Abstracts: Panels 1-80

Chair: Sara Dybris McQuaid, Aarhus University

1. Sarah Gensburger, French National Center for Scientific Research: *Are memory public policies really about governing memory?*

This paper seeks in methodological and theoretical terms to open up a conversation between Public Administration, Public Policy Analysis, Government and Memory Studies. So far researches about "politics of memory" have focused on narrative contents and commemorative events. When attention to social actors has been paid, it had always been limited to a thematic memory such as memory of World World I, the Holocaust or Slavery. In doing so, the existing scientific literature have missed the birth of a new public field of public policy and has taken for granted that these public actions dealing with the past aim at the transmission and the imposition of a shared (or a dominant) version of it.

However the recent works in Public Policy Analysis, Government or Public Administration have unanimously stressed the limits of such a paradigm and called for paying particular attention to institutional mechanisms in addition to strategies and symbolism. This paper calls for the opening of the black box of the state when conducting memory public policies. It will develop its argument through the study of the French administration which has been in charge of the implementation of a "memory public policy" since the 1980s.

2. Linda Hasunuma & Mary McCarthy: Franklin and Marshall College and Drake University: M*onuments, Museums, and the Contentious Politics of Memorialization in Japan and South Korea*

Memory politics is institutionalized through the creation of monuments, memorials, and museums (Assman 1995), and like all political outcomes, the institutionalization and administration of memory is shaped by competing interests and the collective action of various actors with governmental bodies. This paper examines how such contestations of memory are negotiated in Japan and the two Koreas. Both experienced collective traumas from their own experiences during World War II and then the Korean War respectively, and scholars have analyzed the ways in which the Japanese narrative of victimhood can diminish the former Empire's wartime responsibilities and reconciliation efforts between Japan and the countries it occupied during military expansion (Dower 2014; Southard 2016). The Comfort Women issue, in particular, remains hotly contested and that is partly due to its evolution from a bilateral to a global human and gender rights issue, that is also shaped by local politics involving the Korean diaspora in the US (McCarthy and Hasunuma).

This project aims to compare the ways in which Japan and South Korea choose to remember their collective past, and the various local, national, and international political contexts in which such outcomes are negotiated. We contribute to the discourse by expanding the debate on these issues to include the repatriation of forced laborers, the abduction of Japanese individuals by the North Korean government and the treatment of Korean residents in Japan, and memorialization of the Korean War. We also expand on the framework and analysis of Japan's victimization by including the Triple Disasters of March 11, 2011. Through crisis, disaster, and war, the ways in which different actors contest and negotiate the collective traumas and memories of these countries has significant implications for domestic and international politics, and the prospects for peace and reconciliation in the region.

3. Sarah Maddison, University of Melbourne: *Uncovering the truth about foundational con ict: Inquiries and institutional legitimacy*

Many nations have attempted to address historical injustice through processes of public inquiry and truth telling. In this paper, the authors extend their conceptualisation of foundational conflict—that is, conflict over the foundational settlement of the contemporary nation state—to consider its implications for practices of 'truth-telling' as a supposed pathway to reconciliation. Foundational conflicts endure beyond actual or overt violence to structure subsequent forms of democratic interaction and standards of legitimacy and success. They are foundational in that they are historically anchored, rather than foundationalist in being totally determined by their origins. Rather, foundational conflicts are re- inscribed within contemporary contexts through the dominant approaches to democratic inclusion and reconciliation that, in their very attempt to overcome such conflict, fail to work against the continuing conditions that foundational conflict places on democratic interaction.

This paper argues that this understanding of foundational conflict can shed new light on the legitimacy of state institutions and their (in)capacity to provide redress for historical injustice. Through a comparison of recent inquiries or truth-telling processes the paper highlights the contradictions inherent to such institutional responses to historical injustice, arguing that these same institutions charged with the responsibility to address past harms are in fact generative of ongoing foundational conflict.

4. Thomas van de Putte & Aleksandra Kubica, King's College: *Remembering Jews in Poland: the encounter between Warsaw's POLIN Museum and rural memories of Jewish absence - divergent aims and needs*

The Museum of the History of Polish Jews (POLIN) runs a travelling project Museum on Wheels (MoW) as one of their outreach activities. MoW visits, since the summer of 2014, ten to twenty towns and villages around Poland

each year. The initiative has been inspired by new museology (Vergo 1989) striving to be an inclusive and participatory project, which places much emphasis on the collaboration with local activists. The project's core aim is to teach about 'the centuries of coexistence Jewish and Polish culture' and to support local leaders who engage with Jewish heritage.

POLIN aims to impose its agenda as part of MoW, emphasising Jewish life in Poland throughout centuries, showing the Holocaust as only one of its elements but not a central one. On the other hand, our analysis of data gathered through content and lexicometric analysis of semi-structured interviews with visitors during the 2015 tour of MoW, indicates that the needs articulated by local visitors are different than POLIN's agenda. Qualitative and quantitative analysis shows that the Holocaust and Jewish absence in the rural Poland of the present are the most prominent topics appearing, not Jewish culture and life before the Nazi occupation.

This paper argues that this discrepancy originates from the structure of the project and the institutional framework in which its funding, pooling of different (political) interests, planning and evaluation are set. These factors make that MoW (and POLIN more generally) misunderstand the need of significant strata of the rural Polish society to engage with the Holocaust and absence of Jews, which causes a paradoxical encounter with POLIN's idea as a 'museum of life'. This paper proposes an alternative approach to bridge the divergence of needs between the POLIN Museum and local audiences of MoW. It would give POLIN more of a short- and long term role of consultancy and coaching for initiatives that emerge bottom-up within specific rural communities in Poland.

5. Birgitte Schepelern Johansen and Tomas Brudholm, University of Copenhagen: *The law as a memory discourse: European Anti-Hate Crime Policy and Holocaust Remembrance*

Where does memory policy begin and end? This paper engages the transferability of memory policy by studying the intersections between, on the one hand, remembrance policies centered on the Holocaust and, on the other hand, emerging European anti-hate crime policy. It explores the different logics and, sometimes, contradictory registers of mobilization and remembrance at stake in the meeting between these two domains and the possible transferal of roles, stakes and emotional import that this intersection invites. This investigation is framed by a more general interest in the law as a memory discourse in which memory is at once used to obtain the respect of the law (and for the law), while memories are also laid down by law to be protected in the public sphere.

PANEL 2: WAYS OF REMEMBERING GENOCIDE, ROOM 27.0.49

Chair: Wulf Kansteiner, Aarhus Universitet

1. Dana Mihailescu, University of Bucharest: *e Input of Ghost-Writing on Eastern European Survivors' Memories of the Holocaust in Post-Cold War Western Societies*

Memory studies scholars have lately underscored the need to disentangle the study of cultural memory practices from a Western paradigm dominating the field until the 2010s, especially broadening the scope of their theoretical and practical analyses to (post)colonial, African or South American perspectives and contexts (Michael Rothberg 2009; Stef Craps 2013; etc). The last decade has also been characterized by an increased scholarly interest vested in the specifics of Eastern European memory practices of World War II (and beyond) that had previously been lumped together under the category of Western approaches usually drawing inspiration from U.S. perspectives (Uilleam Blacker, Alexander Etkind, and Julie Fedor 2013; Chiara de Cesari and Ann Rigney; Lucy Bond, Stef Craps, Pieter Vermeulen 2016; Matthias Schwartz and Heike Winkel 2016). My paper continues in the direction of the most recent findings considering Eastern European case studies alongside the entanglements with practices from other locations with which they have criss-crossed over time. My intention is to examine narratives by Eastern European Holocaust survivors (from Romania) that borrow a form of writing which has become famous in the case of slave narratives from the U.S.: these are narratives ghost-written by Western professional authors written in English and published in the United States. The main questions I am trying to address are: How do narratives by Holocaust survivors from Eastern Europe ghost-written by a professional Western author contribute to cultural representations of World War II memories in contemporary times? To what extent do these autobiographies both reflect and go beyond reflecting their construction in the West, both in terms of general Western, English-language autobiographical mnemonic practices and the particular role of the ghost-writer? Can we assess this form of ghost-writing not as a simple appropriation of survivors' memories by the Western world and denying these ones' voices?

2. Kerry Whigham, Columbia University: *Re-Tracing the Trail: e Ambivalent Embod- iment of Genocidal Memory on the Trail of Tears National Historic Trail*

This presentation analyzes the Trail of Tears National Historic Trail, a network of memory sites related to the 1838-39 forced removal of the Cherokee people. It demonstrates the complex attitude that the United States has as a settler colonial state and, therefore, as a perpetrator of atrocity violence. After elucidating the historical realities of the Trail, I introduce existing theory on what many describe as the continuing genocidal nature of settler colonialism (Moses 2004, 2008; Moses and Stone 2007; Woolford, Benvenuto, and Hinton 2014; Simpson 2014; Woolford 2015; Short 2016) to demonstrate how genocidal violence against native groups is not only a thing of the past. This presentation uses ethnographic research gathered from interviews and participant observation, along with the methodological tools offered by performance, memory, and genocide studies, to facilitate a close reading of specific sites within this network, as well as the Trail as a whole. I discuss how sites both respond to and reproduce the violence of this genocide. Drawing on LaCapra's notion of empathic unsettlement (2014), I discuss how embodied encounters with the past can create a compassionate relationship

with victimized others that acknowledges the injustices they have experienced, but does not intrude upon their space of victimization. Finally, I explore the embodied experience of traveling the Trail today as a practice that can push visitors to acknowledge their role in providing spaces for settler violence to endure in the present, as well as their responsibility to make new choices in the future that mitigate that violence through positive action (Whigham 2014).

3. Noah Shenker, Monash University, and Dan Leopard, St. Mary's College of California: *"Pinchas Gutter:" The Virtual Holocaust Survivor as Embodied Archive*

The Shoah Foundation Institute (SFI) was initially conceived as a repository of over 50,000 video interviews of Holocaust survivors. Through its recent, widely publicized New Dimensions in Testimony project (NDT), which renders survivor accounts as interactive digital witnesses, SFI is exploring how testimonies of the Holocaust will be structured in the 21st century. This paper examines the NDT pilot simulation through debates around testimony and trauma in Memory Studies and Holocaust and Genocide Studies.

The pilot, featuring survivor Pinchas Gutter, relies on what the SFI calls "curiosity driven editing." This places the viewer/user at the center of meaning-making as they act as proxy interviewers to structure Gutter's testimony. Using vocal recognition and artificial intelligence driven software, the programming selects portions of seemingly natural dialogue to create a flow of recollection on the part of the simulated witness (which the SFI refers to as a "real human"). The 1,950 chunks of Gutter's testimony operate as a database that is rendered as dialogue in interaction with the user as they ask questions of him. While this positions Gutter as an embodied archive, it nonetheless presents obstacles for its use as a research and teaching resource.

As the interface renders Gutter interactive through a database, this inhibit the possibility of deep or traumatic memories emerging through an engagement with chronological, common memory—a dynamic that is very much at the fore of conducting and examining Holocaust testimonies. This paper explores the NDT as a site for challenging traditional conceptions and applications of testimony. While each segment of the Gutter database constitutes the truth of his experience, its subsequent representation as an interactive figure on a screen presents ethical and epistemological challenges. It decontexualizes his past and privileges a process of technological immersion rather than initiating a dialogue regarding the nature of the witness' experiences.

4. JoAnn DiGeorgio-Lutz, Texas A&M University at Galveston and Martha Galvan Mandujano, University of Oklahoma: *Nunca Más? Gender and Genocide Memorialization in Guatemala*

Following the signing of the Guatemalan Peace Accords in December 1996 ending the country's 36-year civil war, the Commission for Historical Clarification (CEH) was formally established. Its purpose was to clarify human rights violations that occurred throughout the conflict as well as during the genocidal period between 1981 and 1983. One of the CEH's recommendations called for the remembrance of the victims that included, inter alia, public memorialization in coordination with civil society organizations. Based on fieldwork in Guatemala, this paper employs a visual methodology framework coupled with feminist standpoint theory to examine memorials and the memorialization process in the context of gender and the construction of historical memory post genocide. Indigenous Mayan women constitute an oppressed group relative to the State and Catholic Church. Through their participation in civil society organizations they struggle to break the bonds of patriarchy and define their individual and collective memory of the genocidal period. Genocide memorialization in Guatemala is both formal and informal consisting of murals, museums, shrines, and graffiti. The memorialization process engages women through testimonies and their participation in annual commemorative activities. In this memory landscape we are interested in women's agency along three dimensions: (1) how women are represented in memorials—that is, which tropes of memory are used to define women's experiences during the genocidal period; (2) women's activism in promoting public memorials through their membership in various civil society organizations—particularly their efforts in creating the museum for historical memory--Casa de la Memoria; and (3) their participation in commemorative performance as part of genocidal remembrance.

5. Kar-Yen Leong, Tamkang University: *Speaking Across the Lines: 1965, Family narratives and reconciliation in Indonesia*

After the 1965 pogrom of suspected communists and dissidents, the New Order regime in Indonesia initiated a series ideological programs which turned the Southeast Asian nation into an 'integral' state. Then president Suharto became the 'father' figure leading Indonesia's 'floating masses' towards social and economic development. This 'family-state' became institutionalized as an object providing a discursive language to shape and maintain Suharto's three decade long rule. His regime continued to demonize the many hundreds of thousands of political detainees. Branded as having come from 'unclean environments' they continue to face discrimination even after the fall of the New Order in 1998. Nevertheless, in the years following reformasi, Indonesia's democratic space provided an opportunity for the voices of former political detainees and their children to emerge. This paper will utilise biographies and oral historical records to understand how the family or the 'private sphere' provided a cocoon-like environment for alternative narratives to form. I aim to show how the New Order's repressive policies affected these families from one generation to the next. My paper also shows a younger generation of Indonesians attempting to 'straighten history'. I add that their willingness in breaking the silence over 1965 represents an important aspect of a nation coming to terms with its past. This paper will be building upon the conceptual framework envisioned by political theorist Hannah Arendt wherein she divides the human condition into realms both public and private. I posit that given the lack of a public sphere in discussing

this momentous event in Indonesian, it is the private sphere of the family instead which would serve as an outpost of 'memory', reminding Indonesia of its 'original sin'. It is hoped that with this paper would be able to showcase how narratives from 'below' may sow the seeds of historical reconciliation.

PANEL 3: MEMORY IN TRANSITION, ROOM 27.0.47

Chair: Barbara Törnquist-Plewa, Lund University

1. Annika Björkdal, Durham University og Stephanie Kappler, Lund University: "Pro-fessionalising or commercialising the transnational experience? Memory as a political and economic resource"

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2. Kuisma Korhonen, University of Oulu: *Gone With the Wind: Cultural Memory in Transition*

In my paper, I will analyze some figures of memory connected with air that often seem to refer to memory in transition. Expressions like "gone with the wind" are used in order to address the process where the traces of the past have been erased by time. However, air can also be seen as referring to transportability and transformability of memory. With increasing speed, our world is defined by flows of people and information between nations and cultures, memories travelling both with immigration and through global information networks. Not only memories, but traditions, rituals, and memory tropes travel between cultures. This development helps us to see that languages are, as such, not so much rigid grids thrown upon the world, but rather material practices that can translate, transform, and transport meanings from one material basis to another. Linguistic and other mediated memory is, thus, essentially travelling memory. With late capitalism and digital networks, we are moving, to use the term of Andrew Hoskins (2011), from cultural memory to connective memory where the traces of the past are stored in global networks and their digital memory clouds, governed by international technological conglomerates. These clouds, so we have been promised, do not vanish in the thin air, but guarantee our memories a quasi-eternal afterlife. In the new era of digital memory, the passage of time is no longer marked by material decay and slowly fading memory traces – instead, what we face is an overflow of mnemonic information that seems to show no marks of passage of time or material deterioration in it (Hoskins 2013). This leads to new types of oblivion: to mnemonic inflation where the value of remembrance has collapsed, and where the rights to forget and to be forgotten have become increasingly urgent.

3. Marc Brueggemann, Hebrew University Jerusalem/Free University Berlin: *The Munich Olympic-Attack of 1972: A Media Event in transnational collective memories of Germany and Israel*

The Munich Olympic-Attack of 1972 is part of the recent post-war history and entangles as part of the history of terrorism the two already interrelated collective memories of Germany and Israel even further. But due to the fact that this terrorist attack was from the very beginning planned, executed and acknowledged as the prelude to the media-transmission focused terrorism in the 2'nd half of the 20's century, the impact on the affected societies, their commemoration practices and remembrance frames of the same event need to be evaluated as a Media Event.

Following the premise, that history as well as collective memory are fluid concepts and constantly reshaped and reconstructed processes in their respective time, we can assume that this is, in particular, true when we deal with more vivid historical documents. Crucial importance maintains in this context not only the already condensed Iconic elements, where pictures as well as living people and their memories and recollections, but also constantly reused original historical film footage and feature film based reenactments, became already inherent parts of the commemoration reference frames.

I will show in my paper, that in the specific case of commemorating the Munich Olympic terrorist attack, several dominant layers of the entangled transnational collective memories in Germany and Israel were not only immediately linked to the then actual political debates but also to societal approaches, how to deal with Shoah experiences. Which is the basis of the ongoing competition among the core Agents of Memory about interpretation and significance in interaction with political actors. Even in the context of the diverse societal changes during the last decades, it is possible to derive significant visible shifts from an abstract towards a specific intimate but not less political commemoration. Current developments indicates, that this shifts affecting future leading political debates and significances.

4. Niklas Bernsand, Centre for European Studies, Lund University: *Another kind of Roma heritage? Romani Travellers in an urban Swedish working class district*

The paper presents a research and popularisation project about Valhalla, a now vanished working class district in Helsingborg in southern Sweden. The project seeks to problematise prevalent notions about Roma cultural heritage in Sweden by focusing on an urban district that for more than 50 years in the 20th century was home for a compact settlement of Romani Travellers – one of the sub-groups that since 1999 officially comprises the Roma national minority in Sweden. Romani Travellers, traditionally the largest Roma community in Sweden with the

longest historical presence in Sweden, during the 20th century arguably became the most exposed and simultaneously least recognized and visible ethnic minority group in modern Swedish history.

Conceptualisations of Roma cultural heritage in Sweden is largely shaped by notions of camping sites and temporary settlements, often associated with the Kalderasha Roma, who arrived at the turn of the 20th century and whose struggle in the 1960s for housing and schooling dominate Swedish perceptions of what Roma history and heritage means. Heritage work about and including Romani Travellers has focused almost exclusively on rural settlements and trade routes, while historical research has concentrated on oppressive state policies towards the group.

This project examines how everyday life and intra-group relations are remembered by former inhabitants of the urban district Valhalla, where Romani Travellers made up approximately 20% of the at most 1500 residents, living in the same kind of houses and going to the same schools as their non-Roma neighbours. The project, which is conducted together with Jon Pettersson from the Romani Traveller Franzwagner Society in Helsingborg, builds on semi-structured interviews with former Traveller and non-Traveller inhabitants of Valhalla, focus groups, participant observation and archival material, and aims to result in an exhibition at Helsingborgs Museum, a book and a research article.

     5. Ruramisai Charumbira, Universität Bern: *The Ancestor as History and Memory in Indigenous Cultures: A Textual Analysis*

Can the new Memory Studies transcend the history of hierarchical and patriarchal knowledge production in academia, and society at large, to create innovative "smart" concepts, theories, and methods of how to study and record human history and memory in all their dimensions? This paper attempts to answer that question through a comparative study of the uses of the ancestor and ancestral ways of knowing in indigenous cultures in three distinct parts of the world. Through an in-depth analysis of three texts by indigenous women scholars who use their (own) indigenous knowledge systems as touchstones for their work, I argue that those texts are models of the limits and possibilities for the present and future of Memory Studies. The first of those texts is the work of the late Wangari Maathai, chronicled in her book, *Unbowed: A Memoir*; as well as in her work with the Green Belt Movement (in Kenya), a movement that won her the 2004 Nobel Peace Prize. The second text analyzed in this paper is the work of Linda Tuhiwai Smith, whose book *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* had a powerful effect on rethinking the power dynamics embedded in academic modes of knowledge production, especially the research process. The third and final text is the work of Robin Wall Kimmerer, whose *Braiding Sweetgrass: Indigenous Wisdom, Scientific Knowledge, and the Teaching of Plants*, shows the possibilities of grounded epistemologies for balancing history and memory for scholarship and our lived reality as creatures sharing the planet with other creatures. These three scholars' works are excellent examples of how the third wave of Memory Studies can strive for integrative epistemologies of the human experience globally. That is, how to write from the particular to speak to the general; or, how to, without seeking to appropriate others' epistemologies in the name of scholarship, participate in making of knowledge systems that resonate with the most people in our ever interconnected and interdependent world. The three women's works, I argue, are exemplary in their deep commitment to science and scholarship, especially its transformative potential for all humans, not just those classified as "indigenous." Indeed, as I argue in the paper, all humans are indigenous to this planet, and though we have forgotten that as we have all bought into the narrative of separation through domination, these texts offer examples of how our emerging field of Memory Studies can both bind memory to the individual, but also unbind it so it is usable by others not of the same "tribe," nation, gender, religion, and other categories that thrive on the old pyramids of power and domination.

PANEL 4: TRANSCULTURAL, TRANSNATIONAL AND GLOBAL MEMORIES, ROOM 27.1.47

Chair: Emilie Pine, University College Dublin

     1. Beatrice Ivey, University of Leeds: Assia Djebar and Nina Bouraoui: *Performing Gender, Performing the Past*

In the interdisciplinary field of memory studies, the role of gender in cultural memory has received increasing critical attention by key thinkers such as Marianne Hirsch (2002) and Anna Reading (2009; 2017). This paper considers the question of gendered memory through the intersecting performativity of gender (Butler 1990) and memory (Silverman 2016) in a comparative analysis of two contemporary French novels; 'La Femme sans sépulture' [The Woman without a tomb] (2002) by Assia Djebar and 'Garçon manqué' [Tomboy] (2000) by Nina Bouraoui. Both of these texts reflect on the legacy of French colonialism in Algeria during the 20th century via the figure of an Algerian woman; the voice of Zoulikha, a FLN fighter who was killed during the Algerian revolution, in 'La Femme sans sépulture'; the autofictional figure of Nina, an adolescent exploring her fluid gendered and national identity, in 'Garçon manqué'. First, I will consider the different ways these narratives perform women's memories of colonialism through narrative references to cinematic and theatrical staging, that simultaneously interrogate gendered identity as a performative iteration. Second, I suggest that these formal strategies uphold an empathetic politics of memory. These narratives perform gendered memories that transgress borders of nationality, ethnicity, perpetration and victimisation, as well as those of normative masculinity and femininity. Finally, I will conclude this comparative analysis by highlighting how Djebar and Bouraoui are differently situated

in the canon of post- colonial and feminist fiction. This will give an insight into how literary production in French, concerning the memory of colonialism in Algeria, can both sustain and subvert gendered hierarchies of power: in short, how in 'doing' memory, these narratives are also 'doing' gender.

2. Ioana Luca, NTNU: *Diasporic Frames of Remembering Post/Socialist Times*

My paper attempts to broaden the theoretical and methodological scope of the discussion that has focused so far on the European frames of memory regimes with a much needed component, namely the transatlantic one. To this end, I examine the work of writers of Eastern European descent currently residing in the US who write primarily in English, publish with major international publishing houses and whose work offers productive intersections between distinct Eastern European contexts and the US. More precisely, my paper zooms in on fiction by Miroslav Penkov (Bulgaria) and Aleksandar Hemon (Bosnia) in order to examine the way their writings juxtapose or productively relate apparently disparate historical events and geographical places (plus the memories associated with them); I am also interested in the multidirectional flow personal and collective stories acquire in their work, the "knots of memories" (Rothberg) and uneven memory regimes— with reference to both transregional pasts and their transatlantic connections—that fiction such as East of the West (2011), The Stork Mountain (2016), The Question of Bruno (2000), Love and Obstacles (2009) embodies.

Following both the cosmopolitan impetus suggested by Levy and Sznaider (2006) and the methodological lens deriving from Michael Rothberg's multidirectional flows (2009), I show how Eastern European historical events and their memories become a source of transversal and spiraling intersections meant to create new forms of solidarity and new forms of engagement—ethical, cultural, political—in Hemon's and Penkov's writings. Even when intersecting histories may not be in the foreground and solidarities are hard to find, their work alerts us to forms of dialogue, connection, and translation between Eastern Europe and the US that have been overlooked so far. More importantly, their work creates a global public (in Michael Warner's understanding, 2002) in and via American literature for interconnected Eastern European memories and histories.

3. Hülya ERASLAN, Gazi University: Tracing the past through the memories of the Turkish immigrants from the Balkans to Anatolia in the 20th century: The case of the migration from the Balkans to the Turkish Capital Ankara

During the 20th century, large numbers of the people who lived in The Balkan and Anatolian Peninsula had to migrate to their new "national" territories due to the ethnic and religious conflicts during the The Balkan Wars, WWI, WWII and because of the strong nationalist policies of the newly-born nation-states.

This paper focuses on the stories about (1) living condition of the Turkish immigrants in their homelands in the Balkans, (2) adventures of their journey, and (3) particularly their adaptations to their new homelands, which took place in three separate periods -1938, 1950s, and 1989- from today's Bulgaria to the Ankara Province. In this study, I try to place individual experiences within a larger historical context. The phenomenon of migration that happened between the Balkan Wars and mid-1990s significantly changed and transformed both the lives of the immigrants and demographics of the Anatolian villages and towns. The capital Ankara shows one of the regional examples of such stories of transformations and adaptations. The Balkan Turks who were resettled in three main sub-districts of Ankara in different times - Sincan in 1938, Beypazarı in 1952, Pursaklar in 1989- reflected the republican ideals, having secularist-nationalist socio-political tendencies. Cultural rivalry between immigrants and locals have been still followed in the political spectrum that is based on the secular versus conservative cleavage. In this study, I use in-depth interviews, local newspapers, and oral history survey. The assessments carried out in this study will provide us with an opportunity to make sound interpretations regarding with the past perception of collective memory of the Balkan immigrants.

4. Leonie John, University of Cologne: "Didn't we get rid of him?" Negotiating the memory of James Cook in contemporary Māori literature

Captain James Cook is an iconic historical figure that still has international repercussions today. Whereas Western constructions of him tend to be glorifying and admiring, there has been a long tradition of presenting alternative views in indigenous Pacific literature. Taking a closer look at the New Zealand context, this presentation will examine Witi Ihimaera's novella "The Thrill of Falling" (2012) as well as a number of poems written by Robert Sullivan and published in the section entitled "For the Ocean of Kiwa" in Voice Carried My Family (2005), comparing these two Māori authors' evaluation of the memory of Cook and his Pacific voyages. By means of varying approaches, both works seek to question global memory, redressing it through local and culturally specific memories. Tracing the divergent narrative and thematic strategies, it will be demonstrated how the two writers manage to highlight the dubiousness and even insult related to popular ways of remembering Oceanic history. Indeed, both pieces of literature go beyond purely Māori settings and issues, intermingling personal and public memory, and thus enlarging the context to a wider Pacific one. It may be argued that these literary works are thereby successfully adding to Cook's ambiguous and critical indigenous legacy.

5. Susanne Ritschel, Technical University Dresden: The Socioeconomic Crisis as European Memory Place: The case of Portugal

Since 2008, the socioeconomic crisis has solidified within Europe as a shared transcultural space of experience and memory and beyond that as a narrative community of those affected. Competitive structures of memory are medially negotiated in Portugal, with a variety of discourses prevailing. One part of artistic methods works with offensive strategies in text and image, polyphony and intersubjectivity as an identifiable close-up of those affected by crisis. Here, the documentary mode is always accompanied by its affective addressing with the aim to give voice and word to the subalterns (Spivak). Features of a more traditionally oriented "visual crisis program" in Portugal are the representation of intimate interiors, the representation of time (in case of unemployment) as well as the "upcycling" of historical narratives such as the Carnation Revolution. In addition, there are those artistic strategies aimed at deconstructing and replacing existing crisis narratives. The aesthetic potential for irritation from some artistic documents lies precisely in the absence or latency of the crisis, which is unique in comparison to different (national) crisis processing strategies. Compared to artefacts in an experiential mode, Portuguese literary texts work in a rather reflexive, historicizing and monumental mode. The first objective of the paper is the identification of alternative memory narratives, which reorient the crisis in literature and photobook. A second objective is the investigation of the mobility potential of artistic crises processing strategies in the sense of travelling memory and globital memory. The last objective is to extract and to relate the narrative potential of recurring topoi, icons, plot structures, and protagonists of memory in the Portuguese crisis, to deal the question of how the crisis is currently being consolidated as a European memory space.

PANEL 5: WOMEN IN WAR - GENDER PERSPECTIVES ON WAR AND VIO- LENCE, ROOM 22.0.11
Chair: Anne Brædder, Roskilde University

1. Lucie Smolderen, Univeristé libre de Bruxelles: *A female perspective on History: memory, lives and objects of Dendi women (North Benin).*

This paper gives an overview of the theoretical and methodological considerations raised by developing a female perspective on the history of the Dendi (North Benin). The research project Crossroad of Empires, in which I took part (2012- 2016), has recently shown the particular historical interest of the Dendi, a region situated at the border of several better- known political entities (e.g. the Songhay Empire, the Hausa states, the Sokoto Caliphate, the Borgou kingdoms). The preliminary results of the project have underlined the absence of women from emic historical accounts, which are mainly focused on village foundation and war, and monopolized by men. Women are omitted from traditional narratives and, more, they are left out of the transmission of historical knowledge. This gendered asymmetry is well known by scholars working in West Africa. My current research addresses this shortcoming by taking women as the start point towards the region's history. This stance demands a reflection on the methods of investigation and the theoretical framework. In our case, there are no written records; our investigation thus relies entirely on alternative historical sources. This presentation will highlight how - personal and collective - memory and material culture entwine to offer the researcher a new take on Dendi's past. In the process, it will lead us to reconsider the relation between Dendi women and their history.

2. Raquel Almodovar, Universidad de Sevilla: *About the Spanish Civil War: (Re)placing andalusian women (mass graves) under Occupied Zone (1936-1939)*

Repression against women in Andalusia remains an unknown phenomenon, both qualitatively and quantitatively. This proposal aims rethinking the methodological obstacles presented by Historical Memory studies from a gender perspective starting from the Andalusian case. However, it is only limited to Western Andalusia because of war conditions. In this part of Andalusia war didń t exist while in Eastern Andalusia it did took place. So there were, at least, two different war sceneries where Western Andalusia was military occupied since war started in august 1936.

In this sense, obstacles are built as challenges for research on women repression during civil war and dictatorship. Conceiving the obstacles as challenges implies a theoretical-methodological strategy that proposes a way to re-placing the andalusian women victims of Francó s repression as possible political and historical subjects in Contemporary Andalusian History.

Finally, theoretical-methodological strategy exposed before has been developed as a specific study case which could be used for comparing other realities of women victims of spanish repression, as well as women situation in others contemporary european wars and genocides.

3. Sophie van den Elzen, Utrecht University: *Leveraging Abolition: Understanding the 'Slavery Analogy' in Women's Rights Discourses as Mnemonic Reasoning*

Radical women's rights movements in 19th-century Europe and America frequently invoked analogies between women's rights issues (marriage, prostitution, division of labour) and the practice of slavery, which became a structural feature of activist rhetoric within certain feminist strands. Why did these activists consider this invocation, crossing national, racial, class, and often gender boundaries, a useful rhetorical device in achieving their goals? This is a central question of my PhD project, which maps, at the macro-level of distant reading, by using digital databasing techniques and text mining, how women's movements leveraged the transnational memory of the antislavery campaign across different national contexts. For this paper, I will draw on examples from French and Dutch pamphlets, novels and periodicals to unpack the different transnational memories at play

in this referential mobilization strategy. I will discuss some frequent tropes, such as the invocations of Harriet Beecher Stowe to discuss female morality and feminine heroics and the topos of the slave market to conceptualize sexual politics, identifying them as noeuds de mémoire, to use Michael Rothberg's formulation. These can only be fully understood by mapping how they conjured well-known cultural narratives, from the female dimension of Anglo-American antislavery to the success of the Haitian revolution, in pursuit of establishing activist logics and traditions (of different degrees of radicalism) in which newly established women's rights groups could position themselves. The paper will consider which logics of oppression and liberation feminists created through these references, suggesting they might be fruitfully understood as a process of 'mnemonic reasoning' in which past victories like antislavery are mobilized to make thinkable new forms of emancipatory activism.

> 4. María Laura Martín-Chiappe, ILLA-CCHS-CSIC/UAM: *Women's graves persecuted by Francoism: (re) thinking the violence against women*

The present paper arises from the work made concerning to the processes that have unleashed the opening of the Fracoism graves in contemporary Spain. These exhumations and the forensic work, of memory, or of file, realized around it, they have exhibited and confirmed, the crudeness of the repressive violence unleashed on the civil population in the pro-Franco rear. In the collective imagination these graves seemed to be composed exclusively by men, who appear as the object of the extrajudicial executions. Nevertheless, this paper tries to stand out how the existence of common graves composed only by women, and the recognition of "mixed" graves, is forcing us to (re)think the type of violence that the women suffered in the context after to the coup d'état. Acknowledging the existence of " zeal of annihilation of the enemy " also against women. Likewise, the processes of exhumation and dignifying carried out in the 21st century in Spain, in that there is put into practice the construction of their memories, allow us to ponder the forms in which these women are represented in the present. I propose to think these processes from a critical and feminist perspective, so that we think in what measure it is possible to contribute to their visibilization as political agents beyond the most common political, social and (though in minor measure) academic representations that present them as " wife of ", " daughters of ", " mothers of ", etc.

> 5. Monika Żychlińska, University of Warsaw: *Public Memory and Private Memories: American Female Veterans of the Vietnam War*

Around 10-15 000 American women, military and civilian, participated in the Vietnam War. The Vietnam Women's Memorial Project (VWMP) was founded in 1984 as a civic, grassroots organization to commemorate their efforts. In raising popular awareness that "women also served," the organization managed to garner support from predominantly male veterans. In 1993 the Vietnam Women's Memorial (VWM) was inaugurated as part of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Washington DC. The aim of this paper is to present an account of a gendered memory of the Vietnam War. Specifically, it discusses the formation of the public image of the female veteran – the discursive strategies and argumentative repertoires the VWMP used in order to convince the American public that although women's experience of war was different than men's, it was no less traumatic or important. I analyze the content of the messages communicated by the VWMP – the norms, values, typologies and other mental schemas they referred to in depicting women's war experience.

The paper also addresses the biographical aspect of the memory of the Vietnam War by analyzing narrative accounts of women who participated in the war. Contrary to the strategy employed by the VWMP, most of those narratives have not been framed within the discourse of patriotism and heroism as they often address the mundane aspects of women's everyday war existence. Though they cannot be found in the official discourse of commemoration of the Vietnam War, for many women veterans, they constitute the core of their veteran identity.

The study is based on the analysis of archival documents collected at the VWMP, the Commission of Fine Arts and the National Archives, as well as twenty-two in-depth interviews with female Vietnam veterans, and participatory observation of the 20th anniversary of the memorial's dedication in November 2013.

PANEL 6: MONUMENTS AND MUSEUMS ON THE MOVE, ROOM 27.1.49

Chair: Xanthi Tsiftsi, National Technical University of Athens

> 1. Paulo Cesar Endo, University of São Paulo: *Memory, ruins, time counter and against monument*

This presentation is part of a interdisciplinary research about social and political memory involving researchers from 5 different countries in Brazil. The different expressions and forms of memory are an important challenge to the research in this field. The use or abuse of memory and the different politics of memory around the world are requiring new dimensions and developments in terms of conceptual and theoretical propositions. Some initiatives to discuss, preserve and fight for memory started in Europe could be quite different in other countries and continents and at the same time have connected points and suggest important dialogues when we examine them comparatively.

This paper will discuss expressions of memory as unfinished, transient and impermanent forms. I intend to do this by presenting as a point of departure some expressions of the negative or counter-monumental memory, consecrated by some german artists. From this start point I' will suggest some other expressions of this incompleteness, as the expressions against the monument (vandalized statues) in South Africa, the open air memorials in Brazil and Angola in comparison to the preserved ruins constituted as museums, monuments and preserved structures in Berlin and Gdansk.

The objective is to discuss the action of time as fundamentally and conceptually important notion to studies on social and political memory studies.

2.Vered Vinitzky-Seroussi, Hebrew University of Jerusalem and Irit Dekel: University of Virginia: Moving Gender: The case of Home Museums

Home museums in Israel and Germany produce a singular space to study gender and collective memory while observing the traditional division between the public sphere, presumptively of, for and by men, and the private sphere, attributed to women. Home museums serve as mnemonic sites where famous figures once lived, and now, after they have passed away, open to the public. The singularity of the home museum rests in how it maintains both the appearance of a home and the sense of the private sphere associated with women while also, especially through the presentation of objects and the retelling of stories, sharing its protagonist (usually a man) as a public figure. Based on three years of ethnographic research in nine home museums in Germany and Israel, we show the practices used in order to place the protagonist at the center of the home and in so doing belittle and recast the role played by the wife. In particular, we argue that this constructive erasure both responds to and enacts the delicate tension between men and women, public and private, history and domesticity. Even when private and public sphere are mixed in their museum representation, we conclude, displacing women from the center of the home while introducing her as part of public life does not, as one might expect, enhance her public presence. Even when men are brought into the sphere most associated with women, the rules of the game remain fundamentally unchanged.

3.Laura Beth Cohen, Rutgers University: *Screams, Silences and the Spaces In-Between at the Srebrenica Memorial in Bosnia*

Why is it that, twenty years after the Srebrenica genocide, transitional justice and memorialization promises to "heal" and provide "closure" remain largely unrealized despite assertions by practitioners, scholars, and diplomats to the contrary? In this study, I explore the political, symbolic, and forensic significance of the Srebrenica Memorial in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH). It is unquestionably the most famous memorial in the country while serving as a prominent beacon of the genocide's outward-facing memory to the international community.

Yet a closer analysis of the site reveals a much more complex inward-facing picture that both dominates and agitates the local, national, and regional psyches. I argue that the Memorial, in its current form, is the physical embodiment of the "transitional justice imaginary", sitting precariously at the intersection of several interrelated and problematic processes. I offer an alternative analytic lens—the site's four major components—to critically reflect as much on

what is and is not implicitly and explicitly communicated there as well as how certain voices and narratives are privileged over others. By considering the way different stakeholders ascribe meaning to, derive legitimacy from, and/or position themselves in relation to the site, I suggest that we may better appreciate the nuances and long-term challenges involved in creating memorials at sites of atrocities elsewhere in Bosnia and the world.

4.Fantin Emmanuelle, Université La Sorbonne: Ambivalence of remembering and nostalgia in the Gallery "portraits of immigrants" of French national museum of history of immigration

The French National Museum of history of immigration was launched in 2007, with the will to change the opinions on immigration by offering a new point of view on French History. Besides the numerous exhibitions offered by the institution, the website is enriched with various content, including a Gallery of Portraits of immigrants, entitled Histoires Singulières ("singular histories"). The aim of this communication is to analyze, in this specific Gallery, the ambiguous rhetoric of memory and nostalgia that is built in these testimony.

First, we will focus on the role of nostalgia in the story of the immigrants, more specifically the balance constantly shaped to express nostalgic feelings and at the same time, the absence of regret of living in France. The discursive content on nostalgia seem to be systematically counterbalanced ; in this perspective, the Gallery is indeed a "reflect of the diversity of immigration", but is guided by the need to bring to the forefront a representation of an peaceful experience of togetherness. Then, we will study how the transcultural memories and the singularity of each testimony are standardized by the mediatic and narrative dispositive. The portraits are rewritten by the creators of the Gallery in order to smooth the asperities and the difficulties of the immigrants in France. The collection allows to systematize the metonymic projection between the individual and the idea of an idealized group, in order to build an "imagined community" (Anderson, 1983).

Finally, we will explore how, in the current context of migration in France, the memories exposed in the Gallery can be seen as a tool to trigger imagination for a future of pacified national representation of identity, more than the production of an actual historical testimony.

5.Valentyna Kharkhun, Nizhyn Mykola Gogol State University: Multi-Voiced Memories: How Communism is Exhibited in Ukrainian Museums

The creation of memories about the communist past has become a crucial task in contemporary European geopolitics. Ukraine has for some time been distancing itself from the Soviet legacy, but the real "farewell to

communism" has only recently begun after such traumatic events as the Euromaidan Revolution. The methods in which museums and the politics of memory interact requires an examination of how communism is currently memorialized in Ukrainian museums.

This study examines government museums at national, regional and local levels, and independent museums devoted to the memorialization of the Soviet era. I will analyze how the changing memory policies determine the creation and function of museum exhibitions, and how they reflect or oppose government policy and public opinion. This research will discuss the main themes and narratives currently dominant in the Ukrainian museumification of the Soviet past and their relationship to politics.

• "Victimization" is chronologically the first and most dominant theme in the Ukrainian museumification of communism. Museums about the Soviet occupation and various memorials for terror victims, like the Holodomor, represent memories that are under government control and they attempt to portray communism as being "alien."

• The experiences of a "later Soviet trauma" are represented in museums which cover topics such as the Afghan War, Chernobyl and portray communism as being "imperfect."

• Museums about resistance implemented narratives of bravery which were regionally based and portray communism as being "hostile."

• Independent museums staying mostly apart from government trends in politics, portray communism as being "moderate" and something to be contemplated and studied.

The use of "victimization" and "bravery" narrative templates aligns Ukrainian museums much closer to those found in Central and Eastern Europe rather than to the museums in Russia which provide a more "nostalgic" and "mythologized" imaging of the Soviet past.

PANEL 7: TEACHING MEMORY, ROOM 27.0.09

Chair: Jan Rupp, Goethe University Frankfurt

> 1. Vanessa Tautter, University of Graz: *History Education and Memory Conflict: Competing Narratives about the Past in Post-Conflict Northern Ireland*

This paper addresses the complex influence of competing narratives about the past on formal history education in community-specific schools in Northern Ireland. It focuses on the function of school as a political instrument in the transmission and establishment of sociocultural interpretive frames as well as its function as a space in which such frames are negotiated between different memory actors.

Memory conflicts over dominance, which occur inside as well as outside of schools, directly affect history education. As a consequence, history classes constitute an arena in which official as well as divergent group-specific narratives compete for dominance. This means that history education both conveys as well as deconstructs 'traditional' group-specific interpretations of the past. On the one hand, the contribution of schools, and history education in particular, to the peace and reconciliation process in Northern Ireland has widely been recognized. Public institutions officially support a shared and critical approach to the past, which is also reflected in the history curriculum and textbook design. On the other hand, the de facto segregated school system, in which students predominately attend schools affiliated with their own ethnoreligious background, limits the extent to which meaningful intercommunity contact can occur. Thus, schools perpetuate societal divisions and contribute to the transmission of community-specific concepts about past and present reality. Segregation, this 'hidden curriculum' as well as the widespread avoidance culture concerning the discussion of contentious issues continue to hamper intergroup understanding.

Yet, not only do history classes offer a stage for mnemonic competition between official and partisan narratives, but in- group negotiations and competition for interpretive dominance also occur as, naturally, none of the 'communities' in Northern Ireland is truly homogeneous and the 'two traditions' view of Northern Irish society is increasingly questioned and criticized.

> 2. Catriona Pennell, University of Exeter: *Their Past, Their Memory? Young people's perspectives of war remembrance and commemoration*

The study of memory and war remembrance has intensified in recent years (McCartney, 2014). During the centenary of the First World War, for example, young people across Britain and the Commonwealth have been singled out as those who will carry the memory of the war forward, encouraged to play a prominent role in a version of war remembrance that largely emphasizes narratives of sacrifice, suffering, courage, and heroism (Pennell and Sheehan, 2016). However although 'many of the unconscious attitudes that young people have about the past' are traceable to elements of 'the educational process' the way young people engage with the cultural messages about these seminal historical events in their schooling is largely unexplored (Roediger and Wertsch, 2008).

Supported by the UK's Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC), the 'Teaching and Learning War Research Network' (http://teachlearnwar.exeter.ac.uk) is a transdisciplinary and international project involving

scholars and practitioners from history, education, literature, and politics that seeks to develop teaching and learning – broadly defined – as a new site of memory studies. In keeping with the MSA's objective to provide a central forum for developing, discussing and exchanging ideas about the methodology and theory of memory studies, this presentation draws on the project's initial research on the relationship between education and commemoration in the context of the two world wars across an international comparative perspective. It examines how these cataclysmic events are taught in the 21st century, the cultural memory messages that feature in education, and how young people respond to and interpret these messages. Whether in classrooms, site visits or memorial days, the aim is to consider the methods and implications of educating young people about war as a principal means of memory transmission.

3. Kristina Gedgaudaite, University of Oxford: Memories that Move: Affective Alliances over the Memory of the Greco-Turkish War (1919-1922)

Large part of research in memory studies has been dedicated to dealing with the traumatic pasts of the 20th century: first considering them in the national and now in transnational and transcultural contexts; first focusing on atrocities and victims, then examining the positions of perpetrators, bystanders or other implicated subjects (as discussed by Michael Rothberg). What I propose in this paper is that as temporal distance increases and links to those traumatic events and their survivors loosen up, and as memories become postmemories (Marianne Hirsch), what makes those memories stick, to use the terminology of Sara Ahmed, is their engagement with emotions. Memories are mediated to be felt, lived, and embodied, and as such, they can provide a framework of reference not only for how to think about the past but also for how to deal with present and future challenges. Drawing on an example from my own research on the Greco-Turkish War (1919-1922) to illustrate this point, I will show how the same memory can be used to generate very different emotional responses that assemble mnemonic communities. The discussion will focus on the 2006-2007 debate over a Greek history textbook, which gave rise to heated arguments across a wide range of media and summoned up opposition across all the political spectrum. I will conclude with examples on how references to this controversy echo in more recent cultural texts, proposing that the concepts of affect theory can be employed in the field of cultural memory studies in order to address the often divergent futures of any one memory.

4. Samuel Mulumeoderhwa Muderhwa, Peace and Conflict Resolution (PCR Foundation): Educational assistance after the war in Eastern D. R. Congo

EDUCATIONAL ASSISTANCE AFTER WAR IN EASTERN OF D.R.Congo Organization: PEACE AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION (PCR FOUNDATION) www.peaceconflictresolutionproject.webs.com
For SOCIAL DIALOGUE AND EDUCATIONAL
from our province are some local NGOs including ours who are mobilizing the community at Grass-roots level through organizing the Peace Clubs workshops and Cummunities dialogue, with inviting the leaders of the difference community to have a cycle talking (mean from both party involved on that matter). And discuss with them on how forward to move one.
THE CHALLENGES
• After war many chaos, violence and abused that took many years in Eastern of D.R.Congo, the survivors and victims not yet been healed from Trauma and
wounded hearts.
• Lacking for political will in the Country, selfishness and forget who are
needing help and support in Emotionally, Spiritually and Physical
OPPORTUNITY & SUPPORT
• are some several international, Nation and Local Organisations are helping the survivors with foods, clothes and other humanitarians assistance.
• For us to add these programmes for Trauma Healing process, Physical healing

and Community Dialogue this maybe for have better future community

5. Önder Cetin, Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research: *Constructing a collective memory in between "the favorable" and "the problematic": Discursive representations of migration and migrants in Turkish textbooks*

Tracing back to the founding era, the Turkish Republic and its nation have been intensely affected by migration-centred developments. While the displaced people of the Balkans and Caucasus have been the backbone of the founding elites of the new state, as well as making up a significant portion of the population, migration has shaped the underlying paradigm of collective memory, self-understandings of the subjects and their approach to the State (Kirişçi, 2008).

This has its representations particularly in popular works, ranging from literature (e.g. Bilgin, 2007; Cumalı, 1991; Çınar, 2014; Çokum, 1978; Tepedelenlioğlu, 1945; Tuna, 1936; Yalçın, 1998) and cinema (e.g. Okan, 1975; Gören, 1979; Çetin, 1992) to music (e.g. Karaca, 1984, 1987; Öztürk, 2002; Su, 1977). However, besides the fact that international migration has received limited interest when compared to the internal one (Ayata, 2008, p. 99),

another significant medium in the construction of the Self and the Other has been largely omitted in analyses of migration: textbooks.

By considering textbooks as a form and an instrument for constructing and transmitting collective memory, my paper will analyse the underlying discursive approach(es) represented in the discourses and images of migration and migrants in current Geography, History and Social Studies textbooks taught in secondary schools in Turkey. By drawing on Wodak and Meyer's (2001) critical discourse analysis approach, the paper will analyse (a) particular contents used in the construction of the discourse on migration and migrant(s) as a social fact and social type(s), (b) argumentation strategies/techniques used for justification of the former, and (c) forms of linguistic realization and visual images supporting these discursive frameworks.

> 6. Michal Ben Ya'ako, Emuna-Efrata College for Education, Jerusalem: *Teaching Teach- ers: Memory, Heritage and Education*

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PANEL 8: YOUTH MEMORY AND FAMILY DYNAMICS, ROOM 4A.0.69

Chair: Tanja Vuckovic Juros, Universite Catholique de Louvain

> 1. Anastasia Kostetskaya, University of Hawaii, Manoa: *Multi-D Memory: Emotional Embodiment in Childhood Memories of Stalingrad*

Testimonies of Stalingrad child-survivors (1) mediate their lived experiences of place via what I term 'multi-D memory' – the memory created by and sustained through lived embodied sensations pertaining to the emotional experience of their destroyed home. I explore how survivors narratively mediate the wartime history of Stalingrad by registering changes in the urban environment via their remembered physical sensations. Their testimonies create a unique virtual place of memory, 'where a sense of historical continuity persists' through the embodiment of [childhood] memory (2), and the child body becomes 'essential to the process of emplacement': lived injured child 'bodies belong to' Stalingrad, ravaged by air raids, 'and help to constitute' it (3). In other words, the 'lived space' of Stalingrad becomes reconstructed as a barely livable yet dynamic place through the 'child's' remembered changes in 'tactile apprehension, kinesthetic appropriation' (4), and the overall multi-sensory experience of the embattled city.

In my presentation, I claim that it is due to embodiment of memory, that the modern day reader can transcend to an understanding of what it was like to be the child of besieged Stalingrad through the references to different 'modes of experience' - sensorimotor, tactile, proprioceptive, visual, auditory, olfactory, and conceptual, which had remained with their experiencers throughout their lives. They constitute the extreme narrative force of the testimonies and allow us to interpret embattled Stalingrad as a series of embodied 'images of complex [...] feelings' (5) experienced by a child and related to enduring childhood trauma. Caught up within the memory field, the child-survivors propel their own childhood images from cameo appearances in extant Stalingrad historiography, literature and film into the leading roles in the virtual, embodied multi-D documentary, which has been vividly reenacted in their mind-bodily systems throughout their lives due to the multi-D character of the embodied memory.

> 2. Anna A. Ivanova: Lomonosov Moscow State University: *Autobiographical Memory in Transsexuals Individuals: Vivid, Self-Focused, but Not So Happy Childhood Memories*

Whereas reciprocal relationships between autobiographical memory and self are broadly emphasized, there is no empirical research that examines how major life changing transitions affect the graphically expressed life story.

Our research focuses on the novel topic of autobiographical memory in transsexual individuals.

Twenty-eight volunteers who had undergone gender-affirming surgery and 28 non-transgender participants were asked to produce a Life Line which required them to identify the most memorable events in their lives. The level of acquisition of affirmed gender-typed traits was measured by the Bem Sex-Role Inventory.

Compared to cisgender individuals, transsexuals participants have self-focused Life Lines with a high proportion of vivid flashbulb-like memories and unhappy recollections of childhood. The emotional profile of autobiographical memory addressing childhood was more negative in transsexuals participants who deviate from Bem Sex-Role Inventory (BSRI) norms reflecting derogation of past gender category in favour of affirmed gender identity. Those with high acquisition of affirming gender-typed traits assigned more space on the timeline for childhood, revealing the process of self-continuity restoration that leads to an increase in the proportion of positive memories. Accordingly, transsexuals recollected fewer events relevant to their gender identity, performing a psychological defence toward the topic ofagainst gender.

We interpreted the results by focusing on the utility of autobiographical memories as a cognitive resource for filling the gap between past and current selves and maintaining self-continuity across the lifespan.

3. Diane L. Wolf, University of California, Davis: *The Intergenerational Transmission of Holocaust Memory: Trauma and Agency in Family Dynamics*

The proposed paper is part of a larger project focusing on methodological, empirical and theoretical challenges to the assumption that Holocaust survivors' trauma is transmitted inter-generationally to their offspring. A great deal of scholarly and popular literature support this causal and over-deterministic relationship despite more systematic research that fails to find this outcome. Indeed, two recent books by sociologists about the Shoah and its effects on families are built on the presumption of the inter-generational transmission of trauma, with little evidence for it.

Some authors conflate post-memory with the intergenerational transmission of trauma, failing to make important distinctions between the two. While trauma may be part of post-memory, it does not necessarily constitute any or all of it. Clearly, some survivors were irrevocably traumatized and damaged by their experiences in the Shoah. This led to post-war family lives dominated by trauma, deeply affecting their offspring. However, this is not the case for all survivors or for all offspring, and these differences are rarely explored.

My paper will proffer a more agentic view of the intergenerational transmission of trauma and elucidate other kinds of family dynamics that are typically not considered in this literature. Despite having had horrific experiences, some survivors made conscious decisions to not let their memories of trauma dominate family life; instead, they integrated trauma alongside more positive dynamics such as humor, celebrations, or close parent-child relationships. Forty three interviews from members of nine families in the "Transmission of Trauma Project" (Center for Relationships; Philadelphia, PA) and fifty interviews of children of survivors from "In Our Own Words Oral History Project" (University of Hartford) constitute the data for this paper. This approach nuances and complicates our understanding of the ways in which family memory and post- memory affect family dynamics and the descendants of survivors.

4. Eva Kössner, University of Vienna: *Personal recollections, structuring key ideas and social positionality: Young transnationally connected Palestinians representing and negotiating the Palestinian national past*

More than 20 years after the signing of the Oslo Accords by Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza still live under military occupation. They face political, social and territorial fragmentation, which "Oslo" and its aftermaths have enhanced rather than reduced. However, due to its complex consequences, Palestinians living in Palestine and beyond narrate the "Oslo" period in very diverse forms. Investigating these commemorative practices through ethnographic fieldwork in Vienna (Austria), Amman (Jordan) and Ramallah (West Bank) between 2014 and 2015, I soon realised that my interlocutors usually combined their various personal recollections about "Oslo" with broader ideas that structured and often politicized their narratives. Among these "key ideas" were anti- colonialism, state-building despite occupation, a nostalgia for the First Intifada, and a logic of return. Which key ideas my interlocutors built on and how these ideas provided patterns of explanation for their narratives of "Oslo" was strongly shaped by their multiple subject positions at that time. As a range of interrelated dimensions such as political socialisation, experiences of violence, activism, class and mobility turned out to be important, the paper proposes to address remembering and representing the Palestinian national past through an intersectional framework. I build my analysis on Floya Anthias' concept of "translocational positionality" (2008), which focuses on shifting locations and dislocations that people obtain in relation to a range of social hierarchies. Due to its focus on both social position and social positioning, a "translocational lens" facilitated investigating how both practices of identity formation and structural mechanisms of exclusion and privilege variously helped to maintain different key ideas about the Palestinian national past.

5. Alasdair Richardson, University of Winchester: *"How can I tell people your story, because it's not my story?" – young people navigating the memory landscapes of the Holocaust*

Elie Wiesel commented that "when you listen to a witness, you become a witness". The comment (in this paper's title) was made by a 17-year-old student who had just heard the testimony of a Holocaust survivor. Confronted by the horror of the memory, they struggled to comprehend how they could possibly carry that memory and tell it to others, as witness. At a time when survivors are becoming less able to tell their story in person, this is the challenge facing educators and for the youngest generation of 'witnesses'.

This paper will explore the issues around memory in Holocaust Education in school settings. The key areas considered will be:

• The nature of testimony in schools – how memories are constructed, translated and received with younger audiences.

• The role of commemorative acts in the holding and passing on of memory.

• The context of national memory at a pivotal time in the UK (following publication of the Prime Minister's Holocaust Commission report 'Britain's Promise to Remember' and the proposals for a new national monument and learning centre).

The paper will reflect on the inter-disciplinary concerns that arise from these considerations and offer a 'map' of teaching and learning through memory-based Holocaust Education. It will consider issues around perception, teaching and the reception of memory from the points of view of the various actors involved, and will suggest

areas of best practice in helping students towards a facilitated understanding of what 'Holocaust memory' might be; as a site of memory, a site of learning, and as a site of history. Ultimately, it will consider how the Holocaust is both a present and distant memory for young people, and how educators might engage with the field of Memory Studies to support them in this important work.

PANEL 9: LOCAL AND SPATIAL MEMORIES, ROOM 4A.1.68

Chair: Tea Sindbæk Andersen, University of Copenhagen

> 1.Albina B. Salikhova, Lomonosov Moscow State University: Autobiographical Memory and Place Identity: Functions, Phenomenology, and Relevance to Environmental Attitudes

Japanese idea of "genfukei" (psychological, inner, primary landscape) as an image of the personally important, closely related to identity, prototypical place, space or landscape represented in autobiographical memory was studied as a cultural tool for creating and maintaining place identity, part of the self-identity structure. The Russian language doesn't have any word equivalent to the concept of "genfukei". After the description of this idea, we asked our 83 Russian-speaking participants to find their own personal memories corresponding to personal and national "genfukei" (related, respectively, to personal and social identities).

Every participant happened to find out some memories of that type. The greatest number of personal "genfukei" were associated with the concepts of home, "dacha", secret and secluded places, and vacation spots. Red Square, forests, fields, national natural monuments, roads, architectural, and cultural attractions represented Russian national "genfukei". Images of the places relating to personal identity was found to be more functional in maintaining self-continuity and directing behaviour (measured by modified version of S. Bluck's TALE scale) than relating to national identity ones. They were also more vivid, detailed, emotional intensive, positive, and nostalgic. Accessibility and emotional intensity of memories positively correlated with the strength of the realization in recollection of all autobiographical memory functions both in personal and national "genfukei". The greater nostalgia about the national "genfukei" was reported the more functional those memories was.

Vividness of personal "genfukei" memories predicted enjoyment of nature (measured by T.L. Milfont's and J. Duckitt's EAI scale), its emotional intensity – environmental movement activism. Positivity and emotional intensity of national "genfukei" memories predicted ecocentric concern, and national identity places nostalgia – an environmental knowledge. Thus, place related autobiographical memories may be regarded as a cultural tool for ecological attitudes construction.

> 2.İlhan Zeynep Karakilic, Bahcesehir University: Exchangee Habitus: Understanding Social Memory in a Village in Turkey

The descendants of people, who came to Turkey as a result of the compulsory population exchange between Greece and Turkey in 1923, still remember the population exchange and their former village in Greece with certain types of activities in daily life of the village. During my semi-ethnographic fieldwork (2011) in a village populated by the exchangees and their descendants, I observed that those people transfer their memories through practices, which mainly took shape around the tobacco production, a staple of the village. However, after the privatization of tobacco market in Turkey during late 2000s, the tobacco production which is a nest for the memory of population exchange stopped in the village completely. After this major change, some villagers lost the contact with the memory of population exchange in their daily life, while the others support old memories with new ways. In this respect, I aim to understand the relationship between daily life and social memory of the population exchange and how it changes with broader factors. I will explain this relation by merging the concepts of habitus (Bourdieu, 1977) and social memory as a framework for action (Schudson, 1997; Schwartz, 2000; Misztal, 2003). I argue that the pair of habitus and social memory working together, provides an intrinsic knowledge for exchangees about their place in the surrounding world and history. Habitus and social memory constitute an imperfect loop, since they are both open to the influences from outside and each other. This imperfection allows the loop – or as I call it "exchangee habitus"- to adjust itself for change in the tobacco market or any other available media about the population exchange. In my presentation, I will address the working of exchangee habitus and its change with the help of data from the fieldwork.

> 3.Christine Lavrence, King's University College at Western University: *Transnational mnemonic spaces and the history of communism in Canada*

This paper will explore the transnational memory of communism in relationship to the highly controversial Memorial to the Victims of Communism in Ottawa – a national memorial that was proposed by the Canadian federal government in 2007 and is still in the process of creation. The current literature on the proposed monument has focused on the debate surrounding the design of the monument specifically within the national context: the role of the federal government in the monument's creation, how the monument affirms a sense of Canadian nationhood as a site of refuge from the human rights violations of elsewhere and how the memory of communism has been coopted for ideological purposes by the Canadian right (Weeks 2017: Casemajor 2017: Kranjc 2017). The purpose of this paper, will be to situate the debate about the monument in terms of the broader "transnational mnemopolitics of Europe" (Malksoo 2014). To this end, I will explore the controversy surrounding

the Canadian memorial in relation to how European structures and organizations, such as the Council of Europe, the European Union and the Platform of European Memory and Conscience, have attempted to create a broader European community of memory that includes the experience of Eastern European under communism. How European transnational mnemopolitics play themselves out in the Canadian context and the kinds of 'transnational mnemonic spaces' that are produced in relation to the Memorial to the Victims of Communism will be explored. Tensions between the national and the transnational, structure and agency will be examined, as well as the role of digital sites in the production of 'transnational mnemonic spaces' (Wustenberg 2017) regarding the history of communism.

4. Dunja Resanovic, Bogazici University: *Kalemegdan Fortress of Belgrade: Whose Military Power?*

Memory of Belgrade as a metonymic space of the Serbian nation-state was intertwined into its urban fabric after Serbia gained de jure independence from Ottoman Empire in 1878. By constructing the city space as a palimpsest, the new national narrative was written in dialectical superposition to the erased Ottoman space, and silenced Ottoman past. In this paper I will analyze how Kalemegdan Fortress, once a symbol of Ottoman military power, was transformed into a symbol of military power of the newly established Serbian nation-state. I will aim to demonstrate how transformation of the Fortress into the largest park in the capital, and founding of the Military Museum in its very heart, rather than transforming the space into a monument, served the purpose of evoking the memory of Ottoman rule, which in turn kept the image of Serbian "victory for independence" alive. Furthermore, I will attempt to show how other monuments constructed within the space of the Fortress aimed at harboring the silenced memory of Ottoman past, allowing the memory of continuity of Serbian Medieval to Modern state to be ever-present. I will argue that the value of Kalemegdan fortress, as a symbol of victory, has always relied on the dialectics of silence of Ottoman rule and memory of Serbian victory. This memory value of urban heritage allowed other states Belgrade was capital of to successfully construct memorials of their military feats within it. According to Halbwachs, the memory of a space becomes alive only once the paths of memory are walked, therefore, I will show how commemorative and performative practices that have been continuously established since 1878 within the space of the Fortress, have kept the silenced memory of Ottoman past vivid in order to narrate Serbian national memory, which has instructed the future commemorative use of Kalemegdan space.

5. Sanda Üllen, University of Vienna: *Family house as an active participant in construction of memories among transnational families*

As a consequence of the war, many former Bosnian refugees continue living in their countries of destination, leaving their houses in Bosnia abandoned for the whole year except for the summer months. Based on data from ethnographic fieldwork in Bosnia, Denmark and Sweden, this presentation explores the way memories as a social practice are used to position oneself and reclaim space within changed political and social contexts. In this regard, I analyze the meaning of the family house as a memory site in post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina, where narrative constructions over past, present and future are negotiated within the families. In perceiving the family house as an active participant in construction of memories, where personal, familial and (trans)national memories intersect, I highlight the dialectic relationship between space and memories. In conceptualizing the family house as a private and intimate site of memories, different layers of ambivalences are revealed. First, the ambivalence of "return" in transnational context. Second, the ambivalence of simultaneous presence of violent and joyful memories, as the house reminds of expulsion, but at the same time it is a place of joyful family reunions. In this sense, also the absence of personal objects, which were lost during the war, function as mnemonic stimuli. Third, the ambivalence between musealization as part of the memory work and needed renovation of the houses. Fourth, the ambivalence of remembering within and across generations and finally, the ambivalent feelings towards the changed notion of "home" and the temporal reference between "pre-war" and "post-war" homes, making it itself a mobile concept where people use different mnemonic practices in order to manage their memories and (re)make "homes" in changed political situations.

6. Gehan Selim, University of Leeds: *The Politics of Memory and Territoriality in Every- day life in the Northern Ireland Troubles*

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PANEL 10: POSTCOLONIAL MEMORIES: SPACES OF REMEMBRANCE AND COLLECTIVE TRAUMAS, ROOM 23.0.50

Chair: Antonio Sousa Ribeiro, University of Coimbra

The research panel will be based on preliminary results of two European Research Council Projects currently being developed at the Centre for Social Studies of the University of Coimbra – MEMOIRS: Children of Empires and European Postmemories and CROME: Crossed Memories, Politics of Silence: The Colonial-Liberation Wars in Postcolonial Times. The aim is to provide a forum for a reflection on postcolonial memories and postmemories within the European framework. The underlying assumption is that memories of European colonisation tend to be subsumed within frames of reference that incorporate large dimensions of silencing and forgetting, in particular concerning traumatic experiences and processes of violence. Such memory gaps are increasingly coming under negotiation in distinct cultural, social and political arenas through the agency of members of a second or third generation, originating new constellations that pose specific challenges to theory. A particular focus of the panel

will thus lie on testing the applicability of the concept of postmemory in empirical studies of ways of coming to terms with a violent past.

> 1.Margarida Calafate Ribeiro, Centre for Social Studies of the Univ. of Coimbra: *Children of Empires: memory and postmemory, an "unfinished business"*

Memoirs: Children of Empires and European Postmemories is a ERC project running from 2015 to 2020. Memoirs focuses on the intergenerational memories of the children and grandchildren of those that lived through the dying days of colonialism, the struggles for independence and the decolonization process of the following former colonies of Belgium, France and Portugal - Democratic Republic of Congo (RDC), Algeria, Angola, Mozambique, Guiné-Bissau, Cap Vert, São Tomé and Príncipe. Through interviews of this following European generation, and by studying the public and artistic displays of intergenerational memory under a comparative approach, Memoirs interrogates Europe's postcolonial heritage. In this paper, theoretically supported by concepts such as memory, postmemory, testimony, posttestimony and heritage I will present the diversity of biographical motivated postmemorial representations of Portuguese colonial wars and decolonization processes focusing on three case studies: in the Visual Arts, an installation by Ana Vidigal and a film and performance by Grada Kilomba and Filipa César and, in literature, Isabela Figueiredo´s Cadernos de Memórias Coloniais. The three cases have in common the standpoint of the contemporary. My reading will analyse how the multiple colonial pasts experienced by ancestors or family members evoked in the works project themselves into the present and are defined by historical and unsolved tensions that can only be understood under a long-term perspective. A past that conditions the present, in social, political, economic and cultural aspects, is placed under suspicion. The resignification of the colonial past that these works carry out could contribute to a rethinking of colonial heritage as part of Portuguese and European identity and not as something external or carefully hidden away, or not accepted as a constitutive aspect. As such, the point made by these postmemorial representations implies a fundamental shake-up of European historical and narrative paradigms.

> 2.Roberto Vecchi, University of Bologna: *Postmemory and uncomfortable pasts: survivals, heritage, forces in representations of decolonization processes*

In his second thesis on the concept of history, Walter Benjamin tackles the problem of intergenerational relations, recognizing that what is at stake is a "feeble messianic force" claimed by the past between plural and divergent temporalities. The concept has be seminal for subsequent critical reelaborations not only configuring the link between past and present, but also reshaping the current discussion on power and sovereignty (Derrida, Agamben etc.). The paper aims to discuss the controversial but at the same time crucial concept of postmemory, focusing on the case of contemporary Portuguese decolonization (not only in a historical perspective). It will also put forward the idea of surviving pasts as a concept that may support a revision or an overcoming of the discussion on postmemory. Survivals, as week signals with dispersed and unrecognizable origins, actually not only deal with an agency connected with the aporia of testimony, but also with the partition of the sensible, imaginaries and images proposed as remnants (partial, precarious, insufficient) of the past, a resistant anachronism that on the other hand may support a radical even if partial restitution of the past through transitive and translational processes. In this sense, the traumatic heritage coming from hardly representable family legacies (wars, migrations etc.) may be reinscripted as a position, constructed through lateral, indirect, crossed re-uses of fragmented survivals of uncomfortable or traumatic pasts.

> 3.Miguel Cardina, Centre for Social Studies of the Univ. of Coimbra: *Counter-Memories of the Portuguese Colonial War*

The Colonial War (1961-1974/5) was a pivotal moment that would lead to the end of the cycle of the Portuguese Empire and to the cycle of independences in the former colonies in Africa. In Portugal, the war was directly related with the overthrow of the dictatorship of Estado Novo, conducted by military tired of thirteen years of intense conflict. Ever since, the memory of the event would occupy a place of difficult utterance in the framework of the complex building of a democratic, European and postcolonial country. This presentation examines the processes of war memorialization carried out by deserters and draft-evaders. It seeks to analyse how their own experience and discourse was (non-)inscribed into a public and official memory marked by the persistence of a macro-narrative that positioned the Portuguese colonial history as different and less violent than the colonial experiences produced by other European powers. Questioning the common understanding of concepts such as heroism, sacrifice and patriotism, the public voice of deserters and draft-evaders has recently created spaces of remembrance that are challenging the "politics of silence" actively produced by that dominant mnemonic framework. This presentation will thus problematize the limits and potentialities of the deserter as a "frontier figure" able to open up a dialogue about the nature of war and the legacies of colonialism.

> 4.Inês Rodriges, Centre for Social Studies of the Univ. of Coimbra: *The afterlives of Batepá: commemoration and remembrance of a colonial massacre in São Tomé and Príncipe*

In this paper I propose to reflect upon the afterlives (see Tamm, 2015) of the «Massacre of Batepá», in São Tomé and Príncipe, in three distinctive moments: 1) during the late years of Portuguese colonialism, 2) during the liberation struggle in the islands and immediately after the independence, and 3) in the present time. My interest in this particular episode concerns not only the significant value that it allegedly acquired during the liberation struggle of the Santomeans. It also involves the rituals, narratives and performances that have been produced

about it since 1953. Although this foundational massacre is followed by a process of memory institutionalization that gives rise to a dominant national narrative, my aim is to show that there are emergent discursive, symbolic and political spaces to articulate non-dominant memories of this episode. The massacre is, in this context, understood as a "mnemonic signifier" in the sense of Feindt et al. (2014), a process that enables the event to be perceived not exclusively as an historical episode, but that considers its symbolic dimensions and subsequent interpretations over time, with the possibility of bringing them to the centre of research. These elements reveal the massacre as a haunted space that still shapes private and public memories and identities within the archipelago.

5. Paolo La Valle, University of Milan: *Blackening Portugal memory of colonial war*

"Um milhão de Refugiados", a million of refugees: this is just one of the headlines that, at the end of the 1970s, shocked Portuguese society telling about the diasporic movement from Africa to Portugal, caused by colonial war (1961-1974) and the consequent end of Portuguese Empire in Africa (1975). These people were immediately defined "Retornados" (Returned) in public debate and thus included in the narrative that since the 15th century have allowed Portuguese artists and intellectual to think at their country as an Empire spread all over the world (RIBEIRO, 2004). The same idea of "Return" is misleading: among those refugees there were people who had spent in Africa most of their life, and many of them had born in Africa and had never been in Portugal before.

Furthermore a recent debate on newspaper about racism in Portugal is showing how the un-elaborated trauma of the defeat in war (LOURENÇO, 2014) produced a "branqueamento" ("whitening") of the memory: also black people travelled participated at the diaspora but their presence have been made invisible both in politic debate and in narratives, facilitating restrictions to citizenship and civil rights. The diaspora (or "Return") is assumed as a white phenomenon and racism is silenced or removed (geographically and historically) and restricted to Portuguese' colonialism in Africa. Nevertheless some artists are actually proposing a different memory: following the suggestions of Black Europe and the African Diaspora (eds. HINE; KEATON; SMALL, 2009) and Blackening Europe. The African American Presence (ed. RAPHAEL-HERNANDEZ, 2003) it is possible to take inspiration from the rap-singer Chullage's songs, and the novels O Retorno, by Dulce Maria Cardoso (2011), Os pretos de Pusaflores, by Aida Gomes (2011) and O meu nome é legião, by António Lobo Antunes (2007) in order to strategically "blacken" Portuguese memory and thus question Portuguese contemporary society.

PANEL 11: THE POWERS OF MEMORY IN LATIN AMERICA (ROUNDTABLE), ROOM 27.0.17

Chair: Fabiola Arellano, Ludwig Maximilians Universität, München

1. Antje Gunsenheimer, University of Bonn: On the definition of a "subaltern memory discourse" at the example of Yucatec Maya hero Jacinto Canek

2. Carolina Garay Doig, University of Bonn: Navigating the powers of memory in reunited families after the armed conflict in Peru

3. Hendrikje Grunow, University Konstanz: Intuitive Potentials. Memory Affects in Ordinary Life among Bogota's Upper Middle Class

4. Lena Voigtländer, University of Bonn: Whose memory is it? Postmemory and the sons and daughters of the former guerrilla in El Salvador

Memory, in its different forms of application (including its abuse), can trigger powerful and emancipating discourses in human societies. The round table "The Power of Memory in Latin America" wants to reflect upon these ambiguous potentials of memory, and the societal as well as the theoretical discourses evolving around or by these powers.

Historical processes and memory formation in Latin America have been shaped by violent and highly disruptive upheavals (e.g. European conquest, epidemics, evangelization, independence movements, slavery, revolutions, dictatorships, civil wars). Although economical, political and socio-cultural developments led to multicultural nations, the self-referential elite classes created centralized and exclusive national narratives, neglecting older, emerging and marginalized regional memory discourses. Due to political and socio-cultural changes in recent decades, Latin American nations are now confronted with the emergence of old and new memory cultures.

These developments with their abstract political and social consequences as well as their tangible, emotional and individual effects are not singular, but can be compared to similar processes in Europe and elsewhere, which makes a critical reflection on theories attractive.

We, the Interdisciplinary Latin American Memory Research Network (MemoriAL), organized as an academic network based in Germany and Latin America, will present five case studies illustrating the different potentials of "memory" (competitive, transmitting, repressive, omitting, resisting or reconciling) in Latin America.

On that base, our discussion will try to outline the position of these discourses within a global context and, which challenges they provide for theoretical frameworks in memory studies.

PANEL 12: ADMINISTRATIONS OF MEMORY 2, ROOM 4A.0.68

Chair: Sarah Gensburger, French National Center for Scientific Research

1. Sara Dybris McQuaid, Aarhus University: *Why and how to study transnational memory policies.*

This two sessions panel aims at developing cross-fertilising contact points between public policy analysis and memory studies, setting out that studying the politics of memory should also be studying the public policy of memory. The papers gathered here will address two significant gaps identified in the broader fields. First, by paying special attention to the role of bureaucratic mechanisms in giving shape to memory as a category of public intervention (sometimes in second or third sector partnerships) (session 1). Then, by exploring the interpellations between transnational, national and local flows and blocks in policy trajectories and discourses on memory (session 2). In addressing these gaps, we aim to transcend methodological nationalism as well as take serious the role of bureaucracy and law as governing memory discourses (for example on human rights), and consider the divisions of the labour of memory and the politico-cultural economy of memory. The cases are drawn from Europe, North America and Australia allowing for a comparative examination of 'administrations of memory' in different consensual and conflictual political cultures and the participants bridge a wide range of disciplines from history and political sociology to international relations.

2. Lea David, Tel Aviv University: *Policing memory in Bosnia: Ontological security and administration of memorialization policies*

Using a case from Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH), this article seeks to uncover the complex dynamics involved in the administration of memory. By tracking the implementation of public policies achieved through interpellations between the local, national and transnational agencies, the agenda setting of memory policy is illustrated. The article firstly problematizes the ways in which human rights provides legal or other mechanisms for the securitization of memory, and secondly, highlights the way in which the securitization of memory affects the potency of nationalism. The securitization of memory is understood here as the part of ontological security in International Relations which refers to the need of a political elite governing a sovereign polity to have a secure identity by maintaining distinctiveness and through routinizing their relationships with other polities. The securitization of memory, carried out through the organizational power of human rights is supposedly meant to forge a desirable ontological security for a post-conflict sovereign polity, in this case that of BiH. The main claims of this paper are twofold. Firstly: external attempts to secure memory are actually designed to secure the moral boundaries of those who impose and mandate the memorialization policies. Secondly, and closely interlinked with the previous claim: the attempt to enforce one set of memories may backfire – that is, fail to secure against the repetition of violence whilst also cementing divisions along ethnic lines. These ethnic divisions, thus continually mobilized may then contribute to further conflict.

3. Valerie Rosoux, University of Louvain – FNRS: *Negotiating Closure after Mass Atrocities: A Comparative Analysis*

The purpose of this study is to compare the failed Treaty of Friendship between France and Algeria with the successful Elysée Treaty between France and Germany. Why was closure impossible in one case and not in the other? To answer this question, the analysis explores the negotiation processes that implied experts and policy-makers in both cases, and attempts to articulate local, national and international memory policies. This comparative analysis is divided into three parts. The first examines the Franco-German process which started in 1958 and ended in January 1963 with the signature of the Elysée Treaty. The second part focuses on the Franco-Algerian process that started in 2003 and was abandoned in 2007 - despite an agreement on major issues. The third part stresses four critical factors that explain why closure was possible in one case and not in the other: leadership, international context, domestic resistance and the nature of the past violence. Two main kinds of data are combined to dissect the relevant processes in each scenario. First, a systematic corpus of official speeches allows for a description of the evolution of the leaders since the end of the hostilities. Second, a comprehensive gathering of narratives depicts the reactions of individuals directly affected by the violent past. The purpose of the article is not to draw causal relations in the strictest sense of the term. It is rather to illuminate the interactions between various narratives of the past. One of the main questions that arises throughout the study concerns the degree of compatibility of these representations. Do the various accounts of the past simply result from a series of different viewpoints, or do they reveal fundamental contradictions, which make it impossible to negotiate closure?

4. Anette Homlong Storeide, Norwegian University of Science and Technology: *National and Transnational Memory Politics in Norway*

Until the late 1990s, patriotic memories of Norwegian military and civilian resistance against the German occupation dominated the Norwegian memory politics on the Second World War. This 'national consensus syndrome' repressed and silenced other memories, like that of the Holocaust. However, it's been argued that a 'shift of narratives' from patriotism to Holocaust took place in the late 1990s. This paper seeks to identify and investigate the actors that seek to manage, redefine and transform Norwegian memory politics. International debates, memory work in other countries and international actors such as the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) have made a deep impact on Norwegian memory politics in the last 15 years,

especially when it comes to the remembrance of the Holocaust. International debates on forced labour compensation and Nazi collaboration in occupied countries in the mid-1990s inspired certain Norwegian journalists and historians to ask what happened to confiscated Jewish property after 1945 and to what extent Norwegians had participated in the persecutions of the Norwegian Jews. The need for remembrance was officially recognized, but highlighted a pressing need for a new narrative of remembrance as the narrative of patriotism proved useless. As a result, the German 'Stolperstein' ('stumbling stone') commemoration project by Günter Demnig was imported and implemented in Norwegian memory politics. Furthermore, the Norwegian participation in the IHRA has considerably shaped the way Holocaust remembrance and genocide education in undertaken in Norway. This paper argues that (1) the 'shifts of narratives' in Norwegian memory politics from patriotic to Holocaust memories have resulted from political and cultural actions, such as lobbying, legal actions, books, art-works, journalistic work, undertaken (2) in a transnational and international political and historical context where the case of Norwegian memory politics can not be isolated from discussions, initiatives and actions managed by other states, international organizations and societal actors.

5. Johana Musalkova, Oxford University: *Revenge, Silence, Guilt, Reconciliation?: Collective memory in the Czech Republic*

Based on an historical and ethnographic study of Czech-Polish borderlands, this paper explores the temporal and ever- changing nature of public memory in relation to the post war German expulsion from Czechoslovakia.

Beginning with the self-legitimizing notion of victimhood, the German speaking population was expelled on the grounds of collective guilt sentence. Throughout the post-war socialist regime, memories of the ethnic expulsion and cleansing were heavily censored or silenced completely. After the Velvet Revolution of 1989, these previously silenced memories re- emerged with remarkable intensity.

Through the passage of time and shifting public sentiment, this paper focuses on the dynamic interaction between the roles of the 'persecuted' and 'persecutor'. While narratives about Germany's past have long centred on the script of the 'penitent sinner' (Forchtner: 2014: 411), officially, the Czech Republic has traditionally interpreted post-war atrocities committed against the Germans as justifiable acts of retribution for wartime crimes against humanity and genocide. However, this official narrative, which not only differentiates between Germans, Jews, and Czechs, portraying the Germans as 'persecutors', Jews as the 'victims', and the Czechs as 'passive bystanders/survivors', has been increasingly challenged since 1989.

Public admissions of the Czech people's past wrongdoings, such as the first official apology issued by the late president Václav Havel, or the even more recent apology from the town of Brno for the violent expulsion and subsequent death march inflicted upon the Germans, killing approximately 1700, show that these acts are no longer being ignored or relegated to dark corners of history. The dynamism of the shifting categories of 'persecuted' and 'persecutor' suggests that memories of historical violence are constantly negotiated by various social actors, and thus their official representation changes with time.

PANEL 13: DIGITAL MEMORY, THE ARCHIVE AND AFTERLIVES, ROOM 27.1.47

Chair: Nevena Dakovic, FDA/UoA/Belgrade

1. Gunnthorunn Gudmundsdottir, University of Iceland: *Digitization, memory, and the family archive*

Autobiography has throughout its history often described the author's encounter with the family archive, often a limited archive which at most provides the authors with letters, photographs, and diaries. The authors might revisit and reconstruct the family archive in their texts, and by doing so they interfere and reverse what Aleida Assmann has termed the passive forgetting of the unseen or un-researched archive (Assmann 2008). This is a feature of autobiographical texts which draws attention to the writing moment, and to the attempts the authors make, when searching for or trawling through the family archive, at discovering and reworking the past. In the present day we are faced with profound changes to this archive through its digitization. There the emphasis is by default on preserving and remembering, possibly leading to an over- abundance of archival material the autobiographer has to grapple with. Through this process of digitization the place of the forgotten in self-expression has to be redeveloped. This paper will address the different challenges this technology poses to the politics and performance of memory in its trajectory from textual representation of the dispersed and limited family archive to the continuous recording and preservation we engage in with our daily self-expression on social media. The question inevitably arises how this might impact on our sense of self and on our narratives of self and our and our family's history.

2. Emilie Pine, University College Dublin: *The Witness and the Archive: Digitising Memories of Childhood Abuse in the Irish Memory Marketplace*

In this paper, Emilie Pine will consider the ways that digital approaches to archives can tell new stories. The digitisation of the archive, and the combined use of distant and close reading techniques enables us to 'remember' in new ways and, as a result, to act as new witnesses to troubled pasts. This paper takes as its case

study the Report of the Commission to Inquire into Child Abuse in Ireland (2009) and considers how textual analytics and social networking tools can help us to better understand, and to give voice, to the past.

This is a long overdue task – for decades, the experiences and memories of survivors of child abuse in Ireland were ignored and silenced. These witnesses lacked agency and power in the memory marketplace, and as a result their narratives had no social capital. Increasing attention for survivors in the 1990s, and the concomitant decline in the social power of the Catholic Church, changed the market dynamic, so that victims' voices could finally be listened to.

This paper takes cognisance of the ways that digital tools further affect the memory marketplace dynamics and considers digital archive work as a form of ethical reading. Despite the increased social recognition of the memories of survivors, the CICA Report is one of the least read yet most important publications in the history of the Irish state. Pine considers how digital approaches might change that.

The Industrial Memories Project is funded by the Irish Research Council, under the New Horizons scheme (2015-18)

> 3. Spencer Dew, Centenary College of Louisiana: *"A Place for Our Children": On-Line Memorialization of Tama-Re*

The African American religious movement United Nuwaubian Nation of Moors constructed the settlement of Tama-Re, the Golden City, in rural Georgia in 1993. With its resolutely black aesthetic—monumental neo-Egyptian architecture, including two giant pyramids; colorful statues of black-skinned heroes—and its equally resolute claims to semi-autonomous political "sovereignty"—identification cards and currency for use within the territory, for instance—the settlement posed a threat to the white supremacist ideologies that had long characterized the surrounding area. The target of law enforcement and vigilante harassment, Tama-Re was ended as a social experiment with a raid in 2002. Three years later, opponents of the community demolished the structures and razed the ground with bulldozers.

Tama-Re maintains a central place in the minds of Nuwaubians and others in the diverse Aliite religious movements (those African American traditions drawing on the through of early twentieth century innovator Noble Drew Ali). While physically destroyed and thus no longer a geographical pilgrimage site, Tama-Re, particularly through slide shows and films drawn from archival and family images, has a vital and interactive on-line presence. Individuals create their own visions of Tama- Re, with scripts and soundtracks, educating many who never saw the site. These films and websites create meaning, accentuating aspects of the utopia (safety, sovereignty, spirituality, separateness) while emphasizing that Tama-Re means more than a specific place and time. As a practice of post-memory, the site signifies both the grandeur of forgotten black history in general and the potential for a similarly grand future. Beyond nostalgic celebration of the utopian experiment, the virtual Tama-Re collectively imagined by Nuwaubians also responds directly to anti-UNNM polemics, countering accusations of "fraudulence" with an insistence on "authenticity." This paper analyzes the pedagogical and polemic functions of on-line Tama-Re memorials as a post-memory practice, within a distinct African American context.

> 4. Karen Remmler, Mount Holyoke College: *Memorialization and Digital Afterlives: Tracking the Dead in the Digital Age.*

Drawing upon the practices of forensic science in the 19th century to present-day uses of digital technologies to identify scenes of crime, my paper explores the intersections between digital memorialization and forensic imagination. In exploring the shifts in representing the dead through analog to digital photography (mourning pictures to digital afterlives), my paper examines the visual means through which the memory of the dead in the wake of extreme violence comes into collective consciousness. The remains of the dead as objects of memory are often politicized beyond their significance for particular groups, when they are represented through iconic images that anchor national narratives of commemoration. I suggest that the forensic turn in memory studies, in which forensic architects and artists employ digital technologies to record acts of violence in order to provide evidence of crimes against humanity, enables us to gather evidence about the causes and effects of repressed memory, as well as anticipate future means for manipulating and suppressing memory. Taking Walter Benjamin's admonition that "even the dead will not be safe from the enemy, if he is victorious" to heart, my talk suggests that the digital transmission of afterlives is at the core of forensic memory studies. The remains of the dead, even if not present, remain as a trace and as an emotional residue, that then gets caught up in the processing of trauma, through different forms of cataloguing, categorizing, measuring, and interpreting. So the digital transmission of afterlives creates a new field of forensic remembrance that goes beyond the collection of evidence towards a process of "saving" repressed memories of the past.

PANEL 14: INVENTING A NATIONAL TRAUMA. FICTIONAL AND CIN- EMATIC MEMORY DISCOURSES AS ALLEGORIES OF A CONTESTED PRESENT, ROOM 27.0.47

Chair: Nina Weller, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München

> 1. Roman Dubasevych, University Greifswald: *Reinvented Past, Repressed Present: On Some Correlation Effects of Contemporary Ukrainian Memory Discourse*

As an intellectual project Memory Studies started with deconstruction and unmasking of historic mythologies (P. Nora), contrasting them with more accurate accounts, often of silenced voices. However, recent political developments in Eastern Europe has shown that history no longer serves as a reliable starting point for criticism, or even an epistemic ideal. Moreover, the growing preoccupation with and the search for a national trauma in Russia (Revolution/II. World War), Ukraine (Holodomor), or Poland (Molotov-Ribbentrop-pact/Socialist period) suggests that historical settings are increasingly used not for their own sake, but rather as allegorical devices to talk about the present.

The domination of the counter-presentist function of memory (J. Assmann) over its use as knowledge about the past can be demonstrated in two examples from Ukraine. The first, the rising importance of the "battle of Kruty" – initially a marginal episode of the Civil War – which, after the events of Euromaidan (2014), became central to the Ukrainian war narrative, acquiring the status of a national commemoration day. A similar memorial trajectory is, secondly, exemplified by the story of Myroslav Sichyns'kyi, a Ukrainian student who in 1908 assassinated the Polish governor of the Austrian province of Galicia, count Andrzej Potocki. A nearly forgotten figure between the wars, Sichyns'kyi became a hero of the Soviet novel, a villain in a postmodern essay, and, finally, was honored in 2013 as a model of patriotic behavior by the L'viv regional government – on the same day in which the deputies condemned the Volhynia-resolution by the Polish parliament... Nevertheless, the surprising commemoration of Sichyns'kyi indicated less a concern with the Polish-Ukrainian antagonism, than a deepening crisis of the Viktor Yanukovych regime and, as a result, the radicalization of the protest – the memories of the past paradoxically repressed the present.

2. Matthias Schwartz, Zentrum für Literatur- und Kulturforschung Berlin: *„History next door". Post-Memorial Historical Novels about the Gulag in Russia Today*

Memory politics is a central issue of contemporary Russian society. The commemoration of World War II in particular has become a core topic of new public remembrance practices, blockbuster movies, and state representation in recent years. At the same time, in Russian literature we can observe the comeback of a realistic and documentary prose that claims a "new sincerity", truthfulness, and emotional authenticity in representing the past. Whereas magical realism, alternative histories, and dystopian fantasies dominated the literary mainstream during the previous decade, now the "historical novel" promises readers' instant access to the heroic or traumatic, forgotten or silenced events and incidents of earlier periods. Instead of postmodern relativism or political instrumentalization, historical novels proclaim a new realism that enables readers to gain a more intimate, "objective" world picture, as if history were "next door".

In this paper I will analyze two of the most popular and controversial novels of this kind, Zakhar Prilepin's Obitel (Cloister) from 2014 and Guzel Yakhina's Zuleikha otkryvaet glaza (Zuleikha Opens Her Eyes) from 2015, which both won the biggest Russian literature award, "Bol'shaia kniga" ("The Great Book"). In explicit reference to the works of Varlam Shalamov and Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, the (melo)dramatic plots of the novels highlight different periods of the Soviet forced labor-camp system, known as the Gulag. To discuss the novels' success among critics as well as among a broader public, I will focus 1.) on the general post-memorial situation in Russia, at a time when most of the witnesses of the Stalinist prison camps have passed away; 2.) on the specific context of Putin's regime, in which, until recently, Gulag memories were often played down or ignored; and 3.) from a more globally comparative perspective, on an evolving multidirectional and transnational memory culture, of which these post-postmodern historical novels are a part.

3. Heike Winkel, German Wargrave Commission: *Exploring (Dis-)Location. Fictional Recollections of Forced Labour in Natascha Wodin's "She came from Mariupol"*

In Germany, war captivity and forced labour have been neglected in cultural memory for quite a long time. Particularly, the fate of Soviet prisoners in German captivity has gained very little attention, although they represent the second largest group of victims of the Nazi Regime. In 2015, on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the end of World War II, president Joachim Gauck has coined the term "shadow of memory" to summarize the various reasons for the suppression of the subject in German collective memory. It is hardly a matter of coincidence, that in 2017 one of the most important literary prices in Germany was awarded to a novel dealing with the topic. "She came from Mariupol" is authored by Natasha Wodin. In her novel, Wodin investigates her family history in order to come to term with her mother's trauma. In 1943, she had presumably been forcibly removed to Germany together with her husband as an "Eastern Worker". She had committed suicide when Natascha was still a child, and their fate as "displaced people" had never been communicated in the family. In my paper, I will analyze the novel, its depiction of forced labour and family history as an example of transnational post memory literature that takes a multidirectional approach. As a German writer with Ukrainian-Russian origin, Wodin provides a post-colonial perspective on Soviet history of World War II for a German audience. I will argue that in the novel family history and the narrative of forced labour are used to both evoke the logic of reprocessing transgenerational trauma and to re-establish a Ukrainian national identity that incorporates narratives of suffering as well as ideals of a pre-war pre-Soviet past.

4. Amy Williams, Nottingham Trent University, UK: *The fictionalisation of the Kindertransports*

Memory of the Kindertransports has tended to focus on the British perspective of this historical event but the Kinder were not only transplanted to these shores, they also made journeys which were more far-reaching than

the British Isles – for instance, to Australia, the USA, and Sweden. Therefore, memory of the Kindertransports is not only a British one, it is also an international one. However, the British national narrative, which celebrates rescue, has tended to dominate over other, non- British memories of the Kindertransports. My paper will begin by exploring how this narrative has been replicated, and sometimes critiqued, in recent British fiction. It will then look at contemporary novels by non-British authors focusing on the experiences of Kindertransportees. I argue that in some of the works by non-British authors, the British narrative is also strongly present, while in others, it is challenged by narratives which question it, set it in new contexts, historicise it and call for a more international framing of the memory of the transports. A common thread that is found throughout the various novels that have been written by different authors from different backgrounds and nations is the loss of the self. This paper also aims to explore how literary works reflect upon the constantly shifting identities of the Kinder, and how this reflects global debates surrounding the Kindertransports today. The paper will first consider how the character of the Kind is presented. I will then discuss whether the authors reproduce traditional narratives or if they breakaway from convention, and finally I will then consider what these common threads tell us about a newly emerging, international narrative of the Kindertransports.

5. Marta Koval, University of Gdansk: *The Need to Remember, the Right to Forget: Patterns of Memory in Ukrainian American Emigré Fiction*

Although Ukrainian emigration to North America is no longer a new phenomenon, the dilemmas of memory and amnesia remain crucial for Ukrainian American writers. The paper will focus on the selected novels by Askold Melnyczuk (What is Told and Ambassador of the Dead) and Alexander Motyl (The Jew Who was Ukrainian, Sweet Snow, and Fall River) and will analyze how traumatic memories and family stories of the past shape the American lives of Ukrainian emigrants and how they operate in their narratives about the past.

Voluntary amnesia of the American-born Ukrainians in Melnyczuk's novels confronts their parents' dependence on the past and their inability to abandon it emotionally. Memories of "the old country" make them, similar to Ada Kruk, ambassadors of the dead. The expression becomes a metaphoric definition of those wrapped by their fragmentary and sometimes inaccessible memories. Collective memory of Ukrainian emigrants presented in the form of family stories becomes a significant component of social communication. Crucial events of European history of the 20th century are inscribed and personalized in the older generation' stories which their children are reluctant to hear. For them, their parents' memories become a burden. Thus, according to Aleida Assmann, the relations between generational memory as a format of social memory and "lived experience" create a complex existential amalgam that helps to analyze the nature of social communication.

For Motyl's characters, narratives of memory are marked by their traumatic past in the pre-war Ukraine plagued by famine and Stalinist repressions. Thus amnesia is the remedial action they take to get adjusted to their new life. Thus, the ethical component of memory transforms into a challenge.

The analysis of the selected émigré novels aims to show the function of remembering and forgetting in the construction of both Ukrainian and American narratives of the past.

PANEL 15: PSYCHOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES, ROOM 27.0.49

Chair: Kyoko Murakami, University of Copenhagen

1. Deborah Rubin, LCSW, PhD, International Society for the Study of Trauma and Dissociation: *Dissociated Memory in Film: "The Enigma of Kaspar Hauser," "Padre Padrone," and "On Top of the Whale"*

In the films "The Enigma of Kaspar Hauser" (Werner Herzog, 1974) "Padre, Padrone" (Vittorio and Paolo Taviani, 1977) and "On Top of the Whale" (Raul Ruiz, 1982,) three post WWII directors grapple with unresolved personal experiences and with the challenge to translate these elements into film. Each film can be viewed as a palimpsest, a layered record of multiple traumatic events and dissociative experiences. Each filmmaker draws upon historical texts (the 19 C. documents relating to the discovery of Kaspar Hauser, Gavino Ledda's autobiography, and the history of genocide of indigenous peoples in the Americas) and upon their personal experiences of trauma (Herzog's troubling recurring dreams and his hallucinatory recognition of Bruno S. as the only possible person to portray Kaspar Hauser; the Tavianis' childhood experiences of WWII; and Ruiz' experience of the 1973 coup in Chile and his resulting exile.) These experiences are an unconscious subtext to the films themselves, and to the differing cinematic ways of representing dissociative experience. Finally, each film represents a potentially traumatizing experience for the film-viewer who must bear witness to overt and embedded dissociated content. Each film inducts its audience into dissociative self-states, exploiting the non-verbal resources of cinema to recreate remembered experiences and to repeat them endlessly or, perhaps, to resolve them in some way. The experiences of historical figures, filmmakers and actors, fictional characters, and the film's audience provide the opportunity to explore inter-generational and inter-textual themes of dissociation from the perspectives of psychoanalysis; of cultural and political imperialism; and off the erasure of language and memory in individuals and societies.

2.Cecile Boganin, Deakin University: *Autobiographical memory retrieval in individuals with nonsuicidal self-injury*

Memory specificity appears to have a complex relationship with mental health. On one hand, "overgeneral" autobiographical memories—which lack specific detail—have been associated with numerous emotional and psychological disorders. Lacking memory specificity may help protect individuals from encountering distressing information of past events that might be traumatic or challenging one's sense of self. On the other hand, increased autobiographical memory specificity has been associated with increased severity of psychiatric disorders and suicidality. The aim of the current study was to investigate autobiographical memory specificity in relation to nonsuicidal self-injury (NSSI), which is the direct and deliberate act of damaging one's own body tissue without suicidal attempt. NSSI is a form of self-punishment associated with self-criticism, self-hatred and self-anger. Sixty-eight participants (i.e., 34 participants with NSSI and 34 control participants) completed face-to-face questionnaires assessing the frequency and severity of NSSI, the presence of comorbid symptoms (i.e., depression, anxiety, stress, post-traumatic stress and borderline personality disorder symptoms) and rumination patterns, before retrieving 16 memories using the Autobiographical Memory Test. The findings showed that the participants with NSSI retrieved significantly more specific memories than the control participants. In addition, presence of NSSI, brooding, and PTSD symptoms predicted autobiographical memory specificity. NSSI and brooding were associated with greater memory specificity, whereas PTSD symptoms were associated with less memory specificity. The former results contrast previous research findings and are discussed in terms of assimilation and identity formation in adolescents and young adults. Clinical implications relative to treatment of NSSI and recommendations for future research are provided.

3.Nick Barratt, University of Nottingham *Before I forget*

This everyday phrase is used to remind ourselves to pass on information, often as an aside. Yet it hides a deeper truth. Many of us will be diagnosed with a form of dementia as we age; yet society shies away from end of life mental health planning - in complete contrast to financial planning in the form of pensions and investments. Research has shown that the more mentally active you are through life, the lower the risk of dementia. Equally, reminiscence therapy is used to help post- diagnosis dementia patients. This paper proposes a different approach to memory care, whereby we start to actively curate our memories from an early age, creating a digital memory timeline of photos, film clips and audio supported by a validating exo-skeleton of third party 'fixed' memories, such as newspaper front pages, music or TV shows. The creation of the timeline through research, selection and validation increases cognitive function, reducing the risk of dementia. Yet should dementia strike, you have a self-generated bank of memory triggers on which to create a personal care plan that is sensitive to you needs - emphasising dignity. This approach also opens up the opportunity to live a memory through associated VR technologies.

4. Olivier Luminet, Université catholique de Louvain: *Flashbulb memories: Recent developments and current challenges for psychologists and historians*

Flashbulb memories (FBMs) are memories for the circumstances in which individuals have heard about particular news events. The goal of this talk is to present recent advancements in the field and show the important connections between psychology and history for fostering the understanding of the underlying mechanisms of their formation and maintenance.

One major recent improvement relates to longer follow-up, which allows testing the consistency of FBMs on more solid grounds. Another one relates to models accounting for the formation of FBMs, including the role of prior knowledge, attitudes, emotional states, rehearsal and memory for the event. This field of research, which was mainly done by psychologists can also be particularly fruitful in the field of history.

To investigate FBMs in the remote past, we conducted a study on the Armistice on November 1918, which ended the four years of World War I in Belgium. We analyzed 35 accounts from both diaries and memoirs. We found that characteristics of FBMs were often present, with detailed descriptions including sensory perceptions, mentions of the source, the time of reception, thoughts and the emotions that were felt when learning about the news.

This study provides an ideal framework to highlight how psychological and historical perspectives could benefit from each other. By studying more remote FBMs, psychologists could access natural accounts of FBMs in which people were not specifically asked to give a description of their memory. Historians can get from the study of FBMs important knowledge into people's perception, memory and reflection of an event on a personal level, which could then contribute to source criticism, and the evaluation and interpretation of historical sources.

5. Hannah Monyer, University of Heidelberg: *Timing and the coding of space*

Ever since the 50ties of the last century, the hippocampal formation has been considered an essential brain structure that supports episodic memory, i.e. the coding of 'what', 'where' and 'when' of past events. Lesion and pharmacological studies in humans and animal models gave first insight into cellular and molecular mechanisms that were involved in the formation of new memories. One of the greatest discoveries in this research area is the identification of spatially tuned cells, i.e. place cells, grid cells, head direction cells, border cells, whose activity is thought to provide a spatial cognitive map. Mouse genetics and modern experimental tools such as optogenetics

that allows the selective activation or inactivation of specific cell types in the hippocampal formation has been crucial in determining the functions of individual cell types for spatial coding and memory.

The fact that many spatially tuned cells do not require extensive prior learning, has led John O'Keefe, May-Britt Moser and Edward Moser, who discovered these cell types in the hippocampal formation, to consider them the Kantian a priori of space. Although this interpretation is misleading, it has spurned the interdisciplinary dialogue between neuroscientists and philosophers. Furthermore many studies, including ours, investigated how spatially tuned cells in the hippocampal formation support spatial memory, an issue that will be addressed in the presentation.

Finally, a major topic of research that we pursue in my lab and that I will address is that of how the activity of thousands of neurons can be synchronized within and across brain areas. Using spatial representations as an example, I will explain why synchronous neuronal activity is an absolute prerequisite in cognitive processes, including spatial memory.

PANEL 16: REMEMBERING AND RECONCILIATION, ROOM 27.0.09

Chair: Aline Sierp, Maastricht University

> 1.Teresa Longo, College of William & Mary: *Re-membering Global Human Rights: The RFK Center and Other Powerful Sites*

This paper posits that re-membering is vital to global human rights work. Eduardo Galeano's insights on memory as a re- cording, or passing back through the heart, provide the point of departure. The paper then shows how such remembering works in three related case-studies: The Speak Truth to Power initiative sponsored by the Robert F. Kennedy Center for Justice and Human Rights; Ariel Dorfman's Speak Truth to Power play; and the release of poetry by prisoners at the Guantánamo Bay detention center.

The Speak Truth to Power initiative consists of a human rights curriculum, a photo exhibit, a collection of testimonies by human rights activists, and the production and staging of Dorfman's play. With an eye to the methods employed by both the RFK Center and by Dorfman, in the first part of the paper, I consider re-membering as a poetic and performative construct. Speak Truth to Power allows the activists to speak to the public and to each other, recording their individual and collective reasons for human rights work. As the activists speak, patterns emerge; the end result is a community imagined as global.

The image extends beyond a mere 'passing-back', however, as it points toward memory's productive power. With this in mind, in the second part of the paper, I establish the connection between Speak Truth to Power and the release of poetry written by the detainees at Guantánamo. Given that Ariel Dorfman participated in both initiatives, the connection is not hard to make. Equally important, though, is the role played by various literary scholars and human rights lawyers. Their combined efforts led to the release of the detainees' words and modeled the subsequent release of their bodies.

> 2.Christine Marie Koch, University of Paderborn: *The Erection of the Salzburger Monument of Reconciliation in Savannah*

My case study is concerned with the so-called Georgia Salzburgers, a group of 18th century immigrants who came to Georgia for religious reasons. I am particularly interested in the interdisciplinary investigation of a constructed Georgia Salzburger heritage as the product of "traveling memory" (Astrid Erll) and its embedment in public spaces.

A central lieux de mémoire (Pierre Nora) to be investigated is the "Salzburger Monument of Reconciliation" in Savannah, Georgia, a joint venture between the state of Salzburg and the Georgia Salzburger Society. The transatlantic processes negotiating the creation of this shared memory site and the dedication ceremonies in Salzburg and Savannah are of particular importance regarding the deliberate construction of a memory site.

After 10 years of discussion, the "Monument of Reconciliation" was ceremoniously displayed first in Salzburg and then in Savannah in 1994. A variety of material, including a monument brochure, newspaper articles, personal correspondence and accounts, sheds light on this condensation of entangled memories.

In order to analyze the (ongoing) processes of interaction with the memory site, three key questions need to be addressed: First: How did agents from both sides of the Atlantic negotiate Georgia Salzburger remembrance? Second: How is the Salzburger Memorial established ceremoniously as a place of remembrance? Third: What are the ethical and possibly political implications behind this endeavor?

As the only deliberate manifestation of transatlantically negotiated Salzburger remembrance, the monument attempts to assign "unbound" memories to an official location. This tangible locale can serve as a consolidating element within the fluidity of memories and the heterogeneity of agents but also reveals redemptive efforts of strategical nature.

3. Hannah Grayson, University of St Andrews: *Beyond Trauma: Testimonies of Growth in Rwanda*

Rwandan Stories of Change is an interdisciplinary research project funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council UK, which seeks to understand processes of psychological and social adjustment in individuals who lived through the genocide against the Tutsi in 1994. The project uses a framework from positive psychology to identify positive changes in a series of testimonies collected by the Genocide Archive of Rwanda. In these testimonies, researchers have found evidence of post- traumatic growth in individuals. Post-traumatic growth can be described as how an individual believes s/he has developed as a person as a result of struggling with a trauma or crisis. Two questions arise: how is this growth specifically articulated in Rwanda? And how do national and individual memories influence such articulations?

In addressing traumatic memories, research in psychology has focussed predominantly on the presence of post-traumatic stress disorder and been skewed away from the notion of healing (Wilson, 2006). Equally, scholarship on post-genocide narratives in Rwanda has emphasised the shattering effects of trauma and their textual representations. This paper will discuss testimonies of survivors, perpetrators, and rescuers from the genocide with a view to shifting scholarly attention on post-traumatic adaptation towards human growth and recovery. Testimonies, in turn, will be seen as multidirectional spaces where this kind of growth is enabled and articulated. Via examples from selected testimonies, the paper will demonstrate the influence of two recurring elements: a contemporary national narrative of Rwandan unity and progress, and understandings of growth which are rooted in Rwandan communitarian culture. It will therefore suggest that testimonies can articulate forward movement through drawing on overlapping timescapes.

4. Elsa Voytas, Princeton University: *Do museums promote reconciliation? Evidence from a field experiment in Santiago, Chile*

Can state-run memorial museums promote post-conflict reconciliation? This project draws on evidence from a field experiment studying the Museum of Memory and Human Rights in Santiago, Chile to begin to answer this question. We suggest that memorial museums present a certain narrative of past events that can both impart knowledge and elicit emotional reactions among their visitors. Our findings suggest that though perceptions of museums vary along ideological lines, visiting them alters political attitudes related to issues documented in the museum. After visiting, we find that Chilean university students have greater support for democratic institutions, are more likely to reject institutions associated with the repressive period, and show increased concern with modern day injustices. We thus present strong evidence that visiting a memorial museum induces convergence on potentially divisive political issues, but our follow up studies suggest that many of these effects wane with time.This research thus provides initial evidence that durable attitudinal change in post-conflict settings requires more than a one-shot exposure to certain interpretations of a society's sensitive past, such as that offered by a museum visit.

5. Julia Viebach, University of Oxford: *The Economy of Recovery in Rwanda: Making Whole What Has Been Smashed Through The Practice of Care-Taking At Genocide Memorials*

This paper explores the economy of recovery in post-genocide Rwanda, which is anchored in human remains and dead bodies. It zooms into the practice of care-taking at Rwandan memorials and shows how survivors of the genocide against the Tutsi re-make worlds through working on and with the remnants of the dead. It analyses how survivors project their emotions, sentiments and confusion about an uncertain future onto the remains of the dead. These traces of the violent past evoke imagination of the dead in the present and therefore evokes memory that re-members the dead into the community of the living. It is an attempt to make present what is absent and to make whole what has been smashed. Care- taking also re-verses time in that it gives back dignity to the dead who have died unjust and cruel deaths. Alongside the practice of care-taking and the relevance of the corporeal traces of the dead, the place gains particular meaning in that it is not only a memorial, but a home for both the living and the dead that opens up a space of communication between the care-takers and their dead beloved ones. The paper draws on extensive fieldwork in Rwanda between 2011 and 2014.

6. Catalina Vallejo, University of Virginia: *Pricing Suffering: Compensation for Human Rights Violations in Colombia and Peru*

My research proposes a comparative analysis of how the Colombian and Peruvian governments assign monetary value to suffering and explores the conditions which lead to different compensatory paths for victims of human rights abuses related with civil conflict. Building on memory studies, I analyze how narratives about past mass violence determined different institutional practices that aim to compensate victims, looking specifically at the role of collective memory in the design of reparation plans. My cases allow me to contrast the development of a reparation plan during ongoing conflict (Colombia) with the development of a plan post-conflict (Peru). Notably, I find that in Colombia, the government implemented a compensation plan that is future oriented and views the armed-conflict as an overcome past and the payment as a seed that, if properly tended, will grow into a reconstructed life for the victim. On the contrary, the Peruvian plan was oriented towards the past as a way to liquidate a debt with the victims, in a society that still debating what happened 20 years after the end of the conflict. This research draws on archival analysis (newspapers and official documents), interviews with key stakeholders (experts, state officials and victims) and observations within the institutions responsible for

compensation in each country to reconstruct the history of the two compensation schemes and establish similarities and differences across cases.

PANEL 17: TRANSGENERATIONAL MEMORIES, ROOM 4A.0.69

Chair: Kristina Gedgaudaite, University of Oxford

    1.Ali Gençoğlu, Gazi University: *Transformation of the Image of Greeks in the Turkish Collective Memory through the Four Generations in the Western Anatolia: The Cases of the Provinces of Söke and Kuşadası*

This paper aims to discover how the image of Rum (those live in the Asia Minor and belong to the Greek Church) has been re- produced and transformed in the collective memory of the Turkish people who have lived in the Western Anatolia, for a century.

Anatolian Greeks and Anatolian Muslims were literally rivals during the Greco-Turkish War of 1919-1922, and the Provinces of Söke and Kuşadası (two important districts located in the Western Anatolia) were battle fields. This ethnic and more importantly religious division became the core of the national identities of both Greeks and Turks after the war. Since the early republican period, Rum has been a symbol of "the other" and "the enemy" for the nation-formation in Turkey. On the other hand, Turkish people in the Western Anatolian Region- the heart of the ethno-religious conflict and also a stronghold of the secularism and social democracy in Turkey- have been developing more moderate views for the Rum for a couple of decades and through the generations in comparison with the other regions in Turkey. In the collective memory, stories about the Rum from the wartime period have been changing from negative images to the more neutralized, or even positive ones. This study focuses on the reasons of this tendency in two provinces, Söke and Kuşadası, in the Western Anatolia by using in-depth interviews, oral history method and memoirs of the first generation that directly experienced the war.

    2.Christakis Peristianis, University of Essex: *Generational Discrepancies in Refugee Nar- ratives: Epistemological and Methodological Considerations in the Study of Postmemory*

Few concepts have had an influence in their discipline similar to that of Marianne Hirsch's concept of postmemory for Memory studies. Conceived to capture the experience of the second generation, it has largely formed our understanding of what the experience of those who come after traumatic events is and the kind of questions we ask over that experience. Despite its popularity as a concept and its epistemological application in various other contexts, postmemory has not escaped its share of criticism. In this paper I discuss and built upon certain critiques of the concept which associate it with problems of historical re-imagination and fantasy (Long, 2006). I propose here a different approach to the study of postmemory which takes in account both the historical accuracy and the subjectivity of the other that it has been accused of. I firstly take the concept out of its epistemological comfort-zone of artistic creation and consider instead oral narratives regarding a socio-historical event. That event is the dislocation and flight as resulting from the Turkish invasion of Cyprus in 1974. Secondly, and most importantly, I offer the oral narrative not only of the second generation but of the parental generation as well. Contrary to a generational understanding, I approach postmemory as a framework of transmission which can shed light not only to the form the descendants receive a historical experience and its meaning for them, but also to the actual historical experience itself and its importance for the parental generation.

    3.Veronique Bragard, Université catolique de Louvain: *Leopoldian System as past or future? Postmemory and the Congo in contemporary literatures*

This paper seeks to analyze the numerous references to the Leopoldian Congo in contemporary literary texts. The references to a plundering system haunt literary texts in a sort of "aesthetics of the ghost" (Demos 14). But do these references, that constitute a form of postmemory, belong to communicative or mostly cultural memory? And what is their role? This paper will try to shed light on these questions via the comparative analysis of the creative works of, among others, Sinzo Aanza, Wilfried N'Sondé, Koli Jean Bofane, Fiston Mwanza Mujila, and Eric Vuillard. It will consider how the memorialization of this terror system is passed on and emerges as more than a nightmarish ghost, as Demos argues in Return to the Postcolony, but as a way to address a future-oriented fear concerning the further collapse of a country that has been the prey of ultra-liberalism. As representations oscillate between victim and perpetrator, the analysis of the latter will engage with perpetrator studies theories as they not only draw attention to the figure of the perpetrator but also to organized or invisible forms of perpetration.

    4.Romana Turina, University of York, UK: *When public memorialisation fails Post memory thrives: the case of Luch with Family and San Sabba (Turina 2016)*

The short essay films Lunch with Family (shortlisted at the AHRC Research in Film Awards 2016) and San Sabba (Shortlisted at the Hollywood International Independent Documentary Awards 2017) introduced to the anglophone audience the translation of a niche of Italian history silenced since 1945. The films open questions on censorship of memory, lack of public recognition of suffering, the personal reckoning with recently re-descovered identities and the application of Professor Marianne Hirsch's theory to the inherited trauma, recollection of rupture, persecution and censored history of the indigenous Slovenian population in Italy. This paper explores the

possibility of such an application and considers the use of film for the negotiation of catastrophic and radical breaks with a rich collective tradition. Turina's films represent only one example of the mediation of a overwhelming absence and the continue impact of the unspoken past on the living in Trieste, Italy, where there has not being a process of public discussion about the forced italicisation of half million indigenous Slavs between 1918 and 1945, or the existence of Italian concentration camps for Slavs, and the liberation of Trieste by the Yugoslav army - which continue to be negated in spite of the archival documents testifying to the historical event. Extracts from the films will be presented and the possibility of a discussion would be welcomed.

5. Chloe Wells, University of Eastern Finland: *'Vyborg is ours': Tracing the postmemory of a lost Finnish city*

This paper presents the preliminary results of the author's doctoral research project. The object of study is the ways in which the formerly Finnish borderland city of Viipuri (today Vyborg, Russia) is collectively remembered in Finland. In popular Finnish media representations Vyborg's Finnish era (1917-1939, 1941-1944) is often conceptualised in terms of nostalgic longing for a place "far away in time rather than in space" (Matt, 2007:470). An idealised, mythic, 'golden Finnish Vyborg' is presented in stark contrast to its sudden, traumatic, loss during World War II and its current Russian identity. Memories of Vyborg in Finland are informed and shaped by the 'loss' of the city and by an understanding of Vyborg as, historically, a Swedish / Finnish place, an 'outpost of the West against the East.'

The paper also offers the first results from focus groups held with Finnish high school students to discover their knowledge and opinions about Finland in World War II and about Vyborg: how does the next generation feel about these issues? What postmemories do they claim and express? What is forgotten or silenced?

The paper draws on Marianne Hirsch's concept of postmemory as well as other theories about collective and cultural memory. As the author works within the discipline of Human Geography theories of bordering, othering and Anssi Paasi's theory of spatial socialisation are also employed in the analysis.

PANEL 18: AMNESIA AND FAILED MEMORY, ROOM 22.0.11

Chair: Romana Turina, University of York

1. Kamilla Biskupska, University of Opole: *Breslau - about the social (lack of) memory of the inhabitants of Wroclaw*

The subject of the proposed lecture is the social memory of the contemporary inhabitants of Wroclaw - one of the largest cities of the Western and Northern Territories - an area incorporated to Poland in 1945 as a result of the Potsdam Conference. And even though I will talk about Wroclaw, the issues that I will discuss - the consequences of breaking the bond between man and his place of living; the relationship between the individual and the (alien) architecture of the city or the locally built social memory that defines the framework of the "personal city" can be applied to each of the towns in that area.

In spite of the many decades since the transformation of the German Breslau into Polish Wroclaw, successive generations of the inhabitants continue to struggle with the city's material culture burdened with the "memory of the absent".

The Poles arriving to the city after World War II were accompanied by a dissonance between what they saw (the ruined Breslau cemetery) and the narrative imposed by the then communist authorities, who confirmed the newcomers of their right to settle these "regained Piast territories". Throughout the period of the communist state (the Polish People's Republic) the authorities carefully ignored the German past of the city - it did not exist in any form in the public discourse for more than four decades of its existence. As a consequence of the actions indicated, subsequent generations of postwar residents could not face the burden of the city's past - not only culturally different, but also ideologically hostile (because it was, firstly, German, and secondly, bourgeois). This ambiguity of life has its social consequences for the contemporary relations of the inhabitants with their city, its material heritage - these consequences will be the main axis of my speech.

2. Sabine Marschall, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Noga Kadman and Raneen Jeries (on skype): *Pieces of a puzzle: Memory work among 2nd generation Palestinian refugees in Israel*

The destruction of most Palestinian villages and urban quarters depopulated in 1948 was meant to erase the past and lead to forgetting by future generations, but first generation Palestinian refugees have passed on a firm commitment to remembrance to their descendants and parts of the international community. It has been said that the Internally Displaced (IDPs) were diligent about relaying their stories and passing on memories to the next generation, especially those living close to the sites and remnants of their former villages, the presence of which invariably precipitates memory and stimulates questions (Rouhana & Sabbagh-Koury 2017:400). However, the current research found that there were also substantial silences, especially about traumatic war memories and it may only be decades later, after encountering specific triggers that survivors suddenly open up to sharing emotional memories. This may in turn give fresh impetus to the descendants' search for answers and their attempts – often with the help of social media – to piece together the puzzle that is the story of their family and community, the foundation of their own identity.

This paper focuses on remembering among second generation IDPs in rural areas who have Israeli citizenship, live near the site of their lost home (within Israel) and whose parents were young adults in 1948. Such close bracketing and segmentation of research participants is important to mitigate the generalizing tendencies about memory work in the Palestinian community prevailing in much of the extant literature. We draw on the concepts of post-memory (Hirsch 2001) and re- memory (Tolia-Kelley 2004) to examine how members of the second generation absorb memories from the older generation and other sources and experience them as their own, especially when encountering traces of the destroyed village and other 'memory props'.

3. Johanna Mannergren Selimovic, The Swedish Institute of International Affairs: *Massgraves, Memory and the Presence of Absence*

In the midst of post-war commemoration some sites go unmarked. There are voids in the memoryscape, places where horrific things happened that seem unknown, ignored or denied. These sites are however never empty of meaning. They are perceived and sensed, and exert a powerful affective influence. They are absent, yet present.

This paper enquires into spatial 'presence of absence' as an aspect of memorialisation after war. It does so in relation to missing victims and unmarked mass graves in Bosnia-Herzegovina – more than nine thousand victims of the 1992-95 war are still unaccounted for. The paper considers how survivors and others perceive these voids and how memory politics are produced through intense presence of absence.

The temporality of presence of absence is of particular interest and will be discussed through the tracing of new discoveries of mass graves and subsequent excavations. As bones and personal belongings of the victims are extracted they in one sense move from being absent to materially present, yet voids and silences remain enfolded in the transitional justice process. The paper thus engages with the nexus of space, place and memory. It theorises spatial and material voids as sites for memorialisation and asks how the presence of absence affects transitions towards peace.

4. Stefan Trajkovic Filipovic, Justus Liebig University Giessen, International Graduate Center for the Study of Culture (GCSC): *"Saints Are Common Goods of All Nations and When You Pray to a Foreign Saint, You Pray Not to a Stranger." Failed Commemoration of St. Jovan Vladimir in Ohrid in 1925*

Addressing the issue of loyalty of southern areas of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (1918-1929), the Interior Minister proposed organizing religious-national manifestations. The cult of St. Jovan Vladimir, venerated in the area of Ohrid (Macedonia) thus came into focus. In early 1925 other ministries, the bishop of Ohrid, artists and scholars from all over the Kingdom joined the preparation and promotion of the saint's commemoration. It was planned to be spectacular and the King announced his presence at the event.

St. Jovan Vladimir (990-1015/16) has a history of veneration across Southeast European nations and religions in trans- cultural and entangled contexts, but this was the first time the saint was honored on such scale. However, after several months of planning, the event was postponed due to "technical reasons". Starting from the archival material (Archives of Yugoslavia, Belgrade) and contemporary publications, this paper provides a case-study of a stalled collective memory project. Complementing the thought that "most stories about the past, even those designed for fame as future collective memories, never make it beyond the group of a few initiated" (Kansteiner), I examine the dynamics behind one such failed project, simultaneously imagined and prepared as local (actualizing older local venerations), national (Serbian), trans- national (Slavic/Yugoslav), political (e.g. improving Serbo-Croatian and Serbo-Albanian relations), and (trans)religious (Catholic, Orthodox and Muslim). However, in its background, the project was impeded by a variety of obstacles originating from the lack of time, coordination, diligence and perhaps even interest for its future.

St. Vladimir was eventually commemorated in 1929 in a local ceremony, away from media attention. The church-tower built for the occasion was demolished after World War II out of "aesthetic reasons". This paper aims to outline a history of a failed project that did not go far beyond the elites that tried to construct it.

5. Alma Jeftic, University of Belgrade: *"Should We Remember or Should We Forget?" Post-War Bosnia-Herzegovina between Two Imperatives*

The purpose of this paper is to analyse the commemorative practices in post-war Bosnia-Herzegovina in line with "the duty to remember" and "the duty to forget" imperatives, and to provide recommendations for the establishment of „places of conscience".

Specific places of memory do not simply arise out of lived experience but have to be created. Different purposes have been ascribed to commemorations: construction of a unitary and coherent version of the past, multiplicity of invented traditions, attempt at mourning and an effort to repair the psychological and physical damage of the war, and the attempt to eliminate divisions. In this article the commemorations organized in both entities of Bosnia-Herzegovina and for the victims of different ethnicity (Bosniaks, Serbs, Croats) will be used as examples for a critical evaluation of divisions of memory and acts of mourning. Since the connection between identities constructed in conflict and different interpretations of the events of the 1992-1995 war still exists, memorialization practices have gained political significance.

It is expected that the analysis will help differentiate memories of difficult past and provide further insights into consolidation of memories in divided societies and its integration into commemorative practices. The recommendations for consolidation of memories will be provided together with the outlines for the establishment of „places of conscience".

PANEL 19: PHILOSOPICAL AND THEORETICAL APPROACHES TO MEM- ORY STUDIES, ROOM 23.0.50

Chair: Elizabeth Kendrick, Nottingham Trent University

1.Jeffrey Blustein, City College, City University of New York: *Bridging the Gap Be- tween the Social Science and the Social Ontology of Group Memory*

In an article published nearly ten years ago, John Sutton lamented the failure of the literature on memory in the social sciences to take advantage of general accounts of group mentality and group agency in the philosophical literature. In my view, little has changed in this respect since Sutton wrote this. The literature on memory in sociology, social psychology, political science and elsewhere in the social sciences is vast and constantly growing. However, there has been little attempt to clarify and explicate references to group or collective memory and remembering in the social sciences (as well as in popular discourse) by drawing on accounts of the nature of groups and group agency in work on social ontology. The missed opportunity goes in the other direction as well: there has not been much effort among philosophers writing on memory to engage with the interdisciplinary social science literature on group memory. This paper addresses this bi-directional failure and offers an illustration of the direction one might take to correct it.

To do this, I will consider a few leading accounts of group agency in the work on social ontology and use them to develop alternative accounts of the nature of group and collective remembering. (As will become clear, I consider a collective to be a type of group.) Margaret Gilbert's "plural subject" account of group agency, and the contrasting account of Christopher Kutz, will be briefly described and their implications for an understanding of group and collective remembering explored. To vindicate the usefulness of philosophical analysis, some representative references to collective memory in the social sciences will be presented to show where philosophical accounts of group memory can serve a valuable clarificatory purpose. In this way I hope to further an alliance between social ontology and the interdisciplinary study of remembering.

2.Beñat Sarasola Santamaria, University of the Basque Country: *Can all memories speak? The concept of subaltern memory*

The concept of subaltern is known to be a concept developed by postcolonial theory. Within the context of the discussion about hegemony (Gramsci, 1981; Laclau, 1987), the subaltern appears as an identity that is not recognized as such. In Spivak ́s (1988) words, the subaltern is able to speak but he/she is not heard.

Regarding memory studies, the concept of subaltern memory has been suggested sometime (Colmeiro, 2011) but it has not been elaborated as a consistent theoretical concept. The paper aims to elaborate how could be understood the subaltern memory and how could it be distinguished from other contiguous concepts. H. Grabes (2008) explains that within memory issues frequently appears a "competition of memorial cultures", and, in order to represent this symbolic conflict has been proposed several concepts like "countermemory" or "alternative memory". Nonetheless, the concept of "subaltern memory" seems to indicate something different. It does not symbolize a direct confrontation between memories but a memory that is ignored and erased. Thus, this process is made often subtlely, just as the colonial cultural processes that postcolonial theory has pointed out and criticized. Following Spivak's statement, a subaltern memory would be a memory that is archived but is not read nor heeded. These are memories removed from the main memorial issues and conflicts, memories that could be rescued only by a political work often made by subaltern identities. Indeed, subaltern memories are usually linked to subaltern identities, and that is why subaltern memory is ignored by hegemonic identities. Thus, despite the fact that the power relations among memories and identities have to be analyzed within specific frameworks, it can be also said that subaltern memory is the memory disregarded by western-heteropatriarchal culture.

3.Katarzyna Chmielewska, Polish Academy of Sciences: *The memory as a defective communication. Illustrated with the example of Marek Edelman*

The mainstream trend in research on memory revolves, more or less consciously, within the circle of monological and expressive images. Such outstanding scholars as F. Ankersmit, A. Assmann and J. Assmann, approach memory as an expression of socially and culturally specified subject (collective, group, individual), which is manifested in various cultural areas and presses a claim for the truth, even if this subject admits the existence of various truths.

I would like to present a divergent theoretical model and to present its application on a selected example. I am not searching for a new type of memory, complementary in relation to the existing ones, but rather for a new theoretical point of departure for considerations of memory. I assume that historical remembrance is taking place in a space "between", as a communication for someone, sent in certain circumstances, with a specified communicational background, which avails itself of explicit and implicit codes, which is received and interpreted by someone. Thus, I oppose the monological model with the communicational model of memory. It is a defective communication as it does not consist in dialogue, where conditions and contents of utterances are negotiated, the

rhetorical power of speaking subjects is on a par, and each participant obtains appreciation at the point of destination. Memory is often a domain of defective communication, imperfect and unsymmetrical, whereas the power to imbue meanings allows for the domination of the other participants of communication. Within this sense, memory has features of symbolic violence (Bourdieu).

I will attempt to show how this model of defective communication works on a chosen example: the reception of the figure of Marek Edelman (leader of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising) in Poland.

> 4. Andreea Mironescu and Doris Mironescu "Alexandru Ioan Cuza" University of Iasi and: *"West" vs. "East" in Memory Studies. Moving Beyond the Theoretical Divide*

The globalization of memory in a transnational age, that fascinates researchers of the "third wave" in memory studies, implies the existence of likewise global and transnational academic practices. Our paper proposes a critical investigation of this hypothesis by analyzing what we call "theoretical divide". Our approach is inspired by the influential concept of "digital divide", which appeared in communication studies in the early 2000s, when the initial enthusiasm of global interconnectedness gave way to a more cautious approach to the visible differences in and between societies. Our focus here will be on the theoretical divide between Western and Eastern Europe, as it has been repeatedly formulated, both explicitly and implicitly, by researchers in this field (especially A. Assmann, Olick, Boym, Hirsch, Blacker, Sindbæk Andersen, Pakier, Todorova, Etkind, Beronja), but we also pay attention to the various differences between the East European states and regions. We have identified three types of divide: (1) an economic divide (having or not having easy access to funding for research or to theory in the original or translations); (2) a "literacy" divide (how theory is used, by either passively consuming it, contributing to it, or competently consuming it); (3) a disciplinary divide (how is theory integrated: as an interdisciplinary study area or as "canonical" contributions in neighbouring disciplines, such as history, literary studies, sociology, media studies and so on). However, the relevance of our topic goes beyond contemporary academic politics. Since memory studies is an emerging field in Eastern Europe (with the possible exception of Poland) and the academics here have the role of active agents of memory, their theoretical options, misreadings or biased interpretations are always consequential, as they directly or indirectly influence the policies and social practices of memory.

> 5. Siobhan Kattago, University of Tartu: *Between moral blindness and obsession: Spectators of suffering in a media age*

How might digital social media and mass tourism influence how we see and understand the Holocaust? As spectators, are we caught between moral blindness and obsession when confronted with images of the Holocaust? Influenced by Zygmunt Bauman, Saul Friedlander, Susan Sontag and Luc Boltanski, the paper reflects on the ethics of seeing and the limits of representation in three contemporary examples: Yolocaust, an art project reacting to selfies taken at the Holocaust Memorial in Berlin; Austerlitz, a documentary film recording the reaction of visitors to Auschwitz; Auschwitz, a third person shooter game that was removed from Google in 2016.

> 6. Thomas Van de Putte, King's College London: *Understanding collective memory through interactional sociology: will memory studies return to its roots?*

Erving Goffman famously stated that "The world, in truth, is a wedding" (1956, p. 23). People engage in face-to-face interactions and put on a bodily and discursive performance. This performance then reflects - as ceremonies and rituals usually do- the moral values of the specific socialisation contexts of both performer and audience in specific situations. This highly scripted performance, then, is accepted and celebrated as 'reality'.

Such a Goffmanian approach to reality and the study of its underlying structures and theoretical premises, is something the field of 'memory studies' has gradually abandoned in the last decades. From a first, Durkheimian, phase of the study of collective memory, in which the study of collective memory was part of a broader sociological project which is well captured by Goffman's statement, 'memory studies' slipped into a second phase of national memory, and in a third phase dominated by literary studies which is characterised by 'trans-concepts' and increasing interest in the connectivity and mobility of memory. What this paper proposes is to reintroduce some of the ideas from the 'first phase' of memory studies back into its 'third phase'. The need to reconnect memory studies again with sociology has been voiced by Sarah Gensburger (2016). This paper operationalises that call, and argues for applying insights from interactional sociology to understand how individuals bodily and discursively perform their collectively held memories, and how content and form of these performances change depending on the shifting audience context in which the individual is performing. Therefore, triangulation of different sociological and anthropological methods is indispensable in order to make truth claims with a more firm epistemological basis and to provide an alternative to a growing tendency within memory studies towards normativity and deduction. My presentation will include a methodological research set-up to illustrate how such a triangulation could function.

PANEL 20: REMEMBERING IN MUSEUMS AND MONUMENTS, ROOM 27.1.49

Chair: Rosanna Farbøl, Aarhus University

> 1. Daria A Radchenko, Moscow School of Social and Economic Sciences: *"Women frying a crocodile": the right to interpret monuments*

For the last decades, memory has become a particularly competitive space in Russia. Both Soviet and post-Soviet memorials are generating conflicts and discussion. One of the problematic questions is the vernacular usage of the monuments, including their unofficial modification (e.g. painting them or leaving graffiti on them), development of vernacular memorials around them, some having only thin connection to the depicted person or topic (e.g. a Michael Jackson memorial on Fyodor Shalyapin's monument in Moscow), practices that contradict the commemorative spirit of the place where a monument is located (e.g., dancing in front of the World War II revered memorial), visual jokes about monuments in social media, etc. One of very stable practices connected with memorials as urban anchor points, however, implies rather linguistic than physical interaction: almost every significant monument of the post-Soviet space has a vernacular nickname. These nicknames, sometimes humorous to the point of obscene, are a part of general vernacular toponymy and are used in everyday communication more frequently than the official names. Yet recently there has been a legal precedent of prosecution for using them in mass media. This led to a public discussion of vernacular toponymy's legitimacy and the right to exceed the borders of official interpretation. The presentation will show how different symbolic practices of acquision of space – vernacular physical, linguistic or performative intervention – are conceptualized by public as legitimate or non-legitimate forms of interacting with an official monument.

2. Amy Sodaro, Borough of Manhattan Community College/City University of New York: *Memory Politics in the National September 11 Memorial Museum*

The creation of the National September 11 Memorial Museum reflects today's transnational normative expectations around the appropriate aesthetic, political and ethical responses to acts of political violence. As an exemplar of the global commemorative form of memorial museum, the 9/11 Museum is intended to be not only a space of memory and history but also moral transformation and the promotion of democracy and nonviolence. This broad mission encapsulates what Levy and Sznaider (2006) have theorized as a cosmopolitan "memory imperative" and suggests an ethical power and duty ascribed to the museum's transnational and transcultural forms of memory. The museum also reflects the ways that "carriers, media, contents, forms and practices of memory" travel the globe (Erll 2011) and there are striking similarities between the 9/11 Museum and other memorial museums around the world. With its focus on internationally agreed upon memorial museum "best practices," such as privileging individual stories and experiences and creating an affective, experiential rendering of the events of 9/11 to inspire empathy and ethical transformation, the memory in the museum appears to be "unbound" from national borders and political agendas, instead oriented toward universal ideals of human rights, peace and democracy. And yet, because of the narrow temporal focus of the museum on the minutes and hours of September 11, 2001, the museum produces a (hi)story of 9/11 that is in fact highly political. By ignoring the historical causes and consequences of the attacks, the museum reinforces a nationalistic and Manichean worldview that increasingly drives divisive politics in the US and around the world today, challenging notions of not only a cosmopolitan or transnational memory culture but also the ethical power of such memory to contribute to a better future.

3. Tim Gruenewald, The University of Hong Kong: *Slavery, Freedom, and the Nation: Narratives of Liberation in the Museum of African American History and Culture*

In 2004, Susan Sontag noted in "Regarding the Pain of Others" that there is no national memory museum dedicated to minorities who suffered persecution within the United States, while the Holocaust was memorialized in a museum on the National Mall. She concluded that this omission was rooted in a US exceptionalism that refused to acknowledge crimes against humanity, which occurred on American ground. Walter Benn Michaels made a similar point in 2006, which prompted Michael Rotherg's rejection of competitive memory and the development of his theory published in Multidirectional Memory in 2009. Since Sontag's essay, the National Mall has seen important additions.

In this paper, I will re-visit Sontag's and Michaels' assessment considering the additions to the Mall by focusing on the new African American museum, which I contend did not significantly change the nation's remembrance discourse as Sontag had implied. By emphasizing the themes of liberation, freedom, and achievement throughout its exhibitions, and through spatial arrangements of the different exhibitions in the building, the museum invokes the foundational myth of US national ideology. Instead of a fundamental critique of the national myth of the Founding Fathers and freedom as an ideology, the museum ultimately reaffirms American national ideologies by embracing the US constitution and suggesting that the liberation of African Americans was already installed at the beginning.

I also argue that the African American museum paradoxically supports US patriotism just like the Holocaust museum. The latter achieves this through emphasizing the US as liberators of death camps, whereas the former foregrounds the trope of African American liberation. More importantly, the museums employ contrasting narrative strategies to remember past trauma and to memorialize victims.

4. Ljiljana Radonić, Austrian Academy of Sciences: *Post-Communist Memorial Museums – From EU Accession and Invocation of Europe to New Nationalism*

Slovakia opened the current permanent exhibition at the Museum of Slovak National Uprising titled "Slovak National Uprising 1944 – A Part of the Antifascist Resistance in Europe" in 2004 in the context of EU accession. Hungary inaugurated the first Central Eastern European Holocaust Memorial Center a few weeks before the

country joined the EU although the permanent exhibition was ready only two years later. It now looks similar to the one at the Jasenovac Memorial Museum from 2006 titled a "dray-horse towards Europe" by a Croatian journalist. This "invocation of Europe" partially remains a lip- service, but to some degree the felt need to meet unofficial international standards in confronting and exhibiting the past has allowed a new wave of "negative memory" – self-critically confronting the crimes committed (not suffered) by its own community.

Currently though, Hungary is planning to open another Holocaust museum that will deal with the "truly innocent" victims – children – and those Hungarians who rescued Jews. In Poland "Law and Justice" (PiS) is heavily attacking the new Museum of the Second World War because "we need to defend Polish interest, the Polish truth. ... The education of the young Poles must not be based on shame, but on dignity and pride", as Jarosław Kaczyński put it. In 2016 the newly elected Croatian government impeded a renowned historian who was supposed to become the director of the Museum of Contemporary History in preparation. Can we argue that while authoritarian governments harshly attack museum projects of their predecessors, liberal parties opt for a pluralization of memory and initiate new projects while not touching the Warsaw Rising Museum or the House of Terror? How are democratization respectively the successive abolishment of democratic checks and balances and confronting the past linked in the post-EU-accession "war on memory"?

5.   Katarzyna Jarosz: University of Logistics: *Soviet- friend of foe through the lens of historical museums in former republics of the USSR*

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PANEL 21: NEW APPROACHES TO MEMORY IN ARGENTINA, ROOM 27.0.17

Chair: Estelle Tarica, University of California

This panel presents scholarly work into the archives of the recent past. Four decades on, the memory of the 1976-83 dictatorship remains far from settled. The panel sheds light on the wealth and diversity of memory practices in contemporary Argentina. Two papers return to earlier chapters in the dictatorship and post-dictatorship period, two papers examine memory today. All the papers show how memory serves as a primary scene for playing out debates in Argentina's culture wars over women's roles, cosmopolitan reason and the legacy of populism, and for advancing claims about the meaning of democracy and the ethical underpinnings of the judicial system.

     1.Mónica Szurmuk, National Scientific and Technical Research Council of Argentina (CONICET):*Suburban Traumatic Memories: Maternal Networks in a Suburb of Buenos Aires During the 1976-1983 Military Dictatorship*

Most of the research on memory in postdictatorship Argentina has focused either on big cities or small towns. Very little work has been done on daily life during the military dictatorship in the suburbs of Buenos Aires, areas with every-day contact with the city but where communities also functioned independently in networks of friendship, extended families and social spaces such as schools, clubs, synagogues and churches. In my presentation, I analyze the case of "La casa de Belén,"a foster-care facility set up in a suburb of Buenos Aires in 1977 to house children of disappeared political dissidents in transition to adoption by families that sympathized with the regime. Looking through archival material, local newspapers, personal interviews, and judicial documents, I analyze the conflicting discourses of the maternal and of childhood that sustain both the creation and the criminalization of this facility. I draw from recent feminist studies that focus on women in armed struggle (D'Antonio, Forcinito, Oberti, Sutton, among others) and also on the theoretical reflections that invite the integration of feminist, queer, and affect theory in order to "shift the frame of intelligibility" (Hirsch 2012: 18). By focusing on families I illuminate the discourses that sustain personal memorial practices.

     2.Estelle Tarica, University of California: *Holocaust Consciousness as Critical Conscious- ness in Post-Dictatorship Argentina, 1995-2005*

This paper examines how influential intellectuals in the post-dictatorship period in Argentina forge a Holocaust consciousness that is critical of the memory discourses advanced by human rights activists. I focus on the decade 1995-2005, which starts with a so-called "memory boom" amid new revelations about the state's crimes against humanity and a renewed push by civil society for criminal prosecutions of the perpetrators. This period culminates with the inauguration of state-sponsored public spaces devoted to remembering state crimes and the greater institutionalization of human rights under the presidency of Néstor Kirchner. Broadly speaking, we can say that human rights activists and scholars during this period turned to Holocaust memory, especially Holocaust memorials and survivor testimony, to model an Argentine memory practice committed to holding the perpetrators responsible for their crimes and dignifying the victims of state atrocities and their families. The intellectuals I examine here, however, turn to Holocaust memory, especially the work of Primo Levi and "post-Auschwitz" philosophy, in order to criticize the prevalent human rights approach to memory in Argentina. I focus on the journals Confines and Punto de vista, two influential voices of critical cultural analysis whose founding members have become charged political opponents in recent years. Yet both journals advanced a strong critique of human rights derived from their readings of Holocaust texts. I examine how key thinkers in these journals, such as Nicolás Casullo, Ricardo Forster and Hugo Vezzetti, delve deeply into the Holocaust archive in making their

claims against the human-rights practice of memory in Argentina, which they cast as a "forgetting" and which they charge with mystifying the past rather illuminating it. My paper emphasizes the complexity of memory debates in Argentina while also showing how Holocaust memory serves as a vital repository of critical thinking in the post-dictatorship period.

3. Silvia Tandeciarz, College of William and Mary: *Educating Citizens of Memory: A Case Study from Postdictatorship Argentina*

My talk addresses the rich cross-pollination of cultural, institutional, and pedagogical initiatives in post-dictatorship Argentina evident in the program Jóvenes y Memoria: Recordamos para el futuro. Created by the research and education wing of the Comisión Provincial por la Memoria in 2002, the program invites high school students to engage with local histories of repression and through a series of encounters over the course of the academic year facilitates their elaboration of an aesthetic work to express their findings. The program culminates with a gathering at the Peronist vacation complex of Chapadmalal in which thousands of students come together to showcase their projects. Drawing on Diana Taylor's work in performance theory, I analyze multimedia productions of students that reconstruct itineraries of disappearance to reflect on their present. I read these examples and the carefully choreographed repertoires that surround them to illuminate how the Comisión's pedagogical initiative shapes citizens of memory committed to democratic principles. Finding that both live and scripted components are key to such efforts, I explore the affective transmissions this memorial work makes possible for the generation after and the ethical concerns through which the young advance a politics of memory that is also a politics of human rights. This work forms part of my forthcoming book, Citizens of Memory: Affect, Representation, and Human Rights in Postdictatorship Argentina (Bucknell 2017).

4. Jordana Blejmar, University of Liverpool: *Fostering Empathy in Lola Arias' Minefield*

In 2015 right-wing businessman Mauricio Macri was elected Argentina's new president. Under his administration human rights policies and institutions have been attacked in pernicious ways. One of his former ministers has suggested that the relatives of the victims of the 1976-1983 dictatorship inflated the number of disappeared people to profit from governments subsidies and two Supreme Court judges recently opened a legal door to free perpetrators. Moreover, Macri is convinced that he is leading a 'Revolution of Joy', symbolised by yellow balloons at official gatherings, his dancing during political gatherings and the 'laid-back' image he presents to the media. Against this backdrop playwright Lola Arias released Minefield, a critically-acclaimed theatrical performance in which six Argentine and British veterans of the Malvinas/Falklands War re-enact their experiences on the battlefield accompanied by thunderous punk music, comedy acts and multimedia. While Minefield is playful and even humorous, it never offers a 'light' version of history. Moreover, while Minefield fosters a space of dialogue between the performers, it also understands that politics is also conflict and disagreement. In this paper I will argue that Arias narrates the 1982 South Atlantic confrontation in a performance that not only avoids both Manichean versions of recent history and dangerous discourses of forgetting and reconciliation, increasingly common in recent years, but it also challenges the dichotomies often present in previous accounts of the war, namely victims/perpetrators, allies/enemies, heroes/villains. Furthermore, unlike other similar performances, Minefield rejects reactions to trauma art such as identification or appropriation, fostering instead an empathic collaboration between performers and audience. As Jill Bennett and others have argued, unlike sympathy, the experience of empathy is both emotional and cognitive, it is more politically productive and it does not presume to fully communicate trauma.

PANEL 23: MEMORY, TRAUMA AND POSTCOLONIALITY IN ASIAN CON- TEXTS, ROOM 23.0.50

Chair: Jocelyn Martin: Ateneo de Manila University

1. Jocelyn Martin: Ateneo de Manila University, Philippines: Memories of Colonial Struggle: *Philippine Fashion in Rare 19th century Periodicals*

Periodicals are material, iconographic and written records of public (Rubinstein 1995) or collective memory (Halbwachs 1980). This paper examines Philippine fashion images and discourses in light of the fact that objects, images and texts intersect within nineteenth-century Spanish-text periodicals. The materiality of these periodicals are foregrounded for its capacity to evoke colonial memories (Stoller 1994).

This seeks to answer (1) what memories can fashion in nineteenth-century Spanish-text periodicals evoke about colonial culture, state and society? (2) What narratives can be constructed based on images and discussions of fashion in periodicals? Through a survey of fashion images, advertisements and articles, memories of struggle in the context of colonial race, class and gender hierarchies are extracted from selected issues of four rare Spanish-text periodicals, namely Ilustración Filipina (1859-1860), La Ilustración del Oriente(1877-1878), La Moda Filipina (1894) and Manililla (1890, 1892, 1893).

Features of clothed Philippine "types" are analyzed (1) to discover evidences of prejudices, insecurities and desires embedded in public memory; and (2) to reveal systems of statuses, roles and interactions in Spanish Philippines. After all, finite stereotypes based on race, class and occupation form part of the "repository" of varying compromises and struggles relating to civility, equality and propriety in Philippine colonial society.

Through engagement with past periodicals in the present and through acts of sartorial remembrance (Lehmann 2000), clothing symbolisms, meanings and consequences (Simmel 1957; Barthes 1967) in the late colonial period can be better understood.

2. Hidde van der Wall, Hong Kong Shue Yan University: *e War and the Wave: Literary and Cultural Narrative at the Intersection of Traumatic Experience in Sri Lanka*

The 2004 Indian Ocean tsunami was a devastating moment of reckoning for the Sri Lankan nation, which had already suffered over two decades of a civil war that would only end in 2009. The wave can be conceived of as an example of "an event that is outside the range of human experience" that causes "a break in the mind's experience of time" to employ the classical definition of trauma, that is, as limited, singular, and event-based (Caruth 1996). A protracted war, on the other hand, cannot be understood as such. Stephen Lubkemann's suggests that we think of war as not an "'event' that suspends 'normal' social processes but instead has become the normal—in the sense of 'expected'—context for the unfolding of social life". As such, an ongoing war is a "transformative social condition" rather than a suspension or break in human experience. Thus, this paper explores what happens to our understanding of trauma, memory, and healing when a cataclysmic event, such as a natural disaster, intersects with a "new normal" that indexes violence, fear, displacement, and loss, as part of a pre-existing, prevailing, and ongoing social condition.

The paper initiates a dialogue between three time-staggered responses to the intersection of traumatic experience in Sri Lanka: the circulation of cultural myth, specifically the myth of Vihara Maha Devi, in media immediately following the tsunami, short fiction published in the close aftermath of the tsunami, and a post-war novel, Minoli Salgado's A Little Dust on the Eyes (2014), set in the weeks leading up to the tsunami. The essay explores the concept of the "implicated subject," neither victim nor perpetrator, as developed by Michael Rothberg (2013), reading the trauma-inducing event of the tsunami in relation to the "slow violence" (Nixon 2011) of ecological catastrophe on the global poor.

3. Hannah Marie Aranas, University of San Carlos: *Postcolonial Memory in F. Sionil Jose's Novels Ben Singkol and Vibora.*

Postcolonial narratives stand witness to transhistorical and transcultural engagement of and with memories. To work with memories is imperative in an endeavor to represent the postcolonial experience through literature. Postcoloniality is in itself a result of the intermingling of the past with the present. Central to the existence of the postcolonial world are cross-cultural relations. To write about the postcolonial is to critique these relations, which often than not reveal tensions between and within cultures and peoples of the colonizer and the colonized. Postcolonial writing is in essence inspired by the power of memory. The writer navigates through a particular timeline but is far from being transfixed in it. He or she writes in the present yet looks toward the future.

As a citizen of a country with a long colonial history, the researcher takes on this study as an attempt at situating the role of memory in the longstanding struggle of Filipinos to address questions of influence and identity as a postcolonial culture. With two novels by National Artist for Literature F. Sionil Jose, we journey back to the time between the American Colonial Period and the Japanese Occupation. This research covers an analysis of Jose's novels Ben Singkol and Vibora. Anchored on postcolonial theory and criticism and memory studies, this paper focuses on the Filipino characters and how their ways of remembrance illustrate the interrelationship of collective, cultural, individual and literary memories, and how memory serves as a language of power and resistance. This research is also geared toward placing memory at the core of the process of the Filipino characters' creation of the concept of nation.

4. Joyce L. Arriola, University of Santo Tomas: 1950s Filipino Komiks-to-Film Adaptation as Site of Cultural Memory

Current literature in Philippine cinema history point to the 1950s as one of the most productive periods for Komiks-to-Film Adaptation. The said occurrence is based on the fact that the said decade has become a fertile ground for the following:

1. As the first Golden Age of Philippine Cinema;

2. As the decade of Philippine nationalism where "memory" projects were conceptualized either consciously and unconsciously.

In view of the above, this paper seeks to argue how 1950s Philippine cinema has contributed to post-war/Independence era cultural memory by offering its own "cinema memory." It trains its lens however on the harmonious co-existence of the komiks and the film industries in the 1950s. The paper will also tackle how movie images become a fertile imaginary for cultural memory that is forged as the Filipino nation responds to postcolonial trauma and at the same, tackles the new excitement and potential offered by the opportunity to re-imagine the nation using emergent media, genres and narratives.

5. Grace Leksana, Royal Netherlands Institute for Southeast Asia and Caribbean Studies: *Beyond 'the public' and 'the private': Memory of Massacres Against Communists in e Indonesian Village*

The studies of war and genocide have contributed profoundly to the field of memory studies. Indonesia has been struggling with such mass violence against the communists which occurred in 1965. The Indonesian Communist Party was accused as the perpetrators behind the kilings of seven high ranking Army officials in 1965. The Army then launch its massive extermination against the communists, causing deaths of around one million people. Since then, the state constructed a narrative that depicted communists as evil and a threat to the nation. Victims and their families were stigmatized and marginalized for years. Many scholars perceived that the state has controlled our collective memory by excluding the mass killings in national history and commemoration. Yet, it circulates 'privately' within families or local communities.

This paper tries to address a fundamental question: after more than 50 years, how do Indonesians remember the massacres? To what extent the 'private' memories remain separate from 'the public'? Or do they become entangled in certain ways?

By conducting research in the village of Donomulyo, East Java, I will show that the division between public and private is blur. The mass killings are not a secret, but lives in fragments amongst the villagers: commemoration of mass graves by the victim's families, informal stories during cultural celebrations or myths of certain sites. Second, the villagers built their own connection and interpretation of the public and private narratives, i.e some villagers think that the killings were a necessity for the village modernization; while others think that it was a security operation that went outside the line. Third, young generations in the village acknowledge the killings not only through their own families. Collective cultural tradition, i.e celebrations of birth or marriage preparation, become a crucial forum where the early generation share the stories to the young ones.

PANEL 24: TESTIMONIALS AND ORAL HISTORY, ROOM 4A.0.69

Chair: Anne Folke Henningsen, University of Copenhagen

1. SANCHARI DE, Jadavpur University, Lund University: *Shahbag Protest and imag- ining an 'ideal' nation through personal memories*

The Shahbag protest that took place in Dhaka, Bangladesh on February 5, 2013 was a protest mobilization of around one hundred thousand people .The demonstrators demanded capital punishment for war criminals accused of crimes against humanity and of involvement in the genocide of almost three million people during the 1971 Liberation War, which took place in The Shahbag protest made use of digital media to construct alternative accounts of official versions of socio- cultural struggle in the country in the decades before and after the 1971 liberation war. This paper will answer the following question:

In what ways do pro-Shahbag bloggers shape and reshape cultural memory of the liberation war of 1971, and what role does memory and imagination play in this social movement and its political struggle for modern democracy?

On the basis of my research, I would argue that this socio-cultural struggle for identity is based on the imagination of an 'ideal' Bangladesh. The concept of the 'ideal' nation in the pro-Shahbag activities are based on the memories of glories, and the present protest can be studied as a form of articulating frustrations derived from unfulfilled expectations promoted by an imagined 'ideal' nation.

My paper will contribute to understanding of the connections and tensions between memories of the Liberation War of 1971 in Bangladesh and the contemporary social protest of Shahbag 2013. The mediation and remediation of memories of the Liberation War of 1971 within the Shahbag protest of 2013 served as a mobilizing force in social protest regarding cultural identity and modern nationhood in Bangladesh. This thesis uses qualitative research, including interviews with 22 pro- Shahbag blogger-activists to critically examine the synthesis of remembering and imagination in this social protest and the broader cultural struggle for modernity in Bangladesh.

2. Svitlana Odynets, National Academy of Science of Ukraine: *Journeys with Mne- mosyne: transcultural family memories as resources in cross-generation migrations from Ukraine*

The "fourth wave" of Ukrainian migration is a distinctive phenomenon in the social and economic spheres of Ukraine after 1991. This migration has been facilitated by the fact that Ukraine has a long-established diaspora and most families in Western Ukraine have (or had) relatives living in the diasporas in USA, Canada, Latin America, Western Europe. Their cross- general transnational communications and more rarely encounters in real life create informal migrant networks around the Western world, which has enabled and facilitated mass migration flows from Ukraine after collapse of the USSR. Additionally, many Ukrainians have social experiences of internal migrations inside the USSR and short-term (or "shuttle") migrations to Poland, Russia and Czech Republic in earlier 1990s when the economic crises started. Such short- term migrations back-and-forth were often one of the widespread everyday economic strategies for many Ukrainian families, especially in the villages and towns close to the Polish and Russian borders. In this paper I will show that the case of Ukrainian emigration is fruitful for tracing how cultural and communicative memories (J. Assmann) serve as important social capital and symbolic meanings for developing of new transnational migration flows after 1991 and the creation of "migrant culture" in

Ukraine. The paper is based on the results of my anthropological research about Ukrainian women migrants in Italy and the transformations of their life trajectories and social identities during their migration projects. I look to these migration narratives among Ukrainian women in Italy in order to ask how their family memories about old migrations of relatives influence their own Post-Soviet migration trajectory and developing of their (trans)national identities in the new country of destination. I will also show that communicative family memories about migrations of older relatives serve as important resources for young family members in their decision to migrate.

3. Veronika Nourkova, Lomonosov Moscow State University: *e mnemonic impact of the Collapse of the USSR in Russia, Azerbaijan, and Uzbekistan*

The present study was conducted to assess the impact of the Collapse of the Soviet Union on the contents and organization of autobiographical memory in Russia and in two non-Russian nations that (re-)emerged with the dissolution of the Soviet Union, one located in the Caucasus (Azerbaijan) and the other in Central Asia (Uzbekistan). We wanted to test the prediction that public events spawn "Historically defined autobiographical periods" (Brown et al., 2009) and are incorporated into the self-narrative. The study involved three tasks. First, participants thought aloud as they estimated dates for a set of mundane autobiographical events. Second, they drew a personal timeline. This required them to identify the most important events in their lives; to indicate when the events occurred and whether they were positive or negative. Finally, they answered questions concerning the psychological and material consequences of the Collapse. The dating protocols (Task 1) and the lifeline data (Task 2) were collected because they provide indirect indices of the Collapse on the organization of autobiographical memory and the contents of the life narrative; transitional impact ratings (Task 3) were collected as a way of testing the idea that autobiographical memory and historical memory become entwined only when public events alter the fabric of daily life in a profound and enduring manner. Across the samples, we found (1) the Collapse was almost never used as a temporal landmark, (2) it was rarely included in timeline drawings, and (c) participants did not experience the Collapse as a major life-changing event. These findings argue against the Proportionality Assumption—the notion that the mnemonic impact of a public event is related to its historical importance. Instead, they suggest that historically significant events play an important role in autobiographical memory only when they dramatically affect people's material circumstances.

4. Lorenzo d'orsi, University of Milano Bicocca: *e silence in the memories of political violence of the Turkish revolutionaries: a moral value or a traumatic sign?*

This paper is based on ethnography I carried out in Istanbul on the memories of Turkish Leftist revolutionaries and their families, affected by the repression of the 1980-1983 military-coup. It analyses the silence around autobiographical memories of political violence and its various interpretations in a highly politicized memory-field characterized by state repression. The aim is to explore the contrast between the recent global memory frames (Transitional Justice, talk therapy and the paradigm of trauma) and the local narratives such as the martyrdom. Since the birth of the Turkish Republic, official history represented a form of power/knowledge to promote the national homogenization. Alternative versions of past have been omitted from the national history and sometimes from family transmission. Those at the margins of history production resorted to memory as a practice of opposition: Leftist organizations promote counter-memories through the narratives of the revolutionary martyrs. In this agonistic context, silence appears as the expression of the values of the moral economy of the revolutionary fighter, as a tactic of protection, as a way to convey embodied knowledge to second generations. The paper shows how the global memory frames, from the one hand, run the risk of circumscribing the sufferance into a intra- psychic fact, reifying people into victims and reducing the silence of revolutionaries to a traumatic sign; on the other hand, they can open new space for reshaping the social boundaries of the community of memory. For second generations, indeed, the "trauma" represents a cultural code in a global youth-scape that can allow building trans-historical identification within and outside Turkey. The ethnographic data shows how these new narratives about family past not only de-politicize the sufferance but also de-reify historical positions. In a historically over-politicized memory-field, they promote new spaces of agency, break social indifference and foster new processes of identification.

5. Stephen Hopkins, University of Leicester, UK: *Remembering the Northern Ireland 'Troubles' in the South: Irish Republican Memoir-writing and Dislocation*

This paper will analyse the politics of memoir-writing by (ex-) Provisional Irish republicans from the Republic of Ireland (the 'South' or the '26 Counties' in republican parlance), and the memories and legacies of the Northern Irish 'Troubles' upon those republicans who were not born and raised in the 'crucible of the struggle' north of the border. These memoirs by individuals such as Kieran Conway (Southside Provisional, 2014), John Noonan (What Do I Do Now?, 2005), and Sean O'Callaghan (The Informer, 1998) reflect a broader ambivalence and complexity in the relationship between the population of the south and the violent conflict in Northern Ireland.

The mainstream parties in the Republic of Ireland, Fianna Fáil and Fine Gael, honoured the memory of the 'old IRA' (those who fought for 'Irish freedom' from 1916-1923), but they sought to distance this stance from the contemporary violent campaign of the Provisionals (Hanley, 2013). This debate has been prominent in the centenary commemorations of the Easter Rising of 1916. Many Catholics and Irish nationalist in the Republic were highly critical of the Provisionals, although there were a smaller number of 'sneaking regarders'. However, this paper examines the motivation and subsequent post- conflict reflections of some of those southerners who decided to join the Provisional movement, and their efforts to interpret this experience in the light of the Good

Friday/Belfast Agreement (1998), the ending of the Provisional campaign and the continuing partition of the island of Ireland.

These memoirs can shed significant light upon the internal politics of a movement that has operated in two very different political jurisdictions and contexts. The paper will argue that this analysis of memoir can help to produce a more nuanced understanding of the 'memory struggles' which characterise the legacy of the Troubles in Northern Ireland.

PANEL 25: LAW, INTERNATIONAL LAW AND COLLECTIVE, MEMORY ROOM 27.0.17

Chair: Moshe Hirsch, Hebrew University

> 1. Moshe Hirsch, Hebrew University: *the Role of International Tribunals in the Construction of Collective Memories*

Is it desirable for non-criminal international tribunals to be employed in constructing collective memories? This paper explores this question from three major sociological perspectives: the structural-functional approach, the symbolic- interactionist perspective, and the social conflict approach. These three theoretical approaches suggest different answers to the above question, and offer different guidelines concerning the involvement of international tribunals in the development of historical narratives. The answer provided to this question may generate some practical judicial results, such as those relating to the presentation of a historical narrative in judgements or, exercise of discretion regarding the admissibility of the case, or influencing the remedies ordered by international tribunals.

> 2. Luigi Prosperi, Sapienza University of Rome: *e ICTY's Role in Establishing a Historical Narrative for the Region*

In the wake of the Karadžić judgement (2016) some media outlets claimed that ICTY judges had exonerated Slobodan Milošević from the crimes committed by Bosnian Serbs during the war in the former Yugoslavia. Although this conclusion was based on a misrepresentation of the judgment, in that, the judges had found that the evidence of Milosevic's involvement in the JCE presented in that case was not sufficient to fulfil the evidentiary threshold, the incident draws attention to the dangers of treating judicial decisions as historical records. The view of some legal and political observers that international criminal tribunals, such as the ICTY, should contribute to writing an authoritative historical narrative for the region has to be treated with caution.

The ICTY has played a central role in bringing justice and, through its judgments and the evidence it has helped place on the public record, the Tribunal will play a key role in countering denial of atrocity crimes in the region. However, the historical narratives represented in judgments will inevitably be partial, limited by the indictments, the evidentiary thresholds and the dictates of a fair trial. For instance, in Krstic, the Trial Chamber acknowledged that its task was to decide on the guilt or innocence of the accused within the boundaries of the indictment and it had to leave it "to historians and social psychologist to plumb the depths of this episode of the Balkan conflict and to probe for deep-seated causes." In other cases, however, judgments have been treated as comprehensive and authoritative historical records.

The legacy of the ICTY in terms of its judgments is extensive and of prominent historic value. This paper will assess the influence and limitations of the historical narratives represented by ICTY judgments in the context of the writing of history for the region.

> 3. Aldo Zammit Borda, Anglia Ruskin University: *e ICTY's Role in Establishing a Historical Narrative for the Region*

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4. Guy Pessach, Hebrew University: *Copyright and the Collective Memory of the Holocaust*

This paper explores the interface between copyright law and the Holocaust. The Holocaust's duration and scope, its occurrence in midst of the twentieth century with photography and film technologies already available, and its setting at the heart of Europe, yielded countless documents, diaries, notes, memoirs, musical works, photographs, films, letters, and additional artifacts. On the victims' part, many of those items—including secret archives comprised at various ghettos, music composed in concentration camps, and personal diaries—manifest an explicit act of real-time historical documentation and preservation for future generations. On the perpetrators' side, some materials were produced as a result of organized documentation, others—such as Joseph Goebbels' diaries or Hitler's Mein Kampf—comprise records of prominent figures in the Nazi regime. Numerous Holocaust-related materials are still subject to copyright protection. Yet, the impact of copyright law on the memory of the Holocaust remains largely unexplored. This article engages in a first systematic exploration of the copyright-Holocaust interface and presents a twofold argument. First, we demonstrate that copyright law plays a heretofore-unnoticed role in shaping the collective memory of the Holocaust. On a more normative level, we argue that the prevalent narratives underlying copyright law, as well as ordinary copyright doctrines, do not comfortably apply to Holocaust-related materials. By closely examining various case studies, we analyze the principal tensions and points of friction between the copyright regime and the Holocaust. We conclude by offering several concrete recommendations concerning the application of copyright law to Holocaust-related materials.

5. Michal Shur-Ofry, Hebrew University: *Copyright and the Collective Memory of the Holocaust*

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PANEL 26: TRAVELING AND DISPLACED MEMORIES, ROOM 27.0.47

Chair: Astrid Erll, Goethe University Frankfurt

1. Lavinia Badulescu, e National University of Political Studies and Public Admin- istration: *'I will never forget the dead young people and their faces.' Memories and identities of Azerbaijani internally displaced persons*

In the 1990s, the Nagorno-Karabakh war between Azerbaijan and Armenia generated widespread mortality, long-lasting trauma and a great number of Azerbaijani internally displaced persons (IDPs). This paper aims to highlight how Azerbaijani IDPs' native place memory is competing with the war traumatic memory. The first type of memory contains representations of an innocent and unharmed world, a kind of return to the land of innocence left more than 20 years ago, while the second type of memory encompasses negative emotions (fear, anxiety), feelings and experiences associated with the post- traumatic stress syndrome, and representations about the war and the enemy, whose central nucleus is the reject and non- acceptance. Furthermore, we stress the manner in which the interaction between these two types of memories shapes Azerbaijani IDPs' daily life and identities. From a methodological perspective, a qualitative analysis of the data as collected during a field research through semi-structured interviews with Azerbaijani IDPs from a campus situated 17 km away from Baku, in the Sabuncu district, will be applied. The content analysis will concentrate on the way in which the dichotomous pairs such as 'past-present', 'emotional-rational', 'fear-hope', 'immaterial-material', 'rejection-acceptance', and 'spirited homeland-estranged land of adoption' are manifested on the daily life of Azerbaijani IDPs and are culturally reproduced over the generations.

2. Nóra Huszti, National University of Public Service Hungary: *e Revival of Hun- garian Identity in the South of Brasil*

This field study examines a Hungarian community in Brasil and is based on six months of observations in 2015 with a Swabian-Hungarian community in Jaraguá do Sul in 2015. The community members are descendants of the Swabian-Hungarian families who immigrated from the territory of Hungary to the State of Santa Catarina, Brasil, in the 1890's. The field study reviews the circumstances of discovery of the Hungarian descendants by the Cultural Anthropologist Lajos Boglár in the 1940s. The method used in the research include participant observation, which explored reasons why today some of the community members identify themselves as Hungarian or are trying to live again their ancestral identity. The level of acculturation and the weight of importance the community feels about their Hungarian roots in a multiethnic and multicultural brasilian society are also examined. The field study considers whether this rediscovery of the national identity is a natural process or if there are other factors involved.

3. Courtney Cole, Regis College: *Migration and Memory: Diaspora and Im/mobility in O cial Accounts of Mass Violence*

Movement of people across borders is a persistent fact of mass violence, as images from Syria remind us on a daily basis. However, the ongoing implications of such movement are rarely a focus of efforts to reckon with aftermath of mass violence. While truth commissions have gained strength as practically expedient and morally just ways of dealing with the past, particularly in countries of the global South, in practice they have done little to acknowledge and engage the human migration associated with mass violence.

The large diaspora populations created by mass violence demand that official accounts of the violence reflect these experiences. Yet, to date, diaspora communities—both how they came to exist and their post-conflict experiences—have largely been ignored in the reports and testimony of truth commissions. In order to better understand representations of migration and diaspora communities in relation to mass violence in official accounts of truth commissions, I consider the following questions:

• How have truth commissions attended (or failed to attend) to the way in which conflict generates diaspora communities? • How do truth commissions ascribe meaning to movement—both their own and that of people living in post-conflict contexts?

• How do official accounts of truth commissions embrace and/or elide discourses of im/mobility and borders as a way of understanding conflict and its aftermath?

• How might we construct a post-conflict truth commission that creates a new social space in which post-conflict diaspora communities are engaged rather than excluded?

I will use my own field research in Sierra Leone and on the Liberian diaspora, as well as the work of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Liberia Diaspora Project, in order to address these questions.

4. Catherine Gilbert, University of Oxford: *Memory in Exile: Commemorative Practices in the Rwandan Diaspora*

In the aftermath of the 1994 genocide in Rwanda, many Rwandans left the country and have settled in Europe and North America. The memory of the genocide continues to hold a central place in the collective memory of these diasporic communities. This paper proposes an examination of the commemorative practices taking place among the Rwandan community living in the UK. In particular, it will interrogate how Rwandans living in exile respond to their experiences of violence and suffering, how they negotiate a space within which to share their memories and the process of cultural translation that this inevitably entails. Taking as its starting point Madelaine Hron's notion of 'translating pain', this paper will not only consider Rwandan responses to the cataclysmic trauma of genocide, but also how their experiences of immigration and exile are affected by this trauma.

This paper seeks to foreground how commemorative practices in the diaspora speak for survivors living both in Rwanda and around the world. It will examine the importance of their public role as witnesses in their host societies in mobilising global memory about the genocide and raising awareness of the continuing plight of survivors in Rwanda. As such, it will consider the wider role that these individuals play as witnesses, educators, activists, intellectuals and artists. My aim is to raise crucial questions about how memory functions in the diasporic setting: to what extent is the distinctiveness of memory lost in an international framework? What should be the response of the host community, and how can meaningful dialogue be established? Overall, this paper offers a challenge to the existing, predominantly Western framework of memory studies and suggests that we need to re-orient our thinking around questions of agency and activity in memory production.

5. Rosanne Kennedy, School of Literature, Language and Linguistics, Australian National University, Canberra: *Remembering Life in Detention: Australia's Refugee Camps in National and Transnational Memory*

In its more recent iterations and as part of its striving to move beyond understandings of remembering as fixed in both space and time, memory studies has developed theories and methodologies around a set of concepts associated with movement, dynamics and process. Taking as its object my own migration from London to Melbourne, this presentation will build on and question the limits of these newer approaches by means of an exercise in memory-work that explores the question of remembering's relations with the process of migrant

homemaking in new and unfamiliar worlds. As an exercise in examining the sorts of memory-work involved in my own migrant homemaking, 'Translating Worlds' constitutes the beginning of my new memory-work book project. The project's opening premise is that there exists an inextricable connection between the material worlds of place and location and the psychical and experiential worlds of memory, fantasy and the unconscious. Beginning from this knot, the presentation will explore concepts and theories derived from memory studies as well from the psychoanalytic ideas of Jean Laplanche, whose writings on translation and its limits offer suggestive ways of thinking about processes of remembering in the context of migration to new homes. Using examples from my own experience of migration to Melbourne including objects brought with me and case-studies including walks around my old and new homes, the presentation will explore an aspect of the work of homemaking that it describes, following Laplanche, as 'translation'. Taking a walk through some unfamiliar and some better-known streets, the presentation will trace aspects of this process of memory-work as translation, exploring both its contribution to homemaking as well as its (inevitable) limits.

PANEL 27: COMICS AND GRAFFITI, ROOM 22.0.11

Chair: Emma Parker, University of Leeds

> 1. Raúl Alberto Mora, Universidad Ponti cia Bolivariana and Polina Golovátina-Mora, Universidad Ponti cia Bolivariana: *Gra ti as a social expression of memory and (re) construction of the city: A cross-case analysis*

Research in cultural studies, memory studies, and literacy has explored the different roles that graffiti (graphic, print, and mixed) has played in the construction of social identities and critical consciousness. Whether embraced or taboo, whether seen as a form or art or as form of transgression, when looking at graffiti as a geographical affair, one can find powerful clues about the evolution of cities, what forms of social critique emerge, and the different cultural values that cities reflect through their walls. In the case of South American cities, graffiti provide visual evidence of the recent history of these places, what makes the city vibrate, and how languages, cultures, and worldviews actually collide.

This presentation, using multi-year data sets from two separate but related projects, intends to explore the memories about how the city keeps evolving that emanate from the data. Using an analytical framework combining geosemiotics research, memory, and duoethnography, the presenters will share how the photographic records of graffiti in the city intertwine with their emic and etic constructions of the city. In their conversations and the revisiting of their data sets, the authors will share how graffiti preserved as image provides a very different way to think about memory in and of the city and why, as we did with the cave paintings of old, we need to rethink our relationship with graffiti as a new form to record urban memories in an increasingly morphing world.

> 2. Mira Tzoreff, Tel Aviv University: *How should a revolution be remembered? the Counter-collective Memory of the Egyptian Arab Spring Revolution.*

In my presentation I will focus on the ways and means young Egyptians used during the Arab Spring revolution that took place on January 25 2011 in order to create their own collective memory of the revolution- a collective memory by the people, for the people with no state functionaries around to curate what is remembered or forgotten.

I will claim that crafting the collective memory of this revolution was part of the young Egyptian's struggle for "their right to the city" namely: the freedom to take possession of the urban space, use it and represent it. By using the art of graffiti Egyptian artists molded the multilayered -Pharaonic-Islamic-Coptic collective identity of the martyrs (shuhada) of the revolution; their portraits displayed on walls, public buildings and sidewalks were decorated with Pharaonic scenes combined with elements and motifs taken from both Coptic and Koranic verses. By doing so they actually conquered the urban public space. The fact that every Egyptian who crossed Tahrir Square or just walked along its streets could become familiar with the images of the martyrs, their names, their age, their place of birth as well as their level of education turned the Egyptian" imagined community" into a real one and thus produced a sense of solidarity, pride and patriotism among its members.

The theoretical framework of this presentation is based on Henri Lefebvre's "right to a city" and Michel Foucault's "Heterotopia".

> 3. Anna Vuorinne, University of Turku: *Entangled Visual Pasts: Migration and Transna- tional Memory in Graphic Storytelling*

Memory and migration play a central role in contemporary comics and graphic novels which are often told in form of memoir or biography and which explore the questions of identity, belonging, and migrant experience. Marjane Satrapi's Persepolis (2000) and Riad Sattouf's The Arab of the Future (2015) are just a few examples of the ever-growing international field of graphic narratives discussing migration and memory. My paper discusses the relationships between transnational memory, migration, and graphic storytelling by focusing on a recent work by German comic artist Birgit Weyhe. Weyhe's book Madgermanes (2016) tells a polyphonic story about the experiences and hardships of Mozambican guest workers in 1970's and 1980's GDR. It sheds light on the forgotten transnational history of the two countries and takes part in the culture of remembrance of contemporary Germany.

My paper argues that Madgermanes partakes in establishing of transnational practises of remembering that aim to break the national frames of German memory culture. By analysing the storytelling of Weyhe's book that builds on the flexible time structure of comics, memory work, and visual multiplicity I propose that transnational memory works as a foundational narrative principle of the story. The strategies of storytelling in Madgermanes highlight how memories and histories cross cultural and national borders and how they are linked to each other transnationally. Finally, my paper argues that Weyhe's book demonstrates the unique narrative potential of graphic storytelling when making sense of memory and migration.

4. Carmela Artime, Amsterdam University College, and Manuel Artime Omil, UNED: *Comics on the Spanish Civil War and the reconstruction of the Spanish collective memory.*

The Spanish Civil War has been in the last two decades a focus of interest of a wide variety of scientific and artistic disciplines. Comics are not an exception. Using a testimonial approach and the intrinsic subjectivity of comics, the contemporary Spanish 'historieta' urges the reader to the construction of a new retelling of the past, and contributes to reconfigure the Spanish collective imaginary in a certain way. At stake is the legitimacy of the genre to represent historical knowledge, the connection between the personal memory and the collective account, and the importance of the inter- generational transmission of those personal experiences.

In Spain comic books have only recently been receiving scholarly attention and even though there has been since the 70's a tradition of satirical comics, the classic division between 'high' and 'low' culture has been standing firm, and only these contemporary titles come to challenge such dichotomy.

In order to understand the political meaning that this wave of memorialism has in the Spanish context, unlike in other places where it acquires a more moralizing sense, it is necessary to bring to the fore the increasing questioning that the democratic narration has had in Spain in the last years. The narrative of "transition"/ "reconciliation" had worked until recently as a "grand narrative", which had served to integrate into democratic values a society socialised in the dictatorship. The emergence of the post-memory, the recovery by the younger generations of the struggles of their ancestors against fascism, must be interpreted as an expression of disenchantment towards the democracy built by their parents and to the narration of that democracy. Dissatisfaction with Spanish democracy has only increased in recent years and has found cultural ways to recreate the historical sense, creating new imaginaries. The graphic novel may be a good expression of it.

5. Raina Zimmering: *" e transnationalization of memories of the Zapatista movement through murals and graffties"*

In the presentation I want to analyze the transnational entangled remembrance between the indigenous Zapatista movement in the southeast of Mexico, which upraised in 1994 against their precarious social and political situation, with the supporter and the alterglobalization movement in many countries of the world, in the United States, in different European countries, and even in Russia and China. An important media for the entangles memory are murals and graffiti.

I go out from the theory of Ernst Cassirer about the symbolic forms, from the theory of Maurice Halbwachs about the collective memory and the approach of Jan and Aleida Assmann about the distinction between daily life and cultural memory. At the same time I stress the development research, especially the postcolonial research (Francois Jullien), and psychological approaches from Almuth Bruder Bezzel and Klaus Jürgen Bruder. In it is important to analyze cultural attitudes and feelings of the actors. Fore there in the presentation the medium of painting as measure of transnationalization of memory is coherently.

In the Zapatista communities the walls of official and private buildings are painted with murals about their origins and their descents, which give informations about the senses of the community and their objectives. The Zapatista murals are not created for professional artists, but by the members of the communities themselves and by international activists, so one regarded it as participatory art. On the murals there is a cosmos of historical figures with that they identify themselves. Historical references in the murals of the Zapatist movements are figures like the Gods of the Maya, the national virgin La Virgen de Guadalupe, Emiliano Zapata, the leader of the Mexican Revolution of 1910, Che Guevara and Subcomandante Marcos, the former leader of the Zapatista movement. In the Zapatista murals one can see the representation of the own for the inner strengthening of the Community, but also as massage for the outside world.

Shortly time after the Zapatista uprising, resurfaced Zapatista subjects and themes on graffitis and murals in other countries of the world. The same historical figures are to be seen. The Zapatista murals were transnationalizded.

In the presentation I analyze who are the actors of the transnationalization of the picture motives and the historic references of the zapatistas and on which ways carry out the transnationalization of memory. On the other hand one can see a postponement of the Zapatista images in the other parts of the world. That concerns the question of performativity of the memory through transnationalization.

PANEL 28: MEDIATION AND REMEDIATION AND MEMORY OF EVENTS, ROOM 27.1.49

Chair: Dee Britton SUNY Empire State College

    1.Megan Gooch, Historic Royal Palaces: *Poppies and Public Commemoration*

In 2014, an installation of ceramic poppies in the moat of the Tower of London called 'Blood Swept Lands and Seas of Red' attracted 5 million onsite visitors and reached over 18 million people online. Each of the 888,246 ceramic poppies in the installation was created to represent a single life; or rather a death. The number of ceramic poppies and the scale of the installation were its defining features both in terms of the spectacle it created in the moat, but also in the meanings people made of the artwork. Volunteers, staff, visitors and purchasers frequently referred to the emotional significance of 'one poppy, one life'. Each handmade poppy embodied individuality within the conformity which is associated with military service in WWI. No two poppies were the same, connecting the individuality of the dead combatants with the horrifying scale of the war.

This research paper will look at some findings from the data collected as part of the 'Blood Swept Lands' installation, specifically the preliminary discourse and content analysis of 9,000 online dedications left by the public on a dedicated online portal and website: The Tower of London Remembers. This paper investigates how and why people chose to participate online with a site-specific artistic commemorative installation, and focuses on the age and genders of online participants, as well as the language of remembrance and imagery of the poppy which are dominant features of this online memorial.

    2.Joanne Sayner, Newcastle University and Jenny Kidd, Cardi University: *Multidimensional Memory? Blood Swept Lands and Seas of Red at the Tower of London and on Tour*

On 4 August 2014 'Blood Swept Lands and Seas of Red', the now iconic work by Paul Cummins and Tom Piper, opened at the Tower of London. Each of the 888,246 red poppies in the Tower's moat represented one British life lost in the First World War. Dismissed as 'Fake, trite and inward-looking – a UKIP-style memorial' by journalist Jonathan Jones in The Guardian, it was nevertheless estimated that five million people visited in the four months it was on site. It was widely considered a lynchpin of the centenary activity and a poignant conduit to remembrance, indeed, it may have gone some way towards changing the face of large scale remembrance activity within the UK.

Since 2015 two set pieces from the installation – 'Wave' and 'Weeping Window' – have been touring around the four nations of the UK, and will continue to do so until the end of 2018. We have been interviewing members of the public at the poppy installations, questioning how visiting intersects with personal and collective understandings and performances of remembrance. To date we have collated more than 2300 responses from ten sites around the UK.

This paper explores the extent to which the remembrance activity surrounding Blood Sept Lands and Seas of Red can be understood as productive and/or remarkable. Using Bill Niven's concept of 'multidimensional memory' (2013), we investigate what the data tells us: first, in demographic terms, with a particular focus on women and younger respondents; second, in geographic terms, with the poppy signifying in diverse ways across the regions and nations of the UK; and, third, in diachronic terms, in the face of remarkable geo-political upheaval since the start of the centenary of the First World War.

    3.Åse Marie Ommundsen, Oslo and Akershus University College of Applied Sciences and Nord University and Leiv Sem, Nord University: *e 22nd of July exhibition in Oslo: Making a national memory*

The July 22 exhibition in Oslo is probably one of the commemorative or didactic texts on the 2011 terrorist attack with the largest national audience. The exhibition which is located in the actual place of the bomb blast has a dual purpose: to commemorate the victims and to educate the living to prevent future tragedies. The exhibition may be read as a multimodal text, the different modes of expression being among others the architectural features, the physical objects on display, interviews with victims, and twitter messages during the attacks. This multitude of diverse particular voices are brought together in a master narrative and on a time-line where exposition, complication, climax and release are obvious. The narrative aspect of the July 22 acts is not only apparent, but rather stressed on motivic, thematic, structural and symbolical levels. There are some tensions in this narrative: between the commemorative and educational purposes, and in the monologizing of the polyphony of individual voices. In our contribution, we wish to analyze the multimodality of the exhibition through a transdisciplinary approach. Combining theories of cultural memory and literature analysis we study how this exhibition tries to cope with making a national memory out of the individual experiences, and a narrative out of a texture of traumas that cannot be healed.

    4.Daniela Koleva, Sofia University: *The Immortal Regiment and its march across borders: Reformatting Victory Day*

9 May has been celebrated in Bulgaria as Victory Day (following the Soviet/Russian commemorative calendar) for decades, and – for the past few years – as the Day of Europe. The two celebrations are completely separate, featuring different slogans and symbols, targeting different audiences and with no reference to each other. In the past two years, many participants in the commemoration of the Victory Day carry A4 photos of participants in the

resistance and WWII, in most cases their family members. The initiative, called Immortal Regiment (Bessmertnyi polk) started in 2012 in Tomsk, Russia, and quickly spread in other countries.

The paper aims at deeper understanding of the new commemorative 'genre' and the changes it has undergone when adopted transnationally. My starting hypothesis is that while the anchoring of WWII commemoration in family memory had a certain de-politicizing and thus unifying effect in Russia, this was not the case in other countries, e.g. Bulgaria. I shall rely on some results of the international project "Monument and Celebration" (Pamiatnik i prazdnik) and on my own fieldwork in Sofia in 2017 in the frames of my department's project on new festive cultures in Bulgaria.

> 5. Janelle Kang Xiaoting, Ministry of Defence, Singapore: *Remembering under the Mnemonic State: e Timeline Approach and the Communicating of Political and Personal Memories in Singapore*

From the year-long Golden Jubilee events commemorating fifty years of sovereignty, to the passing of its former statesman Lee Kuan Yew, and to the General Elections, 2015 can be considered a significant year for Singapore. Given the magnitude of resources invested into shaping citizenry through these events, the deeper social impact of such efforts remains to be gauged. Using a timeline-mapping approach, 50 respondents of a relatively young and highly-educated profile plotted their most memorable events in 2015, and six were further interviewed. The findings saw a low recollection of public-political memories amid a multitude of personal-domestic memories, despite Mr Lee's passing was the most remembered national event. This paper offers that Singaporeans value memories of personal life more than public events, as the various timelines reflected a broader emphasis on the domesticity of marriage, career, travel, and other lifestyle displays. However, both sets of recall could be more complementary than separate, as the more domesticated timeline markers are also part of the discourses on material prosperity, social mobility, and domestic stability that are often associated with the ideology of nation-building in contemporary Singapore. Singaporeans' sense of national identity therefore seems to lie amid ordinary life experiences rather than in grand national-level events.

PANEL 29: REMEMBERING THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE IN THE ARMENIAN DIASPORA AND TURKEY (ROUNDTABLE), ROOM 27.0.49

Chair: Cecilie Banke, Danish Institute for International Studies

> 1. Güler Alkan, Independent scholar: *(Re)Negotiating identity – the political and social memory of the Armenian genocide in southeastern Turkey*

Güler Alkan's paper "(Re)Negotiating identity – the political and social memory of the Armenian genocide in southeastern Turkey" explores how Kurdish politicians use commemorative discourse to mobilize group identity and to reconcile with Armenians in juxtaposition to Turkey's oppressive state nationalism. In a second angle, her presentation uncovers the social memory of the Armenian genocide among the local Kurdish population. This inclusion of the community level also serves the purpose of discussing challenges in the study of traumatic pasts in divided societies, particularly when being a "halfie researcher", i.e. having both insider and outsider identities (Subedi 2006). Thus, in the second part of the presentation she will share her anthropological field notes from the Gomidas trip to explore how researchers are affected in multiple (and unexpected) ways when conducting fieldwork at contested sites of memory.

> 2. Tsolin Nalbantian, Leiden University: *Bearing Witness to Commemoration: Marking the Centenary of the Armenian Genocide.*

Tsolin Nalbantian will present her paper "Bearing Witness to Commemoration: Marking the Centenary of the Armenian Genocide." This paper examines commemoration events organized by the municipalities of Bitlis and Mutki, along with the first commemorative march held in Diyarbakir in April 2015. It explores how inhabitants of the region, international visitors from over twenty countries, Turkish citizens, and members of the Armenian diaspora transformed into witnesses of reconciliation and participated in remembrance activities of the Armenian Genocide. It will demonstrate how attendees of these commemorative events used both historical and imagined kinship and trade networks while simultaneously constructing innovative affiliations to engage with the implications of the Armenian Genocide: including forced conversion, forced marriage, property seizure, displacement, and other forms of violence. These public displays of grief and acceptance in spaces that ranged from the local municipality buildings to public marches dispute the representation in historiography of the relationship between the Armenian diaspora and the Kurdish and Turkish populations and the implications of the end of the Ottoman Empire. In addition, these networks challenge the contemporary political activities of the Armenian, American, and Turkish state efforts that aim to explore the events of 1915, which neither involve the current inhabitants of the region nor those who imagine these areas as their ancestral homes. Lastly, these shared commemorative events demonstrate how historical and novel networks produce connections that force the reconsideration of how to study the events of the Armenian Genocide and their enduring memory and concurrently create new sites of reconciliation.

> 3. John Lubbock, Independent Filmmaker and Journalist: *Witnessing reconciliation between Armenians, Kurds and Turks*

4. Öndercan Muti, Humboldt University of Berlin: *"I think it is the mother who keeps the things going": The Role of the Gender in Transmitting the Memory of the Genocide Among young Armenians*

Marking the hundred years since the Armenian Genocide, in 2015 had a research group from Turkey started a research on the memory of the Genocide among the young Armenians in Turkey, Armenia, Lebanon, Germany and France. Consisting of 4 research assistants and a project coordinator, the research team has interviewed with 100 Armenians between the ages of 19-35. Throughout the interviews, the participants have answered various questions about how they remember the past, how the familial memory has been transmitted, how the knowledge of the genocide affects their daily life and political attitude as well as their emotional state, and what kind of practices of commemoration they prefer.

In this paper, the fundamental outcomes of the research will be publicized within a comparative perspective. The gender differences on the patterns of remembrance, memorial transmission between generations, constitution of identity and selfknowledge in the shadow of genocide, and the effects of the genocide on the determination of political engagements of the young Armenians in Turkey, Armenia, Lebanon, Germany and France signify the main outline of the analysis. In this context, the analysis indicates an interpretation of how the gender plays a role in the postmemory of the Armenian Genocide. Also the analysis contributes to a comparative comprehension of the differing narrations of 1915. Accordingly, a variety of memorizing and dealing with a traumatic collective past among Armenian youth in different countries will be presented and analysed in a comparative historical and gender perspective. After revealing this variety of attitudes and strategies, diverse memory demands of Armenian youth in relation to Genocide we will be presented and discussed.

PANEL 30 MEDIATING MEMORIES, ROOM 27.1.47

Chair: Anna Reading, King's College London

1. Serghei Erlih, Ph.D. The Historical Expertize Journal or Academics' Self-organization inside the State-controlled Academia

Paper title: Three Basic Narratives of Local, National and Global Memory: the Fairy Tale, the Heroic Myth and the Myth of Self-Sacrifice (The member of the "Memory and the global" panel")

Abstract: The collective memory, identity and ethics are based on narratives of the fairy tale, the heroic myth and the myth of self-sacrifice. The fairy tale narrative supports an egoistic aim to get pray and return home. Based on that such narrative permits to unite only limited number of relatives. The competition for pray turns into the source of infinite war of all against all. Anthropological research shows that the average level of violence in the tribal societies is greater than in the state societies. The heroic myth narrative combines altruism and egoism, the care of your "own" and the hate of "others". It serves as a foundation not only for the Ancient and Medieval states, but for the Modern nation-state as well. The heroic myth diminishes the level of violation in the state and at the same time supports the external aggressions. During the nuclear era it turns to the permanent threat to humanity. The altruistic myth of self-sacrifice goes beyond the national borders, by regarding all people as brothers, eliminate the meaning "the others". This narrative of memory, identity and ethics is promoting the aim of helping people regardless of their race, religion, ethnicity and so on. Adoption of a self-sacrifice narrative becomes an important instrument in prevention of violence in the global community in emerging of the "information society". The myth of self-sacrifice serves as a foundation of the global memory phenomenon, which compassioned towards all victims of World history crimes. The promoting ideas of the global memory should become one of the aims of the memory studies community.

2. Tea Sindbæk Andersen, University of Copenhagen: Youth Brigadiers at the Railway – personal memories of Tito's Yugoslavia in the making

In the Second World War Yugoslavia lost not only a million citizens but also large parts of its material infrastructure. Immediately after the war, Yugoslavia's new communist regime set out to reconstruct the country, drawing heavily on voluntary workers and so-called "Youth brigades". The Yugoslav authorities also invited brigadiers from abroad, mainly to be engaged in the construction of railways in Bosnia. In the summers of 1946-1948, many young leftists from Northern Europe went to Yugoslavia to get a first-hand experience of the construction of a new socialist state. While the Yugoslav aim was obviously to gather a large workforce, the involvement of the international brigades also served to foster international solidarity. The Yugoslav authorities hosted the international brigadiers on a tour of Yugoslavia's cultural sights and a stay at the Dalmatian seaside.

Yet, in 1948, Yugoslavia was expelled from the Cominform and became a pariah state in the socialist world, which forced many leftist to condemn what had shortly before been a lightning example. Thus, the formerly celebrated brigades had to accommodate their personal experience to political dicates – and later to the fall of communism and the destruction of Yugoslavia.

This paper draws on contemporary accounts, memoirs and interviews to explore the experience of the Yugoslav reconstruction campaign. The paper investigates the meaning made by brigadiers of their time in the youth brigade and what this experience means as part of their personal memories and ideological development. The paper compares the perspective in the written accounts, often made shortly after the brigadiers' adventure, with

narratives presented in later memoirs and interviews made more than 60 years later. The paper thus explores the relationship between memory and oral history, and the connection between personal memories and wider political histories.

> 3. Anders Høg Hansen, Malmö University: Mix Tape Memories. Between Reclusiveness and Conviviality. Stories of migration, conflict and change.

This paper draws from research comprising 12 thematically related cases reconstructing the journeys of enigmatic lives, tracing their course between private and public crossroads. The stories share a concern with migration, conflict, and change, while illustrating how the subjects' narration of memory is shaped in performative remembrance genres across a variety of media. Key sources span interviews and focus groups, letters, diaries, photographs, objects, therapy writing, columns, newsletters, and autobiography.

As the mix tape made by the music enthusiast and handed over to a lover or stranger, the collection of cases is likely to be uneven, and exhibit the obscure alongside well-known 'tunes'. This collection emphasise stories of agency, rather than stuckness. The material is emerging as a mix tape memory work 'playing' wilful stories by unknown as well as documented figures.

Cases for this paper share a concern with break-away, racialised and migratory experiences:

(1) Lewis Michaux was once a proprietor of the largest black literature bookstore in the world in Harlem, a place that became the reading room and literary centre of black activism and civil rights. (2) Victor Cornelins was taken from St Croix to Denmark and placed as a human exhibit in a Tivoli exhibition in 1905. He stayed in the country and became a respected teacher-musician. (3) A football testimonial between black and white footballers taking taking place in 1979 in the UK and reframed in a new BBC documentary giving voice to former players. Finally, (4) about the African-American pianist Eugene Haynes and his friendship with Karen Blixen over a ten year period while staying at Blixen's secretary's house in the village of Dragør, Denmark.

A comparative discussion will apply the notions apprenticeship to history (Felman), mourning as reconciliation (Ricoeur), and generative and redemptive aspects of life practices and memory work (Adams).

> 4. Paul Miller-Melamed, McDaniel College (Westminster, Maryland*): "Warn the Duke": The Sarajevo Assassination in History, Memory, and Myth*

In E.L. Doctorow's great American novel "Ragtime," the world-famous magician Harry Houdini is hanging upside down in a straitjacket twelve stories above New York City's Times Square on June 28, 1914, when he is suddenly overcome by a memory triggered by news reports of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand's assassination in Sarajevo that day: six years earlier, a little boy who just happened to be playing in front of the house where Houdini's car had sputtered and stalled, mysteriously instructed him to "warn the Duke." The magician had not given the cryptic utterance a single thought since, not even when he met the Archduke Franz Ferdinand at an air show a year later.

Why did Doctorow insert this passage into a work otherwise about racial tensions in America at the turn of the century? What can it possibly tell us about how the Sarajevo assassination been remembered since it first entered human consciousness as an act of world historical significance? In my paper, Houdini's fictional memory of the little boy's warning, which comes just at the moment he is immobilized in mid-air, represents the difficulty we have generally in coming to terms with the randomness of the Archduke's political murder, and its vast disproportionality with the First World War. In real life, of course, Franz Ferdinand had lots of warnings against going to Sarajevo. The novel "Ragtime," I argue, thus taps into two of the Sarajevo assassination's truly mythical registers of remembrance: that it improbably occurred in this preposterous, pre-modern place; and that it directly gave rise to the "inevitable" Great War. By examining a variety of literature, film, monuments, museums and other mnemonic narratives (including academic writing itself), my paper shows how the memory of the Archduke's political murder has transcended history to enter the realm of mythology.

> 5. Kyoko Murakami, University of Copenhagen: *Materiality of Memory: The case of the Remembrance Poppy*

This chapter underlines the importance of materiality in memory studies with a close attention to the remembrance poppy, an artefact canonical to the practice commemoration of war and conflict in Britain. A traditional psychological approach to studying the artefact as a de-contextualised subject seems to resort to a simplistic representational model of the object. When used in an art installation in a heritage site, it creates a perceptual field of experiencing the past in an extraordinary fashion. I argue that when studying phenomena of collective remembering it is important to consider the interplay between discourse, and materials, body and environment as the integrated whole. The argument is underpinned by the material view of remembering along with the concept of semiotic mediation. The analysis illustrates the significance of the artefact to the ritual performance and addresses how the artefacts can create a semiotic field for meaning construction.

PANEL 31: ACTIVIST MEMORIES, ROOM 22.0.11

Chair: Yifat Gutman, Ben Gurion University

Memory Studies in its first and second waves has given great emphasis to memories of violence, war, atrocity and genocide. This panel seeks to develop the emergent strand in memory studies that is giving emphasis to cultural memories of activism and nonviolent struggles, as well as questions of human agency, peace and human rights. It complements other panels in the conference on aspects of memory and activism.

> 1. Red Chidgey, King's College London: *Assemblage memory: A Materialist Account of Extended Memory Activism*

In light of Memory Studies' emerging focus on activism and distributed agencies, what does it mean to follow the (grassroots) actors, attachments and materialities of collective memory across generations and between different mnemonic sites and contexts? This paper draws on findings from a three-year qualitative study of the British Votes for Women campaign of the early C20th and its contemporary activist legacies. Drawing on insights from this study, I offer a critical review of the Deleuzian-inspired notion of ́assemblage memory ́ – informed by a focus on duration, stickiness, embodiment and materiality – and reflect on what a tentative notion of ́assemblage memory ́ may bring to Memory Studies' burgeoning 'third wave'.

> 2. Joanne Garde-Hansen, University of Warwick: *Liquid Memory and water environ- ment activism*

Media may provide open fora for local and wider community discussion about water management and may be used to hold water management agencies and corporate representatives to account in public (e.g. social media may be used positively such as in #oceanoptimism or negatively as in #droughtshaming). From building tools for crowdsourcing volunteer effort, to gaming flood disasters, to the creation of flashmobs, there are many new ways of activating 'hydro-citizenship' as a form of mediated environmental activism. What many activities and movements miss is the role that memory plays in the meaning of water for emplaced communities and people, who may be disconnected from their watery sense of place. This paper offers examples of art/media/memory activism in Brazil and the UK as interventions from the perspective of water itself and its ability to remember where it once was.

> 3. D-M Withers, independent researcher and publisher: *Commemorating 100 years of suffrage: the Bristol Women's Monument Project.*

This presentation will outline initial research for the Commemorating 100 Years of Suffrage: the Bristol Women's Monument Project, a ten year project that will begin in 2018 and aims to place memory activism in the service of new forms of public learning, civic participation and cultural democracy. 2018 marks the centenary of property owning women over 30 getting the vote in Britain. The Bristol Women's Monument Project will use this milestone as a catalyst for a three-year public consultation that will ask Bristol citizens what an appropriate monument to commemorate the heritage of women in the city should look like. The results will inform the design of the final monument, to be unveiled in 2028, the centenary of when all women over 21 gained the vote. This presentation will reflect on what examples of participatory, public memory activism exists already and how they might inform The Bristol Women's Monument Project.

> 4. Anna Reading, King's College London: *Activism, Theatre and Memory.*

This paper draws on my own work as a playwright over thirty years using theatre and memory as part of activist work to contribute to feminist campaigns. I critically situates this within a long history of activist feminist theatre and explore wider debates on the role of the memory play, and the future memory play as a means to provoke different imaginaries and actions for the future.

PANEL 32: MEMORY, VIOLENCE AND TRAUMA (1), ROOM 4A.0.68

Chair: Jason Crouthamel, Grand Valley State University

> 1. Michael Huner, Grand Valley State University: *"Military Desertion and the Trauma and Subversion of Postcolonial State Formation in the Era of the Paraguayan Great War, 1840s-1870s"*

This paper traces the subversive whims of military deserters in nineteenth-century Paraguay for glimpses into how everyday people endured and remembered the traumas of postcolonial state formation. Midcentury records of military desertion trials from Paraguay supply the principal source base here and encompass the period of years before and during the country's catastrophic Triple Alliance War (1864-1870) in which Paraguay lost over half of its population. Conventional historical wisdom holds that most Paraguayans valiantly died in loyal defense of their country in the conflict due to ethno-linguistic bonds tied to the widespread use of the Guarani language and singular attachments forged with the land and a bold leader. My research points to how the bonds of nationhood could often prove more ephemeral, fluid, and ambivalent than what this conventional wisdom suggests. In the case of military deserters, as this paper argues, the acknowledged embrace of the state's fulfillment of a reciprocal moral economy—whereby the republic provided rations and clothing in exchange for soldiers' submission and labor—carried undertones of duplicity whereupon soldiers also reserved a right to

exercise   subversive   whims.
Most military deserters of nineteenth-century Paraguay did not run far from their barracks. And they did so for ephemeral reasons and, as commonly stated in testimony, for el simple antojo—an expression with a Guaraní equivalent that we could translate as a "mere whim" or a "fleeting fancy." Before the war, the practice of pawning articles of one's military uniforms inspired such whims. During conflict, the exercise of such whims also had dramatic results. This paper thus culminates with the amazing wartime desertion of Anastacio Baez whose impulsive actions and web of lies exposed the state's own insecurities about commanding the loyalties of subject-citizens and channeled the violence of wartime military justice against other soldiers and civilians living near the front.

2. Bridget Keown, Northeastern University, Massachusetts: *"Trauma and Female Veterans of the First World War"*

The image of the 'shell-shocked soldier' remains one of the most enduring from the First World War period, and the center of ongoing discussions of the history of trauma, memory, and healing. My paper proposes that soldiers were not the only category of war participants to suffer psychological trauma as a result of their war experience. My research examines the individual expressions of trauma by British and Irish female veterans—specifically, nurses, volunteers, and ambulances drivers—and their experiences in the immediate postwar world. My paper begins with a feminist critique of psychological and trauma history, which argues that contemporary conceptions depicted the female mind as generally unstable and prone to 'hysteria', while diagnoses of trauma, specifically 'shell-shock,' were designed for male combatant patients. As a result, women's expressions of wartime trauma tended to be misunderstood while their war experience was generally not taken into account during treatment. Further, I demonstrate that the historic study of war trauma has been almost exclusively applied to male soldiers, further diminishing the unique stressors and experiences of women during wartime. I then turn to historic sources, which include medical records from military hospitals, such as Queens Square, and from private hospitals and asylums, as well as nurses' pension records, to provide an analysis of women's wartime trauma and treatment. From these sources, I not only explore women's unique expressions of trauma, but also analyze the power relationships into which they entered with their physicians, the medical profession, and society at large. Ultimately, my work argues for the need to expand the historical categories of war trauma to include female veterans and civilians, and also demonstrates the prevalence of such trauma. In so doing, I document the memory and subjectivity of individual women, and the potential for healing available to them.

3. Marcin Jarząbek, Jagiellonian University, Krakow: *"In or outside of mental hospital? War traumas and their treatment in interwar Poland"*

There were more than 2.2 million of Poles who were soldiers during WWI, although the vast majority of them were conscripted to German, Austro-Hungarian or Russian armies. Thus, after the creation of the Polish state in 1918 those veterans were rarely present in public discourse and memory of the war. However, individual Polish soldiers had not been immune to the traumatizing effects of war experiences. "War neurosis/psychosis" was of strong interest to Polish psychiatry in the interwar period, both as a theoretical and practical problem. From the perspective of a historical study of traumatic war experiences, this paper analyzes psychological and medical definitions of "war trauma" (including the evolution of this definition), and the ways in which doctors' findings influenced collective and individual memories of the war. It aims to trace the main criteria for the medical treatment of traumatized veterans and its consequences as well as the reasons these models were chosen. This paper will be based on interdisciplinary analysis of sources of different origins and nature: archival records of treatment and therapy in main Polish psychiatric hospitals, medical literature (especially papers published in medical and medical-military journals) just as published memoirs and diaries of the traumatized soldiers who lived in   interwar   Poland.
Interpretation of those selected materials will focus on the meanings that were given to war experiences both by the people and institutions that framed them within medical, political, and historical discourses. Applying perspectives of current historical and psychological knowledge will allow us to answer the question: how in interwar Poland did both individuals and institutions cope with the psychological effects of war?

4. Nathalie Sebbane, Université Sorbonne Nouvelle Paris 3: *Remembering the Magdalen Laundries: past, present, future*

This paper seeks to explore the multiple stages and phases of construction of a, or multiple, memories of the Magdalen Laundries. From a media story to individual stories, a national narrative of the Laundries emerged, which resulted in the production of a series of documentaries, films, books and a limited number of academic and historical publications.

Today, as the story has stopped making the headlines, crucial questions need to be asked and answered: how does Ireland remember the Laundries? How will future generations 'not forget' them? Where, when and how will the story be written into Irish History?

A recent submission by the advocacy support group Justice for Magdalenes to the UNCAT points to "the continuing "denial" by Government that the State has any liability for the Magdalene laundries" and demands access to the archives of the religious orders and the establishment of a memorial. As Ireland has entered a decade of commemorations, which started last year with the centenary of the 1916 Easter Rising and will go on

until the centenary of Independence, it is of paramount importance to also address the issue of commemoration and memorials, taking into account the risk of a national 'memory overload'.

Thus, the specific aim of this paper is, on the one hand, to reflect on the process of memorialisation of the Magdalen Laundries, by analysing the contributions of the media, witness testimonies, official inquiries and reports, both nationally and internationally; and, on the other hand, to explore how the construction of a collective memory of the laundries will affect and influence the political and social narrative of modern Ireland, including processes of restorative justice in the broader context of institutional abuse and dealing with individual traumatic experiences.

PANEL 33: RE/BORDERING MEMORY I: MEMORY AND BORDER- MAKING, ROOM 4A.0.69

Chair: Ekaterina Kalinina, Södertörn University

1. Randi Marselis, Roskilde University: *Remembering refugee routes through museum exhibitions*

Following the increasing public focus on the arrival of refugees in Northern Europe, Danish museums are beginning to see flight and refugees as topics they urgently need to engage with. They do so to stay relevant in present times, but also in order fulfil their responsibilities as collectors of shared cultural heritage. The current 'refugee crisis' and the related enforcement of borders and stricter migration and asylum laws will become our shared future past. Museums, together with other knowledge institutions, have a responsibility for avoiding that memories of the present situation will be erased through organized forgetting (Musiol 2017). This paper discusses two recent exhibitions, Flight for Life at the Danish National Museum (2017) and Refugees at the Danish Immigration Museum (2016). Both exhibitions focused on the experience of flight through tracing refugees' routes to Denmark. Drawing on the concept of prosthetic memory (Landsberg 2004), the paper examines in what ways museum visitors were invited to empathize with refugees. Furthermore, the paper asks, how bordering processes currently at work in Denmark and Europe were represented and to what extent deportations were made invisible.

2. Nicolai Teufel, University of Bayreuth: *De- and reterritorialization of memorial landscapes along the Polish-German border*

Poland's westward shift after World War II, which was followed by dramatic expulsions and resettlements, turned the area along the Oder and Neisse river into the new border region between the German Democratic Republic and the Polish People's Republic. This border was not acknowledged de jure until 1990 and was considered as a second iron curtain. Despite the openness achieved by Poland's accession to the European Union in 2004 , conflicts of cross-border cooperation often derive from the fields of history.

Focusing on this border, my contribution addresses both the intersections between the fields of memory studies and border studies and between national and transnational frameworks of remembrance. Borders are "crucial sites for the recovery of memories, their contestation and re-negotiation" (Zhurzhenko 2011: 65). Along these lines, my presentation uses "the border" as a heuristic for a multi-dimensional analysis of the Polish-German memorial landscape.

(1) The continuities and changes in history politics are analysed through the study of monuments near the border. These monuments are materialized discourses revealing debates over national identity. In contrast to the time of the Cold war, border monuments originating from after 1990 emphasize enhanced openness and diminished importance of the nation state following the paradigm of „growing together".

(2) "Collective memory" refers to the connections between the personal, the social and the historical for the process of developing group identities (Assmann 2011). The presentation shows continuities and disruptions of collective memories from the end of World War II, during the socialist period and in post-cold war times.

(3) In an ever more prominent sense, bordering and remembering are not only the business of the state. Ordinary people, NGOs or museums are active in the processes of both de- and re-constructing the border and remembrance. Thus, practices of re-writing and re-educating a transnational history are discussed.

3. Alena Pfoser, Loughborough University: *Memory and borderwork at Europe's margins*

Scholars working in the field of border studies have increasingly drawn attention to the borderwork of citizens, showing that not just state actors and institutions but also citizens are involved in the making, shifting and undermining of territorial borders. This paper draws attention to the role that memory plays in this borderwork. Colonisation, territorial expansion, separatist movements and collapses of empires not only shape territorial borders but also reconfigure social and cultural memories. Memories of past state formations are regularly mobilised by citizens to inform border imaginaries in the present and future and to articulate varying concerns over sovereignty, security and mobility. A conceptualisation of borderwork therefore needs to be sensitive not only to the spatialities created through bordering processes but also their temporal structuring. Empirically the paper focuses on borderwork in the Russian-Estonian borderland through an analysis of narratives by local inhabitants that were collected during several months of ethnographic fieldwork between 2011-12 and 2016. I show how Soviet occupation and repression as well as a sense of modernity and progress created by the regime form

multiple and conflicting mnemonic layers of local narratives which are tied up with different imaginations of the border and are situated in a field of unequal power relations. The paper shows the importance of considering how memory continues to be mobilised for nation-building and securitisation of borders at Europe's margins, even if being contested by other, in this case marginalised pasts and border imaginaries.

4. Inge Melchior, University of Amsterdam: *Memory agents in Europe's borderland: ethnographic fieldwork in Estonia*

In a recent article on Estonian migrants who reside in the Netherlands I distinguish between 'double victims' and 'agents of change'. Double victims are those who do not only suffer from a lingering past, but also from misrecognition by both Russia and Europe. Agents of change on the other hand use that lingering past to incite social change, e.g. to teach Western Europeans the danger of Russia/Putin.

During my previous ethnographic fieldwork in Estonia (2007-2015), I met primarily 'double victims'. Since then however, Western European discourses on Russia have shifted towards more cautiousness towards Russia, which has drawn new mental boundaries and changed power relations in Europe.

For the current presentation, I will travel back to the Estonians in Estonia and question how – in this changing context – my informants act upon their past, especially when they find themselves among Russians and Western Europeans. Who stand up as agents of change, why and in which contexts? By looking at agency, we will be able to understand how these Estonians use remembering to create and reinforce cultural boundaries in Europe, to make themselves belong to certain groups and exclude them from others. Based on previous fieldwork, I would expect that some groups aim at social change on a national level (by the state or in the media) and others at social change on an international level (Western Europe, US, Russia primarily).

I will do follow-up interviews with Estonian intellectuals, 'nationalists' (their self-refence), former deportees and countrymen. I will ask them to reflect on their own and others' perceptions of Russia's danger, how this has recently changed in their views, and how they act upon their memories of Soviet repression. These questions will shed new light on memory and agency, on the Europeanisation of memory, and on memory practices in Europe's borderland.

5. Gintare Venzlauskaite, University of Glasgow: *From post-war west to post-soviet east: manifestations of displacement, collective memory, and Lithuanian diasporic experience*

The proposed paper looks into WWII driven displacements from Lithuania, and questions, what effect they had on country's collective memory landscape. By providing a respective review of discursive patterns regarding population loses and their role in national identity construction, the study travels across the US and Russia, where significant part of those loses has transformed into diasporic communities and their networks.

While a considerable number of Lithuanian population fled to the west amid fear of occupation and then engaged in what is considered activity of a classic diaspora, a big part of eastern communities is made of those who were subjected to soviet repressions. Provided the eastern Lithuanian communities were organized and recognized institutionally only after borders shifted following the collapse of the Soviet Union, they can be regarded as an accidental diaspora. These aspects had a significant impact on how eastern and western Lithuanian diasporants and their descendants shaped their relation to homeland, host-land, as well as how they articulate meaning of displacement.

However, regardless of their fundamental differences, the communities residing in this case in the US and the RF are living embodiments of what has become an essential part of national narrative about turbulent 20th century. Not only displacement and exile is an object of the grand narrative – the victims on both sides were one of the main carriers that sustained and disseminated both factual and empirical evidence of the losses of Lithuanian population caused by atrocities of the totalitarian regimes.

Therefore, by employing testimonies of the affected, the study demonstrates different narratives of displacement, the interplay between post-war west and post-soviet east in the context of diasporic experience, as well as their role in Lithuanian collective imagination and shared memory development process.

PANEL 34: INHERITANCE, APPROPRIATION, RECOGNITION: CONCEPTUAL APPROACHES TO PRESENT PASTS, ROOM 4A.1.68

Chair: Jonathan Bach, The New School

1. Ben Nienass, California State University, San Marcos: *Constraints of Recognition: Commemorating the Armenian Genocide in Germany*

Based on the study of several civil society efforts that pushed for the recognition and commemoration of the Armenian genocide in Germany, this paper interrogates what shapes, motivates, and allows the memorial and educational efforts concerning the Armenian genocide in the German context beyond a 'politics of identity' in a strict sense. What are the specific constraints and repertories that play a role in pushing oneself and others to spend time on the memory of a crime that occurred 'elsewhere'? How are the recognition efforts shaped by notions of compliance with a larger (national, European, cosmopolitan) memory paradigm? And how are these constraints perceived and constructed in identitarian terms (German, European)? I suggest that contrary to other European cases where a strong lobby of Armenian immigrants played a prominent role in recognition struggles (e.g. France), and contrary to purely geopolitical explanations that stress current diplomatic concerns, the German case demonstrates how former memory struggles shape and condition new debates that are seemingly unrelated, and how national memory regimes continue to condition the circulation of transnational memories. I show how German actors work through the demands of a "culture of contrition" (Wilds) by linking the struggle for recognition to established positions in Germany's own history of Vergangenheitsbewältigung, thereby reinforcing a mnemonic community that is understood in predominantly national terms. In doing so, the paper also interrogates assumptions about agency in memory activism and about the possibility to "instrumentalize" memories for contemporary political agendas.

2. Jonathan Bach, The New School: *Market, Value, Memory: Appropriating the German Socialist Everyday*

All societies carry out unavoidable negotiations between multiple, overlapping, and contradictory pasts, and it is the task of what falls loosely under "memory studies" to try and understand the mechanisms by which this occurs. This paper explores the practice of appropriation as a particular mode of linking the past to the future. This paper first tries to establish a theoretical basis for talking about appropriation--the making of what was once someone else's into mine/yours--by examining it as a means of creating new forms of value, whether financial, moral, symbolic, or what we can identify as memory value. It then looks at several cases of appropriation, drawing on research on the afterlife of former East German socialist material culture in today's Germany: (1) the function of the market in aiding appropriation by commodifying a formerly value-less object and keeping it in circulation. This makes the market arguably less a sphere of alienation from experience than a means by which cultural knowledge is preserved, circulated, and transmitted across generations; (2) the role of amateur museums in allowing appropriation through re-asserting ownership over suddenly culturally obsolete objects, now revalued by assertions of their authenticity; and (3) generational transmission through the act of temporary use of urban space in Berlin. Through appropriation, the paper argues, material remains of the past appear less as emissaries from another time, and more as active participants in the present-day forging of the future.

3. Yukiko Koga, Hunter College, City University of New York*, After Empire: The Dynamics of Inheritance and Betrayal in East Asia.*

This paper explores the concept of inheritance in accounting for the colonial past. It takes as its starting point the politics of preservation in the northeast Chinese city of Harbin, looking at how the municipal government sought to capitalize on the city's famous colonial cityscape through historic preservation, and how these attempts unintentionally questioned the legitimacy of the party-state and called forth an unexpected ghost of a different sort—the Cultural Revolution. Through the dynamics of inheritance and betrayal, the case of Harbin illustrates how multilayered losses from different historical sediments— losses from colonialism, socialism, and post-socialism—unexpectedly emerge through the city's attempts to boost its struggling economy and reposition itself in the global economy by restoring its European-style, colonial-era structures (built mostly by Russian and Japanese in the beginning of the twentieth century). Accompanying this example of the capitalization of colonial inheritance, the paper then turns to examine the contemporaneous process of abandonment through the example of abandoned chemical weapons in and near Harbin and the delayed violence they inflict, raising questions about the temporality of trauma, the generational transmission of the past, and the working of what I call the double inheritance.

4. Jiyu ZHANG, Leiden University Center for the Arts in Society: *Myth of Guojia: Politics of Memory in Postsocialist China*

In this paper I seek to explore how the problematic concept of guojia in Chinese language and culture is interfered with politics of memory. Distinguishing between guo (nation/state) and jia (family/home) in a semantic sense, I call attention to an isomorphic tendency of guo and jia in ancient Chinese philosophy and religion. This isomorphism, I contend, is one of the essential claims inculcated through the institution of Confucianism, one that has been inscribed into the fabric of everyday life in contemporary China. Centered on nationhood, kinship, and individual, the isomorphism of family-state gives rise to a mythical relationship between the mass and the nation, a mythical bond that operates as a grand narrative in Sinophone cultural production. In the context of postsocialist China, such narratives can be found in a wide range of literary and filmic texts, through which the collective trauma caused by political turmoil is formulated. The efforts to account for the collective trauma, I would argue, can be seen as attempts to fabricate a collective memory, while at the expense of heterogeneous experiences of individuals. In this sense, the (de)mystification of the Chinese nation-state is virtually subjected to competing claims of memory. In resistance to a dominant historiography that inscribes a collective version of experience, trauma, and memory into individual's self-identification, intellectuals and artists resolve to foray into the writing of history with multiple voices, perspectives, and dimensions. So long as the collective memory is a discursive field whereby a collective identity is forged, paradoxically, it is at the locus of memory, that the collective faces its contingency. To that end, I will look at Chinese director Xie Jin's The Herdsman (Mu ma ren,1982), so as to demonstrate how memory has become a pivotal locus where the tension between the collective and the individual is visually narrativized.

PANEL 35: BROADENING THE HORIZON OF MEMORY STUDIES: MEMORY CONCEPTS ACROSS THE GLOBE, ROOM 23.0.50

Chair: Ann Rigney, Utrecht University

1. Maria Elizabeth Dorr, Goethe University, FMSP*: Narrative Theory, Memory Studies, and the Notion of Distance*

Maria's research is concerned with 'travelling memory novels' that tell civil war stories with at least one out of two eyes pointed in the direction of readerships that feel no prior connection to the settings, protagonists or politics of the narrated worlds. How can concepts developed in memory studies and narratology be brought together to give insights into both the narrative strategies of these texts and their real-world implications, without being assuming toward the narrated worlds, their referentiality, or the circumstances of their production? Maria's contribution will address these concerns through a short analysis of Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie's Biafra novel, Half of a Yellow Sun (2006), in which she discusses how 'distance' can be fruitfully employed in this context.

2. Sayma Khan, Goethe University, FMSP: *From periphery to mainstream: tracing the mnemonic power of Saadat Hasan Manto's writings.*

My research concerns itself with the exploration of the conjunctions between memory studies and postcolonial vernacular literatures. In pursuit of finding ways to accentuate the significance of vernacular languages/literatures within postcolonial nations, and looking at ways how they inform the imagination of the general public, it proves rather fruitful to turn towards memory studies. Concepts of memory studies enable to bring the interrelations between the past, present and future to the fore, and they also relay the multilayered dynamics of remembering and forgetting in particular sociohistorical contexts. Exemplarily, works by the prolific Urdu writer, Saadat Hasan Manto, serve my purpose here to reveal the mnemonic impact of his writings on present day Pakistan. Focusing on the "plurimedial constellations" (see Erll & Wodianka, 2008) that surround his works, I want to show how Manto's writings have been rendered a transnational phenomenon that transgress cultural and national borders.

3. Sophie Opitz, Goethe University, FMSP: *A Cultural Archive of Intercultural Perspec- tives? - Questions and Challenges of Collecting as Artistic Memory Practice and Preservation*

In her PhD project "The Artist's Trigger – Examinations of Aesthetics in Conceptual War Photography" she analyses the aesthetical conceptions of photographs with respect to the influencing determinants like memory dynamics and social interrelations. The case of American Photographer Susan Meiselas who works on a long-term project called "Kurdistan" will act as an example for deterritorialized aspects and moving dynamics of collective memory, which confronts not just the artist but the scholar with questions on the disclosure of the productive power of travelling memories.

4. Hanna Teichler, Goethe University, FMSP: *Carnival of (Trans)Cultures: Zacharias Kunuk's Feature Film Atanarjuat and the Remediation of (Trans)Cultural Memory*

Atanarjuat (2001) is an amalgamation of different versions of the Inuit oral myth of the Fast Runner. The story of Atanarjuat has been transmitted orally from generation to generation. Kunuk's film appears to reiterate imagined essentials of Inuit identity. Yet, upon closer scrutiny, the narrative of Atanarjuat also plays with the viewer's gaze onto the presumed Other: with a powerful balancing of intertextual references, delicate ironic comments on

cultural difference, and a distinct sense that certain plots, characters and developments are recognizable, 'known', this film bears witness to authenticity, and simultaneously carnivalizes the expectation of cultural essentialism. Atanarjuat testifies to transculturality.

5. Jarula Wegner, Goethe University, FMSP: *Creolizing Theory*

In his Caribbean Discourse, Edouard Glissant (1989, 206) writes: "The elite 'express' (themselves); the people are silent." Glissant points to the challenge of intellectuals and academics of discussing popular culture in the Caribbean. Academic presentation of popular culture carries the potential threat of silencing the subjects represented. When analysing cultural memories of Caribbean carnivals, this challenge becomes particularly apparent. Historically these practices have been ascribed to the influence of French colonisers and questions of origin, content and meaning of carnivals in a postcolonial Caribbean continues until today. In the talk, I will outline how transcultural memories in Caribbean carnivals present challenges and potentials for creolizing theory.

PANEL 36: SOUNDING DANISH COLONIALISM: IMAGES, ARCHIVES AND THE PERFORMANCE OF MEMORY, ROOM 27.1.47

Chair: Carsten Tage Nielsen, Roskilde University

1. Mette Kia Krabbe Meyer, Department of Maps, Prints and Photographs, e Royal Danish Library, Copenhagen, Denmark: *Changing viewpoints: Looking at family albums from the former Danish West Indies*

The Royal Danish Library holds a small collection of family albums from the former Danish colony in the West Indies. Danish families staged themselves in their exquisitely furnished rooms in front of amateur photographers or professionals around 1900. Afro-Caribbean servants were often included in the photographs.

The presentation places Danish family photography from the former colony within the established research field which combines postcolonial theory with photography, affect, cultural heritage, and memory studies.

The presentation includes an early daguerreotype as well as albums from the pharmacist, Alfred Paludan-Müller and the vicar, Povl Helweg-Larsen. It investigates the role of photography in memory making at the time but centers on the present day reactions to and interpretation of the photographs – physical as well as digital. Including reactions from the preparations of the exhibition Blind spots. Images of the Danish West Indies colony and the project What Lies Unspoken, it underlines the importance of interdisciplinarity and of multivocality when studying the understanding of Denmark's colonial past through family photographs.

2. Sarah Giersing, Department of Maps, Prints and Photographs, e Royal Danish Library, Copenhagen, Denmark: *Listen to the view: Picture postcards from the former colony Danish West Indies*

In her 2016 work, "Photomontage Series", U.S. Virgin Islands artist La Vaughn Belle juxtaposes a snapshot from her own family album with a photograph of an unknown child found in Danish archives. By this simple gesture, the artist reminds us how the public archive can depersonalize people by representing them as examples rather than individuals.

The historical photograph belongs to a large body of picture postcards produced in the Danish West Indies between1900-1917 intended for consumption by a white, European middle class audience. An examination of the photographic postcards reveals a visual language on the colonial subject as Other, permeated by racial assumptions and social bias. Numerous pictures depict the Afro-Caribbean inhabitants doing manual labor and petty business in the poor rural and urban landscapes of the Danish colony. They create a sort of tourist ethnography in which anonymous subjects are arranged as views to entertain the gaze of a visitor to a foreign culture.

Today these postcards are part of colonial archives but largely dismissed as irrelevant to a logocentric Danish historiography that has focused almost entirely on the experience and perspectives of the Danes in the colony. This paper explores how the postcards circulated as popular products that confirmed a view of the subject as a stereotype radically different from and subordinate to the consumer. It reflects on how La Vaughn Belle's dislocation of the images into her artwork transforms the silent subjects of the archive into agents in an act of counter-memory. It concludes with asking if the radical method of "listening to images" put forth by scholar Tina M. Campt in her analysis of identification photography taken throughout the African diaspora, might also provide new understanding of the subjects in the postcards.

3. Mathias Danbolt, University of Copenhagen, Denmark: *The Unforgettables: Myths, Spirits, and Shattering Memories in Justin F. Kennedy's "Forgotten Friends: A Grey, or Maybe Purple Safari" (2017)*

In Denmark travel agents continue to sell vacation packages to a place called "The Danish West Indies" – a place that ceased to exist on March 31 1917, the year Denmark sold the three Caribbean islands of St. Croix, St. Thomas and St. John to the USA. These vacation packages are often marketed with descriptions of the islands as

a "Lost Paradise" with "a fascinating Danish history" and "beautiful beaches". While the 2017 centennial of the transfer of the Danish West Indies to the US Virgin Islands has brought new critical attention to Denmark's colonial past, the Danish travel ads stand as a stark reminder of the role that nostalgia and romanticized imaginaries have played in Danish colonial memory culture.

In this paper I analyze how the Cruzian performance artist Justin F. Kennedy intervenes in and problematizes Danish colonial memory culture by means of performance. In the days around March 31 2017, Kennedy performed a series of iterations of a three-hour "reverse safari performance tour" of Copenhagen called "Forgotten Friends: A Grey or Maybe Purple Safari" (2017). Inspired by the "safari-tours" that Danish travel agents sell to Danish tourists when visiting the "lost paradise" of US Virgin Islands, Kennedy's performance guided the audience around a place called "Eitherland", a mythological science-fiction landscape inhabited by spirits and ghosts haunting the streets of Copenhagen. Drawing on traditional Cruzian myths, oral histories and folksongs, the performance created a space of encounter with "forgotten friends" from Danish colonial times – "friends" that in Denmark have been ignored, neglected or erased from history: from Afro-Caribbean rebel leaders to mythical figures and spiritual deities. In this paper I discuss how Kennedy's performance responds to Danish colonial memory culture by insisting on the importance of listening to the "colonial wounds" and practicing forms of "decolonial healing" (Mignolo).

4. Astrid Nonbo Andersen, Danish Institute for International Studies: *" is isn't South Africa" – on using the analytical tools of memory studies and transitional justice in Greenland*

In 2009, Greenland obtained self-government. Recent polls showed a majority of 75% in favor of future independence. Last year the newly formed Greenlandic government appointed a minister of independence to further speed-up the process. The severing of ties between Denmark and Greenland not only create a number of tensions in every day Danish-Greenlandic relations, but also calls the past into question. The frictions echo a long history of Danish-Greenlandic relations. In Danish versions the common past, Denmark plays the role of the benevolent modernizer helping the backward Inuit forward with the best of intensions. In Greenlandic versions, however the modernization is often recounted as a process which went too fast, was too dominated by Denmark and which created collective traumas that still result in social problems and high suicide rates.

In 2014, a Greenlandic Reconciliation commission was established with the aim to reinterpret the modern Greenlandic History, and "to create distance to the colonial past". However, the use of concepts and models created within the global field of transitional justice practices and other attempts to come to terms with the past met staunch opposition. Not only in Denmark but also internally in Greenland. The word 'reconciliation' itself, which made people think of the South African TRC, almost killed the initiative from the very beginning.

The lack of direct and open violence and that the modernization took place with the consent of the Greenlandic elite, makes it very difficult for Greenlanders today to find a language in which to conceptualize the still ongoing colonization of Greenland. In this regard, references to international parallels of colonialism often seems to work counterproductively.

In my paper I will thus show the dilemmas in using the analytical tools provided by memory studies and postcolonial studies in a Greenlandic context.

PANEL 37: MAKING SENSE OF COMMUNIST MEMORIES, ROOM 27.0.49

Chair: Malgorzata Kasner, Polish Academy of Sciences

1. Julie Fedor, University of Melbourne: *Memory and Militarism in the 'Russian World'*

The current war in East Ukraine has inspired a growing body of literary and publicistic writing. Soldiers, officers, and war correspondents are publishing memoirs, poetry, essays, and novels about the war. Strikingly often, these texts are saturated by historical references. As one Russian volunteer fighter put it in an interview in October 2014, "The pulse of History is beating now in the Donbass, you can feel its buzz." The war's combatants, apologists and propagandists express a strong sense of connection to soldiers of wars past, and they constantly invoke their obligations to the memory of those soldiers in order to frame their experiences of the present war.

The memory of past wars also occupies a pre-eminent position in the emerging neo-imperial ideology of the 'Russian world' (russkii mir), positing the existence of a post-Soviet civilizational space shaped by Russian cultural leadership and held together above all else by shared memories of war.

This paper explores a selection of the new militarist memory texts being produced in connection with the present war in Ukraine. It traces the discursive construction of the "Russian world" as a space that has been sanctified by the blood of soldiers, of various nationalities, fighting as part of the Soviet Red Army and later the Russian Federation's multi-ethnic army. This blood brings into being a different set of "real" spiritual borders, which endure beyond the vagaries of geopolitics. The paper focuses in particular on the ways in which these texts aim to cultivate and activate transnational memories of war across Soviet space, positing the existence of a shared "genetic memory" of war as constitutive of a new emerging identity and harbinger of wars of the near future.

The paper draws on my ARC research project, "Memory & Authoritarianism: The Struggle for the Past in Putin's Russia".

2. Piotr Tadeusz Kwiatkowski, Maria Grzegorzewska University (APS): *e year 1989: Victory for freedom, or the beginning of a new enslavement? A con ict of memory related to the anniversary of the fall of Communism in Poland*

In 2014 Central and Eastern Europe celebrated the 25th anniversary of democracy. It was celebrated in Poland on 4 June – the day marking the anniversary of elections that were won by the opposition 'Solidarity', making it possible to appoint the non-communist government, and to set in motion changes that were to embrace all of the countries in this part of Europe. After the right wing came to power in Poland in 2015, celebrations of 4 June were discontinued; according to the authorities' representatives, there is no cause for celebration on this day. The conflict over memory – over appraisal of the process of change following the collapse of communism – has become one of the aspects of the political conflict in Poland, and similar developments are taking place in some other countries in the region. The essence of this conflict is the clash between two visions of society. According to the first conception, represented by the liberal parties, 4 June 1989 was a day of victory: negotiations with the communists made it possible to reach a compromise, organise a free election, the transformation of the economic system and create a democratic, pluralistic society. The right look critically upon the compromise of 1989, and believe the changes then made in Poland were insufficiently radical. According to those supporting this conception, people linked to the former system should have been totally eliminated from public life, while government oriented towards Catholic values and defending national interests in relations with other European states should have been established in the country. A review of survey research findings indicates that in the vernacular collective memory, the year 1989 is assessed from the point of view of today's problems – and Poles see both successes and failures in the transformation.

3. Kristina Khutsishvili, Scuola Superiore Sant'Anna, Pisa, Italy*: Collective Memory And Collective Dreaming*

4. Viktoria Naumenko, German-Ukrainian partnership network: *Chernobyl: (not) overcome the trauma (memories of the liquidators of the consequences of the Chernobyl accident and displaced persons from the polluted zone*)

Every Chernobyl's disaster anniversary raise interest in the topic of the environmental effects of the disaster, but people, whose lives have radically changed because of this tragedy, remain in shadow. People who participated in breakdown elimination after the accident ("liquidators") and people who were resettled from contaminated areas (IDPs) suffered by this catastrophe most. The task of studying the experience of the working in Chernobyl area people and resettled people is important because of the long-term effects of this accident.

The report is devoted to memory and representation of the Chernobyl disaster by the "liquidators" and the IDPs. The main source of our research is autobiographical and thematic interviews from the Chernobyl Oral History Archive with more than 150 interviews.

The analysis of the interviews reveals the peculiarities of the Chernobyl victims' memories. They notice in their memories the main problems of the disaster, including the details of informing about the accident, its danger and impact on the physical and psychological condition of people, the interpretation of the causes of the tragedy, the consequences for the Soviet system etc.

The main common feature of all the analyzed interviews is the perception of the Chernobyl catastrophe as a line, which divided life to "before" and "after". In most cases, "before" is represented as a carefree and happy life, conversely, "after" – as a struggle for survival and recognition. The most traumatic for the "liquidators" is the problem of recognition by the state and society of their status as heroes and saviors of the world with state privileges. IDPs see their greatest trauma in the loss of their home, which is represented as "paradise on earth". The analysis of interviews has exposed the great disunity and even competition between "liquidators" and IDPs in the field of recognition and getting state privileges.

5. Teluha Svetlana, National Technical University "Kharkiv Politechnic Institute": *Traumatic memories of Chernobyl: women's stories.*

Today, not the events or facts themselves, and the memory of them, are gaining ever greater significance. One of these is the Chernobyl tragedy that has happened on April 26, 1986, at a Chernobyl nuclear power station near the city of Pripyat, 100 km from Kiev. The memory of this tragedy should not be limited to ecological or medical issues. One of the most painful problems that arose not only because of an accident, but also as a result of Soviet bureaucracy and the attitude towards personality - is the fate of people who were forced to leave their homes and move to new places as a result of the accident. Their further fate was very difficult and dramatic. The most unexplored and ignored is the women's memory of Chernobyl, which always went behind the heroic memories of men - liquidators of the accident. The accident gave rise to several categories of women, whose fate has radically changed. These are women who participated in the liquidation of the accident, were evacuated in the early days of the accident, or moved from the exclusion zone later. Their memories, emotions, experiences, difficulties are unique evidence of the emotional, psychological, and everyday measurement of those events. Women's stories

are traumatic memories,which is related to staying in the radiation zone, liquidation work, information policy of Soviet power, the fact of adaptation to the life in a new place and perception of society. For many people, Chernobyl gave birth to permanent fears, feelings and pains. In most memoirs, respondents distinguish their destinies in two periods: before and after Chernobyl. After the separation of close relatives, lost health, oblivion of the state does not promote quick and calm adaptation to life in new realities in a new place or in a «new» irradiated body.

PANEL 38: MEMORY ACTIVISM, ROOM 27.1.49

Chair: Siobhan Kattago, University of Tartu

1.Alicja Kowalska, University of Presov: *Trauma and Rebellion. 1968 reflected in Polish and German Film."*

In my proposed paper I will focus on the question of how two cinematic depictions of political and cultural movements and events associated with 1968 can be linked to current political and cultural discourses in Europe. Focusing on two German and Polish films, I will suggest how starkly different, if not chiasticly reversed, the impact of 68 has been in the respective cultures.

Both films are literary adaptations. The choice of the literary material as well as cinematic styles speak to the cultural and political shifts that both films reflect upon. For example, in his adaptation of Heinrich von Kleist's novella Michael Kohlhaas "Michael Kohlhaas-Der Rebell" (1969) Völker Schlöndorff includes an authentic compilation of footage of protests from around the world. Jerzy Has' take on Bruno Schulz' "The Hourglass Sanatorium" (1973), on the other hand, uses surrealism to depict Jewish life in Poland as well as to allude to its destruction during the Holocaust.

The student movements of 68 in Western Europe have been understood as an emancipatory upheaval directed against authority, bourgeois morality, and the oppression of women, consumerism and war. The culture of critique and rebellion in West Germany was a response to the atrocities committed by National Socialists.

The attempts of students' protests against censorship in Poland, on the other hand, resulted in the curtailing of freedom of speech and other civil liberties as well as an Anti-Semitic campaign. To put this comparison into perspective, while a new generation of citizens in West Germany demanded a critical engagement with their past, citizens of Jewish heritage in Poland were victimized again.

My working hypothesis in analyzing both films is that the recent political turn to the right in Poland can be partially understood as a consequence of this outlined divergence.

2.Sabrina de Regt, Utrecht University: *Commemorating the dark side of national history in heterogeneous societies.*

It is argued that national commemorations can consolidate feelings of national belonging. Especially in times when processes as globalization, individualization and immigration might decrease feelings of national belonging it is interesting to better understand the processes behind support for national commemorations. Recently, political elites increasingly pay attention to the "dark side" of national history during national commemorations. In this article it is examined by means of representative data to what extent citizens support commemorating the dark side of history during national commemorations and to what extent group differences exist in support for commemorating the dark side of history. We furthermore, employed an experimental design to examine whether focusing on the dark side of history increases or decreases support for national commemorations. It was found that support for commemorating the dark side of history is low in the Netherlands. Higher educated persons and non-Western immigrants are more supportive of commemorating the dark side of history than lower educated persons and natives. Last, it was found that overall incorporating the dark side of national history during national commemorations only has minor influence on support for such commemorations.

3.Joanna E. Sanchez-Avila, The University of Arizona: *"¡Berta Vive! ¡Todos Somos Berta!": How the Aftermath of Indigenous Honduran Activist Berta Cáceres' Assassination Haunts Honduras and the United States*

In 2013, Hondurans made 16.9 percent of the Central American migrants entering the United States (Zong & Batalova, "Central American Immigrants in the United States"). Similarly, according to the Pew Research Center's statistical profile, Hondurans comprised 1.5 percent of the U.S. Hispanic population making it the eighth largest Hispanic origin population (López, "Hispanics of Honduran Origin in the United States, 2013"). These migration trends are important to observe because they acknowledge the growing presence of Hondurans and by extension Honduran-Americans in the United States, yet some of the national and international mass media platforms covering these Honduran migration trends in both countries do not discuss the underlying reasons for such recent migration. In this paper, I examine how the public demonstrations and makeshift memorials produced after the March 2016 assassination of Indigenous Honduran environmentalist rights activist, Berta Cáceres traces Hondurans'(dis)inherited memories and confronts unresolved haunting feelings rooted in Honduran dispossession caused by U.S. imperial and settler colonial logics. The Honduran people that participated in public demonstrations commemorating and demanding justice for Cáceres performed rhetorical and pedagogical

resistances against the invisibilization of the current socio-political state of Honduras. I utilize Avery F. Gordon's concept of haunting as a framework "in which abusive systems of power make themselves known and their impacts felt in everyday life, especially when they are supposedly over and done with or when their oppressive nature is continuously denied" (Ghostly Matters 4); in order to understand how practices of remembering occurring within the activism that emerged after Cáceres' assassination contest both Honduras' and the United States' collective memories and dominant nation-building narratives.

4. Müge Akpinar, Freie Universität Berlin: *Associations and the Rebuilding Collective Memory through Reinventing Traditions: Two Cases from Turkey*

This paper aims to analyse the role of associations in reconstructing collective memory. As part of the civil society in a globalising and simultaneously ever diversifying realm of identities, associations have become important in rebuilding collective memory. Two associations, namely Africans Culture, Solidarity and Cooperation Association (ACSCA) established in 2006 in Izmir to reconstruct identity among Afro-Turks, and Beydili Solidarity and Cooperation Association (BSCA) founded in 2007 in Ankara to enrich the Turkoman identity have been examined. The data obtained during the fieldworks conducted in 2015 and 2016 by researchers as part of separate studies in Izmir and Ankara reveal that associations established by the mission of strengthening the sense of belonging and raising the historical awareness in ethnic communities have contributed to reconstructing collective memory. The efforts of these associations in reconstructing memory have been influential. Nevertheless, these efforts denote two modes of entanglement in collective remembering, which we conceptualise as difference and discrepancy. The case of ACSCA demonstrates that there emerges a difference between the association and the community in terms of meanings attributed to symbols and traditions. This difference causes an artificiality in that the identity category Afro-Turk and the cultural practices fostered by the association have not been fully internalised by community members. The case of BSCA, on the other hand, is indicative of the manipulation of historical narratives by building fictional traditions. In this regard, there appears a discrepancy between villagers' daily practices and allegedly traditional shows exhibited as touristic performances. Participated in rural tourism campaigns financed by rural development projects, BSCA tends to distort historical facts and recreate traditions by turning the community itself into a touristic attraction centre.

5. Joannie Jean, Université d'Ottawa/University of Ottawa: *44 years later: differentiated mobilisations of memory in Santiago, Chile*

The topic of the past and how it is addressed in post-conflict countries is contentious. Chile has a troubled past. Over the last 44 years, human rights organizations have worked toward the recognition of past atrocities, as well as for a reform of the judicial system and the reintroduction of a society based on social justice. In the Chilean case, these struggles, in regards to how we remember the past and move forward as a nation, appear to be especially prevalent. Rather than considering the traumatic dimension of memory, this paper will draw from Hannah Arendt's view that the past is a force driving different forms of engagement within the civil society.

During this communication, the author will analyze how memory has been used, by three organisations in Santiago, as a driving force of engagement and activism. By using the example of the AFDD (Agrupación de familiares de detenidos desaparecidos), the Peace Park Corporation Villa Grimaldi and the Space for Memory Londres 38, it will be demonstrated how the memory of the dictatorship is used in different ways in order to defend values of justice, truth and combat impunity. Indeed, since their emergence, these groups have used different strategies to achieve the aforementioned goals. Briefly evoking each associations, the author will highlight their use of the public sphere, of justice courts and the way they are taking an active educational role nowadays.

PANEL 39: REMEMBERING THROUGH SPACE AND LANDSCAPE, ROOM 27.0.09

Chair: Anne Folke Henningsen, University of Copenhagen

1. Joana Miguel Almeida, CRIA/ISCTE-IUL/FCSH-UNL: *Emotions, Remembrance, Discourses: Second Lives of Dictatorship Sites*

This presentation will be based on my current PhD research in the Doctoral Program of Anthropology: Politics and Displays of Culture and Museology. My main focus is on the (recent or ongoing) processes of re-qualification of a set of symbolic places associated with the period of the Portuguese Dictatorship (1926-1974), analyzing the 'second life' (Kirshenblatt- Gimblett 1998) of these buildings – not only as heritage, but also as heritage that did not come to be. Therefore, my current PhD investigation intends to analyze the discourses as well as the 'patrimonial emotions' (Heinich 2012 and Fabre 2013) that surround these places. On the one hand, experienced by the visitors of the sites reconverted as museums, and on the other hand, experienced by those who lived directly the first life of these, trying to understand what is the social and personal impact of the preservation of these sites or their lack of concretization. For this presentation, I will specifically look at two musealized sites which operated as political prisons, from a particular angle. Having done, until the present moment, more than a dozen interviews with former political prisoners of these sites as well as members of civic associations of preservation of memory – which, in some cases, combine the two roles – this presentation will focus on their personal perspectives: after all, what do these heritage-making processes change for them? Which discourses

and emotions are maneuvered to reify their symbolical preservation? What different relationships can be found with these sites in the present?

2.Linda Lapina, Roskilde University: *A bench that remembers? Multiplying memory traces in a gentrifying district in Copenhagen*

This paper traces memories of disappearing and changing spaces and presences in Nordvest, a neighbourhood in Copenhagen. Through a case study of benches moved from Nordvest to the Inner city, the paper inquires: what lingers, as places, objects and people 'disappear', or are disappeared, in urban space? How can these affective, embodied and material traces inform our understanding of memory and temporality?

Nordvest is a district in transformation. Construction sites that have been dormant for years, housing activists, green spaces and homeless tents, are being developed into new condominiums. A gourmet street food court is opened by Copenhagen city majors on a square where people gathered to drink beer and attend an illicit flea market in the weekends. A sign next to the entrance informs how this new development in a 'previously unused space' increases safety, security and community cohesion in the area. Benches where people (mostly male and above middle-age, sometimes appearing homeless or migrant) gathered and drank have been moved to a sunny pedestrianized bridge where hip, younger Copenhageners and tourists gather and drink, seeing and being seen.

These changes are often understood through, and reinforce, a unidirectional spatiotemporal logic of development, progress and optimization. Nordvest and Copenhagen are 'lifted', becoming safer and more liveable. In this linear enactment of memory and time, some places are people are left 'behind' in the past, and others are 'saved' to preserve local authenticity. In contrast, this paper aims to advance nonlinear, pluralist notions of memory and temporality. Through interviews and embodied, affective methodology, the paper examines affective, embodied and material memory traces tied to the benches that have been moved from Nordvest, and their continued presence-absence.

3.Danielle Drozdzewski, UNSW Sydney, Australia: *Locating memory to place: Stolpersteine in Berlin*

Monuments commemorating war are common beacons of national identity in public memory. They link historic events of significance to present day representations and celebrations of national identity. The stolpersteine (stumbling stones) are small bronze plaques embedded in the pavements of many German cities (and also around Europe) – they are a purposefully implicit part of the everyday streetscape. Each stone recalls the fate of one person under Fascism; locating this individual history at the location of their last known residence in the city. Gunter Demnig, the artist who instigated the project in 1993 and continues to be solely responsible for laying the stones, cites the Talmud when outlining his motivation for this project, saying that "a person is only forgotten when his or her name is forgotten". Positioned within urban landscapes, these stones are reminders of death, suffering and are individualised fragments of memory, in place.

This paper draws from research conducted in Mitte, Berlin, in three streets with multiple stolpersteine. The research sought to observe how the design and spatial orientation of the stones affects their interpretation as sites of memory. Using a combination of participant observation, videography and vox pop interviews, I have examined how the stones 'exist' as part of an already heavily memorialised landscape where they are often unnoticed, stepped on, stepped over, or dirtied by a constant stream of foot traffic. The Berliners interviewed in this study, identified the small-scale, community-led, and individualised aspects of the stolpersteine project as giving these examples of memory a distinct place in the heritage landscape. The Stolpersteine make us think differently about the commemoration of war; they proffer a type of unitary memory ethics, one that compels reflection on war's impact on the person, and remove some focus on the nation.

4.Zehra Azizbeyli, Near East University: *Ledra Street-Lokmacı Axis as Part of a Communal Memory in Cyprus*

This paper discusses the connections between memory, identity and space through the examination of a cultural landscape. Landscape can be a symbolic image, a pictorial way of representing surroundings so the focus of this paper is mostly on the visual images and symbols that help to create it. After all, places are important sites embedded with different meanings and they often represent memory of a particular group or community. Ledra Street-Lokmacı as an axis and a crossing point is a symbolic site of communal memory. It was an important commercial centre of Nicosia before its division in 1963. It became a symbol of division when it was divided into two by a UN supervised 'Green-Line' in Cyprus. This line became a permanent boundary in 1974 and was in place until 2008.

This paper mainly deals with Ledra Street becoming an important space after 2008 and carrying different cultural values of its own, thus a 'Ledra Street memory' is re-created, as it becomes a new social environment with remembered and imaginary experiences. In 2017, it has become the meeting point of the independent self-funded initiative of the 'Unite Cyprus' group and a place of activities in support of peace and the reunification of the island. It became a special place of demonstrations, exhibitions, and multicultural meetings and thus the space has become a symbol of unification rather than division. The meaning of Ledra Street-Lokmacı Axis is founded upon idealised representations of a collective past and it has a purpose in the present together with a sense of projection into the future. Ledra Street-Lokmacı Axis then is a vehicle of cultural memory, resonant of a past and meaningful for a future time for Cyprus.

5.Monika Palmberger, University of Leuven: *Memory and Spatial Identities: Investigating 'Memory-Guided City Walks'*

This paper investigates place-making practices among labour migrants who came to Vienna in the 1960s and 1970s as so- called 'guest workers'. By analysing 'memory-guided city walks' with the aforementioned migrants, this paper puts everyday spatial mnemonic practices into focus and explores how migrants individuate the city (de Certeau 1984). Labour migrants who arrived in an unfamiliar foreign place first felt restricted in terms of their spatial radius but gradually appropriated the cityscape and filled places with meanings and memories including alternative (sometimes opposing) and transnational ones. In terms of their 'spatial identities' (Massey 1995), the paper analyzes the presence of multiple temporalities, connecting different places and senses of belonging. The focus on memory-guided city walks allows us to explore the multiple ways individuals generate continuities (and ruptures) between different localities as well as between different life periods.

PANEL 40: REMEMBERING THE SECOND WORLD WAR: BEYOND THE NATION (ROUNDTABLE), ROOM 27.0.17

Chair: Dee Britton, SUNY Empire State College

1. Patrick Finney, Aberystwyth University: *Empires*

2. Bill Niven, Trent University: *Nations*

3. Joan Beaumont, Australian National University: *Places*

4. Jeremy Hicks, Queen Mary University of London: *Artefacts*

5. Eva Kingsepp, Karlstad University: *The Virtual*

PANEL 41: ENTANGLED MEMORIES OF WAR AND EMPIRE IN FRANCE, ROOM 27.0.47

Chair: Claire Eldridge, University of Leeds

1.Claire Eldridge, University of Leeds: *Entangling memories, complicating identities: 'French' soldiers from Algeria and the First World War*

Between 1914 and 1919, 73,000 French citizens from Algeria served in the French army. Present at every major battle on the Western Front and comprising a significant proportion of the Eastern Front troops, while also serving in Syria, Palestine, even Russia after 1917, they were fully immersed in all aspects of the conflict. Yet beyond this basic factual information, we know almost nothing about the experiences of these men. This is because it has been assumed that they were simply French like the poilus recruited from metropolitan France and, as a result, that their war was the same as that of a soldier from Bordeaux, Toulouse or Rennes. Yet behind the seemingly simple citizenship status of the French from Algeria lurked a multiplicity of identities: 13,000 of them were Algerian Jews, part of a community that had been naturalised en masse in 1870 but which continued to face significant anti-Semitic prejudice, primarily from the European settler population. In addition, a sizeable number possessed transnational origins, their families having migrated to Algeria from a range of European countries during the nineteenth century and had only had access to French citizenship since 1889. Using the memory traces left by this complex group of men, this paper will explore the ways in which their diverse cultural and linguistic heritages combined with the specificities of the colonial system in Algeria to shape their experiences of World War One in distinct and important ways. By using sources that capture the voices of the men themselves rather than relying on externally generated notions of them as 'simply French' we are able to better appreciate the complexity of their identities and render visible their particular histories.

2.Nina Wardleworth, University of Leeds: *Entangled memories: How to research and commemorate the Frontstalag 222 in Bayonne?*

The Frontstalag (Prisoner of War Camp) 222 in Bayonne, South-West France, held several thousand prisoners of war from the French Empire between the Autumn 1940 and August 1944. But it also had previous and subsequent lives, used to house and/or detain Spanish Republican Refugees in 1938-39 and French collaborators and German POWs in 1944-1946.

This paper will explore how these different events and periods have been remembered at the site to create a palimpestic memory of detention. What administrative and funding opportunities or difficulties have such a layering of memories caused? An analysis of local press and the minutes of the Bayonne town council, as well as the interviews that I have conducted with a collective of local residents and historians, reveal the heated debates that surrounded the inauguration of a multi-directional memorial on the former site of the camp.

This case study of the Frontstalag 222 will be compared and contrasted with the museum and memorial project at the camps of Rivesaltes in France, which has generated lengthy and problematics debates about who are the winners and losers in the memorial visibility stakes and about who is the mostly worthy victim of incarceration of the site.

As France still struggles with how to remember and commemorate both its wartime and its colonial past, the debates surrounding whether and how to recognise and valorise sites of former camps provide important insights into France's uneasy relationship with its past. These memorial projects have also raised the links between France's past camps and the contemporary internment of migrants on its soil.

> 3. Itay Lotem, University of Westminster: *Memory as a marker of political a liation: French war veterans and the commemoration of the end of the Algerian War of Independence*

Since the end of the Algerian War of Independence, war veterans have been on the frontline of the so-called 'Memory Wars', where associative representative of different groups struggled for the state to acknowledge their historical narrative. As various veterans' associations grew in the 1960s, these represented competing narratives. Divided between left and right, their goals included a desire to perpetuate very different narratives on the essence and the role of the Algerian War. While they united to achieve state recognition of the Algerian 'operations' as a 'war' in 1999, these associations' paths have since diverged.

This paper will examine the ways in which the trajectories of veteran organisations – and particularly the right-wing Union nationale des combattants et des anciens d'Afrique du Nord (UCN-AFN) and the left-leaning Fédération nationale des anciens combattants d'Algérie-Maroc-Tunisie (FNACA) – has fed into a process by which the memory of the Algerian War became a marker of political affiliation in France.

This paper will use publications and interview material focus on these organisations' struggle to find a commemoration date for the victims of the Algerian War, as they were divided between a date that commemorated the 1962 cease fire and any date but the cease fire. In so doing, these lobbying groups created narratives that established political parties readily adopted to demonstrate a commitment to newly articulated identities. These relied more on positioning in the debate about the memory of the Algerian War rather than actual continuities with parties' positions during the war. Ultimately, this paper will outline the politicisation of memory in France and its re-formulation as a marker of political affiliation.

> 4. Claudia Jünke, University of Innsbruck: *TransMemory – Remembering Violent Con- icts in Contemporary French and Francophone Novels and in their Translations*

The paper wants to present the interdisciplinary research project TransMemory which is directed by Claudia Jünke (Literary Studies, Innsbruck) and Désirée Schyns (Translation Studies, Ghent) and due to start in march 2018. The project investigates the literary representation of violent conflicts in contemporary French and francophone novels and in their translations into Dutch and German. In doing so, it scrutinises an important tendency in contemporary francophone narrative fictions: novels that are dedicated to the memory of conflicts such as wars, genocide, expulsion, colonial oppression and other forms of politically and ethnically motivated violence.

The project's general aim is to examine in which way the literary texts written in French contribute to the formation and negotiation of cultural memories of violent conflicts and how the translations transmit and re-negotiate these literary memories by making them accessible in new cultural contexts. The research agenda is grounded on a heuristic model that conceptualises these dynamics as a two-step translation and mediation process consisting of the 'formation' (translation of the historical knowledge into the francophone literary text) and the subsequent 'migration' (translation of this historical and literary knowledge into another text, language and cultural context) of cultural memory.

TransMemory sets out to make a contribution to the research on contemporary French and francophone literary memories on violent conflicts, on their translations into the Dutch and German context and on the poetics and ethics of the circulation of memories in the transcultural realm. Moreover, it wants to promote an innovative research design that results from the dialogue and the intersections of the two disciplines in question. On this dimension, TransMemory explores the still widely unassessed potential of the 'translational turn' in memory studies and of the 'memory turn' in translation studies, understanding literary memories as practices of translation and literary translations as practices of memory.

PANEL 42: AFTERLIVES OF HISTORY: MEMORY, MIGRATION AND THE JEWISH LITERARY IMAGINATION, ROOM 27.0.47

Chair: Dario Miccoli, Ca' Foscari University of Venice

> 1. Dario Miccoli, Ca' Foscari University of Venice: *"I come from a country that is no more": Jewish memory and nostalgia across the Mediterranean*

"I want to write about you/nostalgia/but still I have to learn how to write/nostalgia" (Hasan 2014). This is how Roy Hasan, an Israeli poet born in 1983, talks about the painful yet magical feeling of nostalgia for his dead grandmother and for a country, Morocco, where he has never been. Hasan only is one of the many Jewish novelists and poets from the Middle East and North Africa that – in different yet interrelated ways – evoke nostalgia for the lost homeland, for a youth ended too soon with the migration to Europe or Israel, for a future that never was. In fact, even though sometimes abused and considered a symptom of elitism (Mabro 2002), nostalgia bespeaks the precariousness tied to migration, exile and the socio-economic and cultural consequences they have on individual lives (Angé and Berliner 2015; Hamid 2017). But can one be nostalgic for a place and time that is close to the heart, but symbolises exile, loss and that is "home in a way but... also hostile territory" (Hoffman 1989, 84)? In this paper – basing upon a corpus of literary texts in Italian, French and Hebrew by Jews from the southern shore of the Mediterranean that in the 1950s and 1950s migrated to Italy, France or Israel – I present nostalgia as a central category of historical imagination, through which these men and women come to terms with the past and, most of all, its repercussions on a complex post-migratory present and future. What comes out is an ambivalent archive of memories that travels across the Mediterranean and reveals the ruptures and continuities between colonial and postcolonial times (Chambers 2007), as well as the existence of both old and new ethno-national and cultural divides between European and North African Jews, Jews and Muslims, Diaspora and Israel.

2. Emanuela Trevisan, Ca' Foscari University of Venice: *Voices of memory from the Jewish Moroccan Diaspora*

Not only archives but also voices coming from texts of autofiction can be a source of history. These are voices of ordinary people who contribute to the creation of a collective memory and of an imagined diaspora. In my contribution I intend to present conflicting memories coming from the 1.5 generation (Rubin Suleiman 2002), that are Jews who left Morocco in the 1950s and 1960s and whose personal and collective story now have to come to terms with a new history and master- narrative, constructed on the one hand in relation to the role that the Holocaust has acquired in Israel and Europe, and on the other as a result of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, as a reaction to terrorist attacks and different forms of Islamophobia. Are these voices of memory reacting or changing so as to face this new master-narrative?

3. Martine benoit, Université Lille 3: *"...was es überhaupt hieß, jüdisch zu sein, besonders in Deutschland, besonders in Ostdeutschland...": Jewishness in the GDR and in reunified Germany – the case of Jakob Hein*

In the beginning of the 21st century many autobiographical writings were published in Germany by authors born in the GDR between 1965 and 1979: these authors were reflecting upon their childhood and experience in East Germany. Jakob Hein took part in this movement with the publication of a trilogy, Mein erstes T-Shirt (2001), Formen menschlichen Zusammenlebens (2003) and Vielleicht ist es sogar schön (2004): in this third text Jakob Hein revisited the Jewish history of his mother, confronting German Jewish identities and how they were lived and understood in the GDR, the FRG and in the reunified Germany. This contribution intends to contextualise Jakob Hein's reflections and to show how his writing seems to preserve the memory of a vanished or lost Jewish identity.

4. Jennifer Craig-Norton, University of Southampton: *Restoring Memory: Jewish Refugee Domestics and Nurses in Great Britain 1938-1945*

Over 20,000 Jewish women aged 18-45 came to Great Britain in the late 1930s as refugee domestics and nurses, yet there is no public memory of and very little scholarship on these women, who represented more than one third of all Jewish refugees admitted into the UK before the Second World War.
Despite their near absence in British public and academic narratives of the interwar period and the Second World War, those who came to Britain as refugee domestics and nurses have recorded hundreds testimonies and left scores of written memoirs, which preserve their memories of life before and after emigration providing a rich resource for interrogating their experiences. This paper and the research from which it is drawn concern these refugees' pre-war lives under the Nazi regime, their decisions to emigrate and the preparations they made to do so, their perceptions of Britain and their reception by the British, their adaptation to the roles they were forced to assume, and the impact of the war on their lives.
Because of a paucity of archival sources, my research relies almost entirely upon testimonial sources, providing opportunities to surface and 'unbind' these refugees' memories and critically examine the ways in which they recalled their lives and experiences. Using the data drawn from these sources I will share their memories of childhood and family, their experiences of persecution, their struggles and trauma in exile, and their post-war integration and reconciliation with the past, positing some explanations for their absence in British refugee narratives. Acknowledging these women and allowing them to speak through their oral histories gives a voice to this otherwise neglected group of Jewish refugees from Nazism, restoring their experiences, lives and memories to British public discourses of the 1930s and 1940s where they rightly belong.

5. Irina Ruvinsky, SAIC, The School of the Art Institute of Chicago: *Speak Memory: Memory as Resistance in Nabokov and Benjamin*

In the past century, marked for many by lasting effects of collective devastation, we have learned that homecoming, when it is possible, often does not bring about a recovery of identity. Instead, it demonstrates for us

the necessity to engage in a creative quest for lost time through the virtual spaces of memory and imagination. Those who have undergone the process of physical uprooting and displacement into a different cultural context often experience a gap, sometimes an unbridgeable one, which reveals the incommensurability of "what is lost" and "what is found". Far from pretending to rebuild the nebulous place called home, many modern thinkers felt compelled to narrate the relationship between the past, present and future in order to re-establish the lost coherence of their lives through an imperfect process of remembrance. In this paper I will examine works by W. Benjamin and V. Nabokov, who experienced first hand the permanent, physical separation from their native lands. Each of these authors was awakened to the sense of absolute solitude in the face of collective and individual crises. Both turned to the theme of the past and memories of childhood in their work precisely when all possibilities for the future seemed to be blocked. Berlin Chronicles, which were Benjamin's first attempt at autobiography, emerges as a work of an author for whom the prospect of individual and collective annihilation has destroyed the continuum of experience. Both Benjamin's autobiography and Nabokov's Speak Memory represent a form of resistance to the historical forces they evoke through the redemptive power of memory.

PANEL 43: WORLDS OF MEMORY: READING WORLD LITERATURE WITH AND AGAINST GLOBAL MEMORY CULTURE(S), ROOM 27.1.47

Chair: Maria Zirra, Stockholm University

1. Dominic O'Key, University of Leeds, *" The nature of likenesses": Dreaded Comparisons in World Literature*

My paper asks how recent world literary novels differently invoke the "dreaded comparison" between industrial animal agriculture and the Holocaust. Focusing specifically on W. G. Sebald's The Rings of Saturn (1995) and J. M. Coetzee's Elizabeth Costello (2003), I explore how both texts utilise their own specific formal and generic dynamics in order to deliberately interroge the Holocaust as the dominant referent of global memory culture. To this end, I am interesting in asking: What is precisely at stake when contemporary literature mobilises animal rights discourse? What risks are inherent in this mobilisation? And, most importantly, can the novel form accommodate a non-anthropocentric politics without simultaneously flattening or erasing particular histories of human suffering?

2. Rebecca Macklin**,** Cornell University: *" The Weight of Ghosts": Subaltern Cosmopolitanism and the Transformative Potential of Memory*

Taking the contexts of South Africa and Native America as primary case studies, this presentation seeks to interrogate the potential of collective memory as a productive force for decolonization. To do so, I will draw on examples from The Quiet Violence of Dreams (2001) by K. Sello Duiker and Almanac of the Dead (1991) by Laguna Pueblo author Leslie Marmon Silko. Informed by the work of the Warwick Research Collective, these texts can be understood to constitute world literature in 'registering' – and, indeed, by challenging - the combined unevenness of the (modern capitalist) world system. Through the active remembrance of decolonial figures of resistance, such as Apache leader Geronimo and Xhosa prophetess Nongqawuse, Silko and Duiker utilise memory to enact the transformative potential of subaltern cosmopolitanism: a mode of organization, defined by Bonaventura de Sousa Santos as, "intended to counteract detrimental effects of hegemonic forms of globalization, and [which] evolves out of the awareness of the new opportunities for transnational creativity and solidarity created by the intensification of global interactions."

Bringing these texts together in a comparative frame, I will consider the ways that authors from distinct postcolonial spaces provoke us to reconsider the role of memory in literary expressions of transnational decolonization. In doing so, I will ask what potential memory holds for productive exchange on a global scale. In evoking traumatic histories of colonization and indigenous figures of resistance, I argue that these texts demonstrate the transformative character of memory to, not only critique existing power structures, but also the potential to create new futures.

3. Maya Caspari, University of Leeds: *"Touching Histories": Empathy in the Body of World Literature*

Confronted by a need to re-imagine political community in an increasingly divided world, many writers and critics of world literature have recently returned to the notion of empathy, investigating whether it offers new ways of negotiating difference and alternative routes into history in a postcolonial, post-9/11, globalised present. While cosmopolitanism has often been critiqued for its elitism and implicit reliance on privileged forms of mobility, empathy has been seen to promise a return to affective connections to real-life others across established national and cultural borders, shifting beyond the abstract morality and detachment traditionally seen to characterise the cosmopolitan.

On the surface, this would seem to be a tempting prospect. Yet, this paper will ask whether the empathic narrator figure that has become central to many contemporary self-consciously 'wordly' literary texts is as ethical and politically productive as it may at first appear. Focusing on issues of gender and touch, this paper will explore the relationship between the representation of empathy and the self-conscious performance of literary 'wordliness'. Questioning whether dominant world literary representations of empathy do actually engender ethical connections with cultural and historical others, I instead turn towards recent texts that problematize dominant articulations of

worldliness, drawing attention to the ethical limits of their own empathy and that of others, even as they also explore its potential.

4. Ian Ellison, Goethe Univeristät: *"Melancholy Cosmopolitanism": Genre, Memory, World Literature*

In this paper, I delineate a historically and geographically contingent genre of memory fiction named "melancholy cosmopolitanism", which emerges in Western European novels written around the turn of the 21st century. Such novels respond to a discourse of lateness in modern European literature, which inflects their narrators' melancholy and self- conscious engagement with the past. With reference to Benjamin and Nietzsche, I argue that these novels position themselves within a literary tradition of European high culture. I then show how they deploy this tradition's cultural capital to legitimise their engagement with history, while this tradition simultaneously endows them with Western European privilege and bias. I suggest that iterations of melancholy cosmopolitanism in different national contexts may be more broadly understood as a literary genre, which leads to the canonization of certain texts within European memory fiction.

I then consider this genre in the context of recent debates on World Literature with particular reference to the work of the Warwick Research Collective. I suggest this genre's inherent literary privilege embeds these novels within a World-Literary system of combined and uneven development, given their specifically western European context. If this genre then qualifies as World-Literature, I ask, does this simultaneously undo its work of situating itself within a European literary tradition? A World-Literary system of combined and uneven development calls for a reconceptualization of literary history 'not in terms of literary forms spreading or unfolding across empty time [...] but of the dialectics of core and periphery that underpin all cultural production in the modern era'. As a result, the World-Literary status of melancholy cosmopolitan novels is arguably undone at the moment of its inception, recalling Erich Auerbach's declaration that within a single system of literary culture, when taken to its extreme, 'the notion of Weltliteratur would be at once realized and destroyed'.

5. Taiwo Adetunji Osinubi, University of Western Ontario: *Slavery, Colonialism, and Abolition in African Fiction*

This paper examines the reasons for the relative historical paucity of literary treatments of the Atlantic slave trade in African literature. Rather than look for memorializations of the slave trade and slavery in African writing, I suggest that if we look for what counts as "memorable" for historically dominant African groups, then that would be the abolitions of the Atlantic slave trade and forms of slavery in African polities because those abolitions were conjoined to the overriding violence of the colonizing event. Thus, African writers engaging with slavery and the slave trade pursue a reverse narration in which both institutions can only be remembered or accounted for through representations of their displacements by colonialism and the colonial force of abolition. I will anchor my discussion with the example of West African fiction that focuses on African slave trading families displaced by European colonialism and abolition.

Daniel Hartley, University of Leeds: Discussant

PANEL 44: RE/BORDERING MEMORY II: DYNAMICS AND FRICTIONS OF MULTI-SCALAR REMEMBERING, ROOM 4A.0.69

Chair: Alena Pfoser, Loughborough University

1. Martijn Van Gils , Utrecht University: *Material Remembrance in Contentious Spaces: Stimulation, Connections, and Dialogue in the Roman 'Ghetto'*

In the last decade, initiatives to build a Holocaust museum in Rome have been repeatedly proposed and subsequently failed – primarily due to the cutting of funding. Today, the Museo della Fundazione della Shoah – a small, self-sufficient project which only has one floor to utilise and is dependent on travelling collections – is attempting to fill the void in memory which still exists in the discourses surrounding Italy's role in the Holocaust. While it is true that Italy did not operate through comparable systematic racism as Germany did, today, there is still often a disproportionately apologetic attitude towards Italy's role in the Holocaust. Questions of agency sit uneasily within discourses around Holocaust remembrance in Italy.

In this paper, I will investigate the ways in which the legacies of Fascism and the Holocaust are remembered in the Jewish quarter (or the 'Ghetto') of Rome. My aims in this project are two-fold: on the one hand, to analyse the discursive constructions of memory in the memorial spaces of the city; and on the other hand, to demonstrate how these memories are produced and circulated at varying scales beyond the nation-state. Primarily, the focus will be on the development and current status of the Shoah museum as caught up in international discourses surrounding Holocaust remembrance. I will argue that the initiative of a Shoah museum in Rome is tied in with the desire to stimulate cross-cultural and cross-temporal connections, creating a dialogue which acknowledges the still contentious memory of Italian Fascism.

2. Irina Troconis, New York University: *Mapping the Invisible: Digging Out the Disappeared in the Digital Age*

The digital age introduces new tools that invite us to revisit certain questions regarding our ways of remembering and forgetting individual and collective pasts. The endless possibilities that the Internet offers in terms of storage and communication, the feelings of urgency and social responsibility that arise from social media platforms, the freedom that cell phones give us to record and immediately share anything happening around us, all have a palpable impact on our understanding of what memory is, what it does, and who can be a part of it. Authors such as Andrew Hoskins, Joanne Garde- Hansen, and Anna Reading have written extensively about that impact and, in their volume Save As... Digital Memories (2009), they propose the concept of "digital memory" to further explore it and to invite scholars of different fields to study the past's relationship to the present as mediated by new media. This paper accepts the authors' invitation, and explores the intersection of memory and the digital in connection with the virtual maps of the disappeared developed in Chile and Mexico. The two maps are different in their content and purpose—one seeks to show the bodies left by the massive executions taking place in Chile in 1973, the other aims to keep count of and render visible the bodies of the ongoing war in Mexico. Both however pose similar questions: What does it mean to be remembered digitally? How does the digital transform spaces of memory? What practices of memory do these virtual maps trigger? What are the limitations of this form of "digital memory"? The purpose of this paper is to tackle these questions and, in doing so, to contribute to the debate regarding new generations, memory, space, and the digital.

3. Doreen Pastor, University of Bristol: *Consuming memories: visitor experiences at three German memorial sites*

Erll argues in her article Travelling memory in 2011 that memory is constantly on the move "between individual and collective levels of remembering, circulation among social, medial, and semantic dimensions". I however claim that not only are memories on the move, increasingly people travel to consume memories.
My PhD research project is situated at the intersection between tourism and memory studies. I conducted structured interviews using a questionnaire in addition to ethnographic research, i.e. accompanying visitors as a participant observer during their visit at four memorial sites in Germany: Flossenbürg concentration camp memorial, Ravensbrück concentration camp memorial, House of the Wannsee Conference memorial and the GDR political prison Bautzen II.
For this paper, I would like to concentrate on the concentration camp memorials Ravensbrück and Flossenbürg and the House of the Wannsee Conference memorial in Berlin. My on-site visitor research has revealed the tensions between local cultural memories and overarching narratives. Visitors at Flossenbürg expressed shock about the housing development (built on the foundations on the former barracks) and considered it to be inappropriate. At Ravensbrück, visitors displayed a sense of disappointment as the 'typical' structures of a concentration camp are missing, e.g. barracks or the Arbeit macht frei gate. The House of the Wannsee Conference, situated on the edge of Berlin, enjoys a large international audience. The Jewish visitor is predominantly fixated on the conference room and regards it as the origin of Jewish suffering.
I will highlight in my paper that visitors consume other people's memories whilst at the same time they are affected by their cultural memory of origin. Hence, memorial museums are the meeting point of transcultural and local cultural memory causing significant management challenges.

4. Machteld Venken, University of Vienna: *Borderland Child Agency?*

This paper investigates under which conditions we can speak about borderland child agency.
In 1919, statesmen and diplomats gathered in France to lay out the conditions and prospects of peace. They were convinced borders on the European continent needed to be replaced so as to bring Europe to order. This paper demonstrates how the borderlands they mapped became the places where the imaginations of a peaceful and just Europe that underscored the political geography of the interwar period experienced their greatest challenge.
Historians of childhood have already been bringing to the fore how precisely nation-states defined their plans in their policies towards their future citizens in the 'Century of the Child' , as the 20th Century has been repeatedly called, but mostly start their analyses from the viewpoint of a nation-state designing child programmes in the capital to serve children in the whole country. Telling the history of continental Europe through the perspective of borderland childhood and child experiences, however, my project allows for the inclusion of alternative voices and adds to a more complex understanding of Europe's past. To that purpose, it presents a systematic and symmetrical comparison of children inhabiting the Polish- German and Belgian-German borderlands.
The agency of children has long been neglected by historians as a child is not thought to be rational, which still forms a core element in many historians' definition of a social actor. Border scholars point out that the concept of agency has little explanatory value in border regions, as there is 'less reason to impute rational assessment and expectancy of attaining a desired goal' (Wille, 2016). In this paper, I compare the sources individual borderland children produced both in the interwar years with the recent testimonies of borderland adults reflecting about their childhood.

PANEL 45: RETHINKING TRAUMA, ROOM 27.1.49

Chair: Tea Sindbæk Andersen, University of Copenhagen

1. Ann Rigney, Utrecht University: *The Afterlife of Hope*

This paper will theoretically reflect on the ways in which the traumatic paradigm in memory studies and the overwhelming emphasis on victimhood in contemporary memory cultures have served to occlude other mnemonic traditions, specifically those relating to social movements. By now we have quite sophisticated analytic tools to deal with the representation and transmission of trauma, but relatively little when it comes to the transgenerational transmission of narratives of hope. This talk aims to give an initial mapping of these alternative mnemonic traditions and their implications for memory studies, illustrated with reference to representations of civic demonstrations and their repression.

2. Adrienne E Chudzinski, Miami University, Oxford Ohio: *Narrative Blind Spots: The Forgotten Survivors of Racial Violence*

After attending their Sunday school class on September 15, 1963, five girls ventured into the ladies' room at Birmingham, Alabama's Sixteenth Street Baptist Church to smooth their dresses and freshen up before assisting with the youth day service. At 10:22 a.m., a bomb erupted at the church, killing four of the girls in the restroom; twelve-year-old Sarah Collins survived the blast. In the wake of the bombing, Martin Luther King traveled to Birmingham to deliver a eulogy in honor of the four children who perished. Although the victims were not participants in the civil rights movement, King implied that they were an integral force in the larger struggle by stating, "They are the martyred heroines of a holy crusade for freedom and human dignity." Elevating the victims of the church bombing to the status of heroic martyrs served an important cause in the 1960s as it located a noble purpose in the civil rights movement, but it also softened the memory of white violence and black anger in Birmingham and the fact that brutal behavior was indigenous to the very fabric of American society.

This paper reveals how the dominant memory of the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church bombing masks the enduring trauma and suffering experienced by those who survived the attack. By examining the stories of survivors like Sarah, this study reveals how a variety of racial, socio-economic, and generational factors created a "culture of silence" that permeated the entire city of Birmingham and prevented conversations about chronic violence and the anger, fear, and grief that accompanied these devastating episodes. Finally, it demonstrates how Birmingham's local community, including both white and black residents, attempted to make sense of and cope with the devastating effects of racial violence when mythic redemptive memories failed to allay their fears or ease their suffering.

3. Silke Arnold-de Simine, Birkbeck, University of London: *After-Life: Memory, Loss and Mourning*

If trauma becomes synonymous with any kind of oppression and injustice, it loses its effectiveness: does a focus on wounds take our sights off of the necessary transformations of the social dynamics that created them in the first place? What does the focus on trauma enable us to do and what are its limits? If the temporality of belatedness and endless repetition, that is associated with trauma, becomes universalized as the structure of reality itself, it is increasingly difficult to envisage other temporalities, such as time as change and the reparative possibilities that it might bring with it. If we can only gain access to the past through the memories of the traumatized, we are confined to the present performance of a violent past which is acting out through us, in which we have no agency. In this traumatized world, it is indeed place that becomes the marker of trauma, not time. Trauma promises us 'the real' but only by paying the prize of being trapped in a repetitive present of melancholic mourning.

4. Raya Morag, The Hebrew University: *Perpetrator Trauma and Perpetrators' Traumatic Memories*

This essay proposes a new theorization of perpetrator memory emanating from a new paradigm in both cinema and trauma studies which I call the trauma of the perpetrator. Perpetrators' memories, I argue, accentuate the primacy of the physical space over the volatility of time. Unlike traumatic belatedness which characterizes victims' psychological quest for recognition of the undecipherable nature of life-shattering experiences, perpetrator trauma is more associated with being in the actual space the event took place, the site of atrocities. The physical tangibility of the twenty-first century war zone is crucial for the perpetrators' acknowledgement of their deeds; in many respects it is complementary to the physical traces of the atrocities themselves. Analyzing prominent examples from Israeli post- second Intifada documentaries (e.g., Folman's Waltz with Bashir) and post post-Iraq War American documentaries (Morris' Standard Operating Procedure), shows that while victims experience the traumatic event as an occurrence in time, a durée, unfolding their testimonial memories, it is the physical space in which the event took place that haunts the perpetrators' post-traumatic subjectivity and confessional memory. The paper addresses questions such as, is perpetrators' traumatic memory an inevitable part of psychiatric-psychological and of cultural perspectives on memory? Can we go beyond the limitation of current trauma theory's relation to the Real through analysis of the perpetrator's figure, thus transgressing the 'unspeakableness' of the traumatic memory itself? To what degree can the perpetrators' (documentary) memories become an archive of truth production? The paper seeks an exploration of what perpetrator trauma and memory teaches us not only as a counter-paradigm to victim trauma and memory, but as a reflection on the complex intertwining of

the two paradigms in the twenty-first century collective new war unconscious, and thus on what memory studies might offer us in the first two decades of this terrorized-ethnicized century.

5. Stephanie Benzaquen-Gautier, Erasmus University Rotterdam and Susanne Knittel, University of Utrecht: *Mirroring Evil Unbound*

This year marks the fifteenth anniversary of the landmark exhibition Mirroring Evil: Nazi Imagery/Recent Art curated by Norman Kleeblatt at the Jewish Museum in New York. The first Holocaust-related art show to focus on perpetrator imagery rather than victim imagery, Mirroring Evil stirred up controversy, some seeing it as offensive for survivors, simple-minded and 'bad art', others as courageous and groundbreaking. The paper proposes to analyze the ways in which the ethical issues of empathy, fascination and commodification the exhibition raised at the time are debated today, also within the context of the global "war on terror". Then, it tries to 'unbind' the memory of Mirroring Evil at a double level. First, beyond the white cube of the museum by exploring how the institutional 'highbrow' discussion on questions of consumerism, the 'Holocaust industry' and voyeurism found its way into popular, everyday cultural circles. Second, within a global perspective by examining how the artistic representation of Nazi perpetrators influenced the depiction of mass criminals in other stories of violence. We also propose, in a more experimental fashion, to revisit the exhibition itself by means of a digital scroll (visual landscape) that will re-contextualize and 'expand' the artworks presented in Mirroring Evil. The exhibition and the accompanying catalogue have also become key reference points for the emerging field of perpetrator studies. Thus, this paper will also seek to explore the intersections between cultural memory and the figure of the perpetrator and how the question of evil and its representation might be made productive for memory studies.

PANEL 46: MEMORY ACTIVISM: REIMAGINING THE PAST FOR THE FUTURE – A ROUNDTABLE AND BOOK LAUNCH, ROOM 22.0.11

Chair: Daniel Levy, State *University* of New York at Stony Brook

The study of commemorative journalism enables a better understanding of how the news media are utilized as an arena where various memory agents present their versions of the past. Correspondingly, the study of commemorative journalism illuminates the capabilities and limitations of different news media shaping the ways in which they narrate the past.

Previous studies of commemorative journalism have emphasized its integrating, "Durkheimian" functionality. According to this analysis, in most cases, the production and consumption of commemorative journalism constitute a social ritual that enables mass (mostly national) communities to narrate a consistent and reaffirming story of their shared past.

The following study seeks to revisit these assumptions, and explore this genre's subversive potential. Thus, this investigation is anchored in two complementary trajectories: the first, "internal," trajectory focuses on the texts of commemorative journalism; the second, "external" trajectory, traces the cultural and political circumstances that enable the manifestation of such critical readings.

This principal interest is operationalized via an exploration of commemorative newspaper supplements issued on Israel's Independence Day through the years, and 2017 journalistic outputs commemorating the 50th anniversary of the Six Day War. The study initially identifies the storytelling building blocks with which such newswork has constructed, through the years, an Israeli master commemorative narrative. Next, the study focuses on instances in which such journalism has challenged common understandings of the national past. Specifically, the study identities four storytelling strategies – challenging the national voice, the national plotline, the national gaze and the national synecdoche – all relying on existing familiarity with traditional narrations of the past, in order to challenge them. Moreover, the probe of these critical- commemorative rereadings anchors this phenomenon within the larger debate over the facts and meanings of the Israeli past, that has surged across a multitude of public arenas throughout the last three decades.

1. Yifat Gutman, Ben Gurion University

2. Emilie Pine, UCD Dublin

3. Orli Fridman, Faculty of Media and Communications

4. Oren Meyers, University of Haifa

5. Noam Tirosh, and Galia Abu-Kaf, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev:

PANEL 47: WHAT POLITICAL SCIENCE CONTRIBUTES TO THE STUDY OF MEMORY, ROOM 23.0.50

Chair: Jenny Wüstenberg, York University

1. Annika Björkdahl, Lund University: *Memory Studies and the Politics of Memory: Reflections from a Political Scientist*

A wide diversity of approaches and perspectives characterises Memory Studies and have collectively contributed to the "memory boom". Sociology, psychology, history and cultural studies and others have all contributed to the fruitful interdisciplinary dynamics of the field, which has helped Memory Studies to refocus and reinvent itself over time. So has political science, which has added its grammar, vocabularies, theoretical perspectives, analytical concepts and methodologies to the field of memory studies. In doing so it has brought to the fore memory politics and its relations to the state and power as well as to peace and war. Memory politics have long been identified as an integral part of the (re) constitution of the state and collective memories have been key to statebuilding narratives. The politics of memory lies at the centre of the constitution of political authority. Research has shown that collective memory is constructed, manipulated, or utilized differently and for different purposes by different regime types such as consolidated democracies, transitional democracies and authoritarian regimes. Political science perspectives acknowledge that memory is a struggle over power and who gets to decide the future. Thus, memory politics is about attempts to control the past in order to main power in the present. Political scientists with an interest in peace and war have noticed that the politics of memory also play a key role in transitions from war to peace as means of peacebuilding. To advance this field of study, contemporary research is exploring if and how memory politics may contribute to the making of a durable peace or to the perpetuation of conflict and raises critical questions about memory politics in relation to the quality of peace. In this light, we see how political science can and has contributed to the multidisciplinary conversation in Memory Studies.

2. Jennifer Dixon, Villanova University: *Naming, Shaming, and Backlash: International Pressure, Feedback E ects, and the Politics of Memory*

What are the effects of international pressures and calls for greater contrition and acknowledgement for past wrongs? International relations scholarship has found mixed results from strategies of "naming and shaming," while some memory scholars have warned that external pressures typically prompt a conservative "backlash" and potential backsliding in state and societal expressions of contrition. Societal actors and activists involved in shaping and contesting specific memories similarly disagree over the effects of international pressures and calls for contrition, with some arguing that such pressures are important determinants of change in state and societal memories and others arguing that such external "meddling" is undesirable and counterproductive. This paper directly addresses this question, analyzing short- and long-term responses to such calls and pressures in two cases: Turkey and its narrative of the Armenian Genocide and Japan and its narrative of the Nanjing Massacre and the broader Second Sino-Japanese War. Taking a historical institutionalist approach, this analysis reveals that international pressures for greater acknowledgement and contrition produce complex feedback effects over time. Thus, while some scholars warn of the risk of backlash in response to pressures for greater acknowledgment, this is only part of the story. While the potential for a nationalist backlash is real, responses to pressures for change in a state's narrative are typically multivalent, with actors across the political spectrum responding to and pushing for changes and continuities in a state's narrative.

3. Sarah Gensburger, French National Center for Scientific Research: *From the study of politics of memory to the analysis of public policies of memory*

Since the beginning of the 1990s, an increasing number of governments have been implementing public policies in the field of "memory". Strangely enough considering the recent development and institutionalization of memory studies and aside from a very few studies, political scientists have so far shown little interest in these public actions that have to do with evoking the past. Therefore the concept of " remembrance public policies" has not been properly conceptualized. Instead, the dominant term of "politics of memory" does not really concern itself with the complex social processes behind any contemporary public policy.

This paper therefore calls for opening up the black box of the evocation of the past by public authorities. In other words, it aims to demystify memory issues and make them a mainstream theme of political science. It considers that such a choice will not only enrich memory studies but political science itself. Taking "memory" seriously from this political science perspective is indeed a way to renew theory of the state as far as issues such as (but not limited to) symbolism, national narratives or legitimation are concerned. Looking at the links between memory and politics through the lens of public policy analysis offers, for example, a way to work forward, and empirically, the articulation between "frames of meaning" and "logics of power" (Hall and Taylor, 1996), which is at the heart of any public action. In other words, making memory a legitimate topic of political science may give us a chance to answer one of the key questions memory studies raise : what is political about remembrance public policies?

4. Eric Langenbacher, Georgetown University: *Behavioralist political science and memory studies*

From a behavioralist perspective, collective memory—shared interpretations of a particularly poignant past—is a type of attitude. In fact, memories are a deeper, conditioning variant akin to a value. The relationship to politics understood as "the authoritative allocation of values" (David Easton) is clear. But politics has been alternatively defined as "who gets what when and how" (Harold Lasswell). The core concerns of the study of politics are thus distributional outcomes, actors and agents, and legitimizing ideas—in short the construction and exercise of power in all of its guises. Indeed, the particular contribution of political science to memory studies is precisely insight into power dynamics—who is able to speak with what resonance and to what effect. In this contribution, I demonstrate the continued utility of a behavioralist political science approach to the concerns of memory through

a case study of foreign policy formation in Germany and the United States and an analysis of German-American relations. I argue for the impact of collective memory on these phenomena, while simultaneously showing how such empirical analyses augments scholarly understanding of the concept of memory. Pushing back a little on currently popular theorizing—such as Michael Rothberg's "multidimensional memory" notion or Astrid Erll's "traveling memory," I will show that there is often a highly political competition among various memory actors struggling to achieve influence and hegemony for their preferred conceptions within a certain group. Moreover, the dominance of one memory over another impacts how other actors perceive an object (such as the other side in a dyadic relationship) with real policy consequences.

> 5. Sara Dybris McQuaid, Aarhus University: *Intervention on Memory and Public Policy Regime*

This intervention presents some methodological and empirical reflections on how we may study the role of bureaucratic mechanisms and conduits, as being shaped by and giving shape to collective memory as part of public policy regimes.

In developing these contact points between memory studies and political studies, it is argued that memory studies will gain a firmer understanding of the (trans)national, technocratic and bureaucratic dimensions of memory production. In turn, political science (especially policy studies) will gain a firmer appreciation and conceptualisation of the formations and carriers of collective memory in and across particular political cultures, which may lead to more reflexive policy instrumentation and programming in contemporary societies trying to deal in and with the past.

> 6. Cláudia Toriz Ramos, Universidade Fernando Pessoa & CLEPUL: *Politics and memory: the case of nationalism, post-nationalism, and neo-nationalism, in political and museological discourses.*

In politics there are often two major movements when it comes to the uses of the past: either it is considered worth being preserved and brought back to life, eventually for attaining a present days' objective; or it is deliberately erased, for being antagonistic or pointless, vis à vis current political projects.

History has often addressed these processes, namely when used as underpinnings for state propaganda, or as a way to erase embarrassing memories. History has also theoretically addressed them, by establishing the differences between the normative aims of such approaches and academic discourses on the past.

However, our aim is not to address both memory preservation and amnesia, from the perspective of the historian. We aim at understanding how in the present memory is being used, in the context of major contemporary political debates.

For the purpose, and as a case study, we will use as time frame a three step process – from nationalism, to post-nationalism, to neo-nationalism; and, as spatial frame, the Portuguese case, yet inserted in the multidimensional framework of contemporary politics. Political and museological discourses will be used as empirical data. Our aim is to understand how, in the context of a consolidated democracy, memory can act as a longitudinal pillar, either for stability or for change.

PANEL 48: FOR A SEMIOTIC APPROACH TO SPACES OF MEMORY, ROOM 27.0.17

Chair: Maria Patrizia Violi, University of Bologna

> 1. Maria Patrizia Violi; University of Bologna: *Why a semiotic approach: some basic concepts.*

The aim of this panel is to discuss how a semiotic approach can contribute in an original way to the study of the relationship between space and memory. Although research on this topic has produced a highly relevant body of work, we believe that semiotics can add a more precise and perspicuous methodological framework to the field, avoiding the proliferation of stale metaphors that often characterize memory studies, and offering a more rigorous shared language.

In particular, we will consider two central notions for a semiotically oriented analysis - enunciation and narrativity - which can help us develop a better understanding of one of the most relevant and commonly recognized feature of memory in space, i.e. the continuous transformation, re-shaping and changes of meaning that spaces of memory (sites, monuments, memorials, and also cities and public spaces in general) have undergone in time.

In space, the dialectic between memory and oblivion takes the form of a stratification of meanings that superimpose themselves upon one another, as in a palimpsest, since memories are continuously rewritten not only by new layers of meaning, but also by the reappearance of previous, often forgotten ones. An endless process of this kind produces an effect of re-semantization of the original meanings of spaces, modifying their narratives. The semiotic notion of enunciation will help us in defining the role of the different forms of subjectivities that are behind such interventions, sometimes taking the form of institutionalized agencies, sometimes of spontaneous bottom-up practices that contribute to re-enunciate and re- create space. Concrete examples will be

given of such changes of uses and meaning, from monuments, memorials, and public spaces, to restoration of cities in their post-war reconstructions.

2. Cristina Demaria, University of Bologna: *Grammar of spaces: enunciating and re-mediating places of trauma*

When thinking of the ways in which a space of memory is enunciated, re-created and re-mediated through different enunciative practices, we can look at two main levels of what semiotics would refer to as its "actualization", that is at how it is signified in the very moment of its consumption, and the memory it displays or embodies re-enacted. First, we can look at the ways in which a place (such as that of a trauma site) is rendered a space with a particular syntax, that is through the intertwining of different elements of the architecture and the design (itineraries, lights, sounds) with the movements and trajectories of its users. Second, we can analyse how it is represented and re-interpreted in audio-visual texts, that is movies and documentaries about sites of memory (such as Shoah by Claude Lanzman or Night and Fog by Alain Resnais) that constitute a peculiar re-creation and memorialisation of a space along with the different temporalities it might display. Both levels are peculiar practices of enunciation of spaces of memory that still need to be discussed in their specificity and in their complementarities.

By focusing on a case of a specific trauma site, this intervention will explore the semiotic tools that allow us to expand the notions both of gaze and subject positioning when dealing with both the material and the re-mediated experience of a space of memory and its testimonial role.

3. Anna Maria Lorusso, University of Bologna: *Palimpsestes, translations and ideologies*

In every place – even more a place of memory - we find a stratification of discussions, senses, values that have accumulated, succeeded, alternated along time.
One of the theorists of a semiotic approach to culture (Jurij Lotman) speaks of "volumetric space" to point out that every state of culture has a depth that goes well beyond the surface.
Beyond any synchronous approach, therefore, it is also important to take into account a diachronic one, that sees the space as a palimpsest, a set of layers, rewritings, cancellations ... But how does this approach differ from a traditional historical approach?
Semiotics reads this stratification as a discursive net, emphasizing two important aspects:
- These layers are not chronological phases that happen and are enough. They are ways that interact with each other, which translate into one another, and respond to each other. It is therefore about analyzing a dialogical and translational logic, not a simple evolutionary logic.
- these layers do not interact linearly, but rather with jumps, retrievals, revivals. The "contemporary state" of a place can recapture elements of centuries ago that were quieted for a long time and seemed to have disappeared, forgotten forever, and that at some point resurfaced.
All this has much to do with the ideological uses of the past, if by ideology we mean (according to Umberto Eco's theory) a speech, an enunciative strategy, that narcoticizes some paths of meaning to absolutize its own discourse as the only possible one. When a place of memory (museum, memorial, monument...) recovers elements of the past as if it were the only past of the country, the community, etc... it is clearly "playing" with the layers of time, with a certain ideological function. It happened very clearly with Italian Fascism, that recovered the Roman heritage.

4. Francesco Mazzucchelli, University of Bologna: *Les lieux d'oublì: a semiotic approach on production of forgetfulness*

Memory is a dynamic process encompassing an incessant dialectics between preservation and erasure of the past: oblivion plays an inevitable and necessary role in cultural memory. One could say that a place of memory is always, and concomitantly, a place of forgetfulness as well: the narratives expressed and manifested in spaces and sites are the result of processes of selection, omission, cancellation of what they do not include in the chosen semiotic perspective. Indeed, as stated by Umberto Eco, who believed in the impossibility of an ars oblivionalis (as a way to induce an "active forgetfulness"), the only strategy that may effectively produce a form of oblivion is narration. This is also well pinpointed by Paul Ricœur, when he says that the "ideologisation of memory" is due to the narrative nature of collective memory and to the fact that narration always entails selection.

In my talk, I would like to apply such "narrative approach" to the investigation of some practices of destruction and de- semantization of spatial signs of memory, focusing especially on post-war reconstructions and restorations. Far from being an innocent practice of neutral preservation of the past, architectural reconstructions and restorations (especially in post- conflict situations) can be viewed as tools for the rewriting of the spatial palimpsest of interlaced layers of meanings and then as narrative strategy to produce not just a memory but also oblivion (through the 'magnification' of some elements to the detriment of other).

5. Mario Panico, University of Bologna: *Uses and abuses of memory space: or how practices can change the meaning of monuments and memorials*

Although designers seek to define a specific use of the urban space (institutional purposes, political rituals, ceremonies, cultural and entertainment events, etc...), the empirical subjects who everyday cross and live urban

spaces may choose either to conform to that ideological proposal or to reinvent it through multifaceted practices. This also concerns memory spaces such as monuments and memorials.

In this contribution, I will show how practices trigger a re-semanticization of space.

To explore that, I will use as case study the Soviet Army Monument in Sofia, Bulgaria, built on orders of Stalin in 1954. After the fall of the Berlin Wall, this monument has undergone a lot of important changes: from being a memory space for the Soviet soldiers, it has become a space of protest and leisure. For example, in 2011 the sculpture of the soldiers at the base of the pedestal of the monument were painted with the features of the protagonists of Western pop culture: Superman, Wonder Woman, Joker, Ronald McDonald, etc., all accompanied by a caption in Bulgarian: "Moving with the times". After being cleaned, others have been the actions on the monument: the soldiers of the sculpture were put the cap of Pussy Riot (August 2012), the Russian singers imprisoned for opposing Putin; soldiers were painted in pink, a reference to the tank symbolizing the Prague Spring (August 2013); one of them has been painted blue and yellow after the conflict between Ukraine and Russia (February 2014).

These practices allow me to analyse how different subjects, designers and users, are present into the space, creating a dialogue, crafting new narrations and memories.

6. Daniele Salerno, University of Bologna: Eventful Spaces: *For a Semiotics of Event*

When an event happens it stands out from and against a background of habits, regularities and expectations – one could say "structures" – sedimented over time in space. Triggered by the event, interpretive processes set the memories of past events and praxis into motion between structural transformations and inertia.

On the one hand, the event needs to be stabilized in its meanings and spatially located through shared enunciative praxis: it will be semantically linked in different forms – contiguity/distance, closeness/farness, similarity/contrast etc. – and through different cultural practices – memorials, commemorations, rituals, protests etc. – to other past events and consequently bounded and assigned a place. The process of naming, labeling and categorizing, the repetition of utterances and narrations will stabilize its identity and meaning.

On the other hand, the event will transform, in different ways and at different extent, the space and its structure: from radical and global transformations to temporary variations of local habits.

My contribution will deal with these processes in the specific case of the 2015 Paris attacks. The former Charlie Hebdo headquarter and Bataclan are just 500 meters away from each other and close to Place de la Republique, in an area of Paris that is highly symbolical. The area and in particular Place de la Republique underwent a series of transformations in the aftermaths of attacks: from the Marches and the construction of spontaneous memorials to the Nuit Debout movement, the area was sacralized and securitized eventually turning into a space of political conflict. In the meaning-making of events, narrative patterns, memorial and political practices as well as iconic references played a fundamental role.

PANEL 49: MEMORY, VIOLENCE AND TRAUMA (2), ROOM 4A.0.68

Chair: Julia Barbara Köhne, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin

1. Marzena Sokolowska-Paryz, University of Warsaw: *"Fictionalizing Traumatic Memories: The 'Melodramatic' and 'Sacrosanct' (Un)Conventional Versions of Rape-Victims in the War Film"*

In comparison to so many other films taking up the subject matter of war rape, such as The Pawnbroker, Casualties of War, Redacted, Flandres, Anonyma: Eine Frau in Berlin, Nanjing! Nanjing!, As If I am Not There, or Róża, Angelina Jolie's In the Land of Blood and Honey (2011) and Anne Fontaine's Les Innocentes (2016) must be considered atypical in their representations of the trauma of rape victims. And yet it is precisely the atypicality of both films that – from an ethical standpoint – appears to be their greatest flaw. In Jolie's film, the intended affective impact of the scale of violence and suffering during the Bosnian War is effectively weakened by constructing the female protagonist as a "melodramatic" victim, i.e. a Bosnian woman in an erotic relationship with a Serbian perpetrator. Fontaine took her inspiration from the historical fact of the rape of nuns by Red Army soldiers during the Second World. By focusing on nuns – "sacrosanct" victims – the violation of the female body is unavoidably written into the violation of the sacrum. What is more, the trauma of the rape victim is all too easily recast into a psychological study of an internal conflict between religious vocation and the maternal instinct.

2. Ville Kivimaki, University of Tampere: *"Nocturnal Memories: Posttraumatic Nightmares in Finland after World War II"*

In 2017, the frequency of constant, heavy nightmares among the Finnish population is much lower than in the 1970s. This decrease seems to be a direct result of the decrease in the proportional share of those Finns who had experienced the wars of 1939–1945 as adults or as children. During the war and in its long aftermath, people's dreams were occupied by the horrors they had witnessed or which they anticipated. The Finnish war generation was a "nightmare generation," and this has probably been the case also elsewhere. Furthermore, unlike in Finland, in many European countries the experiences of violence, loss, expulsions, and totalitarianism continued and created new nightmares long after May 1945. Historians have rarely paid attention to dreams as a historical source, although they offer an interesting perspective to any post-conflict situation and to people's hopes and fears in general. In my paper, I will study the content of Finnish war nightmares through extensive reminiscence collections at the archives of the Finnish Literature Society and at the Finnish National Archives.

Dreams are a special mode of remembering; they are also a special mode for orienting towards the future. In the case of war-related nightmares from the 1940s and 1950s, their strongly "posttraumatic" nature is worth noting. At the same time, the war-related nightmares were not only about trauma: they were also about mourning, coping, and coming to terms with one's experiences and losses. Sometimes dreams were a site of release from the war's mental burdens; in a dream world, a person could leave the war to the past and find relief from its grasp.

3. Robert Dale, University of Newcastle: *"Efim Segal, Shell-Shocked Sergeant: Memories of Trauma in the Soviet Union after the Great Patriotic War"*

Between 1974 and 1978 Alexandr Sobolev, a veteran of the Great Patriotic War, wrote a semi-autobiographical novel Efim Segal, Shell-Shocked Sergeant, which told the story of a demobilized veteran's difficulty readjusting to civilian life following demobilisation. Sobolev, like his novel's hero, served in the Red Army from 1942, before being medically discharged in May 1944. Sobolev was classified as a war-invalid for the rest of his life, continuing to experience war's traumatic aftershocks. This novel explores the social problems experienced by demobilized veterans, and the complexities of confronting war's legacy. Efim Segal, then, became a vehicle for Sobolev to document his own traumatic memories of post-war adaptation. Although this novel is relatively unknown (it was published posthumously in 1999) it remains an important document for exploring the traumatic memories of veterans of the Great Patriotic War. This paper uses Sobolev's novel, and the memoirs of his widow Tatiana Soboleva, as a point of departure for reassessing veterans' memories of trauma. When placed into its historical context the novel can prompt a re-examination of the War's traumatic memories. Although the official Soviet myths denied the existence of war trauma, it was nevertheless a social and cultural reality in post-war Soviet society. In Efim Segal Shell-Shocked Sergeant, and other literary and cinematic texts, we can find repeated attempts by Soviet cultural figures to examine war trauma. While much recent work on war trauma has focused on the psychiatric and medical discourse, this paper seeks to return to Soviet cultural sources as a means of exploring traumatic memories. These materials are a rich source of evidence for exploring post-war Soviet social and cultural history. The paper, then, argues that if we look in a different direction memories and examinations of war trauma were more extensive than previously appreciated.

4. Vitalii Ogiienko, Ukrainian Institute of National Remembrance: *Defining the meaning of the historical trauma of the Holodomor*

The Holodomor is one of the greatest tragedies in the history of Ukraine that took about 4 million human lives, destroyed the society, and ruined its symbolic frames.
The historical trauma is understood here in terms of memory making, shaping and reproduction. Although, many factors contribute to "memory process", some distinct characteristics can always be noticed especially when it comes to such case study as the Holodomor with very vivid traumatic representations.
My presentations aimed to determine what exactly constitutes traumatic essence of Holodomor memory and narrative. This traumatic core of the memory is defined here as a meaning of the Holodomor which appears to be passed to the next generations, and made the Holodomor memory so specific.
Supposedly, this meaning can be drawn from self-narratives and early representations of starvation and death during the famine. Later on, over process of memory transmission, the meaning goes its way to the cultural sphere, that is, mental processes marked by real experience, feelings and suffering occur in the cultural sphere where they become culturally mediated.
The presentation focuses on an analysis of the Holodomor-related narratives, in particular witness testimonies from threefold perspective:
• examination narratives for symptoms of trauma in terms of contemporary understanding of psycho-traumatic diagnosis of peritraumatic dissociation, post-traumatic stress disorder and characteristics of collective trauma;
• discovering traumatic representations in narratives in terms of images developing in a chronological way from the earliest to those contributed to the contemporary discourse;
• defining whether the authors of the narratives to be analyzed were traumatized in some way.
Among the findings are the following:
from time and psycho-traumatic perspectives, the Holodomor can be viewed as a process of slow silent dying;
the general symptomology of the Holodomor passes according to the subsequent sequence - "fear – despair – numbing – obedience".

PANEL 50: PERFORMING MEMORIES – THE BODY AS MEMORIAL TRACE, ROOM 27.0.09

Chair: Carmen Levick, University of She eld

1. Laura van den Boogaard, Utrecht University: *Mediatizing Memory: A Musical Rep- resentation of Inner Emigration*

In the past twenty years, musicologists have been increasingly preoccupied with the question how musicians, composers, and their music are affected by displacement. However, the phenomenon of 'inner emigration', which has been widely debated within literary studies since the collapse of the Third Reich, remains inadequately addressed in the musical realm. My paper examines how memories of such internal exile—in which one 'emigrates' in spirit from an oppressive society while remaining physically inside its territory—are mediated in the song "Inner Emigration" (2011) by Berlin-based band Daniel Kahn & The Painted Bird (DKPB). Analyzing the three experiences of inner emigration reflected in the song, which involve Nazi Germany, the Soviet Union, and

the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, I show that the music both illustrates and contradicts the lyrics. Specifically, I investigate how the song appeals to listeners who have not necessarily experienced internal exile themselves.

I argue that DKPB's song makes the concept of inner emigration topical by directly addressing the audience, and presenting it as a state of mind that transcends any particular historical and geographical context. I also demonstrate that both the lyrics and Daniel Kahn's delivery betray a judgmental attitude towards inner émigrés, which is reminiscent of the often moralizing scholarship on the subject. However, whereas early writers such as Walter von Molo and Frank Thieß considered inner exile in Nazi Germany to be patriotic, Kahn presents it as a facile solution to feelings of alienation. Drawing upon concepts from memory studies, literary studies and musicology, my paper untangles the ways in which music can mediate postmemories of (inner) emigration.

2. Kirsty Kay, University of Glasgow: *Csángó Unchained: Nation-Building and Memory Practice in the Hungarian Tánchaz Revival*

This paper examines nation-building and memory practices occurring in the Csángó tánchaz (dance house), a folk dance revival in Hungary. Through the social folk dancing community of the Csángó tánchaz in Budapest, I investigate how the revival negotiates the (re)production of contested national memory within the lived identity of participants through their interaction with contemporary and historical Hungarian territory.

The Csángó are an ethnic Hungarian minority living in present-day Romania, whose identity, customs, and traditions have historically been used in competing nation-building discourses in Hungary and Romania. In the 1970s, amateur ethnographers took the often dangerous journey to Communist Romania and found a thriving traditional culture in spite of the state repression of Hungarian minorities. The collection of living folk traditions they returned with helped fuel the nascent national resistance movements against state socialism. Since the end of Communism, the tánchaz movement has become institutionalised and commercialised throughout Hungary, and is increasingly internationally recognised, with the teaching method awarded UNESCO intangible heritage status in 2011.

Investigating the de- and re-territorialization of Csángó traditions in urban and rural contexts, the ethnographic fieldwork conducted over 15 months for my PhD explores how the movement turns the historical figure of the nation-building ethnographer into a touristic performance of memory and myth-making for those who take part. Replicating the journeys of the original tánchaz revivalists, participants bring together discourses from a contested Hungarian history with modes of globalised heritage production and consumption. In learning Csángó music and dance, people engage with historical Hungarian territory, landscapes, and communities, and contribute to an enduring ethnocultural nation that eschews present geopolitical borders. My research finds that the process of learning Csángó folk culture turns a collective memory practice into a living community whilst reinforcing the complexities of Hungarian national narratives within a postsocialist negotiation of collective identity.

3. Clare Parfitt, University of Chichester: *"I breathed on their dust": Popular Dance, Protean Memory and Tactile Media*

This paper emerges from my recently completed AHRC-funded research project: Dancing with Memory. The project explored the relationships between popular dance and cultural memory through the case study of the cancan. Over its two-hundred- year history, dancers, writers, artists and filmmakers have repeatedly employed the cancan as a practice, image and symbol from the past that can be re-choreographed for the present. Through archival research, the project has investigated the cancan as an embodied site of cultural memory that can be transmitted through live performance, texts, images and film.

The paper identifies the contrasting ways in which cultural memory has been conceived in dance and performance studies on one hand, and in the various disciplines (literature, history, modern languages, etc.) more commonly represented by memory studies scholars on the other. These alternative approaches correlate with performance studies scholar Diana Taylor's distinction between the 'repertoire' and the 'archive' (2003). However, the histories I traced through my cancan research could not be fully accommodated either by the dance and performance studies emphasis on the repertoire, or the memory studies focus on the archive. Rather, the trail of cancan memory led repeatedly back and forth across the terrains of repertoire and archive, accumulating traces of each.

My interdisciplinary methodology challenges the binary distinction between the 'repertoire' and the 'archive'. In doing so, it offers a means for memory studies scholars to consider embodiment that goes beyond Proutian sensory revery (1992; orig. 1913-1927), Bergsonian habitual memory (2004; orig. 1896), Pierre Nora's milieux de mémoire (1984-1992) and Paul Connerton's social habit-memory (1989). Through the concepts of Protean memory and tactile media, popular dancing bodies can be conceived as dynamically constructing memory across repertoires and archives in response to shifting political and cultural pressures.

4. Pablo Martinez-Zarate, Universidad Iberoamericana Mexico City: *The archive as a critical event: media, memory and the documentary sound-image in a post-fact world*

In 2016 the Oxford Dictionary chose "post-truth" as the word of the year, underlining that historical processes in the age of digital media and worldwide markets are going through a profound transformation. This paper recognises the challenges of such historical landscape and proposes the idea that the configuration of the archive

as a critical event might help reimagine the relationship between media, memory and narratives of shared experience.

In the center of this discussion, I propose the documentary sound/image as the key dispositif to detonate the renewal of the archive, which configures its core narratives in the turmoil of the relationship between media and memory. The documentary sound-image not only as the universe of formal or professional imagery spanning from the film and art worlds, but also the constant amateur inscription of worldwide events.

The aim of this paper goes one step further by proposing several design strategies and methodologies for creative projects that deal with memory. Documentary films, documentary based artworks and interactive documentaries on the one hand, and active and immersive pedagogy on the other, that take a critical stance on the construction of the archive both officially and beyond institutions, compose the core strategies of this research. The intention is to share methodological pathways to design content not only with artistic purposes, but with diverse objectives such as educational, political or social campaigns. At the end, I pretends to reflect on the idea of an incarnated memory and the archive as a dynamic process, rather than static constructions that limit our appropriation of historical processes in a world that undergoes a constant crisis.

5. Victoria Grace Walden, University of Sussex: *Unbinding Memory in Body Memory*

Ülo Pikkov's animated short Body Memory presents the image of female-like figures made of twine that unravel in a dramatically choreographed narrative that draws attention to the claustrophobia and pain suffered by those who were forcefully deported from Estonia by Soviet forces. Despite featuring no real human figures, the unravelling of these forms can deeply resonate within the body of the spectator and encourage them to recognise the complex dimensions of media memory. The film draws attention to several issues related to contemporary memory studies: (1) Transmedial forms of memory – how animated objects can suggest human memories, (2) Embodied memory – how these twine figures can be deeply affective for the spectator, (3) Transnational memory – the ways in which the film relies on symbolic images related to deportation, which are more likely to be associated with Holocaust memory in Western Europe.

Body Memory, then, provides a useful ground for contemplating the ways in which media memory is not fixed or bound to specific sites or forms (as Pierre Norra has previously suggested), but rather reveals how memory is a dynamic experience, which in the cinema viewing involves a dialogue between spectator and film. This paper adopts a phenomenological approach to consider how this animated short provokes remembering of traumatic pasts through the transmedial, embodied and transnational dimensions of the viewing experience, and considers the role of the spectator in helping to shape the specific memory that develops through the screening. More than simply a deeply affective image, then, the untangling, unravelling and unbinding of the twine in Body Memory serves as a metaphor for the complexity of contemporary memory.

6. Naohisa Mori, Sapporo Gakuin University and Kyoko Murakami, University of Copenhagen: *Bodily and semiotic exploration of past events: Another challenge of ecological psychology for commemorative activities Needs to be moved*

The present study is relevant to the ecological psychological approach (e.g., Gibson, 1979) to commemorative activities. Memories of wars and disasters are often commemorated and tried to transmit to following generations and people who did not experienced them. Our former study (Mori & Murakami, 2016) suggested that transmission of victims' suffering experiences themselves was possible when victims changed non-victims' ways of exploring the present environment and theorised the mechanism by using a concept of ecological psychology "exploratory activity" (See Reed 1996). Although semiotic activities including symbolic exhibits of museums, storytelling by victims, monument construction, etc., are also important to transmit suffering experiences and often performed in commemorative activities, few discussion is made on its integration with the ecological approach. The present study attempts to integrate semiotic activities into the framework of ecological psychology by using a concept of "performative activity" thorough which people make environments easy to explore. Through interviewing people who suffered from Hanshin-Awaji great earthquake that occurred in 1997 in Japan and curators of Nagasaki Atomic Bomb Museum, and observing memorials of the quake and exhibits of the museum, we conclude that semiotic activities can render easier environments for exploratory activities.

PANEL 51: POST-TOTALITARIAN MEMORIES: CONFLICT, CHANGE AND LEGACIES OF A COMMUNIST PAST IN COMMEMORATIVE PRACTICES, ROOM 27.0.49

Chair: Catalina Vallejo, University of Virginia

Totalitarian communist states have faded and transformed into new political and economic regimes but the memories of their glory days still a space of contention. Academics, state officials, journalists, politicians, and social movements participate in everyday negotiations about how these difficult pasts would, or should, look like after the end of decades of totalitarian regimes. These different agents of memory promote the commemorations of certain events and characters and at the same time engage in the silencing/resisting of particular aspects of the past that remain unsettled. Hopeful as well as skeptic storytelling about communism exists alongside in memorialization attempts in China and Eastern Europe. By exploring the way in which a communist past is as

present in everyday life as in commemorative practices, this panel focuses on post-totalitarian scenarios to explore the ways in which societies negotiate with this communist past and how narrativization changes over time in relation with different generations. This panel seeks to explore the distinction between a communist past and a post-totalitarian present by suggesting that, in the context of China and Eastern Europe commemorations a constant dialogue between past and present permeates urban development, and generational memory.

1. Elene Kekelia, University of Virginia: *The National Narratives of 20th Century Monuments in Georgia*

Most of the memory studies on monuments, commemoration and nationalism in post-soviet countries draws their attention to the post 1989's era, full of revolutions, resistance and redefinition of identity. Memory scholars have argued that the collapse of the Soviet Union triggered the expression of national feelings. Drawing on a theoretical framework of the Small homeland policy, I argue that nation-specific commemoration was already present and implemented from the early ages of Soviet era. While trying to answer the question on whether the early Georgian monumental distribution depicts a case of local national memory or not, I analyzed the nature of 342 public sculptures in Georgia. By introducing time periods (years) as the independent variable, I was able to test the hypothesis whether nationalism could be found in earlier period (before 1989's) of soviet era or not. After finding the trace of the existence of nationalism before the well-known outbreak of nationalism in the 1980's, I argue that: 1) relatively early soviet public sculptures in Georgia did carry a national memory. 2) The narrative of the uniqueness was indeed a result of the Small homeland policy, which means that it might be present in every post-Soviet state as a product of Soviet policy.

2. Licheng Qian, Zhejiang University: Mnemonic Socialization and Generational Memories*: Formative Years and Beyond*

The research on generation and memory has devoted much attention to the role of "formative years" in forming particular memories and worldviews. Yet, what are the specific mechanisms within the formative years? How does the generational memory affected by the post-totalitarian regime change? Based on the interviews I conducted in Beijing, Shanghai, and Hunan in China, I argue that for the "present generation", that is, the generation with life experience of Mao's China, the memories and attitudes towards Mao are emotionally engaged and cognitively bifurcated. For the "after generation," the generation born in post-Mao China and thus having no living memory of Mao, the attitudes towards Mao are more indifferent and diversified. Based on the analyses of both the "present" and "after" generations, my research also argues that family background, information sources, and early life trajectory together explain the change and consistency within and beyond the formative years of memory construction.

3. Tomas Sniegon, Center for Languages and Literature, University of Lund: *Making a "Patriotic" Sense of the Gulag*

The main goal of my paper is to analyze a new effort to frame the Gulag memory in Russian post-Soviet patriotic discourse. Moreover, I examine how this effort has influenced some crucial sites of memory of "political repressions" in Russia. The focus lies especially on the former execution site in Butovo, one of Moscow's suburb districts; the State Museum of Gulag History in Moscow, the first state museum of this kind in Russia since 1991; and finally the museum and former labor camp Perm-36 in the Ural region. These sites of memory have been essential to the memory culture in present-day Russia that has the Gulag as its central point: Butovo and the State Museum of Gulag History are, together with the Solovetsky Stone in front of the former KGB headquarters Lubyanka, the most important sites of memory within the territory of the Russian capital Moscow, while Perm-36 is the only museum of its kind situated in a former labor camp and representing the repressive character of both Stalinist and post-Stalinist development in the Soviet Union.

I argue that, in recent years, a new common "patriotic" narrative of the Gulag is developing under the control of the state. This is a narrative in which the new nationalist perception of the Gulag memory at the sites in question converges with the Orthodox and Soviet-sentimental way of viewing the traumatic past in order to define Russia's future: the Gulag is not necessarily denied, but the memory of communist terror and crimes is deliberately given meanings other than liberal. Unlike the memory of the Great Patriotic War, that has been nationalized and traumatized, the memory of the Gulag is, on the contrary, systematically de-traumatized and marginalized.

4. Hexuan Zhang, University of Virginia: *Remembering and Forgetting of a Difficult Past: Collective Memories of the Cultural Revolution*

Previous research on commemoration of the difficult pasts focus mostly on multivocal and fragmented discourses around the collective memories of embarrassing, shameful or contentious historical events. However, behind the veil of expressed commemorations, there are also underlying and intermingled social processes of denying or silencing of the difficult pasts. Therefore, in this paper, I propose four mechanisms or mnemonic filters that shape the remembering and forgetting of a difficult past at the collective level: repression, suppression, oppression, and expression. To elaborate the four mechanisms, I mainly rely on the case of collective memories of the Cultural Revolution in China. Repression means the phenomena that people are influenced by the past that they are not fully aware of, such as the postmemory of violence and sufferings of the Cultural Revolution for the second and third generations who didn't experience the turmoil themselves. Suppression means a conscious process of silencing the past due to pain, fear, embarrassment, or shame, such as the lack of narratives from the

perpetrators of the Cultural Revolution, and the suppression of commemorations of the Cultural Revolution from the state. Oppression means using official or dominant narratives of the past to oppress other memory agents and groups, such as the official narratives of Cultural Revolution ascribing most responsibilities of the turmoil to the Gang of Four instead of Mao Zedong, and oppress the reflections of Cultural Revolution from a deeper level. Expression means the highly selective commemorations and narratives of the past that have been filtered by previous mechanism. Aside from the case of China's Cultural Revolution, I also apply these four mechanisms to other cases of difficult past like the Holocaust, atomic bomb in Hiroshima, 1989 Tian'anmen crackdown, Stalin's Great Terror, etc. to test the generalizability of these theoretical concepts.

5. Pik Man Lin, University of Virginia: *Family Background, Sufferings and Collective Memory of Shanghai Educated Youth*

The educated youth (zhiqing) are groups of urban primary or secondary school graduates being sent down to the rural areas after the Cultural Revolution. Previous studies on collective memory of zhiqing mainly focused on "nostalgia", "no regret", "suffering", attributing these characteristics to their current socio-economic situations. However, a closer examination will find this conclusions too general. For one, the Sent-down life is not the only source of nostalgia zhiqing can draw, not to say that the group is not completely homogeneous. During the Cultural Revolution, the stigma on politically disadvantaged groups were ossified into an official label system which extended to their kids, that is, the generation of zhiqing. Academic literature on the Cultural Revolution and educated youth had suggested that family background labels had huge impact on their life course, however how the labels affect their memory and perception of the Movement remains unknown. To fill the gaps, this paper aims to find out how family background labels (jiating chushen /jiating chengfen) act on the experience and thus memory of Shanghai Educated Youth. The study especially focuses on their narration of sufferings/discomfort during the Movement, and the role of the family background label when they retold their story.

PANEL 52: USABLE PAST? THE 100TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION: MEANINGS, MEMORY AND MEMORY POLITICS, ROOM 27.0.49

Chair: Bois Kolonitskiy, European University at St.Petersburg

1. Malinova Olga, Higher School of Economics: *Competing interpretations of the Revolution of 1917 in the Russian Political Discourse*

A re-interpretation of the October Revolution of 1917 is crucially important for development of the post-Soviet historical narrative as far as this event once had played a role of "the founding myth" of the Soviet regime. The paper is a part of the research project focused on evolution of the practices of political uses of the national past in the context of construction of the post-Soviet Russian identity. It argues that till now the Russian governing elites have not succeed to re-frame the October Revolution as a great though tragic episode of the national past. In the 1990s it was portrayed as 'the terrible catastrophe", in the 2000-s, with a shift from the concept of "the new Russia" to that of the "thousand-years long great Russian state", it was discarded and almost eliminated from the official political discourse. However, in 2012-2013 in the context of work at the new Concept of teaching national history at schools initiated by president V.Putin, it was re-conceptualized as "the Great Russian Revolution of 1917-1921". This formula was supposed to provide a semantic basis for the centenary commemoration in 2017. However, it hardly signals about public consensus. The paper analyzes competing narratives of the events of 1917 in the current public discourse and seeks to reveal oppositions and conjunctions between them.

2. Matskevich Maria, Russian Academy of Sciences: *Changing Memory of the Russian Revolution in today's Russia*

As Maurice Halbwachs put it, actual events and attitudes influence assessments of and attitudes towards a past. In Russia, changes in attitudes towards the Revolution of 1917 provide evidences for that point, too.

Over the Soviet period, the revolution of 1917 had been not only a lieu de memoire but also the main point to build a Soviet identity. As such, all Soviet citizens had been taught about that event in many various aspects, while studying in high schools, universities, and even kindergartens. Within the Soviet ideology, a revolution term had exclusively positive connotations. Thus, there had been discursive struggles for considering certain upheavals in various times and states as revolutions.

In Russia in the 90ths, there were many public and academic discussions whether the perestroika was a revolution or not. The same kind of discussions replicated in 1991 and 1993. A discursive power to name events left the August 1991 being called as 'putsch', and the GKChP as 'junta'. In 1993, when a clash of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation with president Yeltsin happened, the winning side named it an attempt of a coup d'état.

It is often assumed that in Russia, crucial transformation in public attitudes towards a term of revolution were taking place over the 2000ths when colored revolutions happened in several states, and especially after the 2014 Euromaidan also known as the Ukrainian revolution. Allegedly, these attitudes transformations were caused by the state Russian propaganda.

However, according to opinion polls data, Russian citizens expressed negatives feelings towards revolution already in the early 2000ths. Based on polls data, it will be shown how a memory about the Socialist revolution and attitudes towards it were influenced by the actual events and assessments.

3. Ivan Kurilla, European University at St. Petersburg: *What Happens with Soviet Foundational Myth in Post-Soviet Russia?*

After the 1990s, a decade when the state negated everything Soviet, Russia's new regime started a consturction of Russian history as a succession of different phases including medieval, imperial, soviet and post-soviet ones. Instead of moving the foundation date of the new Russia to 1991, that date was labeled "the greatest geopolitical catastrophy", and the baptism of medieval Rus or the victory in the WWII were suggested as the foundation of the current Russian state. The role of the 1917 revolution in this new vision remains undefined. However, several actors are spreading their understanding of the Russian revolution, from Russian Orthodox church that considers it the calamity to the Communist party that praises it as a down of a new world. Mutually exclusive visions shared by the powerful groups of the Russian society make it difficult for the state to shape its own attitude to the revolution. Society maintains several memories to the same event that is especially obvious in the practices of memorialization in the last decade.

4. Charles Lock, University of Copenhagen: *The Russian Revolution remembered in the Russian Emigration.*

The events of 1917 and their consequences were much contested over the following forty years, with figures from the Russian emigration leading the view that the Revolution was an unmitigated catastrophe, their evidence derived from experience and memory, and put into effect through the genres of memoir and autobiography. After 1956 and especially in the 1970s these publications no longer met so much resistance from historians of the Left and found a wide readership. Some were composed in Russian, in emigration, and translated into western European languages (e.g. Nabokov, Speak, Memory; Berberova, The Italics are Mine), while others were written in the language of their western publication (German, French, English); these drew support in the last decades of the Cold War from certain 'Soviet' texts either published in samizdat' or smuggled out to the West: Pasternak's Doctor Zhivago, Nadezhda Mandelshtam's memoirs, Solzhenitsyn's Gulag Archipelago and dozens more. These works played a substantial role in the ideological promotion of "Western values", with political and military implications, yet since 1991 their importance has been ignored or forgotten within the former Soviet Union. As one who had been deeply involved in the work of Amnesty International in the 1970s, I am interested in and troubled by this failure of historical memory, and in the elaboration since 1991 of another foundational myth: that the rebirth of the "New-Old Russia" is owed to the commemoration of the Millennium of the Baptism of Rus' in 1988. Who then is the guardian today of the memory of the Russian Revolution? Its centenary this October/November is being commemorated far more actively in the West than in Russia itself.

PANEL 53: FIGURATIONS OF TRAUMA IN THREE GENRES, ROOM 27.1.49

Chair: Stef Craps, University of Ghent

What does it mean when the "empathic dyad," as Dori Laub terms it, has been damaged by massive exposure to trauma? How does the presence of an other who shares experience enable meaning-making in extreme circumstances? These panelists study graphic memoirs, poetry, and Holocaust testimonies in which the figuration of traumatic loss appears as a continual process. Stories emerge, are concealed, and then retold decades after the fact. These transformed and transformative texts constitute a part of the collective memory of the Holocaust. Judith Butler argues (2004), that it is precisely through loss that we realize to what extent we are constituted as human subjects. Butler's classic psychoanalytic formulation needs to be supplemented by an intersubjective perspective on the dialogic aspect of creative expression. Secure attachment in personal relationships and to the wider field of cultural symbols may provide the best protection against further traumatization, and these bonds continue to enable the on-going creative process after survival, as the texts studied will illustrate.

1. Diederik Oostdijk, VU Amsterdam: *Draw yourself out of it": Miriam Katin's graphic metamorphosis of trauma*

The Hungarian American graphic artist Miriam Katin completed two graphic memoirs about her Holocaust experience. The critically acclaimed We Are on Our Own (2006) details Katin'smother's and her harrowing escape from Budapest after the Nazis usurped the city, while Letting It Go (2013) tells Katin's painful acceptance of her son taking Hungarian citizenship and deciding to live in Berlin decades after the war. This paper argues that Katin's graphic metamorphosis of traumatic memory involves three steps. Katin's process of healing reflects, firstly, the importance of sharing intergenerational memory; Katin learns a more comprehensive story of the war years from her mother, and passes on her own memory to her son. Although visually divergent, We Are on Our Own and Letting It Go both show how communicative memory – "based on forms of everyday interaction and communication" – is passed on through the generations (Erll 28). Yet the two graphic memoirs are themselves also examples of collective memory that preserves the memory of the Holocaust in a cultural form. Secondly, both memoirs emphasize the power of multimodal creativity, as finding words, visualizing a past experience, and

making music are essential to Katin finding a hidden wholeness inside herself. Thirdly, the graphic diptych reflects on the Holocaust as a case of transnational memory and trauma. Only by literally and figuratively transcending boundaries – mental, cognitive, national – is Katin able to both integrate and let go of the most painful memories of her childhood trauma. Drawing on new findings from experimental psychology by Bessel Van Der Kolk and also trauma studies, this article traces Katin's attempt to draw oneself out of the trauma of the Holocaust through graphic memoirs

2. Dawn Skorczewski, Brandeis University: *Trauma in the Poetry of Child Survivor Frank Diamand*

"What do you do with the memory/that there were a few steps?" (Diamand 2016). Dawn Skorczewski will discuss the poetry of Frank Diamand, who was five years old when his family was deported from Westerbork to Bergen-Belsen in September 1944. Abraham Asscher, Diamand's maternal grandfather, was co-President of the Amsterdam Jewish Council and owner the biggest diamond factory in Amsterdam. Asscher survived with his family in the Sternlager Camp in Bergen-Belsen until April 1945, and was subsequently charged with collaboration by a Jewish Tribunal court for his "collaboration" with the Nazis as co-President of the Jewish Council. To date, no study exists of Asscher and his family, and only brief mention of them exists in Dutch histories of the Holocaust (De Jong 298-299; Moore 171-174; Presser 371-373). As he writes about his childhood experiences, Diamand records a muddled world marked by confusion and fear: a world in which once-powerful Dutch citizens entered a blurry zone where few actual decisions remained possible. But he also imagines memory as an ever- shifting intersubjective relationship between a person, his family, and his past. Diamand's poetry enacts a lyrical dance between clarity and distortion, power and powerlessness. The child struggles to survive even as the adult attempts to remember what happened and to process what survival means. The artist's journey to record and transform trauma in the language of poetry underlines again and again the distance between the idea of collective traumatic memory and its lived embodied experience.

3. Lewis Kirshner, Harvard Medical School: *Figurations of Trauma in Holocaust Testimonies*

The classic psychoanalytic model of forms of translation of traumatic experience has largely neglected the importance of the intersubjective field in memory formation and transmission. While recent attention has been directed towards Jakobson's intersemiotic form of translation, in which unsymbolized material consisting of bodily images and sensations gains psychic representation as a new form of expression, this speaker emphasizes that the process of creating memory occurs in dialogue with the Other of important cultural partners. The evocative examples of Katin and Diamand illustrate how the creative transformation we see in their work derives from an actual or implied intersubjective interchange- both with others in the present and past and larger literary and poetic forms available to them. Holocaust testimonies represent another area in which the interchange determines much of what is remembered by survivors, and several of these will be discussed as examples. In these testimonies, the intersubjective field appears to govern meaning making; memory making is dialogic and polyphonic, taking form across psychic boundaries.

PANEL 54: ANIMALS, VEGETATION AND LANDSCAPE IN AGENCY. ENVI- RONMENTAL MEMORY AND MIGRATION IN POST-WAR POLAND, ROOM 4A.0.69

Chair: Izabela Skórzyńska, Adam Mickiewicz University

1. Anna Barcz, University of Bielsko-Bala: *Forgotten Landscapes Inverted*

This paper develops the concept of green places of memory. The aim is to invert the hierarchy of interest in studying places of memory from human-oriented to nature-oriented. Eastern European region with its natural landscape, woods, rivers, is widely inscribed into the historical events and to some extend has been tamed and domesticated when serving for the shelter but also hiding the cruellest Nazis and soviets' crimes, unintentionally taking part in them.
I discuss the idea of nature's memory, containing also oblivion, post-memory and forgotten traces by referring to killing fields and places of relocations (e.g. in Belarus and Ukraine). Vital nature existing there can either signify the oblivion or environmental type of memory, as Martin Pollack named it in his Contaminated Landscapes when talking about places of mass crimes, or help discover places of displaced families that can only be localised through specific species cultivated around houses, which preserved human inhabitants histories. Karolina Grzywnowicz, in her artistic project The Weeds realised in 2015, evoked those places of relocation by identifying such plants that were growing in common people's gardens on the example of deportations from eastern borderlands of Poland. Another example provide places connected with private family histories as Simon Schama's visit to Bialowieza in his Landscape and Memory.
Those examples convey landscapes representing the botanical memory intertwined with human history, though forgotten despite the human history. Can tombs hidden in nature, places of memory carved in environment, stop the human violation of their ecosystems?

2. Rafał Szmytka, Jagiellonian University, Crocow, Poland: *Commemoration of the Dutch settlement in Żuławy after 1989*

The colonists from the Low Countries settled on the banks of Vistula, and especially in the river's delta, since the half of the 16th century. They left their homes in Seventeen Provinces because of religious persecution as many of them were Mennonites. In the Żuławy region they found their new homeland. As experts in drainage and skilled dam and dike builders they started to change the landscape and environment of colonized marshed areas.

After the WW2 the heritage of the Dutch settlers was not far from disappear. Most of their descendants had to leave Żuławy in 1945 and their houses were taken by State Agricultural Farms. Although Polish historians started their investigations on the Dutch settlement before 1939 and continued them after 1945 the big shift came with 1989 and the end of communism. The perspective of historical narration switched from economical aspects to cultural and social context. In the second half of 1990 few associations has been set up. Their aim was to save the legacy of the Dutch migrants. The community authorities started to create new tourist routes and started to emphasize the importance and integrity of the Dutch heritage to the common identity of the region with the significant regard to its ecological dimension.

3. Małgorzata Praczyk, Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznan. Poland: *Lost animals and lost vegetation in memory of migrating Poles in after-war period*

This paper will focus on many different ways of commemorating animals and vegetation by people who were forced to migrate after the second world war. Those migrations from eastern territories of Poland to its new-established werstern parts and also to other parts of the country, very often made people to dump their animals at site and to leave their vegetal environment they lived in during their entire life. This shift of the ecosystem was difficult not only because of the need of gaining new knowledge necessery to function in the different environmetnal context (especially for people comming from villages), but also because of emotional connections to the lost environment. This sentimental and often painful affection led to the search for possibile ways of commemoration of the nature left behind.
I will then analyze these different types of commemoration (e.g. memoires, monuments, re-planting practices, art) with the special regard to the consoling function of those memorializations both to the individuals and to the local communities of displaced people. Therefore those actions took part in the process of shaping the sense of belonging and helped familiarize the unknown space of new inhabitancy.

4. Karolina Ćwiek-Rogalska, Polish Academy of Sciences: *Remembered in Landscape? Cultural Landscape and Memory*

The main aim of this paper is to show the atypical ontological nature of the cultural landscape. Landscape, according to the author can be seen as a being existing at the intersection of physical, visible reality and memory. In order to know the landscape one should take into account both ways of its existence. The author shows how such landscape is present in the narratives of the inhabitants of the village of Dolní Žandov, lying nearby the contemporary Czech-German border. The empirical data that furnished the basis of this paper comes from the fieldwork research (interviews, participant observation, archival search quiries), conducted between 2012 and 2014 in the area of aforementioned Czech village. Theoretical considerations will be conducted in the context of selected examples of ruined objects: how they are remembered and how they exist for those who remember them. The Czech-German Borderlands is considered to be a "land of ruins" because of the tough history of the region: after 1945 German-speaking inhabitans were expelled from there, while new Czech and Slovak settlers came to live there. The biographical reflections of the interviewees indicate that (1) ruin does not have to exist in reality to be called a permanent feature of the landscape, (2) does not have to remain a ruin to this day, (3) a ruin may be seen not as an exception, but as a rule of how landscape looks like to them because of the memory about the old appearance of the area, even if there are no more ruins. In her proposal, author refers to works by Christopher Tilley and Jennifer Jane Marshall, landscape study researchers, and tries to present this approach as a part of memory studies.

5. Beata Frydryczak, Adam Mickiewicz University: *The memory of landscape*

I would like to discuss the landscape as a medium of memory. The principal thesis of my paper is the premise that landscape as an environment of memory combines both subjective and non-subjective memory and that the landscape understood as a process may be perceived as a whole influenced by human activity and forces of nature. Only in this sense can it be construed as heritage which is passed on to the next generations, with the form and content that we are capable of reading and preserving. The landscape as a "collective" work of man and nature is a record of the past persisting in the present and at the same time a process taking place in the natural and historical time, expressed in cultural activity of the human being. However, with respect to the landscape one may invoke three forms of memory: reconstructed, constructed and non-memory. What I am interested in is the landscape of non-memory, which may take a figure of the "memory of landscape", where the aspect of subjective and non-subjective memory is expressed in natural landscape.
Transforming the landscape into the "landscape of memory" is a process that develops in stages: from memory-image to trace as an indication. While the image can be considered as a mediation between landscape and memory, the trace becomes the medium through which memory may speak... or be forget. Therefore, the memory

of landscape it is not a symbolic place of memory, but a place in the topographic sense, which contains traces indicating the possibility of using memory or oblivion.

Bearing that aspect of landscape in mind, the deliberations should be extended to include reflection on memory and recollection, as well as the question about the potential non-subjective memory which evinces itself in a non-human manner.

PANEL 55: HISTORY, MATERIAL, AND PRACTICE: 'INDIA' RE-MEMBERED, ROOM 27.0.17

Chair: Nidhi Kalra, FLAME University

1. Nidhi Kalra, FLAME University: *The Remembered Making of the Nation and Partition*

As the Partition of India and the formal construction of the nation enters the 70th year, there are many sites of re-membrance which are awakened anew. The Partition is therefore, a rife potential sites of the making and contestation of the nation. The post/memory of the horrors of dislocation and the ironic celebration of the 'unity' in diversity coalesce to issue a moment of many a loaded reflection.

The partitioning of India and Pakistan did not only cause ripples; it turned tides of identity and remembrance to its very core in the Indian subcontinent as evident in "Toba Tek Singh". Saadat Hasan Manto's short story is emblematic of inhabiting a no-man's land between nostalgia and memory, Pakistan and India, and the inter-national past and present. He is subject to a collective international violence which performs itself through denying his trauma a validity of its own. He is no refugee; tellingly, he is insane and incoherent as he speaks in the past and in the future, in two nations, inhabiting neither citizenship nor statelessness.

For the various grey zones that Toba Tek Singh embodies of both space and identity, something rather interesting happens to time. It is fractured, re-segmented, and re-configured in polyvalent ways vis-à-vis the nation, as it is being constructed. Trauma is in the remembering and forgetting of what is/was India, it is in its denial and subsistence, it is in relation to whatever stands out as the norm in experiential reality across inhabited spaces and positions.

This paper will seek to look at how the Partition operates as a symbolic port-key of memory across time and space, standing as a motif which both affirms and challenges nationhood in and through its significance.

2. Ashutosh Potdar, FLAME University: *Construction of the Past and Colonial Drama in India*

The paper will study 'past' and historical consciousness in the colonial dramatic practices India. It is an attempt of analysing the role of past in shaping dramatic practices as a part of larger objective of imagining and constructing India in the 19th century.

For the analysis, a selection of texts will be considered to study:

• Why drama in colonial time was considered a potential form in rekindling memory projecting past? What were other 'non-academic' and 'non-scientific' forms for the projection, other than theatre, existed in pre-colonial and colonial time?

• The paper would consider Marathi drama for the analysis. The identified plays represent different lok and abhijan. Marathi noun, lok indicates public or mass whereas abhijan, the elites. The investigation into 19th century dramatic practices would give me an opportunity to address 'public' and public memory in colonial period and to examine specific social and cultural system in recalling the past.

• Further, this study would enable me to pursue politics in 'making of past' in colonial period. This can be briefly stated as: everyone has memory but only 'selected' have history. In this regard, the play like Seeta Swayamvar would be helpful. It draws its characters and context from known, recognized mainstream history of Mahabharat and constructs nationalist discourse. On the other hand, while problematizing mainstream and idea of the brahminical 'nation', Jotiba Phule's Tritiya Ratna (1885) revisits history by challenging existing understanding of history and arrives at analyzing social conditions and social institutions and; production and circulation of information.

For the present paper, the dramatic practices and historiography will be closely analysed by providing appropriate materials and contexts through writing on past in Marathi and English, anecdotes, diary entries, letters written by playwright, contract letters signed by managers and creative directors of contemporary traveling theatre companies.

3. Dinidu Priyanimal Karunanayake, Miami University, Oxford, OH, USA: *Reclaim- ing Home in Post-war Sri Lanka: Mnemonic Citizenships, Internal Displacement, and Human Rights in 'Handmade' and 'The Incomplete ombu'*

This paper is situated in the terrains of memory, citizenship, internal displacement, and human rights in post-war Sri Lanka. Hegemonic interventions by the state and non-state actors figure internally displaced persons (IDPs) as "mute victims" whereby they are "de-selved" (Hajdukowski-Ahmed), "de-historicized" and relegated to an "anonymous corporeality" (Malkki). Through an analysis of Palmera's 'Handmade' (cookbook, 2015) and T. Shanaathanan's 'An Incomplete Thombu' (art project, 2011), this paper charts how the two texts investigate the issue of displacement in post-war Sri Lanka from below. The texts subvert the epistemologically violent hegemonic model by creating a political and creative space for the displaced subject. By bringing together culinary memories of women affected by war, 'Handmade' uses food as what Anita Mannur calls an "intellectual and emotional anchor." Feminist co-creativity idolized in the text reveals how the lost home is accessible through

a "culinary citizenship" that enables subjects to "claim and inhabit...identitarian positions" (Mannur). Likewise, through its compilation of ground plans of non-existent houses drawn by displaced subjects from memory, 'An Incomplete Thombu' forges a mnemonic citizenship that enables them a sense of agency, belonging, and political subjectivity. The paper delineates how the two texts rearticulate a nuanced understanding of resettlement and reterritorialization with recourse to memory in defiance of the official legislation of post-war rehabilitation and resettlement. The texts thus propose alternative ways of thinking about displaced bodies—as Yến Lê Espiritu puts it—as "intentionalized beings." This realization of "home" and belonging seeks to grant a form of justice to a dispossessed community disavowed by the state judiciary system. If exclusion is instrumental in imagining national belonging/citizenship as Lisa Lowe and Julie Minich among others maintain—whereby "noncitizens" like IDPs are deprived of equal rights—the "inclusion" facilitated by mnemonic citizenships challenges and redefines the mainstream human rights discourse.

4. Uzma Falak, University of Heidelberg: *"We are the ying birds": Exploring Gendered Memories of Trauma, Agency and Resistance in the Narratives of Kashmir Women through Documentary Film Practice* (lmscreening in the MSA mfestival).

Through a confluence of academic discourse and documentary film practice, my presentation proposes to re-examine the centrality of 'written' within historiography and knowledge production by exploring narratives and memory practices of women in the Indian-administered Kashmir—world's highly militarized regions and a decades-old conflict. I propose to analyse these gendered narratives and memory practices as alternative epistemes and transmitters of trauma and history; challenging the institutionalized amnesia, repressive statist erasure and official practices of remembering and forgetting by excavating 'subjugated' bodies of experience, counter-memories and counter-histories.

Through inter-generational narratives, exploration of grassroots' memory practices, oral poems and songs, personal histories and archival photographs, my documentary film, Till then the Roads Carry Her not only explores alternate memory but through, what I call a subversive performative intervention in the film form, the film itself can be understood as an active 'technology of memory'; a medium which is not a passive 'vehicle' but an active conduit through which these women's narratives and memories are negotiated. At the heart of its political-aesthetic enquiry, the film through exploration of alternate memory, auditory and visual cultural practices, interrogates the idea of 'normalcy' orchestrated by the state and explores how occupational structures intersect and fracture the 'everyday'.

The film— itself a witness and an alternate memorialisation practice, sets out to challenge the dominant images of representation and exoticised iconography of Kashmir women and landscape reinforced by Bollywood and attempts to reclaim the landscape of Kashmir from the official cultural producers' consumerist circuit of photography, cinema and tourism which has represented Kashmir Valley as a 'paradise on earth' and helped construct it as a 'territory of desire' linked to the state's repressive nationalism project.

I propose to analyse remembering and forgetting vis-à-vis the power relationships in a way that possibilities of resistance and subversion are brought to fore.

PANEL 56: ALTERNATIVE COMMEMORATIVE EVENTS AND MEMORY ACTIVISM: THE ANALYSIS OF POST-YUGOSLAV AND EUROPEAN CALEN- DARS, ROOM 23.0.50

Chair: Srdjan Atanasovski, Serbian Academy of Science and Art

1. Orli Fridman, Faculty of Media and Communications*: Memory Activism in Serbia after 2000: Alternative Calendars and Alternative Commemorative Events*

As many other countries emerging from wars and conflicts, Serbia after 2000, among other internal challenges, faces conflicts over the interpretations of the past. The most recent past, referring to the wars of the break-up of Yugoslavia [the wars of the 1990s] is at the heart of on-going mnemonic battles in Serbia [in addition to those related to WW2]. This paper will first trace the current mnemonic processes in Serbia as related to the violent events of the 1990s, and will then analyze the evolvement and the work of memory activists in Belgrade.

Based on data collected over more than a decade that includes participatory observation and in-depth interviews, I will first discuss the appearance of memory activism and mnemonic practices that have emerged from the anti-war groups formed already in the early 1990s [during the wars in Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosovo]; followed by the analysis of the appearance of younger generation of activists in recent years. I show how the mnemonic practices of this generation, born during or towards the end of the wars, indicate continuation as well as innovation and change.

I will then focus my analysis on the emerging alternative civic calendars and alternative commemorative events to the hegemonic state sponsored ones, as related to the commemoration of events that took place in the recent wars of the break-up of Yugoslavia and are mostly absent from the official national calendar. These events include the commemoration of the Srebrenica victims (July 10/11), the commemoration of the siege of Sarajevo (April 6), and other events on the alternative civic calendar.

2. Jovana Mihajlović Trbovc, Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts: *Alternative calendars in Bosnia and Herzegovina*

Bosnia and Herzegovina (BH) is one of the rare countries that has no common state-wide set of public holidays and memorial days. Instead, the division into two federal units and the dominance of three ethnically defined political elites have created a complex setting of spatially and socially separate memoryscapes. Each of the ethno-national elites uses hegemonic power within their reach to organise (mostly) ethnically exclusive commemorations and narrate their version of history, especially the 1992-95 war. However, in the last five years a range of civil-society organisations and informal groups have started openly confronting dominant memory-making by organising alternative commemorative events. In the context when elite-driven memory-making has been reproducing mutually conflicting interpretations of the last war which are used as arguments in the on-going political battles, these alternative memorials are aiming at conflict transformation. Following the analytical framework of "memory activism" (Gutman 2017), the paper demonstrates how these commemorative events are created in the spirit of trans-ethnic solidarity, advocating for acknowledgement of the victims forgotten in a particular memoryscape and challenging dominant conceptions of victims and perpetrators. Focusing only on the repetitive commemortaive events, the paper describes their performative dimension which is in stark contrast to the dominant commemorative practices. Based on the interviews with memory activists, the paper analyses their perspective on the purpose of their own engagement and co-creation of alternative public memory. Through analysis of media reporting on these events, the paper examines reactions of the ethno-national elites on the memory activism, and larger public debate on role of memory in post-conflict political life.

3. Linda Gusia, University of Prishtina: *Memory and Remembrance in Post-War Kosovo*

This paper aims to interrogate the formal calendar of post war Kosovo as well as its competing and persistent hegemonic memory of war that is not included in formal calendar. The paper unravels paradoxes of memory and commemoration and the struggle to simultaneously maintain delicate balance between nation building, its recognition and European integration. The general framework influenced by the international community and adopted by local politicians in Kosovo has been one of moving forward and looking towards the future, rather than dealing   with   the   past.

The violent past and the war is however present, it mutates and takes a form of glorification of freedom fighters and romanticized heroisms that is commemorated outside the official calendars. Going beyond the dominant narrative of war this paper will also look at emerging alternative memory, that of civil non–violent resistance in the 1990-is. Recently, civil society, academia and local press have alternatively commemorated new calendar of remembrance by including dates of mass protest during the 1990 like: students protest in 1 of October 1997, Trepca miners protest in March 1990, and women's involvement in peaceful resistance.

4. Katarina Ristic, Helmut-Schmidt University/University of the Federal Armed Forces in Hamburg: *European Human Rights Calendar in Supranational Arena*

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5. Alissa Boguslaw, New School for Social Research: *NEWBORN: Remaking Identity in Post-Conflict Kosovo*

How do extraordinary events—turning points, revolutions, and ruptures—impact identities? The past is broadly understood as a constitutive feature in the making of collective identity, and scholars have emphasized narrative construction as the primary analytical category to interpret this relationship (Y. Zerubavel 1995; Vinitzky-Seroussi 2002). Narratives, however, can never fully account for the experiential and ontological dimensions of the events they represent; they can also never fully account for the ways in which identities are remade in the wake of major transformations. Narratives have fixed plot structures, whereas events are ongoing; they ebb and flow and take different forms as contexts shift and other events transpire (Wagner-Pacifici 2017).
To understand the ways in which events shape identities, we must reconceptualize memory as a part of the events themselves (Wagner-Pacifici 2015). Presenting a theoretical challenge to the "instrumentalist" and "functionalist" paradigms (Olick 1999), this paper approaches memory as a moment within several, ongoing events. I consider Kosovo's first national monument as an independent republic, an 80-foot sculpture spelling out the English word, 'N-E-W-B-O-R-N,' unveiled in February 2008. Serving as an agent in the remaking of identity, NEWBORN symbolizes hope for the future in the aftermath of the 1999 war. Because of its orientation toward the future, the monument is criticized for creating a rupture with the past and rendering it irrelevant. I argue that NEWBORN it not only part of the past, it 'commemorates' the future (B. Luci 2014), creating a retrospective and prospective site of memory. How are the events of the past are unfinished? How do inchoate, future events take shape before they happen? How does the study of events change the way we think about memory?

PANEL 57: DIGITAL MEDIA AND MEMORY IN MOVEMENTS, ROOM 22.0.11

Chair: Jeffrey Olick, University of Virginia

1. Lorenzo Zamponi, Scuola Normale Superiore: *#ioricordo beyond the G8: Social practices of memory work and the digital remembrance of contentious pasts in Italy.*

Cultural factors shape the symbolic environment in which contentious politics take place. Among these factors, collective memories are particularly relevant: they can help collective action by providing symbolic material from the past and they can constrain people's ability to mobilise by imposing proscriptions and prescriptions.

This paper addresses the practices of social remembrance that take place in digital social media. If memory work in the media arena is strategic for collective action, what happens when the media environment changes? How has the explosion of digital social media changed the processes of collective remembering and their relationship with social movements?

In order to answer these questions, I analyse practices of social remembrance in a particular case: the memory of the anti-G8 mobilisation of 2001 in Genoa. The 10th anniversary, in 2011, has seen the interaction between the official commemoration of the organisers of the 2001 events, a new cycle of protest (the anti-austerity mobilisations) and the explosion of the popularity of digital social media. Around the hashtag #ioricordo ("I remember"), different actors contributed on Twitter to the construction of a kaleidoscopic image of the past, keeping together individual and collective dimensions. Furthermore, this hashtag, in the following months and years, has become a rather peculiar lieux de memoire for different commemorations on Twitter.

Through interviews with the activists involved in the initiative and a qualitative and quantitative content analysis of the almost 5000 tweets published with the hashtag #ioricordo, the chapter aims at analysing the different forms and strategies of commemoration of the past and at assessing the different mechanisms of contentious remembrance and the role of the digitalisation of the media in this process.

2. Cara Levey: UCC *Postmemory on the Periphery: Transnational Activism Between Latin America and Europe*

In the run up to the high-profile 2002 royal wedding of Dutch Prince Willelm to Argentine-born Máxima Zorreguieta Cerruti, protests erupted from an unlikely source: members of H.I.J.O.S Holanda/Nederland, the Dutch branch of the Argentine organisation comprised of the offspring of victims of the 1976-1983 dictatorship, raised objection over the father of the bride's murky role in the Argentine dictatorship. This example of the way in which the activism of post-dictatorship actors in Europe is framed within distinct local contexts calls for a reconsideration of the interface between generational and geographical displacement vis-à-vis the Argentine human rights movement. This paper focuses on 'next' generation activism undertaken by the offspring and allies of the contingent of Argentine exiles who sought refuge in Europe during the wave of twentieth century Southern Cone dictatorships. 'Next' or 'post-dictatorship' (Ros 2012) is understood as a term differentiating those of the overlapping and second generations of dictatorship from the protagonist generation, whilst the term 'activist' is employed somewhat unconventionally to denote not only those who define themselves as politically active or engaged, but all those who are committed in some way to the creation and construction of memory of the Southern Cone dictatorships. Although some scholars have considered the role of activist exiles from a historical perspective (Markarian 2006; Mira Delli-Zotti & Estaban 2006), there has been scant research into the next generation of post-dictatorship activists and their peers across Europe, particularly in countries like the Netherlands and Sweden and even less that compares second-generation identity and activism between Europe and Latin America. This paper will offer a nuanced picture of post- dictatorship protagonism in Europe by considering such transgenerational and transnational activism over different temporalities and geographical and virtual spaces of encounter

3. Pawas Bisht, Keele University: *In Between Old & New, Local & Transnational: Social Movements, Media and the Challenges of Making Memories Move.*

This paper, in line with the aims of the panel, will examine the dynamics of the circulation of digitally mediated memories by social movements; the discussion will address the neglected dimension of constraints characterizing this aspect of memory work by focusing on the case of social movement organisations (SMOs) in Bhopal campaigning for victims of the Union Carbide Gas Disaster of 1984. SMOs in Bhopal have been seeking to develop a transnational remembrance for the disaster, foregrounding the continuing soil and groundwater contamination, and making transnational linkages with toxic disasters from other times and places (Bisht 2013). Drawing on ethnographic data collected in Bhopal (2010-2014), the paper will examine factors limiting the success of SMOs in forging a new environmentalism based transnational remembrance; the argument will focus in particular on the difficulty of stabilizing identification with the new memory narrative amongst both old and new members at the local level in Bhopal. The discussion will connect the challenges to issues of path dependence in memory work, variances in the experience of disaster and inequalities in access to media and media literacy amongst movement membership

4. Oksana Moroz, e Moscow School of Social and Economic Sciences: *'We won`t forget, we won`t forgive!' Alexey Navalny, young protesters and the new art of digital memory in Russia.*

In 2011, new protest communities began to emerge in Russia composed mostly of young people (citizens aged 25 to 35) who had not participated in rallies before. That was partly down to the digital media that helped a greater number of citizens to engage in public politics.

Alexey Navalny, the famous member of Russia's political opposition, has played a significant role in the digitalization of protest, and in attracting young online users to engage in political activity. His political program, multiplied by transmedia technologies (see Gambarato & Lapina-Kratasiuk 2016), has attracted the so-called "short generation" (Bloch 1992) of the 2000s.

Navalny has recently begun promulgating the slogan "We won`t forget, we won`t forgive!" ("Не забудем, не простим!") to reflect the public's attitude towards the acting authorities. This slogan shapes a desire to remember those events of the recent past (see Rutten et al. 2013) that implicitly form the country's contemporary negative social and political situation. This tactic also relates to the technological solutions adopted by protesters. All signs of violation of civil rights now are documented in the form of distributed online stable data-objects. Events that previously could be described as rumours become elements of an online archive of witnessing (see Schwarz 2014). Young rioters, equipped with digital literacies (see Belshaw 2012) use online tools to acquaint themselves with existing witness accounts, to provide new forms of proof, and to restock the digital archive with their political opinions.

However, these young people were neither subjects nor objects of the political decisions of the recent past. They consider themselves as possessing the "memory" as they are armed with other people's digitalized memories. My aim is to understand how do these digital collections impact on youngsters` modes of memory? And can we trace the digital re- memory practices of Russia's new young protesters?

> 5. Ece Aykol, LaGuardia Community College of the City University of New York*: "Documenting" Memory: Diplopia and the Digitized Poetics of Remembering in Alek- sandar Hemon and Velibor Božović's "My Prisoner"*

This paper examines the most recent collaboration between the Bosnian American writer Aleksandar Hemon and Bosnian Canadian visual artist Velibor Božović. Their collaborative work began with Hemon's The Lazarus Project (2008), which featured Božović's black and photographs. Since its publication, numerous articles have reflected on the novel's intermedial form and how it plays a crucial role in Hemon's articulation of the complexity of memory in the post Yugoslav and post 9/11 eras defined by mass migrations and fractured lives reconstructed in the diaspora. My presentation will build on this literature, but my focus is on the author's 2015 "My Prisoner" collaboration with Božović, published in digital book format on Amazon Kindle. I will read this digital text through the prism of diplopia, that is, "the disorienting ophthalmic condition of perceiving simultaneously two images of a single object." The "My Prisoner" text and art in the digital book encapsulate the same historical event, traumatic firsthand and secondhand memories, and anxiety triggered by mental and geographical separation from one's past and national identity. In the 7-minute recording of his video installation Božović superimposes on his body archival Bosnian TV documentary footage from the Bosnian Civil War era, which features him as a soldier in the Bosnian army and his father as the army's POW. Hemon's ekphrastic essay describes, provides background information, and reflects on Božović's installation. This digital version of their collaboration, in both its form and content, speaks to the challenging processes of remembering in the twenty-first century, especially for those living in the diaspora. Adapting diplopia as an interpretive tool for reading the visual and verbal versions of "My Prisoner" in digital book format offers an opportunity to reflect on how contemporary writer-artist collaborations and the poetics of remembering are curated on this platform.

PANEL 58: NEW APPROACHES TO MULTIDIRECTIONAL MEMORY, ROOM 27.1.47

Chair: Jessica Ortner, University of Copenhagen

> 1. Chris Wemyss, University of Bristol: *Memory and the end of empire*

This paper explores memory and the end of British empire by bringing together recollections of Britons who experienced decolonisation, and the way empire has been processed domestically. Focusing on the example of the Hong Kong handover in 1997, oral interviews with Britons living and working in Hong Kong are used to explore the thoughts, feelings, and emotions about the end of empire.

In doing so, the paper engages with debates surrounding the politics of memory and empire furthered by Susanne Grindel and Charles Forsdick. Both argue, utilising the examples of Britain and France respectively, that the uncertainties and insecurities surrounding decolonisation and its aftermath have led to difficulties in including empire in national historical narratives. This is made evident in the Hong Kong example by the relatively low profile of the territory in Britain's colonial and national narratives. Indeed, the Britons interviewed seem to recognise the unease surrounding the handover, often appearing embarrassed when recalling feelings of emotion on the final day of British rule.

As well as focusing on the recollections of Britons, this paper will look at sites where the memory of Britain's empire continue to be negotiated, such as the Hong Kong cenotaph, and the short lived Empire and Commonwealth Museum in Bristol. By doing so, the experiences of Britons in empire are linked to the continued exploration of this past domestically, representing it as a connected history rather than discrete parts.

> 2. Rebekah Vince, University of Warwick: *The French Presidential Debate: Memory Wars of Multidirectional Memory?*

The French presidential debate on 3 May 2017 revealed both the damaging effects of memory wars and the potential for multidirectional memory in the French context. When Marine Le Pen accused Emmanuel Macron of breeding hatred in France by stating that French colonisation was a crime against humanity, his response was clear: 'I do not want to remain in this war of memories'. Intriguingly, he also took the opportunity to remind his

opponent of her comments about the Vel' d'Hiv round-up of World War Two, for which she denied French responsibility in April 2017.

In La Guerre des mémoires [The War of Memories], French historian Benjamin Stora states that 'there is [...] an unsettled dispute in France with regard to the period of Vichy and of Algeria, which continues to haunt French consciousness' (2015 [2007]: 52). It is that unsettled dispute which will be explored in this paper, through its manifestation in the presidential debate. By evoking French collaboration with the Nazis in his response to Marine Le Pen's accusation, was Macron engaging in the very memory wars he sought to avoid, or was he offering an ethical alternative?

This paper investigates that question in the light of reactions to the presidential debate in the Twittersphere. More specifically, it uses tweets to gauge whether Macron's response to Marine Le Pen's accusation can better be understood in terms of memory wars or multidirectional memory. I argue that, rather than equating the Nazi genocide and Vichy collaboration with French colonisation in Algeria, Macron's words hold the potential for differentiated solidarity, ethical recognition, and political responsibility. Yet this potential is undermined by Macron's call earlier on in the debate for 'a spirit of French conquest', revealing a universalist nostalgia for a Franco-centric Enlightenment.

> 3. John Njenga Karugia, Goethe University Frankfurt: Oceans and Regions of Memory: *Towards Responsible Trans-oceanic Cosmopolitanism in Afrabian Politics*

X

> 4. Sahra Rausch, University of Giessen: *Emotionally Entangled? Multidirectional Refer- encing in Debates on the Parliamentary Recognition of Colonial Pasts in Germany and France*

The paper captures the argument from Rothberg (2009) that collective memory should rather be considered as a process of multidirectional referencing than competitive contestation. Rothberg shows how Holocaust discourse is engaged with negotiations of the colonial past, but likewise how postcolonial memories are getting re-actualized by referring to the Holocaust. My argument is that especially marginalized groups refer to other historical crimes to create legitimacy for their "stories of suffering". Emotions, on the contrary, still play a secondary role in the analysis of transnational memory politics. This stance ignores their share in the creation of identities, but also how they might serve to recognize or exclude and suppress marginalized pasts. The paper seeks to explore the emotional entanglements of postcolonial memory politics in Germany and France by combining approaches from postcolonial studies and the history of emotions.

By adopting a discourse analysis to scrutinize speeches, policy papers, governmental and NGO publications, newspaper articles and internet appearances, I want to delve into the debates on the parliamentary recognition of the Algerian war in France (1999) and the Herero and Nama genocide in Germany (2004/2016). This analysis will shed light on the engagement of different actors in postcolonial memory politics and their strategies to obtain political legitimacy. It focuses on the uncovering of transnational and historical references and the emotional discourses put in place. However, the paper will not exclusively be engaged with the functional application of emotions by actors in processes of recognition. Instead, the integration of an emotional research perspective in the comparative analysis will highlight the discursiveness of emotional formations. Thus, the paper emphasizes their importance in the production and maintenance of dominant narratives in transnational memory politics.

> 5. Nathalie Segeral, University of Hawaii: *Remembering Auschwitz in the French-speaking South Pacific: Gendering Multidirectional Memory.*

This paper explores the gendering of historical trauma by reading in conversation four (auto)fictional narratives by Francophone women writers from the South Pacific: New Caledonian Déwé Gorodé's Tâdo, Tâdo, wéé, ou « No More Baby » (2012), Tahitians Titaua Peu's Pina (2016), and Ari'irau's Matamimi ou la vie nous attend [Matamimi or life is waiting for us] (2006) and Je Reviendrai à Tahiti [I'll be back in Tahiti] (2005). These narratives converge in revolving around tropes of infanticide, abortion, and tormented mother/daughter relationships through issues of (post)memory, thus challenging the very notion of "motherhood" often upheld as the last vestige of humanity in situations of extreme trauma. Seemingly going against Adrienne Rich and Marianne Hirsch, who claim that the mother-daughter relationship has been silenced for too long, these writers crystallize their trauma narratives on a toxic mother-daughter relationship that had better remain silenced, thereby highlighting the disruptive consequences of silenced trauma on lineages.

Building on Rothberg's "multidirectional memory," this study focuses on the specific tropes used by these writers with the voiced intention of reclaiming their stories.

By performing a close study of these shared tropes, I will, first, highlight the ways in which Holocaust metaphors enable them to re-inscribe their narratives within the dominant canons of History and literature, in order to bridge the silence surrounding their situation as writers from the "ultraperiphery" and as 21st-century colonized subjects, thus pointing to a potentially problematic enduring of the Holocaust as dominant narrative for minority trauma discourses; then, demonstrate how the circulation of recurring tropes among narratives dealing with different time periods and traumas allows these writers to move beyond victimology by giving rise to a transnational literary voice of the gendering of trauma. This study's aim is to sketch a multidirectional feminist trauma theory in Francophone literature.

PANEL 59: THE HOLOCAUST REVISITED, ROOM 27.0.47

Chair: Joanna Wawrzyniak, University of Warsaw

1. Marek Kucia, Jagiellonian University in Kraków: *Holocaust memory in Eastern Europe: "unbound" or "bound"?*

Drawing upon Levy and Sznaider's theory of cosmopolitan Holocaust memory and author's empirical research, the paper will assess how much the social and cultural memory of the destruction of Jews, which took place largely in Eastern Europe and which concerned vastly the Jews of Eastern Europe, is "unbound" and how much it is "bound," considering the region, countries, and localities of Eastern Europe. The paper will analyze Holocaust memorial days and (selected) Holocaust memorials across the region. The paper will argue that for historical and institutional reasons, and irrespective of transnational influences, Holocaust memory in Eastern Europe remains largely local and localized as well as national and "nationalized" rather than cosmopolitan and cosmopolitanized. It will also argue that the development of Holocaust memory in where the destruction of Jews (vastly) happened questions some key propositions of Levy and Sznaider's theory: considering Eastern Europe, Holocaust memory in a global age may be more particular than universal, territorialized rather than deterritorialized, and more non-mediatized than mediatized.

2. Jason O'Connor, Florida Atlantic University: *National Identity and Holocaust memory: Where history, victimhood identity and commemoration collide*

The following paper aims to examine the formation of national victimhood identity following the collapse of the Soviet Union and the shaping of national identity and commemoration of the Holocaust predominately in Poland, Lithuania, and Belarus. The aim of the research paper is to compare contested national victim identities and commemoration of the Second World War in general and the Holocaust in Poland, Lithuania and Belarus in particular. Specific attention will be paid to the national narrative in Poland that specifically arises in the State Museum of Auschwitz-Birkenau and Yad Vashem exhibition at Barrack 27, as well as the Polin Museum of Jewish History through the prism of the March of the Living. As a comparative model, through the prism of the seminar Difficult Heritage and Memory in the Making in Lithuania and Belarus, the paper will further explore the national commemoration of the Holocaust in Lithuania by comparing the Vilna Gaon Museum to the Museum of Genocide Victims in Vilnius, as well as analyze the politics of memory and commemoration in the Ponary forest in Vilnius and the competing national victimhood narratives and monuments build at the memorial complex. Finally, the paper will compare the national narrative of the Holocaust and Second World War in Minsk, Belarus by analyzing the building of the 2015 monument to Maly Trostenets and the erasure of Jewish victimhood as compared to the Holocaust- themed exhibition at the Great Patriotic War Museum at Minsk.

3. Juliette van Kesteren, Radboud University: *More an Words: e Zone of Interest, the Sonderkommando, Testimony, and Liminality*

I will discuss Martin Amis' 2014 novel The Zone of Interest and the way it portrays and represents the Sonderkommando through intertextual and historical references, the characterisation of the main characters and the use of testimony. The zone of interest (German: Interessengebiet) was the area surrounding a concentration camp which was cleared of its native population and original structures. The novel was named after this area and tells the story of a concentration camp through four different characters: camp commandant Paul Doll and his wife Hannah, government liaison Angelus Thomsen and Sonderkommandoführer Szmul.

I'll give a brief overview of the plot, and discuss the theory and methodology that I used before I present my findings and analyses. I argue that The Zone of Interest paints an image of the Sonderkommando as moral, pained, thoughtful people, through Szmul's narrative. This is in contrast with many previous views, including that of Primo Levi, whose work inspired Amis to write this book. Through intertextual references, Amis engages in a critical conversation with Levi, Arendt and Bauman on various topics. He shows disagreement with both Levi and Arendt on key points of their arguments, and with that, presents a new and nuanced perspective on the Sonderkommando as prisoners and as people.

4. Pascale R Bos, The University of Texas at Austin: *Pulping the Holocaust: Popular Culture and Cultural Memory*

I present a brief case study of a set of unique American popular magazines with extremely high circulations in the 1950s- 1960s (up to 12 million weekly issues) that contain a large number of Holocaust representations (stories, illustrations, photographs) yet which is today nearly forgotten as it is not archived but in the hands of private collectors, and thus mostly unknown to scholars. The sheer number of Holocaust narratives (over 1000) in these publications and their peculiar nature: pulpy, sensationalized, titillating, but based in historical fact, calls forth interesting questions. While my analysis on the one hand adds to the work of scholars Diner, Baron, and Cesarini and Sundquist who sought to complicate the so-called "silence thesis" (to argue that the period 1948-1969 was not marked by the kind of absolute silence on the Holocaust that has commonly been presumed), on the other hand it asks how to incorporate these popular, pulpy texts that function like a form of cultural memory but which are not (usually) recognized as such. How do we conceptualize and integrate such memory? Does the fact that

the material look so fundamentally different from what we today argue to be a "proper" kind of memory, whereby the Holocaust is seen as the "discrete and coherent event with a distinctive narrative structure and set of moral incitements" (Hartouni) with possible "moral universal" implications (Alexander) mean that we dismiss it or see it as illegitimate? What are the consequences of such dismissal? Conversely, how would this material rewrite the story of the early memory of the Holocaust if we included it? My paper challenges the distinctions between "high and "middle" or "low- brow" culture in relation to traumatic histories and suggests ways to think across such genres to incorporate the cultural memory found within the latter.

> 5. Jason Hansen, Furman University: *Hitler vs. Vader and Other Odd Stories from the Web: Youtube and the Future of Holocaust Memory in the Digital Age.*

On November 10, 2010, comedians Peter Shukoff and Lloyd Ahlquist posted a video on Youtube of Adolf Hitler engaged in an "epic rap battle" against Star Wars villain Darth Vader. Funny, irreverent and surprisingly well-produced (in terms of visual imagery), the video went viral, helping establish Shukoff and Ahlquist's "Epic Rap Battles of History" brand as one of Youtube's most popular channels (currently #40 overall, with 3.3 billion views). Chances are no one took this video or the hundreds like it literally. It was an obvious attempt at humor, created with no pedagogical purpose in mind. Nevertheless, it still represents an engagement with the memory of the Holocaust, and as such, it contributes to individuals' perceptions of the past. It may seem odd to think of Youtube videos as cultural monuments, but their existence raises the same sort of questions about representation and memory that academics have been dealing with for many years with respect to more formal structures such as memorials and museums. How do these artifacts contribute to our understanding of various historical actors' behaviors and motivations? How are perpetrators and victims represented, and what are the consequences of this for contemporary society?
"Hitler vs. Vader" investigates the role played by Youtube in reshaping collective remembrance of the Holocaust. It asks what effect these alternative sites of memory are having on popular understandings of the past, while also highlighting ways in which new technology is changing memory production (for example, creating a widely-viewed site of memory now no longer requires large capital investments to make – a user can simply create a video, upload it and have it seen by thousands of people with virtually no money and no regulation).

> 6. Roma Sendyka, Jagiellonian University: *The Holocaust and Vernacular Arts: Memory, Affects and Curators*

We would like to ask what insights can be gleaned about Polish Holocaust memory and testimony by examining the prolific folk art made by Polish "naïve" artists, via a range of disciplinary approaches. What can art history/visual culture studies, oral history, anthropology, and museum studies tell us about the motivations, functions, and ethical implications of such works of witness? What can we learn from ethnographic museums' categorization and treatment of these works, and how might we exhibit them in more effective ways? Broadly, our text considers the status of "art naïve" in the contexts of Holocaust art history, museology, and bystander testimony.
The co-authored text will focus on folk art objects produced since 1945 in Poland documenting the departure/loss/disappearance of Jews in Poland. Vernacular art will be treated as a laboratory that allows to observe entanglements of memory and emotions regarding the portrayed group that perished in the Holocaust and post-war migration movements. Specifically, we would like to ask:
• What is remembered. Can a dynamics of memory be reconstructed? Whose memory is actually embedded into the folk art objects? What kinds of mediations are at work here?
• How to approach this art through affects and emotions? How the traumatic experiences of victims and bystanders are conveyed, transmitted, evoked.
• How the traumatic events are depicted? How the genre of folk art (and interpretations thereof) changes when confronted with genocide? What can be said about Holocaust representation modes if we include folk art works into Holocaust art? The talk will be based on the finding of the research project Awkward Objects of Genocide. Vernacular Art on the Holocaust and Ethnographic Museums, developed within the project Transmitting Contentious Cultural Heritages with the Arts: From Intervention to Co-Production (Horizon2020, Reflective Society, 2016-2019).

PANEL 60: SPECIAL EVENT: iNGENDO/Journeys, Dance performance of Rwandan memory by Theogene Niwenshuti, Room 27.0.09

Through a variety of mediums, the whole performance ingendo, re ects a sense of continued grappling with the past, memory-making, marking, naming and trying to overcome the traumatic violence and its inexpressibility. It is like an attempt to re-enter and make sense of the 'unthinkable' memory, relying on performing arts and visuals as entries and 'safe' container.

PANEL 61: SPECIAL EVENT, Room 23.0.50

Panel on Central European Memory and the Holocaust: Jan Gross, Barbara Törnquist-Plewa and Cecilie Stokholm Banke

In an unprecedented way, Jan Gross' book Neighbors contested Poland's understanding of its role during World War II. In a conversation with two experts in Holocaust memory in Poland and Europe, Gross discusses how his disclosure of the massacre at Jedwabne has in uenced the last 20 years of historical discussions in Poland and analyses the present state of Holocaust memory in Central Europe.

PANEL 62: SCREENING VIOLENCE: A TRANSNATIONAL APPROACH TO THE LOCAL IMAGINARIES OF SOCIETIES IN TRANSITION FROM CONFLICT, ROOM 27.1.47

Chair: Guy Austin, Newcastle University

Screening Violence is an innovative engagement with communities that have experienced prolonged and entrenched violence of different kinds. Each of the five countries we are researching is or has been deeply divided by the violence that has occurred and in each case the struggle to acknowledge the past has led to contested accounts of guilt, responsibility and victimhood. We believe that in addition to the need for research on the material and structural nature of violence it is also essential to understand the imaginaries through which violence is produced and reproduced in the collective consciousness. Increasingly, both academics and practitioners involved in transitions to 'post-conflict' argue that any attempt to impose a so-called 'flat pack' approach to peace-building is likely to fail because it ignores the specificity of local experiences of conflict. Similarly, we argue that the local, social imaginary is a key point of engagement with communities attempting to understand the experience of violence and construct different types of memory in its wake. Given the importance of visual culture in such processes, we engage with our participants through the medium of cinema and documentary film. Asking our audiences to reflect on the violence of other polities creates a space for critical reflection, revealing familiar accounts of violence and showing how they may be reinforced, rearticulated or challenged by an exposure to the experiences of other communities. As we explore the complex nature of these processes, the panel will discuss our pilot research from various disciplinary and contextual points of view. In particular, our interdisciplinary approach seeks to explore the possibility that a wider appreciation of conflict, cultivated through transnational dialogues, might enhance the prospects for transition and reconciliation at a local level.

1. Philippa Page, Newcastle University: *Film as a medium for cultivating transnational dialogues of memory at a local level. The case study of Argentina and Chile*

X

2. Simon Philpott, Newcastle University: *Political Sciences: memory, the imaginary and lm as an alternative approach to post-con ict transition. The case study of Indonesia*

X

3. Guy Austin, Newcastle University: *Ethics: carrying out lm reception studies regarding the memory of violence. The case study of Algeria*

X

4. Seunghei Clara Hong, Yonsei University*: Towards an Ethics of Re-membering: Memory, State Violence, and Citizenship in Han Kang's Human Acts*

Investigating the relation between human life (biopolitics) and state power (sovereignty), Giorgio Agamben defines homo sacer as an exemplary figure of bare life. For Agamben, bare life is a prerequisite for politics—by the very exclusion of bare life from the realm of politics. It is this incorporation of life within the biopolitical reach of sovereign rule that produces an excess population deemed ungovernable, unworthy, and, therefore, disposable. Hence, the foundational exercise of sovereign power is the abandonment of disqualified life as the constitutive act of defining a political community—and the limits of belonging.

My paper will examine the ethics of remembering an event that, at once, confounds and exposes the proximity between violence and right that characterizes sovereign power. The May 18 Kwangju Uprising/Massacre (1980) was a deliberate act of violence perpetrated by the state against its own citizens. While the incident is heralded as the harbinger of hard-won democracy in South Korea, it is not without complications, as it blurs the distinctions between norm and exception, life and death, security and threat, democracy and totalitarianism, nation-state and citizen, and right and right-less.

Han Kang's novel Human Acts voices the pained lives of both the dead and the living of May 18 to re-member them back into the nation. Where life was sundered, wrested, and omitted—banished to "bare life" in a "state of exception"—Han Kang attempts to produce a mode of memory that re-members—and rescues—these homines sacri as citizens who rightfully belong to the nation. The abject do not remain silenced or disposed; rather, they continue to vociferously reclaim and remember their bodies and their stories from their very place of exclusion. I will analyze how their doing so undermines and reveals as fraudulent the power of the state that would have them remain banished—and forgotten.

5. Ana Dragojlovic, The University of Melbourne: *Violent Histories and Embodied Memories: Affective Methodologies in Memory Studies?*

What is the relationship between memory studies and the 'affective turn'? Can the 'affective turn' be seen as a 'turn to memory'? I suggest that some of the avenues that memory studies will need to explore more in the future are the affective, visceral and embodied aspects of memories. Such engagements are especially pertinent in relation to historical violence and in particular in contexts where past atrocities have not been given public recognition, and where questions of accountability still remain in the grip of geopolitical tensions. If affective turn scholarship dismisses any preoccupation with representation and cognition and argues for attention to be paid to the nonrepresentational, trans-subjective, immaterial or non-conscious (Massumi, 2002; Blackman and Venn, 2010; Seigworth and Gregg, 2010), what methodological tools can we utilise to analyse the embodied, visceral and affective aspects of memories? In this paper, as in my ongoing work (Dragojlovic 2014, 2015), I ethnographically explore the affectivity of historical violence for Indisch (Indo-Dutch) people – an old diaspora that has, for centuries, been subjected to structural racism and various forms of social and political marginalisation and exclusion. Here, I explore various methodological and analytical ways that offer the ability to productively discuss the visceral, affective and embodied aspects of memories in the wake of historical violence. With this focus in mind, I ask what paying attention to the affective can tell us about imaginations of the future in relation to historical violence and their intergenerational reverberations.

6. Nick Morgan, Newcastle University: *Ethnography in memory and reception studies. The case study of Colombia* (Quibdó, Bogotá)

X

PANEL 63: HOW TO KEEP POPULISTS FROM HIJACKING HISTORY: SCHOLARLY ANALYSES AS CIVIC INTERVENTIONS?, ROOM 22.0.11

Chair: Christina Morina, University of Amsterdam

1. Christina Morina, University of Amsterdam: *Subverting Populist Memory: The Politics of Grievances in German and Dutch Populism*

Christina Morina will focus on the politics of grievances in German and Dutch populist movements. In both instances, intellectual leaders employ sophisticated narratives and discursive strategies such as peddling taboos to create emotive, seemingly coherent versions of the past in which populist voters find both resonances of their perceived current grievances and of their nostalgic longings for how things used to be and feel. Relying on new social media and the conventional logic of political scandalization, politicians like Frauke Petry, Björn Höcke and Geert Wilders systematically challenge the memory and identity paradigms of their respective countries. Instead, they offer followers a localized, grassroots-, common-guy- perspective on narrowly selected areas of the national history. Much of the appeal these movements exert can be explained by their effective fulfillment of individual needs to belong to a specific, easily and comfortably defined community (the "somewhere" of the "somewheres", as David Goodhart has put it), which is held together by a shared sense of the past and the present. The paper will finally suggest strategies to counter such populist memories.

2. Anna Bull, University of Bath: *Patterns of Prejudice in Italian Populism*

Anna Cento Bull's paper takes as its starting point Ernesto Laclau's and Chantal Mouffe's conceptualization of populism as counter-hegemonic, and argues, with reference to the Italian case, that populism not only takes the form of a rejection of the establishment and political elites, but also entails a construction of 'the people' that requires, as well as the development of empty signifiers as shown by Laclau, also the deployment of common myths based on a collective memory of an imagined past. Cento Bull therefore argues, in line with Ritchie Savage, that the role of memory in populist discourse has been underestimated. Specifically, many populist movements and leaders engage in a fundamental redefinition of who constitutes 'the people' accompanied by mistrust and demonization of the Other, which is predicated upon (and justified with recourse to) a reimagining of the nation's and/or democracy's 'founding moment'. Furthermore, many populist movements make use of a political rhetoric

3. Wulf Kansteiner, Aarhus Universitet: *Late Night Comedy, Liberal Populism, and Memory Politics in Germany and the US*

The polarization of politics has lead to a significant extension and radicalization of late night comedy prog«rams on both sides of the Atlantic. The election of Donald Trump, Brexit, and the rise of right-wing populism across Europe have turned late night TV humor into an arena of popular liberal resistance attracting large and young crowds of dedicated followers. The paper provides a selective analysis of late night comedy as liberal sites of memory in order to determine how collective memories are implicated in the process of political polarization and how popular liberal memories compare to popular right-wing memories in terms of structure and communicative potential. Is late night comedy a closed memory environment or does it feature significant degree of self-reflexivity.

4. Mark Hobbs, The University of East Anglia: *"We" remember it the way it was, "They" remember it their way: Far Right Ideological Memory and the Holocaust*

Jean-François Lyotard has explained, Nazism 'has not been refuted' because 'it has been beaten down like a mad dog, by a police action, and not in conformity with the rules accepted by its adversary's genres of discourse (argumentation for liberalism, contradiction for Marxism)'. The military defeat of Nazi Germany did not bring to an end the ideological output of the regime. Since 1945 far right groups and individuals across Europe have continued a mendacious rewriting of the history of the Second World War and the Holocaust. This begs the question can this false history, written about Genocide and the Nazi regime be seen as memory because its ultimate function is to explain the past in accordance with ideological belief? This paper will explore how far right memory functions and explore how it becomes entangled with popular memories of the Second World War based on historical fact; it will posit that far right memories are part of the growing 'memory wars' identified by Dan Stone. The way in which the memory of the Holocaust has been attacked by far right groups demonstrates the persistence of genocidal thought contained in such ideologies. It will also examine how such histories and memories have become increasingly prevalent with the proliferation of far right Internet sources and 'alt right' movements. The aim of the paper is to facilitate debate about the nature of far right memory and whether it is appropriate as a term in memory studies.

5. Steffen Werther, Södertörn University: *Distorted History - The Memory Work of European Waffen-SS Veterans after 1990*

The subject of this paper is the memory work of Waffen-SS veterans, as well as the legacy of the Waffen-SS within different groups of next-generation sympathizers and admirers. The paper focusses on the decades following the collapse of the Soviet Union and concentrates on so-called "Germanic" veterans. On the basis of concrete cases of memory work in Scandinavia itself, but also in Estonia, Hungary, Ukraine and Russia, the paper seeks to address three dimensions: 1) the SS veterans' transnational European Narrative, which includes the idea of a voluntary pan-European army of idealists, who fought against communism, for their fatherlands and for a free Europe; 2) the establishment, legitimisation and public celebration of W-SS grave-sites and memorials; and 3) the "handing over" of the W-SS torch to a younger generation of extremists and admirers. The paper's hypothesis is that the veterans and their young sympathizers have been able to exploit changes in definitions of "Europe" and "Europeans" inherent first in the Cold War and after 1990 in EU expansion. They had long seen themselves as the first true pan-Europeans, the first to defend "European" values against Communism. In the 1990s, the Fall of the Wall seemed to confirm the veterans' revisionist interpretation of World War Two as - first and foremost - a trans-European struggle against Bolshevism.

PANEL 64: MEMORY AND TRAUMA: ARTISTIC PRACTICES, ROOM 4A.0.68

Chair: Peter Leese, University of Copenhagen

1. Maj Hasager, Malmo Art Academy: *Blind spots and imagined places*

This presentation takes its point of departure in two artistic projects; the first one was developed in a Palestinian context between 2008-2010 and the other in an Italian context between 2012-2015, both investigating the languages of memory and trauma through the looking glass of my artistic practice. Briefly, I attempt to explore the potentialities of bringing out alternative perspectives through on-going encounters and exchanges with witnesses and protagonists of migration, displacement, conflict and struggle. By revisiting the work Memories of Imagined Places from 2010 in relation to the more recent work, We will meet in the blind spot (2015), I attempt to draw links between trauma of sites and inherited and embodied memory. The textual and photographic historiography Memories of Imagined Places (2010) is a work that investigates the construction of contemporary space through architecture, its relation to a traumatic past as well as collective and inherited memory. The point of departure for this project is Palestinian villages that existed before 1948. The Palestinian citizens – more than a hundred thousand – fled or were deported. Memories of Imagined Places comes out of a long process of meetings and interviews with young Palestinians between the age 17 and 29, most of them third generation refugees living in refugee camps in the West bank, and investigates their inherited memories of the villages their grandparents were forced from in 1948. The interviews were transcribed and edited into short narratives, which accompanied the photographs of what remained of the villages in 2009.

2. Katrina Bugaj, Out of Balanz Performing Arts Theatre / Copenhagen University: *"A Tale Told By An Immigrant: Trauma, Memory and Scripting the Self for the Stage"*

The subject of my paper derives from an interest in the personal narratives of immigrants and in theatrical performances that take such accounts as their primary source. In contexts where immigrants are often made invisible, reduced or generalized, presenting the autobiographical and the specific on the public stage becomes a political act of speaking otherwise. Juxtaposing narrative with fragment, the body/visual with speech, fact with fiction, and the past with the present, each performance considered in this paper embodies and performs knowledge about contemporary identities made in movement and constructed out of multiple locations, temporalities   and   traumatic   events.

Specifically, I consider (from the position of research-practitioner) Nir Paldi's Ballad of the Burning Star, Vicky Araico Casas's Juana in a Million and my own work She But Not Herself (all of which bear testimony to the longevity of traumatic affect) as sites of memory and look at how each performance uses explicit theatricality in order to reconstruct and stage personal and cultural memory, signaling a deliberate attempt to propose counter-memories and counter-histories. The theatrical contexts of these three performances also provide a community for these artists, who bear witness to processes of personal, narrative reordering and identity making.

3. Emily Mendelsohn, theater director: *Performing Collective Witness*

The presentation will share documentation and discuss process and staging strategies for two productions I directed between 2011- 2014 with a team of artists from East Africa and the US: Ugandan playwright Deborah Asiimwe's Cooking Oil and American playwright Erik Ehn's Maria Kizito. In Asiimwe's Cooking Oil, a community tells the fictional story of a teenage girl killed in corrupt dealings around aid distribution in her "developing" village. Ehn's Maria Kizito follows the prayerlife of a real-life Rwandan nun who participated in a 1994 massacre at her convent, mediated by a white American nun who attends her trial in Belgium. Both productions were developed through intensive residencies over the course of 2-3 years in Kigali, Kampala, New York, Los Angeles, and New Orleans. In each location, an international core group of artists partnered with local artists. In building collaborative relationships over years and crafting unique worlds out of the specific virtuosities in the room, my collaborators and I sought to perform a collectivity that interrupted colonially inherited power structures. The productions explored audience/performance relationships, artifact/abstraction, and collaborative processes as sites for collective witness. Drawing from ideas about mass trauma and representation resonant with Adorno and Blanchot, our visual dramaturgies enacted tensions between empathy and the irretrievable horizon of disaster.

4. Katharine Yates, deep:black, London: *Taking the Lead: Using Creative Practices to Explore Young Adult Experiences of Mental Health Service in the UK*

Taking the Lead was a two-part project developed with young adults with experience of psychosis. The project used artistic approaches as a primary means to explore the journeys of its participants through the mental health service. It was created by deep:black — a London based social enterprise that uses creative practices to hold a safe space for people to explore issues that are challenging or perceived as 'difficult'— in partnership with Barnet, Enfield and Haringey Mental Health Trust (BEH-MHT) in the UK with the aim of improving staff understanding of young adults' experiences of the mental health service. The first phase of Taking the Lead involved using drama, games, mapping and photography during group sessions to develop trust between participants and to forge connections. As safety grew, we began to explore memories through the prism of transition – childhood to adulthood, transitions in nature – before exploring the transition into, and experience of, the mental health service. This work culminated with a promenade theatre performance for, and subsequent facilitated discussion with, family members and staff working in the mental health service. Thus, creating a space of speaking and listening through performance, a productive space of sharing personal stories imbued with memories and traumatic experience. The second phase involved working with the same participants to develop and deliver training for staff working in the mental health service based on the insights gained from the first phase of the project. Initially exploring relevant content and developing ways to support participants' facilitation skills so that they felt confident to support delivery of the two hour staff training session. Ninth three per cent of staff trained said that the session should form part of the induction process for new staff.

5. Margarita Saona, University of Illinois at Chicago: *Touching the Pain of Others: Haptic Visuality as a Gendered Approach to Memory of Trauma*

Women artists in war-torned countries have been at the forefront of confronting oblivion with memory. Doris Salcedo (Colombia) and Ivana Ferrer (Peru) use texture and touch in innovative ways to evoke a haptic remembrtance, a form of memory that is tactile and rooted in the material aspects of loss. While not exclusively feminine, their topics and techniques to convey grief are associated with women's experience of intimacy and the domestic real.
Political Violence destroys the easy binay of public and domestic space: the violence inflicted on bodies, the fact that victims are often disappeared and therefore removed from the conventional rituals of mourning, the disarticulation of families by the death of one of their members or by their displacement from their communities of origin, bring the violence into homes and intimate relationships.
Doris Salcedo's works Untitled and La casa viuda disarticulate the texture and structure of familiar objects and pieces of furniture by interweaving hair and clithing in them, thus creating a disturbing effect that reflects the impossibility to mourn the victims of violence. Ivana Ferrer's Relicario takes a minimalist approach in reproducing meticulously the bullet holes in pieces of fabric and bone. The detail of the paintings forces the perspective of the viewer in a close-up of extreme intimacey, akin to the relationship one might have with the skin of a lover or a child.
The commemoration of the disappeared in Latin America has often emphasized the visual through photojournalism and the use of ID photos. Salcedo and Ferrer bring to the fore the sense of touch. Building on haptic theory and on works on women and mourning by Kristeva, Seremetakis, and Bennett, this paper will explore how these works of art invite the sense of touch in ways that reflect the feminine experience of material loss.

PANEL 65: ON CELEBRATION, ANNIVERSARIES AND HISTORY. WHAT DOES ITALY FORGET TO REMEMBER?, ROOM 27.0.47

Chair: Giulia Dodi, PopHistory

1. Gabriele Sorrentino, PopHistory, *The Italian Risorgimento: A memory that divides*

In Italy there are two national festivals: April 25 remembers the Liberation from Nazi-fascism. June 2, is the Republic Day. Italy, on the other hand, does not celebrate March 17, 1861, when the Kingdom of Italy was proclaimed or other dates that celebrate the "Risorgimento", that is, the historical process that led to the creation of the unified state. Why has Italy forgotten this historic moment? The Risorgimento was a complex historical process that, however, developed in a mode that created divisions within the country that is still struggling to deal with the issues of a process that saw in fact the annexation from Part of the Piedmont of the other pre-united states. Even the posterior construction of the patriotic mythology on the part of the winners is an element that over the long run has ended up dividing rather than merging. An example in this regard is a figure like General Enrico Cialdini, who led the conquest of the Kingdom of Naples by methods that even contemporaries considered rather brutal. The "Risorgimento" political mythology dedicated to Cialdini streets and squares with choices that are now being discussed throughout the Peninsula by feeding a political end to this character. To grow as a country, Italy has to deal with its own Risorgimento and I believe that to achieve this, a new approach needs to be taken in this troubled period in all its problems in order to unite winners and wines to be able to metabolize this process as an element The founder of the country.

2. Silvia Lotti, PopHistory, *The Italian earthquakes: Lieux de memorie, missing memory*

Can you imagine earthquakes sites of memory, according to the definition of P.Nora? Can an earthquake site of memory exist, which will give back the dimension of destruction, if, by definition, a reconstruction of buildings follows every earthquake? Is an earthquake site of memory like this until you can see the destruction, or these sites can be only the uninhabited villages, like the ones you see in the south of Italy?

The sites of memory represent an important concept for the construction of a collective and abiding memory of earthquakes, given the potential spread across the entire peninsula. But, if left alone, they remains only a starting point for the processing of a community and national memory, which now is completely missing. A certain type of memory exists, but it is fragmentary, territorial, bound to the single earthquakes. Creating a national memory, instead, could be desirable in view of the construction of a culture of prevention, the main actual urgency. Indeed, the assumptions for a processing path on earthquakes, linked to the sites of memory, are already present, in form of seeds in Italian literature.

Furthermore, every earthquake represent a trauma: the solidarity of Italian people has grown during the years and it is simple to notice that between a victim of the Friuli-Venezia-Giulia earthquake (1976) and a victim of Emilia-Romagna earthquake (2012) there is empathy. Indeed, J.Dickie suggests the Messina earthquake in the 1908 like and indicator of a wave of patriotism that seemed to not exist in that moment. Earthquakes makes the Unity of Italy, because they happen from the north to the south of the peninsula.

Can the creation of a day on the civil calendar, bound to the celebration of the remembrance of all the Italian earthquakes, be a way to build this kind of memory?

3. Marta Gara, PopHistory, *Around the '68: Italian memory between lls and gaps (1)*

As the fiftieth anniversary comes close, in Italy there isn't yet a shared memory over the so called "'68", as we generally refer to protest movements put forward in our country from 1966 to 1969 by young people, students and workers.
Indeed, along the past decades the 68's history was unfairly used in political debate and this happened because of diverse features.
At first place the generous publishing of ex-activists' memoirs, split in apologetic ones and attackers about the values of that historical season.
At second place the 68's memory transmission has been affected by later facts and thoughts, as both the "Long Resistance"'s myth which spread at the beginning of seventies and the political violence of the Years of Lead in the following decade.
The paper means to retrace knots and historical reasons for such a memorial framework and point out the memorial gaps. According to a historical point of view '68 was an uncontestable political lab of participatory democracy. Nevertheless it lacks a public memory of protests and battles actually held, with their original values, which involved overall young people and students.
Anniversaries have been useful occasions for historiographical insights, but they failed in transmitting documents' memory to a large audience.
In the Italian civic calendar there is not a common date to relay on to recall reflections over the '68.
Finally a less partisan memory of the '68 could be useful in inspiring a comparison between '68's activism and movements of nowadays young people, who also enhance generational battles, of social, cultural and political innovation.

3. Elisa Gardini, PopHistory, *Around the '68: Italian memory between lls and gaps (2)*

As the fiftieth anniversary comes close, in Italy there isn't yet a shared memory over the so called "'68", as we generally refer to protest movements put forward in our country from 1966 to 1969 by young people, students and workers.
Indeed, along the past decades the 68's history was unfairly used in political debate and this happened because of diverse features.
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Finally a less partisan memory of the '68 could be useful in inspiring a comparison between '68's activism and movements of nowadays young people, who also enhance generational battles, of social, cultural and political innovation.

PANEL 66: PEACEMAKING OF MEMORIES (1): ALTERNATIVE AND ALLE- VIATED FORMS OF REFERRING TO THE PAST, ROOM 4A.0.69

Chair: Michele Baussant, Centre national de la recherche scientifique

1.Irène Dos Santos, CNRS- URMIS Unité de rechreche Migrations et sociétés: *« From the past to a common post-imperial future: what imaginary has been mobi- lized to dialogue beyond nostalgic memory?"*

In Portugal, a former imperial European power dominated by an ill-considered colonial era build around imperial nostalgia, civil society has recently began to think critically about colonialism.
This paper seeks to analyze when the rupture with the official nostalgic hegemonic narrative occurred by bringing to the fore individual and family recollections perceived as "clandestine" or even "taboo".
First, we will focus on actors, on their biographical trajectories and on the political projects in which their recollection takes place. Second, we will analyze the various forms through which these narratives have been publicized (publication of autobiographical novels and photographic works, plays, performances to "decolonize mentalities" during cultural festivals in connection with Africa). Our objective is to question how these different recollections that are both informal and non- institutional initiate dialogue with each other and with official and institutional recollections.
Our discussion will be based on an ethnographic research undertaken in Lisbon with families returning from former African colonies (Angola, Mozambique), to where some members have recently re-emigrated in the context of professional mobility. It will also focus on – authors, film directors, artists, activists – who regularly travel to and from the countries of the former Portuguese Empire. What is the impact of these transnational connections on memory reconstructions across different levels? Toward what common future do these recollections work

2.Evelyne Ribert, Institut interdisciplinaire d'anthropologie du contemporain: *Personal itineraries of memory tourism: towards a reconciliation with the past?*

The so-called memory tourism is booming, be it in the form of visits to historical sites linked to major events of the past, often wars, or in more personal forms of memory itineraries or pilgrimage, including visits of exhibitions and returns to the places of the family past. What effects do these personal forms of memory tourism have on the perception of family history and past conflicts in which they take place? Do they bring about changes in representations or appease memories? How do official forms of evocation of the past and private memories and narratives interconnect or not ? What is the impact of the memory boom and of the development of memory tourism on a possible return to a past that is both a family past and a national or international past? We will try to answer these questions considering the case of the descendants of Spanish Republicans exiled in France. We will study the possible journeys undertaken by these descendants who came to visit an exhibition on the history of Spanish immigration in France in search of elements about their own past. We will also analyze the effects of this visit, as well as of other potential visits, films watched and books read (fictionnal or historical), on their perceptions of the Spanish War and the consecutive exile of the Spanish Republicans.

3.Catherine Perron, CERI - Centre of international studies, Sciences Po Paris: *Crossing borders and memory of the lost Heimat in German biographical, fictional and virtual spaces : towards a dialogical memory construction ?*

Considering the uncoupling between political time and memory processes on the one hand, and on the other hand questioning the relations between official memory policies and ordinary representations of the past, this paper will analyze the emergence or not in German society of a memory of the lost homelands that is fostering exchange with the neighbours, encouraging mutual understanding, helping the reappropriation of shared pasts and in the end that is favourable to a common European future.

Based on a body of individual narratives, on contemporary literary works about travelling back to the territories from which Germans have been expelled after WWII, this paper aims at studying the stories of passing the borders and of (re)discovering the lost Heimat in the East. It proposes to examine on the one hand the representations of space conveyed by those narratives and their relation to other narratives about the loss that do not contain the confrontation with the concrete territory or regions, as well as to the dominant narrative of « flight and expulsion ». One hypothesis being that despite a shared history of violence, the active confrontation with today's realities of the lost Heimat enhances the capacity to overcome self-centred memory-constructions and the sufferings endured and permits to restore the complexity of the event beyond localised truth and therefore works in direction of its inscription in a wider historical frame.

Special attention will be paid to the actors producing these narratives, especially to generational effects, the conditions of their production (Grenzgängerprogramme of the Robert Bosch Foundation) and the dynamics of the promotion (A. von Chamisso prize, G. Deliho Buchpreis) of those (literary) works. The objective being to understand how a fictional space like literature became a privileged space of appeasement of memories and to measure its effects on todays collective memory reconfigurations.

4.Markus Breitweg, Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ): *Collective memory after violent conflicts: A new framework for analysis*

When practitioners and academics from the field of Peace and Conflict Studies (PCS) seek to 'manage', 'resolve', or 'transform' conflicts, sooner or later 'dealing with the past' becomes a necessary task. There is, however, a gap between PCS' practical need for dealing with the past on the one hand, and the theoretical findings in the field of Memory Studies (MS) on the other. Oft-cited notions like collective memory are left undertheorised and hardly useful for purposes of peace and conflict, even though in the aftermath of violent conflicts memories easily become subject to salient struggles. It is these competing representations of the past, I argue, that PCS should concern itself with and that it lacks an appropriate heuristic device for.

In PCS, collective memory is often observed as a society's mysterious joint memory that must be influenced in order to prevent a recourse to violence. I hold that other than observed as such a transcendental and state-centric phenomenon, collective memory should be better used as a processual and multidimensional/transnational concept. Recent theoretical debates in the field of MS (i.e. J.K. Olick; A. Assmann) have such an understanding in store and provide the theoretical lines along which collective memory can become a meaningful heuristic device for PCS.

In order to develop such a new framework for analysis that offers pragmatic analytical categories, poststructuralist discourse analysis (cf. Lene Hansen) will serve as the appropriate heuristic glue. Poststructuralism's ability to relate the processual concept 'discourse' to societal actors, and thus to solve the agency-structure problem, is a decisive asset for peacebuilding as it renders change and impact possible. The proposed framework for analysis of collective memory after violent conflict thus not only seeks to enhance academic debates, but also practitioners' work in the fields of conflict resolution and conflict transformation.

5.Nerea Bilbatua, Centre for peace and con ict studies: *"We haven't symbolized a battlefield as our future". Memories and Envisioning intersections in the led of con ict transformation*

Long, protracted conflicts produce simple narratives. But we know war is grey, and so is peace making. After decades of armed struggle the memories of "who we were; what we wanted" can result in the stagnation of identities and discourses; the stagnation of conflict. How can we support conflict transformation through narratives? How can we support those engaged in peace processes so that their memories of conflict become a tool, and not a barrier? Over the last four years I have been developing and implementing a methodology to work with narratives in the context of a conflict transformation organization supporting peace processes across Asia. This methodology, originally called "Peace History", intends to support the transition process of people, and the collectives they belong to, immersed in peace processes broadly understood. "Peace History" is an example of a methodology developed from practice.The core at Peace History lies the process of moving the discourse from past, to present to future. From memories to envisioning. Memories in these contexts are closely linked to "spaces", which can be geographic (the homeland), or symbolic (the insiders and outsiders, those who left and those who stayed). Memories can be "weaved" through time (this is what Peace History does) in order to create a complex tapestry of experiences and reflections that move from past to present to future. This paper would like to share these experiences of working with the memories of diverse groups of people (armed group members, government negotiators etc) and the way they can be used to transform protracted violent conflicts.

PANEL 67: CHALLENGING MEMORY IN LITERARY REPRESENTATIONS, ROOM 27.0.49

Chair: Katarzyna Bojarska, Polish Academy of Sciences

1. Justyna Tabaszewska, Polish Academy of Sciences: *Futures Past and Speculative Memory*

Memory studies realized long ago that memories contribute to the creation of not only images of the past, but also of the future. The aim of my presentation is to examine a reverse order of things, where particular visions of the future change our memories of the past as well as influence the interpretation of the present.
Brian Massumi's theory of 'futures past' is an example of this strategy. In his analysis of contemporary US politics Massumi points to the ontologically ambiguous status of preemption - that is activity directed towards impeding a future, as yet non- existent, threat. The Iraq War, a model example of preemption, was subsequently defended by George W. Bush, who claimed that in the past there was a future threat. This shows that one can look for justification of particular actions not in the present, nor even the past, but in a past vision of the future that once could have become real. Thus conceived 'future past', irrespective of whether it obtained, constitutes an affective fact that influences the image of the future, present and – when it transforms into a memory – the past.
Referring to Polish memory I will show the way in which contemporary discourse associated with memory of certain events is intertwined with discussions relating to 'futures past' and affective facts. Exemplary cases of these discussions are found in reemerging questions of alternative courses of WWII, the transformation of 1989, and even of Polish accession to the EU. My main source material consists of various texts that refer to the reproduction and functioning of alternative versions of the past (I will concentrate on Z. Szczerek's Victorious Republic, which shows the relationship between a reimagined 'future past', wherein Poland does not suffer defeat in WWII, and contemporary politics, including the politics of memory).

2. Claire Quigley, University of Sussex: *Weirding the Great War*

To argue that the Great War "changed everything" is a cliché, but it is nonetheless true. My aim is to re-animate this idea, to express how the Great War was both a trauma for individuals as well as the catalyst for the collapse of entire worldviews. This paper will investigate the Weird aesthetics of European cultural reactions to the First World War. I will draw on the work of Mark Fisher, who conceptualises the Weird as a distinct mode (of literature, culture and experience), and an expression of "that which does not belong".
I will also argue that the lens of the Weird impacts how we remember World War One, and promotes new ways of imagining and mythologizing the conflict. Commenting on the explosion of horror fiction in Anglo-American societies during the 1920s, science fiction author China Miéville calls the Great War "the black box at the heart of the Weird". I intend to build on this and argue that, in fact, the Weird is alive within the artistic output produced as a direct response to the war. I cite Erich M. Remarque's All Quite on the Western Front (1929) as an example of the Weird mode in action.
Contact with the Weird creates a sense of unease. To be in the Weird's presence is to be cognitively overwhelmed, the Weird breaks through the fabric of everyday life to expose the indescribable horrors of a directionless, uncaring world. My purpose is to recognise how the Weird reveals itself in artistic and literary responses to the Great War, and to explore how encountering the Weird through these memories enables us to understand the true trauma of the war. As Paul Fussell notes, the Great War "is part of the fibre of our own lives", the Weird dynamically animates this crucial detail.

3. Hans Lauge Hansen, University of Århus: *Perpetrator representation in Spanish narrative Fiction*

For the last 15 to 20 years Spain has experienced a boom in narrative fiction on the Spanish Civil War and Francoist repression. It began around the turn of the Millennium as a counter-hegemonic discourse against the widespread oblivion of this period that, and it found its off-spring in the "never again" discourse of the South America. The Spanish memory novel has evolved in parallel with the exhumations of victims of repression buried in mass graves, and the narrative point of view is almost exclusively that of the victim. This novelistic discourse conceives of itself as reparation and as a way of performing justice. Over the years this cosmopolitan memory discourse has become the hegemonic model of remembering for the part of the Spanish population in favor of the process of "recuperation of the historical memory". Meanwhile another mode of remembering has emerged in Central Europe and the US since the financial crisis 2008-2010 made itself felt: the narrative of violent past told from the perspective of the perpetrator, the informer or the by-stander. This narrative shows an interest in examining the social and political circumstances that converts normal people into torturers and mass murderers, or passive bystanders that legitimize such acts of violence. The point of view of the perpetrator has also surfaced in Spain, but the absolute majority of novels that apply this perspective choose other periods than the most violent years in Spain, or they choose to treat topics and events from outside a Spanish context. In this paper I want to discuss the relation between the necessity for reparation, the recognition of the suffering of the victims of Francoist repression and the novelistic strategies that allow other point of view than that of the victim.

4. Francisco Delgado, University of New Heaven: *"what does not change:" Indigenous cultural memory and U.S. militarism in Micronesian literature*

Named after a recurring line in the poetry of Chamorro writer Craig Santiago Perez while chronicling the "permanent loss" of his home island of Guam to U.S. colonialism/militarism, my paper examines how literature about Micronesia challenges the dominant memory narrative of the region as the United States' own military training and test facility. In his 2014 collection, from UNINCORPORATED TERRITORY[guma], Perez variously contests the savior narrative perpetuated by the United States and subsequently memorialized in the War in the Pacific National History Park through a collage of first-hand accounts of Japanese occupation, ruminations on the near-extinction of the Micronesian kingfisher after the unregulated introduction of a foreign species of hunter, and the use of Juan Malo, a trickster figure who outwitted the Spanish colonists in many of his tales of lore.
Expanding the focus of this analysis to include novels, my paper will also discuss how Robert Barclay's 2002 novel Melal, set in the Marshall Islands, similarly employs indigenous folklore figures (Ņoniep and Etao) and the islands' own natural environment to not only write against U.S. imperialism but to also emphasize the human and environmental toll of America's militaristic pursuits. Linking key concepts from Cultural Memory Studies – like Levy and Sznaider's "memory unbound," Birgit Neumann's "mimesis of memory," and Michael Rothberg's "multidirectional memory," among others – with scholarship from Asian/Pacific American Studies and Literary Theory, my paper illustrates how Barclay and Perez respectively detail the damage of U.S. militarism to the habitat, the human and non-human inhabitants, as well as the relationship that exists between the two. Thus, the literature of Micronesia shows less of the region's unity with the U.S., as it does its disjuncture and resistance from it.

5. Carlotta Santini, Technische Universitaet Berlin: *Friedrich August Wolf and the Ark paradox*

The Homeric question constitutes one of the major case study for the analysis of the contexts of the oral transmission in Antiquity. Since F.A. Wolf highlighted the centrality of the oral dimension in the transmission of the poems for the first time, until Milman Parry has identified the mnemonic strategies at the base of their composition, performance and transmission, classical philology had to deal with an internal paradox. The oral culture that produced and transmitted the Homeric poems linked tradition with memory. With the advent of writing, which gradually replaced oral transmission, memory became written text. The paradox lies in the fact that philology must replace memory, in relation to not only writing, but also and especially where the field of oral tradition is concerned. In fact, the oral origin of the Homeric poems is only accessible through writing, meaning that philology is forced to seek the spoken word in the written text. Thus, philology must become a "philology of memory" and, in order to do so, must understand and assimilate the techniques of the latter. Already Wolf's work tests the difficulty of the classical philologist, a member of a highly literary culture, to understand the internal dynamics of an oral culture, of which he was nevertheless able to glimpse the outlines. By defining in the Prolegomena the question of the unity of the Homeric poems as an ark built on dry land without winches and ropes to bring it into the sea, Wolf reaffirms the impossibility that the link between orality and memory an give reason of the architecture of the poems. In my speech, I would like to analyze the "blind spots" of Wolf's interpretation, showing the friction between a literary conception of the work of composition and the recognition of the real potential of an oral culture.

PANEL 68: TV AND DOCUMENTARY, ROOM 27.1.49

Chair: Meghan Tinsley, Boston University

1. Paul Vickers, University of Giessen: *Mobile Home/lands, or: Can the concept of Heimat travel? German and Polish entanglements.*

This paper explores the concept of Heimat and notions of the home and homeland that have shaped Polish-German entanglements of memory, including mutual experiences of forced migration, co-responsibility (with all respect to scale) for the genocide of Jews in World War II, and attempts to forge a Europeanized memory. This investigation asks whether Heimat has, or could, become a travelling concept providing a framework enabling recognition of the experience of both rootedness or locatedness, to use Radstone's concept, and also transnational and transcultural travel that shapes the condition of memory – individual, social and cultural – in the age of modernity and globality. The broader theoretical and conceptual endeavour of this paper tests the potential of the concept of a Heimat, or the home/land, as an elastic, multi- scalar concept that can mediate the experience of the local, regional, national and global.
This conceptual work is applied to case studies of Polish-German entangled memories, drawing, firstly on the shared but contested experience of wartime and postwar forced migration and population transfers that into the 1970s remained experiences rooted in geographically identical yet mnemonically isolated homelands. Moving to the 1980s and 1990s, the paper considers parallel West German and Polish television series, Heimat (dir. Edgar Reitz) and Dom (The Home/House; Polish Television, dir. Jan Łomnicki) as popular manifestations of attempts to negotiate both the effects of the globalization of memory and a period of political transition by providing a sense of rootedness in locally- and nationally-bound containers. Finally, this empirically-grounded historicization of Heimat and home/land considers whether within the framework of a European memory, shaped by encounters with cosmopolitan Holocaust memory, a concept of a moveable or portable home/land, to use Sloterdijk's phrase, can offer mode for negotiating both a sense of locatedness and self while remaining open to otherness and travel.

2. Eyal Zandberg, Netanya Academic College: *Haven't the Jewish People suffered enough? Television sketches and the normalization of traumatic collective memory*

This study integrates three research fields: television as popular culture, Humoristic sketches and collective and memory of traumatic events. It does so by exploring skits that were aired on Israeli television and are related to Holocaust memory. At its core the study elaborates on the interrelations between the content (Holocaust memory), the form (television) and the genre (humoristic skits) and suggests a typology of these skits indicating several phases that were gradually developed: Until the 1990s Holocaust was considered as taboo and one could not find any humoristic expressions about it in Israeli television. The second phase, started at the 1990's, is characterized by the use of humor for criticizing Holocaust commemorative discourse. In the third phase, developed later on, televised skits used humor and Holocaust discourse in order to criticize other socio-cultural fields, and in the fourth phase Holocaust memory is used simply as a mean to create humor. The fifth phase marks a distinctive change: the humor (and the critique) is directed not towards Holocaust memory but rather towards the events themselves.
Contextualizing its analysis in the fields of trauma theory and media memory, the study argues that the evolutionary development abovementioned challenges the hegemonic commemorative discourse of the Holocaust: while commemorative discourse plays a distinctive role in performing cultural trauma, the media's humorous discourse conveys a sacrilegious viewpoint and thus can play a vital role in recuperating from it.

3. Caroline Rothauge, Katholische Universität Eichstätt-Ingolstadt: *From division to pluralization? Memories of the GDR and two German TV Series*

Questions of how to handle the country's divided past are being debated intensely by politicians, historians and former civil- rights activists in Germany today. Such discussions regularly boil down to defining the relation between repression and everyday life or the relation between oppression and resistance in the former GDR. Equally contested is the GDR's role in the context of the Cold War in general and by comparison to other communist or socialist regimes in particular.
In contrast to these political and academic debates, those who have been born and brought up in Western parts of Germany mostly do not have any link to or conception of what it must have been like to live in the former East German state. Products of popular culture are – consciously or unconsciously – bridging these two (public and private, generational) realms. Besides novels and a few blockbusters, individuals, events and/or issues of the German-German history have recently been picked up by fictional TV productions.
This paper wants to show the highly diverging approaches memory makers (Kansteiner 2002) can take to the GDR by comparing two recent German TV series: Weissensee (ARD, since 2010, 3 seasons) and Deutschland 83 (RTL, since 2015, 1 season). Without denying that these productions have to be seen as part of a larger boom (so-called "Quality TV") and that they aim to entertain, this paper centers on analyzing and contextualizing their representations of repression/everyday life, oppression/resistance and GDR/Cold War, ultimately showing which ones worked for German audiences and which ones met the tastes of transnational audiences (and why). In an overall perspective, this will serve to discuss both the possibilities and limits of heterogeneous GDR memories today.

4. Luisa Gandolfo: University of Aberdeen *Cultural Memory, Heritage Work, And Pluritemporality In* Palestine-Israel

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PANEL 69: DIGITAL MEMORIES, ROOM 27.0.17

Chair: Joanna Niżyńska, Center Indiana University

1. Andrei Zavadski, Freie Universität Berlin: *Engaging with the Past Algorithmically: Search Engines and Mnemonic Practices*

Searching the internet has become one of our most important activities online (Jiang, 2014; Hargittai, 2007). By googling for a past event one conducts a mnemonic practice (Olick, 2008; Olick & Robbins, 1998): when the user queries the internet, she actualises her personal memories but also, due to the working of a search engine algorithm (Granka, 2010), contributes to search results in general and hence, to the formation and/or actualization of collective memories of a past event.
Digital memory scholars have analysed, over the past decade, multiple aspects of the relationship between technology and memory. Yet, the relationship to memory of the process of searching for information has received comparatively little scholarly attention (for studies that touch upon this relationship in the passing, consider van Dijck, 2007; Jakubowicz, 2009; Reading, 2011).
In order to fill in this gap, this exploratory study asks how search engines can affect the representations of the past that they produce as query results and whether it is possible to identify any systematic patterns related to this process. Designed as a single revelatory case study, with a focus on the national context of Russia, this qualitative paper analyses Yandex and Google – the two search engines that are most popular in the country. The

study offers a typology of four types of memory events (understood here as events of the past actualized through the mnemonic practice of internet searching), identified with regard to four types of websites dominating search results. For each type of event, we discuss typical locations and mechanisms of power struggles over competing memory narratives. We conclude that within Russia's authoritarian context, the mnemonic practice of searching tends to reinforce the dominant memory narratives supported by the country's ruling elites, irrespective of whether the algorithm of Yandex or that of Google is deployed.

2. David Farrell-Banks, Newcastle University: *Finding Meaning in Magna Carta: Tweeting Memory and National Identity*

The writing of Magna Carta in 1215 is often considered to be a ubiquitous part of British history and culture. The apparent freedoms that were written into this document continue to be referenced with incredible regularity. Magna Carta is, for some, an integral or stereotypical part of British national identity. In 2015, the UK Independence Party tied their election manifesto to the 800th anniversary of the creation of Magna Carta, using this reference to suggest that membership of the European Union denied the country its rights as enshrined in Magna Carta.

This use of Magna Carta was echoed within the realms of social media, particularly on Twitter, in the lead up to the 2016 EU Referendum. This paper will take a small sample of tweets from the time of the referendum to discuss the meanings that become embedded within references to Magna Carta. In essence, how much meaning can be found within two words of a 140 character statement? In doing this, the paper will discuss the role of Magna Carta as part of the collective memory of the United Kingdom as a nation state, and how this might be expressed within the "echo chamber" that is social media.

The paper deals with issues regarding collective memory, national identity, politicised histories, and the manner in which moments from a relatively distant past continue to be remembered in the modern age. The paper is intended to further instigate debate regarding the role of institutions such as museums in shaping understandings of the past at a time when social media provides a platform for a plurality of voices to impact upon experiences of remembering.

3. Horst-Alfred Heinrich, University of Passau: *From individual to collective memory: do the negotiations on the Wikipedia discussion pages lead to cultural memory?*

Within the last fifteen years the internet encyclopedia Wikipedia changed from a nerd project to an often used database of knowledge. Wikipedia with its historiographic articles can be seen as part of the cultural memory. because it presents knowledge broadly accepted within the society.

Wikipedia should interest social scientists insofar as it is an open forum which allows the ex post examination of all actions done by the users whether it is the change of text or the discussion with other community members. This transparency has been theoretically conceptualised as a micro-meso-macro model (Heinrich/Weyland 2016). The users with their knowledge and attitudes (micro level) present their individual memories, whereas the discussions between them are equal to the communicative memory (meso level). The Wikipedia article as the final product is part of the cultural memory (macro level). Therefore, the internet encyclopedia allows for an analysis of the way how individual knowledge about the past is negotiated between several users and how the results of the discussions form the article.

As a first empirical study dealing with the content of Wikipedia discussions (Heinrich/Gilowsky 2018) was limited in its scope, this paper applies the same category scheme to the German discussion pages connected with the lemma about National Socialism which consists of a broad text corpus. Furthermore, it is assumed that this lemma should have caused a lot of controversies. Therefore, here, it is examined whether the negotiation process will result in a common interpretation of the past which leads to a cultural memory.

4. Mykola Makhortykh, University of Amsterdam: *Digital media as a transnational memory agency: Remembering MH17 in Wikipedia*

The paper discusses the role of digital media as an agency of transnational memory by exploring how the downing of Malaysia Airlines Flight 17 (MH17) over Eastern Ukraine is remembered through Wikipedia, the world's largest online encyclopedia. In the recent decades, the advent of digital technology has led to the establishment of transnational digital platforms (e.g., Facebook, YouTube, and Wikipedia) which provide unprecedented possibilities for memory production and circulation, distinguished by low costs and high potential impact. However, the assessment of the impact of growing mobility of memory narratives on transnationalization of remembrance, in particular of recent traumatic events, remains a pending academic task.

Using web content analysis, the paper investigates how one episode of the conflict in Eastern Ukraine – the downing of MH17 in July 2014 – is remembered through different language versions of Wikipedia. By examining narratives about the MH17 crash in Ukrainian, Russian, and English versions of the encyclopedia, the paper scrutinizes how Wikipedia interacts with structures of political and cultural memory in Eastern Europe. In doing so, the paper strives to answer the following questions: How traumatic memories of MH17 are dealt with inside – and across – different communities of Wikipedia editors? In which ways Wikipedia social norms influence user interactions with traumatic memories and how these interactions are affected by changing memory regimes in Ukraine and Russia? What are the strategies used by Wikipedia editors to promote – or silence – contrasting points of view on the MH17 crash? And does Wikipedia actually facilitate transnationalization of memory or instead serves as a national memory agency?

5. Silvana Mandolessi, KU Leuven: *No Man's Land: Interrogating Placelessness in Digital Memories*

Digital media, with its pervasive capacity to connect, distribute, and put objects in motion, creates memories that appear to be fluid and free floating entities, which transcend boundaries disregarding human agency. While some critics, such as Andrew Hoskins (2011, 2014), stress the radical difference introduced by the "connective turn", in which memory has become shapeless and diffuse, others, such as Aleida Assmann (2016), question this approach, and call for a distinction between 'memory' and 'data or information', concepts that lack the notion of boundedness and relation to identity that are inherent traits of remembering. This theoretical debate raises methodological challenges: on the one hand, we observe the adaptation of qualitative methods in digital environments or digital samples, whose interpretations rely greatly on discourse-based or analogical, ethnographic techniques. On the other hand, quantitative methods using techniques such as "distant watching", are applied to identify specific visual patterns in a large data set of videos, for example on Youtube. How can qualitative and quantitative approaches be reconciled in order to truly grasp the specificity of digital memories?
After a brief revision of the theoretical debate (Hoskins 2014, Garde-Hansen 2011, Van Dijk 2017, Assmann 2017, Lagerkvist 2017), I will analyze the question of agency in a memory device used to denounce the crime of enforced disappearance in Mexico: photographs as a symbol of the disappeared body. Drawing on the concept of "image-complex" (McLagan and McKee 2012), I will compare the offline and online uses of photographs in street protests in Argentina during the 70s and the protests following the disappearance of 43 students in Mexico in 2014, focusing on the "culture of circulation", the relationship of place and identity and the reconceptualization of placelessness in the digital ecology.

6. Monika Stobiecka, University of Warsaw: *A chance to remember? Digital repositories of endangered heritage*

Archaeology is understood as a practice of remembering the past things and comprehending the past processes and lives; however at the same time it is accused of being the „art of destruction". In fact, archaeologists, during their field practice, mostly deal with fragmented pieces of past — decayed, destructed, aging matter. This messy matter serves as a basis for reconstruction of past memory. Even though material aspect of archaeology that has the potential to (re)create and (re)construct past memory, it still stands mostly as destruction practice. In my presentation I would like to prove, that recently born cyber-archaeology and growing interests in Big Data amongst archaeologists have the potential to critically engage and reverse the character of archaeological practice. Archaeology, armed with 3D scanners, 3D printers and other highly-specialized tools may be understood as a practice of construction and remembrance, not destruction and decay. My ideas will be illustrated with recent practices aimed at re-creating the war-damaged archaeological heritage. I will analyze example of 3D print of archaeological object destructed during the war in Syria. Syrian Arch from Palmyra, thanks to digital methods of documentation and digital repositories of archaeological memory, could be recreated in different places around the world. As Buchli and Lucas stated: „The destruction of an artefact or monument leaves residues, carrying with it memories of past events." (2001: 81), I will understand the practice of recreation as a work on very particular kind of memory of past events (the bygone ancient past and recent past) and reflect on the new contexts that are given to digitally saved and reconstructed archaeological objects. At the same time, I hope to underline the immense potential of cyber-archaeology's practices to revaluate heritage meanings in contemporary world.

PANEL 70: PROCESSING MEMORY (ROUNDTABLE), ROOM 27.0.09

Chair: Stef Craps, University of Ghent

1. Jessica Rapson, King's College London: *Refining Memory*
2. Jessica Young, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, *Memory and Gentrification.*
3. Lucy Bond, University of Westminster: *Memory and Due Process*
4. Rick Crownshaw, Goldsmiths: *Memory and Climate Change*
5. Ifor Duncan, Goldsmiths: *Memory and Floods*

PANEL 71: FORGETTING YUGOSLAVIA: POLITICS OF (POST)MEMORY, ROOM 27.1.47

Chair: Orli Fridman, Faculty of Media and Communications.

1. Srđan Atanasovski, Institute of Musicology SASA, Belgrade: *Choice to Sing: Reframing Yugoslav Mass Songs*

In last decade several Yugoslav self-organized choirs were formed, both in former Yugoslavia and in Vienna, nearby metropolis housing vast number of Yugoslav expatriates. These choirs, including 29. Novembar in Vienna, Kombinat in Ljubljana, Praksa in Pula and Naša pjesma in Belgrade, are primarily formed as anti-fascist and/or leftist choirs and combine political activism with the practice of group singing. Not surprisingly, one of the first resources for their repertoire- building has been the Yugoslav mass song. By term "Yugoslav mass song" I encompass both Yugoslav partisan songs – songs made or brought to popularity in the National Liberation War (1941–1945) – as well as pre-WWII leftist songs, mass songs produced in post-war socialist Yugoslavia and

various adaptations of the songs of international left. Yugoslav mass songs possess two important resources which are crucial for contemporary choirs. Firstly, in the current political context where nation-states such as Serbia and Croatia are resuscitating the legacies of local fascist movements, both symbolically and legally, and demonizing the political legacies of socialist system, giving sound to Yugoslav partisan songs is seen as an unequivocal anti-fascist statement and often perceived as a radical political intervention. Secondly, many of these songs are still widely recognizable and they are seen as an important tool for recruiting new choir members. However, Yugoslav mass songs are also object of contested political lineages, both of authoritarian facets of Yugoslav socialist society and, in case of Serbia, of quasi-left opportunistic appropriations in the 1990s. In this paper I will discuss in detail how two choirs – 29. Novembar and Naša pjesma – endeavour in reframing and recreating Yugoslav mass songs, how they make their choices what to sing (and how to sing) and what to omit from their repertoire, in order to have their voices heard in the current political arena.

2. Andrija Filipović, Faculty of Media and Communications, Belgrade: *Technologies of Forgetting: Yugoslavia, LGBT Rights Discourse and the Glocal Politics of Memory*

The aim of this paper is to show the ways in which contemporary LGBT activism in Serbia erases the memory of socialist Yugoslavia through the insistence on universalizing discourse of human rights. The roots of what I call technologies of forgetting lie in the period of Slobodan Milošević's dictatorship (1989–2000) and, particularly, in non-governmental activity focused on creation of opposition scene in both cultural and political aspects. Alternative cultural and artistic scene during the 1990s was deeply influenced by the activities of non-governmental sector funded by the West (through, for example, Centers for contemporary art founded by Open Society Foundation in Serbia and Central and East Europe as a part of post- Cold War political changing landscape), so much so that one can speak of Soros realism as Miško Šuvaković does. The term Soros realism describes reconfiguration of cultural and artistic scene according to global, poetical, cultural, and political requirements in transition towards liberal parliamentary democracy. All LGBT non-governmental organizations that were created within this context, and many were and are still funded by the very same Foundation, are basically neoliberal in their politics in the sense that they either do not question or openly support economic and other social reforms in the process of European Union accession. Moreover, what is introduced and accepted is Western model of what queer desire, queer sexualities and LGBT identities are and how they are supposed to be lived. Universalization through participation in human rights and neoliberal market economy is what guarantees social relations between queers today, and what is forgotten are past relations between queers based on different social and economic models. What is actively forgotten, then, is that in socialist Yugoslavia queers lived other forms of life, and that they might live them again.

3. Ana Petrov, Faculty of Media and Communications, Belgrade: *Yugoslav music without Yugoslavia: Post-memories of the second-hand generations*

In this paper I deal with the reception of popular music in the territory of former socialist Yugoslavia. I will show how the act of listening to the music shapes new post-Yugoslav collectivities among diverse social, generational and ethnic groups. The research of the remembrance of Yugoslav popular music has dealt with the ways this music has served as a means for (re)connecting with the past and the lost homeland, thus connecting the consumption of it to the nostalgic narrative on the past. However, I here focus on the supposedly anostalgic and apolitical reception of the music by the so-called second-hand generations: the young who were not born in Yugoslavia and who tend to argue that they are apolitical and not interested in the concomitants of the music they consume. They learn about Yugoslavia from the second hand and can inherit both positive memories and ignorance of the past. I will elaborate on the following issues: political implications of the 'pure' enjoyment of the second-hand generations in two sorts of music, the first one made during the time of Yugoslavia and still officially recognized under the label 'Yugoslav popular music', and the second one that has been produced after the dissolution of the country, but has been popular in the territory of former Yugoslavia, thus showing that there has been a continuity of the Yugoslav market in the post-Yugoslav era. Since the concept of post-memory entails the presumption that people can remember other people's memories, I here argue that not only can the second-hand generations remember Yugoslavia due to its cultural background, but they can just as easily forget it. Their act of forgetting can be recognized in the labeling of their act of listening to the music as transcultural, transnational and transtemporal, rather than political, nostalgic or Yugoslavia related.

4. Mila Turajlic, SciencesPo: *Rules of Engagement: Documentary film between memory and history in the former Yugoslavia*

The processes of reconstruction of social memory taking place across the former Yugoslavia today are a mirror image of the quest for new political identities. In light of the changed political realities and power relations, the break-up of Yugoslavia has left contemporary historians and researchers seeking new ways of contextualising and narrating the processes of representation and the politics of the image that took place in socialist Yugoslavia. These questions frame my research into the use and reactivation of visual archives from the Yugoslav period and the type of memory-texts those films play today in a post-Yugoslav context, in mediating both official and private memories of a country that disappeared. How can filmmakers 're-vision' the archival image, both documentary and fiction, reading from it a visible evidence of the history of socialist Yugoslavia, while at the same time de-constructing its use within a politics of memory? Does cinema itself offer a means to illustrate and at the same time analyse the implications behind this postulation, and can documentary film offer a new method for doing so?

This paper investigates how one can develop a cinematic method to offer 'an alternative historiographic practice' (Benelli, 1986) that can look at the use of cinema as a 'memory site' (lieu de memoire). Furthermore, what are the rules of engagement in using images from fiction films as opposed to those that are indexical documents (audiovisual archive in the form of documentary film, actuality films/newsreels, TV reportage and news, photographs), and will their re- contextualisation lead to different outcomes in terms of their use as commemorative practice?

5. Nela Milic, University of Arts, London: *Materialising Site*

The Serbian upraising in '96/'97 was an attempt to overthrow dictatorship of president Milosevic after he annulled elections because of the victory of the opposition party. Ashamed by the unsuccessful outcome of their protest, the people of the capital Belgrade, where number of protesters reached 200,000 daily, have never produced an archive of photos, banners and graffiti, which emerged during these demonstrations. Scarce information on the Internet and the inability of the media to reveal the data gathered during the protest has left the public without the full account of the upraising. My project is that archive - the website of images, leaflets, badges, flags, vouchers, cartoons, crochets, poems etc, an online record of the elucidated protest available to the participants, scholars and the public.

The narratives of this event have been locked within the community and there are only odd visual references hidden in people's houses. My research generated them through interviews and image elicitation that looks at the performative uprising by analysing the accumulated historic relics. This overview of the geographical, political and social circumstances within which the protest's artwork was produced demonstrates how it influenced the actions of the citizens.

This online package for capturing the past (hi)stories shifts the official narratives into only one possibility among others. It captures the failed revolution in Serbia under Milosevic since its beginnings, revealing the accomplishments of the academics, artists and citizens buried under the war stories...

PANEL 72: MEMORY WARS IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE: BETWEEN STATE MEMORY POLITICS AND RESPONSES OF THE LOCAL COMMUNITIES, ROOM 22.0.11

Chair: Anette Warring, Roskilde University

1. Zuzanna Bogumił, Maria Grzegorzewska University*: From Local Event to National Cultural Memory: – Soviet Repressions in contemporary Russia*

Is it possible to describe the event without imagining the place it happened? Maurice Halbwachs claimed that only events that have a location are perceived as real, "a memory that lacks localisation runs the risk of not being attested as true, and so of being lost" (Truc 2012: 148). When considering that such places – symbols of Soviet repressions – like the Solovestky Islands or Butovo, were passed to the Russian Orthodox Church and are now carriers of the new martyrdom discourse, and that there are many more New Martyr places of remembrance in historical sites such as the Church on the Blood in the heart of Yekaterinburg, where the Tsar Nicholas II family was killed or recently consecrated the Church of New Russian Martyrs located at the symbolic site of the Lubyanka in Moscow, it became clear that sites-symbols of the Soviet Repressions in Russia get more and more the shape of the Orthodox memory; and that this memory affects the shape of the Soviet Repressions in Russia.

By using the example of the sites of memory of Soviet Repressions in Russia, I will show in my presentation how memories of 20th century atrocities and elements of local landscape became elements of religious beliefs and worship. I will also show that while gaining religious significance these places became (quite often for the first time) interesting for the official state memory, which make of these religious-historical sites part of its memory policy. The presentation is based on the field researches I am carrying out in Russia from 2006, at the moment in frames of the Polish National Science Centre project no. UMO-2016/21/B/HS6/03782.

2. Małgorzata Głowacka-Grajper, Warsaw University: *Local versus National Memory in the Contemporary Polish Memorial Projects*

In my paper, I will analyze the situation of local communities in which state institutions have created national memorials presenting various aspects of Polish history of 20th century. I will show how the local community responds to the emergence of an external memory actor which creates a national memorial project and how memory narratives created in the "top- down" processes (by state and supranational institutions) and also in the "bottom-up" processes (elaborated over the generations by members of local communities) interact. I will present the analysis of four local communities which witnessed the tragic events of World War II.

The analysis of field research shows that local, traditional ways of commemoration are often not recognized as important by people outside of these communities and even ignored by them. This evokes a "defensive actions" of the local community, which causes that old (local) and modern (nationwide) commemorations begin to function side by side. I will also try to answer the question of what is the attitude of the local community to the project within its territory that holds the status of a nationwide place of remembrance and to the vision of the past that this project expresses. The question arises whether this is an attempt to maintain ties with local commemorations, or whether there is no other language in modern Poland to speak of tragic death, especially if this death has a collective dimension. I will also describe the relationships between local and national memory actors and their

influence both on the creation of state historical policy and on the building of local identity and sense of distinctiveness.

3. Anna Wylegała, Polish Academy of Sciences: *Successes and failures of the top-down memory politics: some remarks from the Ukrainian memory battleground*

This paper analyzes two major attempts to unite or even construct contemporary Ukrainian national community around interpretations of historical events, namely: post-Orange Revolution memory politics aimed at the Great Famine commemoration and post-Euro-Maidan memory politics aimed at the glorification of the OUN and UPA. Both trends started in very specific political moments – after events that were to be later named 'revolutions' (Orange Revolution of 2004 and Revolution of Dignity of 2014). Both aimed to add into process of nation building that has been taking place in Ukrainian state. Last but not least, both attempted to construct the identity of modern Ukrainians around historical events that evoked controversies and were part of family experience for only part of the Ukrainian citizens. While the Holodomor – the Great Famine that happened in Soviet Ukraine and other Soviet Republics in 1932-1933 – concerned only Central and Eastern part of contemporary Ukrainian state, it was only the West part of the country that witnessed activities of the OUN and UPA during and after the Second World War, especially its partisan fight against the Soviet Army that is in the center of the contemporary memory politics. In my paper I will try to show the common ideological point of departure for both memory politics, the course and circumstances of their implementation and the way they were received by average Ukrainians. In other words, my aim will be to show – based on analysis of the opinion polls, preliminary qualitative research and responses of the local communities – why some of the top-down memory politics succeed and other (seem to) fail.

4. Mykola Borovyk, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München: *Mastering Usable Memory: The Second World War in Pupils' Compositions in the Soviet Ukraine of 1940s*

In my paper, I intend to focus on the formation of collective memory about World War Two in Soviet Ukraine. The experience of Ukrainian residents, just as that of the residents of other USSR regions experiencing German occupation, was not well aligned with the prevailing Soviet discourse on the war. The social adaptation of such people in the Soviet society required specific "work of memory", acquiring certain language and a narrative framework suggested by the Soviet system. One of the practical forms of implementing such framework was the campaign of secondary school pupils' writing papers about their experience of living in occupation organized in 1943-1947. In my paper, I will endeavor to analyze how effectively Soviet pupils could master the official language of war description and which factors impacted this process. Moreover, I purport, having analyzed oral sources, to reflect on the sustainability of memory patterns implemented in Soviet times, as well as on how effective Soviet mechanisms of ousting nonconventional memories were.
By answering these questions I hope to make a contribution into the discussion about the specific features of the functioning of collective memory structures in the societies where violence and coercion block or impede communication between the bearers of a certain experience, as well as into the issues of memorial landscape transformations in transitional societies.
Sources and method: the source base of the article is comprised of 465 memoirs written by the pupils of the city of Kyiv, Sumy and Odesa regions of Ukraine in 1943-1947, as well as 43 oral autobiographical recollections of the eyewitnesses of the war recorded in the same regions of Ukraine in 2010-2015. My paper is based on the analysis of the narrative structure and discursive features of the aforementioned texts.

5. Eleonora Narvselius, Lund University: *Academics executed in Lviv in 1941 as a translocal memory event*

By and large, Polish-Ukrainian commemorations of the shared difficult past exemplify the idea that "[r]emembrance and commemoration are difficult peace-making strategies and memories of the conflict can be obstacles to successful post- violence adjustments, nonetheless memory must become an object of public policy after communal violence" (Brewer 2006). Vagaries of the joint commemorations might be instructive for elucidating incentives and logic of "mnemonic reconciliations." However, this study suggests a different (although not radically different) micro-optics of the analysis. Instead of focusing on normative arguments of Polish-Ukrainian commemorative disputes, we chose to zoom in on multiple – and, in Michael Rothberg's (2009) terminology, multidirectional – practices and contexts of remembrance of one resonant wartime crime. Our ambition has been to explore how a historical event, in this case the murder of a group of renown Polish academics under the Nazi occupation in Lwów/Lviv in 1941, became over decades a memory event invested with particular truth claims, originality claims and identity claims. This case is especially instructive due to ambiguities, controversies and question marks pertinent to the fate of cultural diversity on the Polish-Ukrainian borderlands. It may also serve as an apt illustration of how difficult is the task of "squaring the circle", i.e. figuring out consensual grammars and practices of commemoration in the culturally diverse borderland localities permeated by not always obvious and easily detectable translocal links. In the conclusion, we come back to the idea of translocality of the discussed memory event as a core characteristic of the heterogeneous and multidirectional contexts, links and trajectories from which its specificity stems.

PANEL 73: MEMORY AND CULTURAL TRAUMA: PRACTICE AND THEORY, ROOM 4A.0.68

Chair: Ville Kivimaki, University of Tampere

1. Julia Barbara Köhne, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin: *"The Aesthetic Display of Perpetrators and Re-enactments of Violence in Joshua Oppenheimer's The Act of Killing (2012)"*

The paper sketches the 153-minute essay film *The Act of Killing* as a communicator of knowledge about post-atrocity perpetrator symptoms as well as the practice of re-enacting violence. Thus it resonates with neuropsychiatric, psychotraumatological, and therapeutic concepts and challenges the boundaries of conventional forms of historical consciousness. This talk focuses on the experimental and dissident film's portrayal of male perpetrators who participated in the (historiographically speaking 'forgotten' or neglected) 1965/66 Indonesian genocide—the mass killings of approximately one million ethnic Chinese citizens as well as alleged communist sympathizers and members of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI)—and are glorified as cult figures until today. One of the perpetrators depicted, Anwar Congo, who just like his comrades has never been punished for his deeds, is provoked by the presence of camera in such a manner that he opens up, immersing himself in his past as a mass murderer commissioned by the government. Especially in the re-enactment scenes, his position oscillates between, first, proudly re-narrating his violent deadly acts and, second, starting an introspective journey into his sensitive inner life—driven by repeatedly occurring nightmares featuring victims tortured by him or staring at him. Subtle signs of self-reflection and remorse felt for the atrocities committed are accompanied by expressive 'body memories.'

The film enables the spectator to witness the first signs of a process in which the perpetrators allow feelings of guilt and shame to take shape—feelings that were repressed for a long period of time and deviate from the memory trajectory found in dominant parts of Indonesian society that still refuse to acknowledge and work through their past. Which narration techniques, dramaturgical strategies, and aesthetic means does the film use to open up new avenues towards a complex memory of the Indonesian massacres? How do the levels of individual and collective memories intersect in the film diegesis and beyond?

The paper will analyze the ambivalent staging of the perpetrators' recollections, their detailed 'confessions' as well as theatrical re-enactments of the systematic killings, in which they also take on the role of former victims (perpetrator-victim-inversion), just as the surreal, dreamlike Bollywood episodes filled with psychedelic-hyperbolic images that embed guilt feelings in a fantasized setting of reconciliation and forgiveness.

2. Max Alexandrin, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin: *"Cultural Trauma Theory: the Usefulness of Narrative Multiplicity"*

While the notion of psychological trauma is already rather broad, "cultural trauma" often remains subject to several more issues pointed out by scholars, including Didier Fassin, Roger Luckhurst, Ruth Leys, Wulf Kantsteiner, and Dominick LaCapra. In short, three of these issues are are: first, the Western universalism approach to "cultural trauma," which constitutes that a specific (yet often vaguely described) mode of suffering that can be found in all cultures; second, an aesthetic performance of the sacralized negative and supposedly inherent aporia (e.g. as granting access to the "real"); third, a terminological vagueness by definition regarding the transmission of "cultural trauma" (e.g. in between generations, vicariously) and its very nature, which might be exploited by (identification) politics of empathy, but which is also being applied by scientists of various disciplines alike.

When does a collectively experienced event become traumatic? What does "traumatic" mean in a "cultural" sense? Which issues arise from the tension between (pseudo)scientifically attributed termini and the subjective, respectively cultural reality of individuals involved? The basic assumption that "cultural trauma" is not an inherent response to collectively (indirectly) experienced or represented (negative) cultural events but one possible form of narrative representation of said events—drawing from the "cultural trauma" model of Jeffrey C. Alexander et al.—serves as a theoretical cornerstone. Addressing the above-mentioned questions by using concepts of narrative theory (i.a.), based on the observations of theorists like Matti Hyvärinen or Mark Freeman who emphasize the multiplicity of narratives and taking into account the continuous "pluralization" of approaches to trauma within postcolonial studies, I hope to offer a less problem-laden approach while contributing to an ongoing debate about (cultural) trauma theory. Furthermore, I would like to give examples from my current 'use case' about the post-dictatorship commemorative culture in Argentina to illustrate the necessity for culturally specific sensibility.

3. Jason Crouthamel, Grand Valley State University, Michigan: *"Subjective Memories of War: Re-thinking Cultural and Political Approaches to Trauma in Weimar Germany"*

The First World War has often been characterized as a central trauma in European culture. However, despite interwar efforts to build collective "sites of memory" (Jay Winter) there was no singular 'cultural trauma' unleashed by the war. Historians have recognized this by pointing to the competing political groups who debated the memory of the war, particularly in Weimar Germany, where memories of the First World War were intensely politicized and contested. Historians have tried to reconstruct how the political right and, more recently, the political left attempted to assert what they saw as the hegemonic, 'authentic' memory of the war, and the ways in which these political debates fragmented German society.
However, the notion that traumatic memory was divided along political lines still does not adequately reflect traumatic memories in German society, and it is necessary for historians to move beyond paradigms of 'political' and 'cultural trauma.' This paper argues that these efforts at hegemonic narrative-building by different political interests actually concealed the complex and subjective memories of trauma constructed at the individual level,

particularly by psychologically traumatized survivors of the trenches. In their letters to doctors and welfare officials, traumatized men, driven by economic interests, often tried to fit their traumatic memories into memory narratives celebrated by the political right and left. However, the ways in which they remembered the effects of violence, conceptualized their masculinity identities, and tried to exert agency and authority in defining the effects of the trench experience on their bodies and minds suggests much more complex memories of the war. While historians recognize the difficulty of reconstructing subjective memories of war, this paper contends that through empirical social historical analysis of letters and diaries by veterans uncovered in archives, it is possible to glimpse these elusive, complex memories of the effects of mass violence

4. Grace Pundyk, The University of Melbourne: *'Reading the Invisible: Letters between the living and the dead*

In 2003, upon the death of my father, I found four letters. Three were written by my Polish grandmother – a woman I never knew and who was rarely spoken about – and the other recounted the events that led to her deportation and death in a Soviet work camp in Siberia in the 1940s. Accompanying the letters were four photographs. Viewed as correspondence, depositories of memory, suppressed herstories, these inherited artefacts invite questions concerning language, words and images – their ability to at once reveal and obscure meaning, their power to manipulate or be manipulated by both creator and spectator. Perhaps more significantly, like some enigmatic umbilical cord, some sinewed, ancestral thread, they have urged an unforgetting and reshaping, a giving voice and material expression to that which had been previously silenced and concealed.
These items are narratives of traumatic memory: at the very least, they reveal a woman abandoned, homeless, abused and destitute – not only via the what-is-written (and photographed) but also in the what-is-not written; the unsaid, the silenced, the breath that fills the between.
As custodial progeny of this embodied trauma, and as a woman and a writer, my grandmother's letters have engendered a questioning, not only as to the purpose of my own writing practice but also as to how and why this particular legacy – geographically, culturally and temporally distant – still haunts.
This paper explores the methods engaged to reach a deeper understanding of the messages – explicit and implicit – contained in these artefacts, and the rich body of material that continues to be generated as a result. It will demonstrate how, via an engagement through the 'sideways glance' of an interdisciplinary arts practice, these once-hidden memories have become an important aletheic and transformative conduit between the living and the dead.

PANEL 74: CREATIVE ARTS AS AGENCY OF TRANSNATIONAL MEMORY, ROOM 27.0.09

Chair: Jessica Ortner, University of Copenhagen

1. Moritz Schramm, University of Southern Denmark: *Beyond Belonging: The 'Postmigrant Theater' and the Formation of a Transnational Memory Culture in Germany*

At a keynote-lecture at the German Goethe Institute the German writer and journalist Mely Kiyak as late as in 2008 asked the simple question of how she, a daughter of a former 'guest worker', should be able to see herself as part of present German culture when the mainstream culture around her for decades has "forgotten" her existence: in mainstream novels, movies and theatre pieces it was extremely difficult for her to find stories about herself and (what she calls) other "people with migration background". Mely Kiyak's frustration about the lack of representation in mainstream culture resonates with the experiences of some of the most successful cultural workers in Germany today. When Shermin Langhoff together with e.g. Tunçay Kulaoğlu and Jens Hilije took over the small independent theater Ballhaus Naunynstrasse in Berlin-Kreuzberg in 2008 and labelled their work as 'postmigrant thater', the motivation was very much about re-telling forgotten histories. Even 60 years after the beginning of the so-called 'guest-worker' immigration to Germany, Langhoff remembers "migrant protagonists have barely got access to the theater world, so they can tell their own stories and other stories form their own perspectives". Stories of migration experiences were either completely neglected or told from a privileged majority's perspective. "We were simply lacking texts, stories", dramaturge Tunçay Kulaoğlu remembers, "that haven't been told on stages yet". In my paper I will take a closer look to the 'postmigrant theater' in Berlin and its attempts to challenge and to rewrite history. Following anthropologist Regina Römhild's suggestion that "migration research needs to be 'demigrantised' while research into culture and society require 'migrantisation'", I will try to read the 'postmigrant theater' as an attempt to challenge national narratives and to accepting "Mehrfachzugehörigkeiten" (Naika Foroutan) as fundament for contemporary European societies.

2. Anne Ring Petersen, University of Copenhagen: *Paving the Way for Postmigrant National Memories: Postcolonial critique and decolonial solidarity in Jeannette Ehlers's artistic practice*

Since the 1970s, artists of colour have used the racialised body as a medium of critique of Western racism and structural racism rooted in colonialism. Some of the most effective critiques have used performative imagery to spotlight how the effects of racism manifest themselves as lived embodied experience, and to evoke memories of the colonial suppression, violence and prejudice. In many cases, artists have used their own bodies, thus making

themselves the subject of the artwork in more than one sense and opening the bigger question of the place of the racialised body in white history and society.

Copenhagen-based artist Jeannette Ehlers grapples with issues related to the history of Denmark's involvement in colonialism and slavery; a dark chapter of national history that has until recently received only scant attention in Danish public discourses. This paper examines how two of Ehlers's works may forge a new kind of transnational connectedness and solidarity among people who are both united and divided by colonial legacies, as her works transgress the boundaries between black and white experience, between colonial and postcolonial contexts, and between bodies absent and bodies present.

The first work is the performance Whip it Good (2013), in which Ehlers staged transgenerational memories of the corporeal and symbolic violence of chattel slavery by flogging a white canvas and ending her performance by inviting the mixed audience to help her 'finish the work'. The second is a sculpture commemorating Caribbean anticolonial resistance in the former Danish Vest Indies (now the US Virgin Islands), created in collaboration with the Virgin Islands artist La Vaughn Belle. The paper aims to tease out how Ehlers uses embodied transgression of boundaries as an emancipatory or decolonial means of rewriting the dominant white national history from a postmigrant and transnational perspective.

3. Astrid Rasch, Norwegian University of Science and Technology: *The Political Positioning of Trauma: White Zimbabwean Family Memoirs*

In his 2006 memoir, white expatriate Zimbabwean Peter Godwin describes watching a propaganda video about the recent evictions of white farmers. The video represents the land reform as 'war' against 'little Englanders'. His father, who lost his family in the Holocaust, turns off the television and says: "'Being a white here is starting to feel a bit like being a Jew in Poland in 1939 – an endangered minority – the target of ethnic cleansing.'" (Godwin 2006: 176). Writing from the US, Godwin and his contemporary Alexandra Fuller use stories about family death and trauma to invite empathy for white Zimbabweans as victims rather than oppressors. This paper examines the political positioning that life writers carry out as they focus on some traumas to the neglect of others. Dirk Moses and Michael Rothberg have discussed the ethics of transcultural memory and comparisons between different sites of memory, which create heated debate about, say, the relative suffering of the Holocaust and Stalinist terror. Rothberg proposes that we must take into consideration 'to what ends the comparison is being made; here a continuum runs from competition to solidarity' (Moses/Rothberg 2014: 33). So when Fuller and Godwin focus on the traumatic memories of white families, we can place them on this 'axis of political affect' by asking whether they do so to call for mutual solidarity between white and black experience or to compete for empathy (Moses/Rothberg 2014: 33). Here, I want to argue that the stress on family deaths and the near-neglect and anonymisation of black victims suggests that whites have a particular claim to victimhood which competes with that of black people. I want to examine how we as researchers can engage with stories of trauma in a reflected, critical way that examines the political effects of the texts.

4. Ayse Erek, Kadir Has University/ Esra Almas, Halic University, Netherlands Institute in Turkey: *Art as alternative archive: the arts as memory in Istanbul's urban context*

Cities of today are sites of intersecting social relations and movements, as well as loci for competing cultural claims and conflicts. For the most part, they connote amnesia and alienation. Contemporary artistic practices respond by transforming and chronicling its struggles in heterogeneous ways, thereby incorporating the past to its present and future. During the recent years, Istanbul has undergone a massive process of renovation, restoration and restructuring. The city is a battlefield for various forces that maintain a threat for its material space as well as for local and cultural identity. Istanbul is therefore a showcase where the decline in the preservation of its material spaces defined a need to address the issues related to the memory of the place.

This paper introduces contemporary practices from Istanbul to show how art makes use of archival material to intervene in the urban memory and imaginary. It takes its cue from an understanding of the arts in the urban context as a source of sustenance that facilitates connectivity, creativity, and participatory processes. A tool for recording various types of cultural interactions specific to each moment of a city,

The paper mostly draws from artistic work that documents the conflicting, dislocated, and fragmentary stories of the urbanscape, thereby both inscribing them into the city's collective memory and transforming the ruptured stories into an aesthetic whole. By addressing the issues at the intersection of memory, archive, city, and art, the aim is to introduce how contemporary practices use the productive power of memory to seek alternative frameworks of archiving and accessing the city.

5. Delphine Munos, Goethe University: *Of 'Genre Bending' and Transgenerational Memory: Imagining around the Archive of Indenture in Gaiutra Bahadur's Coolie Woman (2014)*

Between 1834 and 1917, more than one million Indians indentured themselves, signing contracts to work a minimum of five years in the British sugar colonies (Lal 2006: 46). Still, even today, the history of the "old Indian diaspora" (Vijay Mishra) remains a curiously neglected one, specifically when it comes to discussing its gender-specific aspects.

Partly due to the imposition of sex ratios from 1870 onwards, Indian female migrants constituted a significant part of the group of indentured migrants travelling to the sugar colonies. As Rodha Reddock and other historians have shown, the conspicuous minority of female migrants leaving India mostly did so as unaccompanied women, thus gaining a measure of independence. Such relative independence would later be threatened not only by the

reconstitution the "typical" Indian/ Hindu patriarchal family in the sugar colonies (cf. Patricia Mohammed), but also by the early twentieth-century discourse of Indian nationalism and its strategic objectification of female indentured workers as lower-caste prostitutes and/or victims of colonialism.

Perhaps unsurprisingly in such a context, Indo-Caribbean women writers and historians have recently turned to the gendered heritage of indenture and to the figure of the single migrant woman to build an agentive sense of Indo-Caribbean femininity. Gaiutra Bahadur's Coolie Woman (2014) offers a fine instance of this trend, in that this book reads "between the lines" of "threadbare statistics" (63) in order to give life to the author's great-grandmother's experience as an indentured woman. Looking at matters of 'genre bending' and transgenerational memory, this paper aims to show how Bahadur connects the dots between past and present and rejuvenates the genre of the transgenerational memoir by imagining through, 'around' and beyond the archives of indenture.

PANEL 75: AGONISTIC MEMORY IN UNREST, ROOM 27.0.49

Chair: Stefan Berger, Ruhr University Bochum

"Unsettling Remembering and Social Cohesion in Transnational Europe" (UNREST) is a Horizon 2020 project initiated in April 2016 (link to web page). It takes as its point of departure the concept of "agonistic memory", which is being tested as an analytical tool in memory studies and as a parameter for the creation of innovative and unsettling cultural products supposed to pave the way for an alternative ethico-political mode of remembering alongside antagonistic and cosmopolitan memory. The concept of agonistic memory, informed among other sources by Chantal Mouffe's theory of agonism, is applied to two different fields of remembering Europe's violent past of the 20th Century: the social memory discourses related to the exhumations of mass graves in Spain, Poland and Bosnia and the established and institutionalized memory discourses in five European war museums. The creative products being worked at are a theater performance staged by the Spanish theater company Micomicón and an exhibition in the Ruhr Museum in Essen. Half way through the project we would like to present our findings to an expert audience of peers for comments and suggestions.

1.   Hans Lauge Hansen, Aarhus Universitet: *Agonistic memory in UNREST*

Presentation of the overall aim and hypothesis of the UNREST project, the concept of agonistic memory and discussion of the preliminary findings in relation to theory

2.   Francisco Ferrándiz / Marije Hristova, CSIC, Madrid: Disinterring Memories of Conflicts Past: Contemporary Exhumations in Spain and Poland

Presentation of the prelimenary findings in relation to the exhumations in Spain and Poland

3.   Anna Bull, University of Bath: *Agonism in European War Museums*

Presentation of the prelimenary findings in relation to the analysis of five European museums on the wars of the 20th Century

4.   Diana González Martín, Aarhus Universitet*: Micomicón's theater performance Donde el bosque se espesa*

Presentation of the experience of collaborating with the theater company Micomicón on a play and the prelimenary findings in relation to the reception analysis

5.   Wulf Kansteiner, Aarhus Universitet: *An agonistic museum exhibition in the Ruhr Museum, Essen*

Presentation of the experience of collaborating with an established museum on an exhibition and the principles and guidelines agrees upon.

PANEL 76: PEACEMAKING OF MEMORIES (2): ENCOUNTER, AVOIDANCE OR "MÉSENTENTE", ROOM 4A.0.69

Chair: Irène Dos Santos, Centre national de la recherche scientifique

1.Baussant Michèle, CNRS: *Bridging disconnected places and times : the case of Jews of Egypt and Islamic countries*

This presentation explores the reconstructions of the past of Jews who left or have been expelled from Islamic countries through the specific case of Jews from Egypt. While today some authors regard the history of these communities as reduced to mere fragments of personal memories shared in small family circles, in recent years this history has received renewed attention in academic circles, Jewish associations, and various national and transnational public spheres. This interest tends to reshape the narrative around loss and disappearance of Jews

from Islamic countries into a political cause, on a national and transnational level and in the political, activist, and academic spheres, which demands refugee status for Jews from Islamic countries. Challenging the 'myth' of Ottoman tolerance towards Jews, this corpus of sources reveals the everyday suffering of life in Islamic countries before the European empires and the trauma of expulsion. But in the same times, some Egyptian Jewish associations in France and Israel are working toward the reaffirmation of Egyptian Jews' collective identity and distinct history rooted in their cultural and religious heritage which they try to preserve in situ. Some of them referred to themselves as a bridge between the Middle-East and European countries and as symbols of coexistence and living together in harmony.

This presentation discusses how and at what level the currently unified model of memory explaining the disappearance of Jews in Islamic countries is reworked, reinvested and reappropriated or rejected. It explores as well the convergences and the contradictions with the memories recounted by individuals and by Jewish associations dedicated to the preservation of the past and the culture of Jews in what they tend to consider, in exile, as their country of origin.

2. Rosoux Valérie, Université catholique de Louvain/FNRS: *Reconciliation and Memory Work After a War*

The paper questions the scope and limits of the "work of memory" that former enemies may employ in order to achieve a rapprochement. The purpose is to analyze whether an adjustment regarding diverging interpretations of the past may function as a long-term confidence-building measure. Is addressing painful questions of the past essential to providing a sound foundation for a fresh relationship? Rather than limiting ourselves to the traditional distinction between international and civil conflicts, this contribution offers four scenarios to test how suitable a memory work is: international conflicts, civil wars, colonial wars, and genocides. While these scenarios share common characteristics, they fundamentally differ when it comes to the issue of otherness. This study attempts to show that the diverse processes used to deconstruct the other determine the modalities, and sometimes even the possibility of a rapprochement between the parties present. The proposed typology is based on the analysis of four cases: the Franco-German case (post international conflict), the South African case (post internal conflict), the Franco-Algerian case (post-colonial war), and the Rwandese case (post genocide). On a methodological level, each case was treated using three types of corpuses: one taking into account all of the official speeches given since the end of the conflicts, one gathering individual witness accounts, and a corpus of interviews.

3. Hrobat Virloget Katja, Univerza na Primorskem / Universita del Litorale / University of Primorska: *Peace-making memories after "Istrian exodus" from ex-Yugoslavia. A failure on the inter-national/regional level and alternative dialogues*

The presentation will address rare attempts of peace-making memories in the nationally mixed region of Istria, a border region annexed to ex-Yugoslavia after WWII (today Slovenia and Croatia).

Due to the change of state borders and the introduction of socialist system after WWII around 90% of Italian-speaking population of Istrian coastal towns migrated to Italy. In the abandoned towns people from other parts of Slovenia and former Yugoslavia moved in. Decades of fascist-led forced Italianization and war violence meant that despite the Yugoslav (initial) policy of "Italian-Slavic brotherhood" the Italians suffered a collective criminalisation. The remaining ethnic Italians were granted by official minority status with their memories silenced. On the international level the Italian and Yugoslav/Slovenian sides have for long time defended their parallel histories and reasons for migrations. In the Slovenian collective memory there is no awareness that the inhabitants of the »Slovenian Istrian towns« before WWII were predominantly Italian-speaking. Some attempts were made on the official level to appease contrasting memories on the international and regional level, especially in the last few years. Some case-studies of institutionalized memories encouraging a dialogue with silenced memories will be presented, one of them with a memorial propagating a shared Italian-Yugoslav memory of a united anti-fascist struggle, but which in today's commemorations remains prevalently caught in the (Slovenian) nationalistic discourses. However, some appeasing alternative memories in Istria can be found in film production, translated Italian novels and especially among personal memories. According to narrations the ones who encourage dialogue between contrasting memories are the first (bilingual) immigrants from other parts of Istria and near regions of Slovenia and Italy, who share memories of individual efforts of a peaceful cohabitation before the mass immigrations from the rest of Slovenia and Yugoslavia by people with no awareness of the complex multi- ethnic regional reality.

4. Silvia Tandeciarz, College of William and Mary: *Educating Citizens of Memory: A Case Study from Argentina*

My talk addresses the rich cross-pollination of cultural, institutional, and pedagogical initiatives in postdictatorship Argentina evident in the program Jóvenes y Memoria: Recordamos para el futuro. Created by the research and education wing of the Comisión Provincial por la Memoria in 2002, the program invites high school students to engage with local histories of repression and through a series of encounters over the course of the academic year facilitates their elaboration of an aesthetic work to express their findings. The program culminates with a gathering at the Peronist vacation complex of Chapadmalal in which thousands of students come together to showcase their projects.

Drawing on Diana Taylor's work in performance theory, I analyze multimedia productions by students that reconstruct itineraries of disappearance to reflect on the present. I read these examples and the carefully choreographed repertoires that surround them to illuminate how the Comisión's pedagogical initiative shapes

citizens of memory committed to democratic principles. Finding that both live and scripted components are key to such efforts, I explore the affective transmissions this memorial work makes possible for the generation after and the ethical concerns through which the young advance a politics of memory that is also a politics of human rights. This work forms part of my forthcoming book, Citizens of Memory: Affect, Representation, and Human Rights in Postdictatorship Argentina (Bucknell 2017).

5. Tatiana Fernández-Maya, Corporación Universitaria Remington: *Stigmatisation and historical memory in Colombia: a challenge for a sustainable peace*

One of the biggest challenges for the post-conflict in Colombia is to tackle political stigmatisation of opposition groups and social activists who, traditionally, have been identified as subversive, legitimising the violations they have suffered. This paper claims that stigmatisation tries to equate difference of thought with difference of value as a person, justifying unequal treatment. Such a narrative is still present in the Colombian society and could easily evolve in a violent campaign, risking the construction of peace. The paper argues that historical memory in Colombia could be used as strategy to construct a more tolerant view of opposition ideas, helping to prevent social acceptance of this kind of violence and fostering more viable conditions for exercising political opposition. An example of a project with this characteristics is also presented.

6. Aitzpea Leizaola, University of the Basque Country UPV/EHU: *"I would like to know where they are". The memory of the Spanish Civil War in contemporary Basque music scene*

The memorialist movement that arouse in Spain in 2000 got quickly rooted in the Basque Country. In a context where political violence, mainly -but not only-, centered around ETA, had been at the centre of political, social and economic life for decades, the attempts to recover and dignify the memory of the Civil War could appear as a minor detail. More than six decades had gone since the beginning of the war in 1936. However, a significant number of associations and initiatives were founded at the turn of the millenium, bringing the civil society to the fore of the political arena. The memory of the repression of the Francoist regime, which directly affected the descendents of thousands of executed, disappeared and repressed civilians both during and in the aftermath of the war, became a major issue of concern, finally forcing the administrations, from local to national level to address it. In the Basque Country, bottom up acts of commemoration organized by different associations, together with the demands to locate and exhumate the corpses had its counterpart in the art sphere. Amateur and professional actors put up theatre pieces, dancers, painters and above all musicians incorporated into their artistic productions the issue of the memory of the war. Focusing on the musical production of four well known Basque musicians, this paper examines the way the Basque art scene addresses the memory of the war in the reshaping of experiences of the past in the present, moved by the necessity of transmission of these forgotten and re-elaborated memories to younger generations.

PANEL 77: VISUAL ARTS, ROOM 27.1.49
Chair: Hanna Teichler, Goethe University Frankfurt

1. Dagmar Brunow, Linnaeus University: *Memories of migration in European lm archives*

Heritage institutions are contributing to the self-fashioning of a nation, but can also have an active part in creating shared memories of a European past. By creating a sense of (un)belonging, heritage practice can include or exclude minorities from the „imagined community" of the nation. While attempts have been made to include migrant experiences into museums and exhibitions, film archives have to face the challenge of dealing with archival footage in which migrant experiences are framed through a perspective which shows migration as a problem for society rather than an asset. How do film archives work to overcome these challenges? How do they navigate between the national and transnational, between regional and global memories? Drawing on current examples of creating online access for digitized audiovisual heritage, this paper looks at the work by the British Film Institute and the Swedish Film Institute as well as at the content aggregator Europeana. It will examine the politics of curating and the use of metadata for the creation of a common European heritage. Overall, this paper sets out to rethink the relation between memory and the digital archive in the creation of polyvocal narratives of the past.

2. Monica Klasing Chen, Leiden University: *Shaping social identity and the shifting role of memory in Chinese painting theories of the Qing dynasty (1644-1912)*

During the Ming dynasty (1368-1644) using mnemonic rhymed formulas for transmitting techniques and teachings for Chinese painting became a common practice. Chinese cultural elites regarded knowledge of artistic practices as highly valuable, not only professionally but also socially. The aim of painting treatises that included memorization aids in their texts was to help the independent student to absorb and retain knowledge. However, in the Qing dynasty (1644-1912), the focus of texts that made use of mnemonics as a didactic device shifted considerably, bringing the social function of remembering to the foreground within educated circles.
This paper takes a historical approach to analyze the paratexts (prefaces, postfaces and commentaries) of Qing-dynasty painting treatises to discuss the new social function that memory gained during the period. Besides the desire to transmit knowledge, remembering itself became a major motivation for the composition and publication

of such works. The paratexts document the circumstances in which the authors wrote their texts, illustrating their moral values, such as filial piety, by remembering their ancestors, and their goals, such as revering antiquity or overcoming the hardships of war through dissemination of cultural knowledge.

This paper argues that during the Qing dynasty, when scholars struggled under the foreign Manchu rule to assert their position in society and gain local respect without serving the government, memorization of content was given a secondary role in painting theories. Thus, while scholars came to value reflection and understanding in the texts, they emphasized the importance of remembering in the paratexts. Memory lost much of its role as a didactic tool, but became an important justification for the publication of painting theories. These were recast as a medium for Confucian scholars to not only reference the past, but also define themselves as a group of social paragons and keepers of cultural capital.

3. Andrew J. Salvati, Rutgers University School of Communication and Information: *Counter-Memory as Reactionary Aesthetic: Forgetting and Remembering in the "Patriotic Paintings" of Jon McNaughton*

The proposed paper discusses Utah artist Jon McNaughton's "patriotic paintings" as examples of conservative-libertarian appropriation of counter-memory (Foucault, 1977; Giroux, 2006), a critical discourse that claims to combat progressive hegemony in American pubic life by recovering forgotten aspects of American history and heritage.

In this series of some two dozen works (jonmcnaughton.com), McNaughton juxtaposes figures from American history, Christian scripture, and contemporary politics in grand, often apocalyptic tableau meant to recall the role of divine provenance in the American experience, and in which progressivism is depicted as an aberration - a corruption that will be swept away once Americans remember their traditional values and distinctly Christian heritage. Like the medieval paintings discussed by Vauchez (1997) and Landsberg (2004), the anachronisms within McNaughton's paintings collapse myth and history into an eternal present, in which origins and ends appear side-by-side, assuring the viewer that salvation is immanent.

Though McNaughton's work has been dismissed as bizarre, propagandistic, and without artistic merit, it recently made news in the U.S. and the U.K. when the painting "The Forgotten Man" (2010) was purchased by conservative pundit Sean Hannity, reportedly as a gift for President Trump. Described by the Guardian as a fitting work for Trump's America, the painting depicts Barack Obama trampling on the Constitution as a despondent young white man sits neglected on a nearby bench. Crowded around these figures is the entire ensemble of former presidents, with Clinton and the Roosevelts applauding Obama, while Lincoln, Reagan, Jefferson, and Washington implore the 44th president to attend to the forgotten man.

While such paintings seem to endorse the kind of authoritative zero-sum conception of history and politics that counter- memory projects aim to disrupt, this paper examines how McNaughton appropriated its techniques to claim the disenfranchisement of white Christian conservatives, and protest the systematic effacing of American patriotism.

4. Maya Michaeli, Sciences Po, Paris, Ber-Ilan University , Ramat-Gan (Israel), and The Open University of Israel: *War Memories in Multiple Exposure: The "Dark Years" in French Art Works*

How can literature and cinema articulate the need to assume responsibility for France's "dark years" (1940-1944)? Moreover, how can they reveal the multilayered links between this shameful past and the present? In this paper, I would like to answer these questions by introducing the metaphoric concept of "multiple exposure", which I borrow and adapt from the field of photography and cinematography (drawing upon Michael Rothberg's concept of "Multidirectional Memory"). "Multiple exposure" is the technique in which the camera shutter opens more than once to expose a single frame of film several times. The result is a single frame showing images of different objects taken at different places, or the same object(s) taken multiple times. The concept of "multiple exposure" will be presented via work excerpts from different post-war periods: Aurélia Steiner of Marguerite Duras (1979), Dora Bruder of Patrick Modiano (1996), and La Cache of Christophe Boltanski (2015). These oeuvres, I argue, exceed the hegemonic way of representing and commemorating the "dark years". Their ability to do so rests on the unique poetic way in which they multi-layer different events, different perspectives of the same event, and/or different periods onto a single narrative frame. Drawing upon recent notions and concepts of French historians (Phillipe Burrin, Jean-Pierre Azéma, and Pierre Laborie), and upon the Anglophone discourse of memory and testimony (Michael Rothberg, Marianne Hirsch, Shoshana Felman, and Dominick LaCapra), I would like to demonstrate the twofold maneuvers of these French art works. The works succeed in representing the grey zones and the "ambivalence" (as defined by Pierre Laborie) of the "dark years". However, unlike recent French historians, they also demonstrate, through the practice of "multiple exposure", how the past leaves concrete traces in the present, thus demanding ethical responses from their present addressees.

5. Kaitlin M. Murphy, University of Arizona: Mapping Memory: *Visuality, Affect, and Embodied Politics*

Contemporary Latin American memory politics originated in the paucity of justice, compromised democracy, and insufficient address of individual and collective memory that were unfortunately common issues in countries across the Americas in the wake of the Cold War violence, US imperialism, and internal conflicts of the latter half of the 1900s. Many of the ensuing forms of remembering (including testimony and testimonios, memory spaces, and embodied practices) have been closely studied. However, scholarship has not yet adequately accounted for what I argue is a new era of hemispheric memory politics and practices, defined by new transnational strategies and political deployments of memory. My paper analyzes how a range of contemporary memory works employ

the politics of visuality as a tactic for undermining and subverting discourses and visual regimes that suppress certain subjects and occlude the truth of historical events and humans rights abuses. I examine Argentine photographer Julio Pantoja's 2014 hybrid photography performance, Tucumán Me Mata (which situates the 2013 Tucumán trials for crimes against humanity committed during the dictatorship within a broader historico-spatial and visual continuity), alongside a range of other visual and place-based Argentine memory projects. I argue these works are united by a visual strategy that I call "memory mapping" and define as the aesthetic process of representing the affective, sensorial, polyvocal, and temporally layered relationship between past and present, anchored in place. Memory mapping cultivates new temporal and spatial arrangements of knowledge and memory in the present as a counter-practice to the official narratives that often neglect or designate as transgressive certain memories or experiences. Ultimately, analysis of these visual memory projects highlights the powerful role of visuality to perform as an embodied agent of memory and witnessing, one that is intrinsically tied to human rights, both rendering visible their lack and making demands for them.

6. Eneken Laanes, Under and Tuglas Literature Centre/ Tallinn University: *Ethics of Historical Comparison in Kristina Norman's Video Art*

The paper explores the ways in which contemporary art employs historical comparison and evokes memories of war, imprisonment and exile in the past in order to raise aware of the similar experiences in the present. It also inquires into the narrative and visual frames that determine which stories can be told so that they are heard and which stories count as an account of human experience worthy of compassion. The paper focuses on recent video art by Estonia-based artist Kristina Norman. In three different pieces Norman multidirectionally stages the memories of national suffering in Finland, Estonia and Russia in order to draw attention to the experiences of contemporary political refugees or to violent conflicts in the present. In 0,8 Square Metres (2012) Norman juxtaposes the history of Suomenlinna fortress in Helsinki as a prison during the Finnish Civil War with the narratives of contemporary political refugees in Finland. Her Common Ground (2013) compares the memories of the Estonian refugees to Sweden from 1944 to the stories of contemporary asylum seekers in Estonia. In Iron Arch (2014) Norman maps the Maidan in Kiev onto the Palace Square in St Petersburg. The paper is interest in the questions of the ethics of these comparisons. Without equating the historical events or circumstances themselves, Norman often focuses on comparable experiences related to such basic human needs as food, water, shelter and company. Further points of inquiry include the role of the witness and of space as the vehicle of historical comparison.

PANEL 78: RECOGNITION AND RESENTMENT: EXPERIENCES AND MEMORIES OF THE GREAT WAR IN BELGIUM (MEMEX), ROOM 27.0.47

Chair: Kesteloot Chantal, Centre for Historical Research and Documentation on War and Contemporary Society

1. Chantal Kesteloot, Centre for historical Research and Documon on War and Contemporary Society) and Laurence van Ypersele, Université catholique de Louvain: *Stamps as a form of cultural memory of the Great War*

Among the commemorative supports initiated by the authorities, stamps have until now received little attention from researchers. Initially, during the decades following their introduction in 1849, the representations on stamps mainly served to underpin the Belgian monarchy. Only over time, new themes made their appearance. Because of its huge societal impact, the First World War was an evident topic to be represented. In 1914-1918, the stamps issued by the Belgian government in exile in Le Havre already referred to the ongoing conflict, while a number of commemorative stamps were issued in the postwar years. From 1945 onward, however, the culture of remembrance concerning the Second World War would vastly overshadow the memory of 1914-1918, leading to a disappearance of the latter theme on a philatelic level. Only in 1968, at the 50th anniversary of the end of World War I, it would reappear in the spotlight. Only in 2008, the discordant nature of 14-18 was given a prominent place on a Belgian stamp.
The objective is to analyse the iconology of the First World War through stamps. How did representation on Belgian stamps function exactly? Did it fit into a global dynamic or were there traces of national specificities? Finally, we seek to investigate the decision-making process concerning stamp issues, as well as their popular reception. What were (and are) the criteria for the production of stamps? Is this a strictly political logic or can one also consider the stamp as a commercial product, of which the visual appeal must first and foremost contribute to its success? And what about the pedagogical dimension? As part of the commemoration of the 100th anniversary of the end of the First World War, in Belgium as elsewhere, the production of commemorative stamps explodes at a time when mailings are becoming increasingly scarce.

2. Myrthel Van Etterbeeck, KU Leuven and Karla Vanraepenbusch, Université catholique de Louvain & CegeSoma Centre for Historical Research and Documentation on War and Contemporary History: *The Fall of the Belgian Fort Cities in the Cultural Memory of the First World War.*

On the 4th of August 2014, a national ceremony commemorated the centenary of the outbreak of the First World War in Belgium. It was held at Liège, the first city invaded in 1914 by the German troops. The French President François Hollande, the German President Joachim Gauck and Prince William, Duke of Cambridge, attended the

ceremony together with the Belgian King and Queen and the Prime Minister. This kind of commemorative event made the Belgians rediscover a First World War that did not only include trench warfare, but also the invasion of Belgium and the four year-long German occupation.

We propose to study the cultural history of the memory of the invasion, in particular that of the Belgian fortified cities that were attacked and conquered by the German army in 1914. We will examine local and national articulations of the history of the memory of the fort cities of Antwerp and Liège. The concept of cultural memory, as developed by Jan and Aleida Assmann, will be our theoretical guiding principle. This means that we will analyse the FWW memory that is maintained through cultural formation. First, we will explore how the resistance and conquest of the forts were represented in Belgian war literature. Then, we will examine the urban memories of these events through the war memorials and street names within the fort cities.

> 3. Olivier Luminet, psychology of emotion, Université catholique de Louvain and Rose Spijkerman, Ghent University: *Emotions and experience*

Flashbulb memories (FBMs) are memories for the circumstances in which individuals have heard about particular news events. The goal of this talk is to present recent advancements in the field and show the important connections between psychology and history for fostering the understanding of the underlying mechanisms of their formation and maintenance.
One major recent improvement relates to longer follow-up, which allows testing the consistency of FBMs on more solid grounds. Another one relates to models accounting for the formation of FBMs, including the role of prior knowledge, attitudes, emotional states, rehearsal and memory for the event. This field of research, which was mainly done by psychologists can also be particularly fruitful in the field of history.
To investigate FBMs in the remote past, we conducted a study on the Armistice on November 1918, which ended the four years of World War I in Belgium. We analyzed 35 accounts from both diaries and memoirs. We found that characteristics of FBMs were often present, with detailed descriptions including sensory perceptions, mentions of the source, the time of reception, thoughts and the emotions that were felt when learning about the news.
This study provides an ideal framework to highlight how psychological and historical perspectives could benefit from each other. By studying more remote FBMs, psychologists could access natural accounts of FBMs in which people were not specifically asked to give a description of their memory. Historians can get from the study of FBMs important knowledge into people's perception, memory and reflection of an event on a personal level, which could then contribute to source criticism, and the evaluation and interpretation of historical sources.

> 4. Pierre Bouchat, Social psychologist, Université libre de Bruxelles and Valérie Rosoux, Université catholique de Louvain and Olivier Klein, Social psychologist, Université libre de Bruxelles: *e representation of the Great War*

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PANEL 79: PALIMPSESTIC AND MULTIDIRECTIONAL MEMORY, ROOM 27.0.17
Chair: Rebekah Vince, University of Warwick

> 1. Päivikki Romppainen, University of Oulu: *Palimpsestic Writing of Trauma in W.G. Sebald and Paavo Rintala*

Both W.G. Sebald and a Finnish novelist Paavo Rintala (1993) use the term "palimpsest" while describing their mode of writing. In my paper I intend to shed some light on the possible meeting-points and differences between the two modes of palimpsestic writing. Sebald characterizes his work as "writing a layer upon layer until some kind of metaphysical meaning shines through". This "metaphysical" meaning often leans more towards

melancholy and erosion of traditional, modern ways of representation and meaning making rather than towards any specific world-view. Rintala ́s palimpsestic writing is, on the other hand, based on the close intertwinement of individual trauma of the narrator (childhood exile) and more general suffering of the second world-war victims of Europe and Russia. Despite their differences, in Rintala ́s writing as well as in Sebald, the narrator figure is the crucial instrument of intertwining the strands of Rothbergian multidirectional memory together. Whereas in Rothberg, the prototypic master narrative is the Holocaust, I suggest, that there may be multiple, thematically interconnected story-lines and master-narratives giving form to the more marginal story-line. In Rintala ́s case, these story-lines stem from the early christian tradition to the stories of martyrdom (of faith or beauty). In other words, I aim at methodological advancement of Michael Rothberg ́s conception of multidirectional memory.

2.Eleanor Byrne, Manchester Metropolitan University: *Re-Reading Multidirectional memory with Claude Levi-Strauss*

In Tristes Tropiques and Saudades do Brazil, Levi-Strauss, 'father' of anthropology and structuralism in the West, offers an elegy for a lost Brazil, recounting ecological and cultural devastations inflicted on indigenous populations that he witnessed whilst working for the French Government establishing the University of Sao Paulo and spending his spare time seeking out indigenous groups and tribes.
Simultaneously both texts bear witness to the traumas he suffered in the first years of WW2 on his return from Brazil, where he found his 'colonial' role for the French state effaced by his Jewishness, and his escape from Vichy France on the same boat 'Capitaine Paul Lemerle', that Michael Rothberg notes, took Andre Breton to his fateful meeting with Aime Cesare in Martinique, an event he argues for as a central trope for understanding the potential forms of multidirectional memory.
This paper will discuss the descriptions of this same voyage in Triste Tropiques that are largely omitted from Rothberg's account of events, and will explore ways in which a reading of Rothberg's work on Cesare and Breton might be further nuanced or altered by paying critical attention to Levi-Strauss's complex layering of his memories of his voyages to Brazil on the same boat, which are overlaid with his current predicament as a refugee.

3.Tvisia Frank-Wygoda, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Bar-Ilan University: *History, Memory and the Unlived Event: the writings of Edmond Jabès, Patrick Modiano and W.G. Sebald.*

This paper focuses on the writing of a traumatic but "unlived" event: dealing with three authors who experienced the Holocaust "in the margins", as an Egyptian Jew living in relative safety (Edmond Jabès) and as children who have no – or almost no – memories of it (Patrick Modiano and W.G. Sebald), it seeks to address the relationship between unlived historical trauma, absent or surrogate memory, and writing. How is the double trauma – the event and the absence of personal memory of it – thus expressed and negotiated through writing? I will focus in particular on spatial metaphors of lost memory as a house, a street or a city through which the subject wanders, and on the relationship between these metaphors and textual and narrative strategies of dislocation and displacement. One hypothesis suggested by this paper is that the focus on the writing of absent or lost memory may create a literary and theoretical bridge between archetypal testimonial writing, fictional writing, second and third-generation writing, and other forms of writing on traumatic history and its individual and collective memory.

4.Jan Lensen, Freie Universität Berlin: *Through the eyes of the Interstitial Agent: Migrant Interventions in Dutch Cultural Memory in Mano Bouzamour's 'De belofte van Pisa'*

The novel De belofte van Pisa (2014 [The Promise of Pisa]) by the Dutch author Mano Bouzamour engages with the contact between disparate cultural memories. It sketches the adolescent years of Sam, a second-generation Dutch-Moroccan Muslim and examines his desires to engage with Western culture, most in particular with the memory of World War II. Sam is fascinated by its history and even acts like a mnemonic picaroon, challenging his fellow-pupils' historical knowledge and critically assessing the involvement of the Dutch royal family in the collaboration. Furthermore, he feels a strong affection for Anne Frank, to the extent that he writes an appendix to her Diary of a Young Girl in which he lets her survive the Holocaust.
Sam engages with a memory that is at once his and not his. It is his because he is born in a society in which the Holocaust is part of cultural memory. At the same time, his ethnic and religious belonging suggests that other memories determine his identity. Because of this duality, De belofte van Pisa opens up a number of questions about the transnational and transcultural role of memory with regard to migrant identity and the possibility of inhabiting a 'new' cultural memory or two cultural memories at once. In my paper I argue that Sam, through his engagement with Dutch and Western cultural memory, embodies what Homi Bhabha has called 'interstitial agency': he refuses to be signified as an agonistic outsider and uses the partial culture from which [he emerges] to construct visions of community, and versions of historic memory. By doing so, the novel challenges ethno-nationalist underpinnings of cultural memory, illustrating that it cannot be understood as ethnic property.

PANEL 80 DECOMMEMORATING: THE POLITICS OF ASSAULTS ON PUBLIC REMEMBRANCE AND THEIR OUTCOMES, ROOM 4A.1.68

Chair: Jonathan Bach, The New School, New York

1. Guy Beiner Ben-Gurion University: *Decommemorating and Re-commemorating in Ireland and Beyond*

By looking at examples of responses to attacks on commemoration in late-modern and contemporary Irish history, this paper seeks to explore the regenerative outcome of attempts to stifle memory, which can serve as a trigger for renewed practices of remembrance. If commemoration is often seen as an expression of popular culture, it can also incur adverse reactions. For those who take offence, commemoration is perceived as an unpopular culture and their irate hostility can lead to acts of decommemorating, intended to silence open remembrance and to purge the public sphere of memories that are branded as unacceptable. While intimidation and violence can drive memory underground, iconoclastic destruction of memorials and assaults on commemorative celebrations can also strengthen the resolve and commitment of those under attack. Consequently, deliberate efforts to impose social forgetting may paradoxically result in the regeneration of social remembrance. The curious dialectics of decommemorating and re-commemorating will be demonstrated though examples from 19th, 20th and 21st century Ireland and Northern Ireland.

2. Rebecca Kook, Ben-Gurion University, *Alternative commemoration as an arena of political opposition in Israel*

This paper examines the upsurge of alternative forms of commemoration in Israel during the past two decades. These alternative forms of commemoration are analyzed as part of a growing public debate surrounding the continuing imposition of official commemorative practices on behalf of the state which serve to impose a particular historical reading of the past and to stifle attempts at promoting alternative political ideals through commemorative practices. Based on recent theoretical discussions of commemoration – from Savage's discussion of the therapeutic monument, to Sznaider and Levi's notion of cosmopolitan memory – I focus on the arena of alternative commemoration as an arena which throws into high relief the wide spectrum of social responses to state-imposed memory work and growing attempts to stifle and limit political discourse. Focusing on the social responses to the imposition of official commemoration allows for a nuanced understanding of the ways in which differing social and political status impacts on political response. I examine three different alternative commemorative arenas: holocaust memory, the commemoration of Israel's fallen soldiers, and the commemoration of the Palestinian Nakba. In each case I explore the way in which the particular social-political status of the group who initiated the alternative projects produce different forms of opposition: from a retreat from politics in the case of the holocaust commemoration, to an appeal to universal ideals of social justice in the case of the alternative Memorial Day ceremony, to a radicalized demand for re-reading and re-writing of history by the marginalized Palestinian minority.

3. Yifat Gutman: *The Right to Remember: The ironic effect of "Memory Laws" on the dissemination of critical voices*

This paper combines the sociology of culture and memory with the study of law to examine contemporary struggles on what "truth" is allowed in the public sphere regarding the perception of past wrongs. Presenting a tension between national memory, deliberative democracy, and the law as demonstrated in "memory laws" in the last decade. Such laws fortify the official perception of a contested past and criminalize all other perceptions in contrast to the principles of free speech and deliberative democracy. Their legislation also stands in opposition to truth-telling efforts in the international arena. I analyze the legislation process and heated debates such laws stirred in three cases using discourse analysis: Russia, Israel and France. I propose to look at law as a discursive arena in which different interpretations of the past express and shape the historical understanding of social groups—both majority and elite groups as well as minority and marginalized groups. Such marginalized groups are often the ones targeted by the legislators, but paradoxically the legislation process disseminates their view of the past further rather than blocking it. This lens reveals not only state ability to control and exclude critical voices, but also the limitation of state power to silence or control public debate using the law. Although national laws typically reflect majority culture and memory and exclude minorities, I propose that contemporary memory laws in Russia, Israel, and France present an escalating degree of minority exclusion—from omission to active banning.