

# SPLINTERED MEMORY: INSCRIBING THE PAST IN NORTHERN IRELAND

## A Workshop Guide and Further Reading

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Community Relations Council



## Day 1: Challenging Memory and History

### 1. Why critical theory and why geography?

- Critical theory unsettles our settled narratives, languages, and relationships. Critical theory is [loosely] about uncovering the often taken-for-granted forms of power, naming, knowledge, and control that permeate our social and spatial lives. Critical theory is not content with accepting the status-quo.
- Geography asks us to reconceptualise our notions of *space*. All our relationships with one another, our memories, our politics, and our histories occur in space. Space is the “simultaneity of stories thus far” (Massey).
- If history is about time [past], geography is about space. We cannot go back in time and change history. *But we can* change the ways in which we order our social space and we can change the ways in which the past *is written into space* in the present.

#### *Reading:*

--Bohman, J. (Winter 2015). “Critical Theory,” *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. Online.

--Harvey, D. (1973/2009). *Social Justice and the City: Revised Edition*. Athens, GA; University of Georgia Press.

--Massey, D. (2005). *For Space*. London; SAGE

--Tuan, Y-F. (1977). *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience*. Minneapolis, MN; University of Minnesota Press.

### 2: Northern Ireland is a *transitional society*

- A transitional society is a society in which the past is characterized by widespread violence, injustice, oppression, and to some degree, of collective trauma.
- A transitional society is a society transitioning to a future that is uncertain.
- We should think of Northern Ireland as part of a much wider universe of transitional societies across the world.

- Transitional societies (almost by definition) must find a way of reckoning with a traumatic and/or contested past. This does not mean this means of reckoning will be ‘democratic,’ and in fact generally it is not.
- Many people in transitional societies have a desire to recover “truth.” Many also have a desire to achieve “justice.” But what is meant by the terms “truth” and “justice” is never entirely clear or agreed upon.

*Reading:*

--Hamber, B. (2012). “Transitional justice and Intergroup Conflict.” In Tropp, L.R. (ed.). *The Oxford Handbook of Intergroup Conflict*. Oxford; Oxford University Press: 328-343.

--Lundy, P. & McGovern, M. (2008). “Whose Justice? Rethinking Transitional Justice from the Bottom Up.” *Journal of Law & Society*, 35.2: 265-292.

--McEvoy, K. (2007). “Beyond Legalism: Towards a Thicker Understanding of Transitional Justice.” *Journal of Law & Society*, 34.3: 441-440.

--Teitel, R. G. (2000). *Transitional Justice*. Oxford; Oxford University Press.

### **3. Truth Commissions?**

- List of truth commissions (up to 2002):  
<http://www.beyondintractability.org/essay/truth-commissions>
- Many see a truth commission as a trade-off between “truth” and “justice.”
- Four common characteristics: 1) Truth commissions focus primarily on the past. 2) They examine patterns of misconduct, not merely individual acts. 3) They have a set time-frame to complete their work. 4) They are sanctioned by some legitimate body.
- 5 major aims: “1) To discover, clarify, and formally acknowledge past abuses; 2) To respond to the specific needs of victims; 3) To contribute to justice and accountability; 4) To outline institutional responsibility and recommend reforms; 5) To promote reconciliation and reduce conflict over the past.” – Rice & Snyder 2008: 48.

*Reading:*

--Hayner, P.B. (2002). *Unspeakable Truths: Facing the Challenge of Truth Commissions*. New York; Routledge.

--Krog, A. (2000). *Country of My Skull: Guilt, Sorrow, and the Limits of Forgiveness in the New South Africa*. New York; Broadway Books.

--Minow, M. (1998). *Between Vengeance and Forgiveness: Facing History after Genocide and Mass Violence*. Boston, MA; Beacon Press.

--Rice, B. & Snyder, A. (2008). "Reconciliation in the Context of a Settler Society: Healing the Legacy of Colonialism in Canada." In Castellano, Archibald, and DeGagne (eds.). *From Truth to Reconciliation: Transforming the Legacy of Aboriginal Schools*. Ottawa; Aboriginal Healing Foundation.

#### **4. Historical "Truth?"**

- "Empirical Truth:" The 'truth' is out there, somewhere, and we possess the tools and methodologies to recover it. In philosophy, this orientation is called "positivism."
- Relative or "Personal" Truth(s?): Every person has their own unique, subjective truth based on their unique experiences and interpretations of their social and material worlds. In philosophy, this is called "relativism."
- I suggest here that *both* orientations are flawed, at least in their most extreme manifestations. The former is authoritarian; it presumes that it can find a truth outside of personal/social experience, bias, and perspective. Such truths do not exist. The latter implicitly claims that all agents and perspectives have an *equal claim to facticity and accuracy*. That is not correct and often dangerous.

*Reading:*

--Cesarani, D. (18<sup>th</sup> Jan. 2000). "History on Trial." *The Guardian*.  
<http://www.theguardian.com/books/2000/jan/18/historybooks.irving>

--Della Porta, D. & Keating, M. (2008) (eds.). *Approaches and Methodologies in the Social Sciences: A Pluralist Perspective*. Cambridge; Cambridge University Press. (See esp. chapters from Bray, Della Porta & Keating, Hertier, Kratochwil, and Pizzorno).

--Duras, M. (1959) (screenwriter). *Hiroshima Mon Amour*. Pathe Films. Film.

--Edkins, J.E. (2003). *Trauma and the Memory of Politics*. Cambridge; Cambridge University Press.

--Loftus, E.F. (1996). *Eyewitness Testimony*. Cambridge, MA; Harvard University Press.

--West, H.G. (2003). "Voices Twice Silenced: Betrayal and Mourning and Colonialism's End in Mozambique." *Anthropological Theory*, 3(3): 343-365.

#### **5. History, Memory, Historiography**

- We often assume history to be: 1) Objective, 2) Scientific, 3) Complete or in the process of completion.

- But it is better to understand history as the PRODUCT of a process of hegemonic contestation. A narration of past events conditioned by extant relationships of power.
- History also MUST produce “silences.” No history can ever wholly recreate even the most mundane of past events. The creation of any narrative requires the selection of what is most relevant and most necessary to progress the story and the deselection of (what the producer) deems to be picayune or of little relative consequence. That selection process is conditioned by relationships of POWER and CONTROL.
- Historiography: “History that has become aware of the circumstances of its own creation.” Thinking historiographically instead of history allows us to examine how history is produced, and in doing so, become more aware of power and silence.
- BUT, we should resist a totally relativistic approach to history. Things happened, people were killed, and not all histories deserve or warrant equal respect or validity.
- We often assume memory to be: 1) Individualist, 2) Experiential, 3) The recall of the past.
- But it is better to understand memory as the stories of the past we create in dialogue with *significant others*. While memory is indeed “about” the past, quite possible memory’s defining feature is how it interacts with the circumstances, situations, and events we experience in the present.

*Reading:*

--Dawson, G. (2007). *Making Peace with the Past? Memory, Trauma, and the Irish Troubles*. Manchester; Manchester University Press.

--Nora, P. (1989). “Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Memoire.” *Representations*, 26: 7-24.

--Sturken, M. (1997). *Tangled Memories: The Vietnam War, the AIDS Epidemic, and the Politics of Remembering*. Berkeley; University of California Press.

--Trouillot, M.R. (1995). *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History*. Boston; Beacon Press.

--Whelan, K. (2004). “The Revisionist Debate in Ireland.” *Boundary 2*, 31.1: 179-205.

## **6. Five Challenges to Historical Empiricism**

<b>Intellectual Tradition</b>	<b>Challenge</b>
Multiculturalist	Subaltern groups, cultures, and ethnicities have been erased from history and studying the memory of groups returns them to the written record.
Post-Structuralist	History is often written and perceived as linear, chronological, natural. In fact the past is relative, relational, and conditioned by the production of knowledge in the present.
Instrumentalist	History, culture, tradition, etc. are generally constructed by social and political elites and imposed on the dominated classes as a means to preserve arrangements of power and capital.
Traumatic	The traumatic experience shatters chronologies and realities. A traumatic past exists outside of the normal demarcated parameters of social reality.
Geographical	Memory is mnemonically inscribed into a built landscape through the construction of place. Places of memory in turn shape social perceptions of past events.

*Reading:*

--Foucault, M. with Faubion, J.S. (ed.). *Power: The Essential Works of Michel Foucault, 1954-1984*, v. 3. New York; Penguin.

--Herman, J. (1992). *Trauma and Recovery: The Aftermath of Violence—From Domestic Abuse to Political Terror*. New York; Basic.

--Hobsbawm, E. & Ranger, T. (2012). *The Invention of Tradition (Reissue Edition)*. Cambridge; Cambridge University Press.

--Kofman, S. (1998). *Smothered Words*. Evanston, IL; Northwestern University Press.

--Lowenthal, D. (1985). *The Past is a Foreign Country*. Cambridge; Cambridge University Press.

**6: Memory in Four Thinkers**

- An individualistic perspective on memory: Memory is the collected sensory experiences of individuals. Memory becomes encoded in repository of the unconscious and can be recalled or triggered in response to social stimuli. (Connerton, Freud, Joyce, Lamarck, Proust)

- A collectivist perspective on memory: Memory can only be understood as a social construction, as a narrative of the past filtered through the lens of the present and shaped by our interactions with significant others. (Anderson, Halbwachs, Mead, Nora)
- Nietzsche's Challenge: Forcing humans to recollect their past and construct histories domesticates and enslaves them. We need to surmount the past through forgetting in order to achieve freedom of the will.
- Halbwachs: Memory is *particular strands of constructed narrative*, strands we select out the past to privilege and valorize. Memory is also *what we choose to socially forget*. Whose narratives, whose memory, whose recollection gets collectively recalled is a function of social power. Memory is impermanent and contested. As the present context changes, so too does the public representations of the past.

*Reading:*

--Anderson, B. (1983/1991). *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*. London; Verso.

--Connerton, P. (1989). *How Societies Remember*. Cambridge; Cambridge University Press.

--Freud, S. (1997) (Wilson, S., ed.). *Freud: The Interpretation of Dreams*. Ware, UK; Wordsworth Editions.

--Halbwachs, M. (1992) (Coser, L., tr., ed.). *On Collective Memory*. Chicago; University of Chicago Press.

--Nora, "Between Memory and History"

--Richardson, J. (2008). "Nietzsche's Problem of the Past." In Dries, M. (ed.). *Nietzsche on Time and History*. Berlin; De Gruyter.

## Day 2: Victims, Victimology, and the State of Exception

### 1: Grievable Lives, Countable Bodies, Symbolic Closure

- There is a politics of public grieving. This politics involves a public debate or determination about appropriate and inappropriate forms of grieving, appropriate and inappropriate times for grief, and appropriate and inappropriate lives to grieve for.
- We have internalized a Freudian understanding of appropriate or beneficial grief, and inappropriate or harmful grief. Freud calls these mourning and melancholia, respectively. **There is a politics (and a dangerous politics)** undergirding these Freudian internalizations.
- What causes us to privilege *some lives* over others? What causes us to overlook other people’s pain? Can this be challenged?
- Symbolic closure forces victims into a prescribed and acceptable form of grieving. This acceptable form of grieving is both temporal and political. It tells victims when, where, how, and for how long they can grieve.

#### Reading:

--Butler, J. (2006). *Precarious Life: The Powers of Mourning and Violence*. London; Verso.

--Doss, E. (2010). *Memorial Mania: Public Feeling in America*. Chicago; University of Chicago Press.

--Freud, S. (1976). “Mourning and Melancholia.” In Freud S. (Strachey, J., ed.). *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud, Volume XIV (1914-1916)*.

--Hamber, B. & Wilson, R. (2002). “Symbolic Closure through Memory, Repatriation, and Revenge in Post-Conflict Societies.” *Journal of Human Rights*, 1.1: 35-53.

--Rankine, C. (22<sup>nd</sup> June 2015). “The Condition of Black Life is One of Mourning.” *The New York Times Magazine*. Online Edition:  
<http://www.nytimes.com/2015/06/22/magazine/the-condition-of-black-life-is-one-of-mourning.html>

## **2: The Politics of Dead Bodies**

- The body is a potent political symbol because it speaks to the relationship between the living and the dead (cosmology).
- A dead body can “no longer speak for itself.”
- To construct a coherent body narrative, a memory curator inevitable reduces and distils the complexity of a human life.
- The question is not the reductionism; the question is what form will that reductionism take? *How* will we remember those we deem worthy of remembrance?

*Reading:*

--Scarry, E. (1985). *The Body in Pain: The Making and Unmaking of the World*. New York & Oxford; Oxford University Press.

--Verdery, K. (1999). *The Political Lives of Dead Bodies*. New York; Columbia University Press.

## **3. State of Exception and Bare Life**

- The State of Exception is a concept developed by Giorgio Agamben. It refers to a period of “crisis” and “threat” when the law is suspended by a governing authority.
- The imposition of the state of exception depends on the ability of the governing authority to convince its citizenry to accept (and reproduce!) the reality and immediacy of the threat.
- Bodies trapped within the state of exception are at constant risk of having their rights suspended, including their right to freedom, movement, habitation, communication, *and life*. Bodies within the state of exception are reduced to what Agamben calls *homo sacer*, or “bare life.”
- Within the state of exception, humans defined as *homo sacer* can be killed with impunity through two means: 1) *If their killing can be framed as necessary to alleviate the crisis state/threat* (“legitimate targets”) or 2) if their killing can be framed as an unfortunate but unavoidable result of war (“collateral damage”).
- During the Troubles, all belligerent parties (republican paramilitaries, loyalist paramilitaries, the British army and security forces), proclaimed and maintained a state of exception.

- Two central paradoxes of the state of exception: 1) The law must be suspended to uphold the law, and 2) the state of exception is proclaimed to be a temporary response to a never-ending threat.
- The state of exception *depends on dehumanizing* its victims and those trapped within it. Rehumanization challenges the state of exception by returning personhood to *homo sacer*.
- Paramilitary groups and their supporters (tacit or active) are still deeply invested in maintaining the legitimating frameworks of the state of exception, even as the immediate threat or crisis-state can no longer be legitimized.

*Reading:*

--Agamben, G. (2005). *State of Exception*. Chicago; University of Chicago Press.

--Agamben, G. (1998). *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life*. Stanford, CA; Stanford University Press.

--Bauman, Z. (2013). *Collateral Damage: Social Inequalities in a Global Age*. Cambridge; Polity Press.

--Butler, J., *Precarious Lives*

--Edkins, J., *Trauma and the Memory of Politics*.

#### **4: Dehumanizing and Rehumanizing Narrative**

- Dehumanizing and rehumanizing memory are not bifurcated categories. The public representations of dead bodies exist on a multi-dimensional spectrum.
- I define a “more-dehumanizing” body performance as a symbolic production that suborns a complex human life to a politicized social narrative.
- In contrast, I define a “more-rehumanizing” body performance as a symbolic production that seeks to represent a complex human life or lives *in and of its/themselves*.
- More-dehumanizing dead body narratives and/or productions are “effective and directive.” They focus on the effect the body is intended to produce and the message the body is supposed to impart. They impose a unitary narrative that is communicated directly from speaker to audience.
- More-rehumanizing dead body narratives and/or productions are “affective and transactional.” They focus on the emotive and sensory power the dead body produces in the viewer and *depend* on the audience and/or witness to interact with the image.

- A more-dehumanizing dead body performance tends to have an “owner.” A more-rehumanizing dead body performance tends to resist “ownership.” This is not universal, but should be seen as a general trend.

*Reading:*

--Bennett, J. (2005). *Empathic Vision: Affect, Trauma, and Contemporary Art*. Stanford, CA; Stanford University Press.

--LaCapra, D. (2001). *Writing History, Writing Trauma*. Baltimore, MD; Johns Hopkins University Press.

--Phelan, P. (1993). *Unmarked: The Politics of Performance*. London; Routledge.

## **5. Hierarchy of Victims**

- A hierarchy of victims suggests that some victims are “more worthy” than others.
- The hierarchy of victims concept and related discourses of “innocence” carry clear theological roots and implications.
- The “Ideal Victim:” A person who best encapsulates social constructions of purity. The ideal victim is also relational. Ideal victims are victimized by perpetrators that embody social constructions of the “big and bad” (cf Christie).
- Who we choose as “ideal victims” often reflects our society’s embedded patriarchy, racism, sectarianism, sexual mores, and ableism.
- Types of Hierarchies:
  - Visibility and resource allocation: “Those victims get more attention and resources than us victims.”
  - Morality: “Those victims have ‘blood on their hands’ and us victims don’t.”
    - Consociational Memory: “Those people can remember their dead, but not next to us.”
    - Obliteration: “Those people’s victimhood should be *erased* from social memory because they are not worthy of being called victims at all.”

*Reading:*

--Christie, N. (1986). "The Ideal Victim." In Fattah, E.A. (ed.). *From Crime Policy to Victim Policy: Reorienting the Criminal Justice System*. Basingstoke, UK; MacMillan.

--Graham, B. & McDowell, S. (2007). "Meaning in the Maze: The Heritage of Long Kesh." *Cultural Geographies*, 14.3: 343-368.

--Graham, B. & Whelan, Y. (2007). "The Legacies of the Dead: Commemorating the Troubles in Northern Ireland." *Environment and Planning D*, 25.3: 480-.

--Jeffrey, L. & Candea, M. (2006). "The Politics of Victimhood." *History and Anthropology*, 17.4: 287-196.

--McEvoy, K. & McConnachie, K. (2012). "Victimology in Transitional Justice: Victimhood, Innocence, and Hierarchy." *European Journal of Criminology*, 9.5: 527-538.

--McEvoy, K. & McConnachie, K. (2013). "Victims and Transitional Justice: Voice, Agency, and Blame." *Social and Legal Studies*, 4.22: 489-513.

## **6. The Value of Innocence**

- Theories of trauma and recovery suggest that it is important to rebuild protective assumptions shattered by the traumatic experience. These assumptions have to do with our belief in a "just" and "ordered" world, where clear categories such as guilt and innocence exist.
- Thus, claiming and being accepted as "innocent" may have a therapeutic benefit.
- But in transitional societies, "innocence" can be both individually therapeutic and socially problematic.

### *Reading:*

Herman, J. (1992). *Trauma and Recovery: From Domestic Abuse to Political Terror*. New York; Basic.

Janoff-Bullman, R. (1992). *Shattered Assumptions: Towards a New Psychology of Trauma*. New York; Free Press.

Kauffman, J. (2002). *Loss of the Assumptive World: A Theory of Traumatic Loss*. New York; Brunner-Routledge.

## **7. Empathic Dissonance, Empathic Unsettlement**

- "Crude" empathy appropriates, claims, and colonizes pain.
- We need to figure out a way to chart a third path between total moral clarity (a rigid hierarchy of victims) and total moral relativism ("it is impossible to

judge”). But we cannot force survivors to tread that path. Our challenge perhaps is to demonstrate that there is and could be such a path.

- The term “dissonance” means to hold two (or more) incongruous ideas, narratives, or perspectives in one’s head at the same time. In psychology, theories of cognitive dissonance suggest that dissonance is distressful and humans strive for internal consistency. I suggest that we must resist the urge for consistency in transitional societies and embrace empathic dissonance.
- Dissonance is “unsettled,” in the sense that it challenges and shakes our meaningful psychological and social worlds. “Empathic unsettlement” means to maintain a critical space between victim and witness, performance and audience, that can facilitate an ongoing dialogue about the memory of traumatic pasts.
- Even within the same body, dissonance exists. Different narratives and performances are triggered by different inputs and different stimuli.
- We need an empathy that unsettles our own presuppositions and our own languages. We need an empathy that forces us to pause (aporia) before we continue to reproduce our own assumptions. Rehumanizing the dead body may be the most powerful of all aporetic devices.

*Reading:*

--Bennett, J., *Empathic Vision*

--Butler, J., *Prekarious Lives*

--hooks, b. (1990). “Marginality as a Site of Resistance.” In Ferguson et al. (eds.). *Marginality and Contemporary Cultures*. Cambridge, MA; MIT Press.

--LaCapra, D., *Writing History, Writing Trauma*.

--Levi, P. (1988). *The Drowned and the Saved*. New York; Abacus Books.

## Day 3: Space, Place, and Inscription

### 1. Space(s) and Place(s)

- Massey: Space is “the simultaneity of stories-thus-far.” Space is never empty, never simply something we cross or traverse, space is *populated* with people, stories they tell, stories told about them, and the stories they tell one another. It is stories told together and at the same time but also told separately and about different times, *in simultaneity*.
- A “place” thus is a particular constellation of those stories, or perhaps a collection of stories on a particular theme fixed into a particular location. But we need to think about space and place both territorially and beyond-territorially. A place is often, but not always, localized or territorialized.
- The two words are inseparable from one another. To have a space, you must have a place at both ends. Space requires movement between places (Tuan). Also, a place must be situated in a larger space.
- Place and boundaries. I argue that places do have boundaries (this is disputable), but those boundaries can be porous and all boundaries are in a constant process or re-articulation. For a boundary to be “real,” it must be maintained, recognized, and performed.
- There is a particular place we can call either a “chronotope” (Bakhtin) or a “heterotope” (Foucault). It is a place where space and time intersect, where stories and narratives about the past become visible in three dimensions. These are often ghost-places, places of memory, and/or places of mourning.

#### *Reading:*

--Bakhtin, M. M. (Emerson & Holquist, eds., trs.) (1981). *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays by Mikhail Bakhtin*. Austin, TX; University of Texas Press.

Creswell, T. (2014). *Place: A Short Introduction*. New York; John Wiley & Sons.

--Foucault, M. (Miskoweic, J., tr.) (1967/1984). “Of Other Spaces: Utopias and Heterotopias.” *Architecture/Mouvement/Continuite*. Available Online at: <http://web.mit.edu/allanmc/www/foucault1.pdf>

--Massey, *For Space*.

--Tuan, *Space and Place*.

### 2: Trial by Space

- For Pierre Bourdieu, the culmination of every social or political system of spatial order is to achieve “taken-for-grantedness” (doxa). When the “taken-for-granted” is challenged by transgression (literally ‘going over, going across’) it is no longer invisible and moves to defend and define appropriate and inappropriate spatial orderings (orthodoxa).
- “Dominant space,” in the thinking of Henri Lefebvre, is the material, discursive, political, and ideational area where power reproduces itself (doxa). Power polices attempts to alter or transform a dominant social imagination when threatened (orthodoxa).
- In order for social memory to become visible or to become audible, it needs to ‘pass’ what Lefebvre calls ‘trial by space.’ For something to be socially remembered, it must alter, transform, adapt, or append the dominant form(s) of space. Memory that does fails to do so is rendered invisible and forgotten.

*Reading:*

Bourdieu, P. (Goody, J., ed., & Nice, R., tr.) (1977). *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge; Cambridge University Press.

Lefebvre, H. (Nicholson-Smith, D, tr.) (1991). *The Production of Space*. Oxford; Blackwell.

Lefebvre, H. (1996). “Rights to the City.” In Lefebvre, H. (Kofman, E. & Ledbas, E., eds., trs.). *Writings on Cities*. London; Wiley-Blackwell.

### **3. In Place/Out of Place: Spatial Conformity and Spatial Transgression**

- It is not possible to construct a wholly inclusive place. In order for a place to have significance, its boundaries, contours, and edges must be *defined*.
- Thus, the construction of a place necessarily excludes *something, someone, some notion, vision, idea, perspective*. Thus, how we define and construct the boundaries of our meaningful places is of the utmost importance.
- We need to pay close attention to who is rendered “out of place” and why.
- A meaningful place often demands discursive, material, or ideological conformity. To be “in place” is in no small sense to obey or adhere to the (often unstated) moral norms of social expression.
- People rendered out of place are often rendered silent, invisible, confined to the periphery. But not always. Sometimes, the out-of-place or the displaced resist. Resistance can take a number of forms but sometimes it is alternative placemaking, sometimes it is *spatial transgression*, sometimes it is accretion, appropriation, or even annexation.

- Many political performances in Northern Ireland are rooted in space and transgressing space. Contentious parades are often an attempt to claim or reclaim a geographical area as a container for a particular ideology or narrative memory. Civil rights protests in the late 1960s and early 1970s were similarly attempts to recast a spatial constellation of appropriate political performance.

Reading:

--Cresswell, T. (1996). *In Place/Out of Place: Geography, Ideology, and Transgression*. Minneapolis, MN; University of Minnesota Press.

--Dwyer, O. J. (2006). "Putting the Movement in its Place: The Politics of Civil Rights Memorial Landscapes." In Alexander, L. & Nieves, A. (eds.). *'We Will Independent Be.'* *African American Place Making and the Struggle to Claim Space in the United States*. Boulder, CO; University of Colorado Press.

--Feldman, A. (1991). *Formations of Violence: The Narrative of the Body and Political Terror in Northern Ireland*. Chicago; University of Chicago Press.

--Forest, B., Johnson, J. & Till, K. (2002). "Post-Totalitarian National Identity: Public Memory in Germany and Russia." *Social and Cultural Geography*, 5.3: 357-380.

--Jarman, N. (1997). *Material Conflicts: Parades and Visual Displays in Northern Ireland*. Oxford; Berg

--Routledge, P. (1996). "Critical Geopolitics and Terrains of Resistance." *Political Geography*, 15.6: 509-531.

**4: Social Hauntings**

- When we places of memory, we are creating places for ghosts to haunt and return.
- Pilgrimages and ritual interactions with sites of memory suggests humans have a need to be haunted, a need to interact with our loved ones or with historical figures, to communicate across time, generations, dimensions.
- Ghosts "map the history of death in local space disrupting the linearity of time" (Feldman).
- We must be aware that attempts to emplace memory in such ghost-places can disrupt the orthodoxies of suffering and the meaningful narratives that people have constructed. The politics of constructing haunted places is perhaps the most fraught arena in transitional memoryscapes.

Reading:

--De Certeau, M. (1998). "Ghosts in the City." In De Certeau, M., Giard, L. & Mayol, P. (Tomasik, T. J., tr.), *The Practice of Everyday Life, Vol. 2: Living and Cooking*. Minneapolis, MN; University of Minnesota Press.

--Feldman, A., *Formations of Violence*.

--Till, K.E. (2005). *The New Berlin: Memory, Politics, Place*. Minneapolis, MN; University of Minnesota Press.

### **5: Memoriscapes; Shadowed Ground**

- Landscapes are inexorably interwoven with memory, trauma, and the past; they become memoriscapes. How the landscape is altered and why reflects social contestations over victimologies, placemakings, and inscription.
- Kenneth Foote's four categories of shadowed ground:

<b>Type of Reclamation</b>	<b>Description</b>
Sanctification	A site of memory is "sacralised" and set apart. Actors engage with the site in ritualized, standard, performances.
Designation	A site of memory is marked but lacks the sacralisation and ritual performance of a sanctified site.
Rectification	A site of memory may be marked but is reincorporated into the built landscape.
Obliteration	A site of memory is destroyed and there is a conscious, programmatic attempt to erase the site (and what happened there) from social memory.

- An urge to modernize, remake, or transform a contested memoriscapes can provoke bitter disputes about who owns a significant place and whose ghosts have the right to haunt it.
- Very few ghost-places still exist in City Centre Belfast. Increasingly, these places are being confined to the peripheries of the city, to the neighbourhoods where they not compete with or disrupt a modernist vision of a post-conflict city.

#### *Reading:*

--Dawson, G. (2005). "Trauma, Place and the Politics of Memory: Bloody Sunday, Derry, 1972-2004." *History Workshop Journal*, 59.1: 151-178.

--Foote, K. (1997). *Shadowed Ground: America's Landscapes of Violence and Tragedy*. Austin, TX; University of Texas Press.

--Switzer, C. & McDowell, S. (2009). "Redrawing Cognitive Maps of Conflict: Lost Spaces and Forgetting in City Centre Belfast." *Memory Studies*, 2.3: 337-353.

--Till, K.E. (2005), *The New Berlin*.

## **6: The Politics of Inscription**

- An inscription is a mnemonic guide for a viewer, witness, or audience that suggests how a site should be read. Inscriptions can be textual (dedications, site descriptions, artists' statements), but they are also aesthetic and symbolic. A memory curator provides a mnemonic through their aesthetic choices and the symbols they choose to employ.
- Paramilitary groups in Northern Ireland have been quite successful at inscribing their mnemonics into public space. The dominant inscriptions of paramilitary memory are three-fold in purpose:
  - To defend and replicate the legitimating logic of the state of exception.
  - As constitutive objects in an *intra-community* battle over the legitimate representation of Troubles violence.
  - As “borderwork.” To demarcate, name, and inscribe a significant border.
- Sites of paramilitary inscription CAN BE AND ARE resisted in Northern Ireland.
  - Through satire and other social commentaries
  - Through government programs in partnerships with statutory bodies
  - Through rehumanization
- But resistance can be dangerous. Often resistance is driven underground and employs complex means of locally-specific and locally-understood social coding.

### *Reading:*

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## **Day 4: Consensus, Fragmentation, and what now for Northern Irish Social Memory?**

### **1: Consensus & Fragmentation**

- Teeger & Vinitzky-Seroussi argue that post-conflict memory in transitional societies largely takes on two forms: Consensual Memory and Fragmentary Memory
- Consensual memory: A ‘broad tent.’ A macro-framework for memory is imposed or privileged by a state or other post-conflict authority. Diverse and often conflicting strands of memory and narrative are shepherded and guided into a larger consensual representation of past violence. Those who do not conform are rendered “out-of-place” or “out-of-step” with a converging catharsis.
- Consensual memory in S. Africa:
  - Sanitizes the horror of Apartheid by emphasizing hope, not horror at every opportunity. Sanitizes Apartheid in order to ensure buy-in from former beneficiaries of Apartheid (white South Africans) and former perpetrators of violence.
  - Constructs national heroes through which all agency is directed, i.e. Nelson Mandela.
  - Minimizes the contributions of other groups outside of the ANC.
  - Sanitizes Apartheid by allowing visitors to “experience” Apartheid in national museums.
- Consensual memory in the United States – Slavery, Jim Crow, and the Civil Rights Struggle:
  - Presents the Civil Rights Struggle as a subdued, black patrician struggle. Agency is directed through the body of Martin Luther King, Jr., who in turn is sanitized for public consumption.
  - Obliterates, elides, or forgets the horror of Jim Crow and sanctioned regimes of terrorism against Black Americans. Depoliticizes race relations.

- Presents Civil Rights as a completed project confined wholly to the past. The Struggle is now “over,” and thus white Americans can avoid their complicity in ongoing racial injustice.
- Consensual memory in the United States – The Holocaust and the Vietnam War
  - The Vietnam Veteran’s Memorial is one of the most resonant and significant sites of memory in the United States. It is polysemic, polyphonic and interactive.
  - But it still promotes consensus by failing to acknowledge the horror and injustice wreaked in SE Asia and not mentioning the 2-3 million victims of US aggression.
  - There was no concerted effort to institutionalize memory of the Holocaust until the late 1960s/early 1970s.
  - The liberation of the European Jewry is presented as the triumph of American values against barbarism and as a moral parable of non-interventionism.
  - The Jewish experience is presented as one of constant threat and insecurity. Buttresses support for hyper-militarized, proto-Apartheid Israel.
  - Americans avoid confronting their own anti-Semitism.

*Reading:*

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Wagner-Pacifci, R. & Schwartz, B. (1991). "The Vietnam Veterans Memorial: Commemorating a Difficult Past." *American Journal of Sociology*, 97.2: 376-420.

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## **2: The Urge for Consensus in Northern Ireland and its Splintered Reality**

- All three major initiatives dealing at least in part with "the past" (Bloomfield, Eames-Bradley, Haass-O'Sullivan) have failed in part because they tried to *force a consensual memory onto a splintered Northern Irish memoryscape*.
- All three initiatives have under-estimated the difficulty (and even the desirability) of a consensual understanding of victimology, place, and inscription.
- Northern Ireland is characterized by "fragmented" memory. I employ "splintered" memory to accentuate that even within distinct memory communities, there are still major fractures over how the past is represented and deployed.
- Consensual memory *prevents* an ongoing, critical discussion about the nature of the past, the memory of the offense, the rights of the victims, and the possibility of the future. We need to recast Northern Ireland's fragmented or splintered reality *as an collective opportunity, not a collective failing*.

## **3: Long Kesh/The Maze: A Case Study**

- Consider all the perspectives advanced carefully, that of *Coiste*, the unnamed Sinn Fein representatives, Tom Roberts, and "Michael." Can or should the site of memory be reclaimed, if so, how, if not, why not?

*Reading:*

Graham & McDowell, "Meaning in the Maze."

Mac Gioll Minh, Caoimhin (12<sup>th</sup> June 2003). "Coiste Proposes Museum for Long Kesh." *An Phoblacht*, Online Edition.  
<http://www.anphoblacht.com/contents/10102>

Roberts, T. (1<sup>st</sup> May 2013). "Peace Centre Opposition: Tom Roberts/EPIC."  
<http://www.longkeshinsideout.co.uk/?p=1718>

#### **4: Conclusion and Thanks**

- We are all, potentially, *homines sacri*.

An excerpt from the book:

"We as scholars of transitional societies need a greater understanding of how the state of exception has been and is being resisted, and all the complex and often culturally dependent forms that resistance can take. Too often, I argue, we accept and, intentionally or not, reify the state of exception by focusing our work on pronouncements, discourses, and aesthetics that are louder, more prominent, more visible, and neglect the muted voices of subaltern subjects. We need a more complex, nuanced understanding of sites of memory and how such sites can perform resistance to (or a reproduction of) the state of exception, why some sites come to be integrated into a social memory and some merely fade to the peripheries of the memoryscape. As Gregory so brilliantly writes, we are all of us vulnerable to the state of exception. The imperative to challenge and resist does not merely rest with those populations *over there*, those "others," it rests in us all."

*Reading:*

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