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## INTRODUCTION

Sarah De Nardi, Hilary Orange, Steven High, and Eerika Koskinen-Koivisto

#### Why memory and place matters

The Routledge Handbook of Memory and Place explores the latest research on the interrelationship between important notions of memory, place, and identity across disciplines and scholarly traditions. Memory is relevant to everyone, always, anywhere. Memories and remembrance fuel, shape, and give life to our positioning as individuals, communities and nations. Remembering is also a fundamental act of being human, whether acts of remembrance are palpable or ephemeral, individual or collective, present or absent, painful or celebratory.

Across the globe, a desire for independence and for robust identifications with the nation's collective memory are tied to the memory of ancestral sovereignty and cultural difference that pervades national and regional senses of place today. In European countries like Italy, Poland, and Germany, moreover, the memory of the Holocaust and Fascism haunts everyday politics to date. In Australia and New Zealand, Anzac Day is a powerfully contested hotbed of contention, with echoes of colonial violence mingling with wartime pride and nationalistic values. In these countries, and many more, remembering the nation's past collectively, and according to a state-oriented politics of memory, is central to the nation-building project. On the Asian subcontinent, (post)colonialism figures prominently in remembrances of territory and the nation state. Here, the separation of Pakistan from India in 1947 and memories of the partition offer a compelling social and cultural framework to understand relations between the two countries. The disputed territory of Kashmir is a bone of contention that harks back to the partition days: the area's wish to stay independent after the withdrawal of the British Empire still marks the landscape in myriad emotional, cultural, military, and socio-spatial ways.

The global distribution and multidisciplinary span of authors in this Handbook provides not only a fresh perspective on emplaced memory/situated memory debates, but importantly the work of some the most innovative thinkers in a single volume. The spatio-temporal reflections making up *The Routledge Handbook of Memory and Place*, then, arrive at a crucial time in human history when the stories and remnants of the past are becoming critically important to understanding the present-day geopolitics of the fast-moving future-orientated lifestyles of the Global North, as well as parts of Asia and Australia.

Therefore, as the necessarily concise review of some key works has suggested, scholars engaged in memory work are enlisting a rich array of new approaches to studying the interplay of place, memory, and identity (De Nardi 2018). The inception and genesis of the present Handbook is per se an indication that times are changing, and that we can only benefit from bringing along new ontological possibilities



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and methodological thrusts in the study of how memory works. Indeed, we have sought to build on this research by collecting a sample of the exciting and innovative work currently undertaken today across the disciplinary spectrum.

#### **Emplacing memory**

Such a pervasive, haunting energy is as unpredictable as it is powerful – memory permeates places and attaches itself onto things, big and small. As oral historian Alessandro Portelli (1997: 32) suggests, 'In memory, time becomes "place." Mnemonic traces and layers can be found everywhere as places (and things) gather 'stories, attitudes, opinions, and practices in a way that cannot be measured by instruments' (Turkel 2007: 227). Layers of history are thus sedimented over time (Cubitt 2007). Thus, memory is 'living history, the remembered past that exists in the present' (Frisch 1990: xxiii).

Albeit alive, remembering does not happen in a political vacuum, but occurs within wider structures of power and inequality. Increasingly, social justice movements are reclaiming place as an arena of debate and vindication of rights. The social and political valence of memory may, then, come to the fore through interventions and reimaginings of geopolitics that vary in scale from the street and neighbourhood to the nation state and continent (MacDonald 2013). The creation of brand-new memory narratives blends with shared traditions to shape presents and futures in contemporary politics.

Wider processes of physical and social ruination can therefore make public remembering more difficult, even at times dangerous. Forced forgetting is thus an integral part of ethnic cleansing, war, genocide, and, one might even say, nationalism itself. Even the more mundane structural violence of capitalism and deindustrialisation (see MacKinnon [Chapters 16], Taksa [Chapter 19], Pleasant and Strangleman [Chapter 17], and Conlon [Chapter 18] in this volume) can leave working-class memory in ruins. Displacement, the tearing asunder of past associations with place, is thus a fundamental part of this volume. At a bigger scale, the predominance of human agency in the making and sharing of memory is increasingly being challenged, however. Memory is hard to pin down, entangled as it is in more-than-human assemblages of interaction, understanding, and perception. Memory is embodied in voices and silences, caught in the contradiction of life itself. Indeed, tacit knowledge is embodied in life experiences (Cruikshank 2006: 9).

Memory and sense of place have to do with more than 'physical' monuments and structures. In other words, the idea and imagined reality of place coexists with established and factual understandings of a topographical, social, and demographic nature (Tolia-Kelly 2004). Yet places play only a part in what is experienced as a holistic sense of identity, self-positioning, and what material feminist Nancy Tuana has called 'viscous porosity' (2008). For Tuana, 'viscosity' places emphasis on

resistance to changing form,... a more helpful image than 'fluidity,' which is too likely to promote a notion of open possibilities and to overlook sites of resistance and opposition or attention to the complex ways in which material agency is often involved in interactions, including, but not limited to, human agency.

(2008: 194)

We may argue that memory in its many intersections with place plays a crucial role in such interactions. For Rudy Koshar (2000), memory applies to both the material and symbolic elements of memory and place. That is, memory is attached to objects and markers that we can perceive such as monuments, rituals, processions, or street names, but also coalesces around the sense of place closer to a structure of feeling and the sensory dimension of memory than to a concrete 'thing.' Imagination (an element within the creation of nostalgia) may be a 'collective practice that operates in ways similar to those suggested for collective memory' (Pink 2009: 45). Whether positive or negative, then, memories are powerful and complex forces linking experiences, emotions, places, and things. In terms of memory's temporalities, a focus on the link



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between place, experience, and memory challenges the assumption that encounter(s) 'allow a focus on the embodied nature of social distinctions and the unpredictable ways in which similarity and difference are negotiated *in the moment*' (Wilson 2016: 5, emphasis in original).

#### An increasingly scattered mapping: charting memory and place

Without intending to pigeon-hole thinkers and scholars within the bounds of specific areas of scholarship, we can broadly identify trends in subject areas. Thus, heritage specialists and archaeologists (Orange 2015; Moshenska 2015; McAtackney 2016) are turning their attention to the ways that people's personal or communal memories and recollections shape and negotiate 'heritage' and 'archaeology' as a way of dwelling in the world. Cultural geographers (Harvey 1996; Tolia-Kelly 2004; Drozdzewski 2014; De Nardi 2016, 2018; Crang & Tolia-Kelly 2010; Lorimer 2015) are ever-more aware that memory fuels our understanding of place and identity, in all their facets, including in the mundane places we frequent in our daily routines. Ethnologists and folklorists routinely work at the intersection of memory, folklore, storytelling, and place, and their perspective informs discourses on micro- and macrocultural interpretations of the linkages between people, place, and memory (Cashman 2008; Hrobat Virloget 2007; Koskinen-Koivisto 2011; Hrobat Virloget et al. 2016). Through a focus on popular memory and small-scale emplaced remembrance processes, such research extricates representations and emotional attachments to locales, monuments, objects, traditions, and processes. This is one of the ways that ethnologists, geographers, archaeologists, anthropologists, historians, and sociologists (among the rest) can single out place-specific patterns in environmental and material experiences of the world.

The visualisation of pasts and present as they intersect in memory and perception is also an increasingly powerful theme in research across disciplines. In consequence, geographer Doreen Massey has urged us to think of place as something more than a point on a map: 'Places as depicted on maps are places caught in a moment; they are slices through time' (1995: 188). And yet, experience of place is not a moment frozen in time, but an often socialised, somatic, political affectual encounter with the multiscale dimensions of time and place (High and Lewis 2007). Some of the contributors to this collection base their chapters upon the revolutionary ideas of maps as markers of time, identity, and experience as much as of place (Laviolette et al. [Chapter 26]; Caquard et al. [Chapter 5]). Maps, as with any other visualisation, can become conduits of social justice and catharsis if built around inclusion, openness, and experience. This conjunction is the stuff of memory itself, an assemblage of which maps and stories are but a part.

Therefore, by integrating memory as a fundamental 'piece' in the human and more-than-human puzzle of experience and place (Seremetakis 2018; Latimer & Miele 2013), we can glean deeper understandings of what makes people (and things, to an extent) feel in, or out of, place. And it is important to bear in mind that Indigenous memory paradigms and processes differ from Western ways of remembering in place (See chapters by Carlson and Naxaxalhts'i (McHalsie) [Chapter 13], as well as Salerno [Chapter 8]).

#### Diffractions of perspectives: about this volume

Why is this Handbook timely? Scholars working within the Humanities and Social Sciences have recently entered a constructive dialogue with diverse literatures that grapple with language, practice, artefacts, loss, absence, temporality, trust, materiality, ethics, self, and the larger body politic, 'nature,' but they have mostly found themselves settling into a shared framework aligned with the affective and emotional realms. As memory is no longer seen as the stuffy, stagnant remit of reminiscence and the mainstay of resistance to change, new methodologies are being sought and deployed; new horizons are reached and probed (Drozdzewski & Birdsall 2018). Moreover, although scholars across academic fields are increasingly working with the memory metaconcept, there is a perceived lack of cross-disciplinary engagement. Historian Alon Confino, for example, has suggested that oral history and ethnography have developed separately from



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memory studies. For him, memory studies have focused mainly on 'how the past was publicly represented' (2004: 409). National publics and the state thus loom large in memory studies. Oral history, by contrast, is 'built around people': individuals and marginalised communities, mainly (Thompson 2000: 23).

To celebrate the contribution of the current scholarship briefly delineated, and to explore exciting new potential directions in which we may take this work, *The Routledge Handbook of Memory and Place* brings together international scholars from diverse disciplinary and research frameworks, encompassing the fields of cultural geography, history, sociology, the arts, archaeology, anthropology, literature, performance, ethnology, and political sciences. In commissioning the various chapters contained within the volume, we asked authors to reflect on the links and relationships between memory, place, and identity that lead them to comprehending how a politics of memory operates in, on, and with (re)productions of places and identities in the present and in the past.

Together, these chapters operate a sort of diffraction (after Haraway 1997 and Barad 2007) that opens issues and complicates themes rather than seeking closure. In Donna Haraway's conceptualisation, diffraction differs from 'refraction,' as diffraction does not just reflect but scatters and intersects things. For Karen Barad, diffraction patterns are 'patterns of difference that make a difference ... the fundamental constituents that make up the world' (2007: 72). Like memory and place, these diffractions work best when read and 'plugged' into one another, to create a dizzying, yet meaningful, assemblage of perspectives, approaches, and themes.

Part of this dynamic diffracted engagement is possible thanks to variations in voice and perspective, as well as subject matter. The contributors to this Handbook work in, and have addressed and engaged with, the ideas of memory and place in exciting, diverse and unusual ways. They range from early career researchers to tenured professors. We were keen to include new voices and fresh perspectives, and to engage them into a dynamic assemblage of perspectives.

All in all, most contributors to this volume have approached the intersections of memory and place through the lens of lived experience and the everyday landscapes we live, work, and move through as we remember. Each author fleshes out the myriad ways that remembering 'somewhere' comes to be and what it may mean, drawing on original case studies and/or by offering novel interpretations of theoretical canons of 'memory' and 'place,' sometimes through the diffractive prism of 'memoryscape,' a useful conceptual portmanteau to which we have dedicated a whole section of the Handbook. Others have set out to investigate the many facets of memory starting from uncannier and more haunting perspectives, working their way from the Abject or Other to the everyday and knowable (Salerno [Chapter 8], Renshaw [Chapter 9], Rouhier-Willoughby [Chapter 38]). Some have revisited familiar concepts through a deep engagement with theory and the epistemologies of remembrance in the present (Hicks [Chapter 24], Benjamin [Chapter 20]). For Haraway (1997), diffraction does not generate "'the same" displaced, as reflection and refraction do. Diffraction is a mapping of interference, not of replication, reflection, or reproduction. A diffraction pattern does not map where differences appear, but rather maps where the effects of differences appear' (Barad 2014: 172).

Oral history and reminiscence are increasingly being turned to for what they tell us about identity and place(s), either as one source among many or as our primary pathway into the past. The resurgence of an interest in memory's linkages with places has affected several disciplines and areas of research in the humanities, social sciences, media studies, communication, and political sciences and beyond. Studies on urban and environmental history (Laakkonen 2011; see also DeSilvey 2012 and Keul 2013) and conflict experiences (e.g. Moshenska 2010; De Nardi 2016; Seitsonen & Koskinen-Koivisto 2017), for example, have exemplified these different layers of memories and the ways in which they have shaped – and continue to shape – the ways in which we engage with our landscape and heritage. These are among the scholarly 'users' and disciplinarians who will benefit the most from this Handbook. As Luisa Passerini has argued, to take memory seriously we have to let it structure or frame our analysis. (1987: 8)

We now turn our attention to some of the main themes within memory studies and within this volume.



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With more people seeking refuge in another country in 2016 than in any year since the Second World War, we feel that this massive geographic (but also socio-economic) displacement is an important moment to consider people's relationship with time and place. In the section on memory of 'Mobility' (Part 1), authors reflect on the impact of movement and displacement and often enforced flight on the structures and power dynamics of memory-making and memory-enacting. Sometimes after the experience of physical loss, for example, place attachment can be 'activated retrospectively' (Low 1992: 167), According to Sean Field (see also this volume, Chapter 3), 'linguistically,''loss'' suggests absence, but this loss of home and community has an ongoing emotional presence' (2008: 115).

Anxiety for a lost past, or a lost place or person in a lost past, can result in nostalgia, a form of place-based remembering, linked to (re)producing and maintaining a sense of identity. Nostalgia has been described as a 'historical emotion,' and even as a 'symptom of our age' (Boym 2001). According to Svetlana Boym, nostalgia is best understood as a 'longing for a lost time and lost home', but it could also be a work-place (see Pleasant and Strangleman, Chapter 17). In some cases, nostalgia can therefore be construed as a defense mechanism against historical upheavals, individual or societal trauma, and societal change. Nostalgia becomes a way of keeping the past in the present, and a force for change – a place for people and movements to gather strength and 'gain inspiration' (see Glazer 2005; Waterton 2005; Spitzer 1999; Sugiman 2004; Cashman 2006).

Nostalgia can take on a dizzying, uncanny effect when coupled with the fraught feeling of relief rather than longing after some place is gone, rotting, or destroyed (Navaro-Yashin 2009). Not all memories are cherished and their markers, albeit visible, may cease to make sense if the frame of reference by which they are viewed changes. This is the case of places that suffered from war and conflict (Koskinen-Koivisto 2016; De Nardi 2016; Moshenska, this volume, Chapter 10) but especially the loci of colonialism and imperialism when viewed through the optics of the descendants of colonial subjects (Sobers, this volume, Chapter 4). Often, this kind of 'double vision' occurs when a social group or individual inhabit multiple personhoods.

Memory is also embodied as we experience the past, present, and sometimes the future through our senses. Scholars dealing with the non-verbal and the non-representational discover that speech does not 'express or represent thought, since thought is for the most part inchoate until it is spoken (or written)' (Csordas 1990: 25). Part 5 on 'The body' thus 'fleshes out' the tacit and sometimes impossible to articulate linkages between what is remembered, imagined, created, and what is physically felt and transmitted. Emplaced memories, then, have a unique materiality that contributors to the Handbook explore and challenge in their individual chapters. Authors analyse the way objects endure through time and encapsulate a 'silent' trajectory of human-object relations, sustaining the past in the present. The home, mementoes, childhood trinkets, murals and graffiti, and even burial places fix the presence of the past in everyday materiality and familial social relations. The everyday and mundane and the sacred can intersect in unexpected ways. In the final section on 'Ritual' (Part 7), Graves-Brown and Orange (Chapter 33) revisit celebrity shrines, reallocating meaning and affectual entwinements to the ephemeral materiality of the tribute and the enduring longing for a lost idol. In Rouhier-Willoughby's chapter (Chapter 38), sacred springs in Siberia clash and entangle themselves in the memory of the Gulag camps, testimony to the hard-to-define nature of memory as it coalesces in place, the speaker of many meanings and wearer of many 'faces'.

Contributors to this volume also position their analytical lens on the role played by the imagination in everyday place-making practices. Increasing attention is being paid to the role of everyday mythologies and the senses in our more-than-representational life worlds. In the section dedicated to 'Ritual' (Part 7), contributions do not only critique and deconstruct received understandings as 'sacred' places as timeless and almost organically growing out of their surrounding 'landscape'; instead, these chapters reveal genealogies of the sacred, contemporary para-religion, and the politics of time as major players in the discussion of what makes and maintains the holiness of a place and how its sacredness is reified and preserved through memorialisation, gestures, myths, storytelling, and other meaningful mnemonic stances and practices.



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The imagined has, naturally, more to play in human existence than through ritual and belief. The imagined inhabits everyday life, caught up in the stuff of perception and identity. When tangible and intangible traces of history and memory become the luxury of the few, we need research that investigates and lays out the impossibility of divorcing place from memory, or coerced forgetting (Black 2013; Yoon and Alderman [Chapter 11], and Salerno [Chapter 8], in this volume). Storied memory has the potential to transform places, people, and events through the subjective production of new, revised, and counter narratives (de Certeau 1984). Edward Said reminds us that 'stories are at the heart of what explorers and novelists say about strange regions of the world; they also become the method colonized people use to assert their own identity and the existence of their own history' (1993, xii). Contributors to *The Routledge Handbook of Memory and Place* interrogate and integrate popular ecologies and imaginaries of the place/memory relationship, as well as addressing the grammars of decolonisation, inequality, and oppression.

We argue that emplacing memory is fundamental to our understanding of memory and place workings in synergy. We also believe in working with the entanglements of memory and place to better understand the contemporary world, to propel us forward into fairer academic and social practices and futures. We hope this volume speaks to some of these concerns, contextualising this powerful research within the zeitgeist of contemporary academic concerns for social justice, ethics, and scholarly openness.

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