient of something or the person to whom a verbal or written statement is to be delivered (LoveToKnow Corp, 2014). We found out that comments are addressed to various people including the staff of KGM centre. The problem is that, those recipients don't have a medium to receive those messages. In this order, the study performed by Noy (2008) states that visitors' books are dynamic spaces of articulation and display that serve as channels of communication between various social actors and entities both concrete and abstract. Hence, the presence of the book implies that the visitors' opinions are considered important and useful.

In that way, comments left by visitors of the KGM center are addressed to a diverse audience.

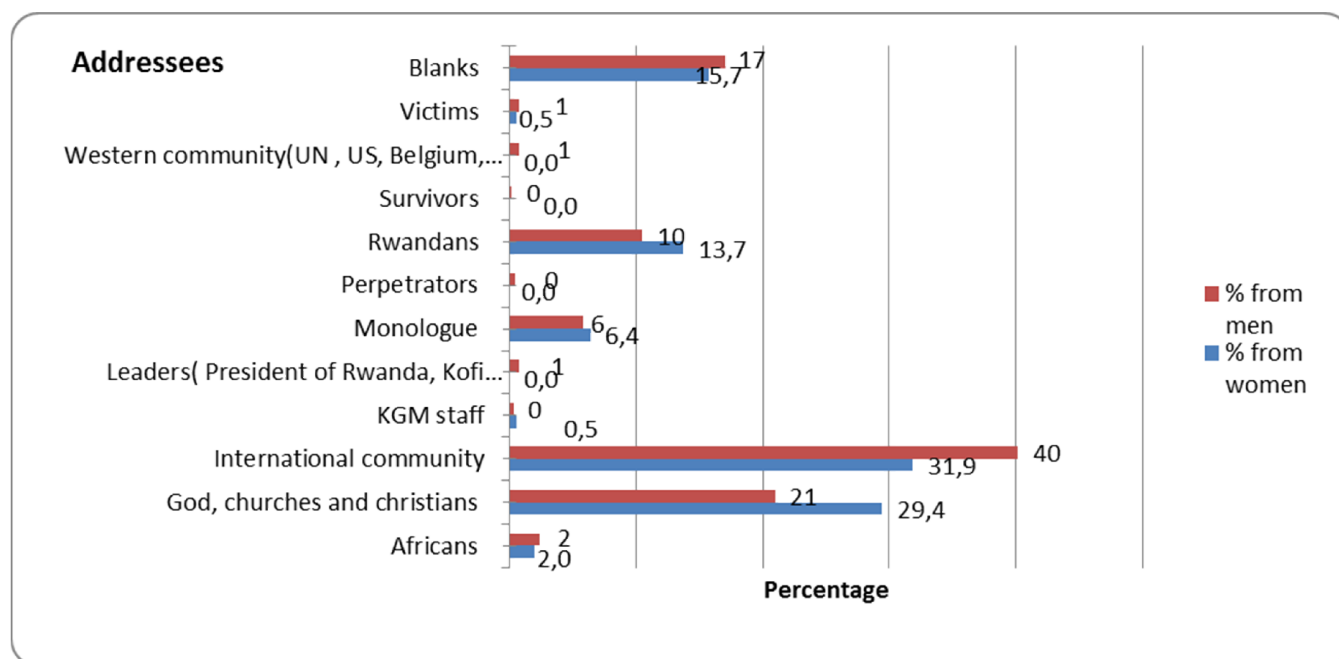


Figure 6: Addressees

Source: Based on visitors book 2012 records

The most important addressee is the International community with 31.46% from women and 40.12% from men.

The focus of the international community messages is often recommendations in various forms of "never again", lessons of what happened and remorse. There are two kinds of remorse in this book. One is addressed to the French government of the time (1994) and another to the international community. For example a visitor is not proud of being french because the French government did not protect people (Tutsi) and prefers to be a citizen of the world working for a better future.

The second addressee is God with 20% of men visitors and 29% for women have formulated a prayer to God in reaction to what happened in Rwanda. They asked Him to support survivors, to rest the victims in peace and forgive the perpetrators.

Beside the international community and God as first addressees, there are other important addressees who are Rwandans in order of 10% from men and 14% from women. The important messages given to them are encouragement to keep what they have done and reconciliation and build the future. This includes appreciation of the place, keeping memory and peace for the nation. They also mentioned the recommendation for “never again” and sympathy to survivors. In this regard, the decent remembrance for victims has been prized. The fact that the people have come together to forget and forgive is strongly admired.

To Rwandans as “addressees” some messages are specific to the government of Rwanda, to the Rwanda Defence Force (RDF) to Rwandan youth, survivors, and the KGM staff for their excellent job.

However, some messages are Monologue. The term monologue used here, is also employed in cinema and refers to a play for one actor. It may be an entire play or film in which only one actor appears and speaks. In that way, in the field of performing arts for comedian, the term monologue refers to a set of jokes or humorous stories following one another without a break told by a solo entertainer (Microsoft® Encarta® (2007). In that light, in literature and drama, the term monologue means an extended speech by one person (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2013). In this study, the term “monologue” is used to refer to a piece of comment written in the visitors’ books not addressed to anyone. The visitor seems to be a solo entertainer. Other, than the comment, there is no specific addressee evoked.

Monologue addresses include messages such as emotions of grief, healing and remorse. The examples are: “uw!!” “I am crying!!”, “God bless Rwanda!” “speechless!!”. Most of the time visitors who came out of the KGM centre with emotions were speechless. Those who could express what they saw expressed emotions of shame, pain or both to describe what has been done. The interaction is reflexive or turning on oneself according to their personal experiences and the physical environment visited.

4.6 THE CORRELATION BETWEEN VISITORS’ MESSAGES AND THEIR IDENTITIES

The messages are reflecting the influence of what is seen in the KGM to visitors themselves. On the other hand it is also true that visitors’ interpretation of what they see at the memorial depends on their personal background, experiences, gender and occupation. As showed by Noy (2008), entries inscribed in visitors’ books include highly charged emotions from visitors and suggestions to prevent genocide.

Through analysis, men outnumbered women to visit the KGM centre, even if women were more than men in formulating prayers addressed to God (above 30% from women) and they were worried by the living conditions of genocide orphans and widows whereas men left recommendations focusing on never again with their main addressee as the international community (more than 40% from men). More women than men expressed appreciation for the KGM, the exhibitions and a healing message.

Considering the continent of origin, we noticed that some Africans addressed their messages to other Africans especially those in troubled and war situation whereas some visitors from the western continent expressed shame at the failure of the western to stop the genocide perpetrated against Tutsi in 1994.

Rwandan visitors were numerous to express a kind of healing, hope, and sympathy message to both survivors and victims of the genocide perpetrated against Tutsi in 1994.

5 CONCLUSION

Two main conclusions are highlighted by the findings. This article is performed in the field memory and gender studies. Visitors’ books seem to be a store of various comments where content is diverse. They were never used as source of research work until today. This study found out that information to be recorded in visitors’ books is incomplete.

It is highlighted that gender identity and continent of origin played a role in determining the content of messages and their recipients. Some recommendations are identified such as: to revise and adjust the format of visitors’ books and preserve enough space to write comments; to conduct more studies on other Genocide Memorial sites; Create a room to exhibit women suffering in order to ensure their memory including rape and different ways of torturing.

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