Lithuanian Genocide Heritage as Discursive Formation

ABSTRACT

This paper presents a synthesis of Foucault's *Archaeology of Knowledge* and the concept of discursive formation to critique museums and sites of memory as spaces in which competing discourses of cultural identity emerge. The research context is the troublesome place of genocide and victimhood in discourses of occupation in Lithuanian museums and sites of memory. Analysis suggests that these exhibitions produce a rarefied field of knowledge around the ideas and concepts that they reveal, and, as discursive tourism texts, they play a role in maintaining the cultural identity of Lithuania. The contribution offers a novel, post-structuralist framework for understanding exhibitions as sites of discourse production, since it is the first study to deploy the ideas from *Archaeology of Knowledge* into an analysis of specific heritage sites.

Keywords: *Foucault; Archaeology of Knowledge; Discursive formation; Heritage tourism; Lithuanian Museums and sites of memory; Genocide and holocaust*

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Heritage tourism sites have been conceptualised as sites of conflict which compete to authorise 'official' representations of cultural identity (Bandyopadhyay, Morais and Chick, 2008). Graburn (1997) suggests that heritage tourism can be viewed as a state-sponsored practice that privileges the dissemination of shared cultural identities. Heritage is a signifier of culture (McIntosh and Prentice, 1999) and it has been acknowledged as an inseparable aspect of tourism, and a practice through which government communicates idealised national narratives (Squire, 1992). Such narratives are entwined into the image of destinations through heritage tourism products and experiences. Museums and sites of memory are examples of tourism heritage sites which articulate officially sanctioned discourses of cultural identity (Park, 2010) and which serve as material testimonies of destination identity.

Such spaces play a role in inventing tradition (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983) since they appear to be part of a natural, timeless narrative that is integral to culture. They are, however, in many cases, recent additions to the cultural landscape that stage privileged representations of national cultures which legitimate and normalise political messages and ideologies. The cultures that are contemplated in heritage settings are therefore ripe for critique, and the idea that they are unmediated should be challenged since they are "…cultural carriers of ideology, imbedded in selective versions of history" (Goulding and Domic, 2009, p. 99). The institutions that articulate them can be said to constitute a discursive device which represents culture as a unified discourse. To date, research approaches that have been mobilised in tourism research to critique the discursive practices of heritage tourism have included ethnography (Park, 2010), participant observation and interviews (Goulding and Domic, 2009), content analysis (Buzinde and Santos, 2008) and conceptual discussions including Moscardo's (1996) reasoning around mindfulness in planning interpretation. Existing research has therefore overlooked important insights that might be gained from understanding the discursive practice of exhibiting, and how culture is articulated in heritage institutions and, in particular, in 'official' (state supported) museums and sites of memory (Bandyopadhyay et al. 2008). In particular, at the time of

writing no other published research has offered a critique of heritage discourse based on the concepts and ideas that are espoused in Foucault's Archaeology of Knowledge (henceforth, AoK), and much of the research that has been published in the related subject of dark tourism has been developed based on the social scientific epistemological lenses of positivism and interpretivism (Wight and Lennon, 2007). The novelty of this approach is therefore its profoundly philosophical methodology and its deployment of a synthesised interpretation of AoK into a discourse-analytical method.

There is therefore space within the literature to use discourse analysis to challenge the ways in which cultural identity is reproduced and experienced, and how they are maintained as illusory social and cultural constructs that produce destination discourses. Discourse analysis can be useful to explore Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's (1998) suggestion that museum objects are not 'found', they are 'made' and given value as statements in a discursive field of cultural knowledge that organises the context in which materials are seen. As such, this study offers a novel research philosophy and strategy to critique the discursive construction of identity in museums and sites of memory using a discursive analytic informed by Foucauldian thinking. It focuses in particular on the constructed history of 20th century genocide and occupation in three high profile museums and sites of memory in Lithuania. The paper develops on previous observations that these sites are examples of the type of heritage tourism that has developed in ex-communist regimes Park (2010) and they offer a selective interpretation (Wight and Lennon, 2007) of genocide and occupation that foregrounds the ethnic Lithuanian victim, whilst simultaneously backgrounding Jewish Holocaust. The concept of discursive formation is reviewed and then deployed as a research strategy to analyse the rhetoric of genocide and occupation in three Lithuanian heritage sites which interpret occupation and genocide.

1.2 MUSEUMS AS DISCOURSE

Museums can be considered from a Foucauldian perspective as 'surfaces of emergence' (Foucault, 2002, p.45) or spaces for the articulation of discourse, since they produce imagined cultures, nationalities and discrete histories. Such heritage sites are presented to visitors as part of the wider social construction of destinations. Notably, discourses do not simply *reflect* social meaning; they also

constitute such meanings (Fairclough, 1993, cited in Smith, 2004). Discourses are constructed through the 'speaker's' position within any discipline such that their institutional locus can be mapped out through discourse analysis. As sites of discourse production, museums are spaces in which national culture is produced, transmitted and received (Edensor, 2002). They can be considered as tangible statements of cultural identity which legitimate a wider, touristic discourse of destination (Beerli and Martin, 2004). Based initially on the oeuvres of Michel Foucault, Antonio Gramsci and Pierre Bourdieu, and later on contributions from authors such as Crimp (1995) and Hooper-Greenhill (1992), discourse analysts have tended to approach museums as sites "...for the classification and ordering of knowledge, the production of ideology and the disciplining of a public" (Henning, 2006, p. 1).

Much of the published discourse-related research into museums influenced by Foucault's *oeuvre* has hitherto been grounded in genealogy and the tracing of the historical conditions that have given rise to the various societal roles that museums have occupied (Lord, 2006). Foucault's genealogical ideas have been applied in particular to review the evolution of museums from private collections through to nationalistic temples of culture. Authors such as Crimp (1995) Hooper-Greenhill (1992) and Conn (2000) have conceptualised museums as institutional articulations of power. These studies have in common a focus on developing ideologies and concepts for understanding museums as broad cultural surfaces, yet none of them are based upon the application of research methods to test these ideologies. Indeed, there is, at the time of writing, no published research that has systematically applied an interpretation of Foucault's concept of discursive formation from AoK to *specific* cases of museums, or to groups of museums sharing a central interpretive theme within destinations. There is therefore scope to develop ideas to respond to this lacuna in order to carry out research into the role that heritage plays in constructing destination discourses.

The premise of Foucault's thesis is that systems of thought and of knowledge production are governed by rules that produce conceptual possibilities for 'knowing' in particular fields and periods of time. AoK is Foucault's reflection on the type of thinking that led to the production of his earlier theses on madness (Foucault, 1965) and Western penal systems (Foucault, 1979). Although AoK is

accepted in the fields of the social sciences and the humanities as Foucault's only explicitly analytical method (Anderson, 2004; Shiner, 1982 and Neal, 2006), he "...wrote provocatively to disrupt equilibrium' and sought to avoid being 'prescribed'" (Graham, 2005, p.2). There is therefore no universally acknowledged resource to access that prescribes and generalises Foucault's work into a prescriptive methodology. However, some convincing intellectual commitments to the application of this body of work to studies of culture and of the leisure sectors have been published. For example Graham (2005) applied the principles of AoK to education, and later Radford, Radford and Lingel (2011) offered an archaeological analysis of libraries and deaccessioned volumes.

Closer to the context of this paper, Bryce (2007) examined destination discourses of the Orient based on similar principles, and O'Donnell (2012) and O' Donnell and Spires (2012) applied syntheses of the framework to the televised Super Bowl and media constructions of the 'Tartan Army' in Scotland. These studies suggest that archaeological discourse analysis can be a productive critical lens where the aim is to identify and analyse 'statements' (discussed later), and the modes of enunciation, or rules, that these are bound to. Central to the undertaking of archaeological discourse analysis is developing an understanding of the 'material effects' or discursive practices of discourse which reveal '…knowledge reproduced through practices made possible by the framing assumptions of that knowledge' (Clegg, 1992, cited in Smith 2004, p. 64).

Heritage articulates its objects of discourse in preferred contexts inherent to the practice of exhibiting (Smith, 2009). These discursive objects can be conceptualised as a body of anonymous statements which emerge in the time and space of a given period; what Foucault terms an *episteme*. To identify a discursive formation in the context of museums and sites of memory is to contextualise the museum and its interpretive practices as 'enunciations' (Foucault, 2002). Analysing enunciation through discourse analysis represents an attempt to identify discursive regularity (groups of rules governing what can be said) within dispersed statements. The three museums that have been analysed for this study are identified below. The concept of discursive formation is then introduced as a

methodological strategy for critiquing their discursive strategies for maintaining knowledge of Lithuanian genocide and occupation inside a rarefied field of knowledge.

1.3 GENOCIDE AND OCCUPATION IN LITHANIAN MUSEUMS AND SITES OF MEMORY

Lithuania was selected as the research context for this study in order to more closely examine observations made by Wight and Lennon (2007) about the selectivity of interpretation in Lithuanian occupation-themed museums. An accumulation of familiarity with three museums and sites of memory was developed across a five-year period between 2007 and 2012. In terms of site selection, there is a finite supply of genocide/occupation-themed tourism heritage sites in Lithuania that are 'visible' in commercial tourism marketing resources such as waytolithuania (2015) and tourslithuania.com 2015). The sites were therefore selected on this basis, and each interprets events associated with an historical era (1921-1991) defined by foreign occupation and genocide, including Jewish Holocaust. The sites are summarised in Table 1, below and their thematic, interpretive content is identified along with details of location, funding sources, thematic content and, where available, visitor numbers.

Table 1

Three Lithuanian 'Occupation' Themed Museums

Museum/Site	Location	Funding	Visitor numbers (provided by each museum at the point of visitation)	Thematic content
The Museum of Genocide Victims	Central Vilnius	Paid admission and central government funding	12,000 visitors each year, of which and 47% are visiting as part of a group. Some 50% of these groups are schoolchildren	Ethnic Lithuanian resistance to Soviet occupation (1921-1991) Genocide and ethnic Lithuanian victimhood An aesthetic preference for graphic violence Artefacts, photographs, maps, texts relating to Soviet crimes
Ninth Fort	Outside Kaunas	Paid admission and central government funding	Unknown	Interprets genocide in Lithuania (1921-1991) Indoor museum (a former NKVD prison) offering narratives about the 'victims of fascism' and major exhibitions interpreting ethnic Lithuanian Victimhood Outdoor memorial to the 'victims of fascism', marking a site where some 30,000 Jews

				were murdered during Nazi occupation.
The Vilna Gaon State Jewish Museum (henceforth VGSJM)	Central Vilnius	Paid admission, charitable donations and volunteer staff	Some 12,500 visitors from 44 countries. Common visitors are historians, politicians, public figures, students and ancestral tourists. School groups are invited but seldom visit.	Holocaust in Lithuania (1941-44) Jewish culture Thematically grouped images comprising themes, such as children and the Holocaust and the human cost of war Documentation of Nazi crimes and Jewish victims

These sites have in common a shared goal to interpret a complex era in the history of Lithuania, during which the nation came under two overlapping periods of occupation; first by the Soviet Union in 1940 and then by Nazi Germany between 1941 and 1945. What appears to be widely accepted is that both periods of occupation saw large-scale unrest and persecution and both are defined by loss of life on a massive scale through foreign intervention. The former era is defined by the mobilisation of Stalin's secret police apparatus which set about abolishing Lithuanian laws, restricting religious practice and imposing Soviet policies and laws (Kaszeta, 1998). Nazi German occupation lasted for some 5 years and overlapped with the nation's reoccupation by Soviet forces in 1944, marking the beginning of a new period of partisan resistance which culminated in guerrilla warfare and resulted in the deaths of some 130,000 Lithuanians (TrueLithuania, 2013). The temporal proximity of these epochs, and the enduring debate over the question of Lithuanian collaboration in Holocaust crimes makes this period of time an interesting one to examine in museum settings. What is particularly notable about this historical snapshot is its place within the present-day public culture of Lithuania; a country increasingly seen as progressing towards a new European identity (Baun and Marek, 2013: 127). Katz (2012) articulates a growing resentment towards the sitting government's ostensible pursuit of a narrative of 'double genocide' which initiates a contested equivalence between Lithuanian ethnic genocide and Jewish Holocaust. He draws attention to various state-supported cultural practices, such as Lithuanian Independence Day, which permits neo-Nazi marches, and the funding of 'official' museum collections such as the Museum of Genocide Victims.

His argument typifies a growing moral panic around the idea that Holocaust is being gradually 'written out' of history and he speaks of a suspicion of what is viewed as a right wing, 'official' history of World War II which speaks on behalf of a number of marginalised voices; not least the Jewish populations of the Baltic states. He suggests that museums are one of the strategies that the state deploys in order to maintain narratives of double-genocide. Such museums are therefore fertile units of analysis for Foucauldian discourse analysis. Thus, the concept of discursive formation is examined below as a research strategy to critique these museums. The key aims of the research are to analyse

the discursive practice of exhibiting in order to understand how knowledge is produced and maintained in heritage tourism settings, and to apply the concepts from AoK within a research strategy to advance the humanities agenda in tourism research.

1.3.1 Study methods

Radford et al. (2002) offer a useful metaphor for understanding discursive formation in suggesting that anyone seeking to appreciate the concept should imagine standing in a library facing a collection of books arranged on the shelves. The books are arranged in a specific format, typically according to the proximity of their subject matters. Attempting to understand *why* the books are arranged in this way is similar to attempting to understand a discursive formation in contemplating narratives and texts. The books, to elaborate on the metaphor, have been arranged in a particular order according to the preferences of 'qualified' people who possess the requisite and legitimate levels of knowledge and authority to be able to authorise such a putatively 'correct' arrangement. Such actors also exert control over which titles are to be de-accessioned. There is something beyond the books themselves, suggest Radford et al. (2002) that enables the cataloguer to group titles in particular ways. As Foucault himself wrote: "…whenever between objects, types of statement, concepts or thematic choices, one can define a regularity (an order) we will say, for the sake of convenience, that we are dealing with a discursive formation" (Foucault, 2002, P. 38).

Museums and sites of memory can be approached based on such an epistemological strategy in the sense that objects, and narratives such as tours and ancillary directive visitor texts, are deployed and arranged in a particular order, again, according to the legitimated preferences of the curators and exhibitors who also make decisions as to what objects and narratives should *not* be displayed (Smith, 2009). The idea of museums as discursive formation can further be illustrated by synthesising the concepts in AoK into a suggested primary research strategy. The salient concepts from AoK are therefore introduced below in no particular order, and each is considered within the context of its application in an analysis of discourse in museums and sites of memory.

The Statement – This is the smallest unit of discourse; albeit an unstable unit. It is defined according to its field of use in discourse analysis. The statement itself is produced and described in the process of discourse analysis. Museums are statements of discourse and can be approached as visual apparatuses of signs and symbols to which a status of knowledge is ascribed. A pertinent question to ask in the context of this research example is how can 'occupied Lithuania' come to be known in Lithuania's museums and sites of memory? One might ask this question in relation to *all* museums or in relation to museums outside of Lithuania but for the purposes of carrying out case specific research, it is only possible to develop a partial study of a clearly delineated field (Bryce, 2007). Ultimately, the statement is governed by 'rules'. For example, there are inherent sets of rules ostensibly governing the ways in which genocide can and cannot be spoken about in Lithuanian museums. These rules only become obvious following an accumulation of familiarity with their surfaces of emergence.

The archive - The archive refers to systems of statements and the rules that govern their formation, correlation and transformation in a given place and time (Nicholls, 2008). Understanding the archive involves an interrogation of how the objects of museum discourse can come to be used (or ignored) in systems of statements. For example, the museums analysed within this paper deploy discourses according to particular laws governing what can and cannot be said about, for example, Soviet occupation. This analysis comes into more focus the further back the analyst is prepared to go with a series of texts.

Discursive formation - The discursive formation is a system for the dispersion of statements. A discursive formation refers to the discursive 'practices' in which memory is produced in a field of knowledge. In this case, discursive formation refers to the particular ways in which knowledge is produced around a rarefied, heritage-version of occupied Lithuania and genocide. It refers to the rules that impose limitations and mandates on what can and cannot be spoken about in the museum

environment. This is typically dependent on exposure to an entire field such as the fields of psychiatry and of the justice system that Foucault reasoned around (Foucault, 1965; 1979). In this research example, Lithuania 20th century history is the field that has been partially studied through an examination of its discursive production in museums and sites of memory.

Material repeatability- For Foucault, the statement has to have a substance, a support, a place, and a date, and when any of these requisites change, the statement also changes. O' Donnell and Spires (2012) observed particular structural realignments that the discourses of nationhood in the USA's televised Super Bowl championship were subject to following the September 11th 2001 terrorist attacks. The discourses of community and the role of the state in particular had assumed new enunciative modalities following the emergence of radical new political discourses in the light of these attacks. The variables of importance in the context of this research example are place, substance and support in relation to the bearing these have on the statements that are identified.

Surfaces of Emergence – Surfaces of emergence can be considered as the surface effects that bring about new knowledge. Bryce (2007) analysed broadsheet newspapers to examine the discursive production of Turkey in Western Media. O' Donnell and Spires (2012) explored adverts, television pre-shows and sports commentary to explore the discursive production of the USA through the televised Super Bowl. The commonality between approaches is that a wide range of texts spread over a broad horizon should be examined (Nicholls, 2008) to carry out discourse analysis, although the fact that only a partial study (Bryce, 2007) of a field can be achieved is a realistic caveat and a constant research limitation.

Knowledge - Refers to the discursive conditions of possibility for what is generally understood to be objective or subjective 'knowledge.' This refers to how the discursive practices of museums are

understood as 'truths'. What is required here is discourse analysis itself to explore the discursive production of an imagined Lithuania according to its deployment in museums.

The above concepts represent the philosophical lens of the research strategy used to undertake discourse analysis in Lithuanian museums and sites of memory. As to the practical aspects of research, and the methods deployed, Tonkiss (2004) reflects on the difficulty of formalising a standard approach, since such a form of discourse analysis is resistant to the typically formulaic rules of method. He further suggests that the feasibility of research is led by the choice of research methods, but also by an interpretive commitment to critiquing processes of meaning. Whilst there is no such thing as a Foucauldian research paradigm (Graham, 2005), Bal (2006) argues that analysing museum discourse might involve scrutiny of multiple texts, objects, images, sounds and narrations in order to capture and describe discursive regularity.

Visits to, and analysis of the sites and the ancillary texts that were collected took place between 2006 and 2012. Several hundred photographs of exhibitions, visitor interpretation and artefacts were taken and catalogued, and a comprehensive selection of ancillary museum texts such as books, visitor information leaflets and websites were consulted and analysed. Primary research also involved experiencing guided and self-guided tours of all three museums in order to triangulate visitor interpretation data beyond fixed displays. An accumulation of familiarity with the materials was developed to identify 'discursive regularities' across a six year period, comprising of four visits to Lithuania and its museums, and a period of desk research to examine texts and images. The process of analysing involved not simply reading through texts to identify themes, but critiquing texts to think about "...who said it, or who wrote it... who is thought, in its particular socio-cultural context, to be responsible for what it says..." (Johnstone, 2008, p. 9). The same author suggests there is no particularly instructive or prescriptive technique for doing this, but familiarity with data is crucial. Central to the research strategy was the search for discursive regularity and 'rules' governing the enunciation of statements emanating from these textual surfaces.

The following textual resources were analysed as part of the discourse analysis undertaken:

- Guide books and leaflets published by the sites
- Written visitor interpretation (captured in photographs)
- Guided tours given in English: permission was granted to record one of these, at Ninth Fort Museum
- Self-guided tours: an alternative to the above form of directive, interactive visitor interpretation.
- Non-textual visitor interpretation: photographed and including images, graphics, monuments and other artefacts and their spatial location and deployment in wider discursive contexts.
- Books and other printed formats offering extended narratives of the themes on display: these include those that are authored, sold and thus 'authorised' by the owners and other directorial stakeholders of the constituent museums in which they were obtained
- Newsletters and other correspondence from these institutions
- Articles in the media about these sites including online sources and English language travel magazines

As to the limits of this methodology, the very practice of discourse analysis necessitates its own central weakness which is that analysis is unavoidably based to some degree on subjective judgement and interpretations of phenomena, as opposed to following one of the more typically prescriptive research strategies offered via interpretive and positivist routes to knowledge creation (Yin, 2010). A key limitation in describing discourse is that competing claims to alternative discourses that might be identified by another researcher examining the same cultural phenomenon are always possible (Powers, 2001). Such a limitation is not however the unique preserve of discourse analysis

since the refutation of findings is a common occurrence in all social-scientific research. In terms of the limits of the theoretical framework applied, this research has looked for discourses within a particular institutional context, and only within a finite number of these. The caveat that Bryce (2009: 183) makes is relevant here in that that the consumption of discrete cultural media formats (newspapers in his case; museums in this) is by no means a majority pursuit. Museums, like newspapers assign themselves a particular mission, but one which only holds appeal for those that subscribe. What has therefore been explored in undertaking this discourse analysis is an *invitation* to a discursive experience, and one which depends on subscription to the kind of heritage experiences described in this paper. The museum, as with other cultural experiences invites its visitors into a unique and intimate subject position, or consciousness in relation to the themes that it suggests. To some degree therefore, an assumption is made in this research that each visitor is interpellated into the kind of subject position which the researcher recognised himself within in experiencing these museums both through the lens of theory and as a 'regular' consumer without a research agenda.

1.3.2 'Double Genocide' as Discursive Formation

The discursive formation that is identified here might be termed 'Double Genocide', in the sense that the museums analysed overwhelmingly articulate two quite complex and competing discourses of genocide which coexist and operate based on general rules of inclusion and exclusion. Any discursive practice constitutes a field of knowledge, which, in a Foucauldian framework is '…the space in which the subject may take up a position and speak of the objects with which he deals in his discourse' (Foucault, 2002, p. 201). Taken at its broadest level, this discursive formation is produced based upon a subject position that overwhelmingly favours a version of occupation which has ethnic Lithuanian genocide at its heart. The version of history that is accessible in these museums has been divested of what is a problematic and deviant narrative of Jewish Holocaust, and more specifically, divested of any discernible construction of Lithuanian collaboration with occupying Nazi forces to

assist with the documented mass murder of Jewish Lithuanian citizens during World War II. It is important to insert the caveat that there is no *denial* of Nazi collaboration in the discourses of the museums that have been studied. Much more important to the analysis are the specific strategies or 'enunciative modalities' (Foucault, 2002) that are deployed to *articulate* collaboration. Two organising discourses of genocide were identified as an authorised Lithuanian genocide articulated as an eccentrically gory, violent and ensanguined victimhood and a problematic, rarefied discourse of Jewish 'ethnic tragedy' which is articulated largely in the context of the present day; looking forwards, rather than backwards, as a contemplation of emancipation and reconciliation.

1.3.3 The Foregrounding of Lithuanian Heroism and Victimhood

The first of these discourses pertains to narratives of ethnic Lithuanian victimhood, and this interpretive theme is all-pervasive throughout the sites analysed. Indeed, within Lithuanian museums that interpret 20th century wartime human tragedy the constructed discursive object is framed within the rhetoric of an eccentrically violent and bloody resistance against Soviet occupiers (1940-1941 and 1944-1991) either side of what is a more problematic German occupation (1941-1944) that contains the particularly troublesome discourse of Lithuanian-Nazi collaboration. It has been well documented that ethnic Lithuanians collaborated with the occupying Nazis during the Second World War (Sutton, 2008) to put to death, or to facilitate this process, a sizeable proportion of the Lithuanian-Jewish population. Where collaboration is enabled within the interpretive setting of Ninth Fort and the Museum of Genocide Victims, it converges with a counter-position enunciating the intervention of Lithuanians to *rescue* Jews from the 'true' perpetrators; the occupying Nazis. The image below (Fig. 1) is a scan of the contents page of 'Whoever Saves One Life', a book on sale at the Museum of Genocide Victims and published by the 'Genocide and Resistance Research Centre of Lithuania', and it provides a striking example of how the imagined 'Lithuanian under occupation' is constructed, characterised and dispersed as a regularity in themed museums and sites of memory as authorities of emergence, delimitation and specification (Foucault, 1972: 49).

Contents

Fig. 1. The contents page to 'Whoever Saves One Life'. A title on sale at the Museum of Genocide Victims in Vilnius and Ninth Fort Museum in Kaunas (*Author's own image)*

What is notable about the above image is its resonance with what Foucault has termed the 'rarity' of the statement and the idea that statements are always 'in deficit' and they depend on the available vocabulary of a given time and space. Any analysis of the statement is tied to an archaeological analysis that provides an historical snapshot (Jansen, 2008) and which therefore offers a limited 'system of the present' and which exposes the "gaps, voids, limitations and disagreements" (Jansen, 2008, p. 109) in an archive of knowledge. In this case, the above example constructs the Lithuanian under occupation based on the 'relatively few things that *are* said' (Foucault, 1989). As O' Donnell (2012) reflects, two different discourses have produced two different discursive objects of occupied Lithuania. The central characterisation in the construction of the war-time ethnic Lithuanian is armed and violent opposition to the occupying authorities and, even beyond this, by heroism and intervention in an objective Jewish 'tragedy' to intervene in Jewish tragedy and rescue its victims.

To some extent, the museums and their exhibits are organised as a nationally and ethnically conscious sensibility to understand the past. As Ibrahim reflects "...trauma needs an audience to bear witness, to work through the catharsis and to consign it to the annals of history where it can be repeatedly revisited" (2009, p.96). Such is the case with Ninth Fort Museum and the Museum of Genocide Victims with their arresting displays of atrocity and violence, which produce the discursive object of an imagined ethnic Lithuanian genocide victim. Two examples of the regularity of gore and victimhood in constructing Lithuanian genocide are presented below (Fig. 2 and Fig.3). Of course, when contemplated individually and outside of the wider context of the exhibitions of which they are a part, these images only reveal a snapshot of the exhibition, and indeed few visitors would be surprised to happen upon the thematic choices of death and violence in museums that promise to interpret atrocity. However from a Foucauldian point of view, what is important here is to recognise propositions and logic in *groups* of signs since "...these units may always be characterised by the

elements that figure in them and by the rules of construction that unite them" (Foucault, 2002, p. 120). The rule in this case is the fetishisation of the aesthetic of gore, which is routinely preferred as an interpretive strategy when ethnic Lithuanian Genocide is spoken about.

Fig. 2. Gore and the visual aesthetic of victimhood are routinely preferred to construct narratives of Lithuanian Genocide. Jewish Holocaust in the same museums is victimless and bloodless in contrast (*Author's own image)*

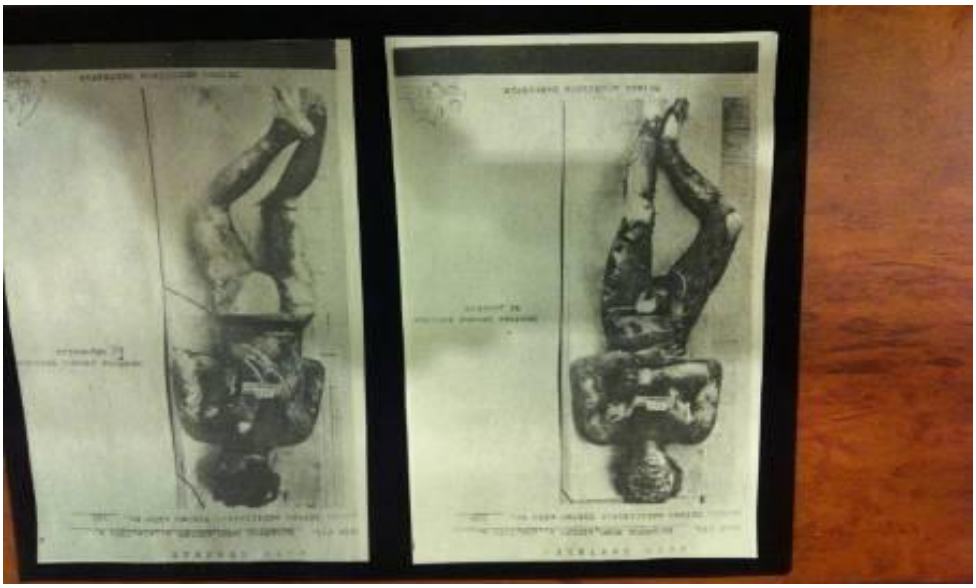

Fig. 3. The charred remains of Romas Kalanta (discussed below) *Author's own image*

A striking material example of the articulation of ethnic Lithuanian victimhood is the Romas Kalanta exhibition (Fig. 3) in Ninth Fort Museum. Romas Kalanta was a school pupil who on May 14th 1972 immolated himself with a can of petrol and some matches on 'Liberty Boulevard' in Kaunas in protest against Soviet Occupation (Palach, no date). In Lithuanian popular culture he has come to be embraced as an iconic signifier of freedom and independence, and in 1990 his grave was registered as a local historical monument. He was posthumously awarded the First Order Vytis Cross Medal soon afterwards (Daškevičiūtė, 2012). The Kolanta exhibition is central to the construction of an intransigent rhetoric of victimhood and persecution as the preferred interpretive strategy for articulating 20th century occupied ethnic Lithuanian. Jewish Holocaust is never part of this history of occupation. Kolanta is therefore an extraordinarily powerful example of the 'material repeatability' (Foucault, 2002) and archetypal construction of ethic Lithuanian violence and sacrifice. He, alongside other archetypal Lithuanian victims encountered in the Museum of Genocide Victims represents a defining characteristic of the propositional construction of the ethnic Lithuanian victim, but more importantly, it is the particular aesthetic in which he, and other symbols of Lithuanian genocide are constructed which sheds light on an emerging discursive formation bound by regularities and rules of formation which govern the "…thematic choices of the whole..." (O' Donnell and Spires, 2012, p. 4).

1.3.4 The Backgrounding of Jewish Holocaust

By contrast, when contemplating the constitution of Jewish tragedy in these museums, the resonance with Foucault's thinking becomes clear in terms of observing how '…discourses set limits which enable particular practices of signification (whilst) constraining others' (Kundu 1999: 72) and in terms of how museums deploy relations of power through choices and actions. Jewish mass murder, where it is present, is routinely *not* 'genocide' at all, and certainly not 'Holocaust'; a term that would be unimaginable in these museums. Indeed, this epoch of Jewish history is almost always bloodless and victimless. For contrast, Lithuanian antagonists and collaborators in Jewish murder are always anonymous. Some relevant examples of visitor interpretation in Ninth Fort Museum are provided below. The narrative is reproduced from photographs of visitor interpretation taken at the time of

visiting. The object in each sentence is emphasised to exemplify the anonymity of both victims and perpetrators and the emphasis in each case is my own.

.....

*These fetters were used for chaining **prisoners** of the ninth fort*

.....

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

.....

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

.....

*Exhumation of the remains of **Soviet Prisoners of War** in 1959*

.....

*IX fort's wall (sic), near it **people** were shot in 1943*

.....

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

.....

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

.....

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

.....

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

.....

An interesting contrast emerges when the interpretive narrative above is juxtaposed with visitor interpretation that articulates the Lithuanian genocide victim, who is not just ascribed a subject identity, but is also characterised as the victim of an identified aggressor; the Soviet occupying forces. Excerpts from the exhibitions below are offered as examples and emphasis is

added to point out where identity is ascribed to Lithuanian victims and where perpetration is explicitly referenced:

.....

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

.....

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

.....

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

.....

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

.....

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

.....

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

.....

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

.....

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

.....

What is striking here is the construction of a subject position that sees the ethnic Lithuanian under occupation imagined as a victim who is ascribed an identity at both the collective (see statement 3 and 4 above) and individual level (all remaining statements). Almost all of the elements of the discourse of victimhood are mobilised in the same space in the examples above and these occur "...in an absolutely routine manner" (O' Donnell and Spires, 2012, p. 10) and it is these "…repeated articulations of the discourse that are important in keeping it active".

All of the sites that were profiled with the exception of the Vilna Gaon State Jewish Museum enable a rarefied knowledge of ethnic Jewish tragedy in which the archetypal signifier of 'Holocaust' is never mobilised. This discursive strategy is an example of how these museums have stepped into the wider, national discourse of 'genocide' commemoration in which Holocaust remains troublesome and inconvenient. Simply put, neither Holocaust nor genocide would *ever* be visible within a present day Lithuanian-museum articulation of Jewish history, since the conditions of possibility simply do not exist. Rather, there are two salient rules that are clear when considering how Jewish Holocaust is constructed, and these are firstly, the *limited* number of images in museum exhibits to support interpretation and, secondly, the material repeatability in the aesthetics of the images that are presented, which sit almost exclusively in stark contrast to the recurrence of gore and violence that enables visitors to know about ethnic Lithuanian genocide as an object of discourse. Two examples are produced below (Fig. 4 and Fig. 5), again with the acknowledgement that a full appreciation of the context from which they are taken can only be achieved by encountering the exhibitions themselves. Both of these sets of images interpret Holocaust as a sanitised process of reconciliation and commemoration in the absence of violence or blame. There are no victims and no bloodshed in these portrayals, and there is no referencing of violent crime.

Fig. 4. Jewish identity is constituted in the present day as a discourse of progress and reconciliation. Violence and victimhood are absent entirely. (*Author's own image)*

Fig. 5. Another instance of the discourse of progress, survival and reconciliation (*Author's own image)*

The images and narratives that are enabled deploy a discourse of ethnic Jewish emancipation from the past and imagery and texts are framed inside a present-day context. When considered in their wider discursive context these are compelling examples of material repetition and aesthetic strategies from which knowledge of a rarefied Jewish tragedy in Lithuanian museums emanates. It is not the physical act of violence that is enabled within these discourses, but the assumed ways in which these atrocities are dealt with in modern day Lithuanian politics and culture; a culture that is constructed in museums without corroboration from the victimised Jewish subject position. Indeed, all subject positions in the museums that were visited were framed within the same nationally conscious sensibility that privileges Lithuanian genocide as the enduring object of discourse. It is the persecuted ethnic Lithuanian voice that speaks about Jewish tragedy, not the voice of the Jewish victim. This voice is '…self-sufficient and self-confident, looking down from an indisputable position of strength' (Cirakman, 2005, cited in Bryce, 2009:84). As Crimp (1993, cited in Kundu 1999, p. 71) reflects "…by displaying the products of particular histories in a reified historical continuum, the museum fetishizes them".

It is therefore the *absence* of certain images and narratives, and the enabling of others that embodies the regularity in the discursive strategy of Double Genocide which is produced based upon '…a group of rules that are imminent in a practice and define (the object's) specificity' (Foucault, 2002: 51). Statements about genocide are therefore in deficit when it comes to all that *might* be said about this period of history and the construction of this theme is enabled and limited in specific ways that maintain 'Jewish tragedy' as a particular social practice in exhibitions that limit its existence to the discourses of reconciliation, survival and modern day progress. This observation resonates with Foucault's explanation of the statement as something that does not simply emerge to '…rend the fundamental silence' of something not known' (Bryce, 2009: 264) but something which has '…some basis, some wider functional interpretive framework upon which to designate that object as something *to be known* in a quite specific way.

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

> *...systematic operation of several discourses or statements constituting a 'body of knowledge', which work together to construct a specific object/topic of analysis in a particular way, and to limit the other ways in which that object/topic might be constituted.* (1997, p. 23)

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

1.3.5 Discursive Resistance and Jewish Heritage

The only occupation-themed museum in Lithuania which breaks many of the rules of this 'discursive regime' (Brown and Humphreys, 2006: 1) of Double Genocide is the VGSJM. The idea of a Jewish museum that is operated and staffed by Jewish Lithuanians including the relatives of survivors of the Holocaust presenting a contrasting version of 'genocide' is not surprising. Yet the museum can be considered an anomaly, and a space of dissension amongst the core units of analysis. It represents a site of discursive resistance to the fields of power in which the dominant discursive formation of Double Genocide is produced and maintained inside the construct of destination. Interestingly, it is within the VGSJM, and specifically, the 'Green House' Museum that 'Holocaust' is unambiguously produced as a second, competing object of genocide discourse. The VGSJM reminds us that discourse can be both "…a site of both power and resistance, with scope to evade, subvert or contest strategies of power" (Gaventa, 2003, p.3). The site challenges the 'official' memory of Lithuanian occupation and presents a counter claim to the dominant position of the state-funded museums in the analysis, all of which have found ways of enabling an object of knowledge (genocide) that is divested of the inconvenience of Holocaust and Lithuanian collaboration. The VGSJM breaks at least four of the rules of the Lithuanian discursive formation of genocide in its visitor interpretation and these are:

1. The referencing of Holocaust as a crime against the Jewish population of Lithuania
2. The identification of Jews as a victim-group at both the collective and individual level
3. Referencing numbers of Jewish Holocaust victims

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

The discourses of the VGSJM challenge the paradigm of Double Genocide since they reference the same ontological event (occupied Lithuania) as the power regime they seek to undermine. In Foucauldian terms, as respective sites of power and resistance, these museums can be said to exist '…as conditions of possibility for each other' (Butz and Ripmeester, 1999, p. 1) and, far from being binary opposites they are conceptualised as a multiform production of relations that are just as susceptible to disagreement as to an overlap of discursive strategies. However, clearly the VGSJM, as a marginal voice in the construction of an imagined Lithuanian past represents a "…site of dissension, and therefore of resistance and opposition to, as well as reproduction of dominant views" (O' Donnell and Spires, 2012, p. 19). The authors suggest that such sites of resistance routinely risk failure or appropriation and the possibility of simply being ignored. The VGSJM as a museum of occupation and of genocide therefore represents an ideological and spatial effort to circumvent the power of the ideologies and discourses espoused by the state-supported ethno-centric museums that were encountered and analysed. From a Foucauldian perspective, power and resistance are ontologically inseparable and they exist as institutions with a role to play in producing knowledge about genocide and occupation in a Lithuanian context (Butz and Ripmeester, 1999). The consequence in terms of discourse is the production of two objects for 'knowing' occupied Lithuania, and this proposition is discussed below.

1.3.6 Discussion

Museums and exhibitions have been described as sites of cultural contestation and, as the analysis above suggests it is worthwhile viewing such contestation as a discourse that legitimates, and is legitimated by the wider set of cultural conditions in which they exist. These conditions, according to a Foucauldian perspective authorise certain ways of constructing objects of knowledge. A post structuralist approach to understanding museums might view such institutions as apparatuses of a disciplinary society (Conn, 2000) which combine the practices of collecting, classifying and displaying

objects as exercises in power to produce knowledge. This knowledge is inscribed in what Bourdieu has called a 'field of power' (Blickstein, 2009, p. 16) that is the subject of competing interests. Far from advocating a Frankfurt-School classification of museums as insidious and coercive propagandists that cow visitors into submission, the Foucauldian approach suggested here instead reveals that museums are part of an anonymously authored and perpetuated cultural hegemony that places visitors on the side of power; inviting them to step into the discourses that they articulate as a form of authoritative knowledge about the nation and its past.

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

The deployment of the concept of discursive formation as a methodology has therefore, in this example, evidenced that a body of knowledge has been created through the articulation of several discourses, or statements of history, produced as a material culture within Lithuanian museums and heritage sites themed around occupation. Rather than existing as separate, autonomous entities, these sites are viewed in Foucauldian terms as texts that are constituted in discourse and which articulate complexes of social meaning (Kress, 1955, cited in Brown and Humphreys, 2006, p. 4). Like other institutions, they are socially constructed through discourses that create situations, objects of knowledge and therefore social identities. Through their language-rhetoric, they simultaneously enable and restrict certain understandings about their reconstructed pasts, perceived presents and

anticipated futures. Their epistemic claims to authoritative knowledge must be considered to be contingent, socially conditioned and the product of discursive formations (Conn, 2000). As statements, these Lithuanian museums are examples of what Taborsky (2000) has termed the cultural consensus of a society. Just as societies share a common language, they also have in common a set of cultural assumptions that are articulated through institutional practices such as heritage tourism. As part of a discursive analytic, it is not the *material* nature of these assumptions that matters but the process of their production (Jansen, 2008) and how they reflect and maintain social reality by producing meaning. Viewed as discursive formation, it is the rules of formation in the discourses of these museums that are central to meaning-making, and it is through the mapping of rules that it is possible to identify consistency, despite disagreement and variation. The absolute exclusion of dissonant narratives (Holocaust and all of its implications such as violence, victimhood and perpetration) from the rhetoric of occupation in state-funded Lithuanian museums "…forecloses (this) unwanted expression" (O' Donnell and Spires (2012, p. 18) and the repeatability of Lithuanian 'genocide' ritualises a hegemonic site of knowledge production, creating a dominant ideology in terms of how Lithuanian occupation can come to be known, in this case by English speaking visitors.

'Double genocide' as discursive formation is therefore at once both a space of national identity formation, and of historical 'truth' contestation. This research has analysed 'occupation' in three museums as a series of statements which have been grasped in "…the exact specificity of their occurrence (to) determine their conditions of existence (to) fix at least their limits, establish their correlations with other statements that may be connected with it, and show what other forms of statement they exclude" (Foucault, 1972 cited in Hevia, no date, p. 1). To locate the statement is to define the conditions of its specific existence (Jansen, 2008). The study has analysed what is said as statement in the museum environment about two competing narratives of genocide as discourses which come to shape what is it to 'know' Lithuanian occupation in a particular touristic setting. These narratives have consequences in the non-discursive, 'real world' context since they are cultural and touristic signifiers of a nation in transition which eschews its turbulent, and in some cases,

inconvenient past in favour of shaping its evolving identity as a member of the European union around a selective historical narrative, free from troublesome cultural reference points. These are institutions that "…possess the power of knowledge which may further dominate the shaping of the public's ideologies and beliefs of what to be considered the truth" (Dai Rong, 2006, p.3). Each can be considered as belonging to what Horne (1984) has conceptualised as the ethereal 'public culture' which floats above the tourism destination like a mirage. They are therefore hegemonic cultural resources and stakeholders in protecting and 'naturalising' national and political interests.

1.4 Conclusion

This paper set out to propose an alternative epistemological lens for researching a specific format of cultural tourism consumption in museums and sites of memory. The approach is novel in contrast to previous methodological approaches that have been used to critique discursive practices, such as ethnography (Park, 2010), participant observation and interviews (Goulding and Domic, 2009), content analysis (Buzinde and Santos, 2008). It offered a synthesis of Michel Foucault's *Archaeology of Knowledge*, and in particular the concept of discursive formation in order to approach and analyse museums and sites of memory as spaces of discourse production. A framework was suggested and applied to critique the thematic representation of genocide and occupation in three Lithuanian museums and sites of memory conceptualised as surfaces of emergence, which produce 'statements' as part of the cultural fabric of this emerging destination.

The study makes four key points as follows.

1. First museums and sites of memory, when they can be logically approached as a thematic collective, can be said to produce a rarefied 'field of knowledge' around the ideas and concepts that they reveal. They depend on each other, and the wider cultural conditions they support, and are supported by, to maintain this field of knowledge.
2. Second, it is the interpretive themes within the museums analysed that are repeated (in images and through various textual visitor interpretation) with sufficient frequency to

understand how they limit the ways of knowing 20th century narratives of genocide in Lithuania. This knowledge is rarefied and socially constructed.

3. Third, the knowledge produced within these cultural institutions is maintained within, and informed by, a particular set of cultural conditions, which are apt to change over time. Future research will be useful in identifying any changes to the material repeatability of genocide that this paper has described.
4. Finally, this paper argues that discourse analysis as a research method to support a Foucauldian research philosophy can be based on an accumulation of familiarity with tours, guide books, images, interpretive texts and other directive narratives to drive forward an analysis of discourse in museum settings based on the principles of discursive formation. The framework proposed may be useful to inform future research that seeks to conceptualise heritage as 'text', and it may appeal to researchers that wish to embrace a humanities approach to understanding museums, and the destination discourses of which they are a part.

In terms of the future research opportunities that might follow-on from this paper, there is a clear opportunity to explore articulations of genocide/occupation in tourism heritage in the neighbouring Baltic States of Latvia and Estonia. Park (2010) has noted the emergence of 'Soviet nostalgia' as a unique form of heritage in both of these nations. As such, there is an opportunity to carry out further discourse analyses in these states to explore the material repeatability of the discourses identified in this study in other, similarly themed and geographically nearby museums and sites of memory. It may also be useful to extend the reach of this type of academic enquiry into other European countries, such as Poland, with its cultural terrain of dissonant heritage symbolised, most powerfully by the Auschwitz visitor centre.

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