

Union Theological Seminary

POSTTRAUMATIC GROWTH AND MEMORIAL SPACES:
EXPLORING POTENTIAL IN THE ACEH TSUNAMI MUSEUM,
BANDA ACEH, INDONESIA

A Report
Presented in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Master of Divinity
at Union Theological Seminary

Dr. Daisy Machado and Dr. Gary Dorrien

by

Maggie Jarry

April 10, 2015

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS:

Thank you to the Henry Luce Foundation, the faculty, staff of Gadjah Mada University's Indonesian Consortium for Religious Studies and the Center for Religious and Cross-Cultural Studies, and Dr. John Raines, professor of religion at Temple University for support of my summer 2014 fellowship in Yogyakarta, Indonesia. Thank you in particular to Dr. Dicky Sofjan for his encouragement that I write an evocative essay about my journey to memorials in Indonesia, an essay that is forthcoming. Thank you to Dr. Gary Dorrien and Dr. Paul Knitter for your support of my fellowship application and for your encouragement in my academic and spiritual journey through Union Theological Seminary in the City of New York. Thank you to my classmate Matthew Hoffman for encouraging me to go to Indonesia. Thank you to Dr. Martin van Bruinessen for introducing me to the work of your friend Dr. James T. Siegel and for the opportunity to learn from you both formally and informally in the summer of 2014.

Thank you to Donna Derr, Director of Development and Humanitarian Assistance, Church World Service; Michael Koeniger, Director for Indonesia & Timor Leste, Church World Service – Indonesia; and Dino Satria, Emergency Response Coordinator & Program Manager, Church World Service – Indonesia. Donna Derr's introduction made it possible for me to connect with people working in disaster response and recovery within Indonesia within one week of my arrival. Michael Koeniger's encouragement helped me feel comfortable traveling alone to Aceh. (More people should travel to Aceh. I loved it there. I hope to return.) Dino Satria linked me to leaders in Indonesian relief and recovery agencies by sharing information about an interreligious disaster preparedness conference in Medan. The Medan conference gave me information about a conference at Muhammadiyah University. The sum total of these opportunities helped me link posttraumatic growth to my overall inquiry into the role and function of disaster memorials in community-wide recovery. Thank you to Sigit Wijayanto of YAKKUM for your insights, ideas and encouragement.

Thank you to my readers from Union Theological Seminary, Dr. Daisy Machado and Dr. Gary Dorrien, for creating an atmosphere where I, and other students, could discover our capabilities. In addition, thank you to Amy Meverden for being a teaching assistant to hundreds of masters-level students at Union Theological Seminary. Your structure and encouragement was essential. Thank you to my friends Andrea Wuebker and Bo Najdek for reading drafts of my text and providing valuable feedback.

Thank you to Dr. Herlily, Lecturer at the Department of Architecture, Universitas Indonesia, for sharing your lecture notes from your presentation at the Twelfth Conference of the International Association for the Study of Traditional Environments. Thank you to Dr. Richard Tedeschi for returning my email with encouragement that this "is an interesting application" of your ideas.

To staff at the Max Café on Amsterdam Avenue near Columbia University, thank you for letting me sit for more than 12 hours at a time while writing. To Clifford Maceda, you cheered me on through seminary and died far too soon.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I. PART ONE: POSTTRAUMATIC GROWTH AND MEMORIAL SPACES	
A. Introduction.....	4
B. Memorials, Museums and Memory.....	6
1. Monuments & Memorials: Compared and Contrasted.....	9
2. Rhetoric and Affect.....	12
3. Space and Place as Signifiers.....	16
4. Public Behavior and Public Education.....	20
C. Posttraumatic Growth.....	30
1. Trauma Defined.....	32
2. Relationship of Growth and Distress.....	35
3. Why Foster Posttraumatic Growth?.....	38
4. Processes of Posttraumatic Growth.....	39
5. Religious Practice as a Positive Indicator.....	42
D. Posttraumatic Growth Inventory Tool for Public Space.....	44
II. PART TWO: EXPLORING POTENTIAL IN THE ACEH TSUNAMI MUSEUM, BANDA ACEH, INDONESIA	
A. Aceh.....	46
1. History.....	46
2. 2004 Indian Ocean Tsunami.....	52
3. Landscape of Memorials in Banda Aceh.....	57
4. Aceh Tsunami Museum.....	59
a. Place.....	59
b. Space.....	61
c. Narrative.....	65
B. Aceh Tsunami Museum/Memorial Posttraumatic Growth Assessment.....	66
III. CONCLUSIONS.....	78
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	81
APPENDIX A: Table I: Overview of Posttraumatic Growth Theories.....	85
APPENDIX B: Table II: Tedeschi and Calhoun Model for Processing Trauma Into Growth ..	86
APPENDIX C: Table IV: Memorial/Museum Posttraumatic Growth Inventory(MPGI).....	87
APPENDIX D: Table IV: Overview of Posttraumatic Growth.....	88
APPENDIX E: Photographic Supplement: Banda Aceh and Aceh Tsunami Museum.....	89

I. PART ONE:

POSTTRAUMATIC GROWTH AND MEMORIAL SPACES

*"I bequeath myself to the dirt to grow from the grass I love,
If you want me again look for me under your boot-soles"*

Walt Whitman, Song of Myself, 52

A. Introduction

In recent years, architecture has become a stage for human grappling with catastrophic loss. To build a memorial or a museum ascribes significance to an event. Perhaps driven first by holocaust memorials after World War II, memorials are emerging in locations of genocide, terror, nuclear war, civil war, and natural disasters. Erica Doss has coined the term “memorial mania”¹ to capture what she sees as a growing compulsion for catastrophic events to be memorialized through formal and informal spaces. Performance studies scholars Brigitte Sion and Laura Beth Clark study this growing phenomenon as “death tourism” and “trauma tourism.” While this is a growing area of interest in sociology, urban planning, museum studies, anthropology, and performance studies, Sion points out that study of death tourism is “vastly unexplored.”² An area of potential in the study of these emerging memorial spaces is their relationship to post-traumatic growth, a similarly new field of study in psychology sparked by Richard Tedeschi and Lawrence Calhoun. This paper will explore the potential of physical memorial and museum spaces as locations that can foster community-wide post-traumatic growth in the wake of catastrophic disasters. The role of memorial and museum spaces in fostering affect and meaning-making will be considered for the purpose of developing an assessment tool to evaluate whether a memorial/museum fosters posttraumatic growth. That tool will then be used to assess a particular location, the Aceh Tsunami Museum in Banda Aceh, Indonesia.

In its simplest form, post-traumatic growth is experience of benefit and increased sense of meaning after adversity, especially after life-threatening events. Richard Tedeschi and Laurence Calhoun, founding theorists in the field of posttraumatic growth studies, have

¹ Dross, Erika. *Memorial Mania: Public Feeling in America*. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2010).

² Sion, Brigitte. *Death Tourism: Disaster Sites as Recreational Landscape*. (Calcutta: Seagull Books, 2014).

developed the following definition of post-traumatic growth: “posttraumatic growth is the experience of positive change that occurs as a result of the struggle with highly challenging life crises.”³ Contrasting with the concept of “trauma recovery,” as a return to some form of what was before, Stephen Joseph, author of *What Doesn’t Kill Us: The New Psychology of Post-Traumatic Growth*, defines posttraumatic growth as characterized by permanent change including personal, philosophical and relationship changes.⁴ The traumatic event would be seen as a “turning point” that, on an individual level, is characterized by this statement from an assault survivor, “I like who I am now and I am doing things I never would have thought I was capable of. If I was to erase the past then I wouldn’t be who I am today.”⁵ Studies of posttraumatic growth and posttraumatic growth assessment scales have largely focused on individuals. However, Richard Tedeschi explores aspects of community-wide posttraumatic growth in his 1999 article *Violence Transformed: Posttraumatic Growth in Survivors and Their Societies*. Fitting with the overall posttraumatic growth model articulated in Tedeschi and Calhoun’s seminal 2004 publication,⁶ in his 1999 article Tedeschi observes that “certain kinds of rumination appear to lead to revision of fundamental schemas about the self, others and the future.”⁷

For the purpose of this paper, the Aceh Tsunami Museum in Banda Aceh, Indonesia has been selected for evaluation because of its use of architectural space, development of narrative within the museum, and unique ways that Acehnese people have found meaning

³ Tedeschi, Richard G. and Calhoun, Lawrence G. “Posttraumatic Growth: Conceptual Foundations and Empirical Evidence.” *Psychological Inquiry*, 15, 1 (2004): 1.

⁴ Joseph, Stephen. *What Doesn’t Kill Us: The New Psychology of Post-Traumatic Growth*. New York: Basic Books, 2011. 68

⁵ Joseph, *What Doesn’t Kill Us*, 70

⁶ Tedesche & Calhoun, “Posttraumatic Growth: Conceptual Foundations,” 2004

⁷ Tedeschi, Richard. “Violence Transformed: Posttraumatic Growth in Survivors and Their Societies,” *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, 4, 3, (1999). 319

after being at the epicenter of one of the largest disasters in human recorded history. Aceh prefecture in Sumatra, Indonesia lost an estimated 220,000 people in the Indian Ocean Tsunami, leaving an additional 500,000 displaced.⁸ The earthquake epicenter causing the tsunami was closest to Banda Aceh, the largest city in Aceh prefecture. Banda Aceh residents ran into the streets, attempting earthquake rescue efforts, as tsunami waters flooded the city. More than 120,000 people died in Aceh within one hour of the initial earthquake.^{9,10} At the time of the 2004 tsunami, Aceh prefecture had begun negotiations to end a 30-year civil war within Indonesia. A peace accord was reached with three months of the tsunami. This paper will conclude with consideration of how the Aceh Tsunami Museum interacts with Acehese understanding of their experiences and losses in the 2004 Indian Ocean Tsunami, using the Memorial/Museum Posttraumatic Growth Inventory.

B. Memorials, Museums and Memory

Public memorials are feats of human architectural language. They function to sustain memory, expressing values of who should be remembered. Examples abound – the great pyramids of Egypt, Grants Tomb in New York City, and the terracotta warriors in the mausoleum of the first Qin Emperor of China – all communicate wealth, power and command respect. For centuries, public architectural memorials belonged to the realm of elites. Memorials such as these are often referred to as monuments. These monuments communicate narratives from the perspective of the war victors and kings. Monuments and

⁸ Meisl, Christopher S., Safaie, Sahar, Elwood, Kenneth J., Gupta, Rishi and Kowsari, Reza. Abstract, “Housing Reconstruction in Northern Sumatra after the December 2004 Great Sumatra Earthquake and Tsunami.” *Earthquake Spectra*, Vol. 22, No. S3, (June 2006): 777-802. Print [Cited February 28, 2015] Online: <http://www.earthquakespectra.org/doi/abs/10.1193/1.2201668>

⁹ Meisl, Christopher S., Safaie, Sahar, Elwood, Kenneth J., Gupta, Rishi and Kowsari, Reza. Abstract, “Housing Reconstruction in Northern Sumatra”

¹⁰ Jayasuriya, Sisira & McCrawl, Peter. *The Asian Tsunami: Aid and Reconstruction after a Disaster, Highlights*. (Tokyo: Asian Development Bank Institute and Edward Elgar Publishing, 2010). 1

memorials have their own histories based on values in particular cultures. Both architectural forms are locations of public memory that are meant to survive past first generations of people who could tell their life stories to children and grandchildren. Cultures from areas we now call Europe, the Middle East and Asia valued the societies they encountered based on their physical monuments, or lack of them. Most early monuments were places of memorial for human and archetypal memory. For some cultures, such as Mayan, Aztec or Anasazi, our greatest clues as to their values and beliefs are contained in these architectural spaces.

Coinciding with the memories of kings have been oral histories, sometimes transformed into origin stories that express an ever-looming possibility of catastrophic human loss. The Mesopotamia story of a great flood, found in creation stories of Gilgamesh and the Hebrew scriptures, may contain historical memory of a catastrophic event or perhaps it contains memory of all human origins in the sea itself. We do not know the names of the people who died in this great flood, but the possibility of catastrophic loss, of mass casualty events, has archetypal power. Apocalyptic prophecies, be they a biblical Armageddon, a return of Spiderwoman to Hopi and Navajo lands, or Brahmawaking from his millennial sleep, capture human imagination, just as the inevitability of death lays before each human being. Yet, these stories of massive death are often filled with lessons that are meant to uplift possibilities in the human person. They are multifaceted and complex.

To what extent, then, is the development of memorials to commemorate catastrophic deaths a new phenomenon? Or, what is new in this ancient practice? Laurie Beth Clark, exploring her concept of “trauma tourism,” notes an increasing interest in

building memorials and museums on sites of desecration.¹¹ Reflecting on particularities of memorials in the United States, in *Memorial Mania* Erica Doss recognizes connections between growth of memorials, popular issues of who and what should be remembered and “adamant assertions of citizen rights and persistent demands for representation and respect.”¹² In the newly published *Death Tourism: Disaster Sites as Recreational Landscape*, Brigitte Sion, discusses emerging interdisciplinary studies focused on modern and expanding versions of recreational tourism for the purpose of “negative sightseeing.” Referred to as “thanatourism,” “death tourism” and “trauma tourism,” scholars are turning their attention to a growing phenomenon of travel for the purpose of seeing the location of violent deaths. This is, on the one hand, understood to have historical roots in ancient patterns of behavior, such as pilgrimage to sites of martyrs. At the same time, contemporary nuances emerge when considering this growing industry closely. For example, Sion draws from Al Seaton’s typology of thanatourism, where he states that, “Thanatourism...is tourism motivated exclusively by fascination with death itself.”¹³ In this definition, the more knowledge a traveler has of the particular people who died the weaker the thanatouristic element.¹⁴ Expanding from this, Sion highlights Laurie Beth Clark broader assertion that, “trauma memorials are called upon to serve multiple functions for these complex constituencies, which include education, mourning, healing, nationalism and activism.”¹⁵

¹¹ Clark, Laura Beth. “Ethical Spaces: Ethics and Propriety in Trauma Tourism.” *Death Tourism: Disaster Sites as Recreational Landscape*. Brigitte Sion, Ed. (Calcutta: Seagull Books 2014): 18

¹² Doss. *Memorial Mania*, 2

¹³ Sion, Introduction, 2

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Sion, Introduction, 3

1. Monuments & Memorials: Compared and Contrasted

It is helpful to consider how this increasingly professionalized memorial and museum industry reflects older patterns of monument building. Erica Doss contextualized her analysis of contemporary “memorial mania” by comparing it to centuries of frenzy to erect statues in the United States and Europe. Doss quotes Alois Riegl, “a monument is its oldest and most original sense is a human creation, erected for the specific purpose of keeping single human deeds or events (or a combination thereof) alive in the minds of future generations.”¹⁶ Recognizing this Doss says, “at the most basic level, memorials are designed to recognize and preserve memories. They are typically understood as acts and gifts that honor particular people and historical events.”¹⁷ In a private conversation exploring types of architectural commemoration in the ancient Roman Empire, Dr. Brigitte Kahl, author of *Galatians Re-imagined*, gave examples of Sebasteion at Aphrodisias and statues of conquered nations at the Great Altar of Pergamon (now in Berlin) as examples of visually compelling art that utilized binaries to communicate natural order and a naturalization of war. Kahl states that through architecture and statues “ancients remembered their victories and commemorated the vanquished with regard to their own victory.”¹⁸ Thematically Kahl’s idea touches on the interplay of concepts of the “natural” or “natural order” articulated in monuments. Following a similar vein of thought, in *Places of Public Memory: The Rhetoric of Museums and Memorials*, scholars Carole Blair, Greg Dickinson, and Brian Ott Blair, illustrate the concept of “love of nation” found in many

¹⁶ Doss, *Memorial Mania*, 37

¹⁷ Doss, *Memorial Mania*, 7

¹⁸ Conversation with Dr. Brigitte Kahl at Union Theological Seminary on March 11, 2015. See also Kahl, Brigitte. *Galatians Re-Imagined: Reading with the Eyes of the Vanquished*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2010.

monuments to show how meaning-making and affect develop through that which is signified (e.g., positive signification of “loyalty”) and asigned (e.g., binary negative “betrayal”).¹⁹ They point out that concepts of “nature” and “disinterest” are at play into the idea of “love of country” and valor in death. They argue that it is considered natural to be attached to one’s “nation” through ties of kingship and feeling of home. At the same time, a person does not choose their location of birth, and thereby has inherent disinterest in their sacrifice. Therefore, dying for one’s country attains a “moral grandeur” that differs from dying through chosen affiliations.²⁰ It is noteworthy, especially in sites of catastrophic deaths that contemporary trauma memorials evoke many behaviors similar to those associated with ancient monuments to war. Clark observes that trauma sites often evoke behavior of other types of spaces, “the most widespread mimicry is of cemeteries, but trauma sites also frequently look like places of worship or museums, all of which imply solemnity and reverence.”²¹ Use of binaries in the construction of visual motifs can be found in many contemporary memorials and will be discussed further in analysis of the Aceh Tsunami Museum.

Monuments can also be contrasted with newly developed memorials. Erica Doss highlights comments from James Ingo Freed, architect of the US Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington DC. According to Doss, Freed argues that a key distinction between monuments and memorials is that monuments are monolithic and celebratory, whereas memorials are locations for communal emotions and public memories. Regarding the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington D.C. Freed states, “I choose to

¹⁹ Dickinson, Greg; Blair, C; Ott, B., Eds. Introduction, *Places of Public Memory: The Rhetoric of Museums and Memorials*. Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2010: 17

²⁰ Dickinson, Greg; Blair, C; Ott, B., Eds. Introduction, *Places of Public Memory*, 17

²¹ Clark, “Ethical Spaces,” 12

call it a memorial and not a monument because monuments celebrate things. Here there is no celebration. Also, monuments tend to be too unified, too unitary, restricting different possibilities of reading and interpretations. So ‘memorial’ seems to be better.”²² In contrast to monuments, Doss goes further to associate individualism, special interests, self-expression, and personal feeling with memorial spaces, especially in the United States.²³ Doss also highlights comments from Maya Lin, architect of the Washington D.C. Vietnam Memorial, who states, “I consider the work I do memorials, not monuments; in fact I’ve often thought of them as anti-monuments.”²⁴ These comments from noted contemporary memorial architects indicate that a new norm of identity is developing in the values, goals and (perhaps) the aesthetics of this cohort of architects. That there is a new norm emerging in the formation of these types of commemoration or “memory” sites seems evident in many ways, including, as Clark points out, “curators of memorial sites from all over the world belong to the same professional organizations and meet one another regularly at international conferences to share ‘best practices.’”²⁵ From a scholarly perspective, Doss writes of being welcomed to the “memory industry” in the midst of a “swell of memory studies’ in academic scholarship.”²⁶

Comparing and contrasting monuments and contemporary memorials further, Doss argues that contemporary memorials (especially in the United States) differ from past monuments because they are more intentional in reviving social contradictions and historical traumas, whereas, monuments and memorials of the past were meant to put

²² Doss, *Memorial Mania*, 39)

²³ Doss, *Memorial Mania*, 39

²⁴ Doss, *Memorial Mania*, 39

²⁵ Clark, “Ethical Spaces,” 28

²⁶ Doss, *Memorial Mania*, 48

controversies to rest.²⁷ In other words, monuments erected in past eras were often intended to squelch debate, while “many contemporary memorials are marked by conflict, rupture, and loss and by recognition among artists and audiences that memorials have the power to stir things up as much as smooth them out.”²⁸ Yet, Doss points out that “both monuments and memorials are memory aids: materialist modes of privileging particular histories and values.”²⁹ As well, tourist industries to particular locations of loss and desecration mimic an appreciation of ruins that Clark notes, “at least for Westerners, has a long history associated with pleasure.”³⁰ Reflecting on similarities and differences, it seems that contemporary memorials different from monuments of the past, in part, in how they consider their audiences. In contemporary memorials, audiences are increasingly viewed as subjects of the memorial itself. Yet, ancient practices including attempts to modify collective memory through rhetorical devices remain core modalities in memorial museum environments.

2. Rhetoric and Affect

A core premise of this paper is the belief that disaster memorial and museum environments hold potential as locations of transformative public discourse. To explore this potential further it is helpful to consider the effect of rhetoric in these environments. In *Places of Public Memory: The Rhetoric of Museums and Memorials*, Blair, Dickinson, and Ott explore the rhetorical character of memorials and museums. In their exploration, they ask how do “particular memories capture the imagination and produce attachments, and how

²⁷ Doss, *Memorial Mania*, 47

²⁸ Doss, *Memorial Mania*, 47

²⁹ Doss, *Memorial Mania*, 38

³⁰ Clark, “Ethical Spaces,” 23

[do] memories achieve durability over time or compelling force in a particular context.”³¹ Similarly, in *Memorial Mania*, Erica Doss looks at the “transmission of affect”³² in social environments of memorials where people’s shared experience is often that of “communal emotions.”³³ Doss explores how these affective conditions inform, inspire and evoked grief, gratitude, fear, shame and anger.³⁴ Blair, Dickenson and Ott point out that, along with individual experience, memory is “an activity of collectivity” as implied by an ever-increasing use of modifiers by scholars such as “collective memory, social memory, popular memory, cultural memory, and public memory.”³⁵ Critical discourse in rhetoric is most often concerned with effect, including affect communicated via rhetoric. If public memorials and museum spaces are rhetorical (e.g., persuasive, communicating meaning and investing meaning), what is their (potential) effect/affect?³⁶ Dickinson, Brian and Ott argue that the rhetorical character of public memory places must be comprehended to understand the way that these spaces embody and inform collective narratives.³⁷

For the purposes of this paper, the term rhetoric is being applied as “a set of theoretical stances and critical tactics that offer ways of understanding, evaluating, and intervening in a broad range of human activities.”³⁸ This definition at once encompasses the common usage of the term today and is broader than its typical usage, where rhetoric is most often synonymous with “the art of persuasion.”³⁹ Dickinson, Brian and Ott point out

³¹ Dickinson, Greg; Blair, C; Ott, B., Eds. Introduction, *Places of Public Memory*, 16

³² Doss, *Memorial Mania*, 15

³³ Doss, *Memorial Mania*, 38

³⁴ Doss, *Memorial Mania*, 2

³⁵ Dickinson, Greg; Blair, C; Ott, B., Eds. Introduction, *Places of Public Memory*, 5-6

³⁶ Paraphrased from Dickinson, Greg; Blair, C; Ott, B., Eds. Introduction, *Places of Public Memory*, 4

³⁷ Dickinson, Greg; Blair, C; Ott, B., Eds. Introduction, *Places of Public Memory*, 2

³⁸ Dickinson, Greg; Blair, C; Ott, B., Eds. Introduction, *Places of Public Memory*, 1

³⁹ Dickinson, Greg; Blair, C; Ott, B., Eds. Introduction, *Places of Public Memory*, 3

that “memory” was one of the five ancient canons of rhetoric⁴⁰ and the ability of audiences to interpret and understand rhetoric is dependent on layers of legibility based on “publicly recognized symbolic activity *in context*.”⁴¹ In other words, “particular audiences in particular circumstances”⁴² will decipher rhetoric differently. Within a memorial museum environment rhetoric may be understood as that which invests and signifies meaning through “discourses, events, objects, and practices...composed of signs that may take on a range of significance.”⁴³ Rhetoric is “fundamentally a public activity” that can be oriented toward elite audiences or private discourses.⁴⁴

Erica Doss writes of “memory’s debt to the present.”⁴⁵ In her turn of phrase, Doss refers to memory as an active, present tense phenomenon that reconstructs and makes meaning of events in the past. The process of memory differs from history, as the French philosopher Pierre Nora states:

Memory is always a phenomenon of the present, a bond tying us to the eternal present; history is a representation of the past....History, being an intellectual, non-religious activity, calls for analysis and critical discourse. Memory situates remembrance in a sacred context.⁴⁶

In considering this juxtaposition of “memory” and “history” as concepts within memorials and museum environments, a question should be asked as to how these environments as locations of public discourse and, often, as locations of public education use rhetoric to influence public memory and the public viewer’s sense of agency in historical analysis and

⁴⁰ Dickinson, Greg; Blair, C; Ott, B., Eds. Introduction, *Places of Public Memory*, 1

⁴¹ Dickinson, Greg; Blair, C; Ott, B., Eds. Introduction, *Places of Public Memory*, 4

⁴² Ibid

⁴³ Dickinson, Greg; Blair, C; Ott, B., Eds. Introduction, *Places of Public Memory*, 3

⁴⁴ Dickinson, Greg; Blair, C; Ott, B., Eds. Introduction, *Places of Public Memory*, 5

⁴⁵ Doss, *Memorial Mania*, 47

⁴⁶ Nora, Pierre, Krtizman, Lawrence D. *Realms of Memory: The Construction of the French Past*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996): 3

discourse. This question will be explored further in discussion of public behavior and public education.

Public memory often reflects influence of the past on the present, narrates a common identity, and is animated by affect.⁴⁷ Further, studies of memory find that public memory is often “partial, partisan, and thus frequently contested.”⁴⁸ Public memory relies on material and/or symbolic references “that work in various ways to consummate individuals’ attachment to the group.”⁴⁹ Groups elevate certain events from their history into collective memory. In doing so, groups tell their story “as a way of understanding, valorizing, justifying, excusing, or subverting conditions or beliefs of their current moment.”⁵⁰ As will be noted later, Acehese choice to tell their story of the 2004 tsunami in relationship to their peace accord with Indonesia could be viewed as a memory choice that fits this framework for understanding public memory. Quoting David Lowenthal, Brian Dickenson and Ott emphasize that, “The prime function of memory, then, is not to preserve the past but to adapt it so as to enrich and manipulate the present.”⁵¹ As will be noted later, this parallels posttraumatic growth, in which rumination on trauma events and construction of a new life narrative based on a reframed schema of one’s assumptive universe are characteristics of posttraumatic growth cognitive processing.

Since the process of creating collective memory is selective, memory scholars have observed that “memory is operationalized by forgetting,” thereby remembering and forgetting function in a dialectical pair.⁵² In the remembering and forgetting dialectic, some

⁴⁷ Dickinson, Greg; Blair, C; Ott, B., Eds. Introduction, *Places of Public Memory*, 6-7

⁴⁸ Dickinson, Greg; Blair, C; Ott, B., Eds. Introduction, *Places of Public Memory*, 9

⁴⁹ Dickinson, Greg; Blair, C; Ott, B., Eds. Introduction, *Places of Public Memory*, 10

⁵⁰ Dickinson, Greg; Blair, C; Ott, B., Eds. Introduction, *Places of Public Memory*, 6

⁵¹ Dickinson, Greg; Blair, C; Ott, B., Eds. Introduction, *Places of Public Memory*, 7

⁵² Dickinson, Greg; Blair, C; Ott, B., Eds. Introduction, *Places of Public Memory*, 9

scholars argue that for one thing to be ascendant, memory of another would be seen to be in decline (authors Brian, Dickinson and Ott provide an example of that when United States memorials to Lincoln were ascendant, memorials to Washington declined).⁵³ This ascendant-descendant dialectic can be compared to earlier discussion of use of binaries to create compelling visual narratives in ancient art. Brian, Dickinson and Ott further argue that a parallel process of rhetorical “signification” and “asignification” communicates meaning.⁵⁴ Also, important to highlight, this process of signification and asignification communicates affect. Conversely, affect always demands that ideology legitimate that certain signifiers matter and others do not.⁵⁵ This supports Erica Doss’ categorization of memorials into affect categories (grief, gratitude, fear, shame and anger).⁵⁶ Doss states, “Memorials, I argue, are archives of public affect, ‘repositories of feelings and emotions’ that are embodied in their material form and narrative content.”⁵⁷ To balance over simplification, Blair, Dickinson and Ott also emphasize that, “dialectical assumption offers little interpretive power and probably should be replaced by a more nuanced and evidence-grounded position that takes into account the status of particular memory articulations.”⁵⁸ For example, they point out that silence does not mean forgetting.⁵⁹

3. Space and Place as Signifiers

Burgeoning studies of memorial and museum environments are influenced by a mid-20th century “spatial turn” in academia that influenced philosophy, geography, urban planning and other disciplines. To navigate discussion of memorial and museums it is

⁵³ Dickinson, Greg; Blair, C; Ott, B., Eds. Introduction, *Places of Public Memory*, 9

⁵⁴ Dickinson, Greg; Blair, C; Ott, B., Eds. Introduction, *Places of Public Memory*, 17

⁵⁵ Dickinson, Greg; Blair, C; Ott, B., Eds. Introduction, *Places of Public Memory*, 16

⁵⁶ Ibid

⁵⁷ Doss, *Memorial Mania*, 13

⁵⁸ Dickinson, Greg; Blair, C; Ott, B., Eds. Introduction, *Places of Public Memory*, 20

⁵⁹ Dickinson, Greg; Blair, C; Ott, B., Eds. Introduction, *Places of Public Memory*, 18

important to have working understanding of how space, place and time intersect with human experience of memory and categorization of history. Michel Foucault anticipated the “spatial turn” in a 1967 lecture titled “Of Other Spaces.”⁶⁰ In his lecture he positions spatial theory in contrast or response to 19th century thinker’s focus on history and time.

Foucault declared:

The present epoch will perhaps be above all the epoch of space. We are the epoch of simultaneity: we are in the epoch of juxtaposition, the epoch of the near and far, of the side-by-side, of the dispersed. We are at a place, I believe, when our experience of the world is less that of a long life developing through time than that of a network that connects points and intersects within its own skein.⁶¹

In his declaration of the new era, the “epoch of space,” Foucault juxtaposes space and time in such a way that space is ascendant while time is descendent. Conceptualization of space as juxtaposed over, against or below time in a dialectical pattern may hamper our ability to consider their nuanced interactions. Foucault acknowledges that, “space itself has a history in Western experience and it is not possible to disregard the fatal intersection of time and space.”⁶² Without a doubt, these two categories and their juxtaposition are relevant to analysis of memorials and museums. Yet a third category – place – and its relationship to space will provide content for this essay.

In his introduction to *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience*, Yi-Fu Tuan metaphorically discusses “space” and “place” through comparison with motion, thus inferring interaction with time.

The meaning of space often merges with that of place. “Space” is more abstract than “place.” What begins as undifferentiated space become place as we get to know it better and endow it with value....The ideas of “space” and

⁶⁰ Foucault, Michel, Miskowiec, Jay. “Of Other Spaces,” *Diacritics*, 16, 1, (Spring 1986): 22-27.

⁶¹ Foucault, “Of Other Spaces,” 22

⁶² Foucault, “Of Other Spaces,” 22

“place” require each other for definition....Furthermore, if we think of space as that which allows movement, then place is pause; each pause in movement makes it possible for location to be transformed into place.⁶³

In their discussion of rhetoric, Blair, Dickinson and Ott are aware of Tuan’s work and draw from it. They state that, “Tuan suggests that ‘the ideas of ‘space’ and ‘place’ require each other for definition. From the security and stability of place we are aware of the openness, freedom and threat of space, and vice versa.”⁶⁴ Blair, Dickinson and Ott represent space’s dialectical pattern with time in the following formula: *Place : space :: memory : time*.⁶⁵ They discuss their formula as follows:

If places are differentiated, named ‘locales,’ deployed in and deploying space, we might suggest that memories are differentiated, named ‘events’ marked for recognition from amid an undifferentiated temporal succession of occurrences. Both place and memory, from this point of view are already rhetorical.⁶⁶

Especially in the situatedness of memorials, place functions as a signifier as “place organizes memory.”⁶⁷ Laura Beth Clark observes that, in the “highly charged” sites of trauma events, stakeholders are “deeply invested in the deployment of space.”⁶⁸ For Blair, Dickinson and Ott “place” is signified and undifferentiated “space” is asigned in the locations of memorials:

In dealing with memory places, the signifier assumes a special importance. The signifier – the place – is itself an object of attention and desire. It is an object of attention because of its status as a place, recognizable and set apart from undifferentiated space. But it is an object of special attention because of its self-nomination as a site of significant memory of and for a collective. This

⁶³ Tuan, Yi-Fu. *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience*. (Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1977), 6

⁶⁴ Dickinson, Greg; Blair, C; Ott, B., Eds. Introduction, *Places of Public Memory*, 23

⁶⁵ Dickinson, Greg; Blair, C; Ott, B., Eds. Introduction, *Places of Public Memory*, 24

⁶⁶ Dickinson, Greg; Blair, C; Ott, B., Eds. Introduction, *Places of Public Memory*, 24

⁶⁷ Dickinson, Greg; Blair, C; Ott, B., Eds. Introduction, *Places of Public Memory*, 1

⁶⁸ Clark, “Ethical Spaces,” 31

signifier commands attention, because it announces itself as a marker of collective identity.”⁶⁹

Clark explores forms of signification specific to trauma. She argues that memory sites are made sacred by their desecration, especially in locations of historical trauma, for it is the “inhumanity of the atrocity that partitions the trauma site from its human surroundings.”⁷⁰ These places are made sacred by being set aside from profane places.⁷¹ Likewise, even for memorials that are not at the location of trauma events, architects are aware of the importance of placemaking in their profession. Regarding her memorial aesthetic, Erica Doss quotes Vietnam Memorial architect Maya Lin as saying, “I don’t make objects; I make places.”⁷² Motivated by the signification of place, Clark notes that places of desecration and trauma have power “to invoke and sustain memory that makes us more likely to (p)reserve the actual sites of atrocities for special uses.”⁷³ With sensitivity to human phenomenology, Clark observes, “Many people believe that the dead and their spirits inhere in or revisit places; land, architecture, trees.”⁷⁴ The power and signification of place, then provides impetus for memory that is stronger than obligation to remember abstractly.

Bringing these theories into a realm of praxis, practicality and ethics, Clark notes,

To say that the designation of memorial sites is a matter of ethics would mean that spaces that may legally be private spaces belong to the public in some way... we must always consider who has the power to determine whether a site will be designated as a memorial.⁷⁵

Reflecting a type of controversy that can emerge in memorial building, disputes arise regarding where and when to build memorials. Notable among these disputes were

⁶⁹ Dickinson, Greg; Blair, C; Ott, B., Eds. Introduction, *Places of Public Memory*, 25

⁷⁰ Clark, “Ethical Spaces,” 18

⁷¹ Clark, “Ethical Spaces,” 18

⁷² Doss, *Memorial Mania*, 51

⁷³ Clark, “Ethical Spaces,” 17

⁷⁴ Clark, “Ethical Spaces,” 17

⁷⁵ Clark, “Ethical Spaces,” 16

discussions of how to define and build upon the location of the World Trade Center after its destruction. Some community members saw the location as extremely valuable private property designated for commercial use, whereas large portions of the public, families and friends of people who died saw the location as a cemetery.⁷⁶ This was especially true because few people were able to bury their loved ones.⁷⁷ The intersection of place, space, and memory can be imbued with controversies and disputes that reflect an iterative process of meaning making. Such processes can contribute to posttraumatic growth, as will be discussed further. This brings study of human behavior in these places of public memory and their potential as locations of public education to the fore as a next topic for exploration.

4. Public Behavior and Public Education

Memorials and museums do not stand as static objects. A “public” inherently designates purpose and meaning to memorials through their interaction with these places of public memory. In some ways, public use of space within these places of memory is part of an interactive construction of narrative. The extent to which the location or place invokes behavior that indicates sacred space, for example, communicates importance. For example, visitors to the *USS Arizona* memorial at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii walk silently despite being part of a large crowd. Photographing is considered appropriate as a way of remembering and honoring the dead. In contrast, the Bali Memorial in Melbourne, Australia has become a popular hangout for skateboarding youth who ride the edges of the

⁷⁶ Doss, Erica, “Remembering 9/11: Memorials and Cultural Memory,” *Magazine of History*; Vol. 25, No. 3 (Jul 2011), 28

⁷⁷ Eyre, Anne. “Remembering: Community Commemoration After Disaster.” *Handbook of Disaster Research* (Rodriguez, Havidan, Quarantelli, Enrico L., Dynes, Russel Eds. (New York: Springer Science+Business Media, LLC, 2006), 445

memorial to develop their skills. Older Australians see the skateboarding youth as desecrating a place that has been designated for memory of people killed in the 2002 Bali bombing in Kuta. Skateboarding youth counter that argument by claiming that their behavior reflects the lifestyle of Australians who died in Bali and contributes to the memorial as a living space.⁷⁸

Laura Beth Clark asks, “Why do certain uses of spaces seem wrong? And when they seem wrong, does that mean they violate our sense of propriety or our sense of ethics?”⁷⁹ Clark draws a distinction between marking a space (placemaking) as a site of trauma and codifying behavior appropriate for that site. She proposes that our societal decision to make a space into place, in the wake of trauma, is “a matter of ethics,” whereas “how we use land and architecture demonstrates something about the belief systems of our various societies, [and] the ways in which we regulate behaviors at these spaces is a matter of etiquette (propriety).”⁸⁰ The proposed importance of a place, communicated through rhetoric in its physical construction, can be considered accurate or effective to the extent that behavior of people, the public, validates that rhetoric.⁸¹ In other words, “public memories ‘matter’ and are authorized to ‘speak for’ a public that invests in them.”⁸² Further, these locations are often navigated by a public comprised of strangers and are “unique among memory apparatuses in offering their symbolic contents to groups of individuals who negotiate not just the place, but stranger relations as well.”⁸³ As noted earlier, interaction with locations of public memory increasingly draw tourism from

⁷⁸ Observations from Pearl Harbor and the Bali Memorial in Melbourne are based on the author’s travel to both locations in March (Pearl Harbor) and August (Melbourne) 2014.

⁷⁹ Clark, “Ethical Spaces,” 11

⁸⁰ Clark, “Ethical Spaces,” 11

⁸¹ Clark, “Ethical Spaces,” 17

⁸² Dickinson, Greg; Blair, C; Ott, B., Eds. Introduction, *Places of Public Memory*, 17

⁸³ Dickinson, Greg; Blair, C; Ott, B., Eds. Introduction, *Places of Public Memory*, 27

strangers who do not have personal connection to the particular people who died in locations of catastrophic disaster. Theorists of death tourism propose that people traveling with no ties or personal knowledge of individuals who died in genocide locations, such as the Killing Fields in Cambodia, are traveling for thanatouristic purposes. But Clark asks, “Why do we expect congruence between a site’s history and its subsequent function? What are the limits of allowable use for the site of an atrocity?”⁸⁴ Aside from thanatouristic motives that could be voyeuristic, it is also possible that these sites are drawing strangers who are seekers of meaning. As will be discussed in the next section, opportunities for rumination and environments that support empathic self-disclosure can foster posttraumatic growth. Therefore, in their meaning-making journey, the cross-section of strangers who comprise the public at disaster memorial and museum sites may benefit from untapped potential of these sites to function as public forums and as locations of public education that incorporates opportunity for rumination and expression as part of an iterative public discourse.

In “Remembering: Community Commemoration After Disaster,” Anne Eyre, discusses the importance of disaster memorials as public forums, with the caveat that “remembering is an inherently political activity, which can be manipulated for the purposes of socially constructing a community’s past and the design of its future.”⁸⁵ Eyre quotes Judith Herman regarding the importance of remembrance and mourning in trauma recovery, “restoring a sense of social community requires a public forum where victims can speak their truth and their suffering can be formally acknowledged.”⁸⁶ Eyre’s essay, a

⁸⁴ Clark, “Ethical Spaces,” 10

⁸⁵ Eyre, “Remembering: Community Commemoration After Disaster,” 455

⁸⁶ Eyre, “Remembering: Community Commemoration After Disaster,” 454

chapter within the *Handbook of Disaster Research*, may be oriented toward the *Handbook's* typical audience, who are emergency managers trained to enter into and out of disasters with practical objectives to save lives and reconstruct physical structures. She writes of how rumination and mourning should or could relate to structural changes that would prevent future catastrophes. She states:

It is important to stress that moving forward from disaster physically and symbolically is about more than acknowledging suffering and giving survivors an opportunity to tell their story through commemorative rituals. It is about establishing legal and political processes to address objectively, openly and honestly the causes of events.⁸⁷

Identifying the “cause” of catastrophic events can be triggers for contentious debates in the wake of human and natural-caused disasters. To what extent, for example, is a natural disaster truly natural? In most cases natural disasters disproportionately impact poor and disenfranchised communities. Increased frequency of weather related disasters has amplifying public concerns that climate change is a cause. If this is the case, lines between natural and human caused disasters are increasingly blurred. Theories of cause often reflect assumptive worldviews. For example, in natural disasters people may speculate that a divine force is the cause, as is a dominant belief in Aceh, Sumatra related to the 2004 Tsunami. Conversely, Samantha Power sheds light on the complex causes of contemporary situations of genocide by pointing out that causality is tied to a web of actors in the locations where genocide happens and in bystander nations. Powers argues that bystander nations are part of the “cause” of genocide because they could act, but chose not to based on public policies and their perception that non-action brings benefits.⁸⁸

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Power, Samantha, *A Problem from Hell: America and the Age of Genocide*, New York: Harper Perennial, 2002, Preface, XXI

Through a process of identifying cause(s), do memorials call the public to act, and if so, toward what actions? Can disaster memorial and museum environments be locations where people interact to construct narrative in a co-creative and iterative process? Considering the influence of these environments on public memory, how disaster memorials and museums view their role as locations for public education may impact their ability to be locations of posttraumatic growth. As referred to in this paper, education relates to how audiences might view themselves as historical actors or as interpreters of history, co-creators of memory and thus history itself. In the above discussion of signification/asignification public consent (or dissent) in production of rhetoric was eluded to as a co-creative process that impacts content of memorials and museums. However, once constructed, narratives within disaster memorials and museums may become static. This could be perceived as a “banking system” of education, which Paulo Freire articulates his *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*.⁸⁹ The “banking system” is an approach to education in which the teacher (or in this case the museum and memorial content developers) believes that their role is to deposit knowledge “as a gift bestowed by those who consider themselves knowledgeable upon those [in this case the public] whom they consider to know nothing.”⁹⁰ Freire challenges this approach to education with his thesis that people marginalized as oppressed are actually historical actors who can inform and change the narratives of their society.⁹¹ The banking system of education, he states, “will never propose to students that they critically consider reality.” Yet, Freire held out hope that

⁸⁹ Freire, Paulo, Myra Bergman Ramos and Donaldo Macedo, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed, 30th Anniversary Edition*. New York: Bloomsbury, 2000.

⁹⁰ Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, 72

⁹¹ Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, 74

people would push back against the domesticating processes of banking system education as they discover,

...through existential experience, that their present way of life is irreconcilable with their vocation to become fully human. They may perceive through their relations with reality that reality is really a process, undergoing constant transformation.⁹²

Freire's language parallels posttraumatic growth theory with its emphasis on existential rumination, meaning-making, and significant shifts in worldview after the participant/visitor/student's assumptive worldview is threatened and thereby permanently changed.

Often disaster memorials and museums propose worldviews that are curated narratives. Memorial designers and curatorial staff grapple to contain information about events beyond human imagination within physical limitations of the memorial or museum's square feet. In their attempts to construct these narratives memorial and museum designers and curators use physical space within the environment to direct a flow of public/visitors through particular paths that present information about events that occurred before, during and after the disaster. In most cases, these exhibits propose a cause or a selection of causes for the events and highlight particular actors, from victims, perpetrators, and bystanders to compassionate people who attempt to intervene in the events. Exhibits in Hiroshima, Japan, for example, mention beliefs in the United States regarding how to end the war with Japan and investment in the Manhattan Project, but limit discussion of Japanese invasion of Nanking and Japanese aggression during the war. Hiroshima's memorial park constructs a narrative emphasizing Japanese pacifism and human ability to survive despite the destructive potential of atomic energy. At Yad Vashem,

⁹² Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, 75

the Holocaust museum in Jerusalem, the narrative flow of the main exhibition purposely disorients public visitors through a zigzag pattern that is meant to communicate confusion and naïveté of European Jewish communities who fell victim in the Shoah. Walking out of Yad Vashem's main exhibit visitors reach a platform that looks out over an idyllic Israeli-Palestinian desert vista, a process that evokes affective response as though the visitor were arriving at a "promised land."⁹³

Curated narratives and intentional directing of visitor traffic within disaster memorials and museums bring visitors into experiences that may give them an impression of having lived or visited the actual events of the disaster. Yet the narrative's essential character as "curated" implies an editing process that harkens Freire's concern about banking systems of education. Through the curatorial process, museum educators may attempt to create utopian stories about the disaster that diminish critical engagement or even contention regarding cause(s) of the disaster events. These curated environments, especially installations meant to evoke affect through an experience of "being there," function as a form of theater. This may explain why scholars in performance studies are producing more research as to the function and sociology of memorial and museum environments.

In his lecture "Of Other Spaces" Foucault proposes that museums are one example of a subcategory of constructed spaces he refers to as "heterotopias." Whereas utopias are "sites with no real place," heterotopias are real places that emerge out of society as "counter-sites" that are "effectively enacted utopia[s] in which real sites, all the other real sites that can be found within the culture, are simultaneously represented, contested and

⁹³ Observations from Hiroshima and Yad Vashem are based on the author's travel to both locations in August 2001 (Hiroshima) and January 2010 (Yad Vashem).

inverted.”⁹⁴ Foucault refers to these locations as heterotopias because they are “absolutely different from what they reflect and speak about.”⁹⁵ Functioning like a mirror to create a utopian, and thereby distorted view of reality, heterotopias attempt to construct an environment in which a viewer or visitor believes they are experiencing a reality that is impossible for them to experience. Although the mirror does exist, as a heterotopia, our view of what we see in the mirror is not real, a utopia. Foucault outlines types of heterotopias from heterotopias of crisis (e.g. boarding schools, honeymoons), to heterotopias of juxtaposition (e.g. cinemas, gardens), to heterotopias of time (e.g. museums and libraries that accumulate objects to preserve beyond or through a mixing of time; festivals and vacation villages that provide fleeting transition of time). Relevant to this discussion, Foucault identifies theater as a type of heterotopia that “brings onto the rectangle of the stage, one after the other, a whole series of places that are foreign to one another.”⁹⁶

Disaster memorials and museums can function as theatrical heterotopias that lead visitors through a series of experiences meant to produce catharsis in visitors. When functioning in this way, disaster memorials and museums give visitors impressions that they have visited a series of events and locations that are realistically impossible for the visitor to access in reality. Here Augusto Boal’s concerns outlined in *Theater of the Oppressed* have implications for disaster memorial and museums, especially related to the affect produced by theatrical approaches used in these heterotopic environments. Boal’s critique is that beginning with Aristotle, theater developed as tool to subjugate audiences

⁹⁴ Foucault, “Of Other Spaces,” 24

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Foucault, “Of Other Spaces,” 25

through a coercive system that centers on use of tragedy narratives as a way to control masses of people. Empathy between spectators and a protagonist fuels spectators' identification with a tragic flaw in the protagonist. This identification and feeling of catharsis with the protagonist character helps the spectator feel cured of their own tragic flaw.⁹⁷ Boal states that, "the spectator assumes a passive attitude and delegates the power of action to the character. Since the character resembles us (as Aristotle indicates) we live vicariously" through the experiences of the main character.⁹⁸ Similarly, through empathy spectators (or visitors within memorials and museums) feel as though they are experiencing what is actually happening to others. This is particularly true in memorials or museums where visitors walk through rooms intended to convey the environment of the disaster itself or where the location being visited is the site terror. Laura Beth Clark observes reenactment and theatrical effects in trauma memorials as less detrimental, but she sees a thin line between kitsch, reenactment, and performance at trauma memory sites.⁹⁹ She wonders if virtual simulations in sites of trauma and torture "are part of the recovery effort, helping survivors to reach closure by placing concretely outside themselves and into communal memory the experiences they survived in isolation."¹⁰⁰ Boal argues that the emotions and passions that are cathartically experienced and which seem good to purge are those that threaten individual or society equilibrium.¹⁰¹ According to Boal, his experience of empathy and catharsis then leads to purging rather than action by the masses toward social change.

⁹⁷ Boal, Augusto. *Theater of the Oppressed*. Trans. Charles A. & Maria-Odilia Lean McBride. New York: Theater Communications Group, Inc., 1979, 36

⁹⁸ Boal, *Theater of the Oppressed*, 34

⁹⁹ Clark, "Ethical Spaces," 24

¹⁰⁰ Clark, "Ethical Spaces," 25

¹⁰¹ Boal, *Theater of the Oppressed*, 32

Boal's insights into the role of catharsis in theater relate to Erica Doss' analysis of memorials as locations meant to evoke particular affect. She argues that "memorials are bodies of feeling, cultural entities whose social, cultural, and political meanings are determined by the emotional states and needs of their audiences."¹⁰² Brian, Dickinsen and Ott note the emotional impact of memorials and their use of signification and asignification through ideological legitimatization. However, Brian Dickerson and Ott do not appear to consider Boal's critique as they highlight Aristotle's concept of *philia*, in which they state that within memorial spaces "affiliation may be produced in multiple ways, but it is definitive because it projects both the collective as well as people's modes of attachment or sense of belonging to it."¹⁰³ In considering the idea that people visiting memorial and museum spaces develop affinity through the constructed narrative, Brian, Dickinson and Ott fail to consider negative consequences of affiliation as catharsis. Boal's concerns regarding theater's conditioning effect should be considered in relationship to memorial and museum environments, which may function as theatrical environments. This may be even more applicable today as these environments develop greater interest in telling the stories of "masses" lost in catastrophic human-caused and natural disasters.

Blair, Dickinson and Ott note interplay of patriotism in memorial rhetoric that seeks to foster common identity and emotional attachments, ultimately informing what is deemed worthy of being remembered.¹⁰⁴ Research into human behavior related to disaster memorials and museums may show further potential for application of Boal's critique in memorial and museum environments. As Doss points out, "Incipient concepts of memory's

¹⁰² Doss, *Memorial Mania*, 46

¹⁰³ Dickinson, Greg; Blair, C; Ott, B., Eds. Introduction, *Places of Public Memory*, 16

¹⁰⁴ Dickinson, Greg; Blair, C; Ott, B., Eds. Introduction, *Places of Public Memory*, 7

essentially privatizing agency have shifted to considerations of its public performativity and, especially, to how acts of remembering are key to the formation and reformation of social identity.”¹⁰⁵

The first half of this paper has been dedicated to exploring the power and potential of disaster memorials and museums as environments where diverse stakeholders, comprising a “public,” co-create and/or are co-opted into rhetoric that reflects assumptive worldviews and constructs meaning out of mass casualty disasters. The next section of this paper will outline characteristics of posttraumatic growth, an emerging psychological framework that attempts to understand potential outcomes of trauma. Underlying this overview of posttraumatic growth theory is the author’s belief that a posttraumatic growth framework can inform memorial and museum design. As well, museums and memorials can and should be evaluated based on the level to which they reflect posttraumatic growth in their narrative or encourage visitor’s experiences of posttraumatic growth through their use of space.

C. Posttraumatic Growth

According to Richard Tedeschi and Lawrence Calhoun, a working definition of posttraumatic growth is as follows: “The term *posttraumatic growth* refers to positive psychological change experienced as a result of the struggle with highly challenging life circumstances.”¹⁰⁶ That some people experience growth after adversity, especially life-threatening adversity, is not a new concept. Researchers of posttraumatic growth recognize that the idea that people may benefit from or flourish after adversity has existed for

¹⁰⁵ Doss, *Memorial Mania*, 48

¹⁰⁶ Tedeschi & Calhoun, “Posttraumatic Growth: Conceptual Foundations,” 2004, 1

millennial in various religious, mythological and philosophical traditions. Many religions across the Earth have viewed suffering as intrinsic to personal development and development of wisdom.¹⁰⁷ Lawrence Calhoun and Richard Tedeschi recognize the deep human roots of this area of psychosocial theory in their first chapter of their *Handbook of Post Traumatic Growth: Research and Practice*:

The idea that difficult life struggles can lead human beings to change, sometimes in radically positive ways, is neither recent nor something that was “discovered” by social and behavioral researchers or clinicians. As we and others (Saakvitne, Tennen, & Afflect, 1998; Tedeschi & Calhoun, 1995) have indicated the assumption that, at least for some people, an encounter with trauma, which may contain elements of great suffering and loss, can lead to highly positive changes in the individual is ancient and widespread.¹⁰⁸

Alternative terms for posttraumatic growth include: stress-related growth, thriving, perceived benefits, benefits finding, blessings, positive by-products and positive adjustment.¹⁰⁹ That meaning and insight often come from events that threaten a person’s mortality is articulated in various ways in diverse disciplines. For example, in his recent introduction to a lecture on the socio-political frameworks of Antonio Gramsci, Dr. Jan Rehmann stated, “critical theory often advances after crisis.”¹¹⁰ Richard Tedeschi and Lawrence Calhoun begin most, if not all, of their writing on the subject of posttraumatic growth with the caveat that the birth of this study within psychology is paying attention to human experience that has been reported through religious traditions throughout all of

¹⁰⁷ Shaw, Annick; Joseph, Stephen; P. Alex Linley. “Religion, Spirituality, and Posttraumatic Growth: A Systematic Review.” (*Mental Health, Religion & Culture*, 8, 1, 2005), 2

¹⁰⁸ Tedeschi, Richard G. and Calhoun, Lawrence G. ed. *Handbook of Posttraumatic Growth: Research and Practice*. (Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc., 2006), 3. In a footnote to their use of the word “trauma” in this quote the authors note that they use the terms “trauma, crisis, major stressor, and related terms as essentially synonymous expressions to describe circumstances that significantly challenge or invalidate important components of the individuals assumptive world.”

¹⁰⁹ Shaw, Annick; Joseph, Stephen; P. Alex Linley. “Religion, Spirituality, and Posttraumatic Growth: A Systematic Review.” *Mental Health, Religion & Culture*, 8, 1, (2005), 1

¹¹⁰ Dr. Jan Rehmann, Lecture in “Encounters Between Social Theories and Religion: From Feuerback to Badiou,” Union Theological Seminary, March 2, 2015

human history. In a 2004 article central to current theories of posttraumatic growth, Tedeschi and Calhoun map the processes that influence posttraumatic growth in individuals. In that article Tedeschi and Calhoun recognize religious thinkers and religious systems as articulating this phenomenon through different language:

Some of the early ideas and writings of the ancient Hebrews, Greeks, and early Christians, as well as some of the teachings of Hinduism, Buddhism, and Islam contain elements of the potential transformative power of suffering. (Tedeschi & Calhoun, 1995). A major theme of Christian traditions, for example, are the narratives about the transformative effect of the execution of Jesus. His suffering is viewed as having the power to transform others. In some Islamic traditions, suffering is seen as instrumental to the purposes of Allah (Bowker, 1970).¹¹¹

Posttraumatic growth, then, is an emerging area of theory and study in psychology and trauma studies despite its rootedness in ancient human experience. Articulation of posttraumatic growth as a framework for study provides information and a growing body of literature that informs practitioners in diverse disciplines to consider how posttraumatic growth can be fostered. At the same time, posttraumatic growth theory challenges two-dimensional assumptions about trauma that associated trauma entirely with negative outcomes.

1. Trauma Defined

To understand posttraumatic growth it is necessary to have a working understanding of what theorists in psychology typically mean by the word, “trauma.” In 1992 Judith Herman provided mental health practitioners, professionals and the general public with accessible information in her classic work, *Trauma and Recovery*.¹¹² Herman’s text outlines characteristics of trauma and characteristics of recovery. Differences between

¹¹¹ Tedeschi & Calhoun, “Posttraumatic Growth: Conceptual Foundations,” 2004, 2

¹¹² Herman, Judith. *Trauma and Recovery: The Aftermath of Violence – From Domestic Abuse to Political Terror*. New York: Basic Books, 1992.

trauma recovery and posttraumatic growth will be discussed. For now it is important to have a working definition of “trauma.” Herman says:

Psychological trauma is an affliction of the powerless. At the moment of trauma, the victim is rendered helpless by overwhelming force. When the force is that of nature, we speak of disasters. When the force is that of other human beings, we speak of atrocities. Traumatic events overwhelm the ordinary systems of care that give people a sense of control, connection and meaning.¹¹³

Tedeschi and Calhoun also provide several working definitions of trauma that highlight trauma characteristics directly linked to posttraumatic growth experiences.

We use the words trauma, crisis, highly stressful events, and other similar terms interchangeably, as roughly synonymous expressions. Our usage is broader and less restrictive than usage in some literatures (e.g. American Psychiatric Association, 2000). With these expressions we are describing a set of circumstances that represent significant challenges to the adaptive resources of the individual, and that represent significant challenges to the individuals’ ways of understanding the world and their place in it (Janoff-Bulman, 1992).¹¹⁴

Tedeschi and Calhoun recognize that “traumatic events are not to be viewed simply as precursors to growth. They are profoundly disturbing events.”¹¹⁵ Tedeschi and Calhoun explore this in depth. For example, they recognize clear distinctions between rumination in depression versus rumination as a process of reframing a worldview or life schema as part of posttraumatic growth processing. Yet, they point out that “the psychological processes involved with managing the disturbances are the same general types of processes that can produce positive changes.”¹¹⁶ What they most often stress is that posttraumatic growth does not mean that people are not suffering or experiencing distress. In fact, they identify that ongoing moments of distress that bring about rumination may be an engine for

¹¹³ Herman, Judith. *Trauma and Recovery*, 33

¹¹⁴ Tedeschi & Calhoun, “Posttraumatic Growth: Conceptual Foundations,” 1

¹¹⁵ Tedeschi & Calhoun, “Posttraumatic Growth: Conceptual Foundations,” 2

¹¹⁶ Tedeschi & Calhoun, “Posttraumatic Growth: Conceptual Foundations,” 2004, 2

posttraumatic growth. In other words, trauma is a seed or engine for posttraumatic growth and distress can be fuel that feeds a posttraumatic growth process. However, this does not mean that people are not suffering. This does not diminish the negative impact of traumatic experiences. This does, however, mean that people can have complex and co-occurring experiences that may not be easily reconciled.

A misconception related to the word “trauma,” especially among scholars in fields outside of trauma studies, is that “trauma” always implies negative connotations. For example, in *Death Tourism*, Brigitte Sion embraces Laura Beth Clark’s definition of “trauma tourism,” but points to debates in this emerging field related to the word “trauma.” She states:

Clarks’ definition is the most adequate and encompassing of the phenomenon; it goes beyond typologies, motivation-based or marketing-oriented descriptions and resists postmodern limitations. Through a number of scholars, including I, prefer ‘death tourism’ because it juxtaposes authentic terms explicitly, they embrace Clark’s definition. The slight disagreement revolves round “trauma’ as a core of the phenomenon, even when it is not immediately present or palpable.¹¹⁷

Sion comments echo concerns raised by scholars in other fields where “trauma” is being explored as an interdisciplinary framework for analysis applicable to fields outside of psychology. Objections in considering “trauma” frameworks as relevant to analysis in fields outside of psychology may be based on widely held perception that the word “trauma” indicates negative outcomes, such as the somewhat rare and significantly acute experience of posttraumatic stress disorder. Especially with this negative connotation, there is resistance to applying the term “trauma” as an assumed outcome of catastrophic, sudden, life-threatening events. However, like Queer theory or Feminist theory, “trauma” as a

¹¹⁷ Sion, Introduction, 3

category for use in academic study is broad and complex. As well, popularity of this term be may perceived to be a distinctively “Western,” European clinical category layered with cultural, psychiatric assumptions. For the purposes of this paper, it may be helpful to highlight concepts in posttraumatic growth research that challenge clinical assumptions that may appear pathologizing within trauma studies.¹¹⁸

2. Growth and Distress

Other misconceptions emerge when using the terms “posttraumatic growth” or “trauma.” Depending on the audience, especially people unfamiliar with terminology in trauma studies, a first assumption is that posttraumatic growth is the same as “posttraumatic stress” or that the term is synonymous with “trauma recovery” from posttraumatic stress or complex trauma. These terms are different from each other. A person may experience posttraumatic stress and be working through a process of redefining their lives toward recovery. At the same time that person may feel entirely changed in a way that gives them greater insight into life. The bodily responses and pain that they experience as part of trauma are difficult to rewire. Trauma recovery methodologies may help a person learn to manage distress. However, as Tedeschi and Calhoun report that “posttraumatic growth is not simply a return to baseline – it is an experience of improvement that for some persons is deeply profound.”¹¹⁹ For example, a person may report new existential insights that deepened their experience of being a human being or of being alive. A person might report new understanding of what matters

¹¹⁸ In his introduction to *What Doesn't Kill Us: The New Psychology of Post-Traumatic Growth* Joseph discusses how posttraumatic growth theory pushes back against pathologizing of trauma. He expresses three areas for concern: 1. “Trauma industry has enthusiastically and single-mindedly adopted the language of medicine” 2. This leads to the “mistaken assumption that PTSD is both inevitable and inescapable.” 3. “Our criterion for successful treatment had become confined to alleviation of PTSD” (Joseph, *What Doesn't Kill Us*, xv-xvi)

¹¹⁹ Tedeschi & Calhoun, “Posttraumatic Growth: Conceptual Foundations,” 2004, 4

in life. At the same time, that same person may experience traumatic reliving of the events that led to their insights. These layers of experiences can co-exist. A person can be experiencing both distress and growth.

For people familiar with posttraumatic stress, either through lived experience or study, the term “posttraumatic growth” may sound like an attempt to sugarcoat or deny the real suffering of people who experience posttraumatic stress. As Stephen Joseph puts it, “a frequent misunderstanding about posttraumatic growth is that it is the opposite of posttraumatic stress, and that those of us studying growth are claiming naïvely that traumatized people do not suffer posttraumatic stress or any other psychological difficulties.”¹²⁰ Joseph explores the relationship between posttraumatic stress and posttraumatic growth in *What Doesn't Kill Us: The New Psychology of Post-Traumatic Growth*, noting that most people experience both posttraumatic stress and posttraumatic growth. Researchers are exploring how these two categories of experiences may influence each other. Joseph states that studies show “higher levels of posttraumatic stress are often associated with higher levels of growth.”¹²¹ He highlights findings that people who report high levels of growth “are not those who are resistant to the effects of trauma but, rather, those who are psychologically shaken up and who exhibit some degree of posttraumatic stress.”¹²² Although Tedeschi and Calhoun are cautious about direct relationships between posttraumatic growth and reduced distress, Stephen Joseph’s emphasizes that trauma is often the engine that drives posttraumatic growth.¹²³ He observes that posttraumatic stress and posttraumatic growth relate to each other in what appears to be an opportunity

¹²⁰ Joseph, *What Doesn't Kill Us*, 85

¹²¹ Joseph, *What Doesn't Kill Us*, 85

¹²² Joseph, *What Doesn't Kill Us*, 85

¹²³ Joseph, *What Doesn't Kill Us*, xvi, 67, 85, 167

curve. The engine turns at different speeds due to internal and external factors. Based on his review of posttraumatic growth studies, Joseph observes that people experiencing moderate levels of posttraumatic stress show more growth. So, while posttraumatic growth is not possible without some posttraumatic stress, if posttraumatic stress is acute and prolonged (e.g. due to lack of social supports, repeated traumas and other internal/external factors) cognitive processing may hamper the ability of growth and flourishing.¹²⁴ At the same time, if posttraumatic growth takes root early on it can be a buffer that influences reduction of posttraumatic stress.¹²⁵

Tedeschi and Calhoun, however, say that evidenced is mixed as to whether posttraumatic growth influences or reduces posttraumatic distress. They agree that the two coexist and that trauma and distress are precursors to development of posttraumatic growth.¹²⁶ They clarify that “growth, however, does not occur as a direct result of trauma [alone]. It is the individual’s struggle with the new reality in the aftermath of trauma that is crucial in determining the extent to which posttraumatic growth occurs.”¹²⁷ Despite studies of the interplay of posttraumatic growth and traumatic distress, Tedeschi & Calhoun evaluation of current research is that distress and growth coexist, however, “posttraumatic growth and distress are essentially separate dimensions, and the growth experiences do not put an end to distress in trauma survivors.”¹²⁸ In other words, posttraumatic growth theory is a separate pillar, a different tree in the forest of trauma studies. Within the field of psychology, posttraumatic growth challenges current assumptions about the effects of

¹²⁴ Joseph, *What Doesn't Kill Us*, 87

¹²⁵ Joseph, *What Doesn't Kill Us*, 87

¹²⁶ Tedeschi & Calhoun, “Posttraumatic Growth: Conceptual Foundations,” 2004, 1

¹²⁷ Tedeschi & Calhoun, “Posttraumatic Growth: Conceptual Foundations,” 2004, 5

¹²⁸ Tedeschi & Calhoun, “Posttraumatic Growth: Conceptual Foundations,” 2004, 13

trauma and presents potential for nuanced understanding of trauma as multifaceted in human experience. Encouraging in these studies is the temporality of posttraumatic growth. According to Joseph, studies of posttraumatic growth have shown that, for people who experience it, growth can move at a steady pace over time. Tedeschi and Calhoun concur with this finding, stating that “outcomes of posttraumatic growth might be best considered as iterative, and it will take longitudinal work to trace the varied trajectories of the posttraumatic growth process.”¹²⁹

3. Why Foster Posttraumatic Growth?

It may be worthwhile to consider why people in various disciplines should be interested in fostering posttraumatic growth. Posttraumatic growth has been shown to positively influence quality of life.¹³⁰ In particular, posttraumatic growth has been correlated with fewer mental health problems, lower levels of suicide and depression, and higher levels of positivity among trauma survivors.¹³¹ Joseph hypothesizes that eudaimonic wellbeing (well-being that is related to a sense of meaning that may or may not include elated happiness) may lead to “approach-oriented” coping skills and less avoidance of locations, thoughts, people associated with the trauma.¹³² Beyond improving poor mental health, posttraumatic growth “improves positivity and helps people flourish.”¹³³ According to Joseph, 1990s studies found the following characteristics in people experiencing posttraumatic growth: increased self confidence, focus on enjoying the present, greater acceptance of mortality, appreciation of life, increased emphasis on family, increased

¹²⁹ Tedeschi & Calhoun, “Posttraumatic Growth: Conceptual Foundations,” 2004, 15

¹³⁰ Joseph, *What Doesn't Kill Us*, 88

¹³¹ Joseph, *What Doesn't Kill Us*, 89

¹³² Joseph, *What Doesn't Kill Us*, 89

¹³³ Joseph, *What Doesn't Kill Us*, 89

religiosity, increased openness and concern for others.¹³⁴ Given these possibilities, it is not surprising that this area of trauma studies is drawing great interest.

3. Processes of Posttraumatic Growth

The next section of this paper is dedicated to explaining current research in posttraumatic growth cognitive processing so that it may be understood for its potential as a framework for analysis of disaster memorial and museum spaces. In 1996 Tedeschi and Calhoun developed the Posttraumatic Growth Index (PTGI),¹³⁵ an assessment tool for individuals who have experienced trauma to determine whether they are having experiences of posttraumatic growth (See Appendix A). The 21-item scale was developed based on review of reported benefits from trauma survivors, including people who had survived rape, cancer and HIV diagnosis.¹³⁶ The scale groups items into five overarching categories: new possibilities, relating to others, personal strength, spiritual change, and appreciation for life.¹³⁷

In 2004, Tedeschi and Calhoun published their findings related to the processes that influence development of posttraumatic growth in people who have experienced trauma (see Appendix B). First Tedeschi and Calhoun note that the trauma precipitating the growth experience must be challenging to the assumptive world of the person impacted enough to spark the cognitive process.¹³⁸ Next they say that there are certain personality characteristics that may enhance likelihood of posttraumatic growth, including a modest correlation between extraversion and openness to experience. More importantly they find

¹³⁴ Joseph, *What Doesn't Kill Us*, 74

¹³⁵ Tedeschi and Calhoun, "The Posttraumatic Growth Inventory: Measuring the Positive Legacy of Trauma," *Journal of Traumatic Studies*, Vol. 9, No. 3, 1996.

¹³⁶ Tedeschi and Calhoun, "The Posttraumatic Growth Inventory," 1996, 458

¹³⁷ Tedeschi and Calhoun, "The Posttraumatic Growth Inventory," 1996, 460

¹³⁸ Tedeschi & Calhoun, "Posttraumatic Growth: Conceptual Foundations," 2004, 7

that people experience more growth if they experience both positive and negative changes after the traumatic event.¹³⁹ They report that initial response to manage distress eventually gives way to “disengagement with previous goals and assumptions, as it becomes clear that the old way of living is no longer appropriate in radically changed circumstances.”¹⁴⁰ At the same time, because distress can be ongoing and come in waves, managing of distress may be a lengthy process that also “keeps the cognitive processing active, whereas a rapid resolution is probably an indication that the assumptive world was not severely tested, and could accommodate the traumatic events.”¹⁴¹ Additional factors come into play that are influenced by external supports. People who experience “supportive others” and “mutual support” are able to experience emphatic self-disclosure.¹⁴² Tedeschi and Calhoun observe that people who seek out social environments for self-disclosure may be people with ruminative copying style.¹⁴³ Tedeschi and Calhoun consider rumination to be thinking about the past to work through it and understand discrepancies in unattained goals or current life schemas. They are looking at rumination beyond “common restrictive use of the term to apply exclusively to negative, self-punitive thinking.”¹⁴⁴ Tedeschi and Calhoun recognize that each category of their posttraumatic growth model contains a paradox, e.g. out of loss there is gain; out of vulnerability comes strength; out of spiritual doubt comes deeper strength. They note that trauma survivor’s engagement in dialectical thinking through these paradoxes “is similar to that described in literature on wisdom.”¹⁴⁵

¹³⁹ Tedeschi & Calhoun, “Posttraumatic Growth: Conceptual Foundations,” 2004, 8

¹⁴⁰ Tedeschi & Calhoun, “Posttraumatic Growth: Conceptual Foundations,” 2004, 8

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁴² Tedeschi & Calhoun, “Posttraumatic Growth: Conceptual Foundations,” 2004, 9

¹⁴³ Tedeschi & Calhoun, “Posttraumatic Growth: Conceptual Foundations,” 2004, 11

¹⁴⁴ Tedeschi & Calhoun, “Posttraumatic Growth: Conceptual Foundations,” 2004, 9

¹⁴⁵ Tedeschi & Calhoun, “Posttraumatic Growth: Conceptual Foundations,” 2004, 6

Most importantly, Tedeschi and Calhoun emphasize that in their conception of posttraumatic growth “people who report growth must disengage, or give up, certain goals and basic assumptions, at the same time persisting in an attempt at building new schemas, goals and meanings.”¹⁴⁶ Considering the broader impact of posttraumatic growth processing in the individual, Tedeschi and Calhoun notice that though the posttraumatic growth process of disclosure “narratives of trauma and growth may also have the effect of spreading the lessons to others through vicarious posttraumatic growth. These stories then transcend individuals, and can challenge whole societies to initiate beneficial changes.”¹⁴⁷

In summary, Tedeschi and Calhoun’s posttraumatic growth model flows as follows: After initial trauma, when initial coping mechanisms and intense cognitive processing of the crisis challenge a person’s assumptive worldview, people may begin to experience posttraumatic growth. This is especially true if they are experiencing a social system that provides empathetic acceptance of their disclosures as they work to create new life schemas. Although people may experience enduring upset, they may also experience wisdom as they modify and adapt their life narrative to the circumstances. This may be especially true for people who are slightly extraverted, open to experience and optimistic, but those pre-existing characteristics do not necessarily predict posttraumatic growth.¹⁴⁸ Although rumination is often associated with depression and negative outcomes, attempts to suppress rumination are not perceived to be helpful by people who experience posttraumatic growth.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁶ Tedeschi & Calhoun, “Posttraumatic Growth: Conceptual Foundations,” 2004, 9

¹⁴⁷ Tedeschi & Calhoun, “Posttraumatic Growth: Conceptual Foundations,” 2004, 9

¹⁴⁸ Tedeschi & Calhoun, “Posttraumatic Growth: Conceptual Foundations,” 2004, 12

¹⁴⁹ Tedeschi & Calhoun, “Posttraumatic Growth: Conceptual Foundations,” 2004, 12

In a 2014 review of posttraumatic growth literature, Jayawickreme and Blackie provide a review of Tedeschi and Calhoun's posttraumatic growth model along with recent contributions to the field of posttraumatic growth studies (see Appendix D). Aside from establishing that posttraumatic growth exists, researchers are assessing whether reported or perceived traumatic growth can be evidenced in actions taken by people (or communities). As well, researchers are exploring factors that lead to posttraumatic growth to consider mechanism or modalities that will encourage posttraumatic growth in individuals and communities. To date, the Tedeschi and Calhoun model for assessing posttraumatic growth and their theories as to what fuels posttraumatic growth are considered the standard for this area of inquiry. Therefore, Tedeschi and Calhoun's model forms the basis for this study of disaster memorials and museums. To compliment focus on Tedeschi and Calhoun's work, Appendix D provides information regarding directions and discourse as new theorist join this field of inquiry.

4. Religious Practice as a Positive Indicator

One concern voiced Jayawickreme and Blackie's review of contemporary posttraumatic growth literature seems particularly relevant to this study: That is concern that posttraumatic growth assessment scales/inventories privilege increased religious participation as an indicator of posttraumatic growth. Oliver Robinson raises this concern in his review of posttraumatic growth data collection. He states that commonly used assessment tools including the Perceived Benefits Scale (PBS), Post-Traumatic Growth Inventory (PTGI), and the Stress-Related Growth Scale (SRGS) all include subscales that consider increase in religious belief as an indicator of growth. In his objection he notes that "this means that when assessed...only people who become *more* religious following trauma

qualify as showing growth.”¹⁵⁰ Tedeschi and Calhoun acknowledge that their language in the spiritual domain of their posttraumatic growth inventory may be problematic. They reframe this area of their scale toward the concept of existential insight, stating:

Individuals who are not religious, or who are actively atheistic, can also experience growth in this domain. There can be greater engagement with fundamental existential questions and that engagement itself may be experienced as growth.¹⁵¹

This is likely an area that will receive increased study as posttraumatic growth theory progresses.

In separate, but related concerns, in “Religion, Spirituality, and Posttraumatic Growth: A Systematic Review,” Annick Shaw, Stephen Joseph, Stephen, and P. Alex Linley, comment on negative religious coping that could be coded as posttraumatic growth such as “passive religious deferral” characterized by belief that God to control the situation.¹⁵² Stated differently, in *What Doesn't Kill Us* Joseph notes a type of illusionary posttraumatic growth perception where people believe they have more control over a future situation than is possible (e.g. cancer patients believing that they have unrealistic control over the cancer and its occurrence.)¹⁵³ He cautions that some people may cope through “positive illusions” and therefore researchers can be hesitant to accept at face-value people’s self report of growth.¹⁵⁴

D. Posttraumatic Growth Inventory Tool for Public Space

Given the impact of disaster museums and museums as locations for public discourse as discussed in at the beginning of this paper and the possibility that

¹⁵⁰ Robinson, Oliver. “What Counts as Positive Growth Following Trauma? Conceptual Difficulties with Spiritual/Religious Change.” *European Journal of Personality*, Vol. 28 (2014): 346-347.

¹⁵¹ Tedeschi & Calhoun, “Posttraumatic Growth: Conceptual Foundations,” 2004, 6

¹⁵² Shaw, “Religion, Spirituality, and Posttraumatic Growth,” 6

¹⁵³ Joseph, *What Doesn't Kill You*, 84

¹⁵⁴ Joseph, *What Doesn't Kill You*, 84

communities and individuals could experience posttraumatic growth after mass-casualty events, Appendix C provides a first attempt at a new assessment tool for disaster memorials and museums. Adapted from the Tedeschi and Calhoun Posttraumatic Growth Inventory for individuals and titled the *Memorial/Museum Posttraumatic Growth Inventory (MPGI)*, this tool is meant to guide evaluation of disaster memorial and museum spaces on two levels. The tool asks an evaluator to consider if the disaster museum or memorial reflects or “shows” posttraumatic growth in its construction of narrative through curated exhibits and the way the memorial or museum uses space. Separately, the *Memorial/Museum Posttraumatic Growth Inventory* asks evaluators to consider whether visitors are encourage to engage with each other, the space and the narrative in such a way that their own posttraumatic growth might be fostered and “encouraged.” Each of the 20 items in the *Memorial/Memorial Posttraumatic Growth Inventory* is adapted directly from the Tedeschi and Calhoun *Posttraumatic Growth Inventory (PTGI)*. The correlating categories from the Tedeschi and Calhoun inventory are listed in column two, titled “PTGI Factor.” In this paper the *Memorial/Museum Posttraumatic Growth Inventory* will be used to guide assessment of the Aceh Tsunami Museum in Banda Aceh, Indonesia as a first case scenario to consider of the potential of a disaster museum and memorial to foster posttraumatic growth.

PART TWO:

EXPLORING POTENTIAL IN THE ACEH TSUNAMI MUSEUM, BANDA
ACEH, INDONESIA

"You sea! I resign myself to you also – I guess what you mean."

Walt Whitman, Song of Myself, 22

A. Aceh

1. History

Aceh is the northern point in the island nation called Indonesia, which fought for its independence as a nation from British and Dutch colonial forces at the end of World War II.¹⁵⁵ The broader archipelago of Indonesia defined its physical boundaries and claimed its nation status in part by reclaiming the word “Indonesia” from its colonial context, which had defined the more than 13, 600 islands of this contemporary nation as the “Dutch West Indies.”¹⁵⁶ Conceptualizing Indonesia as an archipelago with diverse cultures similar to the Mediterranean may be helpful to people more familiar with Europe.¹⁵⁷ As the northern most prefecture of contemporary Indonesia, Aceh sits at the northern point of the island of Sumatra and includes a series of small islands off the shores of Sumatra. Aceh is a geographically and culturally significant region for its influence in trade between Europe, Arabia, the Indian Subcontinent, and East Asian/Pacific regions, including China and Japan. Aceh also has significance within Indonesia for its contributions to Indonesian independence movements between 1945-49.¹⁵⁸

Before becoming a unified state, Aceh was comprised of separate kingdoms. Marco Polo’s travel records provide documentation that, by 1292 Aceh was an Islamic sultanate, likely the first Islamic sultanate in Southeast Asia.¹⁵⁹ Aceh was an important location for diffusion of Islam in the region, reaching its political height of power in the 17th century when it controlled all trade routes in the Strait of Malacca and exerted control in present

¹⁵⁵ Brown, Colin. *A Short History of Indonesia: The Unlikely Nation*. Crows Nest: Allen & Unwin, 2003, 2

¹⁵⁶ Brown, *A Short History of Indonesia: The Unlikely Nation?*, 2-5

¹⁵⁷ Brown, *A Short History of Indonesia: The Unlikely Nation?*, 5

¹⁵⁸ Brown, *A Short History of Indonesia: The Unlikely Nation?*, 161

¹⁵⁹ Siegel, James. *The Rope of God*. Ann Arbor: Fordham The University of Michigan Press, 2000, 4

day Malaysia and the island of Sumatra.¹⁶⁰ Negotiating various forces of European colonization, the Acehese Sultan attempted a series of agreements with the British.¹⁶¹ However, in 19th century disputes over trading routes, colonial Dutch forces accuse Acehese of piracy. In 1871 the Dutch negotiated a treaty with the English that “released them from their pledge not to become sovereign” over Aceh.¹⁶² In 1863 the Dutch invaded Aceh, leading to a war that had “no formal conclusion,” but in which the Dutch had some semblance of victory by 1910.¹⁶³ The Dutch maintained military presence in Aceh until 1918, which could also be a marker of the end of the Dutch-Acehese war.¹⁶⁴ Some Acehese however, argue that the Dutch did not defeat them, but rather had secured a temporary military advantage. In *A Short History of Indonesia* Colin Brown points out that, “When the Japanese invaded Indonesia in 1942, some Acehese took advantage of the situation by rising up against the Dutch again, in February and March 1942: the last campaign, perhaps, of the Aceh War.”¹⁶⁵

The birth of contemporary Indonesia is marked by a confluence of events during and after World War II. Dutch had surrendered their rule of Indonesia by March 1941 and Japan invaded Java and Sumatra in January 1942.¹⁶⁶ Japanese occupation of Indonesia created a tenuous situation in which colonial resistance forces had an opportunity to conceptualize and negotiate an independence agreement while also needing to navigate threats of Japanese aggression. Acehese support of independence struggles aligned young freedom fighters with Acehese ulama, religious leaders, who had also been key leaders in

¹⁶⁰ Siegel, James, *The Rope of God*, Introduction, 4

¹⁶¹ Brown, Colin, *A Short History of Indonesia: The Unlikely Nation?*, 97

¹⁶² Siegel, James, *The Rope of God*, Introduction, 5

¹⁶³ Siegel, James, *The Rope of God*, Introduction, 5

¹⁶⁴ Siegel, James, *The Rope of God*, Introduction, 5

¹⁶⁵ Brown, *A Short History of Indonesia: The Unlikely Nation?*, 212

¹⁶⁶ Brown, *A Short History of Indonesia: The Unlikely Nation?*, 138-139

freedom struggles against Dutch colonialism.¹⁶⁷ After Japanese defeat, Aceh went through a short civil war between chieftains (uleebang) and religious leaders (ulama). The Acehese regional conflict between these groups reflected power structures in Aceh that had informed colonial policy in the area. At the end of the conflict, Acehese leaders declared support for the Indonesian Republic and “subscribed funds to enable the central government to purchase its first aircraft, which was used to break the Dutch blockade of Republican areas.”¹⁶⁸ At the same time, Aceh remained a largely autonomous region.

Indonesia’s first president, Sukarno, declared Indonesian independence on August 17, 1945. However, Dutch and British colonial forces did not recognize Indonesian independence until 1949, in part due to pressure from the United States through the United Nations. United States intervention was an attempt to stabilize the region as the United States feared growth of communist parties in Southeast Asia.¹⁶⁹ In the declaration of an independent nation, Sukarno declared a “Pancasila” that would form a unifying value system and philosophy for the diverse cultures and belief systems of people in Indonesia. Acehese in particular were disappointed that the newly formed Indonesian state would not be an Islamic state. Although Indonesia is a majority Muslim country, several islands are predominately Christian/Catholic (e.g. Flores) or Hindu (e.g. Bali) and in the wake of becoming a new nation, Indonesian military and political leadership saw “communists” and “Islam” as threats.¹⁷⁰ Sukarto feared that creation of a formal Islamic state would be “fatal” to the newly formed nation state. However, at the same time, Sukarno did believe that the nation state should recognize religious belief. Among Sukarno’s five principles within the

¹⁶⁷ Brown, *A Short History of Indonesia: The Unlikely Nation?*, 161

¹⁶⁸ Brown, *A Short History of Indonesia: The Unlikely Nation?*, 213

¹⁶⁹ Brown, *A Short History of Indonesia: The Unlikely Nation?*, 168

¹⁷⁰ Brown, *A Short History of Indonesia: The Unlikely Nation?*, 152

Pancasila is “belief in God; the others were nationalism, humanitarianism, social justice and democracy.”¹⁷¹ Though beyond the scope of this paper, this means that Indonesia essentially requires its residents to have belief in God. What oneness of God means might be debated, especially with Buddhist, Hindu, Christian, Catholic, Confucian and Muslim communities living as neighbors. That communists and Muslims who want an Islamic state were considered threats to Indonesian unity becomes central to Aceh’s story and part of a tragic thread in Indonesian history.

Alliances between Aceh and the larger Republic of Indonesia were tenuous as there was a “deep ideological gap” related to the “role of Islam in the state.”¹⁷² In late 1948-early 1949 the Acehnese religious leader Daud Beureueh “demanded formal recognition of the region as a province.”¹⁷³ Efforts for separation in Aceh were partially out of belief that “politics and religion could not be separated, and thus ultimately the state had to be based on Islam.”¹⁷⁴ Later separation movements would include this and economic concerns related to the region’s oil and natural resources. During the independence struggle Aceh was given semi-autonomous status. In the early 1950s Aceh’s special status was withdrawn and politicians in Jakarta (Java) began to give political support to the uleebalang who had survived the Acehnese 1945-46 civil war.¹⁷⁵ Led by Daud Beureueh, 1953 Aceh declared its “secession from the Republic of Indonesia and its adherence to the Indonesian Islamic State of the Darul Islam.”¹⁷⁶ Despite attempts to defeat Aceh through military means, by 1957 a

¹⁷¹ Ibid.

¹⁷² Brown, *A Short History of Indonesia: The Unlikely Nation?*, 213

¹⁷³ Ibid.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid.

¹⁷⁵ Brown, *A Short History of Indonesia: The Unlikely Nation?*, 214-215

¹⁷⁶ Brown, *A Short History of Indonesia: The Unlikely Nation?*, 215

cease-fire was arranged and by 1959 formal negotiations allowed Jakarta to recognize Aceh as an autonomous region.¹⁷⁷

Suharto's military dictatorship as the second president of Indonesia brings a new layer of history to Aceh's fight for self-determination and brings this narrative closer to the situation of Aceh during the 2004 Tsunami. In a series of just a few days, from September 30 – October 1, 1965, General Suharto coordinated a military coup that overthrew Sukarno's government. As part of his coup, Suharto manipulated civil unrest through military coordination with politically active civilians, mostly Muslim youth, who together orchestrated killing of Indonesian intellectuals and opposition groups accused of being "communists." Hundreds of thousands of people were killed in a matter of days. Under Suharto, in the 1960s and late 1990s, coordinated massacres of "communists" largely focused on Chinese-Indonesian communities could well be compared to European pogroms against European Jews. As stated by Colin Brown:

To describe these events in the bald terms we have just used is quite easy; to do so, however, is to gloss over the huge human tragedy which they represent. In the aftermath of the victory of the forces led by Suharto, perhaps half a million people were killed in an orgy of violence in which people died for a variety of political, social and economic reasons – and for no apparent reason at all.¹⁷⁸

James Siegel, an ethnographer who lived in Aceh before and after Suharto's military coup pondered his experience of hearing friends in Aceh recount their participation in the murders.

In 1969 I went back to Aceh to see what had happened. I was appalled to hear the gleeful accounts of those with whom I had lived, whom I respected and of whom I was very fond. The joy with which they told of murder was unbearable to me. There were not many who could be suspected of

¹⁷⁷ Brown, *A Short History of Indonesia: The Unlikely Nation?*, 216

¹⁷⁸ Brown, *A Short History of Indonesia: The Unlikely Nation?*, 199

communism in Aceh, but it was the boast of Acehnese that all were murdered and none were kept prisoners.¹⁷⁹

Siegel reflects further that, “perhaps the obvious assumption was that I had merely misread the violence inherent in Acehnese society manifested in resistance to colonial power.”¹⁸⁰ As he looks for more information about the murders he finds that Indonesian army officers had to go to great lengths to arouse Acehnese to action and “those aroused were mainly high school students.”¹⁸¹ It is worth noting that there are no memorials or museums dedicated to remembering these events in Indonesia. Indonesia is one of the most disaster-prone nations in the world due to its location on the “ring of fire” on three tectonic plates. It is also a location where massive campaigns of ethnically and ideologically fueled violence have created human-caused disasters. A longer study would explore the impact of having no memorials or museums after catastrophic violence.

Suharto established power and stabilized his “New Order” by defining communism and Islam as enemies, but utilizing different strategy that “systematically went about eliminating the first and domesticating the latter.”¹⁸² Suharto saw Acehnese separatism as a threat, “just as dangerous and just as subversive as communism or extremist Islam.”¹⁸³ Summarizing what became 30 years of occupation: In 1976 a small Acehnese movement called the Aceh Sumatera National Liberation Front proclaimed independence. Although this uprising appeared to be defeated, in 1983 two American oilmen were killed in one of Aceh’s oil pipelines. This highlights that Aceh was becoming an area of international oil

¹⁷⁹ Siegel, *The Rope of God*, viii

¹⁸⁰ Siegel, *The Rope of God*, viii

¹⁸¹ Siegel, *The Rope of God*, ix

¹⁸² Brown, *A Short History of Indonesia: The Unlikely Nation?*, 200-201

¹⁸³ Brown, *A Short History of Indonesia: The Unlikely Nation?*, 212

interests, with “foreign-owned – often American – oil and gas industry installations.”¹⁸⁴ By the late 1980s the Aceh independence movement was renamed the “Free Aceh Movement, or Gerakan Aceh Merdeka (GAM).”¹⁸⁵ Conflicts escalated. In 1989 Aceh was proclaimed a “Military Operations Area, or Daerah Operasi Militer (DOM).”¹⁸⁶ Jakarta resorted to military tactics to address regional discontent, sparking further resentment as “the methods the military used in attempting to defeat the GAM were those of violence and terror.”¹⁸⁷ International communities gave limited attention to the situation in Aceh, which mirrored the military occupation of East Timor. The difference between Aceh and East Timor was that East Timor was invaded and was not part of the internationally recognized Republic of Indonesia, whereas Aceh was a separatist movement. However, like East Timor, “fearing nothing from the heavily controlled domestic media, the military clearly felt it could act in Aceh in whatever way it thought fit.”¹⁸⁸ The situation in Aceh had escalated into a “full-scale armed revolt” by 1998. The time of the December 26, 2004 Indian Ocean Tsunami, Aceh prefecture was negotiating a truce with Indonesia, however, the truce had not yet been signed. Further Aceh had been an area of military occupation for at least 15 years and had periodic conflict for decades preceding the military occupation. This means that despite its natural beauty, Aceh had limited experience of foreign visitors or tourists. This is a broad overview of the social, economic and political context into which the 2004 Tsunami hit.

2. 2004 Indian Ocean Tsunami

¹⁸⁴ Brown, *A Short History of Indonesia: The Unlikely Nation?*, 217

¹⁸⁵ Brown, *A Short History of Indonesia: The Unlikely Nation?*, 218

¹⁸⁶ Brown, *A Short History of Indonesia: The Unlikely Nation?*, 218

¹⁸⁷ Brown, *A Short History of Indonesia: The Unlikely Nation?*, 218

¹⁸⁸ Brown, *A Short History of Indonesia: The Unlikely Nation?*, 218

The epicenter of the December 26, 2004, Boxing Day, Indian Ocean Tsunami was only 300 kilometers from Banda Aceh, Indonesia. Just before 8:00 am local time, an earthquake shook and toppled buildings in Banda Aceh. People in Aceh ran from their homes into streets and began efforts to save people from destroyed buildings. They had not considered that the earthquake had pulled the back the ocean that sustains their life. It would have been impossible for people in Banda Aceh to respond quickly enough to escape the tsunami, even with help from warning systems. The energy of the earthquake created giant waves that traveled 1,000 kilometers per hour over the expanse of the Indian Ocean. Water surged into Banda Aceh within half an hour of the earthquake. Few of us experience the full destructive force of water. A summary for the Asian Development Bank Institute reminds readers: "Nothing could resist the immense tide. Boats and cars and trucks were carried along; houses were pushed aside; children were plucked as nothing from their mothers' arms; thousands of people were carried away in just a few minutes. Within approximately one hour of the initial earthquake, over 160,000 Indonesians had died."¹⁸⁹

It is hard to communicate the devastation of the December 26, 2004 Tsunami, particularly in Aceh prefecture. Given Acehnese history the following is a reminder of the scope of the tsunami's devastation:

The people of Indonesia's Aceh province are a proud people, proud of their history as a Muslim sultanate that resisted Dutch invaders for 70 years in colonial times. In 2004, a separatist war was raging for independence from Indonesia. The massive 9.1 magnitude earthquake that triggered up to seven massive destructive waves, some as high as a two-storied building, brought them to their knees. The epicenter was just off the coast in the Indian Ocean and the earthquake was heard like a bomb going off.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁹ Jayasuriya, Sisira & McCrawl, Peter, "The Asian Tsunami: Aid and Reconstruction after a Disaster, Highlights," Tokyo: Asian Development Bank Institute and Edward Elgar Publishing, 2010, 6

¹⁹⁰ McCall, Chris, "Remembering the Indian Ocean Tsunami," *The Lancet*, Vol. 384, December 13, 2014, 2095

As often happens in disasters, the destructive events of the earthquake and tsunami in Banda Aceh were followed by confusion and decision-making that may have exasperated the psychological impact of loss. A visitor to Banda Aceh today will encounter a first “memory place” for the tsunami as traffic from the Banda Aceh airport travels down a boulevard next to a large, beautifully manicured lawn. There lay the bodies of 46,718 Acehnese people who died in the tsunami and who were not identified as individuals.¹⁹¹ Among its memory place markers for the tsunami, Banda Aceh has four mass gravesites holding tens of thousands of people. Most Acehnese people do not know where their loved ones are buried. They can guess as to the area where their family and friends might have been at the time of the events and then assume that mass burial graves in that area is the location of their loved ones. But perhaps their wife, husband, child, classmate were pulled out to sea. No one knows. Within hours of the earthquake and tsunami, at least 65,000 people in Banda Aceh had disappeared.

The Pan American Health Organization is attempting to clarify health concerns that lead to mass burial graves. They are debunking myths that bodies must be buried quickly to reduce spread of disease. In their article, *A Disaster Myth that Just Won't Die*, they state, “Survivors have a strong psychological need to identify lost loved ones and to grieve for them in customary ways. Denying survivors the right to carry out those rituals can add significantly to mental health problems after a disaster.”¹⁹² However, the situation in Aceh that led to mass burial graves may not have been caused by public health myths only. In *Remembering the Indian Ocean Tsunami*, Chris McCall hypothesizes that the tragedy was

¹⁹¹ This detail is based on the author's travel to Banda Aceh in June 2014.

¹⁹² Pan American Health Organization, “A Disaster Myth That Just Won't Die – Mass burials and the dignity of disaster victims.” *Perspectives in Health*, Issue 98, January 2005 editorial

beyond local authorities ability to handle. Quoting an official from the Indonesian Red Cross in Banda Aceh, McCall recalls that the bodies of dead people were blackened, likely from the water, there were no cameras to photograph individual bodies, and officials were considering Muslim practices for burying the dead:

In Islam, bodies are supposed to be buried on the day of death, or as soon as found, and they are supposed to be washed first. This was impossible, and a special decree had to be sought from the Islamic scholars council in Aceh to the effect that the seawater had already washed the bodies.¹⁹³

A few years after the tsunami, James Siegel, mentioned earlier as the ethnographer who studied Aceh from the early 1960s through their era of struggle under Suharto, returned to Meulaboh, Aceh. Siegel observed a shift in the way that Acehnese people interact with loved ones who died in the tsunami compared to their beliefs about dead loved ones that he had observed before. Although he assumed that in “a place where no one is absolutely certain who is alive and who is dead” people would draw sharp distinctions to separate the living from the dead, he finds that in Aceh people create a new category that he calls the “living dead.”¹⁹⁴ He observes:

People are aware that they themselves, like everyone in the city, do not know who is alive and who is dead. As one young man told me “Everyone knows that no one knows who is dead and who is alive.” Knowledge of this fact is normal, at least on the statistical sense of the word, and not a pathological failure of memory or cognition. There are thus “living-dead” people whose status as alive or dead is unclear. One does not know and cannot reestablish facts of life and death.¹⁹⁵

That a missing person could be alive remained a reality or people in Aceh for quite some time. Chris McCall shares a story of two children presumed dead who were found years later. The children had been saved by a “quick thinking father, who had placed them on a

¹⁹³ McCall, Chris, “Remembering the Indian Ocean Tsunami,” *The Lance*, 2095

¹⁹⁴ Siegel, James, *The Rope of God*, 97, 101.

¹⁹⁵ Siegel, James, *The Rope of God*, 101

floating wooden board on which they sailed out to sea and were eventually rescued.”

However, the children were not reunited with their mother until years later. The children’s mother reported that her son had been abused after being rescued and “still carries scars on his legs from hot water scalds as well as a big scar on his forehead.” The two children had been found in two different parts of Sumatra and,

...the boy was living as a street child in Padang, down the west coast, and was in that city when it was hit by another earthquake in 2009. He can barely read and is obviously very traumatized. He has gone back to primary school.¹⁹⁶

It is in this psychological landscape, where everyone knows that no one knows who is alive and who is dead, that the Aceh Tsunami Museum is built.

Two other details about Banda Aceh’s experience of the 2004 tsunami are significant in the memory of the people. First, Banda Aceh’s central, history mosque, Baiturrahman Grand Mosque, was not destroyed and became a place of refuge for people seeking shelter. Baiturrahman Grand Mosque is architecturally significant for its blend of Dutch colonial and Islamic artistic features. Second, within several months of the 2004 Indian Ocean Tsunami leaders of the Gerakan Aceh Merdeka (GAM), the Free Aceh Movement, and Indonesia moved quickly toward negotiations to end the conflict. The level to which these negotiations were started prior to the tsunami is debated. In August 2005 the Helsinki Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) between the government of Indonesia and the Free Aceh Movement (GAM) brought an end to violent conflict in Aceh that had lasted for close to thirty years.¹⁹⁷ As part of the MOU, Aceh has been allowed to implement

¹⁹⁶ McCall, Chris, Remembering the Indian Ocean Tsunami, *The Lance*, 2095

¹⁹⁷ Thorburn, Craig. “Building Blocks and Stumbling Blocks: Peacebuilding in Aceh, 2005-2009.” *Indonesia*, 93, (April 2012), 83

shari'ah tradition as their framework for jurisprudence. In other words, after the tsunami, Aceh prefecture reached a peace agreement with Indonesia that allowed them to govern their prefecture using *shari'ah* law and ended their 30-year civil war.

3. Landscape of Tsunami Memorials in Banda Aceh

Banda Aceh has been rebuilt since the 2004 Indian Ocean Tsunami and now features at least seven locations that can comprise sites of memory for tourists. Among these sites are four mass burial graves, a boat that landed on the top of a house (now stabilized with an adjacent outdoor amphitheater for tourist discussions), an oil tanker that was brought into the city center of Banda Aceh, and the Aceh Tsunami Museum. (See Appendix E, scanned tourist map of Banda Aceh).

Complimenting early discussion of disaster tourism, in “The Limits of a ‘Heritage at Risk’ Framework: The Construction of Post-Disaster Cultural Heritage in Banda Aceh, Indonesia,” Trinidad Rico puts forth a fascinating argument that international groups and researchers who are concerned with preservation with heritage and destruction of heritage sites in the wake of disasters should recognize sites that emerge as sites of heritage as products of a disaster. He argues:

The uncritical deployment of a ‘heritage at risk’ rationale marginalizes the emergence of places of heritage value in the process of legitimization of the reconstructed cultural landscapes of Banda Aceh.¹⁹⁸

Rico notices that after the tsunami, Acehnese began identifying certain locations as “places of heritage significance and performance.”¹⁹⁹ Rico’s counter-argument to heritage-preservation industry norms is that “heritage is far from a passive victim of destruction”

¹⁹⁸ Rico, Trinidad. “The Limits of a ‘Heritage at Risk’ Framework: The Construction of Post-Disaster Cultural Heritage in Banda Aceh, Indonesia.” *Journal of Social Archeology*, Vol. 14, No. 2, (2014): 159

¹⁹⁹ Rico, “The Limits of a ‘Heritage at Risk,’” 166

and that the emergence of new sites of memory may enhance community resilience.²⁰⁰ Characteristics these sites hold in common include, “fostering memories to maintain a sense of connection with the past, ... [engaging] history and its remembrance, traditions and their inventions, and political agendas (and as such are subject to contestation and commodification), and ironically, both are complicit in the making of silences.”²⁰¹ Noting emerging studies of “sites of pain” as locations of heritage and as “sites of memory,” Rico says that sites of heritage and sites of pain/memory should not be artificially separated.²⁰² He also recognizes that this challenges criteria that define “global heritage values” that are used to identify heritage sites. Noting conflicts that emerged with inclusion of the Hiroshima Genbaku Dome as a World Heritage site in 1996, he recognizes that “inherent dissonance, ambivalence, and subjectivity in these sites are pronounced, making their significance incompatible with the universal values that are required for them to be discursively attached to global heritage.”²⁰³ He therefore challenges these values to expand to include new sites of memory that emerge after disasters. This discussion of heritage sites informs identification of the “boat on the house” and mass burial graves in Banda Aceh as heritage sites. At the same time, the tension between preservation and accommodation of new sites of memory can be seen in choices made for the location (place) of the Aceh Tsunami Museum.

²⁰⁰ Rico, “The Limits of a ‘Heritage at Risk,’” 160

²⁰¹ Rico, “The Limits of a ‘Heritage at Risk,’” 166

²⁰² Ibid.

²⁰³ Ibid.

4. Aceh Tsunami Museum

a. Place

The Aceh Tsunami Museum is a “2,500 square meter four-story structure, built on a shape of a ship on a site covering about 10,000 square meters.”²⁰⁴ The Museum sits at the southwest corner of Blang Padang Park in the city center of Banda Aceh. In her 2010 lecture for the Twelfth Conference of the International Association for the Study of Traditional Environments in Beirut, Lebanon, Professor Herlily²⁰⁵ of the Universitas Indonesia explained to her audience that the location of the Aceh Tsunami Museum is a hill of historic significance for its colonial heritage. It had been the location of a railway station office and two heritage buildings were demolished to build the museum.²⁰⁶ In addition, the Aceh Tsunami Museum sits next to a cemetery complex for members of the Dutch military, called Kerkhoff Peutijoet, which was built in 1880 and includes approximately 2,200 Dutch graves. The Dutch cemetery is visible to museum visitors as they walk along a path of peace that creates a diagonal walkway through the center of the main Aceh Tsunami Museum exhibit.

The choice of place for the Aceh Tsunami Museum is also significant for its proximity to the airplane purchased by Acehenese leaders in support of Indonesia’s fight

²⁰⁴ Herlily lecture notes, Herlily, Herlily, “Utopia of Memory: Guerrilla Tour, Tsunami Museum, and The Space of Insurgency in Aceh, Indonesia,” *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review*, Vol. 22, No. 1, (2010), 77-78

²⁰⁵ In Indonesia it is somewhat common that people have one name rather than a personal and family name. Professor Herlily is therefore referred to by her full name.

²⁰⁶ Professor Herlily, fulltime lecturer in the Department of Architecture at the Universitas Indonesia has kindly contributed to this study by providing her lecture notes from her 2010 presentation “Utopia of Memory: Guerrilla Tour, Tsunami Museum and the Space of Insurgency in Aceh, Indonesia” delivered to the Twelfth Conference of the International Association for the Study of Traditional Environments in December 2010. Her notes and lecture do not have a correlating publication that can be used for citation. However, through correspondence and her lecture notes she has assisted this project. See Herlily, Herlily, “Utopia of Memory: Guerrilla Tour, Tsunami Museum, and The Space of Insurgency in Aceh, Indonesia,” *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review*, Vol. 22, No. 1, (2010), 77-78

for independence in the 1940s. The airplane, less than a five-minute walk from the Aceh Tsunami Museum, is prominently displayed within Blang Padang Park. Reflecting on Erica Doss' ideas in *Memorial Mania*, the airplane in Blang Padang Park can be seen as functioning as a classic monument meant to commemorate and evoke emotional ties between Aceh and a united Indonesia just as statue mania in early 20th century United States was symptomatic of anxieties about national unity.²⁰⁷ Based on conversations with residents and observations during a July 2014 visit to the area, the aircraft in Blang Padang Park and Baiturrahman Grand Mosque (approximately 30 minute walk from the Aceh Tsunami Museum) may be the most important markers of public memory and cultural heritage for people in Banda Aceh. Baiturrahman Grand Mosque is central to the Aceh Tsunami Museum narrative, although physically located at a further distance than other memory markers. Further laying out its "place" in relationship to other memory places, toward the middle and opposite side of Blang Padang Park is a public memorial of thanks to nations from across the world for their assistance in recovery efforts after the 2004 tsunami. Lastly, though significant, the official offices of Gerakan Aceh Merdeka (GAM), the Free Aceh Movement, are located on the opposite side of Blang Padang Park from the Aceh Tsunami Museum.

Professor Herlily sees the location and role of the Aceh Tsunami Museum as playing a "vital role in knitting the collective memory" yet she also sees that it has a "vital role in the process of collective forgetting (or ignoring)."²⁰⁸ Professor Herlily's lecture, titled "Utopia of Memory: Guerrilla Tour, Tsunami Museum and the Space of Insurgency in Aceh,

²⁰⁷ Doss, *Memorial Mania*, 26

²⁰⁸ Herlily lecture notes, "Utopia of Memory: Guerrilla Tour, Tsunami Museum, and The Space of Insurgency in Aceh, Indonesia," Beirut, 2010

Indonesia” touches on themes discussed in part one of this paper. Looking at the intersections of public narrative and memory related to the Acehness insurgency, despair during the tsunami and *shari’ah* tradition in Aceh, Herlily focuses “particular attention on how this intersection, as an open process, constantly produces and confuses the space of utopia in the collective memory of the Acehness.” Along with ways that the Aceh Tsunami Museum may create a utopian narrative through its use of rhetoric, the architecture itself reflects Laura Beth Clark’s observation that, while some museums serve to house artifacts, in some cases a museum deploys architecture for evocative function and to serve a commemorative purpose.²⁰⁹ In its use of space the Aceh Tsunami Museum appears to take on this evocative, commemorative purpose.

b. Space

The Aceh Tsunami Museum employs a dynamic use of space. Its architectural features and the flow it creates for visitor traffic are central to its potential to foster posttraumatic growth. The Aceh Tsunami Museum’s architect, Mochamad Ridwan Kamil, is Indonesian and is currently mayor of Bandung, an Indonesian city on Java Island. In her lecture, Herlily notes that Ridwan Kamil was a young, local architecture and was “heavy with symbolism” in his design of the museum. Looking at the museum from the outside, ground level, the building is meant to give the appearance of being a boat. It also employs a feature of traditional Acehness homes, called *Rumoh Aceh*, which elevates homes on pillars.²¹⁰ Herlily says that this “represents the wisdom of traditional past in respond to challenge and natural disaster – best equipped to survive tsunami.” Viewing the museum

²⁰⁹ Clark, “Ethical Spaces,” 28

²¹⁰ Herlily lecture notes, “Utopia of Memory: Guerrilla Tour, Tsunami Museum, and The Space of Insurgency in Aceh, Indonesia,” Beirut, 2010

from above, the building gives an appearance of being a whirlpool or tidal wave that is meant to remind people of the tsunami sea waves. Some viewers of the architecture, such as a docent at the museum, considered the view of the museum from above as an image of an eye that could be associated with the eye of God. This idea is enhanced by a central feature of the museum, “the Light of God” (*habluminallah*),²¹¹ that sits within a tube-cylinder inside the building reaching from the base of the first floor to beyond the fourth floor. Viewed from above the “Light of God” cylinder has the appearance of being a pupil in the eye or as the epicenter of the tidal wave. Looking at the museum structure further from the outside, the museum façade uses an interlocking visual motive that is meant to symbolize a traditional Acehnese dance called the Saman “Thousand Hands” (*habluminannas*) dance, “a symbolic gesture romanticiz[ing] strength, discipline and religious beliefs, solidity and cooperation of the Acehnese people.”²¹² A key feature that may not be obvious looking at the building from the outside is that it is designed to be an escape route for people in a next tsunami. The roof of the building is designed to be a location that people can run to in a future tsunami. Herlily states, “The design is also an implementation of an escape hill as anticipation to the danger of tsunami in the future.”²¹³

Entering into the museum visitors are directed to enter a corridor, called Tsunami Alley, that is a hallmark of the Aceh Tsunami Museum experience. If disaster memorials employ a form of theater to create catharsis, this corridor may be one of the most effective architectural examples in contemporary disaster memorial vernacular. As a visitor to the museum in 2014, this corridor has left an indelible mark on the psyche of the author of this

²¹¹ Ibid.

²¹² Ibid.

²¹³ Ibid.

paper. Walking through a dark narrow passage in which it is at first difficult to see the next room requires visitor's eyes to adjust to reduced light. Water cascading down the walls, along with music that sounds like a prayerful chant could be consoling, but visitors are reminded that the walls are as tall as the water that entered into Banda Aceh. Even a good swimmer would have faced certain death in that water. Empathy for the people of Aceh and people who died is an immediate, with affective response of grief and compassion. Discussing the corridor in her presentation, Herlily's lecture notes say, "The tsunami passage [alley] is designed to evoke cathartic emotions for survivors and visitors." She quotes the architect as saying, "It's a very tight corridor but very high walls with a waterfall from the left and the right, so people walk through the first space to experience [the desperation of] the victims of the tsunami" and "The sound of the water will remind them of the situation."²¹⁴ Walking through Tsunami Alley visitors enter a large room with at least twenty podiums with monitors that allow visitors to see images of the 2004 tsunami in Aceh and its aftermath. The room with monitors is architecturally simple with dark colors of paint and carpet and tiered steps that allow visitors to sit if they wish to contemplate the images. There is no indication that people should rush through this room of reflection. (See Appendix E, for images of Tsunami Alley and room with podiums).

Walking out of the larger room where people can walk from podium to podium to view images of the 2004 tsunami, visitors are encouraged to walk inside the cylinder room that is central to the museum. This room is central architecturally and thematically. This is the "the Light of God" (*habluminallah*) cylinder. Walking into the room visitors are surrounded by names of some of the people who died in the tsunami. Their names are

²¹⁴ Herlily lecture notes, "Utopia of Memory: Guerrilla Tour, Tsunami Museum, and The Space of Insurgency in Aceh, Indonesia," Beirut, 2010, 3.

positioned on the wall of the cylinder so that they form a geometric pattern that mimics a star on the floor. Looking up a small window allows light from the sky to illuminate the name for God in Arabic. (See Appendix E, for images of “the Light of God” cylinder). In her lecture notes, Herlily observes, “Inside the building, there is a space in the form of tube-cylinder that spark the light toward the sky (upward), as a symbol of relationship between human and their God.”²¹⁵ Once again, there is no indication that a person should rush through the “Light of God” cylinder. It would be easy to stay in this small room for a while, listening to the prayerful chant while reading names of people who died.

Walking out of the “light of God” cylinder, visitors followed a curved plank filled with natural light from the sky above. In only a few steps the visitor is walking through the center of the museum, above a pool filled the Japanese Koi. Looking above, the visitor sees flags with the names of all of the countries that responded to help Aceh after the tsunami. This pathway is called the Pathway of Peace. Looking out from the pathway, visitors stop to observe the fish. To their left, visitors can see the gravestones in the Dutch cemetery that neighbors the museum. To their right visitors can see other people sitting at tables, on large stones that function as benches along the rim of the pool. Other visitors to the museum sit quietly near the pool, watching the fish, or sit at tables with no thought of visiting the museum exhibits above. Walking further at the base level from the pool, an outdoor amphitheater is available for public programs that do not require people enter the museum itself to access the programs. Walking up the Pathway of Peace, visitors reach the first of three floors that comprise the exhibition spaces. Herlily refers to this area as a public park, saying, “Tsunami Memorial can also work an open public park that [is] accessible and [can

²¹⁵ Herlily lecture notes, “Utopia of Memory: Guerrilla Tour, Tsunami Museum, and The Space of Insurgency in Aceh, Indonesia,” Beirut, 2010, 2.

be] utilized any time, as a respon[se] to urban context.”²¹⁶ (See Annex page three for images of the pathway of peace)

c. Narrative

Exhibitions within the Aceh Tsunami Museum, follow a narrative that links the events of the 2004 tsunami directly to the peace agreement between GAM and the government of Indonesia. Images and video juxtapose images of blackened bodies and catastrophic loss with the collection of machine guns and signing of the MOU. Following the exhibition further, wall text reminds visitors of Aceh’s history of defeating Dutch colonization. Miniature landscapes show survival of the Banda Aceh mosque despite complete destruction of buildings around the mosque. Moving to exhibition space on the second and third floors, visitors are presented information about the history of Aceh. A library is available for visitors who would like to learn about Aceh, including children’s books that explain Aceh’s history, the events of the tsunami and scientific information about Aceh’s vulnerabilities to natural disasters. A room with paintings provides images that express emotions of people lost in the 2004 Indian Ocean Tsunami. The third floor of the museum provides science-oriented exhibits that inform visitors about seismic and weather related vulnerabilities of Aceh. These exhibits contribute to the Aceh Tsunami Museum’s three-part mission: to remember, to educate and to prepare the people of Aceh related to the 2004 Tsunami and future disasters.

B. Aceh Tsunami Museum/Memorial Posttraumatic Growth Assessment

The Aceh Tsunami Museum is a rich environment to test concepts of posttraumatic growth and how posttraumatic growth experiences can be fostered in disaster memorials

²¹⁶ Herlily lecture notes, “Utopia of Memory: Guerrilla Tour, Tsunami Museum, and The Space of Insurgency in Aceh, Indonesia,” Beirut, 2010

and museums. A deeper study of these concepts would benefit from using the Memorial/Museum Posttraumatic Growth Inventory (MPGI) to assess multiple disaster memorial and museum sites. However, for the purposes of this paper, the MPGI is being utilized as a framework to consider how elements of this, the Aceh Tsunami Museum, can be viewed when considering criteria developed by Richard Tedeschi and Lawrence Calhoun to identify posttraumatic growth. The following is a summary of reflections based on the MPGI related to the Aceh Tsunami Museum. In a future assessment each area would be scored on a scale of 0 to 5, where 0 indicates “no content” and 5 indicates that the content is a central theme and is communicated through multiple modalities including narrative and opportunities to interact with the ideas and each other within the space. An explanation of the scoring can be found at the bottom of Appendix C, Table III. However, for the scope of this paper, each category will be considered as a framework for thematic discussion of the memorial museum.

Factor I. Relating to Others

The first factor in the Tedeschi/Calhoun Posttraumatic Growth Inventory is the extent to which the individual has increased their experience in the realm of “relating to others.” Categories used for assessment in this area include, the memorial/museum shows or encourages: I. A. Increased sense of trust that people will help in times of trouble; I. B. Emotions of people impacted by the event(s) are expressed through visual, audio, video, written or other media forms; I. C. People visiting the memorial have options for expression of emotion; I. D. Evolution of new, lasting relationships between communities and/or individuals; I. E. Openness to continued relationships with new communities.

The Aceh Tsunami Museum would score high in this area. Related to Factor I. A: narrative throughout the museum and use of space in the Pathway of Peace show large number of countries providing support. This shows increased sense of trust that people will help in times of trouble. The museum narrative gives an impression that Acehese people hope that these new relationships indicate that people will help in the future. The narrative communicates that among the new relationships emerging out of the tsunami is a new relationship between Aceh prefecture and the larger country of Indonesia. This provides a central theme for the museum.

Related to Factor I. B, the museum provides multiple locations in use of space and narrative that express emotions related to the events related to the tsunami. Tsunami Alley, photographs in the podium room, artwork on the second floor and photographs in the first floor exhibition all communicate emotions related to the disaster. Related to Factor I. C, the museum also provides space for people to sit together, interact and meet. This opportunity is provided through the open-air park available to anyone at any hour. Enjoying the open-air park does not require entry into the main museum exhibits. This may encourage use of the space by Acehese people directly impacted by the tsunami who may be avoidant of the museum exhibitions because of distress and avoidance, which are typical characteristics of posttraumatic stress. This means that people experiencing posttraumatic stress due to the events discussed within the Aceh Tsunami Museum may benefit from environments in which they can communicate with others and have informal mutual support while at the same time experiencing posttraumatic distress and avoidance. This also provides people directly impacted by the events with locations to reflect and ruminate while still feeling co-occurring traumatic stress.

Related to Factor I. D., while the narrative does express that new relationships have developed because of the tsunami, it does not indicate how those relationships will be sustained in the future. There is a good deal of hope in Acehese people whom I met that the current peace in Aceh will be a lasting peace. Many Acehese learned new languages during the surge of foreigners living in Aceh as short and long-term disaster relief and recovery staff. Those relationships have formed a basis for future relationships in Aceh. Related to Factor I. E., as a foreigner traveling in Aceh, I found that people in Banda Aceh were eager to speak with me, to practice English and to share their stories. They expressed enthusiasm about receiving foreign visitors and the Aceh Tsunami Museum had a docent available for an English speaking tour.

However, not addressed in the museum content, this openness is dependent on sustained peace in Aceh, which also means that the economy in Aceh must be sustained and grow. A post-tsunami subsidy to the region will end, oil sources are almost depleted, and violence in the region did increase slightly in 2006.²¹⁷ One source for the economy will be tourism and that tourism is related to the emergence of new relationships with non-Indonesian visitors. The Aceh Tsunami Museum is one of several locations in Banda Aceh that form new sites for memory, heritage and trauma tourism. Banda Aceh is also a port city to the Island of Sabang, which features some of the best locations for diving in Indonesia. The level to which Aceh remains a region of peace is tied in a cyclical pattern with the establishment of layers of new relationships that also bring economic benefit to people living in the region. Overall the museum does not express the socio-economic

²¹⁷ Thorburn, Craig. "Building Blocks and Stumbling Blocks: Peacebuilding in Aceh, 2005-2009." *Indonesia*, No. 93, (April 2012): 83-122.

complexity of Aceh's future, although the museum does consider future threats from natural disasters.

Factor II. New Possibilities

The second factor in the Tedeschi/Calhoun Posttraumatic Growth Inventory is the extent to which the individual has increased their experience in the realm of being open to "new possibilities." Categories used for assessment in this area include, the memorial/museum shows or encourages: II. A. Change in the community toward new interests II. B. A new path or new direction for the community has developed due the event(s); II. C. Optimism that a better future lays ahead for the community; II. D. New opportunities have become available because of the event(s); II. E. Agency of the community to change things that need changing.

A key them throughout the Aceh Tsunami Museum and throughout Aceh is that the landscape and situation for people in Aceh was significantly altered because of the tsunami and that, despite personal losses, the community as a whole benefited from the disaster. A cornerstone of this narrative is the idea that the peace agreement between Aceh prefecture and the government of Indonesia was a direct result of the tsunami. In "Building Blocks and Stumbling Blocks: Peacebuilding in Aceh, 2005-2009," Craig Thorburn says:

In the period following the demise of President Suharto's New Order government in 1998, numerous attempts were made to negotiate an end to the conflict, but none lasted more than a few months. It was not until after the catastrophic Indian Ocean tsunami of December 2004 that the government of Indonesia and GAM were able to negotiate a lasting peace. GAM leaders in Aceh and abroad all lost family members in the tsunami, contributing to their resolve to prevent further loss of life in the province. Indonesia's political leaders, as well, were moved to overcome their differences with GAM for the greater good of helping the Acehnese people to rebuild their lives and livelihoods. The presence of large numbers of international aid organizations and workers involved in the tsunami recovery effort opened the province to international scrutiny, helping to

push both sides to the negotiating table. In an opinion piece published in the New York Times the day after the signing of the accords, President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono said, "Peace in Aceh was a priority that I publicly set for myself during last year's presidential campaign and after my government took office in October. But the real political opportunity came knocking only after the tsunami last December."²¹⁸

Thorburn's observations regarding the finalization of the Aceh-Indonesia peace agreement and the 2004 Indian Ocean Tsunami parallels text in the Aceh Tsunami Museum, which lays out a similar relationship between the events of the tsunami and the advent of peace. The optimism that the tsunami led to lasting peace for Aceh is expressed in the Aceh Tsunami Museum and in conversations with people the city of Banda Aceh.

In general, due to years of foreign relief workers living in Banda Aceh, people in Banda Aceh have increased interest in interacting with people who are not Acehnese. For example, as a woman traveling in Aceh, I wore a headscarf. Most people were extremely friendly, often asking me if I was Turkish. This may have increased the welcoming atmosphere that I experienced as a foreigner traveling in Aceh. However, given my willingness to honor Islamic customs in the area, I found Acehnese people to be extremely friendly and eager to engage in discussion with foreign visitors. On at least three occasions people who simply wanted to know who I was and to ask why I was traveling in Aceh approached me. In these conversations I found that people had learned English and had worked with relief workers. Each person seemed at once open to sharing their personal story of loss (each had lost at least one family member or close friend in the tsunami) and a bit lonely, wishing to engage with foreigners as less foreigners were available with the end of international recovery efforts.

The Aceh Tsunami Museum does not directly address how Aceh's new found

²¹⁸ Craig Thorburn, "Building Blocks and Stumbling Blocks," 84

openness and the increased language and other skills of Acehese people will be fostered as tsunami relief and recovery efforts shutter. The museum does express Acehese strength in the face of adversity, from fighting Dutch colonialism to determination to assert agency toward an Islamic state in the birth of Indonesia, to tenacity for survival and a better life despite being land closest to the epicenter of the biggest natural disaster in modern history. There is a good deal of “new possibility” communicated in the Aceh Tsunami Museum and through people in Banda Aceh. However, there are real barriers to physical thriving that have to be overcome. It is unclear whether the Aceh Tsunami Museum interprets its mission to include creating a location for Acehese to discuss the socio-economic factors that impact their future.

Factor III. Personal Strength

The third factor in the Tedeschi/Calhoun Posttraumatic Growth Inventory is the extent to which the individual has increased belief in their “personal strength.” Categories used for assessment in this area include, the memorial/museum shows or encourages: III. A. Self-reliance in/of the community III. B. Confidence that the community can handle future difficulties; III. C. Acceptance of the situation that happened and possible future situations that may be beyond personal control; III. D. The community is stronger than the community believed before the event.

Acehnese people score high in this category as a society. They have a strong sense of their strength as a people as they fought colonization and then later for sovereignty. These aspects of Acehese history are included in narrative throughout the Aceh Tsunami Museum exhibits on the first and second floors. The museum library provides books for Acehese and non-Acehnese visitors to learn about this history. Personal strength of

Acehnese people and culture is also communicated by aspects of the Aceh Tsunami Museum's "place," in particular: the proximity of the museum to the Dutch grave yard and the airplane in Blang Padang Park and the location on the museum on land where historic colonial-era buildings were torn down. In his discussion of "Heritage at Risk" concepts, Rico notes that before Banda Aceh became known to the world as "the tsunami city" it had been "a region self-defined as 'the Verandah of Mecca' and was oriented toward the Indian Ocean rather than the rest of the archipelago [Indonesia]." ²¹⁹ Looking at the interplay between sites of memory from the tsunami and the landscape of Acehnese conflicts to retain sovereignty, Rico sees both as communicating "a strong theme of resilience and adaptation in Acehnese identity." ²²⁰ The interplay of these sites of memory also contributes to Acehnese resilience in the face of future disasters so that Acehnese people become aware of disaster mitigation strategies and feel empowered to use those strategies. ²²¹ Rico refers to the interplay between damaged cultural heritage and emergence of new sites of heritage as communicating a historic "turning point," ²²² a term that Tedeschi and Calhoun employ in their discussion of schema shifts that indicate posttraumatic growth.

In a way that supports Acehnese sense of personal strength, Acehnese choice to tell the story of the 2004 tsunami in relationship to the peace accord could be viewed as a memory choice that fits Dickenson, Blair & Ott's framework for public memory as past influencing present. As pointed out in part one, "groups tell their pasts to themselves and others as a way of understanding valorizing, justifying, excusing, or subverting conditions

²¹⁹ Rico, "Heritage at Risk," 167

²²⁰ Rico, "Heritage at Risk," 171

²²¹ Ibid.

²²² Ibid.

or beliefs of their current moment.”²²³ In the Aceh Tsunami Museum events of the tsunami are directly linked to the Helsinki peace accord and sovereignty that allowed Aceh to implement *shari’ah* law. This is seen as a victory for Aceh. Believing this promotes III. B, “Confidence that the community can handle future difficulties.” At the same time, Acehnese believe that the events of the tsunami that lead to peace and establishment of *shari’ah* law happened through the will of God. In a way, this promotes III.C, “Acceptance of the situation that happened and possible future situations that may be beyond personal control.”

Factor IV. Spiritual Change

The fourth factor in the Tedeschi/Calhoun Posttraumatic Growth Inventory is the extent to which the individual has increased belief in their “spiritual change.” Categories used for assessment in this area include, the memorial/museum shows or encourages: IV. A., A better understanding of spiritual matters; IV. B., Stronger religious faith in the community. As noted in part one of this paper, these categories are being debated. It is highly likely that questions in this area of the Tedeschi/Calhoun scale will expand to questions that inquire about existential insights separate from what might be framed as “God talk.” However, for the context of Aceh, the Tedeschi/Calhoun measures work well to illuminate aspects of Acehnese culture and post-tsunami experience.

The Aceh Tsunami Museum uses the idea of God’s will throughout the museum. Acehnese Muslim understanding of the 2004 tsunami is so central theme that the entire museum pivots around the name of God symbolically represented in the “Light of God” cylindrical room. The entire museum literally revolves around an image of written name of God. As well, the museum narrative incorporates the importance of mosques as locations

²²³ Dickenson, Blair & Ott, 6

that not only survived structurally, but also were locations that provided refuge. The museum communicates that Acehnese people feel Factor IV. B “stronger religious faith in the community.” What is not clear is whether these deeply felt and well communicated beliefs indicate a schema shift or new worldview for Acehnese people.

Islam as a faith, however, may be particularly oriented toward benefit finding in a disaster. In fact, the idea of focusing this paper on posttraumatic growth, not only on an abstract interaction between memorials and museums and overall disaster recovery, came out of listening to a day-long discussion between Muslim religious scholars and disaster recovery staff at Universitas Muhammadiyah in Yogyakarta on June 25, 2014. The purpose of the daylong conference was development of a *fiqh*, a form of Islamic jurisprudence, on disasters based on Islamic beliefs and laws. Central themes in the daylong discussion were that disaster is not morally bad and can have positive benefits that increase local wisdom and perspectives. The concept of *Al Musibah* was invoked as a central concept from the *Qur’an*. This concept was explained to me as a teaching that says when things happen to us (social, natural) that might be called a “disaster” they are a “test” from God. In discussion with Muslim disaster preparedness professionals in the United States and Indonesia I was repeatedly told that Muslim beliefs related to disasters tend to be “fatalistic.” Yet, this fatalism appears to contribute to community resilience at the local level.

In a 2014 study of “Predictors of Chronic Posttraumatic Response in Muslim Children Following Natural Disaster,” 110 Acehnese children between the ages of 7-13 had interesting observations about religious beliefs in Aceh and the relationship between those beliefs and children’s resilience to developing posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD). The study found a relationship between “children’s belief in the appraisal that being more

religious will protect them from bad things” and reduction of some PTSD symptoms (though not statistically significant).²²⁴ The authors suggest that this should be an area for further study, noting that, “among highly traumatized Muslim war refugees from Kosovo and Bosnia, private prayer was identified as a common positive coping strategy.”²²⁵ The authors make several observations that could be expanded to understand Acehnese beliefs about the tsunami. In particular they note that, “many Acehnese people interpreted the tsunami as punishment from Allah due to insufficient piety from the community.”²²⁶ Ultimately the authors of the study state:

The current findings extend western models by highlighting the culturally specific context of trauma-related appraisals, and how these interact with psychological responses. The emphasis placed on Allah’s will in Muslim children’s worldviews render them more likely to interpret traumatic experiences in ways that incorporate both attributions about causes of the trauma, and also possible religious means of protecting themselves in the future. ²²⁷

Similarly, the relationship of religious belief (and increased existential thoughts for people not oriented toward religious worldviews) to posttraumatic growth is an area for further study. That the Aceh Tsunami Museum features a religious framework as the container for all other narratives within the museum reflects the centrality of Islam for people in Aceh. This may have pre-disposed them toward a posttraumatic growth interpretation of the 2004 Indian Ocean Tsunami.

A final observation related to the Aceh Tsunami Museum’s rhetoric related to God is worth mentioning. In part one of this paper an observation was made that ancient

²²⁴ Dawson, Katie, Joscelyne, Amy, Meijer, Catherine, Tampubolon, Amelia, Steel, Zachary and Bryant, Richard. “Predictors of Chronic Posttraumatic Response in Muslim Children Following Natural Disasters.” *Psychological Trauma, Research, Practice and Policy* Vol. 6, No. 5 (2014), 582-583

²²⁵ Dawson, “Predictors of Chronic Posttraumatic Response.” 584

²²⁶ Dawson, “Predictors of Chronic Posttraumatic Response.” 582

²²⁷ Dawson, “Predictors of Chronic Posttraumatic Response.” 585

monuments often use binaries to express the victory of conquerors. In Aceh a binary is invoked in the “Light of God” cylinder. God’s will is juxtaposed with the catastrophic deaths of people in the tsunami. Given Acehnese warrior history, one way of reading this binary is that people who died in the tsunami were types of “fallen heroes” whose deaths brought and end to the thirty year Aceh-Indonesia civil war. Viewing their deaths in this way imbues their lives and deaths with meaning.

Factor V. Appreciation for Life

The fifth factor in the Tedeschi/Calhoun Posttraumatic Growth Inventory is the extent to which the individual has increased “appreciation for life.” Categories used for assessment in this area include, the memorial/museum shows or encourages: V. A., A change in the community regarding what are considered priorities in life V. B. Appreciation for the individual lives of people in the community; V. C. Appreciation for the life of the community; V. D. Appreciation for the present moment/ for life everyday.

Although the Aceh Tsunami Museum well represents significant changes in Aceh, there were few elements in the museum that directly show new appreciation for individual lives of people in the community or an existential turn toward appreciation of the present moment in a way that seemed to be a significant shift for the society. In general Indonesian society can be “present moment” oriented as indicated in an interesting feature of their national language, that is, Bahasa Indonesia, the national language based on a form of Malay, does not use past or future tenses. In a 2009 article in the Jakarta Post, Hotli Simanjuntak noted many positive changes in Aceh, quoting an Acehnese official who said, "Aceh has completely changed in comparison to before the tsunami. There is no other place

in Indonesia that is capable of developing and changing that fast."²²⁸ However, in this last category, "Appreciation of Life" the Aceh Tsunami Museum presents less specific content. A general sense of appreciation for the individual lives of people lost is communicated in the use of names in the Light of God cylinder. However, the overall museum is less focused on content that encourages visitors to have new appreciation for the "present moment." Further analysis in this and other categories would require a return to the Aceh Tsunami Museum with the Memorial/Museum Posttraumatic Growth Inventory in hand. Analysis in this paper is based on memories, retrospective. Therefore, content may have existed within the museum/memorial that the author did not see because the posttraumatic growth framework used for this analysis was not yet developed.

²²⁸ Simanjuntak, Hotli, "Post-reconstruction Aceh: Leftover problems," *The Jakarta Post*, December 26 2009, <http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2009/12/26/postreconstruction-aceh-leftover-problems.html>

III. CONCLUSIONS

*“All goes onward and outward, nothing collapses,
And to die is different from what anyone supposed, and luckier.”*

Walt Whitman, Song of Myself, 6

Several areas of emerging theory have potential converge in this discussion of disaster memorial and museum environments. As discussed earlier, museums and memorials are emerging rapidly as forums for public memory. Increasingly a “memorial mania” is emerging for creation of physical memorials to remember victims of catastrophic human and natural caused disasters. The phenomenon has characteristics in common with 19th and early 20th century statue mania, but differs in rhetoric and perceived audiences. Theorists in urban planning, architecture, geography and philosophy are paying close attention to this burgeoning memorial industry, especially as it relates to “space and place” and a theoretical turn toward spatial studies in these disciplines. At the same time, theorists in sociology and performance studies are delving into study of disaster and trauma tourism. Although trauma theory is discussed within these fields, burgeoning interest in posttraumatic growth as a theoretical framework within trauma theory does not yet appear in cross-disciplinary literature of space and place, memorials and museum, urban studies, geography and performance studies.

Posttraumatic growth functions at a societal level when “individual narratives are shared and integrated into the social narrative in such a way that the events are recognized as turning points.”²²⁹ Museum and memorial environments have potential to contribute to rumination and interaction with social systems that allow for empathetic disclosure, both of which have been identified by Tedeschi and Calhoun as factors in development of posttraumatic growth.²³⁰ Thereby, environments that allow for mutual expressions of affect in the wake of trauma may be fertile for development of posttraumatic growth outcomes. Laura Beth Clark poses the question “What are our obligations to desecrated

²²⁹ Tedeschi & Calhoun, “Posttraumatic Growth: Conceptual Foundations,” 2004, 14

²³⁰ Tedeschi & Calhoun, “Posttraumatic Growth: Conceptual Foundations,” 2004, 11-12

spaces?” and replies that architects and museum planners should reflect on “opportunities such spaces afford. Visitors come to these sites as pilgrims, in a heightened state of awareness, prepared to engage with difficult questions, and therefore more receptive to ethical questions.”²³¹ Although Erica Doss writes with a focus on United States, her insights can be expanded. For example, by analyzing particular memorials in relationship to the affective conditions they create she believes they are “imagined, produced, and received (or experienced and understood)” in ways that create “fresh insights about...history, memory, and self and national identity [that] are especially realized through the lens of public feeling.”²³² The principle underlying her argument is a similar premise to considering the role of memorials in community-wide posttraumatic growth.

This paper has sought to lay a foundation to merge areas of theory in memorial and museum rhetoric, sociology of trauma tourism, and concepts of posttraumatic growth. The Memorial/Museum Posttraumatic Growth Inventory provided a useful framework for analysis of the Aceh Tsunami Museum. Using the MPGI categories for analysis of a broad selection of disaster memorials and museums from around the world would best test this tool. Such a study could provide thought provoking insights regarding the purpose and use of disaster memorials and museums that could inform their future uses and design.

²³¹ Clark, “Ethical Spaces,” 30

²³² Doss, Memorial Mania, 13

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Augustine, Johny. "Predictors of Posttraumatic Growth Among Adult Tsunami Survivors: The Role of Employment, Religion, and Family Attributes." *Journal of Social Service Research* Vol. 40 (2014): 491-507.

Brown, Colin. *A Short History of Indonesia: The Unlikely Nation*. Crows Nest, Australia: Allen & Unwin, 2003.

Boal, Augusto. *Theater of the Oppressed*. Trans. Charles A. & Maria-Odilia Lean McBride. New York: Theater Communications Group, Inc., 1979.

Clark, Laura Beth. "Ethical Spaces: Ethics and Propriety in Trauma Tourism." *Death Tourism: Disaster Sites as Recreational Landscape*. Brigitte Sion, Ed. Calcutta: Seagull Books 2014.

Dawson, Katie, Joscelyne, Amy, Meijer, Catherine, Tampubolon, Amelia, Steel, Zachary and Bryant, Richard. "Predictors of Chronic Posttraumatic Response in Muslim Children Following Natural Disasters." *Psychological Trauma, Research, Practice and Policy* Vol. 6, No. 5 (2014): 580-587

Dickinson, Greg; Blair, C; Ott, B., Eds. *Places of Public Memory: The Rhetoric of Museums and Memorials*. Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2010.

Doss, Erica, "Remembering 9/11: Memorials and Cultural Memory," *Magazine of History*; Vol. 25, No. 3 (Jul 2011): 27-30.

Dross, Erika. *Memorial Mania: Public Feeling in America*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2010.

Eyre, Anne. "Remembering: Community Commemoration After Disaster." *Handbook of Disaster Research*, Rodriguez, Havidan, Quarantelli, Enrico L., Dynes, Russel Eds. New York: Springer Science+Business Media, LLC (2006): 441- 455.

Foucault, Michel, Miskowiec, Jay. "Of Other Spaces", *Diacritics*, Vol 16, No. 1, (Spring 1986): 22-27.

Freire, Paulo, Myra Bergman Ramos and Donaldo Macedo, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed, 30th Anniversary Edition*. New York: The Continuum International Publishing Group, Inc., 2005.

Gaillard, Jean-Christophe, Clavé, Elsa, Vibert, Océane, et al. "Ethnic Groups' Response to the 26 December 2004 Earthquake and Tsunami in Aceh, Indonesia." *Natural Hazards*, Vol. 47, (2008): 17-38.

Herlily, Herlily. "Utopia of Memory: Guerrilla Tour, Tsunami Museum, and The Space of Insurgency in Aceh, Indonesia," *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review*, Vol. 22, No. 1, (2010): 77-78.

Herman, Judith. *Trauma and Recovery: The Aftermath of Violence – From Domestic Abuse to Political Terror*. New York: Basic Books, 1992.

Jayasuriya, Sisira & McCrawl, Peter. *The Asian Tsunami: Aid and Reconstruction after a Disaster, Highlights*. Tokyo: Asian Development Bank Institute and Edward Elgar Publishing, 2010.

Jaywickreme, Eranda, Blackie, Laura, "Post-traumatic Growth as Positive Personality Change: Evidence, Controversies and Future Directions, *European Journal of Personality*, Vol. 28, (2014): 312-331

Joseph, Stephen. *What Doesn't Kill Us: The New Psychology of Post-Traumatic Growth*. New York: Basic Books, 2011.

Kahl, Brigitte. *Galatians Re-Imagined: Reading with the Eyes of the Vanquished*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2010.

Meisl, Christopher S., Safaie, Sahar, Elwood, Kenneth J., Gupta, Rishi and Kowsari, Reza. Abstract, "Housing Reconstruction in Northern Sumatra after the December 2004 Great Sumatra Earthquake and Tsunami." *Earthquake Spectra*, Vol. 22, No. S3, (June 2006): 777-802. Print [Cited February 28, 2015] Online: <http://www.earthquakespectra.org/doi/abs/10.1193/1.2201668>

McCall, Chris. "Remembering the Indian Ocean Tsunami," *The Lancet*, Vol. 384 (December 13, 2014): 2095-2098

Nora, Pierre, Krtizman, Lawrence D. *Realms of Memory: The Construction of the French Past*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1996.

Pan American Health Organization, "A Disaster Myth That Just Won't Die – Mass burials and the dignity of disaster victims." Editorial in *Perspectives in Health*, Issue 98, (January 2005). n.p. [Cited April 6, 2015] Online: http://http://www.paho.org/disasters/newsletter/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=306%3Aa-disaster-myth-that-just-wont-die-mass-burials-and-the-dignity-of-disaster-victims&catid=153%3Aissue-98-jan

Power, Samantha. *A Problem from Hell: America and the Age of Genocide*. New York: Harper Perennial, 2002.

Rico, Trinidad. "The Limits of a 'Heritage at Risk' Framework: The Construction of Post-Disaster Cultural Heritage in Banda Aceh, Indonesia." *Journal of Social Archeology*, Vol. 14, No. 2, (2014): 157-176.

Robinson, Oliver. "What Counts as Positive Growth Following Trauma? Conceptual Difficulties with Spiritual/Religious Change." *European Journal of Personality*, Vol. 28 (2014): 346-347.

Simanjuntak, Hotli. "Post-reconstruction Aceh: Leftover problems." *The Jakarta Post*, December 26 2009. [Cited March 4, 2015] Online: <http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2009/12/26/postreconstruction-aceh-leftover-problems.html>

Shaw, Annick; Joseph, Stephen; P. Alex Linley. "Religion, Spirituality, and Posttraumatic Growth: A Systematic Review." *Mental Health, Religion & Culture*, Vol 8, no 1, (2005): 1-11.

Thorburn, Craig. "Building Blocks and Stumbling Blocks: Peacebuilding in Aceh, 2005-2009." *Indonesia*, No. 93, (April 2012): 83-122.

Tedeschi, Richard G. and Calhoun, Lawrence G.. "The Posttraumatic Growth Inventory: Measuring the Positive Legacy of Trauma." *Journal of Traumatic Stress*, Vol. 9, No. 3 (1996): 455-471.

Tedeschi, Richard G. "Violence Transformed: Posttraumatic Growth in Survivors and Their Societies." *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, Vol. 4, No 3, (1999): 319-341

Tedeschi, Richard G. and Calhoun, Lawrence G. "Posttraumatic Growth: Conceptual Foundations and Empirical Evidence." *Psychological Inquiry*, Vol. 15, No. 1 (2004): 1-18.

Tedeschi, Richard G. and Calhoun, Lawrence G. ed. *Handbook of Posttraumatic Growth: Research and Practice*. Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc., 2006.

The Road to Resilience Brochure, American Psychological Association (2013). n.p. [Cited February 28, 2015] Online: <http://www.apa.org/helpcenter/road-resilience.aspx>

Siegel, James. *The Rope of God*. Ann Arbor: Fordham The University of Michigan Press, 2000.

Siegel, James. *Objects and Objectifications of Ethnography*. New York: Fordham University Press, 2011.

Sion, Brigitte. "Introduction," *Death Tourism: Disaster Sites as Recreational Landscape*. Calcutta: Seagull Books, 2014.

Tuan, Yi-Fu. *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience*. Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1977.

APPENDICES:

- APPENDIX A: TABLE I: POSTTRAUMATIC GROWTH INDEX FOR INDIVIDUALS (PTGI)
- APPENDIX B: TABLE II: TEDESCHI AND CALHOUN MODEL FOR PROCESSING TRAUMA INTO GROWTH
- APPENDIX C: TABLE III: MEMORIAL/MUSEUM POSTTRAUMATIC GROWTH INVENTORY (MPGI)
- APPENDIX D: TABLE IV: POSTTRAUMATIC GROWTH THEORIES – OVERVIEW
- APPENDIX E: PHOTOGRAPHIC SUPPLEMENT: BANDA ACEH AND ACEH TSUNAMI MUSEUM

APPENDIX A

Table I: Posttraumatic Growth Index for Individuals (PTGI)²³³

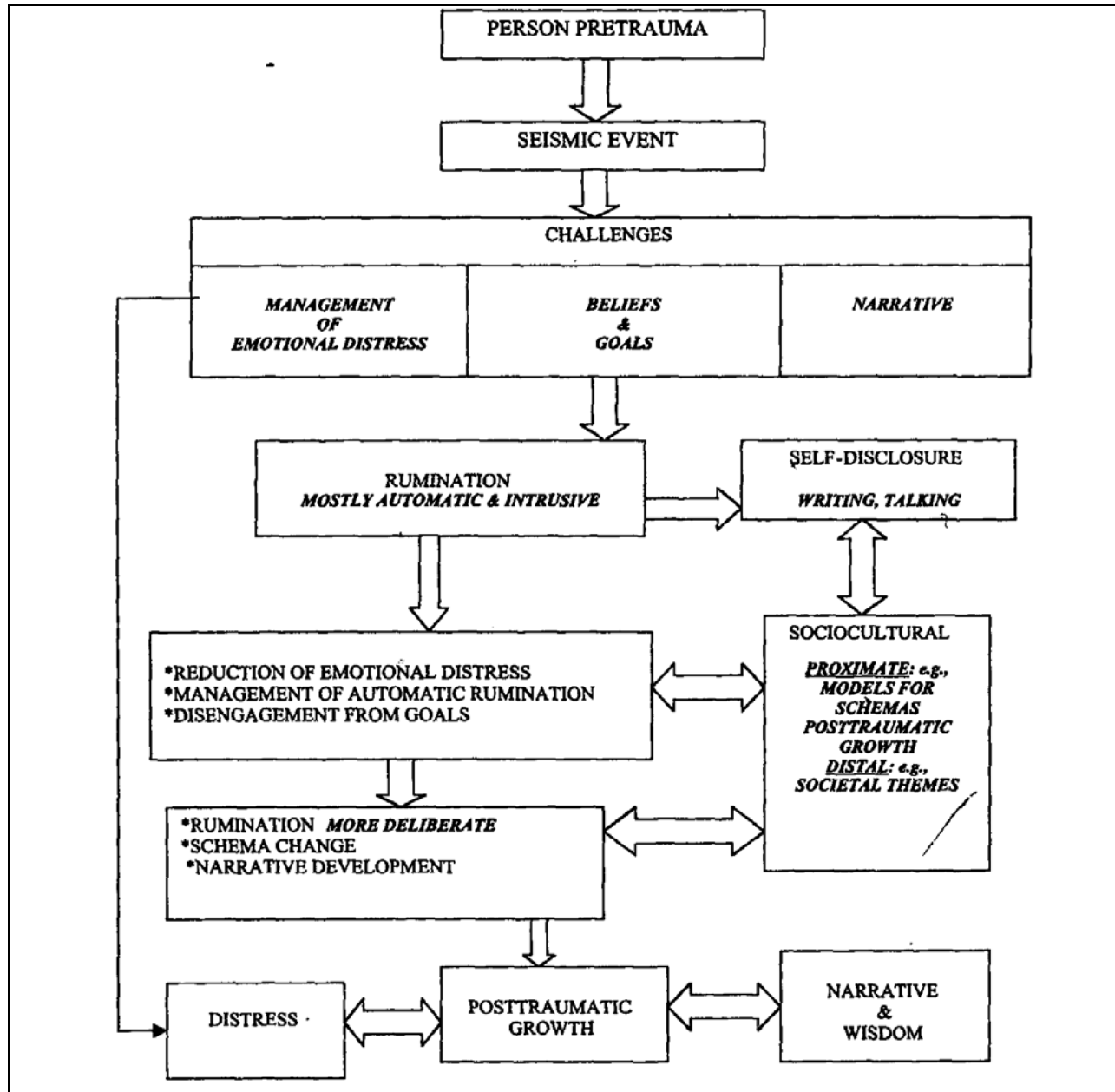
Table 1. Factor Loadings of 21 Items Selected for the Posttraumatic Growth Inventory ^a						
PTGI Item and Factor	Factor Loadings:	I	II	III	IV	V
Factor I: Relating to Others (17% of Variance)						
6. Knowing that I can count on people in times of trouble.		.67				
8. A sense of closeness with others.		.81				
9. A willingness to express my emotions.		.63				
15. Having compassion for others.		.70				
16. Putting effort into my relationships.		.61				
20. I learned a great deal about how wonderful people are.		.62				
21. I accept needing others.		.67				
Factor II: New Possibilities (16% of Variance)						
3. I developed new interests.			.76			
7. I established a new path for my life.			.80			
11. I'm able to do better things with my life.			.76			
14. New opportunities are available which wouldn't have been otherwise.			.76			
17. I'm more likely to try to change things which need changing.			.63			
Factor III: Personal Strength (11% of Variance)						
4. A feeling of self-reliance.				.62		
10. Knowing I can handle difficulties.				.79		
12. Being able to accept the way things work out.				.54		
19. I discovered that I'm stronger than I thought I was.				.71		
Factor IV: Spiritual Change (9% of Variance)						
5. A better understanding of spiritual matters.					.84	
18. I have a stronger religious faith.					.83	
Factor V: Appreciation of Life (9% of Variance)						
1. My priorities about what is important in life.						.50
2. An appreciation for the value of my own life.						.85
13. Appreciating each day.						.59

^aItems were selected with factor loadings at least .5 and with loadings of less than .4 on other factors. Loadings and proportions of variance reported are from a principal components analysis and varimax rotation of 21 items selected from the original item pool.

²³³ Tedeschi, Ricard and Calhoun, Lawrence, "The Posttraumatic Growth Inventory: Measuring the Positive Legacy of Trauma," *Journal of Traumatic Stress*, Vol 9, No. 3 (1996): 455-471

APPENDIX B

Table II: Tedeschi and Calhoun Model for Processing Trauma Into Growth²³⁴



²³⁴ Tedeschi, Richard and Calhoun, Lawrence, "Posttraumatic Growth: Conceptual Foundations and Empirical Evidence," *Psychological Inquiry*, Vol 15, No. 1 (2004): 1-18

APPENDIX C: Table III. Memorial/Museum Posttraumatic Growth Inventory (MPGI)

The Memorial/Museum Shows or Encourages:		
Factor I: Relating to Others	PTGI Factor	Score
A. Increased sense of trust that people will help in times of trouble	Factor I.6, 20	
B. Emotions of people impacted by the event(s) are expressed through visual, audio, video, written or other media forms	Factor I.9	
C. People visiting the memorial have options for expression of emotion	Factor I.9	
D. Evolution of new, lasting relationships between communities and/or individuals	Factor I.8, I.20	
E. Openness to continued relationships with new communities	Factor I.21	
SUBTOTAL		
Factor II: New Possibilities	PTGI Factor	Score
A. Change in the community toward new interests	Factor II.3	
B. A new path or new direction for the community has developed due the event(s)	Factor II.7	
C. Optimism that a better future lays ahead for the community	Factor II.11	
D. New opportunities that have become available because of the event(s)	Factor II.14	
E. Agency of the community to change things that need changing	Factor II.17	
SUBTOTAL		
Factor III: Personal Strength	PTGI Factor	Score
A. Self-reliance in/of the community	Factor III.4	
B. Confidence that the community can handle future difficulties	Factor II.10	
C. Acceptance of the situation that happened and possible future situations that may be beyond personal control	Factor III.12	
D. The community is stronger than the community believed before the event.	Factor III.19	
SUBTOTAL		
Factor IV: Spiritual Change	PTGI Factor	Score
A. A better understanding of spiritual matters	Factor IV.5	
B. Stronger religious faith in the community	Factor IV.18	
SUBTOTAL		
Factor V: Appreciation of Life	PTGI Factor	Score
A. A change in the community regarding what are considered priorities in life	Factor V.1	
B. Appreciation for the individual lives of people in the community	Factor V.2	
C. Appreciation for the life of the community	Factor V.2	
D. Appreciation for the present moment/ for life everyday	Factor V.13	
TOTAL		

Score Criteria:

0 (No Content): The museum/memorial does not mention this theme and does not provide an environment for people to reflect on or develop this theme through introspection or interaction with others.
1 (Some Content): The museum/memorial mentions this theme, but it is not central to the memorial/museum narrative. The memorial/museum does not provide an environment for people to reflect on or develop this theme through introspection or interaction with others.
2 (Central Content): The museum/memorial uses this theme as a central theme, however, the memorial/museum does not provide an environment for people to reflect on or develop this theme through introspection or interaction with others.
3 (Repeated Content/Multiple Modalities): The museum/memorial mentions this theme more than once, although it is not a central theme, AND the memorial/museum provides an environment for people to reflect on or develop this theme through introspection or interaction with others.
4 (Central Content/Multiple Modalities): The museum/memorial uses this as a central theme, AND the memorial/museum provides an environment for people to reflect on or develop this theme through introspection or interaction with others.

APPENDIX D

Table IV. Post-Traumatic Growth Theories – Overview

Post-Traumatic Growth Theories - Overview ²³⁵					
Authors	Definition	Process	Mechanisms	Duration	Outcome
Tedeschi & Calhoun, 2004	Positive Psychological change experienced as a result of the struggle with highly challenging life circumstances	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Greater appreciation of life More intimate social relationships Heightened feelings of personal strength Greater engagement with spiritual questions Recognition of new possibilities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Trauma (but not trauma alone) Deliberate rumination about the event Deriving meaning from the event Social Support Self-disclosure to trusted others 	<p>Emerges later in adjustment process</p> <p>Disengagement from shattered assumptions are aided by meaning making and rumination</p>	<p>Wisdom</p> <p>Greater satisfaction with life</p>
Joseph & Linley, 2005	Posttraumatic growth (PTG) is not distinct from Psychological Well-Being (PWB), in other words PTG is measuring PWB. T&C scale is equivalent to Ryff scale.	<p>Increases in:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Self-acceptance Purpose in life Environmental mastery Autonomy Positive relations with others 	<p>Trauma is not necessary</p> <p>Critical and different life transitions are a pathway</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> New found meaning, personality schemas and relationships. Clarity of life priorities (even if not feeling satisfied) Emphasizes eudaimonic over subjective well-being
Pals and McAdams, 2004 Tennen and Affleck, 1998	Post-traumatic growth is expression of a redemptive narrative generated by trauma	<p>Personal concerns, which are sensitive to change, directly contribute to narratives</p> <p>Individuals may be particularly likely to experience growth in areas that match their pre-trauma personality disposition.</p>	<p>Trauma</p> <p>Person has dispositional traits of:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Generativity Low depression High self-esteem and life satisfaction High cognitive complexity Self-efficacy Dispositional hope 		<p>Revision of one's narrative</p> <p>Appears to have similarities with concept of resilience that imply people who grow have more psychological and social resources pre-trauma</p>
Hobfoll, 2007	Action-focused growth that reflects genuine personality change	Post-trauma levels lead to growth-related behaviors and reduction in stress	Cognitive attempts to find meaning and restructuring of assumptive beliefs alone are not enough, these attempts to find meaning must be translated into action.		<p>Behavior change</p> <p>Action-related growth leads to actual positive changes</p>

²³⁵ Summary from Jaywickreme, Eranda & Blackie, Laura, "Post-traumatic Growth as Positive Personality Change: Evidence, Controversies and Future Directions, *European Journal of Personality*, Vol. 28, 2014, 312-331

APPENDIX E:

PHOTOGRAPHIC SUPPLEMENT: BANDA ACEH AND ACEH TSUNAMI MUSEUM

SEE ATTACHED

Tourism Map

Charming Banda Aceh

TO SABANG (WEH ISLAND)



Legend

- Beach
- Port
- Monument
- Mosque
- Church
- Vihara
- Cafe/restaurant or culinary centre
- Traditional Market
- Shopping centre
- Government Office

Tourism Object

- A8** Alue Naga Beach
- B7** Syiah Kuala Cemetery
- D5** Gampong Pande Inscription
- E5** Tgk. Dianjung Mosque
- E6** Boat On The Roof
- E7** Ratu Safiatuddin Park
- F1** Syuhada Monument
- F2** Ceurmen Beach
- G1** Tsunami Mass Burial Ground
- G5** Blang Padang
- G5** Seulawah Plane RI 001 Monu
- G5** Thanks To the World Monu
- G5** Garuda Theatre
- G5** Taman Sari
- G5** Proklamasi Monument
- G5** Kereta Api Monument
- G5** Baiturrahman Mosque
- G5** Garden Nursery Bustanussala
- G5** Bank Indonesia Building
- G6** Elephant Island Monument
- H3** PLTD Apung
- H3** Tsunami Education Park
- H5** Tsunami Museum
- H5** Kerkhof
- H5** Putroe Phang Park
- H5** Gunongan
- H5** Culture Park
- H6** Pendopo Gouvernor Comple
- H6** Aceh Museum Complex
- H6** Sultan Iskandar Muda Cemet
- J7** Bus Station

Photos of Banda Aceh and Tsunami Museum



Banda Aceh, Sumatra Ariel View 1, July 2014



Banda Aceh, Sumatra, Ariel View 2, July 2014



Banda Aceh, Sumatra Ariel View 1, July 2014



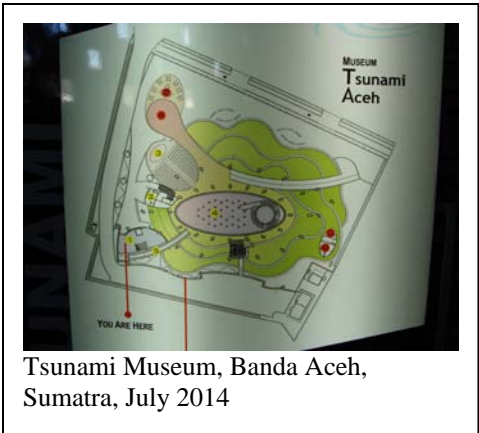
Tsunami Museum, Banda Aceh, Sumatra, July 2014



Tsunami Museum, Banda Aceh, Sumatra, July 2014



Display of Tsunami Museum Replica, Tsunami Museum, Banda Aceh, July 2014



Tsunami Museum, Banda Aceh, Sumatra, July 2014



Tsunami Museum, Banda Aceh, Sumatra, July 2014

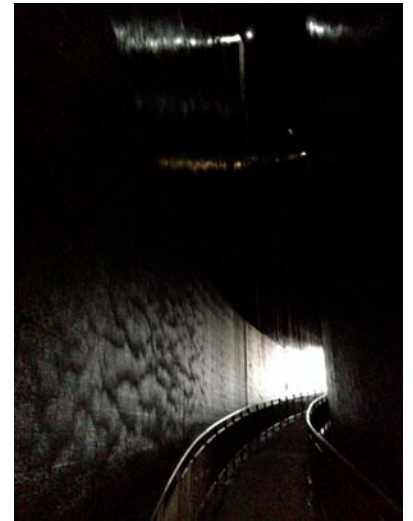
Tsunami Alley and the Podium Room



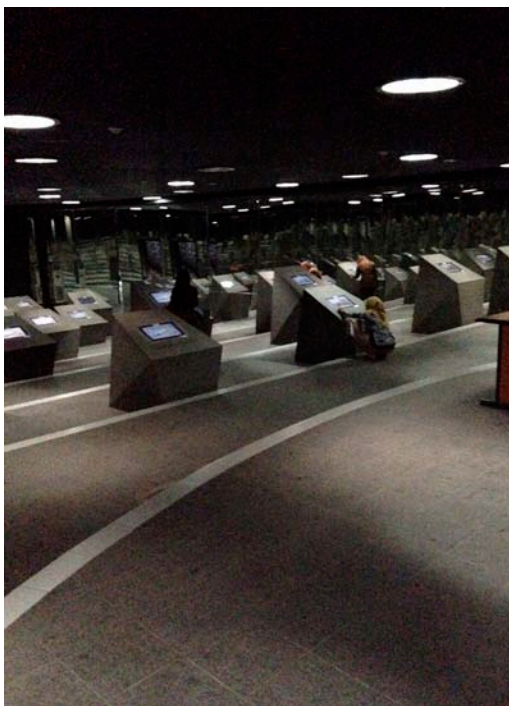
Tsunami Alley, Entrance to Main Exhibition, Tsunami Museum, Banda Aceh, Sumatra, July 2014



Tsunami Alley, Entrance to Main Exhibition, Tsunami Museum, Banda Aceh, Sumatra, July 2014



Tsunami Alley, Entrance to Main Exhibition, Tsunami Museum,



Tsunami Museum, Podium Room
Banda Aceh, Sumatra, July 2014



Tsunami Museum – Podium Display



Tsunami Museum – Podium
Display



Tsunami Museum – Podium Display



Tsunami Museum – Podium Display

“Light of God” Cylinder Room – Hall of Remembrance



Figure : Hall of Remembrance, Tsunami Museum, Banda Aceh, Sumatra, July 2014



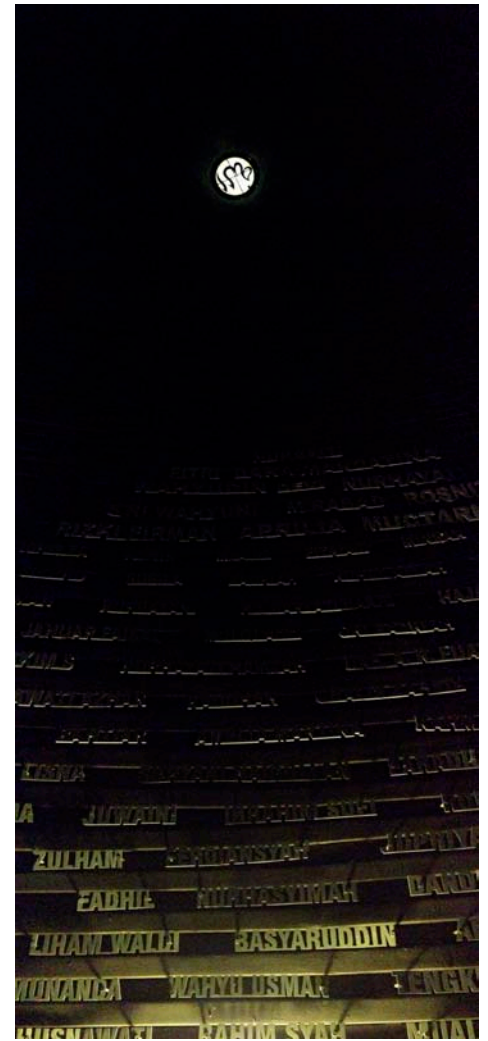
Hall of Remembrance, Tsunami Museum, Banda Aceh, Sumatra, July 2014



Figure : Hall of Remembrance, Tsunami Museum, Banda Aceh, Sumatra, July 2014



Hall of Remembrance, Tsunami Museum, Banda Aceh, Sumatra, July 2014



Hall of Remembrance, “Light of God” Tsunami Museum, Banda Aceh, Sumatra, July 2014



Hall of Remembrance “Light of God” Tsunami Museum, Banda Aceh, Sumatra, July 2014

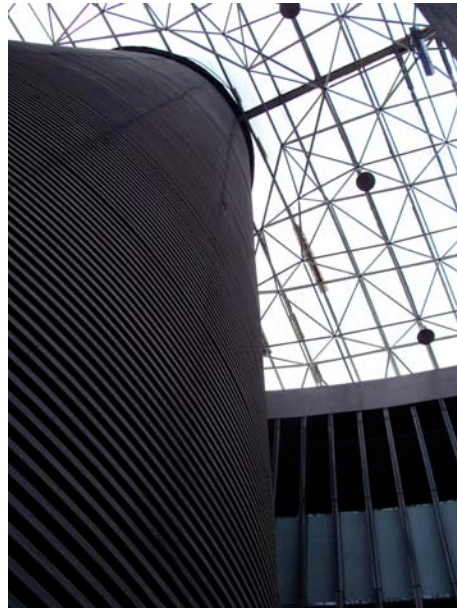


Figure : Hall of Remembrance, Tsunami Museum, Banda Aceh, Sumatra, July 2014

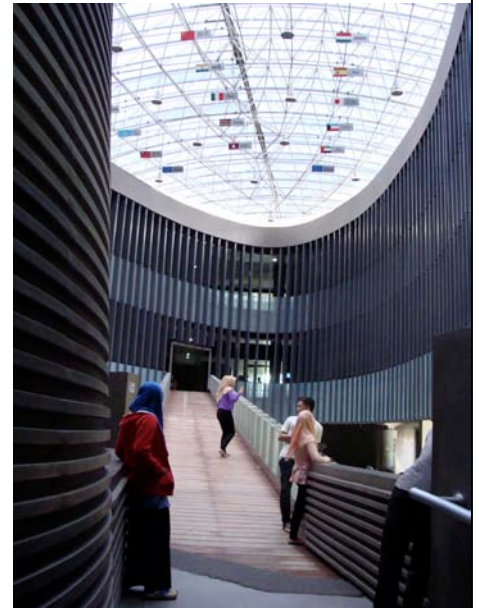
Pathway of Peace



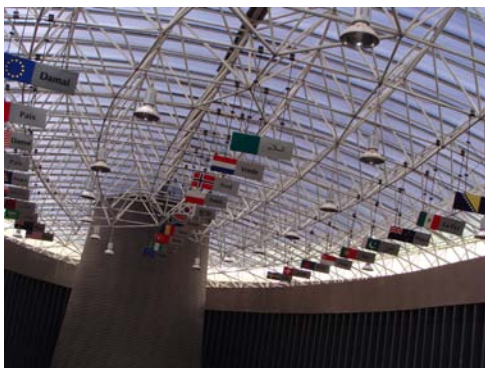
Walkway of Peace, Tsunami Museum, Banda Aceh, July 2014



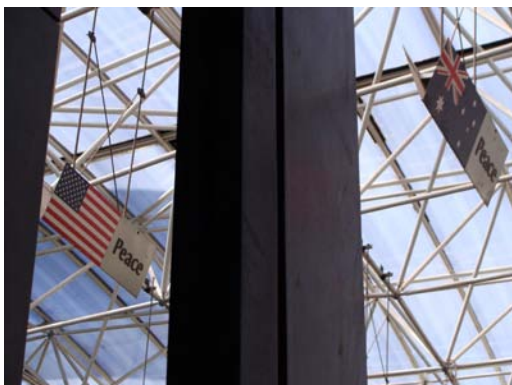
Hall of Remembrance Cylinder, Tsunami Museum, Banda Aceh, Sumatra, July 2014



Walkway of Peace, Tsunami Museum, Banda Aceh, July 2014



Walkway of Peace, Tsunami Museum, Banda Aceh, July 2014



Walkway of Peace, Tsunami Museum, Banda Aceh, July 2014



Walkway of Peace, Tsunami Museum, Banda Aceh, July 2014

Images from exhibitions, Aceh Tsunami Museum



Main Exhibition. Tsunami Museum, Banda Aceh, July 2014 - Grief



Main Exhibition. Tsunami Museum, Banda Aceh, July 2014 – Blackened Bodies



Tsunami Museum, Banda Aceh, July 2014 surrendering of weapons



Tsunami Museum, Banda Aceh, July 2014 - heroes



Tsunami Museum, Banda Aceh, July 2014 – Helsinki MOU





Art Gallery Image One, Tsunami Museum, Banda Aceh, July 2014



Art Gallery Image Two, Tsunami Museum, Banda Aceh, July 2014



Art Gallery Image Three, Painting of Displaced People, Tsunami Museum, Banda Aceh, July 2014



Art Gallery Image Four, Tsunami Museum, Banda Aceh, July 2014



Art Gallery Image Five, Tsunami Museum, Banda Aceh, July 2014



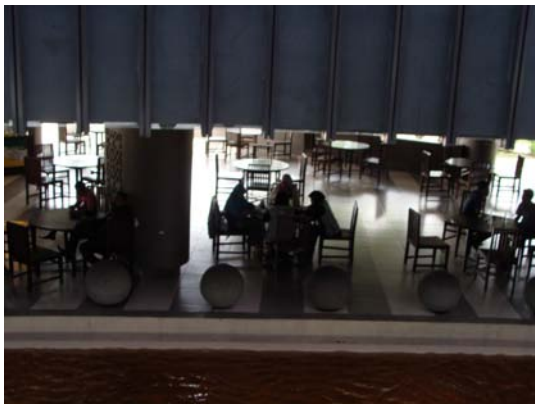
Art Gallery Image Six, Tsunami Museum, Banda Aceh, July 2014



Pool and Seating Area, Tsunami Museum, Banda Aceh, July 2014



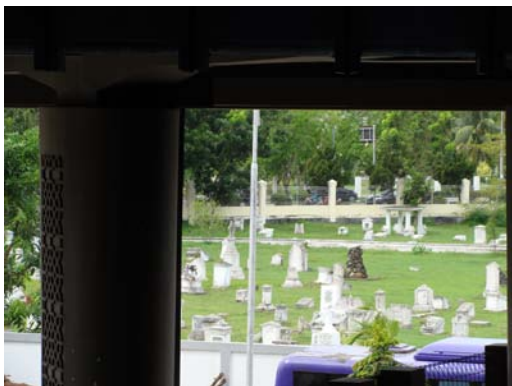
Pool and Seating Area, Tsunami Museum, Banda Aceh, July 2014



Pool and Seating Area, Tsunami Museum, Banda Aceh, July 2014



Pool and Seating Area, Tsunami Museum, Banda Aceh, July 2014



Turkish Graveyard as viewed from Peace Walkway, Tsunami Museum, Banda Aceh, July 2014



Outdoor Auditorium, Tsunami Museum, Banda Aceh, July 2014