



*Edited by
Danielle Drozdewski
and Carolyn Birdsall*

DOING MEMORY RESEARCH

NEW METHODS AND APPROACHES



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Danielle Drozdowski • Carolyn Birdsall
Editors

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ISBN 978-981-13-1410-0 ISBN 978-981-13-1411-7 (eBook)
<https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-13-1411-7>

Library of Congress Control Number: 2018955845

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Cover illustration: Francesco Francesconi / EyeEm

This Palgrave Macmillan imprint is published by the registered company Springer Nature Singapore Pte Ltd.

The registered company address is: 152 Beach Road, #21-01/04 Gateway East, Singapore 189721, Singapore

Acknowledgements

The inspiration for this collection transpired through conversations between the editors about their memory-based research projects. While from different disciplinary backgrounds, we quickly realised that our research spaces increasingly intersected, especially in methodological approach. We designed a new collaborative project, Sound Commemoration in Amsterdam, which drew from our respective methods strengths as a cultural geographer and media studies scholar. As we continued to work in this space, it was evident how much we were learning about each other's conceptual and methodological approaches to memory research. As practice-based scholars, the scope for method innovation was exciting and we sought to develop this theme with a two-part session at the Association of American Geographers (AAG) Conference, in Boston, 2017. Many of the contributions in this collection were part of those sessions. With the growing recognition of memory studies as a distinct discipline, we have had no shortage of exceptional examples of doing memory research. We would like to thank all the contributors to this volume, and those who also presented at the AAG, cumulatively you inspired this collection.

We would also like to thank Sophie Li, Joshua Pitt, and Rachael Ballard at Palgrave for their editorial support. Also, thank you to the two reviewers who provided helpful feedback on our initial proposal. Several colleagues and friends provided further editorial advice on individual

chapters, their feedback is much appreciated; thank you to professor Elaine Stratford, and associate professor Emma Waterton, Dr. David Duindam, and Bronwyn Birdsall.

On a personal note, Danielle would like to thank William, Flynn, and Oliver for their patience and support. Carolyn would like to thank Matthieu for his support.

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Advancing Memory Methods

Danielle Drozdzewski and Carolyn Birdsall

Introduction

The multidisciplinary field of memory studies continues to grow in size and significance. The Memory Studies Association conference in Copenhagen, held in December 2017, was certainly a testament to this growing interest, with 600 scholars from 58 countries spanning six different continents in attendance. A key discussion point at that conference was the interdisciplinarity of scholars engaged in memory research, which holds much pertinence to the works in this volume. This interdisciplinarity draws across, and functions within, well-established and sometimes fiercely defended disciplinary boundaries; it traverses the humanities, the social sciences, the arts, and the psychological sciences. It would be

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disingenuous to suggest that we necessarily agree with or would replicate all the methodological approaches used by memory-studies colleagues in their respective fields. Yet this interdisciplinarity does engender an awareness *and* appreciation of how memory research is done, and done differently.

The scholars whose work appears in this collection all hail from diverse disciplinary backgrounds: cultural and human geography, media studies, digital ethnography, landscape archaeology, sociology, social anthropology, fine arts, literature studies, digital heritage, and public history. All of them also draw from an impressive array of qualitative investigative methods to do their memory research. Further, their engagements with memory demonstrate how many ways we have to define, delineate, think with/about, or practice, perform, maintain, enact, discuss, and (re)produce memory. In memory's varied meanings is the potential of 'memory work' to animate, energise, and inspire, and reveal new and different methodological approaches and methods. This innovation affords exciting opportunities to learn, practice, adopt, and adapt new methods and invites us to reflect on our different investigative and analytic skills.

For this volume, to foreground the methodological concerns of such research, we invited contributors to critically reflect on how they do their memory research, and to consider how they use and combine different tools, technologies, or bodies, for example. Recurrent themes in their accounts of memory work include encounter, emplacement, and the body, and engagement with memory's performativity, its affect, its visuality, and its sounds. How contributors 'do' their work contributes to scholarship, offering rich insights about memory and its links to place and identity. As Leder Mackley and Pink (2017: 123, original emphasis) recently contended, 'how we know' what we know, through what method, forms part of our responsible practice as researchers and bears on our research integrity and accountability to other scholars, our participants, 'and increasingly, to stakeholders and the wider public'. Yet, 'questions of method and methodology' related to memory studies are limited (Keightley and Pickering 2013: 2), so, too, targeted scholarship on how memory scholars draw from their disciplinary diversity to break new ground in method application and adaptation.

Keightley and Pickering's (2013) collection was the first to explicitly address research methods in memory studies, with a particular emphasis on oral history interviews and autobiography. The marked growth in memory work since that collection was published includes growth in the scope of research and the number and types of methods used by scholars and practitioners alike. That trend is evident in the flourishing of the Memory Studies Association, and the increasing recognition of memory studies as a distinct field of research (Roediger and Wertsch 2008; Kattago 2016; Olick et al. 2017). Drawing on such change, energy, and innovation, our focus here is on methods in memory studies and research based on memory work. Each chapter focuses in different ways on 'doing' research rather than on narrating a theoretical supposition or case study and results. We hope that a practical consequence of the collection provides useful and practical exemplars for other memory-studies scholars, as well as insights into how the contributors both frame and do memory research.

Doing Memory Research

An Ethics of Care

Contributors to this volume demonstrate that doing memory studies requires sensitivity to, and awareness of, context because memory links people to space, place and identity, and to mobility/movement and time. Indeed, memories 'both inform and are informed by identities and these articulations take different forms in different places', and from different temporal viewpoints (Drozdowski et al. 2016: 3). As Donohoe (2014: xiii) argues, writing about the phenomenological relationship between place and memory, place 'identifies one with a certain community of people and shapes one's understanding of people and the world'. Because memory can play such a formative role in individual and collective notions of who we are (cf. Jones 2011), research must be sensitive in design. This caution does not necessarily relate to the potential of scholars and others to unwittingly engage in conversations about loss, disaster, or death (although these are common features of memory-studies research).

Rather, such caution serves as a reminder that questions of memory relate inextricably to identities in the present (Legg 2004, 2005). Till and Kuusisto-Arponen (2015: 302) state that scholars of memory 'have an ethical responsibility to try to understand why different social groups and individuals may wish to raise questions or stories about traumatic pasts at a particular place and moment in time, even if this means taking additional time to listen'.

Apprehending these requisites for sensitivity and respect, an ethics of care emerged as another strong theme across our contributors' discussions of doing memory research, especially when determining how an ethics of care informed practice and choice of method. For example, to navigate working at the interface of traumatic and contested memory, Halilovich and Fejzić use art praxis to 'point to multilayered dimensions of memories' of conflict in Bosnia (this volume). Evident in their work is a 'relational ethics of care [that] emphasizes the role of connection and feeling in the principles' in guiding research design, process and practice (Ellis 2017: 58). Halilovich and Fejzić have paid attention to how their own war experiences informed and influenced their data collection strategies and remained mindful of the rawness of their research narrative. In earlier work on wounded cities, Till (2012: 8) has discussed how a place-based ethics of care in memory-work encompasses 'practices of attending to, caring for, and making place' to constitute 'differentiated and active forms of belonging and political community'. Correspondingly, in this volume, Gensburger's approach to overhearing conversations about the Parisian terror attacks and interviews with people comprises another example of attuning research process to an ethics of care.

Thinking ethically about how to gather memory data from and/or in public spaces has also guided others' research design using digital platforms (Schuurman and Pratt 2002). For example, again in this volume, Arrigoni and Galani have used images already available in the public domain in their discussions about place memory, and they made their accumulated data set publicly accessible by constructing links to images in their original digital location. Mindful of existing stereotypes and community antagonism, Shea (this volume) has adopted a community-engaged research method with crowdsourcing and participant-led data collection to show how place-making reveals performances of memory.

That method enables Shea to recognise both individual and collective memory narratives. Shea's research exemplifies 'thinking about care as an activity, and as a kind of universal, arising out of a sense of responsibility toward others' (McEwan and Goodman 2010: 106). In turn, Sumartojo (this volume) distinguishes between doing research *with* participants and *on* them; she extends this attention to power differentials in research by using video 'to understand the complexity of multiple spacetimes of memory sites and research about them'. This intersection of participant memory and place is further highlighted by Osborne's research using the novel technology of a biosensor (this volume). Osborne shares how her research design was a deliberate strategy to safeguard participant identities by 'multi-layering' different methods such as go-along conversations, biosensing, and video-elicitation. In short, in such studies, an ethics of care is carried through to research design and implementation.

Experiencing and Emplaced (Researcher) Bodies

By reference to experience, emplacement and embodiment, Pink (2009: 25) has argued that the 'researcher learns and knows through her or his whole experiencing body'. Knowledge gleaned by being aware of one's researcher body *and* being attentive to positionality is a practice-based knowledge, 'inseparable from our sensory and embodied relations with the world' (Stevenson 2014: 336). Memory, its sensations, feeling, conjured images, and movements, are 'intrinsic to the body, to its own ways of remembering: how we remember in and by and through the body' (Casey 2000: 147). Furthermore, 'we often think of memory as an individual mnemonic device, something that triggers thoughts, feelings and emotions in our minds and our body' (Drozdowski 2016: 20). These matters are perhaps best summarised as part of the 'affective turn' in memory studies (Waterton and Dittmer 2014; Witcomb 2016; Sumartojo 2016, 2017; Tolia-Kelly et al. 2017), which has been substantiated more generally in the social sciences and the humanities. Yet, Sather-Wagstaff (2017: 13) has cautioned that 'as an element of affect-in-action, [the senses] have rarely been explicitly discussed as part of the constellation of the interdependent sociocultural *and* biological phenomena that engen-

der emotion and memory'. In expanding such sensory-based research, new work such as that showcased in this volume has drawn on lively discussions about *emplaced* methods, the use of which assumes the importance of researchers actively engaging with and in research processes and contexts. As Waterton and Watson (2013: 551) have asked, a key question in such a research is 'what happens to our bodies' in these research encounters? Methods that privilege knowledge from and in bodily experience, as distinct from more traditional ideas that knowledge derives from the mind, parallel critical engagements with 'non-representational' and 'more-than-human' approaches (Anderson and Harrison 2010). In reflecting on the methodological import of their own works, contributors to this volume are clearly aware of their positionality and lived experiences in relation to the research processes they engaged with, and tapped into those. Of particular interest are methods related to walking (Vergunst and Ingold 2008; Degen and Rose 2012), and to feeling and sensing (Pink 2009; O'Neill and Hubbard 2010).

Walking methods appear to be particularly instructive elements of ethnographic approaches used in several contributions to this volume. Drozdowski and Birdsall, for instance, use walking to study the collective affects generated by war commemoration. Combined with attentive listening, watching, and feeling, walking offered an instructive way to participate in and observe a large 'silent march' across Amsterdam that takes place on 4 May each year. For Sharick, Smeltzer, and Trostel, walking is a key component to facilitate their interaction with the Venice Ghetto. Walking through and experiencing this place informed their 'reading in place' as they mapped selected literary accounts that have contributed to its rich cultural imagination and memories.

Several other contributions investigate the utility of walking to engage and 'be with' research participants. In this respect, Lee and Ingold (2006: 67) have argued that 'to participate is not to walk into but to walk with—where "with" implies not a face-to-face confrontation, but heading the same way, sharing the same vistas, and perhaps retreating from the same threats behind'. In this volume, De Nardi incorporates the go-along mode of interviewing (Kusenbach 2003), to support how people 'remember together' and to learn from community members, as co-researchers, how they positioned their memories in place. In Osborne's contribution

here, research participants' everyday acts of memory while walking in place are investigated—using biosensing technologies—to nuance understandings of the 'neurological/biological and social body and the environment'. In Gensburger's contribution, too, everyday memory practices are examined via a reflexive and emplaced method involving daily observations, conversations, and photography, as she herself responds to the experience of the research field that was emerging 'on my doorstep', following the 2015 terrorist attacks in her Paris neighbourhood.

Negotiating familiarity with research place and content is another recurrent theme across a number of the contributions, and frequently cited as a concern necessary in the conduct of participatory and engaged memory research. As Shea points out in her discussion of community-engaged methods, collaborative research methods for investigating place and memory necessarily de-emphasise the scholar in the process and offer an important intervention in how 'scholarship tends to reproduce unequal relationships between researchers and non-researchers, scholars and publics, universities and communities'. In reflecting on sensory ethnography's collaborative understanding of 'research participants as agents in memory process', Sumartojo (this volume) emphasises the importance of joining participants for initial engagements with memory sites and then reflecting with them on their experiences. Sumartojo does this work using photo elicitation and video interviews. Pointing to the limits of conventional ethnography, Halilovich and Fejzić outline how their art-related research approach relies on art exhibitions as both a method and a collaborative research result, and engages the documentary and fictional to capture places of pain in (post-)conflict contexts. Their work aligns with the contention that '*art gives form to human feeling*; it is the shape that is taken by our perception of the world' (Ingold 2000: 23, original emphasis). Acknowledging the imaginative and processual qualities of memory, and accounting for how its open-ended quality, necessarily influences the research process, the chapters in this collection highlight the significance of emplaced and participatory work for documenting memory and place. The value of collaboration is also asserted across the volume, with numerous contributions being products of collaboration between two or more scholars, in research teams, and in participatory co-researcher collaborations with participants.

Places: Mapped and Digital

Pink (2009: 41) has contended that ‘place is central to our way of being in the world and that we are thus always participating in places’. Thus, a focus on place in this collection’s discussions on methods and practices strengthens existing conceptual and methodological threads related to position, context, and experience. The scope for memory research on, and in, places and spaces is extensive. (Re)productions of memory manifest in public and private places and require varied methodological approaches. As Hoelscher and Alderman (2004: 350) have pointed out ‘monuments, memorials and museums have proven to be fertile grounds for investigating places of memory’. Yet, in public places and spaces, memory can manifest in ways that reveal narratives about past places and peoples hidden, silenced, or forgotten. It can be part of the everyday landscapes and places of our daily routines (Muzaini 2015); it can be felt as a presence or absence (Mayerfeld Bell 2004; Till 2012); and it can also be incorporated into planning neighbourhoods and communities (Fenster and Misgav 2014). Method selection needs consideration both of how to read material representations of memory *and* of how we are looking, sensing, listening, and feeling for immaterial traces of memory. In this vein, Drozdowski et al. (2016: 9) have argued that ‘the role of place and the “body as place” have been pivotal heuristics for thinking through memory’. The scholarship in this collection advances this contention, showing that deep seams connecting memory, place, and the body are secured by astute method selection and application.

Attentiveness to place and space also echo loudly through the collection. As key spatial devices, the cartographic was variously employed to map memory (Chaps. 4, 7, 8, 9, and 10), reveal long-standing attachments (Chaps. 9 and 10), facilitate emplacement (Chaps. 3, 4, 7, and 10), and chart places of remembrance (Chaps. 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, and 10). De Nardi has used collaborative memory mapping to elicit memories of the domestic buildings constructed in Kibblesworth, United Kingdom, during the 1950s and more recently transplanted to a nearby open-air museum. Shea describes her participatory deep mapping, showing as she argues that ‘memory is social and very much tethered to place’. For her,

as a community-based and crowd-sourced map the ‘Places Project’ connects memories and stories to place identity and attachment in diverse communities around the Cumberland Plateau in Tennessee. In turn, Sharick, Smeltzer, and Trostel use the map as the centre point of their emplaced readings of the Venice Ghetto. Those readings enliven places on the map; indeed, their mapping exercises overlay the map’s existing information with new knowledges gleaned in those places of memory. Similarly, Osborne has mapped the results generated from using biosensing technologies to measure physiological responses in bodies as research participants move around familiar places on the map. In combination, biosensing data, video elicitation, and dialogue revealed deeper understandings of participants as ‘body-subject(s)’ and documented their memories. Her work exemplifies methodological innovation linking memory, place, and identity.

Osborne’s research also highlights a nexus between place and digital technologies in doing memory research. In the introduction to his recent volume, Hoskins (2018: 10) contends that the digital ‘transforms the very character of memory, its meaning, its uses, its potential and its risks’ because the digital has potential to ‘disrupt existing memory ecologies’. Arrigoni’s and Galani’s contribution to this volume, for instance, demonstrates the sharing of digital media and memory that Hoskins (2018) and Tilton (2014) refer to. Their methods capitalise on digital data from this ‘connective turn’ (cf. Hoskins 2011, 2018) to elicit examples of place-making in photo-sharing platforms such as Flickr. They use the data mining tool Geostream to aggregate images based on location, and investigate the images and their metadata for connections between past histories of a place and present-day lived experience. Sharick, Smeltzer, and Trostel’s investigation of the Venice Ghetto uses thick mapping to design interactive digital maps. With Esri’s Story Maps platform they ‘explore the intersection of geographic data and literary analysis [that] rendered new insights into the ways literature defines space and memory’. For Sumartojo, research participants engaged existing skills in the use of digital smartphone photography in the Camp des Milles memory site and she considers how sensory triggers in this site activated personal memories, thinking about how this layering also works in memory processes during and after the visit.

Place(s) provide memory prompts. In Sumartojo's work, the activation of personal memories may have been sparked by the experience of having been in a physical place before, or by sensory encounters in that place, or those sensory encounters may have spurred remembrances of different places and different times. That the connections between place and memory are so powerful predisposes them to be 'used' in ways that align within strategic politics of memory. Memory landscapes are (re)produced and maintained with purpose, as Till (1999: 255) has reasoned: 'public memory is where and how groups struggle to gain cultural authority to selectively represent and narrate their past'. For example, Drozdowski and Birdsall's chapter on doing memory research on Dutch national war commemoration considers how the route chosen for the Silent March (*Stille Tocht*) purposefully traverses and embeds in the commemorative performances that take place in the streetscapes of central Amsterdam. In Gensburger's account, too, informal memory practices take place in a neighbourhood context. The everydayness of these conversations demarcates an official politics of memory that does not necessarily 'fit' with the traumatic framework envisioned in national memory discourse and policy frameworks. In Halilovich and Fejzić's contribution, art-related research produced memorials to places of pain, including those erased as a result of genocide and 'ethnic cleansings' in Bosnia and Herzegovina; the presentation of the resulting artworks to audiences elicited new memory narratives and re-appropriations that fed into an ongoing, iterative process of the research.

Chapter Outline

The volume is structured around two guiding thematic parts: multisensorial and emplaced memory (Part I); and, memory places: maps and digital media (Part II). In each part, the chapters maintain focus on the doing of memory research, and also highlight innovation and application across of a range of memory sites and contexts. While chosen methods converge in such a way that we have two themed parts, each chapter presents a particular interdisciplinary take on approach and application. For example, while Osborne and Gensburger both utilise emplacement, Osborne

focuses on placing her participants in familiar environments, while Gensburger uses an auto-ethnographic approach, placing herself in the field. Similarly, authors whose works are in Part II converge in their use of the map as a concept and material object yet their data generation techniques contrast by context and discipline. A salient feature of the volume is that the methods-based focus provides accessible pathways for scholars from other disciplinary fields. That is, by concentrating on how research is undertaken rather than solely on the results of the research, we editors felt as though we learned about new methods and about memory work from different perspectives. Certainly, we affirmed that ‘remembering is dynamic, imaginative, and directed in and from the present. And this holds across the spectrum of strata of memories, of the individual or the multitude’ (Hoskins 2018: 9).

Part I: Multisensorial and Emplaced Memory

In Part I, five contributors engage various multisensorial tactics—sound, touch/feeling, sight, and smell—in combination with other methods to access and consider ways of knowing about memory. Their works also coalesce around emplaced activities: researcher bodies are positioned with, or as (co)participants in the same context / performance / projection of memory. This positioning is a deliberate part of method, enabling researchers to encounter and experience; these encounters and experiences form part of the ways in which the contributors sought to understand the ‘how’ of memory, and extend memory work beyond description. Doing emplaced ethnography is itself a learning process; Leder Mackley and Pink (2017: 124) have reasoned that sensory-based ethnographies cannot be ‘implanted from a textbook or from one project to another’, rather they evolve in use. In Chap. 2, Sumartojo’s emplacement with the participants at the Camp des Milles museum site enabled knowledge (co) production; she was able to talk through, and with the visitation experience in the follow-up interviews. Further, the videographic component allowed a reliving of the sensory experiences of the visit. For example, Sumartojo discusses her participant, Ben’s, recollection of smelling rust and how it prompted a familiar memory. Employing an empathetic

visuality through the whole research process meant her analyses of video data required attunement to, for example, gestures, accents, intonation, and vocal intonation—and not solely to the transcription of what was said. Following a similar strategy in tuning to the more-than-verbal attributions of memory (re)production, in Chap. 3, Drozdewski and Birdsall record their multisensorial encounters at two commemorative events in Amsterdam, 4 and 5 May. Their method was designed to experience the staging and performance of war memory and how it is linked to Dutch national identity at the key commemorative events. Walking and listening were distinctive methods within their wider sensory ethnography approach. Attuning to the soundscapes of commemoration and moving with its ‘spectacle’ events, Drozdewski and Birdsall reveal the importance of the ‘collective’ and the placing of the urban locale to those performances of commemoration, and the nation. Walking also formed part of Osborne’s multi-method approach to registering memory intensities in situ. Participants walked through familiar neighbourhood, their sensory encounters, and emotional intensities—indicative of attachments and affinity with places off/in memory—were recorded by biosensors and mounted GoPro cameras, then discussed and mapped. Her chapter affirms the efficacy of method innovation and of boldly thinking about how to do memory research differently. Combining qualitative and quantitative approaches, in Chap. 4, Osborne calls for more memory research to cross-disciplinary boundaries and for a more ‘viscerally-aware’ methods (cf. Sexton et al. 2017).

The contributions from Halilovich and Fejzić and Gensburger approach memory by exercising an ethics of care. Each chapter engages methods for doing research on traumatic memory, trauma also known to the authors. The authors’ intuitive and situated knowledges demonstrate the importance of critical self-reflexivity—Halilovich and Fejzić employ a ‘process of iterative (re)considerations’ in reimagining different aspects of memory as the art of memory; Gensburger uses the concept of everyday place as a strategy to talk through the intersection of trauma into those everyday places. Her intimate knowledge of place and of the trauma informed how she researched memory on her doorstep. Understanding trauma, especially its immaterial traces and its affect, is in itself a sensory involvement in research process. In their chapter (Chap. 5), Halilovich

and Fejzić explain how their combination of arts practice and anthropology (field data, interview transcripts, documents, photos, and videos) was applied in the production of a multimedia exhibition of Bosnian war memory. Far from only ‘end products’ of a research process, the exhibitions themselves engaged participants’ narratives in the place of the exhibition and the places of memory exhibited. In Gensburger’s chapter (Chap. 6), the places of memory of the Paris terror attacks were also the places of her everyday locale. Her account of emplaced auto ethnography tussles with her knowledge of established sociological methods for gathering data on the memory of the attacks, and her realisation that her personal, familial, and everyday intersections into those material and immaterial spaces of memory also mattered, and required different nuanced approaches. Cumulatively, the chapters in this first part seek method-based tools to think beyond discussing the representation of memory, in and via its many media. In advancing memory research, they turn to methods that explicate the sensorial capacity of memory and remembering, asking not just how something made them and their participants feel and what those feelings meant, but they sought to experience the ‘ontology of connection’ (cf. Waterton and Watson 2015: 100) and feeling, to tap into the encounter through walking, listening, sensing, and being in place.

Part II: Memory Places: Maps and Digital Media

Spatialising connections of memory—to site, space, landscape and place—has constituted a fundamental research concern in past decades, especially in terms of identifying representations of memory and their linkages to key theoretical concepts (Halbwachs 1980; Nora 1984–1992; Said 2000). Embracing more recent forays with the more-than-representational and more-than-human in memory work, Till and Kuusisto-Arponen (2015: 294) attest that memory is ‘never only “located” in Cartesian [and material] space ... [it is also] ... communicated across and through spaces and places, and travel[s] through and with personal and shared emotions, memories, and affects’. Furthermore, changing pathways in the communication and storage of memory, through digital

and mobile media (Özkul and Humphreys 2015; Birdsall and Drozdowski 2018) have compelled scholars to think differently about doing research focused on connections between place and memory. What we think is especially interesting in this Part is that each of the four contributors have combined the map—something we consider as a traditional method-based tool for determining spatial location—with other digital, sensory, participatory, and collaborative methods. Their work towards advancing methods for memory research shows, as Fenster and Misgav (2014: 365) have argued, that combining ‘spatial memory representations as visual, cognitive and more-than-representational’ provides ‘knowledge [about place] richer than that provided by professional expressions (e.g. documents, maps, air photos)’.

In Chap. 7, Sharick, Smeltzer, and Trostel use digital mapping and reading in place to investigate the palimpsestic memories and stories attached to the Venice Ghetto, on the occasion of its 500th anniversary. As literary scholars, using digital mapping reached beyond their usual methodological scope; yet they explain how working with the Esri Story Maps platform enabled an activation of memory and place and to find new methods to explain ‘overlapping memory-dynamics, temporalities, fiction, and site-based observations’. Through critical and self-reflection on method, they also concede that the digital mapping exercise was at times, messy and unwieldy in size. Where Sharick, Smeltzer, and Trostel seek to connect investigate the storying of the Ghetto across time and space, Arrigoni and Galani’s chapter (Chap. 8) also pursues a ‘geolocate perspective’ to examine how everyday memory practices aggregate around particular sites (squares) in contemporary cities. In acknowledging people’s use of ‘mobile media to create an archive of the places while making memories of those places on the go’ (Özkul and Humphreys 2015: 354), Arrigoni and Galani demonstrate how these online repositories for photo-sharing and tagging, such as Flickr, can reveal bottom-up understandings of heritage, place, and memory. Using Geostream to mine social media images of chosen places facilitated an opportunity to understand ‘time and space as multiple, embodied, practised and lived’ (Waterton and Watson 2015: 101). This temporal perspective of memory and place shows how social media and digital platforms provide novel tools for memory research and drive net-ethnography further.

In Shea's contribution (Chap. 9), participatory deep mapping formed a crucial part of an effort to establish a means of 'collaborative interpretation and community creation' for the Places Project. Taking the research data gathered by the project team, researchers sorted the information by coding participant narratives according to geographical location, place, age, and relationship to the Cumberland Plateau region in Tennessee. The maps emerged via a process of tagging using selected themes identified across the data (e.g. family, community, race, history, and religion/faith). As Shea notes, the digital tools 'facilitated the creation of maps, and allowed places around which stories and memories accreted to be highlighted'. Her use of a collaborative and participatory approach shows how memory is both 'mediated' (van Dijck 2007) and 'connective' (Hoskins 2011a, b), *and* that when digital tools are employed to elicit both location-based and qualitative information, research methods must attune to community context (van Doorn 2013; Frith and Kalin 2016). While Shea notes how collaborative and community-engaged memory research requires the researcher's role to be de-emphasised, she also sketches out the role and responsibility of the researcher *curation* as part of the exploration of the research data.

Incorporating a similar ethics of care in her engagement in curating and 'editing' of participants' memories, De Nardi's contribution highlights the value of a collaborative and vernacular 'memory mapping'. In Chap. 10, De Nardi reflects on the methodological process of working with community members, and as *co-researchers*, mapped 'memories of playful spaces and lived experiences'. De Nardi's research also involved overlaying methods—collaborative mapping, focus groups, walking, emplacement, and sensory ethnography. These techniques provided different data, which she and the co-researchers sifted through to construct a memory map of the Kibblesworth community. This sifting was in itself part of the collaborative method; it involved encountering feelings of loss and frustration and talking through contestation. As Muzaini (2016) has shown, the imposition of memoryscapes designed to invoke the past in a certain way rarely reveal congruence with the formalised narrative. In both De Nardi and Shea's chapters 'exploring the polyphony of different voices in the studied area' (Bulken et al. 2015: 2311) required methods

strategies that recognised multiplicity and dissent among participants' stories about place, memory and identity.

Conclusion

We hope that this collection's explorations of 'doing of memory research' are a motivating force to think differently and advance the practice of memory-related scholarship. Drawing from a multidisciplinary base offers a range in perspectives of how memory is understood, but as exhibited here, it also highlights the central role of fieldwork to the practice of our scholarship—regardless of discipline. It is through method then, we argue, that we can find the in-between points of our different disciplines, the points where they 'spark and meld' (Leder Mackley and Pink 2017: 136). For us, these sparks were evident in the diversity of contributions (many featured herein) at our conference sessions on doing memory methods differently in Boston, 2017—they were ignition points for this volume. Looking across the chapters, our final provocation is to suggest that one of the most valuable consequences of the affective turn in researching memory has been its encouragement to us, as scholars and practitioners of memory, to get out there, to do, to experience, to encounter, to be in the places and spaces that we talk about.

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2

Sensory Impact: Memory, Affect and Sensory Ethnography at Official Memory Sites

Shanti Sumartojo

Introduction

Experiential investigations of official memory sites and events are increasing, as researchers try to get to grips with how people perceive and make sense of such places when they visit, how they value them, and what meanings they hold or create. These questions extend to the forms of impact that such places might have, and how experiences of them might resonate forward beyond the confines of the memorial, museum, or archive. Put differently, these studies ask what work memory sites do in people's lives and how are these expressed in both material and affective terms. Like other contributions to this volume, I take up these questions with methodological responses that locate the focus of inquiry in the senses, but also taking in the feelings, mental frameworks, and memories of visitors themselves. That is, rather than beginning with what the designers, sponsors, or curators of memory sites intend people to encounter—and the sometimes tenuous link to what we are meant to 'take away'

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from such places—I discuss research approaches that encourage the visitor to define such places on their own terms, and consider their meanings as contextualised by their own thoughts and feelings.

At the basis of these approaches is the notion that the past is not tidy or linear, able to be accessed, recalled, or considered, ‘available for instant replay in the mind or recountable as seamless, demystifying narratives’ (Edensor 2005a, 845; Sumartojo 2017). Attending to experience lays bare how the past works through different sorts of feelings that do not cleave to the linear chronologies often presented at memory sites. Instead, it can show how the past pierces and frames the present, how it might be deployed to particular ideological or pedagogical aims (as is usually the case in state-sponsored memory sites) and how these official messages might be subverted, disrupted, or simply ignored by visitors.

Attention to experience also allows us to see memory sites as complex ‘specific types of relational configurations’ (Anderson 2014, 12). Here, historical narratives (often state-sponsored) are folded into the memories and sensory experiences of individuals who encounter them, in spatial environments designed with explicit pedagogical aims in view (Sumartojo and Graves 2018). As Crouch (2015, 177) puts it, this allows the ‘energies, feelings, affects and emotions wrapped up or available in our encounters with heritage’ to surface and attends to the ‘intersections of sensation, experience, and meaning that arise through our interactions with material forms’ (Freeman et al. 2016, 4). This orientation to materials and the senses recognises that ‘we rarely remember through ideas only, but rather through our encounters with things and through embodiments and disembodiments collected in material traces and objects’ (Freeman et al. 2016, 3–4). More generally, this approach is built on related work that uses non- and more-than-representational ways (Jones 2011; Jones and Garde-Hansen 2012; Drozdowski et al. 2016a, b) to understand memory, including research in museums (Waterton and Dittmer 2014; Witcomb 2013; Turner and Peters 2015), commemorative sites (Sumartojo 2015, 2016), and everyday settings where memory might unexpected spring into the present (Muzaini 2015; Halilovich 2016; Edensor 2005a, b).

In this chapter I will discuss what photographs and video make possible in terms of understanding someone else’s experience of a memory site.

I address the unique configurations of place, memory, sensation, and representation that emerge when visitors are invited to attune to their surroundings in ways they may not have before, and reflect on, and discuss this reflection with, researchers. I will argue that the power of such an approach lies in its capacity to bring new knowledge into being that did not exist before, through the visual material created as a result of the encounter between researcher and research participant, and that this material helps carry the experience of the memory site forward into the future as people revisit and consider it.

To frame the discussion on methodology that follows, I start with a brief account from a 2016 project at a French official memory site, the Camp des Milles, that I conducted with my colleague Matthew Graves (Sumartojo and Graves 2018). The Camp des Milles is a former internment and deportation camp that was in use for this purpose from 1939 to 1942, and then reverted to its previous function as a tile factory from 1947. In 2012, it opened as a museum and memorial. The Camp des Milles has an explicit pedagogical aim of asking visitors to reflect on the Holocaust, and on genocide in general, and links this to educational material regarding racism and anti-semitism. It hosts many school groups, as well as local officials, aiming to educate them not only about the past, but about how these prejudices work in the present and might shape contemporary French society and the lives of its residents, including its many immigrants. The site is organised into three sections. The first is a contemporary museum space with multimedia displays of the history of the Second World War and its antecedents. The second is a series of interior spaces presented as they were when the site was a working factory (see Fig. 2.1). The third is an education section with films and text discussing the history of genocide and how it has unfolded in different national and historical contexts.

The account below is drawn from a discussion with research participant Ben in which he explained a photograph he took in one of the main rooms of the second section of the Camp des Milles, why he took it, what it felt like to be in the space, and what it evoked for him. We video recorded the interview with him, which took place several days after the visit in a university office (see Figs. 2.1 and 2.2). This account was part of a larger study that received university ethics approval and participants



Fig. 2.1 Ben's panoramic photo of a main room in the Camp des Milles, taken with his smartphone, which he describes in the Interlude

agreed to the use of their textual and visual material, including images of themselves. An in-depth analysis of this account appears in Sumartojo and Graves (2018), but here I use Ben's material to set up specifically methodological points that we did not address in that article.

Interlude: Rust and Dust

My father used to be a blacksmith ... I always had the smell of rust, it's something I like because sometimes I helped him working on it when I was younger, so to me it's something that connotes with something positive. But in this context it's, yeah, I don't think I could bear being in so much rust and dust because it feels very dry and it dries up your nose and your fingers, fingertips and everything. So, to me there are the two notions that clashed in my mind ... I know how dirty it can make you, the rust, and I just understood that people in this environment, they didn't have any choice but to be dirty all the time, and it just made me realise how dire the conditions were for people being imprisoned there ... It must have made people feel so dirty ... it's really hard to fathom ... That was one of the issues in my father's workshop ... we had to open one door here and another door there so that the air would go through and get us rid of the cloud of either smoke or dust or whatever. So when I looked at that [room], I was like, that must have been pretty tough, you know.

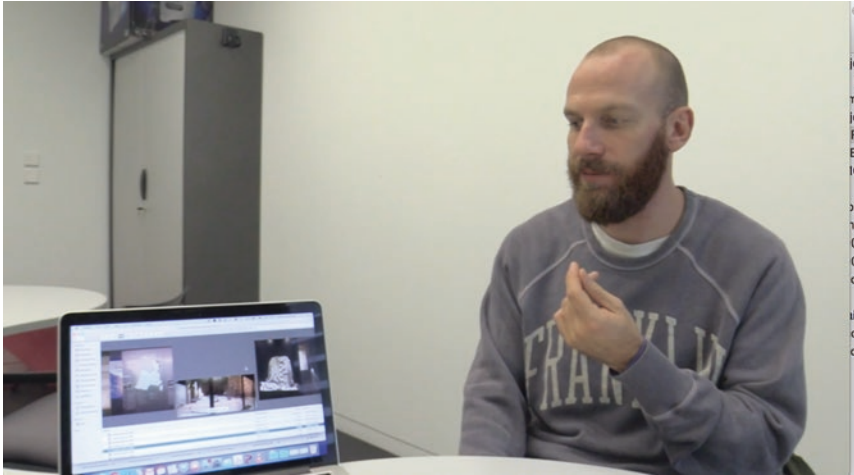


Fig. 2.2 A still from the video interview of Ben as he discussed the image, his gesture showing the ‘feel’ of the dusty air he described in the passage above

Sensory Ethnography and Memory Sites

This passage from our exchange serves as a springboard for the discussion in the rest of this chapter, and provides an empirical anchor point for the principles I discuss below. This material shows how the image that Ben took and the discussion that we had about it together worked to locate the research in a *specific* environment that was at the same time temporal, material, and sensory. Ben’s explanation reveals how the place (and the process of image-making) connected to thoughts, feelings, and memories that were uniquely his. This positioning is central to my arguments about the value of following sensory ethnography into memory sites. These are threefold: it attends to the particular and individual encounters that people have in such places; and how they think through the site to make sense of the narratives presented; and, in many cases, to connect it to their own lives. This methodological approach is powerful in enabling us to make sense of how memory sites (or indeed any object of inquiry) actually come to be meaningful in our lives, how these meanings are understood, and what they are entangled with. This approach also illuminates the impact that such sites might have on us

precisely because it does not treat these places as somehow sitting outside our other experiences, feelings, memories, or sensory perceptions. Instead, like the other places we encounter, dwell in or move through, memory sites are configured by what we bring with us, their larger spatial and social contexts, and how we imagine ourselves as connected to other people, including those who have been in the site before us, as Ben relates.

As researchers, this attentiveness to place can also help us move forward in terms of more general ways of understanding memory sites. Work on 'sensory museology' and on multisensory engagement with museum pedagogy (Howes 2014; Fors 2013) has looked specifically at what people do in museums, how they engage their different senses and how this connects to the pedagogical missions of the sites. Fors (2013, 285), for example, asks how teenagers' existing ways of using digital media are a part of how they make sense of multimedia museum displays, and argues that curators and designers must better understand visitors' 'existing sensory attunement' to best communicate with them. Howes (2014) focuses on studies of touch in museum settings, showing how manual engagement has a long history in museum and gallery settings, with recent introduction of digital displays that include haptic feedback to bring new forms of understanding to viewers. This scholarship shows that we must attend to not just the material or sensory contexts in which our encounters with the past occur, but how these encounters occur through the skills and experiences we already have.

Accordingly, attention to sensory perception and forms of knowledge that are not necessarily parsed in terms of cognitive categories (Pink 2015) can help interrogate how people encounter and perceive official memory sites, and how this then shapes their understanding of them into the future. In practice, this approach seeks to go deeper than what people might simply describe about their worlds, instead asking them to show the researcher—to give examples, and to consider, explain, and discuss—and reach new understandings about them together within the research encounter. As with ethnography more generally, this research approach is 'with' rather than 'on' participants and their experiential worlds, with the researcher entering and sometimes going along with research participants in their environments, routines, and activities. This ethic of collaboration extends

throughout the research encounter and can open routes to new understandings of official memory sites.

Principles

If attending to sensory experience is the broad aim of the approach I discuss here, then there are certain techniques that can help move us towards these kinds of understandings, and how they connect to the remembered and imagined worlds that are so much a part of memory. Photo-elicitation and video interviews with research participants about the images they make can shed light on how memory emerges and erupts, its imbrication in environments purposefully designed to evoke affective engagement, and the value and meaning that people ascribe to the photographs they make and by extension the environments in which they were taken. However, more important than any step-by-step ‘how-to’ guide to photo-elicitation (which should really be composed in response to specific sites and project aims) are the principles that drive the choice and adaptation of these techniques that change between projects and sometimes even within the same project as it develops. Indeed, Pink (2013, 261) cautions that ‘there are no fixed models for sensory ethnography—for its research methods, analytical processes, or representational forms’. Instead she challenges us to push this orientation forward, acknowledging the ‘ongoingness of the processes through which we not only make ethnography, but also how we make methods and learn to know in ethnographic sites, analytical activities, and in the making of representations’ (Pink 2013, 261). To this end, the principles and techniques I discuss next have been developed collaboratively with others and over many projects in a diverse range of contexts, and will continue to change as I and others work with them in future.

The research encounter with Ben that I use as an example in this chapter was the result of a group visit to the Camp des Milles, near the town of Aix-en-Provence, in southern France. I accompanied a group of ten visitors, all university students, many of whom were from the local area, but none of whom had been there before. Before we went, my co-researcher and I asked

them to each take ten photographs with their own smartphones of things that drew their attention, and in particular any digital elements, because we were particularly interested in the presence and effects of digital technologies in the site. We gave them no more specific instruction, and joined their visit, making our own photographs, and walking through and discussing our impressions of the site with them as we went. This practice meant that we had our own immediate experiences to draw on in our later discussions. We asked them to email us their photographs, and a few days later, video interviewed them individually in a university office, bringing up their photos on a laptop screen and asking them to tell us about each one. In most cases, the questions were limited to asking them to tell us what their photographs were of, and why they had taken them. We then viewed all the interviews and transcribed parts of them. We also edited some of these videos into short clips that exemplified some of the most common or interesting themes, or that showed particularly rich encounters with the site, as with the excerpt from the conversation with Ben above. There were several principles that emerged as significant and in the remainder of this chapter, I lay these out, before concluding with some thoughts on what new ways of thinking in, about and through memory sites that this approach might open up.

Attunement

When we ask research participants to take photographs of something, we are asking them to attune to their environments in directed and particular ways that they may not have not done before. That is, we are asking them to engage in a process that begins with sensing, noticing, and thinking about something that we as researchers would like to know more about. Additionally, we are asking people to render how they look and what they look at in terms that the researcher suggests to them when she asks them to take photographs of a particular ‘thing’. When my co-researcher and I asked the group visiting the Camp des Milles to photograph ‘the digital’, for example, this meant they had to consider what ‘digital’ meant in their own terms, and define it visually within the museum setting. Because we also asked them to photograph what drew their attention more generally, this meant that the photographs, and our

discussions about them, ranged quite widely, but it also meant that their explanations for *why* they took each photograph were able to shed light on what was meaningful about the site to them. As the exchange with Ben shows, the process of explaining these meanings often occurred by way of deeply personal stories. By setting a task that allowed people to define the object of inquiry in their own terms, we were thus able to gain an insight not only into what they found significant about the site itself, but how this official material connected to other aspects of their lives and their own personal histories and memories. In this sense, the photo task asked them to implicitly bring the research environment into a direct relationship with both the aims of the project, and their own attunement to it in their own ways, without completely determining the content or demanding that they define it in narrow terms.

One outcome of this approach is often that the aspect you think might be most interesting as a researcher, in this case, the presence and use of digital technology, is revealed as entangled with many other important things. In this sense, asking participants to engage in a process of attuning and defining also speaks back to the research questions, which can transform throughout the research process because of the open and speculative potential of these techniques. Moreover, by asking participants to use their smartphones, we were accessing their established use of an existing technology. In this way, we were working into existing practices—taking photographs on their smartphones of things they found interesting—that they were already familiar with and skilled at, and indeed might have done anyway during a visit to such a site.

Collaboration

A second key principle is collaboration, and this began with the fact that my research colleague and I visited the Camp des Milles with the group of participants, and took our own photos. This visitation meant that we engaged in a similar process of attunement as our participants, and had our own encounters with and responses to the site and its narrative content, materiality, sensory affordances, and established paths of movement. Indeed, my own process of noticing and photographing in the site was

inevitably shaped by my conversations with others as we moved through it and what they took photographs of. Just as in everyday life, my encounter with the Camp des Milles was conditioned by the people I was with, and this gave us an important point of shared reference. Accordingly, as we discussed their visits with research participants in subsequent interviews, we were able to refer to our own experiences (and our experiences together) and reflect on how these compared.

In this way, we were able to open up new understandings of the site with our participants, by means of ‘empathetic visuality’ (Sumartojo and Pink 2017) that meant we had our own sensory and bodily experiences to draw on and to help us understand others’. In this way, the photographs, and the video we made in the interviews a few days later, were not so much a ‘record’, or images that had been ‘captured’, but rather were materials we made together, a ‘particular trace that enables a process of reflection, discussion and understanding’ (Sumartojo and Pink 2017, 40). This process also points to a key ethnographic principle of doing research *with* participants (and hence the term ‘participants’, rather than, for example, ‘subjects’), rather than on them (Harper 2002), a logic that begins with asking them to define for themselves what is important enough to be photographed.

Multi-Modal Research Materials

Third, as Pink points out, photo-elicitation necessarily combines the visual with the verbal, opening new ways to communicate spatialized experience, and drawing the researcher into participants’ worlds in ways that are not possible with words alone: ‘images and words and movements contextualise each other, forming not a complete record of the research but a set of different but interdependent strands of it’ (Pink 2013, 146). This method also underpins the value of using video interviews, rather than only audio recording or making notes of discussions (which are also valuable techniques, but which create different types of knowledge). Instead, visual materials work together with other research materials, such as text, and photographs and videos can also come together in fruitful ways. As Harper (2002, 13) points out, ‘the photo

elicitation interview seems like not simply an interview process that elicits more information, but rather one that evokes a different kind of information'. An important element is what it can evoke in the way it particularly encourages collaboration between the researcher and participant (Lapenta 2011, 201), as I discussed above.

For example, when Ben explained his memory of his father's workshop, he gestured to demonstrate the feel of the dusty air, or rather how he imagined the air as dusty because of how it smelt. His multi-sensory engagement with the site that this rubbing of his fingers stood for also opened a route to a childhood memory—it worked to allow a 'memory return' (Muzaini 2015) that sprang into his attention unbidden. Indeed, Ben subsequently told me that, rather than thinking explicitly about his father's workshop during his visit to Camp des Milles, it was only when looking at the photograph, recalling the visit and seeking a language in which to explain to me how the room in the photograph *felt* that the recollection of the workshop emerged. This recollection demonstrates how powerful visual material can be in accessing knowledge and memory that is not textual or verbal, and that offers alternative ways of understanding and reflecting on experience. It also shows how the creation of visual material can move forward in participants' lives, enabling new insights to emerge over time and in collaboration and discussion with others. Although the photograph fixes something in time and place, it also has a generative capacity that resonates far beyond the moment of its creation.

The video interviews made some of this possible, as I asked participants to 'show' me their images, which included pointing out aspects, gesturing, animating the movement represented by the photo that could not be seen but somehow lay behind it, or even tearing up in response to the content that images showed. All this would be much more difficult to discern or remember within the research project in the absence of video. But more importantly, video allowed us to better understand the sensory aspects of the Camp des Milles visit, because it is itself multisensorial and helped show the relationalities among the researchers, the participants, different aspects of the images, and their responses to our questions.

Representation

The fourth and final principle concerns ways of working with and representing the materials and findings of sensory ethnography in memory sites. The creation of visual materials as a way to think in and about memory sites means that we can also use them to communicate the richness of the research site and encounter with participants. O'Dell and Willim (2013, 315–316) ask about the 'irregular dimensions of research, and what about ethnography as an embodied, creative, and open-ended practice?' They liken ethnography to a process of 'composition' with 'multimodal and sensuous practices' that must be reckoned with as we seek to take our work forward. They focus on the process of transcription, showing how it is not neutral, but has embedded in it the power relationship between researcher and research participants, and the conceptual paradigms of the researcher as she notices or chooses what to write down. Moreover, in conventional transcription, it is very difficult to reflect the gestures, accents, intonations, or inflections that are so important in how ideas and feelings are communicated among us and how we understand the nature of our interactions.

However, while many scholars have discussed the uneven power relations implicit in research processes, it is somewhat less common to address how these might be handled. To some degree, video recording interviews gives us a way to think differently about this. Although, as above, I commonly transcribe research encounters, I also use video clips and stills to convey some of what has been communicated in these exchanges. Furthermore, the work of watching back, listening, writing down and cutting longer interview videos into shorter clips that illustrate key points also gets me closer to the material. As I concentrate on how best to edit these clips, I think *through* and *with* the video—and the process of working it over—to understand the complexity of the multiple space times of memory sites and research about them. For example, the written account from Ben's interview above I came to know by editing it into a video clip, which also revealed his gestural communication that I had not noticed at the time of the interview. This opened up an entirely new route to think about the experience and potential impact of the visit on Ben, which was my way of attending to the 'minor gesture' (Manning 2016) and spatial

experience. It also allowed Ben, to some degree, to speak for himself, and show those who watch or work with his footage later the gestures and inflections that he used to communicate his experience.

It is important to emphasise that working with and presenting any interview material carries an ethical responsibility, and here I have benefited from the work of colleagues who have developed a detailed, multi-step consent form that asks the research participants precisely how we can use the visual material they make in the context of any research project (see Pink 2017). This process extends a high measure of control to participants over how their material is used, building on the collaborative approach that sits behind doing research with people. It includes allowing them to nominate whether they want to see or vet the video clips that are made of their interviews, the ability to withdraw from participation in the study at any time and permission to reuse their name and image in published works. Although I discuss this here in relation to how participant-generated material is represented, the principle of working with rather than on participants carries through all aspects of the ethnographic techniques I have been discussing.

Possibilities

Writing on commemoration, Gillis (1994, 5) comments that ‘memories are not things we think *about*, but things we think *with*’. Sensory ethnography as I have discussed it here, and the particular techniques of photo-elicitation accompanied by video-interviewing, can help us to reframe and rethink official sites by way of individual memory and experience. As I argued in the introduction, this approach allows us to attend to the specificity of encounters with memory sites, how they are perceived and made sense of by visitors, and how these configure with visitors’ own pasts and futures.

Despite its attention to the particular and the individual, however, sensory approaches can also help us better understand memory sites in general, precisely because they demonstrate the complexity of such places and the differential take up of the pedagogies or discourses that their designers or curators might intend. When we try and understand the

impact that such sites have (and the implied question of how we look to 'improve' them or make them more predictable in terms of their effects), it follows that principles regarding encounter and engagement may be more fruitful and productive than specific design recommendations. Indeed, trying to design for particular outcomes is usually most successful in shutting down possibilities for engagement and meaning-making. In the Camp des Milles study, for example, we found that the multi-sensoriality of a site visit extended far beyond conventional multimedia displays, which might even serve to distance viewers from material, rather than bring them closer. Attending to experience allowed us to draw together the multi-sensoriality of such places with the personal and national temporalities that characterise how people make sense of them. This insight is unlikely to be unique to one memory site alone, even if the specifics of how it is configured materially and sensorially may be unique in some respects. It follows that knowing that people's experiences of such sites are co-constituted by what they bring with them in terms of their own memories, for example, also could mean allowing space for visitors to configure or engage with information in multiple ways.

Another important point is the way that memory sites' multi-temporality—because they are linked to visitors' pasts and futures as well as the histories that are represented in them—is made discernible through ethnographic techniques. In other words, attending to the sensory allows researchers and participants alike to step sideways from the chronological structures of official memory sites, making possible multi-temporal or a-chronological understandings of things that happened in the past, but that continue to resonate into the future. Photographs, and the possibilities of future reflection and feeling that they make possible, perhaps exemplify this most strongly.

In my own research of memory sites based on ethnographic principles and approaches, I have come to understand them by way of how they are shaped by our foreknowledge and anticipation, material surrounds, and sensory perceptions (Sumartojo 2015, 2016). Memory has emerged as an imaginative, sensory, and affective category of experience, linked to how we attune to our spatial environments, but also what we expect from them and how we reflect on them subsequently. In this sense, memory sites are not static, but are ongoingly experienced and re-conjured as we

notice and ascribe value to various aspects of them and then consider these in encounters with other people, including those we meet as part of a research process. Photographs and video help take this process forward, opening up new opportunities for meanings to emerge and be articulated. Photo elicitation as I have used it is at its core simply a means by which to invite participants to attune to particular aspects of their worlds and enter a discussion about what these might mean, conversations that at their most generative are exploratory and collaborative. Engaging in such an exercise, for both researchers and research participants, in itself has the potential to increase the impact of memory sites because of the attention and subsequent reflection it demands. The digital remains of images and video that result are one aspect of this impact, in that they document a process by which this impact was made, by both representing *and* comprising it.

Sensory ethnography pulls our attention to memory's experiential and affective qualities, and how these are configured by way of specific material and spatial aspects of our worlds. As I have written elsewhere (Sumartojo 2015, 2016), affect is powerful in making memory sites lodge in our imaginations, so understanding them in sensory and affective terms—in other words how we feel in, about and with them—can illuminate not only what they mean to us, but how they might continue to ripple forward into our individual and shared futures.

Acknowledgements This research underpinning this chapter was supported by a visiting fellowship funded by the Foundation Aix-Marseille University and was conducted in collaboration with Matthew Graves. I also wish to thank all the research participants and the staff at the Camp des Milles, particularly Bernard Mossé, and colleagues Gilles Teulié and Sarah Pink.

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3

Using Emplaced Ethnography, Mobility, and Listening to Research Memory

Danielle Drozdzewski and Carolyn Birdsall

Introduction

This chapter charts our exploration of doing memory research, differently. Herein, we detail memory research undertaken for our project on war commemoration in Amsterdam on 4 and 5 May 2016. May 4 and 5 are two national, public events in the Netherlands. May 4 is known as Dodenherdenking (Remembrance of the Dead); it is a day of commemoration and reflection, marking the Nazi German occupation of the Netherlands and the remembrance of Dutch civilian and armed forces that have died in wars or on peacekeeping missions since 1945. May 5 is Bevrijdingsdag (Liberation Day), marking the end of the German occupation and the celebration of freedom in the Netherlands. Both days

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comprise coordinated and state-led rituals, where collective remembrance is intimately entwined with projects of nation building. That the two national events are on consecutive days and that they are characterised by very different commemorative atmospheres—4 May by officialdom and solemnity and 5 May by celebration and frivolity—compelled our investigation into the range of enactments, experiences, and staging at these memory-marking events. The *Stille Tocht*, a silent march through the streets of Amsterdam to the city centre held in the evening of 4 May and ahead of the official Two Minutes Silence in the Dam Square at 8 pm (ECT), especially piqued our interest. The use of silence on 4 May juxtaposes the Freedom Festivals (*Bevrijdingspop*) that follow on 5 May, which comprise largely of live music performances.

Sound is a key component of both national days. It is integrated into the commemorative experience to engender collective engagement of the public in the coordinated ritual. While we have written about the representational outcomes of sound commemoration on 4 May elsewhere (see Birdsall and Drozdowski 2018), here we focus on how the particularities of the commemorative events forced us to think about doing (our) memory research differently, answering our own research questions of how we would/could better understand the purpose and effect of these commemorations if they were silent and noisy. Some of the answers to these questions informed the mixed methodology we employed, and the explication of these methods comprise the body of this chapter. It was clear to us that to undertake this research, we would have to participate in both commemorative events. Emplacement meant we needed to be mobile and silent during the *Stille Tocht*, honing our sensory skills, listening, observing, feeling, and being. Similarly, on Liberation Day, our emplacement meant taking our ethnographic toolkit to the largest Freedom Festival (*Bevrijdingspop*) in Haarlem, outside of Amsterdam. To explain the rationale, implementation and data analysis from these methods, our chapter will be divided into the following sections: ‘emplacement’ as part of a sensory ethnography looking, being, observing and doing, and ‘walking’ and ‘listening’, both as distinct methods trajectories within the wider ethnography. First, however, we briefly situate our methodological discussion in the context of Dutch commemoration.

Dutch War Commemoration

After 1945, the 4 May commemoration events were called for by a former member of the Dutch Resistance, Jan Drop, who argued that not only should the liberation (5 May) be celebrated, but that an additional event should also commemorate the dead (Raaijmakers 2014: 15). From 1946, the 4 May events began to take place, and the 4 May ritual elements—consisting of two minutes' silence, the laying of wreaths and flowers, and the playing of the national anthem, preceded by a silent march—have remained relatively unchanged; part of the success of these rituals elements is that they are flexible enough to allow regional organizers to include local stories and concerns within a national structure (van Ginkel 2011; Duindam 2016: 83). Nonetheless, Raaijmakers (2014: 14–15) has noted an ongoing tension in Remembrance Day events between 'inclusion and exclusion, top-down and bottom-up control, remembering and forgetting, the natural and constructed, tradition and renewal, and between consensus and discussion'. For instance, returned veterans from the controversial decolonisation war in Indonesia (1945–1949) garnered support to broaden the scope of Remembrance Day to include all civilians and military who had died 'since 1940'. In the context of Amsterdam, the local government has tended to support monument building as a means of maintaining harmony, and as a sign of respect to residents and their respective communities. Dewulf (2012: 247) observes how a broader 'diversification' strategy in national commemoration, to include the Roma and others, has prompted controversy among communities which had less direct ties to the war and occupation. In sum, anxieties about inclusion within the scope of Remembrance Day have existed since its inception (after 1945), and are interwoven, with similar uncertainty, into post-colonial national identity narratives. Despite a critical and more nuanced memory discourse since the 1990s, each edition of Remembrance Day prompts discussion and debate, particularly vocal are young people and those with a migrant background, who do not express respect or affinity to this national commemoration (see Drozdowski 2016 for an Australian comparison of remembrance amid multiculturalism).

Following the establishment of the National Committee for 4 and 5 May (Nationaal Comité 4 en 5 mei) in 1987, the discourse of nationalised memory became further entrenched as a nation building exercise, with the introduction of live national broadcasts of the Dam square events on 4 May, which were now synced to an 8 pm schedule (Duindam 2012: 254). It is this resulting performance at the Dam square as the 'main stage', with the Dutch Royal family and heads of state and military present, which, sets the other programme events, the Stille Tocht in particular, as taking place 'off stage'. The chance to be more-than-an observer participant in the performance of war commemoration and liberation (at the Stille Tocht and Bevrijdingsdag, respectively) drew our attention as opportunities to undertake an emplaced sensory ethnography. Within our methodological approach, we included strategic method components of mobility (allowing us to be mobile and walk with the Stille Tocht and move with the crowds at Bevrijdingsdag) and listening, which cued our aural sensitivities to what soundscapes characterised commemoration at both events. We begin this discussion of method below with consideration of emplaced methods.

Emplaced Methods: Beyond Doing and Observing

To be emplaced is to position oneself. An emplaced method, then, is to position oneself within the context of one's research environment, as we did on May 4 and 5, partaking in the Stille Tocht, Dam Square ceremony and the Bevrijdingsdag. We were compelled by the recent flurry of scholarship focused on emplaced methods, especially within the social sciences and humanities (Degen and Rose 2012; Pink 2009; Kusenbach 2003; O'Neill and Hubbard 2010; Vergunst and Ingold 2008; Waterton and Dittmer 2014). The consensus among these and other authors, is that being part of the event/thing/theme of research opens multiple possibilities for how we understand process, nuance, and context of/in our research. For example, Ingold (2000: 354) has argued that emplacement is the 'practitioners' engagement with the material with which they work',

it is an 'attentive engagement'. Emplacement as method is 'a skilled activity', carried out with 'its own intrinsic intentionality, quite apart from any designs or plans that it may be supposed to implement' (Ingold 2000: 354). In our research, on 4 and 5 May 2016, in Amsterdam, we were as much interested in understanding the (re)production, performance, and enactment of national memory, as we were in understanding what it felt like and the experience of that (re)production, performance, and enactment. As Stevenson (2014: 340) has acknowledged, 'embodied practice incites researchers to regard enactment as a means of knowing', rather than just a data source for subsequent analysis.

This dual conceptual *and* methodological focus necessitates different sets of skills, as Ingold affirmed. Attuning to affect in an emplaced research method means that researchers must learn how 'their own sensory embodied experiences might assist them in learning about other people's worlds' (Pink 2009: 24). It also requires them to qualify and relate the experience of being in place as an integral and discrete part of the research process. As other chapters in this volume demonstrate (Sharick et al., De Nardi, Sumartojo and Gensburger), scholarship focused on emplaced methods within memory research is gaining currency (Drozdewski et al. 2016; Sumartojo 2015, 2016; Stevenson 2014); they also show a diversity of narrative approaches to relating the experience of these emplaced encounters. Our emplaced approach had Human Research Ethics Clearance (UNSW Panel E, No. HC16328). In what follows, we explicate how we conducted our emplaced ethnography during the Stille Tocht and Bevrijdingsdag. We pay attention to how we attuned our senses, how we recorded our encounters and reflected on our research experiences. We are cautious, however, not to characterise the individual method components of this emplaced practice only as participant observation and participation alone. To move beyond 'observing' and 'doing' we take stock in Pink's (2009: 63) call to direct our methodological lenses on the 'embodied, emplaced, sensorial and empathetic', rather than more simply focusing on 'a mix of participation and observation'. We saw emplacement as framing our methodological approach because while in the field we participated in the collective acts of marching and keeping silent during the Stille Tocht and in the festivities of Bevrijdingsdag. Embedded and inseparable from this

approach was the sound walk conducted during the *Stille Tocht*, which necessitated consideration of walking (mobility) and listening as discrete methods (and as discussed in two further sections of this chapter).

Silent Emplacement

Overlaying our emplacement in the field on 4 May was the imposition of silence, though we have argued elsewhere that the *Stille Tocht* was not entirely silent (Birdsall and Drozdowski 2018). Our silent emplacement, and indeed the regulations for silence stated on the official *Stille Tocht* brochure, primed our researcher bodies. The restriction on causal and audible conversation meant that where marchers might have otherwise filled the blank spaces of the two-hour-long march with observations about the activity and/or with chatter, the paucity of that particular soundscape meant that our attention was instead drawn (more effectively) to the purpose of the march, its location and surroundings, and to our fellow marchers. Similarly, and in further example of sensory ethnography, Sumartojo et al. (2017: 95) described how they ‘worked, observed, listened, adjusted and slowly got to know the space with our bodies and through our movements’. In addition to our sensing bodies, we were equipped with other technologies—a GoPro Hero3+, our smartphones, notepads, a digital camera, and a digital voice recorder. Stevenson (2014: 336–337) has suggested that emplaced performances are not only relational but thrive ‘on collaborative encounters with people and technologies’. Our capacity to record and revisit video and audio footage and re-read field notes has been integral to fleshing out such collaborative encounters (Sumartojo and Pink 2017).

Experiencing the *Stille Tocht* also entailed a feeling for and sensing of the performance and staging of collective memory. Indeed, the notions of collectivity and collaboration resonate with our interest in the synchronicity of people marching *en masse*, and in silence, as an act of war commemoration. We partook in the entire march and positioned ourselves roughly in the middle of the column of marchers. This positioning was, in part, to relieve the discomfort often produced by obvious acts of researcher observation (Kearns 2010), but to also open up the

opportunity to perceive the whole group of marchers and what participation in it felt like. For example, towards the completion of the march at the Dam Square, Drozdowski noted: 'It feels like the number of people have grown and I feel a little lost in the crowd' (Field notes, 4 May, 2016). Further, replaying the GoPro footage revealed how the group moved along as a whole and how as individual marchers, we adjusted our stride pace to align with the group. For example, we noticed while walking and watching the recording that often our adjustment of pace coincided with us making a field note or taking a photograph, and hence not paying direct attention to the rhythm of marchers. The tendency to sync pace with the group prevails powerfully when we take pause to consider how we each moved separately as individuals, but together as a column of marchers. The collectively of the group's movement was palpable; that collectively, of marching together for the cause of remembrance created (the desired) atmosphere of unity as Birdsall noted in her field diary: '[the] crowd becomes wider, [there is a] sense of composition (we are the people)' (Field notes, May 4, 2016). As Sumartojo (2015: 279) also found when attending a similar national event of war commemoration, 'the grouping of the crowd also worked to symbolise national collectivity'. This grouping of the collective is a spatial performance in which the local dimension of the *Stille Tocht* (led by the Amsterdam mayor) gradually leads towards and is absorbed within the national gathering at the Dam Square. In this vision of 'imagined community' (Anderson 1991), we and the other marchers are projected as in compliance with the official narrative of national commemoration, in which Amsterdam itself is a metonym for the nation. In marching as co-participants, we submitted to being part of this imagined community formation, regardless of our nationality or personal views on national memory politics.

Emplacement also meant embracing and responding to a fluidity of movements. We had to slow to allow people past who traversed through and dissected the column of marchers. We also had to be mindful of changes in the surfaces on which we were walking. For example, Birdsall's field notes record the intersection of marchers with Amsterdam's ubiquitous cyclists, 'bikes on adjacent path squeaking past, slow pace—set path, others [are] aware of route, [this is a] surprise for me, [I did not

comprehend] how exactly the procession would walk' (Field notes, 4 May, 2016). Later in the march Birdsall commented:

[There is only a] narrow area to walk, people with bikes power walk past so that they can cycle again, teachers push school students to hurry up, [we take a] right turn, Google Street view car next to the procession, walk to the right, ordinary walkers, more cyclists, car horn, police on bike, power-walking cyclists. (Field notes, 4 May, 2016)

In this chapter's section on walking, we expand on the idea that the choice of marching route contributes to the event's politics of memory, but here, we also nod to how the use of video footage reinforces our emplacement in the everyday streetscape. Video created what Sumartojo and Pink (2017: 40) have referred to as a 'video trace'; viewing the footage in combination with our memories of the march, our notes and other data 'generate(s) new knowledge by constituting a particular trace that enables a process of reflection, discussion and understanding'. While the excerpt from Birdsall's field note above provided insight into how she felt at the commencement of the march (of being surprised at the march's trajectory), the footage enabled us to view how we and the group moved. Because we could not ask each other about the direct path of the march as it began, we both noted some uncertainty among the group at the beginning of the march as we criss-crossed the Museumplein, though as we marched towards and then along straight roads and pavement, the formation and sync of the group took shape. The GoPro, positioned towards the ground, recorded what were a multitude of sensory encounters with different pavement surfaces—grass, tram tracks, drains, curbs, animal faeces, rubbish—each requiring different responses with/to this materiality and also bodily responses in terms of tread and pressure. Cumulatively, these encountered materialities are parts of the urban streetscape, they all connect the march and marchers to the urban locale and serve to tangibly link people to place. This theme, of connecting people to place, threads through all methods discussed in this chapter. Buttressing these connections together, as Pink has shown (2009: 25), is that emplacement 'attends to the question of experience by accounting for the relationships between bodies, minds and the materiality and

sensoriality of the environment' (Pink 2009: 25). In the following section, we engage with Pink's notion of the 'sensoriality of the environment' at the Bevrijdingspop (Freedom Festival) in Haarlem on 5 May 2016.

Feeling Freedom

Juxtaposing the more sombre and formal commemorative events of 4 May, on 5 May, a completely different atmosphere was apparent. While the official name for 5 May is Liberation Day, the organised events draw heavily on the theme of freedom. This theme is replicated through:

- the name, Freedom Festival, held around the country that day;
- the repetition of the torch and flame symbol in public spaces;
- the 5 before 5 moment where all festival-goers, at all locations around the Netherlands, are encouraged to stand together for freedom at 5 minutes before 5 pm; and
- the use of the travelling Liberation Fire to symbolise the passing of freedom from Wageningen, where the German capitulation became official, to other towns and cities across the country (Meeuse and Bouhuys 2000: 13–14).

Cumulatively, these constituent parts comprise staged and officially mandated performance of freedom, akin to what Reeves (2017: 3) has described as a scripted 'choreography' where the official theme of freedom is 'pre-defined, rehearsed, sequenced, and generally externally imposed' with the view of being repeated, and we would add, for specific political purposes. The intent of our emplaced ethnography at Haarlem's Bevrijdingspop was to cultivate an 'empathetic viewing' (Sumartojo and Pink 2017: 43) of how the theme freedom was variously engaged with and felt at the festival. While we did not plan to use any form of oral method, our emplacement at the festival drew similarities with Kusenbach's (2003: 463) now renowned go-along method, in that we 'hung out' at the festival 'spending a particular yet comparable slice of ordinary time' with others attending the festival.

In keeping with the emplaced and sensory ethnography we conducted the previous day, we used an assemblage of technologies to help record and capture our experience—GoPro, smartphone for images and note taking. GoPro footage of the crowd and of the live bands reinforced the overwhelmingly positive and party-like atmosphere. Large beach balls with the torch and flame logo inscribed on them traversed the crowds. People mingled and moved between stages, chill out areas and food stalls. Notably, and unlike most large music festivals, a mix of ages and family groups were present. The carefree ambiance was punctuated by the hosts' on-stage announcements; their script was clearly written to maximise the articulation of freedom and stress that it was a quality that the Dutch people are thankful for and should not take for granted.

We felt freedom differently. For Drozdzewski, as a foreigner in the Netherlands who had never attended a Liberation Day festival, this festival was a surreal experience. She was struck by the open, friendly and laid-back attitude of the festival-goers—the atmosphere enthralling. There was an overwhelming sense that the festival goers relished this designated day, that they felt like this day belonged to them, and that it made them proudly Dutch. Sumartojo's (2016: 1) comments regarding the co-creation of atmosphere resonate here; she suggests that: 'people co-create atmosphere through their actions and responses in commemorative moments, but also because of their anticipation and expectations of the events'. The anticipation of having a good time was intense, it was witnessed on people's smiling faces, through carefree dancing, children being held up on their parents' shoulders.

Birdsall's long-term residence and previous attendance at the festival provided a slightly different narrative. Birdsall's noticed a professional security presence (and the new addition of security barriers) and various participatory strategies used to emphasise the festival's central theme 'Pass on freedom! (*Geef vrijheid door!*)', using the beach balls, call and response elements, and the inclusion of a social media 'selfie' feed on the large screens. In one such segment, a video showing the popular Dutch rapper Typhoon started with a visual infographic depicting all the Bevrijdingspop locations across the country, emphasising all of these major towns and cities as having a simultaneous, networked experience of this national event; the audience were then encouraged to collectively sing out the

Morse code for the letter ‘V’ that had been significant during the Second World War as the symbol of ‘freedom’ (*Vrijheid*), with ‘three times short and one time long’ (*drie keer kort en een keer lang*). Birdsall also noted the repeated use of a new cover of the song ‘Iedereen is van de wereld’ (Everyone is from the world).

As researchers, being emplaced while engaging in note-taking and audiovisual recording, allowed us each to register the different collective atmospheres and affects on 4 and 5 May, and how official discourse seeks to draw a meaningful connection between both national events. In what follows we will probe further into the specifics of our methodological engagement with listening and walking.

Listening

Building on the robust scholarship investigating sound and urban space (Bull 2000; Thompson 2002; Back and Bull 2003), research on the relationship between sound, auditory experience, and place-making has gained pace (Smith 2000; Connell and Gibson 2003; Atkinson 2007; O’Connor 2008; Bandt et al. 2009; Pinkerton and Dodds 2009; Kanngieser 2012; Revill 2016; Wilson 2016). While there has been limited engagement with the broader theme of sound in memory studies (Birdsall 2016), cultural geographers, in particular, have reflected on the role of sound, voice, and listening within ethnographic research practice. In recent years, an exploration of methods and approaches to elicit understandings of sound and place have included interviews (Bull 2007), sound diaries (Duffy and Waitt 2011), sound maps (Waldock 2011; Thulin 2018), sound walks (McCartney 2014), audio walks (Butler 2007), and audio drifts (Gallagher 2014).

Keeping in mind the persistent tendency to ‘erase sound’ from the recording and transcription of ethnographic fieldwork (Wilson 2016: 164), we were keen, in our research, to explore the possibilities to examine the aural components contributing to the production of meaning, affect, and atmosphere during the 4 and 5 May commemorative events. So, we listened. We listened as a key component of our emplaced ethnography, where our listening was accompanied by mobility, field diaries,

audio recording, and analysis (as we detailed in the ‘[Emplaced Methods](#)’ section). Along the Stille Tocht, our approach shared a strong affinity with McCartney’s (2014: 1) definition of the sound walk, it too involved ‘listening and sometimes recording while moving through a place at a walking pace’.

Our mobile listening was realised in a conscious act of attending to the sounds around us, to concentrating on their acoustic (e.g. loudness and pitch) and spatial and temporal properties (e.g. frequency and rhythm). To register these impressions, we took observation notes on what we heard, felt and saw during our participation in the Stille Tocht and commemoration on the Dam Square. To observe this collective practice of being silent, and the role of sound in contributing to a sense of place, we were instructed by R. Murray Schafer’s impulse (1977/1994: 7–12) to interpret the ‘sounds that matter’ in the acoustic environment, by using descriptive categories (silence, keynotes, sound signals, sound marks) and ‘the techniques of modern recording and analysis’. Tuning to these sounds that mattered meant taking extensive notes about our awareness of sounds associated with the march, its immediate surroundings and the urban context of central Amsterdam. While Birdsall has had more experience with sound-based methodologies, for Drozdzewski, trying to decentre her normative visual research focus on/during the commemorative events was challenging. As we noted earlier, because the silence was mandated, we had a less diffuse auditory landscape to work with, and our field notes revealed our heightened awareness to the subtleties of sound, in particular the qualities of voice. For example, on the Museumplein Drozdzewski noted: ‘we can hear the chatter of others not partaking in the silence that are sitting around the park, as well as the noise of the traffic behind’ (Field notes, May 4, 2016). Silence, as Kanngieser (2012: 344) reminds us, ‘does not leave a space to be filled but rather it fills space, it impregnates the room, which vibrates in anticipation’. In turn, our notes reference those moments where non-participants intercede and participants broke their silence, mainly in a whisper, which frequently occurred during moments of uncertainty (e.g. about the direction of the march, or if they were too far at the back to hear the official speeches). For example, Drozdzewski noted: ‘I notice people whispering but no one is talking aloud’ (Field notes, 4 May 2016). On other occasions, the silence was

broken by an unexpected development, such as the sirens of passing fire service trucks; in this moment, Drozdowski observed a qualitative change: 'It is almost like I feel that the silence is becoming difficult to maintain' (Field notes, 4 May 2016). In our notes, we each differentiate the sounds produced by the march itself: participants, organisers, police, and the four, young male drummers in military-style uniform leading the march; as well as by onlookers: pedestrians, cyclists, motorists. We also noted the interplay between voice, music, and other sound cues produced changes in commemorative atmosphere and affect. As the procession approached the Dam square, we each registered the 'suspense' (Drozdowski) and 'build up' (Birdsall) as the march ended, but also an audible shift between the discontinuation of the drumming and the amplified sound system at the 'main stage'. The drumming provided aural clues and cues, reminding marchers as to the official purpose of the march. Anderson (2004: 16) has contended that 'listening "to remember something" is ... one of a number of "peak" experiences of intensified affect that provide ways of being and living that do not necessarily always form into a "technology of the self"'. Overall, the volume of the drummers, in particular, was crucial for the pace and mood of the march. We flagged earlier in the chapter that once marching on the pavements and streets, a collective steadiness of pace was apparent; we can corroborate this observation with the sound recordings.

Our use of an Olympus digital voice recorder, located in an external pocket of Drozdowski's handbag with the microphone positioned outwards, captured the sounds of the *Stille Tocht*. To analyse the recording, we used the Sonic Visualiser (2017) programme to listen to and determine the distribution between sound sources on the recording, according to their type and frequency (according to their hertz). To do so, we used an Excel spreadsheet to count—within each minute of recording—how many times certain sound types were evident. In this case, the sound types that were audible were voices, coughing, drums, echoed drums, footsteps, bells, music, vehicles (distinct), traffic (general), and bicycles. We then plotted these data for the *Stille Tocht* using a stacked area graph, which allowed us to visualise the overall distribution of sound elements across the 30-minute recording (see Birdsall and Drozdowski (2018: 277) for the graph and discussion of the sound distribution).

In our analysis, we adopted the classifications produced by Mills (2005: 18) for soundscape analysis, categorising sounds in terms of *geophony* (sounds associated with the physical environment), *biophony* (associated with the biological environment) and *anthrophony* (associated with people). The plotting of the data on the graph revealed how anthroponic sounds (footsteps, drums, voices) dominated the soundscape of the Stille Tocht, with only 1.5% of the sounds having a nonhuman origin (bird calls). To use Schafer's terminology, the keynote sounds in the background were the traffic and music, which remained a persistent reminder of the urban context, and the usual peak hour period, in which the march took place. The benefit of this chosen mode of analysis is that it allowed us to acknowledge and interpret the different sounds, their affective charge and meanings within the context of the Stille Tocht. The analysis of the recording reinforced the observations made in the field notes that the march is not marked by an absence of sound but is rather replete with auditory cues, both for the participants in the march, and for passersby and onlookers. This finding reinforces our contention that the spectacle of this collective act of remembrance and not necessarily the commemorative silence is key outcome of the march.

The emplaced and mobile quality of this listening exercise meant that we remained persistently attentive to how the soundscape moved with place, and how soundscapes travelled through the column of marchers. For example, we heard the echo of drummers at the front of the column as they first entered the Rijksmuseum passageway, long before we entered the passageway ourselves. Further, the music playing at the various stops on the Museumplein lingered through the marchers as we moved away from the turfed area and onto harder pavement surfaces. In thinking about the mobile quality of the soundscape, we turn now to the final section focused on walking.

Walking to Remember

Given the more static—and normative—form of war remembrance evidenced in the officialdom surrounding the 2-minute silence in the Dam Square, we were particularly compelled by the mobile qualities of the

Stille Tocht as a collaborative and collective memory event. We have argued that the march ‘brings otherwise unknown, diverse, and disparate citizens either physically by gathering in place at an orchestrated event, or figuratively through together temporally organized events that transcend spatial distance’ (Birdsall and Drozdowski 2018: 273–274). To be part of the march, and indeed as researchers investigating these collective commemorations, we needed to be mobile. Mobility, and in the case of our research, walking, was an enabling methodology. Ingold and Vergunst (2008: 5, original emphasis) have contended that ‘walking comprises a suite of bodily performances that include observing, monitoring, remembering, listening, touching, crouching and climbing. And it is through these performances, *along the way*, that their knowledge is forged’. As a method, walking has a capacitive mandate; it connects people to the place(s) they traverse because it engages multiple sensory experiences, simultaneously, and brings attention to where people are located in the present moment as they walk. In thinking through the connections between memory and place, Solnit (2001) provokes us to consider how repetitive movements through the same places function to remind us of our previous passings through that route. She contended:

To walk the same route again can mean to think the same thoughts again, as though thoughts and ideas were indeed fixed objects in a landscape one need only know how to travel through. In this way, walking is reading, even when both the walking and reading are imaginary, and the landscape of the memory becomes a text. (Solnit 2001: 77)

Walking in/with the Stille Tocht was pivotal to the generation of commemorative affect (cf. Sumartojo 2016), because it was designed so people move through places that they will move through again—thus, opening spaces for contemplation on previous movements through those same places. Stevenson (2014: 335) has reasoned that ‘the effect of being in place is heightened by our walking through routes that are coloured with meanings that have been accrued in the past’. Considering that the Stille Tocht forms part of a large-scale commemorative and nation building event, these cognitive links are not only planned and purposeful but embedded in the otherwise everyday and mundane practice of walking.

In 2016, the *Stille Tocht* comprised a two-hour-long walk from Museumplein, which weaved its way through familiar everyday places in central Amsterdam including through the Rijksmuseum passageway, then towards the Dam Square via main thoroughfare of the Vijzelstraat. This choice of marching route allowed the participants to move along a familiar pathway and the opportunity to connect those places in the present to the collective action of remembering the national past. Edensor (2012: 70) has argued that ‘the walking body ... produces contingent notions of place as well as being always partially conditioned by the special and physical characteristics of place’. Such characteristics during the march included:

- specific stop points along the march (for example, at Second World War memorials located in Museumplein);
- prompts given to marchers, which included ‘the instruction is to be silent, follow the designated route, and stop at the selected memorial landmarks’ (Birdsall and Drozdowski 2018: 274); and
- visual prompts along the route of Dutch war commemoration (flags and posters created by the National Committee for 4 and 5 May).

Designated route stops, restrictions on sound, and visual cues provided what Degen and Rose (2012: 3271) have called ‘sensory experiences’; together, during the march, they intimately intertwine ‘with perpetual memories that mediate the present moment of experience in various ways’. Walking put us—the marchers—in touch with our surrounding environment, that is the places of commemoration, the streets and the pathways of Amsterdam. Being part of the *Stille Tocht* event mediated an attunement to place(s), but it also provided the foundation for connecting individuals into a collective of marchers, a theme we mentioned earlier in our section on ‘Silent Emplacement’. Ingold and Vergunst (2008: 1) proffer that ‘walking is a profoundly social activity: that in their timings, rhythms and inflections, the feet respond as much as does the voice to the presence and activity of other’. In binding together a collective of marchers, we could then investigate the reason(s) why they were walking, together, in the first place.

Walking together allowed us to experience what it felt like to be part of the silent march, both as individual researchers and as part of a wider collective project of commemoration. These two positionalities intersected

through the march. At no time did we hide the fact we were conducting research; we were note taking on paper and our smartphones, with the GoProHero3+ and a voice recorder visible, we also both took photos along the route with our smartphones and a digital camera. We were both carrying copies of our ethics application including a Participant Information Statement, should we be asked about the equipment we were carrying (although this never happened). While our emplacement as individual marchers was foremost for research purposes, by default we became part of the collective spectacle; 'by marching in silence through the city we become the spectacle. We [we]re the ones being watched' (Drozdewski's field notes, 4 May 2016). Traffic was stopped for us by policeman on point duty at road intersections, people looked down from their apartment windows at the column of marchers, and on approaching and entering the Dam Square, we were directed down a cordoned-off section of the road and into a designated and reserved section of the already full Dam Square. We were cognisant of these shifting positions as we walked, and mindful too of Edensor's (2010: 70) assertion that 'the rhythms of walking allow for a particular experiential flow of successive moments of detachment and attachment, physical immersion and mental wandering, memory, recognition and strangeness'. Edensor's assertions of attachment, detachment, recognition, and difference refract through our contrasting field notes on our approach to the Dam Square:

Drozdewski's field note: 'because I do not know the city, I do not know which street I am in or where I am going. I can't ask where I am either. I am just moving with the moving line of people'.

Birdsall's field note: 'walk past the Carousel cafe—patrons take photos, car horns on right, people with headphones on bikes, given leaflets, some refuse, others accept, tourists talking loudly, move into beginning of the Vijzelstraat'.

These notes serve as reminders of our awareness to being in place, engendered while silently walking. In his experience of walking in coastal England, Wylie (2005: 236) suggested that his encounters were 'configurations of motion and materiality—of light, colour, morphology and mood—from which distinctive senses of self and landscape, walker and ground, observer and observed, distil[ed] and refract[ed]'.

Our experience of walking during the *Stille Tocht* facilitated our reflection on such intersections of motion and materiality, but also of contemplative remembrance of place, purpose, and self—prompted by the silence. The opportunity to walk—for the most part in silence—also importantly provides an outlet for reflection on the nation, its involvement in conflict and those who died in conflict. ‘There is far more to walking than what is registered on the ground in the monotonous tread of feet’ (Ingold and Vergunst 2008: 10).

Conclusion

Like all the chapters in this collection, taking pause to reflect on, write about, and centre, the chosen methodological approach has reminded us how the doing of our research is so intimately intertwined with the research project as a whole. Rather than situated separately from the conceptual development of empirical data, or as a distinct and often short section at the beginning of a chapter, what we have shown here, especially through our use of an emplaced sensory ethnography, is that knowledge about an event is felt, heard, seen, and smelt in the process of doing the research and as much as it is reflected, refracted, and discussed after the fieldwork. It centred the ‘body as a site of knowing while recognising that we are capable of objectification through intellectual activity’ (Pink 2009: 26).

Emplacement directed our attention to the urban locale. It put us in contact with the places and settings of central Amsterdam; the *Stille Tocht*, for example, seeded connection points between the marchers in the present with thoughts of the Dutch past. The *Bevrijdingspop*’s generation of an atmosphere of freedom connected the past (through the previous day’s commemorative events) to the present day. The decision to listen for and to the sounds of commemoration was a productive exercise in critically attending to the interplay of sonic elements in commemorative rituals, and considering how these sounds are bound up in the contemporary politics and practices of memory. Frith and Kalin (2016: 44) have argued that ‘studies of memory places show how place can become integral to understanding how memories are evoked for and experienced by their visitors’. We certainly would not have gleaned the same under-

standings of the Stille Tocht or Bevrijdingspop had we simply observed them from stationary positions, or, we think, interviewed participants about their experiences post hoc. Rather, our understandings about the (re)production, performance, and stages of 4 and 5 May in Amsterdam were assembled in place, through placing our bodies amid those performances ‘as a constituent of place’ (Pink 2009: 66). The sensory experiences were ‘central for shaping [our and] visitors’ understandings of [the] site-specific historical narrative and its capacity to heighten and nuance empathetic connections’ with Dutch wartime memory (Sumartojo [forthcoming](#)). That the march involved a directive of silence added distinctiveness to its mandate. It meant we, along with fellow marchers, honed our listening skills, were more aware of our contact with the materialities of the route, and felt a sense of contribution to the generation of a commemorative spectacle—a (mostly) silent column of marchers pacing together through the streets of Amsterdam.

Our chosen method assemblage incorporated mobility and listening, while valuing the holistic quality of emplaced research, which recognises that ‘looking, listening and touching ... are not separate activities, they are just different facets of the same activity’ (Ingold 2000: 261). At both events, ‘the interplay of sound and silence within public remembrance [wa]s central in transforming the everyday landscape in which the war memorials are located and ceremonies take place into places set apart from the quotidian’ (Marshall 2004: 41). The streets of Amsterdam became the focus point and path for collective remembrance during the Stille Tocht, and the field in Haarlem became a site where exhibitions of freedom were enacted through a melange of music, visual cues, and devices, and an atmosphere of light-heartedness.

Earlier in our chapter, we noted that an emplaced approach also requires researchers to ‘qualify and relate the experience of being in place’. In understanding our emplaced and sensory ethnography, our reflective practice sought to better understand how ‘our bodies and the bodies of others are central to the practical accomplishment of fieldwork’ (Coffey 1999: 59). To qualify and relate our method meant that much time was spent discussing our experiences to each other, we talked through our notes, what we thought were significant moments, watched the videos, and listened to audio recordings. This reflexive practice was integral not only to sifting through the research material but also to considering how

our bodies responded to the research settings and that those responses provided invaluable knowledge about the events. Telling the story of being part of the commemorative events on 4 and 5 May—of sensing, feeling, and experiencing in place—is perhaps a more complex story to narrate that one focussed solely on the significance of those memory events for the nation.

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4

Biosensing: A Critical Reflection on Doing Memory Research Through the Body

Tess Osborne

Introduction

Recently there has been a call for more ‘viscerally aware’ methodologies within the social sciences (Sexton et al. 2017), which are able to interpret and represent bodily data in new ways. Biosensing technologies, as a collection of technologies that measure the body’s autonomic reactions to an experience, give researchers the opportunity to investigate bodily data in a quantitative form. Thus, biosensing allows us to record the bodily reactions that ‘often slip away unnoticed and/or undocumented’ (Longhurst et al. 2008, p. 208) and begin to investigate the biological aspects of the body in the social sciences. Whilst it is important to stress that the data recorded by biosensing technologies are only a partial representation of reality, there is still a requirement for us, as researchers, to experiment with new technologies to gain understandings of ‘the small spaces of the body through a whole array of new scientific instruments [which were] formerly invisible or imperceptible’ (Thrift 2004, p. 67). Biosensing,

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therefore, provides an opportunity to move beyond traditional narrative inquires and investigate people's experiences at the level of the body.

It is well acknowledged that the processes and events of memory and emotion are deeply entwined at an embodied level (Bhatti et al. 2009; Gallagher 2006). Not only are memories emotionally charged but they also stir physiological responses in bodies. As such, memory, as research field, is predestined for an interdisciplinary approach, since reminiscing has a biological basis yet consists of cultural contents. The limbic system of the brain (namely the hippocampus) and automatic nervous system are key to the processing and reactions of memory and emotion and, as such, has been the focus of many cognitive scientific studies (Bannerman et al. 2004; Erickson et al. 2011; Maguire et al. 1997). The social sciences, on the other hand, have tended to concentrate on the socio-cultural factors of memory: how public, social, shared collective memories shape people's understandings of space, place, and identity (Blunt 2003; Jones & Garde-Hansen 2012). Whilst the influence of non-representational theories (e.g. see DeSilvey 2012; Jones 2015) has considered the practice and process of memory at a bodily and pre-cognitive level, the biological factors of memory are yet to be fully incorporated into geographical inquiry despite calls to do so:

There is much to be considered within the interrelationships between individual memory (that which is practised with the neural networks of the individual), and what is variously called public, social, cultural or collective memory. (Jones and Garde-Hansen 2012, p. 6)

Yet memory is not a single process of retrieval in the self, but a set of complex and interrelated processes—it is 'more than a mere function of the brain as it encapsulates individuals' inner resources for interpreting ... the world around them' (Greenfield 1997, p. 146). Thus, the processes of memory (including processing, retrieval, and (re)actions) arise from a continuous reciprocal causation between the neurological/biological and social body and the environment. For example, Owain Jones (2015), in his autographic account of his family's move from South Wales to a farm near Bath (both UK), reminisces of playing on the wheat sacks in the harvested fields, late-teen romances, and going away to boarding school

and comments on the emotionality of losing his childhood home because of a Compulsory Purchase Order¹: ‘The landscape of the old farm still haunts me. Its loss pains me greatly ... Perhaps the place itself was my refuge. I don’t really remember it as events—but as material spaces’ (Jones 2015, p. 20). As such, Jones’ paper focuses on the sense of loss—both in terms of the physical environment from his childhood, but as a time that has gone and can never be retrieved. Crucially, however, when Jones (virtually) returned to his childhood home (via Google Street View), he found

its geography completely erased, apart from a few trees and, strangely, a fragment of garden wall, near where my mother used to sit in the sun. *My body reacts each time I read through this sentence* as I struggle to finish the paper. (Jones 2015, p. 24 – emphasis added)

This quote demonstrates that when reminiscing occurs, particularly when it is an emotional experience, there is a physiological (re)action. The use of biosensing technologies to measure these physiological responses to memory allows us to investigate those typically nonconscious somatic reactions. Therefore, the use of these technologies responds to the recent call for more ‘viscerally-aware’ research practices in the social sciences, which include investigating ‘the felt sense of the internal organs of the body, such as our hearts beating in our chests, or a basic form of emotional response to a situation’ (Ash 2017, p. 206; Sexton et al. 2017).

The use of biosensing should be treated with a degree of caution; however, whilst the technology would appear to be an inexpensive and objective way of gathering people’s somatic reactions and (by inference) emotional responses, the data are limited when considered in isolation. Indeed, I have previously argued that biosensing technology should be used within a mixed methods approach to allow for consideration of the various (and plentiful) social, cultural, and environmental factors that impact upon and influence the biodata (Osborne and Jones 2017).²

¹ A Compulsory Purchase Order (CPO) is when the government acquires land without the owner’s consent for a given scheme, such as a new road or building estate. A CPO is only approved when the proposal is in the community’s best interest or financially important.

² It has also been shown in this volume by Shanti Sumartojo in her discussion of people’s attachment their surroundings and the memory sites.

Biosensing technologies, however, do serve as a useful quantified measure for examining the relationships between bodies and phenomena.

Biosensing and Memory

Biosensing technologies originally derive from the disciplines of neuroscience, psychology, and medicine. Previously, these technologies were used within a laboratory setting to aide medical treatments and to quantify automatic human responses (Everly Jr. and Rosenfield 1981; Picard 1997); but with the technological advancements in recent years, these technologies have been developed to be smaller and cheaper (Nafus 2016) and therefore not limited to use in medical laboratories. Consequently, it is now possible for non-medical disciplines to explore and experiment with biosensors in a variety of settings and contexts.

There are various forms of biosensors, each of which measure different automatic somatic responses. First, there is a distinction between sensors that use bodily fluids and not, for instance, if someone wanted to measure their stress levels they could use ‘wet’ biosensors, such as the cortisol levels in the saliva, or ‘dry’ biosensors, including electrodermalgraphs (EDG) and electroencephalographs (EEG) (Nafus 2016). Since ‘wet’ biosensing methods are typically intrusive and involve handling bodily fluids, it can be difficult to undertake these measures outside the lab.

Table 4.1 ‘Dry’ biosensor modalities

Sensor	Modality	Unit
Electrocardiogram (ECG)	The electrical activity of the heart	Hertz (Hz)
Electrodermalgraph (EDG)	The electronic conductance on the skin	Microsiemen (μS)
Electroencephalograph (EEG)	The electronic activity in the brain	Hertz (Hz)
Electromyograph (EMG)	The electronic activity in the muscles	Microvolt (μV)
Photoplethysmograph (PPG)	Blood flow	Nanowatt (nW)
Pneumograph	Respiration rate	Breaths/minute
Thermistor	Skin temperature	$^{\circ}C/F$

‘Dry’ sensors, such as those listed in Table 4.1 on the other hand, can be used outside of the lab because they usually sit on the skin and are often mobile. These ‘dry’ sensors typically measure the somatic reactions of the Autonomous Nervous System (ANS),³ which are caused by the limbic system of the brain. The limbic system, which is sometimes referred to as the paleomammalian brain, is an area of the brain, that is the foci in this chapter, which is responsible for emotional response (amygdala), memory (hippocampus), and smell (olfactory bulb) (Herz and Schooler 2002; LeDoux 2000). As such, it is possible to use the modalities in Table 4.1 to infer which emotion was experienced by an individual. The EDG, for example, which measures electrical conductance of the skin (EDA), can be used to measure the stress experienced by the body. The occurrence of sweating is regulated by the ANS; as such, it is an indication of psychological and physiological arousal (Carlson 2013). Additionally, an increased heart rate and blood flow would indicate that the ‘fight-or-flight’ response has been initiated since increased oxygen is required in the muscles to either fight or flee from the threat (Gabella 2001).

Crucially, however, neuroscientists have shown that the processes of memories are influenced by attention, arousal, and emotion; the processes couple together and to the ANS (Cahill and Alkire 2003; Cahill and McGaugh 1998; Critchley et al. 2013). For example, increased arousal of the ANS (typically induced by emotional events) has the ability to enhance memory encoding/creation but also the processes of recall. Indeed, Cahill and McGaugh (1998) have argued that memory retention can be identified and predicted by ANS indicants (such as electrodermal activity and heart rate variability). Therefore, the use of biosensing not only allows researchers to uncover phenomena and spaces of memorable and emotional interest, but can also predict where and why certain things might be remembered.

Whilst biosensing technologies are now common in the natural sciences, their use within the social sciences remains limited. There have been a few examples of social science researchers trailing biosensing

³The ANS is an unconsciously activated nervous system that regulates bodily reactions. There are two major branches of the ANS: the parasympathetic nervous and the sympathetic nervous systems, where the former generates the ‘rest-and-digest’ or ‘feed-or-breed’ responses and the latter is responsible for ‘fight-or-flight’ (Gabella 2001).

technology to measure the affective somatic responses of mobile individuals. Within the social sciences, particularly within subdisciplines concerned with health, geography, and urban design, researchers are becoming more interested in the possibilities of mobile biosensing in terms of accessing the intersection between the somatic and the mobile (Spinney 2015). For example, Aspinall et al. (2013) used a commercially available mobile EEG (EMOTIV Epoc) to study their participant's brain's electrical activity whilst walking around Edinburgh, United Kingdom. The resulting presentation of the data, however, was limited since there was no context of what triggered the somatic response. When the biosensing data are taken alone, it provides an abstract account of the person's experience demonstrating that there is a need to 'ground truth' the biodata with other data sets because 'biosensing can capture the *what* but not the *why*' (Osborne and Jones 2017: 160, original emphasis).

There have been a variety of mixed method approaches that have been adopted including smartphone applications and social media data (Resch et al. 2016; Zeile et al. 2015), the use of surveys and questionnaires (Gravenhorst et al. 2012), GIS (Shoval et al. 2017, 2018), mobile video (Ruskamp 2016), and qualitative interviews (Nold 2009; Osborne and Jones 2017). Hitherto work that has used biosensing technologies has focused on the ways the immediate environment (such as the presence of trees and street lighting—cf. Ruskamp 2016) generates physiological (re)actions in an individual, but there is yet to be a critical engagement with how people's pasts influence how they react to their surroundings and how the processes of memory effect the body.

A Note on Method

This chapter reflects on the use of these biosensing technologies in a project looking at local resident's responses to urban conservation areas in Birmingham, United Kingdom. The three urban conservation areas, Bournville, Moseley and the Jewellery Quarter, demonstrate the varied forms of heritage conservation in the city where both Moseley and Bournville represent the verdant suburban areas and the Jewellery Quarter is an example of Birmingham's industrial past. Each of these areas

encompass homes, places of work, and recreational spaces for fairly large populations that are varied in their physical environmental, the longevity of residence, and type of urban heritage.

Due to the deeply personal nature of biosensing as a method, extra ethical precautions needed to be considered. Whilst the use of biosensing can gain an insight into individual level affections, ‘knowing’ what people think and feel is an issue of biosensing. It reduces the body to a series of numbers and there is a consequential risk that the participant’s body could be viewed as a ‘complex information network’ (Lupton 2012), therefore removing the subjectivity of the individual. However, the mixed methods approach simultaneously considers the rich personal narratives of each participant to gain a deep understanding of the body-*subject*. It was possible that the biodata would highlight a health issue suffered by the participant, such as an irregular heartbeat. As such, it was paramount to be completely transparent with the participants; the individual’s bio-data was shared with them, and it was stressed that the researcher was not a medical professional, and information was provided to explain where they could find further information if they were concerned about any of the findings. Finally, all participants voluntarily participated through an opt-in agreement, undergoing a thorough instruction phase and were in the knowledge that their physiological data were to be collected, analysed, and shared with them.

Forty people, who either lived or worked in the area, undertook an unaccompanied walk around their neighbourhood for around 45 minutes wearing a biosensing wristband and a chest-mounted video camera whilst carrying a GPS recorder. The biosensing technology used (the Empatica E4 wristband) is a non-intrusive, wearable, and wireless multi-sensor device for real-time computerised biofeedback and data acquisition (Table 4.2). As such, the wristband allows the reading of sympathetic physiological response outside of the laboratory to the standard of that within a laboratory setting (Empatica 2014; Garbarino et al. 2014). Using different combinations of the measures displayed in Table 4.2, it is possible to infer the various emotional reactions that the participant experienced (Table 4.3); for example, an increase in electrodermal activity (EDA) and a decline in skin temperature would indicate that the

Table 4.2 Empatica E4 Wristband sensors and frequency of data points

Sensor	Modality	Unit	Frequency (Hz)
Electrodermalgraph (EDG)	Electrodermal activity (EDA): The electronic conductance on the skin.	Microsiemen (μ S)	4
Thermistor	Skin temperature (TEMP).	Degree celsius ($^{\circ}$ C)	4
Photoplethysmograph (PPG)	Blood volume pulse (BVP): Blood flow.	Nanowatt (nW)	16
Heart rate (HR)	The speed of the heartbeat.	Heartbeats/minute (bpm)	N/A
Tri-axial accelerometer	Linear acceleration of wrist in x, y, and z (Cartesian co-ordinates)	Metres/second ² (g's)	4

After Empatica (2014)

person was experiencing a cold sweat and therefore in an anxious state (Kreibig 2010).

Following the walk, each participant undertook a video elicitation interview about the various spaces they passed through, with an interest in their emotional responses and memories. Whilst it has been shown that ‘Go-Along’ or walking interviews are effective in capturing people’s feelings about and memories of place (Adams and Larkham 2015; Evans and Jones 2011), the presence of a researcher quizzing the participants about the space in situ may stress the participant, and thus influence the biodata. In contrast to walking interviews, this passive approach to the interview allowed the participants to speak freely about the spaces they encountered without frequent interruptions from the researcher. As such, all the participants could speak freely about their accounts about the area and their walk whilst being prompted by the video footage.

Thus, this mixed methods approach to memory and heritage combines three data sets: qualitative interviews to articulate the narrated/social responses; biosensing to examine the biological/physiological responses; and mobile video and GIS to provide a spatial element to the research. These data sets were analysed in a way that does not privilege the social, biological, nor spatial data (cf. Hayes-Conroy and Martin 2010) but

Table 4.3 Overview of ANS responses for different emotional experiences

	Anger	Anxiety	Disgust	Embarrassment	Fear	Sadness	Amusement	Contentment	Happiness	Joy	Pride	Relief	Surprise	Suspense
HR	↑	↑	↑	↑	↑	↑		↓	↑	↑	↓↑	↑	↑	↓
BVP	↓	↓	↑	↓	–	↓	↑	↓↑	↓	↑	–			
TEMP	↓	↓	↓↑		↓	↓	–		↑				↓↑	
EDA	↑	↑	↑		↑	↓	↑	–				↓		

Arrows indicate increased (↑), decreased (↓), or no change in activation from baseline (–), or both increases and decreases (↓↑)
After Kreibig (2010, p. 401)

reviewed all the data sets in tandem through cross-referencing and collated analysis (see Osborne and Jones 2017 for a discussion on these analytical approaches). By combining the biodata with other methods, the biodata ‘act[s] as a performative technology [by] assisting recollection and the study of quiescence in everyday mobility by offering up bodily traces to be reflected upon’ (Spinney 2015, p. 240) with the use of qualitative methods. Therefore, the mixed methods approach adopted here meant that it is not a solely quantitative piece of work but considers the rich personal narratives of each participant to gain a deep understanding of the body-*subject* and their memories.

Remembering and the Body

To demonstrate the deep understanding of the body-subject, three biosocial episodes have been chosen that reflect the opportunities, but also the challenges, that biosensing raises. The first of these, *The Smell of Chocolate*, reflects upon the complexity of emotional memories, especially when the memory is rich with nostalgic qualities. *Loss*, on the other hand, considers how emotional memories can be layered and that there is a temporal complexity in the environment–body relationship. Finally, *Childhood Play* echoes the argument that social contexts need to be considered when working with biosensing technologies but also considers the ways the data can be presented, and some issues that arise with mapping physiological response. Combined, these three examples demonstrate how memories are constantly caught up in our own embodiment of the past, through the things, smells, objects, and places that made them uniquely our own.

The Smell of Chocolate

Memory is explicitly bound to the corporeal through embodied experiences, practices, and (re)actions:

‘[W]e remember in, by and through the body. If our memories are a form of knowledge about ourselves, then we suggest that they are sourced by the

past through our bodies in the form of interactions between haptic perception, the senses, tactile experiences, and movement.’ (Bhatti et al. 2009, pp. 71–72)

The sensory stimulation of a memory is a common occurrence due to the positioning of the olfactory bulb and the hippocampus in the same neurological circuit; for example, the smell of chocolate by the Cadbury Factory stirred this memory of Valerie⁴ (Bournville resident, Female, 55–64 years old) about a pencil case:

‘When I was little they used to have tours around the factory before Cadbury World and I remember that I was annoyed that I wasn’t old enough to go. I think my brothers went and brought me back a chocolate tin. Everyone in school had these metal pencil cases from the Cadbury Factory ... Obviously, it had some chocolate in and then loads of people in school had those as their pencil cases. Bizarre. I’ve got two and I don’t know where the other one came from but it’s just always been at home. Everyone had these tins’. (Interview with Valerie, 20/10/16)

From the quote, it is difficult to determine how Valerie felt about this memory; she may have felt disappointed that she was unable to go to Cadbury World with her brothers or happy that she had a Cadbury’s tin along with other people in the neighbourhood. Memories are complex multi-emotional experiences where the individual is unable to identify which emotion they are experiencing; for example, the phenomena of nostalgia is a contradictory emotional experience: ‘a “happiness” emotion, but with a bittersweet undercurrent of a past lost, never to be regained’ (Adams and Larkham 2015; Harris 2017, p. 20). With the use of biosensing technology, however, it is possible to infer which emotional response dominated for Valerie when she reminisced about the Cadbury Factory. Figure 4.1, which represents Valerie’s EDA and BVP, shows an increase in EDA with increased fluctuations in BVP when she was walking past the Cadbury Factory. This would imply that the ‘flight-or-fight’ response was initiated at that time, as during such a response hormones (adrenaline and noradrenaline) are released to increase blood flow to the

⁴ All participants have been given a pseudonym to maintain their confidentiality and anonymity.

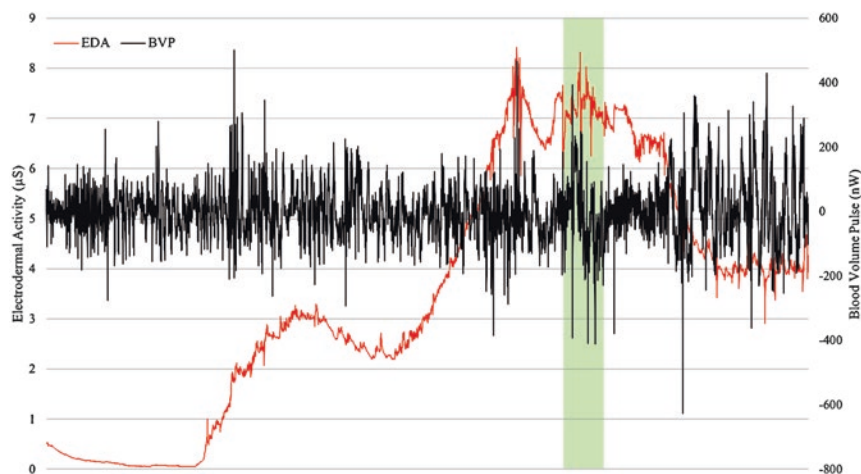


Fig. 4.1 Valerie's EDA and BVP biodata—the highlighted area coincides with when she was walking past the Cadbury Factory and reminiscing about the Cadbury chocolate tins

muscles (Peper et al. 2007). However, it has also been found that the release of adrenaline and noradrenaline can enhance the processing of memory (Cahill and Alkire 2003), hence there is the possibility that these high fluctuations in BVP coincide with the memory detailed above. Combined with an increase with EDA too, these readings would imply that Valerie was excited/amused (cf. Table 4.3) and thus allow us to assume that Valerie draws a comfort from this memory rather than a bitter sense of loss for a time that has past.

Loss

Regarding loss, Jeff (Bournville resident, male, 55–64 years old) reminisced about playing football with his sons and father when walking past the old Selly Oak Hospital Grounds:

These old grounds next to the hospice [used to be] open and they were playing fields right the way through back to the nurses' home. And when my dad was alive and a lot younger [and] when my sons, who are 30 and

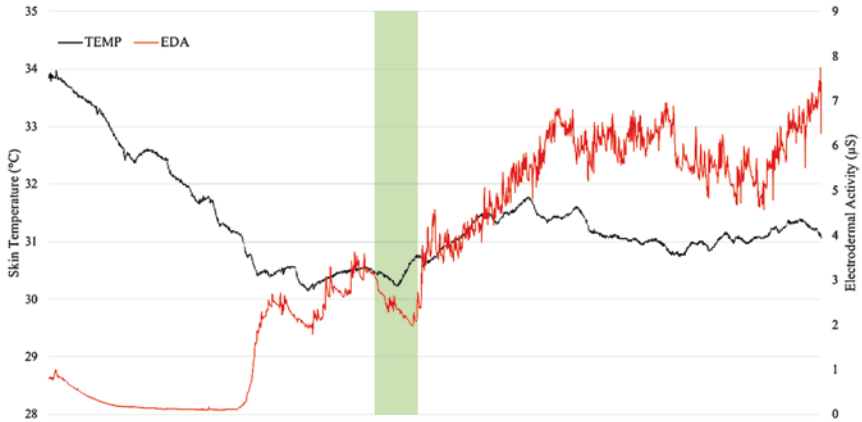


Fig. 4.2 Jeff's TEMP and EDA biodata—the highlighted sharp decline in TEMP and EDA would imply that Jeff was experiencing sadness. This coincides with the time he was walking past former site of the Selly Oak Hospital (highlighted green)

28 now, were young we used to go there and play football because you could just walk through the hedge and have a game of football. They would say 'Grandad, I want to play football' and we used to go there. ... [It's now] being built on as well so that's another building site and it was sad to see that site go. It's where I used to have fun and play with my boys. (Interview with Jeff, 04/10/16)

As this quote and the biodata (Fig. 4.2) demonstrate, this nostalgic account of playing football has a deep sense of loss. Whilst skin temperature is also regulated by the ANS, it does differ slightly from EDA and HR/BVP. The temperature of the skin is an effective measure of the positivity or negativity of an emotion (Nummenmaa et al. 2014). For example, warming extremities can be an indication of either a state of happiness or excitement,⁵ whereas a decrease in temperature would infer that the individual is experiencing a state of sadness, depression, or anxiety. Whilst it is impossible to infer as to whether the recorded sadness was due to Jeff thinking of his late father or the loss of the playing fields (or even a combination of the two), it is apparent that being near/in that space evoked

⁵ An increase in skin temperature can also indicate a state of anger.

the emotional memory that was capable of moving the body. Regardless, the layers of remembered loss in this particular space mean that the old hospital grounds will remain a sad site for Jeff. Crucially, however, Jeff's account of the old Selly Oak Hospital Grounds demonstrates how memories are inextricably tied to place where personal memories contribute to the process of place making (Hoelscher and Alderman 2004).

Childhood Play

Finally, Alan (Bournville resident, male, 65+ years old) has lived in Bournville his whole life. As a result, the vast majority of his interview was a reflection on his memories of the area, including that of his childhood. Of particular interest was Bournville Park and The Bourn⁶ where he used to play:

'The Bourn is a beautiful river the way it weaves through the park. When I was walking through it today I watched some boys jumping over the river. I used to do that when I was a boy. This park was my playground and I'm so happy to see that boys still do what I used to do when I was their age. It's good to see that some things never change really.' (interview with Alan, 04/08/16)

Whilst walking through this space Alan experienced increased fluctuations in BVP and a decrease in EDA (Fig. 4.3), which could be interpreted as a state of joy (cf. Table 4.3). The use of biosensing maps here effectively displays the spatialities of the physiological responses and shows the spaces that stirred Alan's body. To effectively present the biosensing data on a map, however, it is only possible to effectively show one measure at a time (also see Nold 2009; Shoval et al. 2018), yet to infer an emotional response, multiple measures are required. Whilst the maps, as 'performative technologies', can offer an insight into individual-level emotional responses, they reduce the body to a series of numbers and colours. Consequently, there is a risk that the participant's body could be viewed as a 'complex information network' (Lupton 2012), therefore

⁶The Bourn is a small river that flows through the centre of Bournville.

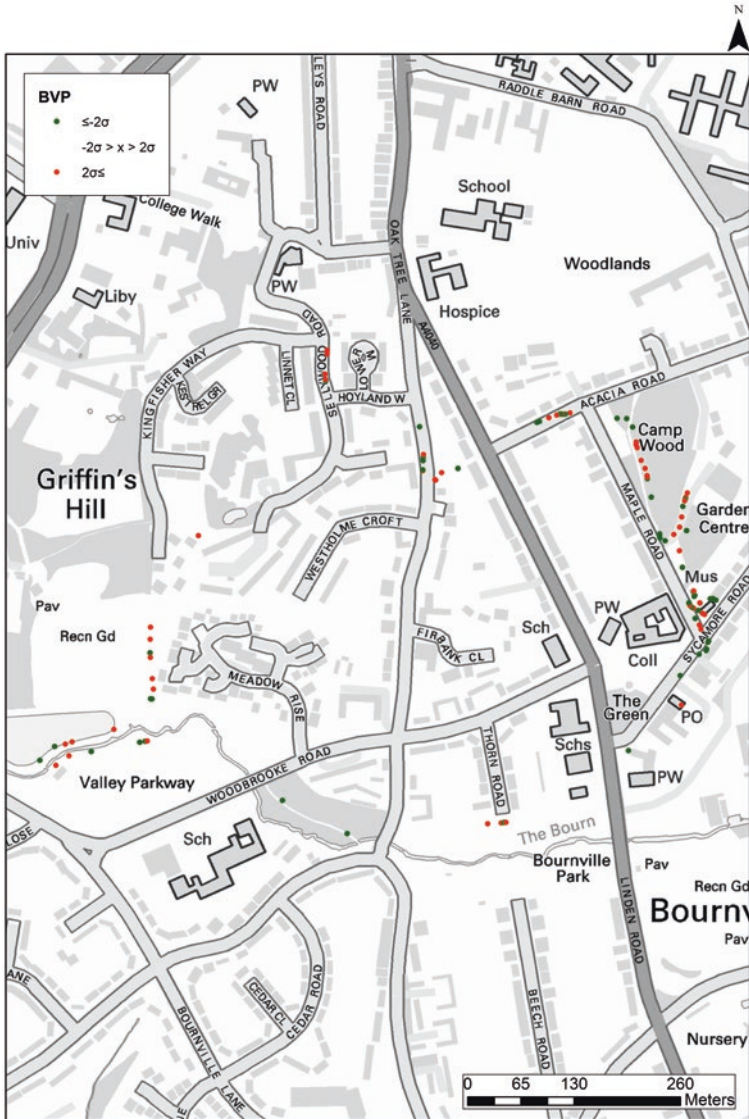


Fig. 4.3 Alan's EDA and BVP biosensing map—note the decline in EDA and increased fluctuations in BVP whilst he was walking through Bournville Park which coincides with when he reminisced of playing in The Bourn. (There is also a major decline in EDA around the boating lake at the Valley Parkway perhaps indicating the relaxing qualities of blue space.). (Source: Base map, Ordnance Survey Streetview 1:10,000 2017)

removing the subjectivity of the individual. It is therefore paramount that the subjective accounts of each emotional and memorable event that occurred. Even so, the maps effectively depict the spatialities of Alan's emotional responses and can be used to see if there are any spatial trends when compared with other participants.

Discussion

The memories of Valerie, Jeff, and Alan show not only the possibilities of biosensing technologies in memory research, but also some of the issues that arise when using these technologies. Firstly, these technologies (when combined with GIS) can be used to identify spaces of meaning for individuals. Whilst one may ask 'why don't you just ask them?' there are instances where these spaces of meaning cannot not be put into words or may be difficult to remember (e.g. if a research participant has dementia). For example, it was possible to see (even without the quote) that Alan was joyful in Bournville Park. Thus, biosensing serves as a useful tool for investigating ineffable and embodied experiences (especially when positioned within a mixed methods approach) and provides a quantifiable measure; thus, adding a new biologically embodied dimension to memory research.

No method is without complications, however; and this is very true for biosensing. Indeed, working with biological reading poses a few ethical and political complications. Whilst the use of biosensing can gain an insight into individual level affects, 'knowing' what people think and feel is a major ethical issue of biosensing. Thus, these new ways of knowing produced by biosensing 'are caught up with new expressions of power, the aim of which is to reterritorialise the world through the deployment of resources which, rather like the apple in the fairy tale, have the ability to poison how we live' (Thrift 2011, p. 23). Furthermore, these examples demonstrate that biosensing, as a method, when considered alone is limited. Whilst these technologies can measure physiological reactions and give an inclination as to what is happening within the brain, it is not apparent how these physiological processes provide an insight into the subjective experiences (Choudhury and Slaby 2011), nor is there a con-

sensus about the relationship between neurologically inspired processes and cognitive, social, and emotional capacities captured in their full complexity (Gold and Stoljar 1999). It is therefore clear that additional qualitative methods should be utilised to explain and expand upon the results uncovered by biosensing technologies.

It is possible that the biodata would highlight a health issue suffered by the participant, such as an irregular heartbeat. It is therefore paramount that a transparency is struck between the researcher, the data, and the participant. Furthermore, the physical fitness of an individual can have a major impact upon the biodata when the data collection is undertaken in a mobile situation. Walking up a hill, for example, would subject an individual to physical excursion which in turn would likely cause the individual to start sweating. The increased levels of sweat would be reflected in the EDA measure and make it impossible to see whether an emotional event happened during that time.

Biosensing technologies could be seen as an inexpensive and objective way of gathering people's somatic responses to emotional and memorable phenomena and environments. Whilst there are factors that influence the collection of biosensing, including physical fitness and the physical environment, the use of additional (qualitative) methods should mitigate for these influencing factors (Osborne and Jones 2017). This qualitative-quantitative approach to the body, however, produces an opportunity to develop a rigorous analytical framework to investigate the biosocial body across the neurosciences and the social sciences. Indeed, work with biosensing technologies is in its infancy, and there is a need to experiment with these technologies to better understand understanding people's relationships with and memories of their surroundings.

Conclusion

Reminiscing is a moving experience in that it stirs a bodily (re)action, which is effectively identified using the biosensing technology. Typically, methods that are adopted in studies of memory and nostalgia include auto-ethnography, oral histories, textual analyses, and interviews. These approaches have been shown to be extremely effective in researching the role of memory in identity, space, and place. These qualitative engage-

ments with memory, however, tend to focus on the *what* of the memory. This chapter, however, by incorporating biodata, has approached memory in an innovative way by considering the biological and social embodiment of memory, its affects, and its connection with the environment. Whilst memories are stories of an individual's past, and thus could be argued to be more effectively uncovered and presented as textual data, the use of biosensing has provided additional knowledge of what the memory *does* to the body, which in turn provides an inference to the emotionality of the memory and the personal importance of that memory to the individual. Crucially, however, the biosensing technology only shows the somatic aspect of reminiscing, and it is good practice to qualify and explain these visceral responses using traditional verbal methods.

Whilst biosensors have been used prior to this research, the use of them within the social sciences has been extremely limited. Biosensing technologies are very exciting tools for those interested in exploring the relationship between person and place, and it could be argued that biosensors provide an objective measure for people's emotional responses. It has been demonstrated here (and in previous research), however, that the data alone need to be treated with caution. Indeed, it has been argued that biodata cannot be unambiguously correlated with a person's actual emotion nor the context in which it arose; it only provides a partial aspect of a whole experience (Resch et al. 2015; Spinney 2015). Biosensing is a methodological tool with great potential in memory research and social sciences in general; it could provide new knowledges and interpretations of the body and embodiment, and enrich our knowledge of the body–landscape relationship.

Acknowledgements Thank you to Jessica Pykett, Phil Jones, and Peter Kraftl for their comments and feedback on this chapter. This work was funded as part of a grant from the Economic and Social Research Council ES/J50001X/1.

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5

The Art of Memory After Genocide: Reimagining the Images of the Places of Pain and (Be)longing

Hariz Halilovich and Adis Elias Fejzić

Introduction

This chapter is based on the co-authors' research project on the memories of war, genocide and displacement, and the resulting multi-media exhibition 'Places of Pain: Recognising the Pain of Others' that was shown in Sarajevo, Melbourne, Brisbane, Vienna, and St. Louis in 2016–2017. By discussing a creative fusion of documentary and imaginary representations of social, spatial, and affective memory landscapes in conflict and post-conflict contexts in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the chapter considers how art exhibitions can be understood and utilised as both a research method and a collaborative research outcome in memory studies projects. As Pickering and Keightley (2013: 2) noted 'as a multidisciplinary field, memory studies faces a paradox: it is characterised by heterogeneous

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approaches to what it studies, but gives limited critical attention to potentially unifying issues of method and methodology'. The aim of our chapter is to contribute to the discussion on how to combine different disciplinary approaches in order to develop a methodology that engages the audiences and disseminate research outcomes beyond the traditional readership. The collaborative element involving art and anthropology described in the chapter was a key methodological strategy pushing past the methods we both used individually in our previous separate works. We argue that, in the creative research process, fixed narratives and material memory exhibits get complemented, reappropriated, and amended by different audiences, ranging from engaged outsiders to those whose memories feature in the actual exhibition.

The 1990s will be remembered by many people across the world by the genocidal wars in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Rwanda. Close to three decades later, the names of these countries still evoke the horrors that took place there between 1992 and 1995. Along with scholarly works, judicial proceedings, testimonies, archives and documents, art in its many genres has played an important role in shaping the memory about the two conflicts, as it has been the case with many other similar events. This chapter discusses the role of art in memory research relating to the war and genocide in Bosnia-Herzegovina (hereafter 'Bosnia').

More than two decades after the war, Bosnia continues to be an exemplar of a post-conflict and post-genocide society where the progress to achieve a just and lasting peace is thwarted by many unresolved issues, including how to remember and commemorate the recent past in this ethnically divided country. In some ways, the issue of contested memories represents the continuation of what was started, or rather destroyed, during the war, that is, the unmaking of shared memories and cultural heritage (Riedlmayer 2002). In addition to 'ethnic cleansing', genocide, siege, and destruction of cities and violence against civilian populations in a manner unseen in Europe since the Second World War, the long-lasting effects of the 1992–1995 war in Bosnia also include the legacy of the systematic obliteration of cultural heritage and memory. In his 1994 essay, 'The Hatred of Memory: In Sarajevo, Burned Books and Murdered Pictures', the renowned Bosnian historian and writer Ivan Lovrenović named this violence 'memoricide'. To the survivors of genocide and

‘memoricide’, the destruction of the shared cultural heritage as well as personal documents and photographs has felt like a very intimate loss, an aggravated trauma, and a metaphor for annihilation of their individual, family, and communal existence (cf. Halilovich 2014).

Creative (Un)making of (Hi)stories

Throughout history, wars and other cataclysmic events have regularly drawn the attention of and provided inspiration to artists from a variety of disciplines, which more recently has led ‘to the emergence of a powerful memory discourse [within the arts]’ (Huyssen 2003, p. 148). As numerous examples from ancient to modern times show, artists continue to be primary ‘professional’ memory-makers deployed—and often deliberately employed—to ‘record’ events deemed important to be remembered and memorialised. Andreas Huyssen writes, ‘memory ... was a topic for the poets and their vision of a golden age or, conversely, for their tales about the hauntings of a restless past’ (2003: 2). While history has generally been understood to represent the past, Greg Denning argues, ‘history is not the past; it is the past transformed into something else, story’ (1996: 34). Thus, histories, memories, and stories are the ‘product of [the] dialectic between discovery and invention’ (Denning 1996: 43). As such, any form of memory-making and memory-research is a creative act combining ‘facts’ and ‘fiction’ (Ricoeur 2006). Artists seem to be well suited to ‘write histories’ by creatively turning facts into fiction, making (hi)stories available to wider audiences as interpretative frameworks by which their audiences—their readers, viewers, and listeners—can share in the transformation of the past into story. Creating meaning in this way does not really demarcate ‘facts and ‘fiction’, and often fiction, combined with facts, is accepted as ‘the truth’—or, as Tina Chen put it, it becomes ‘truer than the truth’ (1998: 77).

The transformative power of making and interpreting a story is multifaceted: while artists transform past into story, audiences use these stories to transform their own pasts. Propagandists also transform the past into story, often drawing from and debasing the artists’ stories. As Hobsbawm has argued, at a collective level, this creative reinvention of the past, or

‘invented tradition’, can be utilised to establish social cohesion and collective identities; legitimatise institutions and social hierarchies, and to socialise people into particular social contexts (Hobsbawm 1983: 9). In many instances, these acts of social mobilisation are done in relation to ethnic, religious, and national ‘other’ and have been used to inspire and legitimise exclusionary ethnocentric nationalism, war, and even genocide—as it has been the case in Bosnia and Rwanda during the 1990s (cf. Sells 1996).

During the 1990s, Ivo Andrić’s novel *The Bridge over Drina* became one of the most read and widely cited ‘historical sources’ by many local and Western commentators and scholars; many did not hesitate to link this work of fiction with real violence taking place in the region, as if this were an historical account rather than a product of Andrić’s imagination (cf. Kaplan 1996; Petersen 2002). However, myths and fiction were used not only to interpret the conflict; they even inspired those committing real acts of violence (Sells 1996). For instance, Serb militiamen, who probably had never read a single sentence from Andrić’s novel, were ‘avenging’ a fictional character—a Serb peasant Radisav killed by the Ottomans on the bridge over Drina in Andrić’s novel¹—by slaughtering Muslim civilians on the same but real bridge in Višegrad in 1992 (Becirevic 2015; Sells 1996; Halilovich 2013).

While there is plenty of evidence of involvement of artists in the inflammatory politics before and during the Bosnian war—even the sentenced war criminal Radovan Karadžić, was a ‘poet’ who famously honoured his friend Eduard Limonov, a Russian poet, with the opportunity to shoot at Sarajevo²—in this chapter, we are not arguing that works of fiction, including the ones dealing with violence, necessarily lead to actual violence. Rather, we argue that fictionalising history by propagandists—as seen in the former Yugoslavia and many other places before and after the 1990s—can and does lead to violence (Anzulović 1999).

¹ The fictional event Andrić described in his novel actually names Radisav’s executioner as Merdžan, a Gypsy serving with the Ottoman troops—not a Turk or a Bosnian Muslim. Radisav gets punished for sabotaging works on building the bridge over Drina in Višegrad. He suffers painful death by impalement. Andrić’s description of the impalement has been regarded as the most graphically described act of violence in modern Yugoslav literature. Cf. Andrić 2003, pp. 43–50.

² The original BBC footage of the 1993 event is available on YouTube: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kcCFJAfLTJE>.

Throughout the ages, histories, regardless of whether they relate to real or mythical events, have been 'preserved' in collective memory not only in written forms but also through oral traditions and creative 'inscribing' through different media such as paintings, drawings, sculptures, photographs, and films. All these different forms of making and performing memory should not be seen as chronologically or contextually separated in time and space. In fact, in many cases, they exist simultaneously, at times complementing and at others contradicting and transforming each other. For instance, Indigenous rock art in Australia—involving stone engravings and cave paintings, made thousands of years ago, and portraying various 'historical' events—is more or less the only inscribed memory from the time of pre-colonial Australia (Morwood and Hobbs 2002). These paintings and drawings are not only complemented, but are also often inspired and 'validated' by embodied memory within Indigenous oral storytelling traditions (Van den Berg 2005).

In a similar vein, many other social groups, including those in 'modern societies', have used different media to creatively capture and perform their collective memories. As with the pre-modern Aboriginal rock art, paintings have often fulfilled the same roles in creative memory-making among Europeans. For instance, Picasso's famous painting *Guernica*, regarded as modern art's most powerful antiwar statement, has not only memorialised but also immortalised the tragedy of a small Basque town during the Spanish Civil War. All the attempts by the falangist regime of General Franco to create and impose an alternative memory of what 'really' happened in Guernica on that fatal April 26, 1937, were in vain; Picasso's *Guernica* has become the shared memory of millions of people across the globe. While Picasso's paintings may still be regarded by some as 'high culture' inaccessible to 'the masses', popular culture as mass-culture has increasingly been utilised as an important realm for memory-making and the forgetting. For instance, the collective memories of the Second World War of the post-1945 generation has been mainly shaped, or at least greatly influenced, by the war cinematography that has been ever-present for more than half a century now (cf. Schwartz 2008; Friedländer 1992; Lanzmann 1985; Heer 1998; Loshitzky 1997; Young 1993; Crane 2008).

Similarly, despite the fact that it is a relatively recent event, the 1992–1995 war in Bosnia has been increasingly ‘remembered’ and interpreted through films, many of which have won or been shortlisted for prestigious international awards (Murtić 2015). If judged by the number of such awards, it could be said that the war was ‘a good thing’ for Bosnian cinematography. As US film critic Marilyn Ferdinand put it, ‘among the thriving film industries of Eastern Europe, Bosnia–Herzegovina’s has consistently provided courageous and inventive stories that tell the rest of the world what has happened and is happening in this scarred region’ (2008). While the popularity of the Bosnian ‘seventh art’ cannot be matched by any other, it should be noted that many more books on the Bosnian war and its aftermath have been written than films made. However, both film and literature are closely interrelated and continue to expand on traditions of oral storytelling, now made accessible to many more people simultaneously through the medium of film. In (re)constructing memories, however, artists have much more freedom than anthropologists and social researchers. While anthropologists have been hesitant to engage in the ‘ethnography of the familiar’ as the Other, that ‘familiar’ has often been a ‘gold mine’ for artists. Thus, engaging with works of art and fiction in memory research may be critical if we are to gain the full complexity and understanding of post-conflict societies such as Bosnia–Herzegovina.

The ‘literary’, ‘fictional’, and ‘artistic’ in anthropology have been celebrated by James Clifford, who wrote: ‘Literary processes—metaphor, figuration, narrative—affect the ways cultural phenomena are registered, from the first jotted “observations”, to the completed book, to the ways these configurations “make sense” in determined acts of reading’ (1986: 4). Indeed, ethnographic writings can properly be called fictions in the sense of ‘something made or fashioned’, the principal burden of the word’s Latin root, *fingere* . But it is important to preserve the meaning not merely of making, but also of making up, of inventing things not actually real. *Fingere* , in some of its uses, implied a degree of falsehood (Clifford 1986: 6).

This means that fiction and reality should not be looked at in isolation from each other. On the contrary, to borrow the words of Mirko Kovač, the prominent Bosnian and ‘post-Yugoslav’ writer, ‘reality only fully

makes sense once turned into fiction' (Kovač 2008: 167). The fiction of many Bosnian artists has been vanguard in this respect, mirroring reality in a profound, ethnographic way, and creating an anti-nationalist counter-memory in the 'in-between space', which has become both a refuge from reality and a platform for dialogue, resistance, and reflection (Buturovic 2012). Drawing upon this emerging trend, the authors of this chapter have made a further daring move by combining the documentary and fictional in a series of multimedia exhibitions named 'Places of Pain: Regarding the Pain of Others'. While doing this, within the post-genocide context in Bosnia, we were, inevitably and consciously, oriented toward reinterpretation of memorials in various material and non-material forms.

Our *art of memory*, and its interaction between the factual and metaphorical, demanded the inclusion of both traditional and new art expressions and aesthetics. While not strictly subscribing to any particular school of thought or aesthetics, our research approach could be retraced and linked to several of them. In line with Dan Graham's explanation of the artist's dream as doing something that is 'more social, more collaborative, and more real than art' (Bishop 2012: 1), we also endeavoured to get the aesthetic to serve something social and real. Our own methodological point of departure is often 'an independent and private space' and not exclusively 'the whole of human relations and their social context', as Bourriaud defined relational art (2002: 113). Whereas our work has the aura of the *social turn*, we did not display our work outside museums or galleries, nor did we try to eliminate the spectator's position. Rather, our research and resulting artwork included communicating and collaborating with others. Even though these interactions do not strictly constitute *participatory art*, our viewers have been engaged in the research process more than they would be as an audience at traditional art exhibitions.

While not making idealistic claims how art can radically change the world, we still have aspired to contribute and facilitate a change for the better and demonstrate that art could be more than just a 'reflection of our existence', to paraphrase Umberto Eco (1989). Considering that our memory research involved genocide and a plethora of other war crimes, even if the art work we created merely initiated a dialogue and critical engagement with these issues, this could be sufficiently beneficial in itself. As such, our approach and standpoint are aligned with James Young's

seemingly provocative ideas about Holocaust memorials: ‘... the best German memorial to the Fascist era and its victims may not be a single memorial at all, but simply the never to be resolved debate over which kind of memory to preserve, how to do it, in whose name, and to what end’ (Young 1992: 270).

Places of Pain: A Metaphor and Reality

Memory and pain, in a phenomenological and metaphoric sense, greatly define the Bosnian reality today. They are also a metaphor for what was lost in the war but remains to be felt at individual and collective levels. Inscribed into the landscape and architecture as well as in the bodies and ‘souls’ of both the living the dead and, the memory of pain can also be heard, seen, touched, and smelled in many places in Bosnia. Today, in some of these ‘erased places’ (Halilovich 2014), the memory of the recent past is graphically present in both people who returned to the ruins of their homes and in the depopulated landscape filled with ruins of burned down homes. Researching memory ‘in the field’ poses a research challenge as much as a fertile ground for artistic inspiration.

Applying two complementary research perspectives and two ways of seeing, namely, anthropological and artistic, the authors of this chapter attempt to capture both the presences and absences that make the complex memory of the Bosnian places of pain. Adis’ artistic work represents direct and intuitive visual reinterpretations and expressions of the ethnographic data collected by Hariz, an anthropologist. We call our joint approach art-related research. The outcome of our collaboration resulted in a series of multimedia exhibitions presented in Australia, Europe, and the USA (2016–2017).

All of the exhibited works were created through the process in which ethnographic data of places and memories of atrocities during the 1992–1995 Bosnian war—involving field notes, interview transcripts, documents, photographs, and video—were turned into visual and audio art forms. The main part of the exhibited opus involved a series of prints on canvas (various sizes, mostly around 120 × 60 cm). Their number was growing from the first to the seventh exhibition, totalling 50 artefacts,

one six-minute black-and-white video clip, a soundtrack, and up to five sculptural installations. The nature of each exhibition set-up and the number of exhibited works was conditioned by the technical capabilities of each space that we used as well as by the stage of our creation at the time. For example, compositions created out of dirt and wood could be prepared and exhibited only in proper gallery spaces, such as the History Museum and the Bosnian Cultural Centre in Sarajevo.

The exhibitions, visited by diverse audiences in each place and including genocide survivors and participants whose memories featured in the artworks, had a strong performative dimension. The audiences' engagement with the exhibitions, their reflections, and exchange of memories became a part of our research method and further informed the ongoing creative process. However, the exhibition was not a lament over what was irretrievably lost, stolen, desecrated, and destroyed. To the audiences, the reimaged and reimagined 'former' places were not mere geographical terms or just images of the overgrown ruins in depopulated villages and war cemeteries and burial grounds across Bosnia. Their lived memories and stories accompanied the information about the numbers on the coffins and bags of mixed human remains stored in the morgues of the Missing Institute in Bosnia, where a part of the research was conducted (Fig. 5.1).

A theme within the exhibition we termed the 'Bosnian Tabu(t) Theme'; *tabu(t)* is a pun, because in the Bosnian language, it refers to both *taboo* (something that is repressed, forbidden, buried, not talked about, something we often have no word for) and *tabut*, the casket in which the earthly remains of genocide victims are carried to their final resting place. *Tabut*, or rather the plural form of the noun *tabuti*, has been one of the greatest taboo themes in post-war Bosnia because for many witnesses, researchers, and participants, it has been almost beyond the words to talk to about the hundreds of caskets displayed before collective annual burials on the green grass at the cemeteries in Potocari (near Srebrenica) or in Kozarac (near Prijedor) every 11th and 20th of July (Halilovich 2017). For the survivors, the *tabuti*, the rows of uniform caskets containing the victims' remains exhumed from mass graves across the country, are inseparable from their memories and feelings, something that can feel like emptiness, or like phantom pain of the parts of themselves which they do

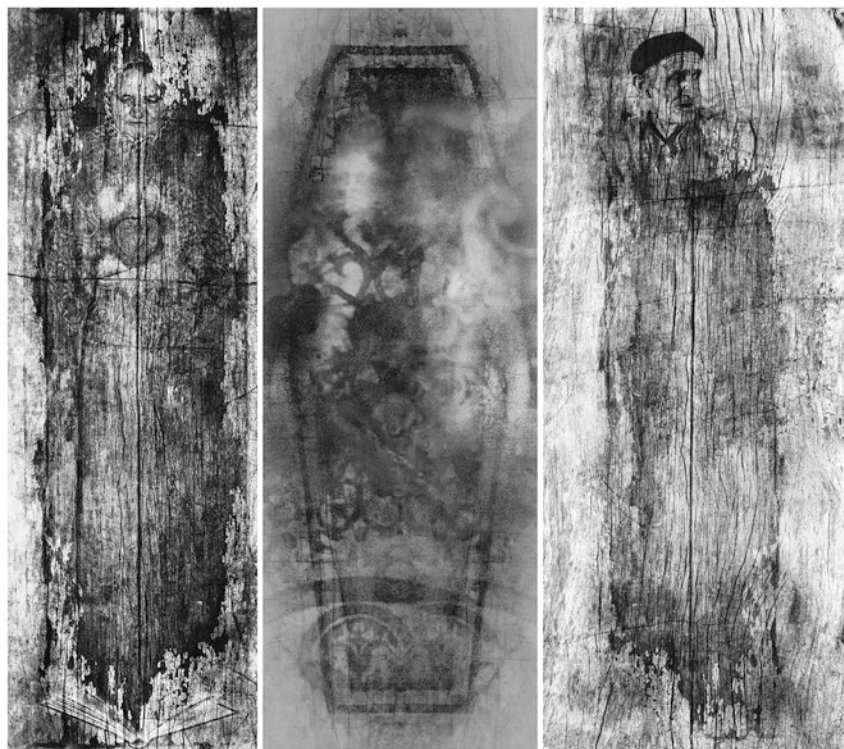


Fig. 5.1 Family fragments. (Fejzić and Halilovich 2016)

no longer have, but which they continue to feel. The conventional ethnography has its limits when it attempts to capture the pain, silences, and absences symbolised by *tabuti*. The exhibition, made as a fusion of the documentary and creative and combining the real and the imagined, brought together the personal and the collective, and the past and the present, in a blended multimedia format. The role of the imaginary and creative in this type of collaborative research was to complement the amputated reality, to take the audience to the survivors' ever-present past, into a timeless in-between space filled with unprocessed emotions and memories (Fig. 5.2).

The places in which the silence speaks were transferred onto the canvases exhibited on the walls. One of the places hard to be described with

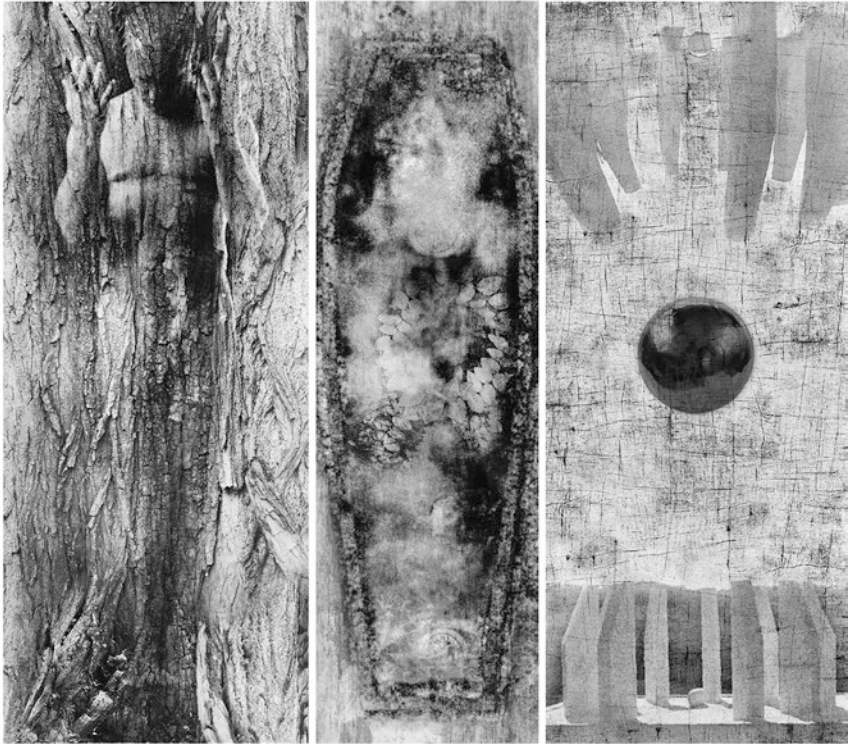


Fig. 5.2 Prayer, *tabut*, and freedom. (Fejzić and Halilovich 2016)

the words is captured in the picture called ‘Freedom’, named after a sports club. It represents a monument to the local football club of the village of Bišćani near Prijedor, whose 11 players were all killed in the summer of 1992. The players were between 16 and 22 years old. The artistically enhanced photograph includes a two-dimensional mirror-like image of 11 marble pillars connecting the earth and the sky. The mother and sister of one of the players were in the audience at the exhibition in Vienna. They asked if they could have this image. Since then, the exhibit called ‘Freedom’ has become a memorial displayed on the wall in their home in Austria. The memory of a destroyed Bosnian village and its killed soccer team has transcended place and time and found its rightful custodians. Similar re-appropriations of memory-inscribed canvases have been a regular occurrence at every exhibition.

Doing Memory Research Through the Process of Iterative (Re)considerations

The methodology we tailored for this project is based on various methods used in anthropological and arts-based research. Our aim was to align these different methods and techniques by creating an active interplay and communication with both tangible and intangible memories that occurs within the process of searching, identifying, interpreting, and reimagining different aspects of memory as the art of memory (*ars memoriae*). To further complicate this dialectical relationship, we aimed our methodology to *do* memory research by being interpretative and simultaneously both constructive and deconstructive process in which (in)tangibility was reproduced in a ‘documentary’ and ‘fictional’ ways.

While researching the memories and places of pain, we have continually reconsidered, refined, and redefined many aspects of our research approach. Regardless of our already exhibited findings, we see our research as being a work in process, while we still keep exploring and (re)defining our methodological approach. This keeps our research in an ongoing creative flux, which even now cannot be fully explained or precisely described and fixed.

Our ‘doing memory research’, like any art-related research, has to be considered within today’s growing plethora of research methodologies, where ‘greater the array of approaches, the more successful a diverse community of research practitioners will be in surrounding those problems and generating a number of viable solutions’ (Rolling 2013: 7). As such, our art-based research methodology stands as an unfolding and expanding orientation to qualitative social science that draws inspiration, concepts, techniques, and representation from the arts in the broadest sense of its meaning (Knowles and Cole 2008: xi). The nature of the art-based research strongly depends on the artists’ sensibilities and affinities. Moreover, an important aspect of artistic practice that needs to be considered is the issue of ambiguity and incompleteness of the creative works. Therefore, preparing, conducting, and valorising this type of research depends on one’s awareness of the general limitations and of any other associated peculiarities relating to art. As memory is never fixed but

a subject to changes and reinterpretations, the open-endedness characteristic of art is highly appropriate in memory research.

At the very beginning of our collaboration, we intended to explore facts and documents relating to Hariz's ongoing anthropological research of memory and places of pain and organise them into a creative structure and forms that could be presented as an exhibition and a research 'side product'. This is probably the 'usual' and most common way for conducting and sharing this sort of work dedicated to the Bosnian genocide. This would have been followed by organising selected documents/items/artefacts into order of visual narrative and then deciding on the design and technical format in which the visual aspects would be exhibited. Our working conditions and circumstances were limited and, at first, we simply planned to 'convert' the original formats of documents, testimonies, and memories into an exhibition. Had we done this, we might have not been in the situation to speak about our art-based research, because the eventual exhibition of this type—regardless of its quality—would have been largely a complementary visual addition to the 'actual' anthropological research.

However, soon after we got a better insight into each other's work and creative sensibilities, we realised that the 'usual' way of conducting this type of collaborative research would not be suitable or substantial solution for either of our own approaches. In comparison to other similar projects, we wanted to create something that cultivated both documentary and artistic, something that would stimulate 'new' and refresh relationships with the 'old' memories in order to provide an engaging rather than numbing communication with the places of pain and loss. In the words of De Botton and Armstrong (2013: 10), 'we want to remember what really matters, and the people we call good artists are, in part, the ones who appear to have made the right choices about what to commemorate and what to leave out'. We wanted memories and documents reshaped into creative reinterpretations to additionally uncover and recover their original meaning and at the same time leave that meaning open for new reflections and interpretations.

Our desire to find a suitable way to present the research findings through visual media stemmed from our intention to create visualisation of memory that could be more than a mere photo replica of the lost or

actual reality. We looked for flexible forms in which to prepare, edit, visually reinterpret, and present the materials that could articulate not only the ruins, commemorations, and monuments but also the absences and silences of the places of pain. Hence, the function of the art was not to solely and simply illustrate the outcomes of the anthropological research; rather, along with its role to visualise, the art became a parallel and complementary method of researching the memories of the Bosnian genocide.

Ethics and Aesthetics in Memory Research

Savin-Baden and Major (2013: 292–293) insist that ‘art must support the research goals, whilst its quality, in terms of aesthetics, must hold meaning’ and articulate the ‘relationship between the purpose of the research and the means of undertaking it’.

In line with the statement above, we have been aware of our professional, ethical, and social responsibilities and the risk that our work could be appropriated and misused by nationalist discourses in the post-conflict Bosnia and the broader region. Thus, our aim was not only to present a historical record of the war crimes committed but also to point to multi-layered dimensions of memories of those crimes and their multifaceted effects on people in Bosnia and in the diaspora. As Kidron (2016) argues, unlike historians scholars of memory do not document recollected events but rather trace the discourse, practices, and sites in which and through which the past is made present and meaningful—and sometimes either selectively enlisted to serve political and ideological agendas or strategically ‘forgotten’. Moreover, researchers, artists, and non-artists alike are supposed to be guided by a moral commitment, take a stand, and promote ethical values and transformations for themselves as well as their participants and audiences (Savin-Baden and Wimpenny 2014).

Our collaboration, including the methodology and presentation of results, could also be seen as aligned with the ‘ethnographic turn’ and ‘crisis of representation’, but regardless of the categorisation and definition of such a research approach, our art-anthropology collaboration foremost aimed to align ethics and aesthetic (Schneider and Wright

2013). Moreover, we could not and did not try to mask the fact that we personally were the part of the research. Our positioning and reflexivity also included our own memory of places of pain, those that were made of people that we lost in the war. Thus, our phenomenological reality as well as our 'deep reading' of the memory goes beyond *Verstehen*—an empathetic understanding (Neuman 2011: 101)—into the autoethnographic domain.

Our personal war experiences informed how to understand the first-hand 'data' and capture our own 'thick description' of the memories that are both individual and collective. In most situations, we innately knew what we were dealing with, whether we talked to the survivors, analysed photo documents, or observed landscapes in which memory of the places and people were inscribed. Our data collection was based on communication and interaction with people and places, whether virtual and indirect or actual and direct. This process was simultaneously a search for inspiration, for the content that could be visually interpreted in a manner which would emphasise the complex meaning of memory and make it accessible in a new way, which also served as commemorative art.

In the research and creative process, we considered both collective and individual memories. We were looking for a way to present some powerful experiences as metaphors that do not always present their origin and immediate context. The reason for this approach was that we aimed to interpret local memories of places of pain and have them re-experienced and commemorated with their universal implications, as genocide—'the crime of all crimes' Raphaël Lemkin (2002) called it—is a crime against humanity, against all of us.

To facilitate this exchange, we combined some 'typically Bosnian' with some 'typically universal' symbols in the artistically reworked ethnographic material to enable our imagined 'global' viewer to communicate with the someone else's local memory and loss. This way, the viewer generates new reflections, which eventually also become our research data. An important part of our research was our desire to approach every memory and every place of pain as something that could ultimately have its own memorial, regardless of its size, form, and texture. This 'something' could also be immaterial, even nonverbal, hidden, and coded in symbols connected to individual memories. By doing this, we did not intend to

create or broaden new definition of a memorial but were ‘just’ observing the facts, memories, and pain of others (and our own) and comparing and relating them with the meaning of the actual memorials.

While serving as metaphors, places of pain are also the actual locations of suffering, death, and/or burials. Many of these locations are today under the jurisdiction of the Republika Srpska (RS) entity, which itself represents a legacy of genocide and ‘ethnic cleansings’ in Bosnia. As recognised by the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY), the institutions of RS, including its armed forces and police, orchestrated systematic campaigns of ethnic cleansing and genocide between 1992 and 1995, the aim of which was to create ethnically exclusive territories for the Serbs (ICTY 2017). In many instances, the RS authorities obstruct memorialisation of these places, denying the survivors to commemorate their losses, perform their memories and materialise them in form of a monument at the actual sites. There are also examples of the RS government appropriating the places of pain and turning them into the places of triumph by erecting its own monuments, as has been the case at the Trnopolje concentration camp site or in the cities of Prijedor and Višegrad (Halilovich 2013; Halilovich and Phipps 2015). However, the survivors have found different ways to reclaim their memories and make them heard and seen both in real and cyber space (Halilovich 2015). Our series of exhibitions can also be understood as a mobile memorial to the places of pain. It evolved from Fejzić’s concept of ‘gallery memorials’—memorials which for various reasons could not have been realised otherwise but as a gallery piece (Fejzić 2016). While our desired outcome was to *do* memory, not just to investigate it, the acknowledgement of this outcome was confirmed by the participants themselves who recognised and appreciated the visualisation of their personal and communal memories in the artefacts we displayed at the exhibitions in public spaces in Sarajevo, Melbourne, Brisbane, Vienna, and St. Louis.

Our conversations with the members of the audiences, involving formal and informal interviews, represented one of the crucial validation of the authenticity and relevance of our research results turned into art. For instance, a Srebrenica genocide survivor—who did not have a formal education that would provide the basic concepts of anthropology, art, or memory—confessed that, while looking at the images, he could see his

own ‘memories and thoughts, and both his calming dreams and disconcerting nightmares’. On the other hand, an academic and theologian saw this research and its results as ‘joint search for a cornerstone of memories actualised as a loss of the closest, loss of family, friends, loss of home and homeland; concretised as anxious loneliness which again and again poses the question of death and life’.

Art and anthropology in this kind of symbiosis exist as extensions to each other. We created a hybrid space between the two disciplines and two realities; one is factual and the other exists as a feeling and memory. Art, in our case, helps deliver the ‘veiled’ truth, memory, and pain, which are transformed into an imagery where the factual and remembered are interwoven with symbols that are rarely immediately apparent and obvious but rather ‘hidden’ and ‘encrypted’ as metaphors and allegories (Sturken and Cartwright 2001; Mitchell 1994). This new visual reality becomes universally readable, with its presence causing an even stronger and more conclusive effect than the reality itself (Freedberg 1986). Artwork can become a museum-like artefact that serves the function of a semi-historical reference. It represents both an immediate primary source for decoding its own genesis and a vessel in which experience, memory, and pain are interpreted, visualized, and stored. The work of art then becomes the ‘new’ place of pain and a new experience both accessible to outsiders and recognisable by those who embody such transcendental ‘places’—as our audiences confirmed to us. As such, this work of art could be a call for new ethnographic approach, presentation, and interpretation of memories of violence.

Evaluating Creative Approaches in Memory Research

Since there are no general standards for creating artwork, there are also no general standards for analysing the art. However, if we know what kind of experience artwork contains, we are closer to establishing the criteria for its understanding and valorisation. As Dewey (1958: 273) put it: ‘The work of art is not only outcome of imagination, but [it] operates imagi-

natively rather than in the realm of physical existence. What it does is to concentrate and enlarge an immediate experience’.

The ethnography presented in our exhibited artworks aimed to concentrate and enlarge the experiences of our participants, ourselves, and our audiences. This engagement and reflexivity at an individual and group level constitutes an integral part of our research with art exhibits serving as media through which the shared engagement, reflexivity, and storytelling took place. In the process, the experiences of our participants and our audiences blended with our own, refining and redefining our methodology and research findings.

Conclusion

Benedict Anderson argued that modern forms of commemoration, including memorials, flags, tombs of unknown soldiers, help constitute the imagined community and strengthen the sense of national identity at the expense of a personal sense of loss (Anderson 1983). In Bosnia, as Buturovic points out, the resistance of individual memory against nationalist appropriations of remembrance has shifted the focus back on traditional Bosnian Islamic commemorative aesthetics that foster intimacy between the grave and the community that attends to it. This shift has enhanced direct ritual access to the places of memory and also enabled a more dynamic engagement with the cultural tradition that was targeted for annihilation during the war (Buturovic 2015).

In line with personal forms of mourning and remembrance, this chapter has demonstrated how memory research can benefit from combining social scientific methods with art and how in turn they complement each other, resulting in a different form of engagement with the research outputs materialised in a series of multimedia exhibitions. Through the exhibitions that were made of a creative fusion of documentary and imaginary representations of social, spatial, and affective landscapes of memory in post-conflict contexts, we have attempted to challenge the boundaries between the notions of subjective (artistic or fictional) and objective (documentary and scientific), ethics and aesthetics, individual and collective, local and global, and past and present. By mixing graphics, photo-

graphs, text, documents, drawings, sound, and video in reconstructing the fragmented realities in which people both flourish or not, the exhibitions, presented on three continents in a variety of community venues and art galleries, called for the recognition of resilience of ordinary people and the acknowledgement of 'ordinariness' and individuality of those who have posthumously been put into collective categories, mass graves, and war statistics, or elevated to the abstract status of nation's martyrs. By doing this, our positions as memory scholars and artists moved into the domain of activism, challenging the entrenched dichotomy separating the researchers from their research participants and the themes of the research.

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6

Beyond Trauma: Researching Memory on My Doorstep

Sarah Gensburger

Introduction

Most memory studies scholarship is trauma driven. As a result, core concepts of the field are built from the study of the memory of events labeled as “traumatic”. Widespread notions such as “postmemory” (Hirsch 2012) or “flashbulb memory” (Luminet and Curci 2017), for example, take for granted that an original trauma has first generated the memory dynamics under study. If not all, a large part of scholarly work in memory studies considers “traumatic memory” as ontologically distinct from everyday memory (Edkins 2003).

In this dominant perspective, researchers have, empirically, been dealing first and foremost with the memory of the Holocaust, until, more recently, broadening the scope to the study of memory of other genocides and mass violence. Since 2001, and following 9/11 (September 11, 2001), new works have crossed terrorism, conflict and peace studies with and into memory studies. In the French research field, the two waves of terrorist attacks in 2015 have led to the development of an ambitious

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research agenda for the understanding of the “memory of these traumatic events”, at the intersection of neuroscience and the social sciences (Legrand et al. 2015). Building on previous studies about 9/11 in New York (Hirst et al. 2015), this research uses a dedicated set of methodological tools. Some of the studies, from this line of work, underline the importance of ordinary and everyday life memory dynamics at the very core of the recalling of traumatic events (Talarico and Rubin 2017). Other recent works go one step further and plead for a more ordinary approach to memory dynamics, even in “traumatic context”. Some of these works deal with the aftermaths of terrorist attacks in the landscape and social environment where these violent massacres took place (Heath-Kelly 2016; Smithsimon 2011 and Tota 2004). In doing so, these studies do not start by assessing the intensity or the impact of the traumatic experience, but rather pay attention, from a heuristic perspective, to the ordinary social dynamics that may be at stake where the event occurred. In the sections that follow, I participate in this approach that positions memory in the everyday context and elaborate on the importance of methodology in its explication.

Parisian Context

In January and November 2015, the city of Paris experienced major terrorist attacks. On January 7, 2015, at noon, two terrorists broke into the offices of French satirical newspaper *Charlie Hebdo*, at 10 rue Nicolas Appert in the 11th arrondissement of Paris, where they killed 11 people. A few minutes later, as they fled the scene, they shot down a police officer named Ahmed Merabet at close range, outside 62 Boulevard Richard Lenoir, two blocks away from the Bataclan concert hall. Barely ten months later, on the night of November 13, 2015, three gunmen rushed toward the Bataclan. They began by shooting the people sitting outside the Bataclan café at number 50 Boulevard Voltaire, across the road from 94 Boulevard Richard Lenoir, before going inside the concert hall itself and opening fire on the crowd. On this same night, other gunmen shot people in several other cafés and restaurants in and around the 11th

arrondissement, as well as in the nearby 10th arrondissement, leaving a total of 130 people dead and almost 500 wounded. These events all took place in the same neighborhood. I have been a resident in this neighborhood for ten years, and live there with my partner, our daughter and son, who were, respectively, seven and four years old by the time of the attack. After November 2015, my neighborhood suddenly became the stage for the grassroots memorialization, tributes, and homages to the victims (Fig. 6.1).

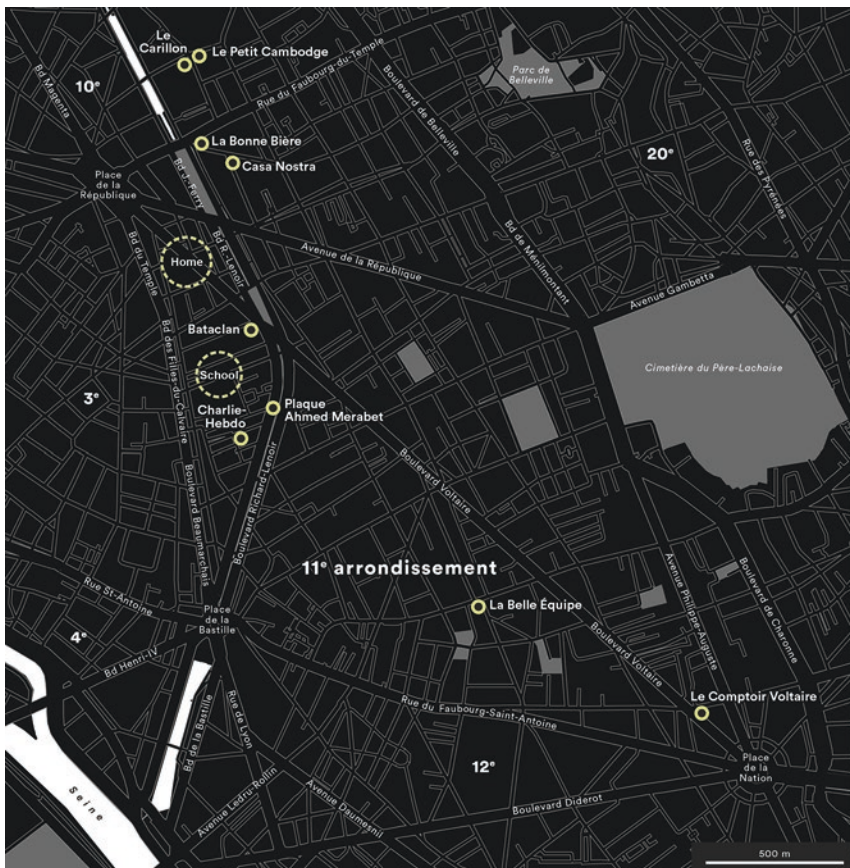


Fig. 6.1 Map of the district of the attacks, featuring my home and my children's school. (© Aurélie Boissière/Sandrine Clérisse/Anamosa)

As a sociologist of memory, practicing qualitative and ethnographic research, and a theoretical critic of the institutionalization of memory studies, these occurrences in my direct neighborhood impacted how I thought about my scholarly work. Most recently, I had been working on social memory and its localizations. By 2015, the city of Paris had already become one of the places where I conducted ethnographic fieldwork studying, for example, the social uses of the more than 2000 commemorative plaques on display on the walls of the city, most of which referring to the Second World War events (Gensburger and Lefranc 2017). After January and most of all November 2015, the phenomena I was used to studying in places and about periods removed from my everyday life, were now unfolding in my own neighborhood, in places that I visit every day. These places that my family and I passed daily became the stage for the memorialization, tributes, and homages to the victims.

The terror events in Paris prompted a new development in my memory research, which included a new form of writing. For almost one year, I kept traces and took notes of this memory process in the district. I also wrote sociological chronicles of the “Bataclan neighborhood”, paying attention to the urban and social spaces and interlinking my everyday life with my ethnographic work. These 60 chronicles and more than 1000 pictures charted this impact and the evolutions it provoked in the area, from a perspective that is both personal and professional (sociological). These short texts were first published on a blog (Gensburger 2016) and finally became a book including more than 150 images (Gensburger 2017). In the present book chapter, I will not present the results of this case study, but rather I want to seize the opportunity to revisit this very singular research method and take stock of this day-to-day ethnographic fieldwork from a methodological perspective. How can we grasp the ordinary social frameworks of memory of a “traumatic event” through method?

From the Space of Trauma to Living Places

First, I will introduce the context of the research, and how this research represented an example of doing research on memory “differently” and also what it differs from. In the week following the Bataclan massacre and

building on the precedent of some of the works on 9/11 memory, a major research program was launched by several of the main French research institutions. This program called “Memory of November 13”, shortened to “11/13”, has the goal to investigate the collective memory of the event as “traumatic memory”. Its core method has been to produce film interviews in a professional studio, located outside Paris, with 1000 “witnesses”, as they are called. Because of the use of video and the lack of anonymity it implied, the program had to apply for an ethical agreement and the interviewees have been guaranteed first that their anonymity will be protected until 2028, and second that, meanwhile, only registered researchers will have access to these data. These interviews have been scheduled to take place with the same people at four different stages: in the immediate wake of the event, and then two, five, and ten years later. The witnesses have been chosen among different groups depending on their spatial proximity to the events, and presumably interlinked with their degrees of trauma: the victims and their families; the inhabitants of the neighborhood of the attacks; the people from other districts of Paris and its region; and, finally, participants from the rest of France. This ambitious, collaborative research relies on a large consortium of teams and universities (<http://www.memoire13novembre.fr>) and draws on the expertise of historians, social scientists, psychologists, and neuroscientists. Indeed, 150 out of the 1000 interviewees are included in a Magnetic Resonance Imaging protocol in addition to their video recording. To be included in the research program, the participants had to volunteer. Before starting the interview process, these participants were briefed that they would be asked to express their reaction to the event, labeled as extraordinary by this very process itself. In this methodological perspective, researching memory starts by giving the memory of the event a singular, and by definition, traumatic status and by making the hypothesis that the spatial proximity to the event is one of the main factors in generating trauma (Fig. 6.2).

By contrast, my research, informed by my previous work and my own personal experience, sought to complement this large-scale project by employing a very different methodological perspective on that focused on the everyday environments in which the events took place. When they occurred, the people of the “Bataclan neighborhood” were profoundly



Fig. 6.2 Leaflets on display on the drugstore counter, on my doorstep, to encourage inhabitants of the neighborhood to contact the research program on the memory of traumatic events in order to become a “witness”. (© Sarah Gensburger)

affected by the attacks. Many inhabitants have been anxious, struggling with what they saw (and heard) that Friday night, and what, for some of them, they have been seeing for a long time after that evening: the bullet holes in the walls, the piles of tributes, and the endless visitors to the neighborhood. Some of the children who live here have experienced nightmares, hallucinations, and panic attacks. Their parents, including myself, can still shudder at any siren that lasts more than two seconds, and we take a step back when we see blue lights flashing in the distance at the Place de la République. However, psychological support and group therapy sessions, provided by the municipal council, were attended by only a very small portion of the population. From a sociology of memory point of view, in my eyes, it seemed important to collect other kind of data based on a different methodology in order to keep open the possibility to see something other than trauma in the memorialisation process of November 13 and to consider this part of Paris as something else than exclusively a “traumatized space”.

In the official “11/13” project, the neighborhood of the attack was assigned a special status, but with no material and sociological embedding, since the

witnesses have been interviewed far from their homes and their daily lives. I had experienced that for my personal case, I spoke very differently about my experience and memory of 11/13 depending on what I was doing, with whom and where, both geographically and socially speaking. Re-placing inhabitants in their local and social networks seemed necessary in my research. In the Parisian case, the attacks caused very few changes to public space, in contrast with New York or, even to a lesser degree, the Madrid or London cases, where terrorist attacks destroyed a part of the city: buildings, train, or metro stations. In Paris, no such material destruction happened, and the attackers killed the victims one by one. In the aftermath, there was almost nothing to rebuild, or to see, at least on the outside—thus the memories of the event had an immaterial quality. After November 2015, the main visible intervention for reconstruction took place at the Bataclan, on the inside of the building. Outside of the concert hall, a barrier was mainly installed for security purposes, as a way to distance visitors from coming too close to the building.

Researching Memory in the Everyday

In my fieldwork, I decided to shift perspective by no longer considering my neighborhood to be a space of trauma in itself, but instead as a living place, paying attention to the social relationships people built with their environment and to the role it played in memory dynamics. In other words, my intention was to observe the streets and to talk with people as visitors and inhabitants of the space and not as victims confronted by the event. This methodological choice had both ethical and practical consequences. On the first issue, and in a French academic context where as far as anonymity is granted, no ethical agreement is needed for scholar research, I decided upon my ethical conduct on my own. For this, I had two main considerations. On the one hand, I paid attention not to allow any personal identification of the people I talked with or simply observed, even in the pictures I blurred faces when necessary. On the other hand, I worked to find a style and a tone of writing that was as free as possible from any moral or judgmental perspectives in order to really give voice to each person I interviewed or simply encountered.

On the second issue, the more centrally methodological one even if, of course, the two are closely intertwined, for example, when trying to enter in conversation with people stopping by or staying close to the sites of the attacks, I chose to ask, as an introduction, “do you often come to this part of Paris?” This opening question led to the collection of different kinds of responses: in most cases, my interlocutor first explained that he or she was visiting someone nearby, worked nearby, or was visiting Paris for the first time. This methodological framing enabled me to locate some of the commemorative practices I was observing in front of the grassroots memorial as ordinary ones, often embedded in a mundane acts of professional, economic, and social mobility. Moreover, this methodological choice enabled the expression of multiple narrations of the event. These narrations were no longer limited to trauma and suffering but exposed how the same place continued to function in its everyday capacity after the event.

From Oral History Interviews to Everyday Ordinary Conversations

I conducted around 90 field interviews with people in front of grassroots memorials. I mainly observed people’s behaviors and, most of all, listened to their conversations. Indeed most of the people who stopped by the sites came with others. This collective visit was silent at first, in coherence with ritualized mourning practice such as the “minute of silence” (Collins 2004, Sánchez-Carretero 2011) but also included a lot of conversations, most often about what message they would write. Taking notes and pictures of these ordinary group interactions while facing the places of the terrorist attacks enabled me to embed the messages left there in the group dynamics that led to their writing. Most of the messages denounce the “horror” and express “pain” in an apparent consensual way. However, when I observed and listened to the group conversations that prompted them, it appeared that their initial intentions were often far more controversial, debated, and political. For example, at first, the messages were often meant to denounce the French State participation in wars in the Middle East, or, at the opposite, to stigmatize Muslims as an ethnic group. However, in most of the cases, the group dynamics I observed resulted in people writing more consensual message about



Fig. 6.3 (© Sarah Gensburger)

peace, coexistence, or celebrating Paris. Here paying attention to ordinary conversations in the city enabled me to go far beyond the consensual appearance of memorialization. It made conflictual narratives to be revealed to me as a researcher, in contrast to the questions posed by other researchers and journalists conducting research in the same place. Their questions were often couched in different psychological and apolitical discourses and encompassed questions such as: “Do you often come to mourn here?”

On Monday, December 2016, I was observing and taking notes at Place de la République where the main grassroots memorial had been established from January 2015 onwards. I witnessed a heated discussion between a man, who was standing on the base of the statute with his hands full of papers, and a woman perched on a bicycle, who later stated that she lived “here” (meaning nearby). The man had picked up some of the tributes and letters, left there by passers-by in homage to the victims of the attacks (Fig. 6.3).

The dialogue between these two people ensued as follows:

Woman: You're not allowed to, it's not up to you.

Man: I'm not taking them. I'm going to laminate them, to protect them.

Woman: If people put them there like that then that's their right. And it's not a problem that they get damaged, or destroyed. I like it when the flowers fade.

Man: But people didn't think to laminate them, of course, they're very emotional. We'll laminate them so that they last.

I asked him who is the "we" he referred to? He said: "I'm with a group that aims to pay respects to the victims and preserve the tributes people have dedicated to them". I later discovered that this group, of around 20 people, had been calling themselves "17 never again", in reference to the 17 victims of January 2015 in Paris. They had summarily taken charge of the grassroots memorial.

It quickly became apparent that what was at stake here was differing interpretations of public space. This scene was the first of many of observations I made of a struggle over the appropriation of sites related to the attacks, their memorialization, and the public reactions to them in Paris urban space. One reason why I was able to document this dimension was because, in addition to listening to conversations, the uses of field interviews, and the observations of the site, I used photography as a methodological tool. Since I was trying to pay attention to the everyday and seemingly mundane traces of memory in the public space, the fact that I photographed them enabled me to postpone the interpretation of what I was seeing and return to these events after they had occurred. Using this method, I was able to document the tributes and commemorative materials that had an ephemeral life in the streetscape. Moreover, the use of a photographic device enabled me to build a situated gaze on the memorialization of these attacks, in the space of the city. As other colleagues have largely documented and reflected upon (Pink and al. 2017; Tolia-Kelly and Rose 2012), in this case also, and in addition to becoming digital content when posted on the blog, the photographs were very relevant material to work from a topographic perspective. Over one year, I took more than 1000 pictures.

Taking photographs enabled me to keep track of things and served as a data resource through which I could filter my critical ethnographic analysis. Overlaying this analysis was the progression of the Occupy movement in Paris. The everyday space of the street became not just a place for grassroots memorialization, but on March 31, 2016, the Place de la République became the hub of the social movement of occupation against the reform of labor laws in France, called “Nuit Debout”.

If “Nuit Debout” marked a new stage in the dispute over public space, it revealed more broadly the fragmentation of the memory of the Paris attacks and the segmentation of shared space and time along with it. The space of Place de la République was symbolically segmented: the right part (the one close to the 11th district) of it was always occupied by the counter-powers (from left-wing activists to advocates for international causes) and the left one by representative of State and its power (from policemen to the Presidential “Memory Tree” inaugurated in January 2016). Thanks to the collection of pictures I had taken, I was able to put this new social mobilization related to labor laws in perspective with a topography of memory. My use of photography as a research tool enabled me to trace a strong continuity between the memorialization of the attacks and the Nuit Debout movement relating to how each social activity occupied different parts of the Republic plaza, their temporal use of the space through the day and the types of people involved. My attention to these memory dynamics at this site helped me to notice and make sense of evocations of other pasts at the place de la République, among which not only included other terrorist attacks around the world, from Bruxelles to Orlando, but also the Paris Commune (the 1871 revolutionary movement), the First and Second World Wars, including the French State Collaboration and the figure of Anne Frank, the events of the Paris Massacre of 1961 (when the French Police attacked Algerian demonstrators, throwing some of them into the Seine River) and May 1968. This gaze led me to establish that the memorialization of the attacks was possibly conflictual rather than consensual and informed only by shocks induced by trauma and, reciprocally and more broadly, that memory issues play a significant and dynamic role in the contemporary political dispute and public forum in French contemporary society.

From Focusing on Personal Narratives About ExtraOrdinary Events to Studying Ordinary Social Situations

The importance of dispute at the very core of the memorialization process was first pointed at to me by my children in some of our ordinary family conversations. Indeed, a key point of departure from what I would consider a classical field methodology—conducting interviews, making observations, and taking pictures at the sites of the attacks—I was constantly embedded in my everyday displacements as a district inhabitant and a mother of two children in my analysis and, where possible, removed my role as a sociologist. This positionality gave me the opportunity to resolve one of the main difficulties met by researchers interested in the study of vernacular discourse and representations about memory—How can you learn about the way people remember the attacks in daily conversations? Most of the existing literature relies on the organization of focus groups and on conversation analysis techniques, regretting to be “unable to employ a pure form of conversation analysis (which normally involves recording everyday conversations without a researcher present)” (Jackson and Hall 2016: 295). In this case, I did not record but decided to take full notes of the “genuine” ordinary conversations of inhabitants that were the result of my interactions with my family and friends, my children’s friends, neighbors, parents at school, teachers, shopkeepers, to name a few. Over the course of one year, I paid particular attention to when, and in which social situations, people from my ordinary life remembered and spoke, in one way or another, of and about the attacks.

This methodology enabled me to grasp the vernacular memory of 11/13, at least in the, of course, limited group of the district inhabitants. This methodological commitment made visible the existence of social continuity beyond the rupture created by the violence of the event and stressed the fact that this continuity too participated in the social frames in which the memory of it has been built.

For example, in June 2016, the attacks were at the heart of two separate conversations I had in the course of a single day, with two mothers of my children’s friends. The call for witnesses for the research program

"11/13" had been sent out by the school to all the parents, on request of the Paris Head for Education. On this particular day almost all the conversations between parents related to this letter. I spoke with two mothers, on different occasions. Both live across the road from the Bataclan (one outside its entrance, the other outside its exit), they are both married, have young sons, and work full-time. They both described themselves as "overcome" with emotion by the night of November 13; indeed, for both of them, the memory of that night is still present today, still raw and still stressful. Their two feelings seem mostly similar, if not the same but the way in which they had built their memory of the event, and more importantly their expression of it were clearly different from each other. One wanted to speak publicly about her experience, to bear witness; the other preferred to scribble it all down in a notebook that she intended to keep for herself. The first signed up to participate in the official research program to collect videos of peoples' stories of the night of November 13. The other considered the very idea to be intrusive. Indeed, their distinct reactions to the act of testifying about their experiences, their suffering, were accompanied by very different social practices. Their reactions also had spatial implications in the context of the neighborhood itself; the first has decided to move house, in order to have distance from the area of the concert hall. In contrast, the second has intensified her connection to the local community; she had tried to motivate people so that this year the annual school fête will take place "in spite of everything", in order to "celebrate life". Their reactions also intersected with their professional lives. The first works in an intellectual profession and is used to speaking in public, and speaking in the first person. The second works in the service sector, in a profession that requires discretion and where voicing one's own opinion is out of place. The way they remember and become (or not become) witness are framed by this range of social positions, relations, and situations.

Putting this more "ordinary" methodological perspective into practice was facilitated by the fact that, being a mother of two young children, my son and daughter accompanied me during a large part of the fieldwork. For example, the conversation I quoted earlier, in which the man was trying to remove commemorative material, was overheard by my daughter. We were leaving the metro, returning home from her

weekly circus practice. She witnessed the scene before me and said: “Mum, why are people fighting?” She had pointed out the conflictual dimension before I became fully aware of it.

Some recent works have been taking stock of the methodological benefits and limits from this inclusion of children in ethnography (Allerton 2016). In my case, it was not a conscious choice but more of a secondary consequence of my decision to embed this research in my everyday life. At first, the presence of my children seemed to me as a burden. On the field, I had to pay attention to them and do this “care-work” that Drozdowski and Robinson (2015) discuss in their personal reflections on their ethnographic work with children. I initially felt that, because of my children, I was not fully available to keep tracks of things happening (Fig. 6.4).

However, my children’s presence turned out to be very fruitful for my research. It became a full participation in the scientific work. Their views



Fig. 6.4 My son with his bicycle during fieldwork, Place de la République. (© Sarah Gensburger)

on things were very helpful because of the way children's views tend to "normalize" what they witness, including when exposed to violence (Dyregrov et al. 2016). Children, especially young children, are likely to express pre-socialized and framed opinion and feelings. Refracting these everyday scenes through my daughter and son's eyes helped separate my personal and professional positionalities; it helped me connect to the everyday setting and character of the method and remove the more immediate tendency I had as a sociologist to focus on memorialization and traumatic reading of attacks and their aftermath. Several remarks and reactions of my children resonated strongly. For example, in January 2016, we were walking on the Boulevard Richard Lenoir (see Fig. 6.1 map, between home and school, in front of the Bataclan), when my daughter stopped because she saw a doll. The doll was left in front of the Bataclan among the flowers and letters. Even though we had been passing by every day for weeks now, she had never pointed out any other items to me. She was a seven-year-old girl, the doll symbolized here a connection to and a reading and framing of place. My son, who was only four years old and admiring his older sister, felt he also had to pick something for himself from the collection of commemorative objects. He adopted "his Father Christmas", which had been previously brought there as a tribute. From this day on, he said hello to it every morning on the way to school. In this example, making sense of the most dramatic events relied on very mundane social habits: thinking about Christmas when you see a puppet in red and white when you are a kid. My memories of them witnessing and processing the social interactions in our neighborhood meant that the everydayness of method became even more salient for me.

On one occasion, when the neighborhood was closed off for an official visit, my son saw the red and white plastic tape set up across the roads as the opportunity to duck underneath and jump over the obstacles, "just like" his favorite video game hero does. When we pass by the candles that have been lit in homage to the victims, he has a normal four-year-old reaction—he wanted to blow them out. My reaction was to explain to him that they are not birthday candles but have been left by people there to stay alight. In a further example, on March 22, 2016, in the wake of the Bruxelles attack, my daughter and I walked together across the Place de la République, while returning from her circus practice. She noticed a picture

of Tintin at the base of the statue. Making a direct connection with the cartoonists killed in January 2015 in Charlie Hebdo office and aware of what had happened in Belgium, and an avid reader of Tintin, my daughter spontaneously asked me “this time they’ve killed Hergé?!” The spontaneity of her reactions demonstrates the orthodox filtering of trauma that I flagged in the introduction. The memory of the attack does not exist in isolation and it is not necessarily only seen through a traumatic lens. Rather, references to it and the remembrance of it are contingent on the social situations that people are in.

The attacks are of course now part of the everyday lives of those who live here; they are occasionally referred to in our conversations, and sometimes take up residence in our silences. One evening, in June 2016, my daughter questioned me about “our” risk of being flooded by the rising flood waters of the Seine. At this time, the Seine river had recently flooded in Paris and I had taken my children to the banks of the river to see the water rise some days before. I replied “No, you know we’re too far away from the river”, and then, tired from a long day, I added without thinking “and, you know, enough already!” And then silence, I didn’t elaborate. But my daughter didn’t miss a beat and returned “Yes you’re right Mum! We already had the attacks!” The meaning of my “enough” was perfectly clear to her. She clearly had the attacks on her mind as well. In this interaction, she remembered them as something painful embedded in the history of Paris, its built environment and community. As for my son, he apparently considers the appearance of our neighborhood since November 2015 to be completely “normal”. For him, police officers, tourists, and journalists have become ordinary figures on our streets. On Saturday, June 4, 2016, we were waiting for the “Tropical Carnival” parade, which is supposed to proceed down the Boulevard du Temple, one street away from ours coming from the Place de la République. Originally created by the Caribbean community in Paris, to showcase their heritage, the carnival now includes many cultures from all around the world. At the head of the parade, for security reasons that were obvious to me, there were around 30 police officers in combat uniform. My son turned toward me with a huge smile and said “Mum, you didn’t say there’d be a police carnival too!! That’s so cool!”. Here the nature of the social situation meant that my son did not read the security

framing of this public event. However, in another situation, in December 2017, he evoked the memory of the attack very clearly. We were playing Monopoly, and he was looking for a situation where someone could stop being alive “by chance” and for no reason. My son was then very clear in mobilizing the reference to the terrorist attacks as a way to justify the fact that we could “imagine that I (as a player) was killed in an attack in the street” to be kicked out of the game without losing. Indeed following the rules, my bankruptcy was supposed to stop the game and prevent him from going on playing with his sister, which he did not want. Beyond the dichotomy between trauma and resilience, for my children, as for other people I have been speaking with in my everyday life, there are social situations and interactions in which it is meaningful to speak about the attacks, to remember them, and others where it is not. In this perspective, memory, as traumatic as it may be, is always located in urban space of course but also within a social framework.

Memory on My Doorstep

Paying attention to memory on my doorstep was a challenge, and it clearly benefited my methodological thinking about memory dynamics. I do see, every day a little more, how these “residents”—who are for me first and foremost “neighbours”—express their experiences in what my professional positionality would constitute as a social phenomenon. They are framed by a range of social relations and situations but enacted in what would otherwise be considered an ordinary and mundane milieu. This observation is both a sign of the undeniable impact of the events and a sign that this impact has not radically overhauled the social dynamics of our neighborhood. On the contrary, it is in this context, a genuine social framework that at least partially existed before the attacks, that their impact finds its form and unfolds.

Furthermore, having children with me throughout this fieldwork made me (more) sensitive to the ways in which the events rapidly took on a more routine meaning and how they were seen through their eyes. From a methodological perspective, including my children into fieldwork forced me to continuously avoid pre-interpreting things through the lens

of trauma. My children were making sense of the events in their own way through what they were seeing and doing in response. I witnessed a mechanism similar to the “tourist gaze”, as documented by John Urry (2002), which was the construction of the memory of the “traumatic events”: the attacks of 13/11 and how it was framed and structured by ordinary social representations that pre-existed it and proceeded after it. Treating this memory by ‘seeing like’ a child (Scott 1998) facilitated my consideration of the continuity of social mechanisms in the way the events were remembered and read.

On the basis of the methodological choices I made I was able to demonstrate the importance of placing residents in their everyday context, both geographically and socially speaking, in contrast with methodological choices that distance them from those everyday encounters and record their testimonies in video studios. Studying memory on my doorstep then led to questioning the dominant equation between spatial proximity and trauma and invites to go beyond.

For now, the data collected by the official 11/13 research program have not been fully studied from a social scientific perspective. From a methodological perspective, the next step is then to analyse the video research interviews and the ethnographic information I gathered in order to build a more complex understanding of the social reactions to terrorist attacks over time. In doing so, I intend to pay particular attention to issues related to children and families. Some of the very few studies on this cohort have stressed the methodological interest in looking closely to memory through times for these groups of individuals (Osofsky et al. 2015). In this matter, the research protocol built by the 11/13 research program will hopefully turn out to be very precious and should confirm the importance to combine approaches and scales to access memory dynamics.

Acknowledgments The author is very grateful to Danielle Drozdewski and Carolyn Birdsall for their constructive comments and editing work. This text would not have existed without the comments of my colleagues Sylvain Antichan, Maelle Bazin and G  r  me Truc, the conversations I had with my neighbors, friends, or the visitors to this part of Paris, and, of course, without the support of my family, Renaud, Norah, and Jacob.

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7

Reading-in-Place and Thick Mapping the Venice Ghetto at 500

Amanda K. Sharick, Erica G. Smeltzer,
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Introduction: The Venice Ghetto at 500 and Guiding Questions

In *The Ghetto Inside Out*, Shaul Bassi and Isabella di Lenardo (2013, 5) invite their readers to consider the legacy of the Venice Ghetto 500 years after its founding: ‘We want to argue that this small area contains large lessons for the contemporary world, lessons that emerge from a patient excavation of its past and a critical examination of its present’. This 500-year milestone generated a renewed, global interest in thinking through the significance of the world’s first ghetto in relation to our contemporary

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moment.¹ Bassi and di Lenardo's call prompted us to consider new ways in which our small research group of three literary scholars could begin this work of site-based excavation using the primary tool of our discipline—close-reading. We adapted our practice of close-reading the environments and textures inscribed in prose into one of close-reading physical spaces, and then turned our attention to the ways in which these two practices might overlap.

While hosting a workshop in Venice for this 500th anniversary, we were inspired by the international collaboration that the workshop precipitated, by Bassi and di Lenardo's work, and by the Ghetto itself. To capture the small dimensions of this physical site and the global reach of its metaphorical and literary significance, we decided that one way to navigate the physical space and access the layers of stories, histories, and memories that constitute its legacy was to design interactive digital maps to express the Ghetto's spatial and temporal mobility. The Ghetto's avenues connect the present to the past and tie the local to the global. This chapter explains the theoretical and practical development of this mapping project and its methodology.

In the twenty-first century, the Venice Ghetto is marked by the absence of the vibrant Jewish community that once inhabited it. The space has transformed from a dynamic site of cultural interchange to what Bassi and di Lenardo call 'a religious and tourist destination' (2013, 5). A walk through its streets reveals traces of the past: a gap in the stonework around a doorframe where a mezuzah used to hang, the absence of the gate that once cordoned off the space from the rest of the city at night. But in the global, collective imaginary and in fiction, the Venice Ghetto remains a powerful site and provides a blueprint for thinking through how the power of place can shape our practice of doing memory research. In our correspondence with Chilean-Jewish writer Marjorie Agosín, she explains:

The Ghetto of Venice is a metaphor for the possibility of the coexistence of layered memories—memories of beauty, memories of horror, memories of

¹ As Bassi and di Leonardo explain, the word 'ghetto' comes from this site: 'Those features that distinguished the Venetian case became the model for all subsequent ghettos, beginning with the name itself which derives from the Venetian *geto* ("the shape made in the mould when casting metal" according to G. Boerio's classic Venetian dictionary). In the fifteenth century "terren del geto" meant an area of the public foundry for casting ordnance' (2013, 10).

desperation, memories of truth ... So the Ghetto of Venice stands, like a portal, to what is good, and to what is evil, to what is remembered, and what is often forgotten. (Pers. comm, October 23, 2015)

As we consider how the Venice Ghetto prompts us to think through our practice of memory work differently, we situate our cartographic projects within the broader context of our larger exploration of the significance of the site of the Venice Ghetto at the 500th anniversary of its founding in 1516. Digital mapping allows us to capture these overlapping memory dynamics, temporalities, fiction, and site-based observation onto a single plane, holding each stratum in productive tension. For example, a three-dimensional rendering of the space is juxtaposed with a video of Trostel and Sharick reading within the very plaza referenced in Agosin's text (see Fig. 7.2).

Our interest in the idea of digital mapping stems from the desire to see the space of the Venice Ghetto not as a static, museum site, but rather as a dynamic place—as a memory space that travels. The map allows us to track this movement and represent the various instances and images where the Ghetto becomes most significant. Drawing from Walter Benjamin's now famous aphorism in *Theses on the Philosophy of History*, 'The past can be seized only as an image which flashes up at the instant when it can be recognized and is never seen again' (1968, 255), we examine the Ghetto in the context of its long history as a cultural text and a visual icon, and trace the complexity of the site as both a concrete space and a global metaphor; we attempt to capture the refraction of the Ghetto of Venice across space and time.

Our mapping projects echo a key question of *The Ghetto Inside Out*: 'What more or less visible traces still mark today the ancient Jewish quarter?' but expand on it to embrace a conception of a memory space that travels. The research questions that guided our methods of representing the ties between memory and place include:

- In our digital era, is it now possible to place the iconic Ghetto of Venice into a new historical context that disrupts the effects of 'frozen' museum time?
- If the Ghetto functions as a container for memory, how can we maintain and encourage a dynamic and palpable relationship to this site?

- What is literature's role in illuminating networks of memory?
- How can a digital representation of literary space help to visualize and make deepen the layers of history and tangled webs of place-based belonging encoded in text?
- Can we reinscribe seemingly static sites of memory through acts of storytelling?

Bassi and di Lenardo (2013, 21–22) contend:

The key Ghetto stories remain hidden and unexplored, buried under a layer of seductive and powerful clichés prompted by the now globalized word ghetto ... Nonetheless, precisely because of its resistance to interpretation, the Venice Ghetto at the same time poses important questions: while other parts of the city inspire mute admiration, these two adjacent campi, offering little in the way of beautiful facades and breathtaking monuments, prompt instead meditation and query, and raise issues of global relevance: what do we mean exactly by a ghetto? Who are the Jews and what is their role?

We examine the use of digital mapping as a means to answer these research questions and uncover the stories that have attached themselves to these *campi*. We expand upon the idea of the Venice Ghetto, a ghetto that has come to mean different things in different spaces and different historical contexts. Our mapping project uncovers the palimpsest-like layering of stories that come to mark the site today and challenges us to discover new methods of doing memory research as we ‘read-in-place’—contending with the contradicting forces that surround a site that is both local and global. By reading-in-place, we join the practice of close-reading text, which is so deeply entrenched in our discipline, to the act of digitally mapping physical sites, reconnecting story to cartography and placing often conflicting versions of the past in proximity.

The Project

As literary scholars, our challenge was to make a complex project—one that thinks deeply about the role of place and memory—more accessible to the public. The 500th anniversary of the Venice Ghetto, and its small

remaining Jewish community, challenged us to break out of traditional means of scholarly publication to participate in the rejuvenation of the museum-like space of the Ghetto itself.

One of our project's goals is to think about the way that the word 'ghetto' has traveled across space and time. However, when creating our digital maps, we did not want to be limited by a simple practice of comparison—an act that reduces the complexity and messiness of the Ghetto and its conflicted memories and history. Therefore, to describe the interlocking stories created by our individual projects, we drew from Marianne Hirsch's (2014, 334) notion of 'connective histories in vulnerable times.' Hirsch urges humanities scholars to shift away from thinking about 'comparisons,' and instead embrace the potential offered by the idea of 'connectivity'. Our present moment, she argues, is marked by 'multiplying' instances of historical violence, trauma, and structural injustice, stories, and histories that have come to inscribe the surface of our present-day landscapes. The Venice Ghetto was the perfect testing ground for how we could do the work of analyzing what Hirsch would call 'connectivity'. Our projects demonstrate the global reach and historical depth of the Ghetto's legacy—a site we describe as 'a memory space that travels'. It is a place that necessitates a special kind of memory work, one that can capture the complex nature of its embedded stories.

The lens of connectivity allowed us to think about how our projects could be visualized collectively through the act of digital mapping, which enabled us to highlight networks of complex overlap and interaction. Through our digital work, we enhance the spatial aspect of literature and combine it with another mode of representing space—the map. Stories are capable of transferring an image and memory of a moment in time and space to an audience that is not present. We selected such narratives to flesh out individual points on a map, giving each cartographical reference multiple dimensions.

While the three maps travel across different sites and moments important to Jewish collective memory, and each addresses the legacy of the Venice Ghetto, Smeltzer, Sharick, and Trostel's respective projects are joined primarily through their methodology of 'reading-in-place'. Smeltzer's exploration of Egon Erwin Kisch's *Tales of the Seven Ghettos*, Sharick's juxtaposition of nineteenth-century British Jewish writers'

ghetto narratives, and Trostel's examination of exile Marjorie Agosín's 2004 Jewish-Chilean poetry at first glance are not inherently related; however, by eschewing comparativity and embracing the model of connectivity that digital maps allow us to adopt, we were able to see how these layers of historical and geographic memories encoded in fiction can work together to create a more complex picture of the Ghetto.

Together, the projects created networks of contact around the central node of the Ghetto. Using digital tools to explore the intersection of geographic data and literary analysis rendered new insights into the ways literature defines space and memory. We connected the many cartographical points associated with the space of the Venice Ghetto, and we especially looked at moments that revealed the intimate and often hidden links between seemingly unconnected places and histories. In the section that follows, we explain the methods used beginning with the method of reading-in-place and expanding this discussion to detail how these readings were mapped.

The Approach: Reading-in-Place and Thick Mapping

Emplaced Methods

The Ghetto of Venice is at once deeply entrenched in a specific, physical site (a point easily mapped cartographically) and characterized by its flexibility. As a concept, the term 'ghetto' has come to mark other, global spaces. It is a term that has traveled the globe and accrued layered meaning. The flexibility of allusion that the Venice Ghetto embodies and the importance of its geographic specificity calls for a kind of 'emplaced' memory work that we are calling 'reading-in-place' (Wolifson 2016, 175).

Our practice of 'reading-in-place' was prompted by the site of the Venice Ghetto. We weave together the highly symbolic physical site with the many powerful stories—both real and imaginary—that orbit this locus. Reading-in-place—the act of joining stories and geography—added more texture and projected another fictional and imaginative layer onto the original site. As Andreas Huyssen (2003, 7) eloquently writes,

while cities and buildings are not literal palimpsests (a word that most accurately describes the overlapping of writing on a manuscript page that has been re-inscribed with layers of compositions over time), we often ‘read’ them as if they were texts containing myriad stories:

[A]n urban imaginary, in its temporal reach may well put different things in one place: memories of what there was before, imagined alternatives to what there is. The strong marks of present space merge in the imaginary with traces of the past, erasures, losses, and heterotopias.

An example of how this is accomplished in our work can be found in Trostel’s Story Map project. Trostel’s map adds texture by using social media platforms and 360°-panorama image applications to recreate a virtual three-dimensional image of the walls and spaces of the Ghetto for the user. In conjunction with these spatial projections, she has also included a video recording of the literary work central to her project, Agosin’s *Cartographies*, being read in the Ghetto. This combination of virtual space and aural record attempts to merge the present place and the traces of memories, stories, and imaginaries discussed by Huyssen in a virtual platform (Fig. 7.1). This unique interaction is embedded within the Story Map as an additional point of entry into both the Venice Ghetto and Marjorie Agosin’s poem, a process that joins the voices of past and present in a new oral and digital archive (Figs. 7.1 and 7.2).

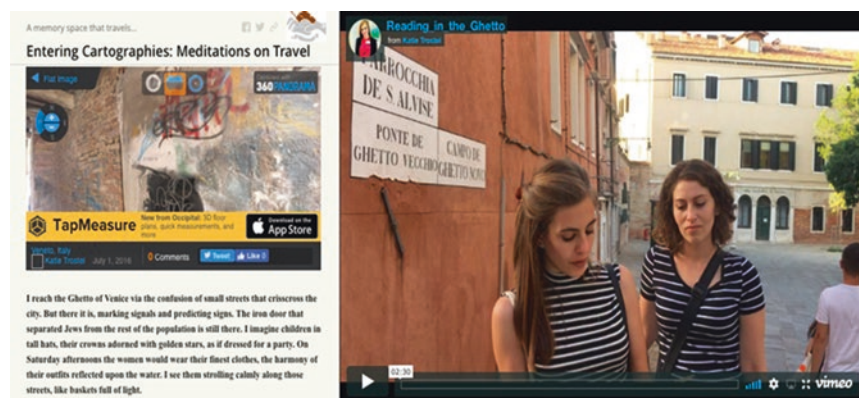


Fig. 7.1 Screen capture of Trostel’s Story Map illustrating the concept of thick mapping, 2018

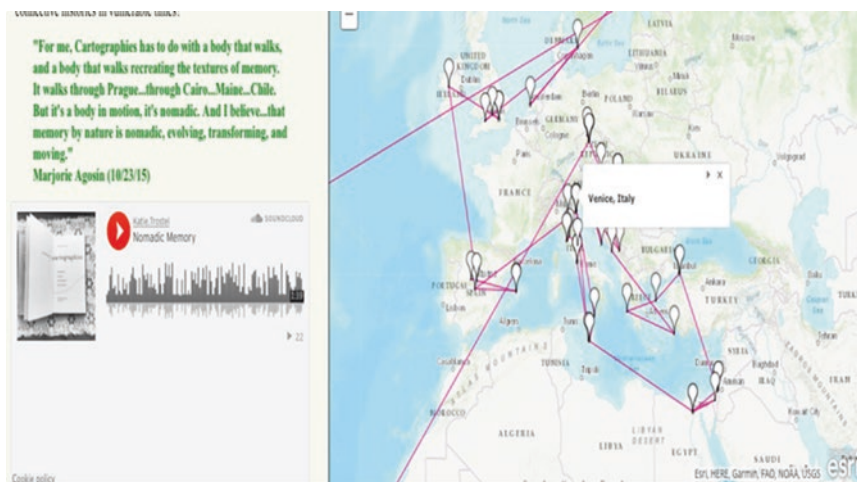


Fig. 7.2 Screen capture of Trostel's Story Map illustrating the use of oral archives, 2018

In Fig. 7.3, Smeltzer layers a map of present-day New York with text from Kisch's collection of ghetto vignettes. The outlines of the contemporary city are overlaid with text that presents an experience of the Jewish quarter of the city's past. The street corners, which still exist today, are layered with shops, sites, and smells—creating sensory traces of a bygone past. Reading-in-place helped us to recover the different types of memories—material, fictionalized, collective, contradictory, layered—that contribute to key narratives about space and place. The practice allows us to look for immaterial traces of memory that reveal narratives about past places and people—histories that may have been hidden, forgotten, or silenced. For example, Sharick's Story Map layers literary and historical documents with an expert-led 2012 audio walking guide and YouTube videos to reimagine historic Jewish ghetto spaces and their communities that no longer exist. The now absent ghettos reappear, then, as a result of the curated dialogue between literary memories and oral histories that illustrates their significance for multiple audiences across time. Throughout each of our mapping projects, memories are read both as traces in the urban landscape and as fictional footprints. The physical and literary terrains are joined in these maps

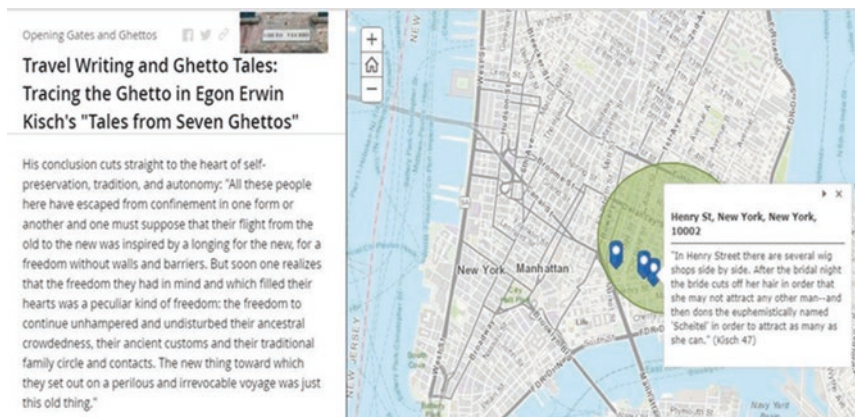


Fig. 7.3 Screen capture of Smeltzer's Story Map illustrating the concept of thick mapping, 2018

through a practice of close-reading textual and physical representations of the Ghetto.

As a group, we focused on how this iconic place could help us to ask new questions about the way we understand narrative, storytelling, and reading: the relationship between physical and imaginary geographies, the way in which collective memories are encoded in fiction, and the means by which literature can preserve the relationship between memory and place. As we read stories about the Ghetto *in* the Ghetto, we experienced the rhythms of place in a tactile manner—we walked the routes traced by characters in fiction, heard the regular sound of footfalls on cobblestone, and smelled the dust of heat-beaten stone walls and the sour tang of shadowed alleys. Like Degen and Rose, we ‘acknowledge the importance of the bodily experience of place and perceptual memory alongside the built environment’ (2012, in Wolifson 2016, 177). Enriched by what this spatial experience added to our reading practice, we recognized that the memories recorded in literature are limited in dimension and genre, and attempted to offer a version of this enhanced spatial/literary experience to ‘readers’ who are not able to physically inhabit the Ghetto. While a physical book can only offer a representation of space coded in language, a thick map can offer sounds, photographs, videos, and voices.

Thick Mapping

We were inspired by successful and provocative projects like those presented in *Hypercities*, a collection of collaborative projects based out of UCLA. Presner et al. (2014, 18–19) describe the interconnected and multimedia mapping they practice as thick mapping:

Thick maps are conjoined with stories, and stories are conjoined with maps, such that ever more complex contexts for meaning are created ... In this sense, ‘thickness’ arises from the never-ending friction between maps and counter-maps, constructions and deconstructions, mappings and counter-mappings. (2014, 19)

Deep or thick mapping attempts to augment, if not escape, a single regime of understanding through placing and giving equal representation to various modes of knowledge (folkloric, indigenous, witness, narrative, history, data, etc.) on a single plane of representation, where these elements are connected metaphorically through ‘sharing space’ (Springett 2015, 624–625). Produced in this way, the maps can be dynamic, polyvocal, and participatory, integrating the voices of various authors. However, they are also often messy, cluttered, disorganized, and overpopulated. The side effects of the creative and cooperative aspects of thick mapping can make the result hard to define in the traditional terms of authorship and genre.

Our interactive digital maps, supported by Esri’s Story Maps’ online platform, address a specific text or group of related texts that illustrate the metaphorical power of the Venice Ghetto—either by referencing the concrete space directly or by signaling the plurality of ghettos that have emerged since its conception. In Figs. 7.1, 7.2, and 7.3, Smeltzer and Trostel’s maps present layers of visual, aural, or textual information that help link memories, histories, and the stories themselves to key geographical locations, making the space on the map a place of memory and lost or potential community.

Each map can be navigated by reading and scrolling through the band of text and materials provided on the left-hand sidebar, which more closely resembles a traditional article or exploratory essay (see Figs. 7.1,

7.2, and 7.3). As you scroll through the text, the corresponding Story Maps zoom in or move to the location that is being addressed. In this way, the user's (or reader's) experience is curated but not limited to the sequence intended by the author. The Story Maps themselves often span or cross continents as they make connections between various spaces of Jewish experience, memory, or ghettos (see Fig. 7.2). Our publicly available maps can be navigated independently by any user: they are supplemented with markers linking particular geographical places with textual or additional content (pictures, descriptions, histories) and with paths marking connections between fictional and physical locations (see Figs. 7.1, 7.2, and 7.3).

Our objects of study in the Venice Ghetto Project (and also in our own research) are often intentional and unintentional monuments to trauma and history. Our Story Maps address physical spaces, their literary reflections, and the histories that are represented through and captured within them. The combination of genres (oral interviews, historical background, literary passages, photographs, etc.) included in the maps allows for rich interdisciplinary analysis and inquiry.

Of course, this all sounds much more elegant as a theoretical discussion than it looks as a material or digital artifact. For one, the necessary metaphorical connections (different regimes of knowledge sharing the same plane of representation) that we wished to create through our mapping projects are exactly the kinds of connections that GIS platforms like the one we chose, Story Maps, are particularly ill-equipped to handle. GIS platforms require you to geocode every data point, and it is quickly apparent when attempting to populate a map that an extensive amount of creative liberty is required when trying to map the metaphorical, symbolic, and non-linear elements of memory. For example, to depict the exact path a character took through town, you cannot simply or elegantly indicate a general idea of space and time without a specific reference point. That is, one must choose a specific latitude and longitude, or engage in an act of interpretation. In final reflection, as map authors, we are always imposing the exact authority and objectifying regimes that our projects are attempting to resist and unravel.

Initial Answers

Revisiting our initial list of questions, we would like to propose preliminary answers based on our experience of participating in the workshop, walking the tangible site of the Ghetto, and translating that experience onto our digital mapping platform.

In our digital era, is it now possible to place the iconic Ghetto of Venice into a new historical context that disrupts the effects of 'frozen' museum time? If the Ghetto functions as a container for memory, how can we maintain and encourage a dynamic and palpable relationship to this site?

The streets of the Venice Ghetto are narrow and compared to the rest of the Venice *campi*, relatively empty. The Jewish presence is filtered through the museum and memorials—places that are by definition stagnant and rooted in a moment that has passed. Bassi and di Lenardo in *The Ghetto Inside Out* inspired us to think about the complexities of the Ghetto's temporality: the shrinking of the vibrant Venetian Jewish community, the inability of 'outsiders' to access the intimate community spaces, but also the simultaneous desire to consider the Ghetto's global legacy. The historic Ghetto will never again be the center of a dynamic Jewish community in the traditional, spatially bounded sense; however, using online platforms and new media, the Venice Ghetto can still function as the hub or node for vibrant cultural exchange, research, and an international community. Through interactive platforms such as our own, which layer the geographical with 'living' content, the Ghetto can become a space that continues to be explored and contributed to rather than merely visited.

What is literature's role in illuminating networks of memory? How can a digital representation of literary space help to visualize and make deeper the layers of history and tangled webs of place-based belonging encoded in text?

In a personal interview, Agosin states, 'There's nothing more sublime, more pure, more fundamental than literature. Literature heals, humanizes, teaches us, helps us become witness of something that perhaps we fear, and literature allows us to look at empathy, the pain of others'. Fiction, we believe, is central to the empathetic work of memory—it is an essential mode of memory's affective transmission. However, because of

its mobility, fiction, storytelling, and poetry reference place but are not referenced by a place. One of the virtues of our platform is that it helps connect the individual to the geography and to the text. By linking texts through the concept of ‘proximity,’ these maps connect narratives in new ways—by the places they touch rather than direct references or allusions. Our maps become a guide or tool for close-reading the Venice Ghetto across space and time, giving our viewers a more expansive picture of the 500-year legacy of this site of global importance.

Can we re-inscribe seemingly static sites of memory through acts of storytelling?

Bassi and di Lenardo (2013, 35) end their piece on the history of the Venice Ghetto by issuing a call to the international community:

While trusting that the Ghetto can continue to be a normal campo, full of local life and children at play, we hope that it will also be able to reaffirm its role as a ‘site of conscience’, finding new words to retell its emblematic story, preserving a delicate equilibrium between the conservation and renewal of its cultural heritage, between its local identity and its ability to speak to the whole world.

We were able to utilize the tool of close-reading fiction and of finding ways to creatively juxtapose the many and diverse ghetto stories inspired by the site to contribute to a narrative that simultaneously considers the rooted and local alongside the polyvocal and global. Our Story Maps provide new and multiple points of entry to the Ghetto, not only making it globally accessible but also providing new dimensions and frames of reference that lend themselves to readers with a variety of perspectives and voices. These new dimensions provide infinite potential for growth and multidirectional expansion. The maps can be read simultaneously and differently as the readers, themselves uniquely positioned in space and time, navigate or allow themselves to be led through the points on the map, the implied connections, and the texts that frame the journey. In other words, you can read the map from anywhere in the world, and the map is loaded with information that can be explored according to the viewer’s own curiosity.

Conclusion: Possibilities and Next Steps

We have noticed with equal parts satisfaction and frustration that these maps are not necessarily a ‘better representation’ of our research. They are not more elegant, more thorough, or ‘easier’ than the forms of presentation with which we are familiar. And in some ways, this comes frustratingly close to representing the eternally unfinished nature of inquiry in the humanities. In other words, if one wants efficiency or a clear and unambiguous idea of where you are, then it may be better to stick with Google Maps. The creative play and interplay involved in thick mapping can make the maps provocative as well as ‘inefficient’ (see Figs. 7.1, 7.2, and 7.3).

There is a redeeming possibility in this inefficiency. It provides a realm of creative play that is also, hopefully, resistant to what Daniel Laforest (2009, 69) of the Edmonton Pipelines mapping project calls a ‘privatized, productive, result-oriented efficiency’. The goal for our maps was to retain some of the flexibility and resistant aspects of thick mapping while leaving the door open for pragmatic efficiency. Recognizing that we cannot have the best of both worlds, we hope to produce a tool that can be used to augment and represent our research in a dynamic and interactive way while acknowledging that this precludes some of the more intriguing aspects of participatory digital projects.

Our methodology of ‘reading-in-place’ stems from our interaction with the physical site of the Venice Ghetto and emphasizes our desire to understand what this symbolic place teaches us about the practice of memory studies. In our work, we have reoriented traditional literary analysis toward the spatial, social, and historical origins of texts informed by the legacy of the Ghetto. The experience of walking the physical space of the world’s first ghetto provided opportunities to ‘situate and enunciate’ our various readings of place and its call for collective remembrance and engagement (Drucker 2015, 92). We contribute to memory studies research methods by close-reading a particular architectural site and illustrating how memory links a particular place—that of the Ghetto—to individuals and communities across time and space. By creating ‘thick’ digital maps, we emphasize the Ghetto’s layers of meaning.

In the wake of populist political movements, Story Maps may be particularly well suited for students to share their perceptions of the world

and to project their own layers of meaning on spaces that may not feel accessible or like ‘home’. The platform can also bridge divides by digitally mapping places of significance to an entire cohort or classroom of students, which would allow them to think critically about how memory works and weaves together place, identity, and history. This bridge may be especially productive and beneficial in the unfortunate event that students are unable to return to a place or country because of displacement, war, or even an executive-ordered travel ban.

Furthermore, our practice of ‘reading-in-place’ offers scholars and students alike a chance to think about and represent visually the story of their research, an exercise that forces us to interrogate our biases and better see what we are projecting onto the data. As scholars, we offer the method of ‘reading in place’—a practice stemming from our engagement with the Venice Ghetto as a ‘memory space that travels’—to better our connection to the wider world, and to find opportunities to not only represent our scholarship anew but also to make space for unconventional stories.

Acknowledgments The authors would like to thank UC Santa Cruz Emeritus Professor Murray Baumgarten, Shaul Bassi (founder of Beit Venezia: A Home for Jewish Culture), and all of the participants in our early career scholar workshop ‘The Ghetto of Venice: The Future of Memory in the Digital Age’ held in the space of the Venice Ghetto (July 2016) for inspiring, supporting, and adding to this dynamic conversation. You can learn more about our work and find links to our mapping projects at www.veniceghettocollaboration.com.

Funding The authors gratefully acknowledge the financial support from Jewish Studies at the University of California, Santa Cruz; the Institute for Humanities Research at the University of California, Santa Cruz; Beit Venezia: A Home for Jewish Culture; and the Gladys Krieble Delmas Foundation to travel to Venice, Italy, to undertake the research for this chapter.

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8

From Place-Memories to Active Citizenship: The Potential of Geotagged User-Generated Content for Memory Scholarship

Gabi Arrigoni and Areti Galani

Introduction

The unprecedented circulation of user-generated images of public spaces on social media offers memory scholars the opportunity to reconsider the role of place as a catalyst for transmitting memory (Schama 1995; Basu 2013). In particular, the communicative nature of online practices constitutes an additional asset for researchers and an element of complexity. Indeed, conversational remembering is at the core of established methodologies in the field of memory studies; in this context, the orality of the interview is expected to support an engagement with vernacular forms of memory, often in antithesis with official ones (Mihelj 2013). The idea that

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social media could offer a further opportunity for the exploration of non-institutional memory is undoubtedly appealing, particularly considering the potential to work with materials that are both unsolicited (by the researchers) and embedded in contemporary, everyday practices.

Drawing on the study (Arrigoni et al. 2017) of a large data set of geotagged,¹ user-generated images and their text-based metadata from three European public squares posted on Flickr, this chapter discusses how online practices of sharing images of place on social media platforms reconfigure the interrelations between memory, identity, and citizenship. The study provided an insight into how the relationship between personal and historical memory is co-articulated on geosocial platforms. Our interest in photo-sharing platforms in relation to place-making and place-memories was dictated by the broader research context² in which this study was carried out. The overarching research question concerned the role of digital technologies in enabling dialogue around heritage and identity issues, with a particular focus on European heritages and the current European Union (EU) crisis. Thus, besides investigating installations and platforms specifically developed by museums to support dialogue, we wanted to explore how dialogue around heritage also takes place outside of any institutional framework, without facilitation, or serendipitously, for instance, on social media. Our study was therefore guided by the hypothesis that the analysis of geolocated user-generated content on social media can contribute new understandings of the public's experience and the circulation of cultural and historical memories associated with a place. Indeed, we looked at such historical significance as constitutive of both the heritage and the memory discourse around a place, conscious of the differences but of the parallelism as well in these notions. Consequently, our key aims were to assess whether the construction of place-memories on geosocial platforms could take shape through dialogic forms; and to understand how online practices could sustain the coexistence of both aligned and oppositional approaches to official or authorised (Smith 2006) representations of place.

¹ Content is geotagged when exact location coordinates (e.g. GPS) are attached to it. Consequently, by geo-social platforms, we intend social-media, including geotagging features, such as the possibility to share one's location or geotagged content.

² The EU-funded CoHERE project (CoHERE 2016).

The analysis of selected images (or groups of images) from the data set explores different ways in which photographs of places are embedded within different processes of identity and community building. Our findings point to the activist and 'civic oriented' nature of an interesting portion of the images, in which the cultural and historical significance of place is mobilised as a trigger for debate on current socio-political issues, to express a political stance or to enhance the symbolic currency of public events such as protests and activist campaigns. In this context, we discuss a set of methodological insights employed to explore the research potential of social media beyond the increasingly popular net-ethnographic approaches (Hine 2008; Pink 2016). In our view, the specific immersive protocols of net-ethnography,³ and its primary focus on users' behaviour might not always provide the most fitting approach to cross-disciplinary research endeavours, for instance, when addressing large and heterogeneous data sets in a qualitative fashion.

In our study, we combined visual methods with speculative and interpretative case studies to analyse large amounts of user-generated images and their metadata by framing individual images in relation to specific themes. Furthermore, we analyse the methodological importance of the geotag to develop understandings around the circulation and solidification of place-memory in the digital realm. Finally, we reflect on how exploring the conundrum of place-memory-identity on social media image-sharing platforms leads us to recognise processes of almost instant historicisation of recent public events that superimpose themselves to, and become part of, the layered corpus of cultural meanings associated with a given place. Working with unsolicited contributions posted by users unaware of our research activity also prompted us to reflect on a set of ethical issues. A further contribution of the chapter indeed concerns some ethical considerations around the use of content from social media for research purposes and the problematic necessity to make visual research data sets available in the public realm.

The next section briefly introduces key theoretical considerations around ideas of unofficial heritage and memory discourse, followed by an extensive discussion of the rationale and design of the chosen methodological approach used in this research. We contextualise and illustrate

³Net-ethnography (or online ethnography) is an adaptation of ethnographic research methods (based on direct observation of behaviours and activities of the subject) to the online context.

our theoretical and methodological reflections through two case studies from the data set. The chapter concludes with our discussion of the advantages and limitations of our methodologies, including the new ethical considerations arising from this investigation.

The Civic Life of Unofficial (and Implicit) Memory Discourses

The well-established relationship between memory and photography (Barthes 1980; Lury 1998; Langford 2001; Khun 2007) has been repeatedly questioned given the wide diffusion of digital photography and photo-sharing practices. This discussion has mostly focused on the shift away from the mnemonic role of photography, towards stronger communicative and identity-building functions (Gye 2007; van Dijck 2008; Van House 2011; Keightley and Pickering 2014). Although the coexistence of these different roles is generally recognised, scholarly interventions can be positioned across a spectrum, from those more strongly emphasising continuity with traditional or pre-digital uses of photography, and those stressing the current communication-oriented and ephemeral nature of photo sharing (van Dijck 2008; Keightley and Pickering 2014). These debates however tend to concentrate on individual behaviours and the ways in which images support the remembering of a personal past. Our research, on the other hand, questions whether digitally distributed and shared photography have a broader, civic dimension beyond the sphere of its production. We ask whether a place-centred perspective, achieved by focusing on geolocative content, can usefully contribute to the idea of a distributed, layered remembering and to the assessment of its civic and social relevance?

The civic potential of shared images of place speaks directly to the contested relationship between personal and collective, independent and institutional memory. Memory and heritage narratives of the past are now recognised in their discursive, multi-actor dimension comprising official, authorised voices (Jovic 2004; Smith 2006) alongside alternative, dissonant, bottom-up perspectives. For instance, the potential of social

media to challenge traditional heritage approaches is acknowledged by a growing body of literature addressing the value of user-generated content to the work of institutions of memory (Giaccardi 2012; Ridge 2014). Oftentimes, this literature tends to privilege examples where the plurality of voices gathered through digital platforms becomes integrated within the institutional framework. For example, Galani and Moschovi (2015) provide a critique of these assimilation approaches of user-generated and contributed photography in art museums. Moreover, there is an emphasis on clear-cut dichotomies separating official, dominant narratives, which find expression in a number of media, from neglected, repressed ones, belonging to the side of the defeated and the oppressed seeking recognition.

Alongside clearly oppositional official and unofficial voices, social media platforms have progressively become hosts to a variety of other voices that do not explicitly operate in opposition to official narratives. Rather, they may reflect and remediate institutional narratives as well as more independent or individual ones. What is significantly different is that these accounts are neither initiated nor facilitated by museums or other institutions nor are they integrated in their institutional archives and narratives. More regularly than not, they are not even consciously recorded as objects of memory. Rather, their relevance towards place and memory-making is the unintended output of routine practices shaped by mobile and social media (Hand 2016). In this sense, these voices are conceptualised as being serendipitous. At the same time, it is possible to suggest how some of this content mobilises and incorporates the past for the sake of current, contingent activist or civic initiatives, suggesting a transformative and action-oriented dimension for social media memory-work.

The role of memory in influencing social movements and civic action has been investigated through interdisciplinary approaches that also address the way images are used to construct narratives and inspire social performances (Doerr 2014). Addressing the realm of visibility as a public space for debate, where memory circulates as a multidimensional category of culture (Doerr 2014: 210), these approaches provide us with a viable point of departure for our analysis. Nevertheless, we encounter here the same focus on silenced, neglected memories that was identified as a crucial divide in heritage scholarship (see, for instance, Vergo 1997;

Golding and Modest 2013; Winter 2013). Our data set, by contrast, incorporate and merge content in a way that prevented any clear-cut distinction between oppressed and dominant narratives. Rather, our data set demonstrated that these distinctions are not so polarised but blended within mundane, contingent attitudes to personal and collective memory. Indeed, the behaviours identified from the data set are closer to a conceptualisation of civic engagement associated with ideas of vernacular, everyday creativity and cultural citizenship (Burgess et al. 2006). These scholarly discourses re-appropriate the Habermasian notion of episodic, occasional publics (Bruns and Highfield 2016) to articulate the existence of temporary opportunities for debate and mobilisation embedded in a range of mundane sites and a variety of cultural practices. In other words, the civic engagement tendencies we identify associated with photo-sharing of place-memory objects contribute to a line of inquiry attributing value to the ordinary, the personal, and the experiential in public discourse (Hauser and McClellan 2009).

Methodology

The serendipitous and fleeting nature of the interactions we explored in the previous section also poses some significant methodological challenges. How can we study the opportunistic and fluid nature of visual expressions on social media image-sharing platforms in relation to place and place-specific narratives? What constitutes an appropriate data set? What data collection and analysis approaches have the capacity to prioritise the place-specific over the personal and what are their implications?

Designing the Data Collection Strategy

Because of our interest in the interplay between official and unofficial narratives in the mediation of public spaces through user-generated photography, our study prioritised the collection of user-generated images on freely available image-sharing platform such as Flickr. The scope of the images was shaped by both our research interests in European heritage(s),

identit(y/ies), and place(s), and more particularly the acknowledgment of the role of public spaces, such as urban squares, in shaping the cultural identity of an area (Giddings et al. 2011: 203). Within this context, our study-aggregated images geotagged in three European squares: Loreto Square (Milan, Italy), Old Eldon Square (Newcastle upon Tyne, UK), and Kotzia Square (Athens, Greece). These sites are characterised by layered histories and mixed uses, including connections to antiquity, the Second World War and war memorials, markets, and commercial activities alongside administrative functions, such as the hosting of municipal buildings.

The aggregation of images was achieved through the appropriation of a commercial data mining tool, Geostream (Lamprianidis and Pfoser 2014), with the capacity to gather online images with a selected geolocation.⁴ Although the Geostream aggregator tool was originally developed to gather data from several different social media platforms, only some of these were image-based—the main image-sharing platform aggregated by Geostream was Flickr.⁵

The entire data set comprises 15,061 images uploaded between 2003 and 2016, divided as follows:

- Old Eldon Square: 9498 images (5 from Wikimapia, the rest from Flickr)
- Loreto Square: 3373 images (4 from Wikimapia, 1 from Eventful, the rest from Flickr)
- Kotzia Square: 2190 images (2125 from Flickr, 30 from Wikimapia, 33 from Eventful)

The images were accompanied by textual metadata, partially automatically generated (by the providers or the cameras), partially created by the users, and including title, tags, comments, geolocation, and dates (of picture taken and/or uploaded). The metadata was not integrated as a mere corollary element in our analysis. Indeed, it is customary in photo-sharing

⁴This tool was made available to the research team through the project partners.

⁵Although we acknowledge the decreasing popularity of Flickr since approximately 2014, it still hosts a very significant number of user-generated images and provides users with the ability to geotag and tag images as well as deciding the level of their public-ness, which have been useful in our exploration of place and action-oriented behaviours.

practices online to present images and texts as an inseparable aggregate. The metadata contributed to confirm or clarify the subject matter of the picture and provide cues and details to support the interpretative, and sometimes speculative, work of the researcher. By speculative, we mean that our analysis was often based on suppositions, conjectures, articulations of meanings grounded only in the visible cues, without actually interviewing the users, for instance.

Although the Geostream aggregator tool provided easy access to user-generated images on Flickr, this choice came with a set of challenges and limitations. First, the Geostream data provides no background information on the users, thus removing a layer of contextualisation that would enable the interpretation of each image in association with the ongoing posting behaviours of its creator. Additionally, Geostream only aggregates photographs for which users have enabled both download and geolocate features. The fact that such features can either be consciously selected case by case or automatically enabled by users, complicated our capacity to speculate about the specificities of our data set when compared to other Flickr images of the same location, which were not part of the data set because users had elected to make them not downloadable. These limitations all together, however, helped us in maintaining a strong focus on place and its representation.

Analytical Approach: Accounting for Place in the Data

Scholars have identified a shift in the evolution of locative media from an initial phase aimed at encouraging agency in the physical space, to recent practices of performing presence and building personal identities (Drakopoulou 2017). We argue however that this performative process of identity building through geolocate features on social media also inevitably contributes to place-making through personal narratives even though this might not be the main aim for the users. If we assume that geotagged images contribute to the ongoing formation of personal digital archives of the recent past (Drakopoulou 2017), then a question about the specificities of the geotag as an organisational logic must follow. Indeed, our investigation was also guided by the hypothesis that retrieval

possibilities anchored to specific locations could play differently than other components of the metadata. Some commentators address the organisational logic of the database to suggest caution in establishing the relationship between online photo-sharing and memory work. Pointing at the agency of the algorithm in determining the results of query-based search, Van Dijck (2011) and Schwartz (2014) emphasise how new orderings are performed every time, generating unique and ever-changing groupings of images that invalidate conceptualisations of social media as archives. As opposed to archival order and structure, social media content responds to the logic of flow, remix (Wilson 2009), or disordered ‘miscellaneity’ (Weinberger 2007). The use of tags, in particular, demonstrates users’ awareness of the variable possibilities of distribution for their images, so that their presencing can be multiplied and extended to ‘potentially unknown streams of unrelated images’ (Hand 2016). In contrast, we argue that the geotag behaves differently from more ephemeral tags. The link to one place could provide more stability in the ordering or aggregating principle for photo-sharing content, one that can be especially suitable to be associated with memory practice and place-making processes.

Our qualitative investigation of the data set involved keyword-based searches; annotation and thematic categorisation of images; and, subsequently, a focused analysis of selected images considered particularly emblematic of specific behaviours or tendencies. In the first stage of the study, the visual inspection of the images was combined to keyword-led searches associated to conventional heritage and memory terminology (for instance: culture, cultural, monument, statue, memorial, heritage, memory, identity, tourism, place, public) as well as terms more specific to the heritage and historical character of each square. This process led to a set of categorisations and to the identification of recurrent themes and users’ stated attitudes. More specifically, some images reflect a mobilisation of local heritage narratives and historical events to trigger debate on current socio-political affairs or to express a political stance. Other images contribute to a transformation of the cultural significance of the place, the way it is remembered, by associating it with contemporary collective events such as manifestations and activist campaigns. The following sections present some initial examples to illustrate how the research team

engaged with the analysis of specific images. For this chapter, we will be focusing only on images geotagged in Loreto square, Italy.

Introducing the Case Studies

The main character of Loreto Square in Milan, today, is that of a busy traffic junction and metro interchange, mostly inaccessible to pedestrians, who can only move around its perimeter or through subway underpasses. Since the mid-twentieth century, it has marked an implicit boundary between the core of the city and its peripheries, which are now heavily multicultural. Despite the lack of remarkable signs of the past or historical buildings, the square is a relevant site for public memory. In fact, it was theatre of two infamous events during the Second World War. The massacre of 15 anti-fascist Partisans by a Fascist division in 1944 is an event now memorialised through a plaque and a sculpture in a nearby street. Moreover, on the 29th of April 1945, Loreto Square hosted the public display of the corpses of Benito Mussolini, his mistress Claretta Petacci and 18 high-ranking fascists, who were hung upside-down from the roof of an Esso petrol station. The absence of any interpretative sign or memorial to mark this event is commonly associated with a general difficulty of Italian institutions to deal with a fascist heritage (Mitterhofer 2013), which is still a catalyst of tensions and a strong reference for current political realities. While our keyword-led search demonstrated a limited use of heritage and memory vocabulary in the metadata (Arrigoni et al. 2017: 13–17), a deeper exploration of the images showed that the historical identity of the square was often implicitly addressed as a reference to comment on current socio-political affairs. A broadly recognised ‘self-representational’ mode of using photo-sharing platforms implies that users selectively curate the range of places and experiences they decided to associate with their profile, to present an ideal version of themselves (Malinen 2010: 381–383). In this context, the processes of identity building and identity presentation can be performed by taking a political stance or expressing a view on current issues.

Our first case study is exemplary of this behaviour, and it is introduced to illustrate how historical memory is used in everyday life beyond any heritage specific framework. Most of the empirical studies on the relationship between heritage and photo-sharing platforms address groups and communities dedicated to documenting and sharing images of sites or landmarks that are explicitly framed as significant carriers of cultural or heritage value (see for instance Garduño Freeman 2010; Terras 2011). Even if these practices can be described as bottom-up, participatory and unofficial, they still adopt conceptual frameworks, definitions and vocabulary typical of institutional and professional discourse; this issue has been addressed for instance by Taylor and Gibson (2017) in reference to the democratising barriers implicit in digital heritage initiatives. The particular filtering allowed by the geotag in our methodology, by contrast, allowed the exploration of a defined place without focusing only on thematic groups or pages already dedicated to the significance of such place. Our data set, indeed, aggregated images from dedicated pages too, but alongside occasional ones, capturing our chosen location as part of behaviour not intentionally framed as heritage or memory-related. Our first case study then demonstrated that historical references emerge in mundane, everyday processes of communication that cannot be defined as intentional bottom-up memory or heritage work, but in which heritage and memory, somehow, filter through.

The second case study complemented the first one by illustrating a different opportunity offered by our geotag-oriented methodology. Here we can see how working with this kind of data set enabled a dynamic approach to the investigation of the memory and cultural significance of a place. One common approach would have been to concentrate our effort in the identification of signs and references to a specific historical event that constituted the dominating factor in the historical significance of a place (in the case of Loreto square, obviously we refer to the events of the Second World War). Once again, working with the Geostream data set enabled a different perspective and a more dynamic and layered exploration of the place. In fact, we were able to detect the evolving nature of the historical characterisation of the square, constantly responding to new events and collective experiences.

Place-Memory and Contemporary Political Debate

As mentioned above, Loreto square was theatre to the hanging of Mussolini and his entourage in 1945. This event is explicitly addressed by several images in the data set, demonstrating its relevance within the Italian contemporary political landscape. A first case we would like to bring into consideration portrays the UPIM department store which was formerly to be found in the square (<https://www.flickr.com/photos/32921850@N00/2628288621/in/album-72157606205026818/>). The picture in question was taken before its replacement by the Chinese chain Aumai in 2015 and comes with a set of tags directly referencing both Mussolini and the Italian Social Republic (the last stage of the Fascist regime during the Second World War): 'milan grande milano departmentstore lombardia benito mussolini rsi lombardy upim emporio ilduce piazzaleloreto nokia6070 repubblicasocialeitaliana grandemagazzino clarapetacci'.⁶ These tags, and the scarcely aesthetic, extremely mundane style and subject of the image, suggest that the picture was not taken to capture a personally significant moment for the user. Rather, it seems to demand an intrinsically public and documentary reading. As many historical photographs of the hanging show an UPIM store in the background, this image could be interpreted as an intentional citation of well-known documents and a way of re-inscribing the historical memory of the place in its current location. Particularly, such process of re-inscription is significant insofar it highlights today's invisibility of this specific past in Loreto square.

Despite the lack of visible official reminders of the Second World War events, passers-by/users might be able to locate contemporary markers referencing and re-mediating representations of the historical past. Two identical pictures in the data set depict the shutters of a garage featuring a graffiti writing including the symbol of a gallows and the sentence: 'Berlusconi a Loreto' (Italian for: Berlusconi in Loreto) (https://farm6.staticflickr.com/5474/9587497335_ac35da0294.jpg). Clearly, the graf-

⁶Translated: Milan big Milan deparmentstore lombardia (the region where Milan is located) benito Mussolini rsi Lombardy upim shop theduce loreto square nokia 6070 repubblicasocialeitaliana (the neofascist party) department store clarapetacci.

fiti establishes a comparison and continuity between Mussolini and Berlusconi (the controversial ex-Prime Minister and founder of the centre-right party Forza Italia). It is impossible to determine whether one of the users uploading this image was also the author of the graffiti. However, both titles express approval, sympathy, or support for its message: 'Someone Buy Him a Oneway Ticket' and 'Spontaneity of Gate'. Additionally, because the image only depicts the shutters, it is not possible to ascertain whether the graffiti is actually located in the proximity of Loreto square, or if the geotag was applied to connect the location of the garage with the location of the hanging, therefore reinforcing the link to this historical reference. The fact that there are two images depicting this image and both are geotagged in Loreto corroborates the idea that this is also the real location of the graffiti. One of the things that attracted our attention to this example was the role of the geotag in reinforcing and maintaining the connection between the symbol of the gallows and Loreto square. Without the locative data, the connection between the historical events referenced by the graffiti and its place would be lost and perhaps ignored by most viewers retrieving the image through other, variable queries (Fig. 8.1).

These examples show how an awareness of wartime events that took place in Loreto square were not feeding into claims about the heritage value of the place itself, but rather were embedded into mundane political commentaries and processes of identity building and identity performance. Indeed, by sharing and commenting on the gallows graffiti, the users proffer a political stance by making clear to their audience their disapproval of Berlusconi. Significantly, this example demonstrated how current struggles and political divisions in Italy are contextualised in relation to a not fully digested past. The symbol of the gallows in Loreto square is mobilised as a living, generative, and highly malleable memory object. The users were not simply making a comparison between two political leaders, nor were they warning a contemporary audience to avoid the mistakes of the past (a frequent approach to mobilise historical memories in the present). Rather, they were suggesting an uninterrupted continuity with a perceived right-wing, authoritative and manipulative approach to political leadership.



Fig. 8.1 Sebastiano Branca, *Spontaneita' su saracinesca* (2013)

Another picture (https://farm4.staticflickr.com/3101/2590890638_b6b9ec3489.jpg) in the data set established a quasi-implicit reference to the hanging of Mussolini dated back to 2008 and depicted two posters put up by Alleanza Nazionale (a neo-fascist political party dissolved in 2009) in Loreto square. The posters advertised a ceremony in the San Fedele Church in Milan to commemorate the 20th anniversary of the death of Giorgio Almirante, founder and leader of the Italian Social Movement, which was essentially the previous incarnation of Alleanza Nazionale. The tags featured a mix of languages (Italian and English) and terms addressing geographical information, words extrapolated from the posters, and a rich and detailed vocabulary connected to the past and recent history of Italian fascism:

italy milan church grande nokia san italia milano 1988 almirante mous-
tache romano chiesa tribute movimento piazza secretary mass 2008
homage comrade piazzale lombardia loreto romancatholic italiano msi

lombardy fedele catolico tributo nazionale messa alleanza nazionale destra
 sociale camerata 6070 sanfedele piazzale loreto omaggio esempio alleanza
 seguire segretario nokia 6070 giorgio almirante movimento sociale italiano
 nueva destra.⁷

Such a detailed tagging, together with the mundane composition of the picture itself, led us to speculate on the dialogic intentions of the user. Indeed, the picture seemed to highlight the fact that fascism is still celebrated by a portion of the Italian population and that this is, according to the user, surprising, unsettling, or at least a matter of debate. Rather than being posted to capture and share a special moment, or an aesthetically interesting view of the city, we interpreted the reasons for uploading this picture in relation with the intention of stimulating comments, probably trying to find out if others too feel the same way about the persistence of fascism in Italy. This hypothesis is naturally corroborated when considered in connection with Loreto's square's history. Thus, the photo itself is only incidentally becoming an object of memory, as its main function, for its author, is in the present: an instigator of political debate on the current political landscape. Nevertheless, the locative attribution of the picture suggested how the historical memory of Loreto square becomes mobilised to enrich the discussion and reinforce the perception of the continuity between the fascist regime and its contemporary manifestations. Ultimately, this reflection hints at the idea that one of the implicit meanings of the picture is that despite what happened in Loreto square, fascism itself is not dead.

Activist Assemblies and the Living Memory of Place

To complement the contributions offered by the first case study, the second case study focused on more recent events but equally showed the potential to be considered of historical, or at least collective, relevance. In 2011, about 500 Egyptian residents in Milan gathered in Loreto Square

⁷Translated: italy milan church grande nokia saint italy milan 1988 almirante moustache roman church tribute movement square secretary mass 2008 homage comrade square lombardia loreto romancatholic italian msi lombardy fedele catolic tribute national mass alleanza nazionale social right comrade 6070 sanfedele piazzale loreto homage example alliance follow secretary nokia 6070 giorgio almirante movimento sociale italiano new-right-party.

to march in solidarity with their compatriots fighting against President Mubarak. In our exploration of the data set, we analysed pictures of this event within a broader category of images, including a variety of collective, political, and activist assemblies characterised by temporary and visually striking occupations of the public space. Some of these, such as in the case of the pro-Egypt protest, were local instantiations of transnational movements, signalling the role of social media not just in coordinating and facilitating the organisation of the initiative, but also in providing a transnational dimension to its documentation and its potential to shape public discourse. In our speculations around the reasons for sharing and geotagging pictures of protests and activist interventions, we identified the desire to extend the reach of public action to an online audience, therefore generating civic awareness and encouraging further mobilisation around the issues at stake. Indeed, social media contribute to provide a legacy to otherwise ephemeral events, simultaneously affecting the perception of place. Additionally, the presence of the geotag can suggest how users wanted to demonstrate their physical presence in the protest, and therefore reinforce their association with determined beliefs and values, enhancing the civic dimension of their public profile (Fig. 8.2).

Often these assemblies do not have any specific relationship with the history or historical significance of the location at stake, which is chosen mostly because of its central position in the city. Loreto Square in particular was chosen as the starting point for this protest because of its proximity to the Egyptian Consulate. Our study, then, allowed us to explore how places constantly gain new collective meanings, as Loreto Square and the surrounding area become remembered for a growing community as well as the site of the pro-Egypt protest. This process of constituting and layering the cultural and historical significance of place is always inevitably mediated. However, what is specific to the role of social media in providing a channel for such process is their immediacy. It is then possible to talk about a form of accelerated historicisation and heritagisation, which is nevertheless the by-product of practices that, in the users' intentions, are primarily about promoting their activist cause and presenting their own politically engaged identities to their followers.

This research evidenced how conducting memory research on photo-sharing platforms meant embracing the idea of memory-in-the-making, working with a constant unfolding of meanings, traces, and appropri-



Fig. 8.2 Francesco Prandoni, *Manifestazione Pro-Egitto* (2011)

tions. The role of camera phones in documenting extraordinary, publicly relevant events and generating participatory networked archives has recently received significant scholarly attention (Caswell 2009; Hoskins 2011; Andén-Papadopoulos 2013). In this context, the almost complete contiguity between the action and its online ‘archiving’, observed in our study, is an emerging feature of current digital culture that is also becoming increasingly relevant to institutions of memory (see, for instance, the Rapid-Response collecting initiative at the V&A Museum in London (Millard 2017)). In our examples, Loreto Square becomes remembered as a lived place, with the geotag performing a key task in sustaining (and making visible) the complex ramifications of this place-making process.

Discussion

This chapter illustrates the benefits of conducting place-oriented memory research on photo-sharing platforms. As a realm where individual and autonomous records of the past intersect with those aligned with institu-

tional values, and develop new, self-organised accretions, social media offers unprecedented opportunities for memory scholarship. This platform is particularly relevant in the context of a deeper interpenetration (and loss of distinctiveness) among the classic categories of individual, collective, and cultural memory (Hoskins 2009). Whereas net-ethnographic approaches holistically observe circumscribed communities or categories of users, our study opted for a set of methods directly responsive to the geolocate nature of our data. We suggest that our methodology complements existing approaches by focusing on aspects of memory work that might be overlooked by current ways of analysing social media content. By focusing on place (as opposed, for instance, on individuals), we were able to emphasise how the cultural and historical significance of a location is associated with uses of memory in the present, is made actionable, and becomes oriented towards issues of civic and public relevance. Thus, rather than observing processes of memorialisation or consecration of public spaces that were theatre of historical events, we place our attention on mundane but impactful everyday practices. These offer an understanding of how heritage and memory are actually mobilised outside of institutional frameworks, and contextualised within current, urgent, and contingent political debates and civic imagination.

Ethical Issues Around Public Data Sets

Working with content extrapolated from social media platforms requires us to reflect on the ethical challenges associated with interpreting personal content and making it visible beyond its expected online circulation and context. Several reasons necessitate researchers to make research data sets available in the public domain, including enabling further research by other scholars, and satisfying the requirements of funding bodies. In our case, a significant task of this research activity involved developing an interface to the data set that would allow us to provide access to the data set⁸ without overstepping the restrictions of use and the specific privacy concerns of the source photo-sharing platforms. To

⁸The data set of this research is available on CoHERE Critical Archive: <http://cohere-ca.ncl.ac.uk/#/grid/170>.

achieve this, we created a database and a web interface that provides access not to files of the images stored locally but to links of the images in their original location in Flickr and the other providers. This database enabled us first of all to maintain an ethically acceptable approach to the way personal images are used for research and, consequently, inserted in novel circles of distribution. Additionally, it affords the data set the dynamism that characterises the source social media platforms and reflects the changes of status of aggregated content. Importantly, this meant that if a user decides to delete or disable the public settings of a certain image, such image would also disappear from our data set, acknowledging the agency of the user in the aggregated data set.

Geolocate Content and Memory Work

From a methodological point of view, the Geostream study demonstrated the fruitfulness of establishing constraints and adapting our methods to tools with specific parameters. Even though we initially embraced the geotag only as a way of gathering images of the same place, through the research process, we realised that it could also become the object of more substantial attention, and lead to further discoveries. Indeed, the idea that the geotag maintains the role of anchoring point for layering heterogeneous uses and meanings of one place across relatively extended temporalities is intriguing but may also require further investigations. As mentioned above, the circulation and remediation of memory on social media is subject to combined human-machine and database logics (van Dijck 2011; Schwartz 2014). Consequently, memories are constantly embedded in different contexts and streams of significance depending on the combination of particular queries and the algorithms. Differently from ordered archives, social media platforms often allow, and are built on, more serendipitous, fleeting and mostly unexpected encounters. These are accordingly synthesized by users through the association of image and text, in the form of a brief commentary, reflection, and consideration aimed at a broad audience of 'friends' and followers. In this extremely dynamic and fluid manifestation of memory work and memory circulation, the geotag can be seen as an anchor point and an ordering

criterion that maintains certain properties of traditional archives (e.g. order and stability of the record). In fact, it aggregated the layered and multifaceted memories of a place, performing a role not dissimilar to that attributed to place itself, as contributing to the stability of material things and to the collective thinking and beliefs of the communities inhabiting it (Halbwachs 1977: 232). In other words, the geotag evidences and reinforces the potential of place to make memories traceable and condensed online. Further, it does so through networks of users with (presumably) a direct experience of the selected place.

One of the methodological advantages of focusing on geolocate content is that it affords the non-hierarchical⁹ coexistence of a plurality of meanings and experiences. Through the multiple contexts within which the same photo or the same event is presented, the idea of place-memory can be investigated through composite strata. These practices, in some ways, stand in sharp contrast with one of the most established ways of connecting memory and place, the notion of the *lieux de memoire* (Nora 1997) which tends to emphasise one layer only, one point in the entire life cycle of a given location. By contrast, the methods suggested in this chapter enable explorations of the heritage and memory value of sites not explicitly memorialised or framed as historical ones.

A stratified geography of memory emerges here as the often unintended outcome of photo-sharing practices primarily aimed at presenting or performing political identities. Place is featured as the site of lived experience and the canvas where history is constantly actualised and re-inscribed onto current struggles. A geolocate perspective encourages us to move beyond distinctions between private and public memories (a common feature of mediated memory according to recent scholarship, see Hoskins 2011: 272). In this framework, personal instances of social interaction may acquire documentary, historical, or heritage relevance.

Acknowledgements This research is part of the project CoHERE which explores the role of heritage in representing European identities. It is funded by the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (grant

⁹Or at least differently hierarchical, as hierarchies between experts and non-experts, for instance, are replaced by those determined by sorting algorithms.

agreement No 693289). We would like to thank our colleagues, Dr. Lia Galani and Orsalia-Eleni Kassaveti (National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, Greece), and Manos Tzagkarakis (Talent Information Systems S.A., Greece) for their contribution to the realisation of this research.

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9

Participatory Methods and Community-Engaged Practices for Collecting, Presenting, and Representing Cultural Memory

Margo Shea

Introduction

The scholarship on place, memory, and identity and the relationships between them is vast, as widely multidisciplinary as it is interdisciplinary. Scholarly studies of individually and socially constructed pasts range from naively celebratory to shrewdly critical. As scholars initiate and negotiate research projects that are collaborative and participatory from the outset, the ethical, logistical, and ontological questions about researching community and cultural memory multiply. This chapter draws on a crowdsourced, participatory memory deep-mapping research project to think through the ways participatory and community-engaged research methodologies by scholars of place and memory can pose new questions about memory, yield new insights about the purpose of our work and facilitate processes for unpredictable, engaged remembrance practices and initiatives.

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The study of cultural memory, once largely the purview of historians, oral historians, and social scientists, has blossomed over the past decade. In psychology, communication, public health and other disciplines, much attention has been paid the relations between practices of remembrance and the socio-political and cultural environments in which these practices are forged, maintained, upheld as significant, or alternately, abandoned. Moving away from the tendency to “fact-check” remembrance, the field has turned its attention broadly to “the forms, media and processes of remembering and forgetting” (Fischer 2015: 1). For scholars of memory, interdisciplinarity has been fruitful, particularly for attending to the connections between place and memory. At the same time, the utility of memory studies is complicated by the myriad lenses through which scholars engage it, the wide range of contexts, uses, and consequences of remembrance and a scale of engagement or analysis that may range from one person to hundreds of millions.

A discussion about emerging methods, therefore, must begin with the question, “Memory research for what purpose?” In a variety of forms, this question has been central to my field of public history for 40 years; questions about how historical knowledge is produced and for what purposes has occupied scholars and practitioners. It has also raised important questions about whether public history research and practice should be understood as primarily “public facing” or “public engaging” as its central organizing principle. Put simply, the field negotiates a tension between presenting histories to the public and assisting members of various publics in querying, researching, displaying, and mobilizing through historical practice. Still, as Andrew Hurley (2016: 71) has explained “while public history’s big tent envelops a multitude of agendas, the attempt to leverage historical knowledge on behalf of social change has absorbed a significant segment of the field since the 1970s.” Indeed, in Ronald Grele’s (1981: 44–45) extremely influential account, the public historian’s task was identified as working, “to help members of the public do their own history and to aid them in understanding their role in shaping and interpreting events.” Following Grele and Hurley, many public historians are committed to working with and being a part of the public even as we interrogate and challenge the assumptions and motivations that drive the public (including, sometimes uncomfortably, ourselves).

The field has been defined by collaborative partnerships well before what is sometimes referred to as the recent “public turn” (Miller et al. 2017: 201). Indeed, as Meringolo (2012) suggests, public history itself had its roots outside of the academy, in communities, government, and various professional fields; practitioners of public history may accurately consider community settings one of their professional homes. Research methods in this context have long been understood as a set of processes through which public historians share inquiry, authority and recognition with individuals and groups with whom we collaborate to produce, interpret, curate, complicate, and mobilize from historical knowledge.

In this public historical context, participatory and crowdsourced research methodologies must go beyond cozy notions of inclusion that nonetheless locate intellectual control and reflection with scholars. They must necessarily begin at a project’s inception and endeavor to create a shared space for the questions, concerns, ideas, and creativity of members of various publics in a local community: educators, business owners, health and human service professionals, local historians, local media personalities, and more. While these research methodologies are not new, the introduction of digital technologies, the rise of the digital and spatial humanities, and increased interest in collaborative and public scholarship from inside the academy has altered them. Transformations in how we produce, circulate, and interact with knowledge raise important questions about authorship and authority even as the rise of “alternative facts” and polarization in our spaces of knowledge consumption make these transformations fraught with complexity.

These developments invite scholars of memory to grapple again with the relationships between and among various subjective experiences, the constitution of social frameworks and scholars’ roles in the production of knowledge. Of course, such processes go beyond discipline specificity; in fact, it is through collaborative and participatory projects themselves that we may most productively address complex questions about the nature of intellectual authority, the limits and affordances of professional academic status and the ongoing dilemmas surrounding who gets to define the purposes, directions, and goals of a collaborative research initiative and who is best suited to evaluate the process and the product. Here, I follow

the Centre for Research on Socio-Cultural Change (CRESC) Encounters Collaborative's assertion that:

the distinctiveness of collaboration lies less in a deviation from some kind of imagined, non-collaborative research process, than in the way it forces a reflexive acknowledgment of the emergent quality of knowledge in research relationships across time and space. (CRESC 2017: 2)

Collaborative, participatory research about the past that is community-based and rooted in a particular place must endeavor to move beyond the stale paradigm that has characterized some scholars' engagements with "community." Understanding communities as inherently and profoundly complex and diverse constellations of people, interests, resources, and needs is essential to participatory methods for memory studies. As Waterton and Smith (2010: 6) have suggested, participatory research initiatives have sometimes tended to be framed on unequal and opaque terms rooted in artificial and "unreflexive notions of community...constructing and dividing society into seemingly homogenous collectives defined by ethnicity, class, education or religion and so forth." When scholars endeavor to democratize scholarship by engaging communities conditionally and unequally, they purport to enter as equal partners but still "reserve the right to speak for them and interpret them, and sometimes ... reject them, especially if they fail to conform to ... [the scholar's] nostalgic ideals" (Waterton and Smith 2010: 8).

In the areas of place identity, place attachment, and memory, particularly salient questions arise from this kind of research model. Memory and place are at the same time the purview of all and the specific domain of specialists. They are refracted through individual affective and cognitive functions but can never be separated from broader and deeper collective processes. They are also creative processes: memory and place are fluid and always in the process of construction and destruction. Both memory and place are made, interpreted, and represented through complex and often subtle negotiations of power. Power, of course, is not static; memory and place, therefore, are both dynamic and elastic processes, constantly being made, unmade, and edited. Furthermore, they are processes that appear static and unproblematic to many of those who

experience, interpret, and portray them. Coupled with the accretive power of place and its relationships with the past, and the role of place as a mnemonic tool, braids of place and memory are crucial markers of individual, social, and collective identity.

Conceptualizing Memory Research Differently: Crowdsourced, Participatory Deep Maps, and Memory

Remembering is a creative act, one of invention as much as one of retrieval. It is also a social process; the knowledge, values, and perceptions a community or society considers important and necessary are reiterated and upheld through memory work. Research on individual, social, and collective memory is about much more than people's "lived experience of time," as Pickering (2008: 194) has argued. In fact, examining how a group remembers is as telling as its topography, critical events, or individual biographies. "Understanding a community or culture does not consist solely in establishing 'neutral' facts and 'objective' details; it means taking seriously their ways of structuring experience, their popular narratives, the distinctive manner in which they frame the social and political realities which affect their lives" (Gibbons 1996: 17). Maurice Halbwachs expounded the social context for all remembrance, contending that our social worlds constitute the context within which we remember. Further, he argued that "it is also in society that (people) recall, recognize, and localize their memories" (Halbwachs 1992: 38). As Edward Casey (1992: 21) also reminds us, the memories we hold closely as ours alone, in fact, emerge and remain tenacious in dialogue with the social worlds we inhabit: "individual memory takes place in an intersubjective nexus that is at once social and collective, cultural and public." Folklorist Henry Glassie further distills the social power of remembrance when he explains that stories about the past do not illuminate the past solely. Rather, they serve to coordinate "multiple responsibilities to time, to the past event, the present situation and the future of the community" (Glassie 1981: 48).

Memory is social and very much tethered to place (Barlow 2017: 11–12). Its claims to truth are fleeting, transient, and contingent, where the meanings of memories are valid only for the dialogic moment of remembrance. As time moves, so does memory; it takes on new forms, builds different narratives, and makes new connections between past, present and future. Thus, memory resonates differently according to context, purpose, and milieu. As such, it negotiates between official and vernacular representations of the past and between visible and hidden or eclipsed histories. Memory facilitates both the construction of and negotiations over the narratives of social and community coherence and cohesiveness as they develop, change, unravel, and reknit themselves into new forms. Memory also plays a role in a community's (perceived) need to police boundaries of places, belongings versus exclusion, and permissible versus prohibited uses of space over time. Finally, memories unveil the values of a community at the time when those memories are articulated, expressed, and displayed. In this way, memory facilitates not only the sorting and categorization of events and experience of the past but also makes possible a reckoning with the anxieties, hopes, and preoccupations of the present and for the future.

Participatory research methods make it possible for members of communities and publics to engage in memory work in ways that mirror the active, improvised, and social processes and functions of memory itself. Working at the community level with local stakeholders involved from the beginning help to facilitate nonlinear and the dialogic processes of memory work. These embrace multiplicity without diminishing the significance of individual memory processes. These methods enable researchers to engage the social dimensions of memory in ways that are not intrusive or prescriptive.

Deep mapping is one useful approach. As both a method and a product, it recognizes what Keightley (2008: 185) refers to this as 'the indivisibility of remembering from its social context' while acknowledging the deeply personal and intimate emotional valence of much remembrance. Deep maps link directly to the spatialization of memory and allow for nonlinear, multi-authored narratives that do not diminish individual memories or experiences with and of place. In these ways, deep maps resist privileging particular memories over others through the process of

ordering or narration. According to religion scholar John Corrigan (2015: 228), one of the scholars who conceptualized deep mapping:

Deep maps interlace autobiography, art, narrative, folklore, stories, and memory with the physical form of a place. Deep maps are the stories, conversations, and lives lived out in a place which are inseparable from the cultural context in which they exist. Deep maps are place-based and capable of integrating multiple voices and views ... (they) resist reductionism, universal truths and grand narratives in favor of discursive collaboratories abounding with multiple voices, contingency, and contested meanings.

Deep mapping is not inherently participatory. Researchers may, and indeed often do, conduct work in traditional ways, clearly delineating the space between researcher and that which is being researched. Their focus, in deep mapping, is to explore contingency and relations between time, space, and scale, using maps to “interpret the consequences and resonances of events” (Ayers 2015: 188). While deep maps may have one author or be created by teams of researchers, the methodology lends itself particularly well to multi-authored projects and to pairing with place-based research methods.

Place-based research methodologies and feminist methodologies can contribute to deep mapping, particularly for researchers interested in entering communities of which they are not a member in order to conduct participatory research. From feminist theory, Susan Leigh Starr reminds us that feminism itself is a method. As such, it sets up an approach “for understanding from a marginal or boundary-dwelling perspective, one’s own participation in socially-constructed realities, politically and personally, socially and cognitively” (Starr 1979: 3). As Bettina Aptheker observes in *Tapestries of Life*, feminist methods invite us to consider the process and goals of participatory deep mapping. “The point... is not to find the lowest common denominator...not so much to unite as to congeal, each element retaining its integrity and value, stuck together for a particular purpose, each of us using our skills to shift and relate, to adjust and integrate...out of the dailiness of our lived experience” (Aptheker 1989: 251).

While feminist research methods have reasserted the validity and importance of information that has been overlooked, ignored, and other-

wise rendered invisible, place-based research has evolved to prioritize process in the vein of feminist research; as an integrative methodology, it too aims to reknit environmental, historical, and social methods. At the same time, place-based research draws on and values local knowledge and cultural memory; in order to do so, researchers engaging in place-based methods must build diverse partnerships that are proactive and responsive to the needs, concerns, and goals of partners and their communities. Deep mapping in a place-based research framework demands that multivocality, contingency, and fluidity of place and memory are built into a participatory framework instead of being the finding, the “a-ha” experience a scholar presents writing up the project. In this way, participatory deep mapping invites participants themselves to construct memory and place and to witness their fluidities, interconnections, and relatedness.

Participatory deep mapping offers ways to create and put into process multivocality, contingency, and the fluidity of place and memory because these are attributes embedded in project design and built into the participatory framework. This approach, in turn, enables us to understand memory in new ways. By combining deep mapping with collaborative and participatory crowdsourcing methodologies anchored within local community networks and institutions, it becomes possible to make visible performances of memory that identify and honor individual and community representations and narratives without privileging particular memories or collapsing and flattening memories. Utilizing digital mapping technologies allows anyone to highlight, sort, and categorize places and memories, creating possibilities for users of digital maps to interpret data for themselves and experiment with the affordances and demands of curation. In the process, they grapple with the fluidities of time and memory as well as those of space and place.

Participatory Methods in Memory Research— Around Here: The Places Project

Around Here: The Places Project (<https://theplacesproject.org/home/about/>) is a crowdsourced deep map of place and memory along a stretch of the South Cumberland Plateau in rural southeastern Tennessee. A two-year

Mellon Foundation grant through the Collaborative for Southern Appalachian Studies at Sewanee: the University of the South funded the research project from 2015 through 2017. I developed and managed the project with a team of local volunteers and students. The Collaborative, a partnership with Yale University, supported multidisciplinary, community-engaged, curricular projects that emphasized connecting research to place and research strategies for fostering resilience. The Places Project focused an area known to local residents as “The Mountain,” a part of the plateau that includes at its highest elevation, Monteagle Mountain. Part of the Appalachian mountain chain 75 miles east of Nashville, Monteagle Mountain has east and west summits, separated by several miles of rolling hills, that climb to an elevation of 1900 feet.

The South Cumberland plateau is geographically, historically, and culturally unique—certainly to outsiders but also to residents. Its valleys are diverse: some are populated by the same families that reside on the mountain and can be described as “mountain-facing.” Other valleys are integrated economically, politically, and socially with the lowlands beyond the mountain and thus residents have little interaction with the mountain even if their ancestors once came to the valleys from the plateau. Outcroppings, bluffs, and coves mark a topographically diverse landscape, which has resulted in the development of very small communities with little or no interaction with one another. It is sparsely populated and sits at the junction of three counties. The population of Grundy County is, according to the US Census, 13,000 and the population of the region known as the Mountain is approximately 17,000 (U.S. Census Bureau 2017).

Grundy County comprises most of the physical area of the mountain and is the second poorest county in the state of Tennessee by household income. Grundy is often described in terms of what is wrong with it. It ties with Campbell County for the lowest rates of high school graduation, has one of the lowest rates of medically insured adults, and has high rates of infant mortality. Grundy, however, boasts high rates of home ownership and one of the highest rates of women-owned businesses in Tennessee (Index Mundi 2017). The first region to be strip-mined in Tennessee and host to missionaries, volunteers, and other outsiders with extractive motives, local residents are particularly sensitive to the prospect

of outsiders “mining” for their knowledge, wisdom, and experience for purposes of which they are not involved and have no influence. While Grundy is the most mountainous of the three counties, Franklin and Marion counties are also situated on the South Cumberland Plateau and are part of the Mountain. While Grundy’s valleys are considered to be part of, or at least extensions of the Mountain, Marion’s and Franklin’s valleys are part of political, educational, and sociocultural jurisdictions that are not associated with the Mountain.

In Franklin County, the mountain is also the location of the University of the South, which was founded on the eve of the US Civil War by the Southern dioceses of the Episcopal Church so that young men of Southern stock could get a liberal arts education without leaving the region. The university covers 13,000 acres, provides a liberal arts education, and is a major employer. Sewanee, as it is called, represents a place apart from the rest of the mountain because of its history of privilege, exclusiveness, and the paucity of local residents in the ranks of faculty, students, or administrative staff, as well as its stone entrance gates to sever it from surrounding communities. With its own golf course, a \$336 million endowment, and plans for a major retirement community targeted for alumni and friends of the university, the university represents a community and culture apart on the plateau itself. Indeed, to those connected to the university, the institution itself is synonymous with the term “The Mountain.” At the same time, the university employs hundreds of local residents whose own relationships to the institution are extremely diverse.

The Places Project could not claim to lead to the development of immediate, quantifiable benefits or resources for the areas targeted for participation. At the same time, the difficulty of reading the physical landscape of the region and its political patchwork of county lines were matched by hyper-local tendencies and cultural disconnects and divides. These are products of fragmentation but also exacerbate fragmentation. Community, business, and government leaders had been working enable residents from different local towns to communicate effectively with each other and, at the same time, to develop a singular unified regional voice. Utilizing Tuan’s (2001: 6) idea of “one space, many places,” the Places Project was designed as a resource but also a process that would model approaches for bringing historically divided communities into

dialogue together in ways that did not highlight or exacerbate differences, and, at the same time, resisted tendencies to collapse or ignore those differences.

The project was designed as a project space, a process to bring diverse communities from the mountain and mountain-facing valleys together obliquely, without forcing direct communication or confrontation. The Places Project invited residents to share places that they remembered as meaningful, with no further qualification defining what constitutes meaning for participants. The purpose of the project was to build a collectively authored map of place and memory together. The project itself was a shared space and as such it invited participants to narrate their places and communities on their own terms but put places in relationship to each other through memories and stories. It invited participants to be thoughtful and reflective about their pasts in relation to their attachments to place, self, family, and community. In turn, the data collected were also shared and transparent; this leveraged the potential for its interpretation to be crowdsourced, shared and transparent as well.

Methodologies

The project is significant to the study of memory because it employed participatory research methodologies and directly engaged methods to exploration of community and cultural memory. Both the socially constructed nature of memory and the well-documented ties between place and memory made participatory research methodologies apt. Participatory methodologies enable scholars and their co-researchers to construct meaning and negotiate its broader and deeper significance together. The project engaged participative inquiry, crowdsourced qualitative data collection, participatory mapping, and community curation. As such, it contributes to our understanding of place-making by making visible performances of memory that simultaneously honor individual representations and narratives, construct intimate publics, and build and make visible community identities through collected and collective memories. Digital maps using Tableau© software and a physical map with pockets

and stories physically stitched into it allow for recuration and creative engagement with place and memory.

Participative Inquiry and Authority Concerning Project Design

As Corbett and Miller have argued, shared, or participative, inquiry requires that scholars exhibit a model of facilitative leadership different from a traditional scholarly role. Beyond having to ask everyone's questions, not just our own, participatory community project design must make it possible for a project to incorporate questions that neither scholarly researchers nor community-based participants and coresearchers have even considered yet (Corbett and Miller 2006: 17). Researchers must facilitate a process through which stakeholders enter into a project with enough information to grasp its meaning and potential while still leaving critical issues related to purpose, goals, implementation, dissemination, and communication open ended. In processes of shared inquiry, the researcher must understand and be able to articulate the significance of the *idea* while inviting questions, suggestions, guidance, and direction from others about the content and direction of the project. In addition, it is necessary to envision a broad process for crowdsourced and community-curated initiative about local places without undertaking specific research design. In the context of the Places Project, the articulation of project goals was processual and social, precisely because memory work itself is processual and social. Participative inquiry took the form of meeting with civic organizations, municipal leaders, business owners, educators, and students to explain the idea of a deep map of the locale, propose ideas for where to collect memories, suggest how memories and narratives might be useful locally, and solicit questions, ideas, criticisms, and to problem-solve in public settings.

Local residents questioned and, in some cases, challenged the utility and practical outcomes for the project. It was challenging to champion the benefits of the collection of data when particular places, time periods, activities, and so forth, were not going to be specified in the collection process itself. This challenge was particularly true in Grundy County,

where generations of poverty, clientism, and low levels of third-level education had instilled a lack of confidence in the skills, competencies, and expertise of local residents.

Participatory methods led to major innovations in project design. The initial design proposal for story collection was interview-based, but residents and stakeholders in diverse settings pushed for a more social, and a more informal, setting for collection. From a research perspective, this posed challenges and required new approaches to demographic data collection, informed consent and recording or transcription of stories. Residents suggested places that would be welcoming and amenable for collecting stories and in many cases, made introductions with gatekeepers for the research team. They stressed the appeal of a model similar to the one developed by Storycorps, Inc., in which two interlocutors who are well known to each other discuss places and memories (Storycorps 2003–2018). Residents suggested that informal, social settings where people are often with friends and family would lend itself toward social remembering and place-making, which it, in fact, did.

In many instances, the process of inquiry reflected and underscored issues that made the deep map a productive methodology for rendering more visible residents' understandings of place and memory. For example, most gatherings suggested were hyper-local; gatherings of citizens very often were limited to residents of one town or village. Extremely interested in the prospect of the Places Project for their discrete communities, participants struggled to see the relevance or import of collecting data about neighboring towns as close as two miles away. This potential limitation led to a focus on crowdsourcing at individual town and village-specific festivals and events. At the same time, there was an equal emphasis on crowdsourcing at the few broadly inclusive events (county fairs and festivals) that pulled attendees from across the plateau and valleys.

Crowdsourced Qualitative Data Collection in Multiple Venues

“Crowdsourcing,” a term developed by Jeff Howe in 2006 to discuss tech industry testing methods, is defined as a method for recruiting and orga-

nizing ideas and input by requesting and soliciting voluntary participation. Crowdsourcing as a concept was “born digital”; it has emerged out of the context of Web 2.0 and the plethora of problems and possibilities posed by interactive social media.

Crowdsourcing often takes place through the creation of opportunities for participants to contribute information digitally from their home computers or via apps on phones and tablets. Google Forms, Survey Monkey, History Pin, and Clio are all examples of platforms through which researchers collect information and contributions. Tagging, commenting, annotating, and beta-testing are some specific ways in which scholars and industry professionals engage in crowdsourcing.

In the context of the Places Project, digital crowdsourcing opportunities existed alongside their analog counterparts. It was possible to contribute places and memories via a project website, a project Facebook page and a telephone hotline. It was also possible to acquire a paper form and to submit handwritten or typed memories of places deemed significant by the contributor. Fewer than 40 of the 700 contributions to the project were contributed online, however. Mirroring the social processes of memory and place-making, residents suggested and were overwhelmingly more receptive to physically approaching a map of the region, finding “their” place and writing a memory on a card or sharing the memory orally for researchers to transcribe.

By collecting stories at fairs, festivals, and heritage events, a large cross section of residents were able to participate by sharing places and memories and by listening to others’ memories and locating places on large maps. People gathered around the booth, looked at maps, listened to each other, found their memories triggered or challenged, and continued the process of sharing stories and memories. Physical collection took place in 8 of the 13 towns about which memories and places were collected as well as at county-wide events that drew residents from across “The Mountain.” Collection took place over 11 months, providing numerous opportunities for participation. Residents could choose whether or not to contribute, opting out at one event and then choosing to share a place and memory at a later date. There were no restrictions on contributions and 13 residents shared more than one place and memory on the map.

When local residents and leaders suggested that the collection format was too “business-like,” researchers took this to mean that it appeared to potential participants as transactional, leading them to query how and to what ends their information would be used. The project director invited high-school students to take an active role in collecting stories and places and increased communication with prospective participants about where the information gathered would be stored and how it would displayed and utilized locally. Clearly defined explanations of the ways the information gathered would be used and displayed was challenging when the data being collected was open ended and therefore unpredictable.

Project Spaces: Participatory Mapping

Participatory crowdsourced projects have the potential to facilitate the creation of a set of narratives about place, memory, and identity that reflect their social, contingent, and processual aspects. The participatory method creates a “project space,” defined by feminist scholar of planning and architecture Elizabeth Cahn (2014: ix) as an “intersubjective material projection,” a site of action and reflection that temporarily bridges incommensurable entities, attitudes, or institutions. In project space, researchers are dedicated to and reflective about the process itself, but there is no predetermined outcome. Participants become experts and their memories and experiences, rather than fitting into a preexisting research framework, constitute the project framework itself and their contributions thus constitute the project. At once a broad and collaborative process in terms of collection, mapping itself is intimate and lends itself to the creation of intimate publics, both during the mapping process itself and in the process of curation, which is discussed later.

Augmenting Cahn’s notion, Lauren Berlant explains that intimate publics are experimental project spaces where we might endeavor toward alternative versions of the past, present, or future. Their multivocality and the decenteredness of individual memories, along with the experience of physically being in a shared virtual or physical space of shared cultural

production around the past, drew important connections between ordinary affects and formal and intimate publics (Berlant and Prosser 2011).

Participatory methods require facilitative leadership from scholars. Developing the knowledge to ask informed questions, to listen effectively and to guide participants as they contribute to maps are the primary methods for participatory mapping. In this project, participatory deep mapping required the project team to learn local history, to make connections between communities and families, and to understand the ways place memory and place attachment correspond with broader themes relevant to community and cultural identity. In rural areas, detailed knowledge of topography itself was important, while knowledge of families and family history mattered most in the towns. Being able to converse about local events, controversies, and tragedies gained the research team trust required to build the confidence of participants so that they would participate in the mapping project.

Mapping was participatory and collaborative. Participants shared their first names, age, and town or subsection of a town they identified most with. Their surnames were not revealed. Many participants engaged in mapping with family members or friends, but others contributed alone. The freedom to divulge memories of place and to convey the significance of place to the research team without having one's full name printed anywhere allowed participants to share a perspective, or emphasize a memory that others in their network might have viewed differently.

Researchers associated with the University of the South, with a visible profile and active presence in the local community, spent six months introducing the project and engaging residents before beginning the crowdsourced mapping process at fairs, festivals, and other community spaces. The insider–outsider status of the research team allowed for the negotiation between *emic* and *etic*, or positionality inside and outside social groups that constituted the local population. This was an ongoing process; researchers, to be sure, were not always aware of our own ignorance or blind spots as outsiders; a methodological flaw that certainly shaped the project. At the same time, this insider–outsider status allowed for communication about sensitive personal information that might not have been shared with a local person whose ties in the communities would have necessarily contributed to their interpretation of memories

and places. Having members of the research team with deep local ties undoubtedly helped to make prospective participants feel comfortable contributing to the map. Having outsiders with few local relationships in the communities where they were collecting allowed contributors to be inhabit an experts' role and to inform and educate through the mapping process itself. Here, acknowledging that different kinds of expertise is required for a participatory project and bringing people with different ties to local communities was an important research strategy.

The Places Project had a robust community presence, which simultaneously reflected and increased visibility and legitimacy. It maintained a Facebook page and a project website and was discussed broadly on local television and in local newspapers. It became a topic of conversation and a window into possibilities for local residents to think about and reflect on their stories, their histories, and what they want for the future. The 18-month-long process of collecting places and stories meant that community members could consider their willingness to participate; many contributors noted that they had seen the mapping booth before but had not approached at that time; the extended period of collection made it possible for people to make informed choices about sharing their places and stories on the map.

Collaborative Interpretation and Community Curation

Project curation was designed to bring a diverse community's knowledge, inheritances, and values in relation to place and memory to itself in a way that prioritized coherence and cohesion without simplifying, paraphrasing, or interpreting for a community or on behalf of it. The research team geocoded all of the places, input all stories into a database, and created a series of digital maps that are freely accessible to anyone who wants to explore them. Places were sorted places by latitude–longitude coordinates, town, generalized age of contributor and one's relationship to the region. A series of maps were created through a process of tagging data according to themes that arose consistently within the data set, including history, race, family, community, physical activity, natural beauty, religion/faith, and work (the maps can be viewed here: <https://theplacesproject.org/>)

[explore-the-maps/](#)). The themes emerged out of the data; there were no preconceived categories. In the same way, places around which the most stories and memories accreted were highlighted in a map. There were no preconceived ideas about which places might be most significant. In this way, narrative really did become data in a meaningful sense. Places stood out because they were revisited by many people for many different reasons. Instead of identifying “likely” places of significance, the project allowed residents to reveal meaningful sites through their own narrated memories.

“To let people realize their own experience is valid, and has a literary character, is deeply empowering,” says Maurice Manning (2017). This occurs pronouncedly when projects, Manning’s words, “let people... hear their stories in their own words.” The maps create a story that is shared but allows for separateness and difference, for multivocality without the loss of individual voices. They enable residents to define places literally in their own terms. As such, they create a broad and diverse understanding of how people of the region conceptualize place generally and places of significance specifically but also reflect the ways memory operates within our social worlds. The Places Project thus expanded localized memories and created recognition of both a wider communal experience on the Plateau and some of the differences in perceptions, place attachments, and relationship to the past among different communities and populations.

Curation has taken the form of exploration of the data itself. Already, the project has led to interesting and productive community discussions. One illustrative example relates to cultural divides and outdoor activities. Since local residents do not patronize the state parks, there had been a long-standing assumption that local people do not care about the outdoors unless they are hunting. Data from the Places Project, when interpreted for the Friends of the South Cumberland State Parks, showed a very different picture. There is deep appreciation of and engagement with the outdoors. Local people, however, have a different “map” of the outdoors and tend to pursue activities on private land rather than go to the state parks. Places Project data clearly illustrates deep connections and investments with natural landscapes that happen to be outside the realm of the park system. The existence of a data set that engages qualitative

issues encouraged the Friends of South Cumberland State Parks to develop a different approach to local residents, to ask different questions, eschewing assumptions that are based on a different cultural vocabulary and lens.

The Places Project map is proudly displayed at the Grundy County Historical Society's local history museum, described by staff, volunteers, and visitors as a "gift" (Russell, pers. comm. 2018). According to museum staff, many participants and those who view the map have made affective investments in what they have seen, read, and heard, entering into one another's stories and thus cocreating a broader and deeper narrative of place than the one that existed before the project. Local spin off projects, including a social media campaign to explore the idea of "home" on the mountain, an oral history project detailing Sewanee's local history, and a local place-making photo installation in local storefronts, have allowed residents to examine and express place attachment on their own terms and in their own micro-local contexts. The Places Project was an important model for place-making, but not a prescriptive one.

Conclusion

As this chapter demonstrates, participatory methods create memory processes that perform the very functions and forms memory takes within community life: establishing connections, developing usable pasts, negotiating multidimensional relationships between the individual and the group, and producing coherent, if complex and oblique, narratives of community values, worries, and aspirations. At the same time, this chapter demonstrates that scholars committed to engaged community and participatory processes must develop methodologies that enable them to build trust, work collaboratively and improvise. Open-ended projects have the potential to claim and make visible diverse kinds of knowledge, expertise, and goals. Participatory, collaborative research methodologies in the areas of place and memory require a renegotiation of roles between researchers and non-researchers, scholars and publics, universities and communities.

Memory, place-based knowledge and place attachment do not require specialized expertise beyond connection to a place, which, paradoxically, is something many scholars have forsaken in order to pursue academic and career goals. When scholars envision, create and implement the foundations for participatory research, the expertise required to do so is often rendered invisible, and the scholarly contributions are unheralded. The very practices that minimize the visibility and voice of the scholar are precisely the things that render community-based participatory research initiative productive and successful. The methods scholars utilize also allow us to reconsider the epistemological processes and objectives of place-based research in and with local communities. Participatory, collaborative, and crowdsourced research methodologies in the areas of place and memory, as I have argued here, can interrupt the ways scholarship tends to reproduce unequal relationships between researchers and non-researchers, scholars and publics, universities and communities. They offer new possibilities for understanding both memory and place in new ways and invite us to reconsider and reframe how and to what ends scholars work in and with local communities.

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10

Community Memory Mapping as a Visual Ethnography of Post-War Northeast England

Sarah De Nardi

Introduction

The linkages between place and memory are the source of considerable scholarship (see, for example, Lowenthal 1985; Schama 2005; Atkinson 2007; more recently, Sin 2003, Muzaini 2015). This sustained inquiry across humanities and social sciences develops alongside research agendas and ever-more-imaginative fieldwork methods. In this chapter, I draw on ideas of participatory action research to frame a method of heritage co-production: collaborative memory mapping. This methodology enables elicitation and visualisation of shared storytelling and conjures up past and present place-making practices. Although the map medium is primarily visual, ‘seeing’ is just one of the senses at work in the making and sharing of memories in this way. Sight is but one tool in a sensory ethnography of place. Cartography, intended as the production of all-seeing visualisations, has been unpacked by scholars who flagged its subjectivity and power (Harley 1989, Wood 1992; Crampton 2001). These critical geographers have exposed map-making as an authoritative tool, which

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has often been used to promote specific knowledge of the landscape and serve political agendas.

The ways in which a community experiences place and the extent to which they participate or have an avenue to participate in academic and scholarly narratives on 'place' and heritage can be fruitfully explored through shared sensory fieldwork experiences (Pink 2009, 2013). Embodied methods, grounded in the senses, link efforts to involve communities and foreground grassroots knowledge in the construction of scholarly narratives. For example, Waterton (2005, 2014) has argued for identifying what values and what heritage(s) communities care about; Rizvi (2006) acknowledges the existence of divergent desires and opinions in our attempts to decolonise archaeology; Crouch (2015) sketches the delicate balancing act between heritage ethics and tourist imaginaries; whereas Dicks (2010) fleshes out the linkages between local identity, place and heritage-making processes among former mining communities. Co-researchers¹ impact on the research agenda through their deeds as well as their words; they actively participate and shape research questions and methods (see also Keith 1992). Further, Smith's (2006) idea of an authorised heritage discourse has been widely used to support research on anti-memory, counter-memory and alternate understanding of the past that go against the grain of established paradigms. Cumulatively, these studies attempt to link community to scholarly practice in a process of heritage co-production.

Heritage co-production works as a connective tissue making transparent and accountable interactions and decision-making processes between heritage publics, practitioners, and heritage objects—through shared storytelling (De Nardi 2016). The methodology of co-produced critical heritage seeks to dislodge conventional ways of valuing and knowing the world (Duffy 2014). Mnemonic communities or social groups may share and negotiate co-produced knowledges with their academic allies through imaginative, inclusive scholarly approaches that sharpen the materialities and the identity politics of participants and of the community to which they belong (Sin 2003; Riley and Harvey 2005; Rizvi 2006; Macdonald 1997; Watson and Waterton 2010). These perspectives seek to empower

¹ In this project, I take co-researchers to mean a pool of 80 current and past residents of the villages of Kibblesworth and Old Ravensworth in greater Gateshead who donated their time, memories, and expertise to the design and production of Remaking Beamish and who were the primary authors of the community memory mapping side of the project.

previously under-represented groups and draw them in as research subjects, as opposed to objects of ethnographic study.

Within a methodology attuned to the co-production of heritage, a key geographical medium, the map, can help position subjective understandings of place and space. Understandings of space and place vary according to the perspective of the dweller, visitor, tourist, real estate speculator, museum professional, and so on (Kavanagh 2000; Witcomb 2013). Place is central to collaborative experiments in knowledge-building—so long as collaborative maps encapsulate plural viewpoints and experiences. In capturing sense of place (after Tuan 1974 and Agnew 1987), mapping can animate the entanglements that give ‘home’ a meaning for communities (MacKian 2004). It can create a vantage point for silenced groups to foreground their own version of place, the past, and the future (De Nardi 2019). Memory work is done by people engaging with one another: it is a shared memory (see Margalit 2002). The remembrance process is never elicited in isolation but depends on the ways in which academic researcher/curator² and community co-researchers interact with their social and cultural environment. Adding multisensory and multi-author perspectives to a memory research project can bring to the fore the implicit as well as the explicit. Unpacking sense of place gathers together the affectual, the factual, and the imaginative through memories and stories that marry tangible and quantifiable traces. Such work beckons the blurring of the lines between tangible and intangible heritage, in favour of holistic understandings of community priorities encompassing everyday experiences, recent memories, and remote knowledge about the past (Riley and Harvey 2005; De Nardi 2014).

The mapping methodology that I outline here shows how presences and absences can be mapped contemporaneously on the same medium, as they are part of how we experience place, how we remember, and how we imagine our future. And yet, experiments in the reframing of the idea of the ‘map’ prove that spatialising past events can disclose overlaps and gaps in time, stimulate the making and sharing of memories, and ultimately provide ‘texture’ to an otherwise ‘flat’ textual history (Zerubavel 2003, De Nardi 2014). For Zerubavel, history and the past (and, I would

² Here, by academic researchers and curators, I refer to heritage professionals whose professional duties entail paid activities and projects, which community co-researchers usually engage in on an unpaid and voluntary basis.

suggest, memory) take instead the form of a ‘relief map’, on which ‘mnemonic hills and dales’ feature ‘memorable and forgettable events from the past’ (2003: 27). The implications of this dynamic metaphor for the past (and memory) move us forward towards mapping as a multi-vocal, ‘poly-sense’ (Sather-Wagstaff 2017) of the past.

The Project: Vernacular Memory Mapping in Kibblesworth

Doing community memory work is all about listening to, participating in, and sharing stories. If affects are generated through feeling and remembering together, then the outcome of shared remembrance should entail communal decisions and efforts, too. ‘By telling stories and writing history we provide ‘shape’ to what remains chaotic, obscure and mute’ (Ricoeur 1991: 115). Community-led maps may be a way to give shape to a myriad memories, impressions and experiences of a given place, be it a neighbourhood, workplace, or small town. Multi-vocal approaches may go against the grain of prescriptive heritage paradigms and disrupt top-down processes of ‘homogenisation’ or packaging of memory in predetermined categories or moulds (Waterton 2005). I begin with a memory map of the village of Kibblesworth in the Team Valley near Gateshead, in Northeast England. I trace the development of a mapping collaboration that ultimately resulted in a series of visualisations through participatory techniques. In the final sections, I assess some of the method’s limitations and potential benefits.

In 2013, Beamish Museum purchased a block or terrace of four prefabricated dwellings called the Airey Houses, on Coltspool [Lane]. The museum wants to include them in the forthcoming 1950s exhibition area (*Remaking Beamish*) as an example of flat-pack prefabricated post-war dwelling, which emerged all over England to answer the severe post-war housing shortage (and in contrast with the better-known miner cottages). When the forthcoming 1950s phase of the Beamish Museum is complete, visitors will be able to explore a reconstructed town blending all sorts of vernacular building from that period brought in from across the region. Between 2015 and 2017, I had the opportunity to work alongside a village community in Northeast England to devise and produce a vernacular memory map of the

post-war landscape and 'homescape', ahead of the museum's display of the Airey houses from that village in its 'generic' 1950s town.

The former residents of the Airey Houses were keen to make visible their lived experience as part of a community, a village life. They wanted to prevent the erasure of the affective community of home—with its memories, places, and materialities—from the re-built housing terrace at Beamish. Contextualising the houses within the village seemed the logical way forward. The idea of the memory map of Kibblesworth originated in a desire by the residents to not only represent the past of the village but also to include the facts that tend to fall between the cracks of museum historiography and its modes of representation.

The empty shells of the Airey Houses will come out of storage when Remaking Beamish emerges as an engineered composite north-eastern 1950s settlement. The residents were concerned about the reanimation of memories of the place as a whole and how they would not be subsumed by just one row of prefabricated dwellings. At many open-air or living history museums, there is a risk of cherry-picking some narratives or 'atmospheres' over others (DeLyser 1999) or of typifying buildings for their appearance instead of their unique stories (Pearce 1992). In telling the stories behind-the-scene, the memory maps that will appear at Beamish Museum (the task of this project) next to the respective 'transplanted' buildings have the potential to channel interconnected networks of affects and memories. I met with the Kibblesworth community on six different occasions for a series of focus groups facilitated by the Beamish museum. We initiated a dialogue during which former and current Kibblesworth residents gathered to 'remember together' in place, and then shared their own experiences with the group.

The map presented below is one of several we produced. Cumulatively, these maps trace Kibblesworth memories from the late 1950s onwards; although the focal point are the former dwellings, the fieldwork—that forms the basis of the sections that follow below—led to the production of this particular map, which discloses a melange of people, materialities, and stories from the wider community. In visualising a sense of place and memory, our team tried to convey affectual and textural assemblages (Pink 2009) on a multi-layered map—a collage of recollections and sensory worlds that risked becoming lost in the re-made, reimagined Airey Houses at Beamish.

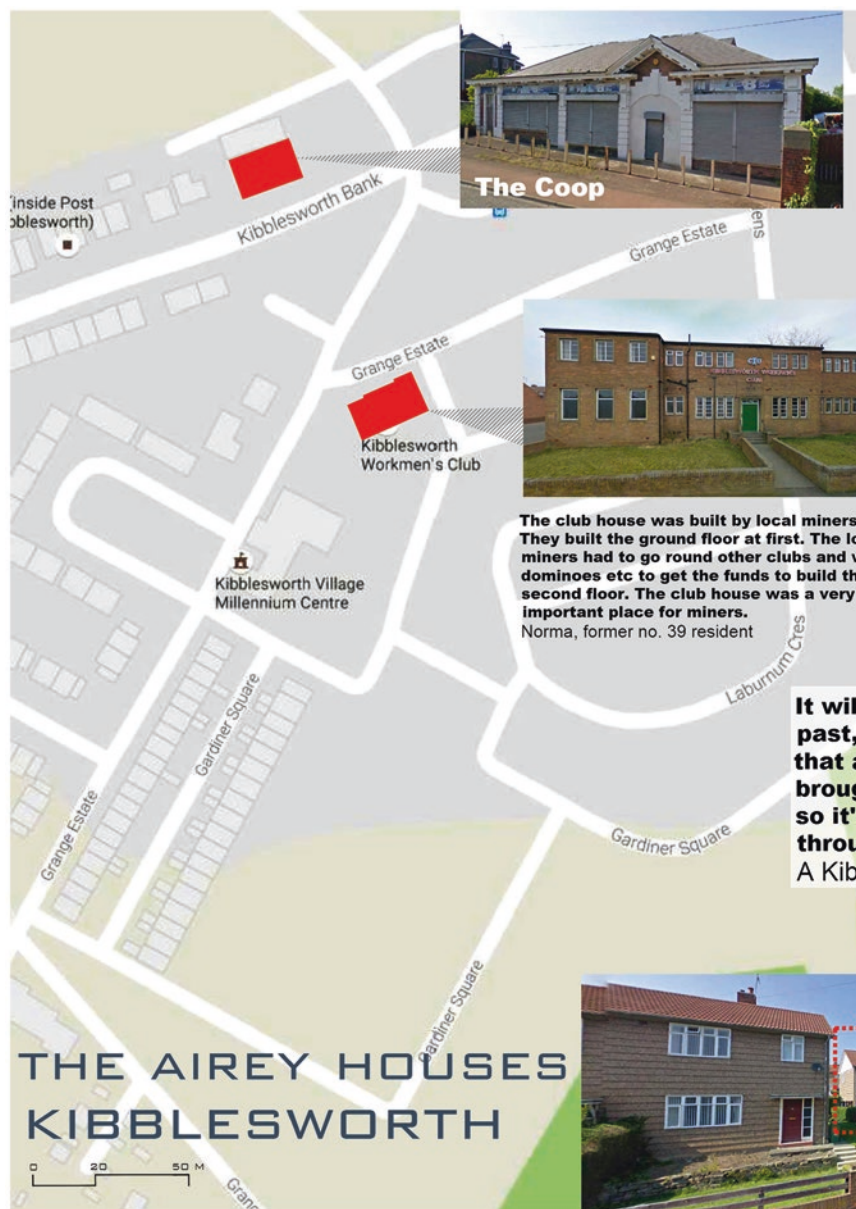


Fig. 10.1 The Airey Houses, Kibblesworth



Fig. 10.1 (continued)

First Steps: Meeting the Fellow Mappers

The first phases of this kind of mapping practice follow a similar protocol: I introduce myself to the community co-researchers and explain what I do, what I am interested in, and so on. Most co-researchers volunteered their names, with ten preferring to remain anonymous. Then co-researchers involved in the project bring to the table their expectations for what lies ahead, their motivations and interests in doing the mapping, and their realistic availability for commitment, participation, and authorship.

The first meeting took place on 24 October 2015 at Beamish Museum (FG1). At our first consultation, the rationale behind the map making became clear. Beamish had stored and intended to reconstruct a terrace of four Airey Houses. However, the museum would not attach personal stories about residents and village community members to the buildings—for logistical reasons. Those wider affectual stories and identities were at risk of being lost. At the October focus group, residents wondered whether, as an ‘object’, the 1950s concrete-and-steel shell prefabricated buildings, these houses might seem banal and inconspicuous to those who encounter them on the museum grounds. The co-researchers expressed a concern that the Beamish-Aireys would be ultimately outshined by the lure of the fish-and-chip shop and the glitz of the grandiose Grand Electric Cinema transplanted from Ryhope village. Some of our co-researchers feared that the concrete semis’ familiarity might not seem ‘interesting’ enough to get excited about or even to visit. In the latter group, one female co-researcher said that she was afraid people would laugh at the prefabs, dismiss them as ugly, and not pay attention. A male co-researcher who chose to be named, Lawrence, said that his house had been ‘ruddy cold’, but loved and well-lived in. A female co-researcher in her sixties observed astutely that ‘are we to expect the place to come to life again far from the original community and village life, like a jack-in-the-box of concrete?’ (Participant 3, FG2, 6 December 2015).

The clear theme from the October 2015 meeting was, then, what audiences would make of the unassuming post-war dwellings—of their unglamorous materiality, once encountered in the museum setting. This meeting led to a brainstorming phase in which we floated many ideas and

queries. We elected to make a map that would be enlarged to the dimensions of a billboard and would accompany the reconstructed dwellings at the site. This way, museum visitors would get an idea of what place and what community the Airey Houses came from. This goal spurred our discussion that day and we talked about what a map of the everyday might look like. ‘What kind of artefact is this map, when it gets to the Museum, out of context?’ I asked of the group. Together, we wrote down some of the resulting notions and suggestions on our ‘mood board’, essentially a proto-map. Unlike the first map draft, however, the ‘mood board’ did not contain topographical or biographical information: just our team’s expectations and ideas. As our Kibblesworth project gathered more data for the memory maps, we discovered an initiative that had previously attempted to channel sense of place before the Aireys were torn down. At our first co-researcher meeting, an art project that had involved some of the other (not preserved) prefabricated housing units on Coltspool was discussed (Participant 15, 24 October 2015, FG1). She remembered something going on at the buildings, she said, but it had been over quite quickly. An online search brought up the details of that project, which a team member read out to the rest of the group—a statement of aims from an Insider Art project in Kibblesworth:

Giant prints of their drawings of local people were pasted onto empty properties, waiting to be demolished in the village. The people in the drawings were invited to be photographed next to their old houses and the photographs given back to them as a present, so they are able to display the memory of their past house within their new home. (Rednile Projects, <http://www.rednile.org/public-realm/insider-art-kibblesworth/>)

The act of commemorating residents alongside their homes before they were forever gone struck several co-researchers (myself included) as a useful prompt to local ‘spirit of place’: we decided to seek permission to include a couple of photographs and text from the website in our visualisations. This former project constituted a useful precedent for our visualisation process. In line with the ethnographic method of photo-elicitation (Pink 2013, but see also Sumartojo, this volume), five of the co-researchers used the images from the Insider Art project as discussion prompts and

research questions leading our mapping mission. For instance, Clive observed that the will to celebrate former residents and provide them with a memento of their former homes spoke to a sense of community in the village.

Experiencing Place Together: Walking, Reminiscing, Learning

On 6 December 2015 (FG2), this time at Kibblesworth Village Hall, our team tried to figure out how we could map out village landmarks. Our team took a rambling walk through snowy Kibblesworth that day. Walking also opened up the memory of the village to the outdoors—to the wider landscape of Kibblesworth beyond the Aireys and the Club House. Learning by walking as a way to stimulate ‘the capacity to access the relationship between people, place and time’ (Anderson 2004: 259) is established practice in more-than-representational scholarship (see also Wylie 2002) but not as yet developed as a co-production technique (but see De Nardi 2014 for an example). As the co-researchers walked me through the village, they positioned their memories and the ‘absent’ Airey homes. They pointed out other standing buildings, such as the boarded-up Coop (general store). We lingered at the Miners’ Club House. Colin, a non-Airey resident in his late fifties, had explained that

it was built by our local miners. They built the ground floor at first. The local miners then had to go around to the other clubs in other villages, and they had to win at dominoes etc. to get the money to build the second floor (Colin, 3 March 2016, FG4).

The members of the mapping group felt that story was extremely important to ‘get’ the community spirit of Kibblesworth. Group members elected to take photos of the Club House which now has pride of place on our current flagship map (Fig. 10.1).

As the days were getting significantly colder and shorter, the team soon made for the community centre for tea and mince pies (a traditional British Christmas treat). Sharing food and creature comforts enhanced

our bonding experience, which is vital in any outreach and collaborative work. For Pink (2009: 74), memory work has ‘sensorial components. Interviewees refer to the sensoriality of their experiences not only verbally [...] but through gesture, actual touching, [...] sounds, [...] images (e.g. showing of photographs) and often tastes (e.g. offering the researcher food or drink)’. As we built rapport and established trust as a group, more spontaneous interactions started developing within the team. As the co-researchers started to treat me like part of the ‘ingroup’, an ally, they revealed the public opinion that the Aireys were an eyesore and that people were glad to see them gone. After tea and mince pies, Steve, a co-researcher in his forties, contributed a newspaper clipping from 2012, which he read out:

Much less appealing superficially than the bungalow version, these two-storey semis (...) shared the bungalows’ advantage of mod-cons but were much disliked as a blot on the landscape. One of my great uncles started a speech to the Yorkshire branch of the Institution of Civil Engineers back in the 1950s; ‘Ladies and gentlemen, except Sir Edwin Airey ...’ Family legend likes to believe that this was more because the builder was a vigorous Conservative, but there was certainly an element of anger at the sea of concrete. (Wainwright 2012 in *The Guardian*)

The reading raised a few eyebrows; several co-researchers agreed that they had also heard this ‘myth’. We discussed the stigma attached to the dwellings, as it had profound implications on the way that we would go about mapping the place. Whereas (some) outsiders condemned the Airey Houses as an ‘eyesore’, former residents reported their enjoyment of life within them although they had all moved on to more suitable (and modern) housing from 1965 onwards (FG1 and 2).

The Open Day: Sharing Insights with the Wider Community

Over the first two meetings, my co-researchers had unearthed two very different engagements and attitudes towards the Airey Houses: the caring local perspective of the Kibblesworth Insider Art project, and the non-local

view of the buildings as undesirable. As a team, we mulled over both positions while also enjoying the momentum. We subsequently met in February (FG3), March (FG4), and May 2016 (FG5); at these follow-up meetings, former residents of three out of the four Aireys transplanted to the Museum contributed their own specific memory of living in the structures, and we built on this database to create the earliest draft of the resident maps. As the intention was to map memories of life in the village, the maps we chose to go up at Beamish were not the more private, Airey-focused ones.

At an 'open event' at the Club House on 16 September 2016, the wider community of Kibblesworth and surrounding areas observed our early mapping efforts and commented on the memories, photographs, and anecdotes that had been selected as 'content' for the final multimedia map(s). This event brought together co-researchers who had been Airey residents and those who had not lived in the Airey Houses. Our team of co-researchers saw their participation effort paying off, as they received praise from others on their thoroughness and creativity. At a follow-up focus group in October 2016 (FG6) with the core group of co-researchers, feedback was overwhelmingly encouraging. Several commented that through interactions at the open day, they got a sense that non-residents' stories are interlinked with the lives and memories of residents. The group expressed the view that walking around had been useful, as it mapped out places that were still there—even if the Airey Houses were not. Our group visited the Club House once more, electing it as a central place in the village—although primarily built for the coal miners.

In opening up imaginative as well as factual remembrance of place, the childhood perspectives of local participants were central to the storytelling we engaged in. Most co-researchers had been children in the late 1950s and focussed their place-making on playful activities. 'We used to play in the streets, down in the square at the bottom and there were gas-lights, proper streetlights and that was weird like. You went out to play with your friends and when it got dark you went home' (Angie, 19 February 2016, FG3). Remembrance of playful geographies evoked outside and inside spaces. Although the Airey houses were cold, the modern spaces became playful places for the child-inhabitants that constitute most of the sample of co-researchers. The children at number 41 Coltspool

called the stairs ‘the dancers’ and claimed that the front garden always smelled of horse manure from the carts that delivered groceries and coal. Planting cabbages in the front gardens was heeded as a clever and useful way of making good of that pungent smell. ‘When we moved in, this place was a paradise. Well, it was to me. There was no building going on, it had the park, it was great. It had the pit ... it was good’ (Lawrence, FG2, 6 December 2015). Lawrence had started working at the age of 15, and he was 18 when the family left their Airey House. Some of the places he had known as a child in Kibblesworth were no longer there. That playground has long since been erased from local topography: ‘there was a street called the Keelies (sp), we used to go down there, there were the woods—there were no restrictions (...) you had the pit, and all that to play in’ (Lawrence, FG2).

Memories of playful spaces and lived experiences were the focus of our maps, but, in practical terms, our mapping of the Aireys revealed a ‘gap’ in remembrance between former residents and outsiders. Former residents and locals cared for them; outsiders did not. In the project, we sought to visualise lived experience by layering on various memories through the maps. We had future emplaced audiences in mind too: what will it feel like to visit the Beamish-Aireys? We mapped this locale mindful of the potential sense of places that Beamish visitors will partake in or create in the ‘new’ habitat of the Aireys. To give an example: for Lawrence, the front garden at number 34 Coltspool was ‘small, covered in muck’ when the family moved in. Outside the front door, the modernity of the Aireys’ fitted kitchen and indoor toilet gave way to rural England once more. Laurence remembers the lane called Coltspool as just a dirt track—not a real road as such. Our team of co-researchers did not know at the time whether Coltspool would reappear as a rural lane or a suburban residential street in keeping with the rest of the 1950s Town. For the purposes of our maps, however, we specified on our early drafts that the Airey Houses, and their Coltspool, were ‘a work in progress’. This quality of transience encompasses both the memory of new dwellings being ‘broken in’ by families in the 1950s, as well as the future Beamish-Aireys. The vagueness of the maps reflects the still unfinished idea of what the residences will be, the shape they will be in, and the visitors that they will attract, at the museum.

Editing the Maps for Content

After collecting and planning the maps' content, our team had to start making sense of all the 'information' we had generated and decide how to structure and concentrate these ideas, memories, and emotions on a series of maps. Our team members opted for a series of themed maps to avoid crowding any given map with too much content, which would confuse rather than illustrate our work. The co-researchers decided that we would choose one flagship map to go up at Beamish. The main challenge in producing Fig. 10.1 was in reaching agreement on how to represent, bring to life perhaps, the village and the homes through the inclusion and blending of stories, imagination, memory, and sense of place as shared by the whole of Kibblesworth.

This editorial process started in FG4 and continued in FG5 shortly after the successful open day in September 2016. The maps our team designed attempt to reconcile two sets of memories—public and intimate. The focus we have developed collectively has been on the insiders' perceptions, because they were the ones who lived in the village in the first place. This foregrounding of local perspective over others (i.e. the media) is the only editorial decision I insisted on—to prioritise the intimate geographies of home over the outsider's viewpoint. The Airey Houses are remembered by villagers as something, which used to be there, home for some, and as something which is no more. The insights from the joint mapping and memory work revealed that the Aireys' presence is still felt even after their removal. Their progressively crumbling exteriors had not become invisible to the community of Kibblesworth at the point when the bulldozers came to take them away. Will the affects and memories evoked through our memory work survive in the recreated museum setting? Would the mouldy cupboard from back home re-emerge at the Museum, and will the pungent smells from the compost heap in the gardens reach visitors' nostrils across time and space?

Limitations

One may wonder if these maps really do go against the grain of heritage discourse, which may flatten or typify to match or fit certain agendas and narratives (Pearce 1992). There are inbuilt limitations to the community

mapping method, that are similar to the constraints and challenges occurring whenever we do fieldwork in which a number of people participate at different times. For example, there may be disagreement as to what is relevant or not, and dissent over what content ought to appear on the maps. Some co-researchers' perspectives may be at odds with current views and perspectives, and their expression may engender tension or inhibit sharing (Cappelletto 2003; Drozdewski 2015). In all memory work, collaboration itself entails challenges. For example, discordant or irreconcilable memories may emerge. Memories do not always align, and dissent can lead to non-collaboration: even the same person can remember things differently at different points in time and contradict themselves (Rouverol 1999).

In our case, our research team found that we all leaned towards a caring, insiders' view of the village and the Airey Houses, and we therefore privileged this set of memories and perceptions for the production of the maps. The main limitations of the project were due to its reliance on multiple perspectives that our team deemed necessary to create a lively, inclusive storyboards and visualisations. Aside from the occasional disagreement on the value or even basic details of a remembered fact or place about the Aireys, there was the risk of having one or two individual co-researchers taking over the process through sheer exuberance. In other words, as in any other group activity, some voices will predominate over others. Some more vocal elements tend to shape discussions around their own insights. Less than positive 'memories' and elements of gossip tend to be left off the visualisations, to avoid hurting anyone's feelings. This 'selectivity' can often lead to a one-sided and rose-tinted view of the past: a selective remembering. Another limitation at Kibblesworth was the restricted number of perspectives and memories available at any given time. On two occasions, in FG1 and 4, the low number of participants in the meetings led to a somewhat restricted view of the process of gathering (FG1) and editing (FG4) the maps.

A way to reach compromise between inclusivity and representation is to stimulate the views and input of those who were quiet during a meeting or focus group, enabling them, if they wish, to contribute their viewpoint. For example, in this research, I tried to achieve balance by proposing the creation of parallel, themed multiple maps, and I reminded the team

of co-researchers that it was not crucial for us to encompass every single memory on any one map. Selective remembering and forgetting, moreover, is inevitable in any endeavour to 'reanimate' place. We come to accept it so long as it empowers community.

A further consideration regarded the issue of 'feel' or representation. An ethnographic encounter reanimates the sights and sounds of real lives lived; but one limitation of a two-dimensional paper map (or digital non-editable map) is that affects and impressions cannot really be drawn up on a map, billboard, or other visual medium. Can they be recreated artfully on a piece of paper? The answer depends on future interactions and engagements with the maps as artefacts by residents and the museum publics.

Challenges and Benefits of the Method

Often in my professional practice, I have encountered keen participation in this kind of output, which enables multiple viewpoints without the need for advanced literacy or academic skills. I feel that the main challenge for making community-led maps is to ensure they encapsulate genuine sense of place and not our (academic) vision of it. They should champion locally held insights, places as experienced and remembered even when they no longer exist: they ought to spatialise participation (Kesby 2007).

The Kibblesworth project brought residents and the wider community together: the fieldwork and open days built bonds and connections across generations of residents, old and new. Perhaps the open day, highlighting the collaborative element of this research, has made some think about heritage; about what it is and what it can do for communities. Remembering together and sharing recollections can especially benefit the mental and general health of older individuals, who reach out to others through their memories (Andrews et al. 2006). The colourful visualisations our team generated do not provide a panacea against social stagnation, but they do offer a creative remedy against (selective) forgetting. Amid a boom in nostalgia (Atkinson 2007) and, a recent revival of 1950s retro aesthetics, the maps we made in the English Northeast are a different kind of memory artefact. They represent a resourceful endeavour, an act of making, and

their energy and collaborative ethos help prevent them from being merely an exercise in nostalgia (see also Sather-Wagstaff 2017).

This chapter has charted the stages of development of a visual output that channels communities' experience and memory of place. This method has the potential of activating creative inputs that are not just retroactive (i.e. backward-looking), but that also assert a community's place in the present. By foregrounding the current and future ambitions and projects of communities we, the scholars, can truly say that we are working with them, and not just writing *about* them. Engagement of this kind should, ideally, include participatory research practices, decisions, and outputs developed in collaboration with the community. The maps bring up more than data and historical context: they disclose the affectual undercurrents of sites which have been or will be destroyed, uprooted, and moved to a museum. I hope that at least one format or incarnation of the Kibblesworth maps will remain a testimony to a vibrant locale where many affects still thrive—a slice of life livelier than any oral history transcript or museum label could hope to be.

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Correction to: From Place-Memories to Active Citizenship: The Potential of Geotagged User-Generated Content for Memory Scholarship

Danielle Drozdzewski

https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-13-1411-7_8

The chapter, 'From Place-Memories to Active Citizenship: The Potential of Geotagged User-Generated Content for Memory Scholarship' (no. 8) was previously published non-open access, but has now been made available © The Author and open access under a CC BY 4.0 license.

The updated online version of this chapter can be found at
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-13-1411-7_8

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