# IOM
## UN MIGRATION

# EVERYDAY SITES OF VIOLENCE AND CONFLICT

## EXPLORING MEMORIES IN MOSUL AND TAL AFAR, IRAQ

Frazer Macdonald Hay, April 2019

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## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

# ACRONYMS

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| **Al Husba** | An ISIL Reiteration of An Islamic Religious Police Force |
| **Amnia** | An ISIL Specialist Military Police Unit |
| **Diwan** | (In Islamic Societies) a Central Finance Department, Chief Administrative Office, or Regional Governing Body |
| **GHV** | Gross Human Rights Violations |
| **IOM** | International Organization for Migration |
| **ICRRP** | Iraq Crisis Response Resilience Programme |
| **IDMC** | Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre |
| **IDP** | Internally Displaced Person |
| **IED** | Improvised Explosive Device |
| **ISIL** | Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant |
| **Mukhtar** | Appointed Formal Head of an Urban District or Rural Community |
| **NRC** | The Norwegian Refugee Council |
| **PRWG** | Peace and Reconciliation Working Group |
| **QIP** | Quick Impact Projects |
| **R-CAP** | Recovery Action Plan |
| **RRP** | Rapid Recovery Programme |
| **SHEIKH** | Head of Tribe |
| **TRD** | Transition and Recovery Division |
| **TRU** | Transition and Recovery Unit |
| **UN** | United Nations |
| **UNAMI** | United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq |
| **UNDP** | The United Nations Development Programme |
| **UNESCO** | United Nations Education Science Culture Organization |
| **UN-HABITAT** | United Nations Human Settlements Programme, Agency for Human Settlements and Sustainable Urban Development |
| **UNHCR** | The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees |
| **UNOPS** | United Nations Office for Project Services |



Street in West Mosul, December 2018.

# EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In light of growing concerns over the positioning and sustainability of effective peacebuilding efforts in Iraq, this research explores the notion that within a post-conflict environment, there is an important social and political layer of everyday life, which is relatively unnoticed by the peacebuilding establishment engaged in reconciliation and social cohesion processes.

This research had three objectives. The first was to conduct an analysis of Iraq's post-conflict modes of memorialization. The second, to develop programming and provide training to broaden IOM staff awareness of memory, its fragility and how it might be taken into consideration whilst working in areas where local people attempt to address traumas that impede social cohesion – in communities that have experienced conflict, grave human rights abuses and displacement. The third was to identify, analyse and document ordinary 'places and spaces' imbued with memories of violence; sites that, before the war, were used to facilitate day-to-day life and support communities. These spaces include schools, shops, shrines, markets and businesses, among others. They are everyday buildings that are now synonymous with violence and require validation, acknowledgment and recognition as part of a balanced hybrid approach to memorialization and reconciliation.

In the course of this research, several everyday sites were identified in Mosul and Telafar. They appeared socially impactful due to the memories of violence they represented. All the sites were well known (or heard of) locally but equally so in communities from other cities and internally displaced persons (IDP) camps where first-hand accounts, social media posts and 'word of mouth' made these sites key locations in the post-conflict narrative of violence. These places range from a wall at the Pepsi factory in Mosul, where 84 people died by sniper fire as they tried to escape the fighting, to a sinkhole just outside Mosul, where the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) disposed of some 5,000 bodies that are still to be identified and returned to their families. In this report, seven sites are addressed in detail. There are many more sites still to be located, validated and acknowledged.

It has been suggested that IOM develop a programme to archive these culturally significant sites and their memories, to validate their narrative and acknowledge, recognise and contextualise the suffering that took place there and how memories should be expressed. Such initiative would create an archive of memorialization that would map the sites nationally and provide an accessible and relatable fabric of memory that can be trusted and addressed as part of a reconciliation process. This process would help inform the more technocratic reconstruction and reconciliation initiatives by local government, the UN and other international peacebuilding agencies, thus providing a more nuanced and balanced synergy between local memorialization and peacebuilding.

In the past, the country's memorialization was dominated by monumental state-led expressions of unity and defiance. These have been politically symbolic statements that reinforce state power and glorify an authoritarian narrative of past conflicts. These expressions have been monuments that reinforce warring characters as either moral or malevolent. This mode of remembrance is generally referred to as 'antagonistic,' a style that privileges emotions to cement a strong sense of belonging. After the fall of the Baathist Party in the early 2000s, the recognition of tragic events in Iraq, during or following conflicts, involved attempts of memorialization in familiar forms, from museums and monuments to public art and the mobilization of collective memories to convey messages of peace, recognition, reconciliation and social cohesion. However, equally familiar is the presence of a post-conflict pathology of negative memorialization, such as the fabrication of victimhood and memory manipulation that encourages a thirst for revenge and martyrdom. Therefore, the political, educational and representational challenges in Iraq are significant.

The significant challenges relating to memorialization within a post-conflict environment were explored with IOM staff, individually in one-to-one discussions and also in groups through presentations held in Mosul and Erbil. The staff members were reminded of the rudiments of memory in everyday life. In other words, almost all activities in some way deal with memory; and it is only through the capacity of memory that we can relate to different events, experiences, conditions, people and objects. Memory is needed in developing social relationships, mastering cognitive capabilities and solving various problems. Without it, we would struggle to develop an identity and a sense of belonging, which inevitably would render us fundamentally disoriented and vulnerable.

IOM staff were encouraged to be mindful that memories are less reliable than one might think. Often memories are taken for granted and trusted to serve us well in our day-to-day lives. Their foibles are forgiven as we struggle to remember someone's name, or we forget where we put our keys. However, our memories are fragile in subtler yet impactful ways, especially when recalling things in an emotionally entangled and challenging context. Staff heard that memory is not passive like a computer or video camera, which reproduce the information in its original context; rather, memory is reflective and susceptible to a range of influences. Memories are malleable; new events or information can be added, and they can change our perceptions and what we think we remember about past events, resulting in subtle errors and misrepresentations. According to scholars and practitioners such as Daniel Schacter,[1] there are four primary ways that are particularly important to be aware of whilst working with people from post-conflict communities:

1. Suggestibility refers to the way that memories are susceptible to manipulation and change as a result of leading questions, comments or suggestions when a person is trying to call up a past experience.

2. Misattribution, which means to assign a memory to the wrong source; mistaking fantasy for reality, or incorrectly remembering that a friend told you a bit of trivia that you actually read about in the newspaper.

3. Persistence, which means the repeated recall of disturbing information or events that we would prefer to banish from our minds altogether; remembering what we cannot forget, even though we wish that we could.

4. Bias, which refers to the way our current knowledge and beliefs alter how we remember our past. Sometimes in the process of reconstructing our memories we add our feelings, beliefs, or even the knowledge we acquired after the event (consistency biases) and 'stereotypical biases' which influence our memories and perceptions in the social world – experiences with different groups of people lead to the development of stereotypes that capture their general properties, but can spawn inaccurate and unwarranted judgments about individuals.

This research ultimately explores memory as an embedded factor, contributing to a post-conflict community's sense of place. It examines how these memories of violence are reflected and embodied within the built environment, suggesting that despite the discourse on whether these buildings can denote, describe or recount trauma in any obvious way, these buildings can and do offer an authentic fabric of meaning and agency as everyday buildings imbued with traumatic memories. These buildings are legitimately powerful mediums of remembrance, having the commemorative power that can bind communities, societies and nations to a reconciliatory present.

This research concludes that the theoretical and practical reconciliatory present suffers from a lack of awareness and engagement with the post-conflict communities, their relationship with their built environment, and the memories of a violent past associated to many of the buildings. This is an environment of entangled post-conflict emotions where even the mundane routines of life are punctuated by the reminders and reminders of violence, often in the form of ordinary places and spaces that for many, resonate with traumatic memory. These memories create an everyday sense of place, an awareness that evolves within the communities once the fighting ends and is relatively undetected or evaluated as a source from which to strengthen the implementation of a more sustainable peacebuilding process.

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1   Schacter, D. (2002). The seven sins of memory. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

## METHODOLOGY

A combination of both theoretical and practical research was used to engage and explore the notion of post-conflict memory within communities. The research focuses on the impact that day-to-day places and spaces imbued with memories of violence have on current peacebuilding initiatives such as social cohesion and reconciliation in Iraq. This aspect is an important, emotionally entangled, socio-political layer of post-conflict communities, which has until now been overlooked by technocratic and cosmopolitan approaches to reconciliation elsewhere in the world.

During the periods of field work in northern Iraq in September and December 2018,[2] an anthropological approach was adopted, using an ethnographic mode of research in combination with semi-structured interviews and discussions that were supported by research conducted at the University of Edinburgh, Scotland.

In combination with the study of the physical case studies, there were supplementary meetings, discussions and presentations exploring memories of violence in post-conflict Iraq. All unofficial and official meetings, whether with taxi drivers, café or shop owners, NGOs, people in the street, on airplanes, in hotels and so on, gave valuable context to this report. These conversations helped filter and make some sense of the enormous amount of memories and stories of suffering, hardship and brutality pertaining to conflicts in Iraq. With their help, this study could identify significant sites of interest and ascertain their apparent context and meaning.



ISIL grafiti at the entrance of a prison site, stating "It is forbidden to enter by the order of the Islamic State (Diwan al-Hesba)".

THEORY

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2   A total of 11 semi-structured and unstructured interviews, two Guided Urban walking excursions, 10 field missions, 10 Focus Group Discussions and 3 feedback sessions were conducted for this report in Erbil, Mosul, Tal Afar and IDP camps in Ninewa Governorate and the Kurdish Region of Iraq druing a total period of 6 weeks in September and December 2018.

# MEMORY

Memory is malleable; new events or information can be added, it can change our perceptions and what we think we remember about past events, resulting in subtle errors and misrepresentations.

Memory is reflective and susceptible to a range of influences within and exterior to the brain. Therefore, memory accessed from long-term storage into short-term memory isn't as robust as one might believe. Memory is malleable; new events or information can be added, it can change our perceptions and what we think we remember about past events, resulting in subtle errors and misrepresentations.

This is important to consider in the context of this research, to better understand the crucial role memory has in post-conflict communities that are fatigued, fraught, emotionally vulnerable and disorientated. It is important to acknowledge the fragility of memory, especially when considered within a traumatic context such as conflict, war and displacement.

## QUICK READ

Peacebuilding actors have often overlooked post-conflict aspects of "memory and place," failing to use their potential in peacebuilding processes. This research aims to understand post-conflict sites in terms of memory and a sense of place. It will explore memory as factor that contributes to a post-conflict community's sense of place and that memories of violence are reflected and embodied within the built environment. The buildings are therefore legitimate mediums of remembrance and have

the power to bind communities, societies and nations to a reconciliatory present.

The research concludes that currently, there is lack of awareness and engagement with post-conflict communities and with their memories associated to buildings. These memories, however, create an everyday sense of place and an awareness that evolves within communities, and could therefore become a resource for peacebuilding processes.

> " The past is a timebomb, and its fuse burns brightest in the half light of competing versions' of founding myths of national identity. We inherit the obsessions of the dead, assume their burdens; carry on their causes; promote their mentalities, ideologies and ...superstitions, and often we die trying to vindicate their humiliations.
>
> – Harrison 2005

In the light of growing concerns over the positioning and sustainability of effective peacebuilding efforts, this study explores the notion that within a post-conflict environment, there is an important social and political perception of everyday life, which is relatively unnoticed and poorly examined by the peacebuilding establishment. As such, this oversight will have undermined and threatened the processes of reconciliation, and will continue to do so, unless addressed.

This perception of everyday life brings into focus the localised relationship between the public, their built environment and their memories of violence and acknowledges and explores traumatic memories, and the impact they have in day-to-day life. Typically, this acknowledgement would involve government-backed, nation-building projects, promoting culturally significant buildings, monuments, museums and commemorations as symbolic tools of reparation. However, this research explores an alternative everyday sense of place, underpinned by the daily routine of life, where there is regular awareness

and frequent encounters with post-conflict remainders and reminders of violence, hosted by ordinary run-of-the-mill spaces and places within a community.

The spaces and places of a community's built-environment help create a sense of place in far more subtle and profound ways than one might expect.

The relationship between buildings and place provides cues for behaviour. The built environment is a means of nonverbal communication. Hence, because of their visibility and durability, places and spaces often acquire a symbolism reflecting political, social and ideological aspects of society. For a post-conflict community, this sense of place has fundamentally changed. Many of the once familiar buildings that subtly reinforced a sense of place and belonging are now imbued with traumatic meaning and represent a complicated and contrasting set of post-conflict emotions.

> For those living in the post-conflict community, and depending on their affiliation with violence, these buildings echo very different meanings and hold a very different set of memories; they could be feared and reviled by some or respected, welcomed and even loved by others. To leave these buildings unrecognised in ethnically diverse communities riddled with post-conflict emotional entanglements renders any reconciliation effort more fragile, and therefore more susceptible to failure and manipulation, potentially sparking further violence.

Reconciliation after violence is normally understood to be the restoration of sociable relations. It has adopted a variety of methods, approaches and roles to suit diverse circumstances. Post-conflict reconciliation, whether at a local inter-personal or nationwide political level, broadly incorporates the search for truth, justice, forgiveness and accommodation between conflicting groups. The different approaches to post-conflict reconciliation are often distilled into descriptive terms, such as 'top-down', 'bottom-up' or 'hybrid' approaches, which facilitate specific aspects of a peacebuilding process. The 'top-down' approach tends to be high profile and orientated within an international or national context, adopting processes looking to create reconciliation through publicly acknowledging and addressing the violence mediated through truth telling, apology, confession, retribution and the rule of law, whilst developing forward-looking strategies that will curtail further violence in the future. A 'bottom-up' approach is more likely to address the post-conflict trauma and emotional entanglement of individuals and their communities, social cohesion

and displacement issues. Recently, a third approach has evolved from the synergy between both approaches, creating a hybrid method that offers a more flexible and sensitive approach, which promotes local ownership and offers a more collaborative approach. These constructed activities and approaches to reconciliation require a sound understanding of the 'place' where the reconciliatory approach is built. Like all structures, their foundations require firm grounding and awareness of their local context. In this case, the building of reconciliatory efforts is the local social context, which is critical to survey and consider. This context is the everyday, ever-present and ordinary site-specific life, from which all things communal grow.

It is within the familiar and ordinary that this research hopes to reveal the extraordinary opportunities and obstacles associated with memory and place, thus potentially providing an important layer of consideration. The report suggests that memory and place can help develop a more informed approach to designing the dynamics involved in contemporary reconciliation, one that is sensitive to a community's shared memory and its sense of belonging, place and identity.



Street in West Mosul, with a sign stating 'cleared', December 2019.

# BELONGING AND IDENTITY

## THE FRAGILITY OF MEMORY

### QUICK READ

For post-conflict communities in Mosul and Telafar, the sense of place – and therefore the sense of belonging and identity – are affected by the everyday built environment and the memories of violence and suffering they echo. The localized nature of post-conflict "place and identity" becomes overwhelming, making feelings of national integration potentially prejudiced.

### QUICK READ

Four characteristics of memory are important to recognize while working within post-conflict communities.

Suggestibility, that is, the way that memories are susceptible to manipulation and change as a result of questions when a person is trying to recall a past-experience.

Misattribution, that is, to assign a memory to the wrong source, mistaking fantasy for reality, or incorrectly remembering that a friend told you a bit of trivia that you actually read about in the newspaper.

Persistence, that is, the repeated recall of disturbing information or events that we would prefer to banish from our minds altogether.

Bias, that is, the way our current knowledge and beliefs alter how we remember our past. Sometimes in the process of reconstructing our memories we add our feelings, beliefs, or even knowledge acquired after the event, leading to the development of stereotypes that capture general properties but can spawn inaccurate and unwarranted judgments about individuals.

Day-to-day buildings, landscapes and materials serve as poignant reminders of personal and collective culture and history.

Sites become palimpsests upon which layers of memory are recorded through time. These buildings are inherently linked with past events and through such connections become powerful mediums of remembrance in the built fabric.

Unacknowledged everyday memories of violence contribute to the distortion and reimagining of an individual or a community's homegrown sense of place. Indeed, as Hamber, an expert in the field explains, "[a] world is created where nowhere is seen as safe and where the line between death and extreme suffering on the one hand and ordinary living on the other is obliterated" (Hamber 2015,3). This condition of place, memory and meaning is important to consider when attempting to build peace from the physical and psychological debris of war.

Therefore, a sense of place is more than just one person's feelings about a particular place; such feelings are not only individual, they are also social.

> Given the significance a 'sense of place' has on individuals and on a community, it is important to develop a more nuanced awareness as to how everyday places are instrumental in establishing a sense of belonging (or exclusion), and how they play a role in defining a locus of post-conflict identity.

By acknowledging the post-conflict world as a world of places, we can begin to see attachments and synergies between people and place.

For a post-conflict community, this sense of place has fundamentally changed. Many of the once familiar buildings that subtly reinforced a sense of place and belonging are now imbued with traumatic meaning and represent a complicated and contrasting set of post-conflict emotions.

To engage with a post-conflict sense of place, it is important to appreciate that a 'sense of place' is fluid and reflexive, and that the same location can be interpreted through different senses of place. The sense of place is normally expressed positively through a wide range of media and often used to support local business, tourism and education. Sense of place can also be recognized at various 'scales.' Theorists suggest that these might be at a 'local, regional or landscape' scale (Massey, Rose 1995). However, for a post-conflict community, its 'senses of place' have developed sinister overtones of trauma, its inhabitants struggle to articulate its new meaning and the localized scale becomes overwhelming, to the point where any other scale becomes unthinkable. For post-conflict communities, a sense of place is orchestrated by their everyday built environment, an environment where many buildings resonate memories of violence and suffering. These are places that reveal the tangible and the intangible legacy of conflict, that are ordinary, day-to-day buildings, landscapes and materials that serve as poignant reminders of personal and collective heritage and history. They are inherently linked with past events and through such connections become powerful mediums of remembrance in the places and spaces of Iraq. These mediums of remembrance help prevent the fragilities of memory their use and manipulation to promote a rekindling of violence.

The 'seven sins of memory' (Daniel Schacter) help understanding the fragility of memory.[3]

The first three are 'transience, absent-mindedness and blocking' which are familiar to us all, and have to do with omission and the failure to recall the desired information. The other four are related to commission. In other words, where a memory is recalled, but is unwanted or incorrect. These memory inconsistencies are often referred to as being caused by misattribution, suggestibility, bias and persistence. Misattributed memory is when we attach the memory to the wrong source.[4] Suggested memory is a memory that has been created as a result of leading questions, comments or suggestions when a person is attempting to recall an experience.[5] Another interesting 'memory sin' to be aware of when working in communities that have experienced trauma such as civil war is a memory with bias, which is described as "a memory that reflects the powerful influences of our current knowledge and beliefs on how we remember our past." We often edit or rewrite our previous experiences – unknowingly and unconsciously 'in light of' what we now know or believe. The result can be a skewed rendering of a specific incident, or of an extended period in our lives, which says more about how we feel now than about what happened then.

An interesting and pertinent aspect to this memory is the existence of a 'stereotypical bias,' where memories are influenced by one's involvement with other ethnic groups, leading to the creation of stereotypes that amplify their general characteristics and can manifest inaccurate and unwanted judgments about individuals. Finally, there is the seventh sin, 'persistence', a memory that in a post-conflict context, can be the most debilitating of all seven sins. This memory involves the repeated recollection of traumatic experiences or events. In other words, remembering what we wish we could forget, if only our brain would let us. This type of memory can be disabling and even life-threatening (Daniel Schacter).

These seven types of memory imperfections remind us that although memory is an integral, relatively trusted aspect of who we are and how we perceive the environment in which we exist, it is important to address the established methods of representation, management and control of memory. In the context of this study, the modes of remembrance and memory curation that peacebuilders such as the United Nations use to narrate history and represent post-war peacebuilding and reconciliation are addressed.

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3   Schacter, D. (2002). The seven sins of memory. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

4   An example of this would be when a fabricated thought is mistaken for reality, or wrongly recalling that a colleague told you something that you had actually read about in the minutes of a meeting.

5   This is memory related to misattribution and has been well represented in literature in the legal sector.

# THE UN AND MEMORIALIZATION

A Greek historian of the Hellenistic period, Polybius, wrote in his work The Histories (V,11) "… the finality of war is not to punish the guilty but to re-establish law…. a noble custom forbade the erecting of stone or bronze trophies on a battlefield; only wooden trophies were allowed – so that there should be no perpetual symbol of enmity" (Fitzmaurice, 1957). From this research's perspective, Polybius's quote is helpfully thought-provoking in two compelling ways. Firstly, it suggests the dramatic change yet a faintly familiar approach to peacebuilding after war, its context and the purpose of post-conflict[6] memorials and reconciliation.[7] Secondly, the quote or its reinterpretation, "In ancient Greek city states, battlefields memorials were deliberately constructed of wood to enable erosion opening possibilities for reconciliation between former enemies" (Shaheed, 2014), has surfaced, giving purchase to a report addressing, "memorialization processes of events of past in post conflict and divided societies" (A/HRC/25/49). The report was commissioned by the General Assembly of the United Nations. The quote was used to compare and contrast the current complexities of contemporary post-conflict memorialization, whilst acknowledging the urgent need for a contemporary code of ethics and approach to memory after conflict. Shaheed's final recommendation in her 2014 report[8] was "that a compendium be prepared on good memorialization practices, highlighting difficulties encountered and results achieved."

This research posits that to develop an effective approach to a 'good contemporary memorialization practice,' it is important for the peacebuilding establishment to acknowledge the positive as well as the negative impact that local everyday aspects of traumatic memory have in sustaining any peacebuilding and reconciliation processes. In other words, the importance of an everyday sense of place, underpinned by the daily routine of life, where there is a regular awareness and encounters with post-conflict remainders and reminders of violence, hosted by ordinary run-of-the-mill spaces and places within a community. This study has explored the peacebuilding establishment's current approach to post-conflict memory management and reconciliation and suggests that an important aspect of everyday memorialization is relatively unnoticed. The study focused on the primary agents in this field, namely, the United Nations and its Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). However, it has also touched on the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), United Nations Human Settlements Programme (UN-Habitat), and non-United Nations affiliated organisations such as the International Council of Museums (ICOM), United States Institute of Peace (USIP) and the International Coalition of Sites of Conscience (the Coalition). Together, these make up the primary mechanism from which post-conflict memorialisation is addressed, a mechanism keen to clarify the responsibilities of countries and other stakeholders in the field of memorialisation after war, "in view of the fact" as Martine continues, "that memory, like history is never immune from political influence and debate. The rising trend of memorialization processes today makes discussing these issues both urgent and necessary" (Shaheed, 2014).

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6   For the purpose of this research, post-conflict is referred to as a term to describe the period immediately after a conflict is over. It is important to explain that that the term 'post-conflict' is however, highly politicized due to the consequences that it entails for the state and the society, which is labelled post-conflict. The phrase also implies that conflict has ended. However, it is important to acknowledge that even though direct violence may have reduced there are other forms of violence that still remain (Galtung, 1969). Brown, Langer and Stewart suggest, "taking a process-oriented approach means that "post-conflict" countries should be seen as lying along a transition continuum (in which they sometimes move backwards), rather than placed in more or less arbitrary boxes, of being "in conflict" or "at peace" (Brown, Langer and Stewart, 2011).

7   For the purpose of this research, reconciliation is referred to as a multi-level process that involves national-level responsibility but also requires coordination and holistic approaches to promote social reconstruction at many levels of society. Various processes - legal, social, political, and economic (Barsalou and Baxter 2007) need to be at work if reconciliation is to be achieved. This report recognises that there are some who are uncomfortable with the term 'reconciliation' and prefer the terms "social reconstruction" and "reclamation," which are usually associated with an array of interventions to promote economic, political, and social progress, as well as identity transformation, with less emphasis on legal accountability and truth-telling.

8   The 'Report of the Special Rapporteur in the field of cultural rights,' was written in accordance with Human Rights Council resolution 19/6 (A/HRC/25/49).

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### THE UNITED NATIONS

Despite the size and impact of the UN, it is only until relatively recently that the organisation has attempted to explore the importance of memory and memorialization with regard to post-conflict reconciliation and peacebuilding. In a General Assembly report in 2014, the Human Rights Council heard that, "[c]ollective reparations for mass or grave violations of human rights can take the form of legal but also non-legal measures, the latter entering the field of symbolism and memory, which is too often overlooked. The ways in which narratives and memorialization have consequences far beyond the sole issue of reparation" (Shaheed, 2014). Shaheed goes on to identify memorial expression for the council, authentic and symbolic sites, virtual memorial, activities and cultural expression which contribute to the memorialization processes.[9] However, although an excellent report, it fails to identify the importance of the everyday, local memory, a day-to-day exposure to the remainders and reminders of violence that physically and psychologically surround these potential 'memorial expressions' and that will ultimately dictate whether they are valid, authentic or corrupt aspects of any reconciliation and peacebuilding processes.

The idea of managing memory as a means to supporting reconciliation began in the 1980s with the combination of controversial concepts such as the "Duty to Remember" (Goldberg, 2000) and the public memorialisation of past crimes to establish or redefine national unity, thus helping to prevent further violence whilst recognising the growing demand for recognition from victims and society at large. After the cold war ended in 1991, war and the management of memory seems to change. The UN evolved rapidly from an organisation with a mainly peacekeeping role, to one of the biggest and most powerful intergovernmental organizations in the world, founded on the belief in liberal democracy and responsible for "maintaining international peace and security, promoting human rights, fostering social and economic development, protecting the environment, and providing humanitarian aid in cases of famine, natural disaster, and armed conflict" (QCWA, 2018). The 1990s conflicts were different. Civilians were bearing the brunt of atrocities, the term 'New War' (Kaldor, 2013) was used and with it, memorialization evolved and became a political and socio-cultural imperative in the subsequent reconciliation processes. With the use of the World War I watchword 'Never again' came a reframing of the UN's transitional justice and reconciliation model. Products of memorialisation became popular contemporary means of combating injustice and promoting peace and reconciliation, although despite the appearance of new organisations such as the United States Institute of Peace (USIP) in1984 and the International Coalition of Sites of Conscience (the Coalition) in 1999, the research and design behind these new tools for post-conflict reconciliation appear to be outdated. One could even argue that the ideas behind memorialisation haven't evolved much since Polybious wrote of the reconciliatory theory behind the ancient Greek battlefield monuments made from wood, in so much as they were designed and erected by the elite to honour the brave dead combatants on one side or the other, with no mention of how one might address and recognise the spolia, slavery or the social impact suffered by societies during and after these brutal battles.



Children in camp for Ninewa IDPs, September 2018.

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9   Authentic sites (for example concentration camps, former torture and detention centres, sites of mass killings and graves and emblematic monuments of repressive regimes), symbolic sites (such as permanent or ephemeral constructed monuments carrying the names of victims, renamed streets, buildings or infrastructure, virtual memorials on the Internet and museums of history/memory) and activities (such as public apologies, reburials, walking tours, parades and temporary exhibits). In addition, although outside the scope of this report, various cultural expressions (artworks, films, documentaries, literature and sound and light shows addressing a tourist audience, etc.) (A/HRC/25/49)

In 2001 UNESCO organised another series of World Conferences against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance hosted by the Government of South Africa. During this conference, it was acknowledged that societies seek recognition and awareness as a means of combating injustice, which highlights the potential role that memorialisation and reconciliation have in redeveloping a community's social cohesion. Page 18 paragraph 108 of the conference report states that "remembering the crimes or wrongs of the past, wherever and whenever they occurred, unequivocally condemning its racist tragedies and telling the truth about history are essential elements for international reconciliation and the creation of societies based on justice, equality and solidarity" (World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance, 2001). The UN and others began to develop a cosmopolitan mode of remembrance,[10] seemingly promoting reconciliation through the perspective of the victimised other, which silences the victim to a point where they require a mediating intermediary to narrate their suffering and advocate their claims. This is a mode of remembrance that favoured monuments, museums and commemoration activities reflecting the Jointet, Orentlicher and Van Boven-Bassiouni Principles such as Diane Orentlicher's 'Duty to preserve memory' and Jointet's 'right to know'. As Shaheed explains, "the right to know is defined not only as the right of individual victims or close relatives to know what happened" (Shaheed, 2014); it is also, "a collective right, drawing upon history to prevent violations from returning in the future" (E/CN.4/2005/102/Add.1, 2005), reflected in Theo van Boven's principle, the Right to Reparation to Victims of Gross Violations of Human Rights. These were principles that were eventually adopted by the General Assembly in resolution 60/147.[11]

Shaheed's report explains that "the United Nations have yet to undertake a global study to examine memorial practices in the light of these principles;" however, there have been some reports from countries such as the Democratic Republic of Congo, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Morocco that mention memorialization and social cohesion. In the Democratic Republic of Congo an Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) report stated "the need to preserve the memory of the violations and, examining concrete examples, points out the danger of memorialization inciting revenge" (Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, 2010). A report of the Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances on its mission to Bosnia and Herzegovina concluded that the issue of memorials had caused much controversy and unhappiness in the country (Shaheed, 2014), whilst the HRC Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances working in Morocco recemented the conversion of former detention centres into memorials, "The Commission has recommended, in particular, that former illegal detention centres, including Tazmamart, Agdez and Derb Moulay Cherif in Casablanca, should be converted to other uses" (A/HRC/13/31/Add.1, 2010).

Despite these reports' findings and the growing body of literature with regards to memorialisation and reconciliation, there is still an overwhelming preconceived notion that the state, government or international community can provide a collaborative effort to interpret, narrate and express a past conflict using a cosmopolitan mode of remembrance, without considering the local 'terror' of memory and its socio-political implications, the victim against the perpetrator dynamics, and the positivity behind memories of violence, which are essential considerations in post-conflict countries like Iraq.


Site damaged by shelling, West Mosul, December 2018.

10  For many scholars such as Mouffe (2005,2013), Cazdyn and Szeman (2013) the 'Cosmopolitan mode' of discourse argues for, "solutions built upon transnational institutions and universal rights, ignores real and legitimate differences of social and political interests and leaves vital political questions unanswered for populist nationalists, racists and fundamentalists to seize upon." (Mouffe 2005).

11  "Louis Joinet, the former Special Rapporteur of the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, listed a Set of Principles for the protection and promotion of human rights through actions to combat impunity, focused on four pillars of transitional justice: the rights to know, to justice and to reparation and guarantees of non-recurrence" (E/CN.4/Sub.2/1997/20/Rev.1) (Shaheed, 2014).

# MEMORIALIZATION IN IRAQ

## QUICK READ

In the past, post-conflict memorialization in Iraq was been dominated by state-promoted expressions of unity and defiance. These symbolic political statements reinforce state power and glorify an authoritarian version of past conflicts. This mode of remembrance is called "antagonistic" and privileges emotions to provide a sense of belonging. However, it failed to consider alternative voices, leaving little space for remembering other events or acknowledging diversity. Examples of this period in Iraq are The Hands of Victory Monument, The Martyr's Monument- al Shaheed and Tomb of The Unknown Soldier.

After the Baathist Party was ousted from power in 2003, international support was provided to develop a more cosmopolitan approach to memorialization championing the promotion of "unity" in a fragmented country. However, there is still room to address the social and political differences at the local level, and include important political questions unanswered.

With the defeat of ISIL, memorialization and the management of post-conflict memories is complex. The government and international peacebuilding organisations consider this period as an opportunity to unite the nation as a 'New Iraq' underpinned by a sense of collective suffering. The UN and the Iraqi government have plans to rebuild culturally significant sites as part of ambitious urban redevelopment plans. However, at the local level, communities struggle to deal with entangled post-conflict emotions and post-conflict memory. Therefore, memorialization is a potentially dangerous process that could have drawbacks such as loss of property, detention or even death. For example, memory is an obstacle to the return and future social cohesion of many IDPs. For other citizens, memory is a vehicle for revenge or a way to distance themselves from ISIL and reinforce their status as victims.

A number of initiatives driven by the diaspora and activists suggest recognising wrongdoing and suffering, but these are based on "us versus them" dynamics that polarize the victim and perpetrators and deepens feelings of blame. Recently, with the participation of young activists such as Rasha Al Aqeedi, who is calling for a more sophisticated perspective of the memories of the past, there is an encouraging opportunity to change Iraq's antagonistic approach to memory.

The recognition of tragic events in Iraq, during or following its many conflicts, involves memorialization in familiar forms, from museums and monuments to public art and the mobilization of collective memories, in an attempt to convey messages of peace, recognition, reconciliation and social cohesion.

However, equally familiar is the presence of a post-conflict pathology of negative memorialization, such as the fabrication of victimhood and memory manipulation, which encourages a thirst for revenge and sacrifice. The political, educational and representational challenges are therefore significant. In general, the practice of conflict memorialization in Iraq has two distinct periods, with a third just starting. The first is the 'top-down' governmental processes of memorialization before the conflict in 2003. Prior to the United States-led invasion of Iraq and the ousting of its ruling party, Saddam Hussein's Baathists government, like many others, used "monumentalism" to promote a glorified, nostalgic but authoritarian version of past conflicts, whilst encouraging the divisive interpretation of warring characters as either good or evil. This pre-2003 process of memorialization is often described as an antagonistic mode of remembrance, which privileges emotions to cement a strong sense of belonging to a particular community, focusing on the suffering inflicted by the 'evil' enemies upon that same community. While these types of memorialization processes mark the recognition of victims and the will to ensure reparation for the loss of life, they also suggest a type of memorial oppression which doesn't take into consideration alternative voices, leaving little space for the remembrance of other events or the relations between the country's diverse ethno-religious composition.

Damaged building at Mosul University, East Mosul, December 2018.

There are several pertinent examples of this antagonistic mode of remembrance built during Saddam Hussein's rule. Modes of remembrance were monumental expressions of nationhood, underpinned by an 'us versus them' attitude to conflict, to glorify the actions of the Iraqi soldiers and reflect the population's suffering at the hands of an evil adversary.

The Hands of Victory, Swords of Qadisiyah Unity monument was built to commemorate 'victory' in the Iran-Iraq war (1980–1988), even though construction was said to have started two years before the war ended. Each immense sword is fabricated from metal smelted from the ordnance gathered from fallen Iraqi soldiers (approximately 140 meters long and weighing 24 tons). The swords are gripped by a replica of Saddam Hussein's hands, authenticated by the ruler's own enlarged thumb-print. At the base of each hand, tumbling under great stone nets, are the helmets of dead Iranian soldiers, many of them damaged during battle.

The Martyr's Monument - al Shaheed and the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier are two other examples of post-conflict memorialisation for this period. The Martyr's Monument is a huge split dome structure, built in the 1980s to commemorate Iraqi soldiers who died in the war with Iran. The monument is a source of great pride. Many of the Iraqi citizens have fond memories of school trips and family outings to this monument, which incorporates a museum, library, cafeteria, lecture hall and exhibition gallery underneath the blue domes.

Finally, the Tomb of The Unknown Soldier is another memorial to the war with Iran. The structure uses nostalgic and religious symbolism in the shape of a Diraa (Traditional Shield) released from the dying grip of an Iraqi warrior under which a large seven-layered steel and red acrylic structure has been designed to symbolise the seven layers of heaven and the blood of the fallen Iraqi soldiers.

All three examples can be read as a triptych set of celebratory, glorying or nostalgic narratives that privileges emotions in order to reinforce a strong sense of belonging to a particular community.

The second significant period of memorialisation came after the conflict in 2003, with Iraq's approach to memorialisation reflecting the political, ethnic and religious turmoil that divides the country to date. Since 2003, Iraq has struggled to fill the void left after the removal of the Baathists government. According to the UNDP project document "Support to Integrated Reconciliation in Iraq 2017–2019" there have been at least three major national reconciliation programmes. The Arab League attempted a mediation programme after the conflict in 2003, the Al-Maliki government proposed a "Reconciliation and National Dialogue Plan" in 2006 and there was a third process associated with the current Prime Minister Al-Abadi. Reconciliation programmes have struggled to assimilate and legitimate processes of memorialization and reconciliatory efforts.


Graffiti reading "receipt of (sattelite) dishes", West-Mosul, December 2018.

Prior to the war with ISIL, there had been several attempts to recognise and represent the atrocities perpetrated by Saddam Hussain's government. An example of this is the controversial monument of Halabja Martyrs, a structure built in 2003. It represents a new direction, an engagement with the so-called international mode of remembrance, one which has been favoured by western society since the 1980s, a mode of remembrance that promotes the values of a liberal democracy.

The monument attracted international media attention. It was seen to be an important step to reconciliation. The new building was received by local celebratory crowds and the then United States' then Secretary of State, Colin Powell, attended the opening. This monument can be read as the first step towards memorialization that leans towards a more cosmopolitan mode of remembrance, designed to recognise and remember the thousands of people who were killed during gas attacks in 1988. The monument was a useful political tool to help reinforce the notion of creating social solutions built upon transnational collaboration and universal rights. However, the building was conceived and constructed without addressing the legitimate differences of social and political interests at the local level, thus leaving important political questions unanswered. As a result, in 2006, nearby residents dissatisfied with the local government for spending millions on the monument whilst their village lay in ruins, decided to show their frustrations on the anniversary of the atrocity. What began as a relatively peaceful protest soon escalated with thousands of locals joining the protest, leaving one protestor dead and eventually the thirty-six-month-old Halabja Monument a burnt-out ruin. The monument has been rebuilt and continues to acknowledge the thousands killed in the chemical attacks on 16 March 1998.

Post ISIL, memorialization in Iraq is seeing a quiet resurgence with international organisations such as UNDP, UNESCO and UN-Habitat getting involved in planning the large-scale urban reconstruction projects. On 6 January 2019 the initial planning framework for the reconstruction of Mosul, prepared by UN-Habitat and UNESCO, was presented. The planning features several top-down internationally driven and funded projects linked to memorialization, such as the reconstruction of Al Nuri Mosque.

> Despite these impressive international ambitions of reconstruction, it would be recommendable to give more consideration to the places and spaces imbued with memories of violence from a local perspective.

From the local standpoint, digital and tangible initiatives are growing organically from local communities eager to recognise their fellow citizens' suffering and to balance a top-down antagonistic narrative of suffering. However, this is a risky activity as any public acknowledgment or recall of memory automatically becomes dangerously political and exposes people's affiliation and role in the conflict.

For many, memories of conflict are another obstacle that prevents them from returning home safely. For others, memories are a way to consolidate their grieving status and distance themselves from any risk of ISIL affiliation and subsequent reprisal.

However, Iraq is bravely attempting to address the atrocities that its communities have suffered over the many years of conflict. There is a growing diverse expression of remembrance through performance, art, museums, monuments, sites of mourning, literature and marches.[12]

Although these are mainly typical modes of remembrance and their narratives continue to pit good against evil in a context of social-political struggle, there are a few interesting cases, agonistic in their approach, which explore the testimonies of perpetrators and victims as well as witnesses and bystanders. These modes of remembrance attempt to reconstruct the historical context, socio-political struggles and individual/collective narratives that led to mass crimes in the first place.[13]

However, these established modes of remembrance, despite their merits and good intentions, and because of their weaknesses and political agendas, struggle to support and acknowledge the memories at a local level. It is at this level that entangled emotions and memories are an everyday factor of life within fragile post-conflict communities, where violent intentions fester and evolve quickly, often sparked or amplified by the unacknowledged or manipulated memories of conflict from a local perspective. The local level hosts the places where a primary mode of remembrance is required, as an everyday mode of remembrance underpinned by an agnostic approach of representation. This remembrance can provide an essential platform for reconciliation in civil conflicts and support the broader reaching modes of remembrance related to nation-building exercises of making sense of the conflict and its impact.

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12  For further reference to the memorialization context in Iraq please refer to appendix 1.

13  The theory relating to the above section is expressed fully in the Theory section of the report.

What is required is a primary mode of remembrance that acknowledges that, 'all memories originate in some place or space.' As such, the built environment should be a contributing factor and requires particular attention. For Koopman and Megoran, "[a]lmost all processes including war-making and peace-making take place somewhere, in a specific local setting" (Koopman2011; Megorn, 2011).

Without understanding and acknowledging the complexities of memory and emotions at the local level, peacebuilding will always be precariously positioned and vulnerable to exploitation by others intent on disrupting peace. Annika and Kappler refer to Richmond and McGinty as an example of this instability as they argue that, "[c]ontemporary peacebuilding missions profess to bring about 'peace', but what exactly constitutes peace is seldom apparent to the people on the ground. Where peace will take place is hence not always obvious, and not always does peace materialise in peoples' everyday" (Annika, Kappler 2017).

Peacebuilding has therefore overlooked the importance and the construction of the everyday memories.

An example where this seems to be the case is Mosul, a city still reeling from the effects of many years of violence where NGOs, tIOM, UN-Habitat, UNDP, UNESCO and many others are engaged in peacebuilding programmes. In some cases, these initiatives, despite their best intentions, provide services and support within buildings and neighbourhoods that have unrecognised memories of trauma and persecution. During the research, it was found that schools are used to facilitate peacebuilding exercises, but these schools, unbeknown to the organisations, were used by ISIL for torture and murder.

Some peacebuilding organisations fund the revitalisation of community buildings, painting and repairing them, so that they can be used once again. This is a debatable practice considering that one of these buildings (another local school) was the place where local police were gathered and shot by ISIL. The building is now freshly painted and has reopened as a school, with no effort to address the local memories and impact that these buildings have had and will continue to have on the community's many generations as they go about their daily lives. Even if an organisation selected a building that has no associated local memory of violence little consideration is given to the fact that local residents will walk past several traumatic sites imbued with local memories of violence on their way to and from the peacebuilding programmes offered there. In the case of Mosul, an example of such places is the infamous government insurance building where ISIL would throw people off the roof, or the wall of the local Pepsi factory, where many women and children sheltered from the attacks but were shot to death by ISIL snipers. There is also the local sports centre, used as a car-bomb factory, or smaller sites such as the marks and symbols that ISIL left on building facades, bridges and signage.

These unacknowledged memories often render these peacebuilding processes superficial and at best a distraction from the community's undisclosed sense of place and suffering. These memories require a concerted effort so they are addressed and acknowledged.

Destroyed site, West-Mosul, December 2018.

# CASE STUDIES

The following sites have been selected for investigation after interviews with IOM staff, local NGOs, activists and community members. These sites surfaced as socially impactful places and spaces imbued with memories of violence; they play an important role in the local narrative of conflict and trauma. Therefore, they were chosen to help gain purchase on an aspect of post-conflict memorialization that has received little attention in Iraq so far.

IOM field staff facilitated the access and investigation of these sites. They explained the local neighbourhood's context and were a crucial conduit between the researcher, the local community and the various narratives of violence associated with the buildings.

These sites and their investigation underpin the primary evidence that informs the report's findings and subsequent recommendations. The sites represent a triangulation of narrative and experience from Mosul, IDP camps and Telafar. Although Telafar has not been investigated as thoroughly, it is important to include the city's comparable relationship with memories of violence.

There are many other sites of cultural significance in Iraq, places and spaces that host local memories of violence and require investigation, acknowledgment and recognition in the future.

The sites investigated are:

# MOSUL CITY

# AL ZINJILY, PEPSI FACTORY WALL ATROCITY

## NARRATIVE

Whilst appreciating that the region has suffered from a great deal of turmoil and conflict in the past, the contemporary layers of memory relating to the violence in Mosul originate in the persecution and violence attributed to the Baathist reign of Saddam Hussein;

- The traumatic events of 2003 to remove him from power;
- The aggressive competition for control that resulted from the power vacuum that followed the invasion;
- The rise of ISIL and the destruction and violence that followed;
- The violence used to remove ISIL and the subsequent violence of reprisals.

## IMPACT

Physically, the city has suffered significant damage, especially in the Old City where warfare techniques changed from the street-to-street warfare in east Mosul, to a strategy of artillery bombing and air strikes from the surrounding perimeter of Iraqi and coalition forces.

Years on, much of the city still lies in ruin and disrepair. The city's conditions are a stark reflection of how Mosul seems to have become socially synonymous with the divisions, guilt and ethnic upheaval that much of the country's population are at odds with.



**FIGURE 4. Built-up area of the Old City before the conflict - 2017**
(UN-Habitat, adapted from field survey by SGI, 2008)

**FIGURE 5. Built-up area of the Old City after the conflict - 2018**
Buildings that are severely damaged/completely destroyed are marked as open space as it is likely that these structures need to be cleared (UNOSAT/ UN-Habitat/ UNESCO/ Iconem, 7cm drone imagery 2018).

United Nations graphic indicating the destruction of the Old City, Mosul in the report: by UNESCO and UN-Habitat published on January 6th, 2019.

## NARRATIVE

On 1 June 2017, 85 women and children were killed by ISIL sniper fire as they tried to escape the conflict. The bodies lay in a heap, dead or dying as ISIL pinned them down by firing from the top floor or roof of the local hospital building.

## IMPACT

The impact of this building is far reaching. All community members interviewed in Mosul, Telafar, Erbil and in two IDP camps (Hasan Sham and Hajj Ali) have heard of this place and the atrocity that took place there.

An important aspect of this site and the memories it evokes is that most people who referred to the atrocity highlighted the event's immorality, in that those murdered were exclusively women and children.

After some investigation and the translation of the memorial painted on the wall where the victims were shot, it became apparent that there were 84 victims, mainly male (63 men and 21 women). This, of course does not diminish the trauma of the atrocity. It does, however, suggest that the memory and meaning of this horrific event has been manipulated or reinterpreted to amplify the immorality of ISIL and those affiliated to the group.

Despite the wider social political implications, this narrative may be used as a method to amplify feelings of revenge, fear, hate and division. That said, on the local level the atrocity has stimulated a response from the neighbourhood. The community has acknowledged this atrocity by painting the wall at the location where the victims lay. They have written the names of each victim under the heading "Names of the Martyrs of the Massacre of the Pepsi Factory."

The local community has also created a football club on the barren land adjacent to the site, in honour of the victims. The ground is called "The Martyrs of Al Zinjily? Stadium". This could be a significant gesture of social integration in recognition of the suffering their community has suffered. Further investigation would be required to ascertain the underlying reasons and effects of this neighbourhood initiative.[14]

14 For further images of the site please refer the appendix

# AL TAAMEEN, AN INSURANCE BUILDING

*Insurance Building, Al Gumhorya Street, Al Taameen, Old City, Mosul, Ninewa Governorate, Iraq.*

## NARRATIVE

The insurance building was used by ISIL as a daunting tool for punishment and control. ISIL would allegedly throw their captives from the top of this centrally located and highly visible building as punishment for what was considered by ISIL as a crime by the group whcih varied from homosexuality to disloyalty. These killings were witnessed by the local community, who further explained that if the victim had not been killed by the fall, ISIL would drop a concrete block on their head.

## IMPACT

The building and its associated method of punishment is not uncommon. In the research leading to this report, it was found that several high buildings, from bridges, silos, hospitals and municipal buildings in and around the cities of Telafar and Mosul were used to perpetrate this type of killing.

However, the insurance building has gained greater national and international notoriety due to film footage recording some of ISIL's killings perpetrated from its roof or upper floors. The building has also allegedly been the location of revenge punishments by the opposition during the retaking of Mosul. Reports of Iraqi armed forces throwing ISIL fighters from the building have been noted. Despite the reports and footage in the media of such retaliatory killings, no evidence has been ascertained and further investigation would be required to corroborate this claim.

This building has had an important ruthless impact on the communities in and around the building during ISIL rule, promoting the inhumanity and brutality of ISIL further afield. For many, it is a feared symbol of oppression and control under ISIL, yet for others such as the people in local IDP camps, it represents part of a divisive narrative that amplifies social mistrust and hinders their return.

In other words, it is a building that echoes various interpretations of the conflict and represents the entanglement of post-conflict emotions and interpretations that are not always negative. For example, for some, the building is a positive reminder that ISIL is no longer here. "I feel relieved when I see this building," explains a local resident; "it reminds me that they have gone". This is a positive and resilient approach further reiterated by a recent concert, conceived and conducted by Maestro Karim Wasfi, held in front of the building and supported by both USAID and the Qintara cultural café.[15] In an interview by The Middle East Center for Reporting and Analysis (MECRA) research blog, Ali al Baroodi, a Mosul University professor and photographer, suggests that despite the current plans to demolish the building,

> "[it]should be kept, it was the highest building in Mosul, it was designed by Rifat Chaderchi, and it witnessed one of the Iraq's most brutal crimes in recent and contemporary history." Baroodi adds that it should reused as "a museum to document crimes of ISIL against Nineveh".

However, like all features of public memory, this building and its notoriety has become politically and socially significant. Despite the positive associations, the majority tend to indicate that it has become a negative symbol of cruelty and a method to help dehumanise ISIL and those affiliated to the group, whilst reinforcing victimhood and social suspicion.

The building has been earmarked for demolition, seemingly not because of the memories it represents, but because of the structural integrity of the building. This may be a positive thing; however, the memories of the building will live on, and without the structure and context contained within its walls, there is a real risk that these memories will grow and evolve to become more adversarial and more difficult to address for the current and future generations.

As a result, this building has become an actor in the theatre of the ISIL conflict and subsequently has an undefined role to play in peacetime. If its peacebuilding role is not addressed, the building seems to be vulnerable to interpretation and its meaning could be manipulated to suit the conflicting political and social narratives vying for influence in Iraq. The building has been adopted by citizens on a local level who wish to reiterate their fear or reticence of processes that promote social reintegration.

Others have used the building to suggest that one side is no better than the other and that the brutal way in which the war was waged against the west of Mosul was a greater tragedy.

Regardless of the narratives surrounding this structure and the killings it witnessed, it is important that this building is recognised and the violence that was perpetrated there be accurately and impartially acknowledged.



The damaged insurance building, West-Mosul, December 2018.

15  For the full article please refer to: https://www.mideastcenter.org/research-blog/music-in-mosul-a-concert-shows-that-art-can-triumph-over-the-rubble-and-ashes-left-behind-by-isis

# AL SHAAREEN, A CHURCH

*Christian Church (Al Husba Prison), Al Shaareen,*
*Old City, Mosul, Ninewa Governorate, Iraq.*

## IMPACT

A relatively unknown building imbued with memories of violence, unlike the 'Insurance Building', 'Pepsi Factory wall' and 'Sinkhole,' this place was not widely known and was only revealed during this research. In some respects, this building has little impact outside its area. On the other hand, it is hugely significant as it has reinforced the nature and impact of Al Husba, which cannot be underestimated when considering the suffering of local communities. These Al Husba spaces and places were feared and avoided, shrouded in stories of menace and evil for most of the community under the rule of ISIL. Whereas for those who were affiliated to ISIL, these were valid methods of control and a means by which to edify and consolidate their interpretation of the law imposed during the ISIL's rule. The majority, however, saw these buildings as horrific spaces of detention and punishment.

It is interesting to note that this site also amplifies a secular and religious intolerance as well as the reinforcement of a particular aspect of Islamic law. ISIL reinforced this law through the fear and foreboding that buildings like this one instilled in a community. Fear is an emotion that the community still feels and resonates when explaining this place to others.

This emotion is exacerbated by this building's capacity for incarceration. The building was larger and more robust than others. As a result, it became a prison as well. People who were held there were often kept in captivity for weeks, months or even years. Reportedly many were never told for how long they would be confined, or whether they would perish at the end of the incarceration period. Often, families were not notified of their relatives' imprisonment or of the reasons behind it.

The site had a practical use, too. It housed local satellite dishes and other confiscated items of communication. Therefore, this space seems to be the place where many aspects of self-determination were decided and enforced.

The place has become, as some local community members suggest, 'the cemetery of ISIL' meaning that it holds the unburied corpses of ISIL fighters amongst its rubble. The researcher cannot determine how many or which parts were human remains, mainly because of the time elapsed and body decay. Suffice to say, some parts were clad in recognisable aspects of clothing.[16]



The interior of Al Shaareen church, West Mosul, December 2018.

## NARRATIVE

A defiled Christian Church used as a prison and court of the Al Husba, an ISIL reiteration of an Islamic religious police force. The building was part of an Al Husba network of spaces, places, vehicles and informants, where citizens were brought by the Amnia (a special-forces wing of the ISIL regime) at the request of Al Husba.

Citizens often had to retrieve their confiscated ID and receive any punishment deemed fit for breaching the ISIL interpretation of Islamic Law imposed by the groups. To retrieve their confiscated ID and receive any punishment deemed fit for breaching the ISIL interpretation of Islamic law imposed by the group.

Punishment could range from imprisonment to beheadings, amputations and flogging, public humiliation or a mark against an individual and his family, depending on the offense committed. These offenses could range from owning a mobile phone sim card, inappropriate length of trousers (for men), too much of the hand revealed (for women) to spying and attempting to run away.

16  *For further images of the site please refer the appendix*

# HAMAM AL-ALIEL, KHASFA SINKHOLE

*Entrance to the sinkhole, Mosul, Ninewa Governorate, Iraq.*

## NARRATIVE

The Khasfa Sinkhole is a renowned natural feature in the rural area south of Mosul. This sinkhole is sometimes referred to as a deep well as ISIL would dump the bodies of their victims there. Many of their victims would be transported to the location alive (it is reportedly easier to transport the living).

ISIL would line up their captives at the edge of the hole and killed them by a variety of means. According to locals from the nearby village, many were mortally injured, and left in the hole to die. Others were given the chance to run or decide the nature of their fate. There are reportedly 4,000 to 5,000 bodies in the sinkhole, still to be recovered and returned to their families.

This is not an easy operation and according to the officer in charge of the site's security,

> There are many IEDs and people (journalists and locals) have lost their lives trying to access the site.

## IMPACT

The impact of this site cannot be underestimated. Although there are reports of other sinkhole sites – according the local people from Telafar now living in Hasan Sham IDP Camp, there is a similar feature in the rural area outside the city of Telafar – Khasfa Sinkhole is by far the better known and has been the subject of a report on 'Mass Graves' in Iraq by UNAMI in 2018. The sinkhole is slightly different from the other sites visited in that it is not an urban site and residents don't go past it daily.

That aside, it is part of the city's post conflict everyday narrative. It is prominent in the feelings and memories of many people in the post-conflict communities; because what happened there is yet unresolved, the trauma suffered by the victims' families is perpetuated, as they speculate and hope that their missing family members are not there. However, there is also the need for closure and the chance to grieve for their relatives' deaths and to move on, thus addressing the perpetual nature of their suffering.

The Hamam Al-Aliel, Khasfa Sinkhole is similar in nature to the other sites studied for this report. It has a large and diverse social and political influence on the local communities and the IDPs, underpinning feelings of hatred, revenge, fear and distrust. The site has also become a vehicle to communicate the nature of ISIL and the suffering they have inflicted, which compounds and complicates the growing suspicion towards those community members who are thought to be ISIL affiliated or families with perceived affiliation living in IDP camps. This is a dangerous process of scapegoating that could quickly develop into more violence. This site lays, unresolved and vulnerable to re-interpretation and embellishment to suit a certain social political agenda. It represents a horrific feature of ISIL's occupation and requires sensitive action to document and identify victims before returning them to their relatives and to acknowledge the atrocities that took place there.

Therefore, the Hamam Al-Aliel, Khasfa Sinkhole is an everyday feature of post-conflict narrative within communities that requires acknowledgment and recognition so that it is fully understood and addressed during any peacebuilding memorialization processes which currently appears to be top down and cosmopolitan in nature and could overlook these significant aspects of social healing.[17]

Wall site at the Pepsi Factory with remaining shoes and bullet holes, December 2018.

17  For further images of the site please refer the appendix

# WADI HAJAR, SHAT AL-ARAB SCHOOL

*Shat Al-Arab School, Wadi Hajar, Mosul, Ninewa Governorate, Iraq.*

## NARRATIVE

The Shat Al-Arab primary school in the district of Wadi Hajar, Mosul is the

location where ISIL conducted local meetings and circulated their policy

and propaganda locally.

It is also the place, according to local communities and the school teachers, where the local police and other government officials were gathered and shot, (although the date and number of victims of this mass shooting was not established in this report and requires further investigation).

The school was then converted to an ISIL-led school where primary school children were taught the curriculum as designed by ISIL. According to those interviewed during this study, *"the children were being brainwashed into an ISIL way of thinking"*.

## IMPACT

The site is now repainted and the ISIL literature and symbols (including children's textbooks, flags and general administration documents) were destroyed by staff. The community (teachers and community members) explain that the "memories are still everywhere." The children have come back to school, it is newly painted but there are still memories of another curriculum and of the violence suffered and observed by the local community.

This site represents a complicated condition where past and present are dislocated and poorly represented. The new paint attempts to mask the former nature of the school and the activities that happened there. Without an attempt to acknowledge the atrocity that took place there and to allow the families and community to recognise the violence that took place, the memories are in danger of becoming confused and prone to manipulation and change through suggestion.

For the children, this place has the potential to confuse them and hinder the development of a healthy sense of self and belonging as they grow and learn in a space used by ISIL in the past to educate, punish and murder their community members.

The paint and new curriculum seem a superficial attempt to reconcile the past in a place that is hugely significant to the local community. The school is a place where parents take their children every day, leaving them in a location that was used to torture and kill the local police and government personnel.

This site has a particular impact on the young generation that will inevitably become the generation in power in the future. It has social implications wider afield with regards to the grieving families who may pass by the building daily or even take their children there for their education.

Such site would benefit from a method or approach to acknowledge and recognise the suffering that occurred. The method of remembrance should be able to contextualise and give a tangible marker to help give clarity and lift these horrific memories of violence, into the light and out of the haunting and murky darkness of obligatory amnesia.

Partly destroyed site, West-Mosul, September 2018.

# AL GABAT STREET

*Al Gabat Street (Forest Street), Mosul, Ninewa Governorate, Iraq.*

## IMPACT

This site is the location of a different type of violence experienced in Mosul during the rule of ISIL – a structural or cultural violence that relates to the ways in which the authoritarian social structure harms or otherwise disadvantages individuals.

This type of violence is often overlooked initially, due to the palpable nature of the other sites in an urban context related to direct or physical violence. However, this site has a subtle and impactful nature on the social dynamics of young men in this city and merits attention when addressing memories of violence in this post-conflict community.

This street is an everyday reminder of ISIL's occupation and its intolerance of routine or culture that isn't Islamic, as interpreted by ISIL, and is an example of social control and the fractured and wary nature of the community.

The memories of violence resonate in the street and dominate social interactions. However, these memories are purposely avoided, perhaps due to social fatigue caused by a subject that takes more energy to avoid than to discuss, or due to the context in which the memories exist. Mosul has a fragile context made of ethnically diverse communities riddled with post-conflict emotional entanglements that are still unresolved, and where experiences and deeper details revealed in conversation are still incredibly dangerous for many.

## NARRATIVE

Al Gabat Street is the favourite evening spot for young men in Mosul. Before ISIL, it was the place to meet friends, drink tea and smoke. During ISIL, the area was still used by youth, except that smoking was forbidden, a public dress code enforced, and beards were to be grown. According to the young men who used this area, it was a place to wait for change with friends.

Whispered gossip and guarded chat replaced the easy-going banter and hijinks of youth. The street was patrolled by Al-Husba and ISIL informants who would tell the authorities of misdemeanours carried out by their community members. After ISIL, this place is enjoyed again, beards are shaved, cigarettes lit, and dress code relaxed. However, it's a place where noticeably no one talks of the past ISIL control.

This subject, for many, is risky and tiresome, seemingly loaded with meaning and social political implications. It is better to talk of everything except ISIL, although everything is tainted by the group's involvement in the location. The topics are resilient in nature, where to find a job, reconnecting with university studies, leaving Iraq for a new life in a safer country and supporting family and friends as they rebuild homes and look to starting families of their own.



Boy at destroyed building, West-Mosul, December 2018

# AL HADBAA, INTERNATIONAL ISIL FIGHTERS' RESIDENCE

*An international ISIL fighters' residence during ISIL's reign in Al Hadbaa district, Mosul, Ninewa Governorate, Iraq.*

## NARRATIVE

During ISIL's control, internationals who joined the fight received many privileges in Mosul. They were given cars, houses, money and women. Local community members affiliated to ISIL would be selected to support these fighters. They would shop for them and care for them if they required medical attention.

This house was given to a senior international fighter who came from Russia; he became the ISIL financier in the location and was responsible for paying fellow combatants and local members of ISIL. The international fighters were highly feared during ISIL's occupation, many of them dealt out punishment to whomever and whenever they saw fit. They were unpredictable and excessively cruel according to local community members. These houses were feared by association and are vivid aspects of frequent memories of everyday life under ISIL control.

## IMPACT

These sites of residence have an unusual impact on communities. The majority are in upper-class residential areas, where many are now in the hands of their former owners. The owners (in the case of the house in the image at left) are extremely wary and wish to conceal any affiliation the house may have had with ISIL, and are angered by any attention the building receives from passers-by or outsiders. These houses, however, are part of a network of places and spaces in the city that is imbued with memories of violence. These are places where the feared and hated international fighters would reside, socialise, and receive their trappings of wartime privilege and status. These are houses that are located, in and amongst the more privileged residences of Mosul, a social political narrative ostensibly unexplored, untold, unwelcome and yet seemingly not overlooked or forgotten within the larger community. Note: During conversations with local community members, it became apparent that there is a growing narrative of social privileges and ISIL affiliations, suggesting that a few of the ISIL-affiliated community members with status and/or wealth, have returned without much fuss or reproach, whilst those with no one reputable to vouch for them or who have little social status or wealth are being held in camps, becoming more marginalised and despised for their similar affiliations. The report suggests that this situation is a slow burning social narrative that could have implications in future social cohesion activities and therefore merits recognition in this report.

Faces painted out at a shop in accordance with ISIL decree, West Mosul, December 2018.

*Al Nuri Mosque, West Mosul, Ninewa Governorate, Iraq.*

# FROM AL NURI MOSQUE TO THE TIGRIS RIVER, RECONSTRUCTION OF MOSUL

## NARRATIVE

Important everyday buildings imbued with memories of violence. Places and spaces that have a routine and fundamental impact on any plans to rebuild fractured communities and supporting a sustainable social cohesion could be integrated into strategies for Mosul's post-conflict reconstruction by agencies as UNESCO, UNAMI and UN-Habitat.

There is a fabric of socio-political memories that are related to violence and conflict, a fabric within which the reconstruction of major buildings with cultural significance and other technocratic ambitions of reconstruction are integrated.

The past experiences in the Balkans, South Africa and Northern Ireland would suggest that any approach which believes that reconstruction brings about reconciliation can seriously undermine the legitimacy and therefore the sustainability of a project, unless this fabric of memory is reconsidered.
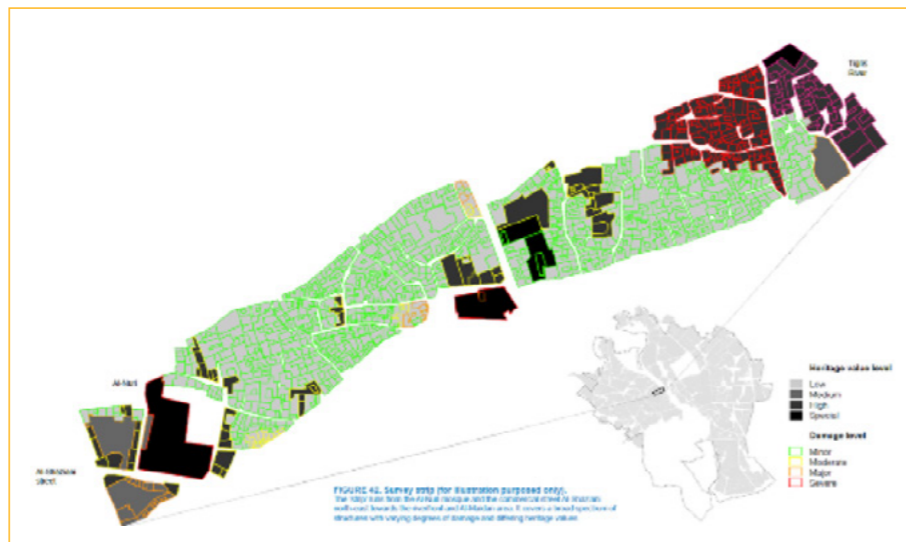


United Nations graphic from a report by UNESCO and UN-Habitat published on January 6th, 2019.

## IMPACT

Several walks with local residents between the buildings identified by UN organisations for attention as an approach to 'reconstruct and revive' Mosul, have revealed an additional category of important places and spaces from a local perspective. These places are imbued with memories of violence and are of equal if not more peacebuilding significance in the area.

The 98-page project report by UNESCO and UN-Habitat published on 6 January 2019,[18] provides a robust and detailed approach that aims to "define, recovery priorities and deliver a comprehensive reconstruction and planning approach for greater Mosul, with special attention to the Old City. It aims to provide concrete actions for the revival of entire Mosul, supported by desk research, fieldwork, and data."

Although the report does not directly mention memory, memorialization, social cohesion, trauma at any point or in any context, it does state that,

"As social and political pressure for the swift reconstruction of the Old City complicates the preservation of the historical buildings and characteristics of the Old City, there is an increasing need to raise awareness of the historic value of the Old City of Mosul, which has been nominated as a UNESCO World Heritage Site."

> A major potential for preserving historical elements lies in empowering reconstruction actors – in particular local residents, landlords, and religious endowments – *to take responsibility for the sensible reconstruction of the Old City to recover their sense of identity and belonging, and to engage in a constructive dialogue about their common past and shared values.* In order to do that, residents need to be facilitated with the means and provided with the skills and tools to contribute individually and collectively to the reconstruction activities.

Based on the analysis in this report, it would be recommendable to include everyday aspects of reconciliation in above narratives. As alternative to the focus on (international) interpretations of cultural significance, this report shows the importance to consider buildings which have social significance on a local level.



Cleared street leading to Al Nuri Mosque, December 2018.

18  *The Initial Planning Framework for the Reconstruction of Mosul project, which was carried out under the supervision of the Deputy Special Representative of the United, Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq (UNAMI), Yuko Otsuki, Head of UN-Habitat Iraq and Dr. Erfan Ali, Senior Human Settlements Officer, Regional Office for Arab States UN-Habitat.*

# SYMBOLS AND SIGNS

*Mosul & Telafar, Ninewa Governorate, Iraq.*

## NARRATIVE

Local people and their communities have mixed impressions on local signs and symbols of conflict or as graffiti. Despite the mixed responses, community members are obviously reminded of past violence when they see and read these signs and symbols – either consciously or subconsciously.

There are signs stating that "ISIL was killed here" written in green by the liberating forces and shown with apparent pride by members of the community. There are ISIL signs and symbols that identify buildings once owned by Christians or members of other faiths, areas which are off-limits, statements of faith and obedience, warnings and statements about whether streets are clear of technologies or communication devices.[19]

There are also symbols or signs that are subtler, such as faces on advertising boards, painted over by the store's owner, probably either in a gesture of compliance or by obligation from the local Husba. Whatever the reason or the origin there is evidence of signs and symbols everywhere in Mosul and Telafar, many of which are slowly disappearing under a coat of new paint.

## IMPACT

These signs and symbols, although not a 'place or a space' imbued with memories of violence directly, are a constant indirect reminder of the suffering and social divisions experienced in the cities. Therefore, they consciously or subconsciously reconstitute the locals' sense of place and identity, thus creating a built environment full of the local complexities of meaning and memory, which community members will continually process and can't help but allow to influence their daily feelings, emotions and temperament.

For a post-conflict community, sense of place has fundamentally changed. Many of these once familiar buildings that subtly reinforced a sense of place and belonging, now reflect traumatic meaning and represent a complicated and contrasting set of post-conflict emotions.

For those living in the post-conflict community, depending on their affiliation with the past violence, these signs and symbols will echo a very different meaning and hold a very different set of memories; they could be quietly feared and reviled by some, or respected, welcomed and even loved by others.

Site at the Pepsi factory massacre, with a sign reading "The Martyrs of Zenjely Stadium".

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19   *For further images of the site please refer the appendix*

# TELAFAR CITY

*Telafar, Ninewa Governorate, North Iraq.*

## NARRATIVE

Telafar city was one of the last ISIL-controlled cities to be retaken by Iraqi forces, on 27 August 2017. Since then, the city has seen the return by many of its residents displaced by the conflict. However, it still reels from years of conflict and division. According to inhabitants, many social spaces are contaminated with mines, some people are unaccounted for and the primary sites of cultural importance like the city's famous castle, the main marketplace and shrines have been mostly destroyed. Moreover, movement into and around the city is complicated by roadblocks, checkpoints, militia and the local airport's destruction.

It is important to note that the associated memories of violence, as in Mosul, were evidently well developed before ISIL gained control. When, like Mosul, Telafar suffered from imposed social control, this resulted in the city's fractious ethnic division, facilitated by checkpoints, access permits, and waist-height concrete barricades that separated the city's mainly Sunni and Shia communities. The old market, once a focal point for day-to-day social cohesion, became a place for anxiety and exclusion.

> It was dangerous to cross to the other side, even if it was to go to the hospital, it wasn't allowed.

Secondly, it is important to point out that many of the inhabitants now living in Telafar were not residing there during ISIL control; the communities and ethnic groups that were the focus of ISIL violence fled the city, their places and spaces of refuge in other parts of Iraq were imbued with memories of violence and therefore, had an additional abhorrent context. For example:

The road to Sinjar echoes memories of hunger, escape, vulnerability, panic and relief, a place where according to a report about communities in Telafar by a local NGO:

> Some mothers sold their children on this road, so that others survived.

Sinjar's Zid Zainam monument became a makeshift gathering place and refuge. Later some of the city's unfinished buildings were used to house the IDPs fleeing from ISIL in Telafar.

The Aski Kelek / Zalak checkpoint on the road into Kurdistan was closed to those communities from Telafar fleeing ISIL. Many scared and disorientated people waited two or three days before their access was finally refused by the Kurdistan Regional Government, a structural violence that meant tremendous suffering and trauma.

Returning to buildings where family members perished and were later found partially eaten by dogs and other animals, or recalling the local street lamps from which naked corpses hung upside-down for days after they had been raped. (Information provided by community members, people living in IDP camps and the author and founder of local NGO).

Many of those who remained and lived in Telafar under ISIL rule are now residing in IDP camps after fleeing from the city when it was still under ISIL control, or during the fighting that took place to retake the city. These community members spoke of buildings imbued with memories of violence similar in typology to those in Mosul. These sites were socially prominent places and spaces, such as the Anter Ali well (used by ISIL to dispose of their victim's bodies), a four-story hospital and city silos from which ISIL used to throw people as a method of punishment. These pseudo-judicial methods of punishment and warning were used primarily as a powerful means to terrorise, manipulate and ultimately control local communities. An important narrative that involves a place or space filled with memories of violence is in the city's old market (a site that requires further investigation), where according to local people living in Telafar at the time, they were forced to witness ISIL punishments. These would typically involve amputations, beheadings, floggings or beatings.

## IMPACT

The local returnee community members interviewed in the city appear to be less educated, more polarised and parochial and therefore more fragile than others in Mosul or in the camps with regards socio-political manipulation through narratives of ethnic victimisation.

Community members fear and resent the possible return of IDPs, remembering the context before ISIL and the conditions in which they had to flee. Returnees live within destroyed homes, shrines and community buildings. Every day, they are confronted with the remains and reminders of the loss and violence they have suffered and see no positives in the return of those they feel are affiliated to the perpetrators responsible for such misery.

Despite the damaging aspects of their experiences, positives surface. The community spoke of a small ISIL-built bridge that remains. "That's a good thing" remarked a group of men in an IOM resilience programme,

> It is useful, although it does remind us of ISIL and the reason why we had to flee.

The conflict has also changed gender norms. Members of a sewing course provided by IOM remarked that, *"women feel more inclined to open small businesses now"*. Their community has become more tolerant of women engaging in small business enterprise, partly due to necessity (many of the households now have a female head of household as men are missing, injured or have been killed during the conflict). However, as the head of the sewing class explained, *"it is also due to a softening of the returnee male's attitude to women's public roles"*. Another positive aspect of places and spaces filled with memories of violence comes from the assimilation processes of rebuilding homes and community together. Citizens remarked that, *"returning home was a very positive memory"*, and that *"growing fruits and vegetables in their yard again meant they were home once more"* – a small but important statement of ownership and resilience that has become infectious within the neighbourhoods.

A more troubling impact these places and spaces have is their apparent role in galvanising the returning community. They provide examples that reinforce the feeling that *"ISIL is gone, and the city isn't divided anymore"*. Such feelings might seem positive, yet a large part of the community is still to return from other countries, IDP camps and accommodation in neighbouring cities. Many of these people are from different ethno-religious groups, have a dissimilar set of complicated and traumatic experiences and feel fearful of returning. Many are embittered by the general assumptions that they are somehow responsible or complicit in the past events.

The spaces and places that have negative and violent connotations are, therefore a significant obstacle to returns and the city's sustainable social cohesion. Regardless of whether the city's castle is rebuilt, a museum inaugurated, and the airport reopened, it appears that these more ordinary places and spaces with extraordinary memories of violence, if unaddressed, will provide the friction for smouldering ethnic tensions below any newly reconstructed façade or official narrative of peace.

# SITES MENTIONED BY NINEWA IDPS IN HASAN SHAM AND HAJ ALI CAMPS

*Hasan Sham and Hajj Ali Camps, Northern Iraq.*

## NARRATIVE

During the meeting with camp staff and camp residents it became evident that there are significant places and spaces that are associated with memories of violence. All of those spoken to were aware of the examples mentioned, such as Mosul's insurance building, Pepsi wall, the Shat Al-Arab Primary School and the Hamam Al-Aliel Khasfa sinkhole; and explained that those kinds of buildings and instances of violence that occurred in them existed in their cities, too. They mentioned that in Telafar, for example, there was an unfinished 18-floor university building that was destroyed, and high buildings such as this one were used by ISIL to throw people off them, as punishment.

The dominant narrative of places and spaces imbued with violence has to do with sites smaller in scale, often in a rural context rather than an urban one. For example, during a meeting inside the camp-tent with a seven-member Turkman family from the Telafar area, from a village 15 km outside the city, the head of household told of a place in the village where his and many other villagers' punishments took place.

According to the head of household, he allegedly received 100 lashes by ISIL, with cables. The punishment took place in front of the village community. The man explained that, *"speaking about it made him feel better" …. and that "the area where the punishment took place in the village should be acknowledged somehow".*

In an interview with men from Telafar in Hasan Sham camp during a music session to help them deal with their situation and the memories of the past (the course is provided by IOM), the men spoke of a similar place in the main market area. People would congregate and witness punishments in that square – beheadings, amputations of limbs and beatings. This area in the market is well known and has been the site of much suffering.

During time spent in the camps, groups of camp women aged between 20 and 28 years, camp men ages between 16 and 40 years, and local and international staff were asked about places and spaces that were imbued with memories of violence. For many, this was a confusing narrative, as everywhere and everything could be associated with memories of violence, suffering, trauma and displacement – their homes, iconic city structures, bridges, checkpoints and even the camps where they are currently living. However, they did recognise that there were socially significant buildings that stood out and that were impactful from an everyday perspective. Places like the Pepsi factory wall and the sinkhole were indeed reminders of the horror and desperation they suffered.

There was also an uncomfortable relationship with some of these buildings and the narrative they conveyed. Some of the men in the camps were defensive of the activities that took place there, arguing that it was not criminal and that it was wartime. Others felt that these buildings and their memories would be used against them as a way to support ethnic mistrust and reasons for them to remain separated from the greater community.

## IMPACT

For some of the camp's inhabitants, their living conditions and security requirements in camps seem to perpetuate conflict conditions. For them, the camps and the living conditions in the camps are a tangible aspect of post-conflict memories in the making. Memories of ISIL and its brutal control seem amplified for those IDPs who are perceived as being affiliated to the group that oppressed them, in that they didn't try to escape or fight back.

Many in the camps were the direct victims of ISIL's violence and they hope to have the places and spaces of violence acknowledged and recognised regardless of their rural or urban context.

All of those interviewed during this research (inside and outside the camps) recognised the difficultly of the IDPs situation and the importance of acknowledging the places and spaces filled with socially recognisable memories of violence, not only from the perspective of who the victims and perpetrators were, but also in the context of why the actions took place.


Child at a camp for IDPs from Ninewa, September 2018.

# DEVELOPING A BALANCED HYBRID APPROACH TO PEACE-BUILDING AND MEMORY

## QUICK READ

To develop sustainable peacebuilding processes, the input, direction and financial support of international organisations, non-governmental organizations and governments should be combined to the local level's input, that is, contextual information, participation and ownership of the process. This is called a "hybrid" approach to peacebuilding, which generates dynamics that promote trust and confidence in how the needs of conflict-affected communities are addressed.

From the perspective of post-conflict memorialization in Iraq, this synergy is lacking, potentially compromising future reconciliatory efforts.

Several large-scale urban developmental plans have been proposed for cities like Mosul, including the rebuilding of key cultural significance buildings. However, these plans give little attention to the everyday places and spaces imbued with memories of past trauma. This approach underestimates the impact a community's smouldering memories of religious and ethnic violence can have on future social cohesion, and reinforces the notion that reconstruction brings about reconciliation.

If IDPs, returnees and stayees of post-conflict communities are not allowed to recognize the context of their suffering, and if the building sites are given precedence over local people and their precarious sense of place, trust in the peacebuilding approach would be undermined.

This report suggests that to develop an effective approach to a 'good contemporary memorialization practice' it is important for the UN and other peacebuilding establishments to acknowledge the positive and the negative impact that local everyday aspects of traumatic memory have in sustaining any peacebuilding and reconciliation processes in Iraq.

In other words, the importance of an everyday sense of place, underpinned by the daily routine of life, where there is a regular awareness of and contact with post-conflict remainders and reminders of violence, should be acknowledged. This sense of place contributes to collective memories that exist in ordinary run-of-the-mill spaces and places within the community.

After an analysis of the peacebuilding establishment's current approach to post-conflict memory management and reconciliation in the country's northern cities of Mosul and Telafar, it is suggested that an important aspect of everyday memorialization is relatively unnoticed.

The United Nations and its Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), United Nations Human Settlements Programme (UN-Habitat), and non-United Nations affiliated organisations such as the International Council of Museums (ICOM), United States Institute of Peace (USIP) and the International Coalition of Sites of Conscience (the Coalition) develop primary mechanisms for reconstruction and social reintegration of which post-conflict memorialisation is an integral part. However, despite the growing sophistication of the ways in which the peacebuilding establishment addresses reconciliation and the mode of post-conflict remembrance, many peacebuilding efforts have limited impact, and there is a return to violence within the first five years of their implementation.



Vehicles destroyed by shelling, West Mosul, December 2018.

This review concludes that the theoretical and practical reconciliatory present suffers from a lack of awareness and engagement in post-conflict communities when it comes to relationship with their built environment, their sense of place and the memories of a violent past that many of the buildings represent, often in the form of ordinary places and spaces which for many, resonate with traumatic memory.

These memories create an everyday sense of place, an awareness that evolves within the communities once the fighting ends, but so far it is relatively undetected or evaluated as a source from which to strengthen the implementation of a more sustainable peacebuilding process.

This study shows that further research is required to address the lack of material exploring post-conflict everyday sense of place whilst developing an appropriate mode of remembrance that does justice to an environment of entangled post-conflict emotions, where the mundane routines of life are punctuated by the remainders and reminders of violence.

# FINDINGS

The below list is an overview of the main findings of the report in addition to

issues which have not been analysed and require further exploration.

## SITES IMBUED WITH MEMORIES OF VIOLENCE

- Many sites are being used by certain groups to harbour deep-seated anger and resentment of others.

- There are a number of socially significant places and spaces being used by certain groups to harbour deep-seated anger and resentment of others, sites that are filled with memories of violence and require a considered approach during peacebuilding processes of reconciliation and reconstruction.

- The initial buildings found in this research in Mosul and Telafar, and that have significant resonance with memories of violence are:

  » The Pepsi factory wall in Al Zinjily, Mosul where 84 people were shot and killed by sniper fire as they attempted to escape the fighting.

  » An insurance building in Al Taameen, Mosul, from where people were thrown as punishment during and after ISIL's control of the city.

  » A Christian Church, Al Shaareen, Mosul. The Church is one of many premises where Al Husba ruthlessly imprisoned and punished people for disregarding Islamic doctrine imposed by ISIL, attempting to flee the city or having an association with the former government in any way.

  » The Khasfa Sinkhole in Hamam Al-Aliel, a place just outside the city used by ISIL to dispose of their victims' bodies. The sinkhole has 4,000 to 5,000 bodies waiting to be identified and later reclaimed.

  » The Shat Al-Arab School, Wadi Hajar, Mosul. Police officers of Mosul were gathered there and shot by ISIL. In this school, children were taught an ISIL curriculum. (The site remains in use as a primary school).

  » Sites in Telafar city that echo the typology of those found in Mosul, such as high buildings from where people were thrown, a sinkhole where ISIL disposed of their victims' bodies, a marketplace area used for beheadings, amputations, floggings and other such means of violence.

- There are important sites still to be found and recognised. Such places and spaces are filled with memories of violence. All of these sites seem to have very profound social implications, whether they are helping fuel narratives of hatred, fear and revenge or generally providing the symbols of mistrust and social division. Therefore, they require identification and acknowledgment to prevent them from becoming "dirty little secrets" that smoulder beneath the surface of society, agitate and evolve into reasons for more violence. An example of further sites mentioned during discussions with local community members (and to be considered for further exploration) are:

  » A four-story hospital in Telafar from where ISIL would throw people. Silos in the city were also reportedly used for the same purpose as a means of social control.

  » The Anter Ali well, used to dispose of bodies by ISIL (there are many similar stories of mass graves still to be recognised and recorded).

  » The Road to Sinjar (hunger, escape, vulnerability, panic and relief) – according to the report by a Telafar NGO, some mothers sold their children on this road, so that others survived, while other vulnerable people perished.

  » Sinjar's Zid Zainam Monument, a gathering place for frightened IDPs from Telafar after fleeing.

  » Aski Kelek / Zalak checkpoint, which was closed to those fleeing ISIL. Those who initially fled there had to wait for two or three days before eventually being refused access by KRG. In the turmoil, there were many stories off suffering and despair. (For example, of a woman giving birth at the checkpoint and the baby later dying there).

  » Street lamps, where some women's naked bodies hung upside-down for days after they were raped and killed (report from NGO).

  » Other areas controlled by al Husba and used for violence.

  » Areas of rape and human trafficking (not addressed in this research).

## MEMORIES OF VIOLENCE

- Memories of violence are socially sensitive and dangerous to speak about in public because they reflect the emotionally entangled dynamics of social control and governance that has tested the region for years.

- 'Memories of violence' is a collective term that incorporates physical, cultural and structural violence. This report has focused on the direct physical violence; however, it is important to recognise that there are many other ways of violence that require exploration and archival work.

- Some places with memories of violence have been reinterpreted positively by some in the community. These are places that now evoke feelings of relief, in so much as when some community members see them, they are reminded that ISIL has gone. Community members also suggest that "there is also a feeling of change, family dynamics are gentler now, women are engaging in society more publicly and the stigma of mental health has been lessened".

- Despite the high number and varied memories mainly shared by the IDPs in in camps and in rural and urban areas, places associated with sexual violence were never offered or referred to during the investigation and therefore not mentioned in this report. Further consideration and possibly a different approach to address them, is required with regards this aspect of violence.

- Local people have expressed the need for their community to take responsibility for what happened in their city and the reasons it happened. Although they acknowledged the risk of speaking out about the events and mentioned "there is no security to speak; speaking about the traumatic events of war is a must for many but they are silenced by the fear of punishment and further violence", they are eager to take ownership and understand the issues that consumed their city.

- The implications of the conflict and the memories of violence are deep-seated and nuanced. For example, prospects of marriage for IDPs in camps with perceived affiliation are severely curtailed . "The memories of ISIL and the violence and suffering they have perpetrated will live on through the generations".

- There needs to be more understanding with regards to the regular encounter with post-conflict remainders and reminders of violence hosted by ordinary run-of-the-mill spaces and places, a condition heavily influenced by a daily routine of life permeated by memories of violence, which must be re-considered when developing an effective approach to address 'good contemporary memorialization practice' whilst building a sustainable peace through reconciliation and social cohesion.

- Violence and its associated memories can be experienced in different ways other than physical. For a certain demographic group, this might relate to identity cards and the structural violence associated with their wording, dissemination, confiscation and implications with regards to surnames and ethnic belonging. This could also relate to agricultural issues of structural violence with regards farm sizes, water and land rights.

## THE CONFLICT IN 2003
## (NOT ADDRESSED IN THIS REPORT)

- The conflict in 2003 has surfaced often in this study, with many feeling it has not been recognised appropriately and that it was the point at which the country fell into turmoil and division, allowing groups like ISIL to grow in favour. Many believe the situation was better before 2003, when people were recognised differently, rather than by ethno-religious affiliation.

- There appears to be a growing propensity to romanticise the times before 2003 with many reminiscing the stability, continuity and social cohesion felt during Saddam's reign.

- Many of the inhabitants in cities like Telafar fled before ISIL came, therefore their memories are of displacement and the attempts to find shelter (spaces and places that require further investigation). Now that those who have fled have begun to return, the memories of violence perpetrated in the places and spaces within their cities are in many cases second hand. Residents are used to reiterate a narrative of ISIL and mistrust community members or returnees who are suspected of being affiliated with ISIL.

- Many of the inhabitants of Telafar and surrounding villages are now in IDP camps. They belong to the communities that stayed under ISIL's occupation and many are now thought to be affiliated to, or families of ISIL. For those people, their memories of violence relate first hand to the places and spaces in Telafar. Many people stayed in the cities during the first year as it seemed to be a positive occurrence for some groups. Services were improved, roadblocks removed and day-to-day life improved when under ISIL control. Apparently, it wasn't until later that the full implications of ISIL's rule were understood, by then it was too late and to leave wasn't without risk of violence and often death.

## RECONCILIATION &
## MEMORIALIZATION IN IRAQ

- Iraq's reconciliation plans appear to be in danger of repeating a technocratic approach to peacebuilding that underestimates the impact that a community's trans-generational memories of religious and ethnic violence can have on a sustainable and authentic social cohesion in the future. Such approach amplifies the inherent danger of believing that reconstruction brings about reconciliation.

- Despite the hard work and good intentions of international organisations such as UN-Habitat and UNESCO, there is no evidence that suggests they plan to address the memories of violence suffered in a more localised context. It appears that memorialization in general has been overlooked during plans for reconciliation and reconstruction in Mosul, with little consideration given to developing a useful approach of acknowledgment and recognition of post conflict memory of trauma.

- There is no effective method to universally archive, verify and acknowledge these memories of violence in Iraq.

- There is a shortage of advice and awareness material aimed at educating the government, public, NGOs and the staff of international organisations about the nuances of memory, memorialization and its role in developing successful and sustainable peacebuilding processes.

- It is important to be mindful that although the term post-conflict is used, the communities visited still suffer from violence. Direct violence has stopped; however, the threat of violence and the fear of reprisal, association and the return of ISIL-like organisations remains prevalent. There is also the continuation, or reiteration of cultural and structural violence suffered, through enforced segregation, imprisonment and scapegoating. Therefore, it is important to recognise that for many, international organisations and other peacebuilding actors are characters in the memories of violence still in the making.

Children at Hasan Sham camp, December 2018.

# RECOMMENDATIONS

## ON RECONCILIATION AND MEMORIALIZATION IN IRAQ

- Develop a 'memories of violence' national programme that consolidates information, and authenticates and records narrative, whilst developing methods of recognition and dissemination that help build a recognised and valid representation of past atrocities that can be trusted and accessed by local communities and governments alike.

- Develop methods to engage and advise local and national government as to the importance of everyday collective memories of violence and their role in supporting a sustainable peace accord.

- Develop and promote a balanced approach to supporting memorialisation in Iraq that considers the traditional 'top down' approaches from government and delivers an authentically composed account of memory using 'bottom up,' every-day processes of recognition and acknowledgement.

- Engage an approach to memory awareness that can be adopted and used in everyday peacebuilding practice and protocol and that highlights the risks involved, the sensitivity required and reasons why memories are politically sensitive and socially impactful.

- Develop an approach to the 'active and reactive' archiving of individual and collective memories of violence in collaboration with international, local and government actors, sourcing and acknowledging categories within the context of Iraq, such as:

  » Gender-related memories of violence

  » Memories of sexual violence

  » IDP memories of violence

  » Stayee memories of violence

  » Returnee memories of violence

  » Refugee memories of violence

  » Memories of violence experienced by youth

  » Memories of violence of 2003

- Develop locally accessible, educational material highlighting the fragility of memory. Recognising the risk of:

  » **Suggestibility** (memories that are implanted as a result of leading questions, comments or suggestions when a person is trying to call up a past experience);

  » **Misattribution** (to assign a memory to the wrong source; mistaking fantasy for reality, or incorrectly remembering that a friend told you a bit of trivia that you actually read about in the newspaper);

  » **Bias** (stereotypical bias influenced memories and perceptions in the social world – experience with different groups of people leads to the development of stereotypes that capture their general properties but can spawn inaccurate and unwarranted judgments about individuals);

  » **Persistence** (which involves repeated recall of disturbing information or events that we would prefer to ban from our minds altogether; remembering what we cannot forget, even though we wish that we could).

- Provide guidance in memorialisation for government and NGOs.

- Develop and promote the constructive synergy between memories of conflict, their management and a reconciliation initiative.[20]

## ON SITES IMBUED WITH MEMORIES OF VIOLENCE

- Develop a nationwide mapping exercise of socially important everyday places and spaces that are imbued with memories of violence throughout Iraq.

- Explore methods of nonintrusive 'memory marking' as points of recognition throughout an urban and rural context. This approach will help acknowledge and recognise the atrocities suffered in these areas.

- Develop methods of working with redeveloping spaces and places with memories of violence. This toolkit of approaches allows the site's narrative of violence to be read whilst contributing positively to the community's reconstruction. Typically, the choices have been to remove the building completely, recondition it and reuse it, turn it into a museum or leave it to routinization as a grizzly reminder of the past. However, there are other methods to consider, such as layering the building's narrative, building new from the old, keeping parts of the existing structure and building it into the new.[21]

## ON MEMORIES OF VIOLENCE

- Promote and expand upon the positive aspects attributed to the places and spaces that have significant social meaning and reflect local memories of violence.

- Develop methods through which staff of NGOs and international peacebuilding organisations can manage their own memories of violence or can recognise and manage the effects of listening to the horrors of conflict.

- Recognise and respect silence as a method of dealing with trauma; not everyone wants to speak of the violence they have experienced and memorialisation can recognise suffering without naming the victim.

- Develop ways that safeguard the people who have experienced memories of violence from re-enduring or amplifying their trauma during future investigation.

## ON SUBJECT DEVELOPMENT

- Consider places and spaces imbued with memories of sexual violence.

- Engage in the identification and exploration of places and spaces imbued with the memories of wartime kindness and unity.

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20  *An example of this synergy is added to the appendix for further reference*

21 *Please refer to authors earlier research on memory and architecture: http://www.eaae.be/wp-content/uploads/2017/04/50_educating-architects-towards-innovative-architecture.pdf page 171-185*

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# APPENDIX 1

Below is a selection of links to individuals, organisations and news articles that

provide a basic context from which memorialization in Iraq can be read:

## Mosul Eye

Mosul Eye is a blog set up to communicate the daily events in Mosul to the rest of the world, in real time, by an independent Mosul historian who now resides in Paris where he continues to study and write about the context in Iraq with a particular interest in the synergy between memory, media and education. For further information please refer to these links of note: *https://www. youtube.com/watch?v=tr1kkp3idRs*, *https://soundcloud.com/user-696117680*, *https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FxtGmso79Xo&t=5s*

## Rasha Al Aqeedi

Rasha is the Editor-in-Charge at Irfaa Sawtak which means in English, 'Raise Your Voice' (*https://www.irfaasawtak.com/*) Rasha Al Aqeedi now resides in the United States (Washington D.C. Metro Area) where she supports Irfaa Sawtak, a movement that instead of focusing on providing news and daily events, highlights the circumstances that led to the emergence of ISIL. The campaign discusses various issues, including women's rights, freedom of expression, sectarian tension, unemployment, lack of opportunities for youth, religious intolerance and ways to build a fair and just society. Recently Rasha Al Aqeedi gave a compelling and informative interview that provides an excellent vehicle for further contextualisation with regards this report. Interview: *https://www.epic-usa.org/35-mosuls-recovery-a-dream-deferred/*

## The Station

Ali Al Makhzomy, Hayder Hamzoz - Executive Director, Ali Sameer - Operations Director, Rasha Albani - Management Team, and Omer Wadee - Board Member of The Station Foundation. The foundation is involved in the initial stages of cultural development and reconstruction of Mosul and has already began communication with IOM staff. www.the-station.iq

## Mrs Heman Ramze

Heman is head of the Tuly Organization for Turkmen Affairs, based in Erbil and involved in advocating for the reintegration and recognition of Turkmen women who have returned from captivity with ISIL.

## Memorial Forum

Women Anfal survivors (*http://www.anfalmemorialforum.de/en/personen.htm*)

## President's Lecture Series

Michael Petrou's lecture for the Canadian Museum for Human Rights (CMHR). He explores how a sophisticated ISIL propaganda campaign ensured support for genocide of the Yazidi people. (*https://humanrights.ca/about-museum/news/isis-propaganda-and-yazidi-genocide*)

## Yezidi Village School is to Become A Museum

Yezidi activists have successfully lobbied the Iraqi government to convert a school in the village of Kocho near Sinjar into a museum dedicated to the ISIL genocide. (*http://www.rudaw.net/english/kurdistan/160720182*)

## At Yad Vashem

Yazidi activists seek to learn how to record their genocide (*https://www.timesofisrael.com/at-yad-vashem-yazidi-activists-seek-to-learn-how-to-record-their-genocide/*) A UN goodwill ambassador and Nobel Peace Prize nominee now residing in Germany, Murad was in the Holocaust memorial in Jerusalem with a group to learn from Israel's ill-gotten expertise: how to record, commemorate and educate about a genocide.

## Boko Haram Founder's Home 'To Be Museum'

 (*https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-42151252*) The home of the founder of Nigeria's Islamist militant group Boko Haram is to be turned into a museum, in the hope it will boost tourism in the area. Borno State is also considering plans to transform the Sambisa forest - the group's base - into a tourist centre.

## Mourning Rituals Are a Social Duty for Women In Iraq

 (*https://www.theguardian.com/world/2003/jun/30/iraq.comment*)

## Ishik University Collects Evidences on Anfal Campaign

(*http://www.basnews.com/index.php/en/news/kurdistan/271165*)

## The Kurdish Genocide of the 1980s

Documentation and archival evidence that supports remembrance and reaffirms the narrative of atrocity and the Kurds' suffering at the hands of the Ba'th Party. (*https://genocide1988.wordpress.com/tag/anfal-2/page/3/*)

## The Disappeared in Iraq

(*http://www.desaparecidos.org/otros.html*) & (*https://www.sourcewatch.org/index.php/Mafqud.org*)"Mafqud.org was designed and is maintained by Huquqalinsan.org, an organization working to promote human rights for Iraq. In 1995, with the help of Chilean experts, who were the first to develop the methodologies needed to accurately document enforced disappearances, the organization (then known as The Organization for Human Rights in Iraq, or OHRI) established a Center for the Disappeared in northern Iraq".

## We Are All Khaled Said

 After a young man called Khaled Said was beaten to death by police, Wael Ghonim created a Facebook page that galvanized protesters and has developed into a digital artefact adopted be many who have suffered injustice at the hands of a regime. (*https://www.facebook.com/elshaheeed.co.uk/*)

## Iraq Memory Foundation

In order to have a future and to lay the foundations of justice for the future, the people of Iraq must come to terms with the atrocities perpetrated in their name during three decades of Ba'thist rule. The ultimate rationale behind the Iraq Memory Foundation (MF) is that the truth can help heal a society that has been politically and physically brutalized. (*http://www.iraqmemory.com/en/about.asp*)

## Scene of Iraqi Massacre Becomes Shiite Pilgrimage Site

(*https://www.nytimes.com/2015/05/07/world/middleeast/massacre-site-in-iraq-becomes-monument-to-suffering-for-shiites.html*) A memorial in Tikrit, Iraq, a city where 11 mass graves have been found. The first sets of remains have been sent to Baghdad for identification and eventual release to the families.

## Association of the Relatives of Anfal Victims, Rizgary

(Kurdistan-Iraq), funded by the Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen, ifa, Germany. (http://moreeurope.org/sites/default/files/irq_haukari_final.pdf The project combines psychosocial support with the political empowerment of women Anfal survivors, creating a forum for exchanges between Anfal survivors in the Kurdish Region of Iraq and other groups of victims and survivors throughout Iraq.

Revive the spirit of Mosul (*https://en.unesco.org/projects/the-spirit-of-mosul*) Mosul is the living symbol of Iraqi's pluralistic identity. For centuries, it has been a crossroad of culture in the Middle East. From the Sumerian cities to Babylon, from the walls of Nineveh to the Silk Road, the region has been a melting pot of people and ideas. Between 2014 and 2017, this story of peace – the true spirit of Mosul – has been overshadowed by another story of hatred and violence.

## APPENDIX 2

An example of possible synergy between memory and reconciliation can

be read whilst addressing criterial in UNDP's Project document, Support to

Integrated Reconciliation in Iraq, January 2017 – December 2019:

i.   The acknowledgement of suffering and the impact of the conflict helps promote a much-needed foundation for Iraq Unity (p3,6)

ii.  A balanced approach to post-conflict memory supports the Iraqi government's narrative of a 'NEW IRAQ Which Is Underpin by A Sense of Collective Suffering' (p1)

iii. The sensitive management of memory helps restore a victim's dignity as citizens of Iraq (p6)

iv.  The acknowledgment of memory supports a comprehensive and transparent approach to any 'Transitional Justice' programme (p7)

v.   The archival of memory addresses the addresses the right to be heard as a basic human rig (1-9)

vi.  The collection of post-conflict memories supports the development of a citizen's archive (p5)

vii. The unbiased and sensitive collection of memories reflecting the trauma of all the country's diverse demographic supports an integrated reconciliation effort (p4,5)

viii. The acknowledgment of memories and their accompanying risk and fragility will enhance social cohesion

ix.  Recording the everyday memories of violence imbued in places and spaces locally is an excellent process to measure the likelihood of cohesion or further animosity in fractured communities

x.   A trusted facility to listen and record memories of violence, encourages a safe, culture of participation in archiving conflict experiences (p4,5)

xi.  The management of violent memories helps acknowledges and address the Gross (GHVs) Human Rights Violations suffered during and after conflict (p6)

xii. The correct management of memory will help Engage Gender specific trauma and wrongdoing (p9)

xiii. The marking of spaces and places imbued with memories of violence helps promotes public awareness and limits the risk of these places being used to manipulate and alter the truth in order to insight further violence (p4-5)

xiv. This synergy of memory and reconciliation helps promote a socially legitimate hybrid approach to peacebuilding processes (p1)

xv.  The acknowledgment and recognition of past suffering builds trust between different social dynamics such as:

   » Local – Local

   » Local – NGO

   » Local – Government

xvi. Government – IDP – Local

xvii. The collection of national and local, collective and individual memories and their implications helps amplify the feeling that reconciliation is an Iraqi led process of which the population can take ownersh

Clothes drying at camp for Ninewa IDPs, Mosul 2018.

Gateway in the old city, West Mosul, December 2018.



Interior of destroyed building at Mosul University complex, December 2018.

# EVERYDAY SITES OF VIOLENCE AND CONFLICT

## EXPLORING MEMORIES IN
## MOSUL AND TAL AFAR, IRAQ

Frazer Macdonald Hay, April 2019

IOM IRAQ